

ERADICATION OF POVERTY THROUGH EMPOWERMENT OF PEOPLE

Manzoor Ahmed & Shahzad Hussain*

“And (the righteous) give food – however great be their own want of it – unto the needy, and the orphan, and the captive, (saying in their hearts), we feed you for the sake of God alone: we need no recompense from you, nor thanks: behold, we stand in awe of our Sustainer’s judgment on a distressful, fateful day.”

Al-Quran (76: 7-10)¹

Abstract

Pakistan is counted among the countries which have a large portion of population living below poverty line. Poverty is a world-wide phenomenon, but South Asia is home to 44% of the poor of the world. Several approaches to address the predicament of poverty have been explored by economists, intellectuals and experts. There is, by and large, a consensus among contemporary economists that ‘empowerment of people’ through education, adequate professional and citizenship skills, is a more sustainable and assured path towards reduction of poverty in any society. The paper in hand aims at analyzing the existing state of poverty in Pakistan, major weaknesses in policy-prioritization in our country and their effects on the society. The underlying assumption of the study is that ‘empowerment of people’ is a pre-requisite for alleviation of poverty. The paper argues that the policy-makers, intelligentsia and media should work towards a fundamental shift in prioritization of policies, which should focus more on investment in ‘human capital’. The strength of any nation lies in its citizens, not in weapons and arsenal. The citizens with sound education and adequate citizenship skills are a reliable guarantee of national security and pride.

Keywords: Poverty, Empowerment, Human Development, Sustainable.

Introduction

Pakistan is ranked the sixth most populous country in the world and fourth in Asia.² It is counted among those countries of the world, which have huge number of people living below poverty line. Whatever criterion we apply to measure the magnitude of poverty in Pakistan, the fact remains

*Manzoor Ahmed Abbasi is Chief Instructor/Vice Principal, Army Burn Hall College, Abbotabad. He has edited five books, besides writing a few papers and co-authoring a book on ‘History of Armed Forces War College’. Dr. Shahzad Hussain is currently serving as Assistant Professor at Department of Government and Public Policy, National Defence University, Islamabad.

that the situation is far from being satisfactory. Asia, as whole, is a home to over 1.4 billion people; approximately a quarter of the humanity lives in this part of the world. According to World Bank's latest estimates about 649.6 million people in the South Asian region survive on less than \$1.25 a day and they make up 44% of the developing world's poor. It has been estimated that 22.6% of Pakistan's population lives below poverty line.³ This rampant poverty is despite of the fact that there has been substantial economic growth in South Asian countries for the last two decades. Illiteracy, hunger, diseases and natural catastrophes have been wide-spread in this region, which are sufficient to make the lives of the people hell on the earth, let alone wars, proxy wars, sabotages and unabated violence, which are fast converting this region to a non-livable habitat. "The battle for human development is going to be won or lost mainly in Asia, because that is where 70% of the developing world's people live."⁴

Poverty is no more seen as an absence of means to earn two times meal a day, though hunger still remains a major challenge that both the developing and least developed countries of the world are confronted with. Wide-spread poverty in Pakistan appears to be a major factor behind a number of social evils and crimes in the society. Despite reasonable economic growth rate in Pakistan since early 1960s, all human development indicators in our country present a dismal picture. It is assumed that the main reason of rampant poverty in Pakistan has been the lack of focus on human development.

The paper in hand aims at distillation of existing state of human development and poverty in Pakistan with a view to suggest appropriate

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measures for the empowerment of the people. The functional hypothesis of the study is that empowerment of the people through education and adequate citizens' skills, is a sustainable path towards poverty

alleviation. Owing to time constraints, no primary data could be collected to find empirical evidence for the study in hand. However, extensive use of

existing data has been made, both from domestic as well as international sources, to investigate the key policy areas, which have a bearing on human development issues in Pakistan. The study unfolds with theoretical debate on various concepts of poverty alleviation and human development, followed by existing state of human development in Pakistan, the effects of poverty on our society and suggested measures for the empowerment of the people.

Poverty and Empowerment of People – The Conceptual Paradigms

Poverty is generally defined as “a denial of opportunities and fulfillment of human potential.”⁵ Dr Amartya Sen (1983) says that the American President Roosevelt said on 6th January 1941, during the peak time of World War-II, that “in future days we look forward to a world founded upon four essential freedoms, including the freedom from want.”⁶ Thereafter, ‘poverty’ became one of the major themes of post-World War era.⁷ The debate that ensued contained great uncertainties as to how the phenomenon of poverty should be conceptualized. It generally revolved around ‘absolute versus relative poverty’ and ‘a cut-off line versus poverty of opportunities’. “Poverty primarily consists of two elements; a narrowly defined one i.e. ‘income poverty’ and the more broadly defined i.e. ‘human poverty’, referred to by Dr Mahbub-ul-Haq as “the poverty of opportunities”.⁸ The World Bank prescribed in 2005 the international poverty line as 1.25 a-days per person, based on the prices of that year, which is still cited a yardstick in most of economic surveys.⁹ Poverty is a global phenomenon, spreading over all the continents. However, South Asia is considered as the poorest and yet the most militarized region of the world. One fifth humanity and 44% of the poor live in this part of the world. According to World Bank’s latest estimates about 650 billion people in South Asia survive on less than \$ 1.25 a day.¹⁰

Approaches to address the predicament of poverty are also diverse. The concept that social systems must be judged by the extent that they contribute towards the promotion of “human good” dates back to Greeks.

Aristotle argued that “wealth is evidently not the good we are seeking, for it is merely useful for the sake of something else.”¹¹ Immanuel Kant, the famous German philosopher, advocated for the dignity of human beings. He said, “so act as to treat humanity, whether in their own person or in that of any other, in every case an end withal, never as means only.”¹² The ‘economic growth’ model propounds that the best answer to socio-economic problems is to let the free market economy function, which has sufficient capacity to correct its own inefficiencies. The *laissez-faire*¹³ economy brings about increased productivity, which will automatically reduce poverty, by trickle-down effect. But it does not mean that liberal economists were less conscientious of the plight of the poor. When Adam Smith, the father of free market economy, said that economic development should enable an individual, to mix freely with others, without being “ashamed to appear in public”, he was conveying a concept of poverty that would go beyond counting calories, emphasized Mahbub-ul-Haq.¹⁴ He further asserts; “the basic purpose of development is to enlarge people’s choices. The objective of development is to create an enabling environment for people to enjoy long, healthy and creative lives.”¹⁵ It also goes to the credit of Mahbub-ul-Haq that he was the one who highlighted the basic flaw in the growth model of poverty alleviation. He said that “a link between growth and human lives has to be created consciously, through deliberate public policy; such as public spending on social services and fiscal policy to re-distribute income and assets. This link may not exist in the automatic workings of the market-placer, which can further marginalize the poor.”¹⁶ Amartya Sen also advocated human well-being oriented development. He said, “Food production is indeed important component of solving the problems of hunger in the modern world. But much else also needs to be done, included among other things:

- Enhancement of general economic growth
- Expansion of employment and decent rewards for work
- Diversification of production
- Enhancement of medical and health care

- Arrangement of special access to food on the part of vulnerable people (including deprived mothers and small children), spread of education and literacy
- Strengthening of democracy and the news media
- Reduction of gender-based inequalities.¹⁷

Progress and development in the recent times of welfare economics is not considered sustainable, unless it takes into account the human factor.

Deplorable Human Development Indicators in South Asia

The objective of development is to create an enabling environment for people to enjoy long, healthy and creative lives. It should aim at enlarging the choices of the people.¹⁸ The development in Pakistan and India did not help a large portion of their populations to better their lives. The South Asian countries, barring Sri Lanka, are at the bottom in all human development indicators vis-à-vis education, health, human rights, gender equality, child protection and environment. They may, however, be slightly better than Sub-Saharan countries. The largest HIV/AIDS affected population has been reported in India, whereas, Pakistan and Afghanistan have been declared fast affected regions from Malaria and Polio. The number of malnourished children in the region as a whole rose from 283 million in 1990 to 314 million in 2005.¹⁹ The official statistics of South Asian countries indicate that 21.6 million children, aged between 5 to 14 years, are in the working class, whereas, they should be in schools.²⁰

There are eight MDGs to be achieved by 2015, which seems to be, at present, a far cry:-

- Eradication of extreme poverty and hunger
- Achievement of universal primary education
- Promotion of gender equality and women's empowerment
- Reduce child mortality
- Improve maternal health
- Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, tuberculosis and polio
- Promotion of environmental sustainability

- Develop a global partnership for development

There is a huge unemployed young population in South Asia, which is vulnerable to negative tendencies, including crimes and terrorism. Food

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insecurity is yet another fault-line of South Asian region. According to the World Food Programme Report 2012, around one billion people go hungry every day in the world; a large portion

of them belongs to South Asia. There is a serious inequality in land and income distribution. The food shortage *per se* is not a problem at present, but the buying power of the poor is the most inhibiting factor.

Existing human development indicators pose a serious challenge to the South Asian nations, particularly Pakistan and India, as reflected in (Table-1).²¹

Table-1: Population of South Asia Living Below Poverty Line

Country	Total Population in 2011 (in Millions)	Population Living Below Poverty Line (in Millions), 2009 i.e. on less than \$1.25	Percentage of the Population Living Below Poverty Line	Human Development Index (HDI) Ranking, 2011
India	1241	516.4	41.6	134
Bangladesh	150.7	74.3	49.6	146
Pakistan	176.9	40.0	22.6	145
Nepal	30.5	16.8	55.1	142
Maldives	0.3	4,500 (Four thousand five hundred only)	1.5	109
Bhutan	0.7	n.a. (not available)	26.2	141
Afghanistan	32.4	n.a.	n.a.	172
Sri Lanka	20.9	2.0	7.0	97

Source: 'Population and Environmental Issues in South Asia'. South Asian Survey, 2013.

In a rapidly globalized world, the choices are simple: continue with current approach and experience the gradual decay and entropy, or come

out of the 'security fixes' and join hands for a better and prosperous future. *"It is essential today that South Asian economies prepare their own national human development strategies, cost them fully and reflect them in their investment and budget frameworks. They should consider freezing their military spending, to release additional resources for human development."*²² This all will, however, never happen, unless the leadership in Pakistan and India is able to move at an accelerated pace to resolve all the irritants in the way of their mutual relations, in tandem with progress on economic integration, increased social contacts and joint research and development programmes.

Security Dilemma of South Asia - An Unending Arms Race

Wars, conflict and violence have been pandemic to South Asia, a region comprising one fifth of humanity, leading many experts and analysts to call it 'the most dangerous place on earth'.²³ The security dilemma of South Asia, primarily caused by the non-resolution of Kashmir Issue, is sapping the foundations of the South Asian countries, particularly Pakistan and India, which are dwindling huge resources on military expenditures, instead of economic progress and development (Table-2). Both the countries increased last year their military budgets by 15.7% and 21% respectively, amounting to \$6.3 billion in the case of Pakistan and \$38.6 billion in the case of India per annum. India is, in fact, now in the top fifteen military spenders in the world. It indicates the paradox of Indian growth miracle; that whatever progress India has made in the economic sector in the last two decades was doled out for military imports. India is now the largest importer of weapons and military hardware in the world. Lodhi, the former Ambassador of Pakistan to the United States, expresses her concern about growing Indian military expenditures in these words: "If the past is any guide, the future is fraught with risk. Within a year of its nuclear explosion, India unveiled an ambitious nuclear doctrine i.e. 'Cold Start Doctrine'. The fact that it also increased its massive defence budget by 28 percent – an increase larger than Pakistan's entire defence

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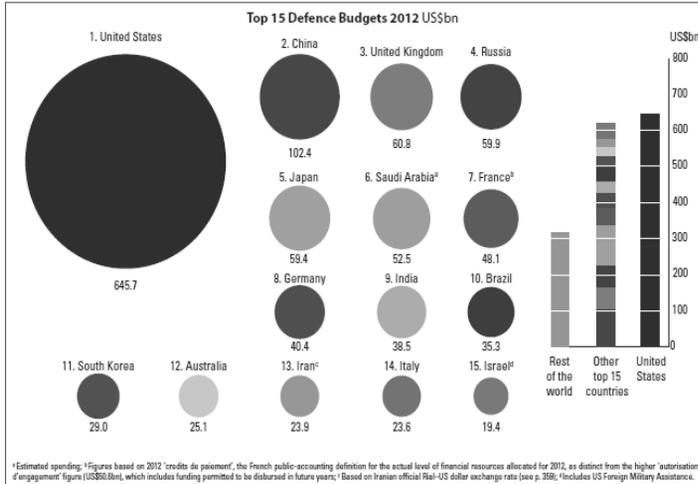
budget – to fuel its indigenous strategic and conventional programmes as well as military acquisitions, demonstrates that New Delhi is already working to implement this strategic doctrine.”²⁴China, another economic giant located in the proximity of South Asia, is the second largest military spender in the world, spending \$115.7 billion.²⁵

Table-2: The World Military Spending: The Share of South Asia

THE MAIN IMPORTERS AND EXPORTERS OF MAJOR ARMS2008-12				
S.No	Exporter	Global Share (%)	Importer	Global Share (%)
1.	USA	30	India	12
2.	Russia	26	China	6
3.	Germany	7	Pakistan	5
4.	France	6	South Korea	5
5.	China	5	Singapore	4
6.	UK	4	Algeria	4
7.	Spain	3	Australia	4
8.	Italy	2	USA	4
9.	Ukraine	2	UAE	3
10.	Israel	2	Saudi Arabia	3

Source: SIPRI Year Book 2013.

Over all, South Asian nations and China are spending about \$350-400 billion on defence related expenditures every year. The International Military Balance surveys the state of defence expenditures of China and South Asia in the following words: “China’s defence developments are fuelled by continuing military spending and substantial increases, with an 8.3% increase in real defence spending between 2011 and 2012. In Asia, as a whole, real defence spending rose by 2.44% in 2011, and the pace accelerated to 4.94% in 2012. Indeed, 2012 saw Asian defence spending (at current prices and exchange rates, and excluding Australia and New Zealand) overtakes that of NATO European states for the first time.”²⁶ **Figure-1** depicts the stark reality.

Figure-1: The Trends of Military Spending from 2011 to 2012**Comparative defence statistics**

Source: The Military Balance, Chapter Two: Comparative Defence Statistics, Published online: 14 Mar 2013. (Accessed through <http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/tmib20>).

Pakistan's military expenditures have, by and large, been constant for the last two decades (**Figure-2**), but even these could be directed towards the betterment of the lives of people, if there were an atmosphere of peace and stability in South Asia. The insightful Indian analysts point out, without failing, that the persistent increase in defence budgets does not make Pakistan and India more secure. In fact, the reverse is true. "In a classic illustration of the security dilemma, the Indian preponderance has led to greater Pakistani insecurity. The almost constant Pakistani search for security against the perceived Indian threat has, in turn, created insecurity for India. Both arms races and international crises in the region owe a great deal to the mutual insecurities created by this attempt to achieve security through military strength."²⁷

Figure-2: GDP and Military Expenditure of India and Pakistan



Source: An Introduction to Pakistan's Military. Belfour Center for Science and International Affairs, 2011.

European countries, in contrast, have made significant progress towards the reduction of military expenditures, mainly due to evolution of collective security arrangements. Europe fought wars after wars, including the two most devastating World Wars ever witnessed by the mankind, mainly due

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to narrowly defined national interests. The lesson they learnt was to put an end to the wars and join hands to usher in an era of collective progress, development and prosperity.

The process of economic integration was taken as a panacea for conflicts. The leaders in the post World War-II Europe emerged as statesmen and evolved a system of collective security, wherein no one could suspect the intentions of the other. At the end of Cold War, the Westphalia state structures were further replaced by 'secure but open borders', where the movement of men, knowledge and the goods of collective utility could be continued unhindered. South Asia in comparison, somehow, pre-empts any

sort of regional cooperation, which could foster an atmosphere of peace and tranquility.²⁸

Prudence demanded that scarce natural and human resources should have been spent for the collective good of the humanity, what ensued instead was the race for armament, resulting in piling up of conventional and unconventional weapons, atom bombs, and huge standing armies, which consume the major chunk of economic resources, leaving little room to ameliorate the plight of the people of this region. It is, therefore, not surprising that South Asia is the poorest and yet the most militarized region in the world.²⁹ “We need today a new concept of human security”, said Dr Mahbubul Haq as earlier as in 1995, “the security reflected in the lives of the people, not in the weapons of their countries. Human security is not a concern with weapons. It is a concern with human dignity.”³⁰

The Impact of Arms Race on General Public

There is no extraordinary wisdom required to understand the negative impact of militarization in South Asia, leading to un-ending arms race, on the lives of people in the region. In a simple tradeoff between ‘guns and butter’, the guns are being preferred on the basic needs of human beings. Who is the real beneficiary of this arm race, **Table-3** clearly depicts.

Table-3: THE 10 LARGEST ARMS – PRODUCING COMPANIES2011

S.No	Company	Arms Sales (\$ m)	Profit (\$ m)
1.	Lockheed Martin	36270	2655
2.	Boeing	31830	4018
3.	BAE Systems (UK)	29150	2349
4.	General Dynamics	23760	2526
5.	Raytheon	22470	1896
6.	Northrop Grumman	21390	2118
7.	EADS (Trans – Europe)	16390	1422
8.	Finmeccanica (Italy)	14560	-3206
9.	L-3 Communications	12520	956
10.	United Technologies	11640	5347

Companies are US – based, unless indicated otherwise. The profit figures are from all company activities, including non-military sales.

Source: SIPRI Year Book 2013

Little is left after spending on military expenditures and debt retirement, to invest in overall developmental plans. Mahbub-ul-Haq was of the opinion that “the world is entering a new era in which the very concept of security will change – and change dramatically. Security will be interpreted as:

- Security of people, not just territory.
- Security of individuals, not just nations.
- Security through development, not through arms.
- Security of all the people everywhere – in their homes, in their jobs, in their streets, in their communities, in their environment.”³¹

However, all these noble precepts could not see day light. Concepts of security all around the globe are confined to same sacrosanct parameters, which no one dare touch, lest one is branded as ‘less patriot than the more patriots’.

A Need for Paradigm Shift in the Priorities of Policy-making in Pakistan

*“The best of people are those who are the most useful to others.”
Al-Hadith³²*

It needs to be appreciated that ‘empowerment of people’ does not imply ‘political sloganeering’, as was done in Pakistan in the recent past. The significance of immediate politico-economic interventions for the uplift of poverty stricken people notwithstanding, the real empowerment of masses lies in their capacity-building. It can be practically translated through provision of:

- Sound and purposeful education, which should help develop well rounded personalities.
- Sufficient technical skills, to earn an honorable living.
- Comprehensive citizens’ skills, which should help individuals to become responsible citizens, not only within the state, but also as the members of the global community.

- Fundamental rights, including security to person, family, property and honour, and freedom of political, religious and economic choices.
- Healthcare and assistance in risks and vulnerabilities.

The poor do not figure out much in the existing system of governance and policy structures of Pakistan. Prioritization of policies is done keeping in view short term political gains. Those programmes and projects are initiated, which catch attention of media and general public. The long term sustainable developmental programmes, which should bring about real change in the lives of people, do not appear on the policy agenda. Hence, there is a need to evolve a consensus across parties on short, medium and long term policies and strategies, to ensure investment in those areas which may empower people and, thereby, the state of Pakistan.

Lack of Empowerment of People – The Societal Fallouts

The nations that failed to invest in ‘human capital’ are now facing existential problems, and Pakistan is a case in point in this regard. It has not been able to charter its journey on a sustainable path to progress and development, mainly because of lack of empowerment of people. The fallouts of this massive failure are wide-spread and quite conspicuous. Only a few are being highlighted in the succeeding paragraphs:-

- **Uneducated and Unskilled Workforce**

The first and foremost impact of lack of empowerment of people is that Pakistan is counted among the least educated nations of the world. It has yet to achieve universalization of education, hundred percent enrolments of school-going children, as required in Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Education and skills that ensure employability of citizens are not available to a large portion of the population. Majority of the students, who reach graduation level, receive generalized education, mostly in social sciences and humanities.

- **Rampant Poverty**

Pakistan is among the lowest per capita income countries of the world, with huge inflation and low growth rate. Apart from this, there are huge gaps in the income levels of various groups, which result in further

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stratification of the society.

Some areas of the state are clearly left behind e.g. FATA, interior Sind, Southern Punjab and Balochistan. The poor cannot be expected to value the

education of their children highly, when they are struggling primarily for their bread and butter. It has been found from experience that in backward communities neither primary education nor attempts to spread literacy among adults can be successful unless people see some economic benefit accruing from these developments.”³³

- **Unemployment**

Since a large percentage of the population of the country lacks education, particularly technical education, it results in massive unemployment, which in turn, provides breeding ground for numerous social evils like smuggling, drug-trafficking, corruption and other financial crimes. A number of studies allude to this reality that unemployed youth are the prime victims of terrorists’ recruitment. Dr Qureshi, who himself was a member of Education Committee formed by Quaid-i-Azam and later on Federal Minister, pointed out:

“This country has a large population and opportunities of employment are limited, therefore, there is an ample supply of labour. But, the labour is not productive as it is in the developed countries, because it is mostly unskilled and not properly trained.”³⁴

- **Radicalization and Extremism**

Education is the most effective means for empowerment of people. Its absence and inadequacy result in reverse. The worst fallout of lack of

education or improper education in the case of Pakistan is the spread of extremism and sectarianism in society. Since the state can neither provide sufficient opportunities to the youth for education nor employment, they are vulnerable to radical tendencies. It is the personal experience and observation of this researcher during the course of service in remote areas of Balochistan and adjoining tribal areas of FATA that once the children do not find opportunities to be registered in public schools, they virtually land up in *Madaris*, which fail to provide them with a sound education or professional skills. It has been proved by a number of empirical studies that Madrassah education is not free from sectarianism and extremism, which it spreads in the society.³⁵ The majority of the *Madaris* do not provide any skills to the students, through which they can earn an honourable living. Their only employment is in the mosques, to perform various functions. But, the other streams of education, including Government schools are equally inefficient in providing a technical education to students, which would ensure their employability.

- **Bad Governance**

Efficient and effective governance practices can be ensured only in a society where citizens are well aware of their rights and equipped to safeguard them, as well as their duties. Educated and informed citizens keep a regular vigil on governance practices, and bad practices, if any, are effectively taken care of. Lack of empowerment of people makes them indifferent and they gradually fall into a state of apathy, which is considered very dangerous for the development of any society. If socio-economic and political systems are unable to deliver, they cause 'system frustration', which in turn, takes the shape of despondency, resulting generally in deviant behaviours.³⁶ It is, therefore, imperative that governance systems should be transparent, productive, and efficient and people centered.

Conclusion

Wide-spread and rampant poverty is a big challenge for the state of Pakistan. It appears to be a major cause of a number of social evils and crimes, including drug-trafficking, terrorism and extremism. The utility of short term subsidy-oriented policies, aimed at mitigating the plight of the poor, cannot be denied. However, a sustainable path towards poverty alleviation is required to be paved with concrete steps for the empowerment of people. People are taken as empowered, if they possess sound education and adequate technical and social skills. A paradigm shift in prioritization of policies is required, if we really want people to be empowered. It would practically imply the diversion of budgetary allocations towards rapid improvement of education and technical skills of the citizens. It also implies provision of more funds for healthcare, recreational facilities and sports facilities, so that the youth may engage in healthy pursuits. The more we invest in 'human capital' the better would be the results. Empowerment of people is a time-tested mode to alleviate poverty in any society. Hence, it is recommended that policy-makers in Pakistan should shift their focus towards empowerment of people through various means and instruments enunciated in the preceding paragraphs.

NOTES

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- ² State of Human Rights in Pakistan 2010, quoted by Ehsan Mehmood Khan, in his book Ehsan Mehmood Khan, *Human security in Pakistan* (Islamabad, Pakistan: Narratives, 2013): 191.
- ³ World Bank's South Asian Regional Brief, September 25, 2012, accessed through <http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/feature/2012/09/25/south-Asia-Regional-Brief>, on 19 November 2013. Also Gouranga Lal Dasvarma, *Population and Environmental Issues in South Asia* (South Asian Survey, 2013): 64.
- ⁴ Mahbub Ul. Haq. *Reflections on human development* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995): 93.
- ⁵ Pakistan., Economic Advisers Wing., *Pakistan economic survey 2009-10* (Islamabad (Pakistan): Finance Division, Economic Advisers Wing, 2010): 127.
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- ⁷ *Ibid.* p.153.
- ⁸ Mahbub-ul-Haq quoted in Pakistan. Economic Advisers Wing., *Pakistan economic survey 2009-10* (Islamabad (Pakistan): Finance Division, Economic Advisers Wing, 2010), 127.
- ⁹ United Nations, "Rethinking Poverty: Report on the World Social Situation 2010", *Department of Social and Economic Affairs* (2010): 1.
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- ¹¹ Quoted by Mahbub Ul. Haq. *Reflections on human development* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995): 13.
- ¹² *Ibid.* p.13
- ¹³ Strongly advocated by Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill in 19th Century.
- ¹⁴ Mahbub ul Haq, op. cit. p.13.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.* p.14.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.* p.14.
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- ¹⁹ A Report of the CSIS Global Health Policy Center, 27 July 2010.p.2.
- ²⁰ Child Labor Report of ILO 2003.
- ²¹ World Bank's South Asian Regional Brief, September 25, 2012. Accessed through <http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/feature/2012/09/25/south-Asia-Regional-Brief>, on 19 November 2013. Also Gouranga Lal Dasvarma, *Population and Environmental Issues in South Asia* (South Asian Survey, 2013): 64.
- ²² Mahbub Ul. Haq. op. cit. 93-94.
- ²³ Rajat Ganguly, *Security Issues in South Asia*, 10th ed. (South Asian Survey, 2013): 14.
- ²⁴ Dr Maleeha Lodhi. *Security Challenges in South Asia, The Non-Proliferation Review* (Taylor & Francis, 2001): 118.
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- ³³ Ishtiaq Husain. Qureshi. *Education in Pakistan: an inquiry into objectives and achievements* (Karachi: University of Karachi. Bureau of composition, compilation & translation, 1975): 230.
- ³⁴ Ibid, p.217.
- ³⁵ For reference, these studies can be seen: Saleem H. Ali, *Pakistan's Madrassas: The Need for Internal Reform and the Role of International Assistance* (BROOKINGS' Doha Centre Policy Briefing, 2009).TahirAndrabi et al., "Religious School Enrollment in Pakistan: A Look at the Data," *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 2005, 3521, doi:10.2139/ssrn.667843. Jessica Stern, *The Ultimate Terrorists*(London: Harvard University Press,200).Hassan Abbas and Jessica Stern, *Pakistans drift into extremism Allah, the army, and Americas war on terror*(London: Routledge, 2014).
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