

# **Politicization of Bureaucracy and Good Governance in Bangladesh**



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## **Dedication**

I dedicate this thesis to my beloved parents. They are the reason I'm here at all, and made me who I'm today.

## Student's Declaration

I am Tanzina Afrose, hereby declare that the work will be presented in this thesis titled ***“Politicization of Bureaucracy and Good Governance in Bangladesh”*** will be carried out by me and will not been previously submitted to any other university or organization for any degree or certificate.

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## Supervisor's Certification

This is to certify that the thesis paper titled "*Politicization of Bureaucracy and Good Governance in Bangladesh*" has been carried out by Tanzina Afrose bearing M. Phil Registration no. 253/2015-2016 under my supervision and guidance. This report embodies result of original work and studies carried out by the student herself and the contents of the thesis do not form the basis for award of any other degree or certificate in any other university.

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## Acknowledgement

The successful completion of this thesis is the outcome of the contribution of a group of people to whom I'm grateful and thank them from the deepest portion of my heart. So, I would like to take this opportunity to thank all those people who helped me in preparing this thesis on "Politicization of Bureaucracy and Good Governance in Bangladesh".

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## Abstract

The thesis titled “*Politicization of Bureaucracy and Good Governance in Bangladesh*” has been observed that the level of politicization of bureaucracy in Bangladesh and how it affects the good governance process of state apparatus. The main objective of this thesis is to understand the relationship between politician and bureaucrat and identify the mechanism of politicization of bureaucracy. Considering the aspects of Bangladesh, the study mainly emphasizing on two major issues. Firstly, the complex and heavily interlinked relationship between good governance and impartial bureaucracy. Secondly, without ensuring neutral and adept bureaucracy, the concept of accomplishing good governance policy will not be fruitful.

The use of empirical data from in-depth interviews of academicians, researchers, politicians, journalists and the public responses to the semi-structured questionnaire survey and a variety of secondary materials represented a new approach to studying the politicization of bureaucracy and its impact on good governance.

The study has been shown that in recent times politicization of bureaucracy is rising on high. It has also been observed that bureaucrats have to face political pressure during performing their roles. Politicization affect over selection, promotion and lucrative posting of bureaucrats and the supporters of the opposition are mostly being made OSD on partisan basis. Every government try to politicize bureaucracy for their own interest. Because of politicization, merit-based system will be hampered and there will be demoralization of skilled government officials and it also occurred institutional decay.

Bureaucrats remain busy in lobbying with political party instead of trying to increase their competences since party loyalty and strength of lobbying are the only criteria for getting promotion. Thus, politicization of bureaucracy is impeding the quality of governance and the people of the country are suffering to meet their demands.

This study will be benefitted for the government to provide some appropriate policy suggestions and decide how and which approaches they can manage bureaucrats for the betterment of the country.

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## Abbreviations

ACR	Annual Confidential Report
AL	Awami League
BAKSHAL	Bangladesh Krishak Sramik Awami League
BCS	Bangladesh Civil Service
BNP	Bangladesh Nationalist Party
CSP	Civil Service of Pakistan
DG	Director General
ECNEC	Executive Committee of National Economic Council
GGP	Good Governance Paradigm
ICS	Indian Civil Service
LDC	Least Developed Country
MP	Member of Parliament
NEC	National Economic Council
OSD	Officer on Special Duty
PARC	Public Administration Reform Commission
PO	President's Order
PMO	Prime Minister Office
PSC	Public Service Commission
SSB	Superior Selection Board
SSP	Senior Service Pool
UN	United Nation
UNDP	United Nation Development Program

# Chapter One

## Introduction

### 1.1. Introduction:

Good governance and bureaucracy are closely connected with each other in modern states. It is the state responsibility to provide different social services to ensure good governance for their citizen. By serving as adviser, inventor, and decision- maker, it is the bureaucrat's duty to serve the people and contribute to development. In this way they become the key agency for the development process of the country. It is necessary to ensure accountability, legitimacy, transparency, efficiency and other notions of good governance to conduct the development activities effectively. Because, good governance depends on bureaucracy as the main part of implementing the decisions of the government is executed by bureaucrats. In many cases, bureaucrats are involved with policy formulation process with the policy makers also. In this way, bureaucracy plays a dominant role in good governance and development activities of the country.

The countries like Bangladesh, bureaucrats have to play a dominant role in policy formulation and policy implementation. In this way, they are deeply involved with the good governance process of a state. However, in recent years politicization of bureaucracy became one of the dominant features of the state. Under these circumstances, the question arise that is there any effect of politicization over the role and function of bureaucrats. Because, good governance has become a crying need for the development in Bangladesh.

Since independence, it has been seen that the people of Bangladesh have to face a lot of sufferings due to poor services of the bureaucrats. In our country, the bureaucrat's continuing linkage with the ruling political parties for their self-interests and benefits. Almost all the democratic governments tried to politicized bureaucracy for their narrow political benefits. Due to extensive politicization, it is commonly apparent that the Bangladesh bureaucracy has been divided into two groups such as pro-Awami League and pro-BNP (Bangladesh Nationalist Party) groups. Every government attempts to

recruit its followers in the administration. Consequently, followers of the ruling party are getting promotion while the opposition are being made Officer on Special Duty (OSD). Officials are designated or promoted on the basis of party affiliation and loyalty. In the absence of professionalism, fairness and impartiality, bureaucracy is becoming inefficient and ineffective.

It is expected that the bureaucrats should be independent and unbiased in their professions and they should not comprehend in politics. Because, the neutral role of public bureaucrats is imperative to the implementation of good governance agenda of a country. Due to politicization, the triumph of good governance program has become miserable.

For this reason, the study has been observed the level of politicization of bureaucracy in Bangladesh and how it affects the good governance process of state apparatus. Considering the aspects of Bangladesh, the study mainly emphasizing on two major issues. Firstly, the complex and heavily interlinked relationship between good governance and impartial bureaucracy. Secondly without ensuring neutral and adept bureaucracy, the concept of accomplishing good governance policy will not be fruitful.

## **1.2. Background of the Study:**

Politicization of bureaucracy has become one of the substantial administrative cultures of Bangladesh. Politicization of bureaucracy is not a new trend in the history of the public administration in Bangladesh, which is hereditary from the British colonial period. Bangladesh was under the British rule and it has kept enormous impact on politics and administration. An influential civil servant group was employed and kept control over the extremely centralized structure of government. Although they seemed as neutral but in fact, they applied imposing control mechanism seemingly to close the alterations between the ruler and the ruled (Mollah, 2011).

In the post-colonial period (1947-1971), the bureaucracy in Pakistan, the forerunner of the Bangladesh civil service, held a pre-eminent position in the political system of the country. Taking advantage of the political squabbles of the time and incompetence and inexperience of politicians, the bureaucracy usurped political power and in collusion with the military, after the coup d'état of 1958, effectively governed the country until its

dismemberment and the separation in 1971. While the seeds of politicization were sown and germinated in the pre-independence period, only a few Bengalis (later Bangladeshis) belonging to the bureaucracy in Pakistan were infected by the politicization syndrome. They obtained the top positions in the all divisions. Most junior officers were deployed at sub-national levels, and as such had no direct links with the inner circle of the bureaucracy that effectively governed Pakistan with the military generals by their sides. Nonetheless, their indoctrination and training and their exposure to the ways their senior colleagues operated at the political level, had remarkable influence on the development of their perceptions, attitudes and outlook about statecraft and their future (political) role (Zafarullah.1998).

During the war of independence, many of these bureaucrats played a very influential role in managing the civil administration. Their close association with the politicians who formed the government-in-exile in India and provided leadership to the war, opened the bureaucracy 'to direct political influence (and made) bureaucrats politically ambitious' (Khan, M.M. and Zafarullah, Habib, 1985). With the capture of state power by the military regime in the mid-1970s, the bureaucracy gained a new lease of life. Senior bureaucrats began freely treading the corridors of political power. A new coalition was forged, similar to the military-civil bureaucracy alliance of 1958-71 periods.

The government enacted President's Order No. 9, 1972, in which President sanctioned to discharge any officials without a right of petition. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman founded BAKSAL in 1975 and he selected 21 senior bureaucrats as members of its central committee.

When Maj. Gen. Ziaur Rahman came to the power in 1977, it became essential to run the country by skilled bureaucrats. To regain their lost power, the backing of military government also became crucial for civil bureaucrats. Thus, the civil-military bureaucrats molded a relationship to control the decision-making process of the state mechanism. Bureaucrats were made advisors and ministers in military cabinets (Islam, 1988).

General Ershad follow the same process. The accession of democratic rule in the 1990s, contrary to expectations, did not signal the end of bureaucratic dominance. On the other hand, the public administration system was further politicized. During the reign of BNP



(1991-1996), politicization of administration assumed several modes such as settlement of party loyalists to appoint vital position in civil service, appointment of diehard followers as key representatives (including the chairman) in Public Service Commission (PSC). With whose help the BCS recruitment process was manipulated in favor of applicants those having connections with the student wing of the party, and large-scale promotion of officers seemingly loyal to the establishment. By the mid-1990s, the bureaucracy became clearly functionalized on party lines; some senior civil servants openly defying the government while others lending their support. The former was punished by ‘demoting’ them to trivial positions, while the latter were rewarded for their services with jobs in vital ministries. When the Awami League came to power in 1996, it wasted no time to reward those civil servants who violated civil service codes by openly supporting the AL in its agitation against BNP (Mobasser, 2007).

Politicization exists when personnel management decisions like promotion, transfer and recruitment depend not on the excellence and competence of the candidates but on the candidate’s loyalty to a certain political party. The politicization of bureaucracy and the defective recruitment procedure – may be largely responsible for the lack of good governance in Bangladesh.

### **1.3. Literature Review:**

From ancient time, bureaucracy has been an inevitable part of government. As an essential part of government, public administration has remained since the political system have been functioning and trying to accomplish program purposes resolute by the political decision makers (Heady, F., 2001). The career bureaucrats serve as an enduring instrument of government in which changing party control only recognizing and adopting impartiality. But in the real situations, sometimes it has been seen that public bureaucrats are found in fulfilling the interests of political parties.

In Bangladesh, the government run through political management and public administration. Bureaucracy is the non-elective government representatives by specialization of functions and follows diverse instructions, pyramid of specialist and neutrality (Islam, 2016).

Political party obtained power for short duration under a democratic system, but the public bureaucrats are perpetual. To safeguard good governance, it is the combined obligation of political party and bureaucracy. Political wing provides public policy guidelines vis-à-vis public services and developments for the people of the country. Bureaucrats are accountable for circulation, supervision, and execution of public services and developments. Public welfare in a democratic state is dependent on the good relationship between political wings and public bureaucrats (Naim & Hasan, 2018).

The structure and working patterns of bureaucracy in Bangladesh are inherited from British Colonial rule. The colonial structure and working pattern of bureaucracy still remain in Bangladesh and the bureaucrats and politicians want to politicize bureaucracy for their personal interest (Mollah, 2011).

The extent of politicization of bureaucracy in Bangladesh has great impact on the quality service of good governance process. The continuous practices of politicization of bureaucracy are impeding the quality service delivery and eventually it halts the implementation of good governance agenda. The bureaucrats used to keep themselves busy to maintain good connection with ruling political party and which helps them to gain special favors and benefits. That consequences create poor delivery service in the country and suffers the common people in Bangladesh (Doullah, 2016).

Because of connection with the political process and unwilling to communicate regularly with civil society and media, and deterioration of educational quality and professional values, the bureaucracy in Bangladesh has lost its capacity to deal with the duties (Rashid, 2014).

Politicization may cause a decline in the moral of civil servants and reduce their efficiency and effectiveness. A faulty recruitment and politicization create a vicious cycle. Due to politicization, less meritorious applicants are interested, the possibility for politicization upsurges; and this further discourages the most able applicants from entering the civil service. Ultimately this procedure could corrupt the entire administration (Jahan, Ferdous, 2006).

Every government attempts to recruit its followers in the administration and try to politicize bureaucracy in different ways. Consequently, followers of the ruling party are getting promotion while the opposition are being made Officer on Special Duty (OSD).

The relationship between politicians and bureaucrats is increasing after the restoration of electoral democracy in 1991 and which affects the performance of the government. The bureaucracy has transformed its dominating attitude and made alliance with other powerful groups in the system and it continues to exercise power (Haque and Rahman, 2003).

Bureaucrats remain busy in lobbying with political party instead of trying to increase their competences meanwhile party loyalty and strength of lobbying are the only criteria for getting promotion. Because party devotion and strength of lobbying are the solitary criteria for achieving promotion. This politicization of bureaucracy is impeding the quality of governance and the people of the country are facing a lot of misery and they don't fulfill their demands (Mobasser, 2007).

Rehman Sobhan (2002) extremely criticized the bureaucracy in the country for its partisan engrossment. Bureaucrats grasp important posts when their political leaders are pleased with their partisan activities (Kabir, 2010).

In this way, the study will make the link between bureaucracy and good governance process of Bangladesh and will show how it impact over the governance issue of the general people of the country.

Though there are lots of books and articles on this issue, but all of them are based on secondary information. The study used public responses to understand the politics-bureaucracy relations and its impact on good governance, something that has not been done before. The use of empirical data from in-depth interviews of academicians, researchers, politicians, journalists and the public responses to the semi-structured questionnaire survey and a variety of secondary materials represented a new approach to studying the politicization of bureaucracy and its impact on good governance.

#### **1.4. Theoretical Framework:**

The politicization of bureaucracy can be examined from two extents. One is politicization as involvement in policy decision and the other is politicization as biased activities in bureaucracy. There is a clear discrepancy between politics and administration, and policy decisions are made by the governments and bureaucracy just implement the policy

decisions. From this perspective, politicization occurs when officials are entrusted with the responsibility to bring out political pronouncement, and where appointment, transfer, promotion and training, scholarship and other career activities of officials are reliant on the will of their political substances. (Jahan, Shahan, 2008).

Carino (1991) identifies four different models to explain the relationship between the government and bureaucracy. One of them, *regime-dominant* model where political leadership/headship entirely controls the bureaucrats. The second model, named as *bureaucratic coprimacy*, where democracy conquered by bureaucracy due to its proficiency, perpetuity and knowledge” (Carino, 1991:736). The third model is *bureaucratic subordination* where bureaucracy have little space under an authoritarian government. The last model is known as *authoritarian and bureaucratic coprimacy* in which authoritarian headship merged by a bureaucracy with subordinate roles. In this model, leaders of military and civilian bureaucrats combine jointly rule the state” (ibid:737).

Politicization of bureaucracy occurs when both politicians and bureaucrats tried to politicize or manipulate themselves for their own interests and benefits. In democracy, there are usually government parties and opposition parties. The bureaucracy, that is, the administrative structure of the country, works in the interest of every citizen of the country, be it the government party, the opposition party or the non-party. During the tenure of any government, the politicization of the bureaucracy is complete only if the political government uses the bureaucracy for their party interests. Later, the opposition also wants to keep the bureaucracy on its side. And those who once enjoyed too many privileges have to face various harassment in the future.

### **1.5. Objectives of the Study:**

The main propose of the study is to observe the impact of politicization over the bureaucracy particularly in the field of good governance process of the country. Thus, it will explore the politics-bureaucracy kinship and its effect on good governance process in Bangladesh. The core research question of the study is:

- i. To identify the relationship between politicians and bureaucrats,
- ii. To observe the dominant actor of politicization in the process of good governance.
- iii. To identify the mechanism of politicization of bureaucracy.

iv. To identify first the overall impact of polarization over bureaucracy and thereafter will identify how it effects the good governance process of the country.

v. It will also observe if there any positive effect of politicization exists over bureaucrats in good governance process of the country.

## **1.6. Research Methodology:**

The nature of the study required combining analytical and empirical methods. Hence, both quantitative and qualitative information and data required. All necessary information collected from different primary and secondary sources. Primary data collected through Survey method and personal interview method. Secondary data collected from published books, a review of documents, reports, journals and relevant websites.

### **1.6.1. Survey Methods:**

To attain the aims and goals of this study, survey method applied. This inquiry draws on Dhaka metropolitan area in Bangladesh by field survey based on semi-structured questionnaire over 100 conscious people.

### **1.6.2. Case Studies:**

Four case studies were taking from in-depth interviews. From these case studies it would be able to understand the level of politicization of bureaucracy and its impact over state and society in Bangladesh.

### **1.6.3. Personal Interview Method:**

Personal interview method was used to collect primary data. To conduct the interview, open ended questionnaire followed. Thus, this study proposes to conduct a rigorous and in-depth investigation in light of the politicization of bureaucracy in Bangladesh. In addition, it took in-depth interviews from researcher, academicians, politicians and journalists purposively in order to understand the real situation of the country.

**Table 1.1: List of Interviewee for In-depth Interviews**

	<b>Categories</b>	<b>No. of Interviewee</b>
1.	Politicians	02
2.	Bureaucrats	03
3.	Academician/Researcher	03
4.	Journalists	03
	Total	11

**1.7. Data Collection and Analysis:**

**1.7.1. Schedule for Data Collection:**

I took three months to collect my data from the fieldwork. Table Four describes the fieldwork schedule of my study.

**Table 1.2: Data Collection and Fieldwork Schedule**

**(August 2020 to October 2020)**

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

### 1.7.2. Data Analysis:

The collected data would be authenticated through cross-checking with each other and with the secondary sources.

### 1.8. Significance of the Study:

1. Before defining the model of relationship between politics and bureaucracy, it should be evidently itemized the policy role and governance role of the two actors in the political system.
2. It will be benefitted for the government to decide how and which approaches they can manage bureaucrats for the betterment of the country.
3. For future in-depth study, the study could provide any opportunity for the researcher.

### 1.9. Structure of the Thesis:

**Table 1.3: Structure of the Thesis**

<b>Chapter</b>	<b>Head line</b>
Chapter One	Introduction
Chapter Two	The Concept of Politicization of Bureaucracy and Good Governance
Chapter Three	Bureaucracy, Politics and Good Governance in Bangladesh
Chapter Four	Causes, Consequences and Impact of Politicization Over Bureaucracy
Chapter Five	Politicization of Bureaucracy and Good Governance in Bangladesh
Chapter Six	Conclusion and Recommendation

### 1.10. Limitations of the Study:

The population of this study is too large and a moderate sample size and areas were chosen for the study purposively due to time dimensional and financial constraint.





## **Chapter Two**

# **The Concept of Politicization of Bureaucracy and Good Governance**

### **2.1. Introduction:**

Ensuring good governance has become one of the most important challenge for public administration in the new millennium all over the world especially for the developing countries. A sound public administration system acts as one of the essential propelling forces for achieving good governance. Both the actors of public administration-political decision makers and civil servants are directly involved in the process of achieving as well as ensuring good governance. This chapter will discuss about politics, politicization, bureaucracy, good governance as a concept and politics-bureaucracy relationship in different countries.

### **2.2. Concept of politics and Politicization:**

The term Politics derived from the Greek word Politiká: *Politika*. It means the art of capturing power. Politics is the study or practice of the spreading of power and resources within a given society as well as the interrelationship(s) between societies.

Before we begin to try to measure the phenomenon of politicization of public service, we should first attempt to define it. “Politicization has appeared in a number of recent discussions of the public service” (Meyers, 1985; Rouban, 1998; Clifford & Wright, 1997; Derlien, 1996), but often has been discussed using rather different interpretations and definitions.

Bureaucracy means administrative structure and When the administrative structure of a state gives priority to political interests over the interests of the people, we call it politicization of bureaucracy.

Politicization of bureaucracy in an evocative sense refers to the governments to employ their own people to senior civil service posts, and censorious politicization. On the other hand, refers to the replacement of political criteria rather than merit-based criteria. Officials are selected or promoted not on the basis of their party affiliation. Because of their political obligation and their connotation with particular policy obligations.

Politicization of administration refers to a process where political actors use administration for their personal gain instead of serving the people's interest (Helco, 1978:413).

### 2.3. The Concept of Bureaucracy:

Max Weber (1864-1920), a prominent German sociologist is called the father of bureaucracy. The word bureaucracy derived from the French term 'bureau' and Greek term 'kratia'. 'Bureau' means table or 'kratia' means 'power' or 'rule'. It means office-based rule.

Marshal E. Dimock (1959), defined bureaucracy such as;

“It is the organizational structure and set of rules in place to control (rationalize, render effective and professionalize) activities, generally in large administrations and government.”

Prof. Harrold J. Laski said about bureaucracy,

“It is the term usually functioned to a system of government the resistor of which is so totally in the hands of officials that their power endangers the rights of ordinary citizens.” (Beetham, D.; 1987)

Germany Dictionary (1813), defined bureaucracy such as;

“The authority or power which various government departments and their divisions assume themselves over their corresponding citizens” (Albrow, 1970:17).

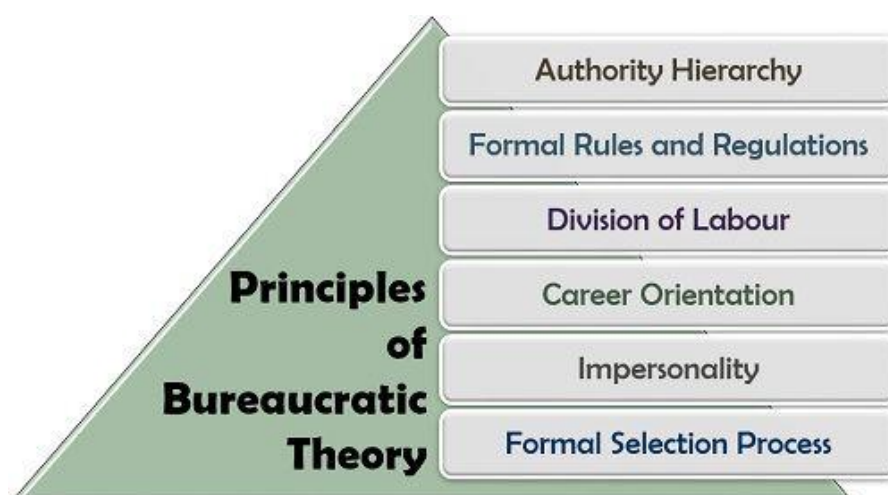


Figure 2.1: Principles of Bureaucratic Theory

The most famous sociological writer, Max Weber made three distinctions on authority as follow;

**1) Traditional Authority:**

Few people are followed, because the traditional authority is functioned through an instinctive rector or using the English common law.

**2) Charismatic Authority:**

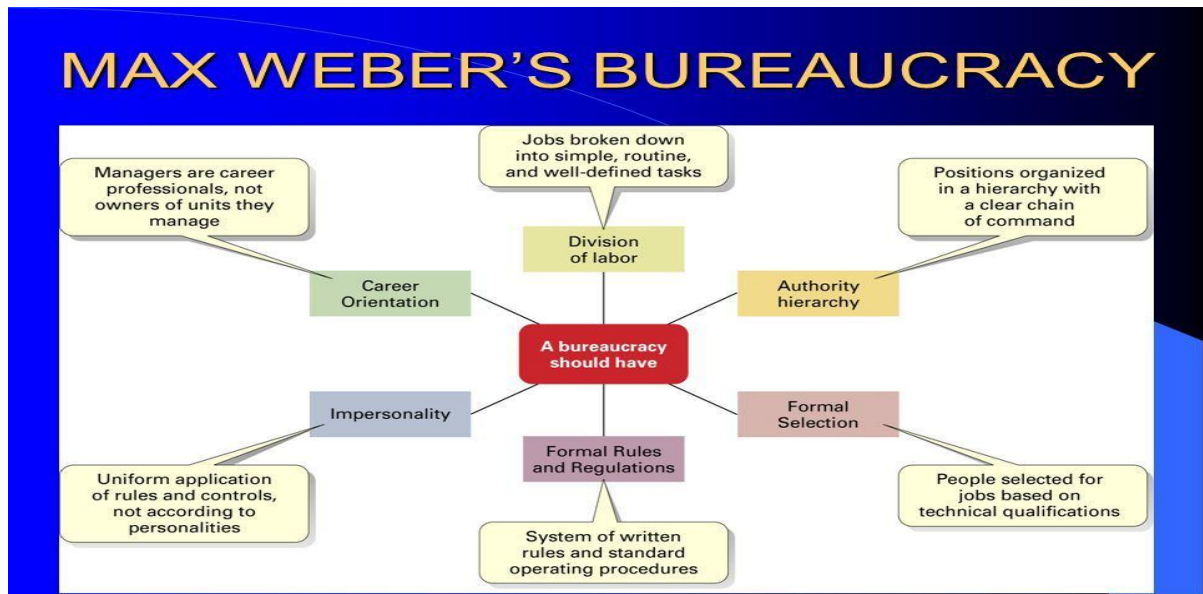
Few people are followed for their extraordinary personalities that command traditional esteem from their followers.

**3) Rational Authority:**

In rational bureaucratic authority, there are fewer charismatic people, and traditional authorities cannot cope with the multifaceted administration in modern society. (Altay, 1990: 34-36).

There are ten familiar features as the nature of administrative bureaucracy in the following:

- 1) The individual rights of staff-associates are endangered and staff-associates follow this.
- 2) There occurs a vibrant divergence of positions among the officials.
- 3) The tasks of officials are conspicuously definite.
- 4) Officials are employed through contract.
- 5) Officials are cautiously selected on the basis of merit.
- 6) Officials are provided with salaries and salaries are determined in contract with the position of every official in the institute. There is a system of pension.
- 7) The key job of every official is to work for the association.
- 8) The promotion of officials is depending on the total years they have performed and on based on seniority or hierarchy.
- 9) Officials do not separately hold their posts nor assume different means that go with their posts.
- 10) Officials follow definite rules, instruction and discipline (Lio,2011).



**Figure 2.2: Max Weber's Bureaucracy**

### 2.3.1. Role and Functions of Bureaucracy:

Bureaucracy has a great role in running the Public Administration by performing the following functions:

To carry out and implement the policies of the government, are the main responsibility of the bureaucrats. Bureaucrats plays a crucial role in policy formulation and run the daily administration in accordance with the policies, rules, regulations and decisions of the government. They work as an advisory bode of political executive or minister. They play an indirect role in law-making process. They advise the political executive in respect of all monetary planning and programs. To prepare budget and taxation proposal, they play a crucial role. They make connection between the government and people.

### 2.4. The Concept of Good Governance and its Characteristics:

The concept of "Governance" is not a new phenomenon. Governance is such a concept where authorities exercise for the administrative management in sustain development.

The 1992 Commission of Global Governance (2005) defines governance "as the sum of the many ways entities and organizations, public and private, manage their shared activities."

The World Bank defines governance as the way in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources.

The UNDP views governance as the exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to accomplish a country's dealings at all heights.

Good Governance is an approach to government that is ardent to generating a system initiated in justice and peace that shields entity's human rights and civil liberties.

According to the UN, Good Governance is measured by the eight factors of Participation, Rule of Law, Transparency, Responsiveness, Consensus Oriented, Equity and Inclusiveness, Effectiveness and Efficiency, and Accountability.



**Figure 2.3: Features of Good Governance**

### **2.5.1. Politics-Bureaucracy relations in Ancient Societies:**

We found the presence of ancient bureaucracy in the administration of great Empires and civilizations namely Persian, Egyptian, Chinese, and Indian civilization (Beyer, 1959, Farazmand, 2009). The bureaucracy of the Persian Empire was under the political resistor of the king of Emperor and an arduous institution of administration and governance with high proficiency and status (Farazmand, 2009).

In Egypt, there were followed hierarchal system of bureaucracy under the King. With training and own promotion hierarchy, all affiliates of the bureaucracy were permanent and paid employees.

Before thousands of years ago, Chinese imperial bureaucracy had a great outlook of bureaucratic structure with static role. Under the control of political leadership and an organized system of centralized directions they used to work.

During the Mauryan Empire, there was a strong inheritance of bureaucracy in the ancient empire of Indian subcontinent. With precise duties and responsibilities, there was an extravagant system of bureaucracy and a range of offices, extending from villages to the central departments (Das, 2013:5). Till the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, this system was continued in the Delhi Sultanate and Mughal Empire.

### **2.5.2. Politics-Bureaucracy Relations in Western and Developed Countries:**

This segment analysis the politics-bureaucracy relations in western countries like the USA and UK.

#### **Politics- Bureaucracy Relations in United States of America:**

In the milieu of the USA, the bureaucracy is generally known as the “spoil systems” descending its name from the saying “to the victory belong the spoils”. U.S bureaucracy continues its presidential persistence.

Moe (1985a) termed the American bureaucracy as “Presidential politicization of bureaucracy”, and the US constitution vests the president with extraordinary power to appoint political executives. At the same time, there are ‘Pendleton Act’ which is based on the Legislative Act 1883 with merit- based competitive selection of bureaucracy. In the USA, the top of the bureaucratic posts is completely kept for partisan appointments.

Aberbach and Rockman (2000; 2006) have acknowledged that with the idiosyncratic contributions, both the politicians and bureaucrats join in the policy making process of USA. In U.S system, bureaucrats convey neutral expertise, facts and knowledge, whereas politicians convey political compassion, interests and values. There is a power of balance between politicians and bureaucrats.

### **Politics-Bureaucracy Relations in United Kingdom:**

Politics-bureaucracy relationship in UK is observed by Whitehall model. In UK, policy decisions are determined by the interaction between politicians and bureaucrats and this system is highly centralized and executive dominated (Bulmer, 1988). The British administrative branch consists of professional politicians and professional bureaucrats and they share in the policy design and policy application.

The basic characteristics of British Whitehall model of bureaucracy are merit based competitive selection, perpetuity and political impartiality.

Nevertheless, according to the British political context, it was a structure in which bureaucracy engaged to give policy advice and political assistance to the politicians. In Whitehall model, both for the policy guidance and policy execution, the politicians were reliant on on bureaucrats. So, there is a very close partnership between politicians and bureaucrats. In this model, politician's tenure is short but bureaucrats are permanent.

### **2.5.3. Politics-Bureaucracy Relations in Developing Countries:**

Like many other developing countries, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh inborn a robust bureaucratic system from its colonial rulers. With powerful bureaucracy and well-administered colonial system, all the countries have the common inheritance (Caiden, 2013).

### **Politics-Bureaucracy Relations in India:**

After independence of India, the framework of the administration was continued. Politicians and bureaucrats are interlinked and both are mandatory in policy formulation and implementation. In India, some bureaucrats are indirectly politically involved and they pursue political patronage from politicians. And some bureaucrats are moderately neutral.

The most important function of the Indian civil service is providing policy advice to the politicians. The earlier sets of bureaucrats do not extract policy proposals professionally and neutrally and political rectors also like these types of policy proposals. Because that fit into their short tenure of political benefits and evade neutral aptitude.

On the other hand, the bureaucrats who are moderately neutral and according to principle of law, they want to fulfill his/her duty, they have to face unavoidable struggle with their ministers. Sometimes it may create punishment through transfer to trivial posts and comparatively rural areas.

### **Politics-Bureaucracy Relations in Pakistan:**

Since its independence, Pakistan cannot come out from the colonial bureaucracy and civil-military bureaucrats have governed in Pakistan. The basic features of Pakistan bureaucracy are the exercising extreme powers by the civil-military bureaucracy, overlying of jurisdictions and indistinctness about the roles and relationships between politicians and bureaucrats.

### **Politics-Bureaucracy Relations in Bangladesh:**

In a democracy, there are usually government parties and opposition parties. The bureaucracy, that is, the administrative structure of the country, works in the interest of every citizen of the country, be it the government party, the opposition party or the non-party. During the tenure of any government, the politicization of the bureaucracy is complete only if the political government uses the bureaucracy for their party interests. Later, the opposition also wants to keep the bureaucracy on its side. And those who enjoyed too many privileges have to face various harassment in future. It is more pertinent to call it unjust interference rather than political interference. And the politicization of the bureaucracy is the result of this unjust and illegal intervention. Thus, Sohrab Hasan argued:

“Bureaucracy is the administrative system of government, through which the administration is conducted. Politics is conducted on the basis of a particular principle or ideology i.e., a philosophy. Bureaucrats carry out political meditation ideas or programs under specific statutory laws. The bureaucracy implements that political philosophy, so the politicization of the bureaucracy is what it means, but the politicization of the bureaucracy only hinders when it goes beyond the law and gives priority to politics, that is, when political interests are given priority over the public interest and specific legal frameworks are violated. And this politicization of the bureaucracy is acting as a major obstacle to the establishment of good governance in Bangladesh, which I do not think is acceptable in any way”.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Interview with Sohrab Hasan, September 25, 2020.



Politicization is certainly considered a major obstacle to good governance in the country because at different times we see political leaders illegally gaining many benefits with the help of bureaucrats which is never beneficial for a state

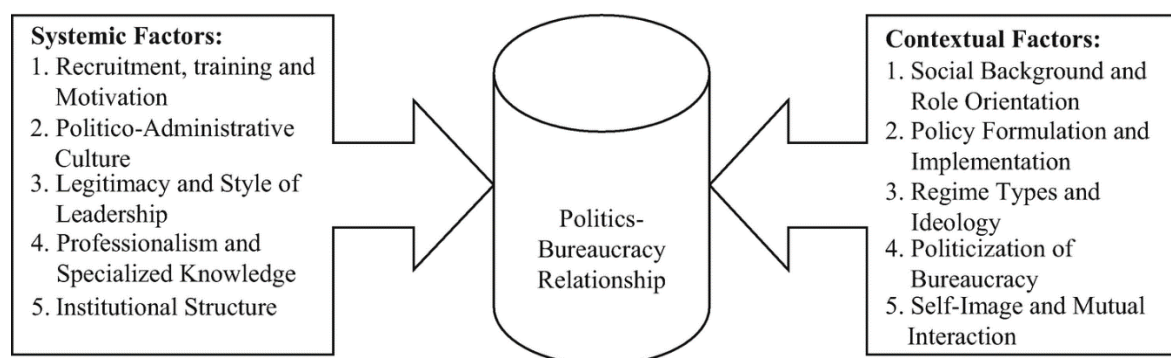
An academician spoke about politicization of Bureaucracy,

“Bureaucratic politicization usually refers to the unjust political interference of a party in the administrative structure of a country. In other words, the politicization of the bureaucracy is ultimately only when the administrative structure is hindered from working on its own”.<sup>2</sup>

Moreover, in the case of various improved facilities, it is seen that the loyalist officer of the ruling party is given priority. Many times, the team is sent abroad for higher training by the tail end of the team which deprives the deserving persons of the opportunity of advanced training. And thus, the politicization of the bureaucracy appears at every step.

Professor Dr. Akhter Hossain viewed,

“At present, bureaucracy is politicized in various ways. First, the politicization of the bureaucracy is ensured by the fact that appointments to high government posts are made through political loyalty rather than merit. Secondly, when a person is promoted by analyzing his political position, he is also indirectly a victim of politicization.”<sup>3</sup>



**Figure 2.4: Politics-Bureaucracy Relationship**

**Source: Adapted from Rahman, (2015)**

<sup>2</sup> Interview with Md. Shahriar Islam, September 10, 2020.

<sup>3</sup> Interview with Professor Dr. Akhter Hossain, September 3, 2020.

#### 2.5.4. Mechanism and Agents of Politicization of Bureaucracy:

**Table 2.1: Mechanism and Agents of Politicization of Bureaucracy**

<b>Award/ Reward</b>	<b>Punishment</b>
1. Recruitment	1.Officers on Special Duty (OSD)
2. Promotion	2.Dismiss from the job
3. Lucrative transfer	3.Posting in less important ministry
4. Posting in important ministry	4.Transfer in rural area.
5. Higher training	
6. Scholarship	

**Source: Compiled by the Researcher**

#### 2.6. The Relationship among Bureaucracy, Politicization and Good Governance:

There is a close affiliation among bureaucracy, politicization and good governance. Now-a-days, bureaucracy has become one of indispensable part of public administration. Without having a dynamic encouragement from the bureaucracy, socio-economic development in any country cannot be executed. Playing a neutral and dedicated role, bureaucracy can contribute to development and good governance process. But politicization of bureaucracy is hampering the quality of governance and development. Good governance depends on bureaucracy as the main part of the implementation of the decisions of the government is executed by bureaucrats. In order to ensure good governance, the impartial role of bureaucrats is mandatory.

#### 2.7. Conclusion:

Comparative analysis from different countries shows that in western countries, politicians and bureaucrats play idiosyncratic roles in policy making process and on the basis of political systems and different institutional practices, the patterns of political and bureaucratic power relations are varied (Aberbach and Rockman, 2006). In the United States, the bureaucracy is more influential with structural subordinate to politics and are not autonomous as is the United Kingdom.

There is some basic difference between developed and developing countries. Following a natural process, bureaucracy in developed countries has been advanced over time and

political guidance helped to progress bureaucracy in some cases. But in developing or post-colonial countries, it is developed by the colonial power for their administrative support, and after independence from colonialism, these countries political leadership used this bureaucracy as state apparatus (Potter, 1986; Carino, 2001).

## Chapter Three

### Bureaucracy, Politics and Good Governance in Bangladesh

#### 3.1. Introduction:

Bureaucracy is the keystone of modern civilization and it plays a leading role in the development of the society. During the period of British colonial regime, Bangladesh bureaucracy is inherited from the Indian Civil Service (ICS). This colonial legacy is still apparent in the attitudes of bureaucrats. In Bangladesh, it is over-all insight that bureaucracy is extremely politicized. Eagerly or reluctantly, the public service become politicized by the narrow political will or personal interest of some bureaucrats. Since liberation, destructions of legislative rules and asymmetrical appointments and promotion have become a common feature in Bangladesh. As a result, people don't get their required services from public officials and for that reason ensuring good governance is still become a dream.

#### 3.2. Politicization of Bureaucracy in Pre-independent Period of Bangladesh:

This section constitutes of three parts. The first part described the British Era (1757-1947), the second part described the Pakistan Era (1947-1971) and the third part described the General Ayub Regime (1958-1969).

##### 3.2.1. The British Era (1757-1947):

A diverse administrative and organizational inheritance was left by the British rule. There was an insignificant, but dominant set of civil servants, mainly trained and controlled over an enormously consolidated administrative procedure.

Recognized as the Indian Civil Service (ICS), the British colonial administration apparatus was absolutely separated from the common mobs. The associates of the Indian Civil Service (ICS), who was cultured in Britain, actually, continued the British colonial customs and standards. In the British colonial rule, the bureaucracy was most isolated and privileged unit in the society. The officials were very submissive and ardent to the colonial rule and kept busy with the maintenance of the wellbeing of the colonial rulers. The common people faced extreme difficulties in communicating with the bureaucrats and in receiving government facility (Islam, 2011:12).

### **3.2.2. The Pakistan Era (1947-1971):**

In the year of 1947, when the Indian subcontinent became free from British rule, the newly formed the then Pakistan government had strong and distinctive bureaucratic culture. The civil service of Pakistan (CSP) played the key role in that bureaucratic system. Its unusual character established its superior command over substantial policy articulating and policy-implementing point in the ground of public service (Khan, 1979:134).

Inside the structural system, selective civil servants had to safeguard themselves as an institution and disgruntled key administrative reform efforts that endangered to soften their link with the practice and interruption of their leading hold above the vigorous policy making facts. Brittle administrative status, the control of a minority business class, and inter and intraparty arguments on small partial substances assisted to the creating and analyzing of brittle alliances that distressed political expansion. The partisan dilemma that trailed provoked an ambitious military governance to take hold of government control in involvement with the exclusive civil service. Apparently, the CSP restrained itself as the genuine inheritor to the ICS of entire India.

### **3.2.3. General Ayub Regime (1958-1969):**

In the year of 1958, the then army chief General Ayub captured the power. He introduced basic democracy, which has been implicated from the autocratic elements of British Viceroy system controlled by a despotic civil-military bloc. The bureaucracy and the state were directly connected with local level power holders who benefited massively from state sponsorship and avoiding and isolating political leadership at the higher level. This system served the shared goals of combining bureaucratic manipulation and allowing way for local election, yielding a balance of legitimacy on the government (Alvi, 1982:78).

Ayub Khan's era come to an end in 1969 and General Yahya khan entered into the state power and became Commander-in-Chief of the army.

The military rule of the Ayub regime ended in 1969 and General Yahya khan, Commander-in-Chief of the army stepped into helm of the state. Yahya khan government gave its administration a distinct military look. Shortly, he had soon relied heavily on the bureaucracy (Alvi, 1982: 80-83)

### **3.3.1. Politicization of Bureaucracy in Independent Bangladesh:**

This section is divided into three parts such as politicization of bureaucracy in Mujib regime (1972-1975), military and quasi-military regime (1975-1990) and post-nineties regime (1991-till).

### **3.3.2. Politicization of Bureaucracy in Mujib Regime (1972-1975):**

#### **Nature of Regime:**

After independence, Bangladesh started with a West Minister model of parliamentary democracy. But in 1975, one party doctoral presidential system of governance was established. Since then, the regime became a personalized rule of Mujib who enhanced and exceeded all kinds of political institutions.

#### **Nature of Bureaucracy:**

Job insecurity of the civil servants became rampant during Mujib regime (Maniruzzaman, 1976:125). Moreover, undue patronizing of a select group of civil servants (because of its opaque patriotism in the war of independence) by the regime caused misgivings and intra-bureaucratic politics split the civil service into many factions, which obviously brought forth deleterious effect on the bureaucratic morale and enterprise (Zafarullah, 19996: 87).

#### **Recruitment and Promotion:**

Sympathizers and supporters of the ruling party became the real beneficiaries of a unique spoil system. People who even never detained any public office were find themselves placed in government office. Some of the AL supporters with little or no knowledge in administration were positioned in such accountable posts as secretaries of ministries, chairmen and directors of corporations and ambassadors (Zafarullah, 1987:461-462).

Even newly born country's first recruitment scheme centered around the promotion of interest of a particular group. Candidates' active participation in the liberation war was the basic criterion of competition in the test. Appointments were finalized on the basis of patronage instead of performance for positions even in the tests (Zafarullah, 1983).

Supporters of the ruling party who had fled to India during the liberation war and had some sort of experience in administration were rewarded with accelerated promotions and

increments without appraising their suitability and qualifications. Thus, politics overrode merit and seniority criteria.

### **Accountability of Bureaucrats:**

During the first two and half years of independence the ruling party abated bureaucracy's power and privileges and compelled it to be subservient to the incumbent government's political will (Ahmed, 1998:141-142). But the initial zeal and vigor of crucifying against the bureaucracy withered away at the exposure of the regime's overriding political motive. In the name of rooting out bureaucratic malfeasance and securing accountability in administration, promotions criteria were discarded, new appointments were made on irrational excuses and dismissal were decided arbitrarily (Zafarullah, 1983).

The failure of the regime to handle the problems of rising economic crisis, social and political turbulence and deteriorated law and order situation led the regime to turn back to the bureaucrats since the early days of 1975. Most of the civil servants were chosen and the party candidates were removed; in the secretariat, the ex CSPs were positioned in key posts (Ahmed, 1980:161). Thus, a bureaucracy that had been condemned by the regime for its impermeable feature was now trusted by the same regime for its political pretense (Zafarullah, 1987:466).

### **Changing Role of Bureaucrats:**

Bureaucrats acted as loyal subordinate of political masters but later when the politicians became the allies of bureaucrats, they regained their pre-independence position.

### **Governing Relationship between Politicians and Bureaucrats:**

In the post-independent period, to establish political control over the bureaucracy, political leadership introduced a new procedure of politicization in the bureaucracy.

Moreover, post-independent civil servants were feeble and fragmented. In the post-independent period of Bangladesh, the bureaucracy were separated into four groups or classes: first, bureaucrats who went into hiding under the Pakistani occupying army in Bangladesh; second, those who were working in exile government at Mujibnagar and India with interim government of Bangladesh; third, those who were joining their duties collaborating with the army in the east wing; and four, those who were working with the central government and remained stranded in west Pakistan during liberation war (Choudhury, 2004; Ahmed, 1980). In this period, the main criteria of promotion into the

upper hierarchies were depended on political support and contribution in the war. Furthermore, persons who were not civil servants at all, were positioned at many important administrative posts. Also, just from the commencement of Bangladesh bureaucracy, it founds tough to regulate to the transformed set up in a parliamentary system of government where they were placed under the resistor of the political guidance (Jahan, 2005). Subsequently, this political control creates many misperceptions and cleavages in the bureaucrats; followers and supporters of the ruling party, traitors, and patriots, generalists and technocrats etc. (Jahan,2005).

The Awami League government formed BAKSHAL and in this period, it is the main duty of bureaucrats to carry out the decisions of the political leadership.

In the independent Bangladesh, the political leadership including Sheikh Mujib was highly serious about the bureaucrats disapproving their former superior mentality, alliance with the army and detachment from the common people (Hasanuzzaman,1988). Despite the procedural requirement of the bureaucratic knowledge and proficiency, the first political regime led by Awami League (1972-75), a cautious and overestimated effort was made up to punish the bureaucracy and attempt to launch political resistor over the bureaucracy (Zafarullah, 1994). After independence, many senior bureaucrats were removed or demoted for suspected alliance with Pakistani army during liberation war (Ahmed and Khan, 1990).

The government introduced various mechanisms to control over the bureaucracy. The exercise of strong political control over the bureaucracy was provided in the Bangladesh Constitution of 1972 (Article 134-135)<sup>4</sup>. during the colonial and Pakistan period, the bureaucrats enjoyed some constitutional protection. But in this period that constitutional protection was cut out. In June 1972, the government of Bangladesh promulgated President's Order No. 9 (mostly known as PO-9) which provided for the dismissal of any officer without any right to petition.

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<sup>4</sup> Article 134-Tenure of Office: Except as otherwise provided by this Constitution every person in the service of the Republic shall hold office during the pleasure of the President.

Article 135 (1) – No person who holds any civil post in the service of the Republic shall be dismissed or removed or reduced in rank by an authority subordinate to that by which he was appointed.



In post-independent Bangladesh, the job safety of bureaucrats was substantially concentrated. There was the ground of its kind of fear, as in January 1972, 53 senior civil servants were removed from office and from July to November 1974 over 300 government officials were dismissed under the PO-9 (Ahmed, 1980).

### **3.3.3. Military and Quasi-Military Regimes (1975-1990):**

#### **Nature of Regime:**

From August 1975 to December 1990, Bangladesh adept the rule of two uninterrupted military regimes- Zia regime (1975-1981) and Ershad regime (1981-1990). During this long 15 years, these two military rulers had tried to tinge their regime with civilian color by holding elections and running the parliament. They had usurped the power illegally breaching the constitution and maneuvered the constitution as a safeguard to perpetuate their stay in power. They continued with the presidential form of government. The sovereignty and supremacy of parliament were circumscribed by all-powerful executive-the president. This phenomenon had far-reaching repercussions on the political development of Bangladesh.

#### **Nature of Bureaucracy:**

Bureaucracy retrieved its pre-independence power and influence. The generalists CSPs became the major beneficiaries along with the military personnel during these two regimes. Generalists-specialists conflicts got momentum particularly during Ershad's regime. However, civil-military bureaucrats' influence over the governance system was enormous.

#### **Recruitment and Promotion:**

During Zia regime, to systematize the recruitment and selection process in the civil service, an open competitive examination to select quality personnel for superior positions was introduced in 1977 and held off and on through the period. These examinations were of a fairly high standard and akin with civil service examination held in United Pakistan. They attracted a large number of candidates and some of the best graduates of the country (Zafarullah, 1996:95).

The former CSP officers were recompensed for the loss of their position in the bureaucratic structure during Mujib regime by providing them easy en masse entry into the senior service pool (SSP), which, in turn enable them to play domineering role over rest of the civil service (Khan, 1980:171).

During Ershad regime civil service examinations were being held almost regularly. But the standard of test eroded and attracted mediocre youths. Status and merit started fading from the civil service. Political contacts and kinship with dominant class, intimacy to the chief executive rather than merit and skill appeared as the foremost criteria of promotion of civil servants during this regime. At one stage, the government stopped all promotions for a prolong time (Zafarullah, 1994:9). Moreover, Ershad's failure to abide by the original ethos and sprit of SSP resulted in its abolition in 1989 (Zafarullah, 1994:6).

Lateral entry of military personnel to the civil service appeared as a distinctive feature of the military regimes. During Zia regime, the retired military personnel were the top positions of the administration.

During the regime of Ershad, all the key policymaking and implementing institutions were conquered by army officials. Retired military officers virtually took over the police service. Ershad allotted a quota of 10% military personnel in diplomatic posts (one third of the 48 heads of Bangladesh missions abroad were from the defense service) and this was in addition to those who had already been absorbed in foreign service cadre. He also retained a 10% quota of highest civil post of secretaries for the army officers. (Ahmed, 1995:307,308).

#### **Accountability of Bureaucrats:**

During Zia regime, no remarkable initiative was made to evolve a mechanism for effective accountability of the bureaucracy. Despite crawling towards a democratic order, he entrusted the civil-military bureaucracy to run and manage the state of affairs. He kept his party and parliament away from the bureaucracy. Despite there was claim of extensive and recurrent censure of the bureaucracy on the charges of corruption, lethargy and malpractice, Zia abstained from taking any radical action against them. Thus, Zia's most reliable ally was bureaucracy in the governance of the country (Ahmed, 1995:124-125).

From the very beginning of Ershad regime he had been severely suffering from legitimacy crisis. To hold the bureaucrats accountable, no actual measure was assumed.

On the contrary, corruption became institutionalized during his rule. In process of manipulating and engaging all possible means to consolidate the regime's illegal power and position, bureaucracy played an instrumental role and developed an unholy symbiotic alliance (Morshed, 1997:209).

### **Changing Role of Bureaucrats:**

Revival and consolidation of bureaucratic dominance was apparent in the governance system. Their role may be characterized as allied partner of military /politicians and or negotiator.

### **Governing Relationship between Politicians and Bureaucrats:**

During the both military regimes, they had strained to shade their rule with civilian color by using several legitimization process and civilianization particularly holding local and parliamentary elections and running the parliament (Rahman, 2002:53). Ziaur Rahman endeavored to give his military regime an appearance of civilian character through the expansion of political organizations. Ershad followed the same process. A strategy of balance between civil and military bureaucracy was followed by General Zia. By offering vital posts and positions to the civil-military bureaucracy, Zia introduced the process of militarization of bureaucracy and politicization of bureaucracy in Bangladesh. In his time many retired military bureaucrats were involved in politics and administration (Ahmed and Khan, 1990; Ahmed, 2004; Hossain, 1988). General Ershad sustained this process with more eagerness until 1990.

An open competitive examination system was introduced in 1977 (Rahman, 2002) and it brought into bureaucracy under a systematic shape. General Ershad also continued the system. On the other hand, promotion in the civil service was based on the political sponsorship rather than merit (Zafarullah, 1994). A deliberate corporation between civil and military bureaucracy has been built in the process of governance during the military regime. During both the military regimes, there were no political intrusion in the civil service as was with the AL government, rather it was a balance corporation between civil-military bureaucracy (Hossain, 1988). Hence, a partnership established between the civil and military bureaucracy due to the failure of the politicians in developing feasible political institutions in Bangladesh. (Huque and Rahman, 2003).

In the military regimes, bureaucracy exercised wide range of power. The vital positions of the state organization, including the key policy making institutions and most significant administrative positions including vital ministries were occupied by the bureaucrats (Khan and Zafarullah, 1988; Alam, 1996).

Furthermore, a council of advisors to the President Zia had been formed where 90 percent of them were civil and military bureaucrats (Ahmed, 1980; Hossain, 1988). The social background of the members of the advisory council of Zia divulges that the civil-military bureaucrats and technocrats arose as a new force in Bangladesh politics (Alam, 1996). The President's Order No. 9 of 1972 has been declared null and void and bureaucrats were recuperated their lost power and prestige (Ahmed, 1980:180). Following Zia, in Ershad's military regime, he also chosen a council of advisor composing of ten civil-military bureaucrats, two technocrats and four lawyers (Haque and Rahman, 2003).

**Table 3.1: Professional Background of Zia's Advisory Council in 1975**

<b>Category</b>	<b>Numbers</b>
Ex-Civil Bureaucrats	3
Ex-Military Bureaucrats	3
Politicians	2
Educationalists	4
Lawyers	1
Technocrats	4
Total	17

**Source: Adapted from Alam, (1996:46)**

**Table 3.2: Professional Background of Ershad's Advisory Council in 1982**

<b>Category</b>	<b>Numbers</b>
Military Bureaucrats	7
Retired Civil Servants	3
Technocrats	2
Lawyers	4
Total	16

**Source: Adapted from Kabir, (1991:255-256)**

During the military regimes, the over domination of civil-military bureaucrats in the governance and political process had rendered the politicians to play a secondary role in the process of governance and development.

### **3.4. Politicization of Bureaucracy in Post-Nineties Regimes (1991-till):**

#### **Nature of Regime:**

After 1990, Bangladesh has returned to parliamentary form of government. Parliament was relatively active during both the regime of BNP and Awami League.

#### **Nature of Bureaucracy:**

In this regime, bureaucracy is eager to develop a mutual dependency relation with the ruling elite for their personal interests or benefits. At the same time, political leadership also politicized bureaucracy for their narrow interest.

#### **Recruitment and Promotion:**

During the reign of BNP (1991-1996), politicization of administration assumed several modes such as settlement of party loyalists to appoint vital position in civil service, appointment of diehard followers as key representatives (including the chairman) in Public Service Commission (PSC). With whose support the BCS (Bangladesh Civil Service) recruitment process was supposedly manipulated in favor of the candidates having relations the ruling party and mass promotion of officers seemingly acquiescent to the ruling regime (Zafarullah, 1997:5 part-3).

During AL regime, the chairman and members of PSC had been politically selected. At the same time freedom fighter quota has been made applicable for the children of freedom fighter family. This is an illustration of neglect for merit principle in civil service. On the basis of political kinship with the government, a large number of civil servants were promoted.

From 1991 to 1996, during the BNP regime, politicization seemed in various forms including the appointment of party loyalists in significant civil service positions. Also, the government try to manipulate the recruitment process of the civil service by letting in candidates with links to student wing of the party (Zafarullah, 1997). On February 8, 1992, the government decided to promote as many as 654 officials, which created a lot of

controversy (The Daily Sangbad, June 2, 2000). Further, from 1991 to 1996, the government issued orders of forced retirement of at least 51 civil servants; most of them were never shown any reason for this order (Karim, 1996:39).

After coming to power in 1996, the Awami League also continued the process of politicization. In this period, to remove a democratically elected government, a number of senior civil servants, were directly involved. The Awami League, the party that came to power due to that movement decided to reward to those civil servants by including one of them in their ministry and by promoting the others (Haque and Rahman, 2003: 411-12). The extension of service or appointment on contract basis along party line is widely done by civil servants on contract (Independent, June 15,2000). Even government appointed 60 people from outside in top positions in civil service during its four rules (Daily star, June19, 2000). This squeezes promotional scope for serving civil servants. Some controversial promotion order is hanging in the court while at least 150 senior government officials have been made OSD (Officer on Special Duty) from one to eight years mostly on political consideration (Daily star, May 31, 2000). Some 650 officials had been promoted at one stroke during the previous regime in 1992. Of course, the government was finally defeated when the mass promotion was challenged in the high court (Independent, may 16, 2000). In 2001, the government decided to promote as many as 355 officials depriving many competent officials of promotion, as the government was not sure about their political loyalty- a violation of seniority (The daily Prothom Alo, January 14, 2001). Moreover, the amount of contractual recruitment increased significantly through 2000; 174 civil servants were recruited on contractual basis (The Daily Shangbad, August 8, 2000).

In 2001, the Bangladesh Nationalist Party formed the government and tried to control over the bureaucracy which making it highly politicized. The government has created a new record by appointing 978 officials as “Officer on Special Duty” (The Daily Janakhanta, May 21, 2006). Apparently, in promotion decisions, importance was given to party loyalty rather than seniority or merit; this created a severe damage to the moral of the civil servants. Moreover, on the basis of political allegiance, the number of contractual appointments has increased. It is alleged that most of the secretaries and additional secretaries getting contractual appointment, or extension of contracts, are inclined either toward BNP or Jamat-e-Islami (The Daily Star, July 17, 2006).

It is conveyed that the government has introduced a new process of politicization. With the consent of Prime Minister's Office (PMO), an unofficial cell was created to make sure that no civil servant who is or was sympathetic to Awami League is promoted (Khan, 2003: 402-03). The SSB (Superior Selection Board) is now dysfunctional. The decisions are made by the PMO and the SSB's only duty is to approve the list supplied by the PMO (The Daily Janakhanta, May 5, 2006).

The newspaper account below documents the pervasive politicization of the civil service. Promotion should be according to seniority. However, seniority is being circumvented for political purposes, thus 'depriving' civil servants of due promotion:

“On June 13, 2002, 170 were promoted to the post of Joint Secretary depriving 200. On February 10 & 16, 2003, 493 were promoted to the post of Deputy Secretary depriving 322. On August 27, 2003, 97 were promoted to the post of Additional Secretary depriving 104. On August 27, 2003, 49 were promoted to the post of Joint Secretary depriving 277. On June 15, 2004, 84 were promoted to the post of Joint Secretary depriving 78. On February 15, 2005, 18 were promoted to the post of Secretary depriving 5. On March 5, 2005, 61 were promoted to the post of depriving 50. On April 21, 2005, 327 were promoted to the post of Deputy Secretary depriving 50. On January 26, 2006, 378 Senior Assistant secretaries were promoted to the post of Deputy Secretary depriving 200 others. Interestingly enough, 39 Additional Secretaries were reported to have been promoted to the highest rank of Secretary. Seniority was alleged to have been violated in the cases of 14 civil servants and 30 civil servants were alleged to have been promoted to the highest rank of secretary in only 3 years. As far as promotion is concerned, the current government has promoted 153 Deputy Secretaries to the post of Joint Secretary as lately as 13 July 2006 depriving around 100 eligible officers along with 5 Additional Secretaries promoted to the post of Secretary”. (The Daily Bangladesh Observer, 22 July, 2006).

Despite the ongoing situation, the government promoted 128 officials from the post of joint secretary to additional secretary on December 11, 2017. With the newly promoted officials, the total number of government employees with the rank of additional secretary currently stands at 560, but the total number of permanent posts is only 111. The promoted officials have been transferred to the ministry of public administration but as OSDs. On November 27, 2016, 536 officials were promoted to the ranks of additional secretary, joint secretary and deputy secretary. In May the same year, 217 officials were

promoted in the above-mentioned posts. The government promoted 873 officials in 2015 and 267 senior assistant secretaries were promoted to the rank of deputy secretary in 23rd April, 2017. The Dhaka tribune has learned that the administration has only 430 permanent posts. However, the government on December 21, 2017 promoted 193 deputy secretaries to joint secretaries. Due to these promotions, 842 joint secretaries are now working in the administration. From 2009 to 2013, the Awami league -led government promoted 2528 officials. Among them, 1066 were promoted to the rank of deputy secretary, 1091 to joint secretary post, 293 to additional secretary post and 78 to secretary post.

From 2009 to 2013, the Awami League-led government promoted 2,528 officials. There are 1,066 to deputy secretary; 1,091 to joint secretary; 293 to additional secretary; 78 to secretary; 193 deputy secretaries were promoted to joint secretaries on December 21, 2017. 128 officials promoted from joint secretary to additional secretary on December 11, 2017 and transferred to Public Administration Ministry as OSDs. 267 senior assistant secretaries were promoted to deputy secretary on April 23, 2017. 536 officials were promoted to the ranks of additional secretary, joint secretary and deputy secretary on November 27, 2016. 217 officials were promoted to the ranks of additional secretary, joint secretary and deputy secretary in May 2016. 873 officials were promoted in 2015. (Bangla Tribune, 24<sup>th</sup> December, 2017).

### **Administrative Reform:**

With respect to administrative reform, the government only founded a reform committee, which spared over three and a half years and evaded to suggest reforms that conformed to Good Governance Paradigm (GGP) as given by world bank and other external agencies. (Zafarullah, 1997:5 Part-4).

The reform committee made a number of commendations on the rationalization and reorganization of government officers and presented its report to Awami League government. But instead of implanting the commendations (Khan, 1998:114), the present government established its own commission PARC (Public administration Reform Commission) almost entirely composed of bureaucrats. The commission has already submitted the report with 137 recommendations (30 interims, 70 short term and 37 long



term), which will be implemented in phases (Daily Star, July 03, 2000 & Independent, July 5, 2000).

### **Changing Role of Bureaucrats:**

Bureaucrats became development partners of the incumbent government. By regulating their career development, the ruling governments have established some sort of control over the bureaucracy.

### **Governing Relationship between Politicians and Bureaucracy:**

During the reign of BNP, initial dominance of politicians over the statecraft was a transient affair. Soon continued conflict and dissent between the position and opposition parties became intense and led to seemingly unending political stalemate and in the meantime, the dominant role in governance was passed on the hands of bureaucrats (Choudhury, 1998:274-275).

The AL regime like its predecessors continues to maneuver bureaucracy for achieving its parochial objectives and in this process the bureaucracy has been politicized. Field administrators have played a key role in working on behalf of either of the two major parties in both national and local elections (Zafarullah, 1997). The open provision by a section of bureaucracy for AL in its crusade against the democratically elected government prior to the 1996 elections points to a very shocking trend. Even several of those civil servants who actively participated anti-BNP movement were rewarded with lucrative positions by the present regime (Independent, September 29, 1998).

As a first step towards combining its political position shuffled and reshuffled, the whole administrative mechanism continually in search of party followers to fit them in key positions of administration. However, politicians are the leading force of the governance system.

By seeking nomination to participate in the elections, a number of civil servants are directly contributing in political activities. For example, after retirement, a civil servant appointed on contractual basis and has been involved in active politics and is protruding himself as a candidate of the ruling party. This constitutes an offence under the service rule. It has been noted, that after having obtained assurance, he will be given an election ticket from BNP, the person in question started taking up development projects in a

constituency and also started an election campaign showing total disregard to the discipline of the civil service (The Bangladesh Observer, May 24, 2006). Another allegation has been made against a divisional special judge pointing out that while on the job, he " has been participating in many public meetings of the ruling party BNP" introducing himself as a BNP candidate for Member of the Parliament (MP) in the next election (The Bangladesh Observer, February 14, 2006). These show just a few instances of a broader pattern: the problem of negative politicization has become very common in last fifteen years.

### **3.5. Conclusion:**

The preceding discussion entails the dynamics and intricacy of relationship between the politicians and administrators during various regimes. During the British colonial regime, the bureaucracy was a well-established institution featured by merit principle, elitism and strong esprit de corp. Bureaucracy as an institution sustained all it inherited features, became allied force with the military, pushed the politicians at bay and overtly ruled country until the liquidation of Pakistan.

After the independence of Bangladesh, the ruling regime reversed the earlier trend and established total political supremacy over bureaucracy but failed to sustain which compelled it to revert to bureaucracy for its rescue. But during the military regimes, the bureaucracy reestablished its pre-liberation position. Militarization of bureaucracy was a distinctive feature of military administrations. Civil-military bureaucrats and politicians became allied force.

Even the renovation of parliamentary democracy, bureaucracy continued to influence the governance structure due to the hostile politics between the position and opposition political parties and it made the bureaucracy divided along party lines.

Since 1991 politicians' legitimacy to govern is no longer questioned. As a result of politicized bureaucracy, the ruling politicians can wield control over the bureaucrats by regulating recruitment, transfer and promotion. Likewise, numerous reform actions have been assumed and during this decade to make the bureaucrat accountable to their political masters. All these wits provoked the bureaucracy to develop a synergetic and conciliatory trade off with the politicians. They are allied partner of the politicians and no longer

treated as the final mediator of governing the country. Supported by this reversed wave, politicians have established some sort of control by regulating career development of the bureaucrats.

This is how, personalized and party interests are profoundly influencing and shaping both bureaucracy and parliament simultaneously which may be explained by the cultural configuration of the Bangladesh society.

## **Chapter Four**

### **Causes, Consequences and Impact of Politicization over Bureaucracy**

#### **4.1. Introduction:**

In recent time, politicization of bureaucracy is one of the most argued topics in Political Science. The level of bureaucracy is higher in developing countries. That is why there are various discussions, criticisms and researches on that subject. Different theorists have discovered different reasons why bureaucracy is politicized. Though politicization of bureaucracy has some positive and negative sides, in this chapter it has been discussed the reasons for the politicization of bureaucracy and how it effects on good governance.

The reasons for the politicization of bureaucracy from various studies are as follows-

#### **4.2. Causes of Politicization of Bureaucracy in Bangladesh:**

Politicization of bureaucracy is one of the most discussed topics in recent years. In developing countries, the nature of politicization of bureaucracy is more procure. There are many causes of politicization of bureaucracy such as, colonial mindset of bureaucrats, centralization of administrative and political power, Problems of Competent Leadership etc.

##### **Colonial Mindset of Bureaucrats:**

The present administrative structure and system of Bangladesh is the legacy of the British- Indian colonies. The British as foreign rulers to maintain their rules and to exploit Indian Subcontinent that established the structure and method. Therefore, Pakistani rules has continued in post-independent Bangladesh. The main force in the British colonial system was the ICS or members of the civil service. All of them were British. However, in the end, some of the local people were able to be included. But almost all of them were like the English in mind. The purpose of their administration was to rule and control the people in any way. In Pakistan period that British model was followed. Their mindset was like that of the British. Unlike the British rulers, they had no accountability to the people of this country. Unfortunately, such an administrative structure and system is in place in independent Bangladesh.

### **Problems of Competent Leadership:**

Analysis of the politics of the third world countries has shown that the political leaders of these countries have lack of enough qualification. Political leaders in Bangladesh do not have desired level of education, political wisdom, leadership skills, ability to make the right decisions etc. in the absence of all these qualifications of politicians, they become more dependent on bureaucrats. In this opportunity, bureaucrats get involved in politics and behave like professional politicians.

Due to the lack of qualifications and skills of the ministers in charge of the ministry, it is seen that they turn to bureaucrats for political activities. When these bureaucrats become more efficient than politicians in conducting all these activities, they try to get themselves involved in politics.

### **The Nature of Administration and Power Relationship:**

One of the reasons for the politician of the bureaucracy in Bangladesh is the centralization of administration and political power. As a result of the centralization of power, the government hires those of the employees to assist them and at the same time those employees involve themselves in politics to usurp that power. This would not have happened if it was decentralized administration.

In Bangladesh Civil Service there are 26 cadres. These cadres are made up of generalists and specialists government employees. According to the rules, every cadre in the republic should have access to same facilities. But in Bangladesh Civil Service only generalist employees are given more importance and facilities and important political responsibilities are assigned. As a result, a class of bureaucrats think themselves as more important than others.

### **4.3. Good Governance in Bureaucracy:**

Since the independence of Bangladesh, the crisis of legitimacy has been observed in most of the government. When the crisis of legitimacy in the central government becomes a question, the bureaucrats become reckless. Then they control the politicians. Such an example is always observed in the history of the world. It is same for the politicization of bureaucracy in Bangladesh.

In Bangladesh public administration it is seen that there is no system to ensure transparency and accountability in administrative activities. That's why even though there are rules of conduct for government employees, they ignore them and get involved in politics.

In the case of recruitment in the civil service, the proper recruitment process is not followed. If there is political patronage in recruitment in the civil service, then it is natural that all those civil servants will play the role of politicians, not civil servants.

In representative democracy of Bangladesh, the real democracy is not practiced. Most of the governments have limited democracy to slogans. Neither the administration nor the government has ever held the people accountable. Taking advantage of such a fragile state of democracy, bureaucrats have turned their backs on politics.

Former Bureaucrat, Cabinet Secretary and Caretaker Government adviser Dr. Akbar Ali Khan spoke on the state of Bureaucracy in Bangladesh-

“The current bureaucracy in Bangladesh is isomorphic mimicry. From the outside it looks like the right bureaucracy. Here appointments are made through Public Service Commission. Here promotion is in accordance with the law. They work according to the law. But in fact, none of this is true.”<sup>5</sup>

#### **4.4. The Relationship between Politicians and Bureaucrat:**

Dr. Akbar Ali Khan explains why the Bangladesh bureaucracy has fallen into this state and has not overcome it. He mentions two reasons for that-

##### **First, Intentions of Politician:**

Politicians does not want any bureaucratic reform. They don't like to mass oriented. They don't like the orderly structure of any bureaucracy. Working with an orderly bureaucracy they face difficulty. Because of this they can't exercise unjust domination over them.

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<sup>5</sup> The Daily Prothom Alo, December 14, 2014.

### **Intention of Bureaucrats:**

In recent times, some of the bureaucrats have gone out of discipline. They don't want to be disciplined. If they are disciplined, their unjust personal interests will not be fulfilled. That selfish bureaucratic group formed a kind of alliance with the power-hungry politicians.<sup>6</sup>

### **4.5. Consequences of Politicization of Bureaucracy:**

The consequences of politicization of bureaucracy can be explained through positive and negative ways.

#### **4.5.1. Positive sides of Politicization of Bureaucracy:**

One of the reasons for the politicization of the bureaucracy in Bangladesh is the centralization of administration and political power. As a result of the centralization of power, the government hires those of the employees to assist them and at the same time those employees involve themselves in politics to usurp that power. This would not have happened if it was decentralized administration.

Politics is a system that governed by certain rules and regulations, the main purpose of which is public welfare. On the other hand, the main purpose of the bureaucracy is also public welfare. So, if the motives of politics are honest then there are several benefits of politicization of bureaucracy. While the trend is relatively high especially in underdeveloped and developing countries, it is not absent in developed countries. Especially in the conventional parliamentary system of government, as there is a common factor between the executive branch of the legislature and the members of the cabinet, the politicization of bureaucracy is high in this system of government. In some cases, this becomes inevitable as the bureaucracy operates under the executive branch.

If the system of government is short-term, the skilled bureaucrats in government can play a key role in the implementation of long-term developmental socio-economic plans. There is an example in the context of Bangladesh:

According to the constitution of Bangladesh, the Cabinet is the highest political body for policy making and approval. The bureaucrats are responsible for preparing and

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<sup>6</sup>The Daily Prothom Alo, Ibid.

implementing these policies (prepare the ministry as the central administration and implements the field administration). Again, the financial approval is given by political institution like NEC and ECNEC. So, there is a chain of command in the work of politics and bureaucracy. Here, if the efficient bureaucrats of the ministry and field administration work on the basis of party loyalty, the highest goals and objectives of ministry and political institution like ECNEC are implemented efficiently. Otherwise, many of ECNEC's long-term Cabinet due to bureaucratic complications such as lack loyalty, procrastination, insurgency, etc. Especially, when NEC and ECNEC sanction money for any ministry, then the Secretary of the Principal Accounting Officer of the Ministry or Secretariat decides where and how the money will be spent. In this case, if the Secretary is loyal to the government, it is possible to ensure welfare everywhere by preventing the waste of money. Economic development of Bangladesh as like qualify for the World Bank's transition from a low-income country to a low-middle-income, eligibility to cross the UN LDC list, the dream of Padma Bridge and much of this is possible due to efficient bureaucratic system loyal to the present government. Also, the politicization of bureaucracy is beneficial for maintaining the stability of the short-term government of parliamentary system of government. The minister has to be held accountable in the legislature and a secretary provides necessary assistance to the minister. The manner in which the Secretary prepares the documents for accountability to the Minister in Parliament, the minister is thus accountable to the legislature based on this. In this case, if the bureaucracy and politics are not intertwined, the government may face distrust in the legislature.

It is easy to adopt and implement of socio-economic development projects of the government and maximum welfare through it and maintain the stability of short-term government. Check and balance maintenance in ministry is becoming easier. It helps to play a key role in safeguarding national and international interests on behalf of the government. It helps to prevailing good relation between local administration and local government which is very helpful for the development of the country.

#### **4.6. Impact of Politicization of Bureaucracy:**

Politicization of bureaucracy has great impact on public administration and good governance. It created division in public administration, creating self-proclamation of opposition bureaucrat group, destruct the State Institution. Because of politicization of



bureaucracy, the Administration will become completely incompetent. However, the negative sides of politicization of bureaucracy are following:

**Creation of Division in Public Administration:**

The politicization of bureaucracy created division in the public administration. Every civil servant is busy with tailgating of a particular political party. As a result, the main objective of public administration is to disrupt public service. A review of the bureaucracy and politics of countries like Bangladesh shows that those who believes in any ideology outside the ruling party are kept as OSDs. When the turn of power changes again, all these OSD sufferers are holding lucrative positions in Government. The politicization of bureaucracy creates the division of administration which is harmful for the country and the nation.

**Box 4.1**

**Case Study: One**

In 2002, there was an officer working the Relief Department as Director General. He has a reputation as a very honest officer. He faithfully performed all the duties of the government entrusted to him. He never neglected his responsibilities. But corrupt MPs and bureaucrats don't like him. They told the Relief Minister that this man is not ours, he does not listen to us. One day the Minister said to the Director General, "Mr. DG., you are a good man but everyone is saying you are not our man rather than theirs." The Director General said, "Sir! I am a government employee and work for government." The Minister said, "No, you are not our people. And if you were not our man, how can you be in charge of this office."

**Self-proclamation of Opposition Bureaucrat group:**

In developed countries, with the change of government, important government positions are changed which is called spoil system. It is not possible to introduce this system in a low per capita income country like Bangladesh. As a result, politicization of bureaucracy led to the emergence of the opposition bureaucrat group with those outside the ideology of the ruling party. It will be a deadly curse for public administration.

## Box 4.2

### Case Study: Two

An officer of the 1982 batch served as the private secretary to the Minister for a period of 1991 to 1996. When the government changed in 1996, he was identified as their man and was transferred to various remote upazillas. During his student life he was an active activist of Chittagong University Chatra League. At that time, another activist formed by him was holding an important position of Prime Minister's office. The official told the then Additional Secretary of the Establishment Ministry about the acquaintance of the endangered officer. He was immediately summoned to Dhaka to meet the Additional Secretary. He came from a remote upazilla of Bagura. The Additional Secretary scolded him with a smile and said, "why don't you tell me that you are our people. I wouldn't have known it if he hadn't told me. Go and take your transfer order to Dhaka.

#### **Destruction of State Institution:**

If the full politicization of bureaucracy is completed or if the current politicization process cannot be stopped, the state institutions will be destroyed by the victims of political violence. There will be no difference between trade union and bureaucratic union. As a result, there will no growth and prosperity of the state institutions and the institutions will be destroyed.

Salauddin Aminuzzaman, a Public Administration expert and Professor of Public Administration at Dhaka University, described the situation as 'abnormal',

"Our administration is supposed to run in a pyramid system. But now it has become the reverse pyramid. There are now allegations of more identities than merits. It is a matter of political decision to deal with this complexity of the administration."<sup>7</sup>

#### **The Administration will become completely incompetent:**

If in everywhere there is politicization of bureaucracy, the administration will become incompetent.

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<sup>7</sup> The Daily Prothom Alo, February 1, 2016.

### **Box 4.3**

#### **Case Study: Three**

Another government official, who served as a joint secretary with the Ministry of Science and Technology, was made OSD about few months ago. Despite having a job on paper, he has not functioned for months. The government official visits the secretariat every work day. After checking in, the official heads straight to the library and chats with other OSDs. After the office hour end, he goes home. It has become the official's daily routine for months.

Former Cabinet Secretary Ali Imam Majumder described the situation as a result of promotions despite the lack of posts at key levels of Public Administration. From his words-

“The administration is now in a state of chaos. Most of those who have already been promoted could not be given jobs according to their posts. In a ministry where one or two additional secretaries are supposed to work, there are five to seven additional secretaries. This number is more in the same condition as in other terms.”<sup>8</sup>

#### **Corruption will be Omnipresent:**

If the full politicization of bureaucracy is completed or if the current politicization process cannot be stopped, corruption will be omnipresent. Zafarullah and Siddiquee (2001) said,

“.....the nexus between corrupt officials and politicians is still pervasive in the administrative hierarchy. Politicians in Bangladesh are believed to have a direct hand in sustaining corruption in administration. They have lucrative shares in all state deals, they receive commissions from terrorists and smugglers and they patronize corrupt officials for personal gains. Sometimes, it is extremely difficult for someone to honestly discharge his or her responsibilities because of the pressure from above. Most often pressures from political elites to carry out their illegal orders force bureaucrats to ignore professional ethics and public interest”.

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

### **Demoralized Skilled Civil Servants:**

Politicization of bureaucracy demoralized skilled government officer. If qualified person doesn't get the right place, they will be deprived from their position and it hampered their services.

#### **Box 4.4**

#### **Case Study: Four**

In 1996, there was a competent officer working in the Export Development Bureau applied for the post of Commercial Counselor at Embassy of Bangladesh abroad. The committee headed by the then Minister of Commerce conducted the interview. The Minister and the Selection committee were satisfied with his interview and continued to praise him. When the Minister visited his previous place of work at that time, he saw that the officer was the private Secretary to the State Minister in the then Government. Getting this information, the Minister became annoyed and he immediately changed his mind. He said in front of everyone that you are their man. Then we will not be able to select you. This memory could not be intertwined in the working life of this highly professional officer. Later he left his job and moved to America with his family.

### **Negative Effect of Good Governance over Bureaucracy:**

If in everywhere there is politicization of bureaucracy, it is not possible to establish good governance. It is one of the main obstacles to establish good governance. Because of the politicization of the bureaucracy, the deserving people are not able to go to the deserving places and the unqualified people are occupying their place, as a result of which the unqualified people are failing to provide their desired services to the people. And thus, the politicization of the bureaucracy has emerged as the main obstacle in the way of good governance.

Dr. Akbar Ali Khan shared his view,

“In recent times, large number of government officials are partisan. If there is factionalism in administration, good governance will definitely create problems. Good governance is a system where a responsible person performs his duties properly. But in case of factionalism in administrative work, another inept has to perform

his duties instead of one qualified person. In this situation, the government and the state are affected.”<sup>9</sup>

#### **Violations of Rule of Law:**

If the politicization of bureaucracy takes full shape, the rule of law will be violated. In all cases, the will of the bureaucrats will be the implementation of bureaucrat’s will. The basis of the law is not morality but the interest of the group. There will be chaos in the country and the reign of terror will be established.

Another former Cabinet Secretary and Chairman of the Public Service Commission, Dr. Sadat Hossain shared similar views:

“Professionalism is now being lost as a result of factionalism. The government and the state are being damaged and deprived. If such a situation is not overcome, terrible danger will come.”<sup>10</sup>

#### **4.7. Conclusion:**

Though, there are some positive impact of politicization of bureaucracy but extreme politicization hampers the bureaucratic system. As a result of this horrific politicization and partnership, the bureaucracy has lost its neutral character. Although the politicians of the ruling party have benefited from it, but the people are suffering from it. The rights of all citizens to access service is being curtailed. The country’s administrative system is being damaged. Field level administration is particularly notable. Government employees are continued to participate in party political activities in violation of official code of conduct. On the other side, the government can execute, implement and approve the rules, regulations and policies smoothly and fluently. ‘The red-tape’ system can never be implication for the partisan bureaucracy. The gridlock in the bureaucratic system will be overcome and consistent of working systematically address new design and interaction among public through ‘representative of people’.

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<sup>9</sup> The Bangladesh Protidin, February 2, 2012.

<sup>10</sup> The Bangladesh Protidin, Ibid.

## Chapter Five

### Politicization of Bureaucracy and Good Governance in Bangladesh

#### 5.1. Introduction:

The study has been required combining analytical and empirical approaches in methodology. Hence, both qualitative and quantitative information and data has been required. To achieve the aims and goals of this study, survey method has been applied. This inquiry draws on Dhaka Metropolitan area in Bangladesh by field survey based on semi-structured questionnaire and it has been taken over 100 conscious people in Dhaka Metropolitan area.

Personal interview method has been used to collect primary data. To conduct the interview, open ended questionnaire has been followed. Thus, this study intends to conduct an intensive and in-depth investigation in light of the politicization of bureaucracy in Bangladesh. In addition, it will take in-depth interviews from researchers, academicians, politicians and journalists purposively in order to understand the real situation of the country.

#### 1. Respondent's Views about Bureaucracy of Bangladesh:

From the survey it has been observed that about 51.8% respondents mentioned that bureaucracy of Bangladesh is politically involved and responsive to particular political party. Around 31.8% respondents observed that the bureaucrats of Bangladesh are combination of both competent and incompetent officials and other 12.9% respondents said Bangladesh bureaucracy is mixture of competent or incompetent officials, politically neutral or more politically involve and responsive. However, the most important part of these findings is that no people observed that the bureaucrats of Bangladesh are politically neutral. Figure 1 shows the situation below:

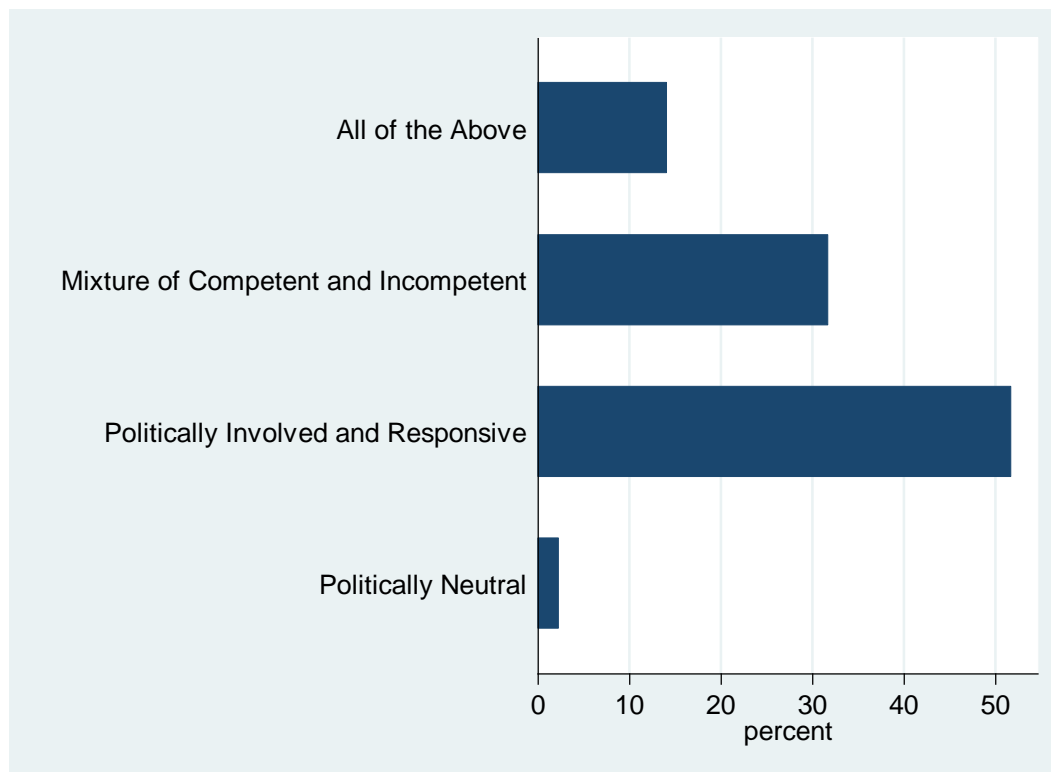


Figure 5.1: Respondent’s views about bureaucracy of Bangladesh

From the in-depth interviews, the similar situation was observed. For instances, one academicians observed about the nature of bureaucrats of Bangladesh in similar outlook. He mentioned:

“Bureaucrats are constantly getting more involved with political parties than before, which shows that political influence within the bureaucracy is increasing significantly”.<sup>11</sup>

So, it shows that politicization of bureaucracy has become very prominent phenomenon in the public sphere of Bangladesh in recent time.

## 2. Expected Role from Politicians:

Most of the respondent’s expected role from politicians. For instance, according to the Bar chart, 22.4% said politicians formulate policy and 16.5% said politicians work for governance and development. Others 55.3% said politicians has role of doing all of the above such as governance and development, policy implementation and policy formulation.

<sup>11</sup> Interview with Shahriar Islam, *ibid*.

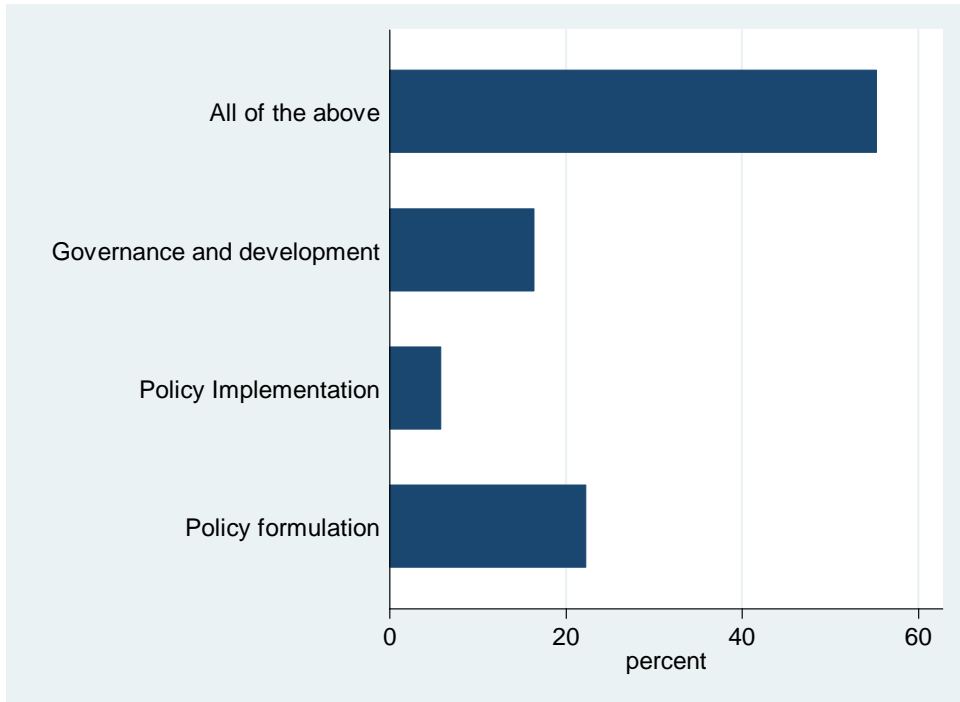


Figure 5.2: Evaluation of the role of politicians (Respondent's views)

So, most of the respondents think that politicians have role of doing all of these like governance and development, policy implementation and policy formulation.

### 3. Role and Functions of Politicians and Bureaucrats:

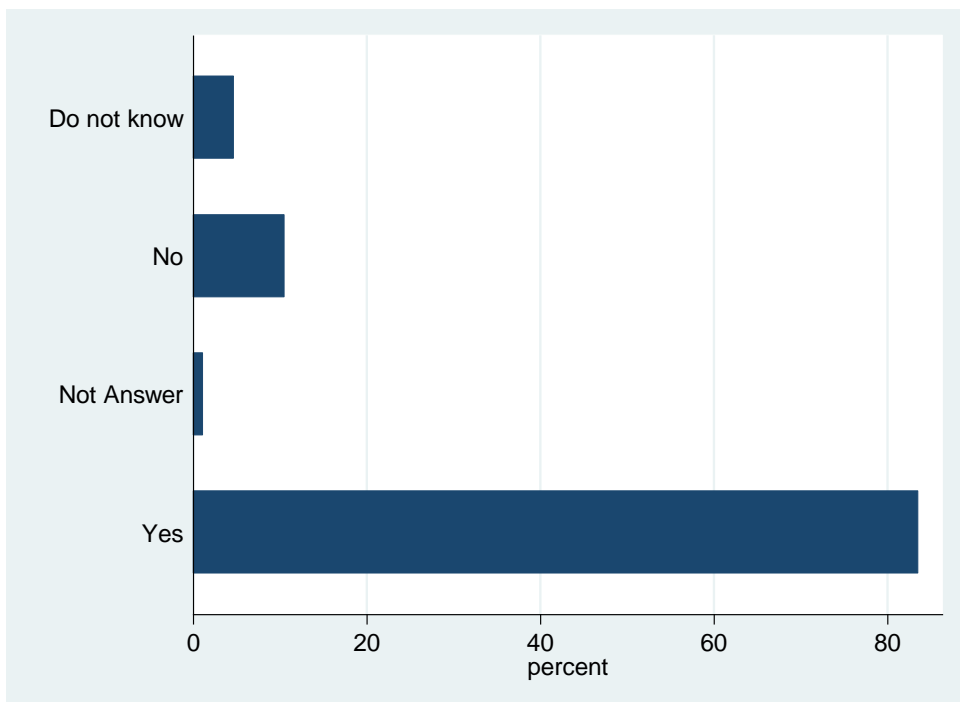


Figure 5.3: Respondent's views on role and functions of Politicians and Bureaucrats



According to the chart, 83.5% respondents said politicians and bureaucrats are characteristically separate and their roles and functions should be distinct. But 12.9% said no and 3.5% said they don't know and another 1.3% gave no response. However, although most of the respondent's expressed their views that the function of bureaucrats and politicians should be distinct and separated but practically it may not possible in real world situation particularly in a developing country like Bangladesh. Thus, it has been observed that although the government system of Bangladesh is governed by two parts, their goals and objectives are the same, that is, to help the government achieve its desired goals. When the government announces a plan, the political part gives instructions to implement that plan and the government bureaucrats do the work of implementing that plan. Thus, the political and apolitical parts play an essential role in running a country and complement each other. So, at the end it can be said that both the political part and the half part play an important role in running the government.

Similar opinion was mentioned by another interviewee where he mentioned that the Bangladesh Civil Service Commission appoints the non-political part of the Bangladesh government system. The Bangladesh Civil Service Commission appoints them first through preliminary and then through written and viva examinations. When they are appointed, they are not members of any party, but they still support one party in their minds. But after they are appointed, they openly support the ruling party. Evidence of which we see that they continue to campaign a lot on Facebook for the ruling party. They express their political side more than their responsibility. While performing the duties of the government, they continued to perform the duties of the political parties. The political part is usually elected by the people. The political part always wants to control the apolitical part. The result is unwritten collusion between the political and non-political parts.<sup>12</sup>

So, it shows that although most of the respondent's desired that politician and bureaucrat's role and function should be distinct but the situation is different in Bangladesh in most of the occasions.

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<sup>12</sup> Interview with Rahmatullah (Anonymous), September 15, 2020.

#### 4. Actors of Ensuring Good Governance:

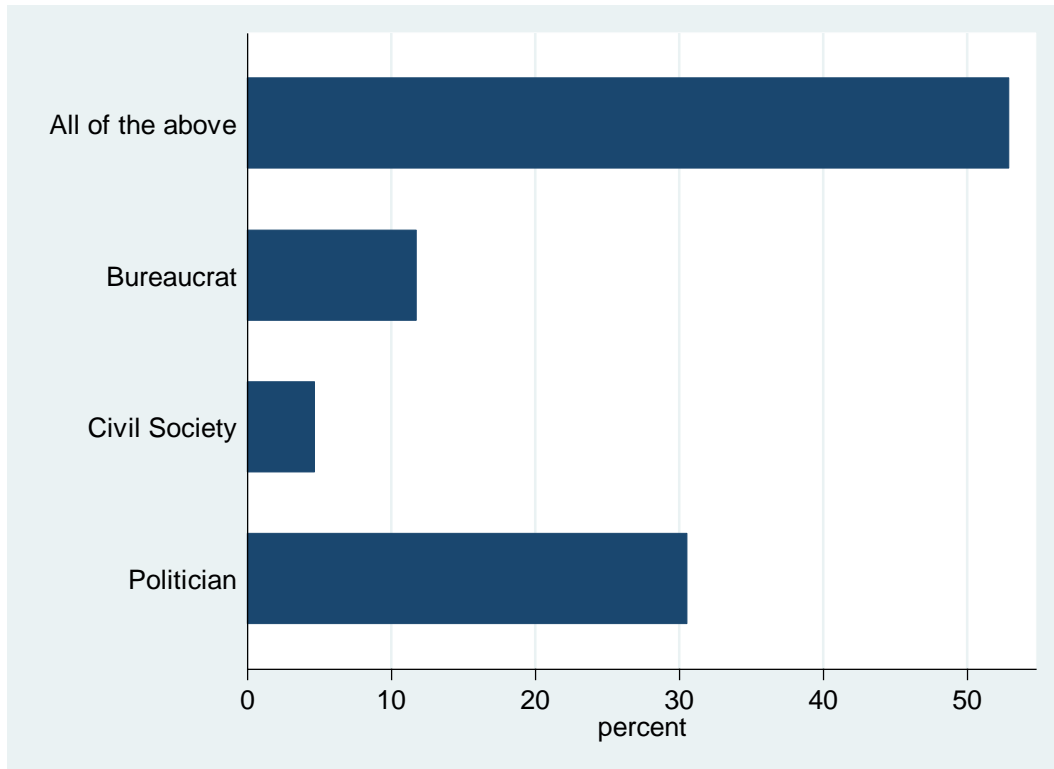


Figure 5.4: Responsible for ensuring good governance and development

Here, 30.6% respondents said politicians are more responsible for ensuring good governance and development. And 11.8% said bureaucrats are more responsible for ensuring good governance and development. And others 52.9% said bureaucrats, politicians and civil society, all of them are responsible for ensuring good governance and development.

So, it shows that in Bangladesh, bureaucrats, politicians and civil society, all of them are responsible for ensuring good governance and development.

## 5. Actors of National Issues:

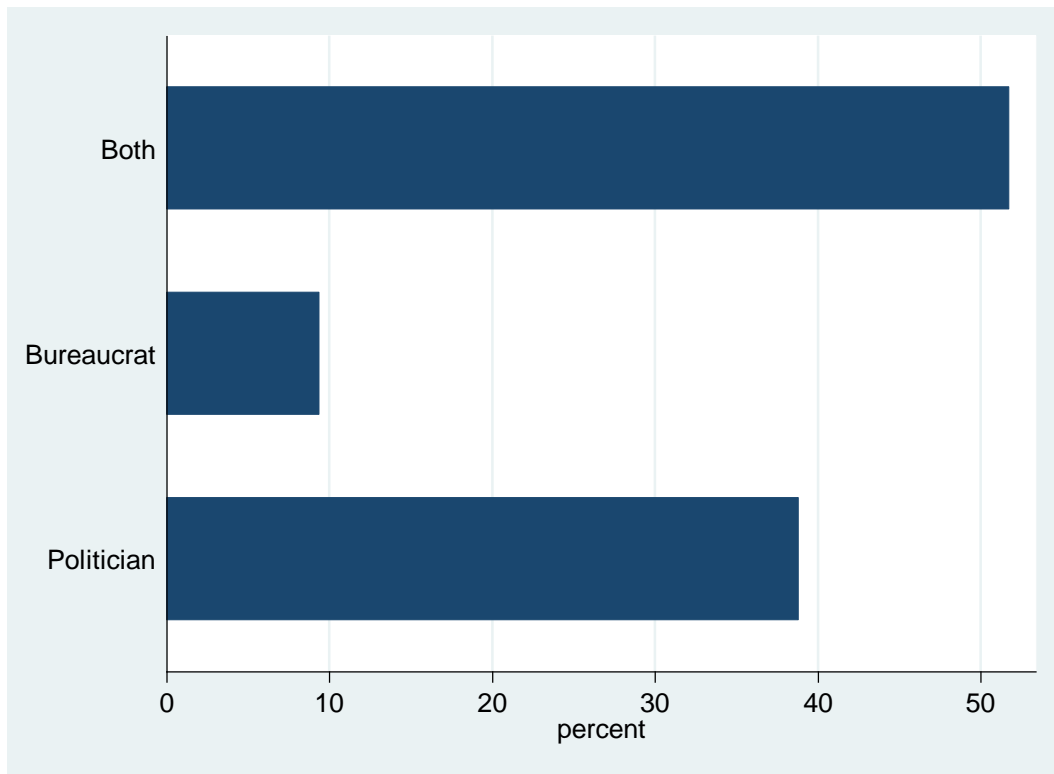


Figure 5.5: Dominate governance issues in national level

The bar chart shows that 38.8% respondents said politicians dominate governance issues in national level. And 9.4% said bureaucrats dominate governance issues in national level. But 51.8% said both of them dominate governance issues in national level. So, in Bangladesh it is showed that both politicians and bureaucrats dominate governance issues in national level.

## 6. Transparency among Politician's and Bureaucrat's:

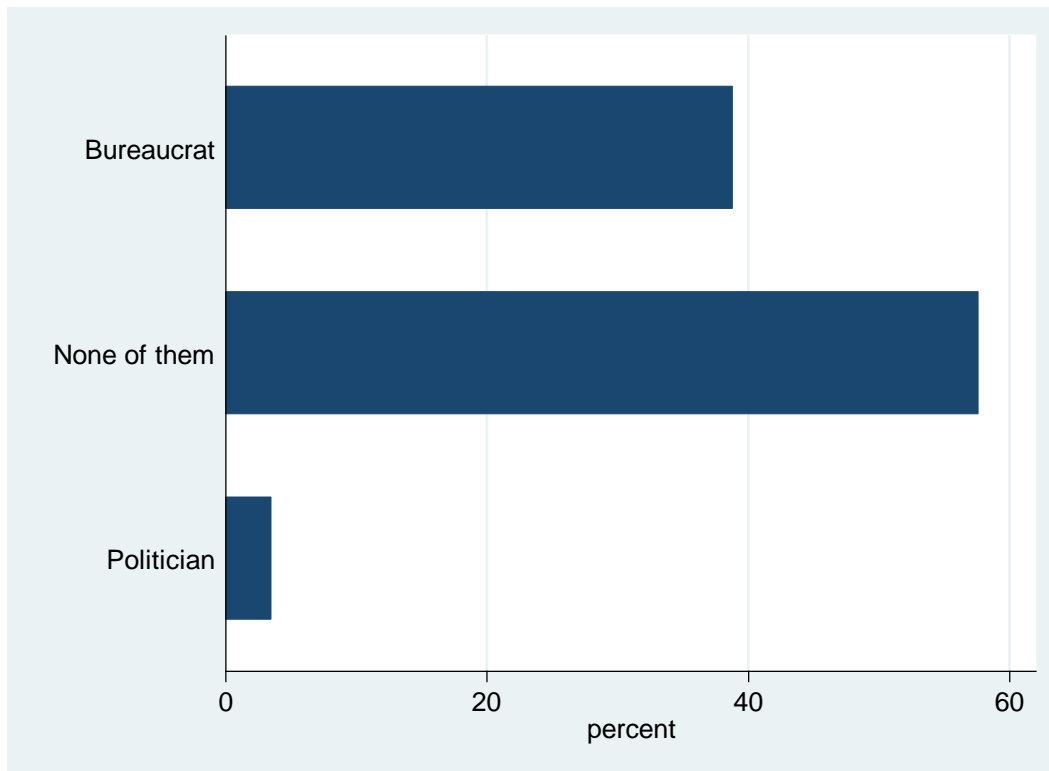


Figure 5.6: Comparatively more transparent (Respondent's views)

According to the chart, 38.8% respondents said bureaucrats are more transparent on their work and 57.6% said politicians and bureaucrats, none of them are transparent on their work. But no one said politicians are transparent on their work.

So, this chart shows that people have no faith upon both politicians and bureaucrats.

## 7. Dependency on Bureaucrat's from Politician's:

From the public side, it has been seen that 55.3% respondents said politicians depend mostly on bureaucrats in the ministry. About 29.4% said they don't think so. And other 12.9% said they don't know about this.

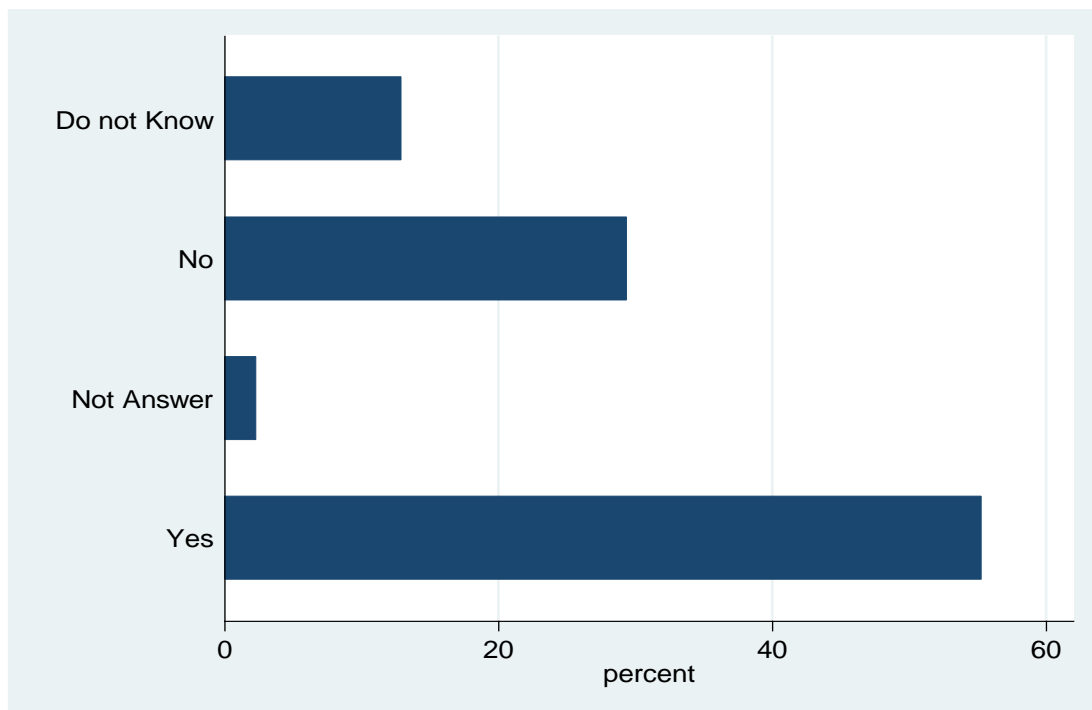


Figure 5.7: Politicians depend mostly on bureaucrats in the ministry (Respondent's views)

From the in-depth interviews it has been seen that politicians think that they are not depend on bureaucrats for their decision-making activities. A politician said,

“Politicians do not need to depend on bureaucrats. They have their own foresights. They have their own wisdom, intelligence, knowledge, wit and experience. They passed quite a long career on their related track. Bureaucrats generally execute orders. Ministers take decision. For taking decision, they don't need to depend on the bureaucrats”.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Interview with Siddik Rahman (Politician), October 6, 2020.

However, a bureaucrat explained that this is not the case in all cases. There are many ministers who have many days of experience and this question is not reasonable for them. But in the case of other ministers who are inexperienced in their work, all the work of the ministry has to be dependent on bureaucrats. This means that they are more dependent on bureaucrats before making any decision because they do not know exactly what to do because they do not have experience working as a minister but bureaucrats have been involved in this profession for a long time. <sup>14</sup>

Another interviewee mentioned,

“There exists mutual respect, trust which help them to harmoniously collaborate on governmental tasks”. <sup>15</sup>

Similar view mentioned by another interviewee,

“Ministers and bureaucrats are colleagues and partners. They together form a team to change the fate of the nation. They have very warm relation with the bureaucrats. They don’t need to do that”. <sup>16</sup>

However, both politician and bureaucrat need to work mutually together for the betterment of the country.

## **8. Partisan Role of Ministers:**

Figure shows that 45.9% respondents strongly agree that Ministers dominate their office through political biasness. And 37.6% respondents agree with that. And others 12.9% respondents do not agree with that.

A bureaucrat mentioned his view that politicians and bureaucrats work together to achieve the welfare of the citizens. Ministers don’t have enough time to review all the policies. They have to meet so many engagements. Hence, bureaucrats have the obligation to honestly guide the ministers. They have the obligation to assess the ramifications of the policies properly and manifest those to the ministers. Ministers take

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<sup>14</sup> Interview with Kalim Ahmed (Anonymous), October 5, 2020.

<sup>15</sup> Interview with Rahim Uddin (Anonymous), October 10, 2020.

<sup>16</sup> Interview with Fahim Ahmed (Politician), October 12, 2020.

guidance, suggestions from the bureaucrats, Bureaucrats try to analyze the present situations and formulate possible solutions of the problems. Bureaucrats assist the politician and politicians also intently listen to their advice.<sup>17</sup>

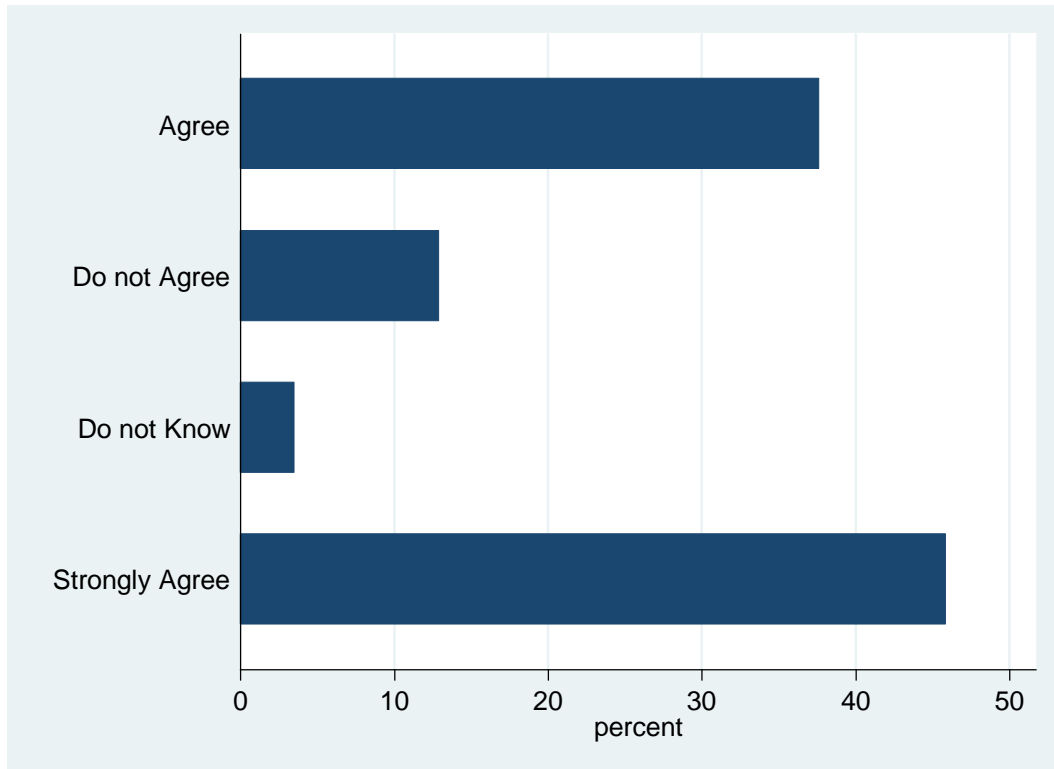


Figure 5.8: Ministers dominate their office through political biasness (Respondent’s views)

Another bureaucrat viewed,

“This is the normal rule for ministers to run a ministry, but it becomes a problem only when they control something politically. In many cases they are seen to use the ministry to satisfy their own vested interests which ultimately harms the state”.<sup>18</sup>

Journalist Sohrab Hasan mentioned his view,

“The minister will have control in the ministry because if the minister does not have control over the ministry then he will not be able to run the ministry but it is a matter of examining whether that control is fair or unfair.”<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Interview with Rahim Uddin (Anonymous), *ibid*.

<sup>18</sup> Interview with Rahmatullah (Anonymous), *ibid*.

<sup>19</sup> Interview with Sohrab Hasan, *ibid*.

Journalist Mizanur Rahman Khan mentioned that the minister must take full control of the ministry. But how he takes control is a matter of observation. Is it taking place in the unprofessional system or through certain powers from within the law? There is no problem if it takes full control from within the law but if it tries to control in an illegal way then partial control is also not acceptable. The secretary has a role to play in formulating the policy but in the end the minister will decide the policy. The Minister can take the help of the Secretary here for his knowledge and skills. But the decision will be taken by the Minister.<sup>20</sup>

So, it can be said that minister have to take full control over the ministry and the secretary has a role to play in formulating the policy.

### 9. Influence of Bureaucrats over Bangladesh Government:

According to the chart, 32.9% respondents said influence of Bureaucrats over Bangladesh Government is very strong. And 44.7% said strong. And others 15.3% said not that much and rest of them said they don't know.

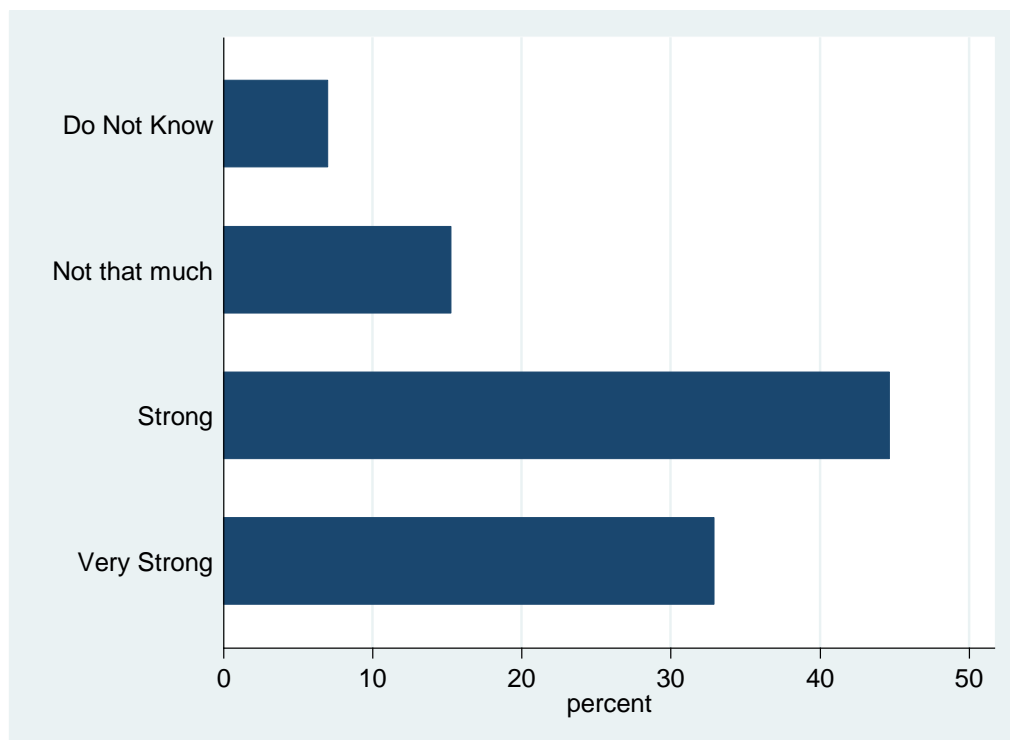


Figure 5.9: Influence of Bureaucrats over Bangladesh Government

<sup>20</sup> Interview with Mizanur Rahman Khan, September 20, 2020.



A bureaucrat shared his view,

“The bureaucracy has been empowered in various ways in the present system of government. They have also been entrusted with many judicial responsibilities. The bureaucracy has a significant impact on the current system of government, both administrative and judicial”.<sup>21</sup>

So, it can be that in recent times bureaucracy has great influence over Bangladesh Government.

### 10. Evaluation of the Role of Bureaucrats:

The chart shows that 67.1% respondents said bureaucrats are working more politically than public. And 9.4% said bureaucrats are working in legal and rational process. And others 15.3% gave no response.

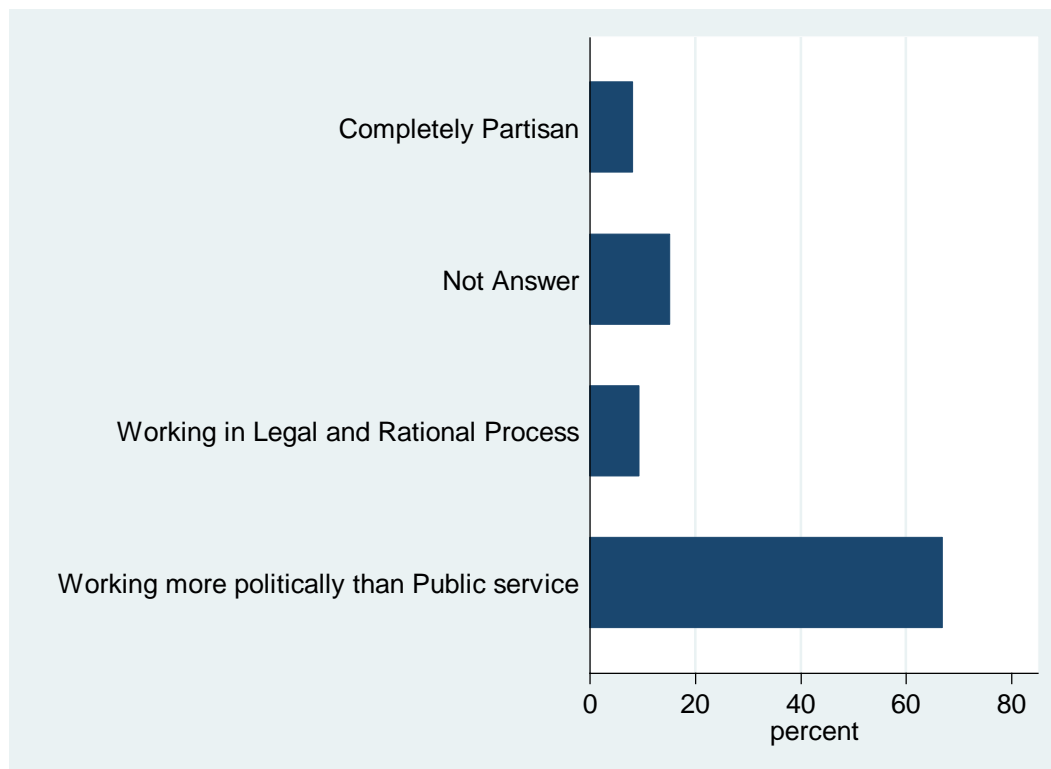


Figure 5.10: Evaluation of the role of bureaucrats (Respondent's views)

From in-depth interview it is showed bureaucrat's role in establishing good governance is important because the bureaucracy implements the laws and regulations of the political government. The people will be deprived if the people in the administration do not

<sup>21</sup> Interview with Kalim Ahmed (Anonymous), *ibid*.

perform their duties properly. The role of the administration is essential in ensuring transparency and accountability of the government.<sup>22</sup>

Without a neutral bureaucracy and an independent judiciary, a modern democratic state, no matter how much it develops economically, cannot benefit the people. And the role of bureaucrats is essential for the welfare of the people. Only a skilled bureaucracy can play a leading role in establishing justice in the society, providing the people with the services they deserve and above all in establishing good governance.

Another interviewee mentioned that bureaucracy is full of professional discipline and works in a competent and quality manner can certainly play a huge role in establishing good governance. If they are comparatively less corrupt then the country will go a long way. The goodwill of the bureaucrats is to build a transparent administrative structure which is a prerequisite for establishing good governance.<sup>23</sup>

So, it is clear that bureaucrats must play an important role in establishing good governance. If bureaucrats perform their duties impartially, then the places of transparency and accountability are very strong. It will be possible to establish good governance in the country if bureaucrats are neutral and free from political influence.

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<sup>22</sup> Interview with Sohrab Hasan, *ibid*.

<sup>23</sup> Interview with Mizanur Rahman Khan, *ibid*.

### 11. Effect on Politicization of Bureaucracy over Government Officials:

The bar chart shows that most of the people observed that politicization of bureaucracy has negatively affect over bureaucracy. It has seen that around 91.9% respondents said politicization of bureaucracy has negative effect over government officials. And 9.2% said politicization of bureaucracy has no negative effect over government officials.

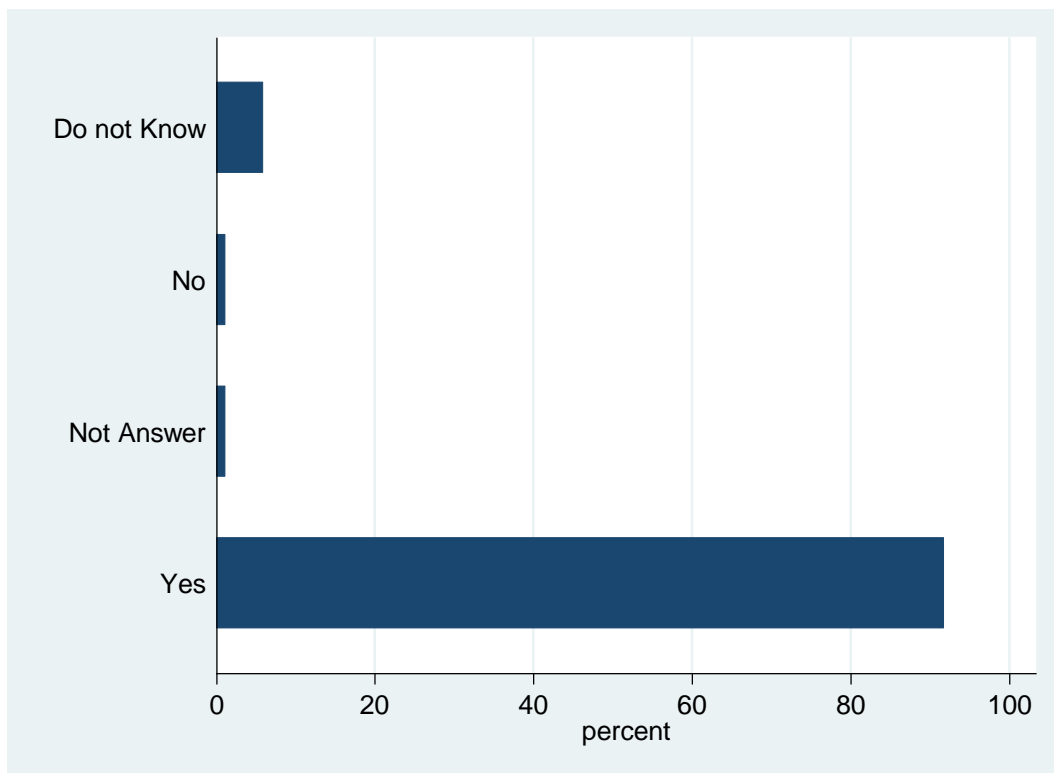


Figure 5.11: People’s views on politicization of bureaucracy have negative effect over government officials

So, most of the people think that politicization of bureaucracy has negative effect over government officials.

## 12. Pressure of Politicization over Bureaucrat's Activities:

From the public side, most of the respondent's 89.4% mentioned that civil servants are in the pressure of politicization to perform their routine roles. Around 4.5% said they don't think so and others gave no response.

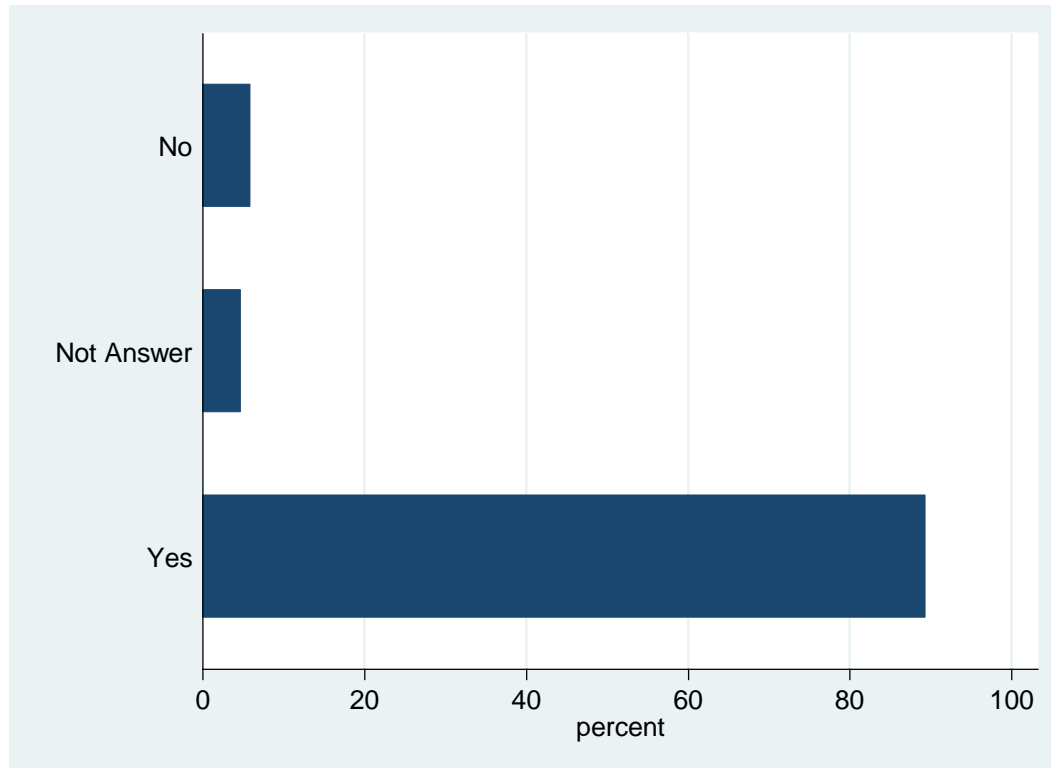


Figure 5.12: Respondent's views on civil servants are in the pressure of politicization to perform their routine roles

It has observed that although civil service of Bangladesh as a neutral organization is subject to political interference because when bureaucrats go to work independently, it is largely subject to political interference. Whenever the party government came to power in Bangladesh, they considered the bureaucracy as their political institution. Ministers, MPs and even political activists try to influence bureaucrats. As a result, the Bangladesh Civil Service wanted to establish itself as a neutral organization, but it was not possible in the political context of Bangladesh.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Interview with Rahmatullah (Anonymous), *ibid*.

However, another interviewee expressed different opinion. He observed that there are two sorts of activities of the bureaucrats. One is to work in policy formulation. And another is to work on the field to implement the development measures of the country. Bureaucrats have played both roles. In the case of policy formulation, they are opened to take opinions from the relevant political stakeholders. They provide them their valuable opinions. They highly welcome dissent. In policy formulation he didn't noticed any political interference rather he observed effective dissent on the pertinent issues. And in case of working at the field-level, one can notice some requests from the root-level stakeholders. But the administration doesn't entertain their request<sup>25</sup>.

So, from the analysis it has been seen that Bangladesh bureaucracy have to face political pressure during performing their roles.

### **13. Types of Barriers the Bureaucrats have to Face in Performing their Roles:**

It is observed that in Bangladesh, bureaucrats have to face many challenges in performing their roles. Journalist Sohrab Hasan viewed,

“A country is run on the basis of its political programs and ideologies. The bureaucrats implement that political ideology. But in many cases, we can see that the government goes beyond its political program and corrupts one institution and in that case, it cannot remain neutral in any institution”.<sup>26</sup>

In the current context of Bangladesh, it is happening, but in a different direction, it is often seen that bureaucrats give opportunities to the political government in their own interest or in the interest of the group. Which in turn helps them in interesting postings and other matters.

The bar chart shows that 28.2% respondents said bureaucrats have to face political pressure in performing their roles. And 64.7% said bureaucrats have to face in performing their roles like political pressure, lack of efficiency and corruption.

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<sup>25</sup> Interview with Rahmatullah (Anonymous), *ibid*.

<sup>26</sup> Interview with Sohrab Hasan, *ibid*.

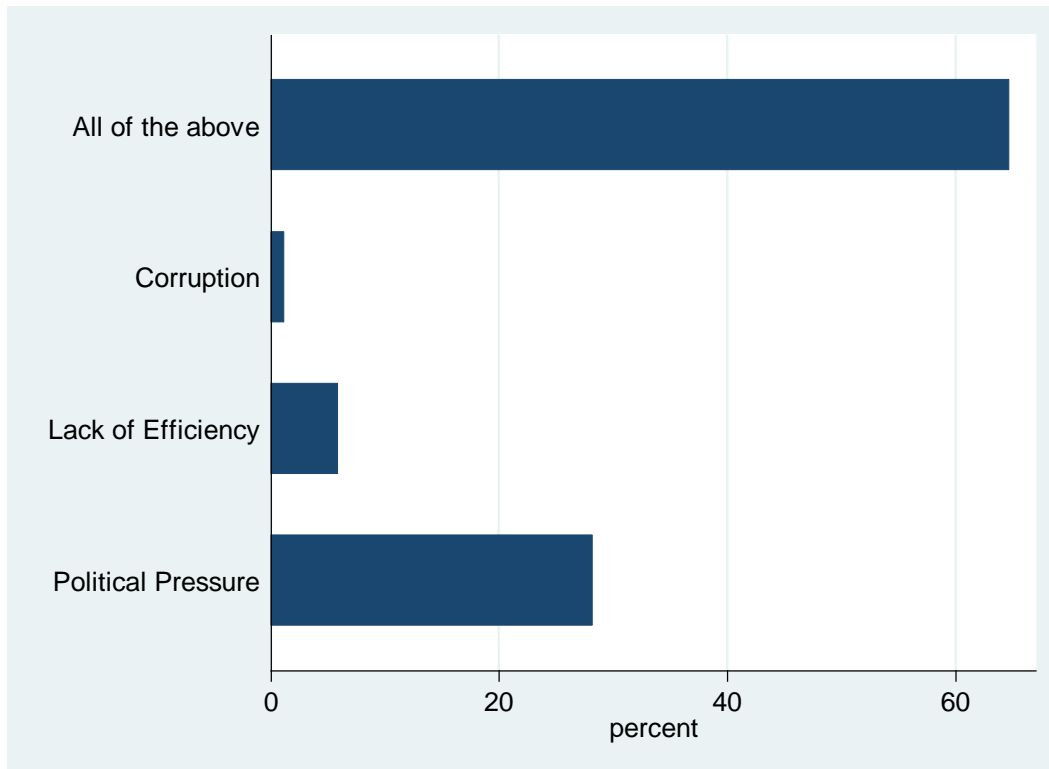


Figure 5.13: Types of barriers the bureaucrats have to face in performing their roles

So, it can be said that bureaucrats have to face in performing their roles like political pressure, lack of efficiency and corruption.

#### **14. Effect of Politicization Over Selection, Promotion and Lucrative Posting of Bureaucrats:**

It is observed that politicization affects the selection, promotion and attractive posting of bureaucrats. In the case of important postings of the government, it is noticed whether he is loyal to a particular party i.e., attractive postings, promotions and bureaucrats are selected on the basis of loyalty.<sup>27</sup>

Similar view mentioned by another interviewee,

“Politicization certainly affects the selection, promotion and attractive posting of bureaucrats. Because in the current context, loyalty is more important than merit. The more loyal that government is to the party, the easier it is to get promotions and attractive postings”.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Interview with Professor Akther Hossain, *ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> Interview with kalim Ahmed (Anonymous), *ibid.*

He also mentioned that some of his colleagues performed their duties with impartial honesty and justice while others acted like political party workers to satisfy their base interests. As a result, those who were loyal to the political party were given more priority in promotion.

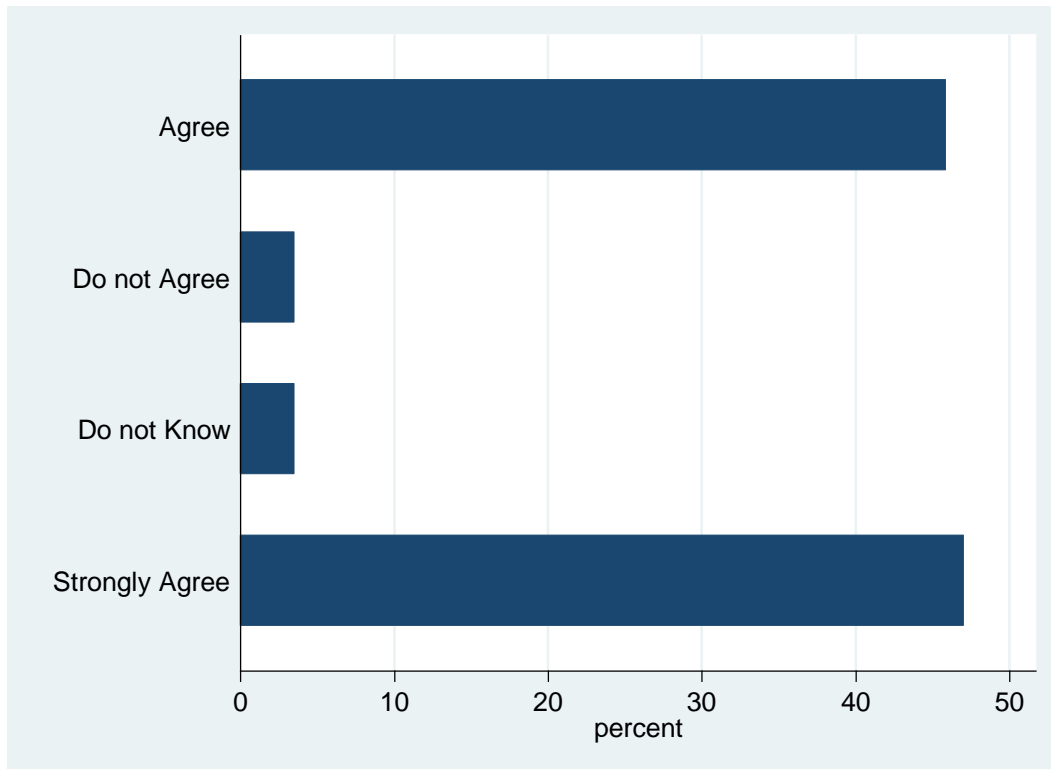


Figure 5.14: Effect of politicization over selection, promotion and lucrative posting of bureaucrats

The chart shows 47.1% respondents strongly agree that politicization affect over selection, promotion and lucrative post of bureaucrat. And 45.9% respondents agree that politicization affect over selection, promotion and lucrative post of bureaucrat. And other 4.7% said do not agree with that.

It is also observed that politicization only affects when the deserving people are not given the right place according to their qualifications but the unqualified people are placed in that place. Because of loyalty, many people get job opportunities politically.

Sohrab Hasan argued,

In the current context of Bangladesh, it is happening, but in a different direction, it is often seen that bureaucrats give opportunities to the political

government in their own interest or in the interest of the group. Which in turn helps them in interesting postings and other matters”.<sup>29</sup>

In many countries, the ruling parties employ various tactics to keep the administration on their side, and promotion is one these tactics. Promotion grants an official social status and financial benefits. This is also a common practice in Bangladesh, and different governments have done it in the past. Those who have been promoted must be given responsibilities, or growing disappointment might lead to dissent in the administration.

So, in Bangladesh it is common that politicization affect over selection, promotion and lucrative posting of bureaucrats.

### **15. Partisan Based Punishment:**

It is observed that many bureaucrats were being OSD because they enjoyed various important benefits during the previous government. With the change of government, the officers who enjoyed that opportunity were given OSD. In the same way, when the government changed, many of those who violated neutrality and behaved like political activists of the government during the next government were given OSD.

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<sup>29</sup> Interview with Sohrab Hasan, *ibid*.



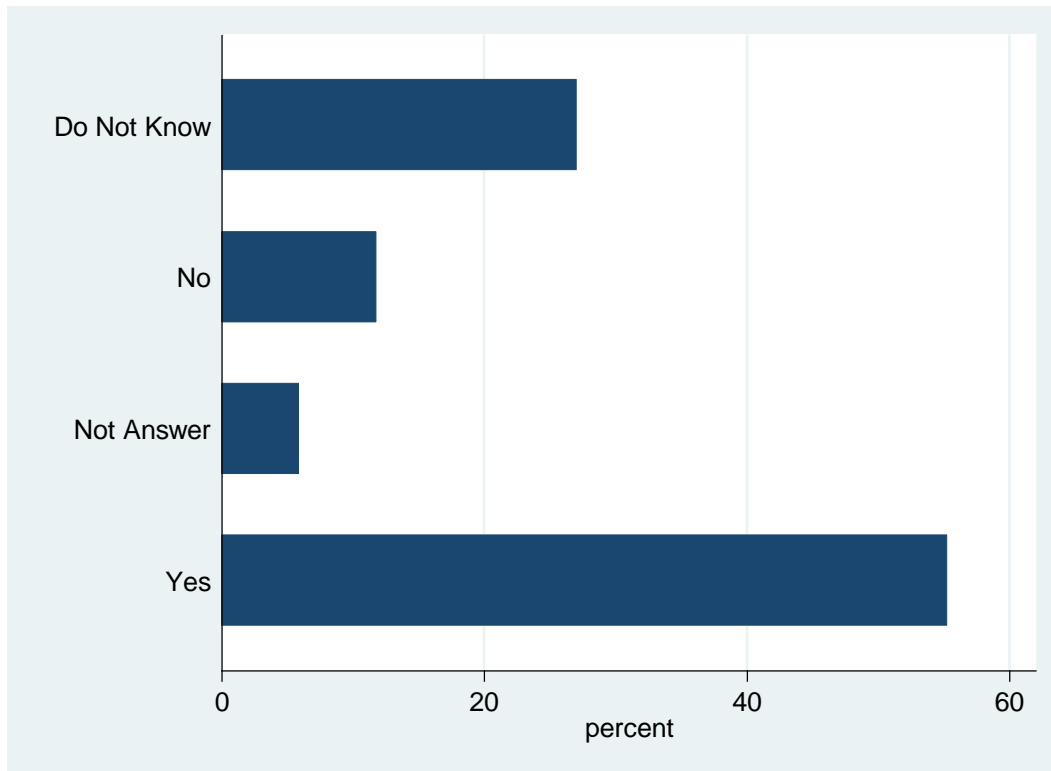


Figure 5.15: Supporters of the opposition are mostly being made Officers on Special Duty (OSD) on partisan basis (Respondent's views)

Here, 55.3% respondents said they think supporters of the opposition are mostly being made Officers on Special Duty (OSD) on partisan basis and 11.8% respondents said they don't think so. and others 27.1% said they don't know.

An interviewee mentioned that many of his colleagues formed alliances with the ruling party out of greed for special privileges. As a result, when the government changed, they had to face many deprivations. Many of them were transferred to remote areas of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Moreover, many neutral people who did not bow to the political interests of the ruling party were not promoted. It has been seen that a person who qualifies to be a secretary has to retire from the post of joint secretary<sup>30</sup>.

<sup>30</sup> Interview with Rahmatullah (Anonymous), *ibid*.

Another interviewee mentioned that,

“A couple of my colleagues have faced a certain level of adverse impact of the politicization. Politicization can hinder promotion which can lead to severe depression to qualified bureaucrats”.<sup>31</sup>

So, it is observed that in Bangladesh, partisan based politics is a common feature and supporters of the opposition are mostly being made Officers on Special Duty (OSD) on partisan basis.

### 16. Main Problem to Ensure Good Governance and Development:

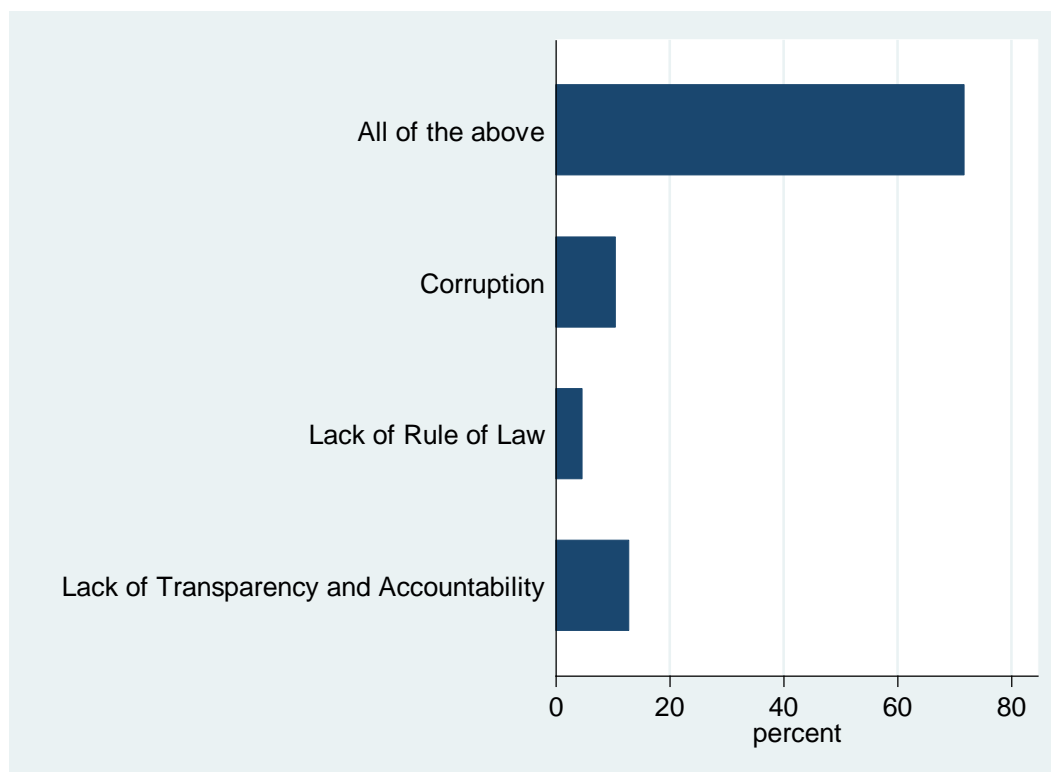


Figure 5.16: Main problem to ensure good governance and development (Respondent’s views)

The bar chart shows that 12.9% respondents said the main problem to ensure good governance and development is lack of transparency and accountability and 10.6% said corruption is the main problem to ensure good governance and development and other

<sup>31</sup> Interview with kalim Ahmed (Anonymous), *ibid*.

71.8% said corruption, lack of rule of law and lack of transparency and accountability are the main problems for ensuring good governance and development.

So, lack of transparency and accountability, lack of the rule of law, and corruption are the main problems to ensure good governance and development.

### 17. Impact of Politicization of Bureaucracy at National Level:

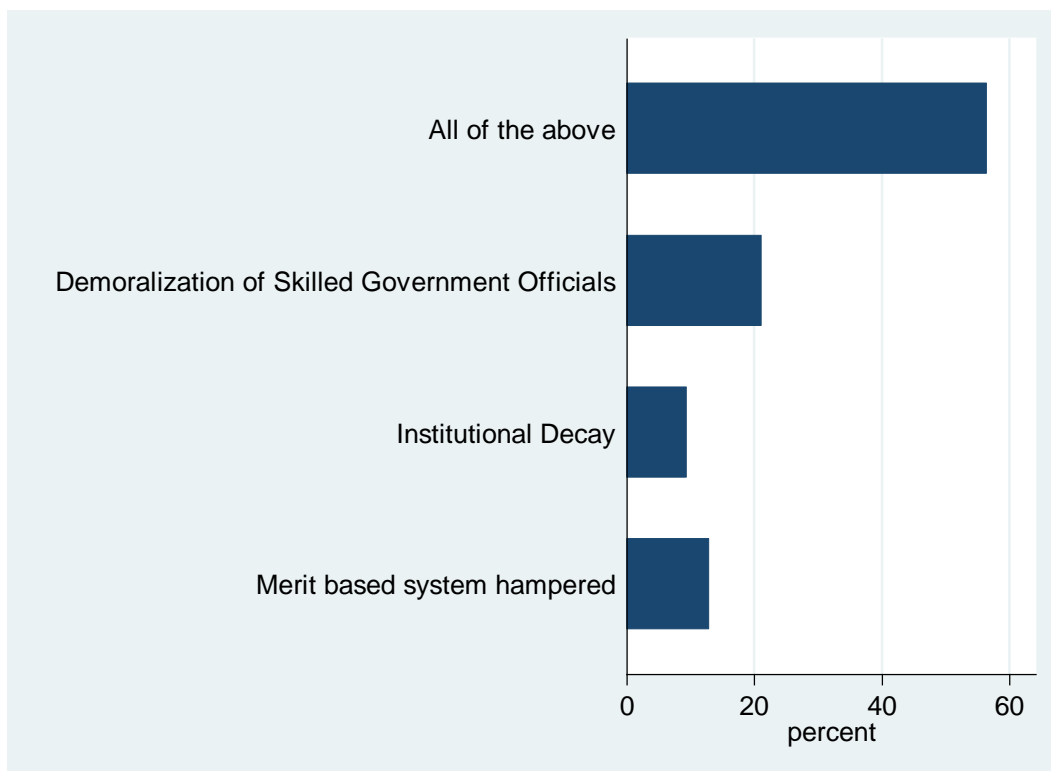


Figure 5.17: Impact of politicization of bureaucracy at national level

The bar chart shows that 12.9% respondents said merit-based system will be hampered. And 21.2% said there will be demoralization of skilled government officials. And other 9.4 % said there will be institutional decay. But 56.5% said that politicization hampered merit-based system, demoralized skilled government officials and there will be institutional decay.

So, it can be said that because of politicization merit-based system will be hampered, there will be demoralization of skilled government officials and there will be institutional decay.

### 18. Impact over Politicization of Bureaucracy on Good Governance:

The chart shows that 17.6% respondents said politicization of bureaucracy has positive impact on good governance. And 61.2% respondents said politicization of bureaucracy has negative impact on good governance. And others 18.8% said they don't know.

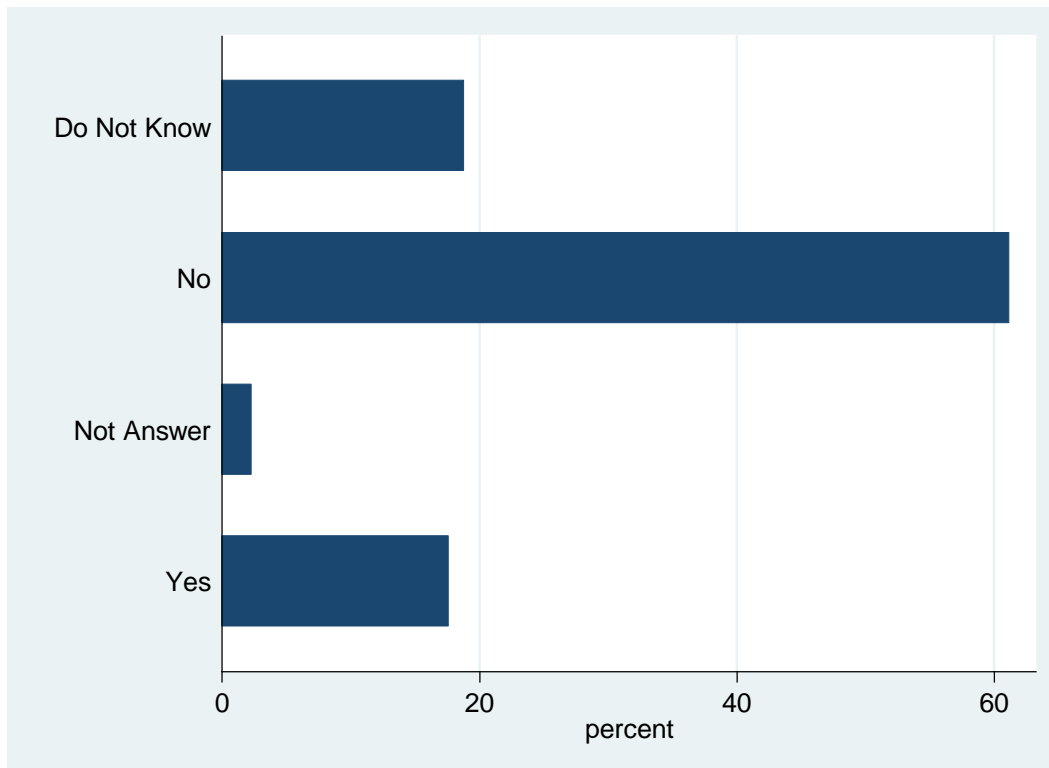


Figure 5.18: Impact over politicization of bureaucracy on good governance

Professor Akhter Hossain viewed,

“Because of the politicization of the bureaucracy, deserving people are not able to go to the deserving places and the unqualified people occupying their place, as a result of which the unqualified people are failing to provide their desired services to the people. And, thus the politicization of bureaucracy has emerged as the main obstacle in the way of good governance.”<sup>32</sup>

Sunbin Islam, an Assistant Professor of Political Science at University of Barisal, mentioned different opinion that partisan polarization in bureaucracy affects the policy making process of government. The government in power can directly appointed their

<sup>32</sup> Interview with Professor Akhter Hossain, *ibid.*

‘pro-government’ supporters as the high officials in all the sectors which speeds up the force of work. The government can execute, implement and approve the rules, regulations and policies smoothly and fluently. ‘The red-tape’ system can never be implication for the partisan bureaucracy. The gridlock in the bureaucratic system will be overcome and consistent of working systematically address new design and interaction among public through ‘representative of people’. The lingering of decision making also removed from the workstation in civil bureaucrats. <sup>33</sup>

Politicization is considered a major obstacle to good governance in the country because at different times we see political leaders illegally gaining many benefits with the help of bureaucrats which is never beneficial for a state.

### 19. Respondent’s Views on Increasing Politicization of Bureaucracy:

The chart shows that 90.6% respondents said politicization of bureaucracy is increasing day by day. And rest of the respondents said they don’t think so.

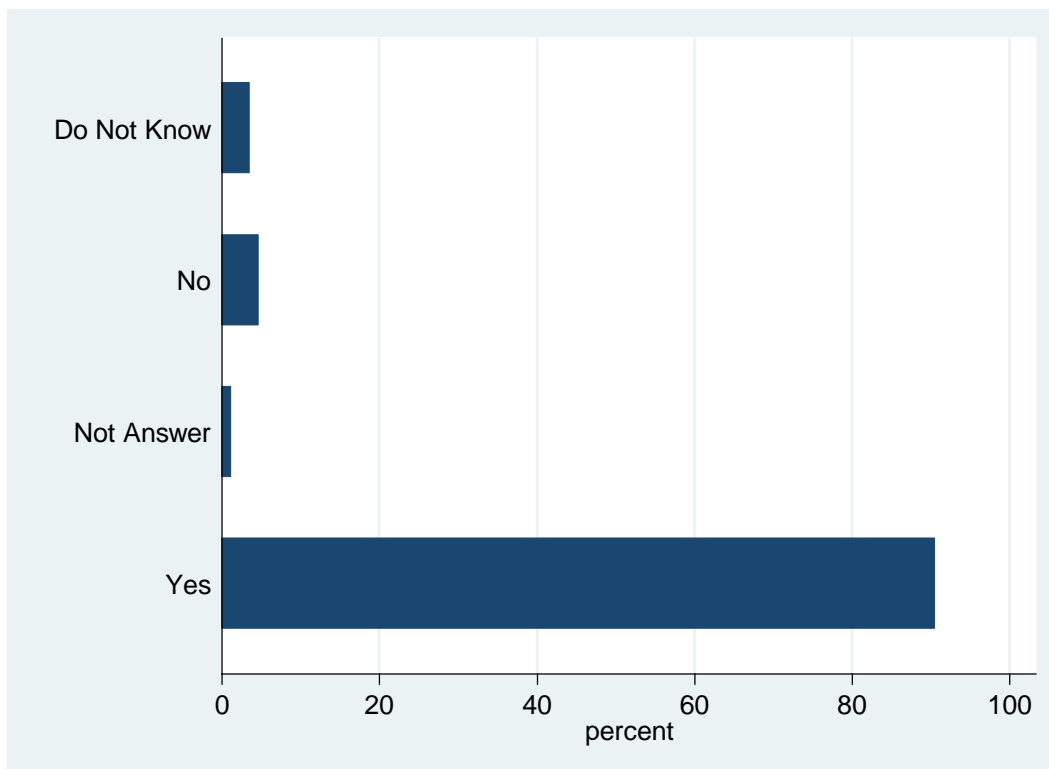


Figure 5.19: Impact over politicization of bureaucracy on good governance

<sup>33</sup> Interview with Sunbin Islam, October 13, 2020.

An interviewee mentioned,

“The politicization of the bureaucracy is on the rise. At present, government bureaucrats are behaving like political activists”.<sup>34</sup>

Another interviewee argued,

“Bureaucratic politicization is on rise. Because bureaucrats are constantly getting more involved with political parties than before, which shows that the political influence within the bureaucracy is increasing significantly”.<sup>35</sup>

So, it can be that in Bangladesh, the politicization of bureaucracy is rising.

## 20. Connection between Politicization of Bureaucracy and Massive Corruption:

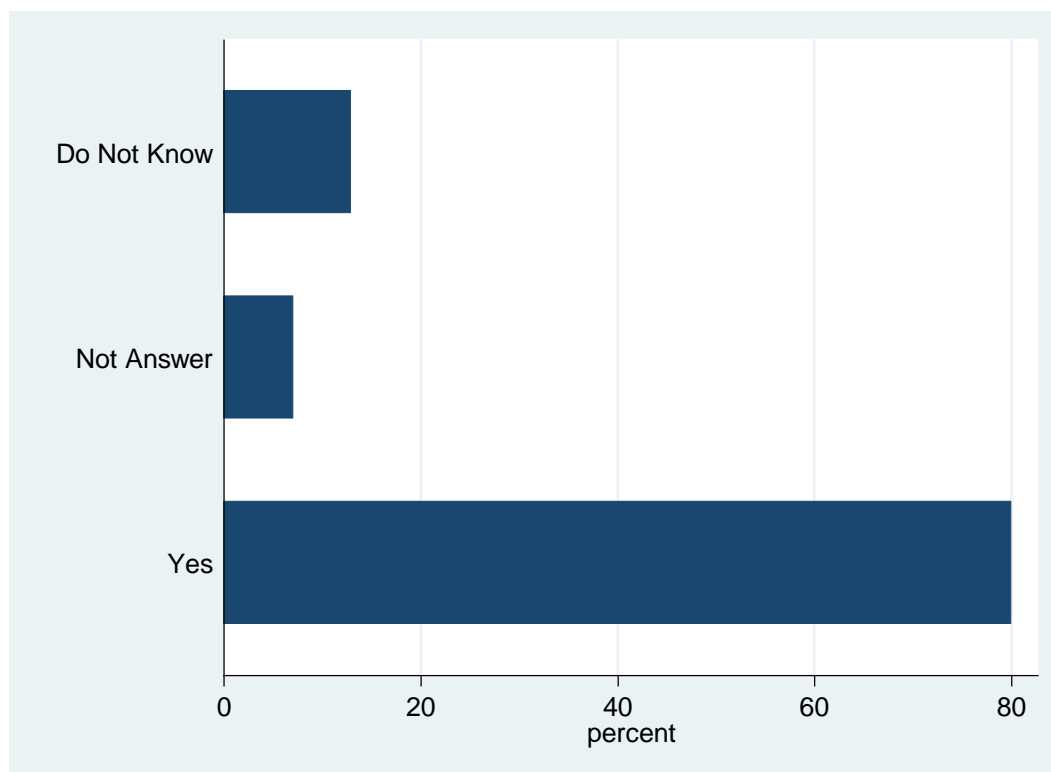


Figure 5.20: Connection between politicization of bureaucracy and massive corruption in national level (Respondents views)

<sup>34</sup> Interview with Professor Akhter Hossain, *ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> Interview with Shahriar Islam, *ibid.*

The chart shows that 80% respondents said there is connection between politicization of bureaucracy and massive corruption in national level. And 12.9% respondents said they don't know about this. And others 7.1% respondents gave no response. So, it can be said that there is close connection between politicization of bureaucracy and massive corruption in national level.

## **5.2. Discussion:**

Here about 51.8% respondents mentioned that bureaucracy of Bangladesh is politically involved and responsive to particular political party. And 12.9% respondents said Bangladesh bureaucracy is mixture of competent or incompetent officials, politically neutral or more politically involve and responsive. So, politicization of bureaucracy has become very prominent phenomenon in the public sphere of Bangladesh in recent time. In this study about 55.3% respondents said politicians has role of doing all of the work such as governance and development, policy implantation and policy formulation. And 16.5% respondents said politicians work for only governance and development. So, it has been showed that politicians have role of doing all of these like governance and development, policy implementation and formulation. The study has been showed that about 83.5% respondents said politicians and bureaucrats are characteristically separate and their roles and functions should be distinct. But 12.9% respondents said there is no distinction between the role and functions of politicians and bureaucrats. Although most of the respondent's desired that politician and bureaucrat's role and function should be distinct but the situation is different in Bangladesh in most of the occasions. Here, about 52.9% respondents said bureaucrats, politicians and civil society, all of them are responsible for ensuring good governance and development. And 11.8% said bureaucrats are more responsible for ensuring good governance and development. It can be said that in Bangladesh, bureaucrats, politicians and civil society, all of them are responsible for ensuring good governance and development. It has been observed that about 51.8% respondents said both politicians and bureaucrats dominate governance issues in national level. And 9.4% said only bureaucrats dominate governance issues in national level. So, in Bangladesh, both politicians and bureaucrats dominate governance issues in national level. It has been showed that nearly 57.6% respondents said politicians and bureaucrats, none of them are transparent on their work. So, it has been observed that people have no faith upon both politicians and bureaucrats. Here about 55.3% respondents said

politicians depend mostly on bureaucrats in the ministry. And about 29.4% said they don't think that politicians always depend on bureaucrats in the ministry. Both politician and bureaucrat need to work mutually together for the betterment of the country. It has been observed that about 45.9% respondents strongly agree that Ministers dominate their office through political biasness. And others 12.9% respondents do not agree with that. Minister have to take control of the ministry and the secretary has a role to play in formulating the policy. Here, about 44.7% respondents said influence of Bureaucrats over Bangladesh Government is strong. And others 15.3% said not that bureaucrats have not so much influence over Bangladesh. But in recent times it has been showed that bureaucracy has great influence over Bangladesh Government. Here, about 67.1% respondents said bureaucrats are working more politically than public. And 9.4% said bureaucrats are working in legal and rational process. It has been shown that bureaucrats are working as partisan basis than neutral. It has been observed that around 91.9% respondents said politicization of bureaucracy has negative effect over government officials. And 9.2% said politicization of bureaucracy has no negative effect over government officials. Here, most of the people think that politicization of bureaucracy has negative effect over government officials. The study has been showed that around 89.4% mentioned that civil servants are in the pressure of politicization to perform their routine roles. Around 4.5% said they don't think that civil servants have to face any problems. So, it has been seen that Bangladesh bureaucracy has to face political pressure during performing their roles. Here, around 64.7% respondents said bureaucrats have to face in performing their roles like political pressure, lack of efficiency and corruption. And rest of the 28.2% respondents said bureaucrats have to face political pressure in performing their roles. So, it can be said that bureaucrats have to face political pressure, lack of efficiency and corruption in performing their roles. It has been observed that about 47.1% respondents strongly agree that politicization affect over selection, promotion and lucrative post of bureaucrat. And other 4.7% do not agree with that. So, in Bangladesh, politicization affect over selection, promotion and lucrative posting of bureaucrats. Here, about 55.3% respondents said they think supporters of the opposition are mostly being made Officers on Special Duty (OSD) on partisan basis and 11.8% respondents said they don't think so. So, it has been observed that in Bangladesh partisan based politics is a common feature and supporters of the opposition are mostly being made Officers on Special Duty (OSD) on partisan basis. It has been showed that about 71.8% respondents



said that the main problems to ensure good governance and development like lack of transparency and accountability, lack of the rule of law, and corruption. And 10.6% said corruption is the main problem to ensure good governance and development. So, all of these are the main problems to ensure good governance and development in Bangladesh. The study has been showed that about 56.5% said politicization hampered merit-based system, demoralized skilled government officials and institutional decay. And other 9.4 % said there will be institutional decay because of politicization. So, it has been observed that because of politicization merit-based system will be hampered, there will be demoralization of skilled government officials and institutional decay. It has been showed that about 61.2% respondents said politicization of bureaucracy has negative impact on good governance and other 17.6% respondents said politicization of bureaucracy has positive impact on good governance. Though politicization of bureaucracy has some positive sides but it creates hamper on good governance process. Here, around 90.6% respondents said politicization of bureaucracy is increasing day by day. And rest of the respondents said they don't think so. But, in recent time, the politicization of bureaucracy is rising. The study has been observed that around 80% respondents think that there is connection between politicization of bureaucracy and massive corruption in national level. So, it can be said that there is close connection between politicization of bureaucracy and massive corruption in national level.

### **5.3. Conclusion:**

The study has been shown that in recent times politicization of bureaucracy is rising on high. Politicization of bureaucracy become prominent phenomenon in the public sphere of Bangladesh. Bureaucrats are working as partisan basis than neutral. It has also been observed that bureaucrats have to face political pressure during performing their roles. Politicization affect over selection, promotion and lucrative posting of bureaucrats and the supporters of the opposition are mostly being made OSD on partisan basis. Every government try to politicize bureaucracy for their own interest.

It has been observed that politicization of bureaucracy has negative impact over civil servants. Because of politicization merit-based system will be hampered and there will be demoralization of skilled government officials and it also occurred institutional decay. Politicians want to politicized bureaucracy for their purpose and some bureaucrats also

want to be politicized for their self-interest. It creates massive corruption on national level.

The study has been observed that lack of transparency and accountability, lack of rule of law and corruption are the main hindrance to ensure good governance and development. In Bangladesh, both politician and bureaucrat are responsible for ensuring good governance and development. The politicians have role of doing all of the activities like governance and development, policy implementation and formation. Both politician and bureaucrat dominate governance issues in national level. The Minister take control of the ministry and the secretary has a role to play in formulating the policy. Both politician and bureaucrat need to work mutually together for the betterment of the country.

## Chapter Six

### Conclusion and Recommendation

#### 6.1. Introduction:

This concluding chapter summarizes the empirical findings of the study's analysis of politicization of bureaucracy and how it effects on good governance in Bangladesh.

The chapter brings together findings that directly address the aims and objectives of the study stated at the outset. The first concerns the relationship between politicians and bureaucrats. The second considers the dominant actor of politicization in the process of good governance. The third entails the mechanism of politicization of bureaucracy. The fourth examines the overall impact of polarization over bureaucracy and how it effects on good governance process in the country. The fifth observes is there any positive effects of politicization exist over bureaucrats in good governance process of the country. Here we take each in turn.

#### **The Relationship between Politicians and Bureaucrats:**

A major finding of this study shows that there is a good and warm relation between bureaucrats and politicians. Ministers take guidance, suggestions from the bureaucrats and bureaucrats try to analyze the present situations and formulate possible solutions of the problems. Bureaucrats assist the politicians and politicians also intently listen to their advice. Politicians and bureaucrats work together to achieve the welfare of the citizens. Minister's don't have enough time to review all the policies. They have to meet so many engagements. Hence, bureaucrats have the obligation to honestly guide the ministers. They have the obligation to assess the ramifications of the policies properly and manifest those to the ministers. Though there are some allegations of political interference. Some findings show that there is some political interference which creates problem between politicians and bureaucrats. And some other findings also show that how the government can execute, implement and approve the rules, regulations and policies smoothly and fluently. 'The red-tape' system can never be implication for the partisan bureaucracy.

### **Why and How politicians want to Politicize Bureaucrats?**

A major finding shows that it is not true that only politicians want to politicize bureaucrats. But bureaucrats also want to politicize for their own interest. Politicians want to politicize bureaucracy for their narrow political will. The bureaucrats used to keep them busy to maintain a good connection with ruling political party to gain special advantages and profits that results in poor governance in the country and anguishing mass people.

### **The Dominant Actor of Politicization in the Process of Good Governance:**

Another major finding of this study is that both politicians and bureaucrats are the dominant actors of politicization in the process of good governance. If their goals and objectives are the same, that is to help the government achieve its desired goals. When the government announce a plan, the politicians give instructions to implement that plan and the bureaucrats do the work of implementing the plan. Thus, the politicians and bureaucrats play an essential role in running a country and complement each other. And some findings also show how bureaucrats are being politicized. Finding shows that when bureaucrats are appointed, they are not members of any party, but they still support one party in their mind. But after they appointed, they openly support the ruling party. They express their political side more than their responsibility. While performing the duties of the government, they continued to perform the duties of the political parties. The bureaucracy, that is, the administrative structure of the country, works in the interest of every citizen of the country, be it the government party, or the opposition party. During the tenure of any government, the politicization of the bureaucracy is complete only if the political government uses the bureaucracy for their party interests. Later, the opposition also wants to keep the bureaucracy on its side. And those who once enjoyed too many privileges have to face various harassment. Findings also show that some bureaucrats tried to be politicized for their self- interest.

### **The Mechanism of Politicization of Bureaucracy:**

Here, we observed that the main mechanism of politicization of bureaucracy is divided into two parts. One is reward system and other is punishment system. In reward system there are recruitment, promotion, lucrative transfer, posting in ministry, higher training and scholarship. And in punishment system there are Officers on Special Duty (OSD),

dismiss from the job, posting in less important ministry and transfer of rural or hill tracks area. We see that every government try to politicize bureaucracy. Because of party loyalty many bureaucrats get opportunities and on the other hand who did not show party loyalty, many of them were being OSD and transferred to remote area or hill tracks area. And many of them who were neutral and did not bow to the political party interests of the ruling party were not promoted.

### **The Overall Impact of Politicization of Bureaucracy and How it Effects on Good Governance Process in the Country:**

The politicization of bureaucracy created division in the public administration. Every civil servant is busy with tailgating of a particular political party. As a result, the main objective of public administration is to disrupt public service. A review of the bureaucracy and politics of countries like Bangladesh shows that those who believes in any ideology outside the ruling party are kept as OSD. When the turn of power changes again, all these OSD sufferers are holding lucrative positions in Government. The politicization of bureaucracy creates the division of administration which is harmful for the country and the nation.

If in everywhere there is politicization of bureaucracy, the administration will become incompetent. Thus, politicization of bureaucracy is hindering the quality of good governance and the people of the country have to suffer in the long run.

### **If There are any Positive Effects of Politicization Exists over Bureaucrats in Good Governance Process of the Country:**

Findings show that there are some positive impacts of politicization of bureaucracy. The government can execute, implement and approve the rules, regulations and policies smoothly and fluently. ‘The red-tape’ system can never be implication for the partisan bureaucracy. The gridlock in the bureaucratic system will be overcome and consistent of working systematically address new design and interaction among public through ‘representative of people’. A major finding also shows that if the system of government is short-term, the skilled bureaucrats in government can play a key role in the implementation of long-term developmental socio-economic plans. Adoption and

implementation of socio-economic development projects of the government and maximum welfare will be possible through it.

**Recommendation:**

There are some recommendations in the following:

**Establishment of Neutral and Autonomous Public Service Commission:**

It is important to establish neutral and autonomous Public Service Commission to confirm merit-based selection of civil servants and also introducing a transparent and competitive selection procedure to welcome best candidates, without any political influence.

**Reducing Extreme Centralization of Functions:**

It is important to reduce excessive centralization of functions and developing administrative and financial authority to lower tiers, with effective oversights. So, power needs to be decentralized. In a centralized system it is too late to make a decision. So, with the decentralization of power and addition of digital systems, we can hopefully address some of the shortcomings in good governance.

**Indorse Impartiality and Eradicate Opportunities for Political Influences at all Level of Civil Administration:**

It should be expanding the role of Public Service Commission (PSC) from a recruiting agency to one that professionally supervises all aspects of the bureaucracy's functioning, and command parliamentary committees to approve senior civil service appointments; proposed by the PSC, to ensure that they are made on merit rather than personal or political affiliation, followed by a vote in parliament. There should be guaranteed safety of occupation and deliver civil servants legal protection against postings, transfers and promotions if they are conflicting to the due process of law. It should be empowered the Service Tribunal to monitor postings and transfers, and review civil servants' complaints about arbitrary transfers and performance of civil servants be taken into account for further promotion, posting or transfers.

## **6.2. Conclusion:**

The study shows that though, politicization of bureaucracy has some positive impacts such as the government can execute, implement and approve the rules, regulations and policies smoothly and fluently. 'The red-tape' system can never be implication for the partisan bureaucracy. The gridlock in the bureaucratic system will be overcome and consistent of working systematically address new design and interaction among public through 'representative of people'. But extreme politicization hampers the bureaucratic system. As a result of this horrific politicization and partnership, the bureaucracy has lost its neutral character. Although the politicians of the ruling party and some bureaucrats have benefited from it, but the people are suffering from it. The rights of all citizens to access service is being curtailed. The country's administrative system is being damaged. Field level administration is particularly notable. Government employees are continued to participate in political activities which is violation of official code of conduct. If less qualified applicants get employed in the civil services and recommended to various significant positions, they will not be able to deliver quality facilities to the public. Bureaucrats remain busy in lobbying with political party instead of trying to increase their competences meanwhile party loyalty and strength of lobbying are the only criteria for getting promotion. This politicization of bureaucracy is impeding the quality of governance and the people of the country are suffering to meet their needs. So, for the sake of nationwide welfare and the contentment of the people's aspirations, the process of politicization of bureaucracy must be stopped.

The study used public responses to understand the politics-bureaucracy relations and its impact on good governance, something that has not been done before. The use of empirical data from in-depth interviews of academicians, researchers, politicians, journalists and the public responses to the semi-structured questionnaire survey and a variety of secondary materials represented a new approach to studying the politicization of bureaucracy and its impact on good governance.

This study has corroborated previous findings and added novel insights regarding the present bureaucratic style of Bangladesh which can be plied to form appropriate policy suggestions to reduce politicization of bureaucracy at local and national level.

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## Appendices

### Appendix -1

#### List of Interviewee for In-depth Interviews

No.	Name	Profession and Designation	Interview Dates
1.	Dr. Akhter Hossain	Professor of Public Administration at University of Dhaka	3 <sup>rd</sup> September, 2020
2.	Md. Shahriar Islam	Assistant Professor of Public Administration at University of Dhaka	10 <sup>th</sup> September, 2020
3.	Sunbin Islam	Assistant Professor of Political Science at University of Barishal	13 <sup>th</sup> October, 2020
4.	Sohrab Hasan	Senior Journalist at The Daily Prothom Alo	25 <sup>th</sup> September, 2020
5.	Mizanur Rahman Khan	Senior Journalist at The Daily Prothom Alo	20 <sup>th</sup> September, 2020
6.	Mobasser Ribon	Journalist at The Daily Prothom Alo	1 <sup>st</sup> October, 2020
7.	Rahmatullah (Anonymous)	Ret. Govt. Officer, Joint Director, Finance Ministry	15 <sup>th</sup> September, 2020
8.	Kalim Ahmed (Anonymous)	Former BRTA Chairman	5 <sup>th</sup> October, 2020
9.	Rahim Uddin (Anonymous)	Ret. Govt. Officer, Joint Secretary Ministry of Environment, Forest and Climate Change	10 <sup>th</sup> October, 2020
10.	Siddik Rahman	Joint Secretary, Dhaka Mahanagar Uttar, Darussalam Thana Unit, Bangladesh Awami League.	6 <sup>th</sup> October, 2020
11.	Fahim Ahmed	Vice president, Central Committee of Youth Wing, Bangladesh Nationalist Party.	12 <sup>th</sup> October, 2020

**Appendix -2**

**Politicisation of Bureaucracy and Good Governance in Bangladesh**

**Survey Questionnaire (Confidential)**

- Schedule No. 1. Students
2. Professionals
3. Teachers
4. Political Parties
5. Conscious People

Name of the Respondent:

(In Block Letters)

Address of the Respondent: .....

.....

.....

Signature of the interviewer with date:

## Survey Questionnaire

1. What do you think about the bureaucracy of Bangladesh?
  - A. Politically Neutral
  - B. Mixture of Competent and Incompetent
  - C. Politically Involve and Responsiveness
  - D. All of the Above
2. How will you evaluate the role of a politician?
  - A. Policy formulation
  - B. Policy Implementation
  - C. Governance and development
  - D. All of the above
3. What is the main problem to ensure good governance and development in Bangladesh?
  - A. Lack of Rule of Law
  - B. Lack of Accountability
  - C. Corruption
  - D. All of the above
4. Do you think that politicians and bureaucrats are characteristically separate and their roles and functions should be distinct?
  - A. Yes
  - B. No
  - C. No Response
  - D. Do not know
5. Who is more responsible for ensuring governance and development in Bangladesh?
  - A. Politicians
  - B. Bureaucrats
  - C. Civil Society
  - D. All of the above
6. Who dominates the governance issues in national level?
  - A. Politicians
  - B. Bureaucrats
  - C. Both
  - D. None of them

7. Who is comparatively more transparent in his work?

- A. Politicians
- B. Bureaucrats
- C. Both
- D. None

8. Do you find that politicization of government has effect negatively over government officials?

- A. Yes
- B. No
- C. Do not Know
- D. Not Answered

9. Do you think that civil servants of Bangladesh are in pressure of politicization to perform their routine roles?

- A. Yes
- B. No
- C. Do not Know
- D. Not Answered

10. Do you think that politicians depend mostly on bureaucrats in the ministry?

- A. Yes
- B. No
- C. Do not Know
- D. Not Answered

11. Which types of barriers do the bureaucrats have to face in performing their roles?

- A. Political Pressure
- B. Corruption
- C. Lack of Efficiency
- D. All of above

12. In many cases, ministers completely dominate their offices through political biasness, do you agree with this?

- A. Strongly Agree
- B. Agree
- C. Do not Agree
- D. Do not Know



13. Do you think that is politicization of bureaucracy increasing day by day?

- A. Yes
- B. No
- C. Do not Know
- D. Not Answered

14. Is politicization effecting over selection, promotion and lucrative posting of bureaucrat?

- A. Strongly Agree
- B. Agree
- C. Do not Agree
- D. Do not Know

15. How much influence of bureaucrats has over Bangladesh government in recent years?

- A. Very Strong
- B. Strong
- C. Not that much
- D. Not at all

16. How do you evaluate the role of bureaucrats in recent times?

- A. Working in Legal and Rational Process
- B. Working more political than Governmental service
- C. Completely Partisan
- D. Not Answered

17. Do you think that supporters of the opposition are mostly being made Officer on Special Duty (OSD) on partisan basis?

- A. Yes
- B. No
- C. Do not Know
- D. Not Answered

18. What is the impact of politicization over bureaucrats in national level?

- A. Merit based system hampered
- B. Demoralization of Skilled Government Officials
- C. Institutional Decay
- D. All of the above

19. Is there any positive impact over politicization of bureaucracy in Bangladesh? If yes, please mention it.

- A. Yes
- B. No
- C. Do not Know
- D. Not Answered

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20. Is there any connection between politicization of bureaucracy and massive corruption in national level? If yes, please mention how?

- A. Yes
- B. No
- C. Do not Know
- D. Not Answered

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### Appendix-3

#### Questionnaire 1: In-depth Interviews for Civil Servant's/Bureaucrat's

- 1.How will you evaluate bureaucracy as a part of neutral, non-political and professional organization?
- 2.How much colonial legacy present in the present administrative system in Bangladesh?
- 3.Do you think that bureaucrats are free from political interference? Discuss why and how?
- 4.Do you think that bureaucrats are in the pressure of politicization during performing their routine roles?
- 5.Do you think that politicians depend mostly on bureaucrats in the ministry?
- 6.Which types of barriers do the bureaucrats have to face in performing their roles?
- 7.In many cases, ministers completely dominate their offices politically, what is your opinion about it?
- 8.As a bureaucrat, have you faced any political pressure in performing your duties? Is so, how you have handled this situation?
- 9.In which regime there was extreme political interfere in bureaucracy?
10. Do you think that politicization of bureaucracy is increasing day by day? Explain.
- 11.Is politicization effect over selection, promotion and lucrative post of bureaucrats? What is your opinion about it?
- 12.Has any of your colleagues being privileged due to politicization? Which types of treatment it was?
- 13.Has any of your colleagues being harassed or discriminated by the politicization? Which types of treatment it was?
- 14.As per your knowledge is anyone became OSD or discriminated for political reason?
- 15.How much influence of bureaucracy over government in Bangladesh in recent years?
- 16.How will you evaluate the role of bureaucrat in good governance process of Bangladesh?

**Questionnaire 2: In-depth Interviews for Journalists and Researcher/Academicians**

1. What do you mean the politicization of bureaucracy? Do you think politicization of bureaucracy is one of the biggest problems in the way of achieving good governance in Bangladesh?
2. How much colonial legacy present in the present administrative system in Bangladesh?
3. Bangladesh Government is run by two parts; one is political and another is non-political. How you evaluate the role of two parts?
4. How bureaucracy is being politicized?
5. As a neutral institution Bangladesh Civil Service is free from political interference? Do you agree with this?
6. Do you think that bureaucrats are in the pressure of politicization during performing their routine roles?
7. Is politicization effect over selection, promotion and lucrative posting of bureaucrats? What is your opinion about it?
8. Do you think that a significant number of Officials are being privileged on the basis of party loyalty?
9. Do you think that supporters of the opposition are mostly being made Officer on Special Duty (OSD) on partisan basis?
10. In many cases it is said that Ministers tried to control the whole ministry- in that case what is your opinion?
11. Do you think that in bureaucracy politicization is increasing?
12. In which regime there was extreme political interfere in bureaucracy?
13. How will you evaluate the role of bureaucrat in good governance process of Bangladesh?

### Questionnaire 3: In-depth Interviews for Politicians

1. What do you mean the politicization of bureaucracy? Do you think politicization of bureaucracy is one of the biggest problems in the way of achieving good governance in Bangladesh?
2. How bureaucracy is being politicized?
3. As a neutral institution Bangladesh Civil Service is free from political interference? Do you agree with this?
4. Do you think that bureaucrats are in the pressure of politicization during performing their routine roles?
5. Do you think that a significant number of Officials are being privileged on the basis of party loyalty?
6. Is politicization effect over selection, promotion and lucrative posting of bureaucrats? What is your opinion about it?
7. Do you think that supporters of the opposition are mostly being made Officer on Special Duty (OSD) on partisan basis?
8. In many cases it is said that Ministers tried to control the whole ministry- in that case what is your opinion?
9. Do you think that in bureaucracy politicization is increasing?
10. In which regime there was extreme political interfere in bureaucracy?
11. How will you evaluate the role of bureaucrat in good governance process of Bangladesh?