

South Asia Human Security Series

Ethnicity and Human Security in Bangladesh and Pakistan

Mohammad Humayun Kabir
Abu Taher Salahuddin Ahmed

The book identifies the sources and nature of threats to people belonging to ethnic groups and conceptualizes human security in a manner that addresses the inadequacy of the traditional approach. It conducts an analysis on ethnicity- and non-ethnicity-induced human security problems in the CHT of Bangladesh and the Sindh Province of Pakistan, as important areas of human security. This work deals with threats stemming from ethnicity and the resultant conflict thereof in the CHT and in Sindh. The book, therefore, conceptualizes the concept of human security to mainstream it into security discourse. The book is definitely destined to result in a positive contribution to security studies.

(see next flap)

Tk. 415.00

Mohammad Humayun Kabir is Senior Research Director at the Bangladesh Enterprise Institute (BEI). Formerly, he was Research Director at BIISS and head of its Strategic Studies Division. He is a recipient of several educational awards such as the Commonwealth Scholarship, the Ford Foundation Fellowship and the Senior Fulbright Scholarship.

His areas of research interest include foreign policy, security studies, water issues, inter-state relations in South Asia, regional and global order, etc. Kabir has to his credit more than fifty research works, including books, book chapters, monographs and journal articles published in several South Asian countries, Europe and North America.

Dr Abu Taher Salahuddin Ahmed, a Senior Research Fellow at the Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies (BIISS), has obtained his PhD degree in Political Science and International Relations from the Australian National University, Canberra. Dr Ahmed has participated in various national and international conferences and published numerous researched papers in international and national journals.

South Asia Human Security Series

Monirul Hussain et al

HUMAN SECURITY IN INDIA
Health, Shelter and Marginalisation

edited by Jennifer Bennett

PAKISTAN
Haunting Shadows of Human Security

*Saba Gul Khattak, Kiran Habib and
Fogia Sadiq Khan*

WOMEN AND HUMAN SECURITY
IN SOUTH ASIA
The Cases of Bangladesh and Pakistan

Ajay Darshan Behera

VIOLENCE, TERRORISM AND
HUMAN SECURITY IN SOUTH ASIA

Gamini Keerawella

EVOLVING SECURITY DISCOURSE
IN SRI LANKA
From National Security to Human Security

Dhruba Kumar

NEPALI STATE, SOCIETY AND
HUMAN SECURITY
An Infinite Discourse

Shaheen Afroze and Abul Kalam Azad
HUMAN SECURITY IN BANGLADESH
Discourse, Practice and Proposition

Mahendra P. Lama

HUMAN SECURITY IN INDIA
Discourse, Practices and Policy Implications

Abdur Rob Khan and A. K. M. Abdus Sabur
HUMAN SECURITY INDEX FOR SOUTH ASIA
Exploring Relevant Issues

ISBN 978 984 506 042 4



9 789845 060424

Ethnicity and Human Security
in Bangladesh and Pakistan

South Asia Human Security Series

Ethnicity and Human Security in Bangladesh and Pakistan

Mohammad Humayun Kabir
Abu Taher Salahuddin Ahmed



Bangladesh Institute of
International and Strategic Studies

Ⓟ The University Press Limited

The University Press Limited
Red Crescent House
61 Motijheel C/A, P. O. Box 2611
Dhaka 1000, Bangladesh
Phone: 9565441, 9565444
Fax: (88 02) 9565443
E-mail: upl@bangla.net, upl@btcl.net.bd
Website: www.uplbooks.com.bd

First published, 2012

Copyright © Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies

All rights are reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means without prior permission in writing from the publisher. Any person who does any unauthorised act in relation to this publication may be liable to criminal prosecution and civil claims for damages.

This book is an output of the BIISS Regional Collaborative Research Project on *Human Security in South Asia: Discourse, Practice and Policy Proposition*, 2003-2006 conducted with assistance from the Ford Foundation, New Delhi.

Cover design by Ashraful Hassan Arif

ISBN 978 984 506 042 4

Published by Mohiuddin Ahmed, The University Press Limited, Dhaka.
Computer design by Ashim K. Biswas and produced by Abarton, 354 Dilu Road, Moghbazar. Printed at the Akota Offset Press, 119 Fakirapool, Dhaka, Bangladesh.

South Asia Human Security Series

South Asia Human Security Series is the product of a three-year regional collaborative research project titled, *Human Security in South Asia: Discourse, Practice and Policy Proposition* conducted by BIISS under the aegis of the Ford Foundation, New Delhi, 2003-06. The aim of the project has been to provide an understanding of the prevailing discourses and practices on human security in South Asia as well as to generate inputs for policy making at regional and national levels. Five individual country papers on Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka and five thematic areas: (a) Constructing a Human Security Index for South Asia; (b) Violence, Terrorism and Human Security; (c) Ethnicity and Human Security; (d) Gender and Human Security; (e) Marginalisation and Human Security – were covered. The outcome is the present series.

The Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies (BIISS)

The Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies (BIISS) is an autonomous research organisation under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Bangladesh. The Institute was founded in 1978 to undertake research and promote deliberation on foreign policy, security and development. The Institute publishes regularly a quarterly Journal, *BIISS Journal*, organises seminars/conferences and undertakes research projects. More about the Institute at: www.biiss.org

List of Tables

Table 4.1	Select Health Indicators in the CHT	75
Table 4.2	Picture of Internally Displaced Families	90
Table 5.1	Land with Water-Table Depth of Under 0-5 Feet	115
Table 5.2	Extent of Salt Affected Land	116
Table 5.3	Projected Demand-Supply Balances of Major Agricultural Commodities	117
Table 5.4	Flood Damages in Pakistan	117
Table 5.5	The Kalabagh Dam Comparison—Net Present Values	118

Abbreviations

ADB	Asian Development Bank
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
APMSO	All Pakistan Mohajir Student Organisation
BBS	Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics
BCEHR	Bangladesh Society for Enforcement of Human Rights
BEPS	Basic Education and Policy Support
BFD	Bangladesh's Forest Department
BIISS	Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies
BJP	Bharatiya Janata Party
BMI	Body Mass Index
BNP	Bangladesh Nationalist Party
CCA	Canal Command Area
CED	Chronic Energy Deficiency
CHS	Commission on Human Security
CHT	Chittagong Hill Tracts
CPFLR	Committee for the Protection of Forest and Land Rights
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
DFID	Department for International Development
GoB.	Government of Bangladesh
HDCs	Hill District Councils
HDR	Human Development Report
HTNF	Hill Tracts NGO Forum
HWF	Hill Women Federation
ICDP	Integrated Community Development Project
ICIMOD	International Centre for Integrated Mountain Development
IDF	Integrated Development Foundation
IDPs	Internally Displaced Peoples

IFIs	International Financial Institutions
IGOs	Intergovernmental Organisations
ILO	International Labor Organisation
IPCS	Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies
IT	Information Technology
LGED	Local Government Engineering Department
MAF	Million Acre-Feet
MoEF	Ministry of Environment and Forest
MP	Member of Parliament
MQM	Mohajir Qaumi Movement
MRD	Movement for Restoration of Democracy
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
NSP	National Surveillance Project
NWFP	North West Frontier Province
PCJSS	Parbattya Chhattagram Janashanghoti Samity
PFs	Protected Forests
PGP	Pahari Gono Parishad
PKSF	Palli Karma-Sahayak Foundation
POFs	Privately Owned Forests
RCSS	Regional Centre for Strategic Studies
RFs	Reserved Forests
RTF	Report of the Task Force
SAP-I	South Asia Partnership-International
SB	Shanti Bhahini
SD	Standard Deviations
SEMP	Sustainable Environment Management Programme
TT	Tetanus Toxoid
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environmental Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNPO	Unrepresented Nation and Peoples Organisation
USFs	Unclassed State Forests
WHO	World Health Organisation

Preface

This work, which has examined two cases of ethnicity in two different countries of South Asia, has focused on human security values, security threats, and the sources of such threats. The idea behind selecting the two particular cases was to examine one example of a unitary and near-homogeneous state (*i. e.* the CHT case of Bangladesh) and the other of a multi-ethnic, federal state (*i. e.* the Sindh case of Pakistan).

In the CHT's case, as was the case at the pre-Accord time, in the Accord's aftermath (post-December 1997), the policy of relocation, in the name of "development" and "integration" remains a festering sore for both the Bengali community and the hill people. The latter views it as an encroachment on their rights to land. Out of this encroachment stems the problem of "freedom from fear", and out of the dislocation a set of human security problems arose such as landlessness and pauperization, homelessness, joblessness, food insecurity, morbidity, social disarticulation, etc. These gave rise to the problem of "freedom from want". Land certainly has become one of the key lodestars of the CHT people.

The Sindh case shows that Sindhi discontentment stems from issues such as illegal immigration, control of natural resources of gas, petrol, and coal, the construction of large dams, discrimination in military (government) jobs, provincial autonomy, and overall revenue sharing. This study notes that the Sindh problem has become dormant, but that there is no sign of absolute disappearance. The position of the Mohajir community may be characterized as a shift from dominance to relative marginalization or "relative deprivation". The state in Pakistan has played multiple roles, depending on the time and the situation. The state first identified itself with the Mohajir community, then took affirmative measures to deprive them, used the community in political games against political parties, finally attempting to reduce the power and influence of the Mohajirs. In the process, the state induced ethnicity-related security problems so that ethnic communities in Sindh continue to suffer from lack of human security.

However, our engagement with the BIISS-Ford Foundation Project on “Human Security in South Asia” has been learning and rewarding processes as well. We are beholden to Professor Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema of National Defence University, Islamabad, and Professor Amena Mohsin of Department of International Relations of University of Dhaka, respectively, for going through the earlier draft of the book, offering constructive suggestions. We express our deep gratitude to Dr Abdur Rob Khan, the project Coordinator, for reading the entire manuscript. Due thanks to Mr AKM Abdus Sabur, Research Director of BIISS, and Co-Coordinator of the project, for his logistic help.

Mohammad Humayun Kabir
Abu Taher Salahuddin Ahmed