The Role of Civil Society in the Political Process Of Bangladesh (1990-2015)

M. PHIL. DISSERTATION

By

Gul-E-Jannat

Department of Political Science, University of Dhaka

FEBRUARY 2021

The Role of Civil Society in the Political Process

Of Bangladesh (1990-2015)

M.PHIL. DISSERTATION

This Dissertation Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

Of

Master of Philosophy

By

Gul- E- Jannat

University of Dhaka

Department of Political Science, University of Dhaka

FEBRUARY 2021

ii

Dedication

To my Dearest "Mother" and

Daughter "Ilma"

Department of Political Science
University of Dhaka
Dhaka-1000, Bangladesh
Phone: 9661920-73/6490, 4460

Certificate

This is to certify that Gul -E- Jannat undertook research work under my supervision and guidance titled "The role of civil society in the political process of Bangladesh (1990-2015)". She has submitted her thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Philosophy in Political Science of the University of Dhaka. She conducted fieldwork in the study area in order to make the study complete. This is an original work of her study. This thesis or a part of it has not been presented or publish for any degree elsewhere previously. Her work is satisfactory and I am confident it will include the present knowledge of civil society in this country.

(Dr. Nelofar Parvin)
Professor
Dept. of Political Science
University of Dhaka
&
Supervisor

Declaration

I hereby declare that the dissertation entitled 'The Role of Civil Society in the Political Process of Bangladesh (1990-2015)' submitted to the Department of Political Science of Dhaka University for the degree of Master of Philosophy in Political Science is an original work carried out by me under the supervision of Professor Dr. Nelofar Parvin belonging to the Department of Political Science of Dhaka University. The dissertation contains materials not published elsewhere or written by anyone except for duly acknowledged citations. This has not been submitted in any form to any other University or Institution for any degree, diploma or other similar programmes.

(Gul -E- Jannat)
Department of Political Science
University of Dhaka
Dhaka-1000
Bangladesh.
February 2021

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Gul -E- Jannat
Department of Political Science
M.Phli. Fellow
Dhaka University
Registration No: 256
Session: 2015-2016

List of Table

List of Figure

List of Acronyms

APSU	**All Party Student Unity**
AL	**Awami League**
BWF	**Bangladesh Women's Foundation**
BRAC	**Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee**
BNP	**Bangladesh Nationalist Party**
CSOs	**Civil Society Organizations**
CTG	**Caretaker Government**
CHT	**Chittagong Hill Tract**
CCEKCISLW	**Coordination Committee for the Elimination of the Killers and Collaborators of 1971 and the implementation of the spirit of the Liberation**
DFID	**Department for International Development(UK)**
EU	**European Union**
FYP	**Five Year Plan**
FBCCI	**Federation of Bangladesh Chambers of Commerce and Industry**
ID	**Identity**
ICT	**International Crime Tribunal**
ICCPR	**International Covenant on Civil and Political Right**
JP	**Jatiyo Party**
JI	**Jamaat Islam**
MPs	**Member of the Parliament**
MCTG	**Military Backed Caretaker Government**

NGO	**Non Governmental Organization**
NIP	**New Industrial Policy**
NCG	**Non Party Caretaker Government**
NID	**National Identity**
RIP	**Revised Industrial Policy**
RAB	**Rapid Action Battalion Team**
SF	**Special Force**
SC	**Supreme Court**
TI	**Transparency International**
UNDP	**United Nations Development Programme**
UN	**United Nation**
UN	**United Nation**
UN	**United Nation**
UNESCO	**United Nations Organization for Education, Science and Culture**
USA	**United States**
UK	**United Kingdom**

Abstract

This study is a vigorous attempt to unveil the role of civil society in the political process of Bangladesh from 1990-2015. It has been prepared and submitted for the fulfillment of the requirement of the M. Phil. Degree from the Department of Political Science under the faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Dhaka for the session of 2015-2016. Bangladesh has a glorious past of Civil Society. The people of this country are seen to be more prone to public good than self-interest. But now a day this tradition of society is deviated. People of the society become self-centered. Nevertheless, many negative practices have been introduced in society with the deterioration of culture and society. This study tries to show the role of civil society in the political process of Bangladesh. Therefore, since the civil society can play the major role for smooth functioning of political process, this study can includes recent knowledge through its literature and field work.

For discussing the role of civil society in the political process of Bangladesh, I have conceptualized the notion and divided the perspective of civil society in the political process of Bangladesh in seven different chapters. In all this chapters, I have tried to show the major issues of Bangladesh politics from 1990-2015. In chapter 3, I have discussed elaborately the role of civil society in the political process of Bangladesh from 1990 to 2015. In this chapter, I have also discussed democracy and democratic institution building process. In chapter 4, I have tried to discuss what role civil society have played in social movements, protests and public issues from 1990 to 2015 and I have taken some social and political movements of that time. In chapter 5, I have discussed the major problem of civil society that is politicization. Politicization of civil society is a great problem in Bangladesh. Politicization in democracy is good. But extreme politicization of civil society affects a society very negatively. It hampers their responsibility and also degrades their morality. In chapter 6, I have discussed the findings of my study. Through structured interviews and strong analyses I have collected and analyzed the data. I have assembled some observations of the people who can be termed as civil society and I have found the observations by the way of interviews and analyses. However I have drawn a closure of my whole study with a conclusion at the end.

The study has employed both primary and secondary sources of data. The data are collected by a rigorous questionnaire. Here is used descriptive, critical and practical analysis of found data. Analytical process for describing the data also has been employed. The final chapter is mainly the findings of the research questions.

The Role of Civil Society in the Political Process of Bangladesh (1990-2015)

Maps of Bangladesh

Chapter -One

Introduction

Chapter -One

Introduction

1. Introduction

The role of civil society is very significant in the political process of Bangladesh. It is inseparable from the political process of Bangladesh. Since the time before independence of Bangladesh, civil society has been working as the catalyst of different political, social and cultural activities which have helped in shaping the national identity of the Bengali people and finally helped to make an independent state of their own. Democracy has failed to continue for a long time after independence and the country has experienced the cruel claw of military and semi-military regimes resulting in limiting the role of civil society awfully. The civil society organizations have become vibrant again in the mass upsurge of 1990 where all actors of civil society such as students, intellectuals, professionals, media and socio-cultural organizations have actively taken part. In the face of strong protest of political parties and civil society organization, the military dictator has resigned and shifted the power to the caretaker government of Sahabuddin Ahmed. Afterwards, in the political process of Bangladesh such as the transition of democracy, the establishment of caretaker system, re-establishing parliamentary democracy, election monitoring, raising public issues and movements and so on, the civil society has worked very actively. Thereby, the civil society has taken different dimension, different nature and different actions with regard to its role. However, the role of civil society has undergone consistent changes within the timeframe from 1990 to 2015. For these reasons, this study observes the role of civil society in the political process of Bangladesh during that time. In the way of proceeding, I have observed not only its capacity to enhance the political and social development but also its inability to ensure good governance and democracy. In addition, it will also be observed that ongoing politicization process of Bangladesh has affected the role of civil society as well. Naturally, civil society which can work as a 'watch dog' against the political authority and bring balance between state and citizen are often able to play its expected role to ensure good governance and strengthen democracy in the political process of Bangladesh. Presently, civil society organizations in Bangladesh are often politicized and co-opted by different political parties. As a result, civil society organizations have compromised their autonomy and politicized themselves to some specific political parties.

2. Background of the Study

"Civil Society", a term from European political thought, has recently enjoyed a new vogue. It has become a panacea of all problems. Policy analysts and development practitioner all are consented about their increasing role. Bengalis have a long tradition of "Civil Society". In line with the long tradition of struggle against oppression, for instance, an organized move against the British-raj had been operated from the late nineteenth century. Civil society reached in its momentum in playing its role after British rule had been ended. Language movement was occurred under the leadership of some enlightened persons who were aware of their right. Later, six point movements of 1966, the mass upsurge of 1969, the general election of 1970 and finally the liberation war of 1971 were successful by the mass uprising which was backed by the civil society. In those remarkable events, the role of civil society was very glorious. It was during Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's time that the supremacy of civil society was upheld by the constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh in 1972 through the fourth amendment of 1974 registering the first assault upon this Constitution. Since then till 1990, the Constitution was mutilated by means of a large number of amendments. In spite of being short lived, Bangladesh's journey towards democracy started with great enthusiasm after independence. The journey towards democracy in Bangladesh was disturbed by the autocratic rules. From 1975 to 1990, the constitution was amended abruptly; and the structures of the local and central government and the political institution were deliberately destroyed. After a successful mass movement in 1990, parliamentary system of government had been reintroduced in Bangladesh. It was hoped that civil society would become essential part of democracy for its success whereas history provided a contrary situation. Democracy in Bangladesh was disturbed in 2006, 15 years later. Intrusion of civil society into policy arena was looked suspiciously. Civil society organizations (CSOs) were discriminated against based on their links to the ruling party or the opponents. However, it is found that the role of civil society in Bangladesh in different phases of history was very important. That is why it is necessary to do research critically with regard to the role of civil society in the political process of Bangladesh, particularly, in the context of present time.

3. Justification of the Study

The main purpose of this study is to observe the role of civil society after the mass upsurge of 1991 up to 2015. The reason is that several elections were conducted and several political and social movements were organized where civil society played a very active role in that period. In poverty alleviation, women's

empowerment and other indicators of good governance, it has played its role effectively. In several public issues, it has a remarkable contribution. Although it has contributions, it has been observed that such a vibrant civil society in Bangladesh has failed to contribute to the institutionalization of democracy since 1991 to 2015. The reason is that the major actors of civil society organizations such as professional groups, trade unions and citizen's groups are politicized and co-opted by the major political parties. Due to this co-optation, civil society organization has failed to function autonomously and ensure accountability of the state. In these cases, civil society has often compromised its ability to monitor the state and politics and become politicized. It has been compelled to descend to such denigrated situations only to survive and achieve its primary organizational objectives or reach at personal goals of its leaders.

4. Review of the Literature:

The main purpose of this study is to acquire knowledge about civil society and its action and inaction for the years 1990-2015 in Bangladesh. In doing so, I have found various books and journals many of which I have preserved in my collection. Indeed, "Civil Society" is a term that cannot be easily defined or realized in its perimeter and so it is described in the literature. Unsurprisingly, it is also blurred. A limited number of books describe the role of civil society from the year of 1990s and 2015s. From these limited works, I have tried to elaborate and express the role of civil society in the political process of Bangladesh [1990-2015]. Few of the reviews of literature are given below:

Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba in their pioneering work titled "The Civic Culture" (1972) explained how political development happened in the various countries of Europe and America. A Comparative analysis has been done among the people of five countries of UK, USA, Italy, Germany and Mexico. In their work they describe elaborately about political socialization. They have suggested a "Model" for political culture.

"Democracy: An Analytical Survey" (1995) by Jean Baechler is an authentic work on Democracy and Democracy related question. He tries to find why democracy cannot flourish in various societies and discusses various man and the nature of the political order. In society there are Free man, Calculating man, End-oriented man, Problematic man, Social man, Conflicting man and Political man and so on. Besides, he discusses corruption of democracy and democratic deficiencies.

In "Democracy and the Challenge of Development"(1995), Moudud Ahmed explores elaborately the inception of democracy in Bangladesh and its crisis. He finds that every political leader or party talks about democracy but democracy cannot be engrained at all in this country for various reasons. Democracy continues to be the dream and aspiration of the people of this country but the aspiration remained unfulfilled for several reasons. It is an authentic work on democracy and democracy related question in this country.

"Political Essays on National and International Issues" Part-1 (2004) by Emajuddin Ahmed is an amalgamation of a number of national issues of Bangladesh. In this book, he firstly talks about numerous dimension of democracy and after it he discusses democratic failure in this country. He raises various national concerns in this country and talks about its relation with neighboring India.

In "Democracy and Good Governance" (2006), Prof. Dr. Emajuddin Ahmed describes and analyzes democracy and good governance in Bangladesh in thirteen chapters. He describes elaborately Bangladesh's democracy in "Democratic order in Bangladesh". He examines religion and ethnicity in democratic order, The military and democracy in Bangladesh, the challenges of Bangladesh, the Muslim World and thoughts of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and so on.

 "Democracy, Governance and Security Reforms: Bangladesh Context"(2008) edited by Mufleh R.Osmany and Shaheen Afroze is work on political development and security issues of Bangladesh. They talk about civil society and democracy in Bangladesh. They also talk about corruption and Governance in combating Poverty. In their book they try to discuss Democracy, Governance and Security Reforms in this country particularly.

 "Bangladesh: on the threshold of the twenty-first century"(2002) edited by A.M.Chowdhury and Fakrul Alam is also a good work on Bangladesh. It is an article on Bangladesh written by Rehman Sobhan. In this article Sobhan discuss the major problem of Bangladesh. He also illustrates the role of civil society in Bangladesh and he is hopeful about its role in future time.

"Public Intellectuals and Partisanship in Bangladesh" (2012) by Nelofar Parvin is an excellent work on public intellectuals and civil society in Bangladesh. It is a unique creation on public intellectuals of Bangladesh. In this book, the writer discusses public intellectuals in Bangladesh authentically and uniquely. It is furnished with the knowledge and skill of participating in the development of the civil society as well as democracy in Bangladesh. It is also a great annexure in the

knowledge of public intellectuals in Bangladesh. Civil society is mainly termed as public intellectuals. The study argues that a partisan attitude has adverse impact on the critical function of public intellectuals, and it comprises both the intellectual's public role and the development of democracy as a whole.

"Bangladesh: Promise and Performance" (2000) by Rounaq Jahan is also a good work on civil society in Bangladesh. In this book, the author discusses the actual history of Bangladesh and civil society. The author elaborates in twelve chapters the identity questions of Bengalis, Bangladesh's social, political, economic as well as recent issues and lastly civil society and its perspectives in general. She finds that democratic governance has proved to be difficult project for the leadership in Bangladesh. All successive regimes in Bangladesh have fallen short on their promises to promote economic prosperity, social justice and people's welfare. The author also discusses NGO related question of civil society in Bangladesh in the twenty first century.

"Bangladesh: Politics, Economy and Civil Society" (2018) by David Lewis is also a marvelous work on civil society in Bangladesh. This foreign author researches Bangladesh abruptly and finds state, politics and institutions of Bangladesh as illiberal as democracy. He also criticizes past politics and administration of Bangladesh. In chapter four of his book, he discusses nongovernmental actors and civil society in Bangladesh. He comments that, Bangladesh is sometimes regarded as possessing a "strong" civil society. Yet, this is oversimplification according to him because understanding of civil society is quietly needed to go beyond NGOs. He demands more active role of civil society as it has a glorious past. He explores poverty and economic transformation and many other resources unique to Bangladesh.

"Bangladesh Politics: Problems and Issues"(2017) by Rounaq Jahan is a good historical recent illustration on politics of Bangladesh and its problems. In sixteen chapters, the author starts with the western model of democracy and the performance of Asian leaders. He finds that all things of western model of democracy are not suited to eastern part. She argues that the Asian leaders by and large are committed to the liberal democratic model of government and politics before independence. After independence, they reject or adapt the model arguing that some of the values and goals of the model are in conflict with each other at least in the short run. In another twelve chapters, she discusses various problems of Bangladesh and the role of civil society to some extent.

"Bangladesh in the Mirror: An Outsider Perspective on a Struggling Democracy" (2006) by A. T. Rafiqur Rahman is a work on power, politics and andolon in Bangladesh. He also discusses good governance and human rights in Bangladesh. He finds that democratic empowerment of people is more rhetoric than institutional. In his book, he illustrates that there is hardly any cabinet minister with a few exceptions who are beyond the suspicion of corruption evident both from himself and looking at his or her immediate family members. According to him, one cannot find a single study on any development or governance in Bangladesh that will not register corruption and inefficiency. He also discusses various problems in Bangladesh.

The above reviews show that there are many works on civil society but the concept civil society is blurred and difficult to define from the very beginning. At the end, it is also true that the work on civil society in recent perspectives is meager. There are few books on recent civil society activities. For this reason, it is necessary to work with the role of civil society in recent political process in Bangladesh.

5. Aims and Objectives of the Study

The main purpose of this study is to observe the role of civil society after the mass upsurge of 1991 up to 2015. Thereby, the main research question of the study is: which type of role is played by the civil society since 1990 to 2015 in the political process in Bangladesh? From that, some questions arise about the role of civil society within the particular time period. Such as:

a. Has civil society ensured accountability of government in the electoral process of Bangladesh during 1990-2015? Has it been able to work as the counterpart of government?

b. How much has it contributed in the democratic process of the country?

c. What was the role of civil society in various movements during this time period? Has civil society been able to work as a watchdog of the society?

d. How much does civil society maintain its autonomy? What is its position in different public issues of the society?

e. Is it able to raise public issues effectively apart from party alliance?

f. What are the challenges which civil society is facing in performing its role during this time period?

6. Methodology

Methodology is defined as a series of choices about what information and data to gather, how to analyze the information and data that are gathered and other methodological choices. It is also defined as a systematic way to solve a problem. It is a procedure by which researchers go about their work by describing, explaining and predicting about the entire research. In a research the method section is very important because it tells how one plan to tackle one's research problems. There are two well known methods within field of research, they are, quantitative and qualitative research.

As my research will observe the role of civil society in the political process of Bangladesh, few interviews will be taken from politicians. In my quantitative methodology I have used survey method for the study. The respondents belong to different sectors of the society and they will evaluate the role of civil society in the political process since 1990 to 2015.

6.1 **Sampling or selection of respondents**: Civil society is viewed as the "third sector" which is starkly distinct from government and business class. Civil society organizations are sometimes called "intermediary institutions" because these organizations include professional associations, community and social groups, non government organizations(NGOs), trade unions, self-help groups, advocacy groups, social and political movements and whatnot.

The constitution of the republic guarantees a number of fundamental rights including the right of association and right to express the opinion through different types of organizations. This right is the basis of the formation and existence of civil society organizations in Bangladesh. In this connection, the civil society in Bangladesh includes various types of organizations, associations and movements. In Bangladesh, civil society includes various types of organizations. For instance, professional groups, socio-cultural organizations, citizen's groups representing different geographical locations, the labor unions, different types of non-government organizations, small local clubs and so on. For this reason I have taken survey method from different groups of civil society to know their opinion about the role of civil society in recent political process of Bangladesh.

6.2 Survey Method: The study has conducted the survey with the help of the conscious people of the country who are aware of the various role of civil society. In this respect, men from different sectors are selected from Dhaka City. This city is chosen in terms of rich resource and resourceful person. Total 100 surveys are conducted in Dhaka city. About 50 respondents has been chosen from Dhaka North and 50 from Dhaka South.

Table 1: Survey from the Citizens of Dhaka City (100 surveys from Dhaka North and 100 surveys   from Dhaka South)

No.	Category	Number
1.	Students(Public/Private)	20
2.	Professionals(Governments/Non-Governments)(Teachers,Doctors,Engineer,GovernmentOfficials)	20
3.	Businessmen(Small Businessmen/Industrialists/Businessmen)	20
4.	Voluntary Organizations(literary and Cultural Organizations, Non-government Organizations)	20
5.	Conscious People(Working People/Housewives/Youth)	20
	Total	100

6.3 In-depth Interviews: I have taken around 05 in-depth interviews from different actors of civil society purposefully. The actors and number of interviews which are taken are described on the following table One. In addition, around three interviews are taken from the politicians belonging to the leading political parties of Bangladesh. One is a member of Bangladesh Awami League, one is associated with Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) and the other comes from Islamist party of Bangladesh respectively. Table two presents the list elaborately below:

Table 2: List of Interviewee Civil Society Actors

No.	Category(Actors of Civil Society)	No. of Interviews
1.	Academics	01
2.	Journalists/Media Personalities	01
3.	Student Leaders	01
4.	NGOs/Voluntary Organizations	01
5.	Politicians	01
	Total	05

6.4 Data Collection and Fieldwork :

I have taken around three months to collect my data from the fieldwork. Table three describes the fieldwork schedule of my study.

Table 3: Stages of Research and Fieldwork schedule

(August 2020 to October2020)

	Fieldwork Activities	Timetable
1.	Research Design and prepare schedule and questionnaire	1 August-15 August
2.	Appoint and train research assistants	16 August -31 August
3.	Conduct in-depth interviews	1 September -15 October
4.	Conduct semi-structure questionnaire survey	1 September -30 September
5.	Compile data from relevant documents and other sources	15 October -30 October

6.5 Data Analysis:

The collected data has been validated through cross-checking with each other and with the secondary sources.

7. Chapter Outline:

This study is formed by seven chapter. The name of its are given below:
1. Introduction
2. Concept of civil society: an observation
3. The role of civil society in the political process of Bangladesh
4. Civil society in political movements, social protests and public issues (1990 to 2015)
5. Politics and politicization of civil society in Basngladesh
6. Findings and analysis
7. Conclusion

8. Significance of the Study:

1. This study has been conducted on the role of civil society for strengthening political process of the country. The civil society in Bangladesh is very vibrant historically. The role of civil society in different spheres of life is increasing day by day and the government welcomes the same for sharing development responsibilities. However, the polarization process of the ruling party has made the role of the people questionable. The result of the study is that it invokes both the government and civil society to make necessary changes in their present approaches to development ensuring more relevance, efficient and effective efforts.

2. Despite having significant success in poverty alleviation and disaster management, civil society's approach to development efforts still has not been emerged as a field of academic exercise. This study will be helpful for guiding different role for the success of democracy in Bangladesh.

3. Civil society is recognized as a development partner of the government of Bangladesh. Civil society with formulating new policies, rules and guidelines is recognized as a development partner of Bangladesh government though the partnership will not be successful if they are not in accordance with each other. The outcome of the study will be to provide necessary information for framing public policy in this field.

Chapter-2

Concept of Civil Society: An Observation

Chapter-2

Concept of Civil Society: An Observation

2.1 Introduction

Civil Society as a concept contains elements that are diverse, complex, contentious and above all difficult to define. It is defined in various ways by a variety of political and social theorists. In general sense civil society is an intermediate layer between state and citizen. In today's world role of civil society is increasing. The horizon of civil society is also expanding. Many philosophers try to define this concept. They use this concept to solve all social problem. But no one even at this time can best answer the concept. The concept civil society has an overlapping relation with the citizens and the state and other actor also. That is why the role of civil society is still undefined. Within this various ambiguity the concept of civil society still thought to be the main instrument to restructure the society and state simultaneously. There are ambiguity in terms it characteristics and boundaries also. So, civil society as a concept needs to be clarified and also well functioning. We need to pay more attention to make the concept clarified and make it acceptable for everyone.

2.2 Concept of "Civil Society"

There is no commonly agreed definition of Civil Society. Many scholars think that the definition of the concept of civil society is sometimes meaningless because of its ambiguous nature. In general, civil society is a group of people having regular concern for the social and political affairs of a country not being involved in the political parties.

According to World Bank, "These CSOs include NGOs, trade unions, faith based organizations, indigenous peoples movement, foundations and many others"[1].

---

[1] .webpage: www.worldbank.org, accessed on 5th June, 2018

The United Nation's Development Programs (UNDP) argues, "Civil Society is together with state and market, one of the three spheres that interface in the making of democratic society".

"A Civil society is a public space between the state, the market and the ordinary household, in which people can debate and tackle action"[2].

According to United Nations (UN), "Civil Society is the third sector of society along with government and business"[3].

According to Parnini, "Civil Society and its building blocks cannot replace a state; they may have a complementary role by engaging government bureaucracy to be more productive and efficient"[4].

There are also some who uses civil society and civilized society synonymously. However, they are totally different in nature and function. There are also who use civil society and its opposite as uncivil society.

American writer Larry Diamond views civil society as the sphere that keeps the state in check.

Civil society is not only check the state but also make the state to happen. Civil society is the mouth of the nation. It is a space for open dialogue. Civil society used to describe an overlap relation between different spheres. Civil society is also used as space between state, market, family and private sphere. It creates a space family and the state also. It work as a bridge between family and the state. Civil society is the passive beneficiary but active participant.

---

[2] .webpage: www.bbc.co.uk, accessed on 23th August, 2019

[3] Newsletter: www.un.org, accessed on 20th March, 2020

[4] .Parnini, S.N.(2006)"Civil Society and Good Governance in Bangladesh", in the Asian Journal of Political Science, Vol-14, No.4,P-189.

Again, there is an overlap between different actors of civil society. These actors of civil society are reciprocal as well as changeable with time, space and manner. As a concept, civil society also changes.

2.3 History of Civil Society:

A number of influential philosophers pondered about the welfare of the society in terms of people's participation from ancient time. From the ancient world it can be found that people are aware about their duty and responsibility for living in a society. Here for living in a society people face many problems. Such as they face conflict, fear, greed, bias, lawlessness and many others. In this time war was the frequent result of this type of conflict. However, the history of civil society originated almost two thousand years ago. It was initiated by the great Greek Philosopher Socrates. Socrates was the first man who two thousand years ago think about the welfare of the society. After him Plato thought about it who was the student of Socrates. Plato wants to make an ideal state. In this state every man is divided into three categories in according to their quality. Plato divided a person into three parts; an appetite, a spirit and reason. According to Plato, a just society is one in which people dedicate themselves to the common good. In an ideal state people are only perform the duty given them by their authority. Plato wanted to build ideal state where it is ruled by the Philosopher King. After him Aritotle wrote about politics in that time. He studied more than 100 constitution of the state in that time. By comparing all this constitution he gets the solution and he wrote it in her great work "politics".

The medieval idea is based on differentiating between state and society. In this time society was not developed rapidly as in the ancient civilization. Relation between state and religion is the basic question of medieval period. This medieval period is mainly passed through conflict and war. For this it can be termed as an age of darkness. This vital question is to be found in the work of Hobbes, Lockes,

Roussoue and many other. Three of them renowned for their social contract theory. It was first found in the great work of Hobbes. He found religion to be potential for conflicts. Thomas Hobbes and John Locke believed in a peaceful coexistence of human beings. According to them this peaceful coexistence only can be achieved by social contracts and pacts. For them, the state was a part of civil society. They distinguish ruler and the ruled. By distinguishing it they make contribution to the concept of civil society.

Adam Ferguson developed the concept of civil society on a moral basis. On the other side, Tocqueville presented civil society as a network of non-political social organizations that strengthened democracy. He allowed civil society to be involved in governance. While Locke, Ferguson and Tocqueville based their concepts of civil society on a distinction between state and society, Adam Smith focused on the difference between society and markets. In Hegels analysis economy is a part of civil society. The work of Marx is based on class antagonism. On the other hand, Gramsi defined the concept of civil society that is different from the economy and the state.

Civil society is a very robust concept. It was clarified by many philosophers throughout its history. But it remains ambiguous even in modern world. However, we are still in need of a strong civil society and its forms.

2.4 Understanding of Civil Society:

Civil Society refers an interactive space between different institutions of society. In theory, it is distinct from the state, family and market. At the same time it is distinct from private, public and civic sphere of a society. Despite that there is also other overlapping relation between civil societies also. Major of the connections are given below:

State, Family and Market: "there is no consensus and universally accepted definition about civil society or organization formed to represent civil society, but one way to think of it is in terms of activities undertaken for the public good by groups or individuals in the space between the family, the state and the market."[5]
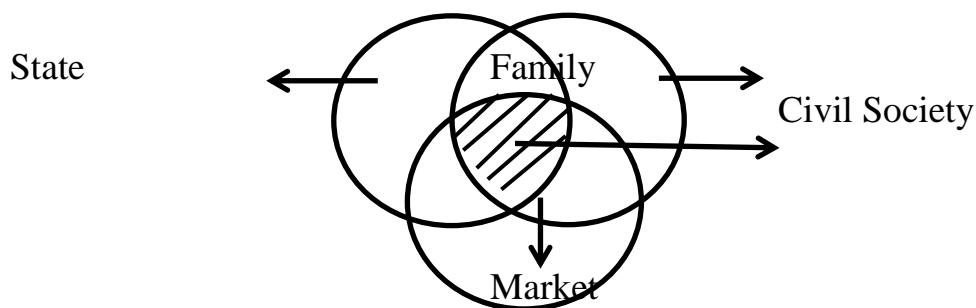
Figure 1: Civil society relation between state, family & market.

State and Family: "Civil Society as a non- state, non-profit, voluntary organization constituted by people within the social sphere of civil society has been gaining increasingly accepted understand of the term and this organization draws from community, neighborhood, work, social and other connections, which have

---

[5] .Salmon L. M. and Ancheier H. K. (1998),Social Origins of Civil Society: Explaining the Non – Profit Sector Cross – Nationality", Voluntus: International Journal of Voluntary and Non Profit Organization,Vol -9, No-3, p.p.-213-248.

become a common channel for people seeking to exercise citizenship and contribute to social and economic change ""[6].
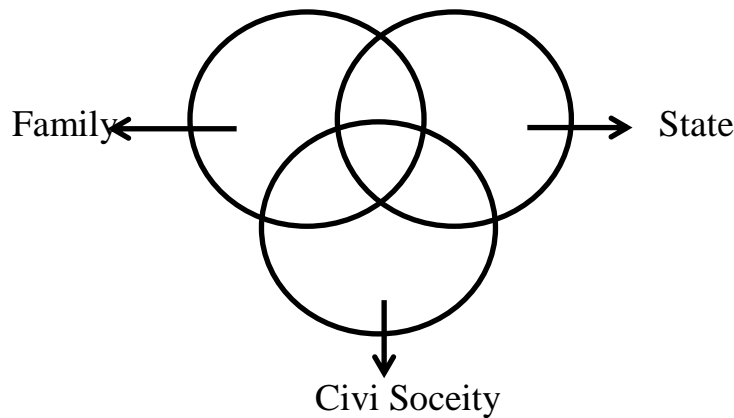
Figure 2: Relation between family, state & civil society

Public, Private and Citizen Sector: Civil society differs from the public and the private sectors. While the public sector is characterized by the concepts of power, authority, legitimacy and democracy, the private sector is characterized by the markets, competition, profits, customership and consumerism. Civil society is, on the other hand, characterized by citizen's spontaneity and activeness. Civil society is sometimes referred to as the civil sector, a term that is used to differentiate it from other sectors that comprises the functioning of the society. The civil sector act in the public's interest but are not motivated by profit or government.
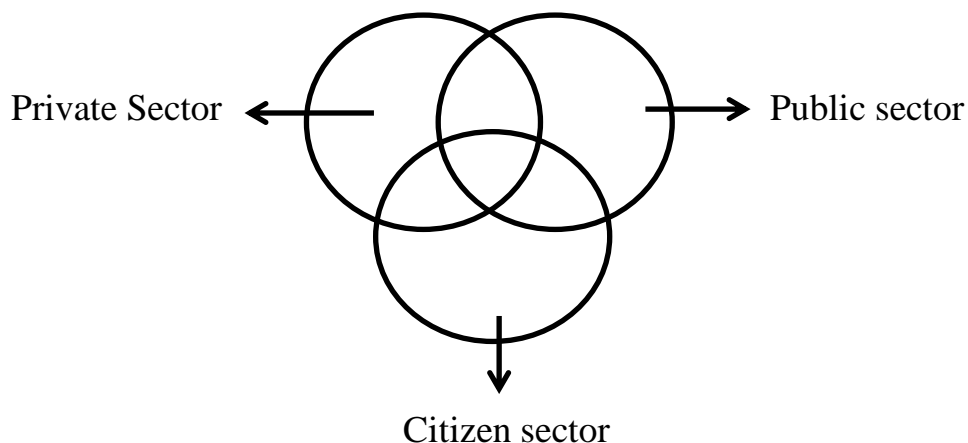
Figure 3: Relation between public, private & citizen sector

---

[6] WHO (2002) "Understanding Civil Society: Issues for WHO", Discussion Paper No -2, CSI/2002/DP2, https:/www.who.int/civilsociety.

2.5 Boundaries of Civil Society:

Boundaries of civil society can be distinguished into three categories. They are:

1. Local

2. National

3. International.

The boundaries of civil society are local, national and international. The concept of civil society is basically local. It make a voice for the need of the local people. When they become popular by their work they become national. Not only has that civil society with the spread of information and technology become broader. Globalization brought the world much closer to the people. Civil society can be local. At the same time, it can be national and international also. When a person or an organization raises concern about important national issues can be termed as national civil society. On the other hand, when a person or an organization is vocal about global problem or something that is important; then we can term them as global civil society. Global civil society is a recent concept. In this age of globalization where everything becomes global, it is also true that the concept of civil society has become global as well. Global civil society is a new concept and it can be used as a platform for solving global problem. This type of civil society is needed because we can solve our problem by solving others. Though the boundaries of civil society can be categorized but we cannot differentiate them. They are closely intertwined with one another.

2.6 Actors of Civil Society:

A civil society is comprised of groups or organizations working for the interests of the citizens. It works not for profit sectors. It encompasses all collective actions for delivering the common good. Not all people in a society are part of civil society.

When a person or group of people make voice about others need not for self interest than we termed it as a civil society actor. Now in the modern world when all are connected to everyone the actors of civil society also become vast based on their function. Civil society organizations can be small or large. It can be religious, academic, charities, association and institution of not for profit and so on. It also include: 1. Academia, 2.Activist groups, 3.Charities, 4.Clubs (Sports, Social etc.), 5.Community foundations, 6.Community organizations, 7.Consumer organizations, 8.Cooperatives, 9.Foundations, 10.Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), 11.Non- Profit Organizations (NPOs), 12.Political Parties, 13.Private Voluntary Organization (PVOs), 14.Professional associations, 15.Religious Organizations, 16.Social Enterprise, 17.Social movement organizations, 18. Support groups, 19.Trade Unions, 20. Voluntary Associations and the others.

In short the actors of civil society can be summarized by the quotation given below:

"Civil societies are often populated by organizations such as registered charities, development non-governmental organizations, community groups, women's organizations, faith-based organizations, professional associations, trade unions, self-help groups, social movements, business associations, coalitions and advocacy groups"[7].

Actors of civil society cannot be defined nor are they selected. Every member of a society can raise public issue. In that time they may be a part of civil society. So, actors of civil society are undefined and it varied with time and spaces. Overall, some group of society either professional or philanthrophic can be termed as civil society actor.

---

[7] Wood.T.(2007)"Civil Society and Good Governance: An Introduction" http://www.dev-zone.org

2.7 Characteristics of Civil Society:

The formation of civil society is usually associated society and politics. Collective human welfare is the basic of civil society. Here civil society has many dimension and also nature. For this we can found many characteristics of civil society. Some of the major characteristics of civil society are given below:

1. Membership: The membership of civil society does not include all the people of the society. Rather, it includes the few who make their voice for public welfare, not for their own. Thereby, the membership of civil society is not permanent but it changes with time and for reason.

2. Actors and Objects: In civil society people are at the same time actors and objects of the action. They act as a member of civil society and, at the same time, they are the object of that act. At the same time actors and object of civil society can be defined because it varied with time and space.

3. Office: When civil society exercises its civic duty of self- governance, it is advanced. The term civil society is inter-related with office where the members of civil society keep a position. It is not necessary that all the civil society members or organizations will have offices. However, most of them have offices though these are not for civic engagement,

4. Activeness: Civil society is not always active in all matters. Still they have impact on peoples live when they come up with public concerns. They will participate to make their voice. Though they sometimes can not agree with all matters, spontaneity and activeness of citizens are generated. It came from the willingness to participate.

5. Influence: Most of the common characteristics of civil society is that it can influenced a society by sharing their thoughtful eye. It provides an important dimension in politics.

6. Charitable: The work of civil society is basically charitable. No payment is happened for the work of civil society. Their work is basically charitable in nature.

7. Voluntariness: One of the most central characteristics of civil society is voluntariness. The member of civil society can also be termed as volunteer.

8. Force: The basis of civil society is willingness. Here no one is to force to do anything. The function of civil society is also based on willingness to participated.

9. Locality: Most of the civil society work is now based on local. Without raising local problem national problem cannot be resolved. Nowadays locality is becoming global and there are global civil society initiatives.

10. Ethics and Solidarity: Civil society generally includes the dimension of ethics and solidarity. Actually, problems exists in all spheres of humans activities and civil society is not different in this issue. Like the different parts of human life, problems exist in civil society too. But ethics and solidarity is the foremost characteristics of the concept of civil society.

12. Trusteeship: Trusteeship is the basic characteristics of civil society. The function of civil society is basically based on trusteeship.

13. Accountability: Civil society is accountable to the society for all of their work. They have accountability of their work. At the same time it has no direct reward.

14. Justice and Equity: Civil society is advanced when citizens are able to use basic civic freedoms and rights and there are justices in the society. It is also the basic characteristics of civil society.

15. Reciprocity: Member of a society is not given equal access to its resources. But they have a great responsibility taken by themselves. In this connection, the role and function of civil society is also questionable. So the definition and its relative function are also reciprocal.

2.8 The Linkage of Civil Society and Democracy:

Politics can be defined as the struggle or competition for power or for access to the ruling community and collective goods. Democracy is a form of government where everyone is equal to the state. Democracy is opposed to dictatorship. Civil society and democracy are so closely linked and inseparably intertwined that one cannot function properly without the other. For describing role of civil society in terms of democratic institution building process a chart of the relation between Institution and Politics are given below:

Table 5: Relation between Institution and Politics

Institution	Politics
Governance	Participation
Legitimation	Legitimacy
Contestation for power	Contestation for power
Formal equality	Substantive equality
Freedom from(negative)	Freedom to(positive)
Means	Ends
Procedures	Process
Method	Project/Vision
Effectiveness	Emancipation

Democracy compared to other systems of government can offer peaceful resolution of conflict and ensure good governance. It can be defined step by step as follows:

1. Democracy is a legitimate system

2. Democracy creates institutions

3. Democracy nourishes basic values

4. Democracy is a flexible system

5. It has a pacifying effect on political actors

6. Democracy prevents conflicts

7. Democracy never fight each other

8. Democracy as a means to end in itself

Juan Linz and Alfred Stephan have argued that five inter-related conditions exist in democratic societies:

1. Spontaneous civil society.
2. Well political society.
3. Justice based on the rule of law.
4. Enable bureaucracy.
5. Institutionalized and strong economy.

Civil society and democracy are closely interconnected. The relation between civil society and democracy are given below:

1. Civil society is central to any discussion of democratization. Because it raises central issues about people well-being.
2. Civil society can alter balance of power between state and society.
3. It can improve citizenship by exercising their proper duty.
4. Civil society plays a bridging role between individual citizens and the state.

Democratic practice basically based on its institution. Here for practicing democracy in a country there is several institutional arrangements. Democratic institutions are a set of instruments for organizing political competition. Civil society is also an institution of democracy. As an institution of democracy, civil society has some roles which are important aspects of democratization process. The roles of civil society in the process of democratization are given below:

1. Civil society plays an intermediary role between state and citizen.
2. Civil society can enhance democratic culture.
3. Civil society keeps the state in check. It always keeps a watchful eye on the state.
4. Civil society maintain balance of power between different segments of society.
5. Presence of well functioning civil society resist authoritarianism.
6. Civil society is a reservoir of political, economic, cultural and moral resources to check the process of the state.

2.9   Role of Civil Society in order to make Parliamentary system workable

Democracy is a system of government that encompasses constitutional multi party regime with regular, free and fair elections. It ensures organizational and informational pluralism also. Democracy ensures civil liberties of freedom of expression, freedom of the press, freedom to form and join organizations and ensure rule of law for everyone. Democracy ensures better participation of its entire citizen.

In parliamentary system of government parliament is the corner stone of all activity of the state. All activity of the state includes law making and law enforcement initiated by the MPs of parliament. Members of the parliament are responsible for their activities to the parliament. Democracy is best suited to the parliamentary form of government. In the 1990s when mass upsurge happen the public intellectuals, civil society groups, political scientists and political parties were in favor of parliamentary form of government rather than presidential form of government.

Democratic practice is best suited in parliamentary form of government. Because of being the head of the government, the prime minister is responsible to the parliament. All the member of the parliament who is elected countrywide through general election is responsible to the parliament for their activity. In parliamentary form of government, parliament is the place of raising demand, discussing the demand. Finally, when it is scrutinized, the laws of the state come forward. These laws are equally applicable to all member of the society.

2.10 Civil Society as watch dog

Democracy is not a process of a one day or institutional set up. Rather, it is a process of practice for many years. It takes long time to be deep rooted in the society. In democracy civil society has a great role. They can make democracy successful. They always keep watchful eye on the state. But everyone in the society is not following the rules. Everyman is different to everyone in a society. Among many diversity and opinion state has to do their duty. State has the responsibility to ensure justice to everyone which is the base of democracy. In this connection, several points regarding uncertainties of democratic consolidation are given below:

1. Use of money and muscle power.

2. Defective voter lists.

3. Corruption of Officials.

4. Reality of losers blaming

5. Behavioral problem of some people

Civil society plays an important role by supplying ideas, advocating and acting as pressure group, creating a demand for reform, mobilizing public opinion and above all collecting candidate's background. They can perform the role of watchdog by informing, managing, collecting and other election related activities for the success of democracy. More specifically, civil society can play a very significant role:

1. By sharing their thoughtful observation with mass people, because they are more enrich than the mass people.

2. Talk to several parties without losing credibility.

3. Communicate directly at the grassroots population.

4. Informed citizenry.

5. Manage the conflicting issues by their close observation.

Civil society is the most conscious part of society. They are aware about the daily activities of the state. Not all men in society are part of civil society because they are not aware about civic knowledge. Civil society member are expected that they are properly educated. They are not driven by blind support or rumor. They are conscious mind of society in terms of education, morality, dignity and overall self respect.

In practical sense, civil society work as a watchdog of a society. They always keep watchful eye about what happened in society. If injustice is noticed in society they protest. They are the voice of the nation.

2.11 Conclusion:

The term civil society originated when philosopher tried to think about their collective good by means of their social responsibility. It originated from the great Greek philosopher Socrates. It continued by his predecessor Plato and Aristotle and Alexander. Throughout many years, many philosophers pondered over how we can achieve collective good by means of individual interest but it cannot be best answered even now. In today's world, civil society has become intertwined with many other concepts. The member of civil society has also varied over time and space. The member of civil society has no political ambition. They are not willing to exercise state power. However, in today's world, civil society has become partitioned along party lines in some countries that greatly affect the morality of that society. Though partitionship have some positive effects, extreme partitionship is bad for a society. Despite this, there are other problems of civil society. Actually, the definition, characteristics, actors and boundaries of civil society is varied and it cannot define accurately of what civil society actually means.

References:

1. Ardian Kastrati(2016),"Civil Society from Historical to Contemporary Perspectives" in European Journal of Multidisciplinary Studies, Vol.1, No.1,Jan-Apr 2016.
2. Fahimul Quadir(1999),"Democracy, Development and Civil Society in Bangladesh: The Quest for a New Praxis for Sustainability", Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Dalhousie University.
3. Nelofar Parvin (2012), "Public Intellectuals and Partisanship in Bangladesh" in Public Intellectuals and Partisanship in Bangladesh, Dhaka, Academic Press and Publishers Library, P-211-226.
4. Gabriel Almond & Sidney Verba(1963),The Civic Culture Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
5. Baxter, Craig(1992),"Bangladesh in 1991: A Parliamentary System", Asian Survey, 32,2:146-152.

6. Moudud Ahmed(1995),"Crisis of Democracy", in Democracy and the Challenge of Development, Dhaka, University Press Limited, P-364-379.
7. Jean Baechler(1995)"The Nature of the Political Order" in Democracy : An Analytical Survey, Paris,UNESCO Publishing,P-11-29.
8. Jean Baechler(1995)"Corruption of Democracy" in Democracy : An Analytical Survey, Paris, UNESCO Publishing,P-165-181..
9. A.M.Chowdhury & Fakrul Alam(2002),"Bangladesh on the threshold of the Twenty-First Century: an agenda for change" in Bangladesh on the threshold of the Twenty-First Century, Dhaka, Asiatic Society of Bangladesh,P-3-19.
10. T.C.Pocklington(1994),"Introduction: Government" in Representative Democracy: an Introduction to politics and Government, Canada, Harcourt Brace & Company, P-34-48.
11. Md. Al Amin(2008),"In Search of Reality: Promoting Democratic Good Governance Through Civil Society" in Asian Affairs, Vol-30,No.1:5-20, January-March.
12. Muntasssir Mamoon & Jayanta Kumar Ray(1998),"Civil Society in Bangladesh", in Civil Society in Bangladesh: Resilience and Retreat, Dhaka, Subarna, P-9-36.
13. www.chs.ubc.ca
14. Rory O'Brien(1999),"Philosophical History of the idea of Civil Society"
http://www.web.net/~robrien/papers/civhist.html

Chapter -3

The Role of civil society in the Political Process of Bangladesh (1990-2015)

Chapter -3

The Role of civil society in the Political Process of Bangladesh (1990-2015):

3.1 Introduction

Bangladesh's political history has been turbulent. Its institutions of government have remained cumbersome, fragile and unresponsive to people's needs. Such problems have roots in the colonial period as well as in Pakistani period. After a devastated and bloody war of liberation, Bangladesh has emerged as an independent state. It started with democratic system of government that was short lived. From 1975 to 1990 Bangladesh was essentially under military rule. Through a mass movement, parliamentary democracy was re-established in this country. Sorrowfully, even after the return of democratic elections in 1991, the parliament has failed to emerge as the main institution for public debate. After 1990s, the press and civil society organizations have become increasingly active in protesting and publicizing human rights violations and public welfare issues. But after some period of practicing of democracy, the grey side of democracy as a third world country becomes apparent. Factional politics become the order of the day. Every segment of the society became politicized. Civil society also becomes partitioned with party alliance. However, after three general elections conducted on the basis of electoral democracy, military backed care taker government came to power. It deteriorated the democratic practice of this country. Though the military backed care taker government introduces electronic voter ID card to identify the right person but it was not fruitful. Democracy in this country is still a one day game.

3.2 The Composition of Civil Society in Bangladesh:

Civil Society seems to stage a comeback in the late 1980s. Bangladesh with the modern world also takes democracy as its state policy and liberalization as its economic base. As a developing country of the third world the people of Bangladesh also started to make voice for the democratic rule in this country.

Democracy is already achieved by popular participation. But it take long time to florish.

Civil Society" in Bangladesh's socio-political discourses is a new concept and there is no consensus on its scope and perimeter. Most common view about civil society is that it comprises non-governmental, on-profit, non-political organization and associations that exists to promote multiple interests of citizens. It includes organs of press and broadcasting; trade unions; religious; sports; environmental; community; hobby; past time groups and other various groups. Individual person when representing individual or group interest can also be termed as the member of civil society. Viewed in this perspective civil society can be seen as:

1. An element of democratic institution building.

2. As vehicle for exercise of freedom of speech, assembly, associations and institution; and information.

3. As informed, influence and take part on major national issues.

4. As a vehicle for promoting equitable access to resources for all in the society.

5. As a means for researching, discerning, articulating as well as disseminating on public policy related issues and its impact on society.

6. As a tool for registering protests.

7. As a means of delivering common goods and social services.

In Bangladesh, civil society groups specially the social and cultural organizations and professional associations have always been active and have played a significant role. After the birth of Bangladesh, they continue to influence state and society. But it was limited for military dictatorship. Civil society in Bangladesh is the key player in the identity related issues. They also spontaneously participated in the mass upsurge. The demand for war crimes trial and the resistance of the religious extremists is their major contribution. Civil society in Bangladesh are also termed in relation to NGOs. Thousands of NGOs work in Bangladesh. They also try to influence the society. NGOs become a major part of society that they often interchangeably used with civil society also.

"Bangladesh started with a tradition of civil society activism and in three decades since independence, civil society has gained in strength and skills. In the 1970s and the 1980s NGOs started mobilizing millions of people in various group activities

related to income, health, education and other services. During the 1990s NGOs began to organize people around human rights issues."[8]

In perspective of The Bangladesh Constitution civil society work on the provision of Article 27,28,29 which is entitled to the fundamental rights of freedom of speech and expression, association and assembly. Civil society in Bangladesh has all constitutional arrangement. So, the work of civil society in this country is constitutional. Any type of influence on civil society is a complete violation of constitution. But it is our failure that even now we cannot we establish justice in the society. However, these entire factors are cause of failure for the weak contributions to democracy of civil society in this country.

3.3 The Role of Civil Society in the Political Process of Bangladesh

Bangladesh is endowed with rich culture and tradition. But it has faced serious problems throughout its history. It was started with the terrible pouring of human lives during the war of liberation in 1971. It continues with mass poverty, environmental vulnerability, foreign conspiracy, inward and outward migration, set of problems relating to political instability and poor governance. Yet Bangladesh has also made considerable progress during this time. The political history of Bangladesh was not a history of stability rather a history of great instability. The role of civil society in the political process of Bangladesh was not always the same. Bangladesh in its first 50 years of independence faced military intervention for many times and the people of this country did not take it positively. The people of this country love their land, languages, culture as well as democracy. That is why they have sacrificed a lot. The role of civil society in the political process of Bangladesh in different phase is given below:

---

[8] A.M. Chowdhury & Fakrul Alam(2002),"Political Development" by Rounaq Jahan in Bangladesh: on the threshold of the Twenty-First Century, Dhaka, Asiatic Society Bangladesh,P-58.

3.3.1 Role of Civil Society in British Colonial Period (British Period):

Bangladesh is endowed with rich culture and tradition attacking the foreigners to intervene. Before foreign intervention, Bangladesh was a rich state around the world. But after the British intervention in this country resources were migrated to the British emperor in the name of colonial rule. It largely affected the countries resource and resourceful person. In this time some movement were conducted against the British rule. But all those were unsuccessful because the British colonial rulers were endowed with modern science and technology. Despite that the people of this country were not dishearten. They tried to resist their dominance by their little instrument. From history we can find many protestors who protested against British colonial rule. Besides, there are also English educated middle class in society who were aware about the British colonial rule. They can be termed as civil society in that time.

"Before independence Asian leaders placed emphasis on popular participation because people were their main strength against the colonial masters. The rationale behind self-rule was majority rule. Since most colonial powers had monopoly of the means of violence and most liberation movements were not dependent on armed conflict but rather on protests movements, massive popular involvement became essential for the success of these nationalist movements. The leaders exhorted the students, industrial labor and petty service holders that they were the vanguard of their people-that laws and rules set-up by the colonial governments were unjust and that they should break laws to participate in protest movements against the government."[9]

So, civil society in Bangladesh has a deep root and it was engrossed in the country's culture and tradition also.

3.3.2 Role of Civil Society in Pakistan Period:

At the end of the British colonial period when India was divided on the basis of the two nation theory, Bengali Muslims joined Pakistan. When the ruling elite in Pakistan started to make intervention on Bengali language and culture, Bengali

---

[9] Rounaq Jahan(2017),"Political Dimensions of Independence of Independence: Asian Leaders and the Liberal Democratic model of Government and Politics" in Bangladesh Politics: Problems and Issues, Dhaka, University Press Limited,P-2-3.

Muslims resisted it. The Pakistani ruler attacked and Bengali people stressed their Bengali identity over their Muslim identity which bound them to Pakistan.

"In course of the Pakistani rule (1947-1971), the secondary political actors of East Bengal/East Pakistan launched numerous protests and movements against what they announced as attempts by the ruling circle of Pakistan, consisting mainly of Punjabis, to impose cultural-economic-political domination upon Bengalis. The first of these successful protests took place in 1948 when the Governor General of Pakistan, M.A. Jinah, visited Dhaka, and declared that no other language except Urdu would be the state language of Pakistan"[10].

In Bangladesh an active civil society had played a major role in protest against this Pakistani rule. Because they were aware of their rich culture and tradition, they were not agreed to any intervention on their language and culture. They have a great role in the process of independence. They make the way for resistance and finally independence of this country.

3.3.3 Political Process and the Role of Civil Society in Independent Bangladesh (1971-1975):

After a devastating and bloody war, Bangladesh emerged as an independent nation state and in a period of three and half years many spectacular successes were achieved. A stable government was established, a constitution was drafted, parliamentary election was held, a new parliament was formed, parliamentary procedures were adopted, parliamentary committees were formed; and Bangladesh was recognized by the many part of the world. The constitution adopted in 1972 affirmed nationalism, democracy, socialism and secularism as the four guiding principles of the state policy. It provided a unitary and parliamentary form of government. Election was conducted by multiple parties on the basis of universal adult franchise. Fundamental rights and freedom of the judiciary was taken as the basic. Dispiritingly, the success of the first government led by the founder of the state Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was tainted when the fourth amendment of the constitution was passed. The ruling party AL termed these change as "Second Revolution". According to the government, "Second Revolution" was necessary to

---

[10] . Muntassir Mamoon & Jayanta Kumar Ray(1998),"Civil society in Bangladesh" in Civil Society in Bangladesh: Resilience and retreat,Dhaka,Subarna publication,P-16.

control the ultra leftists because they were committing the terrorist activities as a result of which thousand of AL workers were killed.

"Though some of the leaders of the opposition political parties who joined BAKSAL were accommodated in the 115 member central committee, none of them were given any role either in the key executive committee or in the five fronts of the party. Moreover all the factions of the Awami League were given participation in BAKSAL."[11]

There was social cleavages unrest in society. Though the new nation started well there were internal and external forces against the liberation war. The country also faced famine in that time for which many people were died for the want of food. The Government became affected by all these turbulent factors. In such a situation, the government had taken different steps to run the country and change the constitution abruptly. This step of government was not positive by many. Civil society at that time was not vocal because the country faced a turbulent war of Liberation before it. In this war, downtrodden people dared to say something because of social cleavages and national and international pressure inside and outside of the country. The educated middle class also could not raise its voice. Many of them killed in the liberation war. Although independence had achieved already.

The main trends and tendencies of politics of this period can be summarized as follows:

1. There was no smooth political relationship between the government and the opposition parties.

2. Invented measures and institutional setup had proved to be insufficient to resolve the problem.

3. Violent political path was taken by the government and the opposition.

4. Political elites and political parties completely failed to erect alternative institutions and leadership.

As a result, when the government party AL seemed to fail to tackle the political situation, there was no opposition or leader or party to fill in the gap. This made

---

[11] .Rounaq Jahan(2017),"Bangladesh Constitutional Experimentation in the Aftermath" in Bangladesh Politics: Problems and Issues, Dhaka, University Press Limited, P-157.

avenues for armed forces to interfere in politics. This interference directly or indirectly lasted for long. In the liberation war of 1971, Pakistani army killed many intellectuals and the people who were alive had no eager to further protest or say anything against the regime or injustice. In this time the role of civil society was very limited.

3.3.4 Political Process and the Role of Civil Society in Bangladesh during 1975-1979

After the assassination of Shiekh Mujibur Rahman in 1975, a number of coups and counter coups were happened. At last Zia-ur-Rahman emerged as a "strong man". His rule provided a relatively stable regime. A liberation war hero, Zia pursued various strategies to restore democracy in the country.

Zia took various measures to legalize his regime. He firstly started multi party system in the state. By a referendum he changed the basic principal of the state. He initiates local government as the root level practice of democracy. He take different strategy in terms of foreign policy also. Through all these measures Zia completed the "democratization" process of his regime. Zia took liberal view and he took different strategies from the strategies of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. During Zia's rule the banned political parties were allowed to function, the second parliamentary election was held (1979), the parliament started functioning, and political parties and party workers began to engage themselves in competitive activities. Zia attempted to build support in rural areas as well. He introduced the Gram Sarker or "village government" system. In the foreign policy sphere, the country moved away from its earlier ties. Zia's took second FYP (1980-1985) that is still listed as the central to the discourse of development. General Zia's regime had ushered in the second phase of the Bangladeshi political system. Sadly, it did not last long. Mascarenhas described these as, "how just like Mujib, General Zia had squandered his earlier popularity "and become the target of 20 minutes and coup attempts in five years".

" As a result, the masses were no longer as enthusiastic about political struggle as they were before independence, when they believed that a political change would necessarily bring about betterment of their socio-economic conditions. Ziaur

Rahman's survival in power, in part, reflects this changed mood of the masses, who are now more cautious about bringing in political change"."[12].

Zia-ur-Rahman took various innovative strategies in government and politics and state administration and development related innovative work. In this time Zia tried to initiate multi-party government and make politics free for every people, but he was failed. With his assassination the hope of independent Bangladesh was locked for several years.

3.3.5 Political Process and the Role of Civil Society in Bangladesh during 1982-1990

The regime of Zia-ur-Rahman did not last long and it was ended with his assassination. After the assassination of President Zia, the repatriated senior officers took control of the Bangladesh military. After coup and counter coups General Ershad are new cabinet was composed by a mixture of army and political leaders. Ershad government return to democracy within two years. Ershad immediately began to set his power through the opening up of new lines of patronage within military and bureaucracy. Ershad then proceeded to develop new areas of policy. The first was in relation to economic affairs. He initiated NIP which had finally made a conclusives break with the economic nationalism favored by the AL. Ershad's second major policy contribution that is reorganization of local government. He set up a new administrative structure in 1982. Ershad set up the Upazila sub district system of local government. Actually it was an attempt by the military regime to build political allies in the rural areas to create legitimacy. The third area of major policy intervention was the innovative an essential drug policy adopted by the Ershad's government. By 1985 the country's economy was again in a downturn. Ershad decided to reform of the export sector into his 1986 RIP (Revised Industrial Policy) plan. Yet the RIP (Revised Industrial Policy) served only to mobilize the AL and the political opposition. Although the economy had grown from the mid-1980s, it had again stagnated by the early 1990. Popular discontent started. At the same time, much of the military's support for Ershad also started to wane. The students were active with the opposition parties in calling for Ershad's resignation. They were joined with the public sector employees and middle-class professionals. Gono Andolon was introduced from this time. The country's development NGOs who were kept a distance from the movement until

---

[12] .Rounaq Jahan(2017),"The Zia Regime: Once Again at the Starting Point" in Bangladesh Politics: Problems and Issues, Dhaka, University Press Limited, P-246-247.

the last moment, also lent their support to Ershad's removal and the introduction of parliamentary democracy.

"The movement against Ershad, which started in 1983 and gained momentum in 1987, was intensified in 1990. Civil society groups, particularly the professional associations, cultural and Women's organizations actively joined the movement. The student wings of the two major parties, the BNP and the Awami League-joined together in a united movement which forced the two parties to cooperate in a final united movement."[13]

3.3.6 Political Process and the Role of Civil Society in Bangladesh during 1991-1996

As per the "Joint Declaration of the Three Alliances" Justice Sahabuddin Ahmed assumed Presidency on 6 December 1990. He appointed 17 advisers, reconstituted the Election Commission and made necessary changes in the civil services. Under the able leadership of Justice Ahmed the fifth parliamentary election were held on 27 February 1991. It was predicted that AL would win majority seats. But in reality BNP won 140 seats out of 300 and AL secured 88, JP 35 and JI won 18 seats.

Civil society groups and international donor community take the front leadership to remove the Ershad government which ruled the country for 13 years on the backdrop of military power. Civil society groups, who had been involved in various political movements up to 1990, are for the first time showed reluctance to continue to be involved in politics of the streets. They re-established democracy in this time through mass protest and become active in the new parliamentary process in which civil society was free as they could practice the provision of the constitution that were restricted for many year by the military government.

They expected that both the Awami League and the BNP settling their differences through dialogue and constitutional means. This was a time of revival of civil society in Bangladesh. Again after independence people of this country become hopeful and civil society in this country revived.

The **AL** tried to make up for its earlier defeat. It began for recovering power. It was at this time that the fault lines in the new democratic system first become apparent. For the first time AL began calling regular Hartals. They demanded that a ninety

---

[13] .Rounaq Jahan(2017)"Bangladesh:Promise and Performance" in Bangladesh Politics: Problems and Issues,Dhaka,University Press Limited,P-284-285.

day transitional caretaker government were formed before the BNP step down. The stalemate was broken by the action of a civil-society groups and **FBCCI.** The FBCCI was joined by a coalition of trade unions, NGOs, journalists and lawyers. The thirteenth constitutional amendment was enacted in March 1996 and it called for a Non Party Caretaker Government, headed by a chief adviser in a position equivalent to that of Prime Minister. In 1996, new formalized caretaker government system was introduced and headed by retired Supreme Court Judge Justice Habibur Rahman. In the formation of care taker government civil society of this country had a great role.

3.3.7 Political Process and the Role of Civil Society in Bangladesh during 1996-2001

In the 7th parliamentary election AL won 146 seats whereas BNP won 116 seats. Sheikh Hasina formed her new government but it was with the support of the Jatiya Party. The Hasina government, however, made some significant achievement. This period saw significant increase in food production, the water-sharing treaty with India(1996) and the CHT Peace Accord of December (1997). They also successfully complete the large scale Jamuna Bridge Project. However, by the end of its term the AL government had become highly inefficient and highly corrupted. Parliament continued to be boycotted by the opposition and it was blamed that the government was abusing its majority to prevent discussion of important national issues.

Sheikh Hasina started well. She emphasized good governance and formed several Commissions including Education, Local Government, Health and Civil Administration to suggest reform measures whereas at the end of his regime, several discontent issues were raised and his major initiative was tainted by the next elected government. He passed CHT Peace Accord and it was appraised nationally and internationally. Civil society at that time was very vocal about the peace treaty and at the same time partisanship among the civil society member was seen. Every initiative was largely appreciated throughout the country civil society during that timetable.

3.3.8 Political Process and the Role of Civil Society in Bangladesh during 2001-2006

In 2001, Latifur Rahman, another Chief Justice of the Supreme Court was placed in charge of the Second Caretaker Government under the new institutionalized system. Khaleda was returned for a second term of government. The first session of Parliament was immediately boycotted by the AL and the opening session started for the first time without the participation of an opposition.

The deterioration of law and order had become a key issue for both politicians and citizens. "Operation Clean Heart" was initiated in October 2002. It recieved widespread criticism from local and international human rights groups and more than forty people had reportedly died in police custody. Civil society largely criticized this operation. It widespread criticism from human rights and other groups of civil society and international pressure forced the government to end its regime. In 2004, an elite parliamentary unit known as the Rapid Action Battalion (RAB) was set up within the police force with the involvement of military service personnel. RAB had stated with the aim of fighting against crime and terrorism. The Unit quickly became the subject of condemnation from human –rights groups. Against extra-judicial killing civil society protested. In face of their protests the government was forced to limit the function of this Special Forces(SF). Despite the fact that, Bangladesh placed at the bottom by the International Organization TI for five years successively between 2001 and 2005. It faced widespread criticism throughout the country.

3.3.9 Political Process and the Role of Civil Society in Bangladesh during 2007-2008

In Bangladesh, there was a care taker government formed for the period of 1990-91 with the understanding of the political parties. In 1996, 2001 and 2006 caretaker government was formed followed by 13th amendment of the constitution. But in 2006 political turmoil again started about handing power to the next caretaker government. Then, an extra-constitutional military backed care taker government was formed on 11 January, 2007. It governed the country nearly two years without legitimacy or constitutional basis. Throughout their tenure they had promulgated more than 100 ordinances but few of them were ratified by the present elected government. As a result they went through legitimacy crisis. Not only general people of this country without their support for them but also the civil society could

not agree with them though some member of this military backed care taker government came from the civil society.

3.3.10 Political Process and the Role of Civil Society in Bangladesh during 2008-2013

After the regime of Military Backed Care Taker Government newly elected Government of Sheikh Hasina was elected. It was believed that this election was free and fair because Bangladesh Army that was recognized nationally and also internationally controlled it. After electing, Sheikh Hasina government took much initiative. But the regimes fell far short in delivering its promises. It try to promote economic prosperity, social justice and people's welfare. But they are failed in some measure. Though the Awami League government again started with a parliamentary democracy it could not nurture the political institutions and culture needed for democratic governance. When BNP government refused to participate in the election without Caretaker government the AL government projected an election where people's participation was narrowed and AL leaders were elected unanimously that deteriorated the practice of democracy. From that time, the role of civil society started wane affecting democratic practice largely.

3.4 The Role of Civil Society in Democracy and Democratic Process:

"Moreover, Article 19 says :"(1)The State shall endeavor to ensure equality of opportunity to all citizens. (2)The State shall adopt effective measures to remove social and economic inequality between man and man and to ensure the equitable distribution of wealth among citizens and of opportunity in order to attain a uniform level of economic development throughout the Republic"[14].

Every major political event in the history of Bangladesh originated in a process of democratic mobilization. Such a process repeated in the liberation of Bangladesh and overthrew the autocratic Ershad. There was expectation that democratic renewal would usher a new era of development. Yet in three decade of democratic renewal; from 1990s to 2020, our politics have become increasingly dysfunctional. The very institutions of democracy: elections, parliament, political parties, cabinet, judiciary are day by day become dysfunctional. The culture of intolerance, lawlessness, crime and offence, bureaucratic control, one day democracy, partisan politics, extra-judicial killing and so on become the order of the day. It has made

---

[14] Muntassir Mamoon & Jayanta Kumar Ray(1998)),"Civil society in Bangladesh" in Civil Society in Bangladesh: Resilience and retreat,Dhaka,Subarna publication,P-10.

the democratic process unworkable. In the democratization process, civil society had a very glorious role that waned day by day. Now civil society takes a role of wearing glasses through which they can see any evil.

The people of Bangladesh love their land, language and culture. They also love democracy. They fought against external and internal forces to fulfill their long cherished desire for perpetuating real democracy in the country. The role of civil society in terms of democratic process of Bangladesh is given below:

1. Civil society is a critical force in the movement for democratization. It was a strong civil society movement to the military Ershad regime that set the ground for the emergence of democracy in Bangladesh. A fair and free parliamentary election was held in the following year. The parliamentary system was re-introduced through the twelfth amendment of the constitution. In this process of democratization civil society and its intellectuals have major roles.

2. Now there is recognized that the existence of an active, diverse and inclusive civil society is an integral component of a mature democratic society. Bangladesh is not exceptional. With the renewal of democracy in Bangladesh in 1990s it was hoped that civil society could work independently from government and people of all walks could practice freedom of thoughts, speech, association, assembly and so on. They started well with the introduction of democracy but the civil society in Bangladesh has become highly politicized along party line. It deteriorated the democratic practices of this country.

3. Ideally to build civil society in a democratic context is to build pluralism. Pluralism can resist authoritarianism. Also in Bangladesh, civil society has become active with the re-introduction of democracy. They participate in round table conference. They raise voice when the government takes wrong initiative. Role of civil society in war crime tribunal, against extra judicial killing, in public issue based politics, in Rampal power plant, in Shahbagh movement and in other movements is memorable. It is hoped that pluralism can solve the problem of instability of this country.

4. They are working together with governments and the international community. In Bangladesh, civil society is working to promote participation, advocate transparency and accountability and defend human rights. It started with grandeur with the introduction of democracy in this country. Nevertheless, after being restricted in some measures the democratic practice by the civil society of this country is hampered in recent years.

5. As a democratic institution, a Non Party Care Taker System was establish to reduce electoral corruption and it was the brainchild of JI and AL and also the civil society of this country. It was believed that the NCG could establish fairness in election and resist electoral corruption. It was the major initiative in terms of democratic institution in Bangladesh in which civil society had a role.

6. After introduction of democracy in Bangladesh, in 1990s a sign of development of the two major party system was noticed. There was consensus among major national issues including the economic policy of the state, relations with the foreign countries and non involvement of army in politics. Despite all these innovations there were again army intervention happened when the two political parties could not consent on holding national election under CTG. Then military backed caretaker government was formed in association with some members of civil society. Again it was civil society intervention that the military backed care taker government was forced to gave the national election and hand over power to the elected government.

7. Western model of democracy holds that democratic institution is the building blocks of democracy. But in practice we found that Western model of democracy is not suited in our country because our country have different dimension of problem in political and economic superstructure. As such we have so many problems in terms of democratic process, we try to recover this by the intervention comes from our intellectuals and policy makers.

"It is very difficult to identify the extent of democracy in different regimes of Bangladesh. For example, although Ershad came to power by military means he strengthened vital democratic institution like sub-national government and many others. On the other hand, although Sheikh Mujib was popularly accepted leader of Bangladesh, he banned all political parties, restricted press and media and adopted many undemocratic rules."[15]

Election is the major instrument of practicing democracy. After some practice of democratic government by direct election of the masses it was realized that the

---

[15] Centre for Advance Research in Social Science, Vol-9,P-15. *Centre for Advance Research in Social Science, Vol-9,P-15.

election in this country is not free and fair and also at the same time it is found that the election is sometime manipulated by reward for vote. In short election become an instrument of manipulation. As the events of January 11, 2007 and the two years of rule by an unelected government was the result. Military backed caretaker government was not welcomed by the political party or the general people of this country. Military backed caretaker government of 2007-2008 made a public mandate that their one and only task is to make a original and computerized voter list that can make a true election as each man has the right to vote which is the pre requisite of democracy. They issued NID card by the military person. The idea was believed to be original but did not last long. The election of 2008 was also believed to be free and fair for several reasons. Some of them are given below:

1. Bangladesh military that are renowned globally for their UN Mission, make the voter list.

2. The election was observed by the military itself.

3. Many people participate in the election.

4. It was hoped that after many hurdles of 2 years with the politicians, the environment gets changed by people's participation which was the main requisite for democracy.

But the great prospect of democracy deteriorated day by day. As a result, today we see a state of no negative comment and a state controlled election and democracy. National election in 2008 was generally regarded as one of the freest and fairest elections in Bangladesh's history. The election commission was perceived as neutral and unbiased. The voting process was transparent and credible. It seemed to be ushering in a new era of effective democracy. Yet, four years later doubts had been raised about the fairness of the 2013 elections. Now, there are fears that the election process will be politicized and democracy is widely perceived to have failed to deliver on its promises of a better life for the average Bangladeshis.

Though steady progress have been made in improving the quality of election over the past decade. But elections alone cannot deliver democracy. Several prominent stakeholders and analysts have noted that the gains possible from improving elections. But significant progresses in consolidating democracy in Bangladesh is also required.

As election is the main component of democracy, as it has a great impact on the future of the country. So, we have to give attention in this connection.

3.5 Civil Society in Democratic Institute Building:

The people of Bangladesh love democracy. They fought against external and internal forces to fulfill their long cherished desire. Democracy is a form of government in which everyone has a share. On the other hand democratization is a process whereby democratic institutions, practices and beliefs are built and strengthened in the society.

Now than any other time in history it is recognized that existence of an active, diverse and inclusive civil society is an integral component of a mature democratic society.

Civil society is a critical force in the movement for democratization. In 1990, through a strong movement by the civil society, democracy was re-established in this country. A fair and free parliamentary election was held in the following year. The parliamentary system was re-introduced through the twelfth amendment of the constitution. In this process of democratization, civil society and its intellectuals have major roles. With the renewal of Democracy in Bangladesh in 1990, it was hoped that civil society could work independently from government and people of all walks could practice freedom of thoughts, speech, association, assembly and so on.

After introduction of democracy in Bangladesh in 1990, a sign of development of the two major party system was seen. There was consensus among major national issues. Despite all these innovations, there were again army intervention happened when the two political parties could not consent on holding national election under CTG. Then military backed caretaker government was formed government in association with civil society member. It can also be termed as civil society intervention in democratic institution building process.

As a democratic institution a non party caretaker system was establish to reduce electoral corruption. It was the brainchild of JI and AL and also the civil society of this country. It was believed that the NCG can establish fairness in election and resist electoral corruption. It was the major initiative in terms of democratic institution in Bangladesh process.

Yet in three decade of democratic renewal from 1990s to 2013, the politics of Bangladesh became increasingly dysfunctional. The very institutions of democracy: elections, parliament, political parties become deteriorated day by day. The culture of intolerance, lawlessness, crime and offence, bureaucratic control,

religious extremism, one day democracy, political partisanship, extra-judicial killing, human rights violation, restriction on information and technology and so on make the democratic process unworkable. In these democratization process civil society had glorious role but it became wane day by day and now civil society take role as see no evil.

"First, there is the need to reinvigorate democratic institutions in ways that can build more inclusive politics, while safeguarding society from risks brought by growing forms of intolerance and "uncivil society". Chronic problems remain within the current political system. In the prevailing "winner takes all" political culture, the loser is left with few incentives to carry on political opposition and resorts instead to confrontation."[16]

Practicing democratic institution of the West in Bangladesh is still problematic. As the western model of democratic institution such as parliament, judiciary, election commission and similar institutions which work as the building blocks of democracy have failed in some aspect of Bangladesh. The western model of democracy is not suited in our country because our country has different dimension of problem in political and economic superstructure. We have many problems in terms of economy and economic structure also. It indirectly affected in the role of civil society in this country. Thus, the role of civil society is problematic in the democratic institution building of Bangladesh for this regard also.

3.6 Significance of Civil society in Bangladesh:

After the restoration of democracy in 1990 civil society was and its members were very active. It can be said that they are the main instrument in the process of democratization in1990s. At that time, the students were very active and played as a major role with the public intellectuals and other organization of civil society. Practice of democracy in this country started with great enthusiasm. However, with the course of time it was noticed that there were grey area of democracy as well. When it was found that election as a transition to democracy was vitiated by vote rigging, democracy lose its credibility. Ultimately, it was started with election conducted by the incumbent government which was rigged and manipulated. Later, a protest for non-party caretaker government took place. It was said that Non Party Caretaker Government came from the civil society of these country.

---

[16] .David Lewis(2011)"Conclusion: Bangladesh faces the future" in Bangladesh: Politics, Economy and Civil Society, New York, Cambridge University Press, P-198.

It was hoped that care taker government would be the resolution of the problem of vote rigging and corruption. In 1996 Sheikh Hasina Government came to power, and she took various initiatives. Then, in 2001 the government lead by Khaleda Zia came to power. But thing did not improved. Again democracy showed its black nature. It was found that the opposition party in the parliament continuously boycotted the parliament and conveyed Hartal. By Hartal, the opposition party tried to uproot the existing government. It was became a unique example in the world that a country faces Hartal as many time and frequently as Bangladesh did. Ultimately democracy became invalid in this country and military backed caretaker government came to power. It was said that the main aim of military backed caretaker government was to make a authentic voter list. This voter list was made by Bangladesh Military. In the history of Bangladesh, 2008 election was free and fair. Nonetheless, the role of civil society deteriorated form its birth time ever.

After 2000 civil society in Bangladesh took a new dimension. Not only in Bangladesh but also the whole world had seen the third wave of democratization. In the third wave of democratization civil society also become the victim of party politics. Some of the civil society organizations fell short of their donations whereas some of them were in silent protest. Some of the trend of civil society after 2000 is given below:

1. After 2000 domestic civil society organization in Bangladesh, have largely adopted a "see no evil" strategy to survive and few remaining fell the heart and wrath of the authority when trying to expose the widespread human rights violations and abuses of democratic values.

2. After the restoration of democracy the government took many initiatives to improve the law and order. From the decades of 90s social problems such as enforced disappearances, secret and arbitrary detentions and extra-judicial killing reappeared after 2000. The government has intervened on the freedom of speech and associations that has became the new normal. In this way, our social and cultural value have been deteriorated as well as civic culture of civil society.

3. CSOs in Bangladesh are in a state of confusion. Most of them stay silent. Those who sometime protest might felt the wrath of the almighty authorities. So, most of them take chooses not to protest against anything.

4. The media of Bangladesh is also self-censure. Many have even jumped on the bandwagon to trumpet the mere development success. And the others are busy to publish self made story to recreate the public.

5. Therefore, development partner are slowly reducing the amount of aid to Bangladesh since it elevated the economic status as a lower-middle income country; some of the civil society organizations have fallen in difficult in running their work.

6. CSOs have maintained a relation with government on "safe and soft issues". They are not eager to make a chaotic situation. And sometime they were helpless to digest the situation.

Bangladesh had a long tradition of civil society. With the emergence of democracy in 1990, the role of civil society got the momentum. Civil society is important because pluralism and civil society is the pre requisite to the survival of democracy. Bangladesh started with the strong avowal of civil society but all was done in vain. Day by day the role of civil society is becoming blur.

3.7 Conclusion:

Politics can be defined as the struggle or competition for power or for access to ruling party and collective goods. Bangladesh is a low income large populated country. Middle class of this country is growing. It has a serious problem in its economic and political structure also. In economic front it can be said that the economy is largely controlled by the petty bourgeoisie. This petty bourgeoisie not only hampers our economy but also has a direct effect on political structure. For this bourgeoisie a class of people is deprived. They suffer from the want of food while the country is elevated from low income country to middle income country. Also elite class has emerged in the society. These elite groups have increasingly been challenged by new middle class entrants often with different priorities, values and ideas. They are ready to make more opportunistic compromises with religious political interests. So the problem of politics and economics in this country is deep rooted that started from the British colonial rule when they migrated the resources of this country to their own country. As totally destroyed the super structure of region that is the foundation of a country's economy and politics.

References

1. David Lewis (2018), "State, Politics and Institutions", in Bangladesh: Politics, Economy and Civil Society, New York, Cambridge University Press, P-12-39.

2. David Lewis (2018), "A State in the Making"in Bangladesh: Politics, Economy and Civil Society, New York, Cambridge University Press, P-75-107.

3. Nelofar Parvin (2012), "Bangladesh Public Intellectuals" in Public Intellectuals and Partisanship in Bangladesh, Dhaka, Academic Press and Publishers Library, P-67-100.

4. Nelofar Parvin (2012), "Partisanship among Academic" in Public Intellectuals and Partisanship in Bangladesh, Dhaka, Academic Press and Publishers Library, P-135-170.

5. Nelofar Parvin (2012), "Partisanship among Non Academic" in Public Intellectuals and Partisanship in Bangladesh, Dhaka, Academic Press and Publishers Library, P-135-170.

6. A.T.Rafiqur Rahman (2006), "Political Instability and Predominance of Andolon Politics", in Bangladesh in the Mirror, Dhaka, The University Press Limited, P-15-45.

7. A.T.Rafiqur Rahman (2006), "National Political Institutions, Process and Leaders not working for Good Governance", in Bangladesh in the Mirror, Dhaka, The University Press Limited, P-127-195.

8. Rounaq Jahan(2000), "Bangladesh:Promise and Performance", in Bangladesh Promise and Performance, Dhaka, The University Press Limited, P-3-30.

9. Rounaq Jahan(2000), "Civil Society, Democratic Development and International Donors", in Bangladesh Promise and Performance, Dhaka, The University Press Limited, P-181-206.

10. Rounaq Jahan(2000), "Building A Responsible Society: Challenges and Prospects", in Bangladesh Promise and Performance, Dhaka, The University Press Limited, P-341-362.

11. Zillur R.Khan, Syed Saad Andaleeb(2011), "Can Propotional Representaion Help Stabilize Democracy in Bangladesh?"by Nazrul Islam in Democracy in Bangladesh: Political Dimensions of National Development, Dhaka, The University Press Limited,P-29-58.

12. Rounaq Jahan(2017), "Members of Parliament in Bangladesh" in Bangladesh Politics: Problems and Issues, Dhaka, The University Press Limited,P-179-190.

13. Rounaq Jahan(2017), "Bangladesh in 2002: Imperiled Democracy" in Bangladesh Politics: Problems and Issues, Dhaka, The University Press Limited,P-251-258.

14. Rounaq Jahan(2017), "Bangladesh in 2003: Vibrant Democracy or Destructive Politics" in Bangladesh Politics: Problems and Issues, Dhaka, The University Press Limited,P-261-267.

15. Rounaq Jahan(2017), "Bangladesh: Promise and Performance" in Bangladesh Politics: Problems and Issues, Dhaka, The University Press Limited,P-271-290.

16. Jalal Firoj(2012), "Quest and Struggle for Democracy 1972-1990" in Democracy in Bangladesh, Dhaka, Bangla Academy Dhaka,P-27-47.

17. Jalal Firoj(2012), "Future of Democracy in Bangladesh" in Democracy in Bangladesh, Dhaka, Bangla Academy Dhaka,P-286-294.

18. M.Nazrul Islam(2003), "Methodology of Asian Politics" in Consolidating Asian Democracy, Dhaka, Nipun Printing Industries Limited,P-1-12.

19. M.Nazrul Islam(2003), "Pressure Groups in Bangladesh: The Case of Metropolitan Chamber of Commerce and Industry" in Consolidating Asian Democracy, Dhaka, Nipun Printing Industries Limited,P-151-154.

20. Peter Burnell, Peter Clavert(2004), "Civil Society, Democratization and Development: Clearing the Analytical Ground, in Civil Society in Democratization, London, Frank Crass and Company Limited,P-6-21.

21. L.David Brown(2008), "Civil Society Legitimacy and Accountibility" in Creating Credibility: Legitimacy and Accountibility for Transnational Civil Society, USA, Kumarian Press, P-1-18.

22. Sarbeswar Sahoo(2013),"Civil Society and Democratization: Conceptual and Theoritical Perspectives" in Civil Society and Democratization in India, New York, Routledge, P-1-19.

23. Sarbeswar Sahoo(2013),"The Multiple Faces of Civil Society" in Civil Society and Democratization in India, New York, Routledge, P-121-154.

24. Prof. Dr. Emajuddin Ahmed(2000)"Democracy and Good Governance" in Democracy and Good Governance: Bangladesh Perspective,Dhaka,Computer Publication.

25. Muntassir Mamoon & Jayanta Kumar Ray(1998)"Chapter one notes" in Civil Society in Bangladesh: Resilience and Retreat, Dhaka, SUBARNA, P-9-41.

26. http://www.preservearticles.com
27. http://www.bookdepository.net_3154
28. http://www.bookdepository.net_2995
29. http://www.academia.edu-The
30. Interview with Dr. Nurul Amin Bepari,ibid
31. Interview with Pinaki Ranjan Roy,ibid

Chapter: Four

Civil Society in Political Movements, Social Protests and Public Issues (1990-2013)

Chapter: Four
Civil Society in Political Movements, Social Protests and Public Issues (1990-2013)

4.1 Introduction:

Civil society is not a part of politics but its members are aware of the result of politics. If there is injustice or incorrect measure happened with the member of the society, they make their voices. This voice sometime brings movement. In Bangladesh civil society has a long history of movement against injustice of the ruler. Now although we have been practicing parliamentary politics since 1990, we also inherited a strong tradition of andolon politics, which basically means movements. Colonized people used andolon politics to secure their objectives against their colonial masters. It involves people organized against certain government policies and programmes or accumulated for securing certain rights including autonomy or independence. The rising trend of andolon politics does not match with the rising practice of democratic politics. But some it becomes essential. In this chapter I discussed the role of civil society in political movements, social protests and role on public issue based politics in Bangladesh during the time of 1991 to 2013. In discussing this, I elaborately discussed some of the major incidents of this time. Firstly, I have discussed the Mass Upsurge of 1990 when civil society of Bangladesh had a great role. By it democracy in Bangladesh was reestablished. After it I depicted Care taker government and the protests against military backed care taker government. Then I wrote the role of civil society in formation of War Crime Tribunal. I also discussed about the role of civil society in Shahbagh Movement ; Rampal Power Plant project ; the formation of NGOs, Social Organization and other similar Organizations; empowering people through poverty alleviation process; giving priority to Women, Minority and other Religious groups and preventing Religious Extremism.

4.2 Mass Upsurge of 1990

It was a strong concerted civil society resistance against the military Ershad regime. This civil society resistance against Ershad regime marked a new era of democracy in this country. The fall of Ershad regime marked for some reason. Some of them are given below:

First, it introduce a new era of democracy.

Second, it brought many years protest and andolon against military regime successful.

Third, it make ground for the future politics of this country.

"Civil society and the international donor community stepped in as referees to break the continuing political deadlock between the two major political parties. Civil society groups, who have upto 1990 been involved in various political movements to oust the military regimes, for the first time showed reluctance to continue to be involved in politics of the streets. Arguing that democracy has been established they urged by both the Awami League and the BNP to settle their differences through dialogue and constitutional means"[17]

The Ershad government adopted a three-fold strategy to exercise control and restrain civil society:

First, he own over some intellectuals by means of inducements.

Second, he tried to improve state control over diverse cultural activities.

Third, he wanted to liquidate the authentic cultural tradition of the people of Bangladesh.

Ershad came to conflict with different segment of society. He came into conflict with other political parties too. As such every segment of society become vocal for their right and responsibility. Then the nation agreed on the matter that it would be possible in terms of democracy only. So every segment of society came to the forefront to uproot the military government and establish democracy in this country. In this time civil society play a voluntary role. They organize different segment of society. Not only local people they also earn foreign support in this movement. At that time, civil society took an initiative to remove military domination and play the leading role. Thirty one prominent intellectual issued a statement to plead for the establishment of a non party interim government. Before 1990s Khaleda and Hasina followed two different strategies. It seemed in 1989 that

---

[17] Rounaq Jahan(2017),"Bangladesh: Promise and performance" in Bangladesh Politics: Problems and Issues, Dhaka, University Press Limited, P-286-287.

the opposition parties and alliances were losing their position against Ershad regime. But the movement got back its momentum in 1990. In a fierce confrontation, five persons were killed and hundreds including Khaleda were injured. The killing provoked 22 major student organizations to form the All-party Student Unity (APSU) and to vow to continue their agitation until the country was emancipated from the clutches of autocratic Ershad and his regime. At that time various dailies and weeklies acted as a spearhead of civil society. Emergency was proclaimed to protest against the autocratic state. Journalists and newspaper employees stopped the publication of newspaper throughout the country. In the first few days of December 1990, the movement for removal of Ershad and restoration of democracy reached its climax when many professional groups such as university teachers, lawyers, journalists, doctor, engineers, artists and others lent their unequivocal support to the movement. In all the big cities of the country, thousands of people came out in the streets defying curfew orders and shouted slogans demanding resignation. Radio and television artists also joined to the protest. The whole nation, in fact, came to a standstill. Ultimately, following the prolonged and violent anti-government agitation, the Ershad regime had to step down in early 1990. Finally the surrendering of power to a care taker government was led by Justice Sahabuddin Ahmed, Chief Justice of the Bangladesh Supreme Court. The victory in this movement and introduction of democracy can be summarized by the reference below:

"Ershad resignation in the face of nearly eight years of continuous political movement against military rule marked a watershed in Bangladesh political history. It was perceived as a victory for democracy and constitutional rule. The transition to democratic rule was marked by dialogue and agreement amongst contending political parties on basic outlines of democratic governance including the ground rules for future regime changes."[18]

After independence of Bangladesh people are assented to regain democracy in 1990. Intellectuals and other development practitioner also assented about it. Various civil society groups and also all segment of society become unite. They make strong resistance. In this movement student also play a major role. Overall, in this movement every segment of society came to the forefront and they are directed by the civil society of this country.

---

[18] .Rounaq Jahan(2000), "Bangladesh:Promise and Performance", in Bangladesh Promise and Performance, Dhaka, The University Press Limited, P-21.

4.3 Establishment of Caretaker Government

The Oxford English reference Dictionary defines "care taker" as "a person employed to look after something, specially a house in the owner's absence". In that sense a caretaker government is a government which is "exercising temporary authority". The concept of caretaker government is described differently in different countries. That means caretaker government has many forms and it varied from country to country.

The idea of caretaker government did not have its emergence in Bangladesh. The idea gained momentum with ups and downs of political movements in Bangladesh. JI is credited for raising the demand of a caretaker government first. It can been mentioned that the first formal demand for a caretaker government can be traced back in 1981 by JI. In the interpretation of the point 3(b) of its 7-point demand the party proposed that a non-political caretaker government would govern the country until power is transferred to the next elected government. Though the idea of a caretaker government was articulated by JI in early years of 1980s this did not receive enough attention. However, the declaration finally recommended, among other points that Ershad must resign and hand over power to a caretaker government. Ershad resigned and the caretaker government of Justice Sahabuddin Ahmed was formed. As a neutral person, he sworn in and held a free and fair election. Through this election BNP came into power under the leadership of Khaleda Zia. During Khaleda's regime the demand for establishing a constitutional caretaker government came to the forefront. The demand got momentum after the Magura by-election held on 20 March 1994. The opposition parties led by AL launched a vigorous movement and ultimately the sixth parliament enacted the thirteenth amendment to the constitution. The thirteenth amendment of the constitution incorporated provisions for a non party caretaker government. That is why for many the caretaker government is the "brain-child of Awami League" and its chief Sheikh Hasina.

After years of confrontation and the killings of a plethora of lives and unbearable hardship of millions of people, the political parties came to the conclusion that care taker system would be introduced. Though many parties and experts explored valuable ideas on the caretaker system throughout the years from 1980 to 1996, the thirteenth amendment bill was ultimately drafted hastily and was "passed in a marathon session of one full night before dissolving the parliament".

The President conveyed the session of the sixth parliament on 19 March1996. The opposition parties condemned it. However, Law Minister Jamiruddin Sarker moved the thirteenth amendment bill on 21 March. The bill was provided for amending the articles 48, 56, 58,61,71,92 and 99 of the constitution. The bill gave wider power to the President. The bill proposed to provide so much power to the President. Some observed that the original bill would essentially mean a reversion to a presidential form of government. Despite much controversy the bill was sent to the President on 26 March. The president assented on 28 March. The thirteenth amendment bill was introduced, discussed, scrutinized and passed within a very short span of time. This hastiness affected the quality of the bill. Under the constitutional CTG system, two parliamentary elections took place during the period from 1996 to 2001. The seventh parliamentary election was arranged by the CTG headed by Chief Justice Mohammad Habibur Rahman. It was a free and fair election although some incidents of malpractices were reported to take place. After observing performances of two CTGs of 1996 and 2001, political leaders, experts and researchers expressed their reactions. They held that the CTG is not compatible with the democratic set up. Despite various criticisms public opinion was taking gradual tilt in favor of the demand of the caretaker government. A public opinion survey showed that 70 percent people thought that the elections should be held under CTG.

Towards the end of the BNP regime, the Caretaker Government and other movements gained momentum from intellectuals and also other civil society groups. Khaleda Zia had no alternative without surrender to the demand. The main opposition party together with the other parties and civil society groups and the civil bureaucracy had mobilized support in favor of conducting the next election under a neutral caretaker government. Many people hold the view that the caretaker government was a better option than a party government for ensuring free and fair elections.

The elections held in 1991, 1996, 2001 and 2008 were arer better than the national election held in 1979, 1986 and 1988. The defeated parties were found put allegations against fairness of the elections held under CTG. But both the national and international observers accepted the elections under CTG as of high standard, peaceful and impartial. So, the opposition parties and civil society leaders during the time from 2009 to 2011 argued that the effectiveness of caretaker government was well settled and there was no need to abolish the system.

The concept of CTG is a "home grown plant" of Bangladesh. The Bangladeshi political leaders had been appreciated for inventing these ideas. Many people of the country felt proud of these innovations. "NCG" is an innovation for which we took pride as a nation. Schools of thought still believe that Bangladeshi political leaders should uphold the idea of care taker system despite some limitations. Bangladesh political leader should uphold the idea of caretaker system as the initiator of the concept. But the ruling party projected the verdict of the SC (abolishing of the caretaker government). It was an excuse to scrap the system. On the other hand, the opposition parties claimed that the government could retain the system at least for the next two terms. Nonetheless, the government was not agreed. The ruling party amended the constitution by 15th amendment and the provision of the CTG was withdrawn from the constitution.

4.4 Protests Against Military-backed caretaker government:

The concept of Care-taker Government in Bangladesh is truly a unique intervention. It was consisted of persons of impartial characters. The members of the Care-Taker Government would not be drawn from political parties.

The Care-taker Government of Bangladesh is a form under which the country is ruled in an interim period. As the previous elected government hands over its power, the caretaker government comes into existence. The main objective of this government is to create an environment in which an election can be held in a free and fair manner. This system was constitutionally and unconstitutionally activated five times in Bangladesh. The duration of Care-Taker Government in Bangladesh are given below:

Table 6: List of Chief Advisers

	Chief Adviser	Duration
1	Justice Sahabuddin	06.12.1990 – 09.10.1991
2	Justice Habibur Rahman	30.03.1996 – 23.06.1996
3	Justice Latifur Rahman	15.07.2001 – 10.10.2001
4	Iazuddin Ahmed	29.10.2006 – 11.01.2007
5	Fakhruddin Ahmed	11.01.2007 – 06.01.2009

The tenure of this Military backed Care-Taker Government was from 11.01.2007 to 06.01.2009 and disappeared after handing power to the present elected government. The list of the Avisors of 2006-2007 and 2007-2008 are given below:

Table 7: List of Advisors of Caretaker Government of 2006-2007

	List of Advisors(2006-2007)	
1	Dr. Fakhruddin Ahmed	Chief Advisor
2	Mainul Hosein	Ministry of Law and Justice
3	A.B.Mirza Azizul Islam	Ministry of Finance
4	Major General(retd)M.A.Matin	Ministry of Communication
5	Tapan Chowdhury	Ministry of Power, Energy and Mineral Resources
6	Geetiara Safya Chowdhury	Ministry of Industry
7	Major General(retd.)A.S.M.Matiur Rahman	Ministry of Health and Family Welfare
8	Ayub Quadri	Ministry of Education.
9	Anwarul Iqbal	Ministry of Local Government,
10	Dr. Iftekhar Ahmed Chowdhury	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
11	Dr. Chowdhury Sajjadul Karim	Ministry of Agriculture

Table 8: List of Advisors of Caretaker Government of 2007-2008

	List of Advisors(2007-2008)	
1	Dr. Fakhruddin Ahmed	Chief Advisor
2	A.B.Mirza Azizul Islam	Ministry of Finance and Planning.
3	Major General(retd.)M.A.Matin	Ministry of Home Affairs
4	Dr. Iftekhar Chowdhury	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
5	Anwarul Iqbal	Ministry of Local Government
6	Dr. Chowdhury Sajjadul Karim	Ministry of Agriculture
7	Dr.M.M.Shawkat Ali	Ministry of Information.
8	A.F.Hassan Ariff	Ministry of Law,Justice
9	Maj.Gen.(retd.)Golam Kader	Ministry of Housing and Public Works, Communication.
10	Dr. Rasheda K. Chowdhury	Ministry of Primary and Mass Education
11	Dr.Hossain Zillur Rahman	Ministry of Education and Commerce.

General Moeen staged a military coup, took the state power into hands and ruled the country according his will. Every direction and recommendation of the governmental procedures came from cantonments. This type of governing system could not be tolerated in a democratic country. It had no legal basis. The authority also tried to make the constitutional bodies independent and competent though they had no legal right. Throughout their tenure they had promulgated more than 100 ordinances, very few of them were ratified by the present elected government. Legitimacy is the cornerstone of democratic government, where the last military backed caretaker government had no legitimacy. Civil Society became divided by that time, and their role was often questioned suspiciously. A part of civil society became the member of care-taker government but it stood on illegal base. Hence it was a real tragedy in the history of Bangladesh.

4.5 Role of Civil Society in Formation of War Crime Tribunal

Crime is an offence against law and order of a state. War crimes are defined as a crime against humanity in the forms of genocide and crimes. It denigrates human dignity.

After independence though Awami League came to power by the leadership of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the government could not take legal initiative against the culprits because of constitutional constraints and for other internal and external reason. After the re-introduction of democracy within one year of taking over power BNP government faced an unprecedented event of the trial of Golam Azam. Golam Azam was the newly elected Ameer of JI by a Gana Adalat (people's court). He, elected Ameer of JI, who was a war criminal and a Bangladeshi turned "Pakistani citizen". AL in its reaction commented: "there is no instance in any civilized country that a foreign citizen had ever allowed to involve in the direct and indirect politics of the country. The government party was also critical of JI. The opposition MPs in the parliament strongly criticized JI for their decision. The MPs demanded Golam Azam's trial as a "war criminal". On 19 January 1992, a 101 member citizen committee was formed to adopt action program against Golam Azam. The committee declared that the trial of the "War Criminal" Golam Azam would be held in the people's court at Suhrawardy Uddyana on the independence day(26 march) if the government did not expel him indirectly. They pointed that the countries development and progress could not be possible unless the enemies of the independence of the country were not rooted out from the country. The committee termed the initiative as the second phase of the country's independence

war. On 11 February 1992,a 15 member committee namely the "Coordination Committee for the Elimination of the Killers and Collaborators of 1971 and the implementation of the spirit of the Liberation"(CCEKCISLW in short CC) was formed under the leadership of Jahanara Imam , a writer who lost her son in the war of liberation. The CC initiated various programmed to popularize the issue of punishing Golam Azam by the Gana Adalat. The CC met various political, social and cultural organization to gather support in favor of their demand for the trial of Golam Azam by the Gana Adalat. On the other hand, JI took a firm stand in favor of their decision. According to them, Golam Azam was a citizen of Bangladesh by birth and his election as Ameer was recognition of his nationality. Many public intellectuals were associated with the committee. The Awami League and the opposition party, supported this attempt. However, Khaleda, the Prime Minister opposed these movements and arrested some of the intellectuals accusing them of involvement in anti-state activities. Secular intellectuals, on the other hand, protested the Islamization. The movement for public trial of Golam Azam and formation of the People's Court was an unprecedented political event in the history of Bangladesh. Previously no strong political movement was launched against an individual and any demand of public trial of an individual was not raised. Every segment of society became vocal for the punishment of War criminals. Civil society of that time became more vocal because they were aware about their past and present. It was a non-political movement led by non-political freedom fighters, intellectuals, writers, journalists, lawyers and professional leaders. Though a section of political parties and alliances directly supported it, the main momentum of this movement came from the vast majority of the social forces.

4.6 Role of civil society in Shahbagh Movement:

Throughout the history of Bangladesh it was seen that people had asserted their collective will massively whenever the nation faced crisis as far as possible. It repeatedly happened in 1952, 1969, 1971, 1990 and finally in 2013. In 5 February, 2013 a mass protest started for the demand of death sentence of the notorious war criminal of 1971. It continued for years. Finally it fulfilled its demand of the punishment of war criminals and gave a platform for the future generation.

The Shahbagh movement had saved us from forgetting our basic. Since independence, all major political parties in one form or another rehabilitate and reinstate the communal forces. After many years the people of this country again come forward to answer some major issue of Bangladesh. It is related to the intrusion of religion in politics. It was also a movement against the war criminal . It

remember us about our fundamentals. This movement is commonly known as Shahbagh movement. Here a dice build near Shahbagh and this movement termed as "Ganajagaran Mancha". This Ganajagaran Mancha stayed on the street for eleven months. It started on 5 Febryary 2013, when thousands of people came to the Shahbagh Square to protest the verdict on Abdul Quader Mollah. People and media started to call the platform Gonojagoron Mancha and the place "Projonmo Chottor". Abdul Quader Mollah was largely convicted for large scale war crime. He involved in many killings, murder, torture and also reap. But the war crime tribunal were not properly punished him. He gave life time imprisonment in addition to death penalty. This made the general people and civil society unsatisfied. They want to ensure death penalty of every war criminal as they are convicted. Millions of people participated in this movement. The platform submitted 10 million signatures to the parliament urging the government to fulfill its demand. Jahanara Imam, Shahriar Kabir and other civil society member are active in the movement. On face of stark demand on 17 September of 2013 Bangladesh Supreme Court found Abdul Quader Mollah and other war crimes to be sentenced to death. Finally on 12 December, 2013 for the first time in Bangladesh's history a convicted war criminal meet his due. Despite this, the movement raised six point demand which are given below:

1. Death penalty for all war criminals.
2. Amendment to the International Crimes Tribunal Act.
3. The collaborators are also come under this Tribunal.
4. Ban on the Jamaat-e-Islami and likeminded religion based political parties.
5. All business, socio-cultural bodies and media outlets run by war criminals should be banned.

Shahbagh movement was overwhelmingly dominated by participants from middle class background. The poor and working class was absent in this movement. The movement was limited in urban areas. Anti- incumbent sentiment also weakened the spirit of the broad based platform. People also did want to be used by AL, just as they do not also want to be used by BNP, JI or JP or other political forces. But this movement saved us from forgetting our fundamentals.

4.7 Role of Civil Society in Rampal Power Plant project:

Rampal Power Plant Project is a highly controversial development project. To null and void these project, civil society organizations and activists has played a very active role. For describing these, I am going to discuss its location and significance first.

This Rampal Power Project is located next to the Sundarban which is the largest Mangrove Forest of the world. These Sundarban is also declared as the Ramsar Site by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization(UNESCO).This area is very important and it has intersected complex networks of other rivers and waterways.

It is one of the largest contiguous mangrove forests in the world. But to meet the demand for electricity, economic growth, rapid urbanization, industrialization and overall development activities, the government has planned to establish eight large-scale and ten small scale coal fired thermal power project. Among this project Rampal issue is most controversial. This project is suspected to put negative effect in the whole ecosystem of this country. It draw Bangladesh back. In light of these risks, Bangladeshis from all walks of life have come out against the plant .This movement is unprecedented in Bangladesh in 40 years. As we know that if this plant is not stopped, millions of people will suffer. Civil society of this country has arranged a strong protest against this power plant. There are also innumerable general people who participated in the protest against the construction of Rampal Power Plant.

Even there are a lot of people who are against this project but they are afraid to speak out. People think the contract for the power plant is non-transparent and unequal. Many alleged that the Indian government will be more benefitted than Bangladesh.

As the government is trying to show that the latest technology is using in the Rampal project to ensure that the Sundarbans will be not harmed at all. An alternative canal is created outside the forest. Unfortunately, this cannot resist destruction. It will make the whole country unlivable one day. Its end result is disaster. By considering this effect the civil society organizations and activists have made tremendous protest against Rampal Power Project. Local and International experts and environmentalists have raised their concern that the power plant activists could not change the critical water balance in the Sundarbans region.

When the rest of the world is switching to renewable energy, Bangladesh is moving towards building a dirty power plant based on coal near to the Sundarbans. It is not only endangering a fragile ecosystem that protects the delta from water salination and storms but also destroying the whole ecosystem. UNESCO has recommended these plant to be cancelled or relocated. In light of these risks, Bangladeshis from all walks of society have stood against the plant. Civil Society Organization and the members of civil society have came to the forefront providing money bytheir own to stop such a destructive project. From that view of point, the role of civil society in Rampal Power Plant is very crucial. The people of this country should remember that role.

4.8 **Response of Civil Society in Religious Extremism**

There are almost in Bangladesh 152.5 million live in this country. Majority of the people are Muslim. There are no communal antagonism in the society. In this everyone respect to every religion. But after 2000 some negative effect introduced in the society with the spread of globalization. Religious extremism is one of them.

Religious extremism is not new in this sub-continent. Bangladesh is not different because we as a nation are peace loving and do not want to interfere with others religion or conviction. Nonethless, religious extremism have also been seen in Bangladesh after 2000s and it has made the country most vulnerable in terms of security and safety. We have seen some figure who are directly involved in religious extremism. Among them Bangla Bhai with his party JMB was focused a lot. They were responsible for the series bomb blast in this country. Harkatul Zihad was a Islamic party that was involved in religious extremism. These organizations were also involved in International Extremist Group.

"Civil society has also more recently come to include what have become known, at least in Western civil-society discussions, as "faith-based" organizations. Of the 260,000 not-for-profit organizations documented by the World Bank 189,000 were described as "religious.[19]

At the eve of the twenty-first century, Bangladesh witnessed increasing religious violence and radicalization of youth. It was also in the form of armed militants. Scholars argue that madras's may have played a major role in these regard. In early

---

[19] .David Lewis(2011),"Nongovernmental Actors and Civil Society" in Bangladesh: Politics, Economy and Civil Society, New York, Cambridge University Press, P-131-132.

2010, Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina supported to secularists. This brought her into conflict with Islamic extremists. Notwithstanding this political backdrop, in 2011, the 15th amendment of the constitution confirmed Islam as the state religion. The reality is that the fifteenth Amendment does not represent an abrupt shift from a hitherto secular state. It reflects the latest chapter in Bangladesh's history. The 15th amendment of the constitution described that Islam and politics are inextricably interrelated and intertwined. A number of Civil Society Organizations highlighted the incompatibility of the 15th amendment of the constitution. The amendment of 2011 that fell short of restoring secularism as a fundamental principle of state policy, but retained Islam as a religion. They argue that the amendment undermines attempts to protect freedom of religion or belief found elsewhere in the constitution and is incompatible with Article 18 of the ICCPR.

The amalgamation of Islam and politics has been a characteristic feature of Muslim society since the dawn of Islamic culture and civilization. However, now religion and politics become so intertwined that most people use religion to preserve their position. In this measure, the conscious members of civil society have protested against this amendment. They do not want to combine politics with region as every person of a society has a right to practice his or her own belief.

4.9 Response of Civil Society on Human Rights Issues

Extra-judicial killings are the killing of a person by governmental authorities without the sanction of judiciary or its process. It has been carried out by our law enforcement agencies for many years. The law enforcement officials have managed to show that the deaths are the result of either "gunfight" or crossfire" and are not intentional at all.

The press and civil society organizations have become increasingly active in protesting and publicizing human rights violations. They have also consistently raised their voices against the confrontational politics and undemocratic practices of political parties. The emergence of multiple actors as champion of human rights and democratic governance has been a positive development in the growth of democratic process in Bangladesh."[20]

Civil society in Bangladesh is very active in human rights issue. As extra judicial killing is a complete violation of human rights issue, civil society in this country is very vocal about the issue. According to Human Rights Organization Odhikar, from January 2009 to December 2019, under the country's present government led by Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina , 2470 people have been killed in by the police, RAB and Detective Branch. As of the 25th of January 2020, 158 people had fallen victim of extra judicial killings. The civil society of Bangladesh has largely criticized this extra judicial killing and it has made various demonstration in a number of times. Various Human Rights Organizations also play street demonstration to stop such type of killing.

Civil society in Bangladesh is not only active in extra-judicial killing issue only. They are aware about any type of human right violation. As a man we are equal in society. We are equal in terms of all aspect. As an active and conscious of a society civil society is aware about every man's equality. But state sometime violates its principles. It sometime does injustice. When any injustice happened in a society civil society in that society came forward. In Bangladesh civil society is very active about this issue. Not only civil society is aware about injustice but it can be found that student are also participated in street demonstration, protest, mass movement and overall make voice. So, we found a new dimension of civil society in Bangladesh also. All of them are agreed about the complete protection of human

---

[20] Rounaq Jahan(2017),"Bangladesh: Promise and performance" in Bangladesh Politics: Problems and Issues, Dhaka, University Press Limited,P-293-294.

rights of everyone. So, human right issue is not new for Bangladesh and civil society is still spontaneous about the issue. They are aware about the right and responsibilities of everyman in the society.

4.10 NGOs,Social Organization and other similar Organizations:

Non Governmental organizations or NGOs are applied to any organization that is not public. They are also called the Civil Society organizations in order to express its affinity to civil society. As an agent of civil society, NGOs are empowering people through poverty alleviation process. These NGOs are very important component of civil society which can play a very positive role in enhancing economic and social empowerment of the poor. In Bangladesh, after restoration of democracy, the work of civil society merged with NGO sector that was being deteriorated day by day for various political and economic factors.

"From the 1990s onwards, the term civil society became more commonly used in relation to formal non state organizations. In part, this was a result of its association with the so-called good governance agenda that had been established by the World Bank(and other donors) as part of its policy prescriptions for increasing the effectiveness of development and poverty reduction work and as part of neoliberal political and institutional development agendas….. Central to this agenda was the idea that progress could be made by bypassing unresponsive or ineffective government institutions in favor of NGOs."[21]

NGOs in Bangladesh spread their working area over the last two decade. They firstly started from macro credit programme. Now they spread in every segment of society. Their working area is not defined. But overall their working area can be identified as:

---

[21] David Lewis(2011),"Nongovernmental Actors and Civil Society" in Bangladesh: Politics, Economy and Civil Society, New York, Cambridge University Press, P-131.

1. Establishment of effective democratic process at the grass roots.

2. Poverty alleviations.

3. Women right.

4. Education.

5. Health and Family Planning.

6. Environment.

NGOs in Bangladesh are working to empower the most vulnerable portions of the population. Besides, NGOs in Bangladesh work in mostly areas of state. Few countries in the world have witnessed such dramatic growth of NGOs as Bangladesh. Currently a total of 26,000 NGOs registered with NGO affairs Bureau. In recognition of the grassroots development, Bangladesh has gained world recognition with the 2006 Noble Peace Prize awarded to professor Yunus and his Grameen Bank. Thereby, Bangladesh has gained world recognition of its NGOs and Grameen Bank in general.

This large number of NGOs is greatly assisted by foreign donation. The role of foreign assistance has been crucial in a country like Bangladesh. Similarly, the donor perception of civil society is also important. As an organization of civil society NGOs worked as the vehicles to distribute this foreign assistance. This foreign assistance is not donated without intention. They have different ideas about civil society. While the British (DFID) is eager to include business interest in civil society others are squarely against it. USAID is in favor of keeping it as something non-business and non-partisan. On the other side, freedom of association and expression of opinion have been the hallmark of the concept of civil society promoted by UNDP and World Bank. UNDP is more active in promoting greater involvement of various civil society groups. It makes recommendation to strengthening local level democratization, sustainable environment protection and poverty alleviation. Through this work civil society is closely linked with civil society also. NGOs as a civil society in Bangladesh work in various fields. By their contribution the economy of this country is still running. They have a great contribution in poverty alleviation, development policy, ensuring law for the deprived, environmental issue, education and other field also. By these the NGOs in Bangladesh worked as an:

1. Source of Empowerment for the poor and deprived.

2. Source of Fund those who really need.

3. Worked as an International Organizations.

4. Worked as private sector support organizations.

5. Worked as Government sector Support Organizations.

6. Initiate various Training and Research centers.

7. Conducted Training of the Youth.

8. Work as a Civil Society Organizations.

9. Work as a Information Providers.

10. Play role as a Grant Makers.

11. Make different type of support in relation to Environment Protection.

12. Contributed Public Health and Welfare Issues.

4.10.1 Civil Society in empowering people through poverty alleviation process

Bangladesh is worldly recognized for its micro-credit program. Dr. Yunus and his Grameen bank won noble peace prize for his micro credit program. Not only Grameen Bank but also various NGO, CSOs and some governmental and nongovernmental organizations and institutions are active in empowering people through poverty alleviation process. Civil society is different from other social organization. It is a part of society that is hopeful to work for public good. For ensuring public good through poverty alleviation process is not something new. It was started from the very birth of its inception. In 1971 when war torn people were helpless and foodless, various native NGOs came to help the downtrodden people. Among them BRAC an NGO which came forward to empower people through poverty alleviation programmes. For these BRAC Chairman Sir Fazle Hasan Abed won the Knight award from England. Bangladesh with its large population survived by various development and philanthropic initiative taken by its native people and international organizations.

Civil society and other social organizations directly or indirectly work as a partner of empowering people through poverty alleviation process. However, it is also true that, civil society influenced by various political parties often has become polarized, corrupt and ineffective in democratic terms.

4.11 Women, Minority and other Religious groups and Civil Society

Although many countries in South Asia are headed by women, women in general do not exhibit significant political participation in these countries. Women constitute about 48% of the total population of Bangladesh. Among them 90% live in rural areas. But the rate of women participation in politics is still low where men tend to monopolize. Both in electoral and representative arena of politics, women's participation are meager. It is less than 9%.

Though "The constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh" enumerates equal rights for all citizens, irrespective of class, caste, race, nationality and enjoys freedom of speech and expression, association and assembly under Articles 27, 28 and 29 which form the bases of political activity of civil society. These article are equally applicable to the women. For political representation of women, the constitution provides for representation in terms of equality of men political and public representative institutions.

Minority group are deprived from their right for many time in Bangladesh. In our country human dignity are not properly engrained in the society. Biasness is the major characteristics of the people of this country. It was found in the society that girl child are not expected as they are the burden for the society. They cannot work outside. They only perform household work. But from experience it can be found that some women are more expert than men. They can use their power for national economy and politics also. Now, after many years it becomes realized in the society. Many women work outside successfully at the same time they also maintain their family also. So, as a active and able part of society we have to recognize their contributions.

Besides, women there are also other minority group in the society. They are also deprived from their rights. It is also politics of the ruling party that they would not make a voice. But civil society in Bangladesh are always aware about the minority right in the society. Civil society always protested if any injustice happened in society. Besides, other minority and religious groups should have equal representation in parliament and society. So that they can make a voice and pass a livable life.

Civil society as part of conscious segment of society is also aware of the right of every segment of society. As a deprived section of society they must pay concern. Women, minority and other religious segment of society can be altered as an asset of the society.. As part of civil society NGOs have come to the forefront by using

the power of this deprived section of society. NGOs, as part of civil society, have proved that women and other minority groups of society are as strong as the dominant groups and by dint of this that Dr.Yunus's get the noble prize. Other actors of civil society are also conscious about the role and rights of them and we found now women are coming to the leadership and empowered. Civil society in Bangladesh is aware about the right and responsibility of every segment of society. It is a positive sign of a society that every segment of society is in the juncture of development process.

4.12 Conclusion:

Society has undergone through significant changes in Bangladesh. With the transformation of political process, many national and international actors are active to disturb the government machinery. Many extremist attacked in the last two decades. At the same time we can also see that foreign donation in some organizations have increased. Production and gender relations are changed. The NGOs have mobilized millions of poor people especially women in economic activity. While women are increasingly getting education and entering into the job market, they are still, deprived. Extreme Islamist forces also tried to appear. In between the difficulties, civil society is vocal in some issues which are most important for the nation. But they do not rise their voice in all issues. Among many movements and social protests, I have tried to discuss some major national issues. Civil society's role is memorable in all of the protests and movements. We hope that its role would be broadened on all aspect, and all the people of this country will live a civic life through the intervention of civil society. It ultimately lead to civilized society.

References

1. David Lewis(2018), "Non Governmental Actors and Civil Society "in Bangladesh Politics, Economy and Civil Society, Cambridge University Press, New York,P-109-134.

2. David Lewis(2018), "Dilemmas in an Age of NeoLiberalism "in Bangladesh Politics, Economy and Civil Society, Cambridge University Press, New York,P-197-200.

3. Nelofar Parvin (2012), "Public Intellectuals and Partisanship in Bangladesh" in Public Intellectuals and Partisanship in Bangladesh, Dhaka, Academic Press and Publishers Library, P-211-226.

4. Rounaq Jahan(2000),"NGOs and Civil Society(UN)Stated Contradictions" in Bangladesh: Promise and Performance, Dhaka,The University Press limited, P-219-240.

5. Zillur R.Khan, Syed Saad Andaleeb(2011), "Bangladesh in the Twenty-First Century: Democracy, Development, Terrorism and Its Counter forces"by Naureen Chowdhury Fink in Democracy in Bangladesh: Political Dimensions of National Development, Dhaka, The University Press Limited,P-27-118.

6. Zillur R.Khan, Syed Saad Andaleeb(2011), "Development, Democracy and the NGOsector: Theory and Evidence from Bangladesh"by Sabeel Rahman in Democracy in Bangladesh: Political Dimensions of National Development, Dhaka, The University Press Limited,P-118-158.

7. Zillur R.Khan, Syed Saad Andaleeb(2011), "Caretaker Government:Demand, Realization and Controversy" in Democracy in Bangladesh: Political Dimensions of National Development, Dhaka, The University Press Limited,P-101-162.

8. Peter Burnell, Peter Clavert(2004), "The Civil and Political in Civil Society: The Case of India", in Civil Society in Democratization, London, Frank Crass and Company Limited,P-6-21.

9. Rounaq Jahan(2000), "Bangladesh in the new Millennium" in Bangladesh : Promise and Performance, Dhaka, The University Press Limited,P-341-362.

10. Muntassir Mamoon & Jayanta Kumar Ray(1998)"Chapter one notes" in Civil Society in Bangladesh: Resilience and Retreat, Dhaka, SUBARNA, P-9-41.

11. www.tandfonline.com

12. www.bci_bd.org

13. www.apcss.org

14. www.orca.cf.ac.uk
15. www.osce.org
16. www.reslvenet.org
17. www.reliefweb.int
18. www.msiworldwide.com
19. www.advocacy.thp.org
20. www.banglajol.info
21. The Daily Star, August 18,2020.
www.thedailystar.net

22. www.fundsforngos.org.women

23. The Dark Secret of extrajudicial killings in Bangladesh by Iqbal Hossain,23 september,2020
www.lifegate.com

24. Politicized Civil Society in Bangladesh: Case Study Analyses by Farhat Tasnim in March 21, 2017
www.express.lib.uts.edu.au.

25. Interview with Dr. Nurul Amin Bepari.
26. Interview with Sarker Faruk

Chapter Five

Politics and Politicization of Civil Society in Bangladesh

Chapter Five

Politics and Politicization of Civil Society in Bangladesh

5.1 Introduction

Bengalese have a long tradition of civil society. These civil society is mainly constructed with the then educated middle class people who were mainly Calcutta centered Bengalee Biddatsamajs. In the Pakistani period civil society played a pivotal role initially in the language movement of 1952 after it six point movement of 1966 then mass uprising of 1969 and finally the independence of 1971. In the war of liberation civil society in this country also spontaneously participate to make the country liberated.In independent Bangladesh is parliamentary government was introduced and Bengalee Nationalism, Secularism, Socialism and Democracy were declared as the basic principles of state policy. On that period, three categories of educated people are found those can be termed as public intellectuals. After independence, they became categorized into five sections. This can be termed as Left, Radical left, Centrist, Rightist, Radical Rightist. In the period of military regime the role of civil society becomes limited. So, in this time partisanship was not seen intensely in the society. After many hurdles of military dictatorship in 1991, the BNP government gave up their commitment to Presidential form of government and Parliamentary system was established. Awami League and a significant number of intellectuals considered Parliamentary system of government to be more democratic. But after 1991 two major political parties started to co-opt major institutions such as press, media, universities, judiciary and especially intellectuals. From this time we found extreme partisan politics among public intellectuals of this country. Public intellectuals, in other words, were becoming very partisan and they become political man rather a member of civil society. Thereby, politicization of civil society in Bangladesh is a major problem. It affected every segment of the society.

5.2 Problems of Civil Society in Bangladesh

Civil society work is neither for acquiring power nor for maximizing profit. It act on the sphere of solidarity. Civil society works to protect public interest. By doing this it has enhances democratic values. When the state tries to exercise its power to oppression someone civil society come forward.

In Bangladesh Civil society had a glorious past. Unfortunately, when political parties hesitated to take major decisions the educated middle class, now termed as civil society, took the initiatives. But over the last 20 years, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) experienced an increasingly restrictive environment across the globe. Bangladesh has experienced the downfall of military dictatorships, formation of democratic governments, rise of extremism in politics, increase in inequality, speedy globalization, spread of information technology, difficulties in ensuring law and order throughout the country and overall mass poverty. Being a country of the third world, Bangladesh also experienced some other problems regarding the role of civil society. It faces serious partisanship among civil society members. Many Civil society members and Organizations work on partisan line. It seriously puts recent activity in and doubts their past glory.

""Bangladesh is having problems in practicing democracy. During the Pakistan period, there was not much of democracy, as a result of which the struggle for self-determination of the people of Bangladesh became intertwined with the struggle for democracy. ""[22].

After the re-introduction of democracy in this country we found that every segment of the society became divided along with the party line. Civil society is no exception. Civil society in Bangladesh is also extremely partitioned along with the party line and this is one of the good reasons that the democratic practice of this country becomes unsuccessful. A major problem of Bangladesh is that civil society in this country is highly politicized.

Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) plays an important role in countries economy and also politics. It works to make the government pro-poor and justice to everyone. After 1990, with introduction of democracy civil society in this country take a new dimension. It became vocal about public issue based politics. It was then seen that people became vocal about their right and responsibility. Sadly, with the course of the time it was also seen that when alternate party came into power other party fell to aggression of government party, and it hamper the democratic environment a lot. The members of civil society become polarized according to party lines. Many civil societies intellectual went through torture for delivering

---

[22] Zillur R.Khan, Syed Saad Andaleeb(2011), "Bangladesh in the Twenty-First Century: Democracy, Development, Terrorism and Its Counter forces"by Naureen Chowdhury Fink in Democracy in Bangladesh: Political Dimensions of National Development, Dhaka, The University Press Limited,P-32.

public good. After 2000, public issue based politics became party based politics. Hopefully, many civil society member and organization are still work for the public goods and public issue based politics though it is redeeming day by day. At present, it is alarming that it would be stopped and making free intervention in public issue based politics. Without it our future generation cannot get a free politics rather they be introduced to ill politics.

Therefore, after the introduction of the new millennium, the role of civil society has become deteriorated. It needs to be re-shuffled, re-structured and re-introduced. Though there are some civil society organizations and members who try to perform their role properly, the continuation of being corrupt of the members of civil society affects the whole society. So, we need to be more concern about the role of civil society in this country.

5.3 Civil Society in Partisan Politics:

Partisanship affects politics in many ways. When partisanship is present in a society, some people are co-opted and reap benefits and the rest are discriminated and neglected. It produce imbalance, fierce political competition and fosters adversarial politics. Strong partisan feeling can wane the willingness to compromise. Thus, partisanship contributes to adversarial politics. Partisanship helps to develop stable democracy though in the third world developing countries like ours it was very nascent. Partisanship taken different shape and also different form. It deepens social cleavages and increase unrest in society.

From a general sense, civil society is considered to represent public voice on a non partisan line. It acts is to influence the process of achieving and maintaining democracy at the national and grassroots levels. A vigilant civil society in a developing country may contribute democracy. It can spread civic education, monitor the state activities, ensure local participation, ensure basic right of ever section of society. In doing this civil society in Bangladesh face many problem. First and the main problem is that it is highly politicized. Moreover, civil society organizations and also development NGOs in Bangladesh enter the long patron-client chains. It runs from top of government down to the subaltern. On the other hand, NGOs are accused of becoming new patrons of the poor.

Since 1991 partisanship has become one of the main characteristics of newly established democracy of Bangladesh. After the introduction of democracy public

intellectuals and every segment of society has become the victim of partisan politics. They have responded in partisan politics through their professional, social and political role. In such a vulnerable position, civil society can hardly play its role. Civil society is considered central to both the promotion and maintenance of democracy. This role is now supplemented. At the same time professional groups, trade unions and citizens groups are politicized. Due to this partisan civil society in this country has failed to function autonomously.

The role of civil Society is to represent the public voice. By this it also take part in achieving and maintaining democracy. But, this contribution has been deteriorated due to extreme partisanship. Civil society influenced by conflicting political parties. They become polarized, corrupt and ineffective due to partisanship among them.

5.4 Response of Civil Society Organizations in Partisan Politics (Media, Academics, Journalists, Lawyers, Student's group & NGOs)

Civil Society is expected to play supplementary role to political parties. It can promote political participation, enhance right of the citizen, provide a ground for future leadership. It also enhance assciational life by practicing their right and responsibility. By practicing this associational life people can developed their capacity and capability. So, civil society is very important for the development of a society. This type of socialization on the other hand leads to political society. However, in Bangladesh, it is observed that civil society is restricted and there are many problems in the society. Socialization and politicization both are problematic in perspective of Bangladesh.

At present, CSOs in Bangladesh are not dedicated themselves to socialization process. When they work for politics they become the instrument of party based due to the negative effect of politics. In Bangladesh politics becomes a dirty game. Similarly, NGOs now accused of becoming new patrons for the poor. Not only the development NGOs media, academician, journalists, lawyers, student groups are extremely partitioned along party line. The media become active in making story which is not compatible with the society. The academician is not eager to make open voice because they felt the aggression of government party. Journalists are also busy to publish public rumor that can easily spread. It hampers our morality and social norms. Lawyers are also partitioned along party line. Party affiliation makes their carrier smooth. As a result, they always work on party line. Students are not out of party politics. Now the school student are also involve in politics. It

hampers their academic education. They become busy on something that is not for them. They are also affected by wrong politics.

"To put it somewhat differently, after 1991, political parties started to co-opt major institutions such as press, media, universities, judiciary, and, especially, intellectuals. In the 1990's public intellectuals had played supporting roles, but now they aimed to secure significant public positions, such as becoming directors, chairmen, or diplomats. Public intellectuals, in other words, were becoming very partisan, with a concomitant negative effect on the political culture."[23]

Politicization of media, academics, journalists, lawyers, student's group & NGOs is negative for the society. Though man can improved themselves through community work. But politicization of every segment of society is negative. As this part of society is mainly academician and professional they must not function on the basis of party line.

5.5 Impact of partisan politics of Civil Society on the Public life of Bangladesh

Politicization is a common concept often used in a negative meaning. But, it is not always negative. Politicization of civil society is negative when member of civil society use political involvement to control institution, organization or political and process of the state.

Bangladesh at present has a liberal economy. This type of economy is new for it. It also effected the politics of this country also. After the introduction of democracy with liberal economic structure new social structure arises. In this structure a section of people become rich day by day while the other cannot ensure their basic need even. It effects the society and culture simultaneously. People of this country become self based on their own need. They are not aware about others. Every segment of society also divided on partisan line. For meet their need they become client of someone. Civil society in this country is no exception. Civil society become polarized, politicized and above all deviated from their morality.

"Thus, partisan politics in Bangladesh, because of its extreme nature, tends to undermine democratic institutions, obstruct rational debate and damage the public

---

[23] Nelofar Parvin(2012),"Bangladeshi Public Intellectuals" in Public Intellectuals and Partisanship in Bangladesh, Dhaka, Academic Press and Publishers Library, P-79.

role' of public intellectuals. In this way, partisan politics negatively affects democratic process"."[24]

In contemporary Bangladesh, very few civil society organizations may be termed as neutral. Party loyalty become common in every segment of society. Many civil society groups work for private gain and they are operating in private sphere. Instead of representing the collective interest they are engaged in brand of politics. In this process, it appears that civil society has become politicized and it it negatively affect the society. When the general people found that the educated and intellectual people are involve in directed them wrong way they are deprived. It spread with the whole society. As we have many problems in our society then we have to pored attention to solve them. Politicization of civil society is also a problem. So, we have to ponder over the matter.

---

[24] Nelofar Parvin(2012),"Conclusion: Public Intellectuals" in Public Intellectuals and Partisanship in Bangladesh, Dhaka, Academic Press and Publishers Library P-223

5.6 Conclusion:

In Bangladesh, civil society has been behaving in the opposite dimension of what is ideally expected from it. Politicization of civil society is a great problem in Bangladesh politics. We know limited politicization of civil society helps to make the state machinery accountable to the public. But extreme politicization draws a negative effect on the political process. In such a situation people become as divided that they forget what is good for the society rather party interest. Political party using this linkage of partisanship to long lasted their regime. In Bangladesh this is happened that civil society is extremely partitioned along party line. In hamper the democratic practice of this country. So, this type of partitionship must be stopped to make our democracy workable. And make our country successful in terms of democracy and development.

References:

1. Nelofar Parvin (2012), "Bangladesh Public Intellectuals" in Public Intellectuals and Partisanship in Bangladesh, Dhaka, Academic Press and Publishers Library, P-67-100.

2. Nelofar Parvin (2012), "Pathways to Partisanship" in Public Intellectuals and Partisanship in Bangladesh, Dhaka, Academic Press and Publishers Library, P-43-67.

3. Nelofar Parvin (2012), "Partisanship among Academics" in Public Intellectuals and Partisanship in Bangladesh, Dhaka, Academic Press and Publishers Library, P-135-170.

4. Nelofar Parvin (2012), "Partisanship among Non Academics" in Public Intellectuals and Partisanship in Bangladesh, Dhaka, Academic Press and Publishers Library, P-171-210.

5. David Lewis(2018), "State, Politics and Institutions"in Bangladesh Politics, Economy and Civil Society, Cambridge University Press, New York,P-75-108.

6. Rounaq Jahan(2000), "Bangladesh Promise and Performance" in Bangladesh : Promise and Performance, Dhaka, The University Press Limited,P-271-290.

7. Muntasssir Mamoon & Jayanta Kumar Ray(1998),"Civil Society in Bangladesh", in Civil Society in Bangladesh: Resilience and Retreat, Dhaka, Subarna, P-9-36.

8. Politicized Civil Society in Bangladesh: Case Study Analyses by Farhat Tasnim, March 21,2017
   www.express.lib.uts.edu.au.

9. Ahmed,S.(n.d.)Civil Society of Bangladesh Depoliticization in Working Agenda but politicized in Power Relation,Retrieved October 16,2017,from
   https://journal.hass.tsukuba.ac.jp/interfaculty/article/view/16/48

10. ADB.(2008)Overview of NGO and Civil Society: Bangladesh, Civil Society Briefs Retrieved from
    https://www.adb.org/publications/overview-ngos-and-civil-society-bangladesh

11. www.advocacy.thp.org
12. www.researchgate.net
13. www.journal.hass.tsukuba.ac.jp
14. www.express.lib.uts.edu.aw
15. www.tandfonline.com
16. www.bioline.org.br
17. www.cpb_us_w2.wpmucdn.com
18. www.mendeley.com
19. www.asiafoundation.org

20. Interview with Dr. Nurul Amin Bepari,ibid
21. Interview with Sabbir Ahmed,ibid

Chapter Six:

Findings and Analysis

Chapter Six:

Findings and Analysis

Introduction

In this study I use both quantative and qualitative approach. Data collection are happened by interviews and survey methods. For collecting data I divil the respondent into some category. In every category I took 20 respondent. The respondent are from academician, businessmen, banker, lawyer, student, member of social, cultural and voluntary organization. Despite the some public intellectuals are also included in it. After taken there interview I analyzed the data. In analyzing the data I followed SPSS method.

6.2Analysis of the Result:

The data to be collected categorized into following section:

No.	Category	Number
1.	Students(Public/Private)	20
2.	Professionals(Governments/Non-Governments)(Teachers,Doctors,Engineer,GovernmentOfficials)	20
3.	Businessmen(Small Businessmen/Industrialists/Businessmen)	20
4.	Voluntary Organizations(literary and Cultural Organizations, Non-government Organizations)	20
5.	Conscious People(Working People/Housewives/Youth)	20
	Total	100

Age distribution of the respondents are given below:

Table 9: Age distribution of the respondents:

Age Group (Years of Age)	Percentage
20-30	44%
30-40	42%
40-50	16%

As demonstrated in the aforementioned table, utmost efforts have been exerted so that there can exist substantial variation in terms of age distribution among the participants of the survey. A great majority of the respondents which is 44% to be precise, belongs to the age group of 20-30 years who are predominantly young generation who nourish the future fabric of the society. Moreover, the middle aged people from the range of 30 to 40 years of age constitute more than 40 percent of the total respondents. Furthermore, the respondents between 40 and 50 years old also compose significant elements of the survey, equivalent to more than 15 percent.
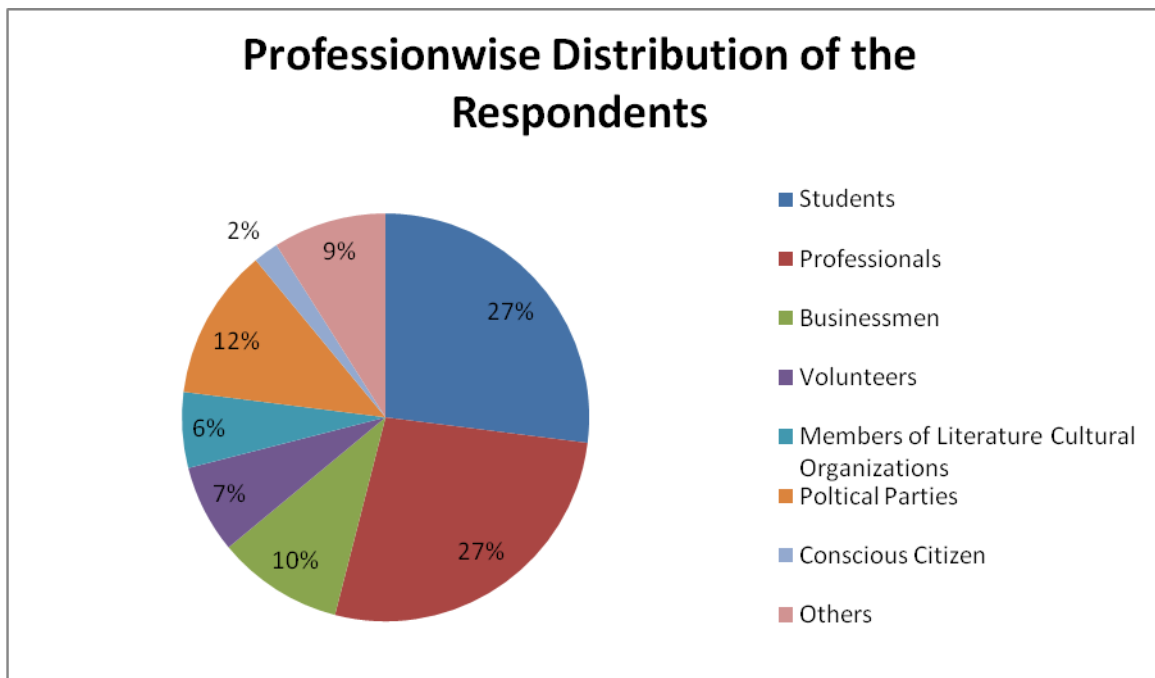
Figure 4: Profession wise Distribution of the Respondents

The pie chart portrayed above vividly represents that respondents from different professions and occupations have wholeheartedly participated in the survey. More than 50% of the entire participants are composed of students and members from different occupations. In addition to that, business communities comprise 10% of the total respondents. Besides, Volunteers from different welfare organizations, members of different culture and literature based organizations and conscious citizens constitute 7%, 6% and 2% respectively. On the top of that, activists of political parties are also included in the survey, consisting of 12% of the total respondents.

6.2.1. On which source does the civil society of Bangladesh depend to be informed of daily affairs?

Even in the age of the advancement of modern information and communication technology, 70% of the respondents underscored that the civil society is reliant on newspaper for extracting necessary information. While the application of radio has decayed a lot, 17% of the respondents are supportive of TV Channel. But the acceptance of BTV seems enormously low among the civil society according to the respondents.
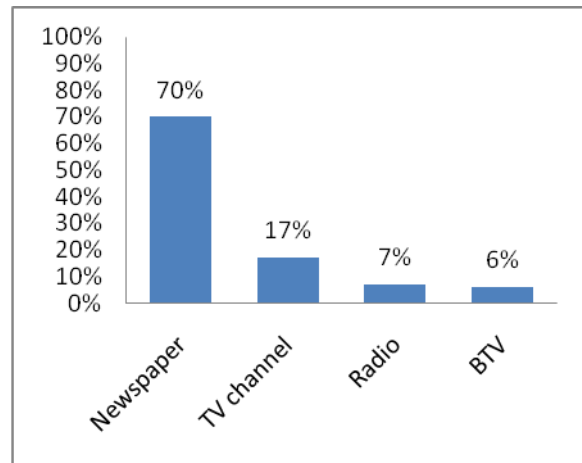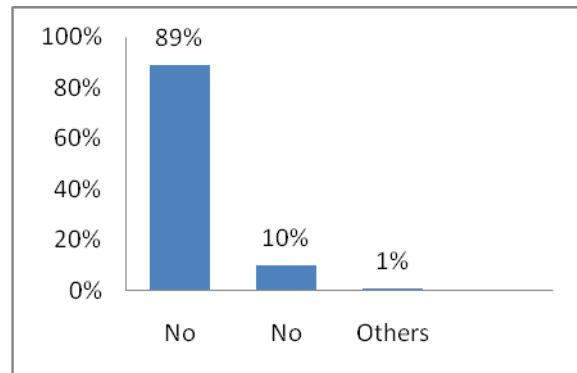

6.2.2. Did the civil society of Bangladesh play role during the regime 1990-2015?

Soon after the collapse of military regime, a new dimension of democracy gets evolved in Bangladesh. Since then to 2015, almost three-fourths of the respondents consented that the civil society played profound role in Bangladesh. On the contrary, one-fourth people withheld that the civil society hardly played any role during this time period.
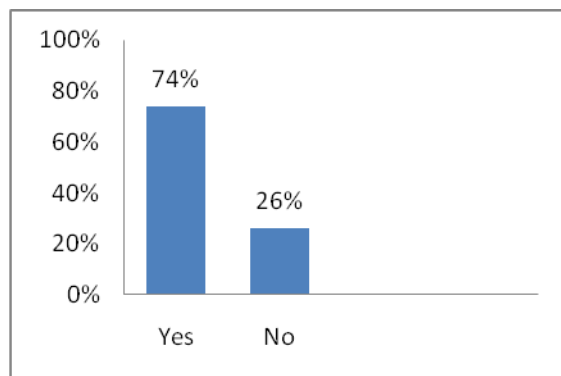
6.2.3. Are you satisfied with the civil society of Bangladesh?

There exists an astronomical amount of discontentment among the civil society of Bangladesh in comprehensive aspects of their performances, responsibilities and liabilities. But only 10% think that the civil society is satisfied with them.


6.2.4. When was civil society of Bangladesh most proactive?

Whenever any national crisis emerges, the civil society leads from the front. Such fact is scintillatingly portrayed in different occasions like democracy restoration in 1991 (34%), movement for non-partisan caretaker government in 1996 (30%). Moreover, during the time period in 2002 (21%) and other periods (15%) the civil society also proactive as per opinion of the respondents in the survey.
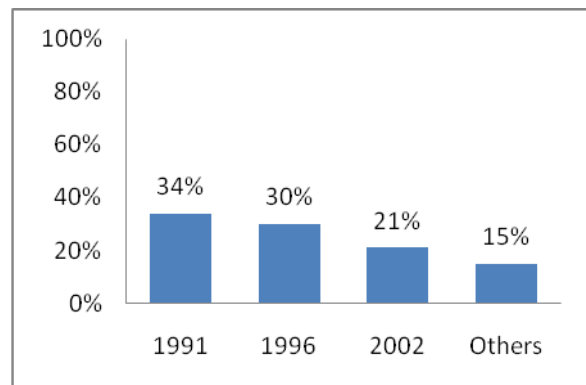

6.2.5. What is the opinion of civil society of Bangladesh regarding caretaker government?

That the civil society of Bangladesh expressed their opinion in favor of the caretaker government is substantiated from 94% of the respondents demonstrated that caretaker government is good. On the other hand, only 5% expressed their detrimental opinion regarding the non-partisan interim caretaker government.
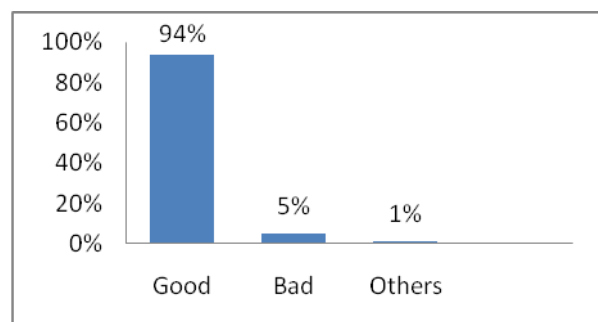
6.2.6 In which events did the civil society of Bangladesh play significant role?

Exactly half of the respondents considered that the civil society of Bangladesh has played tremendous role in eradicating military rule and I restoring democracy through mass up rise in 1990. Exactly one-third thinks that the civil society has a significant engagement in the movement for establishing caretaker government. But only a minuscule of the respondents confessed their enormous role in military regime during 2008 and in Shahbag movement that demanded the death sentences of war criminals of 1971.
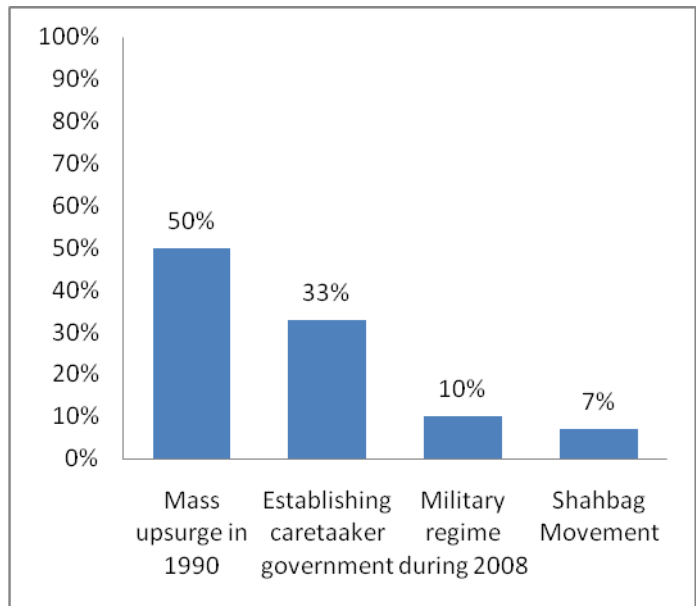

6.2.7 In which issues was the civil society of Bangladesh most proactive?

The civil society remains extremely cautious whenever national interest becomes of paramount importance. The dynamism and activism the civil society demonstrated in protest of Rampal power plant is depicted by 40% of the respondents. Even one-third of the respondents felt that the civil society was proactive in hill-tract peace treaty. Besides, one-fourth reveals that the civil society plays crucial role in the fight against religious fanaticism.
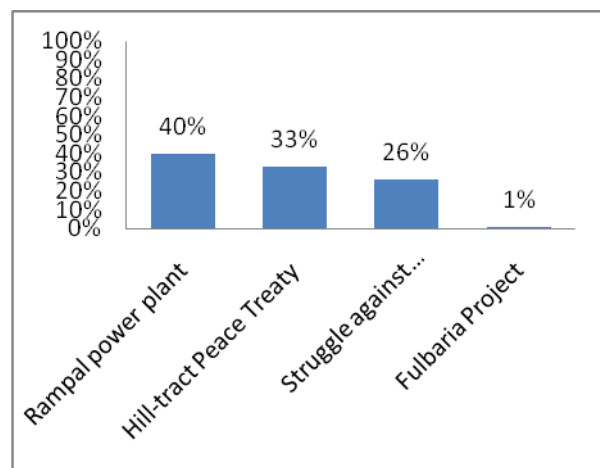
6.2.8 Is the civil society of Bangladesh successful in alleviating poverty through microcredit program?

An overwhelming number of respondents, equivalent to 97%, opined that the civil society has successfully alleviated poverty, a perennial problem, through conducting microcredit program.
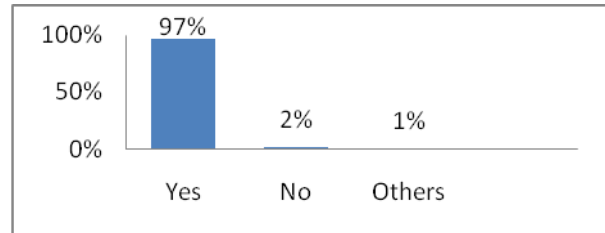

6.2.9 Which class of civil society does play significant role in Bangladesh?

The civil society belongs to diverse profession. In accordance with the opinion of the respondents, exactly 60% people consider educationist as the most proactive group among civil society who plays significant role in the countries Bangladesh. Think tank and NGO personalities along with journalist are the next most influential class of civil society. Writer and artist and cultural personalities are the least group in Bangladesh.
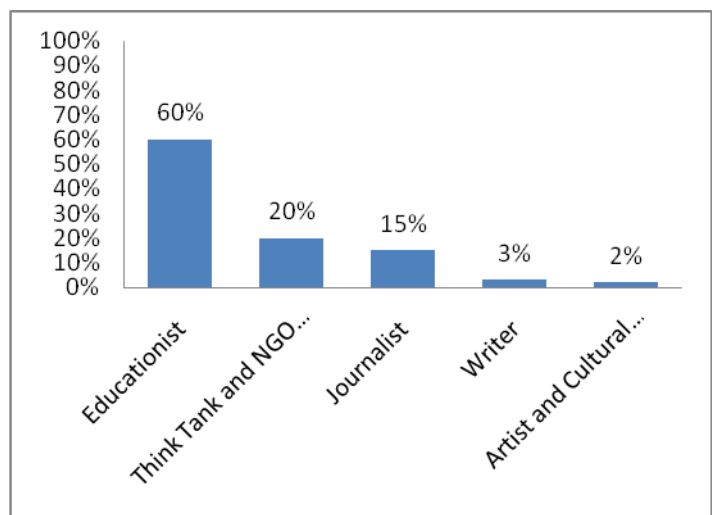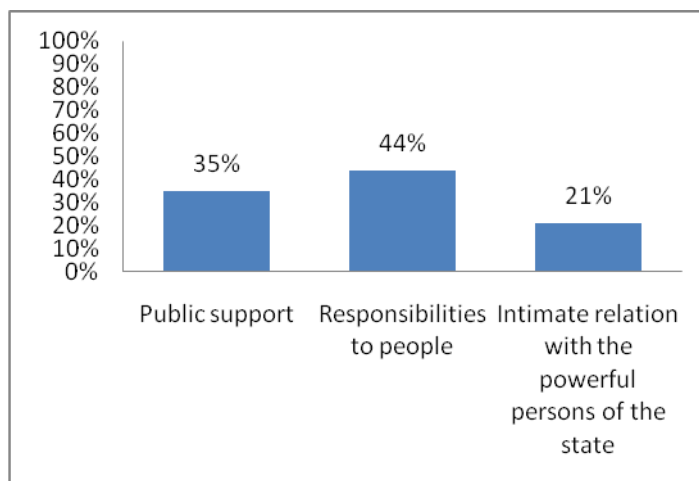

6.2.10 What types of role can the civil society play in the developing countries like Bangladesh?

Most of the respondents think that the civil society plays a substantial role in disseminating the opinion regarding issues highly relevant to public affairs. But only a modicum of them consider the presenting the important public issues. But only 2% people expressed that the civil society can play their role through mobilizing any movement.
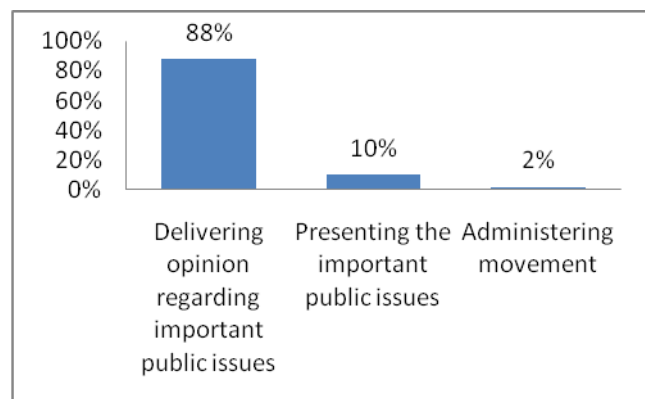
6.2.11. According to you, what characteristics should the institutions of civil society of Bangladesh have?

The civil society possesses certain features which make the civil society an inevitable element of democracy and good governance. According to the majority of the opinion, the fundamental aspect of the civil society lies in their relentless contribution to people through performing the glorious responsibilities they are entrusted with. Besides more than one-third of the respondents regarded popular endorsement as a significant characteristic of the institutions of the civil society. Moreover, only 20% people think that the intimacy with influential quarters of the state should be an important feature of the civil society of Bangladesh.

6.2.12. Is there any obstacle to play roles of the civil society of Bangladesh?

In order to achieve substantial success, working without fear, favour or hindrance is indispensable. But disappointingly 98% of the respondents feel that the civil society faces hurdle or impediment to playing their role objectively.
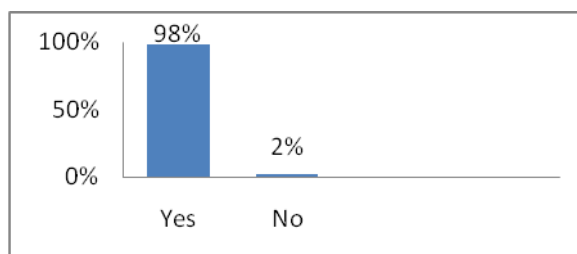
6.2.13. For whom does the civil society work?

The civil society performs multifarious responsibilities. But the fundamental question drawing the attention of an enthusiastic mind is for whose interest the civil society works. Exactly half of the total people are in consensus that the civil society serves for political parties. The service to general offered by the civil society is perceived by 40% of the respondent. Very few people think that the civil society works for their own self.
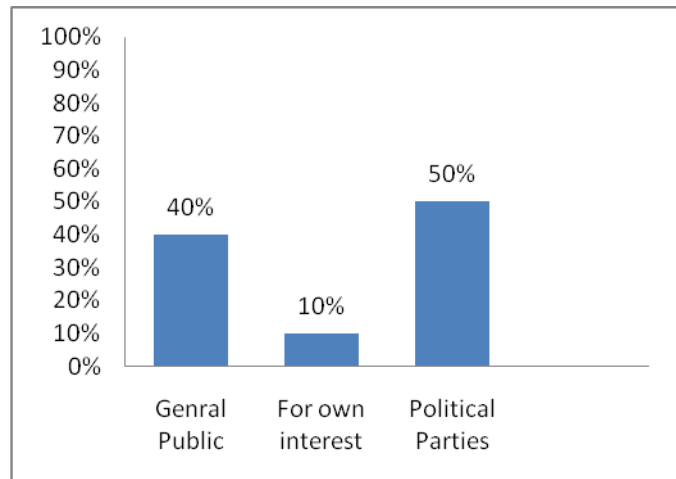
6.2.14 Is the civil society of Bangladesh affiliated to political parties?

There exists an enormous perception among the respondents regarding the party affiliation of the civil society. More than 90% people consider that the civil society is somewhat linked with the political party, which is quite contrary to the salient feature of the civil society.
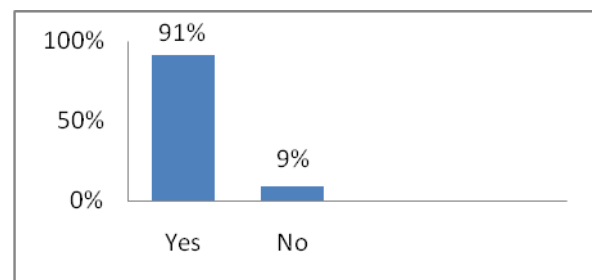
6.2.15 Do you feel when the civil society of Bangladesh serves political interest rather than national interest?

It is not astonishing that an overwhelming majority of the respondents, which is tantamount to almost 90%, expressed detrimental feeling when the civil society upholds political interest rather than relentlessly striving to advocate the greater interest of country and nation.
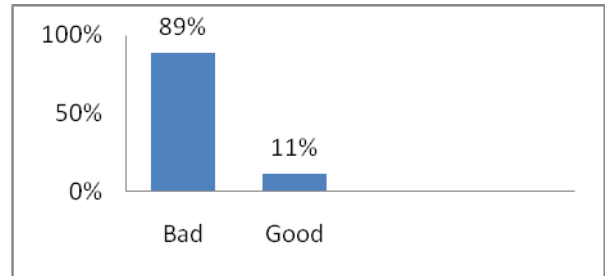
6.2.16 Does the direct involvement of civil society influence politics?

Despite the fact that by definition and by nature the members of civil society should not be directly affiliated towards any political party, more than 90% people consented that the engagement of civil society is influential in political domain.
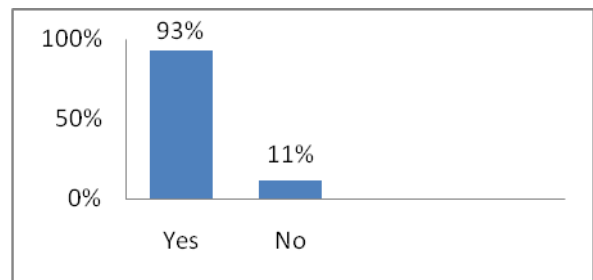
6.2.17 What is actually needed to activate the civil society in democracy of Bangladesh?

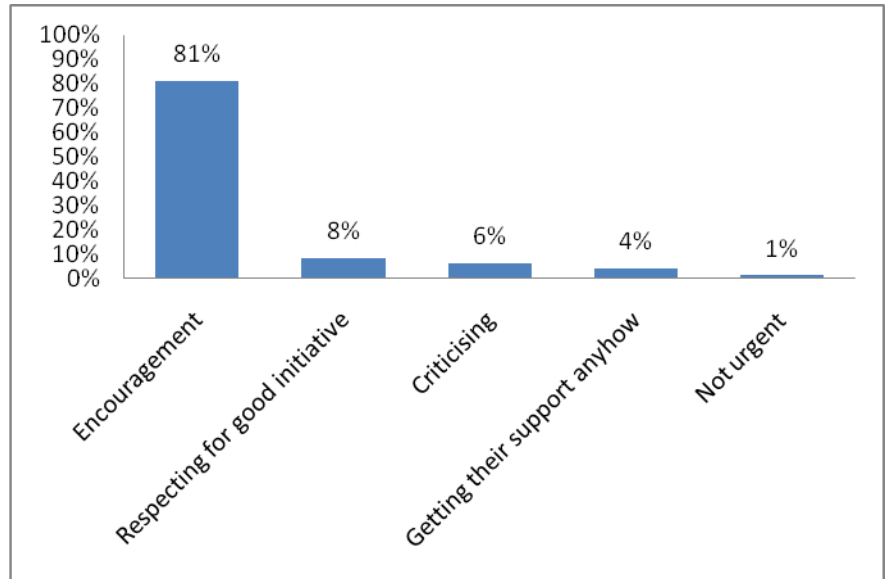In order to dynamically engage the civil society in democratic mechanism of Bangladesh, they must be accelerated through encouragement as per the observations of more than 80% respondents. On the other hand, the methods like respect, criticism or endorsement are not profoundly necessary in accordance with the respondents.

6.2.18 Should the role of the civil society be redefined in the era of present globalization?

Nearly three in every four respondents expressed their opinion towards modifying the roles of the civil society against the back drop of globalization while almost one in every four is not enthusiastic to reconstruct the roles of the civil society.
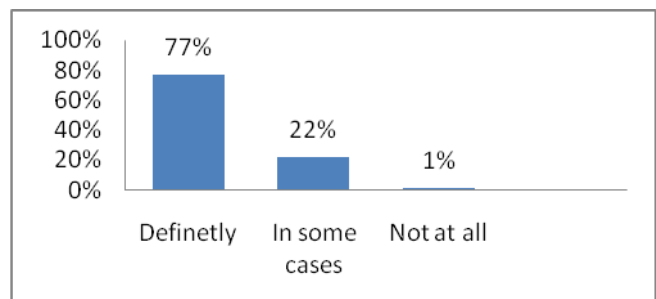
6.2.19 Is the civil society of Bangladesh successful in performing their responsibilities towards the state?

A mixed reaction among the respondents in the survey is demonstrated when it comes to the performances of responsibilities of the civil society towards the state. About 40% of the respondents observed that the civil society has completely failed to perform the responsibilities they are entrusted with. But 37% respondents agreed that they are successfu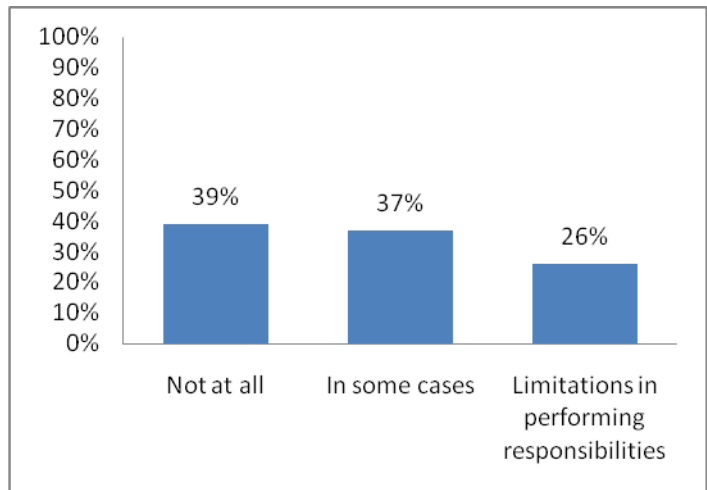l in some instances. One-fourth respondents opined that there are some constraints in performing their responsibilities.

6.2.20 Did the civil society of Bangladesh have glorious past?

An enormously substantial number of respondents think that the civil society of Bangladesh has experienced a magnificent history in the past while a meagre of respondents observe otherwise.
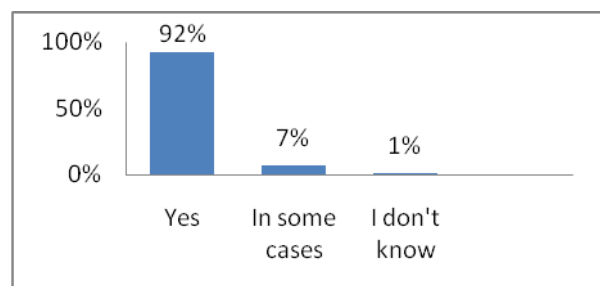
6.3 Conclusion: From the aforesaid empirical analysis it has been demonstrated that despite the profound advancement of the communicative media, the civil society is enormously reliant on newspaper for gathering the essential pieces of information. Although the civil society is comprised of the members from different professions, their influence and contribution fluctuate from profession to profession. The most predominant section of the civil society stems from the educationist as per the perceptions of the respondents of the survey. Apart from academician, the members of think tank who are mostly researchers and NGO

personalities who are mostly development workers as well as journalists and editors constitute the significant portion of the civil society. Since the inception of independent Bangladesh in 1971, the civil society has remained vigilant regarding the issues pertinent to the interest of general public. With the oust of military regime and the restoration of democracy, the importance, contribution of the significance of the civil society have incessantly expedited. This fact is substantiated from the respondents as well where tremendous number of participants in the survey consented that the civil society has undergone a scintillating history in the past. Despite such hilarious achievement in the past, colossal number of general public, quite astonishingly, dissatisfied with the roles played by the civil society.

Throughout the past in the history, the civil society has excellently and dedicatedly contributed to the nation whenever there any necessity or critical situation. For this reason, the respondents revealed that 75% of them consider that the civil society was successful in their performances of their core responsibilities. In the 1990s, Bangladesh faced some remarkable events in which the civil society has been profoundly proactive. For example, the events like the restoration of democracy in 1991 (according to the opinion of 34%), the establishment of non-party caretaker government in 1996 (according to the opinion of 30%) or against the terrorism, militancy, extrajudicial killing (according to the opinion of 21%) are well attended by the civil society. Moreover, the civil society still has affinity towards and propensity for caretaker government which has been abolished from the constitution by an amendment. Furthermore, the civil society has remained hyperactive against the military regime in 2008, or in the Shahbag movement for ascertaining the maximum punishment of the war criminals.

On the other hand, whenever there is question or concern or project that may adversely impact the national interest, environmental challenges, threat to the minorities and ethnic communities, the civil society has come forward to associate them. According to the survey, the civil society has remained completely vigilant in the protest against the Rampal power plant which endangers the flora and fauna and the bio-diversity and eco-system of Sundarbans, one of the mangrove forests in the world. Besides, the civil society has successfully endorsed the peace treaty of hill-tracts that has generated peace, stability and harmony in that region. On top of that, the most successful part of the civil society, overwhelmingly substantiated in the survey, lies in the struggle for alleviating the poverty through executing and extending microcredit programmes.

Besides, proactively engaging in those pertinent events, the civil society delivers its previous opinions regarding issues that are explicitly relevant to the importance and urgency of the general public. The survey depicts that 88% of the respondents think so while only 10% of the respondents think that the civil society presents those issues to the public. As analyzed previously, the respondents offered diverse responses when it comes to the characteristics of the civil society. Support from the public and responsibilities towards the people are the most fundamental features of the civil society as per the opinions of 80% of the respondents. Another essential aspect that has been captured in the analysis is the question for whom the civil society performs their responsibilities. Mixed reactions among the respondents have been received in the analysis since 50% supported that the civil society serves political interest on the other hand, 40% of the respondents are supporting that the civil society works for upholding the interest of public. Perception that the civil society is affiliated to the political parties is extremely enormous among the respondents of the survey. Interestingly, around 90% of the respondents feel irritated when they experience that the civil society is affiliated to political parties and serving their interests.

Despite some outstanding contributions of the civil society to the society and nation it experience acute obstructions and certain limitations as conceived by 98% of the respondents of the survey. The most essential suggestion that the respondents offer to eliminate these obstacles is through extensive encouragement rather than respecting good initiatives or criticizing their activities.

Chapter 7

Summary and Conclusion

Chapter 7

Summary and Conclusion

7.1 Introduction:

Bangladesh is an independent country. It takes democracy as its political process. Government of Bangladesh formed through the direct election of the masses. It has institutionalized democracy through mass uprising and in this movement civil society has a major role. But after some year of practicing democracy the fault line of democracy become apparent.

In Bangladesh civil society is vibrant and in the past when political parties hesitated to take major decisions it would take the initiative. It includes voluntary and cultural associations, academics, independent media, occupational associations and similar organizations. It also includes trade unions, professional associations; private and voluntary organizations; sports and cultural bodies; social and welfare associations and so on. Despite this thousands of NGOs work as part of civil society. Despite work in poverty alleviation process this NGOs allow feminists and ethnic and other minorities to engage in the decision making process. NGOs are frequently referred to as the most influential part of civil society. They are mostly donor dependent, westernized, unable to mobilize people in issue based politics or speak independently. So, there are great confusion of intrusion of NGOs in civil society.

7.2 Methodology:

The study titled, "The role of civil society in the political process of Bangladesh (1990 to 2015) has outlined six specific objectives. Seven chapters have been incorporated for purporting the objectives. The study engrosses percentage for measuring standards. To explore the objectives laid down, each of the standards of measure has been comprehensively examined. Constitutional arrangement of civil society in Bangladesh has been incorporated to measuring the extension of civil liberties.

In this study, a picture of the role of civil society in the political process of Bangladesh (1990 to 2015) has been focused within comparative analysis. A survey has been done within the existing literature. Observation was made for the studies and collecting information. Data collection was physically examined and checked. Primary data collected from the personal interviews, completed

questionnaires, surveys, direct information. Observations and experiments are also employed in this study. Secondary sources have been used extensively and intensively in the study. Relevant books of my study are from eminent political and social scientists of civil society. This study is concerned research work, study reports of published by Bangladesh government different agencies, commissions, committees, journals, periodicals and newspaper of home and abroad have been included. This is used as secondary sources of data. Concerned internet web sites have been used as secondary sources also.

This research is largely based on stratified sampling technique. This technique picked up a small unit out of the whole study. Such a unit expected to be representative of the whole population. In the study relevant literatures have been studied thoroughly. Varying the hypothesis, data needs and sources are identified. Collected data and information gathered from primary and secondary sources. These primary and secondary sources of data have been analyzed and interpreted within the Statistical Programme for Social Science (SPSS), MS- Word and MS-Excel also. To analyze information and data, contradictions have been handled carefully. Logical arguments have judged to make points more clarified and remove confusion.

7.3   Major findings of the study:

8   Three-fourths of the total respondents consented that civil society in Bangladesh political process have a profound role.

9   Only a few percentage of civil society is satisfied with them.

10 Even in this age of globalization majority of the respondent relied on newspaper rather than electronic media.

11 Nearly all the respondent is still in favor of caretaker government.

12 90% people consider that civil society is somewhat linked with the political party.

13 Three-quarter of the respondent opine that the role of civil society should be revised as we are in the age of globalization.

14 Still most of the respondent consented that civil society played a profound role in Bangladesh.

7.4 Recommendations:

1. Civil society can work as a mouth piece of a nation, an open forum for public debate. As everyone in the society is not active about the work of government here civil society can play a bridging role. They can raise voice about the rights and duties of government and people of this country where injustice happened with anyone or a group of people. Sometime some civil society member work for self or group or party interest. So, we have to concern about their function.

2. Civil society in Bangladesh now cannot exercise their right of freedom of speech, thought, association and assembly. They are now restricted in some field. We have to concerned about rights and freedom and make free in their work.

3. Civil society work for public good not for profit or any other things. But sometime some civil society member's work degrades our cultural value and also society's morality. It is the negative side of the function of civil society. Bangladesh as a third world developing country it is also true. Civil society member in our country sometime lead us in the wrong path. So, we have to make conscious about it and spread proper education in all segment of society.

4. Now after 2000 media play a role as see-no-evil. They are not always broadcasted the true news. Sometime they broadcasted unrealistic and false news. So, overall civil society in Bangladesh is in a great turmoil. We can make restriction on those media who are spread ill news rather than real.

5. The role of civil society is as active participants but passive beneficiaries. They are benefitted when all member of the society get it. So, they must have some quality, capability, tolerance, non biased and overall respectful to human dignity. As a general people in the society we have to respect them.

6. In Bangladesh civil society is highly politicized. Politicization of civil society is not problems at all. When civil society become extreme partitioned than society became highly affected by it. In Bangladesh civil society become as politicized that they are detracted from their basic function and it make harmful affect on society. So, we have to make concern about their extreme partition ship and it should be stopped.

7. In our country civil society is sometime restricted. It was also true that they felt aggression of government party. This ill practices must be stopped and make free of their activity.

7.5 Conclusion:

Bangladesh political history has been turbulent, and its institutions of government remain failed to ensure good governance and basic human rights for all its citizens. During the four decades country went through many ups and downs. It was started from the terrible cost of human lives during its bloody war of national liberation. It continued with extensive and pervasive poverty, environmental vulnerability to a continuing set of problems relating to political instability and poor governance. Not only this, the country is treated as a laboratory for innovative solutions. Civil society of Bangladesh had a rich culture and tradition. But now this glorious past is wane for some reason. By improving the problem of civil society in this country we can make our country successful one in terms of democracy and development. Civil society in Bangladesh need to be more attention. By improving the condition of civil society we can solve many problem of the society. The role of civil society after 1990 to 2015 that is immediate after the introduction of democracy become important. Because it can help to solve future problem and past prospective in this country.

Blibiography

Khan, Akbar Ali (2000), *Pararthoaparatar Arthanithi* , Dhaka : The University Press Limited.

Rahman, A.T. Rafiqur (2008), *Bangladesh Election 2008 And Beyond* , Dhaka :

The University Press Limited.

Rahman, A.T. Rafiqur (2006), *Bangladesh In The Mirror,* Dhaka : The University

 Press Limited.

Coleman , Almond and J. (1960), *The Politics of the Developing Areas ,* Princeton:

Princeton University Press.

D.E., Apter (1966) *,"Basic Problems of Political Development "* in G. Almond and

Powell , G. Comparative Politics: *A Development Approach, Boston:* Little Brown

Arblaster, Anthony (1994), *Democracy, Buckingham:* Open University Press.

Bridget Somekh & Cathy Lewin (2005), Research Methods in the Social Sciences,

Delhi : SAGE Publications .

Beck, Carlton E. Jim A. Barak (1969), *The Study of Society,* Pennsylvania: International Textbook Company.

E. McNabb David (2004), *Research Methods for Political Science Quantitative and Qualitative Methode,* New Delhi : PHI Learning Private Limited .

Burney H. M., Burney Donald H. M., *Theresa L. White (2007), Research Methods* , Indian Edition: Thompson Wadsworth .

Dennis Rondinelli A. (1983), *Development Projects as Policy Experiments* : *An*

Adaptive Approach to Development Administration, London: Methuen & Co. Ltd.

Rao Dr. B. Sudhakar (2006), *Rural Good Governance in Asian Commonwealth Countries,* Dhaka : Centre on Integrated Rural Development for Asia and The Pacific .

Effendi Dr. Cecep, Rajendran Dr. Vasanthi (2016), *Dynamics of Poverty Cases From CIRDAP Member Countries ,* Dhaka : Centre on Integrated Rural Development for Asia and The Pacific .

Rao Dr. B. Sudhakar (2005), *Guidelines for Good Governance ,* Dhaka : Centre on Integrated Rural Development for Asia and The Pacific .

Chowdhury Fakrul (2008), *Civil Society ,* Dhaka : Kathaprokash .

Almond G. A. and Powell Jr. G.B. (1966), *Comparative Politics:* A Development Approach, Boston: Little Brown Co.

Almond G. and Coleman J. (1960), *The Politics of the Developing Areas,* Princeton: University Press .

Almond Gabriel A. and Verba Sideney (1965), *The Civic Culture, Political Attitudes And Democracy in Five Nations:* A Analytic Study , Boston : Little , Brown and Co.

Firoj Jalal (2012), *Democracy in Bangladesh: Conflicting Issues And Conflict Resolution 1991-2001,* Dhaka: Bangla Academy Dhaka.

Brown L. David (2008), *Creating Credibility Legitimacy and Accountability for Transnational Civil Society,* United States of America : Kumarian Press .

Maleque Md. Abdul Ph. D. (2007), *Pressure Group Dynamics of Bangladesh Politics ,* Dhaka : Academic Press and Publishers Library .

Mamoon Muntassir (2005), *South Asia: History Power Legitimacy Bangladesh Perspective, Dhaka :* International Centre for Bengal Studies .

Ahmed Moudud (2002), *South Asia: Crisis of Development (The Case of Bangladesh), Dhaka :* The University Press Limited .

Mannan Md. Abdul (2005), *Elections and Democracy in Bangladesh,* Dhaka : Academic Press and Publishers Library.

Rahman M. Azizur (2018), *Governance : Concepts and Global Perspectives ,* Dhaka : Academic Press and Publishers Library .

Islam M. Nazrul (2003), *Consolidating Asian Democracy , Dhaka* : Nipun Printing Industries ltd.

Khan Mizan R., Kabir Mohammad Humayan (2002*), Civil Society and Democracy In Bangladesh, Dhaka : A*cademic Press and Publishers Limited .

Ahmed Moudud (1995), *Democracy and the Challenge of Development, Dhaka:* University Press Limited.

Hossain M. Ismail, Hye Syed A., Ali Ali Amin Muhammad (1998), *Structural Adjustment Policies and Labour Market in Bangladesh, Dhaka:* Centre on Integrated Rural Development for Asia and the Pacific.

Rashid Mohammad Ali, Solaiman Mohammad (2003), *Asian Financial Crisis and South Asia, Dhaka :* Centre on Integrated Rural Development for Asia and the Pacific .

Ahmed Momtaz Uddin (2001), *Efficacy of Alternative Poverty Alleviation Programmes in Bangladesh , Dhaka :* Centre on Integrated Rural Development for Asia and the Pacific .

Hoque Md. Mominul (2008), *The History of Bangladesh , Dhaka :* Gatidhara Banglabazar.

Parvin Nelofar (2012), *Public Intellectuals and Partisanship in Bangladesh,* Dhaka, Academic Press and Publishers library.

Ahmed Nizam (2014), *40 Years of Public Administration and Governance in Bangladesh,* Dhaka : The University Press Limited .

Chowdhury Omar Haider, Sen Binayak (1998*), Public Expenditure and Social Development in Bangladesh , Dhaka :* Centre on Intregrated Rural Development for Asia and the Pacific .

Ahmed Prof. Dr. Emajuddin (2006), *Bangladesh, Democracy and Good Governance Dhaka:* Computer Publications.

Burnell Peter, Calvert Peter (2004), *Civil Society in Democratization, Great Britain:* Frank Cass and Company Limited.

Jahan Rounaq (2000), *Bangladesh : Promise and Performance, Dhaka* : The University Press Limited.

Jahan Rounaq (2015), *Political Parties in Bangladesh : Challenges of Democratization , Dhaka* : Prothoma Prokashan .

Jahan Rounaq (2017), *Bangladesh Politics : Problems and Issues , Dhaka :* The University Press Limited.

MacIver R. M. (1965), *The Web of Government, New York:* The Free Press.

Huntington Samuel P. (1991), *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century, Norman :* University of Oklahoma Press .

Hussain Shawkat Ara (1991), *Politics and Society in Bengal, 1921-1936* : A Legislative Perspective, Dhaka :Bangla Academy Dhaka .

Parsons Stephen (1990), *Rational Choice and Politics : A critical Introduction,* London and New York : Continuum .

Kaviraj Sudipta, Khilnani Sunil (2001), *Civil Society History and Possibilities , United Kingdom* : Cambridge University Press .

Sahoo Sawbeswar (2013), *Civil Society and Democratization in India , London and New York :* Routledge.

Khan, Zillur R., Andaleeb Syed Saad (2011), *Democracy in Bangladesh : political Dimensions of National Development,* Dhaka; The University Press Limited.

Siddique Zillur Rahman (2001), *Quest for a Civil Society, Dhaka* : Sucheepatra Publications .

 Paul Freedman (1960), *The Principles of Scientific research, 2nd edition,* London, Pergaman Press.

Articles :

Andrew Clayton , Peter Oakley , Jon Taylor (2000) Civil Society Organizations and Service Provision , *Civil Society and Social Movements Programme Paper*, Number 2 , October 2000 .

Ardian Kastrati (2016),Civil Society from Historical to Contemporary Perspectives, *European Journal of Multidisciplinary Studies* , Vol-1 , Nr.1 , Jan-Apr 2016 .

Abu Elias Sarker (2004), Administrative Reform in Bangladesh : Three Decades of

Failure , *International Public Management Journal* , Vol-7, No.3 , 365-384 .

Arun Kumar Goswami (2010),Democratization in Bangladesh : *An Analysis , Centre for Advanced Research in Social Science* , Vol-9 , August : 68-99 .

Biplobe Afroza (2011),Uncertainity of Work in Most of the Time of The Year : Extreme Poverty of Low Income People : *Poverty Research and ResourcCentre – PRRC- Action Aid Bangladesh* ,Vol -1 , December : 15-29 .

King Gary, Keohane Robert O. and Sidney Verba (1995),The Importance of

Research Design in Political Science, *American Political Science Review* , Vol

-89 , No. 2 , June : 475-481 .

Jeffrey Flynn (2004) Communicative Power in Habermas's Theory of Democracy, *European Journal of Political Theory* , SAGE Publications ltd. London and New Delhi :433-454 .

Kazi Tanvir Mahmud ,ZainalAbidin Mohammad , Mohd. MansorIsmail , M. Nasir Shamsuddin and David Hilton (2007),*Asia – Pacific Journal of Rural Development* , Volume 17 , Number 2 , December : 67-84 .

Muhammad Ruhul Amin (2010), Democracy and Economic Growth : Theoretical Challenges a nd Implementation in Bangladesh , *Centre for Advanced Research in Social Science* ,Vol -9 , August : 21-40 .

Mohammad Mozahidul Islam (2013), The State , Institutions and the Challenges of Dpment in Bangladesh *, Bangladesh Journal of Public Administration* , Vol–22 , Number -1 , Dhaka : 20-61 .

Shailajananda Roy (2011),Conventional Microcredit Programme and Self-Help

Groups : Comparative Effectiveness In Poverty Alleviation ,*Poverty Research and Resource Centre –PRRC –* Action Aid Bangladesh , Vol -1 , December : 1-13 .

Syed Serajul Islam (1995),Transition From Authoritarianism to Democracy in Pakistan and Bangladesh : A Comparative Analysis , *Journal of Asiatic Society* ,Bangladesh ,Vol -40, No . 2 , December : 237-305 .

Mohammad FaisolKeiling , Assoc. Prof. Lt. Col Dr. Mohammad NasirSaludin , Otto F. Von feigenblatt ,Mohd. Na'eimAjis , Md. ShukriShuib (2010) A Histirical Approach to Myanmar's   Democratic Process , *Journal of Asia Pacific Studies* , Vol-1, No.2 , 132-148.

NelofarParvin (2010),Role of Civil Society in Bangladesh : An appraisal , Asian Studies , *Journal of the Department of Government & Politics* , JU , No. 29 , June 2010 : 13-22 .The Daily Star, September 29 2016. *International Journal of Scientific & Engineering Research(2013)*, Volume-4, Issue-4, April-2013. 350.org, Jenney Zapata Lopez, January 12,2017.

Prothom Alo, October 03, 2014.

The Daily Star, September 29, 2016.

Dhaka Tribune, July 07,2017.

Transparency Bangladesh, Executive Summary, 16 April 2015.

Reports and Documents :

Dr. S. K. Singh (2009),Changing Rural Livelihoods in South Asia : Constraints and Opportunities, Report of the Regional Seminer , 6 July 2009, Dhaka : CIRDAP.

Dr. S. K. Singh (2008),Participatory techniques for Planning and Management of

Rural Development Projects, Report of the Collaborative Trainning Programme, June 10-14 ,2008 , Dhaka : CIRDAP .

HosseinShahbaz , Md. ShafiqurRahman , David Hilton (2013),Decentralized Approach to Community Development in bangladesh , Evaluation Report of Agency for International Cooperation and Development (AFCID) , July , Dhaka: CIRDAP Study Series . No. 22 .

Md. HamidurRahman (1997),Poverty Alleviation Strategies and Programmes in

Bangladesh : Scope and Future Potentials for Government –NGO Co-

operation , Report on CIRDAP –ESCAP National Workshop on Government –

NGO Cooperation for poverty Alleviation : Capability Building to alleviate

 Rural Poverty under Economic Adjustments , 16 September , 1997 , Dhaka : CIRDAP .

Rural Development Report (2016),Outlook on Rural income and Poverty in Asia

and the Pacific , September 217 , Dhaka : CIRDAP.

Internet :

AtiurRahman , "NGOs and Civil Society in Bangladesh"

https://www.researchgate.net>2995 .

Failure , International Public Management Journal , Vol-7, No.3 , 365-384 .

ATM Shamsul Huda (2014) "Electoral democracy and the civil society" , March 08 ,2014 .

http://www.thedailystar.net/electoral-democracy-and-the-civil-society-14561 .

Abu SufianShamrat (2017) "Intra-party Democracy in Bangladesh : A Study of AL and BNP's General Secretary/Secretary General Elections .

http://southasiajournal.net/intra-party-democracy-in-bangladesh-a-study-of-al-and-bnps .

AaroHarju , "The essential characteristics of civil society".

https://www.kansalaisyhteiskunta.fi/kansalaisyhteiskunta/civil_society/the+essential

Civil Society : A Key Partner .

https://www.thegef.org/partners/csos .

Civil Society .

https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Civil_society .

Civil Society in the Promotion and Strengthening of Democracy in the Americas : A Vision for the Future (2006)   , CANADIAN FOUNDATION FOR THE AMERICAS , Conference Report March 1-2 ,2006 , Ottowa , Canada

Pdba.georgetown.edu>groups .

David Lewis (2005) "Civil society in non-Western contexts :reflections on the 'usefulness'of a concept".

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/45686793 .

David Lewis (2016) "NGOs and civil society", November 2016 .

http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/59599/ .

David Lewis (2016) "Non-governmental organizations and civil society in Bangladesh" .

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/299570256 .

David Lewis (2003) "Old" and "New" civil societies ? reflections on NGOs , state and democracy in Bangladesh , 1 December 2003 .

http://journals.openedition.org/jda/1972 .

Deejay Sam (2012) "Civil Society : Meaning , Features and Role of Civil Society"

https://www.preservearticles.com/2014051433460/civil-society-meaning-features-and-r....

Dr. MizanurRahman Shelley (2017) "Challenges of civil society intellectuals" , Oct 27 , 2017 .

https://www.newagebd.net>article .

EgleButkeviciene,EgleVaidelyte , Rasa Snapstiene (2010) "Role of civil society organizations in local governance :theoretical approaches and empirical challenges in Lithuania" , January 2010 .

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/255898741 .

FaheemHaider (2009) "Reflection on Intra-Party Democracy In Bangladesh " .

https://foreignpolicyblogs.com/2009/12/28/reflections-on-intra-party-democracy-in

Fahimul Quadir ,"Civil Society in Bangladesh : In Search of Democracy and Development".

https://www.researchgate.net>2872 .

FarhatTasnim (2017) "Politicized Civil Society in Bangladesh : Case Study Analyses " .

https://www.researchgate.net>3154 .

Goverscience Civil Society Organizations Seminar (2009) , EUROPEAN RESEARCH AREA , DIRECTORATE GENERAL FOR RESEARCH SCIENCE ECONOMY AND SOCIETY , Brussels , 9-1 October 2009 .

https://ec.europa.eu>pdf_06 .

John Garrison (2011) "Should CSOs Have a Seat at the Table?"

https://blogs.worldbank.org/publicsphere/should-csos-have-seat-table .

JavadBahmani (2016) "The Role of Civil Society in Development" , November 09 ,2016 .

https://www.researchgate.net>3122 .

Jacob Tibi (2018) "A Discussion about The Evolution of Civil Society"

http://www.institutefordevelopmentimpact.com/insights/a-discussion-about-the-evolution .

John Coonrod (2009) "Role of Civil Society in Bangladesh's Democratic Transition " , October 9, 2009 .

https://advocacy.thp.org>page .

Intra-party democracy , 3 February ,2016 .

https://m.theindependentbd.com/printversion/details/32551 .

Michael W. Foley , Bob Edwards (1996) "The Paradox of Civil Society" ,July 1996 .

https://muse.jhu.edu/login?auth=0&type=summary&url=/journals/journal_of_democracy .

Mocha_Zamroni (2016) "Characteristics of Civil Society" , 28 July ,2016 .

http://mochazamroni.expertscolumn.com/article/characteristics-civil-society .

M.M. AwalHossain "Democracy in Bangladesh : Problems & Prospects"

https://www.academia.edu>demo .

Md. Selim Reza (2017) "Practice of intra-party democracy in Bangladesh".

https://www.observerbd.com/details.php?id=7535 .

Michael Kenny , "Civil Society Social Science" .

https://www.britannica.com/topic/civil-society

Press Reports on Political Parties and Democracy in Bangladesh , May 22, 2014 .

https://cpd.org.bd/press-reports-political-parties-democracy-in-bangladesh-cpd-dialogue/

Robert Watkins (2015) "Civil Society as the key to development",September 15, 2015 .

https://www.thedailystar.net/op-ed/politics/civil-society-the-key-development-143335 .

Rashed Al Mahmud Titumir (2017)   "Whither civil society in promoting democracy" , Oct 26,2017 .

https://googleweblight.com/i?u=https://www.newagebd.net/article/27001/wither-civil-

Rory O'Brien (1999)   "Philosophical History of the Idea of Civil Society" ,February 1999 .

https://www.web.net/~robrien/papers/civhist.html

Sunjidmaa Jamba (2011) "From One-Way to Two-Way Exchanges : Gearing Up to Use Communication in Support of Decentralization in Mongolia "

https://blogs.worldbank.org/publicsphere/one-way-two-way-exchanges-gearing-use-co...

ThaliaMagioglou ,"Social Representations of Democracy ; Ideal versus Reality" .

https://www.lse.ac.uk>research>pdf .

Timothy J. Peterson and Jon Van Til (2004) "Defining Characteristics of Civil Society" ,February 2004 .

http://www.icnl.org/research/journal/vol6iss2/art_5.htm

Taj Hashmi (2017) "Declining democracy and reclining leadership" , Oct 27, 2017

https://googleweblight.com/i?u=https://www.newagebd.net/article/27002/declining-de

The Democratic Process .

https://www.let.rug.nl/usa/outlines/government-1991/fundamentals-of-american .

What Is Democracy and the Democratic Process ? Updated on : Jul 29, 2018 .

https://www.epickenyan.com/demystifying-democracy-and-democratic-process/

What Civil Society Can Do to Develop Democracy ,February 10, 2004 .

https://web.stanford.edu/~ldiamond/iraq/Develop_Democracy 21002.htm

DR. Nargis Banu, August 7 2006, Rampal Power Plant vs Sundarban,

www.bangla-sydney.com

Risky and Over Subsidised A Financial Analysis of the Rampal Power Plant,

https://ieefa.org/wp-content

Dr. A.H. Chowdhury, Environmental Impact of Coal Based Power Plant of Rampal om the Sundarbans and Surrounding Areas,

http://bagerhatsociety.com

The Role of Civil Society in the Political Process of Bangladesh

(1990-2015)

Schedule of Interview (Secret)

Participant:

1. Student

2. Service Holder

3. Employee of government and semi government offices

4. Businessmen

5. Members of Literature and Cultural Affairs

6. Members of Voluntary Organizations

7. Intellectuals

8. Political Party Members

9. Conscious Citizens

10. Others

Name of the Participants:

**Address of the
Participants:**………
……..

Signature of the Interviewee and Date: **Serial No.**

Section-1

Can you answer the Following Questions?

1.1	Name of the Respondent	
1.2	Age	
1.3	Gender	
1.4	Religion	
1.5	Education Qualification	
1.6	Profession	
1.7	Present Designation	
1.8	Address	
1.9	Gross Annual Income and Expenditure	

Section-2

8. **For Knowing Present situation what media you preferred? Why?**
   - **Newspaper**
   - **Private TV Indicate specifically--**
   - **Bangladesh Radio**
   - **Magazine**
   - **BTV**
   - **BBC or Voice of America**
   - **Internet**
   - **Other (Specified)………………………………….**

9. **Are you satisfied with the role of civil society from the year of 1990-2015?**
   - Yes
   - No
   - Other (Specified)

10. **Are you think that the civil society have a role in the democratic process of Bangladesh?**
    - Yes
    - No
    - Other (Specified)

11. **In what time of election Civil Society is more vocal?**
    - **1991**
    - **1996**
    - **2002**
    - **2009**
    - **2014 …………………………………….**

12. **What is your opinion about the Care Taker Government of Bangladesh?**
    - **Good**
    - **Bad**
    - **Other (Specified)………………………………**

13. **In which important historical time Civil Society in Bangladesh is more active? Why?**
    - **Mass Upsurge of 1990**
    - **Formation of Care Taker Government**
    - **Military Backed Care Taker Government**
    - **Shahbagh Movement**

6. **In what important national issue Civil Society is more active? Why?**
   - **Fulbaria Project**
   - **Rampal power project**
   - **CHT Peace Accord**
   - **War against Religious extremism**

7. **Is in the micro credit for poverty alleviation process civil society successful?**
   - **Yes**
   - **No**
   - **Other (Specified)…………………..**

8. **Which Actors of Civil Society play major role in Bangladesh? Why? How?**
   - **Academician**

- **Journalists**
- **Lawyers and Judges**
- **Writers**
- **Artists and Cultural Persons**
- **Think Tank and NGO persons**
- **Others (Specified)………………………**

9. **What is your opinion about (in a third world country like Bangladesh) what role civil society play? Why?**
   - **Give opinion about public welfare issue**
   - **Raise public welfare issue**
   - **Conduct movements**
   - **Others (Specified)……………………**

10. **According to your opinion what criteria must a Civil Society Organization have?**
   - **Public**
   - **Responsibility to the general people**
   - **Keep good relation with the national important person**
   - **Party loyalty**
   - **Other (Specified)……………………….**

11. **Is there any obstacle in doing Civil Society related work?**
   - **Yes**
   - **No**
   - **Others (Specified)……...............**

12. **For whom Civil Society work? Why?**
   - **General People**
   - **Political Party**
   - **Self Interest**
   - **Donor and Multinational Company**
   - **Others (Specified)……………..**

13. **Is Civil Society in Bangladesh is party centered?**
   - **Yes**
   - **No**
   - **Others (Specified)……………..**

14. **When Civil Society in your country is more eager to party politics than public good what do you feel?**
   - **Good**

- **Bad**
- **Others (Specified)………………**

15. **Has the involvement of Civil Society in politics a direct effect?**
   - **Yes**
   - **No**
   - **Others (Specified)……………….**

16. **What can be done to make civil society active in the democratic political process of Bangladesh?**
   - **Encourage them**
   - **Respect for their good initiative**
   - **Criticize them**
   - **Encourage them in all of their activities either good or bad**
   - **Not necessary**
   - **Others (Specified)……………..**

17. **In this age of globalization is the role of Civil Society should be revised?**
   - **Of Course**
   - **No, because they have to think about the state first**
   - **No because they have failed to take their responsibility to the state**
   - **In some respect**
   - **In no respect**

18. **Is Civil Society in Bangladesh is successful in doing state responsibility? If no why?**
   - **Absolute reason…………..**
   - **Never the reason…………..**
   - **There are limit in doing these ……**
   - **In some respect…………….**
   - **In no respect…………**

19. **Civil Society has a glorious past in Bangladesh? Do you eager with these?**
   - **Yes**
   - **No**
   - **Either have………not know**
   - **Have but today the method of protest of men changed.**