

PAKISTAN'S PARADIGM SHIFT FROM TRADITIONAL TO NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY: AN ANALYSIS

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Abstract

Since its inception, traditional security considerations have largely driven Pakistan's national security orientation. Traditional security focuses on military aspects of national security, addressing the domain of direct strategy. Contextually, traditional imperatives such as the Indian factor, nuclear domain and conventional dimension have been the dominant themes of the country's national security architecture. However, the emergence of the National Security Policy in 2022 can be termed a watershed moment in its national security history. The document entails a paradigm shift in its security orientation. That is to say, shift from state-centric security to human-centric security. It recognizes the contemporary imperatives such as economic security, climate security, cyber space security and human resource development as the state's top most priorities. In this context, the paper examines Pakistan's paradigm shift from traditional to non-traditional security as an aspired reality complemented by securitization theory and a human security approach to international security based on mixed methodology.

Keywords: NSP 2022, Cyber Security, Climate Security, Human centric Security

Introduction

Pakistan's security policy has been largely geared toward addressing traditional security challenges emerging from its country's borders throughout history. For instance, the biggest traditional security threats to Pakistan was Indian military aggression, while non-traditional threat (indirect strategy/sub-conventional warfare), though they existed alongside, exponentially strengthened after Pakistan commissioned nuclear weapons. Hence, the paradigm of overall security threats to

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Pakistan also evolved as nontraditional security threats spread in strength largely in Pakistan, especially in areas like Baluchistan and FATA. However, Pakistan's susceptibility in the realm of internal security threats and, terrorism emerged post 9/11 and remains the most prominent. In the aftermath of the Afghan War, instability quickly crept into Pakistan's borders, poisoning the country's entire length and breadth. According to Major General Babar Iftikhar, spokesman for ISPR, the country has lost 83,000 lives in the fight on terror, whereas the economic damage was over US\$126 billion.¹ In 2001, Pakistan opted to join the Global War on Terrorism (GWOT) primarily in Afghanistan and provided steadfast assistance to the US-led coalition that aggravated the crisis. The Bureau of Investigative Journalism (TBIJ) estimates that the US has carried out at least 430 drone strikes in Pakistan since 2004. In this war, Syed argues, "Pakistan has suffered more casualties than all NATO countries combined."² The repercussions of this Pakistan-US alliance were also contained under the canopy of a terrorist organization, such as the TTP (Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan). TTP carried out terrorist activities and severely degraded Pakistan's internal security situation. Another battle-hardened group, ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria), held its foothold in Afghanistan along Pakistan's western border, with the possibility to spill over into Pakistan thus worsening Pakistan's internal security and adding the threat of religious extremism. Moreover, all the internal security threats (non-traditional) are indicative of an emerging internal threat rather than traditional threats. As Pakistan's paradigm shift from traditional to non-traditional security threats was realized, the focus rightly transited from geo-strategic to geo-economics. Hence, the question is which factors are involved in the process of focusing on economic security?

Literature Review

According to Savigny and Marsden, security is one of the most significant issues in international relations. Currently, security includes "not only military challenges and the balance of power in the international sphere, but also the security of each citizen within a nation."³ Security is a controversial and complex term. Countries invest significant amounts of money to maintain their security, based on the threat perception. Security officials pay more emphasis to current and evident conflicts, as well as the potential of such disputes. In general, these are related to military

¹ Sana Jamal, "83,000 Lives Lost in Pakistan's War on Terrorism," *Gulf News*, January 12, 2021, <https://gulfnews.com/world/asia/pakistan/>

² Maria Syed, "Need for a Paradigm Shift in Security: Adopting Human Security in Pakistan," *IPRI Journal*: (2014) 91.

³ Heather Savigny and Lee Marsden, "Doing Political Science and International Relations: Theories in Action," *Palgrave Macmillan* (2011), 14.

conflicts, and a large portion of national budgets is devoted on developing security capabilities to respond to potential threats. For example, "an average of 2.9 percent of every nation's Gross Domestic Product was invested on defense" at the global level in 1996.⁴

Nation-states are also constantly attempting to comprehend and react to various developing threats. Booth believes that⁵ people have achieved the extraordinary capacity to cause significant harm to their neighbouring humans and to the natural world on which humans are completely reliant. Security is a discourse about vulnerability that has been amplified.⁶ The vulnerability evaluation is based on the likelihood of threats to a nation. In the same way, security considers the danger of exposure, vulnerability to damage, and the ability to restore. The traditional understanding of security has been that other countries threaten a country's security.

Non-traditional security, on the other hand, recognizes that the danger to a nation-state can emerge from a variety of causes other than military; for instance, environmental hazards stem from man's relationship with nature. National security encompasses more than just defending a country from violence perpetrated by other countries at the borders; it also includes threats from individuals who inadvertently or by their actions damage or endanger states.⁷ Humans purposefully inflict these hazards on their fellow humans. Non-traditional security refers to a wide range of hazards posed by natural catastrophes, climate change, illness, poverty, and hunger, among other things, that can happen even when people do not intend to create them but pose a risk to national security.⁸

Following the attacks of September 11, 2001 the security dynamics changed and thus also the response strategy of the nation states. The authors have used the deterrence theory and stated that the fourth wave of deterrence theory has broadened its concept of deterrence security by including non-traditional threats as a crucial component of security strategy. Terrorism, nuclear warfare, cyber dangers, water security, human security, and energy issues, among other things, are now included in the boarder perspective of security. Pakistan is currently reevaluating and reorganizing its security tactics in order to safeguard the country from

⁴ Jon Barnett, "Tyndall Centre Working Paper No 7," *Macmillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies*, (October 2001).

⁵ Ken Booth, *Theory of World Security* (Cambridge University Press (2007), 1.

⁶ Jon Barnett, "Security and Climate Change," *Global Environmental Change* 13(1):7-17, April 2003.

⁷ Josh Busby, "Climate Change and National Security: An Agenda for Action," *Council on Foreign Relations*, 2008, <https://ciaotest.cc.columbia.edu/wps/cfr/>.

⁸ Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver, and Jaap de Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998), 71.

these entities. However, more intentional and tangible measures are required to address the internal and external causes that are gradually but steadily eroding the status quo.⁹

The current focus shift from traditional security to human security is academical and political concern. Military interventions are the priority in traditional security policies, yet they are ineffective inappropriately reacting to the most urgent dangers to individual security worldwide. Traditional security risks have exacerbated individual security difficulties. Internal displacement has developed a way of life in South Asia, and it is a common occurrence in conflict-torn areas around the world. Minority disputes, religious and ethnic schisms, political oppression, sovereignty aspirations, famines, earthquakes, terrorism, a dearth of development initiatives, and the IDPs problems have all contributed to the difficulty of South Asia's obviously deteriorating human security situation. Pakistan has been dealing with the IDP issue for a long time, which is a threat to human security and indeed a domain of national security, and it has proven challenging for Pakistan's government to adequately address the problem. As the reinstatement of IDPs as well as restoration of their areas following the Swat military operation in 2009 neared completion, the Pakistani military settled to cleanse out all terrorist organizations and launched the military operation 'Zarb-e-Azb' in North Waziristan Agency in 2014. Pakistan is facing a massive displacement problem, with about one million people displaced as a result of those operations. Internal displacement is examined as a non-traditional security threat that presents a severe danger to the global security of South Asia in general, and Pakistan's domestic security in particular.¹⁰

Pakistan has the world's seventh-largest army, yet it was also one of the world's 20 most fragile countries in 2018. Pakistan occupies a geostrategic location as well as position in South Asia. Traditionally, national security of Pakistan has been examined from geostrategic and geopolitical viewpoints; however, with the predominance of economic issues, the geo-economic approach has assumed the leading role in examining Pakistan's national security. For economic development, most developing countries rely largely on foreign resources and regional connectivity, but both might compromise national security in one way or the other and Pakistan is not an exceptional in this regard. The article examined the threats to Pakistan's national security by concentrating on rising Pakistan-China economic connectedness, Indian

⁹ F.Z. Syed and S. Javed, "Deterrence: A Security Strategy against Non-Traditional Security Threats to Pakistan," *International Journal of Social Sciences Management* vol. 4, Issue-4: (2017) 267-274.

¹⁰ Umbreen Javaid and Izzat Raazia, "Non-traditional Security Threat in South Asia with Particular Orientation to IDP's in Pakistan," *Journal of Political Studies*, vol. 22, Issue 2, (2015), 471-584.

anxieties and insecurities, and instability of Afghanistan, as well as the potential impact on the CPEC.¹¹

The Taliban's control of Afghanistan has presented Pakistan with both opportunities and challenges. While Islamabad is satisfied with the withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan, it remains concerned with the instability in Afghanistan spilling over into Pakistan. Radicalism, terrorism, refugees, and drug trafficking are among the top non-traditional security threats, and Islamabad fears serious concerns about how the new development in Afghanistan could present threats to Pakistan's peace and security. With a friendly regime in Kabul, Pakistan, on the other hand, has a chance to address these issues through a combination of bilateral and multilateral approaches. This paper examines the severity of non-traditional security risks for Pakistan in relation to Afghanistan by looking at historical and current factors. Islamabad's urgent non-traditional security considerations center on how recent events in Afghanistan may affect religious extremism at home. Finally, the paper offers policy recommendations regarding Pakistan's involvement in Afghanistan, which is dominated by the Taliban.¹²

Conceptual Framework

In 1995, Ole Wæver proposed the concept of securitization in detail, and a group of scientists at the Copenhagen Peace Research Institute reflected on the subject. Later, "The Copenhagen School" was the name given to the organization.¹³ In 1998, Ole Wæver, Barry Buzan, and Jaap de Wilde released their work "Security: A New Framework for Analysis," which established securitization theory as an analytical tool. Ever since, periodic international journals dedicated to securitization and/or de-securitization have grown in numbers and popularity.¹⁴ According to a scholar, securitization theory is one of the most well-known and important methods of security studies since the Cold War.¹⁵ "It is a utility for the investigation of the politics of security-policy making," is where the innovative value of the securitization theory lies. The founders of securitization theory claim that a precise source description for threats and vulnerabilities is lacking. Threats can come from a wide range of

¹¹ Shubnam Gul et al., "Shifting National Security Paradigm of Pakistan from Geo Politics to a Geo Economics Era," *Global Economics Review*, VI(1), (2021):81-94.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ D. Mutimer, "Critical Security Studies: A Schismatic History. In Contemporary Security Studies," ed. A. Collins. *Oxford: OUP* (2007).

¹⁴ U. P. Gad and K.L. Petersen, "Concepts of Politics in Securitization Studies," *Security Dialogue* 42 (4-5) (2011): 315-328.

¹⁵ M. C. Williams, "Words, Images, Enemies: Securitization and International Politics," *International Studies Quarterly*. 47 (4): (2003) 511-531.

topics. However, to be classified as security issues, "they must meet rigorously specified criteria that separate them from the ordinary run of the purely political."¹⁶ To begin with, there is very little conceptual literature on threats which is not sufficiently in-depth. Second, while there is an objective approach to dangers (actual threats) and a subjective approach (perceived threats), no one can guarantee the two are related.

Similarly, McDonald¹⁷ argues that securitization theory needs to be enlarged to take into account the viewpoints of all non-state actors and their depictions of security in order to adequately explain what security means in modern global politics. Nevertheless, this method of approaching security also has the drawback of leading to an ambiguous conception of the term security. This is due to the notion that the securitization procedure is open, or in other terms, that any actor can securitize any problem or referent object, implied by the emphasis on the fact that the definition of security is eventually established by taking into account the viewpoints of all actors.¹⁸

The most compelling viewpoint, however, is put forth by Balzacq,¹⁹ who contends that not all players are in a position to assert that a problem is a security problem. Although this idea is comparable to that of early Copenhagen School theorists, Balzacq diverges from the Copenhagen School in how he defines a successful securitization. Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde are of the view that a securitization is effective if a matter is handled outside the parameters of political procedure. Therefore, what qualifies an institutional player as a valid securitizing actor is their capacity to do so. Contrarily, according to Balzacq, a topic can be successfully securitized if it is relevant to the audience and the setting. In other words, he contends that a problem becomes securitized if a party defines it as such and the appropriate audience accepts too. Therefore, Balzacq stated that security is a social construction, and an actor's capability to create a socially efficient assertion of a security issue depends more on whether the pertinent audience acknowledges them as a suitable securitizing actor than it does on their ability to address the threat in question.²⁰

Three general characteristics of security are implied by securitization theory. The first characteristic is that security is inextricably linked to the idea of threat. Threats can take many forms. To be considered

¹⁶ B. Buzan, and O. Wæver, "Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security," Cambridge: *Cambridge University Press* (2003).

¹⁷ M. McDonald, "Securitization and the Construction of Security," *European Journal of International Relations* 14(4): (2008) 563-587.

¹⁸ M. C. Williams, "Words, Images, Enemies: Securitization and International Politics."

¹⁹ EJJR, "The Three Faces of Securitization: Political Agency, Audience and Context," *European Journal of International Relations* 11(2): (2005) 171-201.

²⁰ Ibid.

a security issue, nevertheless, they must constitute a threat to the referent object's (states, government, regime, society) important values (i.e., ideology, dignity, integrity, and identity). Second, the phrase or notion of security is a "basically contentious concept," according to W.B. Gallie,²¹ and hence subjective in character, implying that there may be no universal agreement on its description. As a result, "what is recognized as secure is entirely dependent on what the person who issued such a statement intended."²² The third element is that "security" is essentially a political term. It means that actors dealing with difficult problems (usually states) are not always obligated to use the security approach. Because the state has both forceful and non-coercive civilian mechanisms for minimizing threats and vulnerabilities before developing into open violent conflict, the deployment of a particular approach-whether forceful or non-coercive-is always a matter of personal choice.

The existential threat pertains to the domination of a single issue that is distinct from all others and so requires top emphasis. In comparison to other threats, the existential threat is the most serious in nature and does not relate to a philosophical idea in this context. Dangers to the existence of something, typically the state, are referred to as existential threats. The existential threat, according to Williams, is "situations of utmost peril, possibly endless effort and sacrifice that must both be preserved."²³ If the relevant referent object fails to successfully deal with such an existential threat, the referent objects' survival will be jeopardized. The referent objects are those that are perceived to be threatened with extinction and have a valid claim to life.²⁴

R Emmers divides referent objects into five categories as follows;²⁵

- (1) The state in contexts of military security.
- (2) National sovereignty or ideology in contexts of political security.
- (3) National economies in contexts of economic security.
- (4) Collective identities in contexts of societal security.
- (5) Species or habitats in contexts of environmental security

In this situation, the object in question may or may not exist, or it may be capable of dealing with the challenges in ways that the decision-makers choose. The proclamation of an emergency condition is, in effect, the next stage after invoking security. By proclaiming it, the government

²¹ "Essentially Contested Concepts," *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society* 56 (1956): 167-198.

²² M. C. Williams, "Words, Images, Enemies: Securitization and International Politics," 516.

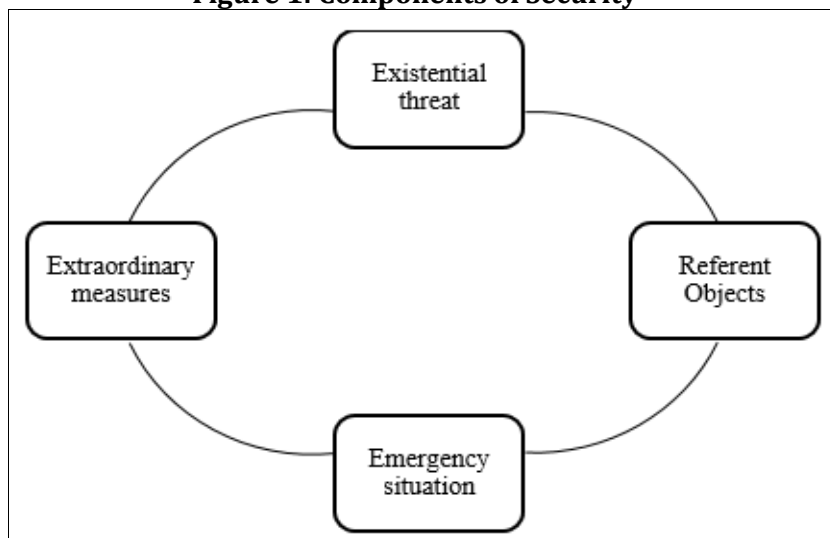
²³ *Ibid.*, 518.

²⁴ B. Buzan, and O. Wæver, "Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security," 23.

²⁵ R. Emmers, "Non-Traditional Security in the Asia Pacific: The Dynamics of Securitization," (*Marshall Cavendish International*: Singapore, 2009).

has always claimed "the authority to adopt whatever methods required to prevent a dangerous development"-in other words, extraordinary steps. As a result, "the invoking of security to legitimize the use of force, a method for the state to mobilize, or to take special powers" is referred to as the employment of extraordinary measures.²⁶

Figure 1: Components of Security²⁷



Source: Author's compilation.

Another approach that explains the gradual shift of Pakistan from traditional security to non-traditional security is the Human Security approach. It can be traced back to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and Human Development Report (HDR) of 1994. It argues for a "people-centric" concept of security and against the dichotomy of "freedom from want" and "freedom from fear."²⁸ Simply, the contending point before Human Security approach is that human development should be the primary focus of state and society. In an era of geo-economics, the relevance of human development has increased manifold. Due to domestic factors and international compulsions, Pakistan as a state has been trading its path through a traditional security lens. However, it is experiencing a gradual shift from traditional to non-traditional security that is not only rigorously advocated by all the key stake holders but is also incorporated as the core element of the National Security Policy of 2022 as analyzed in the succeeding parts of the study.

²⁶ B. Buzan, and O. Wæver, "Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security," 23.

²⁷ Y. Kurniawan, "The Politics of Securitization in Democratic Indonesia," *Palgrave Macmillan*, (2018)

²⁸ Benjamin Zyla, "Human Security," *Oxford Bibliographies*, January 13, 2021, DOI: 10.1093/OBO/9780199743292-0261.

Factorial Analysis

Because of the peculiar geostrategic, cultural mechanisms – cold war, New Great Game, Sino-US novel cold war outbreak, unipolar world, South Asian local tactical national machineries – India's supremacy drive, and country wide strategic ethnic contraption like antiquity, political-legitimacy, economic, governance tragedy, socio-cultural, and army-the obsolete safety has always outperformed the NTS in Pakistan.²⁹ Furthermore, throughout Pakistan's founding, there has never been a comprehensive, consensus-based national security plan. The reassuring strategy, which is linked to international scenarios, has stood the test of time in the face of international and national policies in South Asia. At the global level, authority dogmas produced a fully calculated philosophy, a South Asian background, and ultimately a purposeful public ethos in Pakistan.³⁰ Pakistan; as part of larger Indian sub-continent has been facing invasions from western frontiers such as Mahmood of Ghazni (Henry Elliot), the attacks by Mongols, Timur-i-Lang, Shihab-u-din Ghauri and Ahmed Shah Abdali, Persian invasion of Indian subcontinent³¹. Also to the great game and then the cold war era all point out predominance of land strategy to invade and hold targeted lands for occupation especially in Indian sub-continent. Hence Pakistan's preference of keeping its threat perception focused on land and specifically India centric had genuine and serious rationale as well as the basis. However, there are number of factors involved in the Pakistan's shift from traditional to non-traditional security paradigm.

Balance of Power

Pakistan's security urgencies have been identified as active and experienced in a number of internal confidence primacies on a regular basis.³² At each stage, there is a brief examination of strategic constraints. In this setting, Pakistan has a long history of deliberate local restraints, such as poverty.³³ Due to its weaker budget, these have consistently remained challenging areas for management. Referring to securitization theory, the first element is identification of threat and one of the grave

²⁹ Dr. Imran Ali Sandano, "Nontraditional Security Diplomacy: An Ultimate Option for South Asia," *Journal of Political Studies*, Special Issue, 2018: 155-163.

³⁰ P. R Lavoy, "Pakistan's Foreign Relation," *South Asia in World Politics*, (2005): 49-70.

³¹ Spencer C Tucker, *A Global Chronology of Conflict: From the Ancient World to the Modern Middle East* (ABC-CLIO: December 23, 2009), 2777.

³² Hassan Rizvi, *Pakistan and the Geostrategic Environment: A Study of Foreign Policy* (Palgrave Macmillan: United Kingdom, 1993).

³³ Khadija Haq, *Economic Growth with Social Justice: Collected Writings of Mahub ul Haq*, (Oxford University Press, June 2017).

threats for Pakistan has always remained India. For instance, Kashmir is a contentious issue between both states, that dates back to the humiliating Redcliff Award.³⁴ In response to Indian atrocities, Pakistan has bolstered the initial freedom movement in Indian-occupied Kashmir, which started in 1989. Several separate combatant factions, including Harkat-ul-Mujahideen, Jaish-e-Muhammad (JeM), and Lashkar-i-Tayba (LiT), began battling in anti-Indian hordes.³⁵ After the attacks of September 11, 2001, India saw an opportunity to use the media to demonize the Kashmiri people's desire for self-rule and equate it with violence. It was successful in branding Kashmir's numerous self-rule freedom fighter groups as extremist organizations, primarily the JeM and LeT.³⁶ Moreover, India has now stable economy as compared to Pakistan and investing a large sum on defense which is around 68 billion dollars annually. On the other hand, Pakistan's defense spending is only 8 billion dollars annually. This gap is present since 1998 till date Pakistan's economy cannot bear the burden of any war with India. In order to confront and create balance of power in the region Pakistan has nuclear deterrence so it is significant to focus on internal stability and invest on the people. Some of the regional strategic constraints are listed below ahead.

Evolving Trends of War

After the disintegration of the USSR, the war patterns have also altered in the world. Earlier, the wars were fought along the borders but now there is the trend of proxy wars through different medium. Though the Ukraine-Russia war is the latest direct confrontation in the current scenario, proxy wars are still in practice largely. Through this system, non-actors have been used to create destabilization in the target country. In the context of Pakistan and India, India has been engaged in facilitating the non-state actors to create instability in Pakistan especially in erstwhile FATA and Baluchistan. The asymmetrical threat in Afghanistan has serious repercussions for Pakistan's security, as it is stated that Washington utilized Kabul as a backdoor state against Moscow, and that after the latter's defeat, it was left in ruins without measures for its restructuring.³⁷ It built a reputation for proxy warfare and anti-regional influence. Through its intelligence activity, the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW), India is exasperatingly using Kabul as a proxy against Pakistan. Pakistan,

³⁴ A. G. A. M. Noorani, *The Kashmir Dispute 1947-2012* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014)

³⁵ A. Rashid, "The Taliban: Exporting Extremism," *Foreign Affairs*, (1999): 22-35.

³⁶ J. Holland, *Selling the War on Terror: Foreign Policy Discourses after 9/11* (Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2012)

³⁷ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "President Xi Jinping Delivers Important Speech and Proposes to Build a Silk Road Economic Belt with Central Asian Countries," (2013)

being a neighbor of Afghanistan, cannot remain a silent observer of the recompense payments of its public masses. Via its messenger activity, Inter-Services Intelligence, it has been entrusted to involve in a proxy war with India in Afghanistan.³⁸

National Security Policy

The emergence of the National Security Policy (NSP) in 2022 is considered a watershed moment in the nation's security milieu. It was released in 2022 after many efforts and multiple endeavours. It reflects a paradigm shift from traditional to non-traditional security by prioritizing geo-economics over geo-politics. There are multiple reasons behind this shift. One crucial reason is India which has remained pivotal Pakistan's national security compulsions. Essentially, both Pakistan and India are nuclear powers and cannot afford any nuclear misadventure. Resultantly, India resorted to non-state actors by using them as proxies against Pakistan to cause internal destabilization. In the given context, it has become critical for Pakistan to focus on the economic dimension of national security. It can be inferred that the National Security Policy (NSP) of 2022 is a unique document because of two reasons. Firstly, it is first ever document that takes a comprehensive view of national security into account by identifying security risks emerging from numerous sources, dimensions and actors. It is the first time in the country's history that a security policy document incisively aims to defend the state and its people from numerous challenges. Secondly, it is a collaborative effort that involves the in-puts of almost all stakeholders such as federation, provinces, political parties, civil society and academia.

For instance, the preface of the National Security Policy clearly says that the prime concern of the state is the security of its people. In essence, it projects that human centric security would be the topmost priority. Nonetheless, it reinforces the significance of the state and its institutions as the custodians of the security of their people. In retrospect, the focus used to be state centric in the absence of such a document. Now, the focus of the state is its people, and the best way to protect and defend its people is to be on the track of economic development, human resource development, addressing climate challenges and resource scarcity. In other words, there is a complete reorientation of security direction from state-centric to human-centric that may best serve the national interests of Pakistan.

Generally, it is noticed that policy circles used to oversimplify the security challenges by ignoring the underlying intricacies of such challenges. In academia, this tendency is referred as reductionism because it overlooks the root causes of challenge and thus proposes a simplified

³⁸ D. Holmes, and N. Dixon, *Behind the US War on Afghanistan*, (Resistance Books: Australia, 2001)

view of security. On the contrary, while recognizing and addressing the security threats, the criterion of this policy is twofold: anti-reductionism and non-essentialism. In other words, the NSP of 2022 realizes that social reality is a complex realm that cannot be comprehensively understood by putting emphasis on one or two factors. It argues that security is an interwoven and interrelated phenomenon, and a single modification in one factor may have cascade implications for many others. It establishes a paradigm which gives weight to intersections and relative aspects of multiple security factors. It provides a list of challenges and identifies the potential sources in order to have a pragmatic and holistic mechanism to meet the challenges. For instance, terrorism should not only be viewed in its manifestation rather in its causal mechanism, enabling entities, foreign involvement and domestic pathologies.

In retrospect context, the emergence of NSP was a result of prolonged instability that posed serious challenge to the writ of the state particularly erstwhile FATA and Baluchistan went through severe sub-conventional warfare from hostile elements such as India. During the process of maintaining peace and stability, incessant pattern came to know that poverty ridden condition of general public, uneven distribution of resources, injustice and violence were the major sources of people's discontent. Internal displacement during operations further aggravated the situation of people in the form of intense poverty. The basic necessities of life became a rare commodity for locals. These types of economic deprivations caused recruitment of locals by non-state actors against the state. In that environment, there was a dire need of people centric security policy to counter the root cause of the problem that rightly surfaced in 2022.

This is a trans-boundary threat that involves grave consequences that are fueled by number of elements. The direct result is extremism and intolerance that are the wombs of conflicts and violence. Apart from violent conflicts caused by variables like economic deprivation, cyber space is another critical area of contemporary national security as it may not only project the hostile narrative but also serve as medium for recruiting locals for violent activities, indeed with the help of hostile foreign hand. According to securitization theory, securitization of cyber space and curbing cybercrimes are the daunting tasks of today's national security.

Furthermore, the aforementioned threats have direct implications for referent objects, which in this case are downtrodden economy, intense violence and cybercrimes. The national security of the country is the eventual victim in this situation. However, a shift in referent object in the National Security Policy of Pakistan rightly appeared to meet these challenges. One may rationally term it as a paradigm shift in the national security architecture of the country. Our youth which is a significant portion of the country's population, holds a special place in this National

Security Policy. It recognizes the issues and challenges of youth, such as illiteracy, unemployment, inflation, hopelessness and dissatisfaction that can easily be preyed by sectarianism, terrorism, ethnic violence and other crimes. The policy suggests that youth bulge is the greatest asset of the country and absence of organized human resource development of youth may result in fragile social fabric and flimsy national integration. In essence, the policy recognizes the immense significance of the country's youth that should be channelized in the right direction for a prosperous future.

Economic Development and 18th Amendment

The 18th Amendment was one of the significant apparatuses in the amendments to the 1973 constitution which actually shifted powers from center to provinces. The areas of challenge which were felt to be counterproductive were education & health regulation etc. Secondly, through NFC award provinces were allotted fair share of finance to alleviate the poverty, which owing to political expediencies was never utilized the right way and hence poverty could not be alleviated. These initiatives signified the power shift from center to provinces.

The third element is that "security" is essentially a political term. It means that actors in charge of dealing with difficult problems (usually states) are not always obligated to use the security approach. Because the state has both forceful and non-coercive civilian mechanisms for minimizing threats and vulnerabilities before developing into open violent conflict, the deployment of a particular approach—whether forceful or non-coercive—is always a matter of personal choice so the NFC award can only be settled through consensus and in agreement with the provinces, management of defense related aspects and expenditure became a challenge as very less budgetary allocations were left at the disposal of the federal government after disbursement to the provinces. The obvious solution, thus, is improvement in the economy so that the betterment of people can be ensured without compromising on the defense and security matters of the state, which is the essence of the National Security policy. Economic considerations have gradually eclipsed strategic considerations and titled Pakistan for economic progress instead of the traditional security paradigm. This is why Pakistan's initiative with China in the form of CPEC is progress towards non-traditional security concerns. The CPEC is, in fact, a critical growth mechanism and strategic motion. CPEC is a reconstruction of intensified and persistent two-sided cooperation at a time of rising Chinese geopolitical and geo-economic relevance and

apprehensions about Pakistan's security and unequal economic dispensation are well-founded.³⁹

"The CPEC is intended to promote interconnectivity in Pakistan through a network of roads, trains, and tubes, as well as energy, industrial, and other construction initiatives, in order to address Pakistan's severe energy shortages and boost the country's financial development."⁴⁰ Finally, the CPEC will facilitate trade by linking the Chinese city of Kashgar to the Pakistani port of Gwadar via an overland route that connects China to the Indian Ocean. In April 2015, Pakistan and China announced their plans for the CPEC, signing fifty-one contracts and memorandums of agreement on Chinese investments worth \$46 billion during the next ten to fifteen years. Some works are already underway, including as highway and energy projects, with completion expected by the end of 2016.⁴¹

CPEC denotes China's intercontinental effort to improve transportation security. In terms of investments in Pakistan, it would almost certainly be expected to create jobs, reduce anti-state sentiments, and provide public funds for further advancements in law and order. As a result, while the CPEC is typically portrayed as a transportation corridor, security concerns may continue to impose limits on the cross-border movement of people and goods, at the very least in the short to medium term.⁴² The financial, political, and security potential that the CPEC deals with economic liberalism is also heightened by Pakistan's ruling citizen and military forbearer. Pakistan needs uninterrupted speculation to spur economic progress, but stakeholders have often avoided it. If carried out, China's investment policy in Pakistan will more than treble all foreign direct investment since 2008. China's energy infrastructure initiatives are particularly timely where our domestic demand surpasses stock by 4,500 megawatts on the average.⁴³

Religious, sectarian, ethnic, and linguistic conflicts have plagued Pakistan throughout its history, never allowing peace to take roots. According to the National Centre for Environmental Information (NCEI),

³⁹ S. A. Ramay, "China Pakistan Economic Corridor: A Chinese Dream Being Materialized Through Pakistan," SDPI Policy Brief, (2016): 1-9, <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn>.

⁴⁰ A. Zubedi et al., "Sustaining Low Carbon Emission Development: An Energy Efficient Transportation Plan for CPEC," *Journal of Information Processing Systems*, (2018) 14(2).

⁴¹ Sajid Hussain, "Politico-Strategic and Economic Importance of Gwadar Port, Pakistan," *Omni Scriptum Gmbh & Company Kg* (2015), 152.

⁴² W. Wenwen, "CPEC Defies Skepticism to Aid Pakistan's Development," *World Financial Review* (2018), <https://worldfinancialreview.com/bettingbig-on-cpec/>.

⁴³ U. Javaid, and R. Javaid, "Strengthening Geo-strategic Bond of Pakistan and China through Geo-economic Configuration," *Pakistan Economic and Social Review*, (2016) 54 (1), 123.

around 12 large earthquakes have struck Pakistan in the last two decades, claiming the lives of about 90,000 people and wreaking havoc on the economy and infrastructure. The country was hit by the country's worst floods in 2010, resulting in enormous losses in human lives, the economy, infrastructure, and crops. Robert Looney examines the decisive and implicit expenses of floods, as well as how distinct aspects of human security are interconnected, such as floods probably triggering internal displacement, virus spread, broken infrastructure, and destructed agricultural and industrial outcomes, all of which are catastrophic for the economy, resulting in joblessness and inflation.

Pakistan, on the other side, is one of the nations that is experiencing severe water scarcity, resulting in a drought that is severely impinging upon the agricultural economy thus resulting into major challenges.⁴⁴ Economic uncertainty in all aspects, such as unparalleled underemployment, record inflation, energy crises, diminishing foreign currency reserves, deflation of the currency, lack of investment, and massive internal and external indebtedness, has been one of Pakistan's most urgent concerns since its establishment. These financial woes are intertwined to the point where one affects the other.

Other human security issues, such as a deteriorating health and educational system, energy turmoil, are also being plagued by the economic crisis. Administrative blunders, political instability, and corruption are frequently linked to economic concerns, all of which are regarded as dangers to human security. The current pandemic is one of the most pressing human security concerns facing not only Pakistan, but the entire globe. COVID-19 has had a negative impact on all aspects of human security, either mental or physical, personal or communal, resulting in mortality, disease, starvation, unemployment, poverty, inflation, lower growth rates, and an increase in dread, suffering, and trauma. This pandemic, according to UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres, is a human disaster that is "quickly becoming a Human Rights Crisis." In addition to the pandemic, Pakistan experienced another challenge last year in the form of locust attacks on crops, which posed a serious danger to food security.

Conclusion

Pakistan's security concerns have also altered due to the changing and ever-evolving dynamics of warfare around the globe. The national worry which was to defend Pakistan from Indian threats alongside the border, has also shifted as Pakistan is more vulnerable to internal security threats. Pakistan's decades long contribution towards the war on

⁴⁴ Robert Looney, "Economic Impact of Floods in Pakistan," *Contemporary South Asia* Vol. 20 Issue 2, (2012):230.

terror, including APS Attacks has negatively impacted the economy, infrastructure and well-being of the masses. This is why a shift from geopolitics to geo-economics was realized as mandatory. Moreover, the Indian trend, activation and reliance on non-state actors to support her nefarious designs against Pakistan is a serious security threat which indicates that when the state struggles to fill in the gap between expectations and provision of services to its masses, or there is a vacuum in the areas of poverty or sense of deprivation among the people, then there exists a space for non-state actors. Moreover, the securitization theoretical perspective successfully provided the basis to understand that the Pakistani state has shifted from the traditional approach of security, which was previously defined as a security threat from India, and identified the non-traditional security in the country as more serious than the traditional Indian centric direct strategy security threat.

