

Understanding the Dynamics of National Security Culture of Pakistan

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Abstract

National security culture is the subcomponent of political culture, drawn from values system, social and or economical setting of a state as well as the regional and extra regional security environments. Changing global status also, at times, obligate the states to make domestic political adjustments to accommodate the international concerns against a well established security culture. Currently, as a result of external constrains and domestic insecurities, there is an inward looking security culture in Pakistan for which both the government and the civil society are responsible. The national interests warrant that government should take notice of the apathy shown by the society towards national security issues, by reinstating peace and creating security awareness culture at the gross root level. It must be realised that sustainable peace cannot be restored by adopting a single track approach involving the use of military force only. This means a 'new social contract' between the leaders and those being led involving the government machinery, academician and the civil society is important to owe mutual ownership of the state. The launching of twenty-points 'National Action Plan', in the backdrop of the tragic incident of APS Peshawar, may help to rediscover an efficient national security culture based on ideology, core values and traditions.

Keywords: Security Culture, Human Security, Social Contract, Security Awareness and Real Politics.

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Introduction

National Security Culture (NSC) is the direct reflection of the behaviour of people, the societal trends, values system, social and economical setting of a state as well as the regional and or extra regional strategic and security environments. In the 21st century environment, though information based systems help state in implementing security solutions at various levels, these technical systems are incapable of replacing the human role as an ultimate means to security problems. Security culture is a mindset which gives direction to create a specific brand of the security setting in a state.¹

Strategic culture is an important facet that helps understand cultural identity and nations' roles and obligations toward other cultures. An in-depth study of strategic culture makes us understand better the perspective of the adversary's culture and how it differs from one's own so as to identify, when necessary, what resources and strategies are required to impose defeat or loss to one's enemy. Thus, strategic culture becomes a generator of preferences, a vehicle for upholding values and preferences and a force of action to revive these values.²

NSCs do not develop overnight and it is not static either. It has historical linkages. According to Colin S. Gray, NSCs "can change over time as new experience is absorbed, coded and culturally translated."³ However, John S. Duffield hold the veiw that the strategic culture does not change easily. He is of the veiw that the changes can occur due to some "dramatic events or traumatic experiences".⁴ Such shocks undermine the influence of the core beliefs and values thus, badly impact on the future range of political choice for the leadership.⁵

¹ Allen. J "How do I know if I have a culture of security?," <http://www.cutter.com/content-and-analysis/resource-centers/enterprise-risk-management/sample-ourresearch/erm050428.html>

² Colin S. Gray, *Modern Strategy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 131.

³ Gray, *Modern Strategy*.

⁴ John S. Duffield, *World Power Forsaken: Political Culture, International Institutions, and German Security Policy after Unification* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1998), 23.

⁵ Richard Ullman, "Redefining Security," *International Security* 8, no. 1 (Summer 1983), <https://www.scribd.com/doc/.../Redefining-Security-Richard-Ullman>, 130-135.

With regards to Pakistan, it is viewed that its existing security culture is the reflection of the past 80 years of its history which includes the last two decades of the British rule. Prior to the independence, it was under great pressure of losing its identity in the backdrop of the British withdrawal from the subcontinent. On acquiring independence, it was again put under tremendous existential threat by its eastern neighbor, India. In the backdrop of 1971 War, Pakistani nation got into defensive mode. Since then, it continues to struggle to regain its desired status. One might conclude that since 1947, the security situation around the region allowed its military establishment to enjoy greater role in foreign and security policy making. In the process, the nation failed to develop comprehensive NSCs involving other core players of the civil sector.

Authors are of the view that currently, Pakistan faces two distinctively identifiable security threats, one is external and other is internal. Since the external vulnerabilities are observable therefore, Pakistan remains conscious to take appropriate measures against such threats. With regards to its domestic security challenges, Islamabad has been unable to develop and promote a sustainable security culture compatible to its ideology, history, traditions and value systems. The 9/11 incident was an ‘external shock’ for Pakistan that took away the options from General Musharraf of choosing a security policy of his own choice. He was obligated to make political adjustments and decided to adopt defensive realpolitics. Thus, the civil society, too, went into defensive mode and badly failed to contribute towards achieving the objective of greater national security against insiders and or outsiders’ threat.

The ‘National Action Plan (NAP),’ which was prepared in the backdrop of an ‘internal shock,’ consists of a long wish list.⁶ It has the potential to stabilise the security situation and may help change the security culture from ‘defensive to offensive realpolitics.’ Yet, the victory lies in simultaneous execution of the military and the non-military aspects of the plan. The success of the plan also depends on

⁶ Raza Rumi, “Charting Pakistan’s Internal Security Policy, Special Report-368,” *United States Institute of Peace*, May, 2015, 8; The nationwide address by Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, the Prime Minister of Pakistan on December 24, 2014 that was telecasted on PTV; and Abdul Manan, “Fight against terrorism: Defining moment,” *Express Tribune*, December 25, 2014.

strengthening of the relevant institutions so as to make them capable of taking over their primary role effectively.⁷

It seems appropriate to briefly explain the term ‘defensive and offensive’ security cultures in the Pakistani setting as understood by the authors. There are two approaches to deal with the internal security challenges posed by the ‘insiders’ who may also have foreign linkages. In the first instance, the government decides to adopt a reactionary strategy while the people, in their individual capacities, and society, as a whole, look ‘inward’ and behave ‘apathetically’ in the face of danger posed by the terrorist/extremist groups. The social sector stays indifferent and fails to fulfil its national obligations of strengthening the government’s resolve to tackle with such threats. This kind of the scheme of dealing with the national security issues can be termed as ‘defensive security culture.’ On the contrary, the government decides to apply proactive strategy while dealing with anti-state actors and coerce them either to surrender or face the consequences. In this case, the government also draws full strength from the entire society which is well-knit and well aware of its national obligations and fully cooperates with the administration. The government’s decision to deal with the national security issues by adopting this approach may be termed as ‘offensive security cultures.’

In this backdrop, this brief research paper aims at identifying the weak links in the NSCs of Pakistan and suggests suitable measures to make Pakistan a peaceful and prosperous state. The issue has been addressed in four sections: First, Understanding National Security Culture — A Theoretical Debate; Second, Background to the NSCs of Pakistan; third, Factors affecting the NSCs of Pakistan; and finally the Proposed Way Forward. As the scope of the subject is too wide therefore, the central theme of this paper remains fixed on the part of subject that primarily deals with domestic security environments. However, reference to strategic culture has also been made where required.

⁷ “Revisiting Counter-terrorism Strategies in Pakistan: Opportunities and Pitfalls,” *Crisis Group Asia*, Report No. 271, July 22, 2015.

Understanding National Security Culture — A Theoretical Debate

The term 'culture' is defined in different ways, mostly derived from the fields of anthropology, archaeology, history and modern popular cultural studies. The American Heritage English Dictionary defines culture as "The totality of socially transmitted behaviour patterns, arts, beliefs, institutions, and all other products of human work and thought".⁸ Lucian W. Pye defines culture as, "the dynamic vessel that holds and vitalizes the collective memories of people by giving emotional life to traditions."⁹ Similarly, Gray writes, "cultures comprise the persisting socially transmitted ideas, attitude, traditions and habits of mind and preferred methods of operation."¹⁰ Culture refers to both a set of evaluative standards (such as norms and values) and a set of cognitive standards (such as rules and models)."¹¹

NSCs are subcomponent of political culture while the political culture is a "subset of beliefs and values of a society that relate to the political system."¹² According to Ann Swidler, "values are essences around which societies are constituted. They are the unmoved mover in the theory of action."¹³ Thomas U. Berger argues that "cultural beliefs and values act as a distinct national lens to shape perception of events and even channel possible societal response." The political system based

⁸ Chris Garrett, "Developing a Security-Awareness Culture – Improving Security Decision Making," *SANS Institute* 2005, July 23, 2004, www.sans.org/reading-room/whitepapers/awareness/developing_a.

⁹ Lucian W. Pye, *Asian Power and Politics: The Cultural Dimension of Authority* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1985), 20-22.

¹⁰ Gray, *Modern Strategy*.

¹¹ Alexander L. George, "Domestic Constraints on Regime Change in U.S. Foreign Policy: The Need for Policy Legitimacy, " in Ole R.Holsti, Randolph M. Siverson, and Alexander L. George, eds., *Change in the International System*, (Boulder: Westview, 1980), 235, and Peter J. Katzenstein, "Introduction," in *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, Peter J. Katzenstein, ed., (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 6.

¹² Gabriel A. Almond and Sindy Verba, *The Civic Culture: Political Attitude and Democracy in Five Nations* (Princeton: N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1963), 11-14; and Jeffrey S. Lantis, "Strategic Culture and National Security Policy," *International Studies Association* (Oxford: 108 Cowley Road Oxford OX4 1JF, UK), 101.

¹³ Ann Swidler, "Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies," *American Sociological Review* 51, No. 2, 1986, www.asanet.org/introsociology/.../as...

on the above mentioned traits guides the states in taking decision to participate in the global issues including the use of force.¹⁴ Berger contends that political culture is best understood as a combination of norms and political institutions.¹⁵

According to John Duffield, “The overall effect of the national security culture is to predispose societies in general and political elites in particular towards certain actions and policies towards others. He is of the view that German and Japan amply demonstrated the culturally bound models. Nevertheless, during 1990s, ethnic cleansing in the Balkan caused external shocks in the region which proved to be a primary catalyst for Germany to give up its traditional bound of strategic culture and decided to participate in military actions to end the conflict.¹⁶ Though Japan, with some variations, continued to follow the culturally bound security model since the end of the World War II but recently, Prime Minister Shinzo Abe has announced a reinterpretation of the country’s pacifist Constitution, freeing its military to play proactive role in the region and beyond.¹⁷

There is another scholar who defines NSCs according to four criterions: the world view of the external environment, national identity, instrumental preferences and interaction preferences. There are two schools of thought, one considers NSCs as relatively fixed (Westphalian) and inherently national while other views (Post Westphalian) it as a convergence of cultures. James Sperling, maintains that “in Post Westphalian system, boundaries between internal and external policies are blurring and the state role as ‘gate keeper’ between internal and external flows of people, goods and ideas is eroding.”¹⁸

¹⁴ Lantis, “Strategic Culture and National Security Policy,” 90.

¹⁵ Thomas U. Berger, “From Sword to Chrysanthemum: Japan’s Culture of Antimilitarism,” *International Security* 17, no. 4, 1993, 119-150.

¹⁶ Lantis, “Strategic Culture and National Security Policy,” 101, 111, 113.

¹⁷ Martin Fickler and David E. Sanger, “Japan Announces a Military Shift to Thwart China,” *New York Times*, July 1, 2014; Theodore Terpstra, “Should Japan amend Article 9 of its constitution?,” April 25, 2014, [www.constitutionnet.org/news/should-japan-amend-article-9-its-constitution](http://www.constitutionnet.org/news/should-japan-amend-article-9-its-constitution;); Craig Martin, “Why Japan should amend its war-renouncing Article 9,” *Japan Times*, August 4, 2012, www.japantimes.co.jp/.../why-japan-should-amend-its-war-renouncing-article-9/

¹⁸ James Sperling, “National Security Cultures, Technologies of Public Goods Supply and Security Governance,” in *National Security Cultures Patterns of Global*

The authors are of the view that the religion or ideology also plays a pivotal role in promoting a distinct pattern of NSCs. Norms or customs on which any security culture is based, draws its strength from ideology which is “highly articulated, self-conscious belief and ritual system, aspiring to offer a unified answer to problems of social action.”¹⁹ Norms “regulate the behaviour of important actors in international politics,” Paul Kowert and Jeffrey Legro opined.²⁰ Beside norms or customs, value systems also play a significant role in promotion of NSCs. Value system is a logical set of principles adopted and/or evolved by a person, organisation or a society as a standard to guide its behaviour which sets priorities in all circumstances.²¹ According to another definition, “value system is the principles of right and wrong that are accepted by an individual or a social group; “the Puritan ethic.”²²

As we understand, NSCs flow from political culture on the basis of which the political systems/institutions function. Based on beliefs and value system, the political institutions evolve a strategic culture required to defend core national interests. Depending upon the geo-strategic environment and the value systems of a state, the strategic culture could be defensive or offensive in its character. Gray defines strategic culture as “referring to modes of thoughts and action with respect to force, which derives from perception of national historical experience, from aspirations for responsible behaviour in national terms.” Thus, strategic culture provides the environment within which strategy is debated. Therefore, it serves as an independent determinant of strategic policy pattern.²³

Governance, Emil J. Kirchner, James Sperling, ed., (Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2010), 11, 12,13.

¹⁹ Ann Swidler, *Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies* (Stanford University), www.asanet.org/introtosociology/.../as...

²⁰ Paul Kowert and Jeffrey Legro, “Norms, Identity and Their Limits: A Theoretical Reprise,” in *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, Peter J. Katzenstein, ed, (New York: Columbia University Press), 1996, 365, 367 and 369.

²¹ www.businessdictionary.com/definition/value-system.html; and Business Dictionary.com

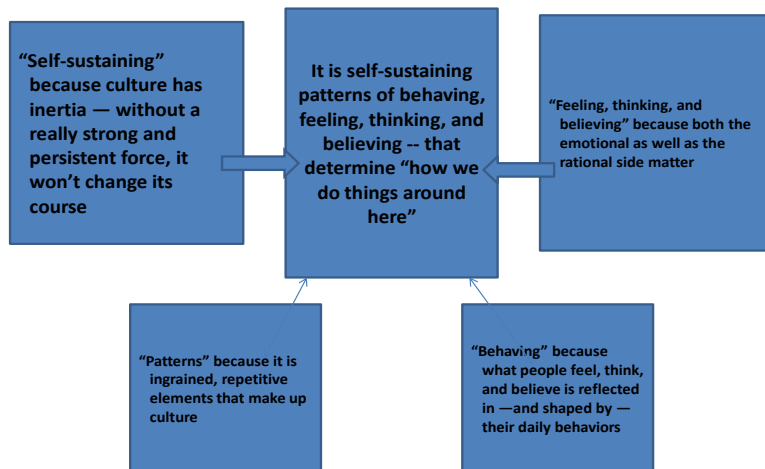
²² www.thefreedictionary.com/value-system

²³ Coiln S. Gray, *Nuclear Strategy and national Style* (Lanhan, Md.: Hamilton Press, 1986), 36-37.

The strategic culture, as explained by Alastair Iain Johnston, establishes pervasive and long-lasting strategic preferences by formulating concepts of the role and efficacy of military force in interstate political affairs.²⁴ Johnston goes on to say that the strategic culture also comprises certain assumptions about the strategic environment, especially the nature of the adversary and the threat it poses and offers a road map about the ways to deal with an adversary. It is said that the strategic culture is more focused on interstate relations and security against foreign aggression.

Diagram-I, defines an organisational culture which is self explanatory. It includes four factors, ‘self sustaining,’ ‘feeling, thinking and believing,’ ‘patterns,’ and ‘behaving.’²⁵

Diagram No.1
Organisational Culture



The authors are of the opinions that just like organisational culture, which is influenced by founder, executives, and other managerial staff, the national culture is also influenced by the leadership, management, and other bureaucratic channels because of their role in decision making

²⁴ Alastair Iain Johnston, "Thinking about Strategic Culture," *International Security*, vol. 19, no. 4 (Spring 1995): 46.

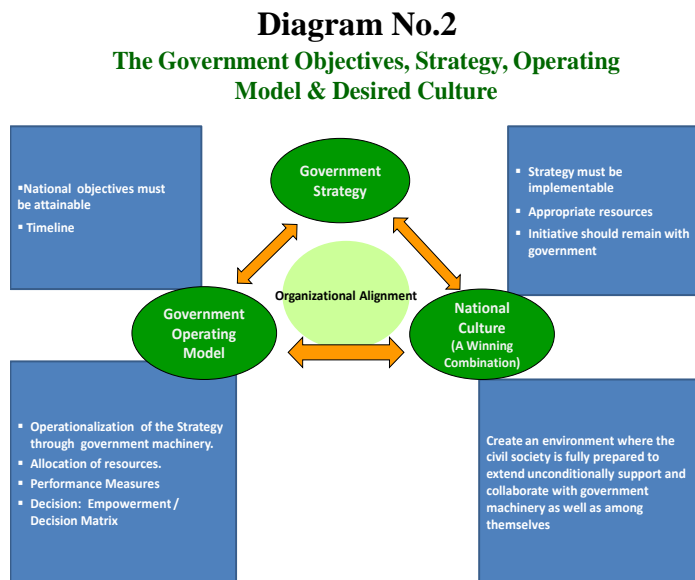
²⁵ Booz and Company Definition of Culture, www.booz.com/.../file/BoozCo-Perspective-on-Organisational-Culture.pdf

and strategic direction. The leadership, too, would be influenced by norms and customs of that society.

Taking lead from a study related to the security culture of private firms the authors have identified four major components of the security culture at the national level: First, the state policy based on an in-depth analysis and perceptions about the insecurities both in the national as well as international contexts; second, the role and structural make-up of the organs deputed to execute the state policy; third, capacity, mindset and the resilience shown by the members of the organisation to implement the policy within the framework of the structure; and finally, the role of civil society.

To summarise, whether or not the national security will be ensured depends upon the role of the state, its managers and their capacity and attitude and response of the civil society which make the national culture. But once again, it is emphasised that the behavior of these actors is directly influenced by the external/internal factors.

Diagram-II indicates the relationship between government strategy, its operational model and the national culture.²⁶



²⁶ Booz and Company Definition of Culture.

Besides physical security organs like standing armies, security culture also encompasses all socio-cultural measures that help addressing the threats originating from non-state actors (NSAs) and other criminal groups. Thus, to improve NSCs, it is important to create an environment where the civil society is fully prepared to collaborate and extend unconditional support to the government machinery.²⁷ This means a 'social contract' is essential between the leaders and those being led to own mutual ownership of the state.

Background to the NSCs of Pakistan

Throughout its history since independence, Pakistan continued to search for security both internally and externally. Being a peace loving country, it actively seeks a peaceful international order. Despite its wish to promote the policy of peace, inherent in its ideology and orientation, it has been the victim of aggression.²⁸

Through the history, Pakistan's relations with Afghanistan have been under tremendous stress irrespective of the kind of government in Kabul.²⁹ Eleven years of war in Afghanistan, commencing from 1979, led to Kalashnikov era, smuggling and drug culture inside Pakistan. After a brief pause during second half 1990s, the war in Afghanistan goes on having a grave impact on the security of Pakistan especially in the absence of comprehensive security arrangements across the Durand Line.

In the backdrop of the ill-fated incident at Peshawar,³⁰ Islamabad reached out to Afghanistan for its wholehearted support against terrorists but President Ghani seems helpless due to mounting pressure of the Taliban. Afghan army and police seem collapsing in the absence of

²⁷ Booz and Company Definition of Culture.

²⁸ Air Marshal (Retd.) Ayaz Ahmed Khan, "Security and Defence Problems of Pakistan," defencejournal.com/april98/security&defence1.htm

²⁹ William J. Barnds, *India, Pakistan, and the Great Powers* (New York: Praeger, 1972), 124.

³⁰ Dr M. Sheharyar Khan, "Review of National Action Plan: Challenges and Opportunities, *Pakistan Institute for Parliamentary Services*, vol. 2, issue 4, (April, 2015), www.academia.edu/.../Review_of_National_Action_Plan_...

direct support from the US army. Owing to these reasons, the US hinted to prolong its presence in Afghanistan.

The security situation along the western border aside, the relations between India and Pakistan are also fragile and unlikely to improve soon. Though, New Delhi may have other considerations as well, Pakistan's strategic culture would continue to revolve around India-centric security threat. Thus, Pakistan made conscious decisions to improve its security by building a huge army.³¹ With regards to its nuclear policy, within the overall defensive security culture, Islamabad has decided to adopt an offensive nuclear security culture by developing its tactical nuclear weapons to offset India's conventional arms superiority and balance out its options of limited conventional war in the nuclear overhang.³²

There is no denying the fact that religion was one of the key motivating factors which played a predominant role in creation of Pakistan. Therefore, Islamic orientations and values are deeply rooted in the society and the state, which influence the strategic culture of Pakistan. The Soviet invasion in Afghanistan and the ensuing response, the incident of 9/11 and the follow up American strategy to deal with terrorism and the counter strategy by Al-Qaeda; all episodes have helped promoting radical tendencies in the Muslim world. Pakistan's policy of containing the Soviet Union and war against terrorism, played a significant role in creating radical groups in and around Pakistan during 1980s and thereafter. Later on, these radical groups, labelled as 'terrorists,' brought havoc in Pakistan.

Although, NAP is fully operational since January 2015, yet the nexus between terrorist groups is still to be fully broken because of numerous facilitating factors. To strengthen NAP, Pakistan needs to look for a successful model. In this regard, Pakistan requires learning lessons from visionary concept of 'The Homeland Security,' duly conceived and efficiently implemented by the US in the backdrop of 9/11. It is believed

³¹ Fazal Muqem Khan, *The Story of the Pakistan Army*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1963), 154.

³² Munir Ahmad Khan, "Nuclearization of South Asia and its Regional and Global Implications". *Regional Studies* (Islamabad), vol. XVI, no. 4 (Autumn 1998): 3-38 ; and Hasan-Askari Rizvi, Pakistan's Nuclear Testing, *Asian Survey*, vol. 41, no. 6 (November-December 2001): 943-955. 328.

that the success of this visionary concept would not have been possible without standing sanction of the American public.

After a thorough analysis, it may be perceived that the common citizens of Pakistan remain unprotected and vulnerable against exploitation by the anti-state actors and other criminal gangs. The incidents of bank robberies, abduction for ransom and money grabbing in mega cities of Pakistan have already made life of the business class threatened. From security viewpoint, a state of uncertainty prevails all around causing serious impediment for both domestic as well as foreign investors. All of this resulted in a depressing economy, unemployment and poverty, which impact all segments of the society. In a nutshell, 'human security' has been thoroughly compromised.³³ Nonetheless, as explained earlier, in the back drop of NAP, a definite change in the field of economy and security is being observed that created a positive impact on the overall situation in the society.

As explained before, the nation is cognizant of the external threats to its territorial boundaries and prepared to give sacrifices at any level and to any extent. As a back up support, Pakistan armed forces are also very well prepared to respond to Indian aggression. Because of this very fact, the world community is conscious of the consequences of a possible war between the two nuclear rival states. Yet, despite having a well laid out security structure, it is believed that Pakistan's NSCs is 'inward looking,' and 'defensive' in nature. The core causes have been briefly explained in the following paragraphs.

Factors Affecting the NSCs of Pakistan

The term security threat has a broad scope that encompasses the whole range of issues including social, political, administrative, and governance. Failure to meet the needs of the people both in terms of physical and economic security and cultural invasion of the outside powers are some of the factors which shape the behavior of a society and

³³ Ehsan Mehmood Khan, *Human Security in Pakistan* (BPH Printers, Lahore, 2013), 22, 23; and "Development as a Security Strategy in Pakistan: Achieving Peace and Prosperity through Social and Economic Empowerment," an interview with Dr. Erfa Iqbal by Karuna Luthra, June 22, 2011, *The National Bureau Of Asian Research*, www.nbr.org/publications/element.aspx?id=410

the resultant security culture. The uncertainties founded in the above referred features could lead to breakdown of the society despite having the most efficient security apparatus.³⁴ *For this particular piece of work, the authors intend covering the challenges and the resultant culture, relevant to the domestic security environment that has shaped the security culture of Pakistan.*

It may be appropriate to first explain the context of the term ‘security environment’. From authors’ perspectives, the framework in which the security environment applies is, the provision of secure atmosphere to the people for peace and prosperity. The peaceful environments are ensured by the government through a structured mechanism. For more clarity, the term ‘security’ means freedom from any danger or risk of losing life and other valuables.³⁵ The term is also defined as “measures adopted by a government to prevent espionage, sabotage, or attack,” against government infrastructure as well as common masses of the country.³⁶

In this backdrop, and on the basis of the experience and observations of the authors, as ordinary citizens of Pakistan, following are some of the challenges that our society is confronted with that led to the emergence of ‘defensive’ and ‘inward looking’ security culture, a phenomenon which is detrimental to our national interests.

First, though, security environment in and around Pakistan since early 1980s remained well short of the desired level, but the incident of 9/11 and the resultant war on terror initiated by the US and its allies have been a turning point in the history of Pakistani security culture. In view of the changing international, regional and national circumstances, the political elites have been forced to exercise ‘defensive realpolitics.’ Due to ‘external or internal shocks’ and the resultant behavior of the policy makers and the civil society, Pakistan has become an ‘inward looking’ nation, vulnerable to exploitation.

³⁴ Security Threats –Pakistan Security Intelligence,
www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/pakistan/domestic.htm

³⁵ Bing Dictionary-se-cu-ri-ty

³⁶ Random House Kernerman Webster’s College Dictionary, Copyright 2005, 1997, 1991 by *Random House, Inc*; and www.thefreedictionary.com/security

Second, the top level response to the incident of 9/11 besides, the terrorism wave, and the resultant psychological, social or economic and security impacts has put the ordinary citizens of Pakistan on defensive mode, too. Despite the best efforts, the successive regimes have failed to provide foolproof security to the masses against terrorist attacks. Resultantly, the civil society seems frustrated and there prevails a state of apathy. Nevertheless, as explained earlier, what impact NAP may have on the society, in the longer run, is yet to be fully ascertained but definitely, it has helped stabilising the security situation in the country.

Third, the Kalashnikov culture, imported from Afghanistan around 1980s, has become an additional source of unrest in the entire nation. Due to irresponsible behaviours of the successive governments, the society has been littered with all kinds of legal and illegal weapons. The availability of variety of modern weapons on cheap rate amply proves that criminals and private citizens have significant firepower at their disposal. It is said that the weapons available with criminal gangs are more sophisticated than the weapons available with police. The recovery of huge quantity of arms and ammunition by the Rangers from various part of Karachi city is one such example. Thus, the common citizens are scared of a society which is littered with guns and gun powder.

Fourth, like other developing state, individuals' lives especially those of the poor do not carry any value in Pakistani society. There is a culture of 'might is right' in the country. The deprived people are neither respected in the society nor protected by the government against undue exploitation as per the definition of security. In the absence of sustainable government policies and the resultant poverty graph, over 70 per cent of Pakistani population is denied of the basic rights.³⁷ Under these circumstances, they are unable to contribute towards greater national cause of promoting and maintaining NSCs needed to address the 21st century challenges.

Fifth, poor or delayed response from lower courts is yet another factor that adversely affects the security culture of Pakistan. Despite tall claims, the judiciary at the grass root level has failed to come up to the

³⁷ Muhammad Khurshid Khan, "Projected Security Environments of Pakistan in Post-Afghanistan War Scenario," *IPRI Journal* XI, no. 2 (Summer 2011): 104, 105; and "Economic Survey," *News International* (Islamabad), June 11, 2008.

expectation of the common people. The ‘culture of rampant corruption’ could not be challenged despite the fact that this honorable organ of the establishment is paid heavily. The common citizens dare not to approach the courts on the assumptions that they might end up the ultimate sufferers. However, this important organ cannot be solely made responsible for delay or incorrect decisions because other factors, too, have direct relevance to the courts’ activities. This tendency also plays an important role in evolution of the NSCs.

Sixth, the government administrative structure lacks capacity as well as will to perform and come up to the expectation of civil society. The role of the Judiciary especially at the lower level besides, the fact that it is the administration that needs to be put right if justice and security to the common people is to be ensured. The courts cannot work in isolation. As of today, due to insecurities, no one is even prepared to cooperate with the courts despite being the eye witness of various incidents. Pakistan’s history is littered with events like Wali Baber and Raymond Davis which clearly indicate that the poor people have no protection against the criminal cartels, fully entrenched in Pakistani society.

Seventh, as pointed out above, due to the government’s weaknesses, till recent past, there has been lawlessness in Pakistani society. All mega cities are under tremendous pressures from the criminal gangs. There had been ‘no go areas’ in all big cities. There are hundreds and thousands of the people who reside illegally in Pakistan and most of them remain involved in criminal activities. Thus, the overall security environment in the country has compelled the civil society to look ‘inward’ thus; they play no role in helping out the government to improve security culture.

Eighth, in any society, Police Department remains the central pillar to maintain law and order while other organs play supporting role. Since 9/11, this department has made huge sacrifices and it is under tremendous psychological pressure. Despite urgency, its capacity to deal with the ongoing crises has not been enhanced. Apart from the genuine causes of its failure, police culture has not changed for better. Thus, majority of the people from all walks of life consider police as a part of problem and source of insecurity. The existing ‘*Thana-Kacheri*’ culture is so complex that ordinary people are hesitant to approach police to extend cooperation and seek their help. Above all, this department is

politicised and deeply involved in the culture of corruption. Due to these Achilles' heel that the entire society developed an 'inward looking' culture that continue to affect the society negatively.

Ninth, as highlighted earlier, ideology, core values, and traditions etc, play a predominant role in promoting security culture specific to that society. Though Pakistan was created to protect Muslim community and its culture at large, it landed in a crisis situation. Its society remains divided on ethnic and religious lines fully backed by the external actors.³⁸ The incident of 9/11 multiplied the problems. In the lawless society, ordinary citizens remain unconcerned about the unlawful activities of these religious/ethnic groups. Thus, in authors' considered view, while religion as a central pillar of unity in Pakistan may help providing collective response against foreign aggression but shockingly, it impacts negatively on the divided society. Thus, one may conclude that a divided society is unable to develop a strong sustainable security culture.

Tenth, albeit the civil society cannot remain oblivious to its responsibility towards the state but in our considered opinion, the government too has failed to fulfil its obligations. As a state, Pakistan could not create prolific security culture among its citizens. Its energies mostly remained fixed towards improving its armed forces to provide security while undermining the role of other organs including police as well as the civil society. Consequently, in the absence of the desired security standards at the state level which is needed to protect ordinary people, the civil society continuously gets discouraged and, thus, has been compelled to behave indifferently.

Eleventh, it is opined that the legislative bodies both at the center and provincial levels have also shown inability and casual attitude towards legislative measures needed to meet the challenges posed by law breakers. The legislative body took years to amend Anti Terrorism (Amendment) Ordinance 1999 and managed to pass Anti-Terrorist Bill-

³⁸ Muhammad Khurshid Khan, "Analyzing Domestic Terrorism as a Threat to Pakistan's Security and the Policy Response," *IPRI Journal* XI, no. 2 (Summer 2009), 55; and "Pakistan's 'extremist leader' held," <http://news.bbc.co.uk>

2013 after a struggle of over three years.³⁹ In the absence of stringent laws, even the department of Police and Courts are, at times, remained handicapped to take stern actions against the culprits.

Twelfth, undoubtedly, potentially Pakistan is a strong country. It maintains a well organised army with nuclear capability. It has broad based economy, it can draw maximum advantage from being a strategically located country, democracy is back on track, military and administration are on the same page and most importantly, the present political leadership seems sincere to steer the nation in right direction. Despite its strength, it is believed that there is a psychological war going on against Pakistan fully backed by international media. Unfortunately, the local media too is not contributing positively in promoting the NSCs required to protect national interests in a befitting manner.

Thirteenth, till recent past, the environment and indicators of a failing state had been prevailing around Pakistan. The ordinary citizens have become victim of the psychological war. The weak legislative measures, poorly organised law enforcement departments and indifferent behavior shown by the civil society, all present a poor case to promote and protect NSCs based on core values, traditions and history. However, ever since the Operation Zarb-e-Azb launched since June 2014, followed by execution of NAP, the ground realities have changed to a great extent.⁴⁰ As a result, the civil society has been encouraged to play a greater role in rediscovering the essence of the NSCs needed to protect the national interests of Pakistan.

And finally, it is a proven fact that there have been incidents in the history of states that made a lasting impact in changing the security culture. The vision and the mission of ‘The Homeland Security,’ developed by the US Administration in the aftermath of 9/11 incident would not have been possible without standing sanction of the American

³⁹ Umer Nangiana, “Anti-terror law tweaked to add focus on financing,” *Express Tribune*, February 21, 2013; and Azam Butt, “Senate passes Anti-Terrorism (second Amendment) Bill,” 2013, March 14, 2013, www.pakistantoday.com.pk/.../national/senate-passes-anti-terrorism...

⁴⁰ ISPR Press Release No PR 138/2016; and “COAS for large-scale operation against terrorists outside FATA”.

public.⁴¹ We believe that the Peshawar incident of December 16, 2014 was even severe in intensity and impact as compared to that of the fall of twin towers in New York. The incident created urgency thus, rediscovery of the NSCs based on ideology and core values emerged as defining characteristic of Pakistan. However, unlike the US that has created permanent organs to support the mission, Pakistan continues to rely on ad-hoc arrangements.

Recommendations

- Much has been written about the problems and the possible reforms needed to maintain the desired security level. Since the last three decades, the governing trends remained unchanged that has impacted the NSCs very badly. At macro level, the government needs to take strict measure to help restore the confidence of the civil society by giving them the sense of security. The good news is that the ice has started melting and the nation is hopeful for a better future, provided that it builds on what we are likely to achieve in the next two years time as a result of execution of NAP.
- The great worry is that currently only military aspect of NAP is working effectively while other prongs are quite slow in responding due to the national call for multiple reasons. This is a very dangerous development because the armed forces cannot remain deployed for an indefinite period. Therefore, it is suggested that all aspects of NAP must be fully directed towards completing its expected outcomes in the given timeframe and preparing to take over their primary role before the armed forces go back to their camps. The nation cannot afford to fail again.
- In order to bring a constructive variation, Pakistan needs to draw on the pertinent lessons from the security culture that the US has developed. As pointed out earlier, the vision and the mission of 'The Homeland Security' in the aftermath of 9/11 would not have

⁴¹ John Stanton, "The American National Security Consciousness, Culture and State: Can Other Media Provide a Credible, Alternative Narrative that Matters?", Presented at International Studies Association (ISA), Elon University, October 15, 2011, papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1946845

been possible without standing sanction of the American public. The American media also played a constructive role in transforming the concept into a reality. Pakistani media should also realise and come forward to play a positive role side by side with the other agencies in promoting sustainable NSCs in Pakistan.⁴²

- As reflected in the study, due to the multifarious challenges, the security environment continues to become more complex and the process of making good security decisions and implementation is becoming more and more challenging at all levels. The answer lies in creating security-awareness cultures at the grass root level. NAP already contains important features of the security awareness program both at micro and macro levels that must be reinforced and implemented in letter and spirit.
- Security culture must not remain confined simply to the concerned organisations. As a matter of policy, an effort must be made to raise public and media awareness to security culture covering all dimensions of security threats to the government sector as well as civil society. As highlighted earlier, the government machinery working in isolation is unable to provide security against the projected and ongoing security threats. Therefore, if the NSCs are to be enhanced, civil society must be made a part of this crucial national process.
- It is believed that neither the government nor the civil society alone would be able to develop sustainable NSCs. It is a two-way streaming, the government must fulfill its obligations towards its populace by addressing the above referred concerns and the civil society must reciprocate to the government's call for the cooperation and wholehearted support for establishment of peace and prosperity in the country. An efficient management of the two-way streaming process of NSCs would help develop a desirable security culture required to take the nation out of the current mess.

⁴² Stanton, "The American National Security Consciousness."

- The measures suggested in the paper are doable provided there is a nexus between the decision makers, the law enforcing organs and the civil society. It must be acknowledged that establishing and maintaining a cultural of “esprit de corps” is not a one-time or incident-based process—it is an unending journey. The culture cannot be imposed from outside that goes against the values, norms and the traditions being followed since centuries. Personality-based culture imported from abroad might work temporarily but it would not be long lasting.
- The Pakistan’s security outlook is influenced by historical experiences, insight of the regional security environment, Pakistan’s security handicaps, and its threat perceptions. Thus, while the NSCs must meet the 21st century requirement, the modifications that need to be inculcated must remain within the overall ideological basis, national values, tradition and culture as Muslim. Nevertheless, in the end, ‘culture’ is about people relationships and inspirations therefore, people of Pakistan should remain central to the whole debate as to how an effective NSCs should built to address the security challenges.

Conclusion

We must be mindful that Pakistan is in a process of transition. The transition process must end successfully by changing the NSCs. NAP is a strategy being applied to reduce terrorism. It has succeeded to a great extent in providing respite to the nation by eradicating the menace of terrorism from the society but the process of curing all major ills from the society continues unabated. Nonetheless, it is a means and not an end, therefore, Pakistan must work on a parallel track to build on what we are likely to achieve after two years on culmination of the 21st amendment in the Constitution.

Since the last one year, we could see the freshness on the faces of the common citizens of Pakistan that must not fade away. It would be inexcusable if we fail to build on what we have achieved after giving tremendous sacrifices both in term of human lives and material assets.

And finally, a word of caution for the international community is also important. As pointed out earlier, external factors and actors especially those of Indian and Afghan intelligence agencies are directly/ indirectly involved in destabilising Pakistan. It must be realised that South Asia is an emerging economic market having global impact. If there is a problem in this region, it would have negative impact on the entire world. Therefore, an unstable Pakistan with nuclear weapons is not in their interest. Hence, it is suggested that for greater regional and global economic security, the world needs to support Pakistan in all aspects be it strategic or political support from major powers or direct and indirect investment in its economic sector.