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FOOD SECURITY IN BANGLADESH: PRESENT STATUS AND FUTURE PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract

The paper presents recent crises of Food Security in Bangladesh based on the analysis of past Food Security scenario and what would be assumed for the future security of food. And to the end, the paper shows conceptual analysis, kinds and dimensions, problems and issues of Food Security in Bangladesh. In this paper, a targeted goal by 2020 has been fixed and some propositions as possible solutions are taken as an indicative measurement by which crises of Food Security might be eradicated from Bangladesh.

Prologue

“Food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life.”

-----World Food Summit – 1996¹

In recent times, rising prices and food shortages have created a looming crisis in the world. This puts the onus on the concept of food security especially in developing countries like Bangladesh.² One of the foremost components influencing food security has been the recent trends in Bangladesh rice prices. During November 2006 and March 2007, the increase in prices of rice started to occur. Data revealed that since January 2008,

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the rise in prices have been steeper. This was mainly due to the two floods and cyclone Sidr that shaped the production of rice. Such natural disasters have been catastrophic in terms of food supply in Bangladesh. In addition, global prices of food, feed and oil have been rising since 2005 and oil prices have created massive problems especially for transportation of food grains.³ The effect on global price hike on some goods tremendously shakes people’s livelihood in this disastrous pitch in Bangladesh. Some policy strategies and effectual initiatives may protect Bangladesh from this grievous condition where poor men are nearer to die in the dearth of food. It’s dire need of the food security in Bangladesh.

Objectives of the Study

The main objective of this study is to find out the problems of food security in Bangladesh by which the food crises could be overcome. The study will also quest the food insecurity during the non-party caretaker government led by Fakrudding Ahmed in 2008. If the country faces the problems concerning food security likewise the period of caretaker government, to locate the policy, which has to be taken as the curable measurement, is another objective of the study. And the final objective is to determine the future targeted goal by 2020 with a view to talking food insecurity of Bangladesh.

Methodology of the Study

The study is composed of quasi-primary and secondary data. In the article, data is quasi-primary because of taking it from some papers or key note papers presented in various national and international conferences and seminars, which (presented data) had not been used vehemently by the other sources in making any other study relating to it. And secondary data has been collected from some texts, journal articles, sources of GoB officials, website etc, which are more authentic in nature. Basically, Microsoft Word has been used to formulate data in the tables of the study.

Background

A. Food grains and productions

Bangladesh has continued to demonstrate a steady increase in the domestic production of food grain since 1971. The production has increased from 11 million Mt in the 1970s to

more than 20 million metric tons in the recent years, though the yearly food productions fluctuate by several hundred thousand to a million mt. After 2001 the food grain production declined by 8 and 7 hundred thousand mt for the two consecutive years, which revived in 2004 with a production figure of 24.7 mt. Due to damage of crops during the severe flood in 2004 net domestic production in 2004/2005 has again come down, which is projected to be about 24 million mt.⁴

B. Dietary pattern and consumptions

The food grain requirement in a country depends on the dietary pattern, which also changes over time. Though the share of food grain in the daily diet has decreased in terms of weight and calorie over the years, it is still the principal source of food calorie and protein supply. According to Household Income Expenditure Survey (HIES) 2000 the calorie and protein intake from food grain was 78 and 58.5 percent respectively in 1995-1996; it came down to 75.4 and 58.3 percent in 2000. The non-cereals like potato, vegetables, pulses, meat, poultry, dairy, fish edible oil, condiment and spices etc. constituted about 20.5 percent of the total calorie intake in 2000 and 18.5 percent in 1995-96. The remaining calories were derived from fruits, sugar and miscellaneous items. Different consumption surveys in the country have estimated different figures on food intake. The Poverty Monitoring Survey (May 1999) estimated the average national food grain intake at 477 gram/cap/day. When this estimate was disaggregated by poor and non-poor households, it was found that poor households consumed 439 gram/cap/day, whereas the non-poor households consumed 504 gram/cap/day. HIES 2000 estimated average food grain consumption of 486.7 gm\cap\day, which equals to per capita daily calorie intake of 1,737.⁵ Bangladeshi diet is very much carbohydrate based, lacks in sufficient amount of protein and micronutrients. Consuming a balanced diet is more a problem of access to food rather than availability of food for a nation where nearly half of the population are poor.

Conceptual Analysis of Food Security

The definition of food security used by the GoB is that of the 1996 World Food Summit, namely access by all people at all times to the food needed for an active and healthy life. This implies that food intake must be adequate in qualitative, as well as quantitative, terms. Yet the 'head count' definitions of

poverty the Government uses take only dietary energy into account and disregard other nutritional requirements.⁶ Drawing on 1990 legislative reforms to P. L. 480, USAID in 1992 issued a broad definition of food security: "When all people at all times have both physical and economic access to sufficient food to meet their dietary needs for a productive and healthy life." This definition further noted that "three distinct variables are central to the attainment of food security: availability, access, and utilization." In 2004, the Office of the Food for Peace incorporated "risk" as a fourth component of food security. These variables are interrelated and their various forms are given further definition in the USAID Policy Paper: Food Aid and Food Security.⁷

So, food security is the condition in which all people at all times have both physical and economic access to sufficient food to meet their dietary needs for a productive and healthy life. Food security is dependent upon agricultural production, food imports and food aid, employment opportunities and income earnings, intra-household decision making and resource allocation, and health and nutrition care utilization and caring practices. It is a multi-dimensional development topic that requires cross-sectoral integrated interventions.⁸

Different Kinds and Dimensions of Food Security

- A. A very important factor in determining food security is to identify the nature of food security problem and it is common to draw a distinction between the chronic and transitory food insecurity.⁹
- B. When individuals or groups of people suffer from food insecurity all of the time, then they can be said to suffer from chronic food insecurity. In other words, chronic food insecurity is a continuous inadequacy of diet caused by the inability to acquire food. It affects households that persistently lack the ability either to buy or produce enough food. Hence poverty is considered the root cause of chronic food insecurity.¹⁰
- C. Transitory food insecurity occurs when households face a temporary decline in access to enough food. Transitory food insecurity can be further divided into temporary food insecurity and cyclical or seasonal food insecurity. Temporary food insecurity occurs when sudden and

unpredictable shocks, such as drought or flood, affect a household's entitlements. Famine is the worst form of transitory food insecurity, which can result from one or more causes like, flood, drought, crop failure, market failure, loss of real purchasing power by group of households etc. For urban households, sudden unemployment may also be a cause of transitory food insecurity. Seasonal food insecurity occurs when there is a regular pattern of inadequate access to food.¹¹

- D. Transitory food insecurity may lead to chronic food insecurity, depending on how severe it is and how frequently it occurs. If a household suffers two drought years in a row, and is forced to sell some of its assets to survive, then it may move from a situation of transitory food insecurity to one of chronic food insecurity.¹²
- E. All of these types of disruption to food supplies can trigger crises by threatening a population's access to food. They are the immediate causes of famine but these precipitating triggers lead to famine only where particular groups of people are already exposed to it.¹³

Problems and Issues

Technical problems: Some of the persisting problems of increasing crop production, particularly cereal production using the available HYVs are decreasing soil productivity, inefficient water and fertilizer use, inadequate supply of quality seeds, imbalanced use of fertilizer, low labor productivity, and higher input price. These factors are restricting realization of full yield potential of HYVs, resulting in lower yield of cereals in the farmers' field compared with much higher yield obtained in the research station. The major concern is how to reduce this yield gap by improving soil, water and labour productivity, optimizing fertilizer use and reducing input price. Declining land resources and competing demand for limited land is a major concern for future agriculture. New technological breakthrough, appropriate development interventions and a robust land use policy will be needed to address the problems.¹⁴ Smallholder dairy and poultry development, which has the highest potential for reduction of rural poverty, is seriously affected due to acute shortage of feeds and veterinary services, including disease diagnostic facilities. High price of feeds and chicks, and

marketing of milk in the rural areas are also limiting progress in this area. One of the critical constraints limiting development of livestock is the absolute lack of quality control. In the absence of legal and regulatory framework, livestock development in the private sector is taking place in an indiscriminate manner, which has already created serious problems of quality control in livestock products, drugs, vaccines, feeds, and breeding materials. The main problems of fisheries sub-sector is the internal and trans-boundary environmental degradation and manmade hazards. In recent years, complaints are heard about the degrading quality of fingerlings (not genetically true to types) affecting pond fisheries, and disease infestation in shrimp culture. Destruction of fish breeding grounds is also a major problem restricting production of native fish species. Despite the declining quality of fingerlings, pond aquaculture is reported to have reached the optimal level of production. The major challenge of the sub-sector is to harness the huge potential of inland open water fisheries.¹⁵

Institutional problems: Institutional capacity of the research, extension and seed production systems in terms of facilities and human and financial resources has weakened and are not geared to address the emerging problems. Weaknesses also persist in planning, coordination, monitoring, inter-institutional linkages, resource management and partnership with the private sector and NGOs. These problems are overwhelming in the livestock sub-sector compared to crops. DLS still continues to provide some of the services that can be better done by the private sector. They are doing very little in quality assurance, disease investigation and surveillance, and veterinary public health. Institutional reform is long overdue to tune up the systems and build the capacity to face the new challenges.¹⁶ Institutional capacity of the Ministry of Food and Disaster Management in assessing, planning, monitoring and implementing the policy and development interventions to effectively deal with the food security issues is relatively weak due to shortage of skilled manpower. The capacity of the Food Policy and Monitoring Unit (FPMU) in terms of professional strength and skill mix is also weak. Inter-ministerial coordination and interaction on food security, research capacity and the process of having regular dialogue with the private sector and civil society are lacking. There is a need to develop the planning, coordination and monitoring capacity of the

Ministry, and improving inter-ministerial interaction to deal with the food security issues related to production, access and utilization.¹⁷

Funding: Investment in agriculture (crops, fisheries and livestock), in general, has been drastically reduced from 14.0% in 1976-81 to 4.5% in 2000-01.¹⁸ ADP share has also declined from 31% in 1971-72 to less than 3% in 2003-04. Donor funding in agriculture has also declined significantly, although one of the conditions for attaining MDG is the commitment of extended donor support in agriculture. Livestock sub-sector is affected most due to low budget allocation. Annual revenue allocation to the Department of Livestock Services has declined from 0.57% of the annual national budget in 1997-98 to 0.38% in 2003-04.¹⁹ Annual operating cost available for DLS from revenue budget is only 4.7% and for BLRI is 5.6%.²⁰ Funding situation in fisheries is slightly better. However, without substantial increase in budget allocation to agriculture, it will be next to impossible to attain the production target projected for the year 2015 to meet the millennium development goals.

Current Consumptions of Food Intake in Bangladesh

Although food grain is more available in good harvest years, Bangladesh as a whole still has a very low level of nutrition. This means many households and individuals do not eat a balanced, nutritious diet, even in good years. Approximately 33 million of the 140 million people in Bangladesh cannot afford an average daily intake of more than 1800 kilocalories, according to the World Bank. (This is the minimum standard set by the World Food Program). For people in developing countries, the daily calorie average is 2,828. In Bangladesh, that average is only 2,190.²¹ The major food security problem is that around half of the Bangladeshis remain below the established food based poverty line and as many as one third are in extreme poverty and severely undernourished despite the impressive increases in food grain availability.

Causes of Food Crises during the Interim Caretaker Government in Bangladesh

The question to ask is 'what happened during the last one year'. It seems that the poor economic mismanagement under the caretaker government started with indiscriminate raids on

the godowns (Warehouses) of large food dealers and importers on the pretext of cracking down on food adulteration.

This is **one** of the usual gimmicks of present governments in their initial phase to win popularity and pressure the private sector into submission. Adulteration of food is certainly a problem in Bangladesh, and action against it was progressing quite impressively during the rule of the last elected government. However, the brutal and thoughtless manner in which it was operationalized by the caretaker government had a disastrous impact. Many food importers and food merchants stopped importing and distributing food.²²

Second, the interim government has dragged its feet on importing food grains for at least six to nine months, given the slow and complicated policy-making and implementation mechanism in place in Bangladesh and despite the emergency provisions. In countries like Bangladesh suffering from food insecurity, it is important to maintain a substantial food reserve in the public sector, as a guarantee against food hoarding and super profiteering in food. Also, when there is indeed a food crisis, the reserve comes in handy in the form of open market operations, modified rationing, test relief, vulnerable group development, etc all designed to stabilize food prices, on the one hand, and address the lack of access to food by the poorest sections in the society, on the other.²³

Third, when the government decided to import food, it was rather late in the day. Since the international food supply was tight this year, prices had already soared high. In fact, certain sources were unable to supply food to Bangladesh simply because they did not have the adequate stocks.

Fourth, India, the neighbor on three sides, formally banned export of food grains to Bangladesh on the legitimate grounds that India itself was likely to experience food shortages this year. Generally, food from India, obtained mostly through informal channels, has a cushioning effect on food scarcity in Bangladesh.²⁴

Fifth, the Bangladesh Rifles (BDR), lacking in experience in this field and well known for its corruption, particularly given its complicity in smuggling across the international borders, was made the only channel for distributing subsidized food among the poorer sections in the society. The amount distributed

through this channel was not only highly inadequate, but there was also little public confidence in such an organization. Under civilian government, it is inconceivable that BDR would emerge as the only public sector organization entrusted with such a task.²⁵

Sixth, the civilian field administration, which generally has an important role in relief and rehabilitation operations, is now furthest from its normal zeal, enthusiasm and idealism to serve the people in a crisis situation like this. Heavily eroded by politicization, corruption and inefficiency over the years, the morale of field-level civil officers has taken a further beating from the “lording” they are now experiencing at the hands of young military officers placed at the field level during the last one-year. In such circumstances, and as past records indicate, the civil servants tend to retaliate by resorting to minimum actions and text-book behaviour, instead of taking initiatives and going out of their normal line of duty to tackle the crisis.²⁶

Seventh, despite the fact that many politicians are generally corrupt, they invariably stand by the people at crisis points with party-organized relief, given that they have to seek their votes at the time of election. They also act as intermediaries between the people and the field bureaucracy, local government bodies and NGOs engaged in relief and rehabilitation work. During the last one-year, they were either on the run or in jails or debarred from participating in relief and rehabilitation efforts. In fact, during the last floods, even the local government elected functionaries generally stayed away from such activities, owing to the prevailing extraordinary circumstances.²⁷

Eighth, during the last one year, Bangladesh had more than its share of natural calamities, two consecutive floods to begin with and then the recent devastating cyclone, which have taken a heavy toll of lives, property and crops. Also, in the absence of a popularly elected government, the national response to these events left much to be desired.²⁸

Ninth, given the high market prices of both food and fertilizer, government decided to provide a high level of subsidy to these items, but it is precisely in such a situation that “targeting” becomes all the more difficult. Most likely, these highly subsidized commodities would ultimately end up with the “strong and the sturdy” rather than the poor farmers and landless laborers. Whatever trickles down to them would be

available at much higher prices. There are already reports of riots over fertilizer distribution.²⁹

Finally, the caretaker government through its cheap and irrational policies made things worse for the economy. In the name of crackdown on corruption and non-payment of taxes, the entire business community and the professional class were simply terrorized, and this had a disastrous impact on investment and job creation in the country. In the first two/three months, there was also massive displacement of poor squatters and lower-middle class shop-owners in the name of slum clearance and cleanliness drives. Corruption and no-tax mentality did not develop in a day and these can be remedied only over the years through sustained and multi-pronged efforts.³⁰

Future Targeted Goal by 2020

Despite above mentioned current disastrous conditions in terms of food security, people of the country have to pass their way based on their past successes in this field. Their targeted goals may be like the following-

Long Term Outlook of Food Supply and Demand

- A. Although Bangladesh achieved considerable success in augmenting domestic production and thereby ensuring stable supply of food over the past years, sustainability of production and hence availability of food is a big issue which is being raised very strongly. The overall production, availability, requirement and food security situation can be analyzed by taking into account population growth, income growth and the consequent food demand patterns.³¹ Bangladesh has achieved moderate success in checking population growth. The annual growth of population declined from around 3% in the 1960s to 1.5% in the year 2001 (BBS 2001). An important aspect of population growth which will have important implications for the pattern of food demand is the rate of growth of urban population.³²
- B. According to World Bank projection, urban population will increase to about 46.4 million by 2005 to constitute about 30 percent of the total populations. With national income growing at a rate of 4 percent per annum, per capita

income is expected to grow at about 1.9 percent per annum under the medium population growth scenario. Under the optimistic population growth scenario, however, per capita income will grow by 2.4 percent per annum. If national income grows at a rate of 5 percent per annum, per capita income would increase at a rate of 2.9 percent per annum under the medium population growth scenario and 3.4 percent per annum under the low population growth scenario.³³

- C. A drastic change in the pattern of food demand would occur if per capita income growth could be accelerated to between 3.0 and 3.5 percent per annum. The demand for cereals, vegetables would increase at a much slower rate, while the demand for livestock products would increase at a higher rate than the growth of national income. With higher increase in urban population, the demand for cereals will proportionately decline while the demand for fishery and livestock products will continue to rise.³⁴
- D. The projection of annual increase in the demand for various types of food under alternative growth scenarios is presented in Table 1. Demand would grow at an annual rate of less than 3% for food grains; 3-4% for vegetables, pulses and edible oils; 4-5% for fish, milk and sugar; and at more than 5% for meat. With population growing at 1.5% per annum, demand for grains would grow only at 2.3% even if the GNP growth accelerates to 5% per annum. Under this scenario, demand for livestock products would grow at nearly 5.6% and the demand for fish at 4.2%.³⁵
- E. A picture of projection of total requirement of major food items under alternative development scenarios is presented in Table 2. The 'business as usual (BAU)', scenario assumes a growth of national income at 4.5%, while a growth rate of 6.5 is assumed under the 'accelerated growth' scenario. The table shows that rice consumption requirement is expected to reach 29.72 million tons in 2010 and 31.1 million tons in 2020 under the accelerated growth scenario. A sharp increase in requirement is observed for non-cereal items such as vegetables, meat and milk.³⁶
- F. Thus both under 'BAU' and 'accelerated growth' scenarios, Bangladesh will require about 35 million tons of

foodgrains per annum by the year 2020. If all or most of this quantity is to be produced domestically, this will have to be done under conditions of declining availability of the two crucial resources such as land and water.³⁷

Table 1. Average annual rate of growth of expected demand of various types of food 1985-2010.³⁸

Types of food	Annual average growth rate of demand under			
	Scenario A	Scenario B	Scenario C	Scenario D
Grains	2.76	2.89	2.33	2.33
Vegetables	3.30	3.75	3.02	3.45
Pulses	3.26	3.64	3.78	3.26
Fish	3.67	4.40	3.57s	4.21
Meat and Eggs	4.44	5.58	4.51	5.60
Milk	4.17	5.09	4.13	4.97
Edible Oil	3.45	4.03	3.25	3.78
Sugar/gur	4.22	5.20	4.23	5.17

Note: Scenario A: Business as usual, Scenario B: Medium Population-high income growth, Scenario C: Low population-low income growth, Scenario D: Low Population-high income growth

Source: Hossain 1989

Table 2. Projections of the requirement for major food items under alternative development scenarios, 2010 and 2020³⁹

Food Items	Actual consumption (million tons)	Projected requirements (million tons)			
		Businesses as usual		Accelerated growth	
		2010	2020	2010	2020
Rice	19.60	27.83	31.95	29.72	31.11
Others cereals	1.83	2.74	3.44	3.10	4.03
Pulses	0.75	1.23	1.68	1.16	1.67
Edible oils	0.43	0.91	1.28	1.16	1.67
Potato	1.85	3.17	11.62	10.62	13.18
Other vegetables	5.74	9.05	11.62	10.62	13.18
Fish	1.47	2.57	3.60	3.20	4.31

Meat and eggs	0.55	1.29	1.92	1.93	2.88
Milk	0.88	1.74	2.61	2.52	3.89

Note: Business as usual: assumes a growth rate of national income at 4.5% per annum

Accelerated growth: assumes a growth rate of national income at 6.5% per annum

Source: Hossain and Shahabuddin (1999)

Tackling Food Insecurity

To combat food insecurity, the Government of Bangladesh initiated the Public Food Distribution System (PFDS) to make food accessible for the vulnerable group through price subsidies and targeted food distribution programs such as VGF, VGR, FFW, Test Relief and Gratuitous Relief. The PFDS is made up of 5 silos, 13 central storage depots and 578 local storage depots. Bangladesh maintains a national food reserve of around 800 thousand metric tons of food grains of which about 450 thousand metric tons are intended to meet the food crisis during emergencies. In the lean season the PFDS becomes operational through open market sales (OMS), where the government seeks to prevent large fluctuations in rice prices as a means to enhance the overall food security status of the poor. The amount of food withdrawn from the PFDS during the lean periods is also an indication of the severity and extent of seasonal food shortage.⁴⁰

Off-take of food from PFDS for OMS it becomes evident that for the last two years the food crisis has been more acute during the month of February and March rather than in October and November. Under the PFDS the off-take of food was highest during FY 2004-2005, i.e. about 1.37 million mt, which was 39 percent higher than the PFD of the previous year.⁴¹ The total food stock and storage capacity in the Local Supply Depots (LSD) in different districts regulate the supply and price of the food grain in the markets. The food storage capacity and food stock in the local LSDs that effective storage capacities in the districts like Kurigram, Nilphamari, Lalmonirhat, Rangpur and Gaibandha that are prone to severe seasonal food shortage are comparatively smaller than other northern districts, though the overall food stock in Rajshahi division as well as in the respective *monga* prone districts is higher than other divisions and districts.⁴²

The quantity of food stocks in the LSDs very much depends on the procurement of food grain from the local farmers. The entire procurement system is beset with some problems. In the existing procurement system farmers often sell their production to middlemen at a very low price to avoid the hassle and cost of transporting their production to LSDs. Moreover non-acceptance of paddy in the name of quality, delayed payments poor price offered by the brokers prompt the producers to sell their production to the private traders rather than to LSDs.⁴³

Possible Solutions

- The government should own up publicly to the real situation, so that corrective measures may be taken - all is not lost as yet.
- The political parties should be allowed to organize their own relief operations among the affected people.
- Grameen Bank, BRAC and other large and medium-sized NGOs should be involved in distributing subsidized food and fertilizer among the target people, in addition to the BDR.
- The military at the field level should act in support of the civil authority and not the other way round. The field administration, along with the local government bodies and local NGOs, should be sufficiently empowered to act, but under close civilian supervision at different levels
- The development partners should come up with not only cash but also substantial amounts of essential commodities to avert the humanitarian crisis about to break out in Bangladesh
- The government should make a supportive environment so that the business community and the professional class can feel confident enough to get on with their lives in a free market economy.
- The armed forces should be involved mainly in rescue operations, restoration of the supply lines (roads, electricity, etc), and air lift of essential supplies to hard-to-reach areas, preparation of the VGD cards and over all monitoring in aid to civilian power.

Concluding Remarks and Suggestions

The major food security problem is that around half of the Bangladeshis remain below the established food based poverty line and as many as one third are in extreme poverty and severely undernourished despite the impressive increases in aggregate national food grain availability. Success in making staple foods available coexists with very high prevalence of undernourishment (insufficient caloric intake) and malnutrition. According to the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics in 2000 the malnutrition problem was desperately serious for the poorest 14% of the rural population who were consuming fewer than 1600 kcal per day. Another 10% consumed between 1600 and 1800 kcal per day and around 23% consumed between 1800 and 2122 kcal, the minimum caloric requirement to be food secure, 45% of women had low (<18.5) body mass indices and 52% of children were underweight.⁴⁴ These occur for the lack of husbanding agricultural lands, employment opportunities, social services, access and knowledge of nutritional diet and healthcare, sanitation and safe drinking water coupled with sustained poverty leave a significant portion of the Bangladesh population hungry and malnourished. To alleviate these problems, various international agencies focus their resources on long-term sustainable development. Within a framework of law, policy and interests, these aid agencies may invest in people and processes, and promote policies and institutional environments which might remove the basic cause of food insecurity and hunger – namely, poverty, especially in rural areas. In this way, government, NGOs, political parties, charitable organizations should come together along with foreign aid agencies in these program foci for improving food availability, access, utilization, and risk management include closing the seasonal food gap through improved storage, small-scale post-harvest transportation, crop diversification (but not at the expense of food crops), expanded market opportunities, enhanced knowledge of dietary diversity and restoration of food value, and on overcoming household cash flow and liquidity constraints, enhancing local capacity for disaster risk management, and improved coping mechanisms for disasters like flood and cyclone. The focus on food utilization or food security places a major emphasis in the changing circumstance through which Bangladesh might be able to be a hunger free nation all over the world.

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Note: The article is written with the observation of food crises in Bangladesh in 2008 while the interim caretaker government ruled the country.

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- ⁴⁰ Food Grain Digest, June 2005 WFP, FPMU
- ⁴¹ Bangladesh Food Situation Report, FPMU, April-June, 2004
- ⁴² *Ibid*
- ⁴³ *Ibid*
- ⁴⁴ Bangladesh Food Security Brief, World Food Program (WFP), August 2005, Page no.6