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### State versus Human Security: Critical Focus on Pakistan

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#### ABSTRACT

Balancing state and human security poses a formidable challenge for developing states like Pakistan. In 2023, Pakistan allocated 3 percent of its GDP for traditional security and ranked as the 8th largest global arms importer. Despite allocating substantial resources to counter traditional security threats, Pakistan has a conspicuous oversight in addressing human security, depriving its people of empowerment and development. This study examines the intricate relationship between state and human security in Pakistan, evaluating the deleterious impact of prioritizing state security over human security. This study contends that such an approach diminishes people's security. With a desk research method, the analysis discloses a disconcerting human insecurity situation in Pakistan. These are high poverty rates (37 percent), substantial illiteracy (40 percent), 1.1 million children living on the streets, 19 million child brides, and gender inequality (ranked 161 out of 191 countries). The study demonstrates that relying solely on prioritizing traditional state security proves inadequate and leaves limited development resources for people's security, particularly in the realms of socioeconomic and educational insecurity. The human security concept, emphasizing people-centered security and freedom from fear and want, underscores the imperative of a more balanced approach. Therefore, investing in human security, specifically socio-economic and educational security, empowers individuals and communities and helps provide freedom from the fear of

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poverty and educational insecurity. In conclusion, addressing both state and human security concerns through balanced policies utilizing a human security approach is indispensable.

## Introduction

In South Asia, Pakistan is known as a garrison state<sup>2</sup> and a security state.<sup>3</sup> Pakistan has a history of a tumultuous relationship with neighboring India due to the ongoing dispute over Kashmir. Since their foundation, India and Pakistan have fought three brutal wars in 1948, 1965, and 1971, and two limited border wars, i.e., the Rann of Kutch Conflict in 1965, and the Kargil Conflict in 1999 (Cheema, 2013, p. 127). In addition, Pakistan has a history of Western military alignment, for example, membership in the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), which it joined in 1954, and the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO), also known as the Baghdad Pact, which it became a member in 1955 (Sideky, 1976, p. 968). It played an important role as a frontline state during the Cold War against the spread of communism in South Asia and later in the War on Terror in Afghanistan. Furthermore, Pakistan is strategically positioned as a buffer state between the economically and militarily powerful countries of India and China, both locked in a balance of power and polarity. In addition, it also shares a border with Afghanistan, a nation presently under the rule of the Taliban regime (Graham-Harrison & Harding, 2021).

Presently, Pakistan ranks as the fifth-most populous country globally, with a population of 234 million (World Bank, 2023b). Pakistan's history is marked by periods of military rule spanning a total of 36 years. Currently, Pakistan is known as a hybrid democracy, and the influence of the military in the democratic system remains pervasive (Younus, 2023). This persistence of military influence has characterized the state as a guided democracy and security state. In 2023, Pakistan allocated USD 10.3 billion, or more than 3

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<sup>2</sup> A "garrison state" is one where the military plays a pervasive role in society, influencing not only national security policies but also shaping domestic politics, economic priorities, and social dynamics of the state. Harold Lasswell. "Essay on the Garrison State", Jay Stanley. (eds.), Abingdon (Routledge, 2018).

<sup>3</sup> A "security state" is primarily grounded in the realism theory, where the state prioritizes safeguarding its national borders, territory, ideology, and core values through military means. Raza, Sami, Syed. "The Security State in Pakistan Legal Foundations," Abingdon (Routledge, 2019).

percent of its Gross Domestic Product (GDP), to maintain a military force of 653,800 regular troops (World Bank, 2023b). This budget makes Pakistan the 24th-largest defense spender globally and the eighth-largest arms importer (Wezeman et al., 2023, p. 6).

Human security was initially introduced after the Cold War through the United Nations Development Report in 1994, published by the United Nations Development Fund (Tadjbakhsh & Chenony, 2007, p. 24). The concept of human security is people-centric, reorienting security to align the well-being of individuals with that of the state. It contends that the state is responsible for safeguarding the people's freedom from fear and freedom from want. However, Pakistan primarily directs its resources towards traditional security to maintain a power balance vis-à-vis its adversary state, India. Consequently, Pakistan has neglected to invest in human security, specifically in its people's economic and education security.

Pakistan has long maintained that overwhelming investment in traditional security can protect people from traditional and non-traditional threats. However, recent developments reveal a rapid rise in non-traditional security challenges, which pose a grave menace to the nation's overall security (Afzal, 2012). This research challenges these claims and argues that an overly one-sided focus on traditional security has inadvertently fueled non-traditional threats, encompassing socioeconomic and educational insecurities in Pakistan. These issues have, in turn, catalyzed religious radicalization and terrorism within Pakistan, presenting a formidable threat to national security. Therefore, this research paper pursues a dual objective. Firstly, it endeavors to unravel the intricate relationship between state and human security, specifically focusing on Pakistan. Secondly, it comprehensively analyzes the detrimental repercussions of prioritizing state security over human security, focusing on three crucial areas: human development, peace, and terrorism, which collectively constitute the primary causes of human insecurity in Pakistan.

Moreover, the declining state of human security in Pakistan has provided openings for religious extremists and terrorists to take advantage of the situation and incite the people against the state and international peace. Therefore, this paper aims to assess potential threats by analyzing human development, peace, and the rise in terrorism as factors stemming from Pakistan's concerning human security conditions.

## **Research Questions**

1. How are state security and human security interconnected, with a focus on the case of Pakistan?
2. What are the deleterious impacts on societal security resulting from prioritizing state security over human security?

## **Research Method**

This study employed a qualitative desk-based research method to address the research questions (Bassot, 2022). It gathered secondary data from authentic, unbiased, and highly reputable academic journals on JSTOR and online research reports from the Pakistani government, including the Pakistan Economic Survey. Additionally, data were sourced from the websites of United Nations agencies, such as UNICEF and UNDP, as well as the briefings and annual reports of the World Bank. The data for this study will be gathered from three key indices: the Human Development Index, the Peace Index, and the Terrorism Index, spanning the years 2011 to 2021. The rationale for this collection stems from recognizing that deficiencies in human development, the absence of peace, the impact of climate change, and the increase in terrorism significantly affect human security, posing economic deprivation and threats to the people.

To ensure the quality and reliability of this research, stringent criteria for data collection and analysis were established. These criteria include the selection of credible academic journals in human rights and international relations with a robust peer-review process, ensuring publication in esteemed academic journals, citing pertinent literature, and assessing the credibility of references.

The study employed 'Security of the State in Pakistan' as an independent variable to assess its influence on the dependent variable, human security in Pakistan (Gary et al., 2021).

This analysis delves into how an excessive focus on traditional state security in Pakistan negatively impacts human security within the country. A state comprises three essential components: its people, territory, and government. However, Pakistan has faced challenges in safeguarding its people from non-traditional threats of socioeconomic insecurity, such as declines in human development, peace-building, and the rise of terrorism. These challenges have given rise to various threats to state security in Pakistan, including the

emergence of religious radicalization that has led to the formation of local religious terrorist groups such as Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan and local insurgencies like the Baloch Liberation Army. Consequently, this adverse impact has resulted in serious challenges and threatens Pakistan's national security.

## **Hypothesis**

To address the research questions, this paper presents the following hypothesis. The prolonged prioritization of state security over human security in Pakistan has led to adverse outcomes, marked by a decline in human development, peace, and an escalation of terrorism. Therefore, exclusive focuses on traditional security have triggered the human insecurity situation in Pakistan.

This study collected key data, focusing on three major indicators in Pakistan to analyze human security: human development, peace, and the impact of terrorism. In Pakistan, people often live in large joint family groups, and most adult males become the head of the household, responsible for covering daily expenses, including education and healthcare costs, for most family members. This responsibility extends to their parents, who often live with their eldest son in Pakistan.

For an individual, security is critically different than for the state. For farmers living in the desert district of Tharparkar, security means livelihood, peace, and freedom from fear. They need pasture to feed their cows so they can earn a livelihood and provide quality education and healthcare for the family (Rehman, 2023). Conversely, for Pakistan as a state, security is different. It involves maintaining a balance of power with India through modern tanks and fighter jets.

Therefore, people's security is directly connected to empowerment and enhancing their capabilities, encompassing aspects such as development, peace, and protection from terrorism. The selection of human development and peace indicators is crucial as they are closely linked to people's capabilities and empowerment. Amartya Sen argues that lack of human development is the root cause of capability deprivation (Sen, 1999). Lack of human development and peace-building leads to the deprivation of capabilities and empowerment, limiting people's freedoms and pushing them towards adverse outcomes such as radicalization and terrorism.

## Limitations of the Study

This research paper primarily analyzes Pakistan's traditional security and human security situation from 2011 to 2021. The primary reason for this limitation is the changing nature of non-traditional threats, shifting from socioeconomic insecurity to the rise in terrorism in Pakistan after the global war on terror in Afghanistan, which began in September 2011<sup>4</sup>. The global war on terror has concluded mainly with the killing of Osama bin Laden and the defeat of Al Qaeda in Afghanistan ("Osama bin Laden Killed", 2011). In contrast, the war on terror has not yet concluded in Pakistan, but it has turned into savagery in Pakistan with the arrival of the Taliban.<sup>5</sup> in Afghanistan (Goldbaum & Rehman, 2023).

## Whose Security Comes First: State Security or Human Security?

Historically, security has always been a significant concern for human beings. Buzan defined security as freedom from fear and danger (Tadjbakhsh & Chenony, 2007, p. 10). However, the modern concept of security is profoundly associated with the state, which aims to protect individuals from injustice and violence. In *Leviathan*, Thomas Hobbes stated that the state of nature is a state of war, wherein individuals contend for power, resulting in a perpetual struggle against each other (Tadjbakhsh & Chenony, 2007, p. 80). Consequently, in establishing a governing state, it becomes imperative to protect people's security from unjust violence and fear by forming a state. The Hobbesian model envisages an absolute state with a robust security apparatus, guaranteeing people's security from fear and injustice

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<sup>4</sup> In the September 11, 2001 attacks, also known as the 9/11 attacks, 19 militants associated with Al-Qaeda targeted the United States, resulting in the deaths of 2,750 people in New York, 184 at the Pentagon, and 40 in Pennsylvania. In response, the United States declared a Global War on Terror and launched military operations in Afghanistan and Iraq.

<sup>5</sup> The Taliban armed group was founded in the early 1990s and ruled over most of Afghanistan from 1996 until October 2001. Following the September 11th attacks, the United States declared war on Al-Qaeda and the Taliban in Afghanistan. This war on terror in Afghanistan resulted in 70,000 Afghan military and police deaths, along with 46,319 Afghan civilian casualties. However, as part of the Doha agreement between the United States and the Taliban in 2021, the Taliban returned to power in Afghanistan in 2021. <https://www.usip.org/publications/2022/11/afghanistan-was-loss-better-peace> (Accessed 18 July 2023).

by establishing a just state.

In contrast, John Locke, in the *Second Treatise of Civil Government*, argues for individual rights, positing that individuals are inherently free, equal, and independent. According to Locke, the state of nature is governed by law (Locke, 1689). He contends that the state is legally obligated to protect people's security through adherence to natural laws. Locke supports this by asserting that individuals have inherent rights to life, liberty, and property. Locke argues that the state, formed through a social contract, must protect these natural rights.

In *Perpetual Peace*, Immanuel Kant reconsidered the concept of the 'Republic' as a pivotal means to achieve lasting protection and freedom from fear (Doyle, 2005). Kant reimagines the 'Republic' as a governance system in which individuals actively participate in political processes and state-building. In such a state, citizens could govern their freedoms and enact laws, all aiming to safeguard their security, ultimately transcending the 'nasty, brutish, and short' nature of the state of nature. Kant's vision of the state is deeply rooted in the belief that in a republic, where citizens actively engage in the democratic process and collectively craft laws to protect their security, individual security takes precedence (Doyle, 2005).

Max Weber further defines the state as a monopoly on the legitimate use of power and physical force within a defined territory (Tadjbakhsh & Chenony, 2007, p. 167). It is essential to recognize that the state did not emerge solely to protect itself from external threats at the expense of individual security. People are integral constituents of the state, granting it the capacity to enhance its traditional security through mutual agreement so the state can protect against external threats. Therefore, it is imperative to understand that states are not autonomous entities; instead, they are bound actors with a duty to prioritize people's security in parallel with state security. Consequently, the state is a legal entity established with the consent of its people, and its primary objective is to protect individuals from traditional and non-traditional threats like freedom from fear and freedom from want in the form of socioeconomic insecurity, poverty, health, and education insecurity.

The contemporary, traditional concept of security, deeply rooted in the Cold War era, revolves around states and their pursuit of power in an anarchic international system. With a significant focus on military strength, this perspective is grounded in a realist school of

thought (Waltz, 1979). Consequently, during the Cold War era, the focus on security was primarily directed toward state security rather than the well-being and security of the people. This viewpoint frequently resulted in overlooking the suffering experienced by people within state borders, mainly when states failed to ensure socioeconomic security for their people.

The perspective on security, as defined by Buzan and Hobbes, has traditionally been aligned with the state's role in protecting individuals from the perils of an anarchic nature. Hobbes, in *Leviathan*, argues for the necessity of a mighty governing state to avert perpetual war, fear, and socioeconomic injustice that characterizes the state of nature (Hobbes, 1651). This perspective aligns with Max Weber's definition of the state, emphasizing its monopoly on legitimate power within a defined territory. Therefore, the emergence of the state is significantly rooted in ensuring the security of people from war, fear, and unjust socioeconomic conditions through establishing a state with just governance.

Locke advocates for individual rights by asserting that people are inherently free, equal, and independent. Locke posits that laws govern the state of nature and argues that the state is obligated by law to ensure people's security through adherence to these laws. Therefore, the state is not an absolute entity that only protects its borders from anarchy. The people bind the state to act to protect people's security, including the socioeconomic security of its people.

The traditional realist perspective, exemplified by Hobbes and entrenched during the Cold War, prioritizes state security, often overlooking the well-being and socioeconomic security of the people within state borders. This perspective considers the state a rational actor whose primary duty is to protect itself from anarchy through military strength.

Conversely, Kant and Locke emphasize people's rights and security to protect them from the state of nature. It is important to notice that the state emerged with the people's consent to protect them from war, fear, and injustice. Therefore, state security and human security are interconnected, emphasizing the state's legitimacy and power derived from the consent and well-being of its people.

The contemporary state system operates on a social contract between the people and the state aimed at safeguarding the security of its people. Consequently, the Constitution of Pakistan provides protection and guarantees development, peace, and



defense against violence. Moreover, the explicit provisions outlined in Articles 37 and 38 serve as a dedicated framework to safeguard the socioeconomic rights of the populace, ultimately aiming to enhance the development and capabilities of individuals for the protection of human security (Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan. art. 37 & 38).

Consequently, both state and human security are fundamental to a stable and just state. The state is a legal entity that derives its authority from the people and is obligated to safeguard both the state's sovereignty and its people's well-being. Balancing these aspects ensures the comprehensive security of the state. Therefore, recognizing the interconnection between state security and human security enhances state security, especially the security of the people who constitute the nucleus of the state.

### **Decoding the Nature of Security in Pakistan**

Pakistan is characterized as a security state and garrison state in South Asia. A security state has several characteristics, including its historical context, present political narrative, power dynamics, geopolitical location, and military policies. In international relations, the theory of realism defines a security state as one that invests enormous resources in protecting its territorial integrity, physical assets, and ideological values through military power (Raza, 2019). Specifically, neo-realism posits that states are rational actors within the international system (Mearsheimer, 2009). The nature of the international system is anarchy, meaning there is no higher authority above the state to protect it from external threats or adversary states. Therefore, due to the nature of the international system, states are forced to seek to accumulate military power to ensure their survival and the protection of their interests in the international system (Waltz, 1979).

Pakistan is also known as a garrison state. The concept of a garrison state was developed by Harold D. Lasswell, who describes it as a state that dedicates a substantial portion of its resources, both human and economic, to maintaining a powerful military (Lasswell, 1941). In such a state, a significant portion of the national budget is allocated to traditional security. The garrison state often exerts control over civilian and economic actors. Therefore, the concept of a garrison state implies a strong military influence in governance and decision-making processes, with the state prioritizing traditional security concerns over other societal needs.

After gaining independence in 1947, Pakistan confronted significant security threats from both its eastern and western borders with India, as well as its north-western frontiers with Afghanistan. To the east, Pakistan shared a border with India, a country with a large population and a formidable military, which Pakistan viewed as a major security threat. To the west, Pakistan shared the Durand Line with Afghanistan. However, due to historical colonial legacies, Afghanistan did not recognize the Durand Line as the international border, leading to strained relations between the two countries. Pakistan also had extensive borders with Iran and China.

Since independence, Pakistan has been involved in three full-scale wars with India (in 1948, 1965, and 1971) and two significant limited conflicts (the Rann of Kutch conflict in 1965 and the Kargil conflict in 1999). In the 1971 war with India, Pakistan lost East Pakistan, which is now known as Bangladesh. Further, Pakistan has experienced 36 years of direct military rule, occurring during distinct periods (1958–1971, 1977–1988, and 1999–2008). Following the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center in the U.S. on 11 September 2001, Pakistan joined the global war on terror. This commitment has persisted, with Pakistan consistently facing threats from both terrorism and local insurgency. Presently, Pakistan is a nuclear-powered state characterized by a hybrid democracy with a significant military influence within its democratic and political economy. In 1958, Pakistan witnessed its first military coup against its young democracy, led by its powerful military (Haqqani, 2005). With the military in control, significant resources were redirected toward bolstering traditional state security, aiming to resolve the Kashmir dispute with India and consolidate its authority within Pakistan.

Additionally, the military introduced two significant ideological narratives: first, it portrayed Pakistan as the fortress of Islam, as opposed to the imperative threat from its larger Hindu neighbor, India. Therefore, the military posited itself as the sole institution capable of protecting the people from this perceived threat, which helps to justify the enormous defense budget for Pakistan (Haqqani, 2005). Second, the military also introduced the idea of Basic Democracy<sup>6</sup> Or Guided Democracy, which largely involved the feudal class

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<sup>6</sup> Pakistan's first dictator, Field Marshal Ayub Khan, introduced the system of "Basic Democracy" in 1960. This system comprised a network of local self-governing bodies to establish a connection between the government and the people. However, it is also known as controlled democracy, designed to safeguard the interests of the powerful elites in Pakistan.

in positions of power and halted the land reforms. Therefore, with the military in a governing role, there was a significant increase in the defense budget, primarily directed at safeguarding Pakistan from traditional threats. However, it overlooked non-traditional security concerns within the state. The following graph illustrates Pakistan's defense budget for traditional security from 2011 to 2021. The financial data in the following figure is presented in billions of dollars.

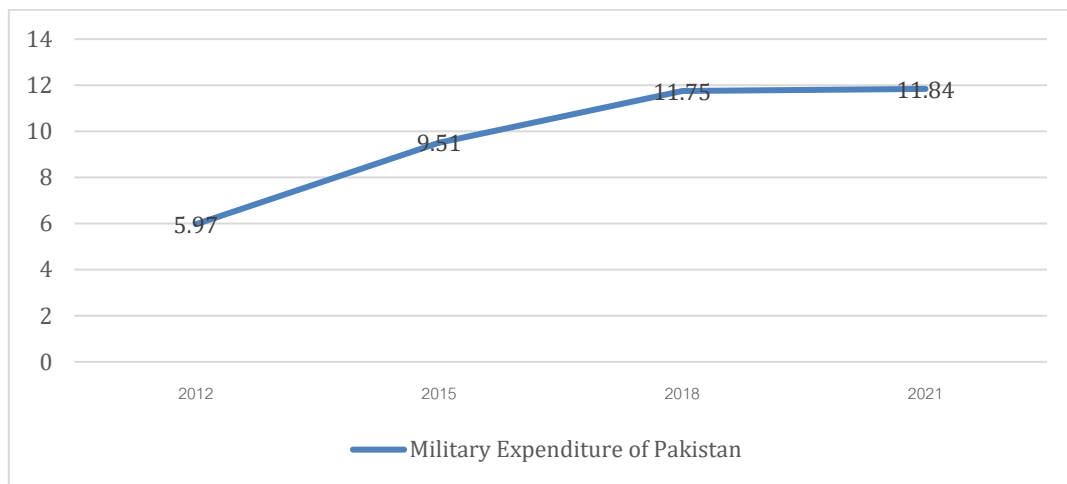


Figure 1 Pakistan Military Expenditures from 2012 to 2021

Source: World Bank (2023a)

### Pakistan: A Security Analysis of the period from 2010 to 2021

In 1971, Pakistan experienced a significant security crisis with the secession of East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) from West Pakistan, marking a shift towards democracy. However, this democratic journey was short-lived as the military staged a coup in 1977, resulting in the overthrow of the elected government and the execution of the then Prime Minister (Hussain, 2023). This time, the military strategically used religion as a central ideology, implementing Sharia law to counter communism and democracy while also increasing its influence in civilian administration (Haqqani, 2005).

Furthermore, Pakistan rekindled its Cold War alliance with the United States, joining the US-led proxy war in Afghanistan against the Soviet Union. Unfortunately, this decision had unintended consequences, including the influx of 3.5 million Afghan refugees, religious radicalization, the rise of military Jihadism, sectarian and ethnic violence, as well as the

smuggling of drugs and weapons, and the spread of terrorism from Afghanistan to Pakistan (Rogers, 1992, p. 752).

In 1999, Pakistan underwent another episode of martial law, during which General Pervez Musharraf detained the elected Prime Minister, Nawaz Sharif (Goldenberg, 1999). In 2011, Pakistan became part of the global war on terror, leading to the reported loss of approximately 80 thousand lives in the country, as documented by Physicians for Social Responsibility in 2015 (Physicians for Social Responsibility [PSR], 2015). Consequently, from 2012 to 2018, Pakistan augmented its military budget, doubling it from USD 5.97 billion to USD 11.75 billion. This increase was attributed to counterterrorism efforts and maintaining a balance of power with India.

The following data shows that Pakistan consistently maintained the highest military expenditure as a percentage of the region's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) from 2011 to 2021. The data also reveals that India, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka allocated 1 to 2.5 percent of their GDP to military expenditure. In contrast, Pakistan allocates 3% of its GDP for military spending from 2011 to 2021. Therefore, it demonstrates that Pakistan consistently spends more on traditional security in the region than other South Asian countries. The following graph illustrates the military expenditure (percent of GDP) for Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka.

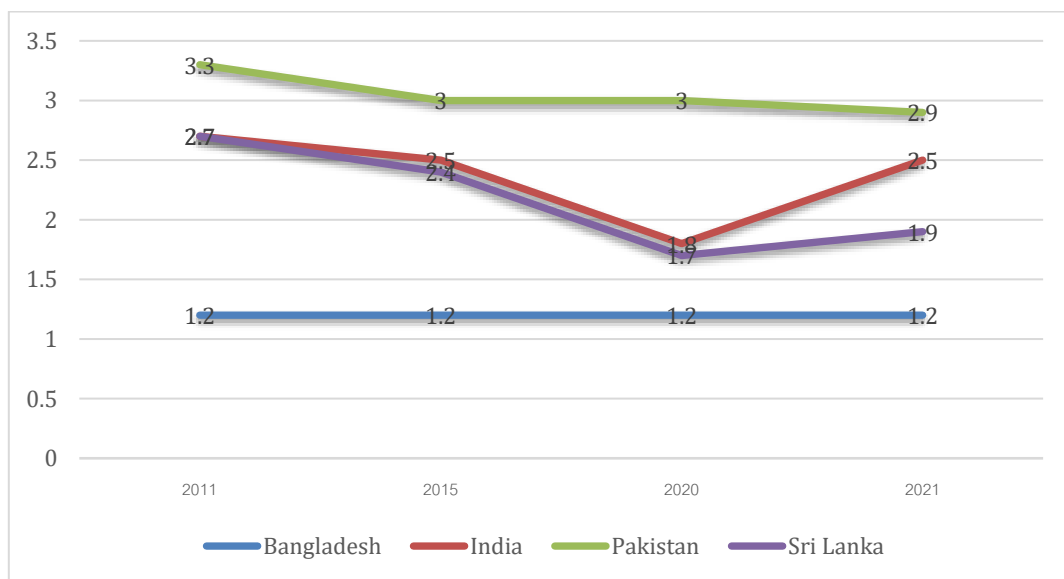


Figure 2 Military expenditure (percent of GDP) - Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka

Source: World Bank (2023b)

### Concept of Human Security and Pakistan

The human security paradigm emerged worldwide with the end of the Cold War. The term was initially introduced in the Human Development Report 1994 by the United Nations Development Programme (United Nations Development Programme, 1994). It encompasses the ideas of freedom from fear, freedom from want, and the freedom to live in dignity. Human security adopts a people-centric approach, prioritizing the security of individuals at the highest level (Rodgers and Crawford, 2023). It is essential to recognize that human security differs from state security. For instance, individuals feel secure when they have sustainable jobs, access to quality food, and the opportunity for quality education, health, and justice. In contrast, insecurity arises when the state prioritizes military strength over the well-being of its people. This occurs when the state neglects to enhance the socioeconomic and political security of its people, resulting in the loss of decent livelihoods and fear related to hunger, inequality, access to quality healthcare, and educational insecurity.

Human security is purposely focused on the people because it considers that people are vulnerable and threatened by events that are beyond their control, like poverty, pandemics, natural disasters, terrorism, and violence (Rodgers and Crawford, 2023). Therefore, the state is responsible for empowering and enhancing the capabilities of its people by developing favorable conditions in which people feel protected and enjoy positive peace and security. Human security emphasizes the importance of the state's role in providing comprehensive security while simultaneously recognizing the limitations of traditional state-centric approaches to security. Human security does not negate the state's role in providing security; instead, it reinforces its responsibility to protect its people's fundamental rights, such as freedom from fear, freedom from want, and the right to live with dignity. In this way, human security provides a more holistic and inclusive framework for understanding and addressing security challenges, one that considers the needs and perspectives of individuals and communities in Pakistan (Shahnawaz, 2022).

This perspective rejects the notion of security limited to traditional security, which emphasizes the accumulation of military power to defend the state's sovereignty and stability and address external threats. Human security also challenges the notion of the

state as an oppressor that wields its power to prioritize military capabilities over the well-being of its people, resulting in socioeconomic and educational insecurity. Given the state's monopoly on power, it protects its citizens from preventable socioeconomic and political insecurities. Therefore, establishing favorable socioeconomic and political conditions that promote inclusive and comprehensive security is necessary to safeguard people from various non-traditional threats and dangers. Furthermore, human security broadens the concept of security by asserting that people's security is equivalent to state security when dealing with traditional and non-traditional threats. Hence, human security primarily addresses threats and insecurities to the well-being of people, ensuring freedom from fear and want and the ability to live with dignity.

### **Unveiling the Impact: Examining the Consequences of Prioritizing State Security over Human Security in Pakistan**

Human security is a people-centered discourse that addresses threats to individuals, communities, and societal well-being by protecting and empowering people to enhance their security. It enables individuals to experience freedom from fear, freedom from want, and the ability to live with dignity, preventing socioeconomic, health, and education insecurities through empowerment and the enhancement of capabilities. In Pakistan, people predominantly suffer from various insecurities, such as poverty, health, and education insecurities, resulting from the deprivation of empowerment and capabilities.

The Human Development Index (HDI) reflects the overall development status of a state by considering key dimensions that contribute to human well-being. The HDI is a composite index that includes indicators in the following three major dimensions:

The HDI includes three key dimensions: Health (Life Expectancy at Birth), reflecting overall population health; Education (Mean and Expected Years of Schooling), indicating educational investment and potential knowledge acquisition; and Standard of Living (Gross National Income - GNI), assessing socioeconomic well-being and material living standards.

The following graph shows the HDI of Pakistan, Bangladesh, India, and Sri Lanka. Pakistan had a lower HDI than Bangladesh, India, and Sri Lanka from 2011 to 2021. It highlights that the decline in human development reveals the lowest point in human security in Pakistan from 2011 to 2021 due to a limited focus and investment in human

security. In the HDI, a lower number indicates a better ranking, while a higher number suggests a lower HDI. The graph illustrates that Pakistan has a lower HDI, ranking 145th in 2011 and 161st in 2021, compared with other South Asia countries, as Sri Lanka ranked 73, India 132, and Bangladesh 129 in 2021.

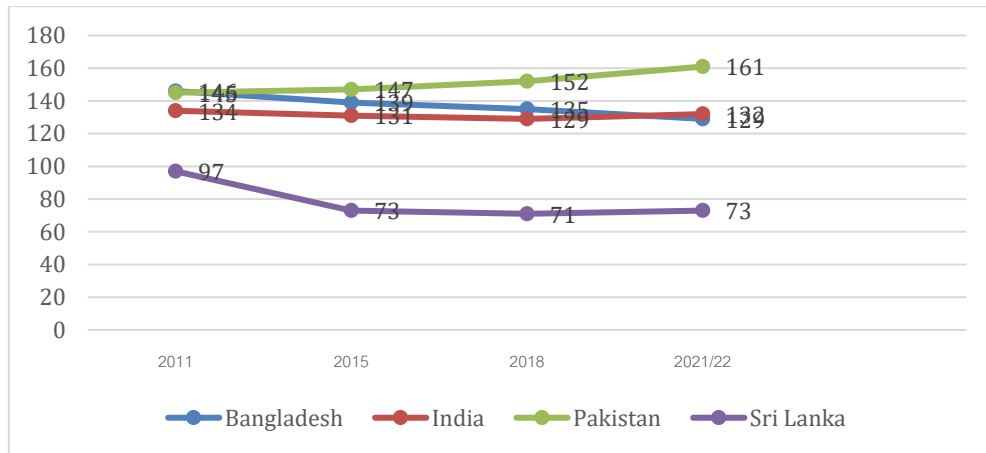


Figure 3. Human Development Index Ranking 2011-2021

Source: United Nations Development Programme, 2011-2021

Furthermore, the Human Development Report for 2011 to 2021 reveals that Pakistan has the lowest life expectancy at birth compared with Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. For example, in 2011, life expectancy at birth was 65 years, which increased to 67 years in 2021, which remains lower than Bangladesh and Sri Lanka.

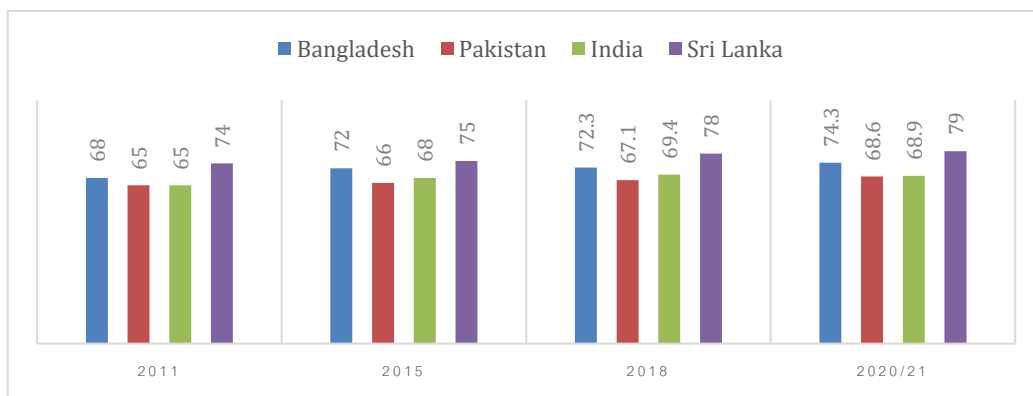


Figure 4. Life expectancy at birth from 2011 to 2021

*Source: United Nations Development Programme<sup>7</sup>*

Life expectancy serves as a multifaceted indicator, reflecting the overall quality of health, socioeconomic development, and quality of life in the population of Pakistan. It provides insights into the human security situation by revealing the effectiveness of healthcare, socioeconomic conditions, and the general well-being of the people.

Both graphs show that Pakistan's human development situation is much worse than other South Asian countries. In contrast, the data indicates that Bangladesh and Sri Lanka are performing better than Pakistan regarding HDI and life expectancy.

Furthermore, in 2020, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) reported that 22.8 million children aged 5-16 in Pakistan are not enrolled in school (UNICEF, 2020). Therefore, this situation reflects Pakistan's poor human security situation, which requires serious attention from the state of Pakistan.

### **Peace and Human Security Situation in Pakistan**

Peace is a key ingredient for human security, providing an atmosphere of absence of violence and helping people to live without fear to empower them. It also allows people to enjoy their freedoms while enhancing their capabilities. The state is a key entity to invest and cultivate the peace-building process through human security, focusing on centering people in Pakistan.

Pakistan is a multi-ethnic country facing various challenges in the cultivation of peace to ensure harmony, equity, and social dialogue to reduce violence and conflicts. Peace cannot be achieved solely through the military; it can be attained through peaceful dialogue, empowering the people, and providing freedom from fear and freedom from want.

From 2011 to 2021, Pakistan allocated 3 percent of its GDP to military spending in pursuit of peace, yet it fell short of achieving negative peace. However, constant political instability, military involvement in politics, and the use of the military to resolve local

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<sup>7</sup> Human Development Report: The Human Development Index (HDI) is a composite statistical measure developed by the United Nations to assess and compare countries' overall development levels. <https://www.undp.org/publications/hdr-2011> (Accessed 18 January 2024).



conflicts and social disputes with an iron fist have triggered militarization and exacerbated the peace situation in Pakistan. According to the Physicians for Social Responsibility report of 2015, Pakistan lost 81 thousand people in the war on terror from 2011 to 2015 (PSR, 2015). In addition, the report also mentioned that the country lost its national economy, amounting to USD 68 billion.

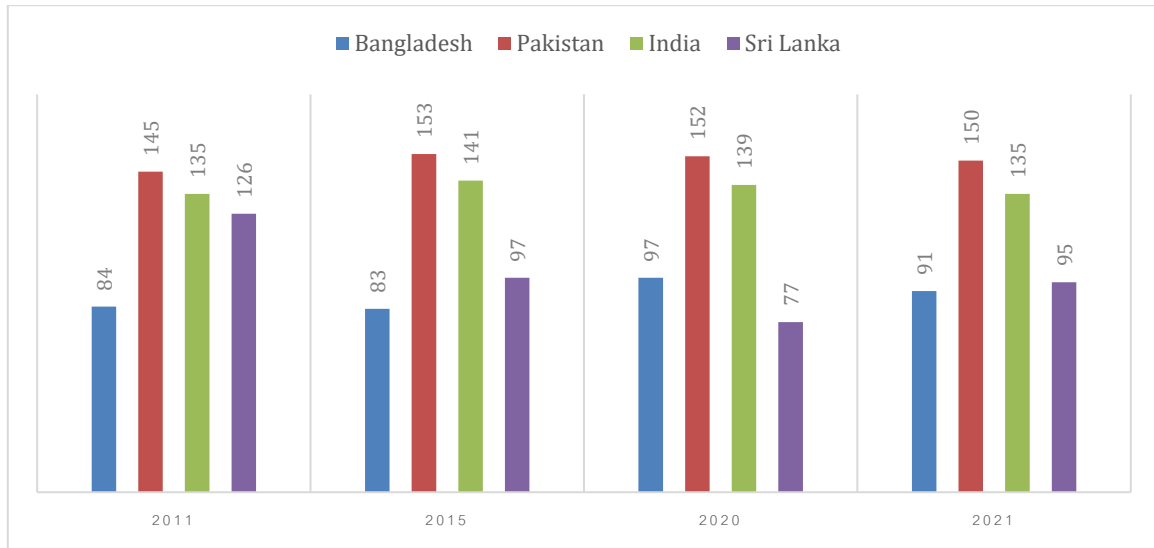


Figure 5. Global Peace Index 2011-21

Source: *Institute for Economics & Peace, 2011 - 2021*

The graphs show Pakistan's peace index compared with other South Asian countries. From 2011 to 2021, Pakistan's rank was higher, rising from 154 to 150 in South Asia. A higher number on the Global Peace Index indicates a worse peace situation with more violence in the country. This situation indicates that Pakistan must balance traditional security, peace, and human development.

Therefore, human security would play a pivotal catalyst for transformative change in Pakistan. By directing attention towards empowering and enhancing the capabilities of its people through education, economic opportunities, and social equity, the nation can ensure that individuals are not only shielded from immediate threats but also equipped with the tools to participate in and contribute to the nation's development actively. This attention, in turn, helps foster peace in Pakistan.

### Terrorism and the Human Security Situation in Pakistan

The rise of global terrorism has triggered significant turmoil for nation-states and people worldwide. Terrorism impacts individuals politically, socially, and economically. The

rise of terrorism does not have a single root cause; instead, it often intensely thrives in conditions of poverty, illiteracy, violence, religious radicalization, and lack of development.

Since the Cold War, Pakistan has remained a victim of terrorism. During the Cold War, Pakistan became a major state that assisted and trained radical Mujahideen<sup>8</sup> with the support of the United States (U.S.) to fight against the Soviet Union from 1979 to 1989. However, with the collapse of the Soviet Union, several Mujahideen permanently married Pakistani citizens and settled in the tribal areas of Pakistan. Later, when the U.S. entered Afghanistan in 2001, these Mujahideen joined forces with the Taliban against both the U.S. and Pakistan.

Furthermore, the U.S. presence in Afghanistan attracted a significant number of foreign terrorists to Pakistan, taking advantage of the human insecurity situation marked by deficiencies in human development, poverty, illiteracy, political instability, and limited opportunities for the youth. This situation led to an increase in the number of Pakistanis joining terrorist groups to fight against both the U.S. and Pakistan.

Therefore, due to Pakistan's war on terror, the country was compelled to reduce the budget allocated for education and development ("Govt to cut HEC", 2018). The local terrorism led to greater migration from tribal areas near Afghanistan to large metropolitan cities, causing issues such as ethnic violence, racism, poverty, and domestic conflicts in major cities in Lahore and Karachi ("Nearly 3,000 killed", 2015).

Moreover, terrorists also targeted schools and markets to spread fear among the people in Pakistan. In 2014, Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) attacked a school in Peshawar and killed 150 children ("Pakistan Taliban", 2014). In 2016, terrorists attacked Bacha Khan University, resulting in the death of 22 students (Saifi, Brumfield & McKirdy, 2016). In 2016, TTP carried out a suicide attack at the civil hospital in Quetta, resulting in the deaths of 70 lawyers who were mourning the death of the President of the Balochistan Bar Association (Shah, 2016). Terrorism not only causes violence but also deeply disrupts the processes of human development, exacerbates poverty, promotes illiteracy, triggers migration, and inflicts trauma upon people. The following graph shows Pakistan's situation compared to other South Asian countries in the region (The lowest data reveals the worst impact of terrorism in

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<sup>8</sup> Mujahideen in its broadest sense are Muslims who fight on behalf of the faith or the Muslim community (ummah). Its Arabic singular, mujāhid, was not an uncommon personal name from the early Islamic period onward. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/mujahideen-Islam> (Accessed 22 January 2024).

the country).

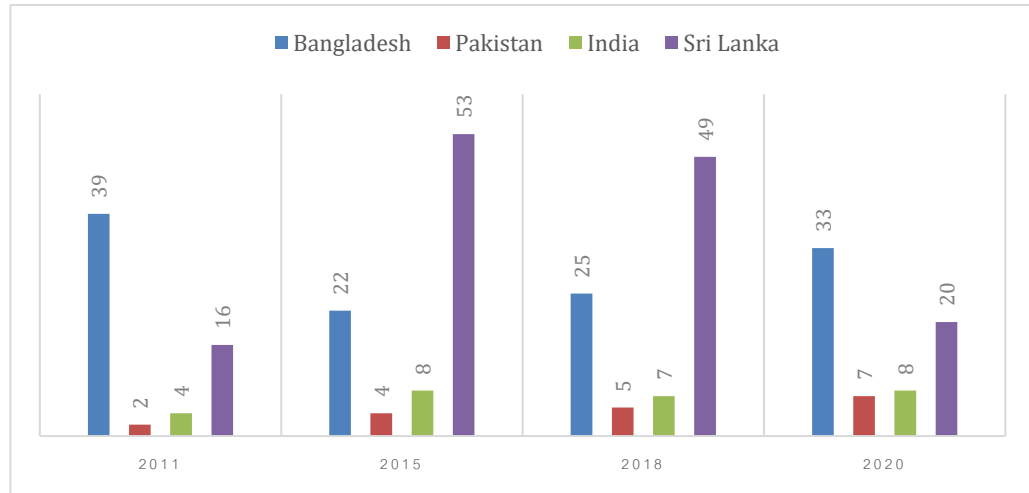


Figure 6. Global Terrorism Index Ranking 2011-2020

Source: Institute for Economics & Peace, 2011 - 2020

After the killing of Osama bin Laden in Pakistan in 2011, the U.S. war on terror came to an end in Afghanistan, and the U.S. withdrew from Afghanistan in 2021. However, after the withdrawal of the U.S., the Taliban took over Afghanistan, resulting in subsequent new waves of terrorism in Pakistan.

Pakistan is predominantly focused on addressing terrorism through traditional security means, consistently allocating 3 percent of its GDP to military expenditure. The country has witnessed a notable increase in military spending, rising from USD 5 billion in 2011 to USD 11.94 billion. However, the terrorism situation remains highly alarming, significantly impeding the human security of people in Pakistan.

Therefore, there is a pressing need for Pakistan to shift its focus toward human security. This approach provides a broader perspective by concentrating on the security of individuals whose well-being has been compromised by terrorism. This shift in strategy can encompass traditional security measures and comprehensive efforts addressing the socioeconomic root causes and consequences of terrorism, ensuring a more holistic approach to safeguarding the people's security.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, the exclusive focus on state security from 2011 to 2021 indirectly exacerbates the human security situation in Pakistan. The Human Development Index from 2011 to 2021 reveals that people in Pakistan are experiencing socioeconomic insecurity, impacting life expectancy, with 22 million children out of school in the country. Furthermore, the Global Peace Index and Terrorism Index from 2011 to 2021 highlight Pakistan's current human insecurity situation as seriously alarming. Therefore, it is significant for Pakistan to strike a balance between state security and human security. By equally prioritizing human security alongside traditional security, the country can enhance capabilities and empower its people, creating an environment where individuals enjoy freedom from fear and want. The shift towards a balanced security approach that addresses both state and human security through a human security lens is indispensable to enhancing Pakistan's comprehensive security. This recalibration holds the potential to improve Pakistan's comprehensive security.

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