

# **Elite Conflict Political Instability And The Role of Civil Society – Bangladesh’s Phenomena in The Context of Modernization Process**

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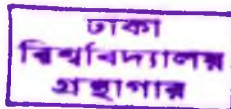
*A dissertation submitted to the Department of Political Science  
of the University of Dhaka in fulfillment of the requirements  
of the degree of M. Phil.*

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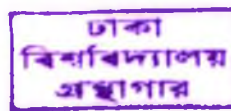
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December 2005

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This is to certify that the material embodied in this thesis, titled 'Elite Conflict, Political Instability And The Role of Civil Society – Bangladesh's Phenomena in The Context of Modernization Process' submitted by Md. Badal Hwlader is original and has not been submitted in part or full for any other diploma or degree of any University. The thesis is worthy of consideration for the award of the degree of M. Phil.

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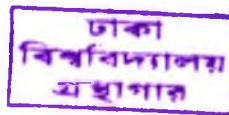
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## **Declaration**

It is hereby declared that this thesis or any part of it has not been submitted elsewhere for the award of any degree or diploma.

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## **Abstract of The Study**

In spite of the existence of democratic form, political instability persists in the political system of Bangladesh. In this study, the purport of political instability encompasses mainly the conflicting situation among political elites instead of ups and downs of governments and the underlying view of this study is that the relation among political elites of Bangladesh is mainly marked with a growing degree of conflict instead of other behavioral patterns like competition, co-operation, etc. In practice, modernization as a process of social change is very destabilizing. Moreover the modernization process of Bangladesh is fraught with sundry imbalances. It is destabilizing mainly because it creates growing gap between aspiration and availability and this gap creates solid foundation for elite conflict. Being driven by the gap of aspiration and availability some masses form unholy ties with politically aspirant elites. Thus belligerent units are formed in political arena of Bangladesh.

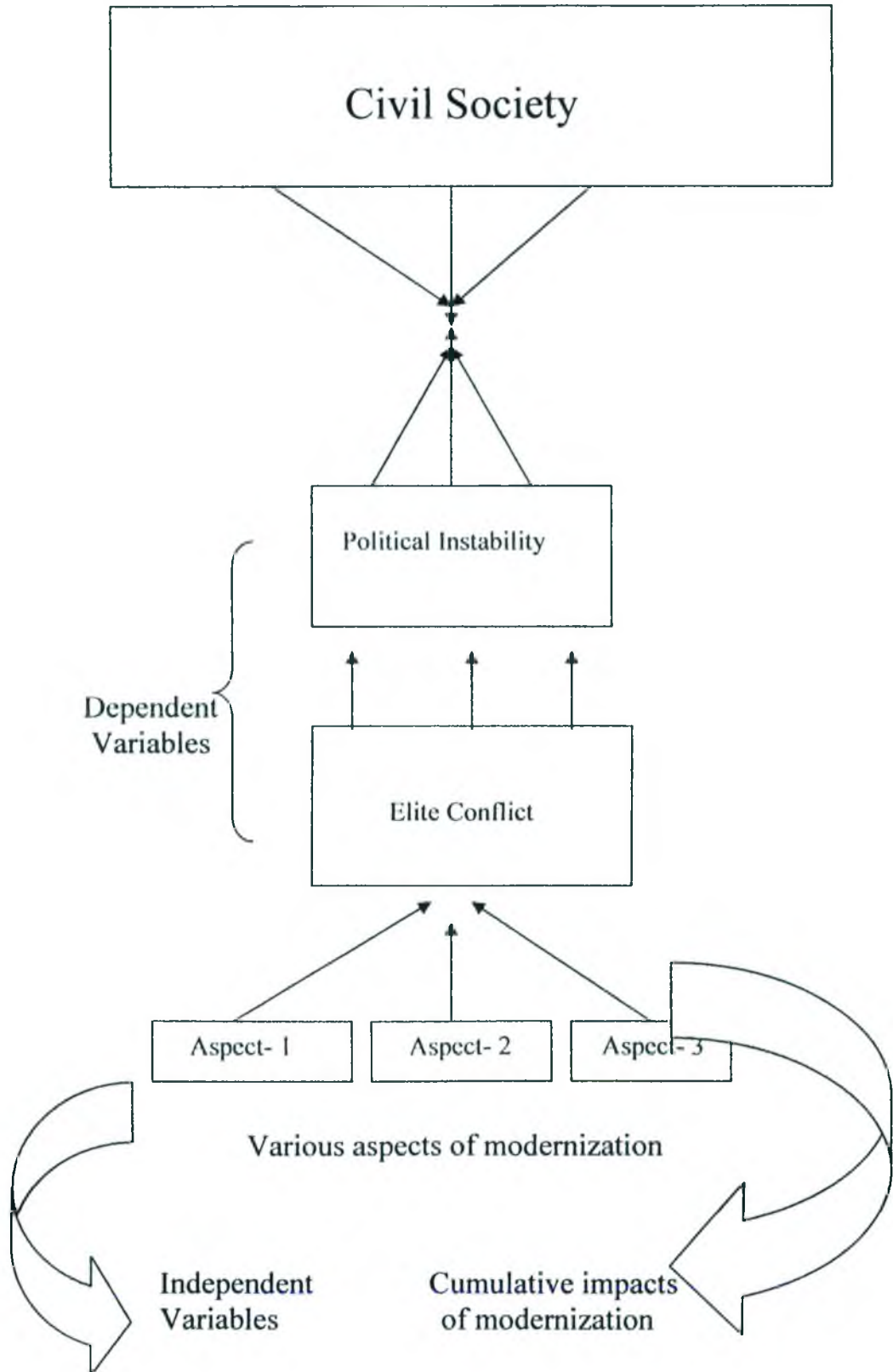
Initially it is hypothesized in this study that elite conflict, the main cause of political instability, is on the rise and it increases gradually with the growing intensity of modernization process. In other words, there is a positive correlation between modernization process and elite conflict in Bangladesh. In order to look into the validity of this proposition, the researcher identified various measurable aspects of modernization process taking into account the availability of reliable data. Which includes mainly growth of GDP, geographical mobility, rate of literacy and education, growth in export-import, growth in heavy and medium industry, use of scientific means in agricultural sector, rate of urbanization and so on. The secondary data regarding these aspects establish the fact that the modernization process of Bangladesh is on the increase in terms of its intensity.

On the other hand, we take the pre and post election one month of 1991, 1996 and 2001 elections as samples of study, as these periods seem to be the peak periods of elite conflict and best reflect the real situation of elite relations. It was basically intended to look into the actual happenings in the situation of elite conflict. Based on the contents of daily newspapers published in Bangladesh, potential evidences of elite conflict were carefully collected. These collected data show that 1996 marks higher compared with 1991, and 2001 marks much higher compared with 1996 in terms of the

number of events of elite conflict. Which signifies that elite conflict is also on the rise with the growing intensity of modernization process.

In this regard the researcher carefully scrutinizes the situation of elite conflict, where some significant features stemmed from modernization process are found. These are as tycoon in politics supplanting pure politicians, paradox composed of minimization of ideological gap and maximization of elite conflict and patron client relationship in the web of interest politics. The cumulative impact of these features increases elite conflict. Here modernization process is independent variable and elite conflict is dependent variable and the researcher finds civil society as intervening variable. The existence of a strong and vibrant civil society in Bangladesh can suppress the growing tendency of elite conflict in spite of increasing trend of modernization. In this regard, this study finds that the elite conflict stemmed from modernization process is on the rise as the civil society of Bangladesh still is very weak and unable to make political elite accountable to them. In fact the better solution to political instability of Bangladesh derived from elite conflict is strengthening civil society than strengthening political party. By having a strong civil society the political system of Bangladesh can achieve a self-restraint and depolarized mechanism. Which is the first imperative for minimizing the instability phenomenon of Bangladesh. So, the political system of Bangladesh urgently requires robust growth and greater activities of civil society institutions in order to deescalating elite conflict actually responsible for political instability in the political arena of Bangladesh.

Graphic account of theoretical frame works:





## **1.Introductory Chapter**

### **1.1 Introduction**

Like any other developing country, for Bangladesh political stability has been a long cherished goal. In spite of long chase after it, political stability of Bangladesh in practice still seems to be an enigma. Some political reviewers seem to be satisfied with mere existence of democratic form persisting in Bangladesh. But we have to look for not only form but also core. In respect of core, we generally come across a very dismal picture overshadowing Bangladesh. Democratic form of Bangladesh in fact cannot minimize inwardly conflicting situation of Bangladesh particularly conflict among political elites. It has been the main challenge of the democratic form of Bangladesh. Even according to the reliable data, elite conflict shows an increasing trend amid persistent democratic form of Bangladesh. Thus democratic form of Bangladesh is being inwardly worn off bit by bit and in presence of any catalytic situation it may finally collapse any time in future. Hence, Bangladesh needs a minimization of elite conflict for the sustainability of its hard-earned democratic form even ultimately for its economic growth.

This study is seriously intended to look into its mystery of growing elite conflict and to develop an integrated framework to analyze political instability of Bangladesh with a comprehensive view and to look for the prospective role of civil society of Bangladesh as a solution to political instability as well.

### **1.2 Rationale of The Study**

Nowadays, instead of formal methods informal approaches like elite, interest group etc. are having importance increasingly in the study of political phenomena. This study is an attempt to look into Bangladesh's political phenomena using informal tools. In Bangladesh, where most of the masses are politically over active or apathetic about political activities, the role of political elite in political changeovers and every day's

political activities can never be overemphasized. That is why elitist view of analysis may be instrumental to find out the actual lack of Bangladesh's political process.

The political observers of Bangladesh are keen to look into why Bangladesh's achievements resulted from recurrent political movements and zigzag way of historical process still seem to be vulnerable. In this regard the variety of existing relation among political elites undoubtedly is of great importance. Particularly, a thorough understanding of political system requires a critical scrutiny of competition and conflict in society. In political sphere, political elites undoubtedly dominate most of the sectors of conflict. Hence, elite theory has a great deal of applicability in the perspective of Bangladesh. Though elite theory in the study of politics may be regarded as a worn out approach, it is presented in this study in a new form blending with the theory of civil society and modernization. In fact, elite conflict, civil society and modernization process maintain close relationship among themselves and they mutually influence one other. For this reason, the intellectual realm of Bangladesh requires a broadly based and comprehensive framework where these three can be accommodated. Intellectually Bangladesh suffers from lack of such type of framework and framework-based study.

At present Bangladesh is experiencing a tremendous process of modernization. It is remarkably increased in recent years owing to a cumulative result of foreign aid flow, impact of western world and globalization and recent developments in IT sector. The process of modernization influences more or less every sphere of life. But in the most of the political studies of Bangladesh, the impacts and features of modernization have almost been under emphasized unstudied. As a result, an intellectual vacuum develops. So, it has been an imperative to scrutinize the process of modernization of Bangladesh in its political study.

Presently, some political observers consider the political situation of Bangladesh as stable. In fact, they confuse the stability of government with the stability of system. In reality, the political system of Bangladesh is very unstable as we can find increasing rate of conflict among political elites. Increasing degree of elite conflict not only perturbs the political system but also deteriorates the law and order situation of the country and ultimately resists the government to deliver good governance. Stability and good governance have been a burning issue in recent years as every nook and corner of the world is waiting for ushering an ever more competitive global village. Ensuring stability and good governance Bangladesh needs to achieve competitive ability to survive economically and politically. But very regretfully most of the political studies of

Bangladesh do not contain any comprehensive framework in which the political instability of Bangladesh can be studied through considering elite conflict, modernization process, civil society etc. in a row. In a complex and paradoxical situation of Bangladesh, single answer of political instability can never be sufficient enough to satisfy intellectual query. So, it has to be studied with a broadly based framework.

As a result of the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe, the idea of civil society has been revived and now it is in the center point of political discussion. It is generally agreed that building genuine civil society is the only means of furthering the cause of democracy and fundamental rights. It is also widely agreed that the institutions of civil society are capable of reconciling the conflict between parochial interests and common goods. Accordingly, the term of civil society has already been able to attract the attention of political observers. Even nowadays this term is being widely used or abused in the socio-political sphere of Bangladesh. In spite of this fact the civil society of Bangladesh still is not properly studied with the microscopic vision of research. This research work is really intended to look into the roots of political instability of Bangladesh with a comprehensive framework comprising elite conflict, modernization process and civil society.

### **1.3 Review of literature**

In the realm of political literature of Bangladesh one can easily find the existence of plethora of literature. But most of these are mainly based on historical study with traditional approaches. Political literatures based on socio-economic vantage point are very small in number. Moreover, the concern of this research remains hitherto unheeded.

Primarily, we went through the generalizations relating to the non-western political process. In this regard, the central concept of Huntington's 'political Order in Changing Societies' was largely contributory to rouse the interest of this study. Here the author finds out some flaws underlying in the process of modernization of non-western societies, and these flaws as per author's concept act as basic cause of political disorder in these countries. Regarding these Huntington put forward gap thesis as follows:

1. The gap between social mobilization and economic development creates social frustration.
2. The gap between social frustration and mobility opportunity creates political participation.

3. The gap between political participation and political institutionalization creates political instability. (Huntington, p.55).

In addition to these, various crises of modernization generally found in the non-western developing countries, are highlighted in this book. That is why this book was contributory to form the central theme of this study.

Most of us have to share the opinion that Bangladesh still lacks remarkable study based on the process of modernization of Bangladesh and its political ramifications.

The random use of elite theory is almost available in the literatures existing in the political study of Bangladesh. For example, Raunaq Jahan in her 'Bangladesh Politics: Problems & Issues' and 'Pakistan Failure in National Integration' randomly used elite theory. But political study merely based on elite theory is very rare in the realm of Bangladesh's political studies. Broomfield's 'Elite Conflict In A Plural Society' and Rangalal Sen's 'Political Elites In Bangladesh' are two major exceptions in this sector.

Broomfield's study is mainly based on historical overview with sociological blend. According to his words, 'this is not an exhaustive study of Bengal politics in this country. My main concern has been with institutional politics, particularly the politics of legislature and I have concentrated on the decade and a half, 1912 to 1927, which witnessed crucial development in communal relations'. (Preface). In the debut of modernization in Bengal Broomfield found a stratified society, where 'Bhadralok' synonymous with gentleman was in elitist position. Being distinguished by many respects of their behavior like their deportment, their speech, their dress, their style of housing and eating habit, their occupation and association, they formed the counterpart of 'Abhadra'. (Broomfield, p.6). It is partially a sociological study in the sense that there was a search for the root of Bengali elite. With a view to it, he had to go through the impacts of English education and Bengali renaissance of that period. He also studied the process of then legislatures and the origin and growth of then Muslim separatism. Thus it has been a unique historical study on the elite of Bengal and the conflicts among them.

In consideration of objective and method, Sen's study is different one from Broomfield's. Sen's 'political Elites in Bangladesh' is mainly a historical analysis of Bangladesh's politics, although various sociological approaches particularly class approach and Marxist thought are randomly used here. There is also a search for the relation between socio-economic background of political elites of Bangladesh and their interests in political arena. According to him, 'the political elites based on political parties

represent certain class interests and ideology and such as they essentially embark on struggle among themselves for the patronage of office and objective goals. Thus, I think that the best focus for the study of relationship between political ideology and the role of political elites is the study of political parties'. (Sen, p.2). Notably, unlike the Sen's study Broomfield's study has no interest in class approach and Marxist way of analysis. Besides, Sen's study includes pre-Bangladesh as well as somewhat of post Bangladesh period.

On the other hand the undertaken study is being centered round more or less the decade of 90. It has emphasized on mainly discovering socio-economic features responsible for political instability instead of historical survey or the analysis of chronological political events of Bangladesh and political parties as well. So, this study by no means overlaps the Sen's study. In fact this study is going to reveal a new area, which is still almost undiscovered. This study is expected to be an effective one to fill up the intellectual lacuna left behind by previous researchers.

Muntasir Mamoon and Jayanta Kumar Roy's 'Civil Society in Bangladesh: Resilience & Retreat' is worthwhile in this regard, though there are some deficiencies in the definition of civil society. Here, the political movements against military regime have been regarded as a movement for establishing vibrant civil society and the main focus of Mamoon's study is on the historical process particularly, how democracy as a system develops vis-à-vis military dictatorships. Undoubtedly the movement against military dictatorship is contributory to the growth of civil society but it is not at all the sole factor of it. In fact this literature is greatly indifferent to have a compressive look concerning the actual growth of civil society of Bangladesh and the socio-political factors suppressing the growth of civil society. In spite of this fact, this literature very nicely depicted the long contradiction between democratic and authoritative forces in the history of Bangladesh and the resultant retreat and resilience of its so-called civil society in various historical phases. Notably, this literature uses an extra-ordinary categorization of political actors. According to this categorization, primary category is formed of politicians, bureaucrats, businessmen and landowners. Secondary category includes the members of learned professions, e.g. lawyer, doctor, artist, journalist, teacher etc. Lastly, tertiary category includes the workers of agricultural, industrial, and commercial sectors. (Mamoon & Roy, p.9). Here, the author provided a comparative account about the contribution of various categories in democratic movements opposed to military or quasi-military regimes.

According to their view, the political actors of secondary category deserved to be the most important one in the retrieval movement of democratic system.

#### **1.4 Conceptual Framework & Operationalization**

In this study at least three major technical terms have been used. These technical terms may seem to be ambiguous and evasive, resultantly readers might be confused to grasp the real meanings of these. For the convenience of this research work firstly we have to define these concepts and make these concepts crystal clear as per its special use in this research work and make these technical words operational. Firstly, we are going to define Elite and political elite in particular.

Elites are those who in some way are superior to the rest of the community. The superiority may rest upon social status, intellectual brilliance, the possession of great wealth, or a position of super ordination. A dominant elite may possess, or be assumed to possess, all four characteristics. Pareto (1848-1923) was first attracted to the study of elites by his discovery that wealth in all societies had been very unevenly distributed. From this he derived his theory that there are elites in every walk of life. They are the people who excel. But he was primarily interested in the political elite, the people who excelled in governing. His contemporary, Mosca(1858-1941), held that political power had always rested on with an oligarchy that in early times was aristocratic. Later elites might be democratic (Frank Bealey, *The Blackwell Dictionary of Political Science*, 1998).

Those who hold and exercise the state power are always a minority, and that below them lies a numerous class of people who never participate in real terms in government and are subject to the will of former: we may call them ruled. This captures the essence of elitist position. Michels goes even further than Mosca in describing the inevitability of elite rule as the 'Iron Law of Oligarchy'. Democracy is paradoxical, and therefore impossible, because democracy cannot exist without organization, and for Michels, 'who says organization says oligarchy'. (Michels. R, P.364). The question of who governs is a simple one to answer: the state is controlled by those individuals who possess a disproportionate amount of resources necessary to the process of rule. The two classical elite theorists, Mosca & Pareto, differ in their view of which resources elites

utilize, but both are agreed that the state and civil society are characterized by an inevitable division of power between elites and the masses. (Keith Faulks, P.40).

Introducing the notion of the inevitability of elite rule Mosca & Pareto virtually dismiss the notion of popular sovereignty. Mosca contends, 'Those who have the will and, specially, the moral, intellectual and material means to force their will upon others take the lead over the others and command them'. (Mosca, p.154).

Although Mosca and Pareto share a low opinion of the masses, they differ on their view of the basis for elite rule. Mosca denies that the elites are necessarily morally or even intellectually superior, and sees organizational skill as the key to elite rule. (Mosca, P.450). Pareto is more militant concerning the superiority of elite in terms of psychological and personal attributes suitable for government. He speaks of political elite in terms of their physical and mental strength. For Pareto, an elite becomes vulnerable to being overthrown when it becomes softer, milder, more humane and less able to defend its own interests (Pareto, V., 1958, p.59). Pareto's theory of elite change, which he calls the circulation of elites, rests upon inevitable degeneration in the qualities of elites. For Pareto (Pareto, V., 1966, p.249) history is a graveyard of aristocracies. However, the elite is always renewed by superior individuals, who emerge from the ranks of the masses through force of will.

Pareto found out two kinds of elites: those who are superior in political astuteness and cunning (these he calls foxes) and those who possess high levels of courage and military leadership (the lions). Throughout the history of the state, one of these elites, or various combinations of the two, govern, depending upon the needs of the time. (Bottomore, T. p.44).

Then the point of elites' manipulation of the masses comes up. Manipulation of the masses through the use of communicative power is a strong theme in the writings of both Pareto and Mosca. According to Pareto, humans in particular the masses, are largely irrational: the greater parts of human actions have their origin not in logical reasoning but in sentiment. Therefore, a key element in elite rule is persuasion. Through the creation of what Pareto calls a 'living faith' elite rule is naturalized (Pareto, V. 1968, p.27). Likewise, for Mosca, the ruling class of any state tries to legitimize its control through the creation of a political formula that appears to be fit the prevailing historical circumstances. Gumplowicz refers directly to a political elite, which is mentally superior to rest of the society and he goes so far as to define the state as simply the organized

minority over the majority. (Gumplowicz.Ludwing., The outline of Sociology, quoted from Bill & Grave, p.146).

'The fundamental Perspective of elite approach is summarized by the assertion that all political systems are divided into two strata - those who rule and those who are ruled. The rulers are labeled with political elite, and this elite is the most significant aspect of any political system. The political elite is that group that possesses most political power and which makes most important decision in a society. It composed of minority of individuals who are most active in political affairs'. (Bill & Grave, p.144).

In spite of hundred years growth, still the concept of elite remains hazy to some extent. It is very difficult to draw a distinctive line between elite and non-elite or mass. Considering this reality we have to confine the sphere of elite concept only for the purpose of this research. Accordingly, the researcher in the context of Bangladesh includes only those who are potential contenders for the posts of parliament membership and at least prime post of Upazila level of local government tire as well as the holders of important political posts.

As a result of the revolution in Eastern Europe and the collapse of communism, the idea of civil society has been revived and is now at the center of political discussion. It is generally agreed that building genuine civil societies is the only true means of furthering the cause of democracy and human rights. It is also widely agreed that only the institutions of civil society are capable of reconciling the sometimes-conflicting demands of individual liberties and common goods. The idea of civil society is an old idea in liberal political philosophy dating back to the eighteen century. For a very long time, however, it was an idea that political theorists (social scientist in particular) had tended to ignore. As Francis Fukuyama quite rightly observes, 'Until recently, civil society was a relatively neglected subject of analysis: in the west, it was often taken for granted as an inevitable concomitant of modernization, while in the East it was denounced by Marxists as fraudulent.'(Fukuyama Francis., p.8) After 1989, writers dealing with the issue of democratization have come to use the term 'democracy' and 'civil society' interchangeably. And for good reason: the fact of the matter is that any meaningful attempt to institute democracy and respect for human rights requires the creation of civil society. In other words, 'democracy' and 'human rights' are words devoid of any real meaning outside the context of really existing civil society. Without the institutional guarantees provided by the structures of civil society, human rights are without substance. ( Madison, G.B., p.11)



According to 'Oxford Dictionary of Sociology', 'There are several competing definitions of what these concepts involve. However, its key attributes are that it refers to public life rather than private or household based activities: it is just juxtaposed to the family and the state: and it exists within the framework of rule of law. Interposed between the individuals (or family) and the state for some thinkers, it was a temporary phenomenon, to be transcended when particular and common interests combined. For others it was the realm of the particular counterpoised to the state, whereas for Antonio Gramsci it was the bastion of class hegemony, and ultimately (though not unequivocally) supportive of the state.' (Gardner, Marshall., 1998)

'Civil Society is a term used to describe associations and other organized bodies, which are intermediates between the state and the family. In recent years it has become fashionable, perhaps partly because of some revival of interest in the German philosopher Hegel who wrote much about its desirability, but perceived it as a state of development toward a mature state. A more likely explanation for its recent popularity is that commentators on post communist Europe deplore the lack of any freedom from party control there. Totalitarianism cannot allow freedom of association. Hence, Civil Society is used more or less as a synonym for pluralism. Although it may be an area of organized activity independent of the state, Civil Society is bound to be liable to intervention even in democracies.' (Bealey, Frank, p.59).

Concept of civil society can serve as a crystallizing notion to think a post -1989 or, more generally, a post- modern politics. The concept of civil society, I maintain, is that concept which both designates and defines a certain state of affairs, outside of which those other most prominent concepts in current political discourse, viz. democracy and civil rights, are, and must forever remain, totally vacuous. (Madison, G.B., p.8) In absence of an 'actually existing' civil society any proclamation of human rights is empty and meaningless, just as any claim to democratic governance is hypothetical and vain. To actually exist, human rights must be institutionalized. (Madison, G.B., p.8)

Seligman maintains that two centuries after its origins in the Enlightenment, the idea of civil society is being revived to provide an answer to the greater good of society and, similarly, how society can advance the interests of the individual who comprise it. (Seligman, p.28)

' The idea of civil society is the only conceptual means of resolving what is perhaps the most basic and persistent problem in political philosophy: how to reconcile

private interests and public good. The idea of civil society also allows for a reconciliation of the demands of culture, i.e., particularity and community, with the requirement of civilization, i.e., individuality and universality. As I shall wish to argue, the idea of civil society is an extremely useful indeed, indispensable notion for political analysis. To put the matter another way, the idea of it is not only an important analytical concept for political science, it also the core concept of political philosophy, and it is, for that very reason, a supremely normative or ethical notion which, properly explicated, can serve to 'ground' political praxis in sound ethical theory.' (Madison, p.10-11)

The idea of civil society is very antithesis of totalitarian ideal. Civil society is everything that totalitarianism is not. As Sartory says, 'Totalitarianism denotes the imprisonment of the whole society within the state, the all-pervasive political domination over extra-political life of man. It is the destruction of everything that is spontaneous in the life of human collectivities.' (Sartori, Giovanni. P.98) The 'totalitarian project' is that of the total 'politicization' of society. (Berger, Peter C. p.179) The revolution of 1989, conducted in the name of civil society, amounted to a revolt against this sort of politicization of society, against 'a system where every thing was political except politics'. (Martin, p.70)

For the sake of our study, we need such a definition, which can include some particular features of civil society. In this regard the concept of M. Rashiduzzaman may be very useful. According to him, 'civil society is a new term gaining ascendancy in the lexicon of politics but its conceptual parameters are not yet clearly marked. It is a mélange of voluntary associations, including religious and cultural bodies, which interact among themselves as well as with political process. For democratic development the civil society needs the equilibrium that cannot be achieved when political foes of the right and left are driven to the extremes. For the sustenance of civil society it is important to develop a consensus among diverse cultural forces: passionate cultural polarization disrupts the social and political harmony'. (Rashiduzzaman.,M., p.987).

For liberals, the state is a necessary evil that serves civil society, and which is accountable to citizens through political representation. The state's functions are primarily to maintain internal social order and to protect civil society from external threats to its security. The state is often portrayed by liberals as a neutral arbiter between conflicting interests. It is not dominated by any section of society, but instead pursues policies that maximize individual liberty. Although some liberals allow for a more developed state role in such areas as welfare provision, all liberals prioritize a clear

separation between state and civil society. This is contrasted with totalitarian regimes where the division between state and civil society is dissolved and the state, representing a sectional interests, suppress the alternative sites of power.

' In liberal society, it is argued, the state is a site of formal equality between all citizens. Civil society, in contrast, is characterized by freedom, social diversity and competition in the market place, which result in material inequalities. Such competition, it is contended, promotes general prosperity through the encouragement of individual innovation. This benefits the whole of society by improving the general performance of the economy. Within civil society the individuals are free to pursue their own desires, as long as this does not encroach upon the liberty of others'. (Faulks Keith., p.32).

' A vibrant civil society is probably more essential for consolidating and maintaining democracy than for initiating it. According to Diamond, civil society is a vital instrument for containing the power of democratic governments, checking their political abuses or violation of law and subjection them to public scrutiny'. (Robinson,Mark. p.72). 'The organization of civil society represent many diverse and sometimes contradictory social interests which are shaped to fit their social base, constituency, thematic orientation (e, g environment, gender, human rights) and types of activity. They include church related groups, trade unions, cooperatives, service organizations, community groups, and youth organizations, as well as academic institutions and others. Basic to democratization is the development of a pluralist civil society comprised of a range of institutions and associations, which represent diverse interests and provide a counter weight to government. The formal political regime and civil society contributes to and also requires a responsive government. The development of autonomous civil associations, professional and interest organizations, is an important step for fostering democratization'. (Faulks. Keith., p.32)

White argues that the growth of civil society can contribute to democratic governing in four complementary ways: by

1. Altering the balance of power between state and society to achieve a balanced position in favor of the latter.
2. Enforcing standards of public morality and performance and improving the accountability of politicians and state officials.
3. Transmitting the demands and articulating the interest of organized groups in the process for providing an alternative sphere of representation.

4. Installing and upholding democratic values.

(White. G.,p.74).

However, white points out, 'while civil society holds real potential to influence the process of democratic consolidation, its role and significance in any given context is contingent on the specific character and the power of the state and the international political environment. The role and functions of the democratic political institutions are heavily influenced by the character and behavior of the organized groups in civil society. These also depend on heterogeneity, the capacity to coalesce and the nature of the relationship the civil society maintains with the parties and the state institutions. This area of discussion includes the issue of cooperatism as a specific way of organizing the links between states, political society and civil society so as to create the political consensus, stability and capacity needed for long term developmental decision making.' (White. G., p.75).

Classical pluralist thinkers such as Dahl and Truman argue that both Marxism and elite theory are wrong in their assumption that the state and civil society are dominated by a minority. Instead power is spread throughout the society, with no one sectional interest dominant, and with each power source being balanced by a countervailing force (Faulks.Keith., p.44). 'A democratic system, with a free civil society based on basic rights (as found in USA) allows for all interests to organize politically, thereby ensuring no one group always prevails. As in liberal thought, the state is seen both as mediator between clashes of interests and a reflection of general consensus that underpins civil society (Dahl R., pp.232-3)'. 'Pluralism shares with liberalism the view that civil society must be free from excessive interference from the state, which should at all times respond to the needs and demands that originate within civil society'. (Faulks Keith, P.45). Accordingly, when dissatisfaction escalates within a strong civil society, it is natural that pressure also mounts on the state proportionately to respond to the will of civil society. If it is not properly reflected, there may be some flaws and imperfection in the growth of civil society and liberal as well as plural society. In this case we can guess at least two causes: either civil society is under grown or state disowns its liberal tenets taking the shape of irresponsiveness and to some extent despotism. And then the civil society can raise its voice strongly before the authority of state. The political elite of any state should be amenable to the demand and will of civil society, though they too may be the integral part of civil society. In fact, both civil society and political elite do not have

any concrete shape of organization by their name. So, it is very difficult to delineate the exact purviews of them.

There are some possibilities to be confused about the differentiating line between civil society and elite. In fact there is no existence of any watertight compartment in this regard. An important part of civil society is composed of various types of elite. In spite of this fact this study theoretically assumes a contradictory relation between elite conflict and the potential role of civil society. Apparently one can find theoretical fallibility when he is apprised that the two sections are commingled one another and at the same time these two are vis-à-vis. In real sense civil society is neither a club of mere elites nor an association of the mere masses. In fact it comprises both. The core of this concept contains that some right conscious people co-exist obeying some rules and regulations and mutual respect of rights. It reacts whenever and wherever the violation of civil right occurs. There are existences of various conflicting interests and groups but compromises among them are ensured so that the web of civil society can remain mostly intact. Civil society is conducive for human rights; on the other hand, intra-elite relation in absence of energetic civil society generally tends to aggravate the condition of human rights and the congenial atmosphere of political system.

For the purpose of this study we need to identify the essential features of civil society by which one can easily delineate the actual civil society amid the whole society. 'There are many who use 'civil society' and 'civilized society' synonymously. Some readers lacking a deep awareness of subtleties of politics oversimplify the use of this term'. (Mamoon & Roy, p.9). It is a very common feature of any society that political behaviors differ from segment to segment and individual to individual of any society. There may be also some misinterpretation that civil society comprises only some sections of upper segment of society and it is devoid of persons hailing from lower strata. But in fact civil society can comprise a part of lower strata and even grassroots, who have some particular traits. Civil society virtually can be attributed as follows.

Firstly, the intra civil society relationship must be based on mutual respect of fundamental rights. Within civil society the individuals are free to pursue their own desires, as long as this does not encroach upon the liberty of others (Faulks. Keith., p.32). They must practice the principles that live and let others live, speak and let others speak, enjoy and let others enjoy etc.

Secondly, instead of being stoical the individuals of civil society must be susceptible to and even militant (if necessary) in case of their fundamental rights and self-interests. Civil society allows them to organize their interests politically and form various interest groups, pressure groups, voluntary organizations (based on environment, gender, human right etc.), cultural and religious bodies etc. Civil society is virtually a perfect reflection of plural society, where many diverse and sometimes contradictory interests are articulated. But there should be a delicate balance between parochial and broadly based interests.

Thirdly, civil society desires a separation between state and civil society so that autonomy of civil society and the alternative source of power remain intact. Civil society becomes a countervailing power when any transgression by state or political elites is about to take place.

Fourthly, an ideal civil society is balanced internally by various countervailing forces and ensures that no one sectional interest dominates.

Fifthly, minimum value consensus based on liberal ideas underpins the civil society and theoretically civil society is anti thesis of totalitarian ideal.

Change in fact is a very universal phenomenon. Like any other entity society has been undergoing multi-dimensional and complex change. Modernization as a process with its multi-dimensional features derived from successive changes and the very debut of it can be found in European renaissance. According to C.E.Black modernization is such a process 'by which historically evolved institutions are adopted to the rapidly changing functions that reflects unprecedented increase in man's knowledge, permitting control over his environment that accompanied the scientific revolution'. (Black.C.E.,p.7). 'Fundamental to the concept of modernization is the increasing control of man over his natural and social environment' (Bill & HardGrave., P.63). Bill & HardGrave also argues that 'in the notion of modernization, at least three dimensions can be discerned - the technological, the organizational and attitudinal. The technological dimension involves preeminently industrialization and embodies the contrast between pre-industrial and industrial societies. The organizational dimension reflects the degree of differentiation and specialization and embodies the contrast between simple and complex societies. The attitudinal dimension is that rationality and secularization and contrasts the scientific versus the religious-magical perspective' (Bill & HardGrave, P.63).

'Demographically, modernization means changes in the patterns of life, a marked increase in health and life expectancy, increased occupational, vertical and geographical mobility, and in particular the rapid growth of urban population as contrasted with rural. Socially, modernization tends to supplement the family and other primary groups having diffuse roles with consciously organized secondary associations having much more specific functions'. (Huntington. S. P., p.33). 'Economically, there is a diversification of activity as a few simple occupations give way to many complex ones; the level of occupational skill rises significantly; the ration of capital to labor increases; subsistence agriculture gives way to market agriculture and agriculture itself decline in significance compared to commercial activities; there tends to be an expansion of the geographical scope of economic activity and a centralization of such activity at the national level with the emergence of national market, national sources of capital, and other national economic institutions'.(Huntington. S. P., p.33). As a result of modernization every segment and sector of society including political undergoes change. F.X. Sutton tries to mean modernization as the essential features of industrial society. His propositions are as follows:

- Predominance of universalistic, specific, and achievement norms.
  - High degree of social mobility.
  - Well-developed occupational system, insulated from other social structures.
  - Egalitarian class system based on generalized patterns of occupational achievement.
  - Prevalence of association, i.e., functionally specific non-ascriptive structures.
- (Sutton. F. X., P.71)

According to Huntington the most crucial aspects of political modernization can be roughly subsumed under three broad headings;

1. Rationalization of authority, the replacement of a large number of traditional feelings, familiar political authorities by secular national authority.

2. Political modernization involves the differentiation of new political functions and the development of specialized structures to perform those functions.

3. Political modernization involves increased participation in politics by social groups throughout the society. (Huntington. S. P., p.34)

Social Mobilization as an inevitable consequence of modernization is important for this study. According to Karl W. Deutsch, "social mobilization is a name given to all over all process of change, which happens in substantial parts of the

population in countries which moving from traditional to modern ways of life. It denotes a concept which brackets together a number of specific processes of change, such as changes of residence, of occupations, of social setting, of face to face associates, of institutions, roles and ways of acting, of experiences and expectations, and finally of personal memories, habits and needs, including the need for new patterns of group affiliation and new images of personal identity. Singly, and even more in their cumulative impact, these changes tend to influence and some times to transform political behavior. It tends to go together in certain historical situation and stages of economic development." (Deutsch. W. Karl., p.493,).

In the operational sense of modernization, Bates's opinion is worthwhile. According to him, 'the modernization in operational sense means the attainment of higher levels of the variables, such as education, per capita income, urbanization, political participation, industrial employment and media participation.' (Bates. R., p.152).

This study considers modernization as theoretically and practically distinct from development, though very commonly these are confused. In fact, one indicates superficial change and other indicates grave change. In political sector, 'political modernization has been associated with a broad syndrome of rational and secular orientations - and particularly with a participant orientation'. (Bill & Grave, p.67). In ultimate consideration, political modernization has been almost synonymous with westernization in politics. On the other hand, political 'development is most usefully understood in terms of system's response capacity in relationship to demands'. (Bill & Grave, p.67). Mere existence of western structures and culture may be the hallmark of modernization, but you have to be sure whether these are able to increase system's capacity to ensure development process. 'Political parties, for example, are a modern phenomena and are structures which may significantly enhance system's capacity, but their mere existence in a systems does not denote development'. (Bill & Grave. P.68). Hence modernization and development, if distinct, are not unrelated. Modernization may be contributory to and even vehicle of development. Sometimes ironically it may stand on the way of development.

In economic sector, the cumulative impact of modernization can be measured through economic growth using the indicator of per capita income and so on. But the use of income or growth indicator has already been old fashioned. Development actually means more than mere growth. Some describes it as growth plus distribution or poverty alleviation. Now-a-days HDI & PQL indices have been being used to measure



development. 'The HDI is an index composed of three indicators; life expectancy, education, and income. It was contrasted on the idea that development cannot be adequately measured on the basis of income alone'. (Eusufia. Zuki., p.333). Recently, the concept of development has been comprehensive and comprises various new themes like the indices of human rights, growth of human resource, environmental protection etc. At present, development virtually means sustainable development and modernization at one stage contradicts with sustainable development. Uncontrolled modernization process endangers the process of development, the desired goal of everyone.

Here, the term 'political instability' has been used in a special sense. Political instability is commonly used as frequent and unconstitutional ups and downs of political elites from political power. But one can find various examples where political process remains unhindered amid frequent changes over in political authority. On the contrary, some political systems suffer from political instability in spite of full time longevity of a political party in government. In this study, political instability signifies conflict among political elites and its resultant political situations, where system does not work properly and brings forth negative impact for the gradual development of political system. According to this definition, political instability may take place despite the full time longevity of government.

### **1.5 Theoretical Framework**

The theoretical framework of this study is largely indebted to Huntington's contribution particularly to his gap thesis denoted in his great work 'political Order in Changing Societies'. Where the focal point of his study was the typical situation of modernizing societies in the process of modernization. The core of Huntington's gap thesis and the theory of political elite as well as conflict have been profusely used here. This study is also indebted to recently developed thinking of civil society.

For modernizing societies, Huntington brings forward the following generalizations taking place in series and ultimately result in political instability.

- The gap between social mobilization and economic development creates social frustration.
- The gap between social frustration and mobility opportunity creates political participation.

- The gap between political participation and political institutionalization creates political instability. (Huntington, p.55).

The theoretical framework of this study tries to improve and reform Huntington's gap theses adding something new happening in non-western modernizing societies particularly in Bangladesh.

In the modernizing countries like Bangladesh, one easily finds such a modernizing process, which is much ahead of development process. Amid such situation a sizeable gap grows between aspiration and availability. Limited capacity of the system cannot cope with the rampantly growing aspiration. As a result, a situation of great frustration prevails all over the society. With a view to satisfying ever-lasting demands some aspiration ridden people become politically active and some times overactive. In Bangladesh's phenomena, they do not affectively and seriously participate in pressure group activities and do not perturb the input sector of Bangladesh's political system. Instead they form various patron-client relationships with the political elites. With the advantage of this relationship both political elites and their clients bolster their respective position to achieve their goals.

Like other segments of society, political elites show four basic types of interaction within themselves. These are – 1.Exchange 2.Co-operation 3.Competition 4.Conflict (White, p.38). In Bangladesh, conflict within political elite overlaps all other forms of interaction of political elite. In conflicting situation exchange, co-operation and even competition cannot grow well. Political elites are more prone to conflict rather than co-operation, competition, and exchange as distribution of values steer the political process in an almost uncontrolled arena. Making informal coalitions, political elites and their client scramble for the allocation of values in favor of themselves and these coalitions act as unit in conflicting situation. Conflict among political elites mount with the mounting situation of modernization process along with its inward imbalances. Thus political instability persists in political process owing to uncontrolled elite conflict. Political party generally fuels the escalating situation of elite conflict, as political party becomes the tool of satisfying elite interest. Instead of political party, necessary growth of civil society is important in this regard. Potentially, a strong and vibrant civil society can suppress the escalating condition of elite conflict. A strong civil society possesses potential ability to resist the acts pernicious to individual liberty and to ensure the accountability of political elite. So the growth of

civil society and the situation of elite conflict and resultant political instability maintain reverse proportional relation, when one is higher another will be lower.

## **1.6 Research Methodology**

In this study some socio political phenomena of Bangladesh have been studied. With a view to better comprehend these phenomena effort has been made to apply behavioral method and approaches. In spite of this fact it is neither an effort to follow scientific method in a rigorous way nor a sheer denial of traditional method. Methodically, it is indeed more similar to the trend of Post Behavioralism. It is behavioral, as various modern tools like group, elite, system approaches as well as informal factors have been largely used and experimented here; and it is post behavioral, as it could not totally separate itself from the prejudice of some political values. Besides, systematic way of research composed of hypothesis building through keen observation and looking into its validity through collecting information has been applied here. Likewise, this research work has been carried out using both quantitative and qualitative data. In fact there is an application of quasi scientific method.

The basic structure of this study is composed of three basic concepts: modernization process, elite conflict and civil society. In this study modernization process of Bangladesh stands for independent variable, elite conflict for dependent variable, and civil society for intervening variable.

According to the hypothesis of this study the rate of modernization process of Bangladesh is on the increase. It has been experimented through secondary source of information e.g. published reports of the 'Statistical Bureau of Bangladesh', report of Bangladesh Bank, some other governmental and non-governmental documents. The scrutiny process of this hypothesis has been mostly based on quantitative data concerning various aspects of modernization like literacy, urbanization, industrialization, economic growth, geographical mobility and so on. As per the hypothesis of this study the situation of elite conflict gets an upward trend with the rapid growth of modernization. This upward trend of elite conflict has been established presenting quantitative information collected from a host of daily newspapers of Bangladesh.

With a view to unearth the actual situation of elite conflict of the stipulated period 1991-2001, the researcher had to select some samples of period, because for

a researcher, it is almost impossible to look into the total period due to time and other constraints. In view of all sorts of limitation, researcher took the pre and post parliamentary election one month of 1991, 1996 and 2001 as purposive samples of total period of time (1991-2001). Main reasons behind such sampling were that firstly, these samples would best reflect the over all situation of elite conflict. Because in the period of caretaker government political elites particularly opposition ones get rid of stressful condition imposed by politicized party rule and they can engage freely in a conflicting situation as per their potentials. Secondly, conflict and polarization among elites become conspicuous in these sample periods centering round forthcoming elections.

According to the central idea of this study, elite competition and conflict, two different categories of mutual interactions among political elites, determine salient feature of political system. The emphasis of this study is mainly on elite conflict instead of elite competition. In this regard tendencies and manifestations of elite conflict have been studied with both quantitative and qualitative information. Some of them are collected from observational method and some are from secondary sources. In the perspective of Bangladesh, elite conflict indeed occurs in various forms. These are as follows:

- Political assassination and murder.
- Any form of collision on political ground.
- Attack and counter attack on the rally of political party.
- Creating any form of deterrence in holding rally or other forms of program.
- Using violent means to make political programs success.
- Setting ablaze party office and private or public property on so-called political ground.
- Physical assault for so called political cause.
- Encroachment, looting or destroying of private property for so called political cause.
- Recovering lethal weapon from the possession of political activists.
- Explosion of bomb when manufacturing apparently for political purpose.
- Electoral violence, rigging and all forms of unlawful act in polls.

The potential evidences of elite conflict and competition are mostly differentiable as these are different in nature: one is violent and unlawful and the

other is peaceful and legitimate. In this regard, daily newspapers have been considered as the most reliable and available source of information. Every day's newspaper contains various news items concerning potential evidence of elite conflict and competition. Cross scrutiny of these news contents collected from various newspapers can reduce the risk of confusion caused by motivated news items. So this research work is not dependent on a particular newspaper. Thus the evidences of elite conflict are carefully collected from various newspapers by cross scrutiny method and then these are revealed in quantitative form. This quantitative information is shown in various tables. These tables give a clear display of actual situation of elite conflict of stipulated period and simultaneously they give a comparative impression regarding whether it is escalating or deescalating.

Side by side the presentation of the two variables i.e. data concerning the process of modernization in one hand and elite conflict causing political instability on other hand is sufficient enough to depict the relationship between the two – modernization and elite conflict. Civil society in Bangladesh is also one of the factors of this study. The relationship between the growth of civil society and the situation of elite conflict or resultant political instability has been established and shown as well through various qualitative secondary data and some information collected from observational method.

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### **1.7 Objectives of the Study**

- To analyze the modernization process of Bangladesh and find out its imbalances and contradiction.
- To discover the notable features and manifestations of elite conflict in Bangladesh.
- To find out whether there is any correlation between elite conflict and modernization process.
- To analyze the role of political parties in the conflict ridden situation of Bangladesh.
- To anatomize the civil society of Bangladesh.
- To determine the prospective role of strong civil society to ensure political stability through reducing elite conflict.

### **1.8 Hypotheses of the Study**

1. It is hypothesized that there is positive correlation between the growth of modernization process and the conflict among political elites in Bangladesh.
2. It is hypothesized that the overall situation of elite conflict in Bangladesh has been escalated by some features derived from modernization like the prevalence of tycoon in politics, the paradox composed of minimization of ideological gap and maximization of conflict, the patron-client net spread from center to periphery etc.
3. It is hypothesized that the civil society of Bangladesh is in fact too feeble to suppress the conflicting situation among the political elites of Bangladesh. As a result, conflict among political elites is on the increase.

### **1.9 Benefits of the Study**

- It is supposed to fulfill purely academic needs.
- It is supposed to be conducive to public policy making.
- NGOs, International organizations, public policy makers may be benefited to use the findings of this study.
- It is supposed to be useful for political critics, reviewers and so on.

### **1.10 Limitations of the study**

Like any other study, this study suffers from a host of limitations. But it is expected that these limitations are not strong enough to hamper the main findings of the study to a great extent. At first it has some conceptual problems with various widely used term 'elite'. Among the theoreticians, elite as a technical term still suffers from conceptual disagreement. Besides, another technical term 'civil society' is having new interpretation in newly emerged socio-political reality. Inherently, these terms are very difficult to be delineated. This study by nature is very comprehensive. It is comprehensive because it is mainly intended to formulate a broadly based framework to

the study of the political phenomena of Bangladesh. On the other hand, the stipulated time frame and the availability of other recourses were insufficient in all respect to run such type of study smoothly. It may hamper a little bit the findings of the study. And lastly, as the period of the study is a very short span of time, researcher might be misled to accurately visualize the emerging trend of Bangladesh's Politics.

## **2. Crisis of Modernization – A theoretical overview**

Modernization in reality is a process of a transitional period by which society acquires some new features and leaves some old ones. Transitional period in fact signifies neither totally traditional nor totally modern. Existence of the two opposite syndromes naturally causes contradiction in individual and societal levels. Though modernization in a very *prima facie* view may be a desirable one, its road to move forward is virtually a maze and troublesome, and conceptually it is full of paradox and contradiction as well. Additionally, a vast gap exists between what is actually going on in the name of modernization and what theoretically should be.

In consequence of modernization process in Asian, African and Latin American countries, some aspects of modernity like urbanization, rate of literacy, industrialization, per capita gross national product, mass media exposure etc. are being pushed. In contrast, progress toward various goals like democracy, stability, structural differentiation, achievement patterns and national integration - is often dubious at best (Huntington, p.35). In practice a modernizing society is instable instead of stable, there are repeated coups and revolts, instead of unifying trend and in nation-building process there are frequent ethnic violence and incessant civil war. 'Only the concept of political modernization as mobilization and participation appeared to be generally applicable to the developing world. Rationalization, integration, and differentiation, in contrast, seemed to have only a dim relation to reality'. (Huntington, p.36). The fashion to think that the other aspects of modernization are going abreast proportionately with social mobilization is in fallacy.

Here we have found a gap that within political modernization social mobilization generally goes much ahead lagging behind other aspects of modernization such as rationalization, unification and so on. Karl Deutsch defines social mobilization as 'the process in which major cluster of old social, economic and psychological commitments are eroded or broken and people become available for new pattern of socialization and behavior'. (Deutsch, p.494). 'Social mobilization is a name given to all over all process of change, which happens in substantial parts of the population in countries which moving from traditional to modern ways of life. It denotes a concept which brackets together a number of specific processes of change, such as changes of residence, of occupations, of social setting, of face to face associates, of institutions,



roles and ways of acting, of experiences and expectations, and finally of personal memories, habits and needs, including the need for new patterns of group affiliation and new images of personal identity. Singly, and even more in their cumulative impact, these changes tend to influence and some times to transform political behavior. It tends to go together in certain historical situation and stages of economic development.' (Deutsch, p.493, quoted from Sen, p.23). 'In political terms, social mobilization is translated into the demand for equality, for participation, and a better life.' (Bill & Hardgrave, p.76).

The process of modernization is always prone to instability. We have already seen that the gap between the social mobilization and other aspects may cause disorder. Even political mobilization itself may be a cause of social and political disorder if it is not performed in a proper way. The spur of parochial interests, in absence of being properly socialized in a society, can spuriously increase political mobilization. Which ultimately lead to political disorder and instability.

'Under the impact of modernization the extended family begins to disintegrate and is replaced by the nuclear family which is too small, too isolated, and too weak. The broader form of social organization is replaced by narrower one. As a result, the tendency toward distrust and hostility as well as war of one against all grows increasingly. Modernization thus tends to produce alienation, psychological disintegration, anomie, and normlessness generated by the conflict of old values and news'. (Huntington, p.37). 'Emile Durkheim saw in man's loss of traditional relationship the increasing unhappiness and insecurity of anomie. In our own time, the impersonality of large city, the university, factory, or corporation is identified as a source of man's alienation - alienation not only from his fellow man, but also from himself'. (Bill & Hardgrave, p.49). Conroe puts forward, 'one exposed to modernity: disrupted socially from the traditional pattern of life: confronted with pressures to change their ways economically, socially and politically: bombarded with new and better ways of producing economic goods and services: and frustrated by the modernization process of change, generally, and the failure of government to satisfy their ever-rising expectations, particularly'. (Huntington, 46).

' Social change involves the transformation of values and beliefs among individual members of society. As such, it has far reaching psychological ramification for those effected. Changing values, particularly those that are deeply entrenched and legitimized through generations of acceptance, entails considerable psychological anguish and discomfort, often manifested in the form of counter-culture or escapist

movements or sharp inter-generational disagreements. Anomie, cultural disorganization, confusion and tension are common psychological ramifications of social change. More specifically, social change result in a fragmentation of attitudes and beliefs, the development of a sense of inferiority within and between societies, the appearance of social difference based on language and dialect, place of birth, gender, and status, and the emergence of new social classes'. (Kamrava, pp.124-25).

Modernization like a double-edged knife plays both integrating and disintegrating role. 'A traditional society generally possesses many potential sources of identities. Some of these may be uprooted and undermined by the process of modernization. On the contrary other may achieve a new consciousness and fellow feelings on the basis of any organization'. (Huntington, 38).

In the case of fundamentalist religious movement and various terrorist acts of modern age, it resort to modern organizational method, modern tools of interpersonal communication, religious values and highly populist appeals. Not only group consciousness but also one kind of prejudice grows among the individuals. Which create jaundiced eye among majority or minority section of the people and community. Thus tension generated by social and economic change among various groups increases.

'Social and economic changes necessarily disrupt traditional social and political groupings and undermine loyalty to traditional authorities. The traditional elites are challenged by new elite who possesses skills, resources, and aspirations with which traditional elites and tribal leaders can not compete'. (Huntington, pp.36-37). It is a new generation derived from socio-economic changes brought about by modernization.

It is very natural that diversities in terms of culture, belief and so on exist in any society. As a result of modernization process cultural amalgamation and in some cases cultural aggression take place. Modernization in most spheres naturally tries to bulldoze all the differences. Conversely it often divulges various differences latent in terms of culture, heritage, ethnicity, and the like and makes these differences more acute. Tension originated from socio-economic change among various groups gradually highlights their differences and sensitizes these differences to some sections of people. In case of aggregation minorities very fanatically try to assert themselves with their cultural, linguistic, religious and other differences. 'As a mater of fact there is a direct relationship between modernization and the pattern of ethnic upsurge and conflict'. (Bates. H. Robert., p.152). 'As the process of modernization unfolds itself it creates

conditions of ethnic social mobilization both territorial as well as non territorial'. (Sing. Gurnam., p.406).

The political theorists of nation-building also view the ethnic ties as transitory in nature and argue that forces of modernization and social mobilization would led to assimilation of distinct identities in the process of nation building. (Gans. Herbert., p.20). 'Even the liberal thinking in political science hinges upon the argument that as mankind moved from a primitive stage of social organization to a complex industrial and post-industrial structures, the primordial ties of religion, language, ethnicity and race would gradually and inexorably lose their hold and disappear'. (Sing. Gurnam., 1998, p.3). However the scholars like Anthony D. Smith give a different line of reasoning that the modern scientific state will led to frequent ethnic revivals. (Smith. Anthony D., p.2). 'The modern means of audio-visual media and communication have created parochial political consciousness on ethnic lines, which is far ahead of forces of trade, commerce and industry. Modernization and social mobilization have not led to a transfer of primary allegiance from ethnic group to the state. Can we go beyond this to posit an inverse correlation between modernization and the level of ethnic dissonance within multi-ethnic states?' (Connor. Walker., p.327-28, from Sing. G. 1998, p.3).

It appears that poor countries are generally unstable. It is not because they are poor, but because they are trying to become rich or modern. A purely traditional society would be purely ignorant, poor and stable. Cause of violence in such nations lay with the modernization rather than with backwardness. (Huntington, p.41) Poorest nations, those are at the bottom of the international economic ladder, tend to be less prone to violence and instability than the countries just above them. 'The higher the rate of changes toward modernity, the greater the political instability'. (Conroe , P.57).

'The crisis of modernization is properly reflected in the thought of Hesiod, a thinker of eighth century B.C, who believed that man's earliest psychological condition was golden. It was a time of innocence and felicity, accompanied by material conditions of simplicity. In man's cultural advance through knowledge and technology, Hesiod saw a decline from the simple goodness and happiness of the primordial state. Indeed there was a causal relationship between happiness and ignorance. In knowledge lies the beginning of the fall from happiness. The Hesiodic conception was embodied in Plato, as he writes in the laws of man's loss of goodness in the gradual advance of knowledge. It is carried in Christian thought in Augustine's belief that the advancement of knowledge is

accompanied by a decay of soul'. (Bill & HardGrave, p.48). In the similar vein Rousseau proclaimed, 'our minds have been corrupted in proportion as the arts and sciences have been improved'. (Rousseau, p.150). Scottish moral philosopher David Hume had 'emphatic thoughts' about man's progress and regarded human history more in terms of inertia than of either progress or degeneration (Nisbet, 125-28).

Another hiatus of modernization process can be found in the following lines. 'Waves of thought and ideas came over us while we are not yet developed enough to evaluate them. We were still living mentally in the captivity of 13th century. ----- Our minds tried to catch up with the caravan of human progress, although we were five centuries or more behind. The pace was fearful and the journey was exhausting'. (Nasser, p.541).

'Political participation by illiterates may be less dangerous to democratic political institutions than participation by literates. The latter typically have higher aspirations and make more demand on government. Political participation by illiterates, moreover, is likely to remain limited, while participation by literates is more likely to snowball with potentially disastrous effects on political stability'. (Huntington, p.49). It seems to be a paradox as literacy is considered as an essential factor for the operation of democratic institutions.

Another destabilizing factor of modernization is economic change. Economic modernization and economic development are to some extent mutually different concepts. One refers to growth another to distribution or poverty alleviation. One refers to production another to productivity. One refers to temporary growth another to long lasting growth. By nature modernization is very speedy in pace, on the other hand, development is slow in pace. In modernizing countries development generally follows modernization maintaining a sizable gap. Some of the destabilizing factors exist in this gap.

We find cultural lag as a very common phenomenon in modernizing societies. The lag in the rate of change in the 'material culture' as opposed to 'adaptive culture' (i.e. customs, beliefs, laws etc.) leads to 'cultural maladjustment' ( Ogburn, p.200). In modernization process changes are of two types - material and immaterial. Material change is always speedier than immaterial change. Industrial growth and other infra structural development can be achieved easily. But conversely to achieve a modern culture and attitude as well as behavior is in practice a very long way to go. In political

sphere, structural development goes much ahead than cultural change. In modernizing societies, people achieve political structures like political party, democratic legislature etc abruptly. But having cultural aspects congruent with those structures is in fact a procrastinating process. So, always there is a contradiction between structure and culture. Often the existence of newly adopted structures has to remain in danger of extinction by reason of adverse cultural surroundings. Rhetorically it can be said as inconsistency between software and hardware.

Taking the advantage of economic modernization a new group sometimes called 'nouveaux' emerges, who are new contenders of political power and social status. In fact they do not have long cultural background or art of acting in a system of consensus. They are prone to scrambling for power. Huntington maintains that this group is imperfectly adjusted to and assimilated by the existing order (Huntington, p.50). Advent of this group in politics intensifies mutual conflict among political elites.

Economic modernization inevitably increases geographical mobility. Which not only undermines social ties but also creates various issues like settler-aboriginal, majority-minority, cultural amalgam, and cultural aggression and thus creates tensions among co-existent groups. Beside this, migration from rural to urban areas mainly with a view to having new working opportunities creates a number of problems like stress on urban facilities and urban environment.

In a modernizing society all people are not equally exposed to the process of modernization. In other words, some people individually or some sections of people as a whole lag behind or become handicapped in the race of adopting the advantage of modernization owing to natural or imposed situation. Consequently, uneven growth of various terms takes place. 'In due course of modernization the level of economic well being increases as a whole and equalities in economic well-being decrease'. (Huntington, p.33). Additionally, in the process of modernization inevitably and concomitantly competitive private initiatives and accumulation of wealth arise in free market economy. These are instrumental for uneven distribution of wealth. Thus dissatisfaction among deprived ones grows and always remains with modernization. Even in geographical sense it may cause uneven development. Some regions, for example, adjacent to sea or port can have more advantage of modernization and globalization. Consequently, gap in terms of segmented growth between Heartland and Hinterland can grow and increase in a society.

At the first flares of modernization, the vulnerable sections of society e.g. women, unskilled laborers may fall victim as a result of free economy, one of the corollaries of modernization.

It is crystal clear that several destabilizing factors are concealed in the process of modernization itself. Though modernizing societies have to encounter a number of crises mentioned above, the main concern of this study is the destabilizing factor concealed in the gap between aspiration and availability. The growth rate of aspiration is much more higher than any other facet of modernization process in typical modernizing societies.

The process of modernization may unleash not only a revolution of rising aspiration but also a 'revolution of rising frustration'. (Lerner, pp.327-50). 'The forces of modernization are frequently initiated by a government to enhance its capacities, but once unleashed, the forces may proceed with autonomy and far outstretch the capacity of government to control or regulate, much less respond to them in a positive way'. (Bill & Hardgrave, pp.75-76).

'Modernization represents both an opportunity and a challenge, for those forces which may enhance the capacity of the political system may at the same time heighten the demands on the system. The same forces, which serve to create an identity with the nation-state, may also sustain and strengthen primordial identities of religion, language, caste and tribe. The same forces - education, communications, and economic growth - which may foster participant citizenship may act to increase the demands made on the government beyond any capacity to meet them'. (Bill & Hardgrave, p.76).

The essences of modernization such as urbanization, literacy, education, exposure to mass medias, cable TV network, intensive process of globalization and market economy, new inventions and goods, minimization of time and space and the like open up a new realm composed of novel type of amenities, higher standard of living and the possibilities of climbing the ladder of economic strata before mainly those traditional people who are already imbued with the process of modernization. All these cumulatively lead the people to overcome the traditional barriers and come out as a new man with new role in the social process. These new generations are not only socially mobilized but also crisis ridden. Although they enjoy new amenities, they are the most unsatisfied in the sense that they severely suffer from the gap between expectation and availability. According to Huntington, 'a gap develops between aspiration and expectation, want formation and want satisfaction'. (Huntington p.54). Thus social

frustration develops within a modernizing society. Huntington's gap thesis is worthwhile here, though the hypotheses of this study have some contradiction with it. He posits the following relationships as the impact of modernization:

- The gap between Social Mobilization and Economic Development causes Social Frustration.
- The gap between Social Frustration and Mobility Opportunity causes Political Participation.
- The gap between Political Participation and Political Institutionalization causes Political Instability. (Huntington. P.55).

Huntington also theorizes as 'not only does social and economic modernization produce political instability, but the degree of instability is related to the rate of modernization'. (Huntington p.45). In a mostly global village it is natural that the countries like Bangladesh will face an increased degree of destabilizing situation with the greater rate of modernization.

'Unlike the European and North American countries, the modernization process of Asia and Africa is much faster in pace and intensity. As a result, they have to encounter a variety of problems e.g. rationalization and centralization of authority, political participation, increasing gap between aspiration and availability and resultant social frustration, political integration etc not consecutively but concurrently'. (Huntington, p.46). It makes virtually difference in the comparative study of western and non-western modernization process. The particular manner of nonwestern modernization process in fact is more destabilizing.

One of the remedies of this situation is a proportional rate of development process compared with the process of modernization. Which can absorb extra social frustration remaining above the sustainable level through its ample scopes of social mobility opportunities. Huntington rightly maintains, 'in fact modernity breeds stability, but modernization breeds instability' (Huntington p.41), although it may seem to be a paradox. The typical situation is that the growth of mobility opportunity or the capacity of a modernizing society cannot cope with ever increasing demand. Being chased by unsatisfied aspiration political activists participate in political actions and with a view to it they take shelter under the patronage of political elite. The political psyche of this group emerged from the process of modernization is mainly formed of increasingly unsatisfied demand. As a political actor they have only two options in the manner of political

participation, these are: individual participation or group-wise participation. In some cases they give priority to individual participation. Which endangers political system to a greater extent.



### 3. Features, Manifestations and the trends of Elite Conflict in Bangladesh

With ever ending political evolution, changes take place in the dominance of elites. The self-sufficient rural structure of pre and early British period was basically unfavorable for a sizeable degree of elite conflict. As an immediate impact of British rule particularly with the introduction of modernization process one could gradually find nationwide political elite and their mutual interactions in the field of politics. With the establishment of permanent settlement act in 1793, British colonial power introduced a group of land-based aristocrat in Bengal. Within a short spell of time the number of these landed class had been multiplied with the process of sub fudation. These were mainly primary source of furnishing political elite in the political arena of that period. In the formative age of Congress and Muslim league, there was ascendancy of this group of political elites. In this period such types of ascriptive leadership enjoyed special advantage. There after with the growth of middle class, the human products of modernization process belonging to some particular professions like lawyer, physician, teacher began to come to politics and gradually began to replace the traditional political elites. The vigorous and profuse advent of middle class based elites in political process indeed introduced a new type of in-flight and factionalism within political parties. Middle class of that period was tended to assert themselves in the arena of politics. One can find confrontation caused by the assertion of newly emerging elites in the concluding years politics of British India. The Hasim-Suharawardy faction representing the middle class of then period had a competitive or conflicting relation with Khwaja oligarchy (Rashid. P.195). With the expansion of voting right, education, self-consciousness etc. the advantageous position of landed aristocrats were fading away, as they could not establish good communicative relation with the common people and the electorate. In opposition, political elites of some particular professions like teacher, physician, lawyer and so on had ample scope of establishing direct relation with the masses and the electorate owing to their occupational practice. Their goodwill in professional life easily turned into the goodwill in political life. By virtue of occupational background middle class origin political elites could make them acceptable to the masses and the electorates compared with their counter part aristocratic elites. In this regard Raunaq Jahan maintains ' the elite that come to power in Pakistan after independence was small group

of people having a narrow base of support in the society. The *oligarchic* nature of this elite was due partly to -----'. (Jahan. 1994. p.24).

The growth of Awami league was considerably due to the reaction against landed aristocrats. With the onward march of Awami League the position of middle class origin political elites was being consolidated. In fact, Awami League gradually became almost spokesman of growing middle class. One can find conformation of this assertion as the three vice president of Awami League – Abul Mansur ahmed, Ataur Rahman khan, Abdul Salam Khan – were all small town lawyer. The general secretary and assistant secretary Shamsul Huq and Seikh Mujibur Rahman respectively were young student leaders. Thus Awami League's leadership was dominated by mofussil (small town) lawyers and students – vernacular professionals or potential professional. (Jahan. 1994. p.42).

### 3.1 Tycoons In Politics

From very beginning Ayub regime very significantly pursued the policies of intense economic modernization. (Jahan. 1994. p.67) Though the military regime in fact brought forth a failure story in building national political institutions, Ayub's decade was a period of remarkable economic growth synonymous with economic modernization. All indices of economic growth showed a remarkable rise in this decade compared with previous one. Per capita gross income rose from rupees 311 in 1949-1950 to rupees 312 in 1959-1960 and to rupees 372 in 1965-1966. The contribution of manufacturing to gross national product rose from 5.9% in 1949-1950 to 9.3% in 1958-1959 and to 11.7% in 1965-1966. The annual growth rate increased from 0.5% during 1949-1950 to 1954-1955 to 0.2% during 1954-1955 to 1959-1960 and to 3.5% during 1959-1960 to 1964-1965. Export earning also increased steadily from 717 million rupees in 1947-1948 to 1325 million rupees in 1958-1959 to 3006 million rupees in 1966-1967. The rate of growth in agriculture was also faster in 1960s. Other indices of socio-economic growth, especially enrolment in secondary school and universities showed significantly positive trend though growth in some important social sectors were not remarkable compared to the growth of GNP. (Jahan,1980, p.17).

The process of modernization pursued by Ayub regime unleashed its various impacts on then society. As a result, a major change took place in the dominance of political elite and even in the level of rural elite. Virtually there was a gradual emergence

of a particular circumstance in which pre dominant political elites felt uncomfortable to survive in political arena and the ascendancy of a new political elite was more or less manifest. Information inserted in the table given below divulges this fact.

**Occupational information of members of National Assembly of 1962 & 1965:**

Occupations	East Pakistan		West Pakistan	
	1962	1965	1962	1965
Lawyers	27	30	17	11
Businessmen & industrialists	9	20	4	10
Landlords	4	7	38	32
Others	23	19	8	18

Source: Md. Nuruzzaman, *Who's Who* (Dhaka: Eastern Publications, 1968), Jahan. 1994. p.147.

**Occupational background of then union councilors;**

	1957	1961	1964
Farmers	77.3%	82.4%	77.7%
Businessmen including contractors	10.7%	15.6%	16.9%
Lawyers, teachers, doctors	10.1%	0.6%	2.7%
Others	1.8%	1.2%	2.4%

(Source: Compiled from data in Pakistan Academy for Rural Development, Comilla; and Bureau of National Reconstruction, Jahan. 1994. p.121)

Though the 1964 election saw the return to power of a higher income group, the new rural elite was different from the past elite. The basic democrats were generally from non-traditional, nouveau riche families. This table (given above) indicates the emergence of a new moneyed group – businessmen and contractors – and reduced degree of the old rural elite consisting of the literati, the teachers, doctors and lawyers. (Jahan. 1994. p.122). In spite of clear indication of the rise of new political elites originated from business profession, popular professionals and pure political elites of middle class background somehow could retain their ascendancy. This trend was kept

going for a long period of time. Even the occupational features of the parliament members of 1970 and 1973 exposed the fact that both of the trends i.e. gradual increase of businessman in governing elite and the ascendancy of middle class professional and pure political elite in the same sector remained almost intact. In fact, in 1973 one can find a stalemate between the two different origins of governing elites. Still then one can easily find more or less dominance of those political elite who have either long purely political background or back ground of popular occupation.

**Occupational information of the members of parliament of 1970 & 1973:**

Year	Law Yer	Busine Ssman	Land lord	Far Mer	Ser vice	Tea Cher	Doc Tor	Poli Tics	Oth ers
1970 (%)	29.47	26.86	4.47	12.68	2.60	9.32	7.46	5.22	1.85
1973 (%)	25.50	23.67	2.82	14.84	0.70	9.89	5.30	12.36	3.88

Source: survey conducted by Raunaq Jahan (Jahan. 1980. p.99).

**Almost steady rise of business elite in the realm of politics particularly governing elite (1962-1973):**

Year	Share of business elites in legislature
1962	9%
1965	20%
1970	26.86%
1973	23.67%

Source: compiled from various tables given in Rounaq Jahan's 'Pakistan Failure in National Integration' & 'Bangladesh politics: Problem And Issues'

In the phase of 1975-1990, Bangladesh underwent a number of elections for its legislature. But this study excludes these legislatures to look into, because these elections were marked with huge rigging and malpractice. As those elections were not

fair enough to reflect the public opinion, information collected from those would not satisfy our purpose.

After the liberation of Bangladesh, a new type of elite began to come to surface. In the liberation war some army personnel were in leading position of war field. In the wake of the war they found themselves as stalwart in respect of mass popularity and socio-political influence. With soaring influence this new group began to step to politics. Thus we can find military turn politicians in political arena. It was their debut in political arena and they were very few in number. They began to come very profusely in politics in the period of Zia regime. In the period of pure military rules, military officials were deputed in the various strata of administration instead of civilians. There after, in the process of civilianization a significant number of them were given scope to turn themselves into politician. As a result they established themselves in political arena with the patronization of ruling circle. This process was intensified in the period of Ershad regime, when military as a group had special treatment in the distributive process of values and amenities. In this period, intrusion into politics from military service taking off military uniform had been a common phenomenon. Civil bureaucrats also were in advantageous position to intrude into the realm of political elites. Not only that, without long background in business, a considerable number of ex-military officers became successful businessmen overnight utilizing the special patronization of state power. Thus they also turned themselves into business elite. So it was very difficult to categorize them as business elite or military turn political elite. Even after the recovery of democratic system, this group of elite enjoyed special priority in political system.

In this regard, an intensive study on the parliament members of 1991 carried out by Talukdar Maniruzzaman is very worthwhile. The occupational features of 'Jatia Sangsad' elected in 1991 divulge that the business and industrial group, in reality, constituted 59 percent out of the total members. (Maniruzzaman, 1994, pp.149-50). Even this group of political elite enjoyed very clear majority in Khaleda Zia's cabinet. The businessmen and industrialists formed 58 percent of the minister of her ministry. (Maniruzzaman, 1994, p.151). Most of the major political parties in Bangladesh indulged in the trend of fielding those types of man as candidate with a view to ensuring electoral victory.

The businessmen and industrialists including former army officers now in business and industry, comprises 66, 51, 63 percent of legislators respectively in the

BNP, AL, and JP. (Maniruzzaman, 1994, p.151). The growing tendency of it in the past can be perceived through a comparative look at the demographic features of legislators elected in 1954, 1973 and 1991, where we can find that 'the percentage of lawyer has continuously declined from 55 percent in 1954 to 26 percent in 1973 and to only 19 percent in 1991. On the other hand, the percentage of businessmen and industrialists has increased from 4 percent in 1954 to 24 percent in 1973 and 59 percent in 1991'. (Maniruzzaman, 1994, p.151).

**The pattern of this trend in the period of 1975-1990 has been shown below with quantitative information:**

Year	Share of business elites in legislature
1962	9%
1965	20%
1970	26.86%
1973	23.67%
1991	59%

Source: compiled from various sources mentioned above (from Jahan & T. Maniruzzaman's study)

The trends and tendencies regarding elite ascendancy are almost crystal clear here. One can find almost sharp rise of business origin political elite throughout the period of 1956-1991. It may be due to continual process of modernization. As a result of the typical process of modernization of most of the under developed or developing areas, a nouveau riche and industrial group arises and gradually bolsters themselves. This group in practice reins the political process of field level, where a combination of moneyed and muscular power occurs. This typical situation can be called as tycoon led politics. Which deteriorates the situation of elite conflict and ultimately destabilizes the nascent political process.

Another important feature is manifest in the above-mentioned table. The degree of business elite's participation in legislature is much higher in the period of Ayub's decade and the period ranging from 1975 to 1990 than that of rest of the periods. Very significantly these periods belonged to civil-military coalitions. One can duly

visualize, as military or quasi-civilian administration launched an abrupt and unplanned modernization process and they had to suffer legitimacy crisis and ultimately went through a civilianization process to overcome the crisis, a nouveau riche group grew rampantly. It is almost commonly accepted that military regime is much more efficient and disposed to carry out modernization process than civilian government. It was very natural that a rapid modernizing society would unleash a strong nouveau riche group, the most significant component of political elite.

Expectations were rife among the people and political observers centering round the recapturing of political power by pure political elite in a world wide democratic environment (1991- 2001). These expectations included that participation of nouveau riche in politics would lose its rampant degree; elite conflict would remain below the sustainable level and the pure political elite would bridle the political process etc. In practice the situation of this period was reverse. There was no symptom of decreasing condition of elite conflict of this period. Instead, data collected from a comparative study on pre and post electoral period of 1991, 1996 and 2001 disclose the fact that it is in reality on the rise with a very alarming degree. (See next chapter). The cause of the increasing degree of elite conflict in the period of 1991-2001 may be that in this period Bangladesh is undergoing another thrust of more intensified modernization process. The inward imbalances of modernization process seem to be having snowball effect day by day. It is not due to the particular political elites in power. Instead, it is mainly due to two factors – one is worldwide trade liberalization and the other is tremendous growth and inventions in the sector of information technology. These are giving stronger thrust on the modernization process than ever. As a result of it, people exposed to this process have been being aspirant ever more. Their psychological reach has been ever increasing. In opposition, the distributive capacity of political system cannot keep pace with it. So, the prevailing situation initially goads them to get involved in the political scenario of elite conflict and the people stricken with a great volume of unrealized aspiration fall victim to this situation.

Though presently we do not have any comprehensive study on the parliament members of 1996 and 2001, we can come to conclusion considering various related data available in newspapers. Which are able to ascertain whether the trend relating to the ascendancy of business elite persists or not in the successive parliaments of 1996 and 2001. In absence of any in-depth study on the members of parliament of 1996 and 2001, we had to go through the newspapers containing information about it.

Among the nominees of major political parties for the parliament election of 2001, 138 were primarily identified as loan defaulter and 55 were declared as disqualified for the cause of default (Dainik Prothom Alo, 1<sup>st</sup> Sept. 2001), though most of them could manage to escape using the loopholes of law. This information may be important to guess the number of business elite turn political elite of current parliament.

The other prevailing trends of elite conflict can be visible, while we try to have a comparative analysis between the two phases of political elite dominance – one roughly consists of 1972 to august 1975 and the other is from 1991 to 2001. Both phases were marked with severe conflict among political elites. But in respect of characteristics, subtle differences lie between the conflicts of the two phases. In this regard the most important one is that the elite conflict of the period of 1972 to 1975 was more political and the elite conflict of the period of 1991-2001 was more personal. One's main target of attack was office and activities of rival politics. On the contrary, other's main targets are private properties like business firm, residential house, shop, privately owned livestock firms etc. In the political violence of latter phase (1991-2001), the frequency of attack on private property is on the rise compared with previous period (1972-75). Tender of government and semi government works has been more visibly one of the key bones of contention among the political activists. Brutality and rigor have surpassed all of the previous records. The turning of coat of political stalwarts overnight is more numerous in the recent period compared with the previous one and this trend seems to be on the increase. Importance of ideology has been minimized to the shortest extent. Pure political elites of long political background are at bay vis-à-vis the growing influence of nouveau riches. Tension increases not only between the business elite and pure political elites but also among same groups like business elite versus business elite as money and influence are employed extravagantly. In the parliament of 1973, 12.36% out of total members were elected from pure political background. (Jahan, 1980, p.99). In 1991 one can find only two out of three hundred. (Maniruzzaman, 1993, p.151). On the other hand, business elites in political arena are in thriving position in respect of both influence and number. In fact, one can hardly find out a politician devoid of any business background among the politically survivors. At present politics and business have been complementary to one other, in more proper sense one patronizes the other.



Initially political elites of business background find a difficult way vis-à-vis pre dominant elites to be established in politics, as they do not have prior support belt in respective constituency. They generally resort to the use of money and influence to overcome this crisis. In a typical situation, where a considerable number of people are stricken by the gap of aspiration and availability, it is natural that moneyed men will survive in political conflict. It is not at all an ethical question, but an outcome of socio-economic reality. In this prevailing situation the qualities essential for being political elite have been changed. Unlike the past, at present the abilities of political mobilization, eloquence, political sagacity, even charisma have considerably lost its appeal. Instead, money can mobilize the political support, though it cannot be designated as mobilization of real sense. Considering the prevailing fashion, most of the political elites of today try to have various sources of handsome earnings and expand their business background adopting fair or foul means. Thus pure political elites are being phased out from political arena owing to the rise of businessman friendly political environment.

### **3.2 Minimization of Ideology but Maximization Of Conflict – A Paradox**

The society of Bangladesh is considerably elitist. Even in political arena political elites instead of mass dominate the total political process and elite conflict in Bangladesh seems to be pervasive in all existing institutions and all over the political process. In fact, elite conflicts are manifested with a variety of forms and variety of political flavor. Its manifestations are of mainly two kinds;

- A) Political party wise elite conflict.
- B) Mutual conflict among individual elites.

With various socio-political changes taking place in the history of Bangladesh and the international arena, the ideological differences have been minimized. This process is still going on. In the period of 60s political groups were ideologically divided into left or right or centrist categories. In spite of some exceptions, political elites would try to achieve their individual and common goal within the ambit of ideology. Mainly as a result of changes in international arena, centrist ultimately won the race in the sense that most of the major political parties cast off their extreme, ambitious and radical programs previously adopted. If we go through the manifestoes of major political parties, we can

easily find a consensus based on centrist tone considerably prevails throughout the political process particularly among mainstream political parties.

We are going to have a comparative analysis of electoral manifestoes of major political parties for the parliamentary election of 2001. Regarding foreign policy two major parties expressed almost same view. When Awami League desired neighborly relationship with the neighboring countries, BNP desired for relations based on mutual interests. In order to resisting corruption Awami League was for launching an independent anticorruption council and BNP for independent anticorruption commission. Regarding local government both opted for the same four tier system. But Awami League was for 'Gram Parishad' and BNP was for 'Gram Sarker'. Awami league's commitment was to increase salary commensurate with the rate of inflation; on the other hand, BNP's commitment was to form permanent pay commission. Both were disposed for the reservation of women's seat in parliament. But Awami league mentioned the number as double; on the other hand, BNP did not mention the exact figure. With regard to gas export, one of the burning issues of current time, Awami League was in favor of export keeping apart the quantity of 50 years internal demand; on the other hand, BNP was in favor of uplifting income from minerals and had not direct opposition of gas export. Their views regarding free market economy and trade imbalance were the same. Awami League's commitment was not to make any law contradictory with the holy Quran and Sunnah; on the other hand, BNP's commitment was not to make any law opposed to Islam. Awami league mentioned various humanitarian steps for freedom fighters and their families. In this regard BNP mentioned that a new ministry for freedom fighters would be set up. Regarding separation of judiciary, ombudsman, and human rights commission both had the same views. BNP was for repealing special power act; Awami League kept silent in this regard. On the issues of peace treaty in hilly tracts and water sharing treaty of the river Gangage, none was for terminating it. BNP opted for its amendment and Awami league was for carrying on it. (see the Prothom Alo, 10 sept, 2001 or electoral manifestoes of the Awami league and BNP published on the eve of parliamentary election of 2001). Islamic party Jamaat-e-Islami, commonly known as fundamentalist, formulated a very flexible type of manifesto. Where they have given commitment to encourage the constructive activities of NGOs acting in Bangladesh and they were for taking various humanitarian steps for disabled freedom fighters and for the families of martyred freedom fighters. Undoubtedly, it was one step forward to minimize gap with traditional opponents at least in theoretical ground. The two main parties

softened their previous stand regarding major issues like sharing of Gange water, peace treaty for tribal area, export of gas etc. Even their views on more comprehensive issues like privatization, liberalization were almost the same. (see the manifestoes of these parties published for the election of 2001). Undoubtedly, these policy shifts were positive development for the political process of Bangladesh and raised optimism among some optimistic analysts. In the current political sphere in Bangladesh, it is very explicit that there is a gradual emergence of a two party system accompanying minimum ideological gap.

Astonishingly, amidst minimum degree of ideological difference, conflicts of various forms are on the rise. The typical situation of this type can be designated as minimization of ideology and maximization of conflict. The political events going on in the name of national programs are in fact reflections of elite conflict. The way of action they adopt in observing these programs in most cases is bare violation of the periphery of competition. Besides, its one of the main objectives is to establish domination or to encounter others' domination. Conflicts among political parties in most cases have been emanating from individual interests. In political crescendo, the questions of individual elite conflict and their interests remain undiscovered and invisible. In the various stages of political development of Bangladesh, there were various issues in politics like recovery of democracy, care taker government to conduct free and fair general election and so on. Centering round these issues various polarization and fruitful movements took place. In very superficial view, these may seem to be sheer matter of ideological issue. But inward views show that the causes concealed in behind these are some sort of blend of ideology, political aspiration and other conflicting interests as well. In most of the cases, ideology plays very insignificant role. Though the emergence of these issues with popular appeal undoubtedly boosted the process of political development, the prime motivations of political elites in the participation of these movements were desire for political power and other forms of interest of political elites.

In local level, political elites are engaged in relentless conflict to capture the local leadership. Which ultimately lead to drastic deterioration of law and order situation. In this regard Dr. B.P. Shaha maintains 'in the changing scenario, politics no longer banks on values and morality. In fact, patriotism and idealism have been relegated to the obscure corner. Moral decline has shaken the very foundation of society. Indeed, instead of fairness and idealism, all pervasive and baneful influence steer the fate of the innocent people. Money power and muscle power play a prominent

role which thwart equity and justice'. ( Shaha - p.195). He also describes that they (political elites) do not hesitate to adopt fair and foul means in pursuit of flourishing in autarchy, strengthening their political hold and securing political mileage. As a matter of fact, the brazen political climate has gradually increased the lumpene and criminal elements to come to the forefront and pollute the politics, which was once considered to be the respectable and honorable tempered with patriotic fervor. Ironically, the politicians who aspire for money, power and authority avidly seek active help from the lumpene elements for the interest of disarraying the political opponents and their mentors. (Shaha, p.196). The contenders are strong, resourceful and unscrupulous who are equipped to outwit the rivals and subvert the rule of law. Indeed, stubborn cadres are essential to face the rivals and tackle them with consummate ability, cunning and vigor. The spotty elements seek immunity from the long arm of law and the law-enforcing agency. In real sense they remain scot-free under the protective umbrella of political elite. They are aware that political protection will help them to naturalize or circumvent the rule of law, and indirectly, allow them to continue with their caddish activities. Hence, a nexus between the two develops fast as both sides try to achieve their goals relying on one another'. (Shaha. P.197). In Bangladesh, there are various scopes to have economic advantage taking shelter under the supportive umbrella of political party.

It is found that there are mainly five sectors providing unlawful economic advantage and these are the main sources of elite conflict. These sectors are- a) tender for government or semi government works, b) leasing out various government properties, c) unlawful occupation of government properties, d) unlawful toll collection, e) making money by playing the role of middleman. Day by day these scopes are falling short compared with increasing demands. Many aspirant individuals are desperate to grip these sources of benefit. As a result, interpersonal tension among these individuals grows more acutely. In this backdrop, these individuals look for the aegis of political elite to gain upper hand on the mentioned above scopes. Thus various patron-client nets grow within the society. Which are the main units in conflicts among political elites.

### **3.3 Patron-client nets**

Elites alone cannot form conflicting relation pernicious to the order of political system. They must have some sort of support belt from the masses. On the other hand, we can find a sizeable number of political upstarts in the political sphere of Bangladesh. Most of them are politically very active and over involved in politics. They are in fact the product of various imbalances underlying in the process of modernization. They are virtually driven by the gap between aspiration and availability. Characteristically they are desperate and furious to achieve their goals. In practice, they do not form any formal and informal group to articulate their interests in political system. So their interests always remain unarticulated in political system. As they are massively unsatisfied in relation to their unarticulated demands, they take politics as a means to satisfy their demands. So they look for some sort of support umbrella provided by influential person or tycoon of society. In the same way, political elites also require assistance of such upstarts to satisfy their political aspirations. This typical situation necessitates the unholy connection between the two. Thus various nets of patron client relationship grow and spread all over. Mutual interest is the very foundation of this relation. Rounaq Jahan in this regard maintains 'Patron-client network as basis of organization imply weak institutionalization of political parties. Political parties tend to recruit support by co-opting patrons in various localities. In building organizational support, parties deemphasize ideology and issues. Instead they try to win over local influentials whose sole function is to deliver the votes of their clients to the party. Since parties make no attempt to weaken the patron-client networks - rather they build on them - patrons maintain their independent bilateral relationship with the clients. Since clients owe allegiance to their patrons and not to the party, various parties compete with each other to increase their support group of patrons. This results in extreme organizational instability of the parties. Parties are forever threatened with factional splits and desertions. Indeed all major political parties of Bangladesh are created out of intra party factional splits'. (Jahan, 1980, p.164).

These nets play dominant role in the process of instability. As there is a vast gap between want formation and want satisfaction or aspiration and mobility opportunity, the pre-condition for social and political instability always exists in an intense modernizing society like Bangladesh.

#### 4. Correlation Between Modernization & Elite Conflict in Bangladesh

Instead of idealistic interpretation of prior age presently politics is being regarded as synonymous with 'Authoritative allocation of values' or 'who gets what when and how?' That is why interest and the distribution of values have been the focal point of politics. It is suffice to say that in a modernizing society allocation of values is a very tough task due to lack of supply in comparison with demand. In fact, gap between aspiration and availability act as root of instability and conflict. 'As a matter of fact there is a direct relationship between modernization and conflict'. (Bates, Robert H., p.3). But question naturally arises about who are the main actors or masterminds of these conflicts.

The essence of elite approach can be like that all hitherto the existing society is the history of elite conflict. Every society is elitist in practice. Everywhere we can find two different segments in a society - a few are elite and the rest are masses. Elites are those who occupy most of the values. Masses are of little importance as they are generally used like puppet by the elites. On the contrary, elites and the relations among elites are of great importance in the analysis of politics. Even some opine that they are the determinants of political activities and changes. In the context of modernizing societies the pattern of relations among various groups of elites has special significance particularly in the question of political instability. Within the scarcity of resources, they generally scramble for ensuring their respective allocation of values. Thus political system becomes endangered.

Like others, elites show four basic types of interactions among themselves - 1.Exchange 2.Co-operation 3.Competition. 4.Conflict. (White, P.38) 'Exchange is voluntary interaction from which all parties expect some reward. Co-operation is interaction that occurs when people work together to achieve shared goals. It is not always possible for people to reach their goals by exchange or co-operation. If your goal and my goal are mutually exclusive, we both cannot achieve our goals. Similarly in situation of scarcity, there may not be enough of a desired goal to go around. In this situation, processes are likely to take the form of either competition or conflict. A struggle over scarce resources that is regulated by shared rules is competition. The rules usually specify the condition under which wining will be considered fair and losing will be

considered tolerable. When the norms are violated, competition may erupt into conflict. When struggle over scarce resources is not regulated by shared rules, conflict occurs'. (White, p.39)

Competition in practice is not always dysfunctional. In democratic system competitions among political elites are always welcomed. Because, it develops leadership quality hidden in prospective leaders and places right man in the right place. At the same time, it may be conducive to political mobilization.

In Bangladesh among these four types of relation 'conflict', the worst type of interaction, is in prominence position. Conflicts in fact over cast all other forms of interaction in the sphere of politics. Even most of the competitions ultimately transform into conflict. Competition is in prominence position as rules of games are hardly obeyed. In intra elite relation we can find some forms of coalition among elites. But in fact most of these are strategic relations. In Bangladesh's various political events, elites lost a number of scopes of making co-operation. In spite of this fact a number of critical juncture in the history of Bangladesh like liberation movement of 1971, mass upsurge for the recovery of democracy in 1990 and the restoration effort of parliamentary system were marked with co-operation among political elites. But these coalitions and co-operations were very short lived as after short spun of time conflicts came to surface. Thus conflict got prevalence over other types of relation in political elites' interactions.

In Bangladesh, due to gap between aspiration and availability compounded with various gaps underlying in the process of modernization, a typical situation prevails all over the society, amid which destabilizing events take place. In our political arena we find mainly two types of political actors; one is political elite and the other is political activist, one is patron and other is client. The motives of the two in the participation of politics are a bit different. One aspires for mainly political gains and other aspire for mainly economic gains, though we find sometimes the existence of a blend of both of the elements in the motives of their political participation. Like the situation of other modernizing nations, in Bangladesh these political actors are the products of modernization and social mobilization. Consequently, their behaviors as political actors are shaped by particular mode of modernization. The particularities of their behavior are the most vital factors for the political stability of Bangladesh. As there is a vast gap between want formation and want satisfaction or aspiration and mobility opportunity, the pre-condition for social and political instability always exists in society.

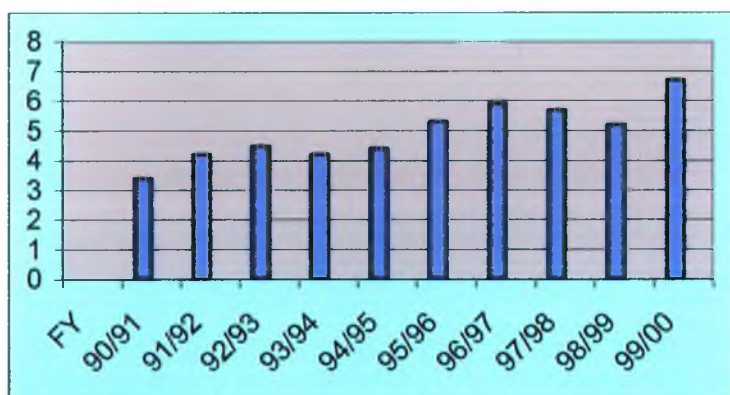
The typical process of modernization of non-western countries is full of imbalances and uneven growth of its various facets and some important destabilizing factors grow in the midst of these imbalances. So modernization as a process is destabilizing. One of the hypotheses of this study is that the destabilizing political situation of Bangladesh is resulted from mainly incessant conflict between political elites and there is a positive correlation between the degree of elite conflict and the rate of typical modernization process in Bangladesh.

This study is particularly designed for democratic regimes. Its main objective is to locate the operational problems of the democratic system of Bangladesh and the problems relating to bringing stability in its political system. So, its period of study has been fixed ranging from 1991 to 2001. The main intent of it is to look into the process of modernization and the degree of elite conflict in Bangladesh and have a close look between the two, and lastly determine whether there is any relation between the two variables. 'The modernization in operational sense means the attainment of higher levels of the variables, such as education, per capita income, urbanization, political participation, industrial employment and media participation'. (Bates, Robert H., p.3). With a view to collect required quantitative data concerning the modernization process of Bangladesh, we had to go through various relevant documents and reports published by governmental and non-governmental organizations. In view of scarcity of data and the expected degree of accessibility to relevant information, we selected some relevant parameters relating directly or indirectly to the various facets and stimuli of modernization with a view to have a comparative account. The data given below are intended to give the readers at a glance impression as to various indices of modernization in Bangladesh.

The growth rate of GDP is the most important indicator to measure modernization process. The table given below shows the growth rate of GDP in the period 1990/91-1999/00 (base year-1984/85):



FY	Growth rate of GDP
1990/91	3.4
1991/92	4.2
1992/93	4.5
1993/94	4.2
1994/95	4.4
1995/96	5.3
1996/97	5.9
1997/98	5.7
1998/99	5.2
1999/00	6.7
00/01	6.6 (Not final)



Source: Bureau of Statistics & Finance Department collected from 'Bangladesh Arthanaitik Samiksha', p.33.

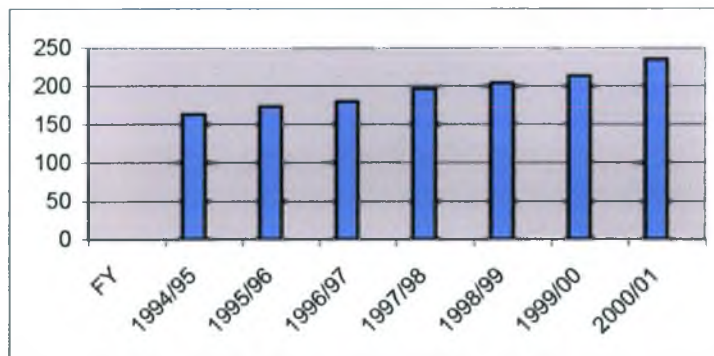
Here we find steady rise of the growth of GDP in Bangladesh, though there are some evidences of slight ups and downs.

In a modernizing economy, the contribution of manufacturing sector in national economy gradually acquires rising trend. So it can be an indicator of modernization process.

Index of production of medium and heavy industry in the period of 1994/95- 2000/01, (1988/89= 100):

Quantum index of production in manufacturing sector

1994/95	163.33
1995/96	173.50
1996/97	179.30
1997/98	195.94
1998/99	204.17
1999/00	213.02
2000/01(July December)	235.20

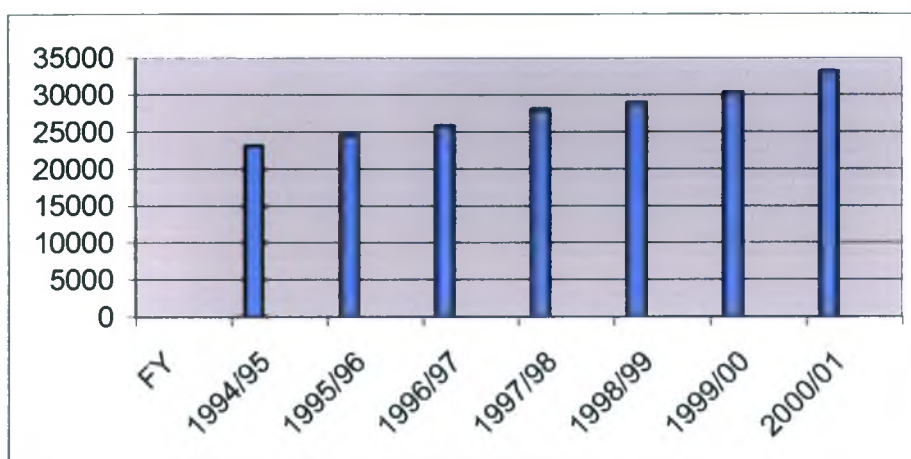


Source: Bangladesh Statistical Bureau, collected from 'Bangladesh Arthanaitik Samiksha', 2001, p.60.

One can find a trend of sharp rise in the index of production of medium and heavy industry.

Contribution of manufacturing sector in GDP in the period of 1994/95-2000/01 (1995/96 FY's constant value):

FY/Quantity	94/95	95/96	96/97	97/98	98/99	99/00	00/01
Small & cottage	6522.0	7061.9	7609.1	8124.0	8184.9	8659.3	9305.6
Medium & heavy	1629.7	17573.2	18270.4	19966.8	20803.3	21708.6	23825
Total	23151.7	24635.1	25879.5	28090.8	28988.2	30367.9	33130.8



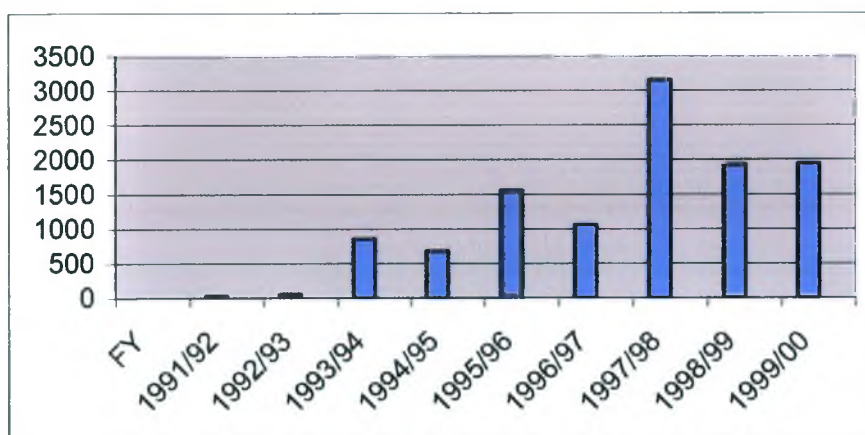
Source: Bangladesh Statistical Bureau, from 'Bangladesh: Arthanaitik Samiksha', 2001, p.59.

The above table shows that the contribution of manufacturing sector in GDP is on the increase. It is one of the indices of modernization.

Foreign investment can play a revolutionary role in the modernizing process of a country. The information relating to direct foreign investment in Bangladesh is given below.

Foreign direct investment registered in Investment Board in the period 1991/92-1999/00:

FY	Million US dollar
1991/92	25
1992/93	53
1993/94	850
1994/95	677
1995/96	1,554
1996/97	1,054
1997/98	3,156
1998/99	1,926
2000/01	1,950



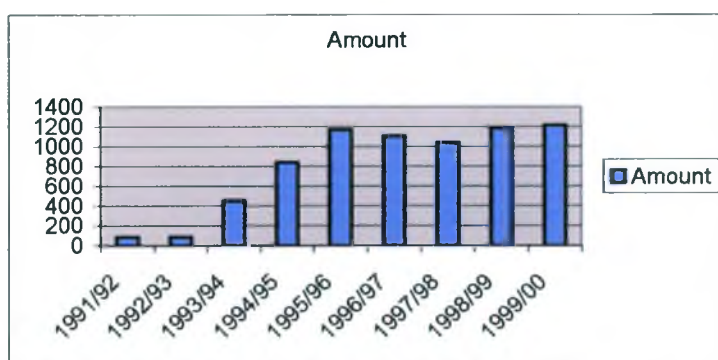
Source: Board of Investment, collected from 'Bangladesh: Arthanaitik Samiksha' 2001, p.62.

Though there are some declines in the financial years of 1994/95, 1996/97, and 1998/99 compared with previous years, one can find a steady rising trend within the stipulated span of time. In the first two financial year of studied period, it was below or slight above 50 million US Dollar and in the last two years of stipulated period it was almost 2000 million US Dollar.

Like foreign investment, local investment also can play important role in the process of modernization.

Total figures of local investment registered in investment board of Bangladesh from internal and external sources:

FY	Amount (million US dollar)
1991/92	91
1992/93	90
1993/94	457
1994/95	846
1995/96	1,171
1996/97	1,108
1997/98	1,043
1998/99	1,183
1999/00	1,219

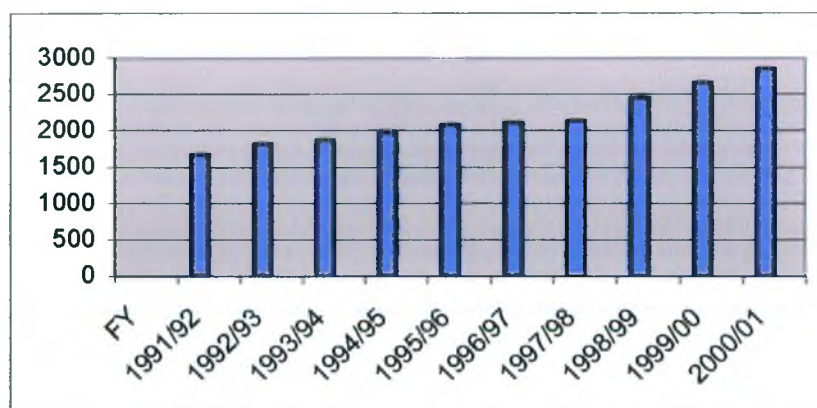


Source: Investment Board, collected from 'Bangladesh: Arthanaitik Samiksha' 2001, p.62.

The above chart shows that the trend of almost sharp rise in the field of local investment has been manifest even in the short span of time, though 1996/97 and 1997/98 mark slight decline from previous years. In spite of this fact the trend was almost rising because it grew from around 90 million dollar of initial years to more than one thousand million dollar in ending years of this study.

The rate of per capita power consumption is another indicator of modernization. The table below shows the increasing quantity of power production.

FY	Highest production Mg watt
1991/92	1672
1992/93	1823
1993/94	1875
1994/95	1970
1995/96	2087
1996/97	2114
1997/98	2136
1998/99	2449
1999/00	2665
2000/01	2853

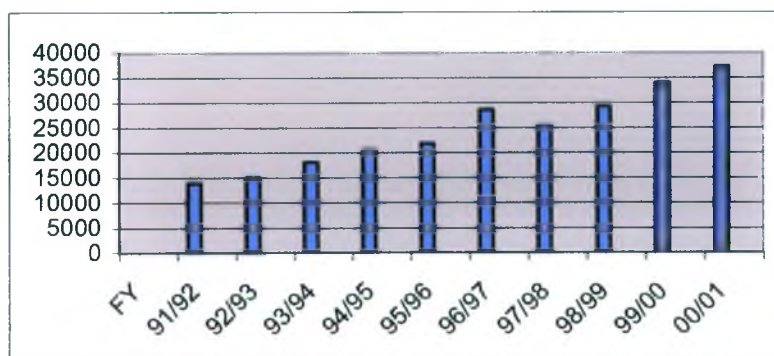


Source: Statistical Bureau of Bangladesh, collected from 'Bangladesh: Arthanaitik Samiksha', 2001, p.73.

Very manifestly, the quantity of power generation is on the increase in the stipulated period of study.

Increasing expenditure of government can be significantly contributory to modernization process. Information about the expenditure of government for the period of 1991/92 – 2000/01 are given below.

FY	Amount (core Taka)
1991/92	13924
1992/93	15060
1993/94	18133
1994/95	20603
1995/96	21830
1996/97	23576
1997/98	25537
1998/99	29274
1999/00	33915
2000/01	37133

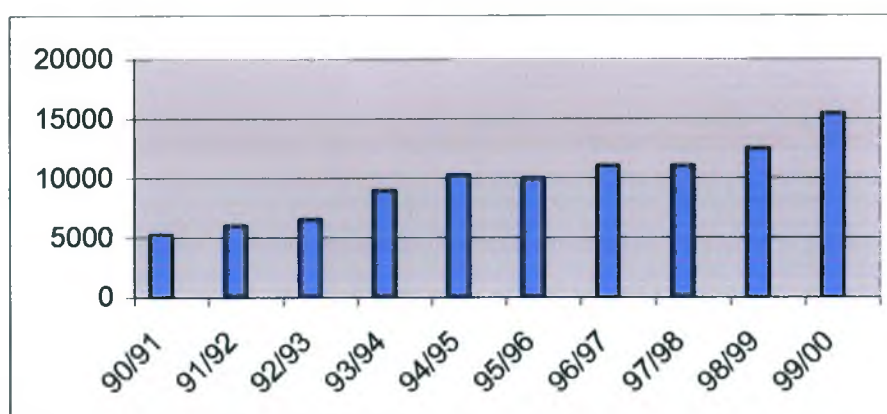


Source: finance ministry, collected from 'Bangladesh: Arthanaitik Samiksha.2001, p.26.

Here, one can easily find a gradually increasing trend in the expenditure of government.

Investment for ADP is also conducive for modernization process of Bangladesh. Information regarding actual expenditure in ADP has been given below.

FY	Actual expenditure ( Core Taka )
1990/91	5270
1991/92	6024
1992/93	6550
1993/94	8983
1994/95	10303
1995/96	10016
1996/97	11041
1997/98	11037
1998/99	12509
1999/00	15471



Source: IMD, collected from 'Bangladesh: Arthanaitik Samiksha' 2001, p.27.

Data relating to the investment of government in ADP also shows the trend indicating sharp rise in the stipulated period of the study, though one can find an exception in 1995/96 FY.

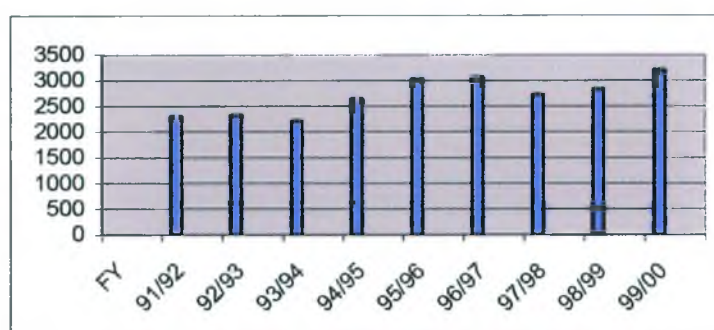
Agriculture sector:

Use of fertilizer and irrigation are two important index of modernizing agriculture.



Use of chemical fertilizer (000 metric ton)

FY	Total amount
1991/92	2287.4
1992/93	2316.2
1993/94	2217.8
1994/95	2640.6
1995/96	3022.7
1996/97	3057.7
1997/98	2726.8
1998/99	2824.9
1999/00	3203.8

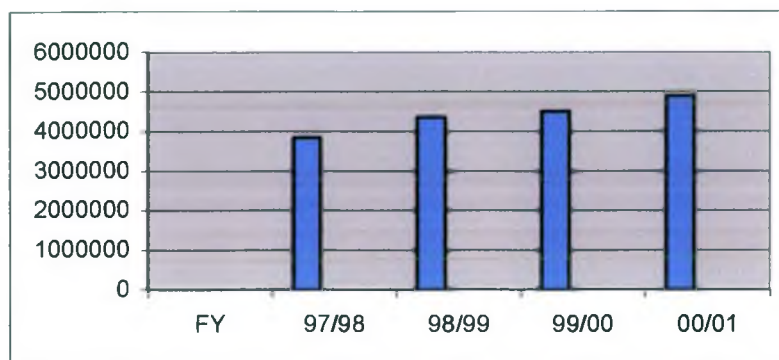


Source: agriculture ministry of Bangladesh, collected from 'Bangladesh: Arthanaitik Samiksha' 2001. p.53.

In spite of declining trend in 1993/94 and 1997/98, one can find slightly increasing trend over the period.

Quantity of total irrigated land (1997/98-2000/01)

FY	Quantity (hector)
1997/98	3832386
1998/99	4350555
1999/2000	4506323
2000/01	4894245



Source: 'Agriculture Extension Directorate', agriculture ministry, collected from 'Bangladesh: Arthanaitik Samiksha' 2001. p.51.

Its increasing trend in the stipulated period is manifest here.

Geographical mobility is another aspect of modernization process.

The activities of Bangladesh Railway in consideration of total passenger and kilometer:

FY	Passenger kilometer
1994/95	403.72
1995/96	333.32
1996/97	375.36
1997/98	385.60
1998/99	367.80
1999/00	394.10
2000/01	411.60

Source: Bangladesh Railway, collected from 'Bangladesh: Arthanaitik Samiksha' 2001, p.81.

Information of the above table does not clearly indicate any sharp rise or fall of trend.

Year wise differences of the number of passenger carried by 'Bangladesh Biman' in the period of 1995/96 – 2000/01:

FY	Differences
1995/96	(+) 0.48%
1996/97	(+) 7.47%
1997/98	(-) 7.54%
1998/99	(-) 2.16%
1999/00	(+) 3.66%
2000/01	(+) 8.41%

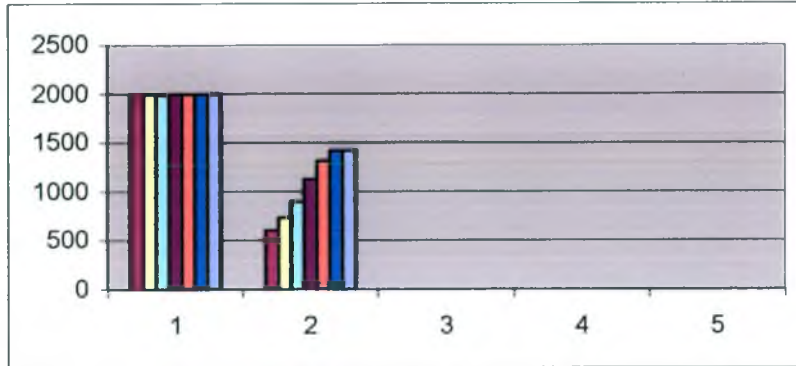
Source: 'Bangladesh Biman', collected from 'Bangladesh: Arthanaitik Samiksha', 2001, p.88.

One can have mixed impression from the information of above table. As positive differences dominate the table, it implies rising trend.

Expansion of education is one of the major indices of modernization. The table below shows the growth of higher secondary level of education in the period of 1995-2001.

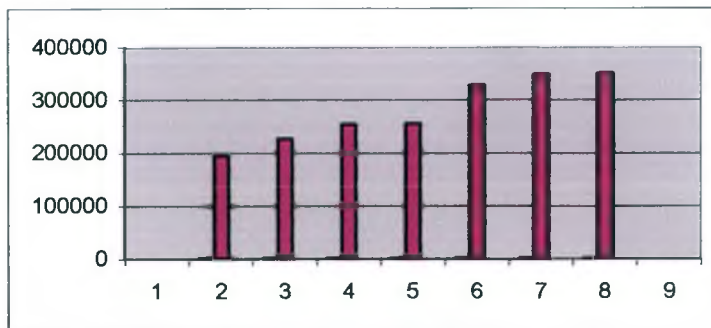
Year	Number of higher secondary institution
1995	603
1996	733
1997	901
1998	1130
1999	1316
2000	1422
2001	1422

Source: Education Ministry, collected from 'Bangladesh: Arthanaitik Samiksha', 2001, p.162.



Here the trend is very visibly upward.

Year	Number of student in HSC level
1995	193796
1996	226947
1997	253846
1998	255817
1999	327414
2000	347986
2001	350676

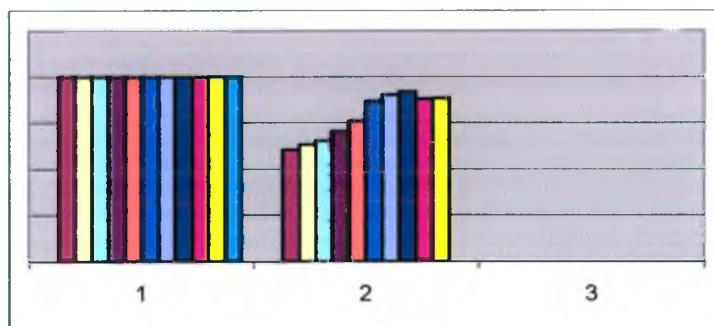


Source: Education Ministry, collected from 'Bangladesh: Arthanaitik Samiksha', 2001, p.162.

Here the trend is clearly upward.

Number of primary level student in the period of 1990-2000

Year	Number of student (000000)
1990	120.5
1991	126.4
1992	130.2
1993	140.7
1994	151.8
1995	172.8
1996	175.8
1997	180.3
1998	183.6
1999	176.2
2000	176.7

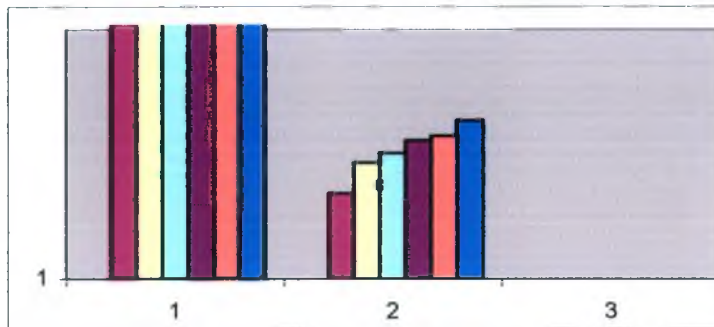


Source: 'Primary & Mass Education Department', collected from 'Bangladesh: Arthanaitik Samiksha' 2001, p.96.

Though the last two years of that decade show decreasing trend, one can find an overall increasing propensity.

Trend of mass literacy (15 years and onward)

Year	%
1991	35.32
1995	47.30
1997	51.01
1998	56.00
1999	58.00
2000	64.00



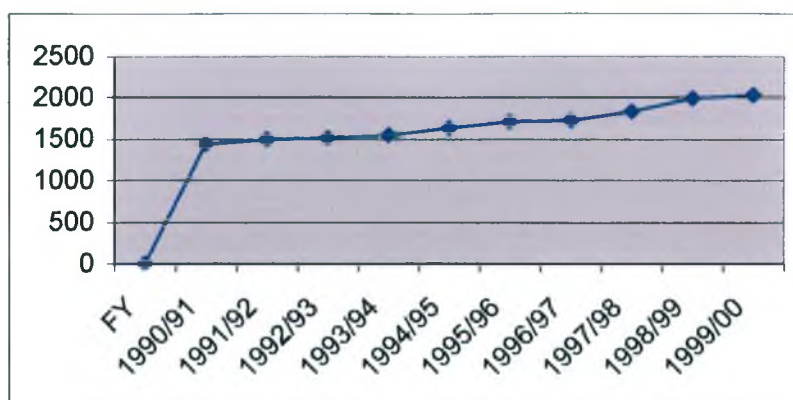
Source: Primary & Mass Education Department, collected From 'Bangladesh: Arthanaitik Samiksha' 2001, p.97.

Most of the indicators given above in the sector of education and literacy show gradually increasing trend over the period. Hence, one can draw conclusion in this regard that the process of modernization in respect of education and literacy is on the increase.

Gradual increase of the cost of living is a major indicator of modernization. The cost of living increases with the intensity of modernization process.

The table given below shows the index of the cost of living of the industrial workers of Narayangonj (Constant Year: 1993/94 = 100):

FY	Index
1981/82	689
1982/83	707
1983/84	771
1984/85	869
1985/86	950
1986/87	1059
1987/88	1158
1988/89	1237
1989/90	1336
1990/91	1434
1991/92	1496
1992/93	1515
1993/94	1549
1994/95	1635
1995/96	1710
1996/97	1723
1997/98	1832
1998/99	1990
1999/02	2032



Source: Bangladesh Statistical Bureau, from 'Bangladesh: Arthanaitik Samiksha', 2001, p.140.

Infrastructure is an important indicator of modernization. Nation wide high way forms an important part of infra structural growth. The table given below shows the growth of nation wide high way in the period 1996-2001:

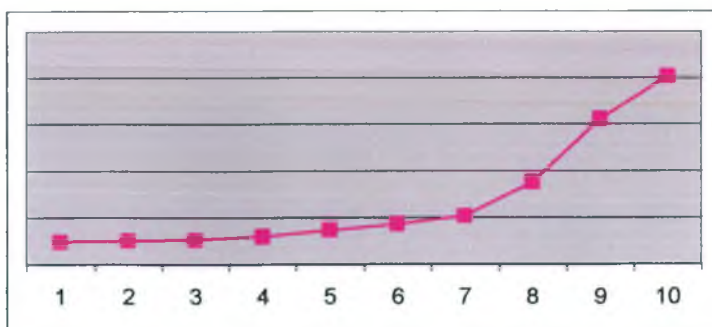
Year (up to 30 June)	Kilometer
1996	2862
1997	2862
1998	3144
1999	3090
2000	3090

Source: Road & Highway Directorate, from 'Bangladesh: Arthanaitik Samiksha' 2001, p.168.

Urbanization in terms of urban population growth is an important indicator of modernization process. The table given below is showing incremental growth rate of urban population in the period of 1901-1991.

Census Year	Urban population (%)
1901	2.43
1911	2.55
1921	2.64
1931	3.02
1941	3.66
1951	4.33
1961	5.19
1974	8.78
1981	15.54
1991	20.15





Source: Bangladesh population census, 1991; Urban Area Report, published in 1997, p.6.

Though still we do not have the final report of last census, one can have obvious impression from the above table that the rate of urbanization in terms of the growth of urban population is on the increase. There is no symptom of down ward trend in the above table. Though this table does not include our stipulated period totally, it may be helpful to understand prevailing trend.

Annual urban growth rate in some selected countries of SAARC & ESCAP regions of 1990-91 period:

Name of country	Annual urban population growth rate	Annual total population growth rate
Bangladesh	5.4	2.17
Bhutan	5.9	2.3
India	3.8	2.1
Nepal	5.5	2.3
Pakistan	2.4	2.9
Srilanka	4.6	1.3
Indonesia	4.1	1.8
Malaysia	3.2	2.3
Myanmar	4.0	2.1
Thailand	1.1	1.4
Singapore	0.0	1.1
Japan	-0.1	0.4

Source: Bangladesh population census 1991, Urban Area Report, published in 1997. p.7.

Then we are going to have a look at the situation of elite conflict of Bangladesh in the stipulated period. With a view to it, we took three periods of time as sample of study such as pre election and post election one month of the successive parliamentary election of 1991, 1996 and 2001. The reason latent behind this type of sampling is that pre and post election one month of any national parliamentary election can be called as peak hour of elite conflict. As constitutionally caretaker government assumes political power, political elites irrespective of their identity have the ample scope to involve themselves in a conflicting situation without encountering partisan role of administration. In Bangladesh's perspective, the suppressed situation of elite conflict of any party rule period, where ruling elites are in offensive and the opposition elites are almost in defensive position, actually burst out in these sample periods. With the disappearance of the partisan role of administration, contending parties or individuals become considerably free for being offensive. So it best represents the actual situation of elite conflict. Besides, this is the period when elite conflict becomes concrete as final polarization takes place in political arena centering round the forthcoming election.

For the purpose of having look at the actual situation of elite conflict in Bangladesh and having quantitative information about it we had to go through various daily news papers of Bangladesh. Which was regarded as only reliable source of such information as only newspapers reveal the every day's interactions among elites. But all the events of elite conflict are not visibly manifested. Instead, some are visible and some are implied. We had to apply the ability of visualization in order to identify the actions of elite conflict amongst the actions of assorted conflict. Every day newspapers publish a lot of evidence concerning interactions among political elites. Some of those are evidences of elite competition and some of them are the evidence of potential elite conflict. For example, statement-counter statement, argument and counter argument, covert and overt criticism, press conference and rally, any form of peaceful demonstration, lodging suit of any kind, fielding candidate for any form of election and propaganda, even non violent hartal, strike, seize and hunger strike etc. are included in the category of competition. Mild forms of such programs may be conducive for healthy political atmosphere and these are not main concern of this study. On the contrary, some out of every day's political actions are potential evidences of elite conflict. According to our view, this category includes mainly:

- Political assassination and murder.

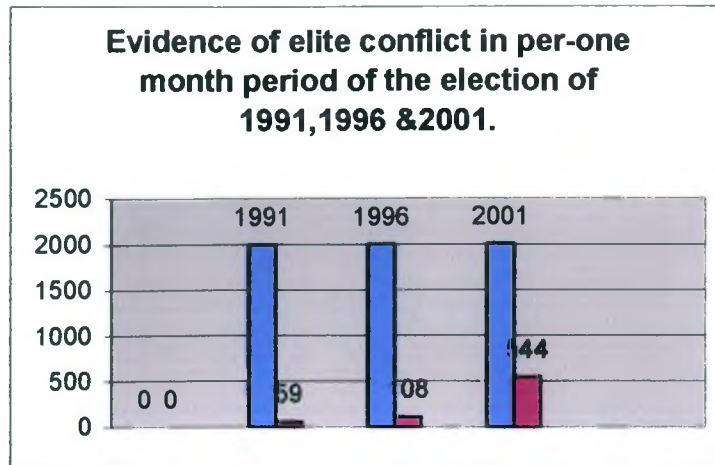
- Any form of collision on political ground.
- Attack and counter attack on the rally of political party.
- Making any form of deterrence in holding any rally or other forms of program.
- Using violent means to make political programs successful or unsuccessful.
- Setting ablaze any party office and any private or public property on so-called political ground.
- Physical assault for so called political cause.
- Encroachment, looting or destroying of any private property for so called political cause.
- Recovering lethal weapon.
- Explosion of bomb when manufacturing.
- Electoral violence, rigging and all forms of unlawful act in polls.

In this regard we only considered the reports of newspapers keeping aside claims or statements of any political party or leader. Because, such type of news contents might have reflected parochial views, if these were considered as the sources of information. Considering the particular inclinations of some particular newspapers, we did not depend on only one newspaper to collect quantitative data regarding these. In fact, presented data in this study represents non-biased news contents. We could make it possible through adapting crosschecking method.

Frequency of potential evidence of elite conflict in pre one-month period of the elections of 1991, 1996, 2001:

Election	Evidence of potential elite conflict
1991	59
1996	108
2001	544

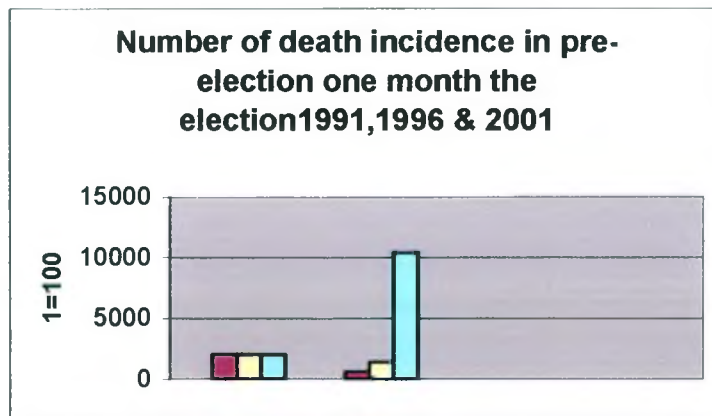
The above table shows that the potential evidences of elite conflict maintain a rocketing rise in the years of 1991, 1996, & 2001.



Source: Researcher's own study based on news contents of different newspapers.

Frequency of death incidence potentially due to elite conflict in pre electoral one-month period of 1991,1996 and 2001:

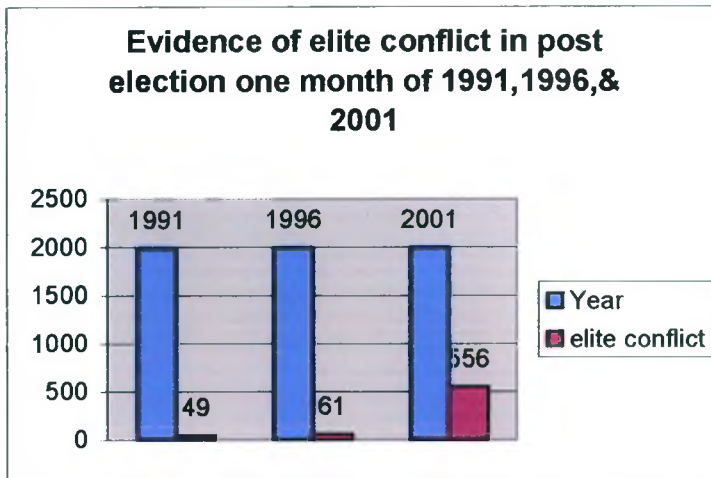
Election	Death incidence
1991	6
1996	14
2001	104



Source: Researcher's own study based on news contents of various newspapers.

Potential evidences of elite conflict in post-electoral one month period of 1991,1996 & 2001:

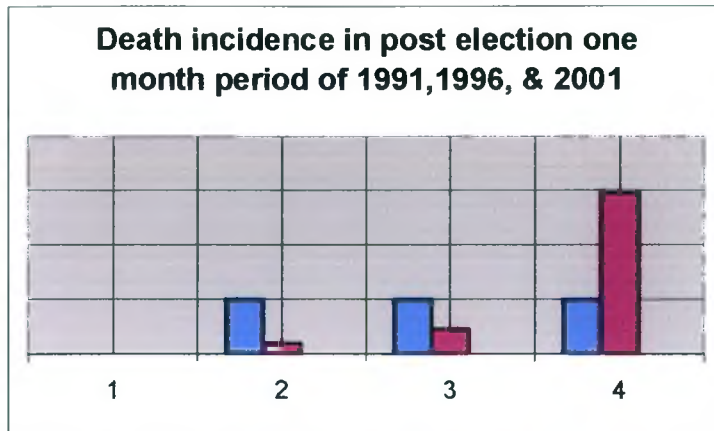
Election	Evidence of elite conflict
1991	49
1996	61
2001	556



Source: Researcher's own study based on news contents published in various newspapers.

Evidences of death incidence potentially due to elite conflict in post electoral one-month period of 1991, 1996 & 2001:

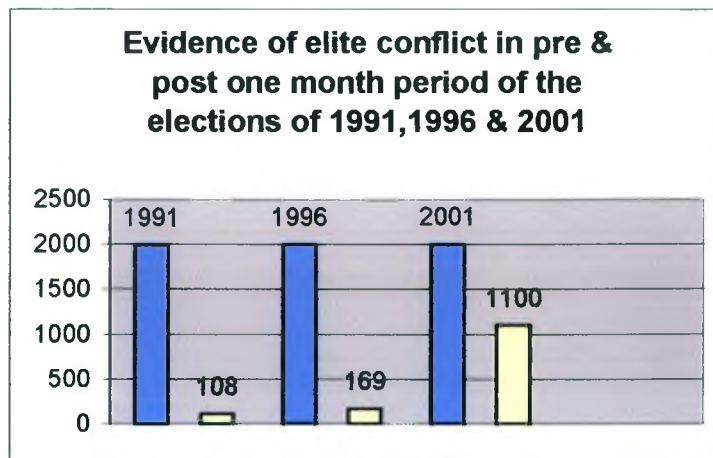
Election	Evidences of death incidence
1991	4
1996	9
2001	59



Source: Researcher's own study based on news contents published in different newspapers.

Evidences of potential elite conflict in pre and post (combined) electoral one-month period of 1991, 1996 & 2001:

Election	Evidence of elite conflict
1991	108
1996	169
2001	1100

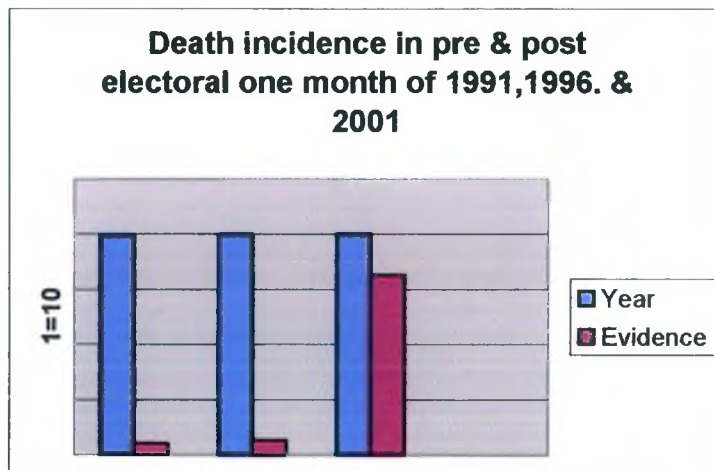


Source: compiled from previous tables regarding elite conflict.

Evidences of death incidence potentially due to elite conflict in pre and post (combined) one month of 1991, 1996 & 2001:

Election	Evidence of death incidence
1991	10
1996	23
2001	163

Source: compiled from previous tables regarding elite conflict.



Finally, considering the presented data concerning the modernization process and conflicts among political elites of Bangladesh one can easily find out strikingly escalating condition of the two. Even amid the short spun of period, trends are very distinguishing. It is almost crystal clear that the frequency and the intensity of elite conflict are going abreast of the sharp rise of the indicators of modernization process. So, one can come to conclusion that the process of modernization and the conflict among political elites in Bangladesh are keeping positive correlation.

## 5. Political Party Versus Civil Society in The Perspective of Escalating Elite Conflict

Elite conflict should never be considered as a problem of mere establishing law and order of a society. Additionally, it should be considered as a problem of mainly national integration. 'With regard to national integration Dr. Nazrul Islam maintains that the problems of nation building or national integration are not without precedent nor only related to the new states of Asia and Africa: European states have now facing analogous problems of integration'. (Islam. Nazrul., p.13). In spite of it, a subtle difference lies between the two areas of crisis. According to Rounaq Jahan, ' in developed countries where there is a pre-existent, well-formed national ideology, a national elite, and national institutions, the problem is essentially found in the need to integrate one or more alienated groups into the already existing system. In the developing countries, on the other hand, there is often no such pre-existing sovereign system and the task of nation building is thus two fold: first to create a national ideology, a national elite and national institutions, in short, to build a nation where there was none before; and second, to integrate the various groups into the newly created national system'. (Jahan. R., 1994, pp.2-3). It is almost universally accepted that Bangladesh has achieved remarkable progress in the first phase of national integration, particularly; it has an almost universally accepted framework of national ideology in terms of that most of the fundamental principles are almost established. Instead of an outcome of the socialization process carried out by political parties, this consensus was mainly a contribution of recent political changes taken place worldwide. In spite of having consensus on most of the fundamentals, the problem, which still persists according to Raunaq Jahan is that Bangladesh cannot integrate various conflicting elites into the national system. (Jahan. R., 1994, p.2-3). Bangladesh does not have a national elite not in terms that it has parochial allegiances based on variety of language, religion etc. Instead, they are recklessly engaged in a conflicting situation based on very personal and parochial interests. Apparently the problem is how Bangladesh can combine its conflicting political elites with one another in a competitive not conflicting political system.

Citing the term of national institution Rounaq Jahan tries to hint at political party. The implied meaning of it is that political party is one of the key factors for nation building



or national integration. Myron Weiner suggests five points for national integration. Among these five, the devising of integrative institutions and behavior signifies among others the factor of political party. (For detailed account, see Weiner. Myron., Political Integration and political Development, The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCCII 8, 1965, 52-64). Huntington also impliedly suggests that an adoptive political party can absorb the political crisis in a society.

In the relationship between social frustration and political instability Huntington found out two intervening variables. According to his words, 'the reason for relationship between social frustration and political instability are somewhat more complicated than they may appear on the surface. The relationship is, in large part, due to the absence of two potential intervening variables: opportunities for social and economic mobility and adaptable political institutions'. (Huntington, p.54). Which ultimately means that the relationship between social frustration and political instability becomes crystal clear when political institution, as an intervening variable does not come to surface.

To describe the importance of political party Huntington maintains, 'political institutions have moral as well as structural dimensions. A society with weak political institution lacks the ability to curb the excesses of personal and parochial desires. Politics is a Hobbesian world of unrelenting competition among social forces- between man and man, family and family, clan and clan, region and region, class and class- a competition unmediated by more comprehensive political organizations. ----- Without strong political institutions, society lacks the means to define and to realize its common interests. The capacity to create political institution is the capacity to create public interests.' (Huntington, p.24).

There is somewhat difference between the central thought of Huntington's gap thesis and the main hypothesis of this study although this study greatly owes to Huntington's gap thesis to form its central thought. Contrary to the Huntington's gap thesis, this study is giving emphasis on the growth of civil society instead of political party. That means the Huntington's gap thesis can be modified as the increasing gap between the growth of political participation mostly in the form of elite conflict and the growth of civil society determines political instability in a society. This study hypothesizes that civil society instead of political party can bridle elite conflict and ultimately political instability in the case of rapid modernization process. Here the importance of political party has been marginalized in the case of elite conflict and political instability, as the

political parties of Bangladesh show their intensifying role in the deteriorating situation of elite conflict.

### **5.1 Socialization, Mobilization & The Myth of Political Party in Bangladesh**

It is a general preoccupation of political thinkers that performing a number of positive functions like political socialization and recruitment, interest aggregation and articulation, political mobilization and political game etc., political party institutionalizes political structures and functions. An obsession in favor of political party prevails almost all over the sphere of political literatures. Now we are going to have an in-depth look into some functions actually being performed in the perspective of Bangladesh.

Political party acts as an important instrument of political socialization. Political socialization is the process, which inducts the individuals into the 'political culture of shared orientations. Political socialization shapes and transmits a nations political culture'. (Richard & Kenneth., p.27). Regarding the function of political socialization performed by the political parties of Bangladesh, one can clearly observe that these functions are of mainly two types- one is of broadly based and the other is of narrowly based; one relates to common political system and ideology and the other relates to distinguishing political outlooks of different political parties. The main political parties of Bangladesh do not perform significant role in broadly based political socialization. In the field of broadly based political socialization one can find very dismal role of political parties of Bangladesh. It is very overt that the political parties of Bangladesh are commonly agreed to participate in political game under the framework of liberal ideals. But in practice they do not have remarkable socialization activities concerning political behaviors compatible with liberal political system and ideology. On the contrary, they are active to inculcate narrowly based and distinguishing political outlooks of respective political parties into their supporters. Most of these are not at all related with the crying needs of Bangladesh. As a result, differences develop among the political parties. Political elites of Bangladesh bring these differences out and deepen these with a view to mobilize political support. In this regard Ataur Rahman maintains ' in Bangladesh most political parties resort to easy rout of political mobilization – politicizing public sector employees, urban workers, unionized teachers and activating the students mostly on emotive and less substantive issue. The parties show less interest in conscious mobilization and political socialization of their workers from the grassroots'. (Rahman. A.,

p.16). So, the political mobilization of Bangladesh currently performed under the aegis of main political parties in practice is based on narrow basis. Which in fact escalates the conflicting situation in political arena.

Besides, political mobilization of such type in fact reflects the actual depiction of patron-client networks diffused all over the country. Regarding this patron-client network Raunaq Jahan opines, 'Patron-client networks as basis of organization imply weak institutionalization of political parties. Political parties tend to recruit support by co-opting patrons in various localities. In building organizational support, parties de-emphasize ideology and issues. Instead they try to win over local influentials whose sole function is to deliver the votes of their clients to the party. Since parties make no attempt to weaken the patron-client networks - rather they build on them - patrons maintain their independent bilateral relationship with the clients. Since clients owe allegiance to their patrons and not to the party, various parties compete with each other to increase their support group of patrons. This results in extreme organizational instability of the parties. Parties are forever threatened with factional splits and desertions. Indeed all major political parties of Bangladesh are created out of intra party factional splits'. (Jahan. R., 1980, p.164). Factional splits and desertions are in fact nothing but the products of elite conflict.

Political culture existing in any political system is to a considerable extent responsible for intra political party factionalism and ultimately intense degree of elite conflict. 'In south Asian context, therefore, political culture is an important factor in understanding the mode of competition. Successful democratization in developing countries shows that political elite's behavior and intra elite competition play an important role in making the democratic system workable. In fact, the characteristics of elite's political culture provide the basis for change and stability in a society. Therefore, the attitudes of political elite toward the institutions of government and rules of game, their evaluation of basic policy outputs and their interactions with other persons often determine how the political process will unfold, and whether peaceful co-existence of opponents will occur'. (Rahman. A., p.17).

## **5.2 Interest Politics & The Myth of the Political Party in Bangladesh**

In the literatures of Political Science it is supposed that in all modernizing societies there will be plethora of interest and pressure groups and at the same time the input sector of political system will be burdened with the articulation of variety of

conflicting interests. A comprehensive political party is expected to mediate, aggregate and sort out the common interests and then keep aside the parochial ones. As a result, despite intense socio-political mobilization political system may not have to encounter unbearable gap between input and output sector of political system. Thus political system can survive and have durability. Political party is supposed to deliver much contribution to this sector.

In the perspective of Bangladesh it is very visible that the functional performance of Bangladesh's political parties is really in most cases opposed to the expected role. As per the prevailing trend, its capacity to integrate diverse interests is on the decrease. Moreover, the peculiarity of Bangladesh's political system is that the growth of interest group is in slower pace than the growth of demand within the society. A large number of frustrated people affected by modernization process do not belong to any active formal group. As a result, these interests remain unarticulated. Even a considerable portion of these unarticulated interests is not articulated in an anomie way. On the other hand, political party itself has been an umbrella and vehicle of aspirant political elites as well as their aspirant clients. Political party itself is formally or informally fragmented with diverse interests. The political parties of Bangladesh cannot be a panacea, as political party itself requires some sort of panacea.

With the growth of modernization process interest has been the focal point of political action and at the same time ideological issues have been marginalized. Three or four ideological issues viz. Nationalism and patriotism, Socialism, Islamism, western democratic ideals were the main bedrocks of ideological politics. Presently, situation has been changed fundamentally compared to 60s and 70s owing to the collapse of socialist world, increasing gap between aspiration and availability as a result of rapid modernization process and wide spread impact of globalization, although personal interest was more or less active in previous political changeovers. But in those periods individual interests hardly superseded ideological issues. At present a vast number of aspirant individuals take politics as a means of satisfying their unrealized or unsatisfied interests. As a result, turning coat, political somersault, floor crossing etc. become more numerous than ever before as political parties indulge in these practices to satisfy their parochial interests.

### **5.3 Over Politicization - A Dysfunctional Aspect**

Over politicization has been another dysfunctional aspect in the political process of Bangladesh. And the growth of political party, instead of civil society, accelerates the process of over politicization. 'Where there is unique homogeneity among the people as in the case of Bangladesh, over-politicization and intense factionalism seriously constrain the peoples ability to work together'. (Rahman. A., 2000, p.17). Political parties of Bangladesh act as over politicizing agent in the political system of Bangladesh. Politicization may be of two types:

- a. Politicization in case of individual
- b. Politicization in case of organization or institution

In fact Bangladesh in its long way of political history enriched by various mass agitation was swayed with various significant political changeovers. These significant political changeovers virtually provided the bedrocks of over politicization presently prevailed all over the political process. Even the impacts of these changeovers were transmitted from generation to generation. Political parties were the main carriers of these impacts. Which in fact built major political tracks of Bangladesh to go round. Over politicization indeed persuades the individuals to go round persistently along one of these political tracks and employ most of their time and labor for making their party empowered. These tracks are popularly known as Awami track, BNP track, Left track, Islamic track and the like. In Bangladesh it is a very common feature that from student life a large number of student activists engage themselves thoroughly in politics. They partake in the political programs of particular political party spoiling their valuable time. Some parties are marked with excessive use of over involvement of their activists. Thus over involvement in politics and political activities ultimately creates over politicization in political system and lastly they may have dogmatic view as well as prejudice against particular political track. Over involvement of long time makes them dependent on respective political party for their livelihood. This type of political activists dedicates their valuable periods of life to the functions of political party. Even they some times take venture for making political party's programs success. The recent trends show that the number of this type of activist is on the decrease. Unlike the past presently the emotion with political support is being faded and the worldly interest has been the determinant of most of the individual's political action. On the other hand, as a bi-product of inwardly incongruent modernization process, a group naming 'muscleman' arises in the socio-

political arena. These groups being associated with political elites form the most destabilizing factor in political process. Over involvement in politics gradually makes the political activists dependent on politics in terms of their livelihood. In the period of 60s, due to trivial intensity of modernization, political activists could maintain themselves with almost subsistence level of demands. This level of demands was not very difficult to satisfy. A part time job beside politics could satisfy their limited demands. At present, contrary to the past, the volume of demands of totally dependent political activists cannot be satisfied so easily. So they have to resort to misappropriation of political power and they consider it as a means of livelihood. Higher political position is more conducive to achieving this mean. At present, higher political position is a key not only to political ambition but also to economic ambition. Thus at present political position becomes the bone of contention more acutely than previous decades, as worldly interest has been the source of prime motivation of political actions.

In the case of over politicization of institution and organization, one can find mainly three sectors to politicize. These are local government layers, functional groups and voluntary associations, various organs of government like bureaucracy, judiciary and autonomous bodies like Universities.

The political parties try to capture the local governments so that it can function as per the instructions of political party. In fact, controlling the local governments, the political parties try to gain over the rural masses and bring them under their control and try to penetrate politically into the grass root level (Shaha. B. P., p.31). In this regard either of two types of strategy can be applied. These are -

- a. Bottom up process of politicization
- b. Top down process of politicization.

In the case of first one, political elites politicize the grass roots and lower echelon and then try to capture the local government. It is less prone to elite conflict. It is mostly conducive for competition among elites. On the other hand, in the case of second one political elites firstly politicize the local governments and then try to control the grass roots. It naturally unleashes intensely conflicting situation amongst elites. Political elites adopt the both way of politicization. But often, they resort to the second one as because it seems to be easier and short cut way to impose grip on the grassroots as well as total political process. In Bangladesh it is a growing tendency among the political elites that they primarily tend to politicize local governments and then go for the grassroots. Thus the functions of local government institutions result in tug of war among political elites.

Presently, they are very much reluctant to launch door-to-door campaign for political support. Instead of this difficult task, they make such a situation under which grass-root peoples get compelled to beg patronage of the political elites or to join any camp of elite influence. Politicization of moderate degree is not always dysfunctional, as potentially it can be beneficial to the materialization of development programs and plans of political party. But over politicization is plainly a dysfunctional aspect and contributory to elite conflict inside or outside the institutions.

Regarding this B.P.Shaha maintains, 'the political parties sponsor candidate, try desperately to capture the majority of local governments. It is purely an endeavor to gain political power and authority and thereby to enhance the political influence. Political hold on the local government institutions ultimately gives them considerable strength to go for the bigger and wider political competition, conflict and power game. Once they gain political control, they can easily politicize its functions, network and take steps to utilize its resources for meeting the political and individual ends. Once politicization takes roots the organization loses its objectivity and image'. (Shaha. B. P., p.33).

'When local government institutions are transformed into mostly political unit or function at the behest of the politicians or motivated persons, obviously its plans are chalked out and programs are enforced aiming at political supremacy or political gain. While utilizing its fund pros and cons are hardly examined: bonafide demands and genuine needs are ignored: funds are either not faithfully or fruitfully utilized or diverted for the unimportant projects'. (Shah. B. P., p.35). Thus nets of interest grow centering round the local government institutions. A sense of deprivation grows among those who are out of this net. They sometimes adopt fair or foul means to thwart the privileged elites. Even inside these nets some sorts of conflict can be found very often. In this way, local government institutions have been one of the most important arenas of elite conflict.

Even it is found that political parties politicize most of the important pressure and interest groups in Bangladesh. For example we can cite the name of FBCCI, Dhaka University Teacher's Association, Supreme Court Bar Association, BMA and so on. In practice politicization may be aimed at two - to impose control over the unreasonable demands and increasing self-centric activities of functional groups or to gain political support from functional group activities. Over politicization conducted by the political parties of Bangladesh is not mainly due to curbing the interest and pressure group activities but to extract political support from these groups. As a result, some elites

steering these groups, make liaison with political elite of national level. These groups are also over politicized in the sense that the leading activists make these groups act and behave like a sheer political unit of a political party and likewise political issues and groupings infiltrate into these groups and finally influence their activities. 'In Bangladesh most political parties resort to easy rout of political mobilization - politicizing public sector employees, urban workers, unionized teachers and activating the students mostly on emotive and less substantive issue'. (Rahman. A., 1993, p.467). As a result of over politicization, functional groups of Bangladesh have been retarded and retarded group politics in Bangladesh ultimately results in suppressed interest articulation. It is indeed an internal imbalance in the growth of Bangladesh's political system that the growth of functional groups is much lagged behind than that of modernization process. Functional group politics of Bangladesh is under grown in terms of both quality and quantity. 'Organized groups in Bangladesh exist only among the 16% of the population living in the urban areas'. (Kochanek. A. S., P.704). Presently the activity of these groups in terms of their interest articulation is on the wane.

Owing to over politicization some dysfunctional aspects develop within the interest and pressure group activities in Bangladesh. These are as follows:

- It destroys the cohesiveness of functional groups and develops factionalism within these groups.
- It decreases professionalism of professional groups.
- It decreases the capacity of interest articulation of these groups.
- It generates one kind of populism and political stunt within interest groups.
- It generates negative attitude among the common members toward interest groups and their activities.
- As a result of it, elite conflict within functional groups mounts.

It is crystal clear that the society of Bangladesh is in a sense disintegrated as it is suffering from mounting degree of elite conflict. The panacea of political party cannot be fruitful in the sphere of Bangladesh, as it brings about over politicization in every sector of society. The panacea in fact lies somewhere else other than strong political party. One can find political parties in Bangladesh with their disintegrating role. Staying almost at large in political arena, political elites are ultimately jeopardizing system's survival capacity and thwarting the overall development process. The question has come to



surface that who will be able to ensure the accountability of political elite. Parliament in practice is not strong enough to ensure this accountability as it is thoroughly dominated by political elites. The hypothesis of this study is that a strong civil society can be able to ensure the accountability of political elites and improve the deteriorating condition of elite conflict.

#### **5.4 Inside the Civil Society of Bangladesh**

One of the hypotheses of this study is that the civil society of Bangladesh is in practice very feeble and still it is in its formative age. Hence, political elites are unaccountable and the degree of elite conflict is soaring high.

The study of civil society firstly requires delineating the actual purview of civil society. In very vulgar sense civil society includes only literati and cultural personalities. Undoubtedly, it is very narrow explanation of civil society. In fact, the term civil society indicates a particular segment of society whose members possess certain distinguishing features. The operational sense of civil society used in this study includes the particular segment of society possessing mentioned below characteristics irrespective of educational and economic status. The aspects, which characterize civil society, are as follows:

- It is more or less as a synonym for pluralism. (Bealey. F., p.59).
- One of the essential characteristics of civil society is to be vocal of their basic rights. (Dhal. R., p.232).
- It is independent of state. (Bealey. F., p.59).
- It is prone to intervention even in democracies. (Bealey. F., p.59).
- It is prone to reconcile private interest and public good. (Madison. G. B., p.10).
- It is a mélange of voluntary associations, including religious and cultural bodies, which interact among themselves as well as with political process. (Rashiduzzaman. M., p.987).
- It should have equilibrium between right and left. (Rashiduzzamn. M., p.987).
- It is characterized by freedom, social diversity and competition. (Faulks. K., p.32).
- Within civil society individuals are free to pursue their own desire, as long as this does not encroach upon the liberty of others. (Faulks. K., p.32).
- General consensus underpins the civil society. (Dahl. R., p.45).

- Conceptually, civil society is in against of the politicization of society. (Berger. P. C., p.179).

In consideration of these criteria the civil society of Bangladesh is very weak as a poor number of individual can be covered within this framework. Most of them are politically biased and politicized and even they act like political elite in Bangladesh. The period of this study deals with a number of democratic regimes of Bangladesh. A democratic society naturally experiences mushroom growth of interest and pressure groups, which is in fact consistent with the concept of civil society. According to Faulks, 'Basic to democratization is the development of a pluralist civil society comprised of a range of institutions and associations, which represent diverse interests and provide a counter weight to government. The formal political regime and civil society contributes to and also requires a responsive government. The development of autonomous civil associations, professional and interest organizations, is an important step for fostering democratization'. (Faulks. K., p.33). Almost in the similar vein White maintains – 'the role and functions of the democratic political institutions are heavily influenced by the character and behavior of the organized groups in civil society. These also depend on heterogeneity, the capacity to coalesce and the nature of the relationship the civil society maintains with the parties and the state institutions'. (White. G., p.75). The pressure groups of Bangladesh are small in number and weak in terms of interest articulation. They are not strong enough to pressurize or provide counter weight to government. In spite of existence of various problems and demands in political system, there is no sufficient activity of these groups. The social mobilization process of Bangladesh in fact is providing individuality instead of collectivity. In this regard the proposition of Stanely A. Kochanek is very worthwhile. According to him, 'Bangladesh therefore, has been largely individual and fragmented, and interest groups have played a very limited direct role in the government process. Like other organizations and institutions in Bangladesh, modern associations representing divergent social process have been rudimentary and insufficiently mobilized'. (Kochanek. Stanely. p.704.).

According to David Easton's system theory, a system faces crisis as gap increases in-between input and output sectors of political system for the cause of excessive interest articulation beyond system's capacity to satisfy the demands. David Easton's system theory indeed cannot pinpoint the main crisis of Bangladesh's political system. Articulated interests neither in organized form nor in anomic form pose main threat to the

political system of Bangladesh. Bangladesh lacks not only pure interest group activity but also civil association based on the issues like human rights, environment etc. One can easily find a number of functional groups working on these issues. But these groups are virtually politically motivated or based on parochial interest or these are largely indifferent to the real political causes of society. As a result, the impact of these group activities is noticeably insignificant to make difference in political system. In consequence of it, the policies of government regarding these remain almost unchecked.

Under growth of functional group ultimately indicates under growth of civil society. Faulks maintains - state should be ever ready to respond to the needs and demands originated from civil society. (Faulks. K., p.45). Amid insufficiently mobilized functional groups within the civil society of Bangladesh no one can ensure the accountability of political elites. In absence of typical situation consisting of mushroom growth of functional groups, needs and demands of civil society can never be articulated in an appropriate way. Within civil society, functional groups instead of individuals act as the units of political actions. Nowadays, focus of politics has been shifted from individuals to groups. But Bangladesh is still far lagged behind in forming group-based politics. Group based politics cannot flourish and even survive amid the euphoria of individual interest based politics. Regarding this Kochanek maintains – Bangladesh faces its greatest challenge not from the modern, organized sectors of society with whom government can negotiate. (Kochanek. A. Stanely., P.722).

Over politicization is another obstacle on the way of civil society. Here politicization, in a word, means orientation and persistence to particular political trend. In the political system of Bangladesh one can find both types of politicization – politicization in respect of individual and politicization in respect of institution. Compared to other segments of society, Bangladesh's so-called civil society is badly affected by over politicization. Individuals and institutions of civil society are mostly exposed to satisfy the interests of political parties. They are acting like an agent of political party instead of an agent of civil society, though moderate degree of involvement in party politics may not harm the cause of civil society. In a civil society of real sense some issues like human rights and fundamental rights ought to be above partisan politics. These issues should be commonly fostered. The act of politicization vitiates the congenial atmosphere of functional groups and elite conflict infiltrates into these functional groups as a result of it. Undoubtedly, political party is the carrier of both politicization and elite conflict. Political parties of Bangladesh politicize the society as well as so-called civil society.

Consequently, society as well as so-called civil society becomes fragmented and polarized. Polarization ultimately weakens civil society vis-à-vis political elites. Over politicization also demoralizes the members of civil society to be vocal to make political elites accountable to them. Thus politicization stands on the way of the growth of the so-called civil society of Bangladesh. Civil society of Bangladesh seems to be its formative phase as it is still vulnerable to over politicization.

The so-called civil society of Bangladesh lacks its various most essential features. In this regard, the question of equilibrium between left and right and passionate cultural polarization is very important. Regarding this Rashiduzzaman maintains – for democratic development civil society needs the equilibrium that cannot be achieved when individuals of civil society are driven to the extremes. Passionate cultural polarization disrupts the social and political harmony of civil society. (Rashiduzzaman. M., p.987). Still one can find the tendency of going to the extreme to a considerable degree among the individuals of so called civil society and passionate cultural polarization still marks the political process of Bangladesh to a considerable extent. The political parties of Bangladesh are primarily responsible for introducing and fostering such types of political feature of so-called Bangladesh's civil society, although the intensity of these phenomena seems to be waning.

'A vibrant civil society is always vocal for containing the power of democratic government, checking their political abuse and violation of law'. (Robinson. M., p.72). One of the essential characteristics of civil society is to be vocal for their basic rights. (Dahl. R., p.232). The so-called civil society of Bangladesh indeed lacks considerably in the sector of being watchdog of their fundamental rights. In the political history of Bangladesh one can find a number of successful mass upsurge and movement conducted by student activists, political parties and professional groups. Some try to consider these as the movements of civil society. In the same vein they try to establish that the civil society of Bangladesh is a mature one. Undoubtedly, these movements were contributory to the growth of civil society. But the main root of the motivation of these mass movements was not deep-rooted in the basis of civil society. In fact these mass upsurges took place as a result of elite conflict accompanied with some ideological orientations. In these movements the spontaneous inspiration of civil society's essentials was not in focal point.

Without the institutional guarantees provided by the structures of civil society, human rights are without substance. (Madison G. B., p.11). The record of human rights

of Bangladesh is not at all satisfactory particularly in the eyes of various international bodies. In spite of this fact, Bangladesh does not have strong opposition from its civil society, although some politically motivated demonstrations come into limelight few and far between. As a result, violations of human rights go unchallenged in Bangladesh. Chasing after sheer personal interest and allegiance to political party divert the attention of individuals from ensuring the human rights of the common people. Bias for any political corner provides resistance to oppose collectively the forces against human rights.

The courses of political development of western and non-western countries like Bangladesh are fundamentally distinct. In the western countries the development of civil society and political party were keeping pace with one another. As a result, neither stood on the way of another and there was no conflicting situation. Instead, one was complementary to another. In Bangladesh the process of political development is completely different. Here, political party is always overdeveloped than civil society. In respect of the pace of growth civil society of Bangladesh cannot cope with political party. Political parties are generally prone to politicize the society and the process of politicization has been an obstacle on the way of civil society. In fact inwardly political party and civil society possesses two distinct tendencies: political party tries to politicize the society as well as civil society, on the other hand, civil society tries to keep itself free from politicization. These are the reverse trends. In the case of Bangladesh, political parties create obstacles against it and ultimately suppress the up-and-coming civil society. Because, it is still passing through its formative stage and the same time it lacks proper aegis from government and others concerned. In this situation, the under grown and handicapped civil society cannot resist the rampant elite conflict taking place under the supportive umbrella of over grown political parties. The particular situation, where political party is over grown and civil society is under grown and modernization with its inward contradictions is in its peak, increases elite conflict and ultimately political instability. To speak precisely, a under grown civil society can never be able to ensure accountability of political elite. As Kochanek maintains – 'The political crisis of the past two years makes it clear that one of the few ways of the making the Bangladeshi political, military, and bureaucratic elites more accountable is to make them more responsive to a wider constituency. The development of civil society and a more effective interest group is one way of developing this greater sense of accountability'. (Kochanek. A. Stanely., p.721-22). So in the perspective of Bangladesh, the increasing

growth of the strength of political party accompanied with under growth of civil society has never been a solution to socio-political disorder and instability. Contrary to it, experience shows that it is indeed opposed to healthy growth of political order. Robinson rightly maintains – ‘A vibrant civil society is probably more essential for consolidating and maintaining democracy than for initiating it’. (Robinson. M., p.72). Hence, Bangladesh is having a cry for a vibrant civil society for consolidating and maintaining its hard earned democratic system.

## **6. Conclusion & Recommendations**

In this study it has been proved that the modernization process of Bangladesh is in fact dysfunctional in respect of some of its consequences. It has been considerably dysfunctional because it increases elite conflict and ultimately causes political instability in Bangladesh. Elite conflict, as a byproduct of modernization remains at large as the civil society of Bangladesh still is in its very formative stage.

In spite of this fact, this study is not at all opposed to the modernization process of Bangladesh. Accordingly, it has no prejudice against the overall modernization process. At the same time it does not propose to arrest the modernization process of Bangladesh or to supplant it with a suitable alternative. Instead, this study is in favor of the opinion that evasion from the path of modernization is virtually neither possible nor desirable. But efforts should be made by the decision makers to absorb the dysfunctional aspect of modernization. This study finally recommends a refined modernization process accompanied with vigorous and enthusiastic civil society. Political game should not be left only for the political elites. There should be a considerable share of civil society actors. In the situation of civil society's inactivity or incapability political elites remain at loggerhead to satisfy their mere parochial interests.

Political parties, NGOs working for awareness building, and those who are in power ought to concentrate their attention to emphasize on the creation of a strong and viable civil society. With a view to that the first and foremost policy should be not to interfere in the activities of pressure groups of Bangladesh with partisan political interest. If it is done, pressure groups of Bangladesh can get rid of politicization, polarization based on mere party interest and internal conflict as well. At the same time policy should be formulated to promote the mushroom growth of pressure groups based on not only respective interest but also some crucial issues like human rights.

The conclusive impression of this study is that the civil society of Bangladesh virtually needs a separate and more in-depth study owing to its importance and vastness. So it should be referred to further study making easy access to most of all required resources.

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