This work is about both ethnicity- and non-ethnicity-induced human security problems and ethnic conflicts in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) of Bangladesh and Sindh province of Pakistan. The study posits that although a number of human security problems may be induced by ethnicity in a given society, the same problems could be induced where ethnicity is not a factor. Hypothesised thus, it is possible to assert that a watertight compartmentalisation between these two sets of human security problems is hardly possible.

Leading authorities claim that the idea of an ethnically homogeneous state is tantamount to spreading a myth (e.g., Easman, 1976, Yinger, 1983). A consensus exists that no part of this world is immune from ethnic conflicts (e.g., Gurr, 2000, Young, 1993, Tagil, 1984). More than 90% of the conflicts raging now are intra-state ones, and not between states (Mack, 2002: 281). Issues such as ethnicity, identity, and nationalism and their role as explanatory variables in conflict studies are ongoing research topics. They therefore should occupy important positions in attempting to understand the pace of state and nation building processes. Put simply, ethnicity (Chapter 2 details it) entails multifaceted identities made up of various distinctive features. At times these concepts overlap one another. Much depends on who is doing the defining and why, when, how, and what for. Certainly, race, language, culture, religion, etc are vital components of identity formation. In the process of identity formation which of the preceding components of identity will prevail over the other will depend in each case on the specific context.

In the Third World, including in the South Asian context, the identity issue remains an immensely problematic issue. Minority groups feel threatened when their ethnic identities are not given any space within a state's modernisation projects. A state's policies of exclusion, marginalisation, and deprivation are extension of an excluvist
agenda intended to suppress the cultural identities of its minorities. But cultural development is an important component of human development as well as human security. Practicing multicultural policies is not an easy job either. In the Third World context, this appears to be quite a challenge. A key reason for this situation is the relative absence of the “multicultural” conception of democracy that allows space for cultural pluralism and their diversities in the nation building process. The assimilation of sub-cultural identities into the dominant one is not the answer to the rising politics of identities. This is one of the assumptions made in this work. The study also suggests that cultural pluralism must be practised by the state apparatus and must be an essential agenda for developing states.

The debate about whether identity is something given, fixed, innate and hence not changeable (the primitivists’ view) or whether it is socially constructed and hence malleable (the instrumentalists’ view) remains inconclusive. It will be seen that in the case of South Asia, this debate continues, often bedevilling South Asia’s state building process. The case studies presented here will bear testimony to that situation.

The concept of “human security”, whose referent is individual, gained increasing currency following the United Nations Development Programme’s (UNDP) 1994 Report. Human security has multiple dimensions, e.g., political, social, economic, health, environmental, cultural, military, and psychological, etc. They are all interlinked. The traditional concept of security, which dominated the international system following the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia (a time when the Western concept of nation-state came into being), cannot fully address issues entailing human security, for in the traditional security discourse, security came to be understood primarily as territorial and military security. Views have now emerged that stress that human welfare cannot be ensured if security is solely addressed from the statist security paradigm. John Burton, for example, observes that without meeting basic human needs one cannot address the fundamental cause of a conflict (Burton, 1990). A departure from the state-centric security paradigm ought to be made therefore to conceptualise issues and problems involved in the human security discourse.

The 1997 Carnegie Commission Report emphasised, among other things, that without social, economic, cultural, and resource security, and where inequality persists, the underlying foundations of stability
cannot be accomplished. Issues of human security also need to be seen from a post-modernist approach—an approach that takes into consideration the respect for "otherness" and cultural distinctiveness. Its needs pointing out that conceptual vagueness has made the concept of culture a contested terrain. Valentine Daniel, for example, argues:

[T]he best students of culture never assumed that cultures were anything but constructed. But in the excitement to find nothing but constructions, there has been a flattening down of culture to a single dimension and a loss pf [sic, read of] perspective on the relative differences in resilience among the various cultural constructions as well as their relative latency (or depth, as some would prefer to call it). Some cultural constructions are sturdy but obvious, and other obvious but fragile—both sorts revealing their constructedness on the slightest reflection even to those who live in and with them (Charred: 14 quoted in Mehta, 1998: 381).

Mehta maintains that the durability or weakness of various constructions is often revealed in what Tambiah calls the “ politicisation of ethnicity” (Mehta, 1998: 381). That identities and allegiances are consciously configured and reconfigured have been underlined by many scholars. To Mehta, for example, these configurations are often a response to two different features of the modern state. As Mehta argues:

First, the modern state's attempts to fashion citizens after its own image invites the formation of adversarial nationalities that resist its centralising and homogenising tendencies. Second, its attempt to restructure the distribution of power in plural societies unleashes a politics of entitlement that frequently takes the form of collective demands being placed on it. The pressures that modernisation unleashes—the dislocation of identities, patterns of migration, urbanisation, accumulated historical disparities between groups that now have recourse to the public sphere, competition for access to state power that can significantly affect the life chances of individuals—all contribute to making the circumstances propitious for the politicisation of ethnicity. This politics of ethnicity combines effectively both the politics of recognition and the politics of distribution (Mehta, 1998: 381).

Hence, the role of the modern state in the formation of nationalities and in redistribution of a state's wealth to its citizens is a critical factor in nourishing or in not nourishing conflicts between state and nation. The two empirical case studies that will be analysed here will support the validity of such an argument.
1.1 LITERATURE REVIEW

Works, cited in the preceding paragraph, deal with both pre-Accord and post-Accord eras. Both categories’ key focus, however, has not been human security or insecurity vis-à-vis the CHT. Some, for example, view that development induced displacement, ill-conceived development projects, and injudicious resource exploitation on a massive scale have been the main factors in the CHT conflict (Khan and Rashid, 2006: 25). Pressure on land and other natural resources is also a factor that keeps playing a crucial role in the CHT conflict. Although all these factors have not been playing similar role in the case of Sindh, the ethnonationlist movement in Sindh also has its roots in the state’s development-induced project imposed by a dominant Punjabi ethnic group.


1.2 FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS
States adopt “modernisation” as a tool to induce “development” without bothering to ascertain whether their modernisation projects are really helpful to society’s targeted groups. Traditional values, that also include group identity, pose “insuperable obstacles” in the path of modernisation (Welch, 1967: 13). The goal of a state is to attain a “heightened sense of national identity” that characterises modernisation (Welch, 1967: 13, emphasis is original). To attain this goal a state usually adopts a centrist nation building project that protects the interest of the
dominant ethnic group, resulting in ethnonationalist and social movements from other subordinate ethnic groups that want to retain their own ethno-cultural identities. This tends to happen more where there is a relative absence of the practice of and respect for multiculturalism.

It is being increasingly argued that owing to the "globalisation" of the world economy and the changing nature of international security, the world has been witnessing a resurgence of ethnicity, regionalism, global resistance movements, transnational social movements, fragmentation of identities, and cultural destruction, etc (Maclver, 1999: 5, Smith and Johnston, 2002, Smith et. al., 1997, Smith and Guarnizo, 1998, Chatterjee, 1993, Ibra, 2003, Scholte, 2005 [2000]: 224, 304-305). As Scholte put it: "Civil wars have proliferated as globalisation has weakened the state, especially in the East and South" (Scholte, 2005 [2000]: 30).

What needs to be considered here is that while it is one thing to assert that globalisation has weakened the state, it is an altogether different thing when the claim is made that globalisation has made the state redundant. That is an extreme position, and this study does not subscribe to that extreme view. Viewing things from the post-modernist perspective does not necessarily mean one has to reject the role of the state and its necessity. After all, there are various shades of post-modernism. It all depends on who subscribes to which shade and what for. What seems to be clear is that "globalisation", as an intervening variable with its attendant consequences, has led to hybridisation where one witnesses that an individual has multiple identities and faces multiple choices for blending them. Thus, globalisation has been a critical agent in giving rise to mini-nations.

Scholte (2005 [2000]: 234-235), for example, has identified three general ways through which globalisation has led to the rise of such mini-states. First, globalisation, by reducing the relative power of the state, has led to a decrease in its capacity. This in turn has not led to the forging of "a single united nation to the exclusion of other identities." Second, globalisation has opened up a window of opportunity for mininational movements to exploit, on various occasions, transworld relations to uphold their causes. Third, globalisation has led to the rise of mini-states in a "reactive sense". By this Scholte is stressing the "self-protective" resistance movements of mini-nations, which are
effects of the “defensive dynamic” of some state-nations. Again, this rise of a “defensive dynamic” has been attributed to the rise of globality.

It will be a gross generalisation if one attributes the emergence of mini-nations solely to the forces of globalisation. Local conditions, associated with specific countries, do play a role in determining their origins and timing. Thus, both local and transworld connectivity need to be taken into consideration and both need be fused and blended for a holistic picture.

A state's territorial sovereignty, when based on territorial nationalism, stands at variance with the subaltern nationalism of nation-states. Hence, state building and nation building (mainly in the Third World) are in a state of constant tussle with each other (Ahmed, 2006). “Ethnic identity” does not sit well with “national identity” and vice versa. For states, “ethnic identity” will have to be subsumed into “national identity.” Unless this is done, it will obstruct the process of state building. By contrast, nations are not prepared to forgo their “ethnic identity.” To continue state building as a modernist project and to retain “national identity,” state élites tend to commit excessive repression, often ignoring citizens' consent, thereby making their rule over the ruled illegitimate (Ahmed, 2006).

In contrast, citizens of a state keep opposing such a forced rule in order to retain their “ethnic identity.” That South Asia represents a visibly marked case of constant conflicts between these two competing forms of identities hardly needs mentioning. This situation poses a formidable challenge for nation-states that continue to meet increasing difficulty in resolving the relationship between nationalism and ethnicity. Chapters 2 and 3 of this work will shed further light on this issue.

What is worth reflecting here is that “the attempts to build this relationship through legitimacy of the state, self-determination, national and ethnic identities, symbolic form of coexistence or acceptance of the overall dominant identity did not work in South Asia” (Sabhlok, 2002: 24 emphasis added). For Sabhlok, the reason why it did not work in South Asia was the absence of a “viable theoretical model that could bring the diverse ethnic groups into one integrated whole” (Sabhlok, 2002: 24). This, to her judgment, necessitates a post-modernist discourse— a judgment that is not exclusively hers own.

As mentioned, adopting a post-modernist approach does not necessarily mean that the state has become immaterial. Likewise,
globalisation ought not to be over emphasised as it is the sole agency behind the rise of mini-nations. This work bases its framework of analysis on the dynamic between globalisation, identity/nationalism and the resultant hybridisation and the dynamic between local and specific countries' conditions and states' actions and policies in which the state's modernisation project of developing a homogeneous single national identity often goes sour as its denies a nation its distinct ethnocultural identity whose development constitutes a vital form of human security for nations. States resort to extreme centralisation, ignoring the "relational needs" of sub-nationalist groups who should have been treated in an environment of decentralisation to ensure their "relations needs". But in reality this is not the case. It is this critical disjunction that explains the dilemma of modernist projects, and therefore this necessitates a post-modernist discourse.

1.3 PURPOSE, SCOPE, AND LIMITATION OF THE WORK

This work's specific purposes are: (i) to identify the sources and nature of threats to people belonging to ethnic groups and conceptualise human security in a manner that will address the inadequacy of the traditional approach; (ii) to conduct an analysis on ethnicity and non-ethnicity-induced human security problems in the CHT of Bangladesh and Sindh of Pakistan, as important areas of human security; (iii) to sensitise the academic, policy and media worlds to the deeply-embedded security cultures and institutions that work as inhibiting factors in South Asia, and to the cost of failure to address human security issues for the states and peoples of the region; and (iv) to build a research and policy agenda on human security in Bangladesh and Pakistan.

While the issues, raised in the preceding paragraph, will be addressed and their interconnectivity and interrelatedness explored, this study has divided the work's contents into two broad parts. The first will discuss the conceptual dimensions of human security, ethnicity and ethnic conflicts, demonstrating the link between ethnicity and human security in South Asia in general and in Bangladesh and Pakistan in particular. The second, the empirical part of this work, will probe into the human security problems vis-à-vis CHT of Bangladesh and Sindh of Pakistan. This study, it should be emphasised, is not about security studies in South Asia in general, as it deals with threats emanating from ethnicity and the resultant conflict thereof in the CHT and in
Sindh. A particular limitation of this work has been the lack of specific information and data about Sindh in relation to a set of specific human security issues. Furthermore, no interviews could be carried out in exploring the Sindh case.

1.4 METHODOLOGY AND SOURCE MATERIALS
A qualitative methodology has been applied in this study. Research tools used are selected interviews with the people of CHT, and they, in addition to some other documents, form the primary data of this study. Secondary data have largely been culled from published works. Furthermore, websites have been used for research materials. At times, participatory observations have been used to analyse data and information.

1.5 IMPORTANCE OF THE WORK
This work is important theoretically and practically. First, (re)conceptualisation of human security to mainstream it into security discourse is likely to result in a positive contribution to security studies. Dealing with ethnicity and ethnic conflict as an issue area of human security, on the other hand, is expected to sharpen the debate within human security itself. Second, the research output is likely to contribute to ethnic studies. And third, the study will also have policy-relevant inputs that may add to the existing body of the knowledge.

1.6 ORGANISATION
The work comprises six chapters, including this introductory one that sets the problem, offering the study's framework for analysis. In the second chapter definitional boundaries have been outlined, focusing on the ongoing security discourse, conceptualising human security, and identifying issues of human security in ethnicity and ethnic conflicts situations. The third chapter presents a discussion of traditional, non-traditional and human security as well as of nation building and ethnicity and ethnic conflicts in South Asia. The fourth and fifth chapters are devoted to the two case studies where ethnicity, its consequential ethnic conflicts, and a set of human security issues vis-à-vis the CHT of Bangladesh and Sindh of Pakistan (although in case of Sindh not a set of human security issues) have been examined. The final chapter offers conclusion.