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Inaugural Issue Editorial

Exploring Governance, Security and Development: Discourse and Practice

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Welcome to the inaugural edition of the *Journal of Governance, Security & Development,* an exciting new initiative of the Centre for Governance Studies (CGS), Bangladesh.

The world is going through troubled times with regional wars, famines, natural disasters, ethnic conflicts, terrorism, environmental degradation and pandemics intermittently sweeping through and threatening life, property and the environment. International bodies, such as the United Nations, are either unable to come up with concrete integrated strategies or enforce existing protocols due to the headstrong disdain of some powerful global players, while governments everywhere are hard-pressed in coping with these menacing phenomena. Weaknesses in national governance systems, especially in the developing countries, in coping with calamities become manifest, the security of peoples and places imperilled, and the effectiveness of development initiatives compromised. These problems then require expedient solutions from policy makers and strategists and efficient handling by public agencies. However, in resolving critical issues, scholars in governance, security and development studies can provide informed and persuasive ideas, while practitioners can share their expertise.

This Journal is dedicated to the exploration and understanding of the three inter-relevant issues—'Governance,' 'Security' and

'Development,' both from ideational and practical standpoints. Each of these has an association with and implications for the other two, and their impact on society, state and citizens in the globalized world order is deep and pervasive.

Polities representing different ideological complexions (liberal, socialist or monarchic) and structural variants (federal, confederated or unitary) are managed by apposite state institutions and instruments based on political rationalities and managerial techniques related to specific practices of government. Such rationalities form the basis of Foucault's notion of 'governmentality' that combines actions that guide administrators and institutions (government) and constructive and systematic thinking (rationality) (Foucault, 2001: 206). Being simultaneously internal and external to the state, governmentality subsumes both the state and non-state domains (Ibid, 221). Thus, an appropriate framework of governance incorporating diverse modes and targeting different aspects of public life—social, political, economic, administrative, technological and legal—can have a consequential effect on the protection of people, property and nature, on the one hand, and in the social, economic and ecological development of societies, on the other. The conceptualization, organization and enforcement of the principles and standards of governance will determine the nature and the extent of the protections available for individuals, societies and nations and regulate the ways of framing and executing a nation's development goals.

Reflective and intelligent discourse on the three issues will enhance the knowledge base of individuals, groups and organizations. This may lead to contextualized practical outcomes appropriate for specific situations. While on the one hand, ground realities inform the evolution of ideas and knowledge, epistemological thinking engender an appreciation of the real world around us and aid in constructing new concepts and innovative approaches that would permit the correct application of principles and practices. Thus, discourse in both informal forms (colloquy, sharing of ideas, argumentation, networking) and the more formal research, can serve as the foundation for praxis in the three areas. The practical application of appropriate knowledge can guide states toward the desired governance goals, create a sound security environment, and incorporate all that is vital for sustainable development to happen.

Governance

Governance, exercising power and authority, is an all-inclusive concept consolidating the inter-connected processes that steer both state and non-state activities by applying a corpus of rules, norms and values. The principles of governance apply to a variety of areas, such as national and sub-national governments, corporations, information and communications, international trade, public education, health, networks, to highlight a few, and national and international security and development in all its forms. However, with so many parameters and indicators to cogitate upon, realizing the complex agenda of governance is perhaps challenging and intimidating unless long-term strategies are available to obtain realistic outcomes (Grindle, 2004, 2011; Vires, 2013).

'Governance' or its subsequent expanded (or even compressed) models qualified by such adjectives as 'good,' 'good enough,' 'sound' or 'smart' is basically about realizing the purposes of the state in a manner that would be for the common good. The state is expected to be unbiased and impartial and refrain itself from being predatory, otherwise overall quality of government will decline. Predation can be restrained through inbuilt mechanisms like the rule of law and accountability and enforcing them state- and society-wide without prejudice. However, as (Fukuyama, 2013, p. 349) argues, "a state could be highly impartial and still lack the capacity and/or autonomy to effectively deliver services". To put a premium on the latter, it is imperative for the state to be inclusive, and public policies to be non-discriminatory, equitable, fair and

citizen-centric to realize wider societal goals. As the OECD contends, "a more inclusive approach to policy making will play a key role in achieving inclusive growth, and that inclusive growth, in turn, represents a more sustainable economic model for our societies" (OECD, 2015: 26-27). A holistic governance framework should, therefore, incorporate useful elements and employed synchronously to obtain productive results for societal advancement (poverty reduction, human development, economic growth, environmental protection and safety).

Several approaches are used by a host of organizations and scholars around the world to evaluate and measure governance. These are generally based, but not limited to, datasets and indicators generated through surveys. Some are comprehensive; others requiring extension and refinement. The World Bank's 'Worldwide Governance Indicators' (see, World Bank, online) is a popular measure, but too broad and overly normative to correctly measure governmental performance including the delivery of public services and their outcomes and, more importantly, impact (Rothstein, 2011; Rotberg, 2014). As Rotberg (2014: 511-512) argues, "performance of governments means the delivery of...bundles...of political goods that citizens within any kind of political jurisdiction demand." Fukuyama (2013) focuses on four distinctive measures—procedure, capacity, performance and autonomy, and emphasizes that a government's central role is to organize and equip itself to frame and enforce rules and deliver services to the people. Thus, effective governance needs to be citizen-focused and attuned to serving the public. Anything with implications for people's welfare should be brought within the purview of the governance framework and anything going against the public interest need restraining or removal either directly through regulations and procedures or built-in mechanisms that discourage insidious activities of elites (e.g., state capture) and vested interests (e.g., rent-seeking or collaborative corruption) both within and outside the state. An effective governance structure with citizen oversight and accountability would ensure

the stability of the social, political and economic systems.

Security

Security, as we are familiar with, refers to safeguard against threats of any kind. Ambiguity and uncertainty, however, surround the notion of security. As Marsh and Rys (2012: 1) posit, it is essentially "a state of mind...[that] represents a feeling of well-being, an absence of fear". It covers a wide spectrum of issues with wide ramifications and implications for society's wellbeing. Security has more to be concerned with than just military issues, which in the past was the focus of scholars and strategists, realists and pragmatists alike, especially during the Cold War and after. Rather, security concerns need to cover non-military matters, that is anything that threaten the values of society and individuals. As Matthews (1989: 162) proposed the "need for...analogous, broadening definition of national security to include resources, environmental and demographic issues" is critical. Security should be viewed from social, political economic, environmental and military perspectives. Whatever is under threat needs to be secured, be it nature, humans, animals, land, property, wealth and even intellectuality.

'Human security' is a fundamental right that focuses on the freedom of people from fear and want and offsets the challenges people face in their survival, in sustaining their livelihood and in enhancing their dignity. The spectrum of 'security' has been broadened to include economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political (UNDP, 1994). According to the UN General Assembly, "Human security recognizes the interlinkages between peace, development and human rights, and equally considers civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights" (UN, 2016: 6).

In general, the state is "the mechanism by which people seek to achieve adequate levels of security against societal threats" (Buzan, 2007: 51). However, this mechanism to provide dividends

requires to be bolstered by a robust governance framework with a solid foundation and a superstructure supplemented by sound policies and strategies. Buzan (2007: 283) argues that the notion of security

> cannot be properly comprehended without bringing in the actors and dynamics from the societal, economic and environmental sectors. The concept of security binds together these levels and sectors so closely that it demands to be treated in an integrative perspective...Attempts to treat security as if it were confined to any single level or any single sector invite serious distortions of understanding.

Incessant wars, ethnic conflicts, border skirmishes, terrorism, cyber threats, environmental hazards, social menace and intimidation, domestic violence and even pandemics demand broad-based collaborative efforts of governments, regional and international regimes to reorder the security agenda. However, despite its benefits, globalization has been a burden for international security as "the traditional divide between internal and external security has become blurred...[and]..The state... finds it difficult to monitor activity that can pass across its frontiers. (March & Rys, 2012: 9).

Apart from the state, the individual is also a referent object of security. As Buzan (2007: 52) further argues: "If the security of individuals is irreversibly connected to the state, so, as state and society become increasingly indistinguishable, is their insecurity." In other words, individual security can be under threat from the actions of a predatory state where citizens live in relentless fear. Coercive measures of autocratic or pseudo-democratic regimes in advancing their political interests make citizens vulnerable, being denied of their rights and privileges. Voices are silenced, protests quashed. Constitutionalism or the rule of law is overlooked, or casually pursued making people insecure in their own homeland. With the opposition either weak or disarrayed, such regimes easily

keep themselves for the long-haul being complacent of their political strength or nonchalant about the interests or welfare of citizens. Anti-social behavior or criminal activities increase with the rule of law often disregarded, and offenders getting away with impunity. When individual and societal values are threatened, the criticality of security becomes preeminent.

Development

Development is a complex process, often elusive and contested. Its conceptual diversity has generated a myriad of somewhat incompatible and vague meanings. Put simply, it "signifies a move from an unsatisfactory social, economic, and political condition to one that is more humane, relatively prosperous, environmentally safer, and politically inclusive" (Zafarullah & Huque, 2012: 43-44). Development implies qualitative change in social conditions and people's lives, and concerns values, human attitudes, functionings and capabilities in its various phases (Goulet, 1997: Sen, 1985, 1999). Aggregation of multiple goals and activities encompassing social, cultural, ecological, economic and political spheres makes development multidimensional. Its conventional goals are clear: widening the range of commodities and services for public use, raising living standards, and expanding the availability of economic and social choices for individuals and communities (Todaro & Smith, 2015). These objectives were expanded by the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) project (2000-2015) and extended by the ongoing Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) that would be completed in 2030. The latter, focusing on 17 goals, is geared to "ending poverty and other deprivations... [and] ...improve health and education, reduce inequality, and spur economic growth – all while tackling climate change and working to preserve our oceans and forests" (UN, online).

The linkage between human security and human development has been underscored oftentimes. While the former assures that "people can exercise choices safely and freely," the latter aims at enabling

"all individuals to enlarge human capabilities to the full and to put those capabilities to their best use in all fields--economic, social, cultural and political" (UNDP, 1994: 4, 23). Together, both are essential ingredients of sustainable development.

The inclusion of the MDGs and SDGs in the reinvented development paradigm is clear indication that approaches to development followed or adopted in the past have changed. The traditional equation of development with economic growth has gradually been replaced by alternative patterns underscoring the primacy of non-economic determinants in alleviating poverty and advancing human wellbeing within an inclusive framework. The Human Development standard suggests why it is critical to go beyond purely economic factors and why managing development should be supplemented and complemented by governance principles to make it more transparent, accountable, predictable and participatory (ADB, 1999).

Furthermore, the role of the state is being gradually redefined. The state is no longer the prime mover in development with non-governmental and community organizations, the private sector, the market, green movements and, most important, the people contributing to the growth and progress of nations in the prevailing neo-liberal environment. The development process today is not what it was decades ago. With democratization taking root in most countries, entrenched power structures are being refurbished to make way for greater participation of the people in development initiatives. People are being empowered to influence decisions that impact them, social roles engendered to include women and the third-gender, networks constructed for sharing ideas and knowledge, and social capital built in communities close to where development happens. Also, influenced by the essence of democratic governance, the policy process has taken on a new format that is open and inclusive, bottom-up, pro-people, evidence-based, and stakeholder-supportive. Alternative development emerges spontaneously from both real and perceived

needs in a given society and is bred upon the ideas of decentralization, community engagement, social inclusion and participation, empowerment, ethics and morality, and sustainable progress.

The continual changes illustrate one important facet of development--its reflexivity, which inspires approaches that "reflect on development processes, challenging previous assumptions and instilling dynamism in discourses" (Jakimow, 2008: 314). The process of change is imprecise; it does not follow a linear track, changing directions whenever needed, refining and expanding methods and means, and trialling and experimenting new ideas and techniques (Zafarullah & Huque, 2012). Because 'development' has no finale and is a continuous process with changing targets and incorporation of new goals, the need for continued discourse among academics, practitioners and policy makers becomes imperative.

With new problems emerging and innovative ideas and practices evolving, the patterns of governance, security arrangements, and development praxis will need reconfiguring to accommodate changes and encounter uncertainties in the environment. As indicated before, the three areas are interdependent with governance influencing the effective realization of the goals of security and development. Indeed, policies, institutions and practices relevant to the latter two can be examined by applying the governance framework.

This Journal looks broadly at 'governance,' 'security' and 'development' from objective positions focusing on both theoretical and empirical dimensions. In this first edition, we present five articles, a commentary and a book review covering various issues. In the first article, Zahedul Islam Khan and Dominik Zaum, attempt to explain state fragility through the lens of the Global War on Terrorism. They look at both ideational and material factors that influence three distinct, but interrelated, pathways—cognitive, regulatory and capability-building. Each of

these, separately or in harmony, may contribute to the strengthening of states or weakening them.

Fahmida Khatun, in the next article, examines the drivers of economic growth in Bangladesh and scrutinizes the outcomes of several initiatives. While highlighting the positive aspects of the growth process, she points to several key factors that can debilitate its sustainability. She focuses on inclusivity, distribution patterns and inequality, employment, availability of and access to health services, educational quality, and governance and institutional capacity.

Ali Riaz follows the chequered political history of Bangladesh from the standpoint of 'political settlement,' which, being fabricated in the early years of independence, crumbled within three decades with the emergence of pseudo-democratic rule. He argues that "lack of inclusivity and the heightened role of the coercive apparatuses within [both] the dominant coalition...[and] the inner circle" characterize the current state of governance in the country that may cause "the decline of the legitimacy of the dominant coalition." This would have profound impact on the political system.

That the media plays a critical role in influencing thinking and practice in governance, security and development is eloquently conversed by G.M. Shahidul Alam from the perspective of 'political journalism' and media oversight of public affairs. He points out that "the media can only suggest solutions to the perceived and actual ills afflicting a society, but cannot, except under exceptional circumstances, execute a solution." In democratic societies, in particular, its obligation to keep the government in check is undisputed.

Mujahedul Islam assesses the factors that determine the fairness of elections from the viewpoint of globalization and its impact on electoral quality and how this is conditioned by political institutions. Based on rigorous empirical analysis, his findings show that the greater the degree of globalization, conditioned by effective political institutions, the fairer the elections.

Finally, in a political commentary on the Kashmir issue, Tahir Ganie delves deep into the state of the region in the aftermath of the abrogation of Article 370 from the Indian Constitution and its effects on public life and property. The political crises that ensued and the fallout of coercive measures adopted by the Union government have had wide and social and economic ramifications and raised serious security concerns. It also triggered decades-long geopolitical rivalry between India and Pakistan, threatening the territorial integrity of greater Kashmir.

Happy Reading!

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