

**FAMILY DOMINANCE ON POLITICAL  
PARTIES IN BANGLADESH:  
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS**

**M. Phil Dissertation**



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**UNIVERSITY OF DHAKA  
BANGLADESH**

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BY

MOHAMMAD FAISAL AKBER

This revised dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for  
M. Phil degree of the department of political science

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University of Dhaka**

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*In adoring memory of  
my esteemed father  
who was the source of my inspiration.*

## **Declaration by Candidate**

It is hereby declared that I have carried out this original research thesis on “**Family Dominance on Political Parties in Bangladesh: A Comparative Analysis.**”

I consciously declared that this thesis is the result of my own study, investigations except where otherwise stated.

I also declare that it has not previously or currently been submitted as a whole for any other degrees at University of Dhaka or other institutions.

**Regards,**

Mohammad Faisal Akber

Signature:

## Certificate of Supervisor

With regard to the thesis entitled “**Family Dominance on Political Parties in Bangladesh: A Comparative Analysis.**” submitted by Mohammad Faisal Akber for the degree of M. Phil in Political Science at the University of Dhaka, Dhaka, Bangladesh.

I Certify that

- i. He has carried out the research work under my supervision and direction and the manuscript of the thesis has been examined by me.
- ii. The entire thesis comprises the candidate’s own work and it is his personal achievement. It has not formed the basis of the award of any degree or diploma or any other similar type of recognition.
- iii. No other person was in any form associated with the completion of this thesis.
- iv. He has completed his research work to my fulfillment.
- v. The final copy of the thesis which is being submitted to the University Office has been carefully read by me for its material and language and is to my entire satisfaction.
- vi. The thesis is worthy of consideration for the award of M. Phil degree.
- vii. I hope that this thesis will make a good input to the existing knowledge on ‘Family dominance on political parties in Bangladesh: a comparative analysis’.

Date, Dhaka

.....

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## **Abbreviations and Acronyms**

AL- Awami League

BNP- Bangladesh Nationalist Party

JP- Jatiya Party

SSC-Secondary School Certificate

HSC- Higher Secondary Certificate

EC- Election Commission

RPO- Representation of the People Order

CG- Caretaker Government

BD- Bangladesh

LDP- Liberal Democratic Party

ASK- Ain O Salish Kendra

NDI- National Democratic Institutes

UK- United Kingdom

CEC- Central Executive Committee

NSC- National Standing Committee

NEC- National Executive Committee

BSL- Bangladesh Students' League

JCD- Jatiyotabadi Chhatra Dal

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**Mohammad Faisal Akber**

**Date:**

## **Abstract**

*Bangladesh got birth on the quest of democracy where power will be vested among the people and from an elite power structure to people`s representative power transformation was the core issue of the liberation war of Bangladesh. Unfortunately, the power is dominated by some family legacy leaderships or an oligarchic power structure dictates the polity at large. Political parties, the main shadow as eternal vigilance for democratic consolidation, are also governed by some ruling elite families at whole. Bangladesh Awami League (AL), Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) and Jatiya Party (JP) are foremost parties of the mainstream political landscape. Supreme power position of party as president or chairman or chairperson is either single one for a long time or a drift to persist it from him/herself, son or siblings. This inclination creates hegemonic authoritative supremacy over the party as well as governance. The smooth democratic flow is hampered, in addition, impacted by this trend on intra-party democratic practice and governance institutionalization. In this context an academic seeking to explore the reasons, continuities and variables held in this paper. Here a primary discussion on conceptual framework then a glance overview of political parties of Bangladesh specially focused on basics of three main political parties, tried to look upon the inside democratic practice within parties as well. A sketch to glimpse the leadership making process where party chief and other exclusive power holders come through to illustrate the democratic practice within parties and correlated factors such as family identity and so on then an exertion to analyze the collected data based on mentioned respective issues. Finally, the study adds some propositions as the suggestive measurement in the form of recommendations that can be paramount for the successful democratic journey in Bangladesh.*

# **Chapter One: Introduction**



## 1.1 Introduction

Since the birth of Bangladesh, the country did not have experience in a successful democratic culture and governance system. The state has fluctuated several times from the journey of democracy as well as key spirit and aspiration of its independence.<sup>1</sup> If we try to look at the landscape of democracy and good governance of a country; it is a question of analyzing the activities and practices of political parties. Because of well functioning of political parties reflects the scenario of political system. In Bangladesh, leadership is becoming more centralized and factional contestation and conflicts are becoming more rampant.<sup>2</sup> That organizational structure of political parties had become deeply partisan type which outlays the cult culture and family legacy power structure that creates hegemony in the political dome. The party affairs revolved around personality cult of the party chief and general members were weighted down by the supreme leadership.<sup>3</sup> They are the main stakeholders in the political arena. For instance, one is Bangladesh Awami League (AL), the largest political party in the country lead by current Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina,<sup>4</sup> daughter of former president Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the founder of the nation and another leading party pioneering by Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) that lead by Khaleda Zia,<sup>5</sup> widow of former President Ziaur Rahman. And third one is Jatiya Party lead by Hussain Muhammad Ershad and his brother G. M. Quader. The nature of centripetal power configuration among these parties has become a unique character for about the last thirty five years. The transformation of leadership among these parties lies also on ancestors bonding; is dubious to the path of democratization. The continuity of this trend is indeed a process that has continued from generation to generation. Sheikh Hasina and Khaleda Zia are now grooming their sons, Tarique Rahman and Sajeeb Wazed Joy, to succeed them, leading to three-generational ruling dynasties in Bangladesh's short history as Mujib-Hasina-Joy and Zia-Khaleda-Tarique. Similarly another key political party, JP, is also controlled by a single family, this is H.M. Ershad family.

Chhibber said, '*dynastic parties are political parties in which the top leadership comes from within a family*'.<sup>6</sup> So that politics and parties of Bangladesh are surfacing on family politics. The political system also dominated by this democratic dynasties trend. But in a proper

<sup>1</sup> Ahmed, Moudud. *Bangladesh: A Study of the Democratic Regimes*. Dhaka: UPL, 2012.

<sup>2</sup> Jahan, Rounaq. *Political Parties in Bangladesh: Challenges of Democratization*. Dhaka: Prothoma, 2015. P.8

<sup>3</sup> Hasauzzaman, Al Masud. *Bangladeshey Sangsadio Gonotantra, Rajniti O Governance: 1997-2007*. Dhaka: 2009. P.82

<sup>4</sup> Reelected as the president of AL, *The Daily Ittefaq*, October 24, 2016.

<sup>5</sup> Reelected as the Chairperson of BNP, *The Daily Ittefaq*, March 07, 2016.

<sup>6</sup> Chhibber, P. *Dynastic parties: Organization, finance and impact*. 2013. P.277

consolidated democratic system, there cannot contain the supremacy of few families. Consequently, sometimes the country has observed non-democratic government as well as political chaos in political journey. Democracy is the government by participated people and leadership transformation beyond cult or other identities. But the role of a few families whatever it may be the dynasty or family dominance in a democratic process may hinder the smooth flow of democracy. This paper examines the issues, factors and extent of the family dominance on major political parties in Bangladesh; democratic culture of the parties and the challenges of democratization.

## **1.2 Justification of the study**

Family dominance in politics can be found in other democratic countries throughout the world. Sometimes it had a vital role in nation-building at large. It is a global phenomenon also but this trend is extensive in sub-continental politics especially in Bangladesh. The endeavor of democratization relies on the participation of people and trickle down renovation of leadership beyond identity or cult politics. Most of the political parties of Bangladesh are highly dominated by the president or chairperson of the parties. The rationales of this research are-

- Family dominance creates autocracy of a single leadership within the party that sometimes descends into a chaos that has legitimated the manipulations.
- Historically, centralization of politics in a few families has created an opportunity for the military to replace the ruling regime.
- The autocratic dominance of the few families on political parties may involve in corruption for more power. Because absolute power may corrupt absolutely.
- Family dominance tries to impose its hierarchical rules and one-party dictatorship over a multiparty democratic system.
- Family dominance is analogous to the oligarchy. This trend of family politics hinders the smooth flow of democratization process and weakens the civic institutions.

Finally this study adds an understanding of the cultural and political dimensions of the society affecting institutionalization of democracy. This operation will consider power politics, to grasp the nature of party structure and relationship among the party leaders, perception of the leaders towards democracy, as well as discernment of the common masses towards party organization and democracy.

### **1.3 Background of the Study**

Bangladesh is one of the countries can be considered a holistic paradigm of family politics in the Indian subcontinent. Some influential families in the national politics from top to bottom, the Sheikh Mujibur Rahman family, the Ziaur Rahman family and the H. M. Ershad families are the core influential enough and those can be considered as imperative power holder in national politics. In the case of Awami league, Sheikh Mujib had been leading AL till his death; now his daughter Sheikh Hasina, the current prime minister of Bangladesh has been leading the party since her joining as the chief of the party. The Zia family controls another political party named BNP. Former president Ziaur Rahman was the founder of the party and he had been leading the party until his death. After his death Khaleda Zia, widow of Ziaur Rahman has been leading the party till now as well as she was the Prime minister for three times. She has appointed her elder son Tarique Rahman as the Senior Vice Chairman of the party, which is considered as the second highest peak. At the same time the third political party- Jatiya Party has such character. General H.M. Ershad controlled in power since 1982 in a bloodless military coup. He soon formed the Jatiya Party. Since then his wife Raushan Ershad, younger brother GM Kader has played an authoritative role in party. The Awami League and its grand alliance won the election in 2008 and Ershad's brother G M Quader was the minister of Sheikh Hasina's cabinet during 2009-2013. This family dominance trend on parties merely considered in transitional democracy or developing democracy but it is never justified that the national politics would be evolved on the basis of few families.

### **1.4 Objectives of the study**

This research aims to unveil the factors and trends of the sustaining family dominance on political parties in Bangladesh. It is tried to find out the inner causes of this trend and how has this trend been affecting the democratic process of the country. The study provides effective and practical propositions for ensuring a participatory democracy. The broad objective has been broken down into following specific purposes:

- Outlining the activities of political parties by identifying few leader's role and families who have a great influence on party politics.
- Finding out the root causes of family dominance on party organization.
- Analyzing the outcome of this trend in the democratization process.
- Comparing the practices of party's leadership making process and intra-party democratic practice with democratic values to understand the landscape of politics.
- Suggesting the way out for ensuring participatory democracy and good governance.

## 1.5 Literature review

A number of qualitative literatures on the family dominance on political parties in Bangladesh have reviewed to complete the research. A significant number of published research works got on different topics related to the subject of the thesis.

‘Political Parties in Bangladesh: Challenges of Democratization’ by Rounaq Jahan concentrated on analyzing the history, ideology, functions, strengths and shortcomings of the major political parties, which is a major contribution in this field. She discussed the major historical accounts and drawbacks of powerful parties. While discussing the primary trends of political parties in Bangladesh, Jahan showed that how the dynastic rule of major political parties and hegemonic control of the top leaders in legislative, executive and judiciary aspects interrupt the development of the parties in one hand and make different state organs dysfunctional on the other. Moreover, capturing state power has become the main motive of political parties instead of enriched the ideology and capacity of the parties. The vast number of political activists of the two major parties AL and BNP are not used to propagate ideological strengths. Jahan described the ideology, organizational structure, membership, support base and factionalism of the major political parties in her this outstanding piece. While discussing the support base, She pointed out political parties tend to follow ‘catch up’ all strategy to enhance their support base, but AL has good support base among religious and ethnic minorities, BNP has greater support from civil and military bureaucracy and business groups, JP support base similar to BNP but it has greater support base in the northern districts of the countries. She also described the state of the internal democratization of the parties. Jahan told that the absence of democratic norms and values among major political parties are not ever seen in practically. Party chief is often found to be autocratic in running parties, alternative voices are systemically discarded and national council meetings had increasingly become an eye-wash matter.<sup>7</sup> Finally, she suggested some actions to promote party democracy and state of democratization. She recommended to ensure intra party democracy, political parties should follow their own constitutions and Representation of the People Order (RPO) guidelines, sources of party funds should be made public, voice of the grass-root leadership needs to listen, social diversity needs to be enhanced and parties require taking steps to propagate party ideologies.<sup>8</sup> But the author did not mention the causes of the family dominance of political parties in Bangladesh in this book.

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<sup>7</sup>Jahan, Rounaq. *Political Parties in Bangladesh: Challenges of Democratization*. Dhaka: Prothoma, 2015. P.137

<sup>8</sup>Ibid

Al Masud Hasanuzzaman in his famous book namely “Role of Opposition in Bangladesh Politics” very plainly and suitably scrutinizes the role of opposition as well as the orientation of ruling party towards opposition in Bangladesh. He illustrated the significance of opposition in democracy. On the basis of opinions of literary scholars, he told that ‘an opposition political party has been part and parcel of the democratic form of government.’<sup>9</sup> This book gives an analytical account of the opposition’s role in Bangladesh politics since independence under successive regimes. The author examined opposition's parliamentary activities and its mode of operation outside the legislature. He told that in the first parliament, there was a meager opposition representation with no official recognition. The number of opposition parliamentarians increased considerably in the second and third legislatures with their formal status in the house. Finally by re-introducing the parliamentary system in 1991, opposition political party has become the important part of the government. But the irony is that no opposition party had played proper rule to strengthening democracy and parliament. Both ruling party and opposition party are liable for the ineffective role of oppositions.<sup>10</sup> The author explored significance of political party in transitional society and he analyzed the political development in the parameter of time which illustrated the regime analysis at large. But he did not mention any option of leadership process for intra-party democratic practice and institutionalization of leadership in parliamentary representative system of politics.

Rounaq Jahan in her “Bangladesh Politics: Problems and Issues” acquainted with about the political and civil-military bureaucratic leadership that rules Bangladesh in the last three decades has failed in large measure to demonstrate their commitment on practicing democracy. She told that undeniably there has been some progress in the last three decades. The rate of economic growth in the decades following independence is higher than preceding independence. But these achievements in economic development have to be viewed in the light of the country’s potentials and the performance of the other comparable states. But citizens’ dissatisfaction is still severe. It is not for the state performance of slow pace of progress. They have started losing faith in leaders as successive regimes patronized corruption and abused public offices for personal gains. State power has been used by all regimes to intimidate political opposition, buy the support of individuals and groups and make money for personal use and party building. Despite rhetoric commitment to establish democracy, the political parties have failed to establish a consensus over the ground rules for

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<sup>9</sup>Hasanuzzaman, Al Masud. *Role of Opposition in Bangladesh Politics*. Dhaka: UPL, 1998. P.195

<sup>10</sup>ibid

democratic competition. They have relied on money and muscle men to mobilize support and capture votes.<sup>11</sup> This book has a positive image which is unique on analyzing political regimes since pre-inception of Bangladesh focused on nation-building and state-building endeavors by mentioning several incidents of history. The author artistically portrayed the birth of Bangladesh and the genealogy of different ideologies related to the leadership and cult culture. But there has a hole where she abstained from mentioning leadership process.

Inge Amundsen in his article ‘Dynasty or democracy? Party Politics in Bangladesh’ stated about the dynasty of Bangladesh politics. It is mention that voters and party activists, as well as party officials at different levels, say the party president is the obvious leader because of his/her leadership qualities and that dynasty is a necessary tool to keep the party together as factionalism is a real problem. In fact, dynastic leaders can be defeated in elections, but will not be pushed out of the chairmanship because of that at least not in Bangladesh.<sup>12</sup> The trend establishes one kind of blind patron-ship of a few families in the politics.<sup>13</sup> But the author did not elaborate any output of single leadership and causes of becoming this political culture.

Shamsul I Khan, S Aminul Islam and M Imdadul Haque in their “Political culture, political parties and democratic transition in Bangladesh” talked about the democracy in Bangladesh. The author has pinned out new democratic journey since 1991 but this journey has been fraught with various crises in Bangladesh. He stated that the nature of the political parties of Bangladesh were primarily responsible for this situation. He also argued that the major political parties have merged, fragmented and proliferated at all because of the political or factional interests of individual leaders. As a result, it had failed to institutionalize the ideologies and leadership that are identical for political parties to emerge as viable agents for a stable democracy. However, the role of political parties cannot be understood without taking into consideration the overarching political culture and societal characteristics of the country. He discussed a brief history of the eleven major political parties and a survey of political leaders, their perceptions, knowledge, values, and attitudes centering on the predicament of political parties and democracy in Bangladesh.<sup>14</sup> But the author refrained discussing the criteria and ongoing leadership culture in the political parties of Bangladesh.

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<sup>11</sup>Jahan, Rounaq. *Bangladesh Politics: Problems and Issues*. Dhaka: UPL, 2005. P.271

<sup>12</sup> Amundsen, I. *Dynasty or democracy? Party Politics in Bangladesh*. (Retrieved on July 25, 2019 <https://www.cmi.no/publications/file/4974-dynasty-or-democracy-party-politics-in-bangladesh.pdf>)

<sup>13</sup>Ibid

<sup>14</sup> Khan, S. I; Islam, S. A and Haque, M. I. *Political culture, political parties and democratic transition in Bangladesh*. Dhaka: Academic Publishers, 1996.

## 1.6 Research Gap

The research gap of this study has already noted in the sectional analysis of literature review which broadly outlays the practice and real fact of leadership making process and intra-party democratic practice among the leading political parties in Bangladesh have also absent.

## 1.7 Research question

The study aims to focus on the answer to the following questions:

How does family dominance act in decision making inside the political parties and does this trend impede the flow of democratization?

## 1.8 Organization of the study

The thesis consists of eight chapters that exclusively show its inclusive area of study.

**Chapter One** gave a common overview titled an introduction, justification, objectives, literature review, research gap, research question, and conclusion of the study.

**Chapter Two** covered the methodological interpretation of the study where the information of respondents, indication qualitative and quantitative, data sources and study area added.

**Chapter Three** covered an overview of the literature on the conceptual framework of political parties, dominance, leadership and power structure, family dominance, democracy and political parties in Bangladesh from academics views and other capitulating perspectives.

**Chapter Four** focused on an overview of three major political parties of Bangladesh. On the basis of party constitution, manifesto and press statements and public views a landscape view of the activities of political parties has described.

**Chapter Five** demonstrated the area of democratic practices within political parties. Basically, here emphasize on democratic practices within parties. In this chapter democratic practice of the three political parties: AL, BNP and JP compared.

**Chapter Six** covered the role of leadership as well as the party chief making process of the three major parties. The top leadership choosing process and how chief of the parties use the subordinates and control the politics of the party mentioned here.

**Chapter Seven** disclosed the interpretation of a field-based study by graphical picture. This chapter is full of field-based study where data of primary sources collected from survey methods to follow stratified sampling.

**Chapter Eight** highlighted findings and the suggestive propositions based on the data collected from both primary and secondary sources in the study. The chapter also made a conclusion to make an end along with an appraisal of the study.

### 1.9 Limitations of the study

The following problems I faced in conducting this research.

- a. Political development in Bangladesh with the development of political parties has grown simultaneously in the passage of time but in academia few scholars have concentrated on this development and leadership dominance of political landscape which has created a large gap of research- journal, books and academic materials. So completing this research by compiling a reliable resource was so tough.
- b. Though some books and articles are found that's not enough to get well-designed information and thoughts.
- c. Family dominance, political parties as well as politics of Bangladesh are concerned with a lot of concepts and faces. These multifaceted trends created one kind of obscure idea.
- d. The present political scenario has become more terrible than the past. It is found that one kind of fear prevailed within interviewees in answering the question regarding political parties. So I faced difficulties in collecting data from primary sources.
- e. The concept is not well known to all classes of people that creates opaque to analyze it. Above all, further study on this topic may fulfill the research gap that I feel.

### 1.10 Conclusion

In practice for last three decades there has been no contestation for the position of the party chief in major political parties.<sup>15</sup> That showed the alarming concern is that there is no democratic practice in the major political parties also. This study can be characterized to show the manner, practice and leadership trend of political parties. The type of methodology of the study is selected to cover the circumstances the country faced in its journey mentioned in the literature review of the study.

To accomplish the research justification, objectives, questions, and limitation of the study are formulated. So, findings of the study would be a viable mechanism to establish participatory democracy in Bangladesh by promoting a democratic culture within political parties.

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<sup>15</sup>Jahan, Rounaq. *Political Parties in Bangladesh: Challenges of Democratization*. Dhaka: UPL, 2015. P.137



## **Chapter Two: Methodology**

## **2.1 Introduction**

The methodology that will be applied in the study has been chosen in order to acquire information and deduce conclusion about the main challenges that are present as problem of democratization and participatory democracy because of family dominance on political parties in Bangladesh. This chapter focuses on the selection of research methods and approaches, data collection techniques, and data analysis.

## **2.2 Methodology**

In social research, researchers can use two common methods such as qualitative method and quantitative method. The justification of using qualitative and quantitative method in this research is obvious. This study is both qualitative and quantitative data based. Questionnaire survey, in-depth interview and case study<sup>16</sup> method are also used here. Case studies involve measuring and studying what is there and how it got there. In this sense it is historical. It could enable to explore, reveal and understand problems, issues and relationships of several regimes and political development in Bangladesh.

This study was primarily based on secondary sources where most of the resources are directly or indirectly indicate to a partial account of selected political party. On the other hand, this selective accounts need to check inter-sectional and cross-sectional judgment coming to a valid conclusion. That's why this judgment solely or partially related to the survey method and interview method. These methods are mostly interconnected finding out ongoing contemporary political development which also comparable to the previous developments, formations and activities of political parties in Bangladesh since its journey.

The goal of the survey is to provide an accurate and complete description of the case in numerical form. But in social science most of the cases cannot be presented in numerical form. In this situation only quantitative approaches cannot be effective. In our study where there is a need of information regarding the ideology of the various political parties, the historical background of the their ideologies, legacy of their family dominance, the intra party

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<sup>16</sup> The term case study usually refers to a fairly intensive examination of a single unit, such as a person, a small group of people or indeed a single organization.

democracy and effects on the democracy which cannot be obtained through merely questionnaire survey and it requires in-depth interview with resource personalities.

### **2.3 Data collection method**

Under the framework of survey method as the agenda of the primary source, data is collected through survey questionnaire and in-depth interview method in stratified sampling i.e. interviewing by some politicians, academicians, social and political activists, student, civil society members, and citizens. The data is gone through both open and close-ended questionnaire. I also seek data from secondary sources i.e. books, articles, reports, newspaper features. Historical method is followed to accomplish the study. Besides this interview method and participatory methods are slightly followed.

### **2.4 Sources of Data**

Data was collected from two kinds of sources:

#### **2.4.1 Primary Data**

Survey questions and in-depth interview methods were used to collect primary data. Data were collected through Set-1 of questionnaire constituting 10 questions with 28 sub-questions and statements. Along with this, set-2 of in-depth interviews was also followed, where open-ended questions prevailed. A total of 210 respondents speak out on different statements. Sample sizes larger than 30 and less than 500 are appropriate for most research.<sup>17</sup> Having in mind these limitations, the sample size will be consisted of about 210 questionnaires.

#### **2.4.2 Secondary Data**

Reviewing relevant research materials and reports on political parties and democracy of Bangladesh collected secondary data. As internal documents, information on various issues related to the present research problem was collected. As regards external documents, attempts were made to explore data on various issues. To do so, various published and unpublished books and journal articles relevant to the research, political parties' manuals, research reports, and some national and local newspapers, were used. In addition, as an attempt to collect external documents, the Internet was used for browsing relevant websites containing secondary data. Historical data on development the of political parties and alliance collected from secondary sources, i.e., through content review, which includes books,

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<sup>17</sup> Roscoe, J. R. *Fundamental Research Statistic for the Behavioural Sciences*. New York: Holt, Rinehart Inc, 1975.

newspapers, periodicals, party documents such as constitutions, manifestoes, press statements, etc. From the secondary sources, the historical background of the political parties, the formation of major political parties, changes of regimes, characteristics of political cultures in Bangladesh understood. The decision-making process and internal matters of the political parties understood through the interviews and conversation with the political leaders, academicians, and civil society persons.

## **2.5 Study Area**

In Bangladesh, most of the political activities and events held two distinct urban areas. These areas are also known to state capital of Bangladesh: Dhaka and Chittagong. On the other hand, these areas are the opening hub of political leaders. In addition, leading educational institutions, party main offices, people's mobility and density in comparison to other areas are high there. These areas are the power shifting zone within the country. Availability of information, newspaper, magazine and even consciousness among the people of these areas are notably high. So this study covered these two major places to collect data.

## **2.6 Validity of Data**

One of the strengths of qualitative and quantitative research is validity, determined based on whether the findings are accurate from the standpoint of the researchers, the participants or readers of an account. Focusing on accurate measurement of phenomena, various types of respondents were interviewed and on the other side, a good number of respondents within each type were selected and interviewed with the view to cross check the trustworthy.

## **2.7 Data Processing and Analysis Plan**

Microsoft Excel tool used for data processing

## **2.8 Problems of data collection**

Collecting field data was easy, although some difficulties arose. Nevertheless, below are some of the situations faced in the process of data acquisition.

**First:** It was difficult to make a survey from study area because most of the people were reluctant to disclose information.

**Second:** There are a few numbers of scholarly publications accomplished on the subject matter.

**Third:** Another problem was that political leaders and concerned persons were not willing to talk about the issue.

**Fourth:** It was also difficult to get access to all respondents, as they are likely to suspect the interviewer's motive.

## 2.9 Sample Design for quantitative study

Five categories of respondents mainly the political activists, literate people, public intellectuals, students, and women representatives are covered under close and open-ended questionnaire method. I was conscious to maintain total respondents 200 as the sample size for quantitative analysis. Purposive sampling Procedure was adopted to make it output able.

## 2.10 Respondent related analysis

Following respondents, categories and study related information are taken in the study:

### 2.10.1 Respondents on different ages

According to the article of the 122(2) (a) of the constitution of Bangladesh, 'a person shall be entitled to be enrolled on the electoral roll for a constituency delimited for the purpose of election to the Parliament if he is not less than eighteen years of age.'<sup>18</sup> So we categorized the

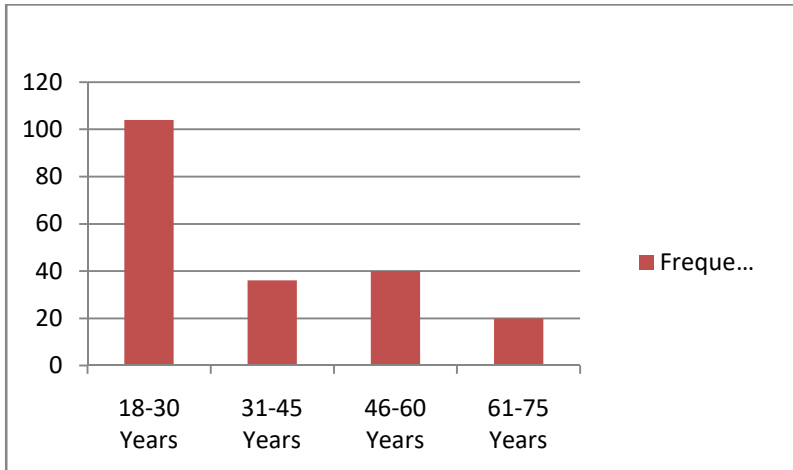
respondents within four. Here age of 18-30 years, 31-45 years, 46-60 years and 61-75 years are categorized for the respondents.

Category of Respondents	Frequency	Percentage (%)
18-30 years	104	52
31-45 Years	36	18
46-60 Years	40	20
61-75 years	20	10

**Table-01: Age limit of Respondents**

Table-01 and Figure-01 disclosed that among 200 respondents 18-30 years limits respondents scored the highest number in the study where 104 respondents are between 18-30 years old. And 36, 40 and 20 respondents are in the limit of 31-45 years, 46-60 years and 61-75 years respectively.

<sup>18</sup> Article 122 (2) (a), *The constitution of Bangladesh*



**Figure-01: Age limit of Respondents**

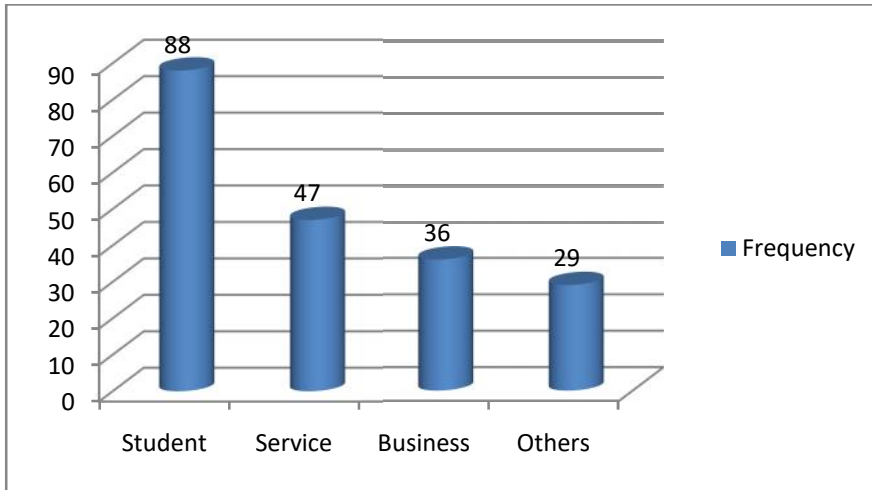
### 2.10.2 Professions of Respondents

I tried to only mention a few categories of the profession in this survey study. Here student, service, business and others are categorized for the respondents. In other option, we found the largest type of profession from respondents.

Category of Respondents	Frequency	Percentage %
Student	88	44
Service	47	23.5
Business	36	18
Others	29	14.5

**Table-02: Professions of Respondents**

Table-02 and Figure-02 revealed that among the 200 respondents profession of 88 respondents is student; profession of 47 respondents is service; profession of 36 respondents is business and profession of 29 respondents is others- where



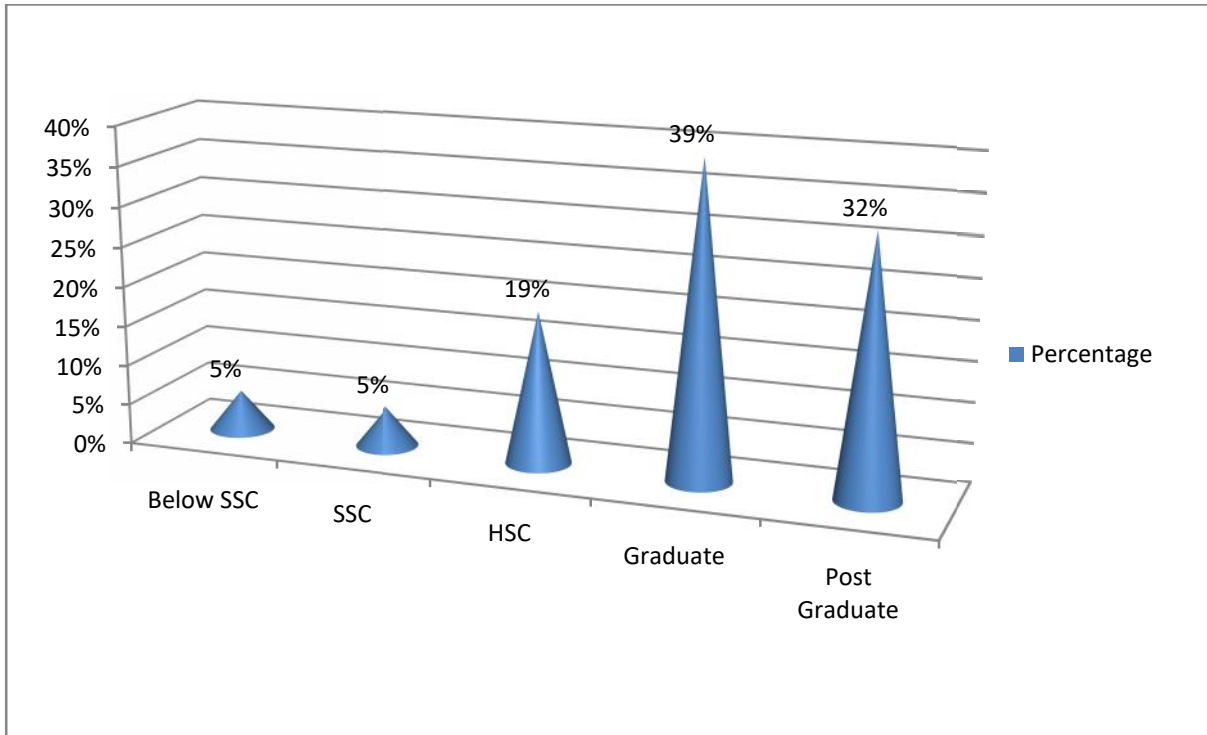
**Figure-02: Professions of Respondents**

### 2.10.3 Educational status of respondents

Five categories of educational qualifications are taken in the study. It was endeavored to prioritize the good educational qualified persons to engage in the study on account of being a good idea on political parties of Bangladesh. Below SSC, SSC, HSC, Graduate and Post Graduate of educational qualification is taken into our concern.

Category of Respondents	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Below SSC	10	05
SSC	10	05
HSC	38	19
Graduate	78	39
Post Graduate	64	32

**Table-03: Educational Status of the Respondents**



**Figure-03: Educational Status of the Respondents**

Table-03 and Figure-03 disclosed 39 % of respondents are graduates who scored a position in the study highest number. And Below SSC, SSC, HSC and Post Graduate gain 5%, 5%, 19%, and 32% respectively.

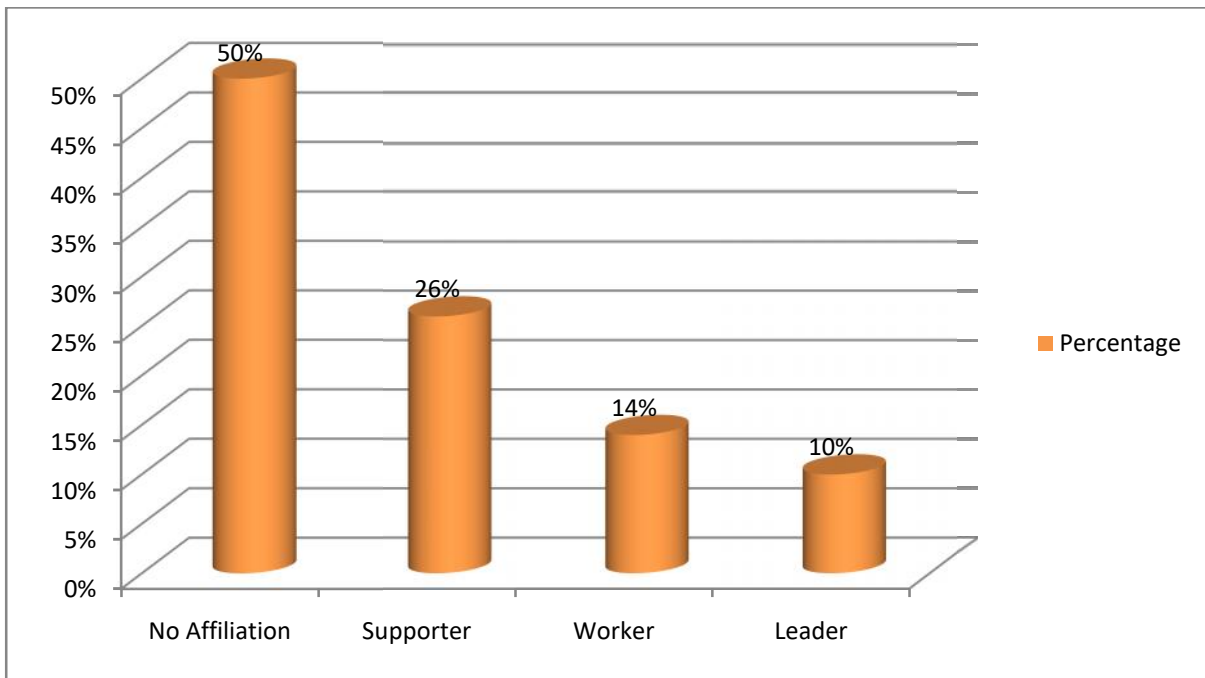
**2.10.4 Political Affiliations of Respondents**

I focused on the respondent’s category on political affiliation. We followed the scale of affiliation instead of affiliation with a specific party. Among 200 respondents 100 have disclosed their political affiliation on the basis of their activeness.

Category of Respondents	Frequency	Percent
No Affiliation	100	50%
Supporter	52	26%
Worker	28	14%
Leader	20	10%

**Table-04: Political Affiliations of Respondents**



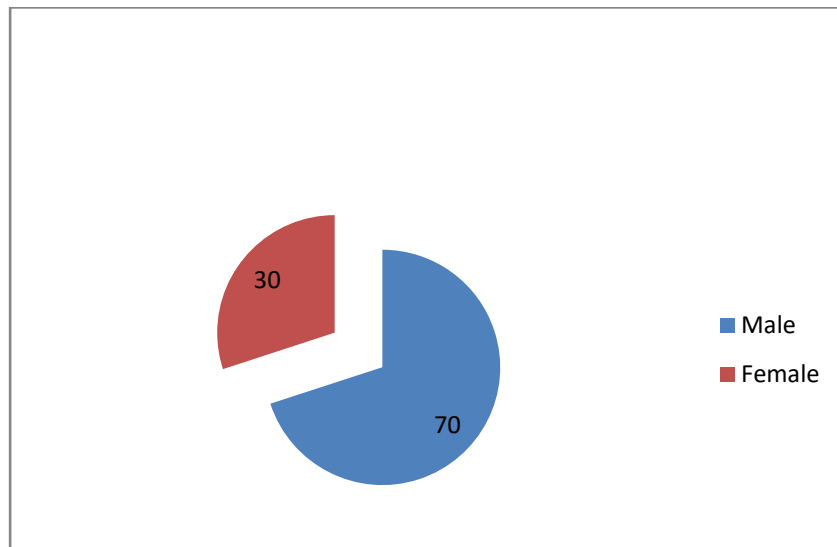


**Figure-04: Political Affiliations of Respondents**

Table-04 and Figure-04 disclosed that among the 200 respondents 50% of respondents have no political affiliation which scored position in the study highest number. Another 50% of respondents showed their political affiliation where 26% of respondents are supporter, 14% of respondents are worker 10% of respondents are leaders of the parties.

### 2.10.5 Respondents Category of Gender

The respondents' gender pie is given below:



**Figure-05: Respondents Category of Gender**

The rationality to choose the gender ratio in Male: Female= 70%: 30%, causes of females were reluctant to answer, low rate of female persons unwillingness to interview. This sampling was the purposive sampling and most of the statements are not rely on attitudes driven by sex behavior rather than knowledge about political parties.

### **2.11 Qualitative Study Design**

Besides quantitative survey qualitative techniques were followed primarily to collect in-depth analytical information from selected respondents. Qualitative methods were given relative importance for grand narrative analysis on political parties.

Besides this, some qualitative information from survey questions also used for the betterment of qualitative study. In-depth interview of politicians, students, teachers, and civil society member's opinion is covered in the study.

## **Chapter Three: Conceptual Discussion**

### **3.1 Introduction**

Political parties have been subjected, in democracy, to analyze their activities, leadership, influence, policy outcome, and foreshadow impact to the social scientists. Since the proposition of Samuel P. Huntington's the Third Wave of Democracy, the reverse wave's declined with the demise of Soviet Russia, then it became a core issue being analyzed of party's leadership, domination, patron-client relations and partisan devise. On the other hand,

leadership transformation and regime analysis with the issue of elite power structure creates new dimension of political parties and their leadership hierarchy. This study followed a conceptually grounded investigation of three major political parties in Bangladesh to find out factors that hindering institutionalization of democracy and democratic practices within political parties. The family dominance on political parties is a nexus of machine politics in transitional societies and consolidating democracies. In Bangladesh, political leadership, by and large, controlled and came through a subjected hegemony of family legacy which had articulated by the propositions of Huntington and Robert Dahl at large. In contrast to that, patrimonial political system has legitimated the coercive power of leadership Max Weber which also created a single person authority that slightly reflects in Bangladeshi polity. This chapter explores the conceptual understanding and grounds for analyzing party's activity, leadership and dominance at large.

### **3.2 Dominance**

Dominance is a kind of power, and usually social power that is, power over other people. It involves imbalances or asymmetries in power. The English dominance came from the Latin *dominus*. A dominus is a master, and mastery represents an apex of power. Masters usually have all but complete control over how their slaves will act or over the conditions in which they act. As a result, the master-slave relation is often treated as the most obvious case of domination.<sup>19</sup> Dominance contests a critical component of determining the leadership of social hierarchies across a wide range of classes. Dominance has many forms. Traditional Roman republicanism recognized a distinction between emporium and dominium-domination by the state contrasted with domination by private parties.<sup>20</sup> In contrast to this classical proposition, domination has many versions and dimensions related to the modern concept of state and leadership which is also subjected destination of family dominance covenant.

### **3.3 Family Dominance**

A family as a set of individuals bound by proximate ties based on blood, marriage, ancestors or successors being the relationship of, straightforwardly, family. Family Dominance has played a significant role throughout Political history. The ongoing existence and prominence convey a level of inequality in access to political influence that has spanned the social history. The existence of dynasties in politics brings into question the legitimacy of the

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<sup>19</sup> Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy ( Retrieved on July 25, 2019 <https://stanford.io/33cHZEE>)

<sup>20</sup> Ibid

country's democracy and democratic institutional consolidation. The democratic dynasties which indicates family dominance is a modern phenomenon, distinguished from traditional aristocracies in one key respect: their dependence on the electoral endorsement.

### 3.4 Political Party

Political parties have been the themes of analysis to political scientists for a long time. Simply political party is a group of people who get together to contest elections and hold power in the government. Political parties have a special importance in democracy because during the elections they create consciousness among the voters. As Schattschneider has stated modern democracy is unthinkable save in terms of political parties.<sup>21</sup> Other scholars have put forward similar arguments that parties are inevitable and no one has shown how representative governments could work without them.<sup>22</sup> Some scholars defined political parties as inevitable in the parliamentary and presidential form of governments.

According to the Constitution of Bangladesh, the political party “includes a group or combination of persons who operate within or outside Parliament under a distinctive name and who hold themselves out for the purpose of propagating a political opinion or engaging in any other political activity.”<sup>23</sup> The key features of a political party include that it is an organized group of citizens who profess to share the same political views<sup>24</sup>, endeavors to make the determinant of the government,<sup>25</sup> has the purpose of making nominations and contesting elections in the hope of gaining control over governmental power through the capture of public offices and the organization of government<sup>26</sup>, seeks to control the governing apparatus by legal means, is organized to gain control of government in the name of the group by winning election to public office.<sup>27</sup> Furthermore, strong political parties are essential for sustaining democracy, as they have quite a lot of important functions to the government.<sup>28</sup> The scholars, who highlight the role of political parties in democracy promotion, underscore the importance of intra-party democracy. Their arguments are relatively straight forward: those parties must practice what they circulate that of a party in an autocratic manner and are not

<sup>21</sup> Schattschneider, E. E. *Party Government*. 1942. P. 1

<sup>22</sup> Bryce, L. *On Democracies*. P.18

<sup>23</sup> Article 152, *The Constitution of Bangladesh*.

<sup>24</sup> Robert, N. Gilchrist. *Principles of Political Science*. U.K: Longmans Green and Company, 1921.

<sup>25</sup> MacIver, R.M. *The Modern State*. 2013

<sup>26</sup> Huckshorn, Robert. *Political Parties in America*. Monterey: CA: Brooks, 1984.

<sup>27</sup> Heywood, Andrew. *Politics*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.

<sup>28</sup> Jahan, Rounaq. *Political Parties and Democracy in Bangladesh*. 2014. (Retrieved on August 01, 2019 <https://cpd.org.bd/wpcontent/uploads/2014/05/Political-Parties-and-Democracy-in-Bangladesh-Centre-for-Policy-Dialogue-CPD.pdf>).

inclusive, it can hardly be expected to nurture these values outside. To measure the state of intra-party democracy, a number of indicators have been identified. These include, among others, the processes of leadership selection, candidate nomination and policy setting. Political parties generally perform some key tasks: transfer public opinion from citizens to government; to pressurize the government to ensure public manifesto; playing a major role in political elections at local and national levels, and creating public feelings giving them different hopes to ensure social and economic stability; aggregating and articulating needs and problems as identified by members and supporters; political education to voters and citizens in the functioning of the political and electoral system and the generation of general political values; include and consider public views into general policies; respecting opposition parties' demands and converting them into general policies; strengthening power of local government to ensure good governance.<sup>29</sup>

### **3.5 Political Democracy**

In politics, democracy is one of the most popular ideas of the twenty-first century. The type, nature, and working of democracy may vary from country to country. Nevertheless, democracy essentially requires some common pre-requisites, which ensures that the ruling authority is based on popular mandate and remains accountable to the people.<sup>30</sup> Robert Dahl proposed that political democracy must have eight institutional guarantees<sup>31</sup> as Freedom to join and form organizations; right to vote; freedom of expressions; eligibility for public offices; right of political leaders to compete for supports and votes; alternative source of information; free and fair election; and institutions for making governmental policies dependent on votes and other expression of preferences.<sup>32</sup>

### **3.6 Role of Political parties in Consolidating Democracy**

Political parties are the gatekeepers and the measuring political barometer for indicating the degree and effectiveness of the practice of democracy and establishing good governance.<sup>33</sup> Parties are one of the key factors of a stable political system in a country. It has been argued that political parties remain dominant in structuring the electoral process,

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<sup>29</sup> Rahman, Saidur. *Institutionalization of Democracy in the Political Parties in Bangladesh*. P.41 (Retrieved on 15 July 2019, [www.northsouth.edu/newassets/files/ppg-research/ppg-1st-3rd-batch/119\\_Institutionalizationofdemocracy](http://www.northsouth.edu/newassets/files/ppg-research/ppg-1st-3rd-batch/119_Institutionalizationofdemocracy))

<sup>30</sup> Iftekhharuzzaman, Rahman. Transition to Democracy in Bangladesh Issues and Outlook. *BISS Journal* 12, no.1, 1991. P. 97

<sup>31</sup> Dahl, R. *Democracy and Its Crisis*. U.S.A: Yale University Press, 1989. p.72

<sup>32</sup> Ibid

<sup>33</sup> Islam, Md. Sahidul. Akram, M. Shahzada. Rossette, Juliet. Sharmin, Nahid. *Governance and Integrity in Election Manifestos of Political Parties in Bangladesh*. Dhaka: September 2018, TIB Working paper.

governing and the 'symbolic integration' of citizens into the democratic process in the effort to consolidate new or recent democracies even though political parties are only one of three generic types of intermediaries between the citizen and the state- parties, interest groups and social movements.<sup>34</sup> It has been also argued that democratic government is unlikely and may not be possible in the absence of competitive political parties<sup>35</sup> and thus political parties are indispensable. Certainly, there is a widespread assumption that parties play or can play a crucial role in democratic consolidation.

### 3.7 Political Parties in Bangladesh

Just after the independence of Bangladesh the most popular party, AL, dominated the scene.<sup>36</sup> During the next 20 years there has been a proliferation of political parties. In the 2008 general elections, 34 registered political parties contested. In contemporary Bangladesh the major political parties are the AL, BNP, and JP.<sup>37</sup> There are 39 registered political parties contested in the 11<sup>th</sup> national election of 2018.<sup>38</sup>

Bangladesh has mostly a fading two-party system, which means that there are two dominant political parties, with extreme difficulty for anybody to achieve electoral success under the banner of another party. The period after the restoration of electoral democracy in 1991 is marked by a two-party system which later evolved into two electoral alliances led by the two major parties. Now, these two alliances represent the two groups of political parties and there are also a number of political parties whose are not so important. According to the Election Commission of Bangladesh, there are forty three registered political parties in Bangladesh.<sup>39</sup> There are another forty three political parties who applied for registration in the Election Commission of Bangladesh.<sup>40</sup> To know the glimpse about the political parties of Bangladesh some key information mentioned below:

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<sup>34</sup> Larry, J. Diamond. Gunter, Richard. (ed.), *Political Parties and Democracy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001. P.71

<sup>35</sup> Crotty, William. *Notes on the study of political parties in the Third world*. The American Review of Politics, Vol. 14. Norman: ARP, 1993.

<sup>36</sup> Bhuiyan, Md. Abdul Wadud. *Emergence of Bangladesh and the Role of the Awami League*. Delhi: Vikas, 1982. P.35

<sup>37</sup> Moniruzzaman, M. Party Politics and Political Violence in Bangladesh: Issues, Manifestation and Consequences. *South Asian Survey* 16(1):81-99, March 2009

<sup>38</sup> Election Commission of Bangladesh (Retrieved on 15 July 2019, [www.ecs.gov.bd/category/national-parliament-election](http://www.ecs.gov.bd/category/national-parliament-election))

<sup>39</sup> Election commission of Bangladesh. (Retrieved on October 2017, [www.ec.org.bd/English/RegisteredPoliticalPartyEng.php](http://www.ec.org.bd/English/RegisteredPoliticalPartyEng.php))

<sup>40</sup> Daily Bhorer Kagoj, 30 October 2017

Name of Political party	Founded	Name of Political party	Founded
Bangladesh Awami League -AL	1949	Bangladesh Sanskritic Muktijot	2000
Bangladesh Nationalist Party - BNP	1978	Bangladesh National Awami Party	1967
Jatiya Party	1986	Jatiya Party-JP	1990's
Bangladesh Somajtantrik Dal	1980	Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal-JSD	2002
Bangladesh Jatiya Party	2001	Gano Forum	1992
Zaker Party	1989	Ganatantri Party	1953
Communist Party of Bangladesh - CPB	1948	Bangladesh National Awami Party - Bangladesh NAP	1957
Bangladesh Muslim League	1976	Liberal Democratic Party -LDP	2006
Progressive Democratic Party - PDP	2007	Revolutionary Workers Party of Bangladesh	2004
Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal -JASAD	1972	Bikalpa Dhara Bangladesh	2004
Workers Party of Bangladesh	1980	Bangladesh Khilafat Andolan	1981
Bangladesh Tariqat Federation	2006	Bangladesh Jatiya Party	2001
Islamic Front Bangladesh	1990	Oikkyaboddo Nagarik Andolon	2004
Bangladesh Kallyan Party	2007	Jatiya Gana Front	1995
Jamiat e Ulama e Islam Bangladesh	1971	Jatiya Ganatantrik Party -JAGPA	1980
Bangladesher Samyabadi Dal	1995	Krishak Sramik Janata League	1999
Bangladesh Muslim League- BML	2013	Bangladesh Nationalist Front	2013
Bangladesh Islami Front	1990	Khelafat Majlis	1989
Islami Andolan Bangladesh	1987	National People's Party	2007
Islami Oikyojot	1990	Bangladesh Khelafat Majlish	1989
Nationalist Democratic Movement-	2019	Bangladesh Congress	2019

Table-05: List of Political parties in Bangladesh<sup>41</sup>

### 3.8 Institutionalization and Family dominance on Political Parties in Bangladesh

Samuel P. Huntington remarked the level of institutionalization of any political system can be defined by the adaptability, complexity, autonomy, and coherence of its organizations and procedures.<sup>42</sup> In a developing democracy like Bangladesh, party system institutionalization based on manufactured political cleavages that feed on founding myths of the nation can be counterproductive in terms of producing and sustaining a liberal democratic system. Instead

<sup>41</sup> Election Commission of Bangladesh. (Retrieved on October 2017, [www.ec.org.bd](http://www.ec.org.bd))

<sup>42</sup> Huntington, P. Samuel. *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968. P.12



of institutional incentives “winner takes all” system has been developed since its re-journey of parliamentary democracy.<sup>43</sup> The party that wins political power through parliamentary election receives relatively unfettered access to state resources and institutions, which contributes to nepotism, politicization of the bureaucracy, and use of law enforcement agencies to persecute political opponents and civil society members.<sup>44</sup> In a word, the winning party enjoys the monopoly of power for the duration of their electoral term; the ruling party and its innermost circle have emerged as the unrivalled centre of political power.

Bangladesh has had a poor tradition of growing leadership through democratic practices in the parties. Instead, the chief of the parties has been elevated to their positions under the aegis of what is an institutionalized dynastic culture. Effectively extending these undemocratic structures of power to the party's level and subsequently as the incumbent ruler at the state level.<sup>45</sup> The concentration of power at the three leading parties has edified these leaders into unquestionable leaders to fellow party leaders and party workers, hence elevating them above all criticism.

Electoral politics has remained largely influenced by family enterprise and identity also. A limited number of families continue to dominate Bangladesh's politico-power landscapes, turning them into dynasties. The major three political parties AL, BNP and JP are compared to dynastic in nature. For the liberal explanation, the study remarked it as a family dominance instead of the dynasty. This dominance basically indicates the power of a few families on major political parties in formulating policies and implementing their wills.

### 3.9 Conclusion

History of the role of the political parties to establish democracy was rich in Bangladesh in 1947, 1971, and 1990. But in recent times the leadership hegemony among parties is leading the country toward an unwanted situation which ultimately eliminates good governance and practice of democracy segment by segment by poisoning slowly.<sup>46</sup> Over a span of more than three decades, Bangladesh's multi-party democracy has turned into the family dynasty, a

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<sup>43</sup>Osman, A.Ferdous. Bangladesh politics: Confrontation, monopoly, and crisis in governance. *Asian Journal of Political Science* 18 (3): 2010. P. 310–33

<sup>44</sup>Ibid

<sup>45</sup><sup>45</sup> Rahman, Saidur. *Institutionalization of Democracy in the Political Parties in Bangladesh*. P.55 (Retrieved on 15 July 2019, [www.northsouth.edu/newassets/files/ppg-research/ppg-1st-3rd-batch/119\\_Institutionalizationofdemocracy](http://www.northsouth.edu/newassets/files/ppg-research/ppg-1st-3rd-batch/119_Institutionalizationofdemocracy))

<sup>46</sup>BIGD Report. *State of Governance Bangladesh 2013: Democracy Party Politics*. 2014.

tendency of political parties where some families control the politics. In the leadership context of Bangladesh clientelism also became a core functional approach of leadership where personal preference based distribution is focused rather quality. To understand the political landscape of Bangladesh later three chapters have focused an overview of three major political parties, democratic practices within parties and leadership choosing process theoretically.

# Chapter Four:

## Overview of Three Major Political Parties

### 4.1 Introduction

Political parties are treated as the eternal vigilant for the participatory democracy. No modern democratic state has been able to do without political parties, and it is intuitive to demand that political parties be ‘democratically ruled’ just as ‘the systems of which they form a part’.<sup>47</sup> As a multi-party democratic country, Bangladesh has a number of political parties that are commonly trying to be active in Bangladesh polity and political system. In this chapter,

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<sup>47</sup> Teorell, J. *A deliberative defence of intra-party democracy*. 1999.

three major political parties are preferred as the area of study to understand the dynamics and political landscape of Bangladesh. These three parties are Bangladesh Awami League (AL), Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) and Jatiya Party (JP). In this chapter, the common and important features of the mentioned three parties described intensely.

#### 4.2 Rational opting three parties

On the basis of electoral performance we can identify the three parties: AL, BNP and JP are the most influential in Bangladesh politics. These parties have a national vote bank as well as a legitimate acknowledgment throughout the country. For the best understanding the performance of these parties in the last five national elections are mentioned below.

<b>National Election</b>	<b>Political Parties</b>	<b>Obtained seats</b>	<b>Votes (%)</b>
<b>Fifth National Election in 1991</b>	AL	88	30.1
	BNP	140	30.8
	Jatiyo Party	35	11.9
<b>Seventh National Election in 1996</b>	AL	146	37.4
	BNP	116	33.6
	Jatiyo Party	32	16.4
<b>Eighth National Election in 2001</b>	AL	62	40.02
	BNP	193	41.40
	Jatiyo Party	14	7.22
<b>Ninth National Election in 2008</b>	AL	230	49.0
	BNP	30	33.2
	Jatiyo Party	27	07.0
<b>Eleventh National Election in 2018</b>	AL	259	76.88
	BNP	06	12.33
	Jatiyo Party	20	5.07

**Table-06: Electoral Performance of Three Political Parties<sup>48</sup>**

#### 4.3 Overview of Three Major Political parties

A total outlook of three major political parties, AL, BNP, and JP are highlighted in this chapter. To unlock the real picture of the these three parties the formation, background, ideology, organizational structure, organizational structure at sub-national level, organizations and front organizations of the political parties, power of the party chief, representation of social diversity, women's representation, representation of minorities, party

<sup>48</sup> Election Commission of Bangladesh and Parliament of Bangladesh

funding, requirement of the membership, support base, factionalism in the parties, inter and intra-party violence of AL, BNP, and JP have mentioned deeply.

#### **4.3.1 Bangladesh Awami League: Formation and Physiognomy**

Bangladesh Awami League (AL) which led the struggle for independence is one of the major political parties in Bangladesh. It is the country's current governing party, after winning a majority in the 2018 parliamentary elections which was criticized by Western actors. The All Pakistan Awami Muslim League was founded in Dhaka in 1949 by Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani, Shamsul Huq, and Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy. Awami League curtailed Muslim from its name to make it a secular-oriented organization in 1953. The party gained massive popular support in East Bengal in 1950s, and eventually led the forces of Bengali nationalism struggle against Pakistani regime. Firstly Awami League played a vital role in language movement of 1952 and United Front Elections of 1954.

The Awami League was the first opposition party in the then Pakistan. At its birth, the party adopted a 42-point program with a special emphasis on the demand for provincial autonomy. Recognition of Bangla as one of the state languages of Pakistan, one man one vote, democracy, and framing of a constitution, parliamentary form of government, regional autonomy and removal of disparity between the two wings had been the major demands of Awami League during the initial stage of the Pakistani rule.<sup>49</sup> During the Ayub Khan Regime Bengali nationalism, as manifested in the 6-points program which was proposed by Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the president of Awami League in 1966. Moreover, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had played an important role as a nationalist leader to propose the demands of East Pakistan's people. By his bold steps, Awami League got popularity before independence. And he also elected three times as the chief of the party. The election manifesto of Awami League for the 1970 national elections integrated the idea of six-point and 11-points program. AL emerged as the single majority party in the Pakistan National Assembly with 167 seats out of a total of 313. But instead of inviting the Awami League to form the government, Yahya Khan resorted to his military machine to suppress the election verdict and the aspiration of the Bangalees. Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the chief of Awami League called a non-cooperation movement in East Pakistan from 2 March 1971. On March 7, Bangabandhu made his historic speech in Race Course Maidan giving a preparation call to the Bangalee nation for an armed resistance movement against the Pakistani ruling classes.

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<sup>49</sup> Banglapedia

He declared: ‘The struggle this time is the struggle for our emancipation; the struggle this time is the struggle for independence.’<sup>50</sup> It is also noticed a large numbers of Awami League members joined the Provisional Government of Bangladesh and Mukti Bahini to fight against the Pakistani army during the Liberation War.

After the victory of Bangladesh, Awami League formed government in 1972. And had started a journey to implement the principles: democracy, nationalism, secularism, and socialism. This was reflected in the framing of the constitution in 1972. Taking the opportunity of the negative developments, on 15 August 1975, a group of disgruntled junior ranked army officers assassinated Sheikh Mujibur Rahman including all his family members in Dhaka. After the assassination of Bangabandhu, Bangladesh was ruled by the army for 15 fifteen years, sometimes directly, sometimes under a civilian cover. During military regimes, AL passed a tough time with factionalism as well as oppression by the ruling government.

In the last years of Ershad’s Regime, it’s again become the important factor in national politics till today. After reintroducing parliamentary democracy AL has formed the government four times by the leadership of Sheikh Hasina. It is notable that Sheikh Hasina is the party chief since 16 February 1981. And she elected eight times as chief of the party through national councils.

#### **4.1.2 Bangladesh Nationalist Party: Formation and Physiognomy**

Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) was founded on 1 September 1978 by former President Ziaur Rahman. The party, since its journey has become one of the most key political parties in Bangladesh. Scholars viewed that BNP was founded to fill up the political vacuum of the country created by the Fourth Amendment of the Constitution in 1975 that banned all political parties except BAKSAL. The main objectives of the party have been, in the words of its founder, the economic development of the country, democratic advancement, national unity on the basis of Bangladeshi nationalism and generation of a spirit of self-reliance of the people.<sup>51</sup> The party is organized up to the grassroots level. It is guided by the National Standing Committee (NSC) at the top. According to the constitution of BNP, there is an executive committee elected by the members of district committees. The district committees

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<sup>50</sup> [www.albd.org](http://www.albd.org)

<sup>51</sup> Mentioned in the beginning of the constitution of BNP

are responsible for organizing committees at the lower levels that are at the unions and villages within the relevant district.

The liberal mindset of BNP for its democratic ideals of re-introducing multi-party democracy also made a good image of BNP. Ziaur Rahman was the chief of the party before brutally assassinated in a coup attempted on 30 May 1981 in Chittagong. Then succeeding chairman of BNP Justice Abdus Sattar was elected President of Bangladesh on 15 November 1981. When Justice Abdus Sattar was ousted by a military coup led by the then army chief H. M. Ershad and martial law was promulgated on 24 March 1982, Begum Khaleda Zia became the chairperson of the party.<sup>52</sup>

In the general election held on 27 February 1991, after the decline of H. M. Ershad in the face of a mass upsurge spearheaded by alliances of BNP, Awami League, and several other political parties, BNP emerged as the single largest party in the Jatiya Sangsad securing 140 seats, and Begum Khaleda Zia became the Prime Minister of Bangladesh. In February 1996, BNP was again elected to state power and Begum Khaleda Zia became the Prime Minister for the second time. During this BNP lead parliament, the caretaker government system was introduced for the smooth and peaceful transition of power. In the general election held on 01 October 2001, BNP secured 193 seats out of 300 in the Jatiya Sangsad, and Begum Khaleda Zia once again became the Prime Minister of Bangladesh. BNP's nominee Begum Khaleda Zia re-introduced the parliamentary system of government in 1991. After the general elections of 12 June 1996 and 29 December 2008, chairman of BNP served and has been serving as leader of the opposition in the Jatiya Sangsad.

According to historical experience it is noticed that BNP introduced multi-party system in the country in 1979 under the leadership of President Ziaur Rahman; BNP again restored democracy in 1991 after the decline of military ruler H. M. Ershad and introduced parliamentary system of Government, with consensus of other political parties and in 1996 BNP introduced the caretaker system of government for smooth and peaceful transition of power.<sup>53</sup> BNP is now again struggling to restore the non-party neutral caretaker system to open the path of democracy, through ensuring free and fair election. Thus, the story of BNP has become the history of democracy in Bangladesh, according to the constitution of

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<sup>52</sup> Banglapedia

<sup>53</sup> Banglapedia

BNP.<sup>54</sup> The party has participated in the pro-democracy movement in the 1980s, and with the exception of the tenth parliament, the BNP has participated in all elections to the national parliament since 1991.

#### **4.1.3 Jatiya Party: Formation and Physiognomy**

The Jatiya Party (JP) is a political party in Bangladesh established by former President Hussain Mohammad Ershad on 01 January 1986. He occupied the power by a bloodless coup on 24 March 1982 and ruled the country as chief martial law administrator till December 1983. Political parties and activity had been prohibited during the state of emergency when Justice A. F. M. Ahsanuddin Chowdhury was appointed President of Bangladesh. Firstly a party named Jatiya Front was formed with the combination of a group of leaders from BNP under Shah Aziz, factions of Janadal and Muslim League, the Ganatantri Dal, United Peoples Party. Finally, as a successor of Jatiya Front, Jatiya Party was formally launched on 1 January 1986. And H. M. Ershad became its chairman.<sup>55</sup>

In 1986, Ershad organized a national election where five parties of the 15-party alliance and the 7-party alliance led by BNP boycotted the election. In the elections held on 7 May 1986, JP secured 153 seats and AL got 76 seats. The fairness of the elections was questioned and allegation of malpractices was raised both nationally and internationally. Because of strikes and protests by the oppositions Ershad again another election on 3 March 1988 where JP secured 251 seats, while about all political parties, including BNP and Awami League, boycotted the election.

In the face of the mass movement against him in 1989, President Ershad declared a state of emergency in the country. Finally, Ershad felt compelled to resign in December 1990. He formally handed over power to the Acting President, Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed on 6 December 1990. In the elections held on 27 February 1991, JP emerged as the third party by securing 35 seats in the parliament. JP also secured 32 seats in the 7<sup>th</sup> national election under the caretaker government. In the period of 1997-2000 this party faced a crisis on leadership which prompted the rift of JP. And finally, Jatiya party divided into three fractions headed by H. M. Ershad, Anwar Hossain Manju, and Naziur Rahman Manju.

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<sup>54</sup> [www.bnpsbd.org](http://www.bnpsbd.org)

<sup>55</sup> Preamble of the constitution of Jatiya Party



In the general elections of 2001, the Ershad group of the Jatiya Party won 14 seats. Till death of H. M. Ershad JP was led by him and this is the great part of ruling Awami League leaded allies. Namely, Ershad’s Jatiya Party is also the parliamentary opposition party with the leadership of Rousan Ersahd in the running parliament. It is notable mention that JP has a great supporter in the northern region of the country.

#### 4.4 Key features of three Political Parties

To understand the dynamics of three political parties we briefly discuss the major features of the three influential political parties for the present study. We look at party ideology, organizational structure, leadership, membership, support base, and factionalism. Similarities and differences are also highlighted here. I have attempted to analyze the party functions on the basis of party constitutions also.

##### 4.4.1 Party Ideology and Manifestation

The constitutions of the three major political parties specify certain ideological principles and goals. The ideological principles and goals represent their political orientation. We discuss here the evolution and changes of the ideological principles over time for each of the parties.

 <p><b>Awami League</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bengali Nationalism</li> <li>• Democracy</li> <li>• Secularism</li> <li>• Socialism</li> </ul>	 <p><b>Bangladesh Nationalist Party</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bangladeshi nationalism</li> <li>• Democracy</li> <li>• Free market economy</li> <li>• Preserve the teachings of Islam, religion of the majority and other religions</li> </ul>	 <p><b>Jatiya Party</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Independence and sovereignty</li> <li>• Islamic ideology and freedom of all religions</li> <li>• Bangladeshi nationalism</li> <li>• Democracy</li> <li>• Social progress and economic emancipation</li> </ul>
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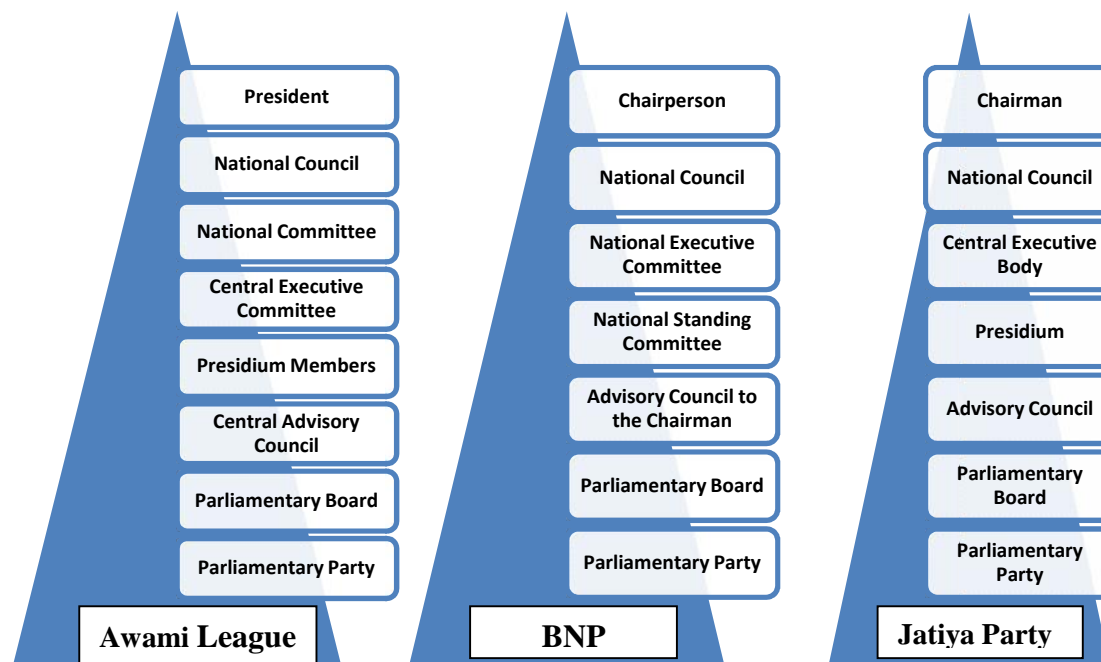
Table-07: Ideologies of the Political Parties<sup>56</sup>

##### 4.4.2 Organizational Structure

The organizational structures of the three political parties are not followed properly. Even most of the case organizational structures have crossed the timeline. There are many

<sup>56</sup> Constitutions of the Awami League, BNP and Jatiya Party

similarities in the organizational structure of the three parties. All have a national council that elects a smaller executive body to make key decisions for the party. The elections in these offices are to take place every three years. The organizational structures of the three parties at the national level are briefly described below:



**Table-08: Organizational Structure of Three Political Parties at National Level**

#### 4.4.3 Organizational Structure at Sub-National Level

There are similarities in the sub-national level structures of the AL, BNP and JP. Generally, these three parties followed the structures as go down from the district to Upazila, and union, and from metropolitan to municipal levels.

##### 4.4.3.1 Bangladesh Awami League

The party has several organizational bodies at the sub-national level which include committees at the Zila/district, Upazila/thana, union, ward, metropolitan city, metropolitan thana, metropolitan ward, metropolitan unit, municipal committee, municipal ward and village levels which is mentioned in the articles 29-45 of the constitution of AL.<sup>57</sup> The party constitution specifies that the members of the Zila/district, Upazila, metropolitan city executive committee, metropolitan thana committees are to be elected through councils. The irony is that there is no specific election procedure and practically there is the practice of it. So that many of these

<sup>57</sup> Articles 29-45, The constitution of AL

sub-national level bodies are not constituted on a regular basis and most of the cases Party chief or Central Executive Committee (CEC) declared sub-national committee.

#### **4.4.3.2 Bangladesh Nationalist Party**

BNP will be extended from the ward, primary stage of a union, to national stage. According to article 6 (a) of the BNP constitution, the sub-national bodies include committees at zila/district, Upazila/thana, union, Mahanagar, Pouroshova and word levels.<sup>58</sup>The members of all the sub-national committees are supposed to be elected through the council of the party. But in fact, the practice of these council meetings is rarely organized.

#### **4.4.3.3 Jatiya Party**

The organizational bodies at the sub-national level of the Jatiya Party include committees at gram, union, Upazila, Zila, Mahanagar and municipality levels.<sup>59</sup> These committees are to be elected through the councils of the party. But the council meetings are not regular even irregular.

#### **4.4.4 Associate and Front Organizations**

All three political parties have some associate organizations or front organization. Following the rules of the party registration established by the RPO in 2008, AL now does not list any front organization. It only has the associate organizations. BNP and JP have both front associated organizations. Though recent time both BNP and JP changed their front organizations and sent letter to Election Commission in fact, there is no change in their constitution regarding the articles of front organizations. Now Article 25 (a) of the constitution of AL lists eleven associate organizations.<sup>60</sup> These are Bangladesh Students League, Bangladesh Mohila Awami League, Bangladesh Krishak League, Bangladesh Awami Jubo League, Bangladesh Jubo Mohila League, Awami Swechhashebok League, Jatiya Shramik League, Awami Ainjibee Parishad, and Bangladesh Tanti League. Due to the lack of discipline clashes occurred by these associate organizations often especially in Bangladesh Students League. In addition to organizational weakness and aggressive activities of Bangladesh Students' League (BSL) has earned a negative image for the party as their

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<sup>58</sup> Article 6 (a), The constitution of BNP

<sup>59</sup> Article 9 (a), The constitution of JP

<sup>60</sup> Article 25 (a), The constitution of AL

members frequently indulge in violent activities to grab business tenders in various educational institutions.

BNP has nine front organizations according to their constitution. These are Jatiyatabadi Muktijoddha Dal, Jatiyatabadi JuboDal, Jatiyatabadi Mohila Dal, Jatiyatabadi Samajik Sangskritik Sangstha, Jatiyatabadi Krishak Dal, Jatiyatabadi Swechhashebok Dal, Jatiyatabadi Tanti Dal, Jatiyatabadi Olama Dal, and Jatiyatabadi Matshyajibee Dal. As the RPO prohibits establishment of any organization as an affiliated body drawn from teachers or students of any educational institution or the employees or workers of any financial, commercial or industrial institutions, BNP lists two organizations, Jatiyatabadi Chhatra Dal and Jatiyatabadi Shramik Dal as associate organizations of the party.<sup>61</sup> But these associate organizations are directly controlled by BNP. The committee members are chosen by the BNP chairperson. Similar to the AL, BNP's associated student organization Jatiyatabadi Chhatra Dal (JCD) is frequently engaged in inter and intra-party violence. Newspaper reports indicated that the leadership of the JCD is dominated not by students.

According to Article-24 of the constitution of JP has the seven front organizations which include Jatiya Jubo Sanghati, Jatiya Mohila Party, Jatiya Krishak Party, Jatiya Swechhashebok Party, Jatiya Olama Party, Jatiya Sangskritik Party, and Jatiya Prakton Soinik Party. It has also listed five associate organizations. These are Jatiya Shramik Party, Jatiya Ainjibee Federation, Jatiya Chhatra Samaj, Jatiya Matshyajibee Party and Jatiya Tanti Party.<sup>62</sup> The associate organizations are to operate according to their own constitutions and declarations. At present Jatiya Party's front and associated organizations are not active.

#### **4.4.5 Power of the Party Chief**

Power of the party chief is considered as one of the core standards to evaluate internal democracy within parties. But this study found a huge distance between proclaims of party constitution and practices of political parties have existed among the parties. A patrimonial decision-making process holds in the party without vast trickle-down discussion with members but the consent of Party chief. Though constitutions of all parties provide scope for policy deliberation and debate within smaller key decision-making bodies of the party organizational structure, such as the presidium in AL and JP, and the National Standing

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<sup>61</sup> In a report of Bdnews24.com (Retrieved on November 2017: [bangla.bdnews24.com/politics/article1427770.bdnews](http://bangla.bdnews24.com/politics/article1427770.bdnews))

<sup>62</sup> Article 24, The constitution of JP

Committee in BNP, it is reported that in practice important policy decisions are frequently taken by the party chief. Newspapers and research articles disclosed this scenario several times. Members who are in the top decision-making bodies also played a puppet role in decision making of the parties. Even they have no bold courage to say or criticize the activities of the Party chief.

#### **4.4.5.1 Power of President of AL**

In accordance with the constitution of Awami League, General Secretary as well as National Committee, takes the decisions with consultation of president. As for example, with the order or approval of the President, the General Secretary, at any time, shall be able to summon the meeting of the Bangladesh Awami League Council.<sup>63</sup> In addition, the President of the Bangladesh Awami League shall nominate 26 members in the council session also.<sup>64</sup> Similarly, President of AL has a lot of visible and invisible power which she can apply easily. So the persons of the top decision-making body of AL are compared as symbolic leaders nothing else. It is reported in the several newspapers that in 2010 the parliament formed a special committee to propose necessary amendments to the constitution. The committee members proposed that the CG's tenure should be limited to 90 days and its powers should be restricted. But Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina as the chief of the Awami League did not agree with the committee's recommendations for retaining the CG system. Finally, this committee sent its proposals to the parliament recommending discarding of the CG system. And finally On 30 June 2011 in the absence of the BNP-led opposition, the parliament approved the fifteenth amendment of the constitution which abolished the CG system. Thus a key policy decision regarding the amendment of the constitution appears to have been taken by the AL party chief rejecting the unanimous opinion of the senior leaders of own party.

#### **4.4.5.2 Power of Chairperson of BNP**

According to article 8 (b) of the constitution of BNP, Chairman or Chairperson control, monitor and coordinate all activities of the party and for this she has full authority over national council, national standing committee, national executive

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<sup>63</sup>The constitution of Awami League

<sup>64</sup> Article 18, The Constitution of AL

committee, subject committees and other committees nominated by the chairman and controls, monitors and coordinates their activities.<sup>65</sup> Similarly, Chairman can take punitive measures against the members of above committees; determine responsibilities, power, and duties of officials of the committee and can cancel national executive committee, national standing committee, subject committees and other committees also. Practically party chairman has more power than enunciated in the constitution. Expulsion of the secretary general of the BNP, Abdul Mannan Bhuiyan is the example in this regard. Because Mannan Bhuiyan announced a set of proposals to democratize the party which included setting two terms limits for the position of the chairman and secretary general of the party and organization of a party council meeting to discuss the reform proposals in 2007.

#### **4.4.5.3 Power of the Chairman of Jatiya Party**

The Jatiya Party constitution gives the party chairman more power than in the AL and the BNP. According to article 20 of the constitution of the JP, Chairman can control all activities, discards any organizational committee, forms any committee and coordinate all activities.<sup>66</sup> Practically, Party chairman H.M. Ershad hold more power than enunciated in the party constitution till his death.

#### **4.4.6 Representation of Social Diversity**

Representation of social diversity is being recognized as one of the essential quality of the democratization process that indicates the level of tolerance and respect to the dignity of diversified horizons. In incorporating diversified identities AL and BNP are intended to adopt the numerous policies to integrate background peoples. But JP is still not sincere to incorporate the diverse background people. Noted that presidiums in the AL and JP, and the NSC in the BNP as the highest decision-making body. In these bodies gender ratio, minority's ratios are not properly maintained. It is showed that these decision-making bodies are generally dominated by men, Muslims, and people of higher socio-economic status.

#### **4.4.7 Women's Representation**

The universal franchise especially women voting right came to fore with the wave of modernization and now it is a very burning issue in the democratization process. The stated provision is in RPO article no. 90B (b) (ii) that all political parties must have 33% of women

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<sup>65</sup> Article 8 (b), The constitution of BNP

<sup>66</sup> Article 20, The constitution of JP

in all committees, including the executive committee, before 2020, is a precondition for political parties to be eligible in participating national election.<sup>67</sup> At first stage, when the amendment of RPO 2008 was promulgated, the deadline for achieving this provision was within the year 2012. However, in 2013 Election Commission extended the deadline to 2020. After four years of resetting the target year, still, there is no remarkable visible development in political parties towards increasing women membership in their committees. A report published by Bangladesh Nari Pragati Sangha on November 2016 stated that women representation in AL central committee is 12.33 percent, which is 11.11 percent and 7.69 percent in BNP and JP respectively. At the grassroots level, women representation in the party's committees is barely 1 to 2 percent.<sup>68</sup> It is true that a gradual increase in women's participation in Bangladesh politics, it is still facing a lot of problems in all steps.

#### **4.4.8 Representation of Minorities**

The main leading parties AL, BNP and JP are trying to integrate various minority identities, ethnic groups, social castes, tribal and so on by giving them floor or accessible adjustments in the representation sphere. But its real scenario is not very straightforward to cope with the cultural and psycho-social order in a pseudo-secular society like Bangladesh. The Representation of members from minority communities is not got in the highest decision-making bodies as well as committees of all the political parties. AL, BNP, Jatiya Party each has only one Hindu senior party leader.

#### **4.4.9 Political Party Funding**

Political parties need financial support to carry out their political activities. In recent years the issue of transparency of the party funding has become an important agenda in the discourse of party reforms as people with money are increasingly dominating electoral politics. The sources of political parties' funding should be transparent and accessible to the citizens for the sake of democracy and good governance. But in Bangladesh, the finance, as well as expenditures of political parties, is not transparent because the existence of nomination business and committee business happened that reported in the dailies several times. In addition, rich people are getting the party nominations for elections. The RPO of 2008 introduced some measures to bring transparency in party and election campaign funding. These are Election Campaign Funding, Non-Election Funding. The RPO regulation of 2008

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<sup>67</sup> Article 90B (b) (ii), RPO, Election Commission of BD

<sup>68</sup> A report published by Bangladesh Nari Pragati Sangha November 2016 (Retrieved on December 15, 2017: [bnps.org/national\\_council.html](http://bnps.org/national_council.html))

also established guidelines for parties to receive funds for non-election related expenses such as office rent, administrative costs to run party offices, funds for arranging party programs, councils, and advertisements, etc. The political parties never disclose their funding sources. Though now they have to submit the financial report to EC this not enough to justify. It is an open secret that the members of parliament and well-off candidates of the parties from time to time make their contributions to the party chiefs. Moreover, this has been the main sources of the funding of major political parties including AL, BNP and JP.

#### **4.4.10 Requirement of the Membership**

Membership requirements of AL, BNP and JP are very simple and similar also. A person who is at least 18 years of age, a Bangladeshi citizen and absolute obligee thereby to the party constitution, not against the independence, sovereignty and integrity of the country and not involved in any anti-social and political activities can become a member of Awami League by filling a membership form.<sup>69</sup> In BNP, a person who is at least 18 years of age, a Bangladeshi citizen, not against the independence and sovereignty of the country and not involved in any anti-social activities can become a member of the BNP by filling a membership form.<sup>70</sup> A person who is at least 18 years of age, a Bangladeshi citizen and obligee thereby to party constitution he or she can be a member of the Jatiya Party.<sup>71</sup> The membership fee differs. It is Tk. 5 in BNP, Tk. 10 in AL and Tk. 100 in Jatiya Party.<sup>72</sup>

#### **4.2.11 Support Base of the Political Parties**

Political parties in Bangladesh are formed on the basis of different ideology; for example, there are Islamic parties, communist parties, left-wing and right-wing parties, students-affiliated organizations, and nationalist parties and so on. There are even the same-ideological parties; for example, there are a number of Islamic parties, a number of right-wing parties and nationalist parties. Instead of the presence of religious base and communism base the most popular two bases are secularism and Bengali nationalism supported by AL and Bangladeshi nationalism and liberalism followed by BNP. JP is also following the ideology as like as BNP with greater support from northern districts of the country. AL and BNP have the biggest support across the country. Each of these two parties has covered nearly 30 percent of votes which is observed in the parliamentary elections held in 1991, 1996, 2001 and 2008.

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<sup>69</sup> Article 5, The constitution of AL

<sup>70</sup> Articles 5 (a) and (b), The constitution of BNP

<sup>71</sup> Article 5, The constitution of JP

<sup>72</sup> According to the constitution of the AL, BNP and JP



#### 4.4.12 Factionalism in the parties

Historically, factionalism has become the common characteristics of the major political parties of Bangladesh. In the decade of 1980s breakup of political parties due to factional splintering was very common in the country. Most of the splits took place because of the personal ambitions of leaders either to gain or retain power in absence of proper democracy. The ruling party always sponsored the fragmented groups and incorporated them into ruling parties. It is seen that AL, BNP and JP split several times. The breakaway groups sometimes formed new parties or sometimes kept the name of the original party. In many cases, factional groupings were contained within the party and did not lead to open splits.

Awami League was born by a group of splintering leaders of Muslim League. The intra-party conflicts within the Muslim League reached in peak position in 1949. Then a group leader of Muslim League from East Pakistan established the East Pakistan Awami Muslim League on 23 June 1949 under the leadership of Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhasani. But in 1957, in the council of the AL held in Kagmari, Tangail, Bhasani left the AL and formed another party named National Awami Party (NAP).<sup>73</sup> AL broke up into several groups after the assassination of Sheikh Mujib. A number of leaders left AL and formed new parties at that time. For example, Abdur Rashid Tarkabagish formed Gana Azadi League, M. A. G. Osmani formed Jatiya Janata Party, and Khondaker Mushtaq Ahmad formed Democratic League. During 1975-1978, there were two major factions. One was the mainstream AL led by Abdul Malek Ukil and another one was the BAKSAL led by Abdur Razzaq. Sheikh Hasina assumed party presidency in 1981. After 1981 Sheikh Hasina gradually succeeded to gain absolute control over AL though Dr Kamal Hossain left AL and formed a new party called Gono Forum in 1982. We observed again factional contestations within AL in the regime of the military-backed caretaker government of 2007-2008. Top leaders of AL Amir Hossain Amu, Abdur Razzaq, Tofail Ahmed and Suranjeet Sengupta proposed democratic reforms within the party which one is renowned as 'Minus Two' formula. But this reformist group failed to mobilize support from the rank and file of the party. Later they all remained within the party and now Sheikh Hasina has led the party with absolute power.

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<sup>73</sup> Ray, Jayanta Kumar. 1968. "Democracy and nationalism on trial: a study of East Pakistan". Indian Institute of Advanced Study. p. 224

Another popular party, BNP did not face any serious factional split during the regime of its founder Ziaur Rahman. But after his death in 1981, the party was divided into two groups, one headed by Abdus Sattar, who was the acting president and the other headed by Shamsul Huda Chowdhury. The Sattar group became the dominant faction when it succeeded in persuading Khaleda Zia to become first a senior vice chairman, and later the party chairman in 1984.<sup>74</sup> In 1996, there was a factional split in the BNP when K M Obaidur Rahman left the party and formed Janata Dal. Similarly, in the period 2001-2006, a group of senior leaders left the BNP and formed the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) and the Bikalpadhara Bangladesh. BNP also faced a critical time during the 2007-2008 period. On that time BNP was divided into the reformist versus the pro-Khaleda groups. The reformists were led by Mannan Bhuiyan, secretary general of the party. He lost his position before being arrested Khaleda Zia in 2007. Though no formal splits took place factional groupings have continued to persist within the BNP, but it is alleged that present AL govt. tried several times to split BNP.

The splitting tendency was also observed in the JP. This party faced serious factionalism in 2000. On that time JP divided into three groups one is led by H.M. Ershad, another one is by Anwar Hossain Manju and Bangladesh Jatiya Party led by Naziur Rahman Manzur. It is also seen that one kind of splinting situation in 2014 national elections where the Party chief declared that the JP would not participate in the election. But a portion of the party under Rowshan Ershad opposed this declaration of the party chief and participated in the national election of 2014. For this reason, Rowshan, Ershad's wife, became the leader of the opposition. In 2017, H. M. Ershad formed a 58 party grand alliance of its own. Of the 58 parties, only JP and Bangladesh Islamic Front have registration with the election commission as of 2017.<sup>75</sup>

#### **4.4.13 Inter and Intra-Party violence**

Newspapers reported that Bangladesh Politics has been criminalized over the last three decades resulting multi-level political violence. It is a matter of great sorrow that this violence has become an integral part of our politics. There is not only widespread inter-party violence; more significantly intra-party factional conflicts often claim more victims than

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<sup>74</sup> Ahmed, Mahiuddin (2016). BNP: Somoy-Osomoy. Prothoma. pp. 121-122

<sup>75</sup> News in Gulf Times (Retrieved on December 10, 2017: [www.gulf-times.com/story/547216/Ershad-announces-58-party-alliance](http://www.gulf-times.com/story/547216/Ershad-announces-58-party-alliance))

those between parties. It is notable that violence occurred vastly in the year of national elections. A statistical table on inter-party and intra party violence mentioned below:

Political Parties	2002-06			2007-08			2009-13		
	Incidents	Injured	Killed	Incidents	Injured	Killed	Incidents	Injured	Killed
AL-BNP	522	11427	118	24	370	7	711	9834	131
AL-JP	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	162	-
AL-JI	42	391	07	5	58	-	42	400	10
BNP-JP	5	39	-	-	-	-	2	25	1
BNP-JI	134	724	8	-	-	-	8	127	1
AL-BNP-JI	8	150	7	-	-	-	17	206	-
Others	34	968	17	3	7	-	33	462	22

**Table-09: Inter-Party Violence between 2002-2013<sup>76</sup>**

Table-09 illustrated the incidences of inter-party violence from 2002 to 2013. This information is being regularly documented by Ain o Salish Kendra (ASK), a leading human rights organization in Bangladesh. It is notable that the incidence of inter-party violence is higher between the two main parties, AL and BNP compared to other parties. And this violence occurred violently in the year of elections.

On the other hand internal conflicts in the ruling party have become common in recent times. Most of the incidents of extortion, capturing tender bids, criminalization in educational institutions and illegal occupation of hostels in colleges and universities have been perpetrated by the front organizations of the parties.

It is notable that the incidence of inter-party violence is higher when a party is in power than when it is in opposition.

<sup>76</sup>Information Desk, Ain O Salish Kendra (ASK)<sup>76</sup>

Year	Killed in intra-party clash			Injured in intra-party clash			Total number of incidents of intra-party clash		
	Awami League	BNP	Others	Awami League	BNP	Other	Awami League	BNP	Others
2015	40	2	0	3884	157	12	364	11	1
2014	43	2	0	4247	397	119	374	39	6
2013	28	6	0	2980	1592	68	263	140	3
2012	37	6	0	4330	1619	47	382	146	5
2011	22	3	1	3770	1234	20	340	104	4
2010	38	7	9	5614	1146	60	576	92	9
2009	38	2	0	6092	865	0	663	75	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>30917</b>	<b>7010</b>	<b>326</b>	<b>2962</b>	<b>607</b>	<b>28</b>

**Table-10: Intra-Party Violence between 2009-2015<sup>77</sup>**

This table illustrated the clashes of intra-party violence from 2009 to 2015. This information is being regularly documented by Odhikar, a leading human rights organization in Bangladesh. It is notable that the incidence of intra-party violence has mostly occurred among the ruling party activists.

#### **4.5 Conclusion**

There is no doubt that the political parties of Bangladesh have a positive image for their contributions in our nationalist struggles of emancipation. But the institutionalization of political parties is still a so far matter that disclosed after analyzing the features of main parties. Most of the parties, it may be the large or small, secular or nationalist, represent a contradictory image of the politics in strengthening democracy in the country. The parties have also fallen short in translating democratize promise into actual practice. The proper representation of minorities and women is still a far reach matter also. There is no proper system of incorporating party members, fund management and nomination selection for elections. On the basis above overview, it may be said that though the electoral parties' maintained an organizational structure at the national and sub-national levels but all the parties are organizationally weak and single person controlled.

<sup>77</sup> Documentation of Odhikar(2009-2015), a human rights organization in Bangladesh

# **Chapter Five:**

## **Democratic Practices within Three Major Political Parties**

### **5.1 Introduction**

Democratic practices and participatory culture must be revived within the political parties in order to achieve transparent and stable democratic governance. But in Bangladesh, every

political party, popular or unpopular, big or small, in or out of power, talks about democracy incessantly into practice parties voted into power to strengthen democracy have all failed to encourage its values.<sup>78</sup> The irony is that there is a serious lacking of democratic practices within the parties in Bangladesh.<sup>79</sup> In this chapter, the study focused on democratic practices within three main political parties, AL, BNP, and JP according to their party constitution. A glimpse description of party councils of mentioned parties is also highlighted. Similarly, the selection of party leaders, power of party chief, and mindset of party leaders are described here.

## 5.2 Democracy within Political Party

Democracy within a political party means intra-party democracy. Intra-party democracy is usually known to nurture citizens' political competencies and to produce more capable representatives which in turn ensure that the party produces better policies and political programs.<sup>80</sup> Scholars told that the primary democratic function of political parties is to maintain the relation of the citizens with the government. For best effect of this role, political parties have to provide opportunities for participation and involvement by party members, activists, and leaders in the party's decision-making process. Gauji, Anika told that intra-party democracy also encourages political equality by creating a level playing field in leadership or candidate selection and policy development within the party; ensures popular control of government by extending democratic norms to party organizations such as transparency and accountability; and it improves the quality of public debate by fostering inclusive and deliberative practices within parties.<sup>81</sup>

Despite the increased concentration by the scholars, there is some debate on the question of what internal party democracy entails in real-world politics. Though it requires openness and inclusiveness as well as voice and participation, some scholars emphasize the participation of lower party structures and party members in party decision-making processes.<sup>82</sup> A group of scholar also argues that democratic internal party procedures will strengthen the overall

<sup>78</sup> Ahmed, Moudud. *Democracy and The Challenge of Development: A Study of Political and Military Intervention in Bangladesh*. Dhaka: UPL, 1995. P. 364

<sup>79</sup> Karim, Rezaul. *Party Constitution Followed the Daily Star 13th Anniversary Issue*. 2004. (Retrieved on July 14, 2019: [www.thedailystar.net/supplements/ann:2004](http://www.thedailystar.net/supplements/ann:2004))

<sup>80</sup> Hallberg. *Methods of Promoting Internal Democracy in Political Parties*. 2009. (Retrieved on July 15, 2019: [www.aceproject.org/electoral-advice/archive/questions/replies/110615365](http://www.aceproject.org/electoral-advice/archive/questions/replies/110615365))

<sup>81</sup> Anika, G. *The comparative analysis of intra-party democracy regulations*. 2006.

<sup>82</sup> Croissant and Chambers. *Democracy Under Stress: Civil-Military Relations in South and Southeast Asia*. 2010. P. 196-197

democratic culture.<sup>83</sup> Because it is a ‘virtuous circle’ linking citizens to government, benefiting the parties that adopt it, and more generally contributing to the stability and legitimacy of the democracies in which these parties compete for power.’<sup>84</sup>

### 5.3 The RPO Guidelines for the Political Parties

In Bangladesh, the 2008 RPO has established certain rules and regulation which the political parties registered with the EC need to fulfill in order to contest in the national election. Some of these rules are designed to promote internal democracy within parties. These include mandating election for leadership selection, establishing a goal of 33 percent women in all organizational committees and nomination of candidates from the grassroots of the party. In addition, to the RPO, party constitutions also provide for steps which aim to ensure intra-party democracy. According to article 90B (1) (a) of the RPO, a political party seeking registration with the EC has to fulfill one of the following conditions:

- It has secured at least one seat with its electoral symbol in any parliamentary election held since the independence of Bangladesh.
- It has secured 5 percent of the total votes cast in the constituencies in which its candidates took part in any of the aforesaid parliamentary elections.
- It has established a functional central office, by whatever name it may be called with a central committee to coordinate the party organization at various administrative levels in the country, district offices in at least one-third of the administrative districts in the country, offices in at least 100 Upazilas or metropolitan thanas having a minimum number of 200 voters as its members in each of them.<sup>85</sup>

In addition, a political party is not qualified for registration if:

- The party constitution is found to be contrary to the constitution of Bangladesh.

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<sup>83</sup> Amundsen I. “Donor support to political parties: Status and principles.” Report R 2007:6. Bergen: Chr. Michelsen Institute. 2007.

<sup>84</sup> Scarrow S. “Political Parties and Democracy in Theoretical and Practical Perspectives: Implementing Intra Party Democracy.” Washington: NDI. 2005.

<sup>85</sup> Article 90B (1) (a) of the RPO. RPO Amendment Order Act, 2009. (Retrieved on 14 September, 2017: [www.ecs.gov.bd/ MenuExternalFilesEng/262](http://www.ecs.gov.bd/MenuExternalFilesEng/262) )

- The party constitution has any provision which seeks to discriminate against any person by virtue of religion, race, caste, language or sex.
- The party name, flag, symbol or any other activity threatens to destroy communal harmony or contribute to the secession of any part of the country.
- The constitution proclaims the goal of establishing a party-less or one-party system.
- The constitution has a provision for the establishment or operation of any office, branch or committee outside the territory of Bangladesh.

The RPO also includes some guidelines to promote intra-party democracy. For example a party, desiring to be registered with the EC, has to incorporate the following provisions in its constitution:

- It has to elect the members of the committees at all levels including members of the central committee.
- It has to establish a schedule for reserving at least 33 percent of all committee positions for women including at the central level with the goal of reaching the target by 2020.
- It is prohibited from establishing any organization or body as an affiliated or associated body drawn from the teachers or students of any educational institution or the employees or workers of any financial, commercial or industrial institution or establishment.<sup>86</sup>

#### **5.4 Democratic Practices within Three Parties**

After analyzing literature review it may be told that Bangladesh is neither totally autocratic nor democratic, but incorporate elements of autocracy, dynasty, and democracy. The parliamentary system of democracy was restored in Bangladesh with the elections of 1991. On that time a large number of countries also started the journey of democracy which as known as ‘third wave of democracy’<sup>87</sup> in the world. Since then, the two main parties, AL and BNP have dominated politics of Bangladesh. Similarly, a portion of dominance is also practiced by another political party named JP. There was a period of interlude in 2007-2008 by a military-backed caretaker government that made several political reforms and attempted to reform the politics but this reformation policy failed to bring any qualitative changes because this process considered as ‘minus two formula’ by the people. Undoubtedly this

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<sup>86</sup>RPO Amendment Order Act, 2009. (Retrieved on September 14, 2017: [www.ecs.gov.bd/Bangla](http://www.ecs.gov.bd/Bangla))

<sup>87</sup>A paradigm described in *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*, S. P. Huntington



military-backed caretaker government strengthened the election commission and tried to reduce election-related expenses and violence. But one core reform element failed, namely, it's attempted to remove the dynasties and introduce intra-party democracy by ousting the two party leaders, popularly named the 'minus two formula'.<sup>88</sup>

To understand the practice of democracy we can consider some elements to judge the quality of democracy within the parties: democratic provisions in party constitution, irregular party councils, recruitment in committee and party, selecting party candidates, selection of party leadership, process of setting party policies, organizational position of party secretary, passive membership and confrontational mindset etc.

#### **5.4.1 Democratic provisions in party constitution**

From the party constitutions of the three major political parties in Bangladesh, AL, BNP and JP, it is said that there were no provisions regarding general members' rights and voice. In fact, none of the three constitutions even contained any such section as member rights. In many countries where minorities and women lag behind, party constitutions provide special provisions. For instance, the African National Congress includes a quota of at least one-third in all its structures, whereas the Indian National Congress ensures the reservation of no less than 33 percent for women in the election of the Executive Committee.<sup>89</sup>

Now by the obligations of Election Commission of Bangladesh both AL and BNP are increasing numbers of women in their central executive committee. But JP has no concern in this matter.

On the other hand, neither of the party constitutions explicitly mentioned any special quota system for the minorities. Finally, it can say that when the constitutions are compared to international standards and good practices, these all are lag behind from standard quality.

#### **5.4.2 Party Councils**

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<sup>88</sup> Jahan Rounaq and Amundsen I. *The Parliament of Bangladesh. Representation and Accountability*. Dhaka: CPD-CMI Working Paper 2, 2012.

<sup>89</sup> *Democracy in party constitutions*, Md. Harun Or Rashid. (Retrieved on October 20, 2017: [www.thedailystar.net/op-ed/politics/democracy-party-constitutions-149131](http://www.thedailystar.net/op-ed/politics/democracy-party-constitutions-149131))

In practice, political parties: AL, BNP and JP do not follow their own rules. Council meetings are infrequent in the BNP and JP. In AL, council meetings are more regular but these are more a public show than a forum for democratic competition. Since the beginning, AL organized 20 council meetings. But in recent years there was no election for leadership positions. The top leader of the party is selected without polls because there is only one candidate. Since inception, BNP organized only 6 council meetings. But these are not regular; there was a gap of 16 years between BNP's 4th and 5th council meetings. In BNP council meetings party chairperson also selected without any contest. In JP, 8 councils were held within 32 years of its journey. According to the National Democratic Institute (NDI), the constitution of a political party should typically specify the frequency and procedures of holding its conferences. AL, BNP and JP have the provision of holding party councils in their constitutions. For instance, the constitution of AL and JP clearly mention that the council should be organized every three years. On the other hand this is not mentioned in the constitution of BNP. According to the constitution of AL and JP, the party head will be elected for three years by direct vote of the members of the National Council. But in reality these tenure is not maintained by the parties. Though there is the provision for the election to select party chief in practically there are no candidates except the only one candidate in AL, BNP and JP for last 35 years. Additionally, there are limited voting procedures to select the leaders, including the party head, in a democratic manner. A participatory election with a credible voting procedure ensures that everybody has a chance to be elected. At the sub-national levels, elections for committees are infrequent in the three leading parties.

#### **5.4.3 Recruitment in Committee and Party**

There is no transparent and proper system on the democratic recruitment process including candidate nomination, selection, and voting for parties and executive committees in the political parties of Bangladesh. The recruitment of AL, BNP and JP in the national and sub-national committee is directed under the autocracy of party chief. The provision of nominating members by the party head in the national executive level of AL, BNP and JP further weakens the democratic recruitment process. The accountability means for the national executives of AL, BNP and JP is also completely absent in their constitutions. None of the bodies are accountable to the party members or to the party conference. Additionally, the constitution of AL, BNP, and JP do not provide any independent mechanism to control the body of the national executive also.

#### **5.4.4 Selection of Party Candidates**

It is assumed that the selection of party candidates for various national and sub-national elections implies a degree of internal democratic practices of the party. The established norms of selecting candidates are: through a direct ballot of supporters or nomination of party council. However, in Bangladesh, neither method is being followed rather there is a strong allegation against the parties that the nominations are either distributed based on individual liking-disliking of the party chiefs or sold to aspirants, in most cases to a businessperson. It was noticed in the Dhaka North City Corporation election in 2015, the most two main candidates of AL and BNP respectively were not engaged with the political activities. Though the Article 90B (1)(b)(iv), Representation of the People (Amendment) Order Act 2009, there is no provision as to how the candidate shall be nominated by the parties. The law stipulates that: ‘to finalize nomination of the candidate by the central parliamentary board of the party in consideration of panels prepared by members of the Ward, Union, Thana, Upazila or District committee, as the case may be, of concerned constituency.’<sup>90</sup> However, contrary to the law, we have seen a different practice by the parties who frequently violated 90B. One aspirant of 2008 election from AL claimed that “If present AL nominations are not changed, all the efforts of last two years for eliminating the influence of money from elections will turn futile.”<sup>91</sup> This is also true for the other dominant party BNP.<sup>92</sup> Besides, the nomination-trade and black-money driven election maneuvering are so unchecked that election has turned into a tussle of black-money-magic.

As reported in a local newspaper,<sup>93</sup> prior to on 22 January 2007 scheduled-an election which was cancelled later, the then AL’s nominations in 50 seats were sold for a minimum of Tk. 5 crores, resulting in illegal transfers of huge of money. There are also allegations of illegal inter-party transfers of huge amounts of money prior to the cancelled elections of January 2007. AL allegedly agreed to pay Tk 60-70 crore, of which Tk. 3.5 crores was paid in advance, to bring Ershad’s JP into the fold of the 14-party grand alliance and, on the other hand, the outgoing BNP allegedly offered to pay Tk. 50-60 crore, of which Tk. 2 crores was paid in advance, which had to be returned when the deal failed.<sup>94</sup>

#### 5.4.5 Selection of Party Leaders

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<sup>90</sup> Article 90B (1)(b)(iv), Representation of the People (Amendment) Order Act 2009

<sup>91</sup> *AL men in Ctg, Rajshahi call to review some nomination.* The Daily Star. 22 November 2008. Dhaka.

<sup>92</sup> *BNP constitution, RPO chocked.* The Daily Star. 22 November 2008. Dhaka.

<sup>93</sup> The Daily Prothom Alo. 15 January 2007. Dhaka

<sup>94</sup> Majumder, B. A. *Free and Fair?.* Forum, The Daily Star. Dhaka: February Issue, 2008.

Selection of party leaders is also considered as an important indicator of intra-party democratic practices. Having regularized and inclusive procedures for leadership contests may reduce the chance of intra-party conflicts. Leaders can be selected following various standard methods. In a parliamentary system, there are the formal rules requiring parliamentary groups to designate their own leaders and there are the groups who can pre-commit themselves to a candidate chosen by party council or membership ballot. In Bangladesh, the party president is the supreme authority to take any decision regarding internal party affairs in AL, BNP and JP. Even in many cases, a few parties do not have any real structures at the grassroots from where delegates should be democratically elected. The delegates' selection process is usually yet another demonstration of the politics of personality cults and patronage as opposed to genuine processes of intra-party democracy. The top leaders of especially party chair and general secretary of AL, BNP and JP often interfere in selecting delegates at the grassroots level. They choose candidates for the local council, and these candidates become delegates for party council. As a result, these delegates remain less effective in party council for electing party top leaders. Contrary to these conventional practices, our major political parties barely allowed a succession in the last 35 years period. The ruling party leader Sheikh Hasina has been enjoying her leadership for 39 consecutive years. On the other hand, Khaleda Zia also led the BNP as chief of the party since 1984. Similarly, the third major political party - JP leader H. M. Ershad himself is the founder of his party and hold the party chairmanship since 1986.<sup>95</sup>

#### **5.4.6 The process of setting policies**

Another important indicator of intra-party democracy is the process of setting party policies that help to determine the content of the party's electoral promises and manifesto. NDI suggested in a report that, in the most inclusive of parties, individual party members may be asked to vote on specific party position. But more usually, parties chose the less-inclusive option of asking party council delegates to endorse a set of commitments prepared by a platform committee. It is true that the political parties of Bangladesh not only take a top-down approach as to their policy setting but also its top leaders exercise absolute authority which compares to autocracy in setting the policy direction of the party.

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<sup>95</sup>NDI Report. *Political Parties and Democracy in Theoretical and Practical Perspective: Implementing Intra-Party Democracy*. 2005: National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, Washington. P. 6-10

Only merely a few top leaders have been involved in rare instances; in most cases the party chief of the respective parties determine the policy agenda.<sup>96</sup>

#### 5.4.7 Organizational position of Party Secretary

The power and position of the general secretary of the parties also indicate the decentralization of power among the top leaders. It is seen that there is a difference between the power and functions of general secretary in AL, BNP and JP according to their constitution. The constitution of AL contains a definite article 25 (c) about the General Secretary's organizational position along with his power and functions.<sup>97</sup> Article 20 (4) of the constitution of the JP tells about the power and functions of secretary-general also.<sup>98</sup> But the constitution of BNP contains no specific article regarding the organizational position and, power and duties of the secretary-general.

Constitutionally the general secretary of AL enjoys more power than the secretary-general of BNP and JP. The imbalance of responsibilities and functions between the president and secretary is acuter in BNP and JP than AL. The General Secretary of AL has the right to give advice and order to all departmental secretaries to discharge their functions. He can call a meeting of the Secretaries at least once a month. He, subject to the approval of the executive committee, shall have the right to increase or reduce pay, grant leave and punish the officials of the organization. He shall make arrangements so that the decisions taken by the Presidium, Executive Committee, National Committee, and Bangladesh Awami League, are fully executed through various Departments.<sup>99</sup> With the approval of the President, the Secretary shall be able to summon the meeting of the Council and the Executive Committee or of Presidium Members.<sup>100</sup> Moreover, he shall also apply the powers vested in him by the National Committee or Council. From time to time, the General Secretary, in consultation with the President, shall assign division-wise administrative duties to the organizing secretaries.<sup>101</sup> But in BNP, the secretary-general, according to the advice of Chairman, will approve the Zilla Committee<sup>102</sup> and the Mahanagar executive committee<sup>103</sup>. The Secretary

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<sup>96</sup> Zakaria, S. M. *Democratic Consolidation in Bangladesh: A Reality Check*. IGS Working Paper Series No.16 2013. P. 2

<sup>97</sup> Article 25(c), The Constitution of AL

<sup>98</sup> Article 20 (4), The Constitution of JP

<sup>99</sup> Article 25(c), The constitution of AL

<sup>100</sup> Article 11, The constitution of AL

<sup>101</sup> Article 25(c), The constitution of AL

<sup>102</sup> Article 6, The constitution of BNP

<sup>103</sup> Article 9, The constitution of BNP

with the written advice of the chairman can call a meeting of the national council<sup>104</sup> and the national executive committee.<sup>105</sup> Any member of the national council can bring a proposal to amend the constitution. The general secretary of the JP can perform the activities like: call upon the meeting by the discussion with the chairman, submit the annual report, and takes the step to implement the policies.<sup>106</sup>

#### 5.4.8 Passive Membership

Political parties are considered as the instruments of collective human action, mobilization of social forces and aggregation of diverse interests implies a significant place for party members within its organizational structures, activities, and orientation. Bulbul Hasan,<sup>107</sup> told that the three dominant political parties of Bangladesh become latent except ruling party just after elections. He also told that actually there is no scope to play the role of general members of the parties in the formulation of policies and selection of leadership. Here major three political parties are more creatures of the political elite to control the government and the masses. Consequently, the role of party membership is impassive here. One of the significant challenges to the institutionalization and democratization of political parties in Bangladesh is the lack of organizationally effective party membership. As membership participation in the decision-making process enjoys low priority in the selection process of party secretary.<sup>108</sup>

#### 5.4.9 Confrontational mindset of the leaders

In recent times, the intolerance between two political alliances one is led by AL and another is led by BNP has reached in the peak position. In addition, confrontational activities also found within the party. So that confrontational political climate becomes the common matter in Bangladesh. Due to the confrontational mindset, supporters of two main political parties nourish and preach the incompatible narratives about the history of the liberation war, international relations, religion, and society.<sup>109</sup> In fact, the opposition lawmakers, no matter the party, have boycotted roughly half the parliamentary sittings during 1991-2013. Now in the political climate of Bangladesh a core question is whether elections are to be held under a caretaker government or an electoral commission. The current AL government in 2011

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<sup>104</sup> Article 9 (a), The constitution of BNP

<sup>105</sup> Article 9 (a), The constitution of BNP

<sup>106</sup> Article 20 (4), The constitution of Jatiya Party

<sup>107</sup> Director, News & Current Affairs, ION TV, London, U.K

<sup>108</sup> Shamrat, A. S. *Intra-Party Democracy in Bangladesh: A Study of AL and BNP'S General Secretary*. (Retrieved on September 15, 2019: [southasiajournal.net/intra-party-democracy-in-bangladesh-a-study-of-al-and-bnps-general-secretary-secretary-general-elections](http://southasiajournal.net/intra-party-democracy-in-bangladesh-a-study-of-al-and-bnps-general-secretary-secretary-general-elections))

<sup>109</sup> Hossain, A. *Anatomy of hartal politics in Bangladesh*. Asian Survey 40, 2000. P. 509.

abolished the constitutional provision for caretaker governments, but the BNP wants to return to the caretaker system, fearing an election commission will not be independent. This is an important element of the boycotting parliament election by the BNP. In a word, it can be said that the main two alliances are serious to maintain hegemony through electoral means instead of establishing a sound democracy.

In addition, this study also found that,

- Corruption is strongly practiced in the activities of the political parties. There is a competition for grabbing public resources and in some cases criminalization in the ruling party activists. Consequently, party discipline has started eroding. Factionalism and concentration of power in leadership have created a vicious circle.
- A new class of political musclemen is increasingly evident in leadership positions at the grassroots level. They follow violent means to acquire huge wealth and to establish their political authority and to maintain close relations with the administration and law enforcement agencies. The rise of such elements is contributing to increasing violence between parties and within parties which threaten the sustenance of democracy.<sup>110</sup>

## 5.5 Conclusion

It appears from the above analysis that there has been a noticeable scarcity of democracy within the major three political parties. The political participation of party members in policy formulation and selecting party officials as well as candidates for elections remain very low in our democracy. AL, BNP, and JP are failed to ensure effective membership participation in selecting top leadership in party councils also. The overall finding is that the degree of internal democracy in Bangladesh's political parties is limited. Decision-making, including leadership selection, is largely maintained by a limited number of party elites. This is a very unfortunate journey in the way of democratization process in Bangladesh.

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<sup>110</sup> Jahan, Rounaq. *Political Parties in Bangladesh*. CPD-CMI Working Paper Series: Centre for Policy Dialogue & Chr. Michelsen Institute, 2014. P. 8

## **Chapter Six:**

# **Leadership Choosing Process and Trend**



## **6.1 Introduction**

Political parties have trickle-down hierarchical organizational structures from the national to grass-root level throughout the country. These countrywide structures connect the people with the party as well as the government. To manage these vast accomplices there is a scheme-method to form the structures through councils. Usually, the party president, general secretary as well as several power stakeholders and other members of different decision-making bodies in national and sub-national committees are elected through these councils. In the context of Bangladesh, these meetings are in dubious plank for the demand of democratization in an observatory outline. In this chapter, the leadership selection process from national to sub national, leadership trend and family legacy are highly focused.

## **6.2 Leadership appraisal**

There are some similarities in leadership assessment pattern among major political parties in Bangladesh. It is shown that the supreme party leadership position of three major parties: AL, BNP and JP have been remained unchanged for almost 34 years past. Sheikh Hasina has been the president of AL since 1981; Khaleda Zia has been the chairperson of BNP since 1984; and H M Ershad was the Chairman of JP since the founding of the party in 1986. There has been no challenge to Sheikh Hasina, Khaleda Zia, and H. M. Ershad for leadership positions in their respective parties. They have always been elected unopposed and were given the supreme authority by councils to select others and take any decisions. Along with them their family members also hold a good position in the parties. Thus AL, BNP and JP Party are highly deepened on the three families. On the other hand, there has been the contestation for the second leadership position, so what most of the councils have changed the general secretary or secretary-general of the parties. But these contestations were never determined by secret ballot paper. Rather the person who was favored by the party chief was chosen to as general secretary or secretary-general of the party. The party chief similarly selected members of all other core bodies who are supposed to be elected. Though constitutions of AL, BNP and JP instruct the different leadership positions should be elected through the national as well as sub-national councils. The constitutions and RPO of AL, BNP and JP declare that party leadership selection process will be democratic. According to these party constitutions, the delegates are supposed to be elected by party members at the branch, district, sub-districts or constituency levels. The delegates' national council is described as the highest decision-making organ of the party whose decisions are binding to the party. In practice, these delegates are listed by a few numbers of central leaders. As a result, these delegates remain

less effective in party council for electing top leaders. Here the party chair controls this mechanism through the party secretary and some key leaders. In AL, not only Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's family, but the families of the four national leaders have produced dynastic successors. In BNP and JP, several members of Khaleda Zia and Ershad's families have held various party positions. The constitutions of all the three parties prescribe elections for selecting the leadership of various committees both at national and sub-national levels as mentioned below:

<b>Party Name</b>	<b>Positions or Body</b>	<b>Selection process as in the party constitution</b>
<b>Awami League</b>	President	Election Through Council
	General Secretary	Election Through Council
	Presidium	Election Through Council
	National Council	Election Through Council
	CEC, CWC, CC	Election Through Council
	Advisory Council	Nominated by president
	Parliamentary Board	Election Through Council <sup>111</sup>
<b>BNP</b>	Chairman	Election by council
	Secretary General	Election Through Council
	NEC	Election Through Council
	NSC	Election Through Council
	Advisory Council to the Chairman	Nominated by Chairman
	Parliamentary Board	NSC Members and Leaders from Districts <sup>112</sup>
<b>Jatiya Party</b>	Chairman	Election Through Council
	Secretary General	Election Through Council
	Presidium	Election Through Council
	CEC	Election by Councils and Grassroots' Representatives
	Advisory Council	Nominated by Chairman
	Parliamentary Board	Members of Presidium, but Chairman has special power <sup>113</sup>

**Table-11: Leadership selection guidelines at the national level**

### 6.2.1 Bangladesh Awami League

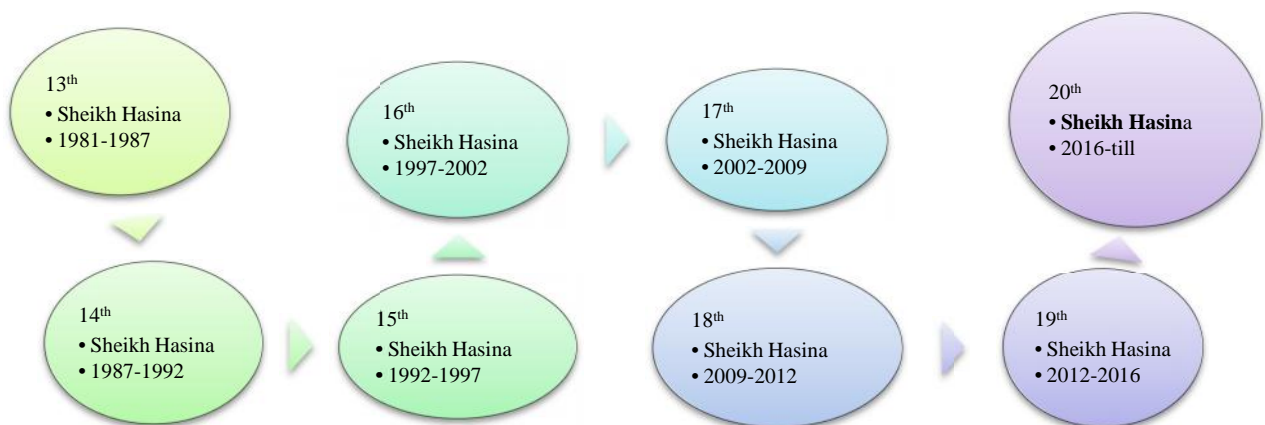
The constitution of AL has clearly declared the party would select the leadership of all the central level committees through elections except for its advisory council. The presidents,

<sup>111</sup> According to the constitution of AL

<sup>112</sup> According to the constitution of BNP

<sup>113</sup> According to the constitution of JP

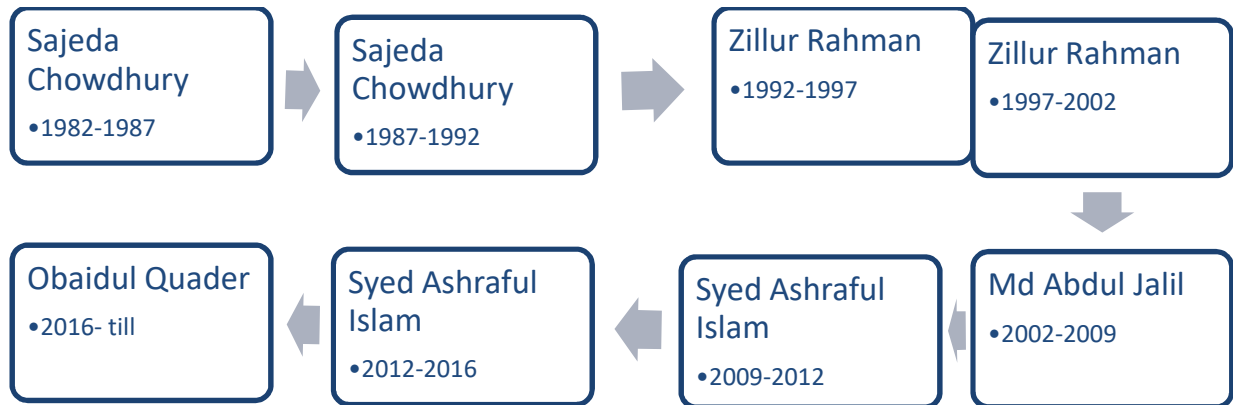
general secretary, all members of the presidium, members of the parliamentary board have to be elected through the councils. However, 21 members out of 166 of the national committee and 26 members out of 73 of the CEC or CC or CWC are to be selected through nomination by the party president. The advisory council is also exclusively nominated by the president.<sup>114</sup> In the early years of the journey of AL, it is witnessed a lively debate over policies and selection of leaders in the councils. But in recent years the council meetings had merely allowed the wishes of the party president. Since the establishment of the party in 1949, AL had elected seven presidents. The current president of AL, Sheikh Hasina, has been in office since 16 February 1981 and she has been elected by eight councils of the AL. On the occasion of the 2016 council meeting, an election commission was formed but as there was no competing candidate for the posts of the president. Similarly, there was no candidate in the post of general secretary. So no election was held and the two positions were voted by acclamation. Through this 20<sup>th</sup> council, Sheikh Hasina again re-elected as the party chief. In this council, AL got a new general secretary Obaidul Quader instead of Syed Ashraf Islam. Just after eight days of council party declared the new central committee.<sup>115</sup> Many newspapers reported that as there was no election, party leaders were found to be lobbying with the party leadership for posts of the central committee. To understand the leadership selection process of AL, a table has mentioned below:



<sup>114</sup> According to the Constitution of AL

<sup>115</sup> *The Daily Janakantha*, October 30, 2016.

The general secretaries of the party are illustrated in passage of time bellow.



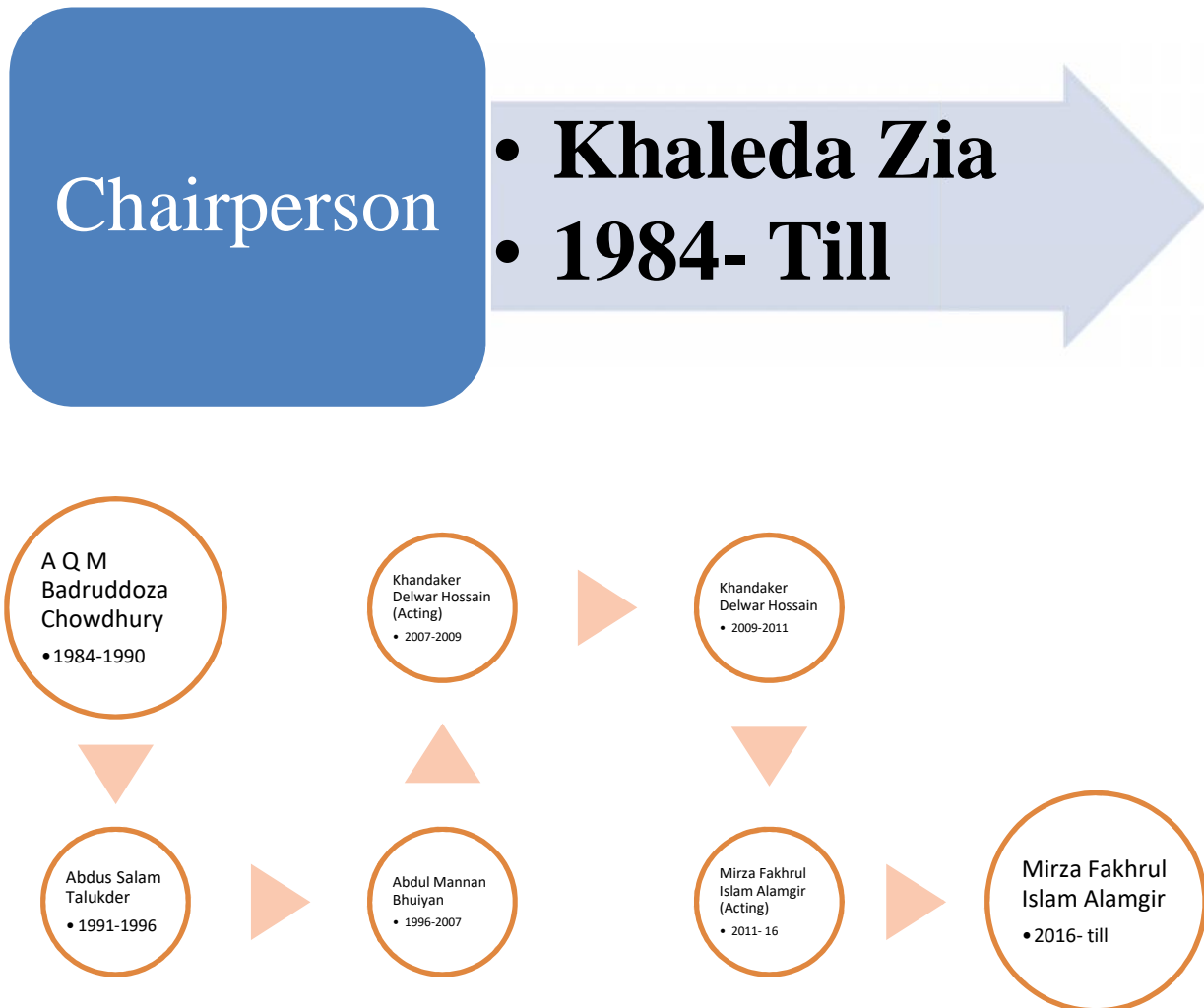
**Table-12: President and General Secretaries of Awami League<sup>116</sup>**

### 6.2.2 Bangladesh Nationalist Party

The constitution of BNP provides for the election of the leadership in all the central level committees except the advisory council of the chairman which is exclusive to be nominated by the party chairman or chairperson. The secretary-general, members of the National Executive Committee and the National Standing Committee and the parliamentary board are to be elected through an election in the national council. Since its founding in 1978, the BNP had three party chairmen. Khaleda Zia had remained as the party chairperson since 1984. BNP is not sincere to organize party council meetings regularly. There was a gap of sixteen years between the last two council meetings held in 1993 and 2009. In the national council of BNP in 2016, BNP too formed an Election Commission, but as Khaleda Zia was the only candidate for the chairman's position, the commission declared her to be the chairperson of the party until the next council meeting. Similarly, Tarique Rahman was declared as the senior vice-chairman of the party, which incorporated in the party constitution in 2009. As expected, the council meeting approved Tarique Rahman to this new position two times respectively. Khaleda Zia, the chief of the party declared a list of names to fill most of the posts of the members of the central committees on 6 August 2016, four months later of the council

<sup>116</sup> List of Presidents and General Secretaries of AL, Department of Publicity and Publication, AL

meeting.<sup>117</sup> There was no election to any of these positions. The list of the chairman and secretary generals of the BNP since 1984 mentioned below:



**Table-13: Chairperson and Secretary Generals of BNP: 1984-2017<sup>118</sup>**

### 6.2.3 Jatiya Party

According to the party constitution, the chairperson and secretary-general of JP are to be elected at the party's national council. While some of the members of the Central Executive Committee are to be elected by the councilors, others, such as the president and secretary of the metropolitan, city and district committees are to be co-opted as ex-officio members of the Central Executive Committee. The members of the advisory council of JP are nominated by the party chairman. The parliamentary board members are to be elected from among the presidium members based on seniority, but the party chairman has the right to defy

<sup>117</sup> According to News of BBC Bangla

(Available at [http://www.bbc.com/bengali/news/2016/08/160806\\_bangladesh\\_bnp\\_new\\_committee](http://www.bbc.com/bengali/news/2016/08/160806_bangladesh_bnp_new_committee))

<sup>118</sup> Information collected from central office of BNP

the seniority rule in order to ensure representation from the various divisions.<sup>119</sup> Compared to AL and BNP the constitution of JP gives more power to the party chairman to select various leaders at the national level. Since the founding of the party in 1986, Party's founder H. M. Ershad, had held the position of the party chairman except for two breaks. During 1991-1997 Mizanur Rahman Chowdhury was the acting chairman and during 2007-2009 AnisulIslam Mahmud was again the acting chairman of the party. The eighth council of the JP held on 14 May 2016.<sup>120</sup> Two months later Ershad included another 251 members of the central committee according to his declaration in the national council. In the last council, he incorporated his wife Rowshan Ershad as the senior co-chairman and his brother G M Quader as the co-chairman of the party. As in AL and BNP, so in the JP, other office-bearers of the party were handpicked by the party chairman also.

<b>Name of the Chairman</b>	<b>Duration</b>
H M Ershad	1986-1991
Mizanur Rahman Chowdhury (Acting)	1991-1997
H M Ershad	1997-2007
AnisulIslam Mahmud (Acting)	2007-09
H M Ershad	2009- till

**Table-14: Chairmen of Jatiya Party<sup>121</sup>**

### **6.3 Leadership Trend and Family Legacy**

Family connections are particularly available in the politics of Bangladesh. The Sheikh Mujib family and the Ziaur Rahman family and H. M. Ershad family are core influential families which can also be considered as imperative power holder in national politics. In the case of AL Sheikh Mujib had been leading AL till his death; now his daughter Sheikh Hasina has been leading the party and till now she is the chief of the party furthermore the prime minister of the government of Bangladesh. It is supposed that Sheikh Rehana or Sajeeb Wazed Joy will be replaced as the party chief in absence of Sheikh Hasina. The Zia family controls another political party named BNP. Former president Ziaur Rahman was the founder of the party and he had been leading it until his death. After his death, Khaleda Zia, widow of Ziaur Rahman

<sup>119</sup> According to the Constitution of the JP

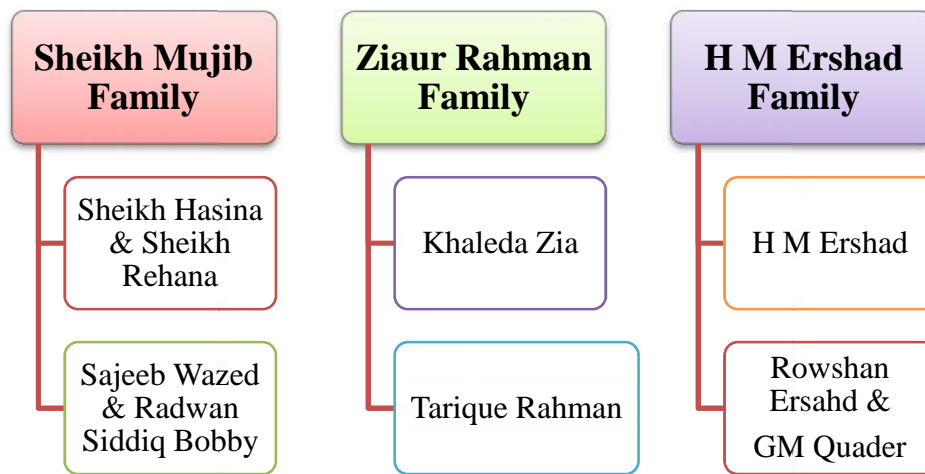
<sup>120</sup> *The Daily Jugantor*, 14 May 2016

<sup>121</sup> Information collected from central office of JP

has been leading the party till now as well as she was the Prime minister for three times. She has appointed her elder son Tarique Rahman as the Senior Vice Chairman of the party, which is considered as the second highest peak in 2009. At the same time, H.M. Ershad is the party chief since the foundation of JP. Since then his kin, his wife Raushan Ershad, younger brother G. M.Quader have played an authoritative role in politics. It is supposed that the future of Bangladesh depends on the generation of the two families one dynasty is Sheikh Mujib-Sheikh Hasina- Sajeeb Wazed another dynasty is Ziaur Rahman-Khaleda Zia- Tarique Rahman. Sheikh Hasina and Khaleda Zia are both very aware of this fact, and have long been grooming their kin to inherit their respective political thrones. Both women are also increasingly using their sons to signal a new era in Bangladeshi politics that will carry on the legacy of their respective political dynasties. As election preparation and violence get underway, Sheikh Hasina recently accompanied in her son, Sajeeb Wazed Joy at many public rallies and meetings. Joy has been more vocal about BNP and the opposition through the social media especially in Facebook fan page and recently makes several political statements. On the other hand, Tarique Rahman, elder son of Khaleda Zia was actively engaged in the party activities for the last two decades. He is the Senior Vice-Chairman and acting Chairman of BNP and said to be in a position where he is formulating the party's policies. Needless to say, all this can be seen as stepping way into the political arena and are signals to the Bangladeshi public of our future leaders. Though H. M. Ershad appointed his wife Rowshan Ershad and his brother G M Quader in the vital posts, there are no such successors like AL and BNP in JP.

There are also many political families in different political parties where leadership positions have been passed down to two or three generations. In AL, Tajuddin Ahmed's widow, Syeda Zohra Tajuddin became AL's convener in 1977. His son Tanzeem Ahmed Sohel Taj inherited his parliamentary seat and won in the seventh and ninth parliamentary elections. After Taj's resignation, his sister Simin Hussain Rimi succeeded him in the same parliamentary seat. Syed Ashraful Islam succeeded his father Syed Nazrul Islam who was the acting president of Bangladesh during liberation war is now his sister is an MP of AL. Similarly Captain Mansur Ali was succeeded by his son S M Nasim, and Nasim was succeeded by his son Tanveer Shakil Joy as MP in his constituency. A. H. M. Kamruzzaman's son Khairuzzaman Liton is the former mayor of Rajshahi City Corporation. The leadership of other parties such as the Bangladesh Jatiya Party and the Bikalpadhara Bangladesh show similar patterns of dynastic and familial politics. Bangladesh Jatiya Party's president Andaleev Rahman Partho is the

son of Naziur Rahman who founded the party. Mahi B. Chowdhury is the son of Former President A. Q. M. Badruddoza Chowdhury who founded the Bikalpadhara Bangladesh. We got also a good connection of political leaders who are active in different parties. As for example Rashed Khan Menon who is the president of the Bangladesh Workers' Party but his sister, Selina Rahman is the vice-chairman in BNP, his brother Enayetullah Khan was a minister in a previous BNP govt. and another brother A Z M Obaidullah Khan was a minister of H. M. Ershad govt. In the basis of assumptions and descriptions as well as respondents perception we can also draw a family trend of the future politics of Bangladesh as like:



**Table-16: Leadership trend of three major political parties**

#### 6.4 Conclusion

The top leadership making process specifically party chief choosing process of the key leading parties are quiet dynastic instead of democratic. Now, this trend has become a tradition of growing leadership. It is an institutionalized dynastic culture of making Party chief that extending the undemocratic structure of power to the party level and subsequently as the incumbent ruler at the state level.<sup>122</sup>Historically, there is a tendency of the peoples of this region to show the blind obedience to superior persons which may contrast with cultism. This cult culture among peoples helps to continue family dominance in the polity of Bangladesh. In addition, Party chief consumes absolute power within the party also. This absolute power has a trickledown effect from top to bottom of the parties that driven the members to choose their leadership by hereditary instead of by giving their consent in selecting leaders.

<sup>122</sup>Chowdhury, Mahfuzul H. *Democracy in Bangladesh*. Dhaka: A. H. Dev. Publishing House, 2012. P. 46



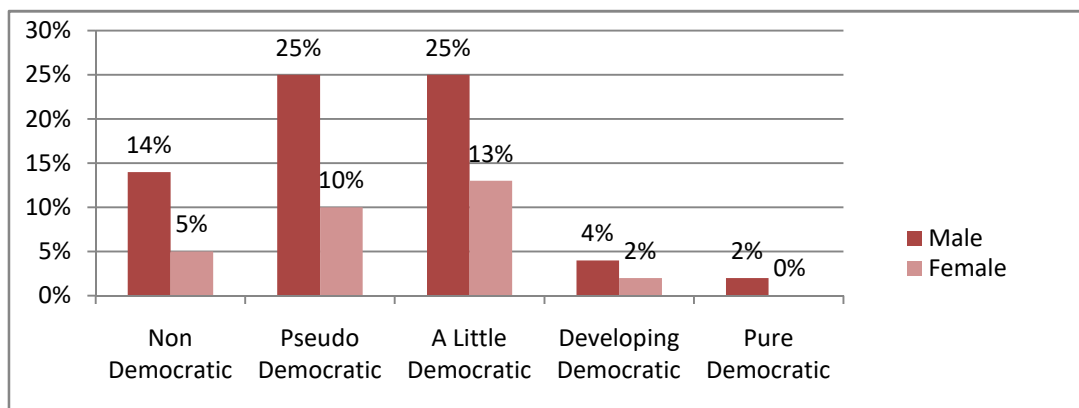
## **Chapter Seven: Data Analysis**

## 7.1 Introduction

Ventilation of opposing views and political controversy were not uncommon in Bangladesh immediately after its independence.<sup>123</sup> This study intended to find out core relationships between democratic consolidation and ongoing practice of parties reaching its destined goal. In order to find out this nexus, some steps and unit of analysis have conducted on the basis of some specific objective oriented academic quest as the evaluation of the state of governance in the country, top power holder choosing process, structural input of power by some prominent individuals or families within the polity. The determining factors that directly or indirectly are causing the dominance of family analyzed based on data collected in two distinct patterns. The data analyzed into the observatory and numerical method justified with the inter-sectional and cross-sectional ground and come to find out several relationships with distinct variables.

## 7.2 Current State of Governance in Bangladesh

The people's observation and response to the current state of governance in Bangladesh as male and female's perception analysis to demarcate the country's profile that defines Pure Democratic, Developing Democratic, A little Democratic, Pseudo Democratic and Non-Democratic. On regard to percentile equilibrium, the response rate also varied. Among the respondents, 38 percent evaluate that state of governance in Bangladesh is a little democratic where 25 percent male and 13 percent female; 35 percent respondents answer was pseudo-democratic where 25 percent and 10 percent were male and female respectively. Another 19 percent respondent's answer was non-democratic where 14 percent male and 5 percent female. In addition, 4 percent male and 2 percent female respondents told that it is developing democratic and only 2 percent of respondents told that it is pure democratic. This study seems that male response to the quest of the democratic profile of the country is more aware.

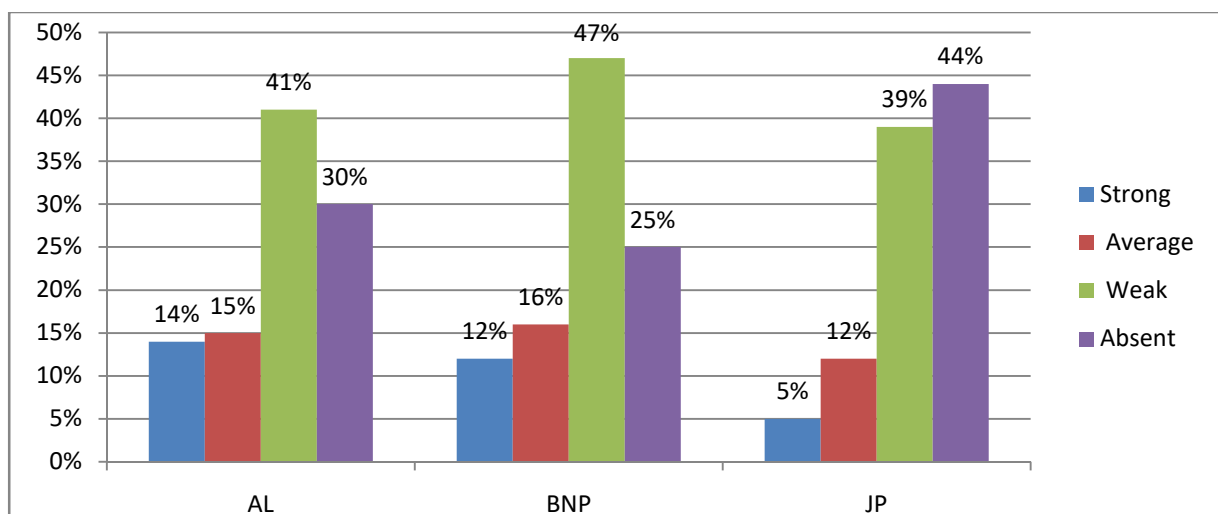


**Figure-06: Current state of governance in Bangladesh**

<sup>123</sup> Hasanuzzaman, Al Masud. *Role of opposition in Bangladesh Politics*. Dhaka: UPL, 1998. P.22

### 7.3 State of Democratic Culture within Party

A democratic culture is a holistic approach coming to decision regarding leadership, electoral nomination, financing programs and even recruitment of the executive bodies. It is also known as the internal practice of democracy within parties in every function. Regarding this context, the secondary sources have several ideas but coming to a valid conclusion needs to cross-check with people's perception. The respondent's observation on the practice of intra-party democracy among the three leading political parties of Bangladesh demarcated as weak and absent. Among the 200 respondents 41 percent respondent think that intra-party democracy is weak in AL and 30 percent think that intra-party democracy is absent in AL; 47 percent respondent expressed that it is weak in BNP and 25 percent expressed that intra-party democracy is absent in BNP; and 39 percent of respondents told that intra-party democracy is weak in JP and 44 percent told that it is absent in JP. Among the respondents 14 percent think that intra-party democracy in AL is strong, 15 percent think that is average. Similarly, 12 percent of respondents expressed that intra-party democracy in BNP is strong, 16 percent of respondents expressed that is average. On the other hand, only 5 percent of respondents told that intra-party democracy in JP is strong, 12 percent told it is average in JP. This study seems the three leading parties have a small practice of democracy within the party where JP has less practice in comparison with AL and BNP. Validation of this observation depends on expert opinion as an interview with *Md. Monirul Islam*<sup>124</sup> stated that the participation of party members and grassroots leaders in policy formulation and selecting party officials remain very low among the political parties that's why intra-party democracy is only a matter of subject not in practice in Bangladesh.

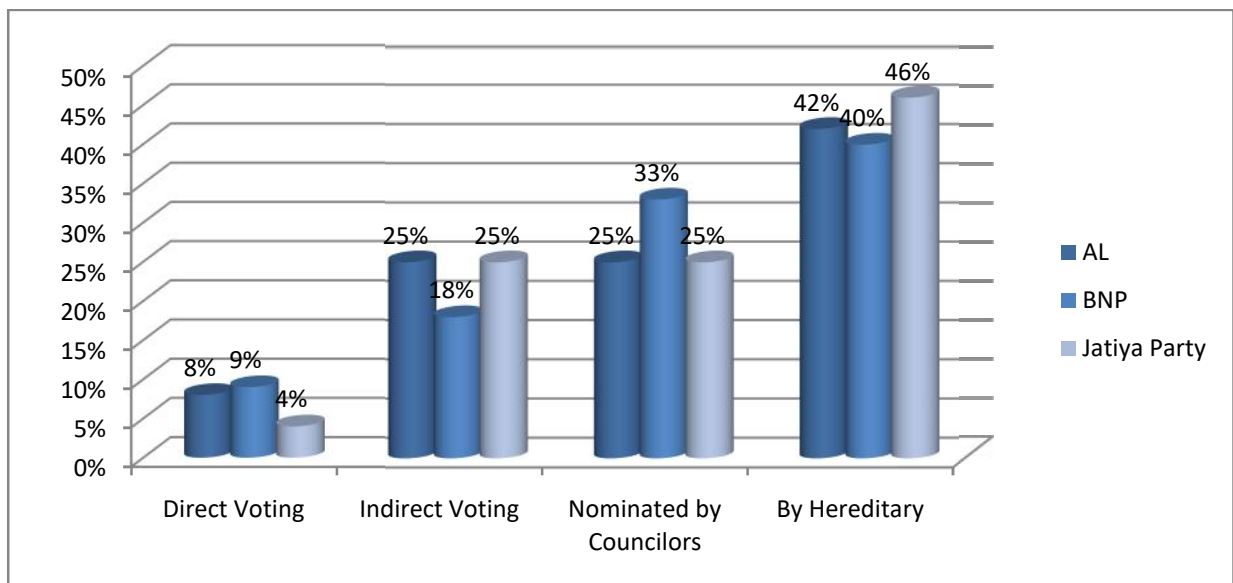


**Figure-07: State of Democratic Culture within Party**

<sup>124</sup>Md. Monirul Islam, Assistant Professor, Bangladesh Institute of Governance and Management

### 7.4 Party Chief Choosing process

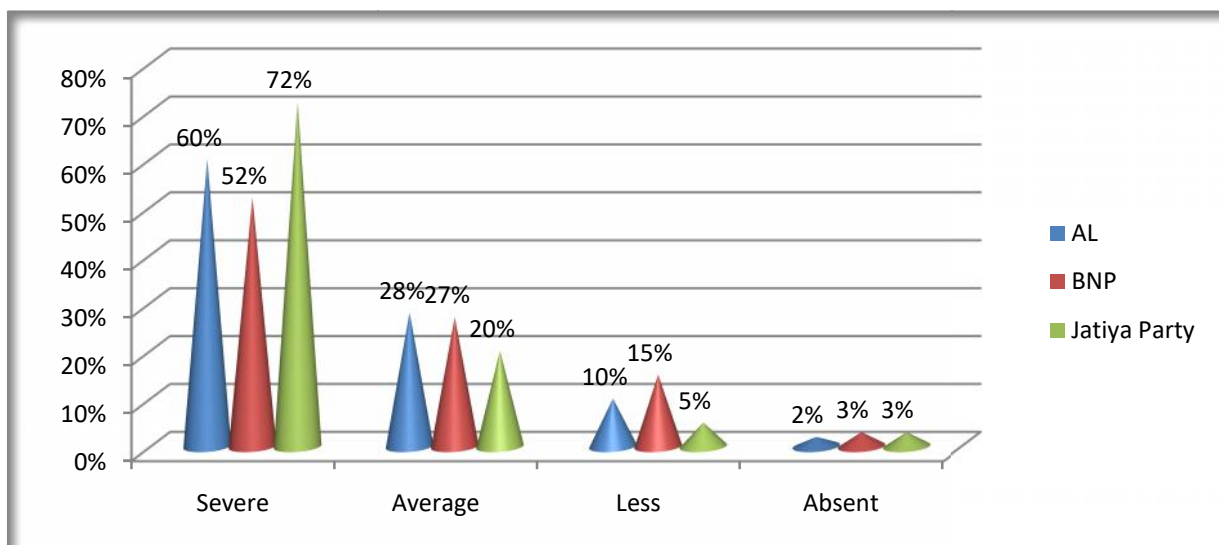
To select the Party chief, the process either directly elected by party councilors or directly nominated by the consent of party members result out the democratic practice and values of the party. In the context of Bangladesh, the leadership making process had some options as elected by party councilors or nominated by councilors or heredity. In accordance with existing literature option of heredity is mostly seen. Validating this proposition a people’s observation was identical. The respondent’s observation on the process of Party chief choosing expressed that there is a superb resemblance in supreme leadership assessment pattern among the three leading parties. The respondent’s view which outlined in the Figure-08 showed that 42 percent respondents suppose supreme leadership of AL is chosen by hereditary, 40 percent respondents suppose it defined in BNP by hereditary, and 46 percent respondents suppose that supreme leadership choosing process is defined by hereditary in JP. It is also noticed that 8 percent of respondents suppose that supreme leadership of AL is chosen by direct voting, 25 percent suppose that by indirect voting, 25 percent suppose that by nominated by councilors. In BNP, supreme leadership is chosen by direct voting according to 9 percent of respondents, by indirect voting according to 18 percent, and nominated by councilors according to 33 percent of respondents. On the other hand, 4 percent of respondents think that leadership choosing process in JP is defined by direct voting, 25 percent think that by indirect voting and 25 percent of respondents think that nominated by councilors.



**Figure-08: Party Chief Choosing Process**

### 7.5 State of Family Dominance on Parties

The core objective of this study is to explore the influence of family or individual in decision-making process of the party and even party run. In this context, the existing literature has some confusing response. Many of literature articulately demarcated the influence of family in the political landscape and even its hegemonic role regarding the party's activities. And some kinds of literature gave idea as a common phenomenon of changing societies like Bangladesh. This literature indirectly legalized the current state of political governance by family reference. For validating the idea the cross-sectional analysis is inevitable indeed by the people's perception. The respondent's observation on the state of family dominance on political parties revealed that the dominance of few families on three leading political parties has become an integral part of party structure and power. According to respondent's feedback, now it is in severe stage both in AL, BNP and also in JP. Figure-09 has shown that 72 percent of respondents believe family dominance is severe in JP; 60 percent of respondents believe it is severe in AL; 52 percent believe that it is severe in BNP. The portion of respondents who believe that family dominance is absent in the three major parties is not noticeable. Regarding this respondents perception its need to justify with expert opinion as Dr. Siddique Ahmed Chowdhury<sup>125</sup>, told that family dominance on political parties, severe or weak, national or sub-national level, is now one kind of institutionalized system in Bangladesh unfortunately. Even party members also think that this dominance is inevitable to consolidate the party.

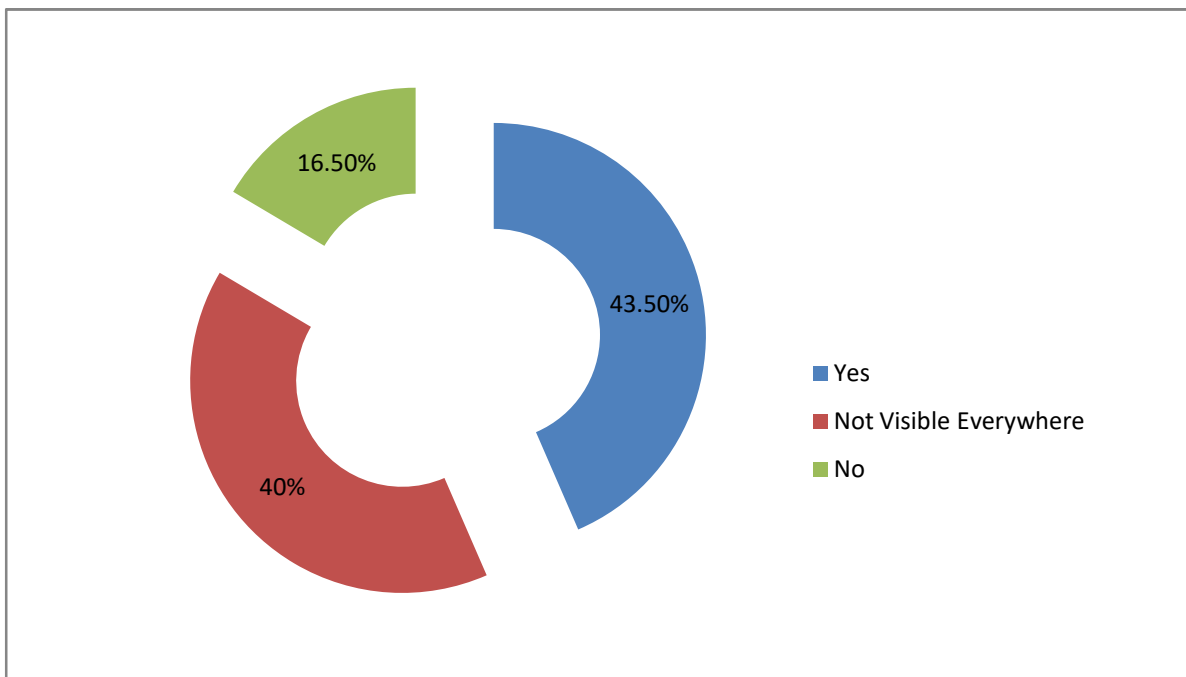


**Figure-09: State of Family dominance on Parties**

<sup>125</sup> Dr. Siddique Ahmed Chowdhury, Professor, Dept. of Political Science, University of Chittagong

### 7.6 State of Family Dominance in local-level politics

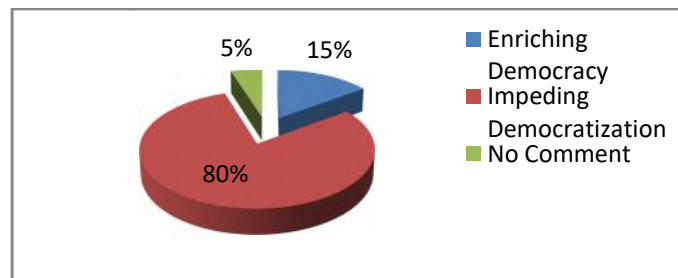
Though the patterns of politics at the local level are greatly varied, it has a great influence on national politics. The character of local politics is one kind of reflection of national politics also. In this section, it was tried to identify the existence of family dominance in local-level politics according to mass perception. According to Figure-10, it is seen that 43.50 percent of respondents told that family dominance remains in local-level politics, 40 percent of respondents told that this trend in local-level politics is not visible everywhere but exist in somewhere. But rest 33 percent of respondents disagree with the opinion. They believe that family dominance in local-level politics does not exist.



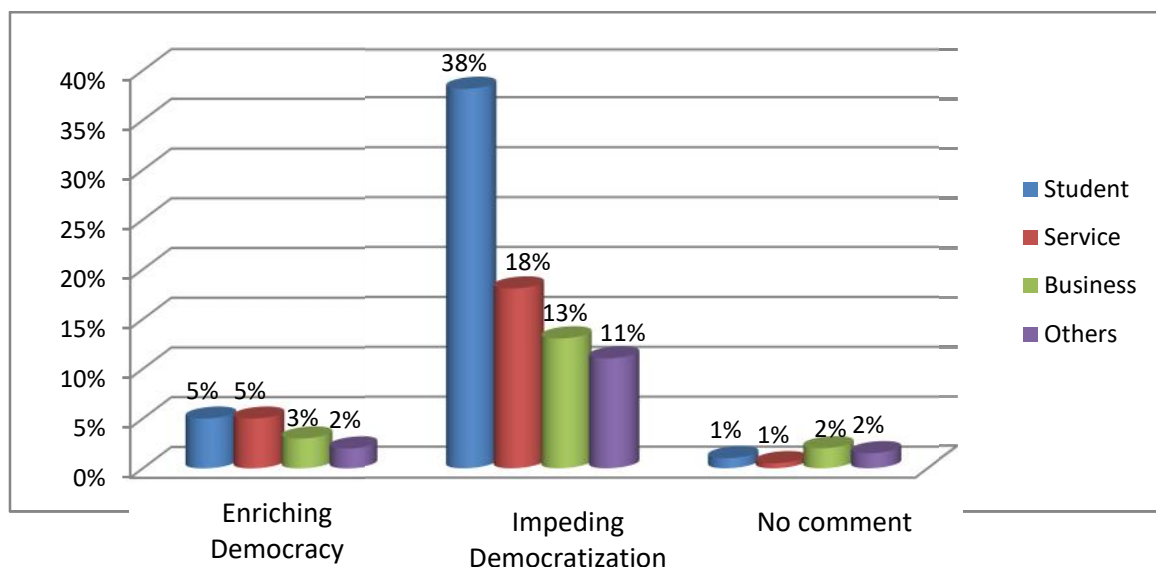
**Figure-10: State of Family Dominance in local-level Politics**

### 7.7 Impact of Family Dominance in Democratization Process

Democratization is a process of institutionalization of democratic norms and values. But, with the passage of time several events, factors that deploy this process at all. Family dominance is one of the major regarding this. The transformation of policies and procedures went through family preference that directly or indirectly hampers the smooth flow of democratization. In this context, people’s observation is needed. Figure-11 showed that the impact of family dominance in the democratization process has brought out the authoritative tendency of the ruling elite that impedes the development of democracy instead of enriching it. Among the 200 respondents, only 15 percent of respondents believe family dominance is enriching democracy whereas 80 percent of respondents believe that it is impeding democracy in Bangladesh. Though 5 percent of respondents did not give any comment on this matter but the majority’s opinion indicated the awful picture of this ongoing trend on party and politics. This study also identified that the student’s are keener to the stirring democratization than other professionals. Figure-11.1, it is noticed that 38 percent of the student respondents believe that family dominance is impeding the democratization process. Similarly, among the respondents 18 percent service holders, 13 percent business professionals and 11 percent others professional gave their opinion that it is impeding democracy at large.



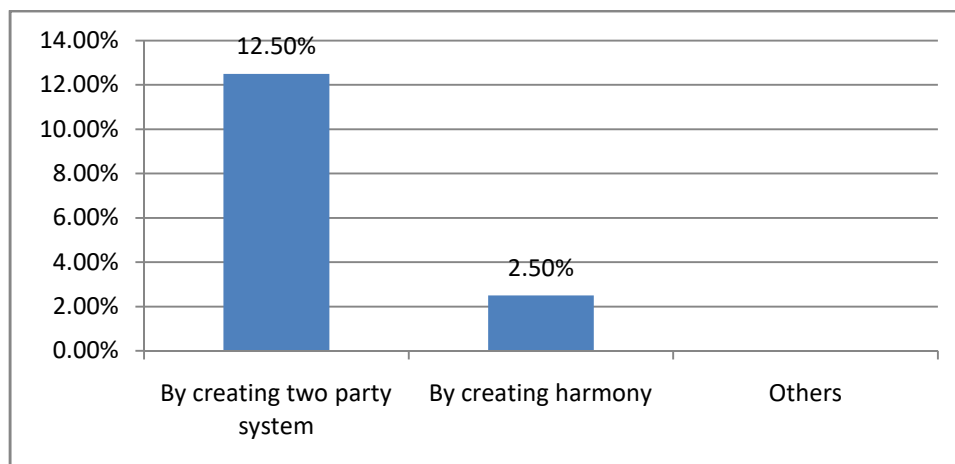
**Figure 11: Impact of Family dominance in Democratization process**



**Figure-11.1: View of Respondents (by profession) on Family dominance in Democratization**

### 7.7.1 Family Dominance in enriching Democracy

Although the majority respondent's observation on the impact of family dominance was against the enriching democracy, but 15 percent of respondents believe that family dominance is enriching democracy in Bangladesh. Among the 15 percent respondents 12.5 percent of respondents believe that family dominance is enriching democracy by creating two-party systems and another 2.5 percent asserted that it is enriching democratization process by creating harmony.

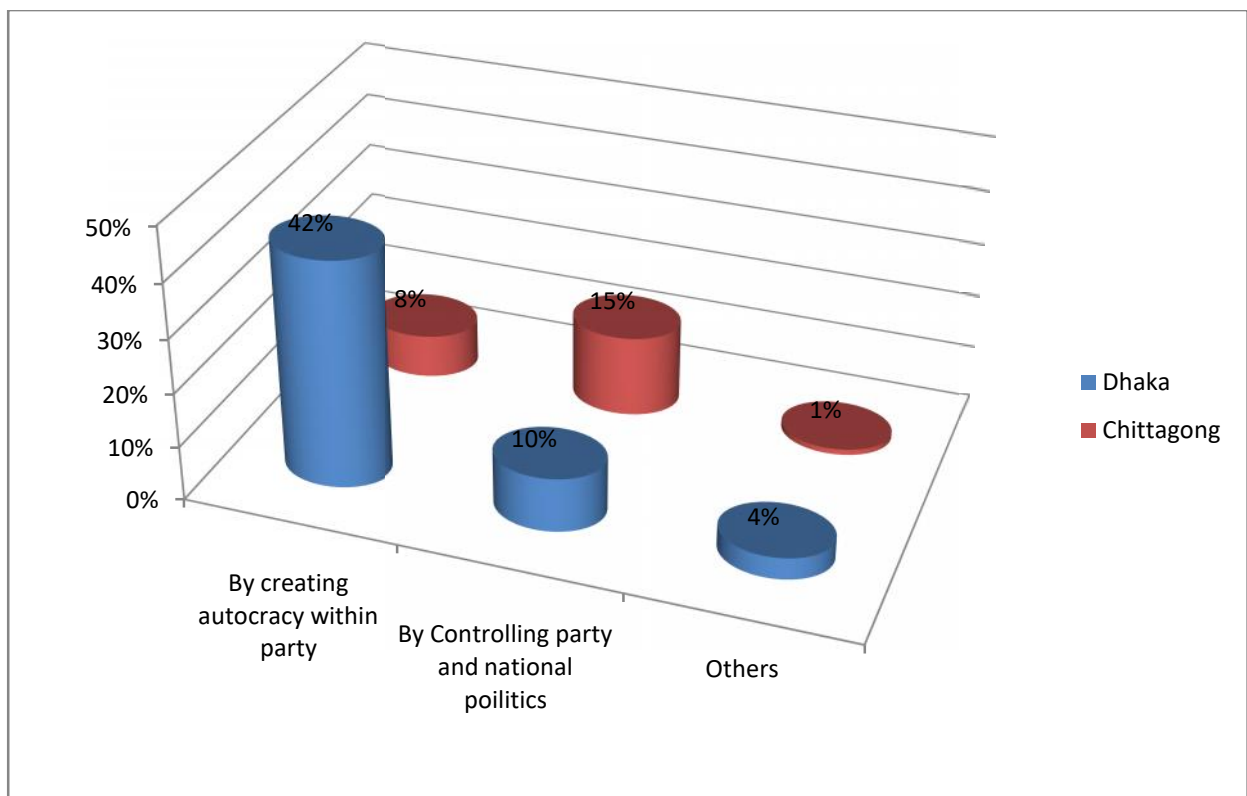


**Figure 12: Family Dominance in enriching Democracy**



### 7.7.2 Family Dominance in impeding Democratization

The dominance of a few families on political parties which is similar to the political dynasty in a democratic polity has raised concerns among democratic activists and academics. There is a different opinion on it that it is consolidating democracy or impeding democratization. In accordance with existing literature, most of the opinion is that this family dominance is impeding the democratization process rather than enriching it. Validating this proposition a people's observation was identical. The majority respondent's asserted that the impact of family dominance has been impeding democratization process in Bangladesh is extensive. Figure-13 showed that 50 percent of the 80 percent respondents believe that family dominance has been impeding democratization process by creating autocracy within the party and 25 percent respondents of the 80 percent respondents asserted that it is impeding democratization process by controlling party and national politics and left 05 percent respondents had no comments. This study found that there is a different view on the process of impeding democratization by family dominance of different places respondents. Majority respondents of Dhaka seem that family dominance impeding democracy by creating autocracy of party chief within the party where majority respondents of Chittagong seem that it is impeding democratization by controlling the party and national politics.



**Figure 13: Family Dominance in impeding Democratization**

### 7.8 Reasons for Family dominance on Parties

The family dominance became an indispensable matter regarding party run in the political horizon of Bangladesh. What were driving forces behind the scene work as a reason for continuing this culture? Looking for that this study intended to conduct some people's observation. The respondents gave their opinion on sustaining family dominance on parties based on understanding and perception. Figure-14 showed that the institutionalization of democracy, historical reality, absence of ideological politics and systematic dysfunctionality are the causes of sustaining family dominance in the polity of Bangladesh. Figure-14 also showed that respondents had different opinions about the reasons for family dominance on parties. Among the respondents 49 percent strongly agreed with the statement of the historical reality is the inner cause of family dominance, 32 percent agreed, 13 percent disagreed and 06 percent left no comments on this statement. Likewise, 36 percent of the respondents strongly agreed with the statement of the contribution of the few families is the inner cause of family dominance, 49 percent agreed, 11 percent disagreed and 04 percent left no comments. In the same way, 16 percent of the respondents strongly agreed with the statement of people's trust on family leadership is the cause of family dominance, 30 percent agreed, 36 percent disagreed and 08 percent left no comments. 46 percent of the respondents strongly agreed with the statement of lack of efficient leadership is the cause of family dominance, 23 percent agreed, 44 percent disagreed and 07 percent left no comments. 50 percent of the respondents strongly agreed with the statement of systematic dysfunctionality is the cause of family dominance, 20 percent are agreed, 18 percent are disagreed and 12 percent left no comments. 43 percent of the respondents strongly agreed with the statement of centralized power is the cause of family dominance, 38 percent agreed, 13 percent disagreed and 06 percent left no comments. 50 percent of the respondents strongly agreed with the statement of absence of ideological politics is the inner cause of family dominance, 20 percent are agreed, 23 percent are disagreed and 07 percent left no comments. 50 percent of the respondents strongly agreed with the statement of lack of institutionalization of democracy is the inner causes of family dominance, 35 percent agreed, 10 percent disagreed and 05 percent left no comments. This data based on both primary and secondary was also controversial that needs intersectional and cross-sectional judgment. With experts and experienced political activists opinion it tried to make valid. Mujibur Rahman<sup>126</sup>, in an interview told that family dominance on parties has been seen in the all over the world but it is got intensification in the Indian sub continent. Since the birth of Bangladesh, this trend has become part of our political history. So, this is

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<sup>126</sup> Chittagong District leader, AL

now a historical reality as sustaining the Sheikh Mujibur Rahman family in the activities and dynamics of AL.

Hasan Mamun<sup>127</sup>, told that whatever the matter but reality is that mass people have good trust on family leadership in Bangladesh. Top to bottom and central to the grassroots level, the leaders, activists and supporters think that the specific families are the flag bearer of the top leading parties of Bangladesh.

Dr. Amran Hossain,<sup>128</sup> had a distinct view that AL, BNP, JP have great popularity and position in all strata of the society because of no option is created here. In addition, a large number of political activists are active in the polity because of their own interest also.

Statements	Measuring scale							
	Strongly Agree		Agree		Disagree		No comment	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Historical Reality	98	49	64	32	26	13	12	06
Contribution of the families	72	36	98	49	22	11	08	04
People's trust on family leadership	32	16	60	30	72	36	16	08
Lack of efficient leadership	92	46	46	23	48	44	14	07
Systematic dysfunctional	100	50	40	20	36	18	24	12
Centralized Power	86	43	76	38	26	13	12	06
Absence of ideological politics	100	50	40	20	46	23	14	07
Lack of institutionalization of Democracy	100	50	70	35	20	10	10	05

**Figure-14: Reasons for Family Dominance on Political Parties**

<sup>127</sup> Member, Central Executive Committee, BNP

<sup>128</sup> Associate Professor, Dept. of Political Science, University of Dhaka

### 7.9 Opinion on the Continuation of Family Dominance

The ongoing practice of family dominance over polity became an irrational notion to the mass community. The masses expect the dome of Bangladesh politics without the dominance of a few families which are now the authoritative agent of top leading parties of Bangladesh that has expressed in the existing literature severally. Validating this proposition people’s direct observation was taken and Figure-16 showed that 76 percent of respondents want to decrease family dominance on political parties in Bangladesh. According to Figure-16.1, among the 76 percent of respondents comparatively educated persons gave the opinion that views family dominance should decrease on political parties than less educated people. Among the 32 percent postgraduate respondents 28 percent respondents and among the 39 percent graduate respondents 33 percent of respondents gave an opinion to decrease family dominance. On the other hand, among the 5 percent SSC passed respondents 3 percent respondents didn’t want to decrease the family dominance and among the 5 percent below SSC educated person 3 didn’t show any interest to decrease family dominance.

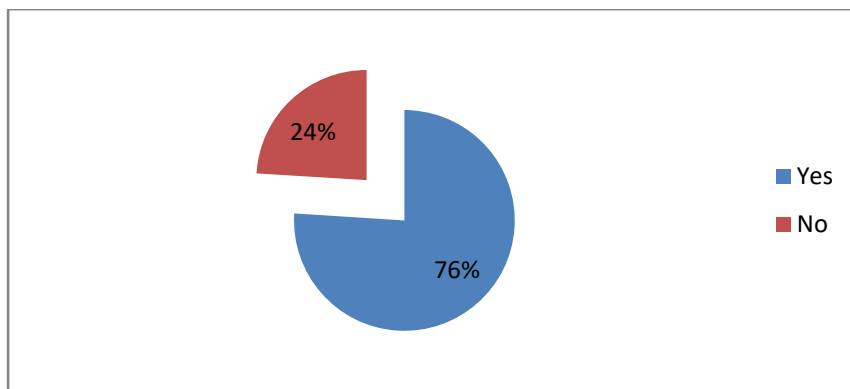


Figure-15: Opinion on the Continuation of Family Dominance

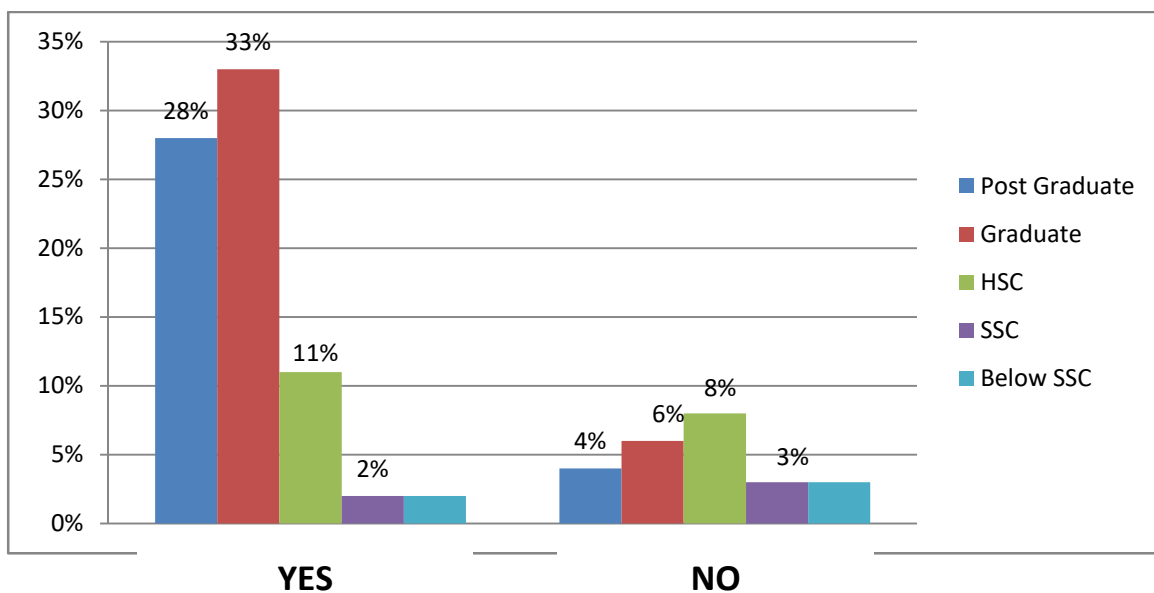


Figure 15.1: Opinion of Respondents by educational status in decreasing family dominance

### 7.10 Propositions Needed for Parties

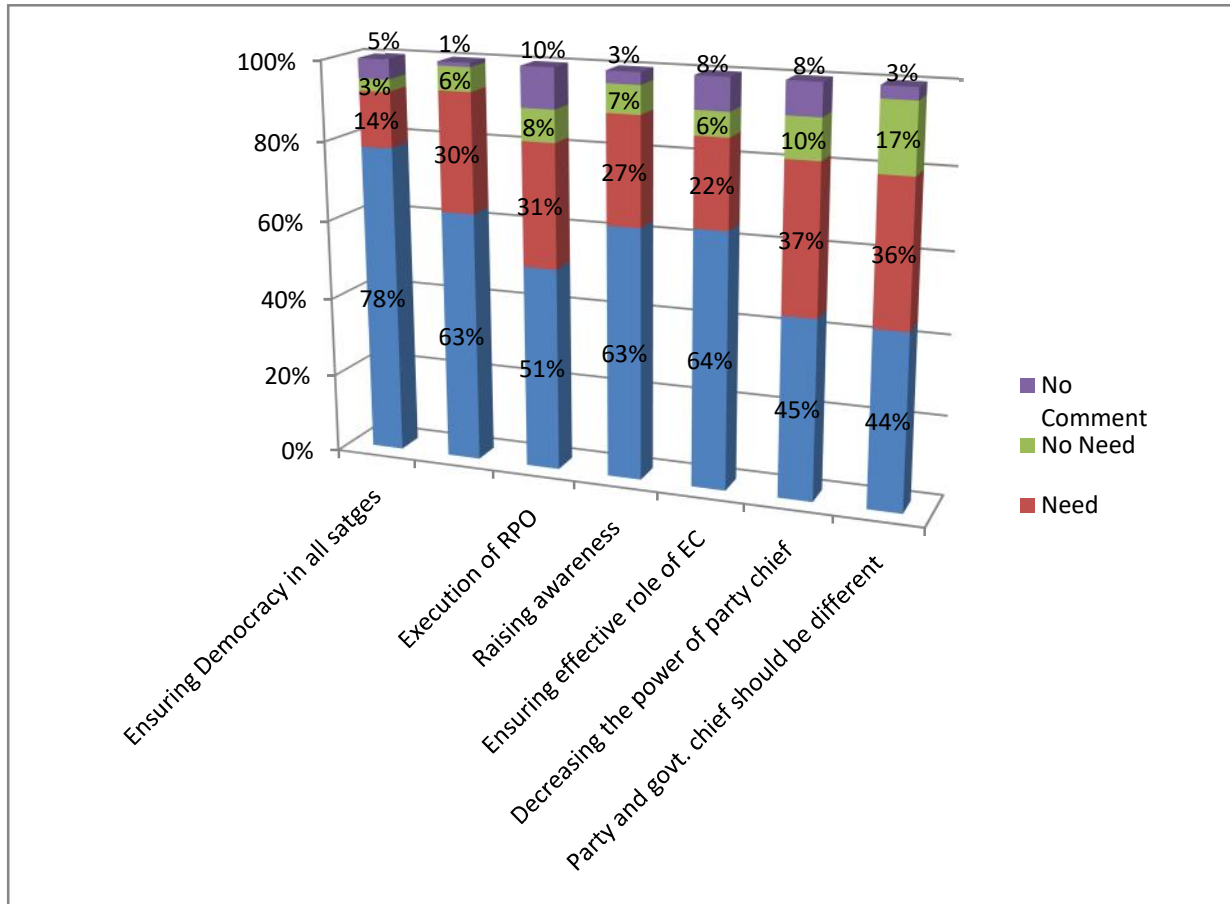
Current practices directly or indirectly impede the democratic consolidation and institutionalization with and within parties. So this study seeks some options for the better run of democracy. In this notion, some expert's opinion and public consent gave several propositions. Figure-16 showed that respondents were divided into different opinions: very need, need, no need and no comment with the statements. 78 percent of the respondents believe that ensuring democracy in all stages is very needed within the political parties in ensuring sound democracy, 14 percent of the respondents think it is needed; but, 03 percent of the respondents think it does not need, and 05 percent have left no comment. 63 percent of the respondents believe that ensuring institutionalization of democracy is very needed within the political parties of Bangladesh in ensuring sound democracy, 30 percent of the respondents think it is needed; but, 06 percent of the respondents think it does not need, and 01 percent have left no comment. 51 percent of the respondents believe that execution of RPO is very needed within the political parties of Bangladesh in ensuring sound democracy, 31 percent of the respondents think it is needed; but, 08 percent of the respondents think it does not need, and 10 percent have left no comment. 63 percent of the respondents believe that raising awareness among citizens is very needed within the political parties of Bangladesh in ensuring sound democracy, 27 percent of the respondents think it is needed; but, 07 percent of the respondents think it does not need, and 03 percent have left no comment. 64 percent of the respondents believe that ensuring the effective role of EC is very needed within the political parties in ensuring sound democracy, 22 percent of the respondents think it is needed; but, 06 percent of the respondents think it does not need, and 08 percent have left no comment. 45 percent of the respondents believe that decreasing the power of party chief is very needed within the political parties in ensuring sound democracy, 37 percent of the respondents think it is needed; but, 10 percent of the respondents think it does not need, and 08 percent have left no comment. 44 percent of the respondents believe that party chief and govt. chief should be different one is very needed within the political parties in ensuring sound democracy, 36 percent of the respondents think it is needed; but, 17 percent of the respondents think it does not need, and 03 percent have left no comment.

Bulbul Hasan<sup>129</sup> stated that Bangladesh follows the Westminster system of parliamentary government by and large. But as a transitional democracy, the country not only failed to make consolidation of democracy but also created a confrontational political culture for the last three decades. Now, to ensure a participatory democracy, the country needs to amend her

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<sup>129</sup> Political Analyst and Director, News & Current Affairs, ION TV, London, United Kingdom

constitution on specific provisions- Power of Prime Minister and Maximum Terms of PrimeMinister-ship should be defined. In addition, democratic practices on all grounds of the party should be ensured.



**Figure-16: Propositions Needed for Parties**

### 7.11 Conclusion

Democratic practice is far orientation since the journey of Bangladesh. But the country has fluctuated several times from the journey of democracy and deviated from the key spirit of democracy. The question regarding the performance of political parties and their activities affirm the position of the country’s democratization scenario. The centralized leadership, clientelism, dynastic trend and its form along with people’s perception outlined in this chapter with the numerical figure. This analysis has some proposition regarding the democratic consolidation and coming to a rational end it needs some measures that will discuss in the next chapter.

**Chapter Eight:  
Findings, Suggestive Propositions  
and Conclusion**

## **8.1 Introduction**

There is an intimate nexus between the leadership, people's participation and intra-party democratic practice in democratization. Patron-client treatment in political governance makes these landscapes more acquainted to the privatization of power by holding hierarchical or blood connected relationship to the recent past Party chief and being his or her successor. Since the inception of Bangladesh, it has experienced such a model till now. Coming through this academic journey some variables regularly has proven to be valid findings of this study. This study has classified these findings in distinct three different sections, as some are identified common and others are reason-impact with the plethora of evidence at large and finally coming to end with looking for a way out regarding well organized, participatory democratic and good governance in Bangladesh.

## **8.2 Common Findings**

- Party and family have become as an identical part of each other to the mass people, even to the activists. So, the institutionalization of family dominance has overlapped democratic practices within parties and created a hegemonic power structure led by family preference.
- Bi-polar party system has established a conventional structure in electoral and governance competitiveness instead of the value of multi-party democratic regimes. A bipolar party led alliance indirectly turns down the demise of this value also which creates political confrontation and instability instead of stability.
- Legitimated and well participatory development and evaluations of political parties are solely absent at large while there existed lots of parties, but very seldom develops organizational discipline and democratic practice. The most three dominant political parties are always busy to engage themselves to capture the state power by any means.
- The three dominant parties of the country highly depended on patrons or financiers which has broken the chain of management of the political parties as institutions. It weakened the party strength and spoils the aspirations of the activists of the parties.



- Party chief enjoys the holistic authority irrespective to the position, limitation and well being of the social good in accordance with the constitution of AL, BNP and JP. Yet there is a system of the electoral process to select their party chief, national leaders as well as sub-national leaders but in practice, there is no democratic practice in choosing leadership.
- Money and muscle power have become more influential in party politics. For many people, politics became a business investment. Businessmen contributed to party funds. They invested in particular politicians who could then work as their business partners. Many businessmen also directly entered electoral politics. The growing influence of money in politics has enriched day by day.
- Consequence of dynastic politics is the low degree of internal party democracy. The study has seen that the party leaders have been ruling their parties for more than 30 years, and how they have been re-elected without contestation. Intra-party democracy in terms of top leadership election is not open for the democratic procedure, and vital decision-making in terms of program formulation and alliance building is the exclusive right of the party leader and the inner circle.

### **8.3 Causes of Family dominance**

- The institutionalization of democracy is still so far matter in this power landscape as the upcoming consequences of political parties. There is no matter developed here except organizing elections towards democratic journey but now this electoral system and procedure have opened many discord discourses. Similarly, political institutions, parliament; election commission are not intended ensuring professionalism and institutionalization that families have become more vibrant organic power supplier rather than institutions.
- The cult culture among the peoples of Bangladesh helps to persist the family dominance on political parties. Historically, there is a tendency of the peoples of this region to show the blind obedience to superior persons. This psycho-social trend has been a driven force in the political horizon.

- Failure of the democratic regime is an output of deficiency of intra-party democratic culture within parties at whole. Democratic principles and systems are not followed in areas of internal party organization.
- The centralized power structure in the area of administration, politics and economic encompasses a complementary hegemony over the polity. This trend also practiced by in all strata of society. This centralization of power liable for supremacy of the few families in the political parties.
- The ideological political parties of Bangladesh have lost their trust and popularity and they have become less important in politics. Pro-leftist parties are now nothing else merely a pseudo party. Religion-based parties are surviving with their name nothing else. On the other hand, AL, BNP and JP get popular as a modern political party.
- Since the inception country has a deficiency in a visionary statesman that did not open the way of people's diverse opinion, cultural accommodations and representation of diversified views. So, integrated and consolidated democratic values were not seen instead of authoritarian and partisan control.
- There is a good orientation of mass people towards the Sheikh Mujibur Rahman family and Ziaur Rahman family for their great contributions in the liberation war. For this reason the members of these families also indomitable in terms of popularity. It is supposed by mass peoples that the members of these families are the flag bearer of their predecessor. Now the situation has reached in a situation that nobody can think out of the two families in the national politics.

#### **8.4 Impact of Family Dominance**

- Chief of parties consumes the absolute power within the party. They have option of playing a unique role and authority in every function as decision making as well. Their activities and authority go beyond the discord at large which have a trickle-down effect from top to bottom of the parties that created a legitimated authority enjoying coercive as well as physical power over the party decisions.
- Electoral politics has created increasingly criminalization of the politics by approving and impunity of offensive activity of student's wing of parties. Successive regimes

have used law enforcement agencies in a partisan manner. Sometimes their activities became a controversial issue in the country. On that situation, the concerned party expels them from party politics but which is also withdrawn within short times shortly. The nexus between politicians, cadres and the law enforcement agencies have thus, become embedded in the political system of the country.

- The absent of democratic values among the people and parties very seldom institutions had been strengthening with some qualitative change but did not sustain in order to continue partisanship power structure. Political parties failed to consolidate democracy as well as a good governance system. Even the prospects of qualitative change in the orientation and dynamics of political parties are not very encouraging.
- The power of party chief is indispensable that not only promotes the family supremacy but it has a strong prospect to manipulate the power over the system and finally births a cult culture. The current context is a systemic output as the practice of the power of Party chief. Power of party chief also generates hegemony over the leadership estimation and the party's other imperative power holders sometimes solely depend on the willingness of party chief as it impacts on democratization.
- Factionalism is the common characteristics of the major political parties. Factional groups of the parties are contesting over the distribution of resources and party controls. So, inter-party and intra-party conflicts are the common matter within parties and often the incidence of intra-party conflict is higher than that of inter-party conflict. This factionalism increases the power of the party chief as he or she is the only person acceptable to all.

### **8.5 Suggestive Propositions**

To ensure democratic institutionalization of parties on the basis of performance and democratic consent among party member beyond individual's or family's influence as well as to ensure consolidation of democracy it needs to take some practical initiatives.

- Intra-party democratic practice among political parties considered as an identical factor to condense family supremacy. Trailing party constitution, initiation of election system from top to bottom bodies of the parties, the candidate selection process should be incorporated.

- Ensure democratic practice in all grounds of the party based on dedication, respect to constitutional obligation and party manifestation. Intra-party election progression ensures the transparency and accountability that also diminishes chair-designation influence over the specific organism.
- Grassroots participation and hierarchical development of leaders with experience of party mobilization will ensure the dedication of activists in the party's manifestation that also reduce the cult preference over the party's activity.
- Strengthening Local Government, the participation of local government in the context of demand and procedural activity of party's member create a version of leadership that will impact the democratization of intra-party practice visibly. New recruitment of member should be transparent as well as maintaining the party's notion of rules.
- Creating awareness among people is prerequisite to democratic culture and practice holistically. Individual or family influence is grown by the emptiness of vigilance.
- Constitutional arrangement and obligation for controlling the politics and members interest should be revised and should amend the article 70 of Bangladesh constitution.
- The persistent violence within parties and beyond constrains the development of democratic means of conflict resolution; stop the practice of boycotting parliament when each is in the opposition, needs to make parliament participatory and the central agency to hold the government accountable. To promote democracy, parties need to stop using state agencies and resources to reward supporters and punish opponents.
- Maintain a separation between the party and government. Party officials, e.g. president, general secretary, and other office-bearers should devote full time to party work and not be assigned to govt. positions, e.g. cabinet ministers. Separation of party machinery from the govt. will enable the ruling party to perform an important role.
- Reforming the political finance system can be effective in changing the exiting political cult culture and individual preference where the self-funding and equal subscription will be regular in parties run and expenses.

- To promote the practice of democracy within organizations, parties need to primarily follow their own constitutions and RPO guidelines. More specifically parties need to select leaders of all committees at all strata through regular elections. Nominate party candidates for elective offices from panels selected by grassroots committees.

## **8.6 Conclusion**

Absence of intra-party democratic practice and the scarcity of the participatory approach in decision making in parties are shaping an authoritarian culture that creates a hegemonic cult and individual preference in Bangladesh. To institutionalize the democratic culture and promote intra-party democracy the political parties are the core actors but simultaneously the citizens need to be aware. The legitimacy of power and execution of the power of Party chief should be more parallel with the consent of other power holders of the parties. That will come if the democratic trend is run in all stages of the party holistically. The three leading political parties', AL, BNP and JP, activity and decision-making process outlined the absence of democratic practice at large. Institutional arrangement for democratization within parties was always been less concentrated. On the other hand, when the party came to power that failed to create a distinct position for governing the country. It means the party chief and government chief was a single one that rhetorically creates a position of controlling party and government simultaneously which also legitimated and made beyond the dispute of taken decisions at the public sphere. The hierarchical legacy of several families in the polity becomes continued to the legitimatization of power of some selected families. AL has appointed a successor from within the family, BNP is about to do the same and JP leadership was stabled to a single man party. The families themselves are holding onto power within the party, and because the various party factions prefer an undisputed leadership. This factor is intended to the power accumulation which promotes the longevity of power practice and that makes chief greedy to the power as want to continue it by their son or siblings.

In sum, the nature of changing societies especially countries of the third world is more acquainted to the power centralization. In the case of Bangladesh, the consolidation of democracy solely depends on the democratic practice of internal and external behavior of parties. So it needs to play vital role by political parties to engage people, educate and coach on democratic values, principles, and procedures and needs inclusive politics and fosters of participatory leadership, decentralization of power and institutionalization of political organizations can produce more legitimate and efficient policy programs and can contribute to the establishment of a democratic culture at all.

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## Appendage-1

### ‘eaZvi mb’

আপনাদের সদয় অবগতির জন্য জানানো যাচ্ছে যে, মোহাম্মদ ফয়সাল আকবর, রাষ্ট্রবিজ্ঞান বিভাগ, ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের একজন এম. ফিল গবেষক। তার গবেষণার বিষয়টি হলো- “বাংলাদেশের রাজনৈতিক দলের ওপর পরিবারতন্ত্রের প্রভাব: একটি তুলনামূলক পর্যালোচনা” (**Family Dominance on Political Parties in Bangladesh: A Comparative Analysis**)। আমার তত্ত্বাবধানে তার গবেষণাটি সম্পন্ন হচ্ছে। গবেষণাকর্মটি সম্পাদনের জন্য বাংলাদেশের সব শ্রেণীর নাগরিকের মতামত নেওয়া প্রয়োজন। এরই প্রেক্ষিতে মোহাম্মদ ফয়সাল আকবর আমার নির্দেশ মোতাবেক ঢাকা এবং চট্টগ্রামে তথ্য আহরণের জন্য গবেষণা টিম প্রেরণ করেছে।

আশা করি, আপনি গবেষণাটির সাফল্য কামনা করে আপনার মূল্যবান মতামত ব্যক্ত করে গবেষণা টিমকে সাহায্য করবেন। তবে এই ব্যাপারে আপনাকে নিশ্চয়তা প্রদান করছি যে, গবেষণা কাজের জরিপ প্রশ্নপত্র দ্বারা সংগৃহীত তথ্য শুধুমাত্র গবেষণা কাজে ব্যবহার করা হবে। সংগৃহীত তথ্য সম্পূর্ণ গোপন রাখা হবে এবং কোন মাধ্যমে প্রকাশ করা হবে না।

আপনার জীবন সুখী হোক।

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রাষ্ট্রবিজ্ঞান বিভাগ

ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়, ঢাকা-১০০০।

## Appendage-2

**University of Dhaka**  
Department of Political Science  
Survey Questionnaire for M. Phil Thesis



**Thesis Title:** “Family dominance on political parties in Bangladesh: A comparative analysis”

**Declaration:**

The questionnaire is designed intending to collect data and information from the interviewees for academic purpose only. An original M. Phil thesis would be composed based on the data, you provided. No information on individuals, obtained in the questionnaire, will be disclosed to any other persons and identity would not be disclosed whether in the thesis or else. Thanks in advance and appreciation to you for assisting me.

**Mohammad Faisal Akber**

M. Phil Researcher  
Political Science, DU  
Contact Number: 01914702357

**Supervisor:**

Professor Dr. Gyas Uddin Molla  
Department of Political Science  
University of Dhaka

Respondent's Particulars			Date:		
Please, Put Tick mark only one option					
<b>Name</b> *** Optional					
<b>Age</b>	18-30 years <input type="checkbox"/>	31-45 years <input type="checkbox"/>	46-60 years <input type="checkbox"/>	61-75 years <input type="checkbox"/>	
<b>Occupation</b>	Student <input type="checkbox"/>	Service <input type="checkbox"/>	Business <input type="checkbox"/>	Others <input type="checkbox"/>	
<b>Educational qualification</b>	Below SSC <input type="checkbox"/>	SSC <input type="checkbox"/>	HSC <input type="checkbox"/>	Graduate <input type="checkbox"/>	Post graduate <input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Political Affiliation</b>	No Affiliation <input type="checkbox"/>	Supporter <input type="checkbox"/>	Worker <input type="checkbox"/>		Leader <input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Gender :</b>	Male <input type="checkbox"/>		Female <input type="checkbox"/>		
<b>Phone:</b> *** Optional			<b>E-mail:</b> *** Optional		

## Survey Questionnaire

[Please, Put Tick mark only one option, if 'others' mention your answer]

**1. How do you evaluate the situation of the governance system of Bangladesh?**

Non Democratic <input type="checkbox"/>	Pseudo Democratic <input type="checkbox"/>	A little Democratic <input type="checkbox"/>	Developing democratic <input type="checkbox"/>	Pure Democratic <input type="checkbox"/>
--	---	---	---	---

**2. What is your evaluation about the practice of democracy within the major political parties of Bangladesh?**

**2.1 Awami League:**

Strong <input type="checkbox"/>	Average <input type="checkbox"/>	Weak <input type="checkbox"/>	Absent <input type="checkbox"/>
---------------------------------	----------------------------------	-------------------------------	---------------------------------

**2.2 BNP:**

Strong <input type="checkbox"/>	Average <input type="checkbox"/>	Weak <input type="checkbox"/>	Absent <input type="checkbox"/>
---------------------------------	----------------------------------	-------------------------------	---------------------------------

**2.3 Jatiya Party**

Strong <input type="checkbox"/>	Average <input type="checkbox"/>	Weak <input type="checkbox"/>	Absent <input type="checkbox"/>
---------------------------------	----------------------------------	-------------------------------	---------------------------------

**3. What is the supreme leadership choosing process of the major political parties of Bangladesh?**

**3.1 Awami League:**

Direct voting <input type="checkbox"/>	Indirect voting <input type="checkbox"/>	Nominated by councilors <input type="checkbox"/>	By Hereditary <input type="checkbox"/>
---	---	---	---

**3.2 BNP:**

Direct voting <input type="checkbox"/>	Indirect voting <input type="checkbox"/>	Nominated by councilors <input type="checkbox"/>	By Hereditary <input type="checkbox"/>
---	---	---	---

**3.3 Jatiya Party:**

Direct voting <input type="checkbox"/>	Indirect voting <input type="checkbox"/>	Nominated by councilors <input type="checkbox"/>	By Hereditary <input type="checkbox"/>
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**4. How do the families impact on political parties?**

**4.1: Awami League:**

Severe <input type="checkbox"/>	Average <input type="checkbox"/>	Less <input type="checkbox"/>	Absent <input type="checkbox"/>
---------------------------------	----------------------------------	-------------------------------	---------------------------------

**4.2 BNP:**

Severe <input type="checkbox"/>	Average <input type="checkbox"/>	Less <input type="checkbox"/>	Absent <input type="checkbox"/>
---------------------------------	----------------------------------	-------------------------------	---------------------------------

**4.3 Jatiya Party**

Severe <input type="checkbox"/>	Average <input type="checkbox"/>	Less <input type="checkbox"/>	Absent <input type="checkbox"/>
---------------------------------	----------------------------------	-------------------------------	---------------------------------

**5. Along with national politics, is there any impact of special family on local politics of Bangladesh?**

Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	Not visible everywhere <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>
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6. What is your evaluation about the family dominance on political parties in the democratization process in Bangladesh?

Enrich democracy <input type="checkbox"/>	Blocked democratization <input type="checkbox"/>	No Comment <input type="checkbox"/>
---	--	-------------------------------------

According to your answer please put tick mark in the next question how family dominance enriches democracy or blocked democratization.

6.1 How Enrich democracy: -

By creating two party system <input type="checkbox"/>	By creating national harmony <input type="checkbox"/>	Others : <input type="checkbox"/>
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6.2 How Blocked democratization:

Creating autocracy within Party <input type="checkbox"/>	Controlling party national politics <input type="checkbox"/>	Others : <input type="checkbox"/>
--	--	-----------------------------------

7. What are the inner causes of family dominance on major political parties of Bangladesh? Some causes of the family dominance on political parties are given below for interviewer consideration. Put a tick mark on your answer. You may add any causes not mentioned here in 'others' option. [Here Marks 3 for strongly agree, 2 for agree, 1 for disagree and 0 for no comment.

SL	Statement	Measuring scale (Put Tick mark only one option)			
		Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	No comment
7.1	Historical Reality	3	2	1	0
7.2	Contribution of the families	3	2	1	0
7.3	People's trust on family leadership	3	2	1	0
7.4	Lack of efficient leadership	3	2	1	0
7.5	Systematic dysfunctional	3	2	1	0
7.6	Centralized Power	3	2	1	0
7.7	Absence of ideological politics	3	2	1	0
7.8	Lack of institutionalization of Democracy	3	2	1	0
7.9	Other causes	i.			
		ii.			

8. What is the probability of persisting of this family dominance on political parties in the upcoming days?

Huge Probability <input type="checkbox"/>	Probability <input type="checkbox"/>	No Probability <input type="checkbox"/>	No comment <input type="checkbox"/>
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9. Do you want to decrease the family dominance on political parties of Bangladesh?

Yes  No

10. What kind of changes is needed within the political parties of Bangladesh? Some statements regarding this question are given below for interviewer consideration. Put tick mark on your answer. You may add any suggestion in 'others' option. [Here Marks 3 for very need, 2 for need, 1 for no need and 0 for No comment.

SL	Statement	Measuring scale[Put Tick mark only one option]			
		Very Need	Need	No need	No comment
10.1	Ensure democracy in all stages of party	3	2	1	0
10.2	Ensure institutionalization of Democracy	3	2	1	0
10.3	Execution of RPO	3	2	1	0
10.4	Raise awareness among citizens	3	2	1	0
10.5	Ensuring effective role of EC	3	2	1	0
10.6	Decrease the power of party chief	3	2	1	0
10.7	Party Chief and government chief should be different one	3	2	1	0
10.8	Other Suggestions	i.			

**Respondent's Signature with date**

**Thank You**

XvKv wekpe' 'vj q  
i vóteÁvb wefvM



Gg. wdj Mtel Yvi c0qvRtb Rwi c ckeĀ

Rwi tci weqge' : “বাংলাদেশের রাজনৈতিক দলের ওপর পরিবারতন্ত্রের প্রভাব: একটি তুলনামূলক পর্যালোচনা”

tNvl YvcĀ

অত্র জরিপ প্রশ্নপত্র দ্বারা সংগৃহীত তথ্য কেবলমাত্র গবেষণা কাজে ব্যবহার করা হবে। সংগৃহীত তথ্য সম্পূর্ণ গোপন রাখা হবে এবং কোন মাধ্যমে প্রকাশ করা হবে না।

tgvrnvš' dqmvj AvKei

এম. ফিল গবেষক

রাষ্ট্রবিজ্ঞান বিভাগ, ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়

মোবাইল: ০১৯১৪৭০২৩৫৭

ZĒyeavqK

Aa'vcK W. wMqvmDwi' b tgvj 'v

রাষ্ট্রবিজ্ঞান বিভাগ

ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়

DĒi 'vZvi Z_''		Zwii L			
[DĒi 'vZv th tKvb GKwJtZ wJK ( ) wPy' w' tēb]					
bvg *** আবশ্যিক নয়					
eqm	১৮-৩০ বছর <input type="checkbox"/>	৩১-৪৫ বছর <input type="checkbox"/>	৪৬-৬০ বছর <input type="checkbox"/>	৬০-৭৫ বছর <input type="checkbox"/>	
tckv	ছাত্র <input type="checkbox"/>	চাকরিজীবী <input type="checkbox"/>	ব্যবসায়ী <input type="checkbox"/>	অন্যান্য <input type="checkbox"/>	
wkÿwMZ thvM'Zv	এসএসসির কম <input type="checkbox"/>	এসএসসি <input type="checkbox"/>	এইচএসসি <input type="checkbox"/>	স্নাতক <input type="checkbox"/>	স্নাতকোত্তর <input type="checkbox"/>
i vR%bwZK mšÛ³Zv	সম্পৃক্ততা নেই <input type="checkbox"/>	সমর্থক <input type="checkbox"/>		কর্মী <input type="checkbox"/>	নেতা <input type="checkbox"/>
wj ½	পুরুষ <input type="checkbox"/>		মহিলা <input type="checkbox"/>		
tUwj tdvb *** আবশ্যিক নয়			B-tgBj : *** আবশ্যিক নয়		



## Rw i c c k e I

[DĒi 'vZv th tKvb GKwUfZ wJK ( ) wPy w' teb, ŪAb'vb'Ū DĒti i tÿtĪ DĒi 'vZv wR'gZvgZ Ztj ai teb]

1| evsj vŕ' tki kumbe'e'vŕK Avrcwb wK fivŕe gj'vqb Ki teb?

অগণতান্ত্রিক <input type="checkbox"/>	ছদ্ম গণতান্ত্রিক <input type="checkbox"/>	কিছুটা গণতান্ত্রিক <input type="checkbox"/>	উন্নয়নমুখী গণতান্ত্রিক <input type="checkbox"/>	পূর্ণ গণতান্ত্রিক <input type="checkbox"/>
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2| evsj vŕ' tki cĕvb ivR%wZK 'j' tÿ vi gŕa' AŖí tMYZwŖK PPŕtKgb? gZvgZ e'3 Ki æb-

২.১: আওয়ামী লীগ

শক্তিশালী <input type="checkbox"/>	মোটামুটি <input type="checkbox"/>	দুর্বল <input type="checkbox"/>	অনুপস্থিত <input type="checkbox"/>
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২.২ বিএনপি

শক্তিশালী <input type="checkbox"/>	মোটামুটি <input type="checkbox"/>	দুর্বল <input type="checkbox"/>	অনুপস্থিত <input type="checkbox"/>
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২.৩: জাতীয় পার্টি

শক্তিশালী <input type="checkbox"/>	মোটামুটি <input type="checkbox"/>	দুর্বল <input type="checkbox"/>	অনুপস্থিত <input type="checkbox"/>
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3| evsj vŕ' tki ivR%wZK 'j' tÿ vi kxI ębZZj wbeŕb tKvb Dcvŕq msNWUZ nq?

৩.১: আওয়ামী লীগ

প্রত্যক্ষ গণতান্ত্রিক <input type="checkbox"/>	পরোক্ষ গণতান্ত্রিক <input type="checkbox"/>	কাউন্সিল দ্বারা মনোনীত <input type="checkbox"/>	পরিবারতান্ত্রিকভাবে <input type="checkbox"/>
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৩.২ বিএনপি

প্রত্যক্ষ গণতান্ত্রিক <input type="checkbox"/>	পরোক্ষ গণতান্ত্রিক <input type="checkbox"/>	কাউন্সিল দ্বারা মনোনীত <input type="checkbox"/>	পরিবারতান্ত্রিকভাবে <input type="checkbox"/>
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৩.৩: জাতীয় পার্টি

প্রত্যক্ষ গণতান্ত্রিক <input type="checkbox"/>	পরোক্ষ গণতান্ত্রিক <input type="checkbox"/>	কাউন্সিল দ্বারা মনোনীত <input type="checkbox"/>	পরিবারতান্ত্রিকভাবে <input type="checkbox"/>
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4| evsj vŕ' tki cĕvb ivR%wZK 'j' tÿ vi I ci cwievi ZŕŖj cŕve tKgb?

৪.১: আওয়ামী লীগ

তীব্র <input type="checkbox"/>	গড়পড়তা <input type="checkbox"/>	কম <input type="checkbox"/>	অনুপস্থিত <input type="checkbox"/>
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৪.২ বিএনপি

তীব্র <input type="checkbox"/>	গড়পড়তা <input type="checkbox"/>	কম <input type="checkbox"/>	অনুপস্থিত <input type="checkbox"/>
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৪.৩: জাতীয় পার্টি

তীব্র <input type="checkbox"/>	গড়পড়তা <input type="checkbox"/>	কম <input type="checkbox"/>	অনুপস্থিত <input type="checkbox"/>
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5| RvZxq ivRbwZi gŕZv'vbxq ivRbwZŕZi wK cwievi ZŕŖj cŕve AvŕQ?

হ্যাঁ <input type="checkbox"/>	কোথাও আছে কোথাও নেই <input type="checkbox"/>	না <input type="checkbox"/>
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\*\* উত্তরদাতার জানা থাকলে সংশ্লিষ্ট সংসদীয় আসন ও জেলার নাম উল্লেখ করুন:

6| evsj vř' řk MYZšyqb cřuqv ivR%bwZK 'j ,tj vi lci cwi evi Zřšj cřvřei gj `vqb Kiæb-

গণতন্ত্র সমৃদ্ধ হচ্ছে <input type="checkbox"/>	গণতন্ত্রায়ন প্রক্রিয়া বাঁধাগ্রস্ত হচ্ছে <input type="checkbox"/>	প্রভাব নেই <input type="checkbox"/>	মন্তব্য নেই <input type="checkbox"/>
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DĒři i Avřj vřK cwi evi ZřšjK cřvřei evsj vř' řk MYZšřK mgx KiřQ ev MYZšyqb cřuqvřK evavMř Ā KiřQ Zv Zřj aiæb-

6.1| thřvř MYZšřK mgx KiřQ -

দ্বি-দলীয় ব্যবস্থার মাধ্যমে <input type="checkbox"/>	জাতীয় ঐকমত্য সৃষ্টির মাধ্যমে <input type="checkbox"/>	অন্যান্য- <input type="checkbox"/>
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6.2| thřvř MYZšyqb cřuqv evavMř Ā nř"Q-

দলের মধ্যে স্বৈরতন্ত্র সৃষ্টির মাধ্যমে <input type="checkbox"/>	ক্ষমতার বিকেন্দ্রীকরণ নিশ্চিত না হওয়ায় <input type="checkbox"/>	অন্যান্য- <input type="checkbox"/>
---	---	---------------------------------------

7| evsj vř' řki cřvb ivR%bwZK 'j ,tj vi lci cwi evi Zřšj cřvřei gj KviY ,tj vřK vř etj gřb Křib? ivR%bwZK 'j ,tj vi lci cwi evi Zřšj cřvřei vřQzAšř ĀbwZ KviY DĒi 'vZvi vřvřPvri Rb` vbřP ř' lqv nj | DĒi 'vZv msřkřø GKvřK KviřY vřK( )vřY vř řZ cviřeb| GQvov Gme KviřYi evBři ĀAb`vb`ř-Gi RvqMvřthřKvb KviY Zřj aiřZ cviřeb| GLvřb 3 mřvřGKgz, 2 GKgz, 1 GKgz bv Ges 0 gšř e`tbB etj vřvřPZ nře|

μg	vřvřZ	cwi gvřci gvřvřth řKvb GKvřřZ vřK( ) vřY vř b]			
		mřvřGKgz	GKgz	GKgz bv	gšř e`tbB
৭.১	ঐতিহাসিক বাস্তবতা	৩	২	১	০
৭.২	জাতীয় সংকটে বিশেষ কিছু পরিবারের অবদান	৩	২	১	০
৭.৩	পারিবারিক নেতৃত্বের প্রতি জনগণের আস্থা	৩	২	১	০
৭.৪	যোগ্য নেতৃত্বের অভাব	৩	২	১	০
৭.৫	অকার্যকর সিস্টেম	৩	২	১	০
৭.৬	কেন্দ্রীভূত ক্ষমতা	৩	২	১	০
৭.৭	আদর্শিক রাজনীতির অনুপস্থিতি	৩	২	১	০
৭.৮	গণতন্ত্রের প্রাতিষ্ঠানিকীকরণের অভাব	৩	২	১	০
৭.৯	অন্যান্য কারণ	-	-	-	-

8| AvřvřřZl evsj vř' řki ivRbwřZřZ cřvb ivR%bwZK 'j ,tj vi gřa` cwi evi Zřšj cřvřei eRvř vřKvi mřvřbv řKgb?

প্রবল সম্ভাবনা <input type="checkbox"/>	সম্ভাবনা আছে <input type="checkbox"/>	সম্ভাবনা নেই <input type="checkbox"/>	মন্তব্য নেই <input type="checkbox"/>
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9| evsj vř' řki ivR%bwZK 'j ,tj vi lci cwi evi Zřšj cřvřei Kgvřbv DvřZ etj gřb Křib vřK?

হ্যাঁ  না

10। MYZtšj mǒzweKvṭki ṽṽ\_ēvsjvṭ'ṭki ivR%bWZK 'j ,tjvi gṭa" wK wK cwiēZṬ Avbv DvPZ gṭb Kṭib?

MYZtšj mǒzweKvṭk cṬqvRbxq wKQzc' ṭjṭci weewZ wṭP Zṭj aiv nj | DĒi'vZv GKwaK weewZṭZ wJK ( )wPý w'ṭZ cviṭeb| GQrov Gme weewZi evBṭil thṭKvb civgR ŪAb'vb"Ū-Gi RvqMvq Zṭj aiṭZ cviṭeb| GLvṭb 3 AZ"šÍ cṬqvRb, 2 cṬqvRb, 1 cṬqvRb tbB Ges 0 gšÍ e" tbB eṭj weṭewPZ nṭe|

μg	weewZ	cwi gṭci gvĪv [ th ṭKvb GKwṭZ wJK ( ) wPý w' b]			
		AZ"šÍ cṬqvRb	cṬqvRb	cṬqvRb tbB	gšÍ e" tbB
১০.১	দলগুলোর সর্বপর্যায়ে গণতন্ত্রের চর্চা নিশ্চিতকরণ	৩	২	১	০
১০.২	গণতন্ত্রের প্রাতিষ্ঠানিকীকরণ নিশ্চিতকরণ	৩	২	১	০
১০.৩	গণপ্রতিনিধিত্ব আইনের সংস্কার ও যথাযথ বাস্তবায়ন	৩	২	১	০
১০.৪	রাজনৈতিক সচেতনতা বৃদ্ধি	৩	২	১	০
১০.৫	নির্বাচন কমিশনের কার্যকর উদ্যোগ গ্রহণ	৩	২	১	০
১০.৬	দলীয় প্রধানের বিরাজমান ক্ষমতা হ্রাস	৩	২	১	০
১০.৭	দলীয় প্রধান ও সরকার প্রধান ভিন্ন হওয়ার বিধান প্রবর্তন	৩	২	১	০
১০.৮	অন্যান্য পরামর্শ	-			

DĒi'vZvi ṽṽyi | ZwiL

ab"ev'

## Appendage-3

**University of Dhaka**  
Department of Political Science  
In-depth interview for M. Phil Thesis



**Thesis Title:** “Family dominance on political parties in Bangladesh: A comparative analysis”

**Declaration:**

The questionnaire is designed intending to collect data and information from the interviewees for academic purpose only. An original M. Phil thesis would be composed based on the data, you provided. No information on individuals, obtained in the questionnaire, will be disclosed to any other persons and the identity would not be disclosed whether in the thesis or else. Thanks in advance and appreciation to you for assisting me.

**Mohammad Faisal Akber**

M. Phil Researcher  
Political Science, DU  
Contact Number: 01914702357

**Supervisor:**

Professor Dr. Gyasuddin Molla  
Department of Political Science  
University of Dhaka

Respondent's Particulars		Date:
[Please, Put Tick mark only one option]		
<b>Name</b>		
<b>Age</b>		
<b>Occupation/ Designation</b>		
<b>Educational qualification</b>		
<b>Institution/ Organization</b>		
<b>Political Affiliation</b>		
<b>Gender :</b>	Male <input type="checkbox"/>	Female <input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Phone :</b>		<b>E-mail:</b>



**Questionnaire**

**Set-2: In-depth Interview**

**Question 1:** What are the inner causes of the family dominance on political parties of Bangladesh?

**Question 2:** How do these causes impact politics as well as the democracy in Bangladesh?

**Question 3:** What is your evaluation of the family dominance on major political parties of Bangladesh?

**Question 4:** What kind of changes should bring among the key political parties to ensure sound democracy in Bangladesh?

**Question 5:** What kind of legal changes should bring among political system in Bangladesh to ensure sound democracy?

**Question 6:** How can we establish the institutionalization of democracy in Bangladesh?