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MAPPING SECURITY FOR BANGLADESH: AN EMANCIPATORY APPROACH

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A B S T R A C T

The study investigates the long-standing security practices of Bangladesh which overlooks the major referent object of security, the individuals. The study argues that based on the logic of protecting sovereignty, mapping security for Bangladesh goes in the direction of prioritizing state security while overlooking individuals. But major security threats of the country are from non-military aspects which range from environmental to food to health insecurity. The study claims that in the case of Bangladesh, individuals should be identified as the primary referent object of security. In this context, this study applies the 'Security as Emancipation' (SAE) approach for mapping security for Bangladesh. The area of health security is used as an illustration to further discuss the implications of 'politicization of security' in Bangladesh. Against the above backdrop, this research investigates one central question: How can the 'Security as Emancipation' approach be used to map security for Bangladesh?

Keywords: Bangladesh, Critical security studies, Emancipation, Health security, Politicization of security.

INTRODUCTION

Although the term 'security' has become a household word in today's world of intense insecurities and violent conflicts, it is one of the most 'contested concepts' in the discourse of International Relations in general, and security studies in particular. There is no single definition of security. The meaning depends to a larger extent on who is defining it. For instance, if a realist like Stephen M. Walt (1991) defines security, then it is linked to military security, while a critical scholar like Ken Booth (2007, 1991) sees security as 'survival-plus' or linked with 'emancipation'. While there is no consensus on the meaning of 'security', 'most scholars within International Relations work with a definition that involves the alleviation of threats to cherished values' (Williams 2008, p.1). In Bangladesh, security has been defined primarily from military security perspective, protecting sovereignty and territorial integration from external threats. Here, the potential threat is imagined to be arising from India. In this regard, Iftekharuzzaman (1994) notes that 'in Bangladesh,… like in the rest of South Asiathere has been an almost blind approach of identifying the state security with that of national security'. At this point DelwarHossainalso points out that 'Political regimes in Bangladesh have traditionally focused on national security that suits their vested interests in running the government. Security in its traditional or non-traditional perspectives remains highly politicized in its empirical context' (personal communication, 2014).

On the other hand, security scholarship in Bangladesh is mostly dominated by the neo-realist paradigm which overlooks the security of the individuals. Notable works on security studies in Bangladesh are Mohammad Humayun Kabir (2000) *National Security of Bangladesh in the Twenty-First Century*, Mufleh R Osmany and Muzaffer Ahmed (2003)*Security In The Twenty First Century: A Bangladesh Perspective*, Mufleh R Osmany (2008) *Whither National Security Bangladesh 2007*, Sheikh Md Monirul Islam (2009) *National Security Bangladesh 2008*. Theseto a larger extent focuson state security. Taking the tenets of neo-realist paradigm of security, i.e. 'anarchic international system', 'self-help', and hence emphasizing on military capabilities, security has been studied in Bangladesh to a larger extent.In thecontext of Bangladesh, however, major security threats are from non-military aspects which rangefrom

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environmental to food to health insecurity. For instance, 'between 1991 and 2000, 93 major disasters were recorded in Bangladesh, resulting in nearly 2, 00,000 deaths and causing damages worth US$ 5.9 billion with high losses in agriculture and infrastructure' (Islam, 2011). Furthermore, high level of poverty, malnutrition, political insecurity is evident in the country. Such insecurities cannot be addressed through military means. Moreover, there is 'politicization of security' both in practice and theory. 'Politicization of security' means that security understanding and practices are political in their assumptions as well as implications. Security knowledge or studying security is regarded 'as a political process in which claims are produced and practices are imagined and legitimized' (Nunes, 2012). In the context of Bangladesh, the way in whichsecurity has been defined, studied, and practised in policy and scholarshipshows an inherent politicization of security. For instance, while neo-realist security paradigm is followed, and India is projected as an external threat to justify the claim for national security whether by the political leaders for their regime security or by the scholars, security becomes politicized. So, it is important to take a critical look at the security question of Bangladesh. And therefore, although, there are existing security practices and understanding in Bangladesh, it is pertinent to look at whether it is in the right direction or not.

Mapping security means identifying the changing security needs over time and security for whom and from what. Security for Bangladesh needs to be mapped due to the dominant security practices in the country that do not secure the overwhelming majority of population and due to the changing notion of security because of the emergence of new security threats with the passage of time. Mufley R. Osmany (2008) notes that 'security architecture of Bangladesh is more a product of default rather than design. Ad hoc and piecemeal responses of the government come about from time to time, following persistent media outcry…relating to specific issues…'. So, since there is no specific security policy in the country, mapping security becomes important.

Due to the nature of security threats facing Bangladesh which are basically intra-state in nature rather than inter-state and due to the 'politicization of security' in policy and theory, the study uses 'Security as Emancipation' (SAE) approach to map security for Bangladesh. SAE approach is one of critical security studies (CSS) approaches. This approach argues that security of anindividual human being should be the primary aim of security studies and hence, human well-being should be at the centre of security studies. Emancipatory form of security means removing all types of impediments (from poverty to political oppression) to human potentials (Booth, 1991, 2005 and 2007). In terms of mapping security for Bangladesh, SAE approach is relevant because although individuals should be identified as referents of security due to the nature of security challenges, there is state centricity as well as 'politicization of security' in security studies in Bangladesh.

The aim of this article is to examine the security narratives in Bangladesh and provide policy prescriptions on the basis of that. The area of health security has been used as a case study. The central question that the study investigates is that 'How can the 'Security as Emancipation' approach be used to map security for Bangladesh?'

The article has five sections.First section focuses on the theoretical framework of the paper. Section two discusses the evolution of security narratives (in policy and scholarship) in Bangladesh. Section three addresses the main research question: how can the 'Security as Emancipation' (SAE) approach be used to map security for Bangladesh? Section four analyses how health security has been neglected due to the 'politicization of security' and in this regard how 'SAE' Approach can be employed to map health security. Finally, section five provides policy prescriptions for mapping security for Bangladesh.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

As a theoretical framework, this study uses the 'Security as Emancipation' approach. It needs to be placed within the broader Critical Security Studies (CSS) approaches. During the Cold War period, security was understood as state security and the referent object of security was the state. Security studies was based on the logic of political realism whereby state is the primary referent object of security and 'war the main threat to it' (Peoples and Vaughan-Williams, 2010). Critical security studies (CSS) came up due to the dissatisfaction over traditional security studies dominated by this ideology of political realism. The notable works on critical security studies (Booth, 1991, 2005, and 2007; Krause &Williams, 1997; Krause, 1998; Jones, 1995 and 1999; Bilgin, 2008 and

2012; Peoples and Vaughan-Williams, 2010) critically question the foundations of traditional security studies, and provide an alternative that argues against state as the only or primary referent object of security and recognizes that there are other issues that need to be included in the security agenda.

Security is seen to be a derivative concept in CSS (Krause & Williams, 1997; Booth, 2007). Security will have different meanings based on the different world views. For instance, held by a dying of hunger, the notion of security is different from the Western-white-male dominated understanding of security. CSS also questions the traditional security studies security agenda: military security or military threat to states. The primary aim of critical security studies is to 'broaden' and 'deepen' the concept of security (Krause & Williams, 1997; Jones, 1999; Booth, 1997 and 2007). Hence, CSS focuses on not only a broader security agenda from environment to food to health that threatens the security of referents but also deepens the levels of security, i.e. state, individual, regional, and international.

Finally, CSS investigates how security has been traditionally studied. It has been found that security has traditionally been studied from positivist approach applying 'scientific principles of objectivity, verification and generalisation…' (Peoples and Vaughan-Williams 2010, p.4). Stephen M. Walt (1991) emphasizes on the positivist approach to study security based on neutrality, observation, and empirical verification. But 'security is never a neutral intellectual pursuit…there is no such thing as an objective theory…to achieve complete objectivity is impossible and to claim to have achieved it is deliberately misleading' (Sheehan, 2005).

So, CSS challenges the positivist approach of studying security studies and hence proposed post positivist approaches. Post-positivist approach applies 'a series of approaches, including many critical approaches to security which emphasize the point that truth claims can never be grounded; there is no objective view from nowhere, outside history and politics, from which we might take a neutral position' (Peoples and Vaughan-Williams, 2010). Notably, in post-positivist approach, there is a greater significance of theory-policy nexus.

Security as Emancipation Approach: 'Security as Emancipation' approach focuses on individuals as primary referents of security, emancipatory possibilities and importance of praxis. The idea of 'Security as Emancipation' approach has been explicitly developed by Ken Booth and Richard Wyn Jones, who are identified with the Welsh School (Smith, 2005; Nunes, 2014). SAE approach problematizes the referent object of security, the state, and instead places individuals as the primary referent of security; and hence alleviating all types of constraints to human potentials ranging from war to political oppression to poverty become important (Booth, 1991, 2005 and 2007; Alker, 2005; Bilgin, 2008, and 2012; Basu & Nunes, 2012; Nunes, 2014). Booth writes, '…emancipation seeks the securing of people from those oppressions that stop them carrying out what they would freely choose to do, compatible to others' (Booth, 2007). In his pioneering 1991 paper titled 'Security and Emancipation', he sees emancipation 'theoretically and empirically as security' (Booth, 1991b).

In addition, this approach questions the political underpinning of security that how security or insecurity has been conceptualized or constructed, re-produced, and what security does. SAE also provides a normative commitment towards redressing insecurities to human potentials through emancipation. Moreover, this approach focuses on praxis (Booth 1991, 2005 and 2007; Alker, 2005; Bilgin, 2008 and 2012; Basu & Nunes, 2012; Nunes, 2012 and 2014).

Finally, traditional security studies hardly address the insecurities of the Global South (Ayoob, 1997; Bilgin, 2012). So, Pinar Bilgin (2012) writes, 'Non-western insecurities cannot be reduced to Hobbesian fear alone'. Hence, she identifies the rationale of SAE approach in addressing the insecurities of the Global South (Bilgin, 2012). Although this approach is developed in the West by Ken Booth, given the natures of security threats in Bangladesh, SAE approach is most appropriate.

SECURITY NARRATIVES (IN POLICY AND SCHOLARSHIP) IN BANGLADESH

What is the state of security practices and understanding of security in Bangladesh since the birth (1971) of the country? Has the notion of 'security' changed over time? With regard to security mapping for Bangladesh, it is pertinent to look at the existing security narratives in the country both in practice and theory. The section argues that security narratives in Bangladesh, both in policy and scholarship are primarily dominated by the state-centric approach. If one looks at the security practices in South Asia in general, security has been mainly practised based on protecting the territory from external enemies at the cost of peoples' security

(Barthwal-Datta, 2012; Dutt &Bansal, 2012). Scholarship of security studies in South Asia is 'under the spell of tenets of political realism' (Nizamani, 2008). The major claim of this section is that the existing understandings of security in Bangladesh needs to be problematized and should focus more on peoples' centric approach to security both in practice and in theory.

In Policy: A changing trend is found in the narratives of security policy. In Bangladesh the narratives on security in the policy arena have changed from no explicit defence policy to a prioritized defence sector. After the independence of Bangladesh during the regime of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman (1972-75), there was no clear cut defence policy or strategy of Bangladesh (Maniruzzaman, 1994; Choudhury, 2000). In this regard, special relations between Bangladesh and India played a crucial role. For instance, maintaining friendly cooperative relations with India was the cornerstone of the foreign policy of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. A Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Peace between Bangladesh and India in 1972 is a case in this regard. Notably, Article 8 of the Treaty says: 'Each of the High Contracting parties shall refrain from aggression against the other party and shall not allow the use of its territory for committing any act that may cause military damage to or constitute a threat to the security of the other high contracting party' (Maniruzzaman, 1994).

Therefore, having 'eternal' friendship with India and having no other possibility of invasion from any other neighbour other than India, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman did not feel the necessity to raise a standing army. So, during the initial period, military security of the country was not emphasized very much. Hence, there was no increase in defense budget compared to other social sectors in Bangladesh. In this regard, Dilara Choudhury rightly opines, 'Mujib regime had no clear cut defence strategy, as the regime neither totally disbanded the regular army nor raised national para-military forces' (Choudhury, 2000).

In the post Mujib regime, notably, from 1975 till 1990, military rulers, General Ziaur Rahman and General Hussain Muhammad Ershad ran the country. During this period the emphasis on military security increased manifold. Bangladesh was to be protected from external security threat. Md. Nuruzzaman (2003) in his study finds that 'the ruling elites in Dhaka, in most cases have equated the country's security with its immunity from external attack or aggression. This was naturally followed by too much emphasis on the military defence' (Nuruzzaman, 2003). Notably, India was seen as the main external security threat to the country, anda clear cut security strategy was formulated. An increase in the defence budget is also noticed during both Zia and Ershad regimes, in a poverty stricken countrylikeBangladesh.

During the Ershad regime (1982-1990), military expenditure started to increase in Bangladesh. For instance, during 1980-81 the military expenditure in Bangladesh was US$ 153 million while in the year of 1989-90, it rose to US$ 301 million (Rob & Barai, 2000). Scholars argue that, 'to consolidate his hold on his principle constituency, namely the military, Ershad increased the defence budget' (Choudhury, 2000). These clearly indicate that the concept of security was used for political purposes. Due to the emphasis on the external attack or military defense, internal security challenges of Bangladesh were largely unaddressed.

The establishment of Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies (BIISS) in 1978, asole governmental specialized research institute in Bangladesh, aims atfocusing on international and strategic studies rather than security studies. So, it gives clue that how much strategic studies was emphasized during Zia regime (1975-1981). Notably, the head of the BIISS is called as director general (DG) who is always recruited from the military personnel.

Although democratic government of Bangladesh came into power in 1991, the trend of increasing military expenditure remains the same till date. For instance, in the year 1990-1991, military expenditure was US$ 288 million while in the year of 2009, it became US$ 1060 million (Rob &Barai, 2000; U.S. Dept. of State, 2012). The so-called[i]democratic governments in the country have followed the policies of ex-military rulers in terms of security practices in Bangladesh.

In Scholarship: Despite a large number of security challenges since her independence (1971), security studies, relatively is a recent development in Bangladesh (Sabur, 2003; Islam, 2009). More specifically, security discourse in Bangladesh started in the 1990s (Kabir, 2000).After the birth of the country, there was no clear cut understanding regarding the security discourse and practice in Bangladesh (Choudhury, 2000; Kabir, 2000; Sabur, 2003). It is also evident that in the initial period, the main emphasis of security studies in Bangladesh was primarily on strategic studies. But with the passage of

time and owing to changing security scenarios, there has been a profound transformation from inter-state to internal security challenges (Choudhury, 2000).

Narratives on Traditional Security: Traditionally, security is largely understood in Bangladesh as military security. It focuses on the protection of sovereignty and territorial integrity from external military threats. As noted earlier, like other South Asian states, security studies in Bangladesh is also mainly dominated by the military dimension of security. In this regard, in a recent (2010) review of the national security of Bangladesh, Golam Mohammad claims that until recently, the security discourse in Bangladesh remained hostage to the traditionalist view (Mohammad, 2010).

In terms of geographical location of Bangladesh, it is surrounded by India from three sides, north, east and west; and shares a narrow land boundary with Myanmar in the south-East. In the Southern part of Bangladesh, there is Bay of Bengal. Being surrounded on three sides by India, there is an explicit concern in Bangladesh that the country's 'maritime outlet through the Bay of Bengal in the south could be choked by Indian navy at times of crisis' (Kabir, 2003). Furthermore, the water, land, and maritime sharing disputes with India is also taken into account in the security calculations of Bangladesh (Khan & Barai, 2000; Kabir, 2003). Against this backdrop, A K M Nazrul Islam et al. rightly point out that 'India's economic motives and attitude of keeping unresolved issues pending seem to pose the actual threat to the security of Bangladesh' (Islam et al., 2009).Therefore, India is seen as the dominant factor in the security considerations of Bangladesh. Moving further from India, considering maritime boundary dispute with Myanmar, Islam et al. claims that 'Myanmar does pose athreat to the security of Bangladesh' (Islam et al., 2009). Notably, since its independence, Bangladesh has not had any inter-state conflict with its neighbouring countries India and Myanmar. Despite this, some in the realist camp have argued that 'the border will remain peaceful if we have the military means to resist any attempt' (Choudhury, 2000). Here the military capability has seen as a precondition to remain the border peaceful. But it is not convincible since the country like Bangladesh can not afford to compete with it's giant neighbour India. And in this age of inter-dependence and multilateralism, physical attack has been quite invisible except some rare cases.

In addition, in favour of defence expenditure and military security, it has been suggested that to safeguard the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the state, there is little scope of reduction in defence expenditure and hence, Bangladesh should continue its defence expenditure (Choudhury, 2000; Khan & Barai, 2000). Muhammad Shahedul Anam Khan, one of the leading security analysts, clearly warns that 'discounting the possibility of conventional security threats would be misleading and diluting the need for a legitimate defence need is fallacious and self-defeating. And hence, we must be prepared to deter prospect of physical security threat' (Khan, 2000). In the context of Bangladesh, the term 'security' has been defined taking states, anarchy, and the military threat from India for granted which makes 'security' political. Here the imitation of neo-realist security paradigm is followed. This 'politicization of security' in traditional security studies in Bangladesh ultimately creates vulnerability to the security of the individuals.

Non-traditional Security Discourse: Scholarship on non-traditional security (NTS) discourse in Bangladesh is mainly seen from the post 1990s. Iftekharuzzaman (1994) and Rumana Samiruddin Khan (1996) paved the way to the NTS studies in Bangladesh. This school of thought questions the dominant security paradigm in the country, which is military security, and tries to provide alternatives. The main argument is that, for a country like Bangladesh, focusing on military security is irrational because of the nature of security threats faced by the country such as food or water insecurity, political insecurity, economic and health insecurity, social insecurity and environmental degradation(Iftekharuzzaman, 1994; Akash, 2000; Husain, 2000; Azim, 2001; Khan, 2003; Islam, 2009; Kabir et al., 2009; Islam, 2011). According to them, Bangladesh should focus instead on these internal security challenges. While the realist camp prescribes military security considering India as the potential threat, the 'non-traditional' camp rules out the possibility of Indian aggression into Bangladesh due to its socio-economic challenges. Nuruzzaman (2003) for instance, argues that 'Bangladesh will not be an asset but a liability to India. Bangladesh is already facing challenges that are enough disincentive for an Indian takeover'. So, in the NTS studies, the main focus is on the internal challenges of Bangladesh.

In the mid-1990s, the nature of security challenges in the

country, i.e. high levels of poverty, political instability, growing negative impacts of environmental degradation, high rate of unemployment and social instability, insurgency in Chittagong Hill Tracts motivated both the scholars and practitioners to rethink the understanding of security in Bangladesh. During this time, scholarship on NTS is mainly observed in the areas of political security, societal security, economic security, and environmental security (Iftekharuzzaman, 1994; Khan, 1996; Akash, 2000; Husain, 2000; Khan, 2003). After the year of 1999, due to the project of Ford Foundation[ii] (1999-2001), and due to the growing non-military security challenges the country faces as well as the political stability in the country, NTS studies was accelerated in Bangladesh. Even in the domain of national security studies, NTS issues gained prominence noted as in the work of scholars such as Mohammad Humayun Kabir (2000), Mufleh R Osmany (2008), Sheikh Md Monirul Islam (2009) and Golam Mohammad (2010). It is also pertinent to note that the annual review on national security of Bangladesh National Security Bangladesh 2009 published by UPL[iii] completely devoted to the study of non-traditional security challenges faces the country ranging from global economic crisis to international migration of labour and development to climate security.

Critical Engagement: The bottom-line is that security practices in Bangladesh are largely 'political'. Irrespective of increasing scholarship on non-traditional security or increasing vulnerability of Bangladesh to intra-state security challenges, military security is thepriority sector than any other sector because of the 'politicization of security'. In policy, security has been politicized, how security or security threats have been defined and prioritized in terms of policy and implementation. Due to regime interest, particularly the military regimes, security has been highly politicized. The security policy during Zia and Ershard regime is a clear case in this regard.

Notably, security mapping of Bangladesh has been done projecting India as an external security threat. However, an alternative view can also be offered. Having 160 million population along with a number of socio-economic challenges, with a territory of 1,47, 570 square km. Bangladesh will not be a convincing source for Indian invasion. Rather than an external threat, India could be opportunities.

Secondly, in this nuclear age, conventional weapons become defenceless. So, since India is a nuclear power, and having large scale military establishments, seeking military parity with India or thinking India an external threat and taking preparation on the basis of that is meaningless. Thirdly, India played an important role to achieve independence of Bangladesh in 1971 and Bangladesh-India relations have been reasonably cordial. Thus, Bangladesh needs to rethink its policy identifying India as an external security threat and mapping its security on the basis of that. The analysis in this section suggests that this is done because of the vested interests of political regimes. Hence, prevalent narratives of security need to be problematized.

With regard to security scholarship in Bangladesh, the dominance of the realist camp has been established. Traditional security scholars map security for Bangladesh projecting India as a possible external threat and prescribe security through military means. Contrary to the military security scholarships, NTS scholarship points out that people should be prioritized in the security agenda of Bangladesh, the security discourse should be humanised and state centricity should be de-emphasized.The next section deals with the question of how can Security as Emancipation(SAE) approach be imperative for security mapping in Bangladesh.

SECURITY AS EMANCIPATIONAPPROACH AND MAPPING SECURITY FOR BANGLADESH

How can 'Security as Emancipation' be applied to map security for Bangladesh? This section concentrates on this 'how' aspect. The SAE approach not only focuses on the theoretical level but also the empirical level, what is called the real world. Ken Booth and Peter Vale applied this approach in 1997 to map security in Southern Africa. They foundthat the 'definition of primary referent (s) in southern Africa is not a value-free, objective matter of "describing the world as it is"-as it has been falsely characterized in traditional realist theory….[because it] do not accord with empirical character of the region', and hence an 'expanded concept of security is particularly pertinent to the situation in southern Africa' (Booth &Vale, 1997). Further, they claim that strong civil society is imperative whether for regional consciousness or 'the development of a comprehensive vision of security' (Booth &Vale, 1997). To promote people's security, the Southern African Development Community (SADC) has played crucial role. Soumita Basu and Joao Nunes (2012) have used the SAE approach in the empirical analysis of the Bhopal gas

tragedy. They write that SAE approach can provide important insights to redress the insecurities of the people of Bhopal due to the 'structural inequalities' between Union Carbide Corporation, Indian government and the victims of the Bhopal gas tragedy (1984) and the local communities of Bhopal. They see security as not only about the compensations to the survivors of the Bhopal gas tragedy but also about the 'social and political transformation encompassing issues of citizenship and justice' (Basu &Nunes, 2012). In this regard, civil society actors like Bhopal Gas Peedit Mahila Udyog Sangathan haveplayed a crucial role in addressing issues of rights and justice.

This section uses insights from such empirical work to map the security of Bangladesh using the SAE approach. Towards this goal, it identifies and discusses key security concerns, examines emancipatory possibilities, and highlights security praxis. If one looks at the basic human necessities from food, to health to education to shelter are not at a satisfactory level in the country. The security challenges of Bangladesh are internal, and people are the major sufferer of these security challenges. Hence, individual human being should be identified as the 'ultimate' referents of security.

Key Security Concerns: The issue of political violence, environmental degradation, food insecurity, poor education, resource scarcity and conflicts have been identified as the major security concerns for Bangladesh. According to a household survey of Saferworld (2008) some of these are the major security issues of the people of Bangladeshi, 'having the largest impact on their daily security' (Saferworld, 2008).While political violence and education were not identified as major security challenges in the Saferworld study (2008), Kabir et al. (2008),in their study titled 'Non-traditional Security of Bangladesh' political violence was identifiedas the major security challenge in the country in 2007. Although education does not feature in these studies as a major security challenge to the individuals, this issue has been chosen here due to the poor quality of education, politicization of education and the lack of access to education in Bangladesh.[iv]

Political Violence: Today, political violence is a major security challenge in Bangladesh. It has become an integral part in the politics of Bangladesh, and has even been institutionalized within political parties through creation of armed cadres in the party and through provision of arms. For instance, arms have been part of political culture of Bangladesh since the era of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman when he adopted the policy of giving a light machine gun (LMG) to every parliament member for their personal safety (Moniruzzaman, 2009). The policy of Hussain Muhammad Ershad made the arms culture more institutionalized as he provided arms to his student front members to confront the opposition.

Today, political violence has become a widely accepted phenomenon within political parties which are creating insecurities to the individuals. In the period of 1991-2001, for example, 2,423 cases of political violence and conflicts have been recorded in Bangladesh (Moniruzzaman, 2009). According to Ain o Salish Kendra (ASK) Acting Executive Director Nur Khan Liton, 507 people died in 848 acts of political violence in the year 2013 alone (*Australia Network News*, 2014). So, needless to say political violence is one of the major security challenges in Bangladesh.

Although the state regards political violence as a security threat as well, its responses are usually in the form of repressive activities that needs to be problematized since this also makes individuals insecure. Furthermore, rather than ensuring security to the individuals, state has become a source of insecurity in Bangladesh through promoting political violence. Kabir et al. (2008) note that 'political activists of major political parties were openly engaged in extreme forms of activities that included armed violence, gun-running, demonstrations ending in violence, and repression by the government'. For instance, December 2013, was a month of political unrest, hartals and, blockades, which created huge problems to the daily labourers since, during such periods, hardly any job is found. As there is no work, it is quite difficult for many daily workers to manage meals for their family. Abul Hossain, a construction worker who could not find any work for four days due to continued political unrest in the country is quoted in, the Dhaka Tribune saying that, 'My family has been skipping meals for the last four days. My three sons, two daughters and a daughter-in-law have been living on puffed rice, rice flakes and water' (*Dhaka Tribune*, 2013). He shared that if (the political unrest) continued, his family would starve to death (*Dhaka Tribune*, 2013).

Further, social and economic inequalities and unemployment could lead unemployed people, especially the youth, to get involved in politically motivated violent activities. Some of these issues could be addressed if the government could formulate

employment programmes and seek to address the issue of poverty.

Environmental Degradation: Bangladesh is widely recognized as one of the most vulnerable countries to the impacts of global warming and climate change. It was noted in the introductory part that 200,000 deaths were recorded in Bangladesh due to the natural disasters between 1991 and 2000 only. Moreover, cyclone Sidr affected almost 10 million people, with approximately 5000 people deadin 2007 while in total 155 million people have been affected by floods in 1987, 1988, 1998, 2004 and 2007 (Islam, 2011). So, the level of vulnerability and insecurities of individual human beings because of environmental degradation is high.

Although environmental degradation is also identified as a security threat by the state of Bangladesh, its interests are not the same as those of the individuals. The state primarily focuses on the macro level impact of environmental degradation such as loss of territory due to the sea level rise, and consequently emergence of climate refugees. The impacts of climate change at the macro-level, on people's lives, vis-à-vis food security, water security, health or women's security do not get so much attention from the state. Livelihoods have also been affected because of changes in agricultural patterns due to climate change. Further, when any disaster happens, state primarily focuses on disaster management. But medium and long-term consequences of the disaster, such as, loss of employment due to flood is overlooked by the state.

Although at international level, Bangladesh is doing well to combat global warming and climate change, it is not active enough at the domestic level to prevent environmental degradation due to structural inequalities in the society. For example, everyday almost 1.3 million cubic metres of waste from 7000 industries in Dhaka city get dumped into the Buriganaga river. This causes tremendous water pollution which ultimately leads to water borne diseases.

Food Insecurity: Feeding the ever-growing population is a daunting task for Bangladesh since there is an increasing gap between supply and demand for food. For instance, from 75 million in 1971, the population has increased to almost 165 million which may further turn into 222 million by 2051. Along with increased population, the negative impacts of global warming and climate change on food production and, global food price rise have a major negative impact on the food security situation in the country. Furthermore, Bangladesh loses 80 thousand hectares of cultivable land annually due to excessive pressure on land for human settlement, infrastructures, river erosion, and other non-agricultural uses. If one looks at the statistics, although the number of poor people in Bangladesh has decreased tremendously from nearly 63 million in 2000, to 55 million in 2005, and then 47 million in 2010 (*Dhaka Tribune*, 2013) there are still almost 50 million poor people in the country. These poor people are unable toeven buy food. So, food insecurity can lead to an intense unrest in the country in the coming decades.

Like above issues, although state considers food insecurity as the security threat, but the access to nutritional diet is still in question since half of the population live below the food poverty line, and spend 70% of their household income on food (Kabir et al., 2008). Although there is National Food Policy 2006 in Bangladesh, which 'emphasizes 1) Adequate and stable supply of safe and nutritious food; 2) Increased purchasing power and access to food of the people; 3) Adequate nutrition for all individuals, especially women and children' it is hardly seen in implementation. Besides, due to increased expenditure in agricultural production, the farmers do not get adequate returns on their crops. In this regard, Sajjad Zahir Chandan, General Secretary of Bangladesh Krishok Samity notes that 'Farmers were frustrated this [2012] year as they incurred losses after producing bumper crops in the last two years. They did not get fair prices for their produce [sic],' (*New Age*, 2012). Notably, 'farmers were compelled to sell their paddy for BDT 400 to BDT 500 per 40 kg in haor areas and BDT 500 to BDT 550 in other areas, despite their production costs being BDT 660 to BDT 700 for the same amount of paddy' (Sajjad Zahir Chandan, quoted in New Age, May 8, 2012).So, being not getting fair price of crops and importance from the government, the farmers are becoming discouraged in agriculture. This ultimately negatively impacts the overall food security in the country.

Poor Education: The education sector in Bangladesh is highly politicized. The political parties in Bangladesh use both students' and teachers' groups for their own purposes. As discussed earlier in this section, the Ershad regime provided arms to its student members to confront opposition. This became a culture in the country's education system. With the change of every

government, there is change in the head of every educational institution also. Matiur Rahman, Editor and Publisher of Prothom Aloopines that 'Corruption, nepotism, politicization have destroyed our universities' (*The Daily Star*, 2013).

While the education sector in Bangladesh has improved over the years, access to education for all is still in question. According to World Bank Report (2013), titled Seeding Fertile Ground: Education That Works for Bangladesh; there are still five million children out of education in Bangladesh, mostly due to poverty. Furthermore, according to Directorate of Primary Education (DPE), as compared to a student count of 10,687,349, the number of teachers is only 201,900 – one teacher for every 53 students in government primary schools in the country (Wadud, 2013). This high student-teacher ratio is also a major impediment to the quality of education. Besides, the increased privatization of education is also a growing concern for the vast majority of population in the country because very few will have access to such high expensive education.

This poor quality, lack of access to education as well, is a major security issue for several reasons. First of all, this poor quality as well as inaccessibility to education is a major impediment to develop and express human potentials. Besides, poor quality of education leads to the poor human resources which ultimately lead to the unemployment problem since the employer wants capable, efficient human resource. In Bangladesh, unemployment is a serious problem. So, this leads to the involvement of unemployed people in different anti-social activities which poses security threats to many. In addition, there is a long term security implication of poor education ranging from the security of the individual to the society and to the country. Poor education leads to moral decay which instigates the people to involve in anti-social activities ranging from crime to corruption. For instance, some students of Dhaka University along with other public universities in Bangladesh, are involved in many unexpected activities ranging from 'candabaji' (taking charge or subscription illegally from the shop keepers within the campus), 'tenderbaji' (getting tender with the help of power and corruption). Poor education is one of the major reasons behind such inputs from the students.

Resource Scarcity and Conflicts: Another major internal security challenge for Bangladesh is resource scarcity and conflict particularly related to land and water. Because of urbanization and industrialization, and river erosion, land is gradually becoming scarce. 'The arable land has been shrinking by 0.6% every year due to demand from housing and industries, and infrastructure, as well as loss of land from river erosion' (Hossain, 2013). Already land disputes and conflicts have emerged in the Chittagong Hill Tract (CHT) areas. On the other hand, Dr. MA Quassem, Chairman of National Disaster Management Advisory Council notes that, water availability in Bangladesh is around 90 billion cubic metres (BCM) during the dry season against the demand of about 147 BCM, a shortage of nearly 40%, resulting in drought- like situation in large parts of the country. This water scarcity negatively affects the individual security ranging from food to health. On the other hand, land scarcity affects the food security of the vast majority population in Bangladesh.

Emancipatory Possibilities: Considering emancipatory possibilities is important because through these possibilities, the constraints to human potentials, redressing possible. Civil society actors make notable contributions in providing security to individuals ranging from 'livelihood, food, energy, health services, protection of human rights, and protection of minority rights' (Khan et al., 2008). Civil society actors such as Bangladesh Protibandi Foundation (BPF), Community Development Library (CDL), Chars Livelihood Programme (CLP), Centre for the Rehabilitation of the Paralysed (CRP) are some of the agents of providing security to women, children, disabled persons, marginalised poor, and landless people (Khan et al., 2008).

To redress political violence, there must be political change. The media plays the role of watchdog to the government. It also contributes to forming public opinion andcreating awareness on different pressing security issues (such as poverty, hunger, disease, political oppression) in the society. Besides, civil society organizations like BRAC[v] , Grameen bank, ASA, Grameen Bank, RDRS Bangladesh play a crucial role in addressing unemployment problem by creating employment opportunities to the youths, and by providing loans to the poor people in the country to be self-employed without any strict conditions.

Regarding environmental degradation, much more than the government, civil society organizations like Bangladesh Poribesh Andolon (BAPA), Bangladesh Environmental Lawyers Association (BELA), Bangladesh

Centre for Advanced Studies (BCAS) are playing important role in raising awareness, to create civic movement to protect environment of Bangladesh.

For political and social change, the role of education is inevitable. To provide quality education to all, alongside government, the civil society actor's role is important ranging from raising awareness regarding the importance of education to provide free education to the poor children.Campaign for Popular Education (CAMPE), Underprivileged Children's Educational Programs (UCEP), Dhaka Ahshania Mission (DAM), BRAC, Proshika play vital role in imparting education, and raising awareness of the importance of education among the mass people. According to the Bangladesh Education Statistics 2012, 10,326 BRAC centers across the country are providing education to 272537 students while 2782 NGO schools are providing education to 178334 students at primary level education. Importantly, Bangladesh Protibondi Foundation (BPF) is providing education to the handicapped children and making arrangement of rehabilitation.

Notably, Bangladesh Krishok Samiti plays important role regarding farmer's rights and justice. BRAC also plays crucial role providing credit to the farmers. Notably, one of BRAC's projects called 'Borga Chashi Development Project' launced in 2009, 'had a target to reach 300,000 tenant farmers in 150 upazilas by end of 2012. Till March 2012, 4.45 billion BDT has been distributed to 284000 farmers through 12000 village organisations in 193 upazilas' (BRAC, n.d.).With regard to redressing food insecurity and resource scarcity and conflicts, along with other security concerns discussed above, academics along with researchers, research institutes, and media, contribute to the making of public policy, creating consciousness to redress insecurities of the individuals through their research and advocacy.

Finally, needless to say civil society actors play crucial role to redress insecurities to the individuals. But it is undeniable that civil society organizations are not out of politics and particularly many intellectuals are involved in party politics (Kabir et al., 2008). Besides, whether there is clash of interests within or between civil society organizations merits further research.

Role of Praxis: To follow or imitate the West, seeing Western practices as the norm, is common in the global South. In case of scholarship in International Relations or Security Studies, more or less this tendency is manifested in the writings of the Third World scholars. The ideas and concepts developed in the study of big powers in International Relations generally, and Strategic or Security Studies in particular, reproduced in the scholarship of Third World scholars. For instance, definitions of security presented by Walter Lippmann (1943) and Arnold Wolfer (1962), their analysis of US politics used almost five decades later to study security in Bangladesh by its security scholars (Khan, 1996; Kabir, 2000; Nuruzzaman, 2003; Sabur, 2003). In this regard, it is worth quoting Sabur who argues that security thinking in Bangladesh has 'remained significantly influenced by the Western ideas' (Sabur, 2003). But the critical question here is how can the 'study of the threat, use and control of military force' (Walt, 1991) be the security studies in Bangladesh? Since, the nature of security threats in Bangladesh is internal and individual is mainly vulnerable to such threats, security studies in Bangladesh should be based on emancipatory approach removing the constraints of human potentials.

In addition, if one looks at the curricula design and teaching in International Relations (IR) in the leading public universities in Bangladesh[vi] , Strategic Studies is taught at the undergraduate level with great importance by the Western educated Strategic Studies scholars. During this time of foundation building, Security Studies is not taught. Students are made aware about 'the art of war' or the military security but not about food or health security. There are long term consequences of such teachings. For instance, through studying this course, a mind-set is created based on anarchy and war. When insurgency is taught, then the negative role of India in supporting insurgent groups in Chittagong Hill Tracts area is also taught at the same time, which creates a negative image about India. There might have negativeeffects on the attitudes towards India.

In order to redress insecurities discussed above, emancipatory approach to security is crucial. Every individual should have the opportunity to develop and express his/her potentials. The SAE approach helps to identify both constraints such as poverty and political oppression that limit human potential as well as means to address the same.

HEALTH SECURITY AND SAE APPROACH IN BANGLADESH

Since the birth of Bangladesh in 1971 till date, how many mothers have died due to maternal related causes and how many babies have died during child birth compared

to how many people have died in inter-state war, if any? According to *TheDaily Star* report (2012), '20 mothers die each day in the country while giving birth'. Calculations based on these figure suggest that each year 7,300 mother die during giving birth, which translates into roughly 3, 06,600 deaths during the period 1971-2013. Actual figures are probably higher because maternal mortality rates were higher in the early years. With regard to child death rate, according to a recent (2014) report published by Save the Children, titled Ending Newborn Deaths, 90,000 babies die during childbirth or within 24 hours in each year in Bangladesh only due to absence of trained midwives (Uzzal, 2014). So, the number of total child deaths is approximately 37, 80,000. Compared to this figures, no single death hastaken place due to inter-state conflict in Bangladesh. Thus, it would not be wrong to suggest that health insecurity is a more pressing issue for Bangladesh.

Health security is not all about the 'absence of disease'. The Commission on Human Security defines health (security) not just about the 'absence of violence' but 'a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being' (Commission on Human Security, 2003). It is about the 'objective physical wellness' and 'subjective psychological wellbeing and confidence about the future' (Commission on Human Security, 2003). Health security is a neglected area in Bangladesh both in policy as well as in theory. Against this backdrop, the scholars such as Mohd Aminul Karim, Jannatul Firdaus acknowledge that health security has been badly neglected in Bangladesh (Author Interview with them).

Health Security in Bangladesh: As discussed in the previous sections, military security has been prioritized and justified over the security of the individuals in Bangladesh. For instance, between 1980-1981 and 1994-1995 while the military spending was US $ 4, 335 million, spending on health wasjust about one-quarter of this which is only US $ 1011 million (Statistical Yearbook of Bangladesh, cited in Rob & Barai, 2000). It may be noted here that despite high level of inter-state conflict and deep animosity between India and Pakistan, their defence expenditure's annual increase was 3.6% and 2.5% respectively in the period of 1985-2002, yet, Bangladesh without any hostile relations or animosity with neighbouring countries, increased its defence expenditure by 4.2% (Haq etal., 2005). If one looks at the per capita total expenditure on health in Bangladesh, it was only US$ 10 in the period 1995-2005, while the regional average was US$ 20 to US$ 30 (WHO, 2013). According to WHO, the minimum per capita expenditure on health in Bangladesh should be US$ 34 (Uzzal, 2013). Arguably, as a result of this low priority status accorded to health issues, almost 80% children aged under 5 had stunted growth and, mortality rate was approximately 150 per 1000 lives birth in children under aged five in the year 1990 (WHO, 2013).

There is little improvement in the present status both in terms of government spending on health and the status of the health sector. For instance, in the fiscal year 2013-2014, health sector was allocated BDT 94.95b which is only 4.7% of the total budget while it was 4.86% in the previous fiscal year 2012-2013 (Uzzal, 2013). According to Professor Dr. Rashid-E-Mahbub, President of the Health Rights Movement Bangladesh and former president of Bangladesh Medical Association (BMA), 'it was very frustrating that the health sector had been receiving much less amount of allocation for several years. Due to budget shortage ordinary people especially the poor will not get service from public hospital or institutions' (Uzzal, 2013). According to a recent of *Dhaka Tribune*(2013), 'poorly-equipped public health sector which, although free to the poor, faces an estimated shortage of 800,000 doctors and nurses'. This is clearly linked to the negligence of health sector in government policies.

Health Security and SAE Approach: As with the previous section, three aspects of the SAE approach are used to study health insecurity in Bangladesh: individuals as primary referents of security, emancipatory possibilities, and the role of praxis.

Individual as Primary Referents of Security: According to World Health Organization (2013), the rate of child death under the age of five is 46 among 1000 safe born child, the rate of maternal death is 240 per 100, 000 live births; prevalence of tuberculosis is 411 per 100, 000; prevalence of HIV is 5.1 per 100,000; incidence of malaria is 397 per 100,000; the number of physician is 3.6 per 10, 000 population (WHO 2013). And, Kabir et at (2008) notes that 'Bangladesh remains among the countries with the highest rate of undernourishment'.

Although there has been improvements in the health sector in Bangladesh, particularly in life expectancy which is now 70 (WHO, 2013), nearly double compared to those born50-60 years ago (Bhuiya, 2012), the above statistics certainly presents a sorry picture of health

security in the country. Further, a child whose mother dies early also potentially suffers from various forms of health insecurities. For instance, nobody can take care of thechild better than a mother. And a mother at any how tries to fulfil the needs of the children even though there is poverty. So, being orphan at an early age in a poor family, the child suffers from malnutrition to underweight to stunting. One of the major findings of Abbas Bhuiya's study is that 'maternal death is a notable health security concern because Bangladesh has one of the highest maternal mortality rates in Asia' (Bhuiya, 2012).

Bhuiya in his study also finds that nearly two-thirds of ground water in Bangladesh is contaminated by arsenic. According to UNICEF and WHO (2014), 20 million people in Bangladesh still drink arsenic contaminated water (*Dhaka Tribune*, 2014). Furthermore, not more than 40% people have access to improved sanitation facilities (WHO, 2013). These are serious concerns about health security in the country.

A related issue is that of poverty. More than one-third population (over 47 million people) of the country live below the poverty line (*Dhaka Tribune*, 2013). Furthermore, the income disparity is growing in Bangladesh. In this context, while public health sector is the last hope of these vast majority poor people in the country, it is being neglected in government policies. On the other hand, there is growing privatization of health care in the country. The overwhelming majority population can hardly accessprivate health care due to high levels of poverty. This discussion serves to highlight why individuals and not states should be identified as the primary referents of security in Bangladesh.

Emancipatory Possibilities: Health insecurity is a major impediment to human potentials because itdenies an individual growth, development and learning. The Commission of Human Security (2003) notes that 'good health is instrumental to human dignity…to exercise choices, pursue social opportunities, and plan for the future'. The SAE approach directs the analyst to identify agents of change whether political or social to redress health insecurities in the country. State is an important actor here, but due to the 'politicization of security' and the nature of decision making of states, following top-down approach[vii]; it tends to prioritize the regime's interests over those of the people. So, there should be efforts to increase people's participation in decision making.

In terms of implementation of government health policies as well, there are a lot of challenges. The Directorate General of Drug Administration (DGDA) in the Ministry of Health and Welfare has the mission 'to ensure that the common people have easy access to useful, effective, safe and good quality essential and other drugs at affordable price' (Directorate General of Drug Administration Official Website). But do people getting these services? The reality is that there are huge medical malpractices in the country that involve drug companies, medical centres, as well as medical practitioners. Some medical companies produce bad quality medicines and deceive common people. In a recent (2014) study of The Consumers Association of Bangladesh (CAB), it has been found that 'marketing and sales of fake and spurious medicines were taking place unabatedly' and 'prices of common medicines have increased by 10-15% in the last six months and those including foreign medicines for gastric, cancer, asthma-related problems, by 20%' (Rahman, 2014). Such an increase in common medicines' prices within six months is quite abnormal and certainly poses a challenge to the access to health care by the poor people in Bangladesh.

In addition, many hospitals and clinics are involved in malpractices by not treating the patients with care. Many government-employed doctors in the country are involved with private clinics and try to convince patients tovisit these clinics. There is also a high level of corruption. Mohammad Humayun Kabir et al. argue that 'Drug companies, hospitals, clinics and doctors are hardly held accountable for their critical wrongdoing in the field of public health leading to human deaths,permanent desirability and untold suffering' (Kabir et al., 2008). Although some cases have been filed regarding the negligence of medical practitioners, the results and judgements are hardly ever known (Kabir, 2013). Another major concern is that 'the government and opposition parties seem to be busy involving doctors of the country in various political activities' (Kabir, 2013). When these doctors involve in politics, by using political power, they seek to gain their personal interests, i.e. establishing private clinics, pathologies, which ultimately negatively impacts on the health security of the overwhelming poor population in the country. In addition, these doctors also seek the better replacement from rural to urban areas which hampers the health security of the vast majority rural people.

The power relations that exist due to structural

inequalities between common people versus the drug companies, medical practitioners (who could also be involved in political parties) and, hospital authorities needto be problematized. In this respect, civil society actors can be the agents to redress health insecurities of the poverty stricken people in Bangladesh. Social movements like Health Rights Movements Bangladesh can play crucial role in the process of emancipation through social and political change. Abbas Bhuiya argues that 'poverty alleviation and social development programs such as microfinance and female education have also contributed to increased life expectancy in Bangladesh' (Bhuiya, 2012).

In addition, civil society actors working in the health sector like Destitute Development Foundation (DDF), Marie Stopes, Centre for Injury Prevention and Research, Bangladesh play crucial role in taking health justice to the people of the country through their advocacy, awareness raising programmes, and publication of independent studies regarding malpractices in the health sector. Although not exclusively devoted to the health sector, The Consumers Association of Bangladesh (CAB) is playing vital role to generate awareness regarding the consumer's rights and justices in different sectors including health through human chain, independent studies. For instance, in a human chain, The Consumers Association of Bangladesh (CAB) terms the recent price hike of common medicines as 'abnormal' and asks to take appropriate actions including introducing laws to stop medical malpractices in the country.

Civil society actors face a number of challenges while performing their functions. First, partisan tendency of civil society is one of the major challenges. Due to the involvement in partisan politics, 'it is difficult to find any independent voice among most of them' (Kabir et al., 2008). Second, immature democracy in Bangladesh is a major challenge. Because, political parties do not allow enough space to the civil society actors in the country. Hence, civil society actor has a vital role to play since a vibrant civil society is the cornerstone for a strong democracy. Third, due to limited resources, civil society actors' cannot function properly.

Role of Praxis: In Bangladesh, health security has been discussed in some recent scholarship. Osmany and Ahmad (eds.) (2003) in their editorial book titled *Security in the Twenty First Century: A Bangladesh Perspective* for the first time in 'Introductory Note' identify health challenges as one of the major security challenges for Bangladesh, but acknowledge that owning to time constraint and institutional limitations, they could not cover it. After their note, Kabir et al (2008) in their study entitled 'Non-traditional Security of Bangladesh' briefly discuss health security as non-traditional security issue. They mainly see HIV/AIDS and Bird Flu as health security challenge in Bangladesh in 2007. Another notable albeit short report by a health professional Abbas Bhuiya (2012) touches upon the health issues in the country. Bhuiya covers arsenic contaminated water, communicable diseases like influenza as major health security challenge in the country. He also argues that 'HIV/AIDS and tuberculosis have the potential to become health security challenge in the future' (Bhuiya 2012) whereas Kabir et. al identified HIV/AIDS as a health security challenge in 2008.

Besides these contributions, security studies scholars in Bangladesh have generally not discussed health security. This does not reflect people's perspectives. In the household survey of Saferworld (2008), mentioned in the previous section, in response to a question on what makes people feel insecure, 48 percent respondents identified lack of health care as the second most important security concern following natural disasters (53%) (Saferworld, 2008). Indeed health insecurity can threaten a nation as well. In light of this, it is a critical question that despite its significance, why such little attention has been paid to the study of health security in Bangladesh? In this context, it would not be wrong to say that 'politicization of security' played a crucial role in this regard which marginalized the security importance of the individuals while emphasizing the security of the state.

CONCLUSION

From this study, it is clear that security narratives in Bangladesh are primarily dominated by the realist security paradigm both in policy and theory. Therefore, security of the state has been prioritized against the security of the individuals. The study also found that there is 'politicization of security' which marginalizes the security needs of the citizens. With the passage of time, although in the security purview of Bangladesh, the traditional understanding of security has been broadened and deepened, still military security gets priority over other issues in policy. The primacy of defence sector in the national budget formulation of Bangladesh is a case in this regard. While in scholarship,

there is a significant change in the scope of security studies, state-centrism continues to get priority in policy making. Consequently, along with health, other pressing security issues such as political oppression, environmental insecurity, food insecurity, poor education have been neglected from policies as well as scholarship. So, the study problematizes the existing security narratives and seeks establish that people must be identified as the primary referents when it comes about security mapping for Bangladesh based on these research findings. This concluding section proposes a number of policy prescriptions and suggests future research agenda.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Identifying Individuals as 'Ultimate' Referents of Security: In the context of Bangladesh, the dominant understanding and practice of security needs to be redefined and mapped. Instead of state, the referent object of security must be individuals while mapping security for Bangladesh. The issue areas also must be broadened with importanceon identifying the security needs of the individuals. The critical question that comes in the discussion is that, 'why would a state de-prioritize itself'? So, Bangladesh should take the board of human security narratives that take account of the role that the state can play (Commission on Human Security, 2003).

Emphasizing Diplomacy and Foreign Policy: In this age of globalization, inter-dependence and increased influence of the international organizations, instead of emphasizing military security, maintaining friendly, cooperative relations based on mutual trust, respect, understanding and reciprocity with neighbouring countries would be better for the poverty stricken people of Bangladesh. So, Bangladesh should focus on diplomacy and foreign policy to ensure her security through maintaining and promoting bilateral and regional cooperation.

Decentralizing the Role of State as Sole Security Provider: The role of state as the sole security provider of security needs to be questioned, particularly since the state itself can become a source of insecurity to its citizens. As Booth (1991) argues, 'to countless millions of people in the world, it is their own state, and not the "Enemy" that is the primary security threat'. In case of Bangladesh, state very often becomes a threat to the security of the individuals which has been found in the study. In addition, security policy is formulated take into account the regime interests. At this point, Rashed Uz Zaman, a Security Studies scholar in Bangladesh, notes that 'Unfortunately, in case of Bangladesh, state and more ominously, regime security have assumed such importance that the security of the individual is now threatened. The increasing number of abductions and extra-judicial killings perpetrated by "law-enforcing agencies" may be cited as examples' (Personal communication, 2014).

In the study it is also found that civil society actors are playing crucial role to redress the insecurities of the individuals like poverty or poor education through advocacy, independent research, dissemination of findings, awareness raising programmes, forming public opinion, educating the common masses and so on. The policy makers in Bangladesh should acknowledge the role of civil society actors, give them space so that they can work for the alleviation of insecurities to the individuals.

Redesigning Curricula and Redefining the Role of Academics: Curricula play crucial role in forming ideas. As mentioned earlier strategic studies gets importance over security studies at the undergraduate level in the International Relations departments at the leading public universities in Bangladesh. The focus on teaching is on war, strategy as well as military security. This curriculum has followed for long and needs to be redefined.

Since 'theory is always for someone, for some purposes' (Cox, 1981) academics should continue to theories that serve the interests of the overwhelming majority instead of privileged minority. The work of an academic, what s/he teaches, how the course is structured or taught is not a 'neutral pursuit' (Smith, 1999). In addition, the topics of research should be in the greater interests of the people of Bangladesh rather than narrow personal or regime interests.

With regard to future research agenda, first one can be to see the role of politics in pedagogy designing in the discourse of security studies, and the role of emancipation in this regard. Second, other security concerns can be studied in depth as well for further insights. Finally, how non-traditional security is politicized in its empirical context merits further research.

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[i]In Bangladesh, it is called so-called democracy, because only two major parties, Awami League and Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) led by Sheikh Haisna and Begum Khaleda Zia comes power one after another and there is a lack of practice of democracy within the major political parties themselves. Kabiret. al (2008, p.334) notes that, 'in countries like Bangladesh, political parties are not responsible and democratic, justice are not ensured'.

[ii]Here Ford Foundation is talked about because it is for the first time, initiated a series of studies in three sub-regions, i.e. South Asia, South East Asia and East Asia in the name of non-traditional security (NTS) during October 1, 1999 to September 30, 2001 (Khan, 2003: 122).

[iii]Here, UPL is referred to understand the coverage of this publisher as well as the possible impacts. Sine this annual review *National Security Bangladesh 2009* completely focuses on the NTS challenges to Bangladesh, this has been seen specially to the contribution of NTS studies.

[iv]Why education is a security issue, has been discussed later in this chapter in the section of poor education.

[v]At the intimal period, BRAC was known as Bangladesh Rehabilitation Assistance Committee and then as the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee but currently, BRAC does not represent any acronym (for more details see, http://www.brac.net/).

[vi]In Bangladesh, International Relation as a discipline is taught in three public Universities, i. e. University of Dhaka, University of Jahangirnagar and the University of Chittagong.

[vii]Here by top-down approach in decision making meant that during making decisions, people's perspective, their needs, demands, and participation is hardly count.