

**Privatisation of Security and Reemployment of Retired Army
Personnel in Bangladesh**

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ABSTRACT

This thesis embarks on a question of how privatisation of security can be an option for the reemployment of retired army personnel in Bangladesh. Army profession, like other military professions, is a distinct profession; but unlike other non-military professions, it is featured by specialised skill. It embodies unique training and job nature, and after all, a military mind. Like other forces of the military, army personnel go on retirement relatively in an earlier age when their working age still remains active and vibrant. The expertise acquired by the army personnel in their professional life cannot be readily utilised in their retired life. Consequently, a huge number of physically able manpower becomes misfit for non-military professions. It means that given their working age and specialised skill, they still can provide service if they are reemployed in security sector – a sector that runs well with their military background.

Against this backdrop, this study explores the connection between privatisation of security and reemployment of ex-members of the Bangladesh Army. It claims that a private security force – like Private Military Company (PMC), or Private Security Company (PSC) – exclusively composed of retired members of the Bangladesh Army can open an opportunity for the reemployment of ex-members of the Bangladesh Army.

Privatisation of security, which is embedded in neoliberal development agenda, sees security as a commodity that is traded in the free market like other commodities. Private security forces are being engaged in diverse domains of task in the global scale. This is in this context a private security force, comprising exclusively of retired personnel of the Bangladesh Army, is proposed. Such a force– ‘a Ready to Use Force’– can be utilised from the very early stage of its inception by virtue of its experience, expertise, skill and orientation in security affair. The favourable neoliberal environment prevailing in Bangladesh envisages a wider scope of trading security in the market. More to the point, an attentive study finds wider domains of engagement of the private security forces composed of ex-army personnel. Privatisation of security can ameliorate the problem of unemployment of the retired army personnel in Bangladesh.

DECLARATION

This is to certify that this dissertation is an outcome of the researcher's own investigation towards the degree of Master of Philosophy.

Supervisor: Md. Abdul Mannan, PhD
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Date:

This is to certify that:

- the thesis comprises only my original work towards the degree of Master of Philosophy;
- due acknowledge has been made in the text to all materials used;
- the thesis has not been submitted for candidature for any other degree.

Researcher: Khalid Bin Ismot Biplob
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFD	Armed Forces Division
AL	Awami League
ATM	Automated Teller Machine
BNP	Bangladesh Nationalist Party
BPSSPA	Bangladesh Professional Security Service Providers Association
CAO	Chief Administrative Officer
CFO	Chief Finance Officer
CIMIC	Civil-Military Cooperation
CMT	Chief Management Team
COO	Chief Operations Officer
CPM	Community Police Member
DDR	Demobilisation, Disarmament and Reconstruction
GoB	Government of Bangladesh
HR	Human Resources
HSC	Higher Secondary Certificate
IEDs	Improvised Explosive Devices
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IS	Internal Security
JCO	Junior Commissioned Officer
ME	Middle East
MNC	Multi-National Corporation
MPRI	Military Professional Resources Incorporated
MSR	Main Supply Route
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OKP	Operation Kuwait Punorgathon (Reconstruction)

OR	Other Ranks
PCC	Private Combat Company
PHQ	Bangladesh Police Headquarters
PMC	Private Military Company
PMF	Privatised Military Firm
PMF	Private Military Force
PSC	Private Security Company
PSF	Private Security Force
ROTC	Army Reserve Officer Training Corps
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SSC	Secondary School Certificate
SSRT	Security Sector Reform and Training
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
2IC	Second -in-Command

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

I. CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

Military profession is a distinct and 'specialised competence'. This specialised profession constitutes array of activities, predominantly expertise on weapons operation and battle tactics, which is idiomatically known as, in Harold Lasswell's (1951, p.326) words, 'the management of violence'. Military expertise is a continuous transformation process in all spheres of a person's life inculcated through long and arduous training. Attaining complete 'military ethos' and 'military mind' is the culmination of the expertise of military profession. In other words, it is only the military profession which can claim monopoly on the expertise defined in terms of its 'military ethos' and 'military mind'. Paradoxically, military members have very less scope, by virtue of its engagement, to acquire the expertise of other profession; its 'members have specialized competence within their field and lack that competence outside their field,' maintains Samuel P. Huntington (1957, p.70).

Human ability of various kinds is the pivotal factor in determining the termination of service of personnel in any profession (Adams and Beehr, 2003, p.1). However, unlike any other professions, physio-dynamic aspect of human ability gets utmost importance in military profession. Military personnel retire much earlier than the personnel of other profession due to the nature of the job they perform.¹ After they retire, the expertise they acquire throughout their career cannot be applied in non-military sectors. Given the age and physical fitness of the retired army personnel they are capable to join a second profession. Paradoxically, their lifelong training, efficiency and skill do not match the subsequent profession they choose in their post-military life. Besides, it is again quite difficult to qualify for a job in the competitive job market with the credentials they possess. Hence, a big workforce and their long-attained competence eclipse in the abyss of time in their retired life. An eminent researcher on this scholarship explains:

Due to early retirement, 'Working Age' for retired Army personnel is not generally over. Also their educational background and service training make them a 'distinct class' which, given a chance, can contribute considerably to the development of the nation. If this manpower, with

their talent, training and their capacity to work is not utilized, it is a sheer national wastage of human resources (Singh, 1985, p.55).

II. THE CENTRAL RESEARCH QUESTION

In view of the above, retired personnel of the Bangladesh Army is a case in point. In the Bangladesh Army, on an average, approximately 105 members of all ranks of the force go on retirement every year (*Pay, Pension & Allowance Directorate, 2018*). Members of this large workforce, who go on retirement in the age between forty to fifty, seldom find any scope to contribute to the nation or to their families by applying his own field of expertise (*The Bangladesh Gadget, 2013*). They remain either virtually unemployed or else they are employed in a field alien to his long-drawn expertise. Agriculture, small business, and corporate sectors are few of the main sectors of employment of the retired army personnel. Those who remain unemployed barely lead their lives with their pension money. They find that money runs out to bear the expenses of family and their school-going children. The retired officers find their niche in the corporate or in the private business sector which do not always commensurate with their already-attained social need and status. The retired army persons very often become a misfit in the parent society due to their different education, training, expertise and orientation. Privatisation of security can ameliorate the situation to a significant extent. In the global context, privatisation of security has paved the way for reemploying the retired army personnel and the trend is on the increase. Private security forces are being formed predominantly, if not exclusively, comprising the retired army personnel in different developed and developing countries of the world. Against this backdrop, the central research question that this dissertation examines is:

How can privatisation of security be an option for the reemployment of retired army personnel in Bangladesh?

This research, in examining the above question, argues that there is a huge prospect of reemploying retired personnel of the Bangladesh Army through the privatisation of security. Conceptually, privatisation of security, in contrast to a rigid state-centric security, is an arrangement which extends the authority of security to individual alongside the authority of the state. The ownership of military instrument is delegated, to a certain degree, to the private sector side by side with the public sector. The dispensation of military capabilities to

private domain in a limited scale does not necessarily compromise state's 'monopoly of legitimate use of physical force'. The state shares its security measures with the private sector to render security a synergy effect.

Privatisation of security is a very fast emerging alternative security scheme gaining currency in many developed, developing states, and also in the UN peacekeeping involvement. Private Military Company (PMC) and Private Security Company (PSC) are institutional manifestations of privatisation of security. Hence, this dissertation, while referring to the model of 'privatisation of security', invokes the roles of PMC and PSC with regard to the possibility of reemploying retired army personnel. Retired army members offer a lucrative, skilled, readymade, instant, trained source of manpower to run PMC and PSC with less expense and efforts but with utmost efficiency. The research explores the prospects of privatisation of security as a model of reengaging retired members of the Bangladesh Army. The whole study evolves from the perspective of problem-solution dichotomy in which 'post-retirement reemployment of Bangladesh army personnel' is the problem and 'privatisation of security' is considered as a solution to the problem.

III. LITERATURE REVIEW

This section in the present chapter reviews existing works in the field of privatisation of security. It shows that privatisation of security is a fast-emerging phenomenon in many countries of the world, and has caught much academic attention. Hence, review of the existing academic works helps find the research gap in the context of Bangladesh that, in turn, establishes the rationale of the study.

Samuel P. Huntington, the author of *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, has earned prominence for another of his work, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations*. In this work, Huntington provides the theoretical foundation of relations between military institutions and the state. To Huntington (1957, p.14-15), 'While all professions are to some extent regulated by the state, the military profession is monopolised by the state.' The monopolisation of military profession by the state has, by and large, inevitably necessitated distinct 'responsibility' and 'skill' exclusive to this profession. This has stood as a barrier to the diversification of skill which a soldier can invest for his retired life to choose a second career. Consequently, this has created a

compartmentalised and marginalised group in the parent society. Moreover, Huntington has identified 'the low caliber of the military mind,' as he maintains that the 'intelligence, scope and imagination of the professional soldier have been compared unfavorably to the intelligence, scope, and imagination of the lawyer, the businessman, the politician' (Huntington, 1957, p.59). Huntington, however, does not address the way out about the reemployment of military personnel.

A review of Finer's (1988, p.8) much celebrated work, *The Man on Horseback –The Role of the Military in Politics*, reveals similar limitation. Finer identifies distinguishing features of military organisation—features that separates and segregates military society from the greater parent society:

The army differs in function from the society that surrounds it and this function requires that it be separate and segregated. It requires a common uniform, and this immediately distinguishes it from the civilian masses. It requires separate housing, in purely military quarters, the barracks. It demands a systematized nomadism moving from one garrison town to another. It demands a separate code of morals and manners from that of the civilian population, so that the normal freedom of life—to take leave, to change one's employment, in some cases even to marry—are exercised only under surveillance and tutelage, and by permission. All this tends to enhance military solidarity by making the military life self-centered. It is easy, even, to inspire contempt for one's own nationals – the 'civvies', '*les pekins*', '*les bourgeois*'— and so forth. The barracks becomes the world (Finer, 1988, p.8).

Finer has rightly identified the unique characteristics of military life and profession. It is a different society within a greater parent society. A military man habituated with regimented life confronts lot of difficulties once he finds him in a greater parent society. The problems include accommodation with the new working environment, skill needed to perform the job, ignorance about the vices and challenges of the parent society and many more. Thus, Huntington and Finer have revealed the roots of the 'problem' aspect and limitations of military profession which have direct and indirect impacts in the retired life of military persons. Their study did not touch 'solution' aspect of the problem whatsoever that might be.

Singh (1985) has carried out an extensive research on the post-service resettlement problems of the military officers in her work *Resettlement Problems of Retired Army Officers*.

The research is carried out exclusively on retired Indian army officers. The study does not include the larger service personnel other than officers who constitute the majority. She identifies the rehabilitation problem of the retired army officers as a greater 'social' problem rather than only a 'departmental' one which should be addressed with serious attention. Singh suggested few measures to resolve the problem but didn't show the feasibility of forming private security or military companies by the retired military personnel.

The 'solution' aspect of the problem — i.e. reemploying retired military persons — is found in Morris Janowitz's work, *The Professional Soldier* (1971, p.xxiii). In this study, Janowitz presents the possibilities of reapplication of military skill in the private sector. This is the pioneer work to show the path of reengaging the army personnel in the civil sector in their retired life. To Janowitz, soldiers are now more competent to serve in the civilian domain due to their increased proficiency, skill and technical knowledge. He emphasises on more civil-military cooperation to exchange expertise for mutual benefit. Janowitz's approach may be another pathway to ameliorate the reemployment problem of the retired army personnel. Going further, Janowitz envisages that as nuclearisation has reduced the chances of great war to a significant extent, the state military force may gradually take the form of 'constabulary force'.

PMCs/PSCs have emerged as alternative fields of reemployment for the retired military personnel in many developed and developing countries of the world. The end of the Cold War set the stage for the mushrooming of these types of companies. In this regard, the study by Mandel (2002) entitled *Armies without States* warrants attention. In the emerging situation of the post-Cold War period many states lost its 'monopoly of violence' and the vacuum was filled up by many newly-emerged PMCs/PSCs. Citizens of many states became depended on those companies for their security. This demand aspect was constantly addressed by the corresponding supply of security manpower ex-soldiers who lost their job due to downsizing of standing armies in many countries. The convergence of demand-supply dynamics led to the mushrooming of PMCs/PSCs, argues Mandel. He illustrates the demand-supply dynamics:

The ready post-Cold War supply of trained military and paramilitary personnel and equipment has to some degree fueled the proliferation of instruments of force, which in turn

has to some degree facilitated the spread of anarchic violence, and this in turn has fostered a growing demand at home and abroad for new ways –such as private security providers–to secure protection (Mandel, 2002, p.68).

Similar arguments are revealing from the work of Singer (2003)—a work that identifies the value of 'ex' in private military and security companies. The retired military personnel became the main component to form these companies. 'The very name 'ex' - ex-Green Beret, ex-Paratrooper, ex-General, and so on- defines the employee base of the private military industry,' asserts Singer (2003, p.76).The companies find obvious benefit in employing these 'ex' in terms of trained, experienced, ready-made pool of manpower to accomplish their job efficiently and effectively.

Unlike Singer, Avant's (2008) study examines the consequences of privatising security in a negative light. According to Deborah, the rise of private military and security force compromises the state's sole authority with regard to the legitimate use of force. The unabated use of private forces by individuals, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), corporate and even by state itself has made it difficult to rein in the activities of the private forces. Similarly, Rasor and Bauman (2007) are skeptical of the role played by private military and security forces. They bring forth the destructive results of privatisation of security in different trouble spots of the world especially in Africa and Asia. They cite the example of privatising the Iraq War where nearly half of the personnel involved in war was of contractors, not the state military force.

There are, however, available studies which argue in positive light about the role and activities of private security forces. Kinsey (2006), for example, investigates the extent of recognition the activities of private forces receives from different quarters. To him private military and security forces are now being recognised as 'legitimate actors' which might have positive impact in international security. Unlike Avant, Kinsey views the rise of private forces as an inevitable fact of present day security affairs. In similar light, Ortiz (2010) examines how private military and security forces have been used as 'security enhancers'. He recognised the contribution of private security forces in eliminating the insecurity of the society substantially. Ortiz, like Kinsey, finds out many areas of employment for the private security

forces which can be explored to lessen the load and responsibilities of the conventional forces.

Gunes (2017) researches the contradictions between private forces and the modern states. According to him, the security gap created by the state security apparatus due to their late response or inaction is bound to be filled by the private forces inevitably. States also create scope of flourishing PMCs/PSCs by downsizing their militaries. Likewise, Straub (2013) finds out possible areas of engagement of private military and security forces in the peacekeeping missions.

Some studies take a middle ground position between those which argue that privatisation of security undermines the state's sole authority in using military force and those which argue that private military and security forces enhance security. Tonkin (2011) for example, illustrates the aspect of state-control over private military and security forces. The necessity of state control, as Tonkin views, lies in preserving the state's monopoly of violence lest that might be challenged by powerful private military and security companies. Besides, the obligation of the states and international obligations in armed conflicts are broadly discussed in his study. Sheehy et al (2009), like Tonkin, are concerned about the legal control of private military and security companies. The control measures include national regulations, international humanitarian law and international human rights law etc. They advocate strong legal control to prevent the acts of private military and security companies which may tantamount to intervention into other states.

To recapitulate the literature review in this section, the focus of the existing literatures can be categorised into four themes. One category of literatures takes on the 'problem' aspect, that is, military personnel enter retired life at a relatively early age, and that the unique and specialised skills of military personnel cannot be applied in non-military sectors after their retirement. The second category of literatures exposes that privatisation of security is a way out for the post-retirement reemployment of military personnel in military and security sectors. This category of literatures views PMCs/PSCs as security enhancers, and strongly advocates the engagement of those in UN peacekeeping missions. The third category of literatures argues against privatisation of security, because such practice undermines the state's monopoly with regard to the legitimate use of violence. The final and fourth category

of literatures does not oppose privatisation of security but argues that there must have legal mechanisms for the state's control over PMCs/PSCs.

IV. RATIONALE AND CONTRIBUTION OF THE STUDY

As a burgeoning field of alternative security, privatisation of security holds significant implications for the students of security and development studies in the particular context of Bangladesh. This is an emerging concept being applied in many developing countries. Literature review, as accomplished above, exposes that the concept has drawn academic attention in the field of security studies. Bangladesh, however, largely remains outside of this particular scholarship. This study aims to address this research gap. A large trained workforce offers a significant source of manpower to materialise the goal of privatisation of security in Bangladesh beyond academic postulation. This opens a unique window of opportunity to examine theory and praxis in this particular context. The study, thus, will be an original contribution in the field of security studies in the particular context of Bangladesh. This particular case study will be added to the overall scholarships on privatisation of security accomplished so far in other settings of the globe.

The study offers a model of Private Military and Security Company composed of the retired military personnel. It opens up a new field of employment for the retired military personnel and a field which will require little or virtually no endeavour to train the workforce to perform their job. This will contribute significantly to find out a suitable field of employment for the retired army personnel – an important issue which has so far received little attention in academic sphere.

There are private security companies operating in Bangladesh though in a lower scale. But there is no private military company. Besides existing security companies are not composed of retired military personnel but an admixture of personnel of diverse background and mostly of little or no professional experience *per se*. In academic sphere of Bangladesh, there is no research work yet on this subject. This study is going to fill the gap by presenting a model of a private military or a security company composed of retired military personnel.

V. METHODOLOGY

In exploring the possibilities of privatisation of security as a model for the reemployment of retired army personnel in Bangladesh, this dissertation has followed qualitative research methodology in social research. All data used in the dissertation are qualitative in nature. The following discussion presents details of the sources of data, data collection method, and method of data analysis.

V.I. Sources of Data

The study has collected data from both primary and secondary sources. Government and non-government documents, news clippings of local print media, interviews, and autoethnography of author of this dissertation are the main sources of primary data.

V.I.I. Primary Sources

Here, the government documents refer to relevant documents of the government of Bangladesh, in particular, documents that are related to the Bangladesh Army. They mainly include Army formations, offices and records. Army précis and pamphlets on army rules and regulations have been vital source of primary data. Besides, Army policies enacted in different times, official letters and statement issued by army authority are important primary sources for the study. The non-governmental sources include data and document collected from different private security companies—such as the G4S, the Logistics Area Security, and the Elite Force— operating in Bangladesh. The study has consulted news clippings of some Bangladeshi national dailies— such as *The Daily Star*, *The New Nation*, *The Bangladesh Observer*, *The Daily Sun*, *The Dhaka Tribune*, *The Ittefaq*, *The Jugantor*, and *The Jonokontho*. Interview of 2 retired army personnel, who work in private security companies, is another source of primary sources of data. Finally, autoethnography, that is, personal experiences of the researcher of this research study is also an important source of primary data. The researcher's professional and personal experiences of working in the Bangladesh Army and in the UN peacekeeping missions helps him enrich the research.

V.I.II. Secondary Sources

The dissertation consulted wide range of secondary sources including books, book chapters, periodicals, journal articles, and dissertations. These secondary sources have helped provide background knowledge and establish the rationale of the study. The statements and arguments put forward across the study have been substantiated by these secondary sources of references. However, secondary sources on few aspects are scarce given the relative newness of the field of study in the context of Bangladesh. This shortcoming is complemented by primary sources of information.

V.II. Data Collection Method

Access to documents – such as Army policies, records, précis, and pamphlets – is restricted to use by army personnel only, and only for research purpose. Permission for the use of the documents is needed only in case of publication of the research. There is, however, no restriction for the army personnel to use the documents for research purpose. The researcher, by dint of his active service in the Bangladesh Army, has been able to access these documents. Indeed, the researcher collected the documents from the relevant authority of the Bangladesh Army through official letters. Secondly, non-government documents, that is, documents of the private security companies named previously are publicly available in both printed and digital formats, making it very convenient for the researcher to access these documents. Thirdly, news clippings of national dailies named above have been available in public domain in both printed and digital formats. Fourthly, the researcher conducted open ended interview in collecting data from the 3 retired army personnel. Two interviews were conducted in person, while one interview was conducted by telephone. Finally, all secondary documents have been collected by the researcher from the Army libraries—such as the Army Central Library (Dhaka), the Bangladesh Military Academy (BMA) Library (Chattagram), the Military Intelligence Directorate Library (Dhaka).

V.III. Data Analysis Technique

All data, both primary and secondary, have been reduced and transformed so as to make them readily usable. This has been accomplished by applying content analysis technique. The technique has involved coding data, sub-categorising and categorising coded data. Such

technique has helped summarising raw data in the way of establishing the central argument of the thesis.

VI. KEY CONCEPTS

Some key concepts that appear in this dissertation are explained below:

VI.I. Military and Army

The term 'military' refers to, 'armed forces or to the army, adapted to or connected with a state of war, distinguished from civil, ecclesiastical etc.'(Oxford English Dictionary,2004). 'In a broader perspective, 'military' encompasses any force such as army, navy, air force, marines and Coast Guard. 'Army' is often used as synonymous to military owing to its preeminence among the forces. In this study, 'military' is narrowed down to 'army', as the focus of the study is not the reemployment of the entire retired military personnel of Bangladesh but the army.

VI.II. The Concept of Security

The task of defining the concept of security gives rise to four intertwined questions. First, what is the referent object of security? If 'A' is the referent object of security, then the second question is: What does 'A' want to secure? The third question is: What is(are) the source(s) of threat to what 'A' wants to secure? That is to say, the third question involves the question – security of 'A' vis-à-vis what? The fourth and final question is: How does 'A' seek to secure itself? Answers to these questions vary depending on the approaches – traditional approach, widening approach, and deepening approach – that one may employ to understand the meaning of security.

The traditional and dominant notion of security – which is grounded on realist theory in International Relations – takes the state as the referent object of security. The state is presumed to secure its core values: sovereignty, which is otherwise the essence of the idea of the state; territorial integrity, resources, and population – all that form the state's physical base; and last not least, the state's political system which forms the crux of its institutional expression. The state seeks to secure these core values against external aggression presumably undertaken by another state. The sources of threat are external and military in

nature. The state responds to the threats militarily in which it amasses military power to deter aggression by its adversary.

The meaning of security, however, widens in consideration of a wider range of threats to the state's security. The widening approach, like the traditional one, still takes the state as the referent object of security. It, however, argues that threats to the state's core values may emanate from both external and internal realms such that nature of the threats can be both military and non-military in nature (Ayoob, 1991, p.261). States, confronted with civil war, runs the risk of erosion of its internal sovereignty as well as losing its territorial integrity. The fall of the Soviet Union tells that military power alone, if not supported by a sound economy, cannot protect the state's territorial integrity. External and non-military issues like global warming and international terrorism are now recognised as grave threats to the state's security. Such threats cannot be offset by military power but a complex set of responses.

The deepening approach to security informs us a radically different meaning of security. In contrast to traditional and widening approach, deepening approach considers individual as the principal referent object as opposed to state. To ask the question whose security is being threatened the deepeners find the individual and not the state. This approach does not ignore state nor it is possible but it puts main focus on 'deepening of the referent object beyond the state' as Buzan and Hansen (2009, p.189) illustrate. This is an all-encompassing approach to security as Tarry (1999) points out, 'security becomes all things to all people'. This approach includes a broader array of challenges to security of people rather than state. The challenges may stem from internal and external sources or from military and non-military. Besides, the deepeners' contents of security may include: economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security (UNDP, 1994). Experts suggest that a mixed military-civilian formation may be an option to address the challenges to security. A 'Human Security Response Force' comprising two-thirds military and one-third police, civilian and development specialists may be formed as a new security apparatus (Michael Sheehan, 2013).

VI.III. Reserve List (Bangladesh Army)

Reserve list is maintained by Personnel Administration Directorate of Army Headquarters to recall the retired military personnel in war-time mobilization. Reserve list age is for five years

from the day of a person's date of retirement. Reserve age denotes the working age, capability of a person to perform the military job if not fully but near to a serving personnel. Reserve components of Bangladesh Armed Forces comprise the Bangladesh Army, the Navy, the Air Force reserve force, the Bangladesh National Cadet Corps, and the Bangladesh Ansar.

VII. OVERVIEW OF CHAPTERS

The dissertation is unfolded in four chapters. The first chapter has already contextualised the research and raised the central research problem as to how privatisation of security can help reemploying retired army personnel in Bangladesh. The chapter has reviewed pertinent literatures in order to expose the relevance of the research topic and research gap. Literature review has shown that privatisation of security has been emerging as an alternative to traditional state-centric security arrangements in different parts of the globe, drawing huge academic interests in the field. A research gap, however, remains in the particular context of Bangladesh. Thus, chapter one has established the rationale of the study, stating that this dissertation seeks to address the research gap by examining how privatisation of security can be relevant with regard to the reemployment of retired army personnel in Bangladesh. Finally, the first chapter has stated the methodology of the research.

Chapter 2 examines the concept of privatisation of security, and its theoretical underpinnings as to find out the plausibility of reemploying the retired army personnel in Bangladesh in the private security sector. In course of analysing the concept, it finds that the concept of privatisation of security is a shift from state's monopoly on using violence and it is deeply embedded in neoliberal ideology. The nomenclatures, types and taxonomies of private security forces are discussed. The chapter reveals the corporate-style functioning, corporate structure and hierarchies of private security forces. It explores the domains of engagement of private security forces in the global context as a prelude to examining the likelihood of reemploying the retired army personnel in Bangladesh.

In light of the conceptual framework drawn in previous chapter, Chapter 3 investigates the central question of the dissertation of how privatisation can be an option to reemploy the retired army personnel in the context of Bangladesh. In doing so, the dissertation examines the neoliberal model of development in the country which provides a favourable ambience for flourishing free market and privatisation. Consequently, the dissertation finds out ample

scopes of privatisation in the security market of the country like other products and services. It proposes a private security company composed of the retired army personnel in the context of Bangladesh. The advantages and domains of engagement of the proposed force are investigated as well.

Chapter 4, the Concluding chapter, summarises key findings of the dissertation. The discussion deduces security as a commodity in the neoliberal free market. Security, like other commodities, can be traded and hence privatised. Bangladesh, concurrently with the global trend, strongly endorses neoliberal market economy. The chapter shows that security can also be privatised like other commodities and services in the neoliberal market of Bangladesh. Accordingly, the retired army personnel can be reemployed in the private security market of the country. Finally, the chapter identifies areas of research gap. It is pertinent to state that the thesis advocates privatisation of security in Bangladesh as a way of reemploying ex-army personnel. The study does not address the challenges that may arise from privatisation of security in Bangladesh. Hence a future research can study the challenges.

CHAPTER TWO

PRIVATISATION OF SECURITY: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The previous chapter has set forth the research question of this dissertation. As discussed, the focus of the previous chapter lies in the problem of reemployment of retired army personnel in Bangladesh. In fact, army personnel withdraw from their active profession in an earlier age but with hardly any skill and qualification appropriate to restart a second career in their parent society. Despite having sound 'working age' and specialised military skill, they do not find a niche to reemploy themselves. Thus, the main research question that has been raised in the previous chapter is about the reemployment of retired army personnel in Bangladesh. In this connection, the previous chapter has reviewed relevant literatures to find out the relevance of the study and claimed that there is a research gap with regard to the privatisation of security in Bangladesh.

This chapter examines the concept of privatisation of security as a prelude to analysing how the concept of privatisation of security can help the reemployment of retired army personnel in Bangladesh. The chapter splits into three sections. At first, it takes on the theoretical underpinning of the concept of privatisation of security, in analysing that the concept is theoretically grounded on neoliberal model of development. The second section has presented a discussion on corporate-style functioning of PMCs/PSCs – a style of functioning that runs well with neoliberalism. The third section has identified and discussed the domains of engagement of PMCs/PSCs.

I. PRIVATISATION OF SECURITY: A SHIFT FROM STATE'S MONOPOLY ON USING VIOLENCE

In understanding the concept of privatisation of security, one must, in the first place, understand traditional state-centrism in using violence. This state-centrism is rigidly grounded on the theoretical rigor of realism in the study of International Relations. State is the basic actor in international system with the legitimate capability to exert coercive force within its territory. To recall Max Weber, state is 'a human community that (successfully) claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory' (Gerth and Mills, 1946, pp.77-78). It is the only state that enjoys the ultimate but 'legitimate' power to sanction force in case of any threat emanating from within or without the state. States

maintain and use standing army and other state-owned security apparatus to protect itself from internal and external threats. The state ownership of security forces render it free play to raise, maintain, use and misuse the later at its discretion. This is the sole instrument at the hand of the state to execute its coercive force to counter any threat against its interests.

I.I. Neoliberalism: Theoretical Underpinning of Privatisation of Security

Conversely, the concept of privatisation of security is a departure from state-centrism with regard to the possession of monopoly of violence. Indeed, privatisation of security is theoretically grounded on neoliberal model of development in which the right and authority to possess and use violence shifts, to a certain extent, from the state to the private sector. Any discussion on neoliberalism and its connection with privatisation of security requires a brief account of classical liberalism so as to understand the essence of 'neo' of neoliberalism.

Classical liberalism, as an economic ideology, emerged in the nineteenth century in reaction to mercantilist economic ideology of the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. Whereas mercantilist practices sought to extort revenues from individuals' economic activities for state building, classical liberalism advocated freeing individual economic activities from state intervention. Individualism, in other words, individual self-interest was the basic tenet of classical liberalism. It was anchored in an optimistic assumption that individual is capable of self-development and that he/she can meet his/her self interest – economic and social wellbeing – without the intervention of the state. An economic system functions best so long it is left to the self-regulatory apparatus of the economy, that is, free market system – a system that kept the state away from intervening in the market.

This classic version of liberal economic ideology lost its appeal in the wake of the Great Depressions of the 1930s and the subsequent outbreak of the Second World War. It was alleged that classical liberalism, by leaving human welfare to market competition, did create conditions of inequality, poverty, underconsumption and unemployment, to name a few. Critics of classical liberalism claimed that this ideology advocated equal opportunity for all individuals but not their equal chance of success with regard to their social welfare, such that classical liberalism was disembedded from public welfare. This led to the emergence of Keynesian economics, interchangeably, Keynesian welfare state, named after Johan Maynard Keynes, an influential British economist (Gilpin, 1987). This economic system replaced

classical liberalism to a certain extent advocating progressive intervention of the state in order to ensure mass/public welfare, and hence it came to be known as embedded liberalism.

The aforementioned discussions give us a vantage point to define neoliberal economic ideology – an ideology that began to emerge in the 1970s. Between the late 1970s and early 1980s, the ideology of welfare state, that is, embedded liberalism was replaced by neoliberalism in the wake of Reganism and Thatcherism in the United States (US) and United Kingdom (UK) respectively. Since the period in question, neoliberalism exists as the dominant form of political-economic practices. The ‘neo’ of neoliberalism means the revival of fundamental traits of classic version of liberalism with a new manifestation. To subscribe to the definition by David Harvey,

Neoliberalism is in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade (Harvey, 2005, p.2).

This definition of neoliberalism exposes that neoliberalism draws on certain fundamentals of classical liberalism. The newness of neoliberalism, however, is that:

The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices. The state has to guarantee, for example, the quality and integrity of money. It must also set up those military, defence, police, and legal structures and functions required to secure private property rights and to guarantee, by force if need be, the proper functioning of markets. Furthermore, if markets do not exist (in areas such as land, water, education, health care, social security, or environmental pollution) then they must be created by state action if necessary. But beyond this task the state should not venture...Deregulation [and] privatization...have been all too common [in neoliberal model of development] (Harvey, 2005, p.2).

Since the 1980s, this neoliberal model of development has become the dominant political-economic practices across the globe pushed by the US-led liberal international economic order known as the Washington Consensus. Many traditional social democratic states in the West, including many post-Soviet republics, have reformed their socio-economic policies to

certain extent to the demand of neoliberal model of development, let alone the question of developing and underdeveloped countries dictated by the Washington Consensus.

This gives us a vantage point towards the understanding of privatisation of security. In fact, neoliberal development has been very influential in the privatisation of security in many countries of the world. Broadly speaking, as Ettinger (2011) claims, 'military neoliberalism cuts to the core of the Westphalian state itself.' The state security apparatus has been so extensively privatised that the effectiveness of engagements of the leading powers in different trouble spots has become difficult without active integration of private security contractors (Stanger and Williams, 2006). The American private military company MPRI, Brown & Root Services and the British company Sandline International were successfully used to resolve humanitarian debacle in Bosnia and Sierra Leone respectively. To cite an example from Bosnian War, the 'ragtag' Croat's army trained by American based MPRI lopsided the balance against the Serbs within weeks. To add from Singer (2003, p.175), 'The possibility is increased that a state could be caught unaware at the new capability of their rival, as the Serbs (whose opponents hired MPRI) learned in the aftermath of 'Operation Storm'.' In the Darfur Crisis, there was a crying demand for security to the people of Darfur, the NGOs and other humanitarian organisations operating there. The private security companies like Pacific Engineers and DynCorp filled the void swiftly by supplying the security forces. The contractors were able to meet the demand at the earliest which the public forces were neither able nor willing to do (Leander and Munster, 2007).

Thus, it is quite revealing that beyond the state, even non-state actors can possess military capabilities. To add from P. W. Singer (2003), 'The new privatised military industry also means that state and non-state actors alike now can access military capabilities formerly exclusive to strong states.' In relation to this, some of the authors became more conclusive in continuing, 'sovereignty is not an absolute, timeless, and invariable attribute of the state' (Thomson, 1994, p.151). Consequently, Privatisation of security generates a major transformation to the centrality of power of the state.

In relation to this shift from state's monopoly on using violence, it is pertinent to add another argument of Weber (cited in Thomson, 1994, p.151): 'the right to use physical force is ascribed to other or to individuals only to the extent to which the state permits it' (Thomson,

1994, p.151). Although state remains to be the sole and the most powerful actor to use legitimate force, gradually it is dispensing some of its authority to private security forces because 'sometimes governments have found it expedient to transfer some of their public responsibilities to the private sector' (Singer,2003, p.7).To add from Ortiz (2010, p.5), 'while remaining the ultimate arbiter of the legitimate use of force, the state increasingly assigns defense and security functions to private commercial firms'. Dispensing some authority of 'legitimate use of physical force' to its subordinate or constituting organ may not necessarily compromise with its hold on power and authority. This may be viewed as delegating some authority to the subordinate while preserving full control over its sovereign power. Privatisation of security can be viewed as a lower scale societal defence arrangement rather than large scale militarisation of the society. It may lessen dependence on the state security apparatus to solve lower-scale security threats of the individual and social level.

This may be viewed as a restraint, moderation and compromise to militarisation of the state. Again association of the private forces with the state army in 'management of violence' and in case of 'legitimate use of physical force' may supplement to the state security and capability. Besides, Private military or security forces may be used as an effective foreign policy tool by the states. The engagement of state security forces to quell humanitarian crisis in a conflict stricken country may often tantamount to intervention in internal affairs. The use of private military or security forces may serve the purpose 'while also reducing the financial, military and political risk of intervening' (Martin Binder, 2007, p.307).The Western states have not only privatised its' welfare sector, they privatised their security sector as well. As a result, 'a burgeoning transnational market for force now exists alongside the system of states and state forces' (Avant, 2008).

The above discussion reveals that security can be privatised; it can be shared and exchanged with individual and sub-state actors. Privatisation transforms security from a 'public good' to a 'private good'—a commodity in the market. After all, the process of privatisation renders security an orientation with the market. Therefore, it can be assumed that the concept of privatisation of security is deeply embedded in neoliberal ideology.

The principal tendency of market is to incorporate all aspects of society, including security, under the dynamics of market mechanism like price, competition, demand and supply etc.

The acts of the state should be in conformity with the need of the individuals and society. The mission and objective of state should be to ensure, to quote from Jeremy Bentham's famous statement, 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number' (Jackson and Sorensen, 2013, p.100). Again, to echo with Hobson (2000, p.64), 'States must ultimately conform to the needs of individuals: states must be socially adaptive.' Therefore, liberalism recognises the role of private individuals, groups, institutions and societies in security endeavours of the state.

Now, in light of the above theoretical background, privatisation of security and its variants can be defined. Privatisation of security, as a neoliberal concern, is the provision of ownership of security by the private sector. In conventional wisdom, sanctioning of security or the use of force is the prerogative of the state only. But private security is the private rather than public arrangement of security. Private security denotes the security under private arrangement which can be exchanged like other commodities in the market. Deborah D. Avant defines private security as the 'security allocated through the market' (Avant, 2008, p. 438). Private security forces do not trade security for any political or ideological causes but essentially for private gains. Private security forces act like the profit-driven corporate of the day. To quote Misser and Versi (2018), 'They are businessmen first'.

I.II. PMCs/PSCs: Nomenclatures of Privatisation of Security

Private security forces are known by many nomenclatures. Sometimes the names are vague and puzzling. But many of the names bear distinct neoliberal undertones. Private Security Forces (PSFs), Private Military Forces (PMFs), Privatised Military Firms (PMF), Private Combat Companies (PCCs), and Security Contractors are some of the institutional manifestations of privatisation of security. The name Private Military Company (PMC) is now the most widely-known and widely-used term for private security forces which was coined by David Shearer. Peter W. Singer has devised the name 'Privatised Military Firm' (Avant, 2008). Besides, Private security forces is often adorned with many surnames like 'Security for sales', 'The Hand of War', 'The Market for Force', 'Corporate Soldiers', 'Corporate Warriors', 'Combat for sale', 'Security Contractors' to mention just a few. The surnames the privatisation of security is conferred with reveal its distinct orientation to market dynamism and corporatisation.

Whatever names and surnames the private security forces are endowed with, these forces always tend to search for market opportunities.

It is difficult to draw a distinguishing line in nature, function and the range of services the private forces provide. Many scholars view the names connote different scope, function and areas of operation, but others view there is hardly any difference among the private security forces. As our discussion will frequently come across Private Military Company (PMC) and Private Security Company (PSC), it seems pertinent to append some differences between these two.

Private Military Companies predominantly provide military expertise and perform the military tasks. These mostly act as force-multiplier. These are like the present day corporate having a Board of Directors. PMCs are mostly founded by ex-military personnel. The majority of its workforce is also recruited from retired military personnel. After all, PMCs are short of small strength army in the private sector. On the other hand, Private Security Companies (PSCs) mostly perform policing tasks. PSCs provide security services and 'are generally concerned with crime prevention and public order' (Beyani and Lilly, 2001, p. 18). But PSCs has the similar corporate nature as the PMCs. It has similar control structure and the corporate hierarchies as the PMCs have. PSCs are also mostly composed of ex-servicemen. But the range of services the private security forces provide now a days are varied and multi-dimensional. It may range from protection, training and advice, logistics to force multiplier. Many of the big private security forces are multinational in nature, scope and function. Dyncorp, Blackwater are some of the big private security forces extending their varied services worldwide. As Ortiz (2010, p.6) has referred PMCs to 'the firms profiting from the offering of military and security-related expertise that until recently was considered the preserve of the state and provided by military, police, and intelligence forces. The services on offer are wide ranging and cover tasks in the areas of combat, training, support, security, intelligence and reconstruction.'

II. CORPORATE FUNCTIONING OF PRIVATE SECURITY FORCES – PMCs/PSCs

Private Military and Security companies have become the part and parcel of security culture of many neoliberal states. Private military and security companies function, to a significant extent, like the corporate bodies operating worldwide. These have also permanent structure

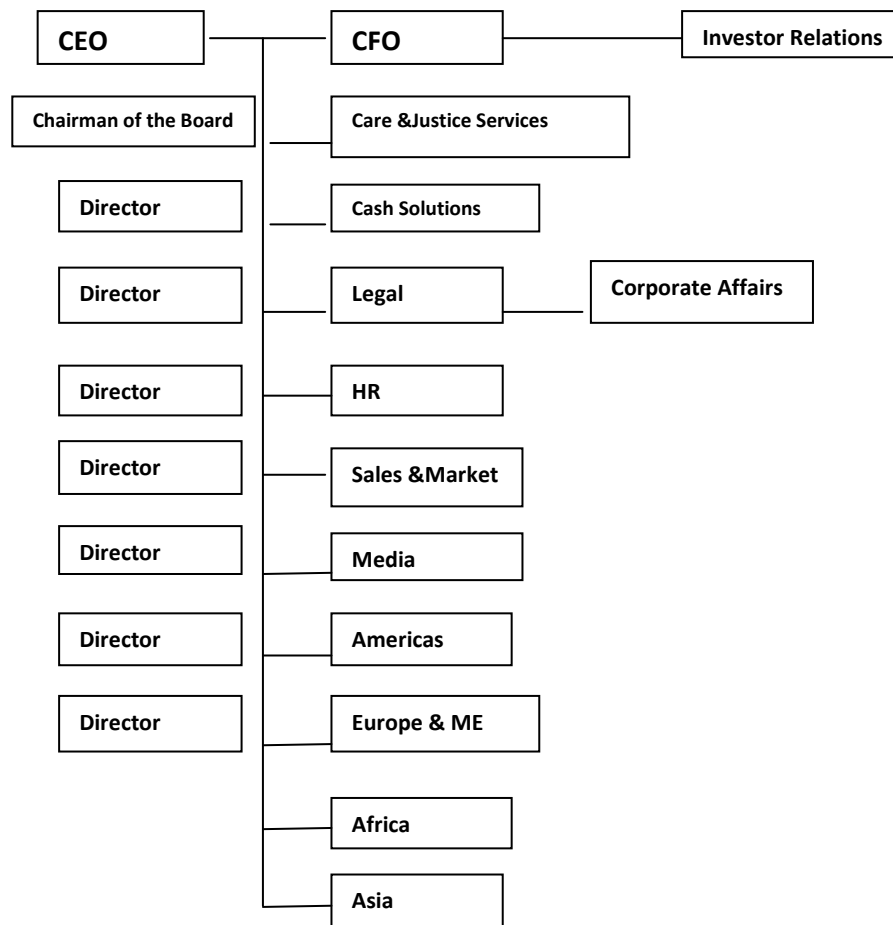
with a corporate disposition. These are like commercial enterprises but comprising manpower of both absolutely non-military background and ex-military persons. Private security companies function under the institutional framework of the state but without any state intervention. A state, especially neoliberal one, paves the way towards flourishing security market like other consumer market. The private security bodies, in the neoliberal culture, function in a free but competitive security market ambience. Private security companies, like the business corporate, are in a constant competition amongst each other to woo the customer in the security market. The nomenclature of the functionaries bears distinct consumer-wooing undertones. Security solution, risk management, service deliveries are just few to mention.

Private Military or Private Security Company is unlike a military unit in its conventional sense. Military units are rigid and tightly structured. The hierarchal or pyramidal military structure is seamed by strong chain of command. As Finer (1988, p.6) illustrates, 'The army is arranged in a pyramid of authority, a hierarchy, each echelon owing explicit and peremptory obedience to the orders of its superior. The army is therefore very highly stratified.' Private military companies with military-like structure are hardly found even though the manpower is predominantly of military background. These have the same hierarchies and chain of authority as the corporate have with similar nomenclatures of designation or appointments. To refer from Kinsey (2006, p.15), 'As a corporate body, PMCs generally have a Board of Directors. The composition of these Boards includes former military officers, though whether they are accountable to shareholders depends on their position'. Kinsey has showed two types of structures of Private Security Companies—one is loosely coupled organic network of PSC and the other divisionalised and hierarchal Private Security Company. Loosely coupled organic network Security Company is led by a Core Management Team (CMT) which controls administration, finance, human resources, business and all other important issues. A project manager is appointed for every project who is accountable to the CMT for every aspects of the project he is assigned for. On the other hand, divisionalised and hierarchal Private Security Company is headed by a Chief Executive Officer who is overseen by a Board of Directors. An Executive Committee acts below the Board to implement the decision in the field level. There are other appointments like Chief Operations Officer (COO), Chief

Administrative Officer (CAO) and Chief Finance Officer (CFO) who perform tasks in their respective area of responsibilities (Kinsey, 2005, p.194).

As a case by illustration, we can take into account corporate-style functioning of the G4S (see Figure 1). G4S is one of the world’s leading security companies. It is a large company with operational networks in more than one country. The field of operations or services is many and multifarious. To refer to the G4S, the British multinational security giant, it is interesting to that this company ‘employs more than 620,000 people which makes it the third biggest employer in the private sector globally’ (securitydegreehub.com, 2019).

Figure 1: Corporate-style functioning of G4S



As shown above, the organisational chart of the G4S will better explain the hierarchy in the management system, function, chain of authority, area of engagement and, after all, enormity of its power and capability. The company is composed of both civil and ex-military personnel headed by a Chief Executive Officer (CEO). The directors, though independent in

their tasks, work under the direction and supervision of the CEO like the business corporate. The CFO manages the whole financial aspects. Like the corporate, Chairman of the Board heads the organisation. Thanks to neoliberal framework, it helps us comprehend corporate-style functioning of private security company.

III. DOMAINS OF ENGAGEMENT OF PMCs/ PSCs

Private military and security companies, like the military of the state, are formed to fulfill specific security requirements. The nature, size, and structure of private military or security companies are determined by the probable areas of engagement. The military and security companies of the developed states and that of the developing and underdeveloped world do not function with the identical mission and capabilities. Many of the large military and security companies of the world like G4S, MPRI, Armour Group do possess more capabilities in terms of manpower, operational reach, equipment and expertise than that of even the standing armies of many states. The security companies which are in operation in developing countries are like smaller detachments and do provide lower scale security services within the territory of the state. The tasks performed by the PMCs/PSCs can be encompassed under four broad headings– protection, training and advice, logistics and outsourcing or force multipliers. The domains of engagement of PMCs/PSCs, in brief, can be appended as follows:

III.I. Protection of Personnel, Installations, Cash and Assets

The private security companies perform three types of protection tasks such as protection of personnel, installations, cash and assets. The tasks are often performed independently and sometimes in collaboration with the state security apparatus to supplement the capabilities. The protection tasks are performed both in domestic and international domain, mostly hired by individuals, corporate and multinationals and sometimes by the state itself (Klare, 1995).

- Threat and risks assessment on installations, infrastructure, valuables and personnel. Conducting survey and forecasting alert of disaster both man-made and natural;
- Manned guarding to personnel. It includes protection service and escort service;
- Transportation and transfer of personnel, cash and valuables;
- Emergency rescue and evacuation of personnel from disaster and accident area;

- Travel alert;
- Private investigation services;
- Access management. Security archway, detector devices and road blocker.
- Burglar alarm system, smoke detector system and electric short circuit and gas leak detector;
- Natural disaster management; and
- Vault and storage services, teller services, cash processing and electronic machine, such as automated teller machine (ATM).

III.II. Outsourcing

Private military companies are now performing many core military tasks previously done by state security apparatus. The contractors are often called as the fourth branch of the government (Martha, 2016, p.13). To add an example, 'there were more private contractors in Iraq than British national troops (cited in Martha, 2016, p. 16).The tasks may be of both internal requirements and external military deployment. Contractors are performing supply and support system, undertaking security and protective measures as well. These are mostly prevalent in the Western military which are gradually ramifying into the security culture of the developing world. The principal domain where outsourcing are done are appended as follows-

- Non-combat support and supply services such as providing food, water, uniforms; maintaining barracks and so on. Halliburton, KBR and many other security services company are providing daily necessities to the US militaries deployed in different trouble-spots of the world.
- Combat support services such as military engagements in the battlefield as in Iraq and Afghanistan.
- Protective support services such as; convoy, base and site protection; and
- Writing and composing military handbooks and pamphlets.

III.III. Training and Advice

Private military and security services perform the challenging tasks of training the ragtag forces in many war-torn countries as in Bosnia, Croatia, Iraq and Afghanistan. The training and advice services include:

- Reorganising the disorganised force in the post-conflict state.
- Orienting with arms and equipment
- Training on arms and equipment, essential battle tactics and operations.
- Imparting knowledge on laws of armed conflicts, rules and regulations concerning local and national government.
- Collecting, collating and disseminating intelligence, information, threat assessment for the state force deployed in overseas assignment; and
- Training the police and para-military forces on riot-management and mob-dispersal.

III.IV. Logistics

The vast and delicate issue of logistics is now broadly addressed by private security forces or the contractors in the overseas battlefield and in the domestic military services as well. The logistics tasks may range from laundry services, mail delivery, to transportation and construction. A few outstanding logistics tasks are discerned as follows:

- Construction and repair of bases, roads, helipads, bridges and so on;
- Maintenance of camps, equipment, weapons;
- Transportation of troops, equipment, food and daily necessities;
- Maintaining the supply chain system in the conflict-stricken areas;
- Generation of power, refueling and water management; and
- Disposing of hazardous materials, waste and garbage management;

IV. CONCLUSION

This chapter has examined privatisation of security from theoretical standpoints of neoliberal model of development. The continuum of privatisation of security has brought about unprecedented change in the state's monopoly of violence. In fact, privatisation of security has engendered a new trend of 'public-private partnership' in managing the tasks of statecraft. The allocation of state's monopolistic role in security to private companies has established, by other means, a new nexus between security and neoliberal economic system. The chapter has reveals that privatisation of security is, in fact, deeply anchored in neoliberal economic system. The corporate-style functioning of private security companies justifies its' *raison d'être* as profit-making commercial enterprises. Now security is no more a state prerogative but a commodity in the market. Security is allocated, sold and purchased with a competitive impulse and spirit. The domains of engagement of the security companies reveal their commercial-oriented nature, scope and functioning as well. It is revealing that privatisation of security can be nurtured, nourished and flourished in the neoliberal economic system.

CHAPTER THREE

PRIVATISING SECURITY: A WAY FOR REEMPLOYING RETIRED ARMY PERSONNEL IN BANGLADESH

To reiterate, this dissertation seeks to examine how privatisation of security can be a way out for the reemployment of retired army personnel in Bangladesh. In this endeavour, the first chapter has contextualised the research. The second chapter has conceptualised the concept of privatisation of security; and has shown that the concept is theoretically located within the neoliberal political-economy practices; and that private security forces largely operate like the corporate bodies in a world of free market competition. Furthermore, the second chapter has identified the general domains of engagement of private security forces.

Within the conceptual framework sketched in the previous chapter, this chapter explores the central focus of the dissertation, that is, how privatisation of security offers an opportunity for reemploying Bangladesh's retired army personnel. The chapter is organised in three sections. The first section shows that there is a congenial atmosphere in Bangladesh for the privatisation of security, and that the atmosphere is provided by neoliberal model of development in the country. The second section examines the feasibility of a private security force – a PMC, or PSC – exclusively composed of the Bangladesh Army's retired members. Thirdly and finally, the chapter examines the possible domains of engagement of PMC/PSC comprising only the ex-personnel of the Bangladesh Army.

I. NEOLIBERAL DEVELOPMENT MODEL IN BANGLADESH: A CONDUCTIVE ENVIRONMENT FOR THE PRIVATISATION OF SECURITY

As stated in the previous chapter, privatisation of security is understood within the neoliberal political economy paradigm. Hence a crucial question is whether Bangladesh is a neoliberal state so as to assert that the country has a friendly environment for the privatisation of security.

It has been already stated in the previous chapter that neoliberalism as a model of political-economic development emerged in the 1970s; and between the late 1970s and early 1980s, it gained prominence with the triumph of Reaganism and Thatcherism in the US and the UK respectively. Since then, more importantly, since the end of the Cold War, it has become the

dominant political-economic practices across the world. This paradigm of political-economic development entails privatisation and deregulation of the economy. Moreover, also noted in the preceding chapter, the state must create markets in those areas where markets are not available. Such areas may include education, health care, energy and power, water, and social security, to name a few.

Like elsewhere in the world, neoliberal practices have been the dominant features of economic development in Bangladesh since the 1980s. This has been a departure from its earliest model of economic development under the leadership of the immediate post-independence regime. Indeed, instantaneously after its independence in 1971, Bangladesh embarked on a 'state-managed, planned economic development model' (Misra, 2020, p.67). A number of key industries were nationalised. The newly-born state set up a Central Planning Commission. The Commission was assigned with the task of formulating 'short, medium and long-term economic development plans' (Misra, 2020, p.67). Manufacture sector –including those like banking, insurance, and trade – went through an expanding role of the state (Sobhan, 1993, p.925).

The turn towards privatisation began after the collapse of the immediate post- independence regime in 1975. From 1975 to 1982, Bangladesh put more emphasis on fostering the development of private sector. As Sobhan (1993, p.926) elaborates:

Some jute spinning units, specialised textiles mills some tanneries and rerolling mills were divested. However, the emphasis of the government at that time was to expand the scope for private economic activity at all levels of industry in trade, banking, insurance and distribution of agricultural inputs where it was expected that public and private enterprise would operate in competitive coexistence. However, the instrument of choice of that regime was massive lending to prospective private enterprises through the public sector development finance institution.

This was not independent of external intervention. For example, since 1977, the World Bank and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) introduced conditions for the Government of Bangladesh (GoB) with a view to disengaging the latter from intervention in the agricultural sector. During this period, concrete steps were undertaken to formulate new policies and set up relevant institutions to carry forward the process of

neoliberal economic reforms. A revised industrial policy, withdrawal of private investment ceiling, amendment of the constitution to denationalise public corporations were some of the endeavours undertaken by the government. A total 255 public enterprises were privatised during this period (Awal, 2020, p.11-23).

However, privatisation and deregulation received a momentum since Bangladesh had embarked on reforming its economic policies within the framework of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) since the 1980s. Indeed, SAP – pushed by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), namely, the Washington Consensus – became the handmaiden to implement the neoliberal agenda in Bangladesh. Thus, writing in the early 1990s, Sobhan (1993, p.925) notes that within the framework of the SAP, the ‘reform process since 1982 has been much more holistic in its coverage, attempting to change the entire direction of the economy towards a private enterprise dominated market economy.’ The trend of privatisation scheme started to pervade all sectors in an ‘aim for bringing everything under the sun into the reach of private business...’ (Muhammad, 2021, p.155).

The neoliberal agenda of privatisation, deregulation, and the creation of markets in new areas has gone unabated over the last three decades. Despite political differences between the successive regimes that has ruled the country since the 1990s; no differences have been found between them with regard to their implementation of neoliberal model of economic development.

For example, the regime of the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) during 1991-1996 pursued an extensive privatisation agenda, alongside creating institutions or frameworks that would be conducive to free market economy. A new industrial policy was framed in which, ‘only air travel, railways, production and distribution of power and defense industries were reserved for the public sector’ (Amin and Khanam, 2018). The Private University Act (1992), which allowed the set up of private universities, was one of the few instances in which the state created markets in higher education sector. The successive government of the Bangladesh Awami League, hereafter the Awami League (AL), during 1996-2001 was no exception to implementing such agenda. Private entrepreneurs ‘moved ahead to establish private schools, universities, and hospitals,’ notes Awal (2020, p.17).

Because such neoliberal model of development has been unaffected by the change of regime, it is now the order of the day of the Bangladesh economy, marked by massive creation of markets by state actions. The privatisation scheme now spreads out to transportation, port developments, education, health, port and container handling, aviation and tourism, and banking and insurance, to name a few. Of note, the energy sector, a commanding height of the economy, has experienced massive privatisation since the 2010s.

This private-sector-friendly environment gives us a vantage point to claim that privatisation of security – in the form of PMCs/PSCs – composed of the Bangladesh Army's ex-personnel is plausible.

It is important to note that some private security firms do already exist in Bangladesh. The genesis of private security companies in Bangladesh can be traced back to mid-1980s which coincides with the heyday of neoliberal economic reform in Bangladesh. The pioneers in this field in Bangladesh are the Securex, the G4S, the Elite force, and the Orion, to name a few. Presently, according to a source, more than 800 private security companies are operating in Bangladesh; and the number of personnel working in this field exceeds 400,000 (Islam, 2021). The sector is 'providing an estimated Tk400 crore to the national exchequer' (Islam, 2021). This number exceeds the number of many of the governmental law enforcing agencies of the country (Mahmud 2016; Mahmud, 2017). Though the private security industry is a booming sector in the country due to its rising demand, it remains in a rudimentary state.

All these companies are, however, composed of a mixture of ex-military personnel and civil personnel. There is no security company, at this moment, in Bangladesh which could comprise exclusively retired army personnel. An endeavour is taken in the subsequent sections of this chapter to find out the prospects of a PMC/PSC composed of exclusively retired army personnel in the context of Bangladesh.

II. PMC/PSC IN BANGLADESH COMPOSED OF EXCLUSIVELY RETIRED ARMY PERSONNEL

Given the private-sector-friendly environment in Bangladesh already discussed in the above section, PMC/PSC has wider prospects to run its security market like any other commodities. PMC/PSC composed of exclusively retired army personnel may even exhibit better prospects in the context of Bangladesh. This section explores three issues. At first it is argued that given

the working age, physical fitness, experience and expertise of the retired army personnel, a PMC/PSC exclusively composed of them they can suit best to perform the job of security market as 'ready to use force'. The second issue is about the composition of the force. The third issue is about the advantages of the force in question. These three issues are elaborated in three subsections: i.e. II.I, II.II, and II.III.

II.I. A 'Ready to Use Force'

In military service retirement age varies depending on the promoted rank (The Bangladesh Army Regulation/Instructions, 1985). The retirement age of the officers of Bangladesh Army ranges from lowest 50 years (Major and below) to the highest 61 years (General) (Bangladesh Gazette, 2013). The retirement age of the Junior Commissioned Officers (JCOs) and Other Ranks (ORs) ranges from 40 years to 52 years. On the other hand, the retirement age of the government services other than military in Bangladesh is 59 years. The retirement age limit in civil service and military service of Bangladesh reveals that there can be a gap of maximum 19 years if we consider the retirement age of a *Soinik* (the lowest military rank) at the age of 40. This speaks of the relative youngness of a retired military person vis-à-vis a retired civil service official. To quote M.K. Singh (1985, p2), 'Since the retired Army Officers are not old enough from the age point of view, hence their retirement problems remain distinctly different from that of the civilian retired employees, who retire at a comparatively advanced stage.'

The highest number of officers going on retirement every year is of the rank of Major and Lieutenant Colonel. The number of officers went on retirement in the rank of Major in 2015, 2016 and 2017 is 38, 50 and 72 respectively (Pay, Pension & Allowance Directorate, 2018). The number of JCOs and ORs is obviously manifold.

All retired army personnel remain in the army reserve list for the next 5 years from the date of their retirement irrespective of their age and rank (The Bangladesh Army Regulations/Rules,, 1986). The number of retired army personnel of all ranks in the reserve list of Bangladesh Army from 2013 to 2017 is approximately 21000 (Personnel Administration Directorate, 2017). During the period they are not to render all time service to the force but only to join the duties once they are called for. It may happen only in case of general mobilisation at the outbreak of war or during great natural calamities when standing army

proves inadequate to tackle the situation. They can choose any other profession as their second career and most of them do so. After the completion of these 5 years, they are relieved of this reserve service.

The aforementioned number of reserve listed army personnel is a good source of trained and skilled manpower to form Private PMCs/PSCs in Bangladesh. The physical ability of the retired military personnel does not wither away with their retirement as far as the age is concerned. The fixing of five years as the reserve service age after the retirement demonstrates their ability to perform the military service if and when the situation arises during this time. They can offer their services, if not everyone, even beyond this five years reserve service. Moreover, all of them do not go on retirement in the same age.

The requirement of physical fitness is a distinguishing feature of the military profession. From the very day of intake in the profession up to the day of retirement, physical fitness is a *sine qua non* of the job. Medical checkup carried out during the intake confirms that the person is physically and mentally fit to undergo vigorous training and perform other activities. The military personnel gets the best possible medical treatment and support available in the country while in service and even in their post-service life. Moreover, the military personnel are habituated to a disciplined and routine lifestyle which is favorable to maintaining a sound and good health even many years after their retirement.

The huge number of retired army personnel with their experience and expertise can be an instant source of manpower to form a 'Ready to Use Force' to be employed in the security sector of Bangladesh.

II.II. Proposed Composition of the Force

The private military or security company proposed in this paper is not identical with the conventional security companies at trend. The composition, manpower, hierarchy, operational procedure, logistics and function will differ to a significant extent from the private military and security companies operating worldwide. As the proposed security companies will be composed of exclusively retired military personnel, the entire composition and operational procedure will be, more or less, like military unit.

Organically, the proposed company will be of a composite nature. It will comprise the retired military personnel of all arms and services background. The structure of the proposed company is simple. It will be a divisionalised and hierarchal unit headed by a Chief Executive or a Company Commander (Mullins, 2014). The Company Commander will be assisted by a Second-in-Command (2IC)/Chief Administrative Officer (CAO). There will be a number of Directors/Platoon Commanders/Detachment Commanders each assigned for a particular project, mission or task. The number of directors can be increased with the increase of project in the Service Lines. All the task-specific directors will perform their job independently with the consent or intimation of the CEO or Company Commander. CEO or Company Commander will be the direct reporting authority of the directors. The main administrative and coordinating tasks will be performed by Second-in-Command. He will act as in-charge in absence of the CEO or Company Commander. The administration, finance, Human Resources, and business promotion functions will be coordinated by 2IC with the consultation of the director(s). Company Commander or CEO will be directly involved in the risky mission or in critical situation. CEO is the highest decision-making authority of the company. Directors and his team members will be selected basing on their expertise on the mission or task they are assigned for. The proposed company will be composed of ± 200 members to maintain a cohesive organisational relation (Dunbar, 1992).ⁱⁱ The manpower strength can be increased or decreased basing on the magnitude of service provided by a company.

There can be a provision of merging. The merger can be within a company or between two or among more companies. Two or more detachments can be merged within a company depending on the challenges of the task assigned for. Merger can be beyond the company itself. Two or more company may merge together temporarily to accomplish a bigger or risky mission impossible to manage single-handedly. There can be a permanent merger between two or more companies like other commercial or business enterprises

II.III. Advantages of the Proposed Force

The advantages the proposed security force is going to proffer are both tangible and intangible. The foremost advantage is homogenous organisational culture. Organisational culture is the common values, norms, principles and beliefs which act as a uniting force in an

organisation. Organisational culture, as Ravasi and Schultz (2006, p.437) define, is 'a set of shared mental assumptions that guide interpretation and action in organisations by defining appropriate behavior for various situations.' Organisational culture regulates the behavior of the members of the organisation. The proposed security company will be constituted of the former military personnel. The members will inherit the same institutional mores, values, beliefs, identity, and experiences. The similar training and the long period of service in the same environment will act as contributing factors to build up a strong spirit-de-corps. Structural obligations have shaped their mindset, attitude, outlook and behavior in a similar pattern. The ex-military personnel accustomed with rigid military command and control will easily be able to accommodate in the relatively new environment.

The company's structure will be same as of a military unit. So the personnel of the company will virtually join from public to a private enterprise. The same chain of command will be replicated in the proposed private security company as it is done in a military unit. The members of the company will hardly need any orientation with the mode of operation and administrative procedure.

The proposed company will be self-sufficient in terms of operation, administration and logistics capabilities. Almost all the members will be skilled in operational and tactical art to carry out operation at any level. They are equally trained on operation of weapons. The company will be able to plan, organise and carry out operation of any level, from lower, medium to larger. The main strength of this company will be its composite nature. The company will comprise members of all arms and services. They will perform their job as per their expertise on their respective field. They will need not to undergo any training whereas they will be able to perform their job from the day one. It will be a ready-to-use force from the very first day of its formation. All the members will be conversant about the mission and objectives of the company. Any move of the company will be determined by the common goal of the company.

III. DOMAINS OF ENGAGEMENT

In the previous sections of this chapter, I have discussed private-sector-friendly environment in Bangladesh that, in effect, offers a conducive atmosphere for privatisation of security in Bangladesh. In that connection, it has been stated that a private security in the form of

PMC/PSC – composed of *exclusively* ex-army personnel – exhibits huge prospect. This section explores possible domains of engagement of the proposed force.

III.I. National Security Engagement

Bangladesh, like many other states, engages its armed forces and other law-enforcing agencies to confront the security threats, both external and internal. In this case, Bangladesh Armed Forces play the pivotal role in confronting the threats – traditional, or non-traditional. But there is a growing tendency to engage armed forces in all the challenging and difficult non-military jobs of the state beyond safeguarding the sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The increasing engagement of armed forces in non-military jobs may heavily tell upon its efficiency required to defend the country from external and internal threats. The editorial of a popular Dailies of Bangladesh (The Bangladesh Observer, 2018) has voiced the same concern, ‘The army or the armed forces are meant to do defence duties, protect the country’s independence and sovereignty from internal and external aggression and do some humanitarian services on call of emergency. But deploying them for any other duties would reduce their professional skills and by mingling with people outside the barrack for non-military jobs would also turn them corrupt, something we have noticed at times in the past’. Private military and security forces, constituted of ex-army personnel, might be an alternative approach in this case. The same service as is desired from army can be obtained from private forces while leaving army to remain engaged in its ‘defence duties’. Now an endeavour is taken to find out few areas where private military and security companies composed of ex-servicemen can be employed.

III.I.I. Containing Non-Traditional Security Threats

Bangladesh is now grappling with different types of security challenges which warrant different approach to confront with. The non-traditional security threats include trans-boundary terrorism, urban terrorism, militancy, religious extremism, home grown terrorism, climate change and many more. A distinguished research on this issue illustrates,

The security challenges Bangladesh is facing are multiple: traditional and nontraditional, domestic and regional. Some of them are evident, such as the proliferation of Islamist militant groups within the country, while others are not so palpable such as ongoing global

climate change. Similarly, some have their origins within the borders of the country, while others are beyond the reach of the Bangladeshi state (Riaz, 2010, p.253).

To rein in on growing militant attack and urban terrorism, numbers of counter-terrorism units are formed in Bangladesh. Notwithstanding, Bangladesh army is increasingly being involved in containing non-traditional security threats. The force is being engaged in Internal Security (IS) duty to contain even lower scale threat. 'The Bangladesh Army's future role will be more and more confined to seek peace and stability within its own border. The problems in the CHT continue to concern the Army as also the issue of fundamentalism that corrodes the societal fabric from within' (Chandra, 2013, p.54).

Private security forces constituted of the retired army personnel may contribute in reducing the involvement of army in containing the non-traditional security threats. This may be a low-risk means to contain low-intensity threats. The retired army personnel have the same expertise and experience to tackle the low-intensity threats as the serving army personnel have while less risk in terms of adverse public opinion at home and blame of human rights violation abroad. Disproportionate use of force, excessive casualties in counter-insurgency or counter-terrorism operations by the governmental force would taint the image of the force, the country as well. The reason is, as Singer (2003,p.209) identifies, 'Hiring private military firms as a substitute for official action gives a cover of plausible deniability that official forces now lack.' Going further Singer (2003, p.210) has cited a cogent example, '...if lives are lost or the mission fails, the political ramifications are muted when the policy agent is private, rather than public forces.'

III.I.II. Force Multiplier

Force multiplier can be termed as force enhancer with the addition of manpower, equipment, resources from other source. It can be defined in a different way, 'Force Multiplier is a term implying that a comparatively small group of specialists can enhance a larger force (e.g., an army or units within it)' (Ortiz, 2010, p.83). The *US Army Contractors on the Battlefield: Field Manual*, known as FM 3-100.21, has defined force multiplier as 'battlefield support functions' and 'system contractors necessary to provide technical support'.

The members of private military and security companies are mostly former army personnel from all arms and services background. The composite character of private military companies will contribute in enhancing the existing state force with all-dimensional capabilities usually a military unit possesses. To add from Ortiz (2010,p.83) again, 'PMCs on occasions act as force multipliers because they possess skills that can significantly enhance the military capabilities of the recipients of services, strategically, tactically, or operationally.' These private forces can be employed with the state force in case of any national emergencies or general mobilisation. It will supplement war-fighting capabilities to a significant way. Private forces will perform better than the reserve personnel who turns purely civil once they go on retirement. The private forces need not any refresher training as they continue with the near similar job they used to do during their service life. Private military and security forces can also act as force multiplier in law-enforcement tasks. The tasks may include recovery of illegal arms, drive against narcotics, surveillance and intelligence activities. The trained men will perform the job with their previous experience more effectively and efficiently. The major non-military task Bangladesh Army performs, at present, is *In Aid to the Civil Power/Assistance to the Civil Administration*.ⁱⁱⁱ The tasks include preparing national identity cards, conducting national election, disaster management, distribution of relief, rehabilitation and many more. Private military and security forces can assist the civil administration while reducing the army's involvement in the non-military tasks.

III.I.III. Military Outsourcing

Military outsourcing implies contracting out of military jobs partially to private companies. The outsourcing may range from catering, cleaning, maintaining sophisticated weapons, protection, intelligence, situation analysis to combat services in the frontline of battlefield to mention only a few. The limits of military outsourcing involve three aspects – i.e. state-inherent tasks, core capabilities, and mission-critical capabilities (CSS, 2010). Outsourcing of military functionaries has gained prominence worldwide especially in the armies of the Western world. According to an estimate, 'in 2011, there were an estimated 20 million security guards working globally' (Babakhel, 2016). The US has outsourced its job more than any other countries of the world and 'the US government has a long history of contracting for military services' (Avant, 2008, p.114). Similarly, Singer (2003, p.15)) has pointed, 'Ironically

enough, despite being the dominant power on the international scene today, the United States may make the most extensive use of the privatised military industry. Indeed, from 1994 to 2002, the US Defence Department entered into more than 3,000 contracts with U.S.-based firms, estimated at a contract value of more than \$300 billion.’ The service spectrums outsourced from the private companies include security, military advice, training, logistics support, technological expertise, reconnaissance, and intelligence (Singer, 2003, p.15). Likewise, the British military outsourced many of its sensitive and essential jobs. To quote from Singer (2003,p.12) again, ‘The British military exemplifies the current trend toward military outsourcing and gives the sense of the penetration the industry is making into the European market. Already private firms run many essential services for British forces, often in areas where one would not expect a company to be in charge.’

In Bangladesh army, outsourcing can help facilitating its tasks in a number of areas such as protection, logistics support, catering, situation analysis, event management and many more. Bangladesh army may not outsource its state-inherent tasks like combat operations. But it has already started outsourcing in few of its non-core capabilities. Cantonment security duty is now partially done by private security forces. But the men of those private security forces are non-trained. They are not oriented with the garrison life nor its sensitivities and susceptibilities. Private security composed of the ex-army personnel can be a better fit for this duty. Bangladesh army can outsource a significant portion of its logistics support especially transportation, catering, basic rationing, making uniforms and many more from private security companies. Event-management especially arranging cultural and sports programme are often outsourced or done by army’s own resources. Private security forces composed of ex-army personnel can perform the job efficiently. Training programmes of different forces can be run by retired officers and men. In the USA, training for the forces is conducted by Army Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) and ‘indeed, 75 percent of all Army officers are produced through the ROTC program’ (Avant, 2008, p.116)

III.I.IV. Domestic Security Substitution

Beswick and Jackson (2011, p.104) have identified the arena of protection the private military and security companies are capable of. They claim, ‘Providing protection for individuals, buildings, bases, personnel, equipment and convoys is a staple activity for

security providers'. Private security forces are not only being hired by the individuals or corporate to guard them from threats of increasing urban terrorism but also government itself of developed and developing states alike. In the United States, 'nearly one-third of all active private security guards are employed by the government' (Irish,1999,p.6) and 'four of every five new communities in the United States are guarded by private forces'(Blakely and Snyder,1997,p.126). A similar trend is found elsewhere all over the world. Increasing demand in the security market has spurred the growth of security forces and 'in parts of Asia, the private security forces has grown at 20 percent to 30 percent per year' (Irish, 1999, p.5).

Providing protection to the larger society is the most notable and the biggest task the private security companies in Bangladesh are performing at present. Private security sector is acting as the 'first line of defence' of the society in Bangladesh. They guard the men, properties and installations from urban crime in almost all the cities and towns of the country. The presence of private security is visible everywhere starting from private residence, corporate offices, financial institutions, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), factories, shopping centres to the foreign offices and embassies. In fact, private security companies hold the very underpinnings of security sector of the country. It has been meeting the lion's share of ever-increasing security needs of the society. The void where services of governmental forces are unable to reach private security companies act as the last resort. Due to the utter necessity of manpower to protect the society, community police system is formed and according to Bangladesh Police Headquarters (PHQ) database, there are around 60,000 community police committees, which have around 11.13 lakh Community Police Members (CPM) (The Daily Star, 2019). Finding the demand and opportunity of employment the women are also joining the private security companies in an increasing number. They find their niche in security services of market, bank, park, apparel industry, multinational companies, hotel and restaurant (The Daily Jugantor, 2019).

Private security forces in Bangladesh provide unarmed services to the clients in compliance with the existing laws of Bangladesh. But there is a growing demand from the service-receivers like diplomatic missions, corporate to employ armed security personnel in view of emerging magnitude of threat. The main obstacle in getting the governmental nod over armed guard is to prevent irrational and inept use of the trigger. The employing of retired military personnel as private security force will ameliorate the problem as they are already

skilled and tested to use the trigger rationally and efficiently. Moreover, many of the retired military personnel possesses arms license which is an added qualification to be employed with higher salary and other benefit.

Protection of foreign investment facilities is a genuine necessity of the time as, 'the real risk to investment located in the developing world is from violence directed at their employees or facilities' (Singer, 2003, p.80).The demand for protection of the foreigners and their facilities in Bangladesh has increased manifold in the wake of frequent attacks including Gulshan Café killings. Moreover, growing number of foreigners is visiting Bangladesh for short duration for business or some other purposes. They often search for protection from governmental forces but cannot avail due to complex bureaucratic process and shortage of manpower as it is claimed by the President of Bangladesh Professional Security Service Providers Association (BPSSPA) (Mahmud,2016).The retired military personnel with arms may be a lucrative offer to meet their demand.

Protection is a vast concept. The protection a private security company may provide encompasses the security to personnel, installations, cash and assets. Again, the mode of protection may be of manned services, devices, transportation and assessment. The private security companies often diversify their service portfolios in view of the emerging security threats and needs of the clients.

The protection services that the proposed private military and security companies can provide are appended as follows:

Figure 2: Protection of Personnel

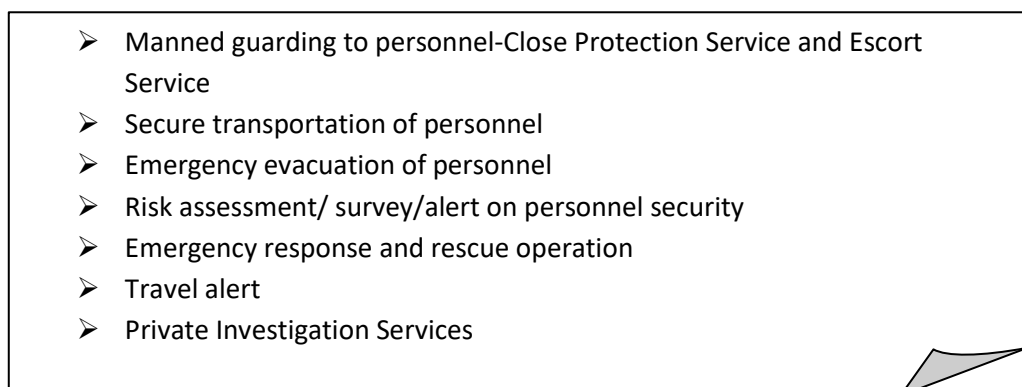
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- Manned guarding to personnel-Close Protection Service and Escort Service
 - Secure transportation of personnel
 - Emergency evacuation of personnel
 - Risk assessment/ survey/alert on personnel security
 - Emergency response and rescue operation
 - Travel alert
 - Private Investigation Services

Figure 3: Protection of Installations

- Access management
- Risk assessment/ survey/alert on security of installations
- Video/close circuit camera surveillance system
- Security archway and metal detector devices
- Burglar alarm system
- Smoke detector system
- Electric short circuit or gas leak detector
- Natural disaster management
- Road blocker

Figure 4: Protection of Cash and Assets

- Transfer and transportation of cash and valuables
- Electronic machine (ATM etc.) management
- Vault and storage services
- Teller services
- Cash processing

III.II. Overseas Engagement:

A vast, hitherto, untapped market for the retired army personnel of Bangladesh remains abroad. Every year a good number of retired army personnel, mostly of technical background, find their destination abroad for a 'second career' or 'bridge employment'. A good reason may be their previous exposure with foreign tour of duty. Almost all the retired members of the Bangladesh Army have their experience of serving abroad as peacekeeper at least once and in most of the cases two or three times in their military career. Bangladeshi peacekeepers like the Bangladeshi expatriates have a very good record of sincerity and hard work. The UN recognizes the contribution of Bangladeshi troops in peacekeeping, 'From the streets of Mogadishu to the forests of the Congo, 9,380 Bangladeshi blue helmets patrol for global peace' (Palet, 2015).

Bangladeshi troops comprise almost a tenth of the total UN peacekeeping force (Palet, 2015). In fact, it has been one of the largest troops contributing countries in global

peacekeeping endeavour and 'it's gotten so good at peacekeeping it now trains other countries' troops' (Palet, 2015). This experience acts as an asset in terms of ability to work in the international and multi-cultural environment. Bangladeshi troops are known to be very loyal, disciplined and professional in their assignment abroad as peacekeepers. They have proved their competence and professionalism in many of the extremely challenging missions. UN Under-Secretary General for Field Support Atul Khare appreciated, '...its troops perform exceedingly well despite being posted in difficult, hard-to-reach and insecure places' (The Daily Star, 2019). In the same manner, Force Commanders of the UN Peacekeeping Missions applauded the troops of Bangladesh as the 'most reliable, supportive, and generous' (Bangladesh Defence Journal, 2019). Many Bangladesh army members go on UN peacekeeping job even at the fag end of their career. This gives a strong impetus to serve abroad in their retired life.

The retired military personnel can be engaged in international humanitarian assistance to a significant extent. Almost all members of Bangladesh army have the experience of serving in humanitarian assistance as this is an essential job the members of the force are to perform very frequently. These may include humanitarian assistance to the flood or cyclone affected people, massive relief operations in the refugee (Rohingya) camp, etc. They can perform better in this field abroad as they have already learnt it at home.

The retired military personnel can be engaged in protection and security duties to individual, corporate and international organizations abroad. Recently, few steps are undertaken by Armed Forces Division (AFD) to send retired military personnel abroad in response to the eagerness shown by some foreign security firms to employ them (Akhand, 2018). The prospective fields where private security forces composed of ex-army personnel can be employed are appended as follows:

III.II.I. Peacekeeping and Peace-Building Operations

The reliance on private security forces has become so ubiquitous that ironically many experts even suggest using these 'corporate soldiers' to peacekeeping operations. Futurists Alvin and Heidi Toffler have even gone so far as to dream of a 'Peace Corporations' for the United Nations to do the peacekeeping job which has become more challenging day by day. Toffler and Toffler's (1993, p. 229) skewed question, 'Why not, when nations have already lost the

monopoly of violence, consider creating volunteer mercenary forces organized by private corporations to fight wars on a contract-fee basis for the United Nations – the condottieri of yesterday armed with some of the weapons, including non-lethal weapons, of tomorrow?’.

There are several reasons behind this forceful demand for using private forces. The member states’ unwillingness to allow their troops to deploy in risky trouble spots, or if allowed slow pace in deployment have often proved to be disastrous as it happened in case of Rwandan genocide. The deployed forces are often ill-trained, underequipped and ineffective in the face of real challenge. The host parties are often dissatisfied at their performance and ‘the result is that the UN is hamstrung in its ability to intervene properly to stop conflicts and stabilize zones of violence, equally leaving the gap in the market to PMFs’ (Singer, 2003, p.59). A firm belief is now gaining ground that ‘private companies...can do it faster, better, and much cheaper than the United Nations’ (Brooks, 2000). In fact, the UN has started the use of PSCs much before like many Multinational Corporations (MNCs). To quote from Avant (2008), ‘...every multilateral peace operation conducted by the UN since the 1990s included the presence of PSCs, and companies such as Shell have regularly hired PSCs to guard personnel and installations.’ To cite an example from a recent research on this issue, ‘The UN currently hires PSCs to perform many functions including aviation and transport, armed and unarmed protection of UN officials, buildings, and equipment’ (Straub,2013).

Private military and security companies composed of retired military personnel may contribute in all aspects of peacekeeping and peace building tasks. These may include protection to personnel, installations, and Main Supply Route (MSR); convoy escorts; stabilization efforts; rehabilitation; Demobilisation, Disarmament, and Reconstruction (DDR); Security Sector Reform(SSR);training; disaster relief; logistics support and supply; medical services; demining etc.

Bangladesh peacekeeping forces have earned significant fame in all aspects of peacekeeping tasks. The ex-peacekeepers i.e. the retired members may have no less demand in the peacekeeping role if they have got the scope to do so. A composite unit of the proposed private force may be employed to do protection duties for individuals, installations and MSR with the same effect as the serving peacekeepers. They may act as the escort to individuals or convoys which have potential demand in the conflict stricken area. The private force may

act as the buffer between the conflicting tribes or communities as the Bangladeshi peacekeepers are doing very frequently in different deployment area. A potential field where the proposed private force can be involved most is the Civil-Military Cooperation (CIMIC)^{iv} activities. Bangladeshi peacekeepers have been projecting an extraordinary and successful role in CIMIC activities in all the peacekeeping missions. These have proved to be one of the most effective tools to win the heart and mind of the local people of the deployment area. Its outcomes ramify in the overall stabilisation and development process of the target groups. The ex-peacekeepers can best perform in the CIMIC activities as they are more experienced in this field and they can better interact with their present identity of being a private force. The CIMIC activities may include vocational and technical training, general education, agricultural training, medicare training, livelihood-skills training, capacity-building training etc.

Security Sector Reform and Training (SSRT) is another important aspect where retired members can contribute even more efficiently and effectively. There is a growing demand of Bangladeshi peacekeepers to engage in reform of the host countries security sector and training of their troops (Bangladesh Defence Journal, 2019, p.14).^v Besides, Bangladeshi peacekeepers are asked to provide assistance to the troops of other countries engaged in the mission to enhance their capabilities (Bangladesh Defence Journal, 2019, p.22).^{vi} A composite unit of private security force comprising experienced members of all arms and services can provide all-round assistance and training to the security force of the host country. The ex-servicemen who participated in Operation Kuwait Punorgathon (reconstruction) (OKP) project can better contribute in reform and training sector of the security force with their previous experience.

The proposed private security force can be engaged in post-conflict reconstruction projects more effectively. The area of engagement may include restoration of water supply, electricity supply, water decontamination services, sewerage services, reconstruction of roads and bridges.

Demining and removal of Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs) is the riskiest and the most challenging tasks the Bangladesh peacekeepers are performing in almost all the deployment areas abroad. Bangladeshi troops have earned the confidence of the world community in

demining (Bangladesh Defence Journal, March 2019, p.22).The growing demand of the demining experts cannot be met by our serving forces alone.^{vii} The ex-servicemen can be an alternative option in this sector.

Similarly, the retired medical personnel can be employed to provide medicare services to the sick and wounded in conflict-stricken country. They can contribute in capacity-building to the health sector of the host country as well.

III.II.II. International Humanitarian Assistance

Private security forces are being widely used in international humanitarian assistance. The application may be in the form of protection, distribution, transportation, rehabilitation and repatriation etc. The assistance may be extended to governmental organisation, non-governmental organisation or international organisation.

The proposed private security force composed of ex-army personnel can be engaged in protection of humanitarian personnel, their operational assets, goods, warehouses and transportation. Bangladesh security forces have long and challenging experience of humanitarian assistance in both home and abroad. The tasks are performed in case of frequently occurred disaster inside the home country and during peacekeeping mission in the host country. Humanitarian assistance tasks usually performed by them include transportation, protection and distribution of disaster relief, rescue operations, rehabilitation and protection of humanitarian personnel etc.

The demand for the private security forces has increased greatly due to violent attack on aid workers of the UN agencies and other Non-governmental organisations at an alarming rate. The response of the governmental forces to guard them often found to be inadequate. Mandel(2002,p.19) like many analysts has suggested that ‘the restrains faced by government military forces in protecting targets of genocide, displaced refugees, or even victims of natural disasters could well receive effective assistance from fast-mobilising private security companies.’

Private security companies composed of ex-army personnel might find its’ employment opportunities in the conflict-prone areas of the world to protect the humanitarian workers as they have already built-up reputations in this sector. The same service can be rendered in the

home sector to protect the humanitarian aid workers instead of the governmental forces. This will save the governmental forces from getting entangled into any unwanted controversies as we have found while tackling the Rohingya refugee crisis.

IV.CONCLUSION

This chapter has investigated how privatisation of security can create an opportunity for reemploying ex-personnel of the Bangladesh Army. It has found that Bangladesh promotes neoliberal development model – a model that is conducive for the growth of private sectors. Massive markets have been created by state actions in health care, education, transportation, port and container handling, port developments, aviation and tourism, banking and insurance, to name a few. This implies that security as a commodity can be privatised. Besides, there are already evidences which show that security as a commodity—though in a disorganised fashion – is being sold, purchased, hired and exchanged in the private domain of the country.

This is in this context the chapter has proposed that a private security force – i.e. a PMC, or a PSC – composed of ex-army personnel of Bangladesh is plausible. Given their sound working age, long-drawn experience and expertise in the army, a ‘Ready to Use Force’ would fit well in the virgin security market of the country. The proposed company, with its army oriented composition and culture, would create more scope of services in the exceedingly demand-driven security market of Bangladesh. The domains of engagement for the proposed security force are varied and wider. The proposed security force would operate in both domestic and international fronts. In the domestic market, the force would be engaged in national security affairs. It would be widely used in containing non-traditional security threats—like urban terrorism, extremism, insurgency—the country is grappling with at present. The force would act as force enhancer in some state-inherent tasks like law-enforcement, surveillance, intelligence and drive against illegal arms and narcotics. Besides, the force would supplement the war-fighting capabilities of the conventional force as and when required. Military outsourcing would be another vibrant domain of engagement for the force. The military outsourcing may include some core competencies like protection, intelligence, situation analysis, maintenance, and non-core services like catering, rationing, making uniforms to mention just a few. In the international domain, the force, as ex-army personnel, would find

new window of opportunity to work as peacekeeper, peace-builder and humanitarian worker given their very high reputation in the global arena.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSION: REVISITING THE FINDINGS, IDENTIFYING THE ISSUE OF FUTURE RESEARCH

GAP

This thesis began with the argument that privatisation of security offers an opportunity for the reemployment of retired personnel of the Bangladesh Army. Military profession is a unique profession in terms of specialised training, physical fitness, and mindset which cannot be readily used in other professions. Unlike other professions, military personnel go on early retirement although their specialised training remains intact. Also, many of them possess their physical fitness even after they retire. As a whole, they enter into a retired life although they have working age. Their choice for a non-military profession after their retirement from the military is constrained by their specialised skill. It means that given their working age and specialised skill, they still can provide service if they are reemployed in security sector – a sector that runs well with their military background. Against this backdrop, this study has examined that a private security force – like PMC, or PSC – exclusively composed of retired members of the Bangladesh army can open an opportunity for the reemployment of ex-members of the Bangladesh Army. This concluding chapter summarises the key findings of the dissertation, alongside stating the research gap for future research.

I. PRIVATISATION OF SECURITY: SECURITY AS A COMMODITY IN A FREE MARKET

In examining the concept of privatisation of security, it is found that security can be transferred from public to private ownership. Security is no longer an affair which is the prerogative of only state; private enterprises are now contenders in the security market. It can be traded or exchanged like other products in the market. Textually, the concept of privatisation of security is deeply entrenched in the neoliberal ideology. Similarly, private security forces have become an indispensable apparatus of neoliberal security market in the real world. The state facilitates rather than intervenes in flourishing the security market by setting up institutional and legal framework. Individual entrepreneurship is encouraged to trade security as a private commodity. Often, state itself becomes buyer of security from the market.

The dynamics of market is vividly prevalent in security as a commodity. In the global market, investment in security sector has proved to be profitable and financially viable, though not absolutely risk-free like other businesses. The spate of new security companies are being launched worldwide, developed and developing world alike, in view of its demand in the emerging security scenario. It is often found to be viable, in terms of comparative advantage, to buy security from market than to depend on state to dispatch. The supply of the security entrepreneurs and security personnel goes hand in hand with the corresponding rise of its demand. The competitive market of security has entailed its maximum efficiency and effectiveness. As Singer(2003,p.18) maintains, 'An overall global pattern is emerging, one of growing reliance by individuals, corporations, states and international organizations on military services supplied not just by public institutions but also by the non sovereign private market.'

Surprisingly, the nomenclatures of private security forces, its' composition and domains of engagement connote the neoliberal characteristics. The similar business and commercial corporate hierarchies are replicated with regard to the security corporate. The multinational characteristics of some giant security conglomerates remind the readers of its vast reach, resources, capacities, and capabilities. The leading security conglomerates – like the G4S, the Military Professional Resources Incorporated (MPRI), the Executive Outcomes, the Brown and Root – hold all the essential characteristics of the corporate enterprises to establish security as a commodity in the neoliberal free market. Its' engagements as force enhancer and contractor for outsourcing proved to be a positive force in the overall neoliberal security-development concern.

II. PRIVATISATION OF SECURITY: REEMPLOYING BANGLADESH'S RETIRED ARMY PERSONNEL

In concurrence with the global trend, neoliberal economic development model has also gained its foothold in Bangladesh. Privatisation and deregulation featured the economic order of the country, though gradually and slowly, ever since its independence. The neoliberal market economy started to expand apace since 1980s. State machinery, irrespective of regime's ideology, always eased the way to thrive up free market economy. Given the conducive environment for neoliberal free market, private markets started to expand in the newer areas like education, health sector and, power and energy sector where there was no

market. The wave of privatisation encompassed the security sector as well. A good number of private security forces have been launched by entrepreneurs of mostly defence background. Newer companies are being added to the list of security market every year in the country. This implies that security as a commodity has huge prospects in Bangladesh.

Paradoxically, a huge number of skilled and efficient retired army personnel remain unemployed in Bangladesh with their working age still active. This vast untapped manpower can be utilised to formulate PMCs/PSCs to meet the spiraling demand of private security forces in Bangladesh. At this backdrop, PMC/PSC composed of exclusively retired army personnel is proposed as a 'Ready to Use Force' in the context of Bangladesh. The proposed 'Ready to Use Force', similar to a conventional military unit, would perform efficiently and effectively with its ever-preparedness to serve in the security sector and homogenous organisational culture.

The *raison d'être* of the private security force comprising ex-army personnel is justified by its' wider domains of engagement. The market for a 'Ready to Use Force' is found open and wide in both domestic and global arena. In the domestic security market, it has huge prospects to engage in many state-inherent tasks like containing non-traditional security threats and supplementing the state security apparatus. The force can be engaged in law-enforcement, surveillance, intelligence and drive against narcotics and illegal arms to mention just a few. It can partake in many non-defence tasks like construction, disaster management, humanitarian assistance, citizen services which the state defence forces are being engaged with presently alongside their bona fide defence duties. Besides, military outsourcing in non-core services – like catering, rationing, transportation, event-management and security in residential areas – explore wider scopes to employ the 'Ready to Use Force' composed of ex-army personnel. In the global arena, the force, with their reputation and experience as ex-army personnel, signifies ample of scope to work in peacekeeping, peace building and humanitarian affairs. These may not be the exhaustive list of the prospective areas of engagement of the proposed force comprising ex-army personnel.

III. FUTURE RESEARCH GAP

Privatisation of security is a global trend. Although this dissertation has advocated privatisation of security so as to reemploy Bangladesh's retired army personnel, many

studies present dangers that may emanate from privatisation of security. Some of the studies, which present privatisation of security in a negative light, have already been reviewed in the first chapter. Private security forces pose challenges to state's monopoly of violence. Private forces may gradually become so powerful that there may emerge a competition between the governmental forces and the private forces over many issues. Rivalry, competition between the governmental forces and private security forces may be new problematic which may ramify in the overall security dynamics of the society. The over reliance on private security forces may strengthen the later which may gradually emerge as a near parallel force to the governmental forces. Private forces may even stand against state, as in many African countries, if those are utilised by vested quarters from within or without the state.

In view of the above, private security forces in Bangladesh composed of ex-army personnel may not go beyond criticism. Critiques may argue that the history of Bangladesh since independence has been characterised by volatile political situation. Moreover, the country, over the last three decades, has witnessed the growth of different extremist groups of local origin, often having transnational connection. Therefore, critiques may view that the state must have complete monopoly of violence – a view that goes against the argument of privatisation of security. This study has not focused this specific challenge. Hence, a future research gap remains on this issue that may be an interesting topic for future study.

Such future study, with focus on challenges to privatisation of security, may also cover the view of the serving members of the Bangladesh Army. A 'Ready to Use Force' may emerge as a competitor and rival to the state forces in case of overseas employment like peacekeeping and humanitarian affairs. The private security force may garner more acceptance and reliance in the international security market in view of comparative advantage of employing the private forces. The dissertation has not shed any focus on those crucial aspects and there lies a research gap. It portends wider scopes to carry out further study on those issues.

NOTES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Notes

- ⁱ For example, details of the retirement age of the Bangladesh Military can be noted, as mentioned in section II.I of Chapter Three.
- ⁱⁱ British anthropologist Robin Dunbar first proposed this number (± 200) to form a company in 1990s which is popularly known as Dunbar's Number.
- ⁱⁱⁱ "Aid to the Civil Power" is the action taken by troops in internal security while the civil authorities are in control. This aid is rendered both in peace and in war time. (Instructions Regarding "Aid to the Civil Power" published by Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh)
- ^{iv} CIMIC (Civil-Military Cooperation) is an interaction between the military and civil actors with a view to promoting peace, stability and development.
- ^v The Defence Adviser Thomas Theophile Tchimangoua and the Army Chief Mamadou Zephirin of Central African Republic (CAR) urged the Chief of Army Staff, Bangladesh Army to provide training to the newly formed army of the state while the later paid a visit to CAR on June 29, 2019 .
- ^{vi} The Force Commander of MINUSCA Lieutenant General Balla Keita requested the Chief of Army Staff Bangladesh Army to provide training to the troops of other countries deployed in the mission area while the later paid a visit to CAR on June 29, 2019.
- ^{vii} Dhaka-Riyadh signed a defense deal (MoU) on February 14, 2019. As per the deal, some 1800 troops will be deployed to Saudi Arabia for demining operations along the Kingdom's border with war-torn Yemen.

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