1.1 HUMAN SECURITY, DISCOURSE AND PRACTICE

In the contemporary world, two over-arching concepts addressing issues of war, peace and human conditions dominate the global scenario: traditional or classical security and human security. While the concept of traditional security existed and has been practised since World War I, the notion of human security is a recent phenomenon. Traditional security is primarily militaristic and state-centric in nature. It emphasises the importance of territorial integrity, political independence, survivability, and hence, the capability of a state to protect its own citizens.\(^1\) Such security requires the unity and loyalty of the population within the state; even repression has been considered justified if there are threats, real or imagined, to territorial integrity. Human security, on the other hand, is a concept designed to redirect security debates from an exclusively national and military focus toward the daily conditions differently-situated people face in maintaining everyday life and as such, to render them secure. The term “human security” was coined and has gained momentum with the publishing of the *Human Development Report 1994* by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). By definition, the conceptuality of the notion rests on individuals as a point of reference. It embraces two underlying paradigms: firstly, the protection of individuals is a strategic concern for national, as well as, international security; second, security conditions for people’s development are not bound to traditional matters of national defence and law and order, rather they encompass all political, economic and social issues enabling a life free

---

from risk and fear. The potential of human security, as a discourse, became a point of concern and attention in the international community as a result of changing international developments since the end of the Cold War, which has led to the ongoing process of globalisation that symbolises an interdependent world. This changing world order culminated in a general agreement, internationally, that traditional security discourse has its limitations and that there is a need to broaden and deepen the concept of security to take into account global, regional, national and sub-national perspectives. Notwithstanding the consensus on the need for broadening the scope, an uncontroversial and unambiguous definition of human security does not exist to tackle contemporary multi-faceted challenges and threats, ranging from individual to collective ones or, from physical to political to economic, social and environmental ones.

The concept of human security evolved as a process related to the notions of development and security in the 1970s and 1980s. During the 1970s, the launching of the multinational World Order Models Project (WOMP) was supposed to be an ambitious attempt to construct a more stable and just world order in which greater focus was to be laid on problems of individual well-being and safety. During the same decade, the Club of Rome group produced a series of multinational independent commission reports to highlight large global trends and forces and provide an understanding how they affect an individual's life in degrading and disruptive economic, social and environmental systems. It proposed alternative ways of conceptualising global development and security to impact on individual lives. In the 1980s, two other independent commissions contributed to changing development and security concepts: The first was the independent commission on international development issues chaired by Willy Brandt, the so-called 'North-South report'; the second was the independent commission on disarmament and security issues chaired by Olaf Palme. The first commission emphasised the need for adopting the concept of 'comprehensive security', achievable through cooperation and based on principles of equity, justice and reciprocity. It acknowledged that Third World security was

---

Introduction

additionally threatened by ‘poverty and deprivation and by economic inequality. In the early 1990s, the Stockholm Initiative on Global Security and Governance, and the Commission on Global Governance’s report referred to challenges to security other than political rivalry and armaments. These expanded the concept of global security to include the security of people and the security of the planet.\textsuperscript{4}

Thus, while the concept of human security was often mentioned before 1994, the traditional concept of security also underwent re-examination and criticism. Amartya Sen’s\textsuperscript{5} introduction on and expansion of the notion of ‘capability’ and the Human Development Report 1993 of UNDP\textsuperscript{6} first mentioned the concept of human security. The 1994 version of the UNDP Report,\textsuperscript{7} entitled ‘New Dimensions of Human Security’, provided a systematic and a holistic explanation of the issue. While discussing many aspects related to human security the report explicitly focuses on a series of issues related to personal security and global human security. The concept of human security justifies and provides indicators of the risk of national breakdown in the absence of these securities. The report mentions Afghanistan, Angola, Haiti, Iraq, Mozambique, Myanmar, Sudan and Zaire as countries undergoing crises. In essence, it highlights policies for social integration and emphasises the importance of ‘freedom from fear’ and ‘freedom from want,’ the two basic ingredients of human security.\textsuperscript{8} A reiteration of this approach was made at the UN Millennium Summit held in September 2000 where the former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, urged the international community to take action to achieve ‘freedom from want’ (the development agenda) and ‘freedom from fear’ (the security agenda). He noted that security was a precondition for lasting peace and fundamental to achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the full development of human capacities.\textsuperscript{9}


\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{9} Karim Hussein et al, op. cit.}
This concept, as acknowledged, is a broad one and covers too many things and therefore, lacks conceptual clarity. It nonetheless has the advantage of systematically encompassing various issues and so gesturing at its integration and coordination. It provides a view commonly shared by both its supporters and critics that human security is opposed to state-centric traditional concept of security but does not necessarily challenge the state or its militaristic nature. Significantly, it also addresses security measures relating to the governments and intergovernmental agencies, while not ignoring private organisations and individuals, and expects implementation of human security through policies directed at people, not only in the state but also the world.\textsuperscript{10} Further, the policies so promoted do not deny the sovereignty of a state. In fact, by placing the international community's insecurity at the helm of affairs, it emphasises institutionalisation of shared interests, norms, rules and other pluralistic values. And in doing so it emphasises the possibility of utilising international law to enhance security of states.\textsuperscript{11} In this integrative perspective, the concept does not explicitly exclude any method to protect people including use of force.\textsuperscript{12}

As given in the Report, the Human Security concept does not address clearly the difference between human security and human development. This, despite its being premised on the knowledge that human security, either as a prerequisite for or as a necessary accompaniment to human development, is fundamentally pressing. Especially when one is working in post-conflict situations, the link between human security and human development becomes obvious.\textsuperscript{13} But apparent to one is also the fact, especially in developing countries, that development initiatives taken to promote human security often had a negative impact and led to further marginalisation of the citizenry. This points to the different types of threats that influence human security. Threats, according to the UNDP Report, are divided into two basic categories: localised and global. In the first category, threats are particular to different societies or regions of the world and vary by the level of economic development and geographical location. Global threats refer more to incidents in any country, in the international arena, and its spill over effects beyond the

\textsuperscript{10} Hideaki Shinoda, op. cit.
\textsuperscript{11} Sascha Werthes and Tobias Debiel, op. cit.
\textsuperscript{12} Hideaki Shinoda, op. cit.
\textsuperscript{13} Sascha Werthes and Tobias Debiel, op. cit.
The Report refers to seven localised threats that include:

- Threat to economic security: lack of productive and remunerative employment, precarious employment, and absence of publicly financed safety net;
- Threats to food security: lack of food entitlements, including insufficient access to assets, work and assured incomes;
- Threats to health security: infectious and parasitic diseases, diseases of the circulatory system and cancer, lack of safe water, air pollution, and access to health-care facilities;
- Threats to environmental security: declining water availability, water pollution, declining arable land, deforestation, desertification, air pollution, natural disasters;
- Threats to personal security: violent crime, drug trafficking, violence and abuse of children and women;
- Threats to community security: breakdown of the family, collapse of traditional languages and cultures, ethnic discrimination and strife, genocide and ethnic cleansing;
- Threats to political security: government repression, systematic human rights violation, militarism

Global or transnational threats are grouped as follows:

- Population growth which increases the pressure on non-renewable resources and is linked intimately to globalisation, environmental degradation and international migration;
- Growing disparities in global income leading to over consumption and over production in industrialised countries and poverty and environmental degradation in the developing world;
- Increasing international migration as a function of population growth; poverty and the policies of industrial countries have contributed to the flow of refugees and lead to internally displaced persons;
- Various forms of environmental decay (that among other things cause acid rain, skin cancer, and global warming) as well as reduced biodiversity, and the destruction of wetlands, coral reefs, temperate forests and tropical rainforests;

14 UNDP, op. cit.
- Drug trafficking, which has grown into a global, multinational industry;
- International terrorism, which has spread from Latin America in the 1960s to become a global phenomenon;

These threats are largely dependent on the strategic placing of states and the growing agendas of multilateral regimes. They are contingent upon how a particular nation-state, given its economic and political leverage in international community, responds to such threats or intervenes in the form of aid or assistance. Often, and as seen, assistance or calling on the commonly shared human security, if at all, is not without political and economic advantages. The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank (IMF/WB) loans and structural adjustment programmes have shown that assistance extended is not without conditionalities which are more attuned to political and economic gains of the donors. In most of the Third World countries, structural adjustment reforms and liberalisation have induced massive displacement and expropriation of selected communities, unpredictable cycles of fiscal largesse and withdrawal, and immiserisation of vulnerable communities and groups as a consequence of ongoing global development agenda.¹⁵ These programmes and development have triggered local and global human insecurities, which are by design interrelated and have a cause and effect relationship. Additionally, the creation of the World Trade Organisation and the ongoing unleashed hegemony of the corporatisation of the world are global designs which negatively affect individuals, regardless of their dwelling. Such institutionalised frameworks have contributed significantly to the insecurities mentioned above, either through patents rights or agricultural commodities, medicines, genetically modified seeds and corporate farming.¹⁶ Hitherto, these global acts have created a chain reaction leading to widespread diseases, morbidity or unemployment, poverty, an offshoot of which causes migration, trafficking of all kinds, violence in all its forms inter alia. It seems doubtful if the countries included as global powers or the corporate sector are willing to reposition themselves to accommodate the human values projected by

the concept of human security. As a matter of fact, the control and consolidation of these actors appear to strengthen progressively and more vigorously the designed agenda in contemporary situations. It is here where the contentious and ambiguous nature of the concept lies, especially with reference to its appropriateness in terms of impartial and unconditional applicability.

Referring especially to the Third World countries, Tariq Banuri identifies on four main processes which generate insecurity in the name of development or security:

First, insecurity is a structural condition of our times. Insecurity is not an aberration restricted to poor countries or to selected areas, or to limited episodes. It defines the nature of existence in the modern world. The most pronounced and common features witnessed are escalation in civic and political conflicts, signifying millions of civilian casualties, unprecedented number of rape incidents, injury, dislocation, loss of economic livelihood, torture by state authorities, use of oppressive laws, mob action and common violent crimes. All of these produce uncertainty and insecurity in the lives of ordinary humans.

Second, insecurity is the leading cause of violence. Insecurity produces paranoia, a structural feature of contemporary times. It has led to violence against society, against others (minorities, women, ethnic groups, communities), against nature, and even against ourselves. Not only does a violent society build barriers against others, it also provides the justification for unprovoked and unfettered violence.

Third, every response to insecurity produces new forms of insecurity. The traditional Muslim who is afraid of being dominated by the Westernised elite finds refuge in a militant form of fundamentalism which oppresses women, minorities, and others. The Israeli who fears losing to Palestinians picks up the gun against his own compatriots. The American or the Frenchman who sees the prospects of a good life slipping through his fingers turns his hatred against the immigrant from Latin America or the Maghreb.

Fourth, the leading contributor to insecurity is the injustice inherent in the idea of development. As a leading development economist, Gerald Meier puts it, the idea of development was developed 'by colonial economics out of political expediency'. It is based on the expropriation of the rights of rural communities, on the institutionalisation of injustice through an aggressive use of state power, on the preference for an

17 Tariq Banuri, op. cit.
organised mode of existence over one which is more in harmony with the rhythms of nature, and on the legitimisation of the political and economic role of the outsider. This cannot be sustained without creating uncertainty and unpredictability in people’s lives. These realities in many countries question, in practice, the way security issues are handled which continue to be primarily state-oriented, and implies that security between states remains a necessary condition for the security of people.

The debate is further complicated by difficulty in developing an analytical framework in relation to perceived peace and security issues and suggesting how different actors would try to respond to it when confronted with threats to human security. “Different arguments have been put forward to explain the inclusion of human security in the ‘high politics’ of international development. A neo-realist account of international relations has underscored how the values enshrined in this concept can be perceived as serving the foreign policy interests of medium-sized powers on the international stage, which seek to strengthen their influence and position in the international system. On the other hand, a social constructivist perspective of international relations has highlighted the role played by global institutions, international organisations, NGOs, the media, and civil society actors, for example, in shaping the interests and priorities of states, toward the promotion of humanitarianism. Other accounts have claimed that the explanation rests in a combination of these two perspectives given the particular historical context of the last two decades. The dramatic changes provoked by the events of 11 September 2001, on the international scene are likely to undermine the promotion of the human security agenda putting more emphasis back on traditional security matters.”

In the same stream of argument, Sascha Werthes and Tobias Debiel argue that the human security concept attempts to address various safety nets through multilateral processes which mark the patterns of interdependence that characterise the globalised world. The danger with such an approach points to its selective acceptance and production, including particular states and multilateral actors to fulfil certain functions in the process of agenda-setting, decision-making and implementation. This may partially explain the reasons for its political attention and popularity despite the criticism made of its conceptual

---

19 Sascha Werthes and Tobias Debiel, op.cit.
framework. Secondly, linking human security to human rights is a formidable issue, especially when linked to its potential and limits in comparing the European human security doctrine with US national security strategy. How do we then, determine its practical implications for activities in the policy fields of human development, human rights and even humanitarian interventions?

These situations, as observed, emanate from the interplay of market forces, centralisation of the state, poor governance, the aggressive drive for control, the legitimisation of the outsider without fear of accountability or responsibility and various forms of oppressive politics. Hideaki Shinoda\(^{20}\) cites the case of government of Canada, under the leadership of former Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy who emphasised the military aspect of human security, so that it could defend humanitarian interventions like the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia in 1999. Likewise, the governments of the United States and Great Britain that led the 2003 Iraq war did not speak of human security, but instead justified their use of force by declaring Saddam Hussein’s regime was inhumane and repressive and had denied fundamental human rights to its citizenry. This also includes US opposition to the International Criminal Court (ICC), evidence on extra-legal detentions in the ‘war on terror’. In particular, one sees that the fight against terrorism has dominated the global agenda, including that of OECD countries since late 2001. Donor development cooperation and security policies have begun to reemphasise the physical and military components of security and have incorporated an ‘anti-terror dimension’ which also affect the targeting of aid.\(^{21}\) These eventualities have led more to insecurities which are reactionary in nature and could result in induced interests in making progress towards addressing human security. On the other hand, a few countries such as Pakistan have become critical allies in the global war against terrorism due to their geographical location and other socio-political characteristics. In short, the current security paradigms operate or function within the realm of power politics and place the international community’s insecurity at the helm of affairs.\(^{22}\) Such security pursuits not only accentuate power, but also emphasise the role of international law enhancing the security of the state to address security threats.

\(^{20}\) Hideaki Shinoda, op. cit.
\(^{21}\) Karim Hussein et al, op. cit.
\(^{22}\) Sascha Werthes and Tobias Debiel, op.cit.
Despite of these factors which have contributed to the debate on human security doctrine, there are signs of change in the discourse of policy goals. As an example, reference can be made to Japan’s development policy, Canada’s foreign policy and Switzerland’s political affairs department that incorporated human security as one of their core principles and facilitated a more people-centred, bottom-up approach in the field of international assistance and international security policy. It has taken different security concepts such as the cause of common, extended, and comprehensive security and has broadened its contextual focus. Further, the current debate on state sovereignty and intervention strongly leans on the idea that states bear a responsibility to protect the security of their citizens. It suggests that in failing to do so, they may face serious responses from the international community. These developments, however, have, so far, not seen a substantive shift in international relations towards norm-based performance. Nonetheless, OECD countries like Norway, Canada and Japan and United Nations bodies have contributed to placing human security firmly on the global political and development agenda. Likewise, despite lack of conceptual clarity and constructional constraints, human security has been finding a place in regional security discourses. Civil society organisations have been instrumental in conceptualising their concerns through their national and transnational networking on issues related to human rights and development.

Against the backdrop of the debates generated about harbouring people-centrism, based on the norms and values of human rights, this volume focuses on the South Asian region, particularly on Pakistan. Given the legacy of its colonial past, Pakistan, has remained fraught with nationalistic, ideological, ethnic and religious daunting since its birth. State politics are premised on oppressive measures and the army has had a formidable influence in politics. Any work carried out on the basis of human rights and democratic norms is difficult, the veneer of democracy given by the present government under General Pervez Musharraf, and, of course including the earlier military regimes. State security is the exclusive prerogative of the military which steadfastly operates on the basis of the classical concept of security. The rationale of this discourse is justified on the premise of the country’s geo-political positioning globally and its strained relations with neighbouring countries. In essence, the national scenario marks Pakistan’s ongoing,

23 Ibid.
volatile relation with India well-manifested in the three wars between the two countries which also led to the cessation of Pakistan's East wing, as well as its continuing border skirmishes. This also includes the strained relations with India over the issue of Kashmir. Of recent, Pakistan has been confronted with the political juggling over the activities of the Taliban in Afghanistan and the so-called Al Qaeda dissidents in northwestern Pakistan which has become target areas of the American policy of the 'war against terror' which Pakistan is a frontline supporter. Such political and militaristic engagements and partnerships influence donor choices over the allocation of resources, leaning towards monetary gains, which may go against the welfare of the common citizen and which cast doubt on the legitimacy and neutrality of the interventions.

Pakistan's political, economic and social structures provide an outstanding example of a country entrapped in a situation marred by global structural adjustment programmes and liberalisation of economies benefiting the rich and adding to the widening disparity between the rich and the poor. The spread of such influences exhibits weak internal political situation of a country which allows unlimited interference of powerful nations, especially the United States, that intervene, determine and design its state politics. Given Pakistan's security policies, which are militaristic in nature, the major chunk of its GNP is expended on upholding its military infrastructure and on paying off debts to the IMF/WB. As a result, a deplorable share is all that is left for the development and social sectors. This situation has had a devastating impact on the socio-economic conditions of its citizenry. It has had a long lasting impact on its economy along with deterioration environmental conditions. The combination of these factors has had an adverse impact on sectors such as agriculture, forestry, fisheries and the undue expansion of the corporate sector, to mention only a few, directly impacting on people’s livelihoods, incomes, health and other elements that provide human security to citizens both at the individual and national levels. Consequently, the country presents a unique combination of rising economic growth and rising poverty. It is a country whose locomotive is entirely donor driven. Widespread inequity has led to social strife and rampant violence leading to crime, provincial disharmony, terrorism, trafficking, violence of all kinds, militarism and systematic repression and violation of human rights and almost all the insecurities that the UNDP 1994 report highlighted.

Overall, the combination of domestic problems compounded by various aspects of globalisation has triggered a process, that has put
the country into a downward swing. Last but not the least, there is lack of deliberate efforts to reconstruct institutional and structural framework which are pro-people and within the realm of rule of law, promoting effective human rights and security. In short, the current national situation of Pakistan depicts a grim picture, and one wishes for some positive aspects that could be added to it, given the fact that it is a land of great potential, offering four seasons and fertile lands with the possibilities and opportunities of plentitude to allow its citizens to lead secure lives.

Given the limitations of the present volume and the magnitude of the human security problems in Pakistan, we have selected six topics, which were considered crucial for deliberating well-being of its citizenry. These chapters, it is hoped, will help facilitate informed consultation and decision-making at all levels. The volume endeavours to raise strategic questions and identify key challenges to the development of a country-approach to security in Pakistan. The book seeks to stimulate debate for informed policy making. It also seeks to foster information sharing to feed into new strategies and programmes in support of the security agenda.

Chapter 2 of this volume 'Governance, Democracy and Human Rights: Lurking echoes', defines the essentials of governance. The chapter surveys the historical underpinning of centralised (mis)governance since the creation of the country. It argues that the creation of Pakistan was based more on ethnic considerations than on the religious sentiment had which led to the struggle for a separate homeland. Ruling governments since Jinnah’s regime to the present followed a set pattern of colonial mindset, marked by authoritarian and state-centric modes of controlling state resources and the people. The military, the bureaucracy and the feudal class, continue to buttress authoritarian governments in pursuance of self interests and to retain control, for which it discourages democracy and human rights. The military, well-organised and given considerable powers, has led the country for a large part of its chequered history and has played a major role in shaping state politics. Short-lived democratic regimes or any initiatives indicating democratic values and norms have been undertaken with the intention of safeguarding and perpetuating its control and power. This has led to socio-economic disparities, social strife, provincial animosities, rampant corruption and violence and alienation and the hatred of the masses for their leaders. The article concludes that the
follies can be removed only if the rule of law prevails signifying and through democratic setup and a representative government which commands much more credibility than a military regime.

Chapter 3 on ‘The Dilemmas of Water and Human security’, talks of this commodity as essential and a pre-requisite to human security and survival. In section one, the chapter explains its requirement at different levels: as a basic human need; as a precursor to sustainable livelihoods, productive economic gains, good health and other related factors. It provides arguments, through a structured process to show how, the issue of water and its distribution has been politicised. It gives a run down on how in the past one hundred years the world population has tripled as a result of which the demand for water has risen six times putting this commodity under severe threat of over-exploitation. Section 2 highlights steps taken by the international community in recognising water as a natural and scarce commodity which needs to be conserved. The discussion focuses on different international conventions on water to underscore the basic points of law that have developed over the years for sharing trans-boundary watercourses. Section 3 deliberates on various issues about water and their effects on human life, compartmentalising and explaining impact, while talking about the outcome of observations of prevailing policies and practices. Section 4 explains the over-arching Indus river system, emplacement of its tributaries, the quantum of water flows, topographical characteristics and other related variables. It expounds the basis of the regional conflict between India and Pakistan and traces the course of events to the present and stand off. The India-Pakistan water dispute and the role of Kashmir in that dispute is the sub-theme of the chapter. In Section 5, the water disputes within the country is explored. It traces, in detail, the history of the provincial water dispute between Sindh and Punjab, the various commissions setup for resolving it and their outcomes: details of contentious projects and the positions taken by the provincial governments on issues of water; and the objections raised on legal, technical, moral and rights-based grounds. The concluding section talks about the dangers of water scarcity in Pakistan and to some extent in India which can lead to further conflicts between the two countries and to the adverse and violent consequences and insecurities in all their manifestations.

Chapter 4 on ‘Pakistan’s Food security: Unnecessary Risks and Potential Prospects’ primarily focuses on agriculture and not on other
important sources of food security such as livestock. It puts forth the view that the South was always food self-sufficient. Food insecurity arose with colonisation which led to exportation by force, diverting food production from domestic needs for cash crops to obtaining foreign exchange in return for technology and expertise. Because of the World Bank’s insistence on building dams to gear up production of export crops and energy, considered essential for industrialisation and modernisation, Pakistan and most other developing countries were forced to take up the path of food dependency. As a result, the country has been relegated to a state of helplessness, where its masses encounter hunger and unemployment. Food or lack of it is now a weapon with which weaker nations are being manipulated into submission to meet the hegemonic objectives of the North. The use of Pakistan as a frontline state by the United States for furthering other interests is the prime reason that has sustained military governments in the country. And by becoming a signatory to the World Trade Organisation Pakistan has lost its sovereignty, producing human insecurities vertically and horizontally. As a concluding note, an explanation is provided in this chapter on how to salvage the situation by returning to small-scale traditional farming and agro-forestry or organic farming.

Chapter 5 on ‘Education Reforms in Pakistan: Challenges and Prospects’ examines the connections between education and human security, which is termed as immediate and direct. It gives a detailed account of how education is essential for the quality of life, employment generation and the political system and for resolving ongoing conflicts and violence and for the country’s relationship with the global community and augmenting its capacity to meet the challenges of globalisation. In discussing the nitty-gritty of the education system from primary to higher, it takes note of the quality of the education system that will ultimately determine and promote human security and the international standing of the country. The chapter is divided into two main sections. The first deals with primary and secondary education. It examines current figures on existing school, enrolment and considers government spending levels as a function of time, amongst other. In addressing the question of relevance and goals, it deliberates on one goal in particular which has been handed down traditionally. This is to be found in madrassas, which have exploded in numbers in the last two decades. An apparently different set of goals is to be found in the public schools of Pakistan. These are forms of modern, universal, education and
supposedly different from the religious goals of the madrassas. However, the madrassas and schools are strikingly similar in terms of the mindset they produce in their students. Anecdotal and quantitative evidence are provided to assess the quality of the education offered in them.

The chapter argues that structural problems account for the failure to build good primary and secondary education systems in Pakistan. These are identified as: political and bureaucratic interference, lack of merit-based appointments, corruption in awarding contracts, lack of accountability and sound management practices, lack of internationally comparable learning outcome standards, and lack of cost-efficient and high quality teacher and staff training. The upshot of rampant corruption and mismanagement is a crisis of quality. The issue of reforming the system is brought up. The chapter discusses four crucial action areas: (a) reforming the national curriculum, which is federally set in Islamabad for the whole country, and is inappropriate for creating a modern citizenry; (b) textbook writing and production, which is still controlled by vested interests and ideologues; (c) The examination system, whose reform is vital if rote-based learning is to be phased out; and (d) teacher training. Specific recommendations are provided, and argued. This section concludes that the state's administrative apparatus has become unwieldy, inefficient, and corrupt. Thus, there is but one way to go—citizens of Pakistan must take upon themselves the task of educating their young. The state must be a partner—not the master, owner, and administrator. Community participation is identified as the key ingredient to success.

The structure of higher education is the focus of the second section. It notes that there has been phenomenal increase in the higher education budget over the last 3 years to an extent unmatched anywhere else in the world—indeed spending on universities, colleges, and research has increased by 12 times. Pakistan thus provides a fascinating example of what happens when money is suddenly pumped into a system that has been barely functional. This section presents a historical overview and defines four purposes for which a university exists, and creates a template by which issues of quality can be meaningfully addressed. An assessment of Pakistani university campuses is made to gauge the social environment, state of ethics, cultural and political activity, physical state of campuses, academics and the research they carry out, etc. Further, the impact of the current
reforms is discussed within the realm of plusses and minuses. On the plus side, internet connectivity in universities has been substantially expanded; distance education is being pursued through the newly established Virtual University; a digital library is in operation; some foreign faculty have been hired; students are being sent abroad for PhD training (albeit mainly to second rate institutions); some links with foreign institutions now exist; and money for scientific equipment is no longer a problem. On the negative side, the main issues projected include over-expansion in number of universities without regard to essential needs like faculty and facilities; setting of false numerical targets; funding fraudulent "research" schemes and degeneration of academic ethics. An alternative strategy for higher education reform is proposed. The author argues that resource management, rather than resource availability, is the real problem and suggests specific measures to deal with student and faculty selection.

Chapter 6 on 'Women, Violence and Rights: The Case of Pakistan', dwells on the inferior status accorded to women in Pakistani society and shows how they are marginalised in all spheres of life through denial of basic human rights. The overarching factors determining such tendencies are embedded in sustained and systematic barriers that disallow women access to the public space. The factors behind women's lower status are deeply entrenched in underlying structure at three levels of the society, legal system and policy practices, namely, patriarchy, traditional customs and norms and the parallel judicial system prevalent in the country. These factors reinforce each other through the collusion of various formal and informal institutions that discipline the behaviour and attitudes of women in both public and private spheres. The thrust of the chapter is on examining patriarchy's control over women's behaviour through violence and on how institutionalisation of this phenomenon at the national level, especially through the process of Islamisation, has relegated women to commodities controlled by males. In support of this argument, various concepts of patriarchy, violence and disciplinary power are brought forth to understand how hegemonic power and structures are created and practiced to perpetuate this culture of violence, dominance and repression. In this context, reference is made to the informal (Jirga/panchayat) and formal judicial systems that have been brought together to uphold a parallel judiciary system which has resulted in contradictory judgments and a schizophrenic judiciary.
The chapter has a specific section on the process of Islamisation and its impact on women. It begins by giving a historical account of the role of religious movements in South Asia and their impact on social and political freedoms in conjunction with religious theology, and state policies, and the way they have the homogenised lives. Within Pakistan, it traces the gradual, Islamisation of laws, leading to the full implementation of these laws by General Zia-ul-Haq, during his rule (1977-88). In the process all forms of violence and cultural practices that have created havoc in the lives of women, leading to thousands of killings, not to mention the direct and indirect repression, trauma and fear. Specific details are provided about the repressive Hudood Laws and how they invariably target women as offenders. A detailed account of the acts of violence, suppression, material violence and honour killings, to mention only a few practices that oppress women, form the central focus of the chapter. Towards its end, different cases are cited, indicating the way minorities are marginalised through the Blasphemy Law, and how situations are created to deny them equal rights. In the concluding section, the authors recommend forming a bottom-up structure for promoting a gender-neutral environment and for social change that upholds egalitarianism.

Chapter 7 dealing with 'Poverty: The Irony of Development' deliberates on the concept and definition of poverty and discusses the multi-faceted nature of poverty which makes it problematic. The authors argue that inequality and poverty are separate issues, although it is widely accepted that reduction in inequality also reduces poverty. It demonstrates that trying to identify the poor is not enough for understanding the nature of poverty and therefore, measurement of it plays an important role in defining policies and strengthening the fight against poverty. It is acknowledged that estimates of poverty are among the most significant indicators related to human security. These estimates not only reflect the governing structures and the related distribution of state resources but also deliberate on the ruling government priorities manifested in development policies. Different sections of the chapter refer to the commonly accepted relationship between poverty and economic growth and make a case against it to show that mere economic growth is not enough for poverty alleviation and human development. In particular, the chapter relates poverty to such important socio-economic factors such as health, education, demographic trends, urbanisation, and unemployment, which largely
define the very basics of any notion of human security. In analysing these structural and socio-economic factors that perpetuate poverty, interrelationship is created with macroeconomic performance; assessment of the various national policies designed for poverty alleviation and the role of International Financial Institutions (IFIs) and other donor agencies in setting the agenda for development in Pakistan. The authors conclude by expressing grave concern at the sorry state of the poor and the insular position of the government to such afflictions. Remedial alternatives suggested reject the involvement of the international agencies that spearhead and design the country's poverty reduction strategies and other development policies and agendas. Indigenising the poverty process through mobilising the community for fighting poverty is shown to be the only way out.

1.2 CONCLUSION
Pakistan currently does not have a national and institutionalised human security framework or one that is state-sponsored. The only organisation that promotes human security is the non-government Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP) which highlights security issues and creates awareness, along with a few other Civil Society Organisations. However, changing political, economic and security circumstances have obliged Pakistan, along with other South Asian countries, to consider some degree of reform through its various institutions. These are, however, piecemeal and narrowly-focused, do not mark the dominant character and concerns of state security or its traditional manifestations. Reluctance to change could possibly be due to the fact human security discourse affects the core of state institutions and modifies power relations between policy makers, communities and interest groups. It also involves the entire decision-making process, the role of the armed forces and its relations with civil society.24

In Pakistan, a country security framework on Human Security needs to take place to generate a debate on what security and human security means, what priorities need to be considered and integrated at the national policy and non-state levels to uphold human security in the national agenda, what the roles and responsibilities of the state and non-state actors are to ensure well-being, what the potential of the country is as a whole and what mechanisms can be utilised for

24 Karim Hussein et al, op.cit.
managing such an approach. Certainly, as the situation stands, there is a strong need to evolve different capacity building programmes at the national and regional levels if they are to have a lasting impact on the civilian security structure.

Regional cooperation and economic integration, on the other hand, are ways to avoid marginalisation and enhance economic stability, and foster development and share a common people's vision. However, the first important issue is to consider if the South Asian states are capable of joining hands to solve common problems without resorting to external partners. Currently, implementation of such a framework at the national and regional levels has been hampered by weaknesses of national institutions, lack of political will, and marginalised civil society. SAARC, weak in its present form and impact, primarily because of the conflicting positions of India and Pakistan, has caused insecurities that are far more worrying at the human level. SAARC is indeed aware of the fact that regional cooperation and its various goals can be attained only in an environment of peace and stability. SAARC countries need to learn from the creation of the European Union, at least in terms of boosting regional strength which signifies togetherness. Needless to say, that working together towards reconciling the expectations of populations and the goals of states concerning security should emerge as a priority for all stakeholders. Enhancing capacities and gradually and systematically transforming a series of ad hoc initiatives to more sustained and formidable cooperation is the only hope South Asia has as a region. Pakistan can contribute to it only when democracy returns through a popular government in its true spirit.