



# GOOD GOVERNANCE IN BANGLADESH: IDEALS AND REALITY

*M.Phil Dissertation*



**Supervisor**

**Prof. Dr. Shawkat Ara Husain**

Chairman

Department of Political Science

University of Dhaka

Dhaka-1000.

**Researcher**

**Md. Monirul Islam**

Session: 2004-2005, Registration No. 164

Department of Political Science

University of Dhaka

Dhaka-1000.

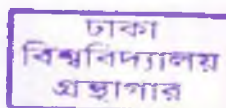
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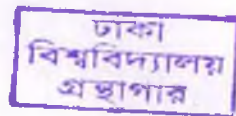
**GOOD GOVERNANCE IN BANGLADESH:  
IDEALS AND REALITY**

**BY**

**MD. MONIRUL ISLAM**

**UNIVERSITY OF DHAKA  
BANGLADESH**

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# **GOOD GOVERNANCE IN BANGLADESH: IDEALS AND REALITY**

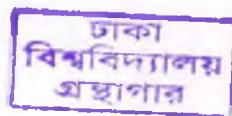
**BY**

**MD. MONIRUL ISLAM**

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for  
M.Phil Degree of the Department of Political Science

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Faculty of Social Science  
**University of Dhaka**



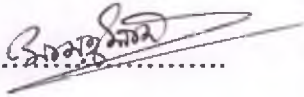
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**DECLARATION BY CANDIDATE**

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. I also declare that it has not previously or currently been submitted as a whole for any other degrees at University of Dhaka or other institutions.

Regards,

Md. Monirul Islam

Signature.....

Date..25.02.2011..

**CERTIFICATE BY SUPERVISOR**

I have the pleasure to certify that the dissertation titled '**Good Governance in Bangladesh: Ideals and Reality**', which I have supervised and read this study and that in my opinion; it conforms to acceptable standard of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for M.Phil degree of the department of Political Science. To the best of my knowledge, no other person was in any form associated with the completion of this study.

I recommend that this thesis may be sent for evaluation.

.....*S. A. Husain*.....  
Prof. Dr. Shawkat Ara Husain  
Supervisor  
Department of Political Science  
University of Dhaka

*Professor & Chairman  
Department of Political Science  
University of Dhaka.*

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## **ABBREVIATIONS & ACRONYMS**

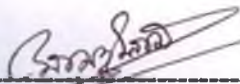
- ACC- Anti Corruption Commission  
ADB- Asian Development Bank  
AHAB- Ahle Hadith Andolan Bangladesh  
AL- Awami League  
APSU- All Party Students Unity  
BAKSAL- Bangladesh Krishak Sromik Awami League  
BDR- Bangladesh Rifles  
BJP- Bangladesh Jatiya Party  
BNP- Bangladesh Nationalist Party  
BSF- Border Security Force  
BOI-Board of Investment  
BOP- Balance of Payments  
CARR- Committee for Administrative Reorganization/Reform  
CEC- Chief Election Commissioner  
CHT- Chittagong Hill Tracts  
CPB- Communist Party of Bangladesh  
CTG- Caretaker Government  
DAC- Development Assistance Committee  
EC-Election Commission  
EPZ- Export Processing Zone  
EU- European Union  
FDI- Foreign Direct Investment  
FTA- Free Trade Agreement  
FY- Fiscal Year  
GDP- Gross Domestic Product  
HUJI- Harkat ul Jihad al Islami  
IDC- International Development Community  
ILRF- International Labor Rights Funds  
IMF- International Monetary Fund

**JBWG- Joint Boundary Working Group**  
**JI- Jamaat-e-Islami**  
**JMB- Jamiyatul Mujahidin Bangladesh**  
**JP- Jatiya Party**  
**JS- Jatiya Sangsad**  
**JSD- Jatiya Samaj Tantric Dal**  
**LCG- Local Consultative Group**  
**LDCs- Least Developed Countries**  
**MPs- Members of Parliament**  
**NCG- Non-party Caretaker Government**  
**NGOs- Non-government Organizations**  
**PCJSS- Parbatta Chattagram Jatiya Shanti Shomiti**  
**PSA- Public Safety Act**  
**RAB- Rapid Action Battalion**  
**RMGs- Readymade Garments**  
**SPA- Special Power Act**  
**UNDP- United Nations Development Program**  
**USAID- United States AID**  
**VAT- Value Added Tax**  
**VGF- Vulnerable Group Feeding**  
**WEF- World Economic Forum**  
**WB- World Bank**



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(Md. Monirul Islam)  
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## **ABSTRACT**

Governance or good governance has been arguably a dominant phenomenon of the last several decades adopted by both the developed and developing countries in varying proportions. The term “good governance” is an adjective of “governance”; governance can be defined as power which exercises for effective conduct of country’s economy, politics and social resources. Bangladesh as a developing country has little experience with democratic governance; the challenges are immense. But environment of past in the country’s journey did provide an opportunity for country to create new structures of government and systems of good governance. In situations where the national forces triggered their highest effort to provide good governing mechanisms and its institutions assumed some responsibilities for issues related to democracy and governance. But the country apparently failed to ensure the good governance in spite of having their entity as the aficionada of democracy in the world arena. State-actors of various ages emerged in the country’s scenario for leading the country in line with good governance as per measuring the popular needs in the state. General masses aspired same as the actors or governors liked to do. Their failure could highly be marked with private or partisan gain that generated mistrust amongst the people towards the leaders. While country’s overall scenario are shaped as catch-22 and confrontations for the lack of the scheme of good governance, it is dire need to make a rigorous study to sustain the democratic governance under the research findings that this study almost deserves for its hardcore research methodology in collecting data from both primary and secondary sources. The main purpose of this study is to find out the good governance scenario of Bangladesh that the country experienced during its three democratic governances from 1991 to 2006 and it also analyzes the effectual components of good governance in Bangladesh to exploit the potentials of these components undertaken into practice.

The study argues that weak enforcement of the regulatory framework, rule of law, accountability and lack of the control of corruption etc.–the major components of good governance are the underlying reasons or impediments for the restoration of democracy or democratic governance widely called as good governance. It argues that lack of these good governance issues created a shadowy environment making state-actors or rulers of Bangladesh to be irresponsible in their performing stage. Lastly, the study adds some propositions as suggestive measurement in the form of recommendations that can be paramount for the successful establishment of good governance in Bangladesh.

## CHAPTER ONE

### Introduction

#### 1.1 Introduction

The birth of Bangladesh was a unique phenomenon in that it was the first nation state to emerge after waging a liberation war against a postcolonial state.<sup>1</sup> Since the independence of the country in 1971 through a bloody war, uncertainty and volatility have been permanent features of its society and politics. Coups, countercoups, rigged elections, agitation for the restoration of constitutionalism, enactment of repressive laws, deceptive civilianization and legitimization process, and insurgent activities by radical revolutionary groups have constantly contributed to keeping the Bangladeshi society in a state of perpetual tension and mass frustration<sup>2</sup> thereby, constraining the process of democratization which is the indispensable prerequisite of good governance in Bangladesh. Bangladesh joined what Samuel P. Huntington had called the “third wave of democracy”<sup>3</sup> after a people’s movement toppled 15 years of military rule in December 1990. In the next 15 years, the country made gradual progress in fulfilling the criteria of a “minimalist democracy”<sup>4</sup>— regular free and contested elections, peaceful transfer of governmental powers as a result of elections, fundamental freedoms, and civilian control over policy and institutions. Bangladesh organized four successive national parliamentary elections in 1991, 1996, 2001 and 2008 which were certified as free and fair by national and international observers. As a result of the elections, state power rotated more or less peacefully (based on constitutional

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<sup>1</sup> Rounaq Jahan quoted it in an article namely ‘Genocide of Bangladesh’ referred in Monirul Islam (2008), *Contemporary Approach on National & International Issues*, Professors’ Prokashon, Dhaka, P.1

<sup>2</sup> Muhammad A. Hakim (1993), *Bangladesh Politics: The Shahabuddin Interregnum*, University Press Limited, P.1

<sup>3</sup> Samuel P. Huntington, *Democracy’s Third Wave*, *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.2, No.2, (1991), Pp 12-34

<sup>4</sup> Adam Przeworski, *Minimalist Conception of Democracy: A Defense*, in Ian Shapiro and Casiano Hecker-Gordon eds, *Democracy’s Value*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1999

guidelines) between the two major political parties – the Awami League (AL) and the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) – with the incumbents being defeated both in the 1991 (AL), 1996 (BNP), the 2001 (AL) and 2008 (BNP) parliamentary elections. During this time, the media and civil society became free from overt government control. The military remained under civilian control showing little interest in getting involved in domestic politics. Instead it became increasingly drawn to international peacekeeping operations. However, despite these achievements, there were indications that the country was not making significant progress in the field of good governance. Over the years, democratically elected political leaders started behaving in an autocratic manner using state power to reward political supporters and punish and repress political opposition that hinders the good governance process of the country. The country gradually turned into what Fareed Zakaria has termed an “illiberal democracy.”<sup>5</sup> The rule of law—one of the components of good governance started breaking down as successive elected governments began to misuse state power for partisan and personal gain. So, the demand for the separation of judiciary from the control of powerful executive becomes the hard-talk from civil society, media, business classes and general masses of the country. They argue in this point that fair trial makes fair the government that ensures the democratic standard in any atmosphere as the focal prerequisite of good governance. This grievous scenario of Bangladesh is not the output of short times but long times where from the inception of the country’s journey, incumbent authority did not get privileged environment for the establishment of good governance in its affair. Just after the liberation war, many foreign countries promised to aid Bangladesh in bestowing food grains, technical instruments and even reliefs for the rehabilitation of the people of the country. But most of the foreign countries failed to assist Bangladesh as they promised. So, war-ravaged country took huge times to come out its heinous conditions. Further configuration of country was highly vibrated by the leaders of

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<sup>5</sup> Fareed Zakaria, The Rise of Illiberal Democracy, *Foreign Affairs*. November/December 1997

various ages; no leaders were in right track to lead the country thereby, constraining the path of the establishment of good governance in Bangladesh.

## **1.2 Justification of the Study**

Good governance is a neologism to the scholars, rulers, politicians and general masses also. Generally, the rationale or justification for governance and good governance specifically emanates from the maximizing political and economic performance and ensuring social cohesion requires government to adjust rapidly to changing circumstances, to create and exploit new opportunities and thus to deploy and redeployed resources more rapidly and flexibly. The concept of governance subsumes under its rubric a nation's a system of rule, role and effectiveness of political authority, level of political institutionalization, efficacy of administrative and legal order, quality of political leadership and accountability of the government. Having greater lacks in above criteria, the importance of good governance in Bangladesh is very much-needed. My research task will operate to make people realize the above necessities of good governance and it will also identify the way of establishing good governance in Bangladesh through suggesting rational and crucial ideas, thoughts, or even implementing procedures.

Through this research, from the rational stance, concerned people and organizations are to be aware of good governance and its necessity in the state. It will find out the era-based governance scenario (from 1991 to 2006) where three democratic governments acted/performed and faced problems to govern the state. This study, from the rational point of view, is time-needed for shaping future good governance of Bangladesh through sharing or taking previous governance experiences or bitter experiences into account.

### **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

The main objective of this study is to find out the good governance scenario of Bangladesh that the country experienced during its three democratic governances from 1991 to 2006 and to analyze the effectual components of good governance in Bangladesh to exploit the potentials of these components undertaken into practice. This dissertation is a preliminary exploration, touching upon a few selected issues related to the use of historical investigations in the study of governance and good governance. In Bangladesh, the governance and good governance narrate diverse forms under the ruling procedures of different heads of the state characterized by democratic, autocratic, military, unitary etc. in their kinds. My purpose in that aspect is fivefold-

First, I seek to underscore the previous scenario of democratic governance from 1991 to 2006, thereby screening out the necessary means/ways of establishing good governance in Bangladesh;

Second, I point to highlight shortly the governance (local & national governance) situation of Bangladesh from the inception to 1990 (first phase of governance);

Third, I identify the major constraints to the way of good governance in Bangladesh and to come to the end. I diagnose or search the opinion of the diverse categories of people to know the governance scenario of the different democratic ages i.e.1991-1996, 1996-2001 and 2001-2006 and to screen out the way-out for the establishment of good governance in Bangladesh;

Fourth, I like to suggest recommendations and their execution methods in ensuring good governance in Bangladesh.

### **1.4 Literature Survey**

The study follows a broad-based literature survey due to knowing as well as scrutinizing governance and good governance scenarios in Bangladesh. Besides,

theoretical framework that study also shows with the study of different journal articles, books, periodicals etc.

Although colonial rule ended in the mid-twentieth century, its legacy continues in most of the post-colonial countries. South Asia has a long colonial history: the British ruled the Indian sub-continent for almost 200 years (1757-1947). The administration of South Asian countries has therefore been influenced by British rule in that the legacy of colonialism has been persistent and visible in the governance system of these countries. Consequently, the administrative and political systems of South Asia are incompatible with its indigenous social, economic, political and cultural contexts. It has been claimed that such a contextless nature of the administration and governance has a direct or an indirect impact on the road to good governance in south Asia. Bangladesh as the country of South Asia chiefly since its independence fiercely suffered from the impact of colonialism in recasting its governance or good governance. The colonial connexion and stakeholders' policy in the diverse phase of state-operation that breeds the ambiance of bad-governance resulted in constraining the process of people's interest articulation. To avert the country from this hazardous governance system, some academics contributed to produce some books, articles and other types of literary outcomes. To them, good governance means in its diversified ways as-

The concept of 'good governance' has occupied the central stage of sustainable development across the aid-depending world for more than two decades. It is difficult to find any debates on development that have not included as discussion of good governance. As a concept, 'good governance' does not have a straightforward definition, though it has been expanded immensely. As a result, various interpretations of 'good governance' are found in the literature on



contemporary development. In general, this concept is associated with an effective and efficient public administration in a democratic framework. In short, good governance means citizen-friendly, citizen-caring, responsive, decentralized local governance, an autonomous political society, an efficient and effective bureaucracy, a strong civil society and a free media.<sup>6</sup>

Many argue that governance is good when it serves no merely any public interest but that of the most poor and marginalized people in the society.<sup>7</sup> The World Bank identified the core characteristics of this term rather than defining it, although the characteristics themselves vary from country to country. These characteristics are the following: political and bureaucratic accountability, freedom of the media, freedom of information, rule of law, participation, transparency and strong civil society. However, it is clear that good governance as a concept is still developing in terms of its definition, its ethical connotations, and its usefulness.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, we suggest that its meaning cannot be confined to the frame of specific time and country.

As it has already been mentioned, despite the end of direct colonial rule in the aid-dependent world in Asia and Africa especially in Bangladesh, one of the developing countries in Asia, the colonial bureaucratic legacy has continued, not only in terms of administrative structure, function, classification, recruitment, socialization, norms and attitudes, but also in terms of such adverse administrative features as elitism, paternalism, despotism, secrecy, formalism, red-tapism, aloofness and rigidity.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Minocha, Good Governance: New Public Management Perspectives, *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. xiv, No.3, (1998), Pp.271-280

<sup>7</sup> S.M. Aminuzzaman (2006). Governance and Development: An Overview in S.M. Aminuzzaman (ED.), *Governance and Development: Bangladesh and Regional Experiences*. Dhaka: Sharbon Printing Press, P.14

<sup>8</sup> A. Kruiter (1996), *Good Governance for Africa: Whose Governance?* Maastricht, European Center for Development Policy Mangement (ECDPM)

<sup>9</sup> M.S Haque, The Contextless Nature of Public Administration in Third World Countries, *Internationals Review of Administrative Sciences*, Vol. 62, No.3, (1996), Pp.315-329

Bangladesh as a South Asian country is diversified in terms of its political, social and economic structure. Besides, the country has experienced frequent direct and indirect military intervention since its independence as well as occasional democratic governance particularly since 1991.<sup>10</sup> For keeping up the democratic governance, Bangladesh introduced a system of 'caretaker government' in 1996 in order to conduct free and fair parliamentary elections in the country. But this system of non-party caretaker government is now in question. Moreover, the state has regularly introduced initiatives to reform administration in order to institutionalize both democracy and sustainable development and to ensure good governance.<sup>11</sup>

With observing these scenarios, some creative scholarly contributions regarding good governance in Bangladesh can be reviewed for its maintenance of secondary data analysis procedure.

Salauddin Aminuzzaman (2003) in his famous write-up namely *Governance and Development Discourse in Bangladesh: A Diagnostic Assessment of Challenges and Concerns* very clearly and correctly examines the different dimensions of governance and development issues in Bangladesh. In the beginning of the paper, he presents a very clear theoretical frame of governance highlighting and interpreting the contemporary views including donor perspective. The author identifies the challenges of governance in Bangladesh concerning the five areas. They are: (i) the deteriorating law and order situation and failure of the justice sector to check crime and corruption; (ii) weak public administration; (iii) a regulatory environment that combines overtly strict regulation in some sectors and inadequate or no regulation in others; (iv) inadequate national policy and

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<sup>10</sup> M.S Haque, Reinventing Governance for Performance in South Asia: Impacts on Citizen Rights, *International Journal of Public Administration*, Vol.26, No.8 and 9, (2003) P. 943

<sup>11</sup> Rehman Sobhan (1999), South Asia's Weak Development: The Role of Governance at <http://www.eias.org/publications/briefing/1999/weakdev.pdf>. pdf., accessed on 07.05.2010.

resource commitments to decentralization and local government reform; and (v) the impact of intensifying partisan tensions on every dimension of life in Bangladesh. In addition, he critically examines the constraints of governance from various dimensions such as political, institutional, social and donor. Thus, in particular the contemporary challenges of governance and development in Bangladesh are: culture of confrontational politics, dysfunctional parliament, lack of professionalism in bureaucracy, the poor are least able to fend for themselves, lacking both the resources and the knowledge to assert their right and donors always dictate and control the governance reform through the aid memories. He concludes that the governance reform in Bangladesh needs a strategic approach considering some important issues such as; reform in political culture and leadership, fostering safeguarding institutions, addressing culture of impunity, reorientation of bureaucracy with new public management (NPM), installing a system of external monitoring and review, reforming public delivery system at local level, right to information and use of ICT governance.

Ahmed Shafiqul Haque (2004) has critically reviewed the problems of good governance in Bangladesh in his paper, *Problems and Prospects of Good Governance in Bangladesh*. He rightly identifies the challenges lies with the contemporary governance in Bangladesh such as constitutional amendments, military intervention, conflicting political culture and alliances, electoral problems, politicization and businessization of military and civil bureaucracy and corruption. Professor Haque also acknowledges the recent development of governance such as the process of democratization through electoral reforms, enhanced scope of people's participation and decentralization, the role of non-partisan caretaker government, role of non-profit organizations in poverty alleviation, independence of judiciary, strengthening anti-

corruption commission and the market and private sector development. In the conclusion, he precisely presents the challenge of good governance in Bangladesh in view of severe contrasts apparent in its social, economic and political settings. They are: the country is politically advanced in terms of high awareness of issues and participation, but a sophisticated political system remains a distant dream. Corruption erodes productivity, yet economic growth has been achieved through successive years. The society is reasonably free, yet it remains under strong military influence. Bangladesh's traditional society has shown impressive performance in promoting gender equality. In addition to the Prime Minister, leader of the opposition, and the Deputy leader of the Parliament, three of the key ministries-Home Affairs, Agriculture, and Foreign Affairs- are headed by women. A state religion is enshrined in the constitution, but the people and society remain secular in spirit. Significant advancement was achieved in assisting the poor, but widespread poverty prevails. Finally, there has been huge growth in population, but the membership of Parliament is fixed at 300 since 1972. The number of seats reserved for women, however, was increased from 15 to 30 and eventually to 45'.

Habib Zafarullah's famous study of *Policy and Politics of Preference: The Quota System in the Bangladesh Civil Service* lucidly examines the importance of the disadvantaged social groups and their incorporation, influence and representation within democratic institutions in developing nations in general and Bangladesh in particular. He states that the quality of any democracy or governance is reflected by the extent and magnitude of democratic inclusion inherent or intended for the system. In this paper, author precisely analyzes the 'quota system' which he calls 'affirmative action' in the civil service in Bangladesh and its challenges. He found that although Bangladesh has been practicing affirmative action in public sector for 36 years now but the program is

still being tinkered with. No concrete policy was ever framed and basically *ad hocism* has endured the quota system. The results have been mixed as the civil service remains unrepresentative s ever and continuously deviates from its main rationale that of achieving equality, equity and representativeness. Successive government failed to dig out the wrongs of the system and streamline it for its efficient working and for providing desired services to society. As affirmative action is quota based rather than focused on numerical targets or timetables, as in many advanced countries, it creates more problems than it solves. This has made the system difficult to administer and has left it open to political and bureaucratic manipulation. He concludes that affirmative action, if it can be divorced from partisan political contrivance and mindless bureaucratic artifice, can remove the broader dimensions of social exclusion including the many forms of inequality and apartheid and make the public bureaucracy more equitable, representative and participative – all hallmarks of democratic governance or good governance in Bangladesh.

Mohabbat Khan very precisely describes in his resourceful article named as *Governance in Administration and Judiciary in Bangladesh*, the state of good governance in the light of the past and present developments in the administration and judiciary in Bangladesh. He emphasizes that since the role of the state has been changed, a collaborative relationship must evolve between the state, market and civil society premised on interdependence, steering and networking in order to ensure good governance. Professor Khan states that politicization of administration and judiciary, lack of accountability, lack of transparency, massive corruption and anti-poor criminal/civil justice have jeopardized the good governance in administration and judiciary in Bangladesh.

In the article of *Analyzing Parliamentary Election of 2008 in Bangladesh and its Aftermath*, Professor Ishtiaq Jamil and Professor Pranab Kumar Pandey discusses contemporary events in the political scene of Bangladesh that took place in the period from 2006 to the present. They divide this period into three crucial stages: a) the period prior to the taking over of the army backed caretaker government on 11<sup>th</sup> January 2007 popularly termed 1/11; b) the period of the caretaker government from January 2007 to December 2008; and c) the 9<sup>th</sup> parliament election held at the end of 2008 and its aftermath. The authors observed that in the midst of confrontational politics during later part of the 2006 when the country went into a situation of unrest, chaos, and political conflict, the people of Bangladesh welcomed the army backed caretaker government. The caretaker government through their strong stands against corruption and initiatives to reform in almost every sector received widespread support of the general public. However, their popularity went down when they failed to control price hike of daily essential goods. Despite their failure to control market price, they stuck to their promise when they assumed power of holding the election and transferring power to a civilian government. Despite the landslide victory of AL-led grand alliance, authors emphasize four aspects that should be considered to fulfill the demands of the people of Bangladesh. They are: i) they should not act as a single and only one party given the overwhelming majority, but rather should be open, accessible and transparent to new ideas even though they may be diametrically opposite; ii) they should and must not allow party members to take undue advantage of this absolute majority; iii) AL used some long term visions to guide voters such as 'digital Bangladesh' in the election. Such visions must be clearly spelled out and acted upon because common people would like to see that the AL

sticks to their promises; and iv) the bureaucracy must not be politicized by favoring some and pursuing others.

*Professor Habibur Rahman* reveals the role of state in local government reforms from a historical perspective in Bangladesh. Dr. Rahman precisely states that despite of a long historical tradition, popular agenda for reforming during the last four decades and recent attempts by successive democratic governments, the institution still maintains antediluvian and puppet like existence administered through remote control mechanisms by a central state, having no basis in the productive or political forces at the grass root level. He concludes that the political and bureaucratic unwillingness, partisan political culture and winners-takes-all system are the major obstacles to the road of governance and good governance in Bangladesh. Finally, he concludes that the government policy reform process is hazy and characterized by implicit action by lawmakers and political leaders.

Some notable works of various scholars are presented as book is enormous as-

The book titled as *An Agenda for Good Governance: From Lawlessness and Corruption to a Caring and Prosperous Democracy* by Abul Maal A. Muhit (2007), poised a greater attention to the academics who are working in the domain of good governance in Bangladesh. The book deals with the urgent problems that are moving Bangladesh towards a failed state. The author of the book analyses the issue of the failure of parliamentary system of government. It confronts the problem of erosion of the secular character of the state. It deals with modernization of political and democratic practices. It comes to grips with critical law and order situation and the issue of rule of law. It focuses on the organization and practices of the law enforcing agencies and the overall security of the country and its people. It gives special attention to four subjects vis. Integrity of the electoral process, suppression of terrorism, the

education of the nation and rapid socio-economic development with emphasis on poverty elimination. The author identifies that governance or good governance is now a central issue in the development dialogue. It is being increasingly recognized that good governance requires several core ingredients: the rule of law, strengthening of public sector management, transparency and accountability, and appropriate strategies to combat corruption. This book begins by tracing, from a historical perspective, the events and circumstances leading to the current state of governance in Bangladesh. Next it addresses two major dimensions of governance—political and economic—highlighting the sources that contribute to the current and deteriorating state of governance in the country. Finally the author delves into the possible remedies to alleviate the crisis-like conditions that have had deleterious effects on the lives of the citizenry.

The book namely *Governance: South Asian Perspectives* edited by Hasnat Abdul Hye, (2000), is a grand piece for the apprehension of good governance and specially for Bangladeshi good governance, its problem, prospects and what's to be done for the establishment of good governance. Some notable writers' scholarly outcomes on good governance in Bangladesh have been inserted in this book. To them, "Governance in theory and practice has been the subject of intense discussion and in-depth study both in the developed and developing countries for quite some time. Though improvement in the quality of governance has been slow in coming, there is now a fair degree of agreement over the major issues involved and the reform measures called for. This anthology reflects these issues from the South Asian perspectives based on the experiences of the past and the imperatives of the present.

Review of the achievements and failures in various fields of human endeavors becomes specially urgent as well as poignant as humankind enters the new millennium. Governance is being the most momentous and extensive enterprise of nations impacting



on human welfare and development, claims serious attention of people from all walks of life. The policy prescriptions for good governance assign the task of implementation on all segments of society, formal and informal." Basically, the book touches all the segments of the good governance in Bangladesh through considering the overall scenarios.

This book titled as *Essays on Politics and Governance in Bangladesh, India, Pakistan and Thailand*, by Jayanta Kumar Ray and Muntassir Mamoon, (2007), is a result of wide ranging academic collaboration between two scholars of two neighboring countries - Bangladesh and India. Significantly, their ideas and interests have covered on important topics such as nationalism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, internal colonialism, civil-military relations and challenges of good governance. The authors have largely dealt with four countries -- Bangladesh, India, Pakistan and Thailand. Various issues like relations between the people, politicians and administrators have occupied a predominant place in this book. Dysfunctionalities of public administration have repeatedly come to the forefront. A comparative analysis on the good governance scenarios of these selected countries have been shown in his book. It is to the credit of these two authors that, unlike most academics, they have not merely underlined the deficiencies in public administration, but also have been bold enough to suggest possible solutions. In fact, some significant indicators of good governance and how these could be executed in these countries have been suggested in this book.

Syeda Naushin's famous book, *Foreign Aid and Poverty Reduction in Bangladesh: The Problem of Good Governance*, is a pioneering work of critical analysis with regard to governance-related issues in Bangladesh. The author has explored the causes and problems of non-coercive intervention by the donors in the form of foreign aid and governance agenda and has contributed to the discourse of sustainable and indigenous

governance process of Bangladesh. The author examines issues currently in play, and also traces the evolution of many of the problems and the impact of foreign aid and its governance agenda over the years and addresses policy concerns as well management of organizational factors of the donor agencies as they affect programs and policies of Bangladesh and other developing countries. What is new in this work is the application of the body of literature developed in this area to Bangladesh. Importantly, while the ideas are not new, they need to be heard again in a different format, from a different author, and by a different audience (i.e., in Bangladesh).

The book titled as *The Impact of Foreign Aid and Governance Agenda on Bangladesh* by Syeda Naushin Parnini, (2009), is the most notable work about the good governance in Bangladesh. The author reveals many of the recent ideas and concepts of 'good governance' and 'civil society' in Bangladesh have been generated by the international aid agencies and their 'good governance' policy agenda through foreign aid in the 1990s. But there are also local meanings to the terms derived from the independence struggle and the construction of a Bangladeshi state. The writer aims to obtain a clearer analytical understanding of the processes and institutions of civil society in Bangladesh that can develop workable strategy to improve governance for helping the poor through poverty reduction and moving beyond the patron-client relationships on which they have historically depended. He also focuses attention and debate on those aspects of indigenous governance in Bangladesh which can enhance the quality of governance and democracy by overcoming the Western top-down approach; and can strengthen the role of civil society organizations to further enhance their impact on good governance for fair distribution of public goods and ensuring social justice for the poor.

The book named as *Towards Good Governance in South-Asia: An Introduction* edited by Joha Vartola, Ismo Lumijarvi, Mohammad Asaduzzaman (2010) is an exclusive

book for its historical and recent good governance scenario analyses of four dominant countries of South Asia as India, Bangladesh, Srilanka and Nepal. With these scenarios we expect that the edited book is a timely initiative and an opportunity to highlight the contemporary challenges of governance and good governance in the foru South Asian countries. The authors in the book have contributed thought-provoking paper focusing on the multi-dimensional aspects of governance and good governance in India, Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka and Philippines. The writers are in consensus in identifying the major challenges of governance in these countries concerning the five areas. They are: (i) the deteriorating law and order situation and failure of the justice sector to check crime and corruption; (ii) weak public administration; (iii) a regulatory environment that combines overtly strict regulation in some sectors and inadequate or no regulation in others; (iv) inadequate national policy and resource commitments to decentralization and local government reform; and (v) the impact of intensifying partisan tensions on every dimension of life. The contributors have intensively identified these challenges of governance and proposed sound policy guidelines for the road to good governance and sustainable development in these countries.

### **1.5 Methodology of the Study**

The study is the outcome of both qualitative and quantitative research method. I rely on both primary and secondary sources. Under the framework of survey method as the agenda of primary source, data is collected through in depth interview method in stratified sampling i.e. interviewing by some bureaucrats, politicians, social and political scientists, student, civil society members and so on so. The data is got through both open and close-ended questionnaire. I also seek data from secondary sources i.e. articles, reports, newspaper features written by prominent

writers of the related area. Historical method is followed to successfully accomplish the study. For accurate data analysis, SPSS software is used that presents more scientific and technical nature of data in the study. Since data have been taken from primary sources, it needs descriptive technique for data presentation. So, residual analytical part of methodology has been inserted in the fourth chapter of the study.

### **1.6 Research Questions**

To accomplish these objectives and answer the research questions, this study asks-

1. What are the major contextual factors of governance and good governance-- and the most enduring theoretical phenomena or debates that led to the split; what are the “meanings” that emerge through the scholarly and donors’ concept?
2. How did the scenario of good governance still remain with the rule triggered by some state-actors called as rulers or governments of Bangladesh in the democratic governance from the year 1991 to 2006?
3. What are the responses of people of Bangladesh about the good governance scenario of the ages from 1991 to 2006?
4. What are major indicators through which the scenario of good governance of Bangladesh can be analyzed?
5. Finally, the study answers the question of what is to be suggested as the roadmap to good governance in Bangladesh.

The answers to these questions do not absolutely resolve the issue regarding the troublesome of good governance widely called as bad governance in Bangladesh. Rather, it may provide a systematic basis for discussion and a foundation for an ongoing process of learning about our past, present, and hopefully future good governance scenarios as a scholarly enterprise. This learning process is important in terms of understanding the split ideas of good governance among the academics and what would

be assumed as the roadmap to good governance in Bangladesh to a certain context, somewhat exclusive in its kind.

### **1.7 Chapterization of the Study**

The thesis consists of nine chapters that exclusively show its comprehensive area of study. First chapter provides a general overview titled an introduction, justification, objectives, literature survey, methodology (non-descriptive part), research questions, chapterization, limitation and conclusion of the study.

Second chapter covers an overview of the literatures on the conceptual framework of governance and good governance from both academics' and donors' views. And the notion of good governance has also been defined through analyzing the developed countries' indicators of what they take as the ancillary elements of good governance in their country side. Besides, the chapter finds some definition based-characteristics of good governance in the study.

Third chapter delineates the methodological interpretation of the study in which the information of respondents, qualitative and quantitative analysis, study area, graphical representations are added.

The fourth chapter is full of field-based study where data of primary sources collected from survey methods to follow stratified sampling. In this part of the chapter, full-length graphical representation takes place.

Fifth chapter includes major components of good governance which the theoretical framework and respondents from the field reveal. It frames the bridge between scholars' and respondents' views in defining as well as analyzing good governance scenarios of Bangladesh.

Sixth chapter provides first phase of governance that Bangladesh experienced for almost 20 years of the journey. Basically, major development of this phase of the country has been shown under the framework of good governance where national leaders carried out for the development of the country.

Seventh chapter presents the three democratic regimes and its ruling procedures taken by the elected authorities of Bangladesh from 1991-2006. The good governance scenarios of these ages are shown in this part of the study.

Eighth chapter elucidates overall good governance scenario analyses traced with some academic presentations in their study output. Either graphical or theoretical skeleton of good governance of Bangladesh is added in this chapter.

Ninth chapter highlights the suggestive propositions based on the data collected from both primary and secondary sources in the study. This part might be a catalyst for establishing good governance in Bangladesh. The chapter also shows a conclusion to make an end along with appraisal of the study. Besides, an endeavor is put here to assume the study as the most scholarly research piece in its kind.

### **1.8 Limitations of the Study**

The following problems may arise in research projects. Such as-

a. Good governance is neologism and a multifaceted concept and analyzed by several theorists in different views that make a hazard to analyze it through research project.

b. Since good governance is not well- established in Bangladesh and democratic history is not long and hopeful in our country, historical method is not intensively suitable to analyze it. Despite this, we are to take shelter of historical method. Among these, options of participatory method, interview method are suitable for this research but fear

of concerned people and low information of mass people about the research makes problems.

c. Data collection from both primary and secondary sources within short time is a problem to make a good and acceptable research about the multifaceted concept. Besides, the concept is not well known to all classes of people that creates opaque to analyze it. Above all, further study on this topic may fulfill the research gap that I feel.

### 1.10 Conclusion

In making the study in its superb composition, above techniques and devices are necessitated to follow. And these modus operandi of the study briskly delineate whatever circumstances country faced in its historical journey highlighted in the literature survey of the study. And to fulfill the research end, justification, objectives, questions, methodology and limitation of the study are formulated. Anyway, since actual picture of governance in our country does not prove to be good and satisfactory, accountability of government and administration is at bay. Rule of law, a sound judicial system has not yet been ensured. Democratization and human right are being disrupted in many ways.<sup>12</sup> Yet there are growing concerns that Bangladesh's development prospects are frustrated by bad governance. One does not need to go in the nitty-gritty to understand how bad governance affected the economy.<sup>13</sup> Experts tell us that two percent or more of the GDP is lost to corruption and bad governance. Bad governance results to huge loss in economic growth annually. Bad governance and corruption deter investment, waste national resources and dislocate allocation and increase insecurity. Moreover, the poor suffer most from the consequences of bad governance and corruption. Amongst the major governance weakness: pervasive corruption, weak governance, absence of monitoring institutions seriously affects economic growth and

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<sup>12</sup> Mollah, M. Awal Hossain, Good Governance in Bangladesh: Role of Parliament, *Pakistan Journal of Social Science*, Vol.2, No.4, (2007), P.1

<sup>13</sup> Ahsanul Alam, Good Governance: Role of Individuals Vs. Institutions, [www.goodgovernancebd.org](http://www.goodgovernancebd.org)

poverty reduction in the country.<sup>14</sup> Anyway, despite disastrous condition of country's political system, a dramatic change has come in public administration and the paradigm shift towards good governance and sustainable developments. Day by day, the intellectuals, bureaucrats and civil society members are accepting the spirit of the concept and conceptualizing it in their own experience and environment.<sup>15</sup> In Bangladesh, all the internal and external actors of politics, administration and development are emphasizing on the need for good governance. Today it is not only academic issue rather it is being discussed in aid forum and executive meeting and discussions. In the recent years, Bangladesh made some progress in many areas of economic and social development such as maintaining macroeconomic stability, growth in exports and in remittances, increase in enrolment in primary education, improvements in female's education, and reductions in infant and maternal mortality and improvement in women's empowerment. The positive ambience of what county has already achieved is the outcome of decisive rigorous study in diversified fields done by some academics, institutions, donor agencies, think-tanks etc. My study can be characterized with same manner. So, findings of the study in this regard could be an important instrument to establish good governance in Bangladesh. The first chapter shows the devices are to be used in the study which finds historical problems as we have got to analyze the overall scenario of the governance of Bangladesh, way out of the problems by which good governance might be ensured.

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid

<sup>15</sup> Mollah, M. Awal Hossain, Rule of law in Bangladesh: An overview, *Pakistan Journal of Social Science*, Vol.2, No.2, (2006), P.2



## CHAPTER TWO

### CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

#### 2.1 Governance

The concept of *governance* is not new. It is old as human civilization. Simply put *governance* means the process of decision are implemented (or not implemented).<sup>16</sup> Governance can be used in several contexts such as corporate governance, international governance, national governance and local governance. In recent years there have been numerous attempts to define the term, but these efforts have not resulted in any universal consensus as to the precise meaning of governance. In general sense, governance means exercising political power to manage a nation affair. Today governance is seen as a reflection of the role of the state in giving direction to the development, a country and political regime. According to Landell-Mills and Serageldin, governance may be taken to denote "how people are ruled how the affairs of a state are administered and regulated; it refers to a nation's system of politics and how this functions in relation to public administration and law."<sup>17</sup> They also say that governance is the use of political authority and exercise of control over a society and the management of resources for social and economic development.<sup>18</sup> Governance is seen as the exercise of economical, political and administrative authority to manage a countries' affairs at all levels. It comprises the mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their

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<sup>16</sup> "What is good governance", <http://www.unescap.org/huset/gg/governance.htm>

<sup>17</sup> M.M., Khan, Urban local Governance in Bangladesh: An overview, *Journal of Administration and Diplomacy*, Vol.4, No.1 Jan-June, (1996), P.1

<sup>18</sup> Landell-Mills, Pierre and Serageldin, Ismael (1991), *Governance and the External Factor*, Washington D.C., World Bank, P.13

legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences.<sup>19</sup> It can also be defined as the undertaking of activities, management of resources, organization of men and women by groups of people, communities, local government bodies, business organizations and branches of the state (legislature, judiciary and executive) through social, political, administrative and economic arrangements that meet the daily needs of people and ensure sustainable development.<sup>20</sup> According to Colebatch and Larmour, Governance is seen as something achieved by the interaction of states, markets and communities.<sup>21</sup> According to World Bank booklet reports, governance is as the "manner in which power is exercised in the management of a countries economic and social resource for development".<sup>22</sup> Governance can be viewed both in positive and negative terms.<sup>23</sup> Good governance and poor or bad governance. For better understanding of good governance, we should know what is poor governance. Because it has been claimed that bad governance is regarded as one of the root causes of all evil within societies.<sup>24</sup> A World Bank booklet cogently summarized the major symptoms of poor governance.<sup>25</sup> These are:

1. Failure to make a clear separation between what is public and what is private hence a tendency to direct public resources for private gain;
2. Failure to establish a predictable frame work of law and government behavior conducive to development or arbitrariness in the application of rules and laws;
3. Executive rules, regulations, licensing requirements and so forth, which impede, functioning of markets and encourages rent seeking;

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<sup>19</sup> Fardaus Ara and Mostafizur Rahman Khan, Good Governance: Bangladesh Perspective, *The Social Sciences*, Vol. 1, No.2, (2006), Pp. 91-97, Published at Medwell Online, Pakistan

<sup>20</sup> Hasnat Abdul Hye, Good Governance: A Social Contract for the New Millennium in Hasnat Abdul Hye eds, *Governance: South Asian Perspective*, Dhaka, 2000, University Press Limited, Pp.1-32

<sup>21</sup> Colebatch and Larmour (1993), *Market, Hierarchy and Community: A Student's guide to organization*, London, Pluto OECD, 1996: 7

<sup>22</sup> M.M. Khan, Urban local Governance in Bangladesh: An overview, *Journal of Administration and Diplomacy*, Vol.4, No.1, Jan-June, (1996), P.2

<sup>23</sup> Ibid, P.2

<sup>24</sup> What is good governance", <http://www.unescap.org/huset/gg/governance.htm>

<sup>25</sup> M.M. Khan, Urban local Governance in Bangladesh: An overview, *Journal of Administration and Diplomacy*, Vol.4, No.1, Jan-June, (1996), P.2

4. Priorities, inconsistent with development, resulting in a misallocation of resources;
5. Excessively narrowly based or non-transparent decision making.

The other symptoms of poor governance are "excessive costs, poor service to the public and failure to achieve the aims of policy."<sup>26</sup>

Precisely, governance means the process of decision making that by which decisions are implemented in a relation between the ruler and the ruled, the government and the governed. So, governance, in a single equation, can be shown with the functional mood as-  $Governance = f(\text{government} + \text{other actors})$ .

## 2.2 Good Governance

'Good governance is perhaps the single most important factor in eradicating poverty and promoting development'.

-Former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan.

In recent years "good governance" has become an important concept, gradually being seen as panacea for developing countries and considered as holistic approach for development in the development debate. The concept of good governance is popular with intellectuals, bureaucrats, members of civil society, and the IDC (the WB, IMF, UNDP, ADB etc.). The IDC became interested in governance in the 1980s.<sup>27</sup> Though good governance is a much discussed issue in the current literature of development, it still lacks a clear definition, and is a constant source of confusion. The chapter of the study looks at the concept of the good governance from both the academics' and donors' point of view.

**2.2.1 Good Governance as an Academic Concept:** Rhodes, Stoker, Pierre, Peters, Gamble, and Leftwich are the most prominent academics on governance. Interestingly, most scholars use the word "governance" as synonymous with good governance. Rhodes used governance as minimal state, corporate governance, new public

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid. p.2

<sup>27</sup> Abul Maal A Muhit, *Governance and International Development Community*, in Hasnat Abdul Hye, ed. *Governance: South Asian Perspective*, Dhaka, 2000, The university Press Limited, P.465

management, good governance, socio-cybernetic system, and self-organizing networks.<sup>28</sup> Although he used governance as good governance along with other alternative notions, it is clear that other notions have the characteristics of good governance. For example, good governance emphasizes the minimalist approach. New public management promotes the introduction of private sector management in the public sector, consumer choice, and contracting out, which are also the important characteristics of good governance. Rhodes himself confesses that “good governance marries the new public management to the advocacy of liberal democracy”<sup>29</sup> Rhodes argues that governance is self-organizing networks. His networks are made up of organizations which are independent and exchange resources to achieve their objectives. In fact, he argues that government is only one actor of many other actors in policy-making and service delivery and government loses its power to control over other actors.<sup>30</sup> Among the academics, Pierre and Peters are the two most notable theorists in the field of good governance. They discussed the emergence of new governance, writing, “the new governance we suggest, does indeed represent something new and different compared to traditional systems of government at the same time as the basic rational or the *raison d’être* of the state to promote and pursue collective interest. The new governance, we retire, does not mean the end or decline of the state but the transformation and adaptation of the state to the society it is currently embedded in.”<sup>31</sup> Pierre’s governance notion has dual meaning as he said, “on the one hand it refers to the empirical manifestations of state adoption to its external environment as it emerges in the last 20<sup>th</sup> century. On the other hand, governance also denotes a conceptual or theoretical representation of co-ordination of social systems and, for the

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<sup>28</sup> R. A. W. Rhodes, *The New Governance: Governing without Government*, *Political Studies*, Vol.44, (1996), P.653

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid*, P.656

<sup>30</sup> R. A. W. Rhodes, *The Hollowing out of the state: The Changing Nature of the Public Service in Britain*, *The Political Quarterly*, Vol. 65, No.2, (1994), Pp.138-139

<sup>31</sup> Jon Pierre and B. Guy Peters (2000), *Governance, Politics and the State*, London: Macmillan Press Ltd. P.68

most part, the role of the state in that process.<sup>32</sup> This definition is close to the system theory of organization. Pierre emphasizes a more coordinated function of the state within its environment, especially with private institutions.

Peters's conceptual analysis of good governance lies in his four emerging models of government: Market Government, Participative Government, Flexible Government, and Deregulated Government. It can be shown in a table-

**Table 1: Major Features of Four Models of Good Governance**

	<b>Market Government</b>	<b>Participative Government</b>	<b>Flexible Government</b>	<b>Deregulated Government</b>
Principle Diagnosis	Monopoly	Hierarchy	Performance	Internal Regulation
Structure	Decentralization	Flatter Organization	Virtual Organizations	No Particular Recommendation
Management	Pay for Performance; other private-sector techniques	TQM; terms	Managing Temporary Personnel	Greater Managerial Freedom
Policy Making	Internal Markets; Market Incentives	Consultation; Negotiation	Experimentation	Entrepreneurial Government
Public Interest	Low Cost	Involvement; Consultation	Low Cost; Coordination	Creativity; Activism

Source: Adapted from Peters, *The Future of Governing*, P.19

He mentioned that "These four emerging visions of governance each contain some conception of the public interest and an overall idea of what constitutes good governance."<sup>33</sup> His governance notion neither supports hierarchical organization nor top-down control within the public sector. His approach mainly focuses on participatory governance because public participation in public sector will not only increase efficiency but also enhance democracy.<sup>34</sup>

Stoker, another academic, described governance using the five following propositions: governance refers to a complex set of institutions and actors that are drawn from but

<sup>32</sup> Jon Pierre, Introduction: Understanding Governance, in Jon Pierre, ed., *Debating Governance*, New York: Oxford University Press Inc., 2000, P.3

<sup>33</sup> B. Guy Peters (1996), *The Future of Governing: Four Emerging Models*, Laurence: University Press of Kansas, P. 19

<sup>34</sup> B. Guy Peters, Governance and Public Bureaucracy: New Forms of Democracy or New Forms of Control? *The Asia-Pacific Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. 26, No.1, (2004), pp.3-15

also beyond government; governance identifies the blurring of boundaries and responsibilities for tackling social and economic issues; governance identifies the power dependence involved in the relationships between institutions involved in collective action; governance is about autonomous self-governing networks of actors; and governance recognizes the capacity to get things done which does not rest on the power of government to command or use its authority. It sees government as able to use new tools and techniques to steer and guide.<sup>35</sup> Stoker's governance proposition clearly poses a challenge to the Westminster Model of Government, especially to its governing process and service delivery. Sovereignty, a strong cabinet, and ministerial accountability are dominant characteristics of Westminster Model. Stoker's governance model argues that the state loses its control in decision-making, and several actors are involved in the process. Moreover, he argues that service delivery is no longer the state's monopoly, but rather the shared responsibility of both public and private organizations.

Leftwich identifies three stands to good governance: systematic, political and administrative. The systematic use of governance covers the distribution of both internal and external political and economic power. The political use of governance refers to a state enjoying both legitimacy and authority, derived from a democratic mandate. The administrative use refers to an efficient, open, accountable, and audited public service that has the bureaucratic competence to help design and implement appropriate policies and manage whatever public sector there is.<sup>36</sup>

From an economic development perspective, Hirst defines good governance as "creating an effective political framework conducive to private economic action-stable regimes, the rule of law, efficient state administration adapted to the roles that

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<sup>35</sup> Garry Stoker, Governance as Theory: Five Propositions, *International Social Science Journal*, No.155, (1998), P.17

<sup>36</sup> A. Leftwich, Governance, Democracy and Development in the Third World, *Third World Quarterly*, Vol.14, No.1193, P.611

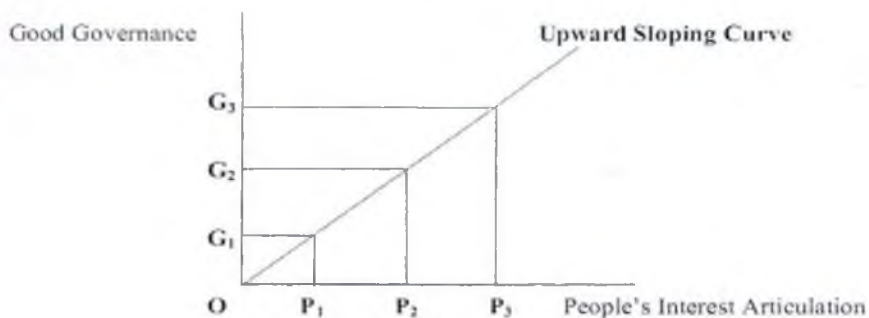
governments can actually perform, and a strong civil society independent of the state.<sup>37</sup>

This definition includes the private sector economy, rule of law, and efficient political and administrative systems.

Gamble's definition emphasizes the effectiveness of the political system. Governance denotes the steering capacities of a political system in which governing is carried out. From an economic perspective, he further adds that the economy belongs to the private sphere and governance to the public, and that economic governance is therefore concerned with the relationship between the economy and the state i.e. how the state governs the economy.<sup>38</sup>

Likewise foreign academics, Bangladeshi academics in defining good governance have enormous endeavors. Dhiraj Kumar Nath, amongst them, is highly prolific. To him, Good governance encompasses the mechanisms, processes, and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their obligations and resolve their differences.<sup>39</sup> His definition elucidates a parallel relationship between people's interest articulation and governance done by the state actor i.e. incumbent authority. It can be shown to use upward sloping curve analysis which is below-

Figure 1: Upward Sloping Curve Analysis



<sup>37</sup> Paul Hirst, *Democracy and Governance*, in Jon Pierre, ed., *Debating Governance*, New York: Oxford University Press Inc., 2000, P.14

<sup>38</sup> Andrew Gamble, *Economic Governance*, in Pierre, ed., *Debating Governance*, New York: Oxford University Press Inc., 2000, P.110

<sup>39</sup> *Governance, Corruption and Local Democratic Institutions* paper presented at the XV Biennial conference on "Bangladesh in the 21st Century: The Political Economy perspectives" organized by Bangladesh Economic Association held on 8-10 December, 2004 in Engineer Institution; Dhaka, Bangladesh

This upward sloping curve indicates the parallel relation between good governance and people's interest articulation. The rate of good governance is denoted as  $G_1$ ,  $G_2$  and  $G_3$  and the rate of people's interest articulation is identified as  $P_1$ ,  $P_2$ , and  $P_3$ . If good governance functions in the state affair, the people's interests are articulated or fulfilled. We may gather an idea from the curve analysis that the rates of people's interest articulation increase ( $P_1$ ,  $P_2$ ,  $P_3$ ) with the increasing rates of good governance ( $G_1$ ,  $G_2$ ,  $G_3$ ). From the upward sloping curve analysis, it is proven that good governance is good when it plays good for the people.

M.M Khan, another creative grandee in the field of good governance who said that good governance is the effective management of a country's social and economic resources in a manner that is open, transparent, accountable and equitable.<sup>40</sup> Islam as the way of life has the mentionable places of good governance where it (Islam) suggests not only the theoretical bondage but implementation device also. M.M Khan's annunciation of 'effective management of a country's social and economic resources' in defining good governance is resembled with the Islamic view that Islam accentuates the exploitation and proper allocations of goods and services for the society. Caliph Umar is reported to have instructed that if one has got money he should develop it, one has got land, and he should cultivate it.<sup>41</sup> Everybody in its own sphere will contribute to the society for the proper allocation of goods and services. Prophet (sm.) is reported to have constructed: "if somebody had got knowledge, he should disseminate it to the benefit of others in the society".<sup>42</sup> So, proper allocation of goods and services is very necessary for good governance. Thus, academics are sharply divided on conceptualizing good governance. Some argue in favor of a strong role of the central state while some others support the minimalist approach which seeks to reduce the role

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<sup>40</sup> M.M Khan, "Good Governance: Concept and Bangladesh Case" paper presented at the special meeting of the Commonwealth Society of Bangladesh, held on 31.10.97-2.11.97, Dhaka

<sup>41</sup> The non-religious or secular revenue were collected mostly from the non-Muslims. For details, See Mohammed Aziz Ahmed, *The Nature of Islamic Political Theory* (Karachi: Ma'aref, 1985)

<sup>42</sup> Bukhari, the acceptable Hadith text of Islam



the state in policy-making and service delivery. Political aspects have been the dominating factors of governance.

### 2.2.2 Good Governance as an International Donor Community Concept:

Governance has been variously defined as “the management of society by the people and the exercise of authority or control to manage a country’s affairs and resources”.<sup>43</sup>

A synthesis of current definitions provided by donor organizations such as the World Bank, the OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC), the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), international development agencies and multilateral donors yields a more complex concept of good governance.

USAID points out that good governance is a complex system of interactions among structures, traditions, functions (responsibilities), and processes (practices) characterized by three key values of accountability, transparency and participation.<sup>44</sup>

“Good governance” has also been described, by UNDP, elsewhere as the striving for rule of law, transparency, responsiveness, participation, equity, effectiveness and efficiency, accountability, and strategic vision in the exercise of political, economic, and administrative authority.<sup>45</sup> The United Nation Development Program (UNDP) has also identified five basic principles of good governance, which are as follows<sup>46</sup>:

**Legitimacy and voice-** all men and women should have a voice in decision-making either directly or indirectly or through legitimate intermediate institutions that represent their intention.

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<sup>43</sup> Schneider (1999), *Participatory Governance: The Missing Link for Poverty Reduction*, Policy Brief No. 17, Paris: OECD Development Centre, P.7

<sup>44</sup> Knack (2002), *Governance and Growth: Measurement and Evidence*, Paper prepared for the Forum Series on the Role of Institutions in Promoting Growth, IRIS Center and USAID, Washington DC, February 2002, P. 2

<sup>45</sup> *Commitment to Good Governance, Development and Poverty Reduction: Methodological Issues in the Evaluation of Progress at National and Local Levels*, A Paper Prepared by Suchitra Punyaratabandhu for the Sixth Session of the Committee on Development Policy March 29 – April 2, 2004. National Institute of Development Administration, Bangkok, Thailand

<sup>46</sup> UNDP Report:2004

**Direction-** leaders and public have a broad and long-term perspective on good governance and human development, along with a sense of what is needed for such development.

**Performance-** Institutions and processes try to serve all stakeholders and institution produce results that needs while making the best use of resources.

**Accountability-** Decision-makers in government, the private sector and civil society organizations are accountable to the public.

**Fairness-** All men and women have opportunities to improve of maintain their well being and legal framework should be fair and enforced impartially, particularly the laws on human rights.

Martin Doornbos notes, however, that while it is striking how quickly governance became a buzzword in the 1990s, “there has hardly been a consensus as to its core meaning, and less and less of a common idea as to how it could be applied more concretely.”<sup>47</sup> The term does not possess a standard meaning. Nor has its meaning remained constant in the decade or so of its being accorded a central place in donor frameworks for development. The lack of specificity in the meaning of the term “governance” becomes apparent when we examine its evolution. The concept achieved prominence in donor discourse around 1990, after the end of the cold war. Governance was conceived broadly as “the exercise of authority and control in a society in relation to the management of its resources for social and economic development”.<sup>48</sup> International donor agencies, the World Bank in particular, operating within the boundaries delineated by their statutes, adopted an essentially apolitical conception of governance.<sup>49</sup> This orientation helps to explain the focus of these institutions on the improvement of the quality of Southern (recipient country) public sector management,

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<sup>47</sup> M. Doornbos (2003), Good Governance: The Metamorphosis of a Policy Metaphor, *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol.57, No.13-17,( Fall 2003), P. 4

<sup>48</sup> S. Schneider (1999), Participatory Governance: The Missing Link for Poverty Reduction, Policy Brief No. 17, Paris: OECD Development Centre, P.7

<sup>49</sup> John Martinussen (1998), The Limitations of the World Bank’s Conception of the State and the Implications for Institutional Development Strategies, *IDS Bulletin*, Vol. 29, No.2, (1998), Pp. 67-74

better service delivery, rule of law, and elimination of corruption, together with compliance with donor policies, e.g. reduction of excessive military expenditures.<sup>50</sup> The World Bank, for instance, has also identified six indicators of good governance “to help countries, identify areas of weakness so that capacity building and assistance strategies are more effective.” Those indicators are<sup>51</sup>: **Voice and Accountability**-the extent to which a country’s citizens are able to participate in selecting their government, as well as freedom of expression, freedom of association, and a free media; **Political Stability and Absence of Violence**- perceptions of the likelihood that the government will be destabilized or overthrown by unconstitutional or violent means, including domestic violence and terrorism; **Government Effectiveness**- the equality of public services, the quality of the civil service and the degree of its independence from political pressures, the quality of policy formation and implementation, and the credibility of the government’s commitment to such policies; **Regulatory Quality**-the ability of the government to formulate and implement sound policies and regulations that permit and promote private sector development; **Rule of Law**-the extent to which agents have confidence in and abide by the rules of society, and in particular the quality of contract enforcement, the police, and the courts, as well as the likelihood of crime and violence; and **Control of Corruption**-the extent to which public power is exercised for private gain, including both petty and grand forms of corruption, as well as “capture” of the state by elites and private interests.

By the mid-1990s, international donor (notably UNDP and the OECD) conceptions of good governance had expanded to include the notions of transparency, accountability, and participation. For example, the Ad Hoc Working Group on Participatory

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<sup>50</sup> There are two distinct streams of discourse on good governance: donor agency and academic. Academic discourse has dealt mainly with the way in which power and authority relations are structured in different contexts, whereas donor-directed and policy-oriented governance discourse has focused more on state structures designed to ensure accountability, due processes of law, and related safeguards. Academic discourse is directed toward better understanding of institutional linkages between the state and civil society; donor-driven discourse is oriented toward enhancing policy effectiveness.

<sup>51</sup> Monirul Islam, *Contemporary Approach on National & International Issues*. Professors’ Prokashon, Dhaka, November 2008, P.8

Development and Good Governance set up in 1993 by the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the OECD stated as its first key conclusion, Democratization and Good Governance are central to the achievement of the development goals for the 21<sup>st</sup> century.<sup>52</sup> Major elements of good governance, as identified by DAC members, included: the Rule of law; strengthening public sector management and transparency/accountability by improving accounting practices and budgeting and public expenditure management; and combating corruption. The framework proposed by the Ad Hoc Working Group was subsequently endorsed by the 1997 DAC High Level Meeting. By 2000, more elements were added to the conception of good governance. The Statement issued by the 2000 DAC High Level Meeting took note that, "Good governance requires a broad approach to partnership extending beyond government and parliaments to include civil society and the private sector."<sup>53</sup> Moreover, in addition to the requirements of transparency and accountability, a new dimension was stipulated, namely, predictability. This last element was introduced in light of the financial crises in the latter part of the 1990s, which led to a call for improvements in corporate governance and stable financial frameworks. No doubt, in future, new elements will be added (and old ones dropped?) from the definition of good governance. Given current conceptions, however, we ask, what can be said to be the key defining properties of the concept of good governance? At least three major features can be identified. **First**, good governance is predicated upon mutually supportive and cooperative relationships between government, civil society and the private sector. The nature of relationships among these three groups of actors, and the need to strengthen viable mechanisms to facilitate interactions, assume critical

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<sup>52</sup> OECD Development Assistance Committee (1997), Final Report of the Ad Hoc Group on Participatory Development and Good Governance, Part I, Paris: OECD

<sup>53</sup> OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) (2000), Partnership for Poverty Reduction: From Commitment to Implementation. Statement by the DAC High Level Meeting, Paris, 11 – 12 May 2000.

importance.<sup>54</sup> **Second**, good governance is defined as possession of all, or some combination of, the following elements: participation, transparency of decision-making, accountability, the rule of law, predictability. Democratic practices, civil liberties, and access to information are sometimes added to the list. Donor assistance to strengthen governance in developing countries has focused on empowerment and capacity-building with the objective of enhancing the preceding elements.<sup>55</sup> **Third**, good governance is normative in conception. The values that provide the underpinning for governance are the values postulated by international donor institutions.<sup>56</sup> This last point deserves consideration. Doornbos states forthrightly, “If donor-conceptualized standards of good governance were more fully elaborated and insisted upon, it would almost certainly imply an insistence that Western-derived standards of conduct be adopted in non-Western politico-cultural contexts.”<sup>57</sup> Moreover, scholars have raised the problem of inherent contradictions among the elements. Von Benda-Beckmann observes that not only do efforts to promote good governance often have the opposite effect, but “what in one respect (e.g. economic growth) is good governance, is clearly bad governance in other respects, such as labor conditions, democratic content of government, and civil liberties.”<sup>58</sup> He cites the Asian “little tigers” as an example. Figure 1 presents a schema for the dimensions of good governance as conceived by the World Bank, UNDP, OSCE, USAID, and other donor agencies.

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<sup>54</sup> Commitment to Good Governance, Development and Poverty Reduction: Methodological Issues in the Evaluation of Progress at National and Local Levels, A Paper Presented by Suchitra Punyaratabandhu for the Sixth Session of the Committee on Development Policy March 29 – April 2, 2004. National Institute of Development Administration, Bangkok, Thailand

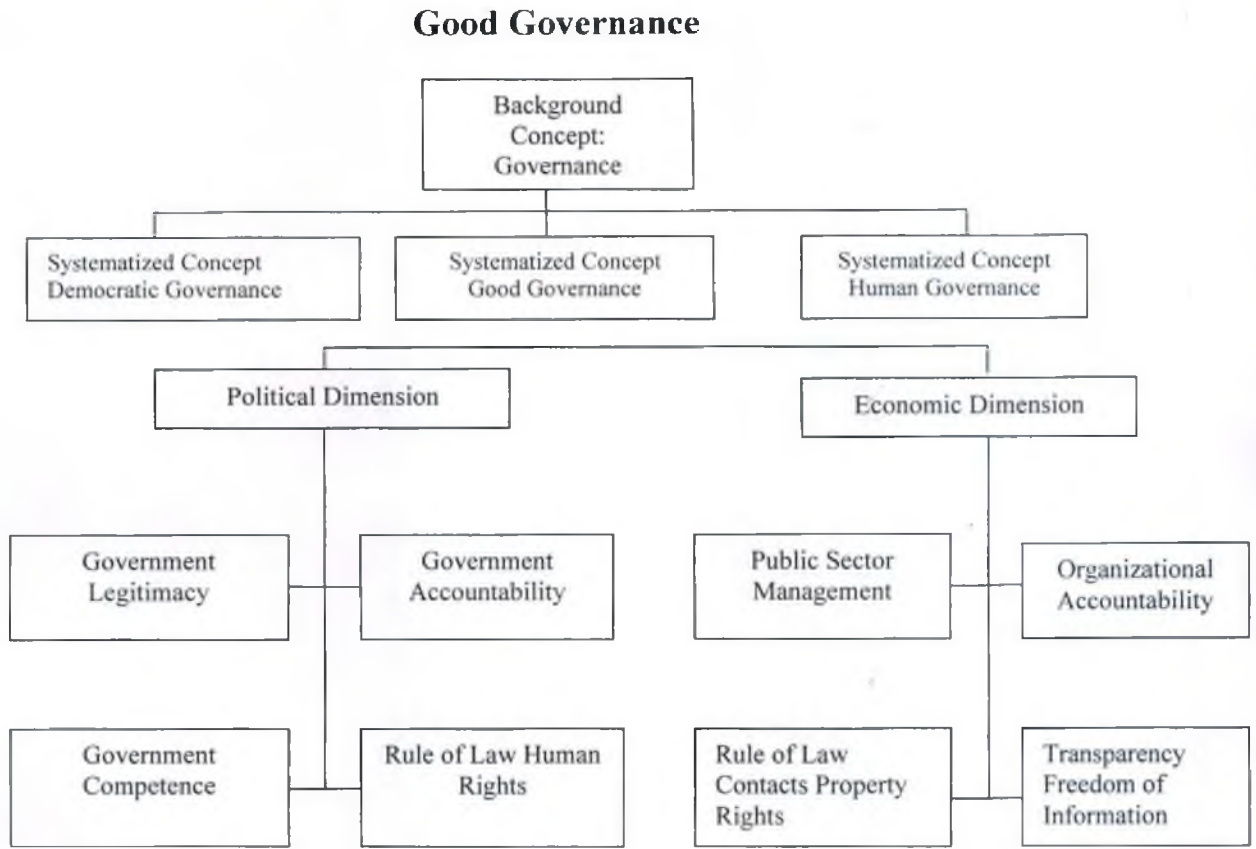
<sup>55</sup> Ibid

<sup>56</sup> Ibid

<sup>57</sup> M. Doornbos, Good Governance: The Metamorphosis of a Policy Metaphor, *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol.57, No.1: 3-17, (Fall 2003), P.8

<sup>58</sup> Benda, Beckermann, Good Governance, Law and Social Reality: Problematic Relationships, *Journal of Knowledge and Policy*, Vol. 7, Issue. 3, (Fall 1994), P.63

Figure 2: Major Dimensions of Good Governance

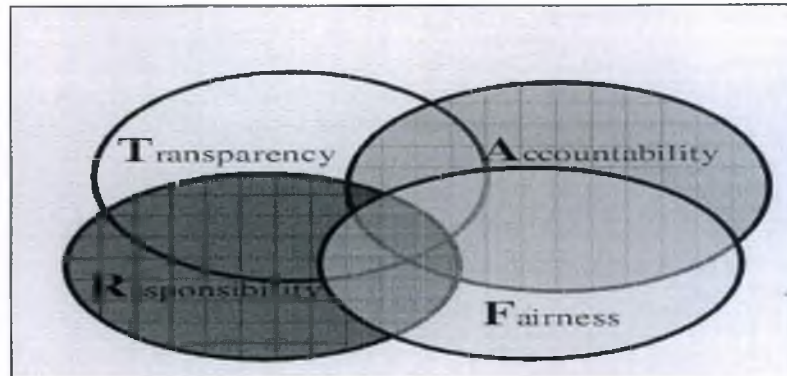


**Source:** Adapted from OSCE (1991); World Bank (1992, 1994, 1997); Falk (1995), Weiss (2000); British Council ([www.britcom.org](http://www.britcom.org)); *Good Governance Sourcebook (DG Europe Aid)*; UNDP (2000); USAID (1998a, 1998b); DFID (2001)

As shown in Figure 2, good governance consists of two major dimensions: political and economic. The political dimension can be broken down into four key components: government legitimacy; government accountability; government competence; and rule of law (human rights). The economic dimension also has four components: public sector management; organizational accountability; rule of law (contracts, property rights); and transparency (includes freedom of information).

Besides these, International donor agencies in some cases emphasize the only four components

Figure 3: Four Components of Good Governance



as transparency, accountability, responsibility and fairness. So, from the donors' perspective, good governance refers to the political, economic and administrative governance where the concern authority and subordinates are accountable, transparent, fair, responsible, equitable and movable in their scheduled works.

From the above mentioned definitions given by academicians<sup>4</sup> and donors, we may denote some core characteristics of good governance. These are as follows-

### **2.3 Core Characteristics of Good Governance**

- 1) **Participation**-All men and women should have a voice in decision-making, either directly through legitimate intermediate institutions that represent their interests. Such broad participation is built on freedom of association and speech, as well as capacities to participate constructively.
- 2) **Rule of Law**-Legal frameworks should be fair and enforced impartially, particularly the laws on human rights.
- 3) **Transparency**-Transparency is built on the free flow of information. Processes, institutions and information are directly accessible to those concerned with them, and enough information is provided to understand and monitor them.
- 4) **Responsiveness**-Institutions and processes try to serve all stakeholders.
- 5) **Consensus Orientation**-Good governance mediates differing interests to reach a broad consensus on what is in the best interest of the group and, where possible, on policies and procedure.
- 6) **Equity**-All men and women have opportunities to improve or maintain their well-being.
- 7) **Effectiveness and efficiency**-Process and institutions produce results that meet needs while making the best use of resources.
- 8) **Accountability**-Decision-makers in government, the private sector and civil society organizations are accountable to the public, as well as to institutional stakeholders. This accountability differs depending on the organization and whether the decision is internal or external to an organization.
- 9) **Strategic vision**-Leaders and the public have a broad and long-term perspective on good governance and human development, along with a sense of what is needed for such development. There is also an understanding of the historical, cultural and social complexities in which the perspective is grounded.



## *CHAPTER THREE*

### **MODUS OPERANDI OF THE STUDY**

For the successful completion in making a rigorous research output, following techniques and procedures are called in this study the modus operandi are as follows-

#### **3.1 Methodological Interpretation of the Study**

This section describes all pertinent methodologies and implementation issues used in the study-

**3.1.1 Study Area:** The study is confined to and covers all relevant areas assigned by my supervisor from her creative innovation in the scholastic field. It covers six sample areas from different places of the country covering divisional level and 3 districts of each division under Dhaka, Khulna, Chittagong, Rajshahi, Sylhet and Barishal. Although the study is confined to limited areas, the survey has generated useful information and insights, supported by qualitative data. Moreover, useful information could be applied to a larger population in future study on this sector. The sample respective places are mentioned in Table 2.

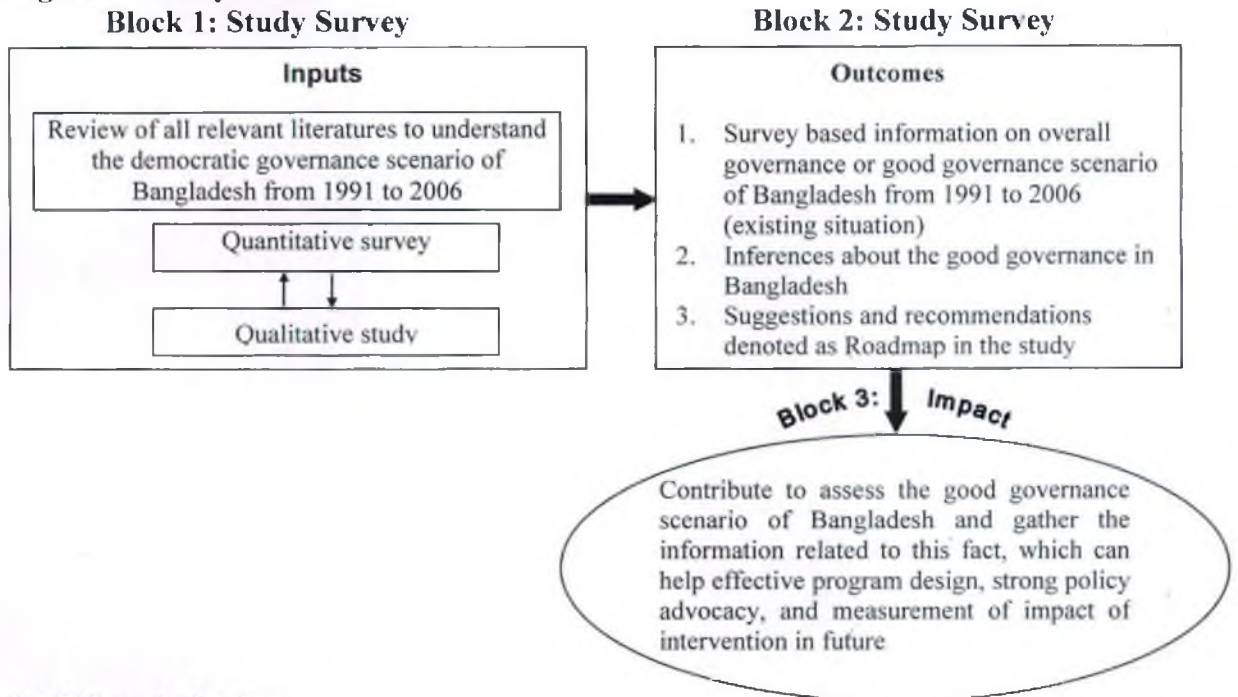
**Table 2: Study Locations by Sample Division Level/Districts**

<b>Division</b>	<b>City Corporation/Municipality</b>	<b>District Level</b>	<b>Urban/Rural</b>
Dhaka	City Corporation	Sadar	Urban
Khulna	City Corporation	Sadar	Urban
Chittagong	City Corporation	Sadar	Urban
Rajshahi	City Corporation	Sadar	Urban
Sylhet	City Corporation	Sadar	Urban
Barishal	City Corporation	Sadar	Urban

**3.1.2 Study Design:** Both quantitative and qualitative techniques were used to collect in-depth/perceptual information on selected indicators related to the study. Qualitative

tools were used in the present analysis, to capture the wide range of perspectives and group dynamics. The research team envisaged the study in three major blocks, which are depicted in Figure 4.

**Figure 4: Study Blocks**



### 3.1.3 Sample Design

**Sample Design for Quantitative Study:** Five categories of respondents namely, the politicians (High and low level), teachers (University and college), students (Masters and Honors), civil society members and bureaucrats (High and low level) are taken under close and open ended questionnaire method. Thus, three democratic ages i.e. 1991-1996, 1996-2001 & 2001-2006 are taken as a Primary Sampling Unit (PSU) to cover the all components of good governance in those particular ages of Bangladesh. Using a sound statistical formula with 95% confidence level and 5% precision level, the obtained sample size is 197. The total sample size is quasi-proportionately allocated among study locations (Table 3). Purposive Sampling Procedure (PSP) was adopted to select sample respondents. After proportional allocation among study locations PSP was adopted.

### 3.2 Respondents-related Descriptive Analysis:

Following respondents and their numbers, categories and other study related information are taken on account in the study-

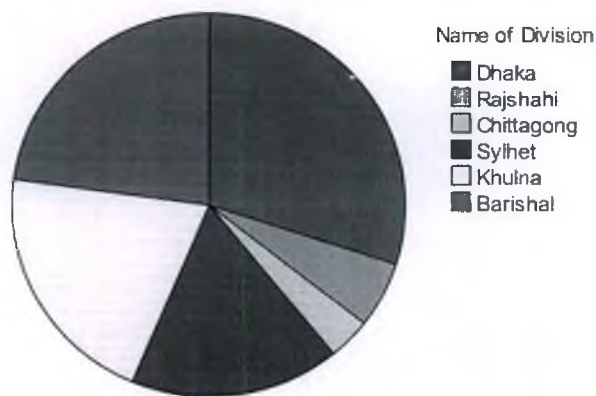
**3.2.1 Study Respondents:** In the methodology of the study, it is highly clarified the overall techniques followed for the sound and evaluative findings of the study. The study covers six divisions of Bangladesh and among the 197 respondents, 29.9% respondents are from Dhaka division and it reveals its highest position in terms of conducting interview.

**Table 3: Number of Respondents from Six Divisions**

Name of Divisions	Frequency	Percent
Dhaka	59	29.9
Rajshahi	11	5.6
Chittagong	7	3.6
Sylhet	34	17.3
Khulna	41	20.8
Barishal	45	22.8
Total	197	100.0

Barisal (22.8%), Khulna (20.8%), Sylhet (34%), Rajshahi (11%), Chittagong (7%) have scored second, third, fourth, fifth and sixth respectively in terms of taking interview triggered by the research team and as well as myself.

**Figure 5: Number of Respondents from Six Divisions**



Although it needs to equally maintain percentage for each division, concerned people are not well-enough to partake in this hardcore study i.e. the concept of good governance is

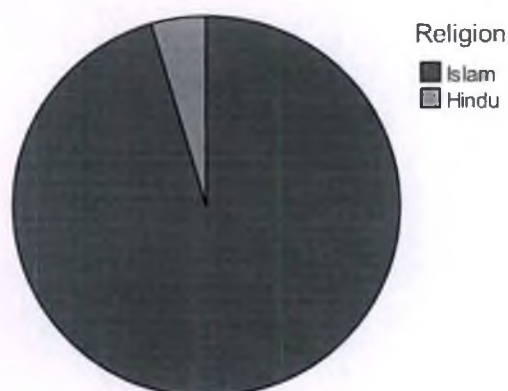
new and it's highly monolithic in nature. Table 3 and Figure 5 elucidate the area of study which we have selected for the successful completion of the study.

**3.2.2 Religions:** Bangladesh is one of the Muslim dominated countries in the world. Although our respondents are from all communities living in Bangladesh, Muslims are found vigorously in this study purpose.

**Table 4: Respondents from Diverse Religions**

Name of Religions	Frequency	Percent
Islam	188	95.4
Hindu	9	4.6
Total	197	100.0

**Figure 6: Respondents from Diverse Religions**



So, large numbers of Muslim from diverse segments of the categories of interviewers have selected for the study. Table 4 and figure 6 show that Muslim holds 95% and Hindu people hold 4.6% of total respondents. For using stratified sampling

method, people from other community except has slightly been taken as the respondents or interviewees of the study.

**3.2.3 Educational Status:** Five categories of degree holders are taken in the study. It was endeavored to prioritize the highest degree holders to engage in the study as the respondents on account of being the concept of good governance monolithic and new. To achieve the end, PhD, M.Phil, Masters and Honors degree holders are taken into our greater concern.

**Table 5: Educational Status of Respondents**

Category of Respondents	Frequency	Percent
Ph. D.	10	5.1
M.Phil	4	2.0
Masters	99	50.3
Honors	83	42.1
H. S. C.	1	5
Total	197	100.0

**Figure 7: Educational Status of Respondents**

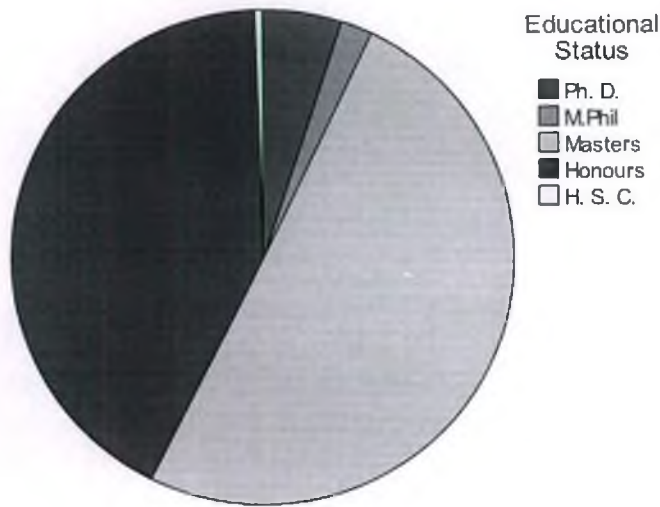


Table 5 and Figure 7 elucidate 50.3% respondents are master degree holders who scored position in the study highest in number. And Honors and M.Phil and PhD degree holders gain 83%, 4% and 10% respectively. High profiled and

degree holders are given priority for the exactitude in answers while questioning them on the complex phenomena of good governance with its theoretical and historical line.

**3.2.4 Marital Status:** The respondents are both married and unmarried. Married people are large in numbers because high profiled people are taken as the respondents except students. Students are the major part of the respondents of the study and as usually most of them are unmarried.

**Table 6: Marital Status of Respondents**

Marital Status	Frequency	Percent
Married	138	70.1
Unmarried	59	29.9
Total	197	100.0

**Figure 8: Marital Status of Respondents**

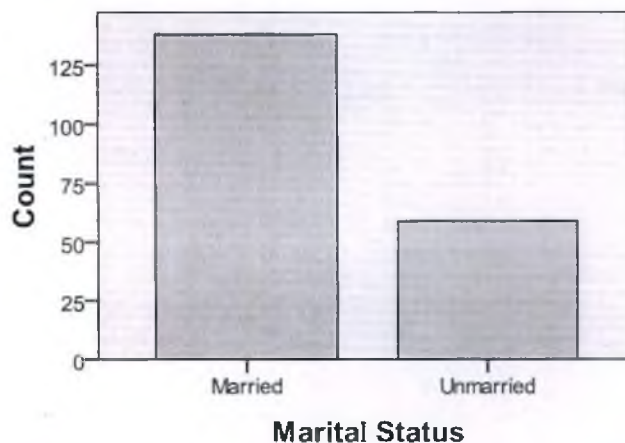


Table 6 and Figure 8 demonstrate 70.1% people as respondents are married and 29.9 % are unmarried.

**3.2.5 Professional Background:** In this study, six categories of people from different professions are taken. Here politics and pressure group/civil society are denoted as profession only for maintaining the categorical optimality of the study.

**Table 7: Professions of Respondents**

Professions	Frequency	Percent
Teaching	27	13.7
Politics	63	32.0
Business	9	4.6
Students	47	23.9
Employee	28	14.2
Pressure group/Civil Society	23	11.7
Total	197	100.0

**Figure 9: Professions of Respondents**

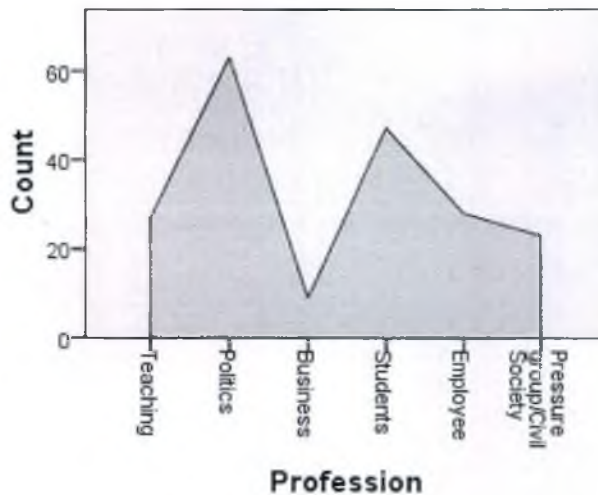


Table 7 and Figure 9 reveal that respondents who are affiliated to politics (32%) are large in numbers and students are second in position (23%). Besides, interviewees from teaching (13.7%), employee (14.2%), and pressure group/civil society (11.7%) as profession

capture almost same portions in its quantitative form. From the business profession, 4.6% respondents have been taken in the study.

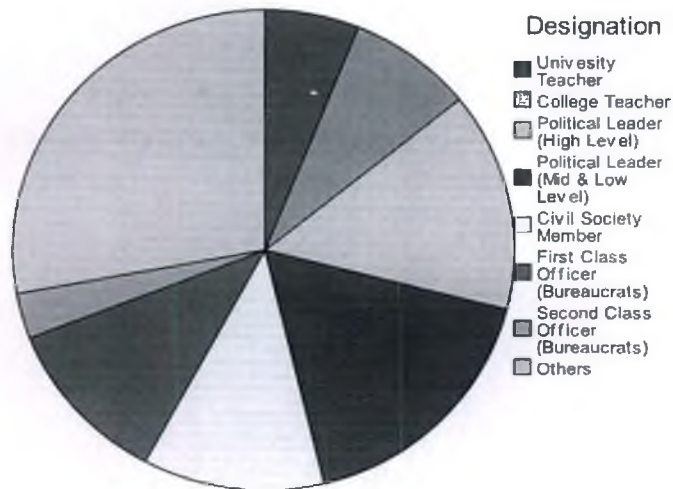
**3.2.6 Designations of the Respondents:** In the study, four categories of designation are remarkable as Teachers (University and College), Political Leader (High, Mid and Low Level), Civil Society and Bureaucrats (First and Second Class).

**Table 8: Designations of the Respondents**

Designations	Frequency	Percent
University Teacher	12	6.1
College Teacher	16	8.1
Political Leader (High Level)	29	14.7
Political Leader (Mid & Low Level)	34	17.3
Civil Society Member	23	11.7
First Class Officer (Bureaucrats)	22	11.2
Second Class Officer (Bureaucrats)	6	3.0
Others	55	27.9
Total	197	100.0

Political leaders (High and Mid Level) are very big in numbers (14.7 and 17.3%) of total respondents. Besides, other people of different designations have been taken in same portion for the convenience of the study.

**Figure 10: Designations of the Respondents**



**3.3 Qualitative Study Design:** Besides quantitative survey, qualitative techniques were used primarily to collect in-depth perceptual information on selected indicators related to the study. Qualitative methods were given relative importance as credible and reliable approach for data collection being increasingly used in social assessments. Moreover, the qualitative approaches allowed reaching a level of depth and detail that quantitative strategies couldn't provide.

In order to ensure a clear, logical rationale in support of qualitative methods following topics have been considered carefully:

- 1) the assumptions of qualitative approaches
- 2) the logic for selecting a sample of participants
- 3) the choice of overall designing and data collection methods
- 4) an acknowledgement of the intensive aspect of fieldwork
- 5) a considerations of ethical issues
- 6) the resource needs, and
- 7) attention to the trustworthiness of the overall design.

**Data/Information Collection Instruments/Methods (DCI/ICM):** The study used the following

type of dominant instrument/method (quantitative and qualitative) to explore extent of good governance scenario of assigned eras of Bangladesh-

- 1) DCI/ICM      Respondents Questionnaire Survey (RQS)

The content of DCI/ICM with process of data/information collection is presented below:

**DCI 1 Respondents Questionnaire Survey (RQS):** The survey formats are designed to understand the conditions or factors related to good governance, the extent of good governance, how good governance remained existed in the democratic ages from 1991-2006 in Bangladesh. The field enumerators have conducted a total of 197 interviews with the specified respondents mentioned above in the study areas.

**Qualitative Sample Design:** In ensuring a sound sampling design for qualitative approaches, due emphasis is given in choosing the settings, participants and methods of collecting information. It is assumed that in each of the study area, certain differences in events of interest would likely to occur. On the other hand, a related concern is to



have politicians, teachers, students, bureaucrats and civil society members equally in the study.

**Analysis Framework: Methods and Approaches:** For a lucid analysis of collected information, different strategies for quantitative survey data were adopted. However, analysis tools differ between qualitative and quantitative study.

### **3.4 Quantitative Study Analysis:**

1) Descriptive summary statistics for characterizing different scenarios

-Measures of central tendency (Frequency Distribution)

-Graphical Representation for visual comprehension

For qualitative data, ranks ordering of responses on specific issues were done.

**Tabulation Plan:** Simple tables as well as multivariate tables were constructed including various indicators of the study.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### AN EVOCATIVE ANALYSIS OF FIELD-BASED STUDY

Good governance is the most important prerequisite for democracy and it is also conceptualized conversely in maintaining relationship between democracy and good governance. In Bangladesh democracy as an institution is new and still frail. Bangladesh government has made serious and sincere efforts to strengthen democratic institutions toward promoting good governance. Consequently there was no breakthrough appeared with the initiatives of government as well as other forces playing role for country's good governance. People are fiercely in tremor for the future democracy of Bangladesh. Bangladesh has already passed almost 40 years of its governance where people of the country were thirsty to imbibe the democratic governance. In the travel of country, quo, counter quo, despotism, autocracy became the frequent cohort of Bangladesh. After a long journey, Bangladesh arrived at its era of democratic governance while 1991 appeared in scene with conducting free, fair and impartial election by a non-party Caretaker Government. This process is now in continuance although some constraints face the system to hold credible election in an effort of restoring democracy which is the dominant prerequisite of good governance. In this point, three tenures e.g. (1991-1996, 1996-2001 and 2001-2006) of governance triggered by various elected governments in Bangladesh are called democratic governance or ushering of democracy. The study mainly quest the democratic atmosphere either it appeared or not in these three democratic regimes. To the end, respondents of the study are interviewed with answering some particular types of questions in both structured and non-structured form widely called in the research the close ended and open ended questionnaire respectively. This part of the study is an

analysis of responses from diverse interviewees to find out the good governance scenarios of these three democratic ages of Bangladesh.

In the questionnaire, eight indicators as questions (components of good governance) for the regime 1991-1996 and nine indicators for the regimes 1996-2001 and 2001-2006 has taken into consideration to know about the good governance scenario of these ages. Scenario analyses of good governance of those regimes are as follows-

#### 4.1 Good Governance in Bangladesh: From 1991-1996

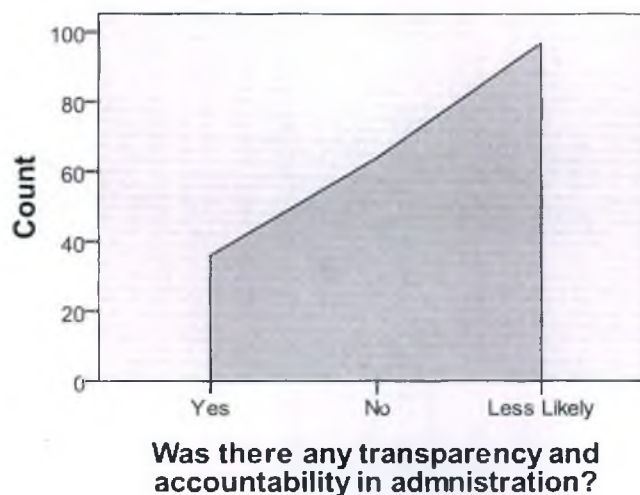
This is the first democratic governance in Bangladesh formed by Khaleda Zia-led Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP). Since it was new, restoration of democracy toward marching good governance was not satisfactory in its level. In this part of the study, respondents answer the questions as close ended questionnaire in the form of 'Yes, No & Less Likely' about the good governance of BNP-led democratic governance from 1991 to 1996. Responses of the *Close Ended Questionnaire* by interviewees are shown in table and graphical representations-

**Table 9: Transparency and Accountability**

**Was there any transparency and accountability in administration?**

Category of Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	36	18.3
No	64	32.5
Less Likely	97	49.2
Total	197	100.0

**Figure 11: Transparency and Accountability**

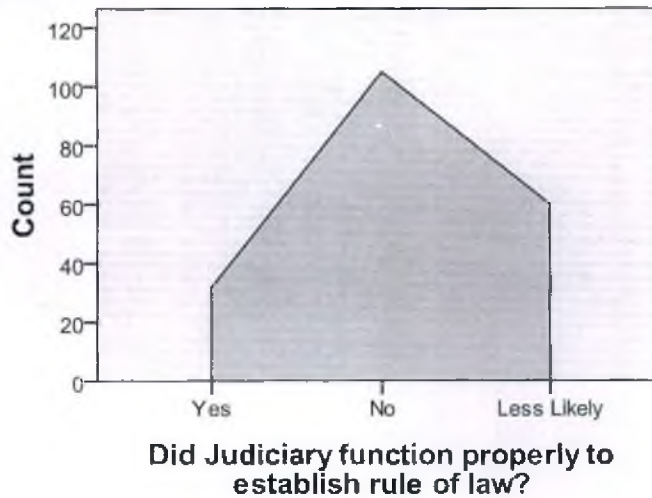


**Table 10: Judiciary and Rule of Law**

**Did Judiciary function properly to establish rule of law?**

Category of Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	32	16.2
No	105	53.3
Less Likely	60	30.5
Total	197	100.0

**Figure 12: Judiciary and Rule of Law**

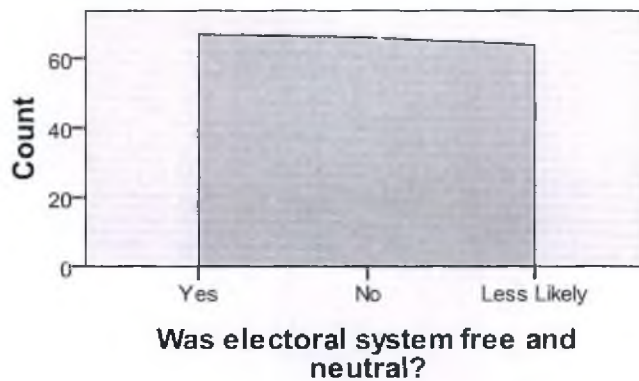


**Table 11: Electoral System and Neutrality**

**Was electoral system free and neutral?**

Category of Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	67	34.0
No	66	33.5
Less Likely	64	32.5
Total	197	100.0

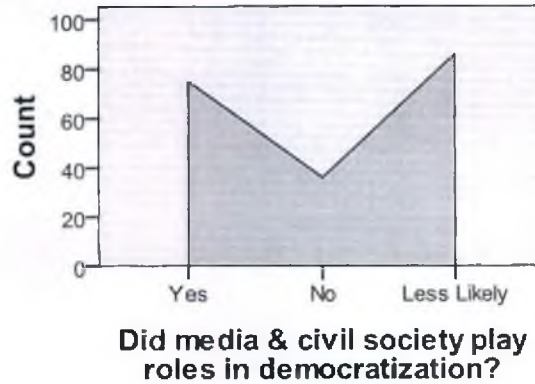
**Figure 13: Electoral System and Neutrality**



**Table 12: Media & Civil Society and Democratization**  
**Did media & civil society play roles in democratization?**

Category of Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	75	38.1
No	36	18.3
Less Likely	86	43.7
Total	197	100.0

**Figure 14: Media & Civil Society and Democratization**

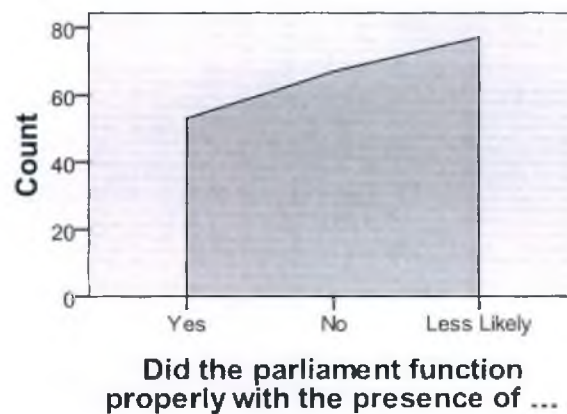


**Table 13: Functional Parliament and Opposition Parties**

**Did the parliament function properly with the presence of opposition parties?**

Category of Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	53	26.9
No	67	34.0
Less Likely	77	39.1
Total	197	100.0

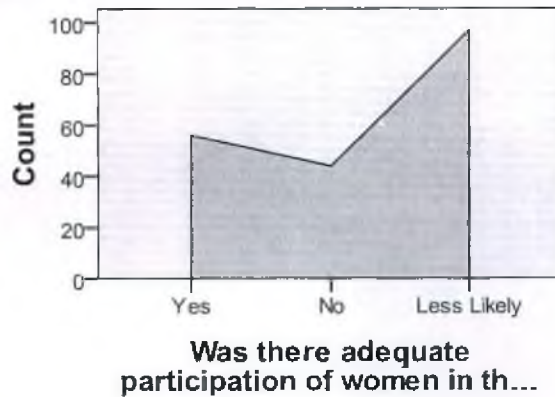
**Figure 15: Functional Parliament and Opposition Parties**



**Table 14: Women’s Participation in the Socio-economic and Political Fields**  
**Was there adequate participation of women in the socio-economic and political fields?**

Category of Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	56	28.4
No	44	22.3
Less Likely	97	49.2
Total	197	100.0

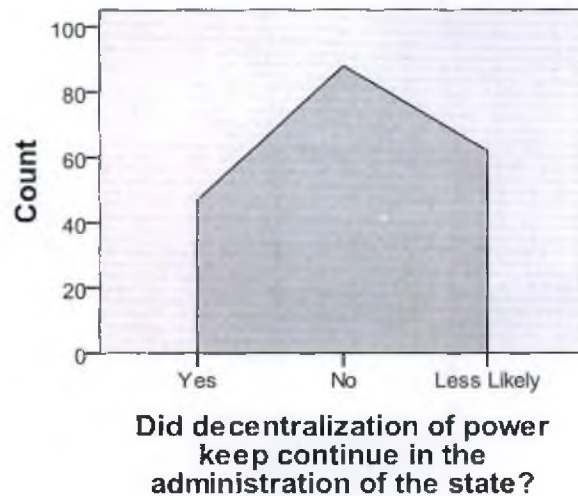
**Figure 16: Women’s Participation in the Socio-economic and Political Fields**



**Table 15: Decentralization of Power in the Administration**  
**Did decentralization of power keep continue in the administration of the state?**

Category of Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	47	23.9
No	88	44.7
Less Likely	62	31.5
Total	197	100.0

**Figure 17: Decentralization of Power in the Administration**



From the overall good governance scenarios of 1991-1996 taken with the respondents’ answer as YES, NO and LESS LIKELY, it is shown that average 30% of total respondents have given their vote on behalf of YES in each category of indicators of

good governance in Bangladesh. Average 50% people have given vote for NO and 60% for LESS LIKELY. This result of good governance indicates that there was no satisfactory level of good governance during this period that has been found through the data of primary sources collected from using stratified sampling under survey method.

#### 4.2 Good Governance in Bangladesh: From 1996 to 2001

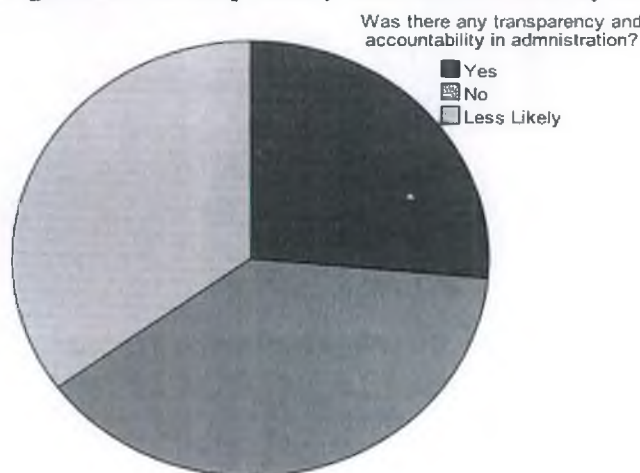
This is the second democratic governance in Bangladesh formed by Sheikh Hasina-led Awami League (AL). Since it was not so old, restoration of democracy toward marching good governance was not highly satisfactory in its level. In this part of the study, respondents answer the questions as close ended questionnaire in the form of 'Yes, No & Less Likely' about the good governance of AL-led democratic governance from 1996 to 2001. Responses of the *Close Ended Questionnaire* by interviewees are shown in table and graphical representations-

**Table 16: Transparency and Accountability in Administration**

**Was there any transparency and accountability in administration?**

Category of Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	52	26.4
No	76	38.6
Less Likely	69	35.0
Total	197	100.0

**Figure 18: Transparency and Accountability in Administration**

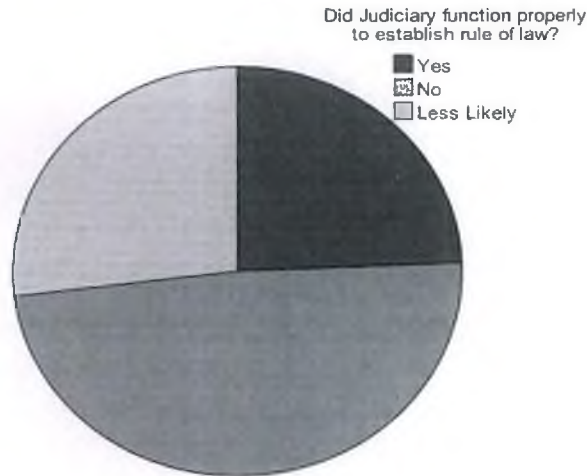


**Table 17: Judiciary and Rule of Law**

Did Judiciary function properly to establish rule of law?

Category of Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	48	24.4
No	96	48.7
Less Likely	53	26.9
Total	197	100.0

**Figure 19: Judiciary and Rule of Law**

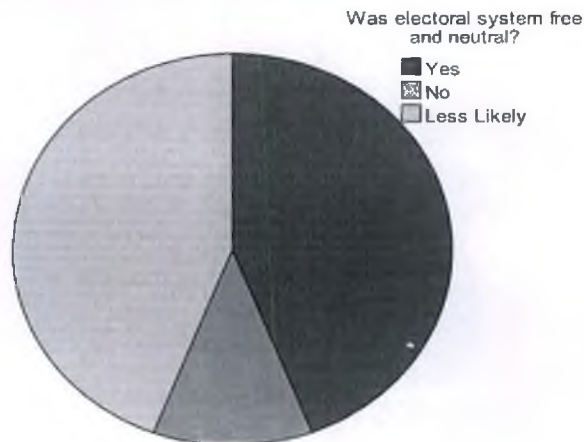


**Table 18: Electoral System and Neutrality**

Was electoral system free and neutral?

Category of Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	87	44.2
No	23	11.7
Less Likely	87	44.2
Total	197	100.0

**Figure 20: Electoral System and Neutrality**

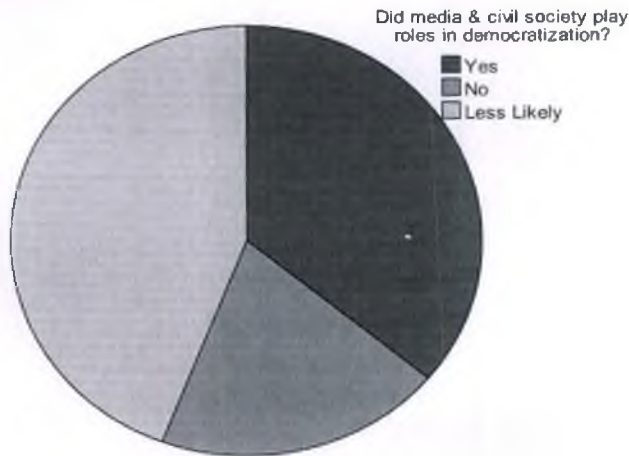




**Table 19: Media & Civil Society in Democratization**  
**Did media & civil society play roles in democratization?**

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	71	36.0
No	39	19.8
Less Likely	87	44.2
Total	197	100.0

**Figure 21: Media & Civil Society in Democratization**

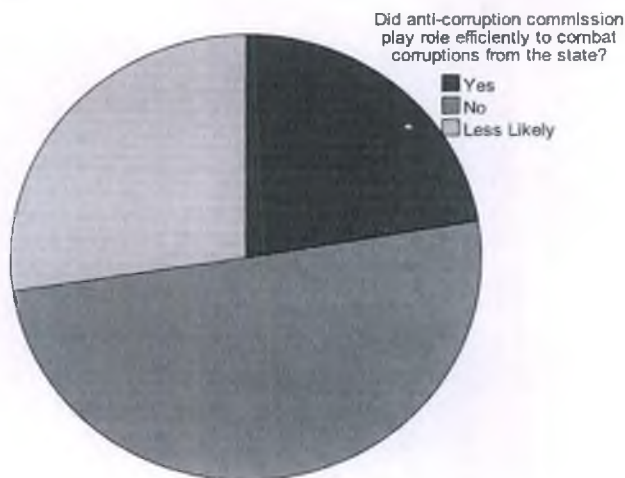


**Table 20: Anti-corruption Commission and Corruption**

**Did anti-corruption commission play role efficiently to combat corruptions from the state?**

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	44	22.3
No	99	50.3
Less Likely	54	27.4
Total	197	100.0

**Figure 22: Anti-corruption Commission and Corruption**



**Table 21: Human Rights Commission and Human Rights**  
**Was the human rights commission active in securing human rights?**

Category of Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	57	28.9
No	50	25.4
Less Likely	90	45.7
Total	197	100.0

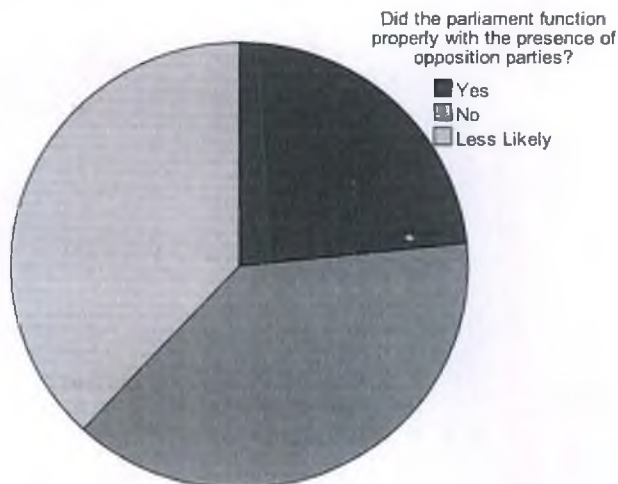
**Figure 23: Human Rights Commission and Human Rights**



**Table 22: Functional Parliament and Opposition Parties**  
**Did the parliament function properly with the presence of opposition parties?**

Category of Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	46	23.4
No	76	38.6
Less Likely	75	38.1
Total	197	100.0

**Figure 24: Functional Parliament and Opposition Parties**

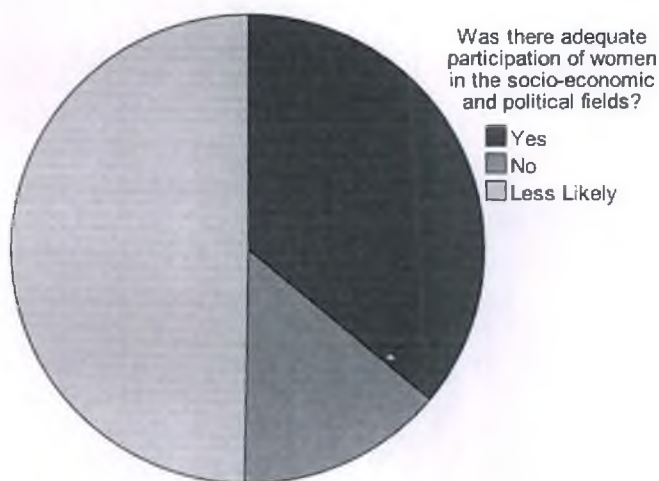


**Table 23: Women’s Participation in the Socio-economic and Political Fields**

Was there adequate participation of women in the socio-economic and political fields?

Category of Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	71	36.0
No	28	14.2
Less Likely	98	49.7
Total	197	100.0

**Figure 25: Women’s Participation in the Socio-economic and Political Fields**

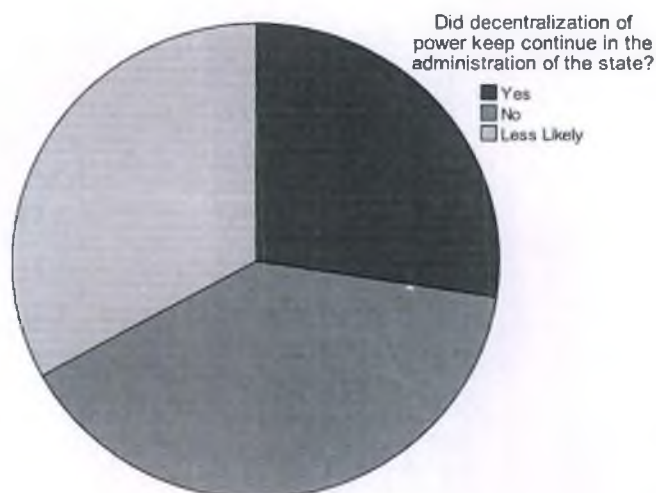


**Table 24: Decentralization of Power in the administration**

Did decentralization of power keep continue in the administration of the state?

Category of Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	54	27.4
No	78	39.6
Less Likely	65	33.0
Total	197	100.0

**Figure 26: Decentralization of Power in the Administration**



From the overall good governance scenarios of 1996-2001 taken with the respondents' answer as YES, NO and LESS LIKELY, it is shown that average 40% of total respondents have given their vote on behalf of YES in each category of indicators of good governance in Bangladesh. Average 50% people have given vote for NO and 70% for LESS LIKELY. This result of good governance indicates that there was quasi-satisfactory level of good governance during this period that has been found through the data of primary sources collected from using stratified sampling under survey method. It is considered in the analysts' view that 40% responses toward YES in any cases of developing countries are counted as the frequent level of development. So, this tenure of good governance showed a massive development in an effort of articulating people's interest. That highly reveals the improvement of governance ambiance in the age 1996-2001 than the regime 1991-1996.

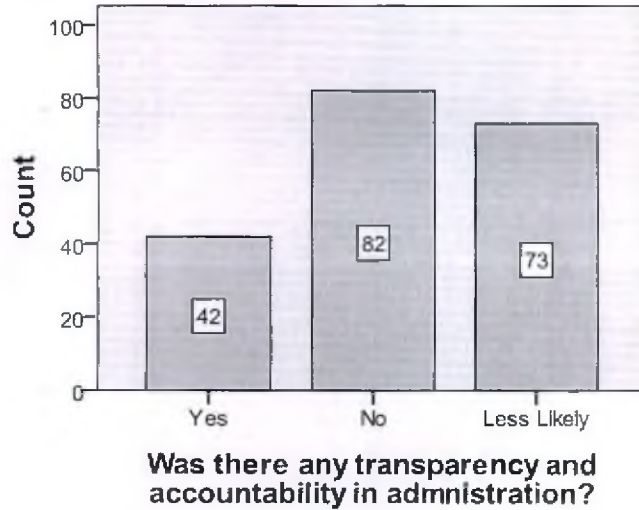
#### **4.3 Good Governance in Bangladesh: From 2001 to 2006**

This is the third democratic governance in Bangladesh formed by Khaleda Zia-led four party alliance. Since it passed 10 years, restoration of democracy toward marching good governance was not highly satisfactory in its level. In this part of the study, respondents answer the questions as close ended questionnaire in the form of '*Yes, No & Less Likely*' about the good governance of BNP-led four party alliance government's democratic governance from 2001 to 2006. Responses of the *Close Ended Questionnaire* by interviewees are shown in table and graphical representations-

**Table 25: Transparency and accountability in administration**  
**Was there any transparency and accountability in administration?**

Category of Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	42	21.3
No	82	41.6
Less Likely	73	37.1
Total	197	100.0

**Figure 27: Transparency and accountability in administration**

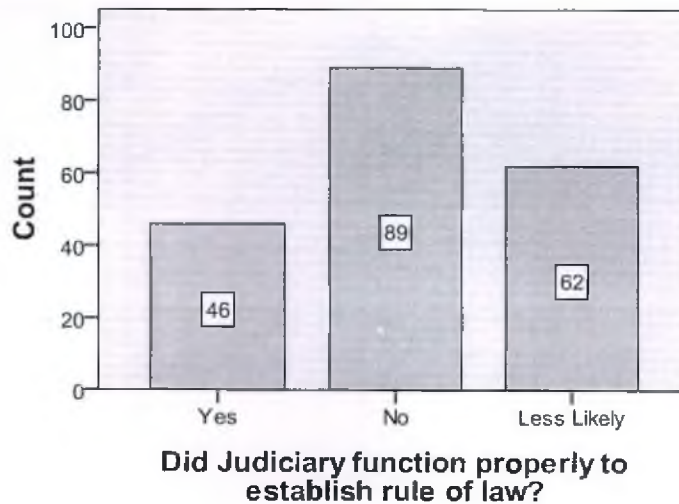


**Table 26: Judiciary Rule of Law**

**Did Judiciary function properly to establish rule of law?**

Category of Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	46	23.4
No	89	45.2
Less Likely	62	31.5
Total	197	100.0

**Figure 28: Judiciary Rule of Law**

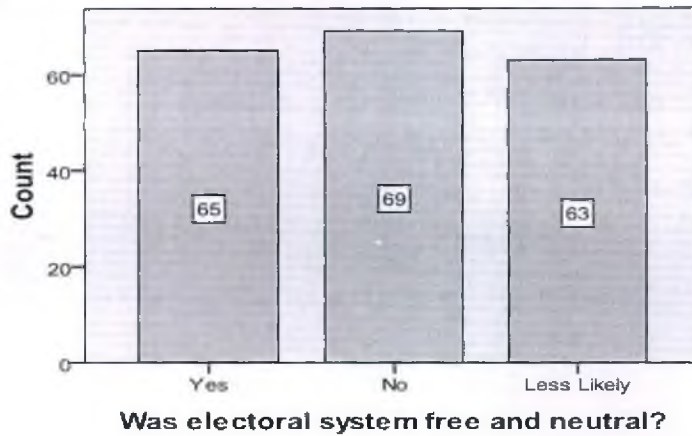


**Table 27: Electoral System and Neutrality**

**Was electoral system free and neutral?**

Category of Response	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Yes	65	33.0	33.0
No	69	35.0	35.0
Less Likely	63	32.0	32.0
Total	197	100.0	100.0

**Figure 29: Electoral System and Neutrality**

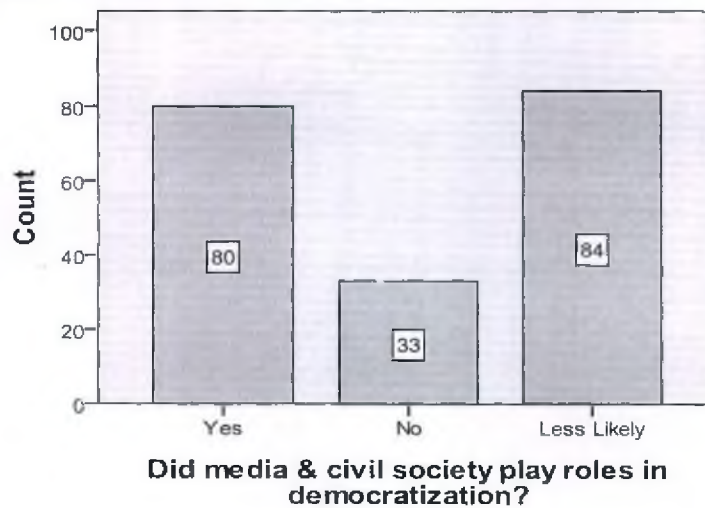


**Table 28: Media & Civil Society in Democratization**

**Did media & civil society play roles in democratization?**

Category of Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	80	40.6
No	33	16.8
Less Likely	84	42.6
Total	197	100.0

**Figure 30: Media & Civil Society in Democratization**

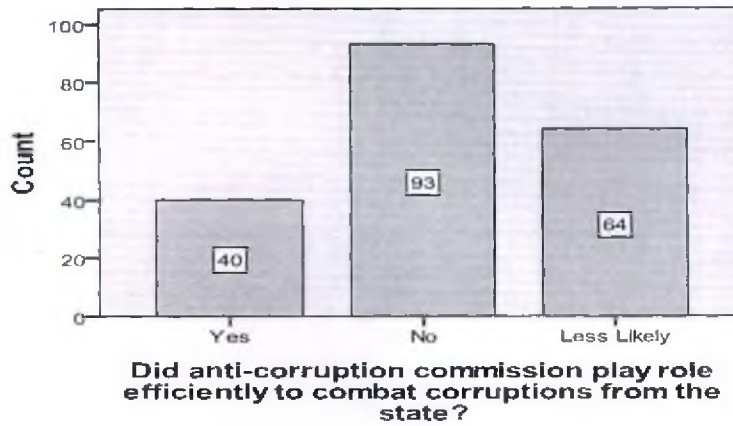


**Table 29: Anti-corruption Commission and Corruptions**

**Did anti-corruption commission play role efficiently to combat corruptions from the state?**

Category of Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	40	20.3
No	93	47.2
Less Likely	64	32.5
Total	197	100.0

**Figure 31: Anti-corruption Commission and Corruptions**



**Table 30: Human Rights Commission and Human Rights**

**Was the human rights commission active in securing human rights?**

Category of Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	61	31.0
No	46	23.4
Less Likely	90	45.7
Total	197	100.0

**Figure 32: Human Rights Commission and Human Rights**

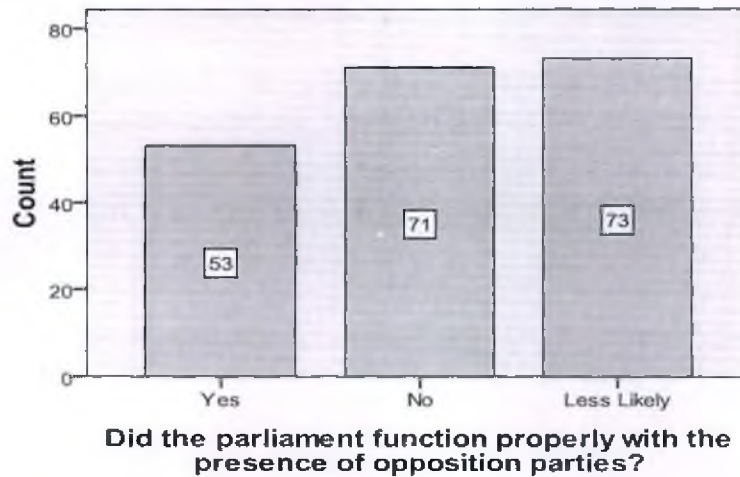


**Table 31: Functional Parliament and Opposition Parties**

**Did the parliament function properly with the presence of opposition parties?**

Category of Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	53	26.9
No	71	36.0
Less Likely	73	37.1
Total	197	100.0

**Figure 33: Functional Parliament and Opposition Parties**

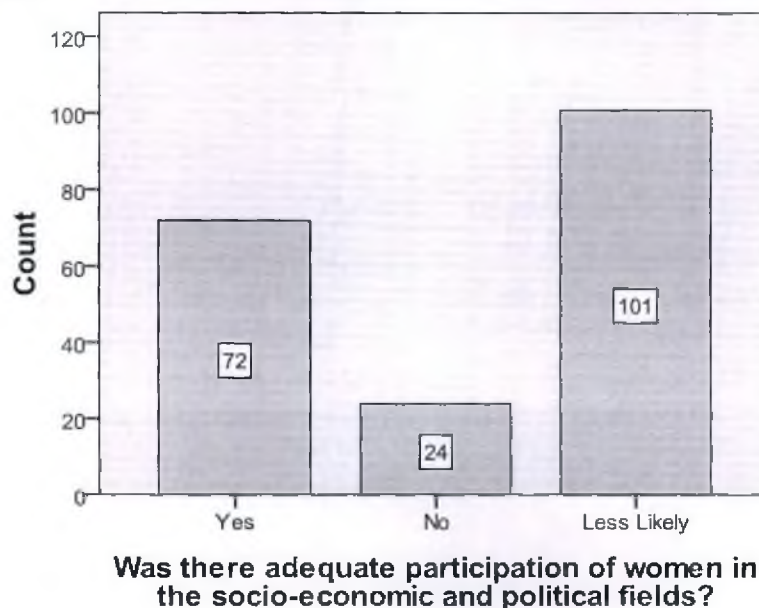


**Table 32: Women's Participation in the Socio-economic and Political Fields**

**Was there adequate participation of women in the socio-economic and political fields?**

Category of Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	72	36.5
No	24	12.2
Less Likely	101	51.3
Total	197	100.0

**Figure 34: Women's Participation in the Socio-economic and Political Fields**



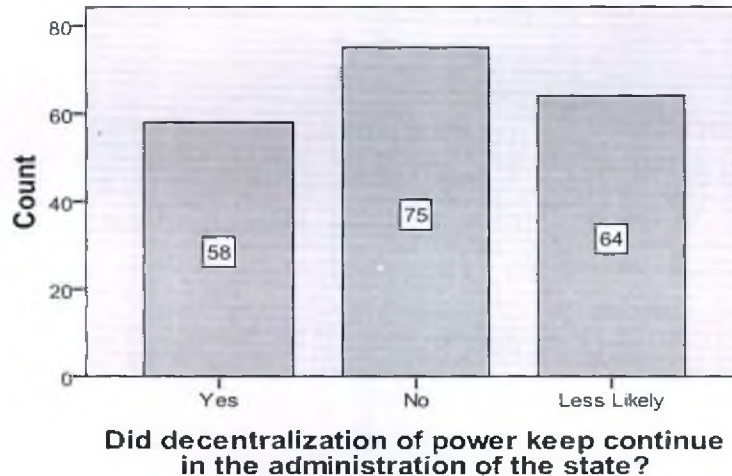


**Table 33: Decentralization of Power in the Administration**

**Did decentralization of power keep continue in the administration of the state?**

Category of Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	58	29.4
No	75	38.1
Less Likely	64	32.5
Total	197	100.0

**Figure 35: Decentralization of Power in the Administration**

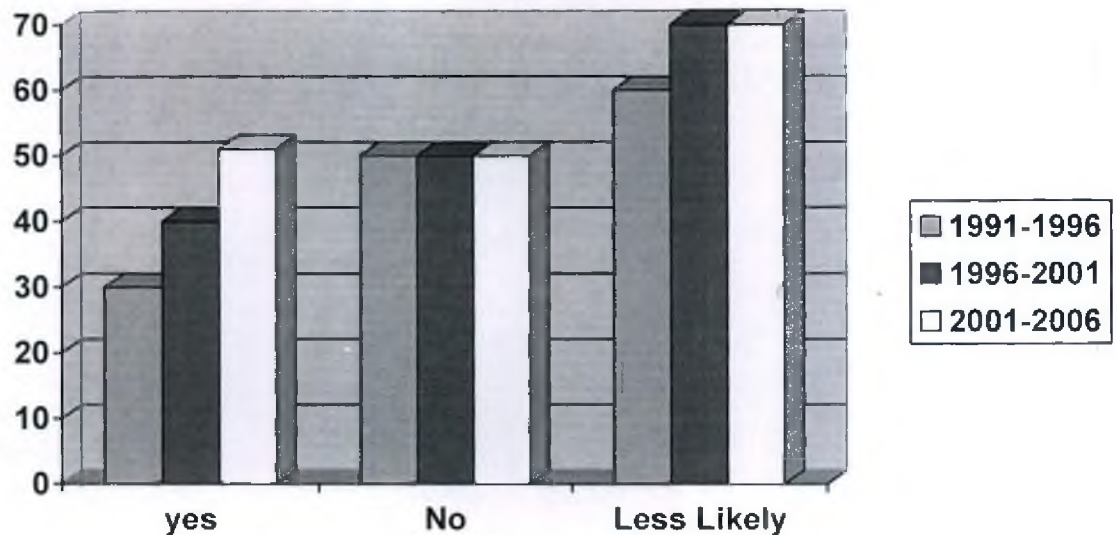


From the overall good governance scenarios of 2001-2006 taken with the respondents' answer as YES, NO and LESS LIKELY, it is shown that average 51% of total respondents have given their vote on behalf of YES in each category of indicators of good governance in Bangladesh. Average 50% people have given vote for NO and 60% for LESS LIKELY. This result of good governance indicates that there was quasi-satisfactory level of good governance during this period that has been found through the data of primary sources collected from using stratified sampling under survey method. It is considered in the analysts' view that 51% responses toward YES in any cases of developing countries are counted as the frequent level of development. So, this tenure of good governance showed a massive development in an effort of articulating people's interest. That highly reveals the improvement of governance ambience in the age 2001-2006 than the regime 1996-2001.

#### 4.4 Findings of Overall Good Governance Scenarios from 1991 to 2006: Based on Field Study-

Study result has become more frank to us in this way that respondents' answers lucidly disclose the category of response-NO and LESS LIKELY are in same portion although a minor distinction in the case of LESS LIKELY appeared between the regimes (1996-2001 & 2001-2006) and 1991-1996.

**Figure 36: Overall Good Governance Scenarios from 1991-2006**



Category of response-NO is the same in its level. And the category of response-YES is the absolute catalyst by which good governance scenarios of three democratic ages can be calculated. These bar diagrams of YES indicated with three colors of demarcation delineate the quantified measurement of good governance of three democratic regimes. The quantitative difference among these three ages is 10. It can be shown with applying subtraction from each age separately- $\{(50-40), (40-30)\}$ . From the good governance scenario analyses, it is clear to us that the level of the atmosphere of good governance is frequent and it is going to culminate in its desired level. Our field survey made with the concerned people's responses proves it. While this frequent level keeps its continuity, academics view it the emerging or increasing level of governance or good governance. With these scenario analyses, we along with different analysts' viewpoint

may say that the democracy of Bangladesh is one of the emerging democracies across the world with the observation of its overall good governance scenario analyses. If this process goes ahead in the governance, Bangladesh optimistically within short span of time will take its place in line with different agenda of the political development of developed countries.

#### 4.5 Definition of Good Governance (Open Ended Questionnaire)

**Question:** What do you know about Good Governance?

Under our survey method, different categories of people were asked to define the term of good governance from their own viewpoint with using open ended/non-structured questionnaires. Amongst 197 respondents, 195 people bestowed their answers regarding the definition of good governance.

**Table 34: Case Summary of Definition of Good Governance**

Cases					
Valid		Missing		Total	
N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
195	99.0%	2	1.0%	197	100.0%

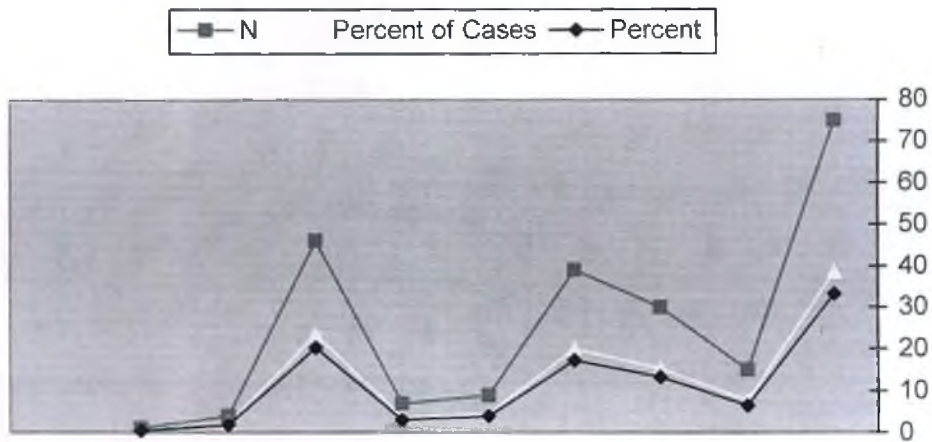
In different indicators found from the responses of interviewees, 226 respondents present their argument on defining good governance in its theoretical points.

**Table 35: Frequencies of the Definition of Good Governance**

Indicators for the Definition of Good Governance	Responses		Percent of Cases
	N	Percent	
Rule of Law and Justice	75	33.2%	38.5%
Separation of Judiciary	15	6.6%	7.7%
Control of Corruption	30	13.3%	15.4%
Accountability and Transparency of Govt. & Admin	39	17.3%	20.0%
Protecting Human Rights	9	4.0%	4.6%
Democratization	7	3.1%	3.6%
People's Interest Articulation	46	20.4%	23.6%
Following Religious Values	4	1.8%	2.1%
Freedom of Expression	1	.4%	.5%
Total	226	100.0%	115.9%

33.2% people stress on rule of law in defining good governance. 20% people suggest people's interest articulation is much needed element for good governance and 17.3% and 13.3% people espouse the accountability and transparency of government and administration and control of corruptions respectively. Above mentioned table highly elucidates the overall definition obtained from the respondents of the study. In the table, percent of cases have been shown that state for each and every case how many responses are equipped with that of indicators of good governance to define.

Figure 37: Frequencies of the Definition of Good Governance



Although different people responded differently, 9 categories of indicators viz- rule of law and justice, separation of judiciary, control of corruption, accountability and transparency of government & administration, protecting human rights, democratization, people's interest articulation, following religious values, freedom of expression have been found in defining good governance from the answers of respondents. From the people's responses regarding the definition of good governance, it is to be said based on priority that rule of law and justice, people's interest articulation, accountability and transparency of government and administration and control of corruptions are the major elements/indicators in view of apprehending good governance in a state-affairs.

#### 4.6 Role Player for Good Governance together with Government of Bangladesh (Open Ended Questionnaire)

**Question:** Who can play crucial role along with government in establishing good governance in Bangladesh?

Table 36: Case Summary of the Role Player for Good Governance together with Government of Bangladesh

Cases					
Valid		Missing		Total	
N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
197	100.0%	0	.0%	197	100.0%

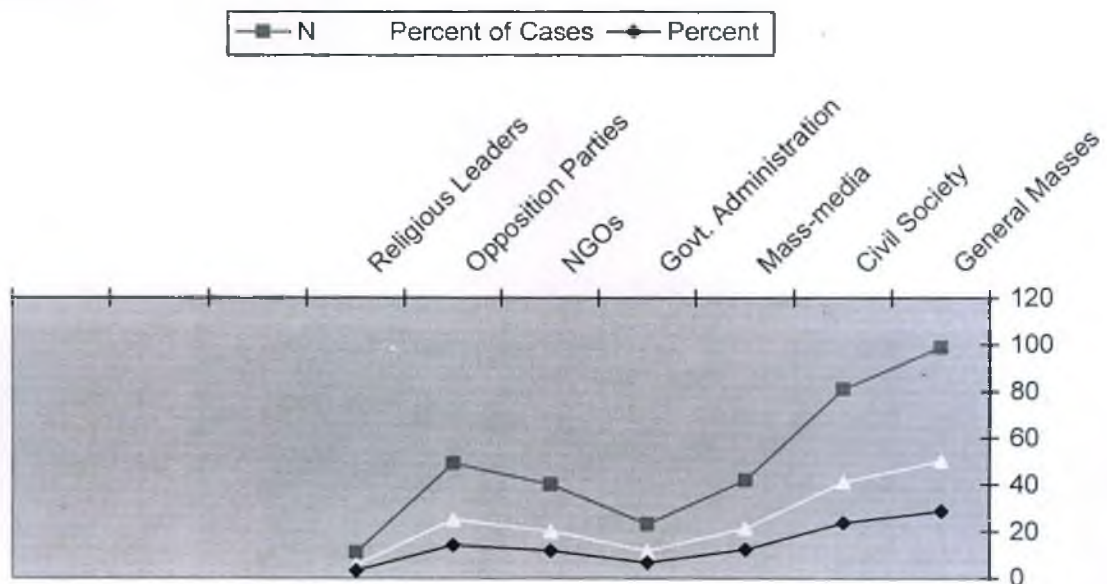
All categories of people keeping its full quantity responded as they were questioned relating to the role of players for the good governance together with the government of Bangladesh, which are elucidated in the table 36. The interviewees were asked who can play crucial role along with the government in establishing good governance in Bangladesh. Following table delineates the ins and outs of the responses collected from field based study with following structured and non-structured questionnaires-

**Table 37: Frequencies of the Role Player for Good Governance together with Government of Bangladesh**

Role Players	Responses		Percent of Cases
	N	Percent	
General Masses/People	99	28.7%	50.3%
Civil Society	81	23.5%	41.1%
Mass-Media	42	12.2%	21.3%
Government Administration	23	6.7%	11.7%
Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs)	40	11.6%	20.3%
Opposition Parties	49	14.2%	24.9%
Religious Leaders	11	3.2%	5.6%
<b>Total</b>	<b>345</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>175.1%</b>

28.7% people support the general masses that can play absolute roles together with government in establishing good governance in Bangladesh. In the democracy, people are considered the main source of all powers due to people’s participation in the electoral process who select their representatives.

**Figure 38: Role Players for Good Governance together with Government of Bangladesh**



So, commoners in the system of political affair of a democratic state can play a catalytic role to establish good governance as proved in the people's responses of diverse categories. Besides, civil society, opposition parties and mass-media have taken up their position as second (23.5%), third (14.2%) and fourth (12.2%) from the respondents in ascertaining good governance in Bangladesh. Concisely, from the above equation, it is to be said that the role of mass-people, the members of civil society, opposition parties and mass-media expose it inevitability for the good governance of Bangladesh.

#### 4.7 Constraints to Good Governance in Bangladesh (Open Ended Questionnaire)

**Question:** Which factors are constraints to good governance in Bangladesh?

Amongst total respondents of 197, 195 of them except 2 participated to find out the major constraints to good governance in Bangladesh under questionnaire methods of survey.

**Table 38: Case Summary of the Constraints to Good Governance in Bangladesh**

Valid		Missing		Total	
N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
195	99.0%	2	1.0%	197	100.0%

From the respondents, total 318 answers have come and shown these answers as percentage of total answers. 33% interviewees identified the corruption the dominant constraint to good governance in Bangladesh and it took its highest score of total responses. Lack of the enforcement of law, partisan outlook and partial judiciary scored its second (25.5%), third (21.7%) and fourth (10.7%) positions respectively in determining the major constraints to the establishment of good governance in Bangladesh.

**Table 39: Frequencies of the Constraints to Good Governance in Bangladesh**

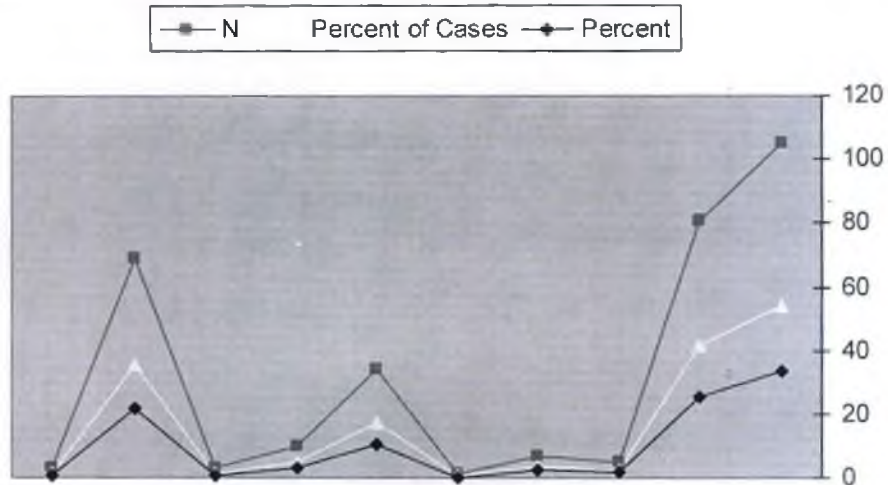
Constraints to Good Governance	Responses		Percent of Cases
	N	Percent	
Corruption	105	33.0%	53.8%
Lack of the Enforcement of Law/Bureaucratic Complexities	81	25.5%	41.5%
Poverty	5	1.6%	2.6%
Population Growth	7	2.2%	3.6%
Moral Decay	1	.3%	.5%
Partial Judiciary	34	10.7%	17.4%
Foreign Intervention in Decision-making	10	3.1%	5.1%
Hartal/Strike	3	.9%	1.5%
Partisan Outlook	69	21.7%	35.4%
Women Participation in Politics	3	.9%	1.5%
<b>Total</b>	<b>318</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>163.1%</b>

To take the scenarios sketched in the Table00 and Figure 00 into consideration, government has to highly find out overall conditions of corruptions, enforcement of law, judiciary, and outlook of the party. After ending its proper analyses, government



should take necessary steps for taking these mentionable as well as other constraints found in the table and figure under utmost consideration for the establishment of good governance in Bangladesh.

**Figure 39: Constraints to Good Governance in Bangladesh**



#### 4.8 Recommendations (Open Ended Questionnaire)

**Question:** What do you suggest to establish good governance in Bangladesh?

Respondents were to ask to recommend in establishing good governance in Bangladesh. Almost all the respondents present their suggestions of how to establish good governance in Bangladesh. It became possible for them due to have some scenario as they responded as YES, NO and LESS LIKELY under the close ended questionnaire. Case summary of following table shows missing only 1 of the total respondents abstained from suggesting about establishing good governance in Bangladesh. The eagerness of interviewee delineates the significance of good governance in the current state-affairs of Bangladesh.

**Table 40: Case Summary of the Suggestions to Establish Good Governance in Bangladesh**

Cases					
Valid		Missing		Total	
N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
196	99.5%	1	.5%	197	100.0%

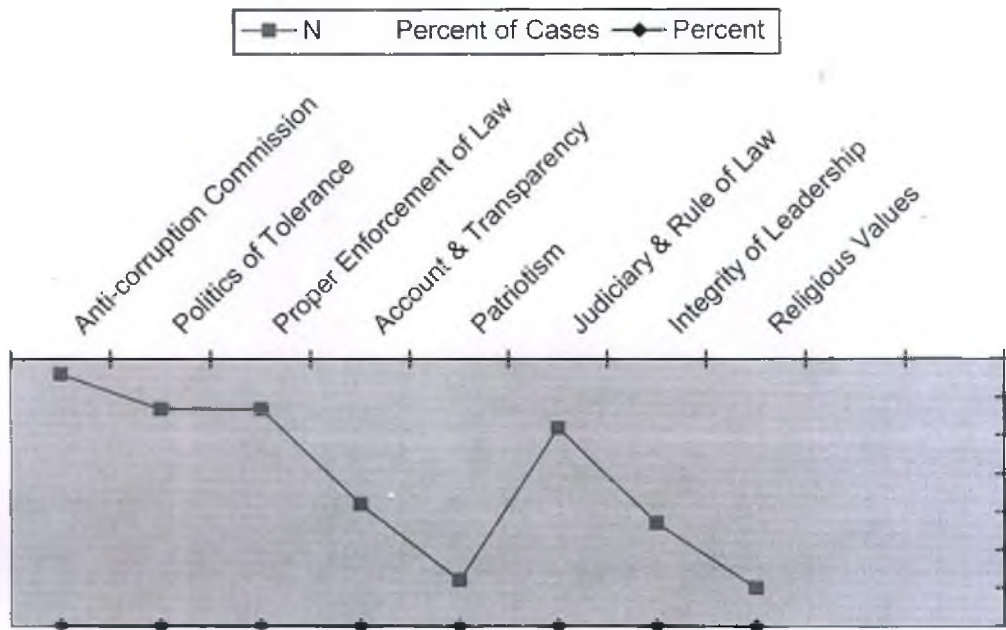
Table 00 and figure 00 reveal that a neutral anti-corruption commission is dire needs for the establishment of good governance in Bangladesh. All respondents made their opinion on behalf of it because of observing the corruption scenarios of previous years in Bangladesh creates bad consequences in its all aspects of socio-economic and political atmospheres. So, 21.1% people of total respondents as the largest quantity in the suggestive indicators of good governance are traced out.

**Table 41: Frequencies of the Suggestions to Establish Good Governance in Bangladesh**

Suggestions from the Respondents	Responses		Percent of Cases
	N	Percent	
Neutral Anti-corruption Commission	66	21.1%	33.7%
Politics of Tolerance	57	18.2%	29.1%
Proper Enforcement of Law	57	18.2%	29.1%
Accountability and Transparency of Government and Administration	32	10.2%	16.3%
Patriotism	12	3.8%	6.1%
Neutral Judiciary and Rule of Law	52	16.6%	26.5%
Integrity of Leadership	27	8.6%	13.8%
Incorporating Religious Values	10	3.2%	5.1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>313</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>159.7%</b>

Second highest respondent (18.2%) gave their vote for politics of tolerance and proper enforcement of law. And 16.6% interviewees bestowed their verdict in favor of neutral judiciary and rule of law.

**Figure 40: Frequencies of the Suggestions to Establish Good Governance in Bangladesh**



For the good governance, it is time-necessitated and inevitable to pay the closer attention to the neutral anti-corruption commission, politics of tolerance, proper enforcement of law and neutral judiciary and rule of law in Bangladesh. And other necessary suggestions are to be taken into account in this regard.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### COMPONENTS OF GOOD GOVERNANCE

In countries involved in peace processes, questions relating to good governance often consume a significant portion of the discussions; typically demands for democratization, including elections and timeframes for transition, are addressed. Other related elements include discussions surrounding the nature of political participation, electoral systems, issues of transparency and separation of powers. Our field study (primary sources) and secondary sources delineate some crucial components for good governance either for Bangladesh or any other countries which are as follows-

#### 5.1 Democratization:

Democracy is a system of government in which power is vested in the people (the population) and exercised through representatives chosen in free and fair elections. But a democracy does not just mean that “the majority rules.” A democracy also includes and protects the human rights of minorities and respects multiple or “plural” views and opinions. In a democracy, people have rights as citizens, but they also have responsibilities to participate in the governance system. So, ‘democracy can be defined as a certain way to organize collectively binding decisions’.<sup>59</sup> There are many versions of democracies around the world (e.g. electoral, consultative) and ongoing debates about the extent to which “one size fits all” with regard to democracy. The process a country goes through in attempting to become more democratic is referred to as democratization. In order for a country to be truly democratic, all of its citizens—men and women—must be empowered to participate fully in the governance process (as

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<sup>59</sup> Hamm, *Democracy in the Light of Globalization* / WDEV Special Report 2/2007

citizens, voters, advocates, civil servants, judges, elected officials, etc.). Democracy is an ideal, a utopia. We all know that our institutions are not perfect, affected by incompetence, abuse, dishonesty, corruption and fraud. We have built in mechanisms of control and sanction to limit such deficiencies. They don't work perfectly and in some situations they are overrun by plutocracy.<sup>60</sup>

## 5.2 Free and Fair Elections

An election is the procedure by which citizens of a country choose their representatives and leaders and assign authority. Elections must be held regularly so that elected officials remain accountable to the population; if they do not uphold their responsibilities to the electorate, they can be voted out of office in the next election. Elections must be held within a period of time that is prescribed in the constitution, or fundamental law. For an election to be truly democratic, it must be<sup>61</sup>:

- universal—All citizens of a country must have the right to vote and to be elected, without discrimination based on sex, race, language, religion or political affiliation.
- Equal—the value of each vote must be the same.
- Secret—the balloting must be private so that citizens can participate without being afraid; only the voter must know for whom she or he votes.
- Direct—the voters must be able to choose their own leaders without an intermediary.
- Wide choice—the voters must have the opportunity to choose from among several available candidates.

Government will be determined in general, free, equal and secret elections, and can be changed.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> <http://www.informationclearinghouse.info/article13135.htm>

<sup>61</sup> Elizabeth Powley and Sanam Naraghi Anderlini, *Democracy and Governance, Journal of Justice, Governance and Civil Society, Vol. 3, (1999), P.37*

<sup>62</sup> Hamm, *Democracy in the Light of Globalization, WDEV Special Report, No. 2, (2007), P.1*

### 5.3 Decentralization

An increasingly important component of good governance in many parts of the world is decentralization. Decentralization is the process of transferring authority and responsibility from the central government to provincial and local levels. Countries pursue decentralization for a variety of reasons, including a desire to make the government more receptive and accountable to the needs of its population and/or to respond to pressure from donors to “downsize” central government budgets.<sup>63</sup> Decentralization is based upon the notion that various levels of the government have different expertise and abilities to address problems. For example, national defense and monetary policy are clearly best set at the national level, but policies concerning schools, local police protection and some public services are often better determined at the local level with community input. Critics of decentralization, however, charge that it weakens parts of the state that, for the sake of peace-building and human security, need to be strengthened. There are three types of decentralization: political, administrative and fiscal. Political decentralization involves the election of local-level leaders. Administrative decentralization occurs when some of the government’s decision-making is managed at the local level. And fiscal decentralization refers to the national government sharing budgetary responsibility for collecting revenues and making expenditures with local government representatives. Decentralization processes often include local-level elections. They provide an important opportunity for all citizens (male, female) to become involved in decision-making in their communities. In Rwanda’s 2001 sector- and district-level elections, a special “triple balloting” technique was introduced that resulted in the election of women to 27 percent of district council seats. In those elections, every voter chose one general candidate, one female candidate and one youth candidate. Not only did this system set aside seats for women and youth,

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<sup>63</sup> Elizabeth Powley, *Strengthening Governance: The Role of Women in Rwanda’s Transition*, Washington, D.C. Women Waging Peace, 2004. 20 July 2004  
<http://www.womenwagingpeace.net/content/articles/RwandaFullCaseStudy.pdf>

it also required that the entire electorate vote for women. In this way, Rwanda's decentralization program began to make the election of women more socially acceptable.<sup>64</sup> Thus, decentralization process in any county makes congenial environment for the governance in political and socio-economic development.

#### **5.4 Participatory Politics and Political Parties**

The concept of "participatory politics" refers to the involvement of all citizens in politics and policymaking. This requires a relationship between the government and society in which the participation of citizens and a plurality of views are encouraged. This can be supported by strengthening political parties; encouraging the participation of marginalized groups, such as women and youth; and by strengthening civil society (described below). The right to convene and articulate political views is a key principle of good governance and democratization. Political parties are one of the cornerstones of a democratic political system. Parties are critical because they provide a structure for political participation for people with similar beliefs and interests. By joining together, individuals, who would otherwise not be influential, can make their voices heard in the political process through their support of a political party. Political parties also provide leaders with a space in which to learn the skills needed for governing a society.<sup>65</sup> A democracy must have more than one major, viable party so that a single group does not dominate the government and voters have a choice. This principle is called multipartyism. Membership in political parties must be voluntary. It can be difficult for all citizens irrespective of creed, race, color, and clan, religion to achieve leadership positions within political parties and to be selected as candidates because, in many countries, parties operate or govern themselves without written party rules or

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<sup>64</sup> Text excerpted from McGrew, Laura, Kate Frieson, and Sambath Chan. *Good Governance from the Ground Up: Women's Roles in Post Conflict Cambodia*. Washington, DC: Women Waging Peace, 2004. 4 September, 2004

<sup>65</sup> <http://www.womenwagingpeace.net/content/articles/Cambodi>

transparent procedures. Such lack of openness allows patronage systems and “old boys’ networks” to flourish, effectively excluding women and other classes from decision-making positions and candidate lists. In some countries, political parties have adopted internal quotas for women and other segmented group’s participation to ensure that they always put forward a certain number of their candidates. Countries are different as Argentina, Botswana and France all have political parties that mandate the participation of women and youth groups.<sup>66</sup> An important advocacy strategy for women is to work with political parties to make sure that the party platform, the formal declaration of the principles and positions that the party supports, describes its positions on issues important to women.<sup>67</sup> Not the participation of man and women categorically; but other indigenous people’s participation may strengthen the path of good governance of the country.

### **5.5 Women’s Political Participations**

Women are under-represented in elected office and formal governing structures throughout the world for a number of reasons, including discriminatory social attitudes, lack of education and preparation and structural barriers to their democratic participation. Specific challenges in developing countries—and some ways in which they can be overcome under good governance—are listed below.

***Voter Registration and Voting:*** Women’s participation as voters in elections is a critical expression of their rights as citizens in a democracy. Even if the right to vote is not formally denied, there are significant barriers to women’s participation as voters. For instance, in order to register to vote, identity and citizenship documentation are usually required. This can be difficult for women who do not have documentation in

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<sup>66</sup> Global Database of Quotas for Women: <http://www.quota-project.org>

<sup>67</sup> The UN Office of the Special Advisor to the Secretary-General on Gender Issues and the Advancement of Women (OSAGI) provides an important collection of resources on this topic at-  
<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/feature/postconflict/>



their own name or, particularly in conflict situations, for women who are internally displaced or have fled their countries and lost their documentation.<sup>68</sup> Often polling stations are far away and women have no transportation or travel is restricted by custom and tradition. Voting hours can also be difficult for working women or those with childcare responsibilities. Another concern is the problem of “family voting,” which is the practice of women being led into polling booths by their husbands, who effectively do the voting for them. This is a serious problem in some countries and is a clear violation of women’s right to vote in free and fair elections. Election administrators should include women and gender-sensitive men among their ranks and must adopt policies that do not unfairly discriminate against women.<sup>69</sup> If women do not have official identity papers, their identity and eligibility as voters could be verified by others in the village/community. International election observers should receive gender-sensitivity training so that they are able to observe and address the challenges that women voters face. Election day should be made a holiday, or polling stations should remain open for extended hours and be close to or in central locations (e.g. schools, churches, mosques) accessible to the entire population, including women. Ballots should include photographs and party symbols to aid those voters who are illiterate (a disproportionate number of whom are women).

## 5.6 Independent Media and Civil Society

“Civil society” refers to the non-governmental and, usually, non-profit sectors (although some definitions of civil society do include the business community and media outlets). Civil society includes non-governmental organizations (NGOs) such as community associations, trade unions, professional leagues, religious and advocacy groups. It also describes the activity that occurs between the government and individual

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<sup>68</sup> Elizabeth Powley and Sanam Naraghi Anderlini, *Democracy and Governance, Journal of Justice, Governance and Civil Society*, Vol.03, (1999), P.38

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid*, P.39

citizens. Civil society is critical to the development of a democracy because it can represent the views of citizens, hold elected officials accountable to the population and monitor democratic institutions.<sup>70</sup> From a governance standpoint, the laws and legal procedures developed for the registration of NGOs is also of critical importance. In many cases, the legal framework acts as an obstacle to the establishment of independent NGOs and becomes a vehicle for the government's control of civil society. In other instances if laws are too lax, they do not protect against entities that form NGOs for the purpose of profit or political gain. Many countries have state-controlled radio and television that the government uses as a medium for broadcasting its own messages and views. But an independent media is an important pillar of good governance. Civil society groups and political parties should have the right to broadcast and publish information and ideas without fear of arrest or undue pressure. It is also critical to have a truly independent press that is skeptical of all parties, highlights corruption across the board and is not just the "mouthpiece" of one group or another. In states with authoritarian regimes or in the early stages of democracy, the Internet is increasingly used to share information. Similar to civil society, legislation governing media and protecting independent media is of critical importance and should be developed at an early stage.<sup>71</sup> Thus, media and civil society with due process of integration play catalytic roles in the establishment of good governance.

### **5.7 Rule of Law**

Good governance requires fair legal frame works that are enforced impartially. It also requires full protection of human rights, particularly those of minorities (United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific). According to Dicey, the rule of law has three meanings:

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<sup>70</sup> DAC Orientations on Participatory Development and Good Governance, Paris, OECD, 1993, 13. 6  
September 2004

<sup>71</sup> Ibid

**Absence of arbitrary power or supremacy of law:** Rule of law means the absolute supremacy or predominance of regular law as opposed to the influence of arbitrary power or wide discretionary power.

**Equality before law:** The rule of law needs the equality of law or equality subjection of all classes to the ordinary law of the land administered by the ordinary law courts. In this sense, no man is above the law.

**Constitution is the result of the ordinary law of the land:** In many countries right to personal liberty, freedom from arrest, freedom to hold Public meeting are guaranteed by a written constitution. Those rights are the result of judicial decisions in concrete cases, which have actually arisen between the parties. The constitution is not the source but the consequence of the rights of the individuals. Thus, Dicey emphasized the role of the courts of law as grantors of liberty (Mollah). The rule of law is necessary for political and economic development, including the alleviation of poverty. The rule of law is a foundation of democratic political development. An independent judiciary is the most important institution for resolving disputes between citizens and their governments. The rule of law is relevant to the alleviation of poverty. The poor are in particular need of the protection of life, personal security and human rights, which the rule of law can provide. Without the rule of law the poor are also vulnerable to corruption, loss of property to government officials and insecurity. The rule of law is most obviously a foundation of democracy. It is relevant to social development that means alleviation of poverty.

Respect for the rule of law is another key pillar of democracy which ascertains good governance in any affair. It means that the same constitution and set of laws govern and protect everyone and that all citizens are equal. It requires an independent judicial system that is fair and transparent and that prevents the government from wielding

arbitrary power.<sup>72</sup> According to Kaufmann & Mastruzzi, rule of law is the extent to which people have confidence in and abide by rules. These include the effectiveness and predictability of the judiciary, enforceability of contracts. Due to lack of accountability and prevalence of corruption people do not have much confidence in and abide by rules. The establishment of accountability is therefore critically important for the establishment of the rule of law and also in controlling corruption.<sup>73</sup> Sbragia argues that the rule of law and well defined legal and judicial mechanism for resolving conflicts among parties are critical for a market economy as well as political and social development. It makes hindrances in framing political and social institutions of a particular affair.<sup>74</sup> It doesn't have an effective and strong judiciary and the enforceability of contracts is a problem. Also due to lack of accountability and prevalence of corruption people do not have that much confidence in and or willingness to abide by rules. The efficiency of the legislative environment is further decreased due to the weak quality monitoring and policing by the regulatory authorities as a result of inadequate infrastructure facilities. To ensure rule of law, followings are to be taken into account-

**Constitutionalism and Legal Rights:** A country's constitution is its fundamental or supreme law, its overriding legal framework. It must guarantee the rights of all its citizens—women and men—and is critical to the development of a stable democracy. Because of their central importance, constitutional issues and legal rights are addressed more fully in a separate section of this toolkit. We have to come out of violating the constitutional law taken as supreme law of the country.

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<sup>72</sup> Elizabeth Powley and Sanam Naraghi Anderlini, *Democracy and Governance, Journal of Justice, Governance and Civil Society*, Vol.03, (1999), P.42

<sup>73</sup> D.Kaufmann & M. Mastruzzi (2003), *Governance Matters: Governance Indicators for 1996-2002*. The World Bank, Policy Research, WP 3106

<sup>74</sup> A.M. Sbragia, *Governance, the State and the Market: What is going on? Journal of Governance*, Vol.13, No.2, (April 2000), Blackwell Publishers, USA

**Judicial Independence and Impartiality:** The judiciary is the system of courts that oversees legal proceedings and makes up the judicial branch of government. The courts must be independent from the other branches of government. "If a judiciary cannot be relied upon to decide cases impartially, according to the law and not based on external pressures and influences, its role is distorted and public confidence in the government is undermined."<sup>75</sup> So, rule of law for the good governance is currently taken as the yardstick for all countries in the world.

### **5.8 Anti-Corruption**

Corruption in government is the misuse of public goods, funds, or office for private gain. It includes behavior such as embezzlement, fraud and the taking or requiring of bribes for the provision of public services. In addition to undermining economic development, corruption also undermines good governance. "Corruption in elections and in legislative bodies reduces accountability and representation in policymaking; corruption in the judiciary suspends the rule of law; and corruption in public administration results in the unequal provision of services."<sup>76</sup> Rampant corruption at all levels throughout the country has made it difficult for entrepreneurs to run their businesses smoothly.<sup>77</sup> It is now widely accepted that corruption has not only negative effects on economic growth but also it has far reaching social, political and ethical implications. According to Transparency International Report, corruption acts to diminish the ability of law enforcement to accomplish its mission. The prevalence of corruption has not only diminished the ability of the law enforcement but has also adversely affected the judiciary, public administration and is impeding the fair

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<sup>75</sup> Guidance for Promoting Judicial Independence and Impartiality, Washington, DC: USAID, 2002. 6. 6 September 2004 at

[http://www.usaid.gov/our\\_work/democracy\\_and\\_governance/publications/pdfs/pnacm007.pdf](http://www.usaid.gov/our_work/democracy_and_governance/publications/pdfs/pnacm007.pdf)

<sup>76</sup> Fighting Corruption, Washington, DC: USAID, No.6, September 2004

[http://www.usaid.gov/our\\_work/democracy\\_and\\_governance/technical\\_areas/anti-corruption](http://www.usaid.gov/our_work/democracy_and_governance/technical_areas/anti-corruption)

<sup>77</sup> New Age, London, September 20, 2004

functioning of the society.<sup>78</sup> Thus, the indicators of good governance remain relatively weak. Although there have been significant efforts to combat corruption and improve governance issue both at national and international level, much still remains to be done. Most of the developing countries have been experiencing persisting problems of governance in lack of accountability, law and order situation and corruption which has been the main impediment in the development of an appropriate regulatory framework. As the indicators of governance are interrelated the lack of control of corruption and rule of law in developing countries lead to lack of government effectiveness, and accountability which in turn undermine the regulatory framework and political stability in some cases.<sup>79</sup> It can be argued that the lack of good governance issues i.e. weak regulatory framework, rampant corruption, and lack of accountability and rule of law are responsible for the emerging second generation problem of the reforms. These poor governance issues encourage and offer opportunities for unethical business practices by private sector i.e. hoarding, adulteration, and profiteering, providing less weight and also creating an artificial crisis. This second generation problem in turn is having adverse effects on socioeconomic conditions of farmers and is also threatening the sustainability of the reforms.<sup>80</sup> From the donors' side, issue of the control of corruption is highly emphasized for the good governance in develop countries.

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<sup>78</sup> Global Corruption Report: Special Focus: Access to Information. Global Corruption Report, UNDP, 2003

<sup>79</sup> F. Azmat and Coghill, Good Governance and Market-based Reforms: A Study of Bangladesh, *Monash University Journal*, Vol.5, No.2, (2006), P.13

<sup>80</sup> Ibid

## 5.9 Human Rights

Human rights are the basic rights and freedoms to which all human beings are entitled. The most basic human rights include the right to life and liberty, freedom of thought and expression and equality before the law. The respect for and protection of human rights, including the rights of minorities and of women, is a cornerstone of any democracy. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the UN Charter are just two of the many international instruments that delineate basic and universal human rights.<sup>81</sup> Human rights are the most fundamental rights of human beings. They define relationships between individuals and power structures, especially the State. Human rights delimit State power and, at the same time, require States to take positive measures ensuring an environment that enables all people to enjoy their human rights. Human rights in good governance indicate the rights to development that governments in a country endeavors to ensure.

The 1986 UN Declaration on the Right to Development states that: ... every human person and all peoples are entitled to participate in, contribute to, and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development, in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realized. The human right to development also implies the full realization of the right of peoples to self-determination, which includes, subject to the relevant provisions of both International Covenants on Human Rights, the exercise of their inalienable right to full sovereignty over all their natural wealth and resources. The right to development is based on the principle of the indivisibility and interdependence of all human rights and fundamental freedoms. Equal attention and urgent consideration should be given to the implementation, promotion and protection of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights.

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<sup>81</sup> Elizabeth Powley and Sanam Naraghi Anderlini, Democracy and Governance, *Journal of Justice, Governance and Civil Society*, Vol.03, (1999), P.42

The Millennium Development Goals of September 2000 define the eradication of poverty as the overarching objective of the development process. United Nations Member States have pledged to meet, inter alia, the following goals, most of them by the year 2015: reduce by half the proportion of people living on less than a dollar a day and who suffer from hunger; achieve universal primary education for all boys and girls; reduce child mortality by two thirds; reduce the maternal mortality rate by three quarters; combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other major diseases; ensure environmental sustainability and develop a global partnership for development.



## CHAPTER SIX

### FIRST PHASE OF GOOD GOVERNANCE IN BANGLADESH

Since the independence of the country in 1971 through a bloody war, uncertainty and volatility have been permanent features of its society and politics. Coups, countercoups, rigged elections, agitation for the restoration of constitutionalism, enactment of repressive laws, deceptive civilianization and legitimization process, and insurgent activities by radical revolutionary groups have constantly contributed to keeping the Bangladeshi society in a state of perpetual tension and mass frustration.<sup>82</sup> That indicates the ruling party and oppositions' place in dilemma and confrontations. Following figure shows the contrast move of incumbency and oppositions to lead the state-

**Figure 41: The Contrast Move of Ruling Party and the Oppositions**



So, the path of good governing system was hindered in the state of affairs. For our convenience, we will divide our discussion into two parts-

<sup>82</sup> A. Hakim (2003), *Bangladesh Politics: The Shahabuddin Interregnum*, University Press Limited (UPL), Dhaka, P.1

01. Good Governance of Bangladesh: Prior to the Democratic Ushering i.e. from the Inception to 1991 and

02. Good Governance of Bangladesh: From 1991 to 2006.

Second part (02) is the part of our main discussion because of considering this age (1991-2006) as the democratic age of the history of Bangladesh. Although the first part (01) of Bangladeshi governance is not our main focus, we will take this part under our discussion for maintaining the chronology of the discussion.

### **6.1 Prior to the Democratic Ushering i.e. from the Inception to 1991**

Despite successive regimes' repeated commitments for the institutionalization of democracy to ensure good governance and meet the basic needs of life, the first two decades of independence witnessed a massive failure in the respects.

#### **6.1.1 First Decade: Transition Problems in the Good Governing System**

The first decade of Bangladesh witnessed extreme volatility in politics, violent changes of government and military coups. The independence of the country engendered a sense of equality and hopes particularly in the politically awakened populations. Ironically, the populist regime of the country's founding leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman could not realize those insatiable demands of narrow political elite.<sup>83</sup> Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, who projected himself as the champion of liberalism and democratic institutions and practices in the long-drawn movement against the Ayubian autocracy and military dictatorship of Yahya Khan, after independence ended up in unleashing an extremely totalitarian arrangement to quell all imaginable political opposition to his regime.<sup>84</sup> That means three years could hardly elapse and it had to undergo transformation into an

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<sup>83</sup> Ataur Rahman (2007), *Essays on Democracy and Leadership: Bangladesh Perspectives*. S.N Printers, Dhaka, P.8

<sup>84</sup> A. Hakim (1993), *Bangladesh Politics: The Shahabuddin Interregnum*, University Press Limited (UPL), Dhaka, P.1

authoritarian one-party rule ostensibly to face growing political opposition and economic crisis. The failing of political leadership in terms of creating a value-framework and an appropriate state-structure to administer economic and social programs led to the alienation of the regime from the people and erosion of its legitimacy.<sup>85</sup> For this, critics have questioned the legitimacy of even the government headed by Mujib in the pre-1973 parliamentary elections period.<sup>86</sup> It was argued by the opponent of the Mujib regime that Bangladesh should be governed by the representatives elected by the people of independent Bangladesh and not by those elected within the framework of united Pakistan.<sup>87</sup> They emphasized that the Awami League should seek a fresh electoral mandate by presenting before the electorate a manifesto that would be relevant to independent Bangladesh.<sup>88</sup> The intensity of legitimacy crisis increased when through unconstitutional means the military captured state power.

The violent change of government in 1975 and subsequent coming to power of General Ziaur Rahman through a unique route of what is often termed as Sepoy-Janata' uprising was a crucial turning point in Bangladesh's political history.<sup>89</sup> Despite military regimes' initiative to acquire a veneer of legitimacy through election and referendum, he could achieve very little success on that score.<sup>90</sup> But the first three years of Zia regime experienced the military rulers' later successful efforts of economic development. Besides, the Zia government in 1980 set up the institution of Gram

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<sup>85</sup> Ataur Rahman (2007), *Essays on Democracy and Leadership: Bangladesh Perspectives*, S.N Printers, Dhaka, P.8

<sup>86</sup> The Awami League formed the government in post-liberation Bangladesh on the basis of overwhelming mandate the party received in the December 1970 National Assembly and Provincial Assembly elections. In East Pakistan (Now Bangladesh) the Awami League secured 167 out of 169 seats allocated to that province, obtaining 72.57 percent votes cast. The party captured 288 of the 300 seats in the East Pakistan legislature, garnering 89 percent of the total votes cast.

<sup>87</sup> Sirajul Islam (1988), *Bangladesh: State and Economic Strategy*, University Press Limited, Dhaka, P.64

<sup>88</sup> Fahimul Quadir, The Legitimacy of the Government and Constitution of 1972: A Review, *Journal of Political Science Association*, (1988), Pp.12-27

<sup>89</sup> Ataur Rahman (2007), *Essays on Democracy and Leadership: Bangladesh Perspectives*, S.N Printers, Dhaka, P.8

<sup>90</sup> A. Hakim (1993), *Bangladesh Politics: The Shahabuddin Interregnum*, University Press Limited (UPL), Dhaka, P.2

Sarkar (Village Government) in every village of the country.<sup>91</sup> “In East Bengal’s modern History” there was the first “politico-administrative entities at the village level.”<sup>92</sup> The last two and half years of his regime saw the creation political institution particularly the Bangladeshi Party (BNP) that reflected Zia’s vision encompassing broadly nationalist ideals, western pragmatism and Islamic values. President Zia, in fact, left a legacy of dynamic leadership, hard work and a strong sense of nationhood to offset Bangladeshi’s economic vulnerability and security weakness.

### 6.1.2 Second Decade: Praetorian Problems in the Good Governing System

On May 30, 1981 Zia was assassinated in abortive putsch spearheaded by a handful of “disgruntled” officers of Chittagong Cantonment. Detailed analysis of why and how it happened has been recorded elsewhere.<sup>93</sup> A probable reason for Zia’s assassination was that he had been pursuing a strategy of shifting “his power base from a military-bureaucratic-industrial combine to a mass-oriented institutional frame”.<sup>94</sup> After the killing, Vice-President Justice Abdus Sattar took over as acting President. In the November 1981 presidential election octogenarian Sattar won a landslide victory bagging 65.5 per cent of the votes cast.<sup>95</sup> Bangladesh entered the second decade of its independent existence with a democratic government under President Abdus Sattar. Many people hoped that this seemingly ill-fated’ nation would be able to sustain the transition of to a democratic-civilian rule.<sup>96</sup> The civilian president was neither the representative of the armed forces nor could they depend on him to protect and promote

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<sup>91</sup> Ahmed Shafiqul Haque (1988), *Politics and Administration in Bangladesh: Problems of Participation*, University Press Limited (UPL), Dhaka, P.35

<sup>92</sup> Peter J. Bertocci, Bangladesh in the Early 1980: Praetorian Politics in an Intermediate Regime, *Asian Survey*, Vol.22, No.10 (October 1982), P.997

<sup>93</sup> Anthony Mascarenhas, *Bangladesh: A Legacy of Blood* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1986); Major (Rtd.) Rafiqul Islam, *Bangladesh: Samarik Shashan O Ganatantrer Sangkat* [Bangladesh: Military Rule and Crisis of Democracy] (Dhaka: University Press Limited, 1989)

<sup>94</sup> Zillur R. Khan, Bangladesh in 1981: change, Stability, and Leadership, *Asian Survey*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (February 1982), P.165

<sup>95</sup> The voter turnout in that presidential election was 55.47 per cent, 1.68 per cent higher than the voter turnout in the June 1978 presidential election in which Zia got elected

<sup>96</sup> Ataur Rahman (2007), *Essays on Democracy and Leadership: Bangladesh Perspectives*, S.N Printers, Dhaka, P.9

their corporate interests. This was probable the reason why the army chief, Lt. General Hossain Mohammad Ershad, on many occasions exerted tremendous pressure on Sattar for a constitutionally guaranteed active role of the armed forces in managing the affairs of the nation. Ershad asserted that this was an imperative to solve a “deep-seated politico-military problem” and to ensure that “coups and killings do not take place a year later or 10 years later-or ever again.”<sup>97</sup> With taking the demand of General Ershad, President Abdus Sattar consented to the setting up of a National Security Council “to explore ways to involve the armed forces in nation development.”<sup>98</sup> Despite taking the assimilation process of giving chance the army in state development, a bloodless take-over of government by the military under General Ershad in March 24, 1982 changed the political process and a long period of military authoritarian rule ensued. The ritual of promising, within hours of the success of the coup, “a democratic system as soon as possible” was also meticulously performed.<sup>99</sup> The major problem confronting the country during this period was whether the military could provide a cohesive leadership and come to terms with country’s enormous economic and social problems. The fundamental dilemma faced by the military like other praetorian regimes has been how to evolve a national political process at that ensures the effective participation of the military and at the same time involves a myriad of social groups and interests in the governance of the nation.<sup>100</sup> The military rule could not produce a record of good governance in Bangladesh-its promise of order and discipline in the society and implementation of basic reforms remained unfulfilled. The authoritarian regime of General Ershad produced strong executive, rubber stamp parliaments and a complaint bureaucracy. The police and parliamentary force were often used to maintain political

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<sup>97</sup> *The Bangladesh Observer*, November 29, 1981 quoted in Zillur R. Khan (1984), *Martial Law to Martial Law: Leadership Crisis in Bangladesh*, Dhaka: University Press Limited, P.227

<sup>98</sup> *Far Eastern Economic Review*, January 8, 1982

<sup>99</sup> Chief Martial Law Administrator and Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces Lt. General H.M Ershad’s first address to the nation over radio and television on March 24, 1982. For the full text of the address, see *The Bangladesh Observer*, March 25, 1982

<sup>100</sup> Ataur Rahman (2007), *Essays on Democracy and Leadership: Bangladesh Perspectives*, S.N Printers, Dhaka, P.9

constitutional amendment or even to pass any law.<sup>105</sup> Sheikh Hasina viewed the amendment as “a heinous move to destroy the spirit of liberation war and reunite Bangladesh with Pakistan.”<sup>106</sup> Ershad on December 6, 1990 handed over power to a caretaker government headed by Chief Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed in confront of the four point *modus operandi* of the joint declaration pressurized by All Party Students Unity (APSU), AL-led eight party alliance, the BNP-backed seven party alliance, and left-leaning five party alliance.

Finally, an emerging spirit of professionalism probably defeated the praetorianism of the military. Note that, the military leaders who dominated the political scene from 1975 to 1990 (except brief interlude) had introduced authoritarian systems in the disguise of democracy and demilitarization of politics.

Table 42: Governance Scenario of Bangladesh from 1<sup>st</sup> to 2<sup>nd</sup> Decade

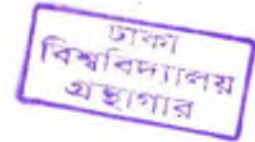
Decades	Rulers	Good Governance Scenarios
First	Sheikh Mujibur Rahman	Introducing Parliamentary System, Champion of Liberalism and Democratic Institutions
	President Ziur Rahman	Setting up Gram Sarkar (Village Government), Massive Economic Development,
Second	President Abdus Sattar	Conducting Fair Presidential Election on November 1981
	General Ershad	Introducing Upazilla System, Establishing Islam as State Religion

(Source: Author’s Own Initiative in Making the Figure of Good Governance from 1<sup>st</sup> to 2<sup>nd</sup> Decade of Bangladesh).

<sup>105</sup> Far Eastern Economic Review, June 23, 1988, P. 14

<sup>106</sup> Ibid

## CHAPTER SEVEN



### SECOND PHASE OF GOOD GOVERNANCE IN BANGLADESH

#### 7.1 FROM 1991 TO 2006

The dawn of 1990s witnessed changing notes-the successful transition of Bangladesh to democratic system of government after a hiatus of almost two decades of military authoritarian rule was a positive and hopeful sign of change. The collapse of authoritarian was almost exhilarating –the creation of democratic regime was, however, not easy.<sup>107</sup> The tentative understanding and agreement made among the parties in their movement against authoritarian rule broke quickly after a consensus has been challenging one-the major challenge came from governing a highly turbulent polity with a contradictory tradition of rule and conducting politics in an environment of mistrust, factional political culture and rent-seeking behavior of political elite. From the democratic ushering in 1991, Bangladesh has already crossed twenty years of its travel and been facing four of its democratic governments who, mostly, bestowed the bad governance for the people in leading the state. This part of the discussion will be limited to 2006 i.e. at the end of the regime of four-party alliance government led by Khaleda Zia, head of Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP).

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##### 7.1.1 Khaleda Zia Regime (1991-1996): First Democratic Regime-

In February 1991, Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) emerged as the single largest party in the fifth Jatiya Sangsad Polls, though slightly short of absolute majority. Begum Khaleda Zia is the unique symbol of this leadership who could invigorate BNP to come to power through a free and fair election. The results of the 1991 parliamentary

<sup>107</sup> Rahman, Aatur, "Essays on Democracy and Leadership: Bangladesh Perspectives". First Published on March 31, 2007, S.N Printers, Dhaka, P.10

elections established several trends in the country's politics. First, it showed that the two major political parties, the AL and the BNP enjoy near equal popular support. Both parties polled 31 percent of the popular vote (BNP 31.4 percent and AL 31.1 percent). Second, the results demonstrated a wide gap between the popular vote and winning of seats in parliament. For example, with a near equal popular vote, the BNP won 138 seats while the AL won only 86 seats. Third, two other smaller parties emerged. The Jatiya Party (JP), founded by the military dictator Ershad, won 35 seats and 12 percent of vote share. It may be noted that during the course of the election Ershad was under detention on charges of corruption and could play no part in the election campaign. The Islamist Party, Jamaat-e-Islami (JI), won 18 seats with a 12 percent vote share. The left leaning National Awami Party (Muzaffar) and the Communist Party, Bangladesh, both of whom were part of an electoral alliance with the Awami League each own 5 seats. In all, small parties together with independents won 19 seats in Parliament.<sup>108</sup>

**Table 43: Result of Parliamentary Election, February 1991**

Party	percent of Votes	Number of Seats
Bangladesh National Party	31	140
Awami League	31	88
Jatiya Party	12	35
Jamaat-e-Islami	6	18
Communist Party of Bangladesh	-	5
National Awami Party (Muzaffar)	-	5
Workers Party	-	1
Jatiyo Samajtantrik Party [Siraj]	-	1
Ganotantri Party	-	1
Islami Oikya Jote	-	1
National Democratic Party	-	1
Independents	-	3

Source: [http://www.virtualbangladesh.com/bd\\_polls\\_91.html](http://www.virtualbangladesh.com/bd_polls_91.html)

One of the remarkable achievements of the fifth parliament was that it scrapped the most in famous provision providing the presidential system of the constitution (Fourth

<sup>108</sup> Virtual Bangladesh: Politics Elections 1991 at [http://www.virtualbangladesh.com/bd\\_polls\\_91.html](http://www.virtualbangladesh.com/bd_polls_91.html)



Amendment) Act of 1975 through the passage of the famous constitution Twelfth Amendment Act in September 1991.<sup>109</sup> The amendment in effect restored parliamentary democracy in Bangladesh after long 16 years. In March 1991, Khaleda Zia, the leader of the majority party in the parliament, was sworn in as the prime minister by the caretaker government, President, Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed.

The period of Khaleda Zia's democratic government has been challenging and conducting politics in an environment of mistrust, factional political culture and rent seeking behavior of political elite. Despite such constraints, the first three years of Khaleda regime made some notable success in the governing process: it was able to reinvigorate the bureaucracy bringing confidence in law enforcing agencies, restore the independent character of the judiciary and revive the image and status of the parliament.<sup>110</sup> Compared to previous four parliaments, the fifth national had representation of major political parties, spent 400 working days, passed five budgets, saw the passage of 172 bills and witnessed the formation of fifty-five parliament committees.

In economic front, the BNP government has been able to retrieve the economy from colossal mismanagement and distortions perpetuated during the previous government. Through stabilization and structural adjustment policy, the democratic government took a series of austerity measures, rationalized the tax-structure, introduced the new Value Added Tax (VAT) system and streamlined credit facilities of nationalized banks and other financial institutions.<sup>111</sup> New incentives were given to encourage private investment particularly from foreign countries and some measures were initiated to check the widespread loss of confidence in an increasingly corrupt and mismanaged

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<sup>109</sup> Ataur Rahman, *Democratization in South Asia: Bangladesh Perspective* paper presented at BPSA Conference, Dhaka, 2000

<sup>110</sup> Ibid

<sup>111</sup> Ataur Rahman (2007), *Essays on Democracy and Leadership: Bangladesh Perspectives*, S.N Printers, Dhaka, P.11

public sector.<sup>112</sup> In fact, in 1993, the public sector lost Tk.20 billion equivalent to 27 percent of GDP employing a million people and extending beyond the core functions of the state and producing market distortions.<sup>113</sup>

Although, the Khaleda Zia government could not make a significant breakthrough in economic front-the growth rate being modest hovering around 4.5 percent annually, the regime did not face any serious economic crisis. The regime has all along been uncomfortable position with regard to food availability at an affordable price which is often seen as the principal measure of economic wellbeing in Bangladesh. The main economic worries came from the difficult unemployment situation, income inequality and endemic poverty of the majority of the populace. There is, however, no doubt that some progress has been made during this period towards poverty alleviation through the government human development efforts and social uplift programs of scores of NGOs.<sup>114</sup> Greater awareness was also created to address rural and urban poverty issues. But the challenge of poverty remains monumental with multiple dimensions requiring sustained efforts by the public and private sectors.<sup>115</sup>

In law and order issue, to the continuance of the Special Power Act (1974) the Khaleda Zia's government was implementing the anti-terrorism act with care and objectivity. This act, passed without the participation of the opposition parties, was, however, branded as black law. But as times rolled on with its implementation, the opposition's feats seemed to be waning and the act earned the confidence of the people as a deterrent measure against violence and physical damages to life and property.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> Ataur Rahman, *Democratization in South Asia: Bangladesh Perspective* paper presented at BPSA Conference, Dhaka, 2000

<sup>113</sup> Ataur Rahman (2007), *Essays on Democracy and Leadership: Bangladesh Perspectives*, S.N Printers, Dhaka, P.11

<sup>114</sup> Nazrul Islam (2003), *Consolidating Asian Democracy*, Nipun Printing Industries Ltd., Dhaka, P.199

<sup>115</sup> Ataur Rahman (2007), *Essays on Democracy and Leadership: Bangladesh Perspectives*, S.N Printers, Dhaka, P.12

<sup>116</sup> Abdul Wadud Bhuiyan (1982), *Emergence of Bangladesh and the Role of Awami League*, University Press Limited (UPL), Pp.22-40

Bangladesh opted for a parliamentary system of government- a fine choice indeed. But the success of a parliamentary government, as experiences of other countries show, hinges mainly on the level of development of political parties and the farsightedness of their leaders especially as Prime Minister of the leader of the opposition. Those positions are more constitutional, limited and less exalted and the leaders have no sustain their power and influence on the party and the state power operating within certain rules and traditions. The democratic government of Khaleda Zia could not properly handle this crucial aspect of parliamentary politics in an environment where political institutionalization has been very difficult and politicians are highly power-centric not socialized adequately with parliamentary norm and behavior.<sup>117</sup>

Politics in Bangladesh has also important linkages with the personality of leaders. The personality clashes of leaders coming from 'hereditary political process and symbolizing different values and prejudices often brook no compromise. Therefore, despite many positive developments in Bangladesh politics since 1991, democratization faced serious problem in resolving power conflict in a compromising and peaceful manner. The continued boycott of the parliament by the opposition members of the parliament drawn mainly from the Bangladesh Awami League (AL) and their subsequent resignation in support of a contrived 'Neutral Caretaker Government' at the end of 1994 created a lingering political crisis. The year 1995 and the first half of the 1996 witnessed a period of intense political movements by the opposition that virtually shut down the economic activities through hartal. The state seemed to become helpless which could neither coerce nor accommodate the interest of the contending parties and finally transformed into what some people called in the African context-a Collapsed State.

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<sup>117</sup> Safiqul Islam, Bangladesh: A Study of Trends in Political Leadership (1991-2003), *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol. 3, No.5, (2005), P.707, Grace Publications

### 7.1.2 Sheikh Hasina Regime (1996-2001): Second Democratic Regime

The second transition to democratic governance brought Sheikh Hasina, the daughter of Bangladesh's founding leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Sheikh Hasina leads the Awami League (AL). The AL, which led the Bangladesh movement and ruled independent Bangladesh from 1971-1975 and come to power again in 1996 and has its origin in East Pakistan Awami Muslim League, founded by Maulana Bhashani in 1949.<sup>118</sup> Later in 1963 the party dropped the word 'Muslim' and came to be known as the East Pakistan Awami League to give it a secular favor, it was renamed the Bangladesh Awami League.<sup>119</sup> The caretaker government (Non-party interim government) of Justice Habibur Rahman promptly set the date of election for the seventh parliament on 12 June 1996. In the election AL emerged as the largest party securing 146 seats.<sup>120</sup> One elected independent member later joined the AL raising the strength of the party to 147 seats in the parliament. Therefore, immediately after the election to have a simple majority, the AL needed one more seat. With the support of the Jatiya Party (JP) the AL acquired the required number in the parliament to form the government. The president invited Sheikh Hasina, the president of the AL, as the leader of the majority party in the parliament to form a new government. On June 23, 1996, Sheikh Hasina was sworn in as the prime minister of Bangladesh.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> Statistical Report of 7<sup>th</sup> Jatiya Sangsad Election, The Election Commission, People's Republic of Bangladesh, June 12, 1996

<sup>119</sup> Safiqul Islam, Bangladesh: A Study of Trends in Political Leadership (1991-2003), *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol. 3, No.5, (2005), P.707, Grace Publications

<sup>120</sup> Mahfuzul H. Chowdhury (2003), *Democratization in South Asia*. Ashgate, Burlington, P.89

<sup>121</sup> Safiqul Islam, Bangladesh: A Study of Trends in Political Leadership (1991-2003), *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol. 3, No.5, (2005), P.708, Grace Publications

**Table 44: Result of Parliamentary Election, February 1996**

Party	percent of Votes	Number of Seats
Bangladesh Awami League	37.44	146
Bangladesh Nationalist Party	33.60	116
Jatiya Party	16.40	32
Jamat-E-Islami Bangladesh	8.61	3
Islami Oikya Jete	1.09	1
Jatiya Samaj Tantrik Dal (RAB)	0.23	1
Independent	1.06	1
Other Parties	1.67	0

Source: *Bangladesh Parliamentary Elections*, 12 June 1996, The Report of the Fair Election Monitoring Alliance (FEMA), 1996

Immediately after taking the oath, the new Prime Minister formed a cabinet with leaders of her party and two cabinet members were taken one each from the JP (Anwar Hossain Mongu) and Jatiya Samaj Tantric Dal-JSD (ASM Abdur Rob). With the support of JP, the AL garnered enough support in the parliament for form the government. After becoming the Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina declared that her government was one of the national consensuses. In a vague gesture she also invited all the parties in the parliament including BNP to join her consensus government. But the BNP rejected the idea of a government of national consensus. The BNP claimed that it was a coalition government and declined to join the cabinet. Khaleda Zia even claimed that this was another version of 'BAKSAL', on party system, formed by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in 1971<sup>122</sup>

In 1997, Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina pledged an impressive array of political, economic, and social policies and programs curbing violence and terrorism, restoring independence of Judiciary, granting autonomy of the television and radio, strengthening the role of parliament, ensuring transparency and accountability of the government, accelerating economic development process and helping the poor and the

<sup>122</sup> Mahfuzul H. Chowdhury (2003), *Democratization in South Asia*, Ashgate, Burlington, P.89

disadvantaged. The government's identification of problems areas were largely appropriate. But the performances in most areas were, so far, full for short of the promises.<sup>123</sup>

The seventh parliament also did not work successfully as during most of its tenure the opposition parties boycotted the sessions of the parliament.<sup>124</sup> The opposition parties, mainly the BNP, Jatiya party (Erashad Faction) and Jamaat-E-Islami were boycotting of the AL government continuously. The hollowness of the parliament was reflected in its inability to stem the tide of violent politics and bring the political action from the streets to the house for resolution of conflict through meaningful debates and dialogue. Rather, the unnecessary and controversial debates within parliament and the frequent boycott of its sessions by the opposition members aggravated the situation. The non-functioning of the committee system for long time due to extreme 'partisan' outlook also undermined the power of the parliament as an institution. The Prime Minister's inclination to avoid facing the parliament in explaining some major decisions including agreements with foreign countries and the opposition leader's skepticism about the effectiveness of parliament both contributed to the weakness of the parliament in resolving vital national issues.

The worst is, of course, over politicization of the army, police and bureaucracy, which the AL government began immediately after assuming power. The police administration suffered from the most rampant politicization and is continuously being used as an instrument of repression rather than sentinels for protection. The law and order situation has not been under control. The coordination council of Human Rights in Bangladesh has reported that in the period between July and September 1997, there were 218 cases of rape and 49 cases of acid throwing in Bangladesh.<sup>125</sup> In 1999, there

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<sup>123</sup> Safiqul Islam, Bangladesh: A Study of Trends in Political Leadership (1991-2003), *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol. 3, No.5, (2005), P.708, Grace Publications

<sup>124</sup> The Daily Star, October 11, 1997, P.1

<sup>125</sup> Fazle Rashid, Of Politics and Economy, *Dhaka Courier*, January 21, 2000, P.18

were 2394 cases of murder, 12 persons died in police custody, 11 cases of unnatural death in the prison.<sup>126</sup> The 1999 country reports on human rights published by the US Department of State Observed.

The government continued to arrest and detains persons arbitrarily and to use the Special Power Act (SPA) and section 54 of the code of procedure, which allow for arbitrary arrest and preventive detention, to harass political opponents and voter citizens by detaining them without formal charges. The government filed numerous criminal cases against opposition leaders, activities; at least some times these charges were false.<sup>127</sup>

The government also enacted a Public Safety Act (PSA), which was also vehemently opposed by all the opposition parties. The parliament passed the bill without the participation of the opposition parties. The opposition parties were apprehending that the government passed the law in the face of strong opposition movement against the government to suppress the opposition parties.<sup>128</sup> The newspaper reported that there were already more than ten thousand people arrested under the special power act and they were waiting behind bars. The 1999 Annual Human Rights Reports published by the US Department of State also confirms these facts. The AL while in opposition in 1992 opposed such a law enacted by the BNP government. The BNP, when in opposition, opposed the Public Safety Act. In fact, criminal activities were on the rise not because of the absence of law but of the ineffectiveness of already existing laws.

The military was dwarfed by selective promotion, reward and punishment. The purchase of MIG 29 and naval frigate without proper assessment of defense needs, indicates compromising of national security interests for personal or coterie gains. The AL government's attitude towards higher judiciary had been extremely negative as it

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<sup>126</sup> Human Rights Reports for 1999, Country Reports on Human Rights Practices, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights Labor, US Department of State, February 25, 2000, <http://www.state.gov/www/global/hum....rights/1999-hrp-report/bangladesh.htm/>.

<sup>127</sup> Sawpan Chakrawarty, Public Safety Act: For Public Safety of Politics?, *Dhaka Courier*, January 21, 2000, P.13

<sup>128</sup> US Department of State, February 25, 2000, 1999 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices, *op. cit.*

failed to influence it to partisan advantage. The bill for separation of judiciary for the executive a long standing demand of the civil society was far from reality.<sup>129</sup>

The stock market debacle was, perhaps, the single most important event of the AL regime in 1997 that cast somber shadow on the economy with serious social costs. There was a panic about the liquidity position of the commercial bank and the government is yet to streamline credit facilities and improved bank loan recovery raising serious questions about the nature of the regime and the state itself. Industry continued to suffer due to a lack of domestic demand. The power supply shortages have become a scandal causing serious concern and doubt in government's efforts to achieve the desired growth rate in addition to enormous sufferings of the people. The AL government's drive to attract foreign direct investment (FDI) through a series of measures including the opening of export processing zones, providing a number of benefits to foreign investors and prime-ministerial overseas trips largely failed. Despite substantial pledges by foreign investors' actual direct investment so far had been miniscule. The government, however, has shown vacillation, inefficiency and non-transparency in responding to those opportunities. In the financial sector, the government has visible failed to bring about any breakthrough. Media reports shows clearly that the government restored to pursuing partisan policy in disbursing bank loans and reports of big and new defaulters had also been published. The capital market was in shattered condition despite the extensive rhetoric of the finance minister to revitalize it.<sup>130</sup>

In social sections, the AL government's extensive rhetoric had not been compatible with the reality. Its record in taking effective measures for poverty alleviation and employment generation has been poor and whatever policies were initiated in 1996-97 could not be properly implemented. While there was an increment of allocation in

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<sup>129</sup> Safiqul Islam, Bangladesh: A Study of Trends in Political Leadership (1991-2003), *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol. 3, No.5, (2005), P.709, Grace Publications

<sup>130</sup> Ibid



human resource development particularly in education and poverty alleviation programs like food for works, vulnerable group development relief programs, inadequate implementation and leakages at that level seriously constrained the government's efforts.<sup>131</sup>

Although the regime of Sheikh Hasina has been criticized largely, it has some positive sides in the area of good governance. The Awami League in election campaigns in both 1991 and 1996 stood committed to addressing the demand for a political solution to the CHT crisis. During her election campaign in the CHT in 1996, Sheikh Hasina promised to form a "parliamentary committee" to resolve the crisis politically. It also seemed that the people of the CHT had great expectations from the Awami League government. Members of parliament from constituencies in the CHT belonged to the Awami League, which facilitated the peace deal between the two sides. On September 30, the prime minister announced the formation of an eleven-member national committee under the chairmanship of Abul Hasnat Abdullah, Chief Whip. The single objective for the committee was to suggest a way to find a "permanent political solution within the framework of the state sovereignty of Bangladesh." During December 21-24, the first meeting took place between this committee and the PCJSS, represented by Jyotirindra Bodhipriya Larma, also known as Shantu Larma. Unlike this first meeting, PCJSS members came to Dhaka for the remaining seven meetings, which demonstrated their confidence in the peace process.<sup>132</sup> The historic peace accord was signed on 2 December 1997. Thus, the process of the alienation of the tribals that began in the early seventies gradually seemed to reach the stage of integration some twenty-five years later. However, enduring peace appears to be elusive, and there are rumblings of dissatisfaction over the implementation of the accord.

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<sup>131</sup> Safiqul Islam, *Bangladesh: A Study of Trends in Political Leadership*, *op.cit.* P.709

<sup>132</sup> Syed Anwar Husain (1999), *War and Peace in the Chittagong Hill Tracts: Retrospect and Prospect*, Agamee Prakashani, Dhaka. P. 44

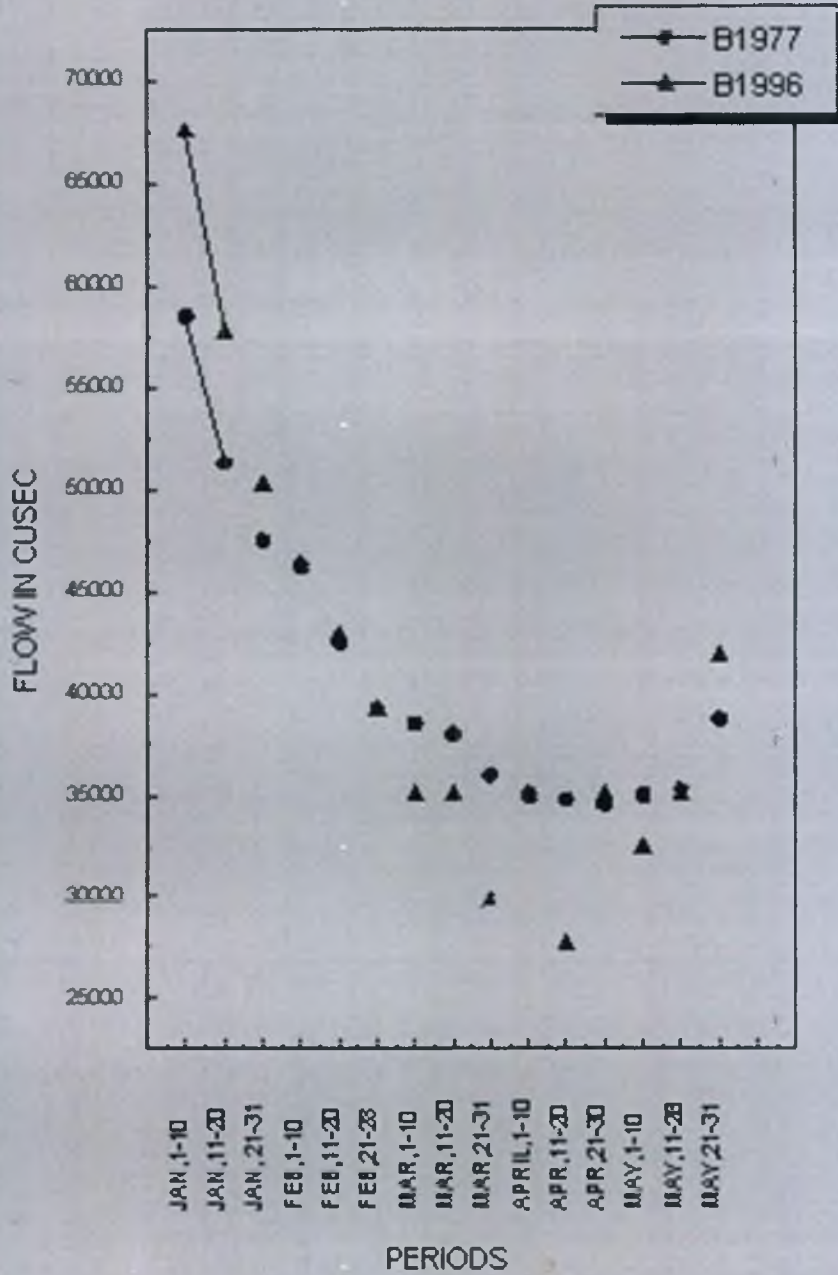
Another significant contribution of Sheikh Hasina is to accord a water sharing treaty with India. On 12 December, 1996 Prime Ministers of Bangladesh and India signed a treaty on sharing of Ganges water. A similar agreement was at first signed in 1977 for five years which was replaced by a MOU in 1982. The period of MOU was valid up to 1988. Between 1989 to 1996 no agreement / treaty existed between two countries on the sharing of the Ganges water during which time India unilaterally diverted Ganges water in the upstream of Farakka as well as at Farakka. With the installation of the Govt. of Sheikh Hasina Wazed after the 12 June'96 election, the govt. started negotiating with India on the Ganges water sharing. Things moved very rapidly and treaty was reached between the two countries on 12 Dec'96. The basic principles of the recent treaty are as follows<sup>133</sup>.

- A. The flow at Farakka was calculated on the basis of average flow (50% dependable flow) for the period of 1948 to 1988.
- B. Proportion of sharing between Bangladesh and India is 45:55 and in some cases the proportion will be 30:70
- C. During the period from 1 March to 31 May the sharing will be on the basis of so called hydraulic cycle when one side will have 35000 cusec guaranteed flow and the other side will receive rest of the flow. In such a cycle when the flow is 50,000 cusec when India will receive 35,000 cusec and Bangladesh will receive only 15000 cusec.
- D. When the flow falls below 50,000 cusec no sharing principle will exist, Bangladesh and India will sit immediately to decide equitable sharing
- E. The same principles will be applied to the sharing of flow of other common rivers.

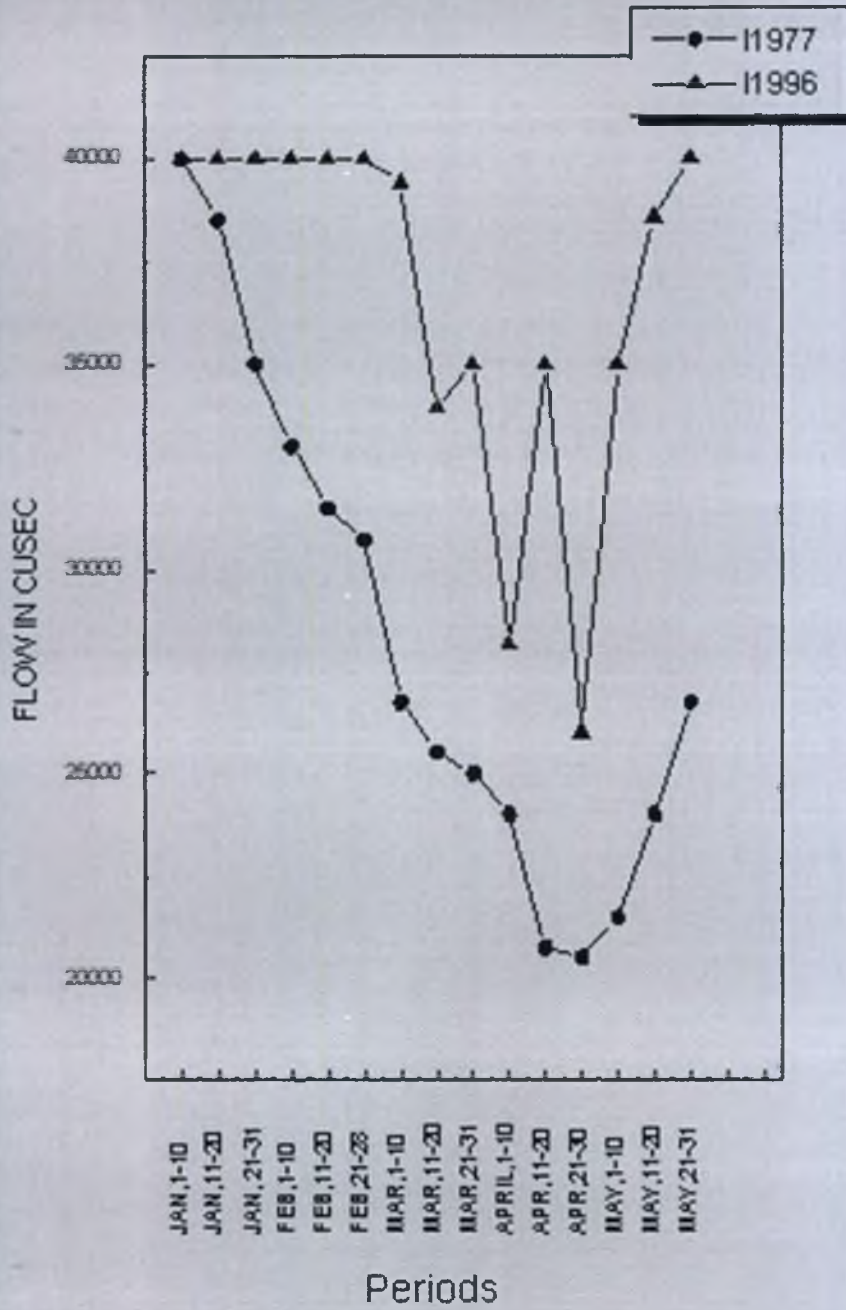
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<sup>133</sup> GANGES WATER SHARING TREATY-*A Critical Evaluation*. Compiled and Edited by the Engineers Association of Bangladesh from the Ganges Water Treaty Meeting by the Shotonagoric Committee held on the 31st January, 1997, at the Press Club, Dhaka, Bangladesh

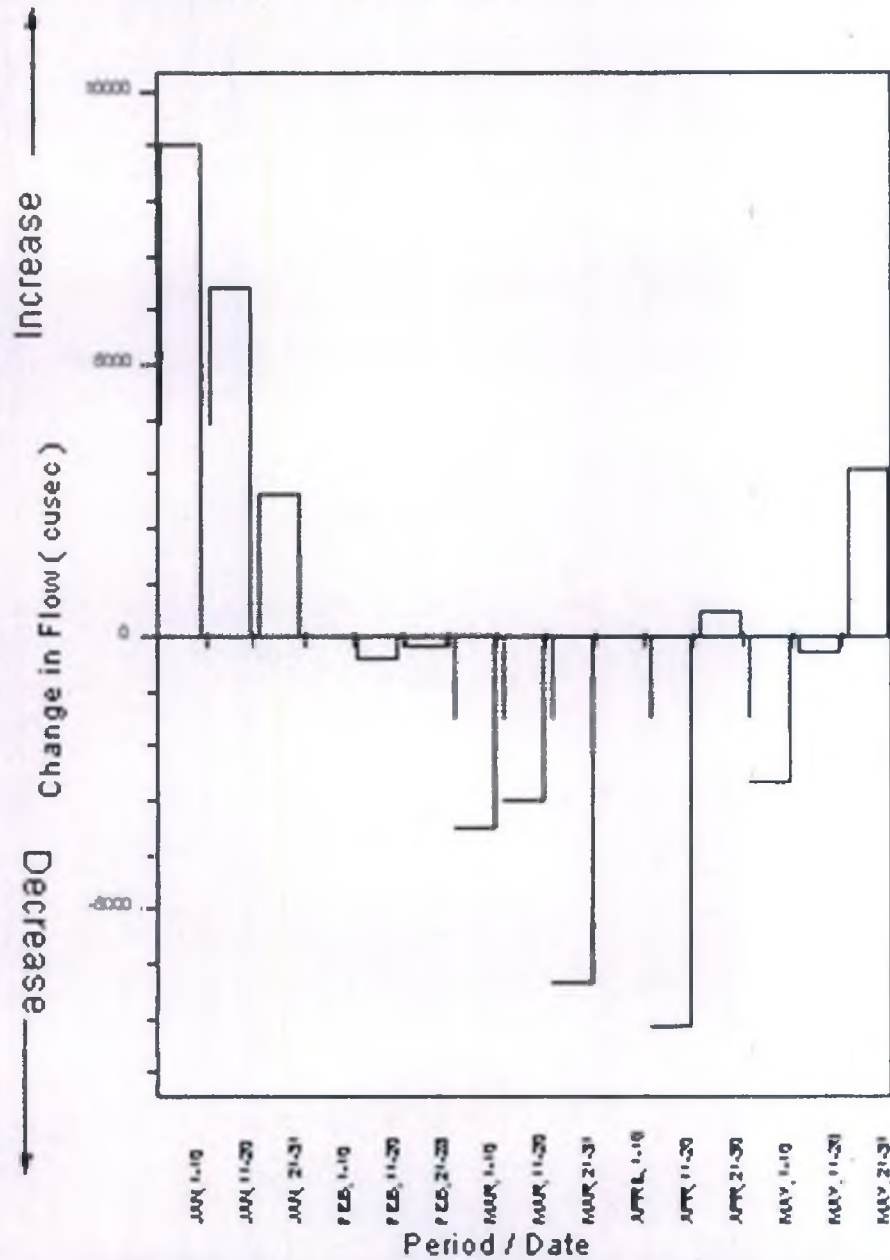
AVAILABILITY OF WATER FOR BANGLADESH UNDER 1977 & 1996  
WATER SHARING TREATY / AGREEMENT



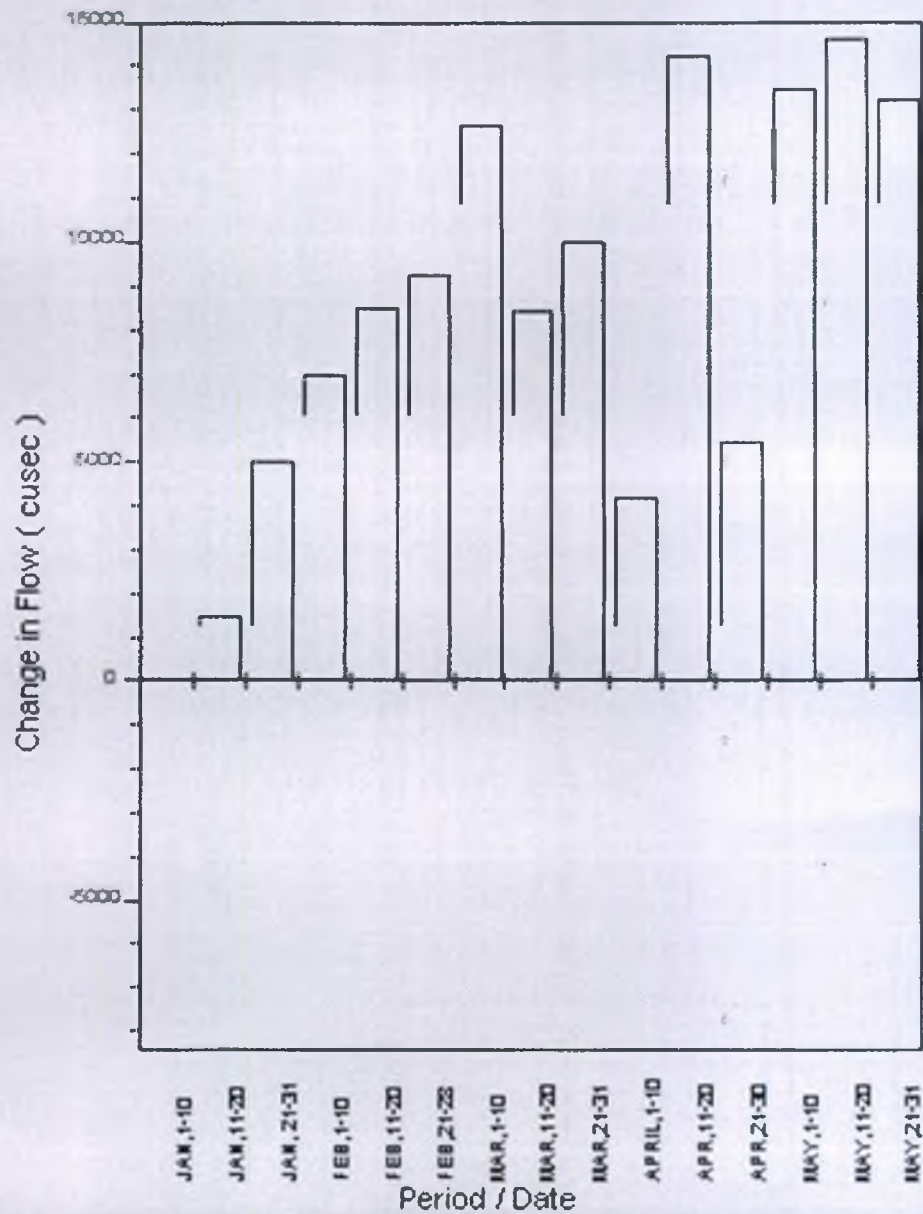
AVAILABILITY OF WATER FOR INDIA UNDER 1977 & 1996  
WATER SHARING TREATY / AGREEMENT



### Increase / Decrease in water availability for Bangladesh between 1977 and 1996 Agreement



### Increase / Decrease in water availability for India between 1977 and 1996 Agreement



There is a great controversy among the people of Bangladesh regarding water sharing treaty with India because of Bangladesh's position as a loser. In this regard, above figure on increase/decrease water availability is highly commendable. Study reveals that Bangladesh is loosing its Brahmaputra water also. India has already constructed

diversion structure over Teesta & Mahananda and also planning to construct reservoir on the Barak which is the main source of Meghna. In one sentence it can be concluded that India is trying to strangulate Bangladesh over the sharing of water of common rivers. If the upstream flow in all the river systems of Bangladesh reduces in dry months, then Bangladesh is definitely heading towards an ecological disaster in near future. Besides, future will definitely tell how far the treaty is to the advantage or disadvantage of Bangladesh. At present, this can conformably be concluded that the treaty failed to protect the far reaching interest of Bangladesh. Era of Sheikh Hasina is exclusive for its initiatives in accomplishing two treaties-CHT treaty and Ganga water sharing treaty but consequence is ultimately off-putting for the country. High initiatives were taken but subsequently, it has not come into force expectedly.

#### **7.1.2.1 Good Governance of Sheikh Hasina Era (1996-2001) at a Glance**

In the era of Sheikh Hasina (1996-2001), economic governance is highly remarkable. At that period growth rate for development was 6.4 %, Inflation came down to 1.59% and per capita income increased to \$ 386 from \$ 280 during the previous BNP regime: an increase of \$ 106. The rate of exchange between taka and US\$ was 54.00. In the business sector, there is great achievement. Import value in the last year of Awami League regime was Tk. 846.7 crore US dollars. The rate of industrial growth reached 8.5%. More than 1 lac big and small industries were set up in 5 years of AL Government. Foreign investment in 1996-2001 was \$ 9810 million. Total investment both foreign and domestic during 1996-2001 period was \$ 15982 million. Government investment in 1996-2001 period was 7.04% of average G.D.P.<sup>134</sup>

Presently, human resources development and social security are considered the noteworthy cornerstone of good governance. In this sector, AL government gained as

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<sup>134</sup> Department of Information & Research, Bangladesh Awami League

significant development. In the index of human resources development, 56 points were achieved in 1996-2006 against 33 points during the previous BNP govt. To ensure social security projects like, Old age allowance, destitute female allowance, “Ashrayan” (Sheltering) Project, One house one farm program, small credit program, Return home from City slums project, model village settlement, VGF cards, youth training and self-employment, employment bank, old age homes etc were taken up. Provision for lifelong allowance for widows of civilian and military officials was given. Poverty was reduced at the rate of 1.5%. Human Poverty Index came down to 34% from 42% index. In the primary health services 18 thousand community clinics, one for each 6 thousand people, were set up. New hospitals were constructed and hospital beds were increased. Steps were taken for advanced medical treatment in the country. The average life-expectancy increased to 63 years from that of 58 years. A vast number of new educational institutes including 12 Science and Technology Universities, were set up. Enrolments of students in primary schools were increased by one and a half time. 18 women colleges were nationalized in 18 districts headquarters. 4 thousand satellite schools were constricted. Literacy rate increased to 65% from that of 44%.<sup>135</sup>

Bangladesh is mainly an agricultural country for its eighty percent people’s involvement in agricultural sector. So, agricultural development of the country may be recognized as good governance in the sector of economy. AL govt. has grand success in this sector. In age of 1996—2001, Subsidy in fertilizer and agricultural inputs were given. Efficient supply management avoided any scarcity. Landless and crop-sharing peasants were given loan without security and irrigation facility was expanded. As a result (a) food autarchy was achieved against a deficit of 40 lac tons of food per annum. Food production increased to 2 crore 69 lac tons. (b) Rate of agricultural growth was 4.6 on an average. (c) Growth rate in fisheries sector was 6.18% (d) Employment

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<sup>135</sup> *ibid*



opportunity was created in rural areas and there was increase in purchasing power of common man.

In the power production, AL govt. has vehement contributions. In 5 year's time power production was raised to 4300 MW from that of 1700 in previous BNP regime, the increase is 2600 MW. 16,021 new villages were provided with electricity connection.

Beside these, governance in administration is highly remarkable. A Public Administration Reform commission was constituted with a view to enhancing administrative efficiency, accountability and transparency. Increased the opportunities and facilities of the members of armed forces, provided for rice for both meals for them, established national defense college, separate science and technology college, separate medical college, trust bank and provided for modern equipments and training in order to enable the army, navy and air force to modernize the forces. BDR have been fitted with modern arms and armaments and in phases, 22 thousand more personnel have been added to it, the compensation rate for wounded or killed BDR member has been doubled. Creation of 5000 posts of various categories in and modernization of police force, constitution of police welfare trust and doubling of their ration; 20% increase in the allowance of Ansars and provision for permanent absorption of the Ansars working for more than 15 years.<sup>136</sup>

Maintaining Law and Order of country symbolizes the exercise of good governance. In 1996-2001, Overall betterment in law and order situation and security to people's life ensured. Extreme militants in the south-west region have been subdued and dangerous terrorists like Ershad Shikder have been given punishment under prevalent laws. No killing outside justice has occurred. Specific cases have been instituted against many arrested militants and arranged trial for militants connected with planting of 76 kg. bomb at Kotalipara in an attempt to kill Sheikh Hasina and

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<sup>136</sup> Department of Information & Research, Bangladesh Awami League

attack on Udichi, Ramna batamul (banyan tree), at the CPB meeting and at Narayangong Awami League office.<sup>137</sup>

AL government also ensured the freedom of mass media. They ensured independence of newspapers and mass media and allowed more than one private T.V. channels.<sup>138</sup>

Rule of law is the core component of good governance. In the era of AL govt. Rule of law and human rights were established. Abrogation of Indemnity Ordinance is very significant. Trial of Bangabandhu murder case, Process started for trial of jail killings.<sup>139</sup>

Empowerment of women, declaration of women development policy, making writing of mother's name compulsory along with father's name, direct election of women in reserved seats in local government were ensured in AL period (1996-2001).<sup>140</sup>

In the case of separating judiciary, steps were taken to establish independence of judiciary. Only this time Article 166 of the Constitution was given effect to constitute a permanent law commission.<sup>141</sup> The governance scenario elucidates the ample endeavors in AL era to go to the way of good governance with taking the people's needs under consideration.

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<sup>137</sup> Ibid

<sup>138</sup> Ibid

<sup>139</sup> Department of Information & Research, Bangladesh Awami League

<sup>140</sup> Ibid

<sup>141</sup> Ibid

### 7.1.3 Four Party Alliance Government (2001-2006): Third Democratic Regime

This part of governance triggered by four party alliance is divided into two sections-**a.** Governance of Bangladesh: From 2001 to 2005 and **b.** Governance of Bangladesh: 2006.

#### 7.1.3.1 Governance of Bangladesh: From 2001 to 2005

The general election of the eighth parliament was held on October 1, 2001. The four-party alliance (BNP, Jamaat-e-Islami, Bangladesh Jatiya Party (BJP) and Islami Oikkaya Jote) was 216 seats out of 300. The AL won sixty-two seats and Jatiya Party won fourteen seats.<sup>142</sup> The behavior of political leaders after the eighth parliamentary election of October 1, 2001 also needs to be scrutinized. Although the AL fought for non-party caretaker government (NCG), to conduct the national elections, it criticized the NCG's role severely after the defeat in the election. The AL blamed the NCG for rigging the election in favor of the BNP and its allied parties.<sup>143</sup> But the national and international election monitors, the media, the civil society acclaimed the election as free, fair and impartial. On October 10, 2001, Khaleda Zia was sworn in as the Prime Minister of Bangladesh.

**Table 45: Result of Parliamentary Election, February 2001**

Party	percent of Votes	Number of Seats
Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP)	193	40.97
Bangladesh Awami League	62	40.13
Islami Jatiya Oikya Front	14	7.25
Jamaat-e-Islami Bangladesh	17	4.28
Independent	6	4.06
Bangladesh Jatiya Party (N-F)	4	1.12
Islami Oikya Jote	2	0.68
Krisak Sramik Janata League	1	0.47
Jatiya Party (Manju)	1	0.44

Source: The 8<sup>th</sup> National Assembly Elections, October 2001, A Report by ASHA

<sup>142</sup> The Daily Star, October 3, 2001, Pp.1-2

<sup>143</sup> Ibid

Immediately after taking power, Khaleda Zia's government committed to build a prosperous Bangladesh free from all dimensions of poverty, corruption and violence and establish rule of law and promote human rights. In fact, in its election manifesto, BNP committed itself to reform its policies and institutions for promoting good governance, principles of market economy, poverty reduction and economic growth with macroeconomic stability and participatory local government.<sup>144</sup> After assuming state power, the four-party alliance leadership declared a 100 days program to achieve the deteriorating conditions of the country specially the law and order situation. There is no doubt that the new government inherited many problems. The most vexing problem facing the government is terrorism and corruption. In fact, the defeat of the AL government was greatly attributed by the terrorism and unbridled corruption in almost all sectors. The alliance government could do a little improve to this situation rather in some cases it deteriorated further.<sup>145</sup> The political leadership of Khaleda Zia has taken this enormous challenge to improve the situation that is accumulated by the failures by previous regime. A powerful monitoring committee has been established composed senior officials and cabinet members to monitor the law and order situation weekly and make appropriate recommendations. The Law and Order Disruption Crimes (Speedy Trial) Act, 2002 that introduced speedy trials of certain offences under a special court, in periods of 30-60 days and provision of serious punishment, is producing result. Offences under the law include hinder normal air, rail road and river traffic movement, vandalism to transport, causing damage to private or public property, extortion, terrorism in public places, obstructing tender proceedings and obstructing the work of the public officials.

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<sup>144</sup> Nazrul Islam; *Challenges of Democracy and Working of the Parliamentary System in Bangladesh*, paper presented at 1<sup>st</sup> National Congress 2002, Dhaka University Political Science Alumni Association, Dhaka

<sup>145</sup> The Bangladesh Observer, October 18, 2002

In October 17, 2002, government called out army troops to tackle deteriorating law and order situation named “Operation Clean Heart”<sup>146</sup> The Rapid Action Battalion (RAB) is in force to combat grisly and heinous crimes effectively. The ongoing hunting down drive against the criminals received wide acclaim from the peoples of all walks of life.<sup>147</sup>

The dominating public perception remains that police and criminal justice system are inefficient, complex and corrupt. The main task ahead is to ensure the implementation of existing laws and it is necessary for political leaders to take a hard look at the implementation issues, assume responsibility not to shelter the criminals on political affiliations irrespective parties and devise appropriate measures to ensure monitoring to the entire criminal justice system. In fact, the main burden for producing and maintaining human security for all citizens falls on the political sector, including leaders and workers. It is our abiding hope.....that political leaders and workers in both governing and opposition parties will meet this challenge.<sup>148</sup>

In most South Asian Countries, including Bangladesh corruption has become an enduring pattern of public life that poses a threat to democracy and development. Corruption stifles democratization and destroys the trust between the leaders and the people. The political leadership of Khaleda Zia is committed to curb corruption by establishing responsibility and accountability at all levels of the government. The recent establishment of an independent anti-corruption commission is a step in the right direction. In fact, effective investigation and enforcement machinery will deter corruption in many sectors. Repeated documentation of waste, fraud and abuse of public funds resulting in action many discourage further corrupt practices.

Prime Ministerial leadership in parliamentary system is based on legitimacy and performance centering the parliament and governance structures. The alliance

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<sup>146</sup> Three Years of Alliance Government's Prosperity, Special Supplement, The Daily Star, October 10, 2004.

<sup>147</sup> Report on Human Security in Bangladesh, UNDP, September 2002

<sup>148</sup> Safiqul Islam, Bangladesh: A Study of Trends in Political Leadership, *op.cit.* p.710

government had to face continuous boycotts of eighth parliament by the AL MPs. The AL led by Sheikh Hasina expressed her total dissatisfaction with the October election result and asked for cancellation of the votes on the grounds of massive riggings and unfairness in the voting process, although the international and national independent observers reported that the October 2001 election was held in a fair, free and peaceful environment. It is maintained that the reasons for which the AL under Sheikh Hasina's leadership boycotted Jatiya Sangsad (JS) session and their plan to publish white paper on October polls were unfounded. The AL leadership's attitude was not like statements rather like a seasoned politician. However, the AL joined the last summer session of Jatiya Sangsad for a brief period but later on continued its program of boycott for not finding congenial atmosphere created for them in the house. The main opposition AL very recently changed its mind and expressed their determinations to join autumn session of the Jatiya Sangsad. This time, the AL seemed to be more concerned about the formation of Parliamentary Standing Committees on different ministries. In fact, it is surprising to note that the eighth parliament completed its three sessions so far but without forming the committees deemed crucial in a parliamentary system. Undoubtedly, AL's changed attitude may help institutionalize parliamentary system in Bangladesh.

Meanwhile, Professor Iajuddin Ahamed was sworn in as the seventeenth president of the country September 6, 2002. Professor Ahmed succeeded Professor A Q M Badruddoza Chowdhury who resigned on June 21, 2001. The new president expressed his determination to uphold the constitution and asked the countryman to work for its development, forgetting all differences and conflicts. The main opposition party AL and some left parties neither attended the swearing in ceremony nor congratulated the new president. Rashed Khan Menon, a leader of left wing party congratulated Professor Ahamed, not only because he is a distinguished academic but also his active

participation in the anti-autocratic movement during 1990s. On the other hand, opposition leaders Sheikh Hasina appeared skeptical about new president's promise to play neutral role as he (President belongs to BNP).

### **7.1.3.2 Governance of Bangladesh: 2006**

The year 2006 was punctuated by strikes, blockades and political violence in Bangladesh leaving the future of the country in limbo. The Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP)-led coalition and the Awami League (AL)-led alliance assumed antagonistic positions on all key issues facing the country namely, political reforms, corruption, spiraling prices of essential commodities, power shortage, rising inflation, trade imbalance and extremism.<sup>149</sup> That highly indicates that the governance situation of Bangladesh were in perilous situation in the year 2006. The governance scenario of 2006 in Bangladesh is divided into four sections. The first part deals with the political developments in Bangladesh in 2006. Part two discusses the foreign policy of Bangladesh and its relations with India, Pakistan, the European Union and China. Economic issues, which have been put on the backburner due to the political instability, will be dealt with in the third section. Lastly, extremism, which caused a near collapse of the state in 2005, is also discussed.

#### ***Political Governance in 2006:***

In Bangladesh, power epitomizes politics albeit without commitment to the development of the country and its people. The Awami League and BNP have dominated this multi-party representative democracy since the liberation war in 1971. Both parties have completely disregarded as the welfare of the people they have governed when in power and have resorted to all possible means including violence, political murders and killings to depose the other. The present simmering discontent in

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<sup>149</sup> Supriya Singh, Bangladesh in 2006: Teetering Political Edifice and Democracy, *Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, IPCS Special Report, No. 35, March 2007*, New Delhi, India.

the people of Bangladesh is a result of years of misgovernance and the widespread corruptions that has seeped into politics and its institutions within the country.<sup>150</sup>

The tenure of Khaleda Zia government ended on 28 October 2006. It was followed by the assumption by the President of Iajuddin Ahmed of the Chief Advisor's post in the caretaker government. The transition of power to the caretaker government took place against the backdrop of street protests and siege programs by the Awami League-led alliance. While the BNP and its coalition pushed for the appointment of K M Hasan-former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court-the Awami League and its alliance partners proposed the name of former Chief Justice Mahmudul Amin Chowdhury to head the interim government. Justice Hasan's candidature was objected to on the grounds that he was founder member of the BNP and its international affairs secretary.<sup>151</sup> His eligibility was only made possible by an amendment introduced by the BNP government in 2003 increasing the retirement age of Supreme Court judges from 65 to 67 years. The Awami League alleged that the amendment was made with the unambiguous intention of making Hasan the Chief Advisor and threatened to boycott the 2007 elections. Sensing the popular mood, Hasan declined to head the interim government. Constitutional propriety demanded the appointment of a former Chief Justice as Chief Advisor, thus making Chowdhury a natural choice. However, the president installed himself as the Chief Advisor ignoring the constitutional mandate and fierce opposition from the Awami League –led alliance. Clearly, this was done with the tacit approval of the BNP with the underlying objective of stage-managing general elections. Though the Constitution does provide for the President to assume this responsibility, his move

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<sup>150</sup> Bangladesh ranks 156 on the corruption perception index (CPI) 2006 prepared by the Berlin-based international anti-corruption organization Transparency International (TI). See "Corruption Perceptions Index 2006",

[http://www.transparency.org/policy\\_research/surveys\\_indices/cpi/2006](http://www.transparency.org/policy_research/surveys_indices/cpi/2006)

<sup>151</sup> "K M Hasan was involved in BNP politics in 1979," The Daily Star, 21 September 2006

<http://www.dailystar.net/2006/09/21/d6092101022.htm>



generated controversy because he had not exhausted all other options available to him under the constitution.<sup>152</sup>

The President finally relented under pressure mounted by the Awami League alliance and resigned from the post of Chief Advisor on 11 January 2007. During his tenure, he undertook a number of controversial measures. He took decisions unilaterally, thus rendering redundant the Council of Advisors. He authorized the announcement of the election schedule without even informing Council. On 9 December 2006, he ordered the deployment of troops to maintain law and order despite the situation not warranting it.<sup>153</sup>

Earlier in the year, the Awami League-led alliance had returned to parliament, the Jatiya Sangsad, on 12 February 2006 demanding implementation of its reform proposal put forward on 15 July 2005.<sup>154</sup> The Khaleda Zia government ignored the proposal for more than a year and it was only on 14 September 2006 that it finally offered a dialogue between the secretaries-general of the BNP and Awami League to the standoff. However, no major breakthrough was achieved.

The donor agencies and the international community remained anxious about the misgoverning or political scenario in Bangladesh. The grave implications of the confrontation between BNP and Awami League prompted the Local Consultative Group (LCG) to hold a high profile meeting on 7 August 2006 with the leaders of different political parties, focusing on four areas of election assistance<sup>155</sup>:

- ↓ Domestic and International election monitoring
- ↓ Coordination in the Election Commission (EC)

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<sup>152</sup> Smruti S Pattanaik, "The Neutral Caretaker Government Interregnum in Bangladesh", *IDSA Strategic Comments*, 9 November 2006,

<http://www.idsa.in/publications/stratcomments/smrutiPattanaik091.htm>

<sup>153</sup> Supriya Singh, Bangladesh in 2006: Teetering Political Edifice and Democracy, *Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, IPCS Special Report, No. 35, March 2007*, New Delhi, India.

<sup>154</sup> The proposal mainly called for the reform of electoral laws and systems in three broad categories (a) Reform of the caretaker government (b) Reform of the Election Commission (c) Reform of other issues of electoral system. See "Brief on Election Engineering and Electoral Reforms,"

[http://www.albd.org/election/brief\\_on\\_election\\_engineering.pdf](http://www.albd.org/election/brief_on_election_engineering.pdf)

<sup>155</sup> Supriya Singh, Bangladesh in 2006: Teetering Political Edifice and Democracy, *Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, IPCS Special Report, No. 35, March 2007*, New Delhi, India

- ✚ Voter Education
- ✚ Creating Civic Awareness

The move from the donors came within a week of the visit of US Assistant Secretary of State for South and Central Asia, Richard Boucher. The LCG comprises of representatives from donor and aid agencies like the European Commission, Canadian International Development Agency, Department for International Development (UK), United Nations Development Program (UNDP), United States Agency for International Development, Australian High Commission, Denmark, Germany, Netherlands and Norway embassies, International Republican Institute, National Democratic Institute and The Asia Foundation. The involvement of donor agencies can go a long way towards limiting malpractices and corruptions in the coming election.<sup>156</sup>

*Role of the Election Commission and the Voter List Controversy*-The year started against the backdrop of the writs filed by Awami League leaders challenging the EC decision to prepare a fresh voters list.<sup>157</sup> The EC was directed by the High Court to draw up a new list by revising the existing one. The crisis further intensified, when the Chief Election Commissioner (CEC), MA Aziz decided, without consulting the other election commissioners, to continue with the preparation of a fresh voters list. The enumerators continued collecting information across the country for the fresh voters list ignoring the High Court's directive to revise the existing voters roll.<sup>158</sup>

A fresh draft voters list was published in May 2006, which did not have the names of a large number of eligible voters.<sup>159</sup> Though previous elections in 1990, 1995 and 2001 have been held on the basis of fresh voters list for the 2007 general elections was being

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<sup>156</sup> Ibid

<sup>157</sup> The petition filed by the Awami League argued that the CEC's decision to prepare a fresh voters list without the authorization of two of the three commissioners was in violation of the Constitution. See "Fresh Voter List Move Challenged in Court," *The Daily Star*, 13 December 2005, <http://www.dailystar.net/200512/13/d5121301097.htm>

<sup>158</sup> "Enumeration Starts Amid Agitation," *The Daily Star*, 2 January 2006, <http://www.thedailystar.net/2006/01/02/d6010201011.htm>

<sup>159</sup> Khadimul Islam, EC Mucks Up Again as Draft Voters Lists Published, *New Age*, 4 May 2006, <http://www.newagebd.com/2006/may/04/front.htm#1>

schedule, including the polling date, following prolonged negotiations between the caretaker government and the two rival political alliances.<sup>164</sup>

***Governance in External Relation:***

**Bangladesh-India**

None of the contentious issues in the bilateral relations of the two countries were resolved despite Khaleda Zia's visit to India in March 2006. India-Bangladesh relations need a major initiative, but any attempts to reinvigorate them seem unlikely until a new government assumes office.

The BNP and its coalition partners are traditionally believed to adopt an anti-India and pro-Pakistan stance on critical issues. Not surprisingly, the BNP did little during its tenure to improve relations with India. However, part of the blame for the stalemate also lies with India. According to Mostafa Faruque Mohammad, "Bangladesh officials with experience of negotiating with India complain of what they call Indian intransigence, an attitude, which more often than not approximates arrogance."<sup>165</sup>

Khaleda Zia made an official three-day visit to India from 20-22 March 2006. The fact that this was her first official visit to India since coming to power in October 2001 points to the dismal state of India-Bangladesh relations. Bilateral trade and FTA, water sharing, border demarcation, transport connectivity, three-nation gas pipeline and terrorism were some of the main themes on the agenda.

During her visit, two agreements were signed between the two countries.<sup>166</sup>

*The Revised Trade Agreement:* The two sides signed the Revised Trade Agreement, which aims at expanding bilateral trade and economic relations based on equality and mutual benefits by facilitation, expansion and diversification of trade. Under the

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<sup>164</sup> "Light Finally Seen at End of the Tunnel," *The Daily Star*, 7 December 2006

<http://www.dailystar.net/2006/12/07/d6120701011.htm>

<sup>165</sup> Mostafa Faruque Mohammad, *Outstanding Issues in Bangladesh-India Relations*, in Salman Haider (2005) ed., *India-Bangladesh: Strengthening the Partnership*, CRRID, Chandigarh, P.12

<sup>166</sup> Pallab Bhattacharya and Rezaul Karim, "Delhi Agrees to Address Dhaka's Concern for [sic] Trade Gap," *The Daily Star*, 22 March 2006.

<http://www.dailystar.net/2006/03/22/d6032201011.htm>

agreement, the two sides will make mutually beneficial arrangements for the use of their waterways, roads and railways for commerce between the two countries and for passage of goods between places in one country through the territory of the other.

It is important to note that there has been a gradual decline in the value and volume of trade between the two countries. India's exports to and imports from Bangladesh has decreased over the last three years. Total exports to Bangladesh in April-November 2005-2006 was Rs. 4048.60 crores, which is a mere 1.57 percent of total Indian exports. Total imports from Bangladesh were Rs.192.68 crores accounting for 0.05 percent of the total Indian imports in that period. In 2003-2004, the figure stood at 7998.98 crores.<sup>167</sup> This is indicative of an unfavorable balance of trade between the two countries. In the absence of meaningful economic relations, the bilateral relationship between the two countries is unlikely to improve.

*The Agreement for Mutual Cooperation for Preventing Illicit Trafficking in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances and Related Matters-South Asia* is situated between the world's two largest areas of illicit opium production-the Golden Crescent and the Golden Triangle. Bangladesh has been a transit route for drugs coming from the Golden Triangle due to its proximity to that region and its porous borders with India. Heroin from Afghanistan and Pakistan enters India from the north-west and from Myanmar through Bangladesh and the northern states of India.<sup>168</sup> The agreement is meant to combat the menace of drug trafficking.

It was agreed that meetings of the bilateral institutional mechanisms such as the Joint Economic Commission, the Joint Boundary Working Groups, the Joint Rivers Commission and the Home Secretary-level talks would be held more frequently to ensure movement in a positive direction and their outcome monitored by the political

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<sup>167</sup> Department of Commerce, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Government of India, Annual Report 2005-2006,

<http://www.commerce.nic.in/annual2005-06/englishhtml/ar2005-06.pdf>

<sup>168</sup> UNDOC, South Asia Program

[http://www.unodc.org/pdf/south\\_asia\\_programme.pdf#sarch=%22bangladesh%2Billicit%20drug%20trafficking%2BIndia%22](http://www.unodc.org/pdf/south_asia_programme.pdf#sarch=%22bangladesh%2Billicit%20drug%20trafficking%2BIndia%22)

leadership on a continuous basis.<sup>169</sup> Not surprisingly, Khaleda's visit did not produce any thaw in India-Bangladesh relations. Khaleda needed the visit to silence her detractors who blame her for ignoring Bangladesh's most important neighbor, since for them the foreign policy of Bangladesh is nothing but India policy.<sup>170</sup> It was only a political exercise without any desire to achieve substantial breakthroughs on critical issues like water sharing, border fencing and border management, and illegal migration. In fact, throughout its five-year tenure, the BNP government has been reticent in engaging India. The visit was almost an afterthought by the BNP government to silence critics who have been accusing the government of sabotaging the foreign policy of the country.

BDR-BSF Skirmishes and the Border Dispute Heavy gunfire was exchanged between the Indian Border Security Force (BSF) and Bangladesh Rifles (BDR) on Amalshid border in Zakiganj upazila in Sylhet on 10 August 2006.<sup>171</sup> The 14-hour long firing triggered a series of claims and counter-claims from by both sides. While the BDR officials alleged that the BSF indulged in unprovoked firing on BDR positions at Uttarkul and Amolshid borders, the Indian High Commission in Dhaka expressed concern over the "one-sided and factually incorrect" coverage of the event in the Bangladeshi media. The Commission emphasized in a press release that the background to the firing was the continuing attempt at infiltration and encroachment by Bangladesh into approximately 220 acres of land at the western bank of the Surma River, across the BSF outposts at Harinagar and Kinokhal.<sup>172</sup> However, the hostilities ceased after both sides decided to follow the Border Land Agreement of 1974.

Again, on 31 August, there was a 15minute exchange of fire between the BSF and the BDR but there were no casualties. A disclosure by a BSF official stationed close to the

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<sup>170</sup> Interview with Sreeradha Datta, Research Fellow, IDSA, 4 December 2006

<sup>171</sup> "BDR, BSF fierce firefight along Zakiganj border," *The Daily Star*, 11 August 2006  
<http://www.thedailystar.net/2006/08/11/d6081101011.htm>

<sup>172</sup> "BDR, BSF fierce firefight along Zakiganj border," *The Daily Star*, 11 August 2006,  
<http://www.thedailystar.net/2006/08/11/d6081101011.htm>

border revealed that the BSF opened fire after a few Bangladeshi farmers entered the Indian side to harvest paddy and refused to leave the area despite warnings by the Indian soldiers. BDR men posted across the border responded to this action by the BSF soldiers with gunfire of their own.<sup>173</sup>

**Figure 42: The Enclaves of the India-Bangladesh Border Land**



Map 1. The enclaves of the India-Bangladesh borderland. Enclaves mentioned in the text: (1) (Chand Khan) Putimari; (2) Garati, Shahabbari/Haluapara; (3) Dohala Khagrabari, Balapara Khagrabari and Korbhaji; (4) Dohogram (-Angorpota); (5) Dhabalshuri Chhit Mirgipur; (6) Bhormari, Panishala; (7) Falnapur; (8) Nolgram; (9) Barrigachh; (10) Shibproshad Mustafi; (11) Karala; (12) Moshaldanga. Disputed border areas: (d-1) Khudipara; (d-2) Berubari.

(Source: [http://dohogram.tripod.com/images/map\\_1.gif](http://dohogram.tripod.com/images/map_1.gif))

These incidents once again focus attention on the porous nature of the India-Bangladesh border.<sup>174</sup> In fact, the boundary disputes, sharing of Ganga water at Farakka, migration and the issue of passage are the four issues that dominate India-Bangladesh relations.<sup>175</sup> A two-day meeting of the Joint Boundary Working Group (JBWG) was held from 16-17 July 2006.<sup>176</sup> The decision to resume JBWG talks had been taken during Khaleda Zia's visit to India in March 2006. However, the meeting ended without resolving the issues of border demarcation, exchange of

<sup>173</sup> Wasbir Hussain, "Long Talks to Nowhere," Outlook, 7 September 2006, <http://www.outlookindia.com/full.asp?fodname=20060907&fname=wasbir&sid=1>

<sup>174</sup> Bangladesh shares borders with six Indian states namely West Bengal, Sikkim, Meghalaya, Tripura, Assam and Mizoram.

<sup>175</sup> NK Jha, "India-Bangladesh Relations: A Perspective," Quoted in "Perception of Border Area Problems and Assessment of Socio-Economic Conditions of People living in Indo-Bangladesh Border Areas of West Bengal," in Salman Haidar (ed.), *India-Bangladesh: Strengthening the Partnership*, P. 131

<sup>176</sup> It was in December 1999 that the idea of a Joint Working Group (JWG) was mooted by India to discuss border issue but it was only in December 2000 that Foreign Secretary Safi Sami of Bangladesh endorsed the suggestion on a visit to New Delhi. See Naunidhi Kaur, Hamstrung by Politics, Frontline, 18 (14), July, 2001, P. 45

enclaves and construction of boundary pillars. The Indian proposal for demarcating 6.5 km of undemarcated border<sup>177</sup> was rejected by Bangladesh as the latter wanted a resolution of all these issues.<sup>178</sup> At the end of the two-day meeting, Mohan Kumar, who led the sixteen member Indian team remarked, "The issues are a legacy of the past and are complex and difficult and it will be a mistake if anyone thinks these can be solved in six or twelve months."<sup>179</sup> Though this may be partly true, the resolution of the India-Bangladesh border issue needs to be approached in a "holistic rather than piecemeal manner."<sup>180</sup> More importantly, relations between the two neighbors should not impinge on the settlement of the border. As succinctly put by S Banerjee, "to improve the relationship between the two countries, it is necessary to think beyond the debate over territorial borders."<sup>181</sup>

*Relation between Bangladesh-Pakistan (Khaleda Zia's Visit in Pakistan)*-Though Pakistan and Bangladesh relations still come under the shadow of the 1971 Liberation War, these have improved considerably over the years. Pakistan has in fact found in Bangladesh a willing partner to antagonize India further. Khaleda Zia's visit to Pakistan from 12-14 February 2006 was, however, high only on symbolism, but deficient in substance.<sup>182</sup> Khaleda Zia's Pakistan visit preceded her visit to India and was the first high-level visit from Bangladesh in 12 years to Pakistan, though President Pervez Musharraf had visited Bangladesh in 2002. Pakistan and Bangladesh signed four MoUs

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<sup>177</sup> There are three major undemarcated areas: 3 km at Lathitila in Kulaura (Sylhet), 2 km at Muhurirchar in Porshuram (Feni) and 1.5 km at Daikhata-Dumabari at Berubari (Lalmonirhat).

<sup>178</sup> Meenakshi Iyer, "Border of Discord," Hindustan Times, 20 July 2006.

<sup>179</sup> "Boundary Talks with India end Without Results", The Daily Star, 18 July 2006, <http://www.thedailystar.net/2006/07/18/d6071801096.htm>

<sup>180</sup> "Bangladesh-India Boundary talks," The Daily Star, 19 July 2006, <http://www.thedailystar.net/2006/07/19/d60719020126.htm>

<sup>181</sup> S Banerjee, Indo-Bangladesh Border: Radcliffe's Ghost, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 5-11 May, 2001, P. 1506

<sup>182</sup> Supriya Singh, Bangladesh in 2006: Teetering Political Edifice and Democracy, *Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, IPCS Special Report. No. 35, March 2007*, New Delhi, India

and agreed to finalize the Free Trade Agreement (FTA) by 30 September 2006 aimed at enhancing bilateral trade. The MoUs pertain to the following:<sup>183</sup>

- Agricultural research: To enhance cooperation in agricultural science and technology and agricultural production, including livestock and fisheries through joint activities and programs.
- Tourism: Tours to be conducted in both countries by travel writers, tourism professionals, members of academia, print and electronic media personnel.
- Import-export: To analyze business and trade conditions and to facilitate investment.
- Setting up of a standardized and quality control authority in Pakistan and a standards testing institution in Bangladesh: To strengthen bilateral cooperation in standardization, quality assurance and conformance testing and certification.

*Bangladesh-Pakistan Defense Relations*-A meeting was held on 28 August 2006 in Rawalpindi, between the Chief of Naval Staff, Bangladesh Navy, Rear Admiral M Hasan Ali Khan and Senior Federal Minister for Defence, Rao Sikandar Iqbal.

Both sides reviewed existing defense ties between their respective countries and emphasized the need for greater interaction and cooperation between the navies of the two countries. Bangladesh is a major importer of Pakistani arms and ammunition. It is currently enhancing its military capabilities by acquiring tanks, fighter aircraft, submarines, frigates, missile corvettes, patrol craft, maritime patrol aircraft, SAM systems and advanced radars.<sup>184</sup> This visit highlighted Bangladesh Navy's interest in Pakistani shipbuilding, particularly their submarine projects, as Bangladesh intends to acquire four modern submarines.

*Bangladesh-EU Relationship*-The EU is by far the biggest trading partner of Bangladesh, importing 54% of its goods annually amounting to €4.1 billion and

<sup>183</sup> Ahmed Hassan, FTA by Sept 30 with Bangladesh: Aziz, Khaleda Hold Talks, *Dawn*, 14 February 2006, <http://www.dawn.com/2006/02/14/top1.htm>

. Also see "Pakistan, Bangladesh Sign 4 Memoranda", *Daily Times*, 14 February 2006, [http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2006\02\14\story\\_14-2-2006\\_pg7\\_1](http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2006\02\14\story_14-2-2006_pg7_1)

<sup>184</sup> Bangladesh Military Forces, 30 August 2006, [http://www.bdmilitary.com/main/reports/news/2006/news\\_2006\\_08.htm](http://www.bdmilitary.com/main/reports/news/2006/news_2006_08.htm)



generating a trade balance surplus for Bangladesh of over €3 billion every year. Presently, Bangladesh is also amongst the most prominent exporters from the group of LDCs to the EC, representing 20 per cent of the total exports from all LDCs to the European market. Bangladesh's principal export goods to EU are textile products (75 per cent of the EU textile imports are from Bangladesh).<sup>185</sup> The EU considers the next general election to be as critical for establishing democracy in Bangladesh. An EU troika visited Dhaka from 23 to 25 January 2006 for the first time and with a mandate to speak on behalf of all 25 member States of the EU. The EU troika urged the political parties to initiate a dialogue on electoral reforms and have confidence in the caretaker government and the Election Commission as it considered the Caretaker Government and the constitutional office of the Election

Commission of Bangladesh as principal guarantors for free and fair elections.<sup>186</sup> The EU has been engaged in providing financial support for the election process in the field of civic awareness and declared it willing to provide Bangladesh with technical support for the election process and to work with other international partners to ensure proper observation and monitoring of the elections.

*Bangladesh-China-* China-Bangladesh relations are characterized by several important considerations. China is the largest and the most important provider of military hardware and training to the armed forces in Bangladesh and has made important contributions to infrastructure development in Bangladesh. It has for example, funded the construction of six 'Friendship Bridges' in Bangladesh. Further China's enormous need for energy has prompted it to explore the possibilities for oil and gas exploration in Bangladesh. It is also involved in mining coal in the northern part of the country.

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<sup>185</sup> "The EU's Relations with Bangladesh,  
"http://ec.europa.eu/comm/external\_relations/bangladesh/intro/index.htm

<sup>186</sup> Press Release, European Union Visit by Troika of Regional Directors Dhaka, 23-25 January 2006,  
http://www.eudelbangladesh.org/en/newsroom/pressrelease/archive.htm

*Revival of the Silk Route*-Bangladesh, China and Myanmar agreed to hold a dialogue to establish a direct road link from Dhaka to Kunming, reviving the ancient Silk Route, which was once linked with the Grand Trunk Road connecting Delhi with Arakan, to improve regional trade and business.<sup>187</sup>

This important decision was taken on the sidelines of the 13th meeting of the ASEAN Regional Forum that took place in Kuala Lumpur from 24-28 July 2006. Myanmar has no reservations on the proposed three-nation road link between Dhaka and Kunming, the capital of China's western province of Yunnan, through Mandaley in Myanmar.<sup>188</sup>

The road link is a major component of the 'look east' policy of the Bangladesh government. The proposed road will stretch from Taungbro to Kyauktaw in Myanmar via Ramu-Gundom to Cox's Bazar in Bangladesh and will be constructed in two phases involving an estimated cost of Tk933.46 crore.<sup>189</sup> According to the plan, Bangladesh will construct a 43 km stretch of the road in the first phase, of which 20 km will be in Bangladesh and 23 km in Myanmar, at a cost of Tk163.49 crore.

#### ***Governance in the Economic Sectors:***

Notwithstanding political uncertainty and severe infrastructural constraints, the Bangladeshi economy has performed commendably. It grew at an estimated 6.7 per cent in 2006, an increase of 0.7 per cent from the previous year.<sup>190</sup> Poverty has been reduced by 1.78 per cent per year on the average over the last five years compared to one per cent in the previous decade.<sup>191</sup> The overall Balance of Payments (BOP) remained satisfactory with the trade deficit decreasing to US\$417 million in the first

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<sup>187</sup> "Bangladesh, China, Burma to Meet Soon to Revive Silk Route," 31 July 2006, [http://www.bnionline.net/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=315&Itemid=6](http://www.bnionline.net/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=315&Itemid=6)

<sup>188</sup> "Bangladesh, China, Myanmar Agree on Road Connectivity," 31 July 2006, <http://www.china.org.cn/english/international/176327.htm>

<sup>189</sup> "Bangladesh, China, Burma to Meet Soon to Revive Silk Route," Burma International News, 31 July 2006, [http://www.bnionline.net/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=315&Itemid=6](http://www.bnionline.net/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=315&Itemid=6)

<sup>190</sup> "Bangladesh: Quarterly Economic Update," Asian Development Bank, June 2006, [http://www.adb.org/Documents/Economic\\_Updates/BAN/2006/june-2006.pdf](http://www.adb.org/Documents/Economic_Updates/BAN/2006/june-2006.pdf)

<sup>191</sup> Rejaul Karim Byron, "Poor become Poorer despite Steady Growth," The Daily Star, 2 November 2006, <http://www.thedailystar.net/2006/11/02/d6110201085.htm>

quarter of the fiscal year (FY) 2007.<sup>192</sup> Although declining, inflation remained high at 6.9 per cent due to the expansion of domestic credit and the rise in commodity prices in the international market.<sup>193</sup>

The biggest challenge to the Bangladeshi economy is political uncertainty, infrastructural underdevelopment and lack of economic leadership to take radical decisions free of political and ideological influence. This was amply manifested by the suspension of the Tata deal from India and the failure of the then BNP government to quell the instability in the RMG sector.

*Indefinite Suspension of the Tata Deal*-The Tata Group suspended its proposed US\$3 billion investment – the biggest single investment in the impoverished country – in Bangladesh because of government delays. Tata's investment plan for Bangladesh had been under deliberation since 2004. Even then, a cloud of uncertainty loomed large over the proposed deal and it was believed that the investment plans would only go into operation by end-2008.<sup>194</sup> The Tata Group had signed the deal with Bangladesh's state-run Board of Investment (BOI). The plan was to build:

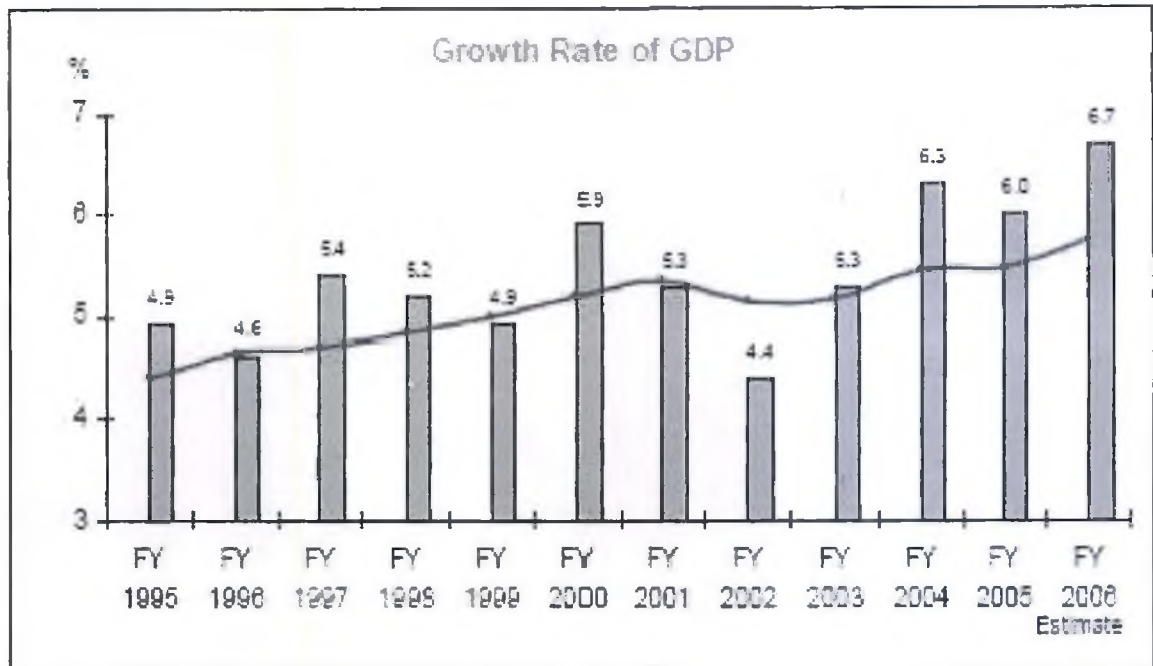
- a 1,000 megawatt power plant with US\$700 million investment;
- a 1 million-ton per-year fertilizer plant with US\$600 million investment; and
- a 2.4 million-ton steel mill with US\$700 million investment

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<sup>192</sup> See "Bangladesh: Quarterly Economic Update," Asian Development Bank (June 2006). The fiscal year in Bangladesh runs from 1 July to 30 June. Therefore first quarter of the FY 2007 means July-September 2006.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid. The point-to-point inflation rate declined from 7.5 percent in June 2006 to 6.9 percent in September 2006.

<sup>194</sup> Tata Sees Bangladesh Ventures by 2008, *Financial Express*, 14 October 2004

**Figure 43: Growth Rate of GDP of Bangladesh**

(Source: "Bangladesh Quarterly Economic Update (June 2006)," Asian Development Bank)

Dhaka had agreed to guarantee a 20-year supply of natural gas for the Tata projects. The investments would have been five times the total foreign direct investment (FDI) in Bangladesh in 2003. With total Bangladesh FDI since 1972 amounting to merely US\$3 billion,<sup>195</sup> the investment was expected to add value to the country's natural gas and create at least 10,000 jobs. The prospect of gas exports and that too to India has however, been a sensitive political issue in Bangladesh. Major opposition parties have said they will resist any move to sell gas without ensuring reserves to meet domestic needs for 50 years.

Bangladesh is not the most attractive place for industrial investments. According to the World Economic Forum (WEF) report, Bangladesh was one of the most uncompetitive places for doing business. Only Angola and Chad scored worse in the annual Growth

<sup>195</sup> Ibid

Competitiveness Index, with Bangladesh slipping four places to 102 in 2004.<sup>196</sup> Therefore, the decision to invest in Bangladesh when Tata had other attractive options in Asia is incomprehensible. It could have been a case of the MEA and the PMO trying to further bilateral relations through this deal.<sup>197</sup> The failure of the deal can also be attributed to the following factors:

- The decision by the BNP government on the deal was taken in haste and without proper deliberations. It never came before the Jatiya Sangsad for discussion.<sup>198</sup>
- The BNP did not want to take any major decision that could have had an adverse impact on its fortunes in the coming elections.

The Tata Group will await the outcome of elections in Bangladesh to decide whether to move its proposed investments out of South Asia.<sup>199</sup> More importantly, in case there is a change of guard in Bangladesh, the Awami League will have to clinch the deal within the first 100 days of assuming office.<sup>200</sup>

*Unrest in the Garment Industry: Difficult Future for the RMG Sector?* Bangladesh witnessed unrest in the garment industry over fixing minimum wages for the laborers.<sup>201</sup> The country's development partners and the major lending agencies have since urged the government to settle the conflict in the RMG sector by revising the minimum wages. Protests over low wages and other exploitative conditions continued in the month of June. The garment workers held rallies and clashed with law enforcers, leaving many people injured and a few dead. The deepening unrest in the garment

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<sup>196</sup> The rankings were drawn from a WEF poll of 8,700 business leaders worldwide and the report aims to reflect issues such as macroeconomic stability, the quality of public institutions and the level of technological development. See "Tata to invest \$2 billion in Bangladesh," BBC News, 14 October 2004,

<sup>197</sup> Interview, Sreeradha Datta, Research Fellow, IDSA, 4 December 2006 at IDSA, New Delhi

<sup>198</sup> Interview, Smruti S Pattanaik, Research Fellow, IDSA, 4 December 2006 at IDSA, New Delhi

<sup>199</sup> "Investment offer: Tata to Await Outcome of Elections in Bangladesh," The Financial Express, 20 September 2006

<sup>200</sup> Interview, Sreeradha Datta, 4 December 2006.

<sup>201</sup> The labour unrest started on 22 May after a knitwear factory owner rejected an 11-point charter of demands. The factory was completely gutted in the blaze. Protesting workers forced their way into an exclusive industrial zone for foreign investors and damaged machinery. These workers demanding unpaid wages and a weekly holiday smashed scores of vehicles and burnt down factories in Savar, an industrial town near Dhaka. Angry workers set ablaze and vandalized a large number of garment factories in Dhaka Export Processing Zone and its adjacent areas, which later spread to other parts of the country.

industry forced the foreign investors to shutdown their units on 4 June as fresh violence flared up in the Export Processing Zone (EPZ).<sup>202</sup>

The International Labor Rights Funds (ILRF) filed a lawsuit in the US District Court of Central California against Wal-Mart Corporation, a major importer of Bangladeshi readymade garments, over a non-compliance issue centering on the garment factories of Bangladesh. The ILRF referred to the labor unrest in and outside the export processing zones while filing the lawsuit in June. The lawsuit by the ILRF referred to the bad workplace environment, low wages, long overdue payments and the lack of other benefits.<sup>203</sup> The supply contracts require that foreign suppliers producing goods for Wal-Mart adhere to Wal-Mart's Standards for Suppliers Agreement as a direct condition for supplying merchandise to Wal-Mart. In exchange, Wal-Mart was obligated to ensure supplier compliance with their Code of Conduct and adequately monitor working conditions in the supplier factories.<sup>204</sup>

### ***Governance in Internal Security-***

In 2005, fears of Bangladesh becoming the next Afghanistan seemed real. However, the crackdown on extremists in 2006 by the Rapid Action Battalion (RAB), the elite paramilitary force of Bangladesh, has managed to allay fears of such a scenario.<sup>205</sup> Threats to internal security can be divided into two distinct categories in Bangladesh.<sup>206</sup>

#### **1) Crime and Political Violence**

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<sup>202</sup> Investors in 92 units in the EPZ had said that they would not reopen their units until the government gives guarantee of law and order in the area. They also requested the EPZ authority to declare the EPZ closed indefinitely to cool off the situation. See "2 RMG Units Set Ablaze, 100 Damaged, 1 Killed," The Daily Star, 23 May 2006, <http://www.thedailystar.net/2006/05/23/d6052301011.htm>

<sup>203</sup> Syful Islam, "Non-compliance of Bangladesh RMG: ILRF Sues Wal-Mart," The New Nation, 16 Aug 2006, [http://nation.ittefaq.com/artman/publish/article\\_30017.shtml](http://nation.ittefaq.com/artman/publish/article_30017.shtml)

<sup>204</sup> Ibid

<sup>205</sup> RAB came into existence on 24 March 2004. Its objectives and activities range from internal security duties, recovery of unauthorized arms, apprehension of armed gangs of criminals, assisting other law enforcing agencies for maintaining law and order, intelligence gathering to investigation of any offence on the direction of the government.

RAB comprises personnel drawn from the armed forces, different paramilitary forces and police. The force also includes some officers from the civil services. See the official website of RAB, <http://www.rabbd.com/>

<sup>206</sup> Interview, Wasbir Hussain, Director, Centre for Development and Peace Studies, Guwahati, 11 December 2006 at Taj Mansingh, New Delhi.

## 2) Terrorism or Religious Extremism

The criminal gangs operating in Bangladesh have political patronage. In fact, there is a very fine line dividing between crime, terrorism and politics in Bangladesh. A “heady cocktail” of crime, terrorism and politics is the hallmark of Bangladesh today.<sup>207</sup>

*Crackdown on JMB Extremists*-The year started with the denial of bail to Mohammed Asadullah Al Galib, chief of Ahle Hadith Andolan Bangladesh (AHAB) and member of Majlish-e-Shura (the highest decision making body) of the JMB in three criminal cases filed under the Arms and Explosives Substances Act on 26 January 2006. JMB chief, Sheikh Abdur Rehman surrendered to the RAB officials on 2 March after a siege operation that lasted for 34 hours. Soon after his arrest, JMB second-in-command, Siddiqui Islam alias Bangla Bhai, was captured on 6 March from Muktagachcha in Mymensingh district.

It is widely believed that the pressure to curb extremism came from the United States, which issued a list of measures for Bangladesh to undertake before it became a full partner in the war on terror.<sup>208</sup> In an attempt to curb extremism in its infancy, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB) agreed to provide Bangladesh with technical assistance to prevent money laundering and terrorist financing. The Anti-Money Laundering and Terrorist Financing Bill 2005 drafted jointly by the ministries of Home and Finance, was sent to the cabinet for approval. The cabinet returned it after perusing it and the bill is expected to undergo further changes. The arrest of top JMB leaders does not portend the end of the organization,<sup>209</sup> but their detention has definitely weakened the organization, though their reemergence after the elections cannot be ruled out. The JMB and JMJB do not have a credible doctrinal basis and therefore their movement is likely to suffer a setback for some years.<sup>210</sup>

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<sup>207</sup> Ibid

<sup>208</sup> Asia Report, “Bangladesh Today,” ICG Report, No.121, 23 October 2006.

<sup>209</sup> Interview, Sreeradha Datta, 4 December 2006

*Resurfacing of the HUJI*-The government ignored the meeting held by the banned Islamist militant organization Harkat ul Jihad al Islami (HUJI) in Dhaka. The meeting was held under the banner of Sachetan Islami Janata (Conscious Islamist People) at the Baitul Mukarram Mosque on 18 August. Launched in 1992, the HUJI operated for a decade in the country before being banned last year. However, its leaders and activists have continued their clandestine activities. Top leaders of the organization are believed to have been present at the meeting but law enforcers and intelligence agencies failed to corroborate media reports and refused to confirm the identities of those present. With reports of possible JMB regrouping in the northern and northeastern regions of the country, the resurfacing of HUJI in the present politically charged environment does not augur well for the future of democracy and internal security in Bangladesh.

Four years ago, the reports of Bangladesh becoming a safe haven for terrorists was dubbed by the Khaleda government as “inimical propaganda” to malign the international image of the country.<sup>211</sup> The recent crackdown on extremists is a welcome departure from that position. However, to say that extremist elements have been completely wiped off the Bangladeshi soil will be premature as there are reports in both the Bangladeshi and Indian media about the existence of terrorist training camps in the northeastern and southern regions of Bangladesh.<sup>212</sup>

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<sup>210</sup> Interview, Smruti S Pattanaik, 4 December 2006

<sup>211</sup> Haroon Habib, Electoral Warfare, *Frontline*, 3 November 2006, p. 57

<sup>212</sup> Rounaq Jahan, The failure of Military Government, *The Daily Star*, 14 March 2006, <http://www.thedailystar.net/2006/03/14/d603141501101.htm>



***Governance in Gender Issue:***

A great achievement of the govt. of four party alliance that for ensuring the women's participation in the politics, a significant component of good governance, govt. took initiative of amending constitution which is the 14<sup>th</sup> amendment of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh. In this amendment, 45 reserved seats for the women were given in 2006. Now, it continues in the country's affair that has briskly minimized the disparity between men and women in Bangladesh.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### OVERALL GOVERNANCE SCENARIO ANALYSES OF BANGLADESH

The governance or good governance was not good for the people as history of Bangladesh shows. So, the Bangladeshi governance is considered by the scholars the “*The shaping of enemy discourse*”. The perception of each party is selective. Each party attacks the other in terms of its weaknesses. The language of this attack is revengeful, stigmatizing and often personal. Most of these attacks manifested a common vocabulary. Similar or nearly similar words or labels were used by both the parties for castigating each other. The figure spells out the generalized perception that one party holds about the other. The analysis of the sample of words from the newspaper show that certain key words appeared and reappeared. The most frequently used word is killer followed by terrorist and plunderer, vote snatcher, corrupt, liar, autocrat, traitor, unskilled, conspirator, partisan, oppressor, and nepotist, and razakar.

In the enemy discourse, the negative aspects of the other are highlighted, stereotyped, stamped with essentialism and elaborated so that the integrity of the self, self-identity or group identity or legitimacy of the in-group can be enhanced. The enemy discourse dictates that members of the in-group must be protected and leaders must be invested with great power to fight off the other. It has particularly reinforced patron-clientelism and mobilization politics. Thus, the good governance of country has been tremendously constrained by the state actors and their associates.

In this chapter, we will scrutinize the overall scenario of governance that country faced variously in its journey of the political development of Bangladesh. This part of discussion may be divided into two parts-

**A. Governance Scenario Analysis: Bangladesh from 1991 to 2001** and **B. Governance Scenario Analysis: Bangladesh from 1991 to 2005.**

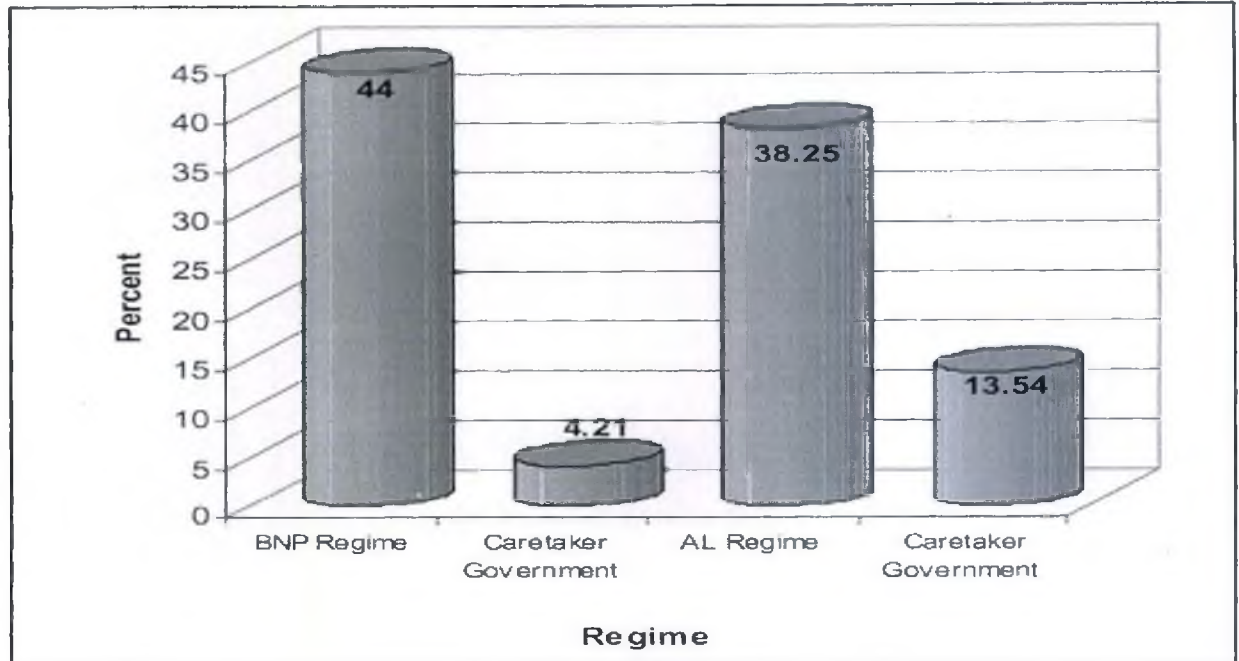
### 8.1 Governance Scenario Analysis: Bangladesh from 1991 to 2001

The graph in below shows the political party conflict in Bangladesh by various regimes from 1991 to 2001. The enemy discourse leads to actual conflict between two parties or their alliances. Table 46 and Figure 44 show that the total number of political party conflicts in Bangladesh was 2423 from 19<sup>th</sup> March, 1991 to 9<sup>th</sup> October, 2001. The number of political party conflicts during BNP (Bangladesh Nationalist Party) regime was 1066 (44.00%). During the caretaker Government of 1996 the reported incidents figured 102 (4.21%). During Awami League regime the number of political party conflicts was 927 (38.25%). The number of political party conflicts during the caretaker Government of 2001 was 328 (13.54%). It is quite clear from the data that political party conflicts constitute a striking feature of political culture in Bangladesh. The political parties are extremely revengeful and vindictive.

**Table 46: Political Party Conflicts in Bangladesh by Regime, 1991-2001**

Government	No. Conflicts	Percent
BNP Regime	1066	44
Caretaker Government	102	4.21
AL Regime	927	38.25
Caretaker Government	328	13.54
Total	2423	100

**Figure 44: Political Party Conflicts in Bangladesh by Regime, 1991-2001**



(Source: Islam, S. Aminul.2005c.Governance Research Manual. PPRC: Dhaka: mimeographed research report)

Table 47, Figure 45 and 46 refer to the distribution of political party conflicts in Bangladesh from 1991 to 2001 in terms of monthly and yearly fluctuations. Some months such as September, November, October and March have highest number of conflicts. Three years also stand out as very conflict-prone -1996, 2001 and 1999.

**Table 47: Political Party Conflicts in Bangladesh, 1991-2001 by months**

Year	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	August	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total
1991	14	19	20	8	20	26	10	15	11	10	12	17	182
1992	7	6	12	12	14	8	7	14	7	9	14	6	116
1993	27	35	7	9	13	6	11	19	27	29	33	11	227
1994	5	3	5	21	1	2	17	16	26	14	24	16	150
1995	13	5	9	10	10	11	7	14	37	34	34	16	200
1996	29	61	155	38	5	55	7	26	34	15	18	10	453
1997	14	4	5	7	9	7	7	17	36	27	17	11	161
1998	5	9	21	12	9	9	5	15	9	32	42	9	177
1999	21	38	14	15	17	10	8	28	30	32	38	32	283
2000	4	15	9	15	5	9	12	22	7	15	11	15	139
2001	6	3	4	10	15	7	30	37	183	140	53	15	503
<b>Total</b>	<b>145</b>	<b>198</b>	<b>261</b>	<b>157</b>	<b>118</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>121</b>	<b>223</b>	<b>407</b>	<b>357</b>	<b>296</b>	<b>158</b>	<b>2591</b>

In this table total number of political conflicts of 1991 & 2001 has been included.

Figure 45: Political Party Conflicts in Bangladesh, 1991-2001: By Month

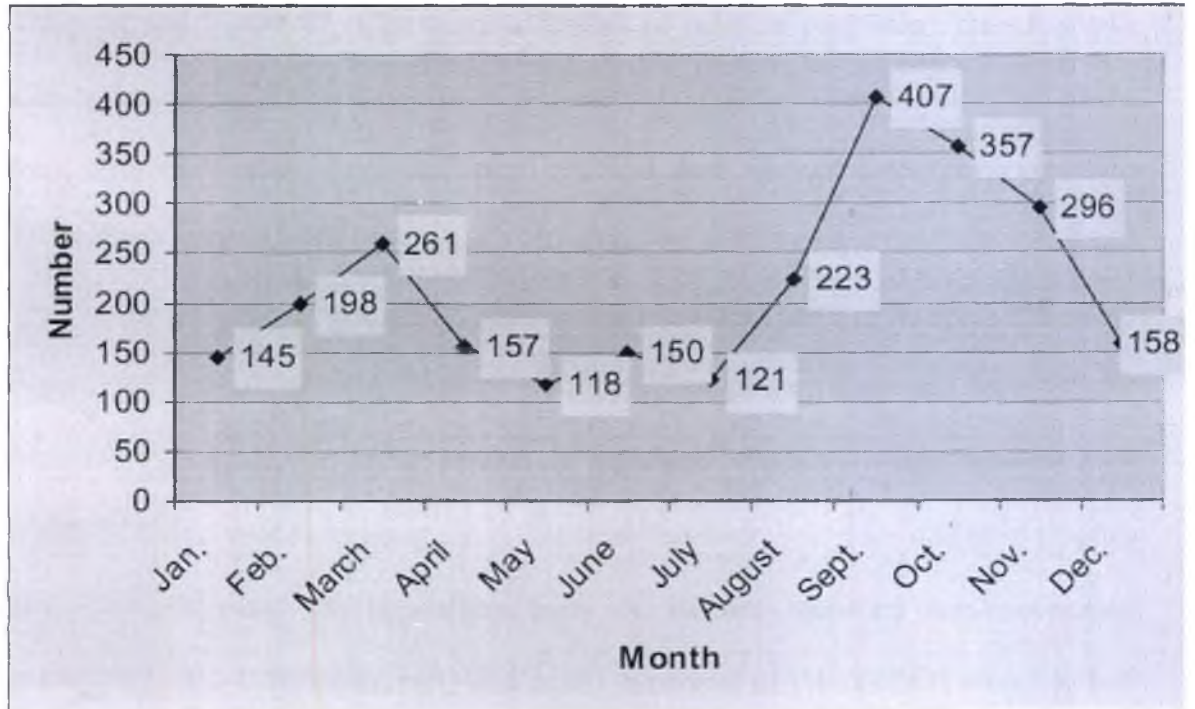
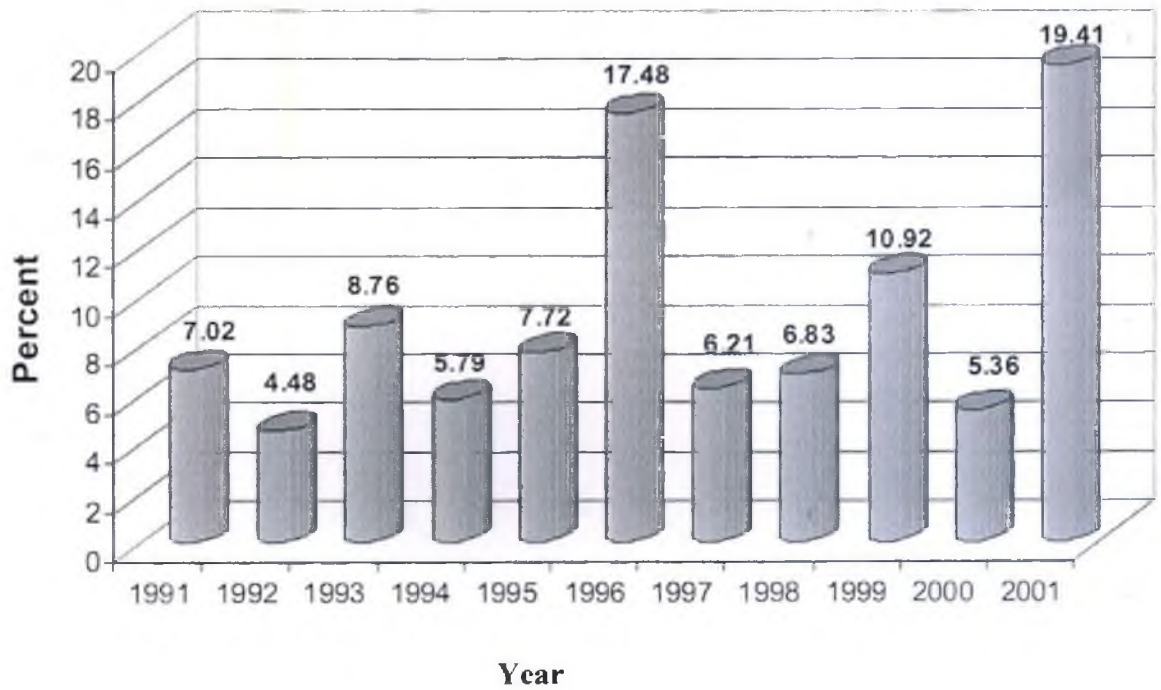


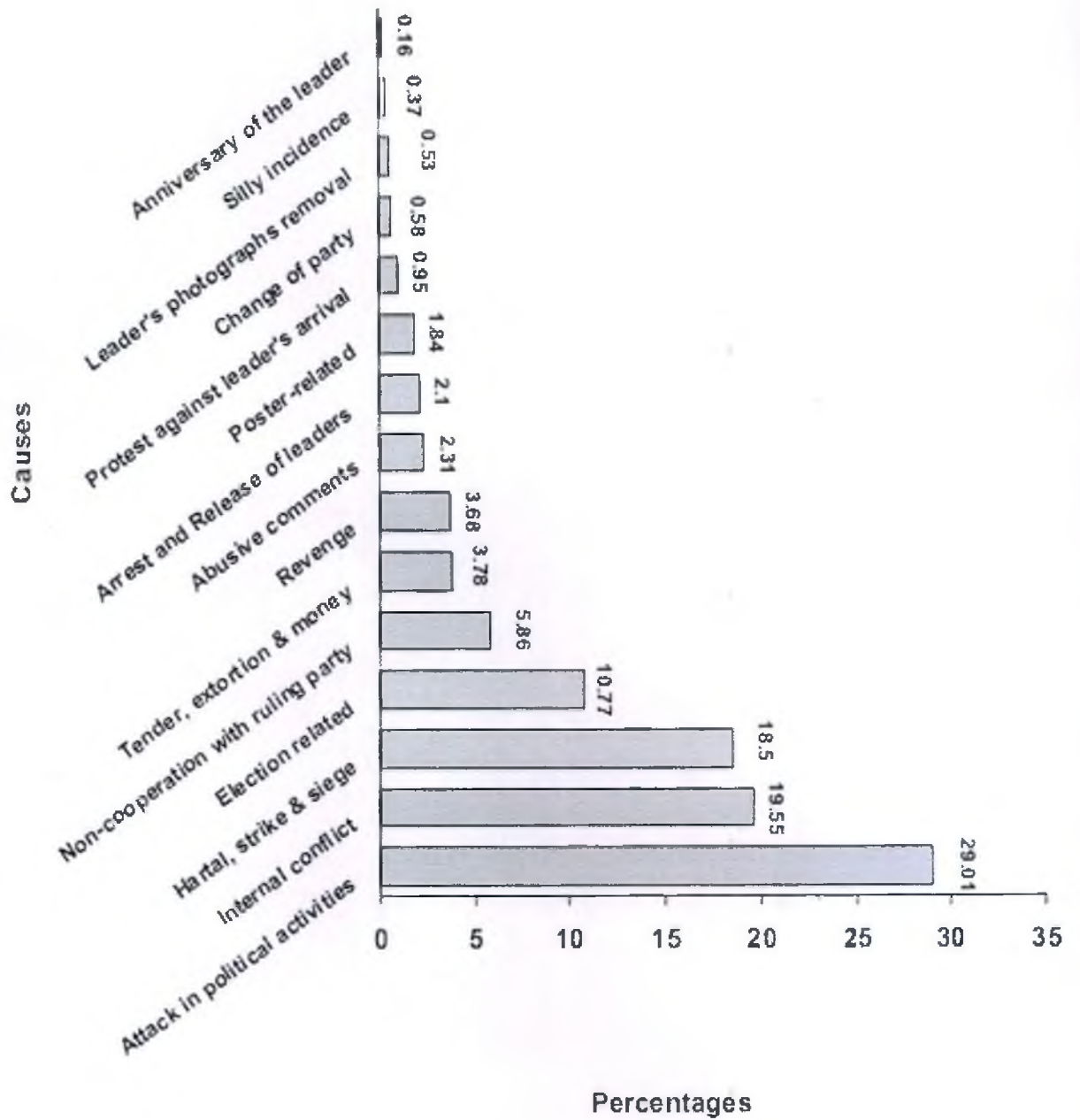
Figure 46: Political Party Conflicts in Bangladesh, 1991-2001: By Year



## **8.2 Governance Scenario Analysis: Bangladesh from 1996 to 2006**

Table 48 and Figure 47 enlist reported causes of political party conflicts. It shows clearly that among different type of causes, attack on political activities stood out as the most significant cause of political party conflicts and accounted for nearly one-third of conflicts. More significantly, nearly 20 percent of political party conflicts took place due to internal feuds of factional clashes within a political party or its allies. The next important cause of political conflicts was hartal, strike and siege and these protest activities accounted for 18.50 percent of incidents. Election-related issues led to conflicts among parties and more than one-tenth incident took place due to it. Clashes also occurred when the opposition party or alliance launched non-cooperation movement against the ruling party and nearly 6 percent of the conflicts were sparked off by it. Tender and extortion also featured as a significant cause of political party conflicts.

Figure 47: Political Party Conflicts in Bangladesh, 1996-2006: The Causes



**Table 48: Causes of Political Conflicts in Bangladesh, 1996-2006**

<b>Causes</b>	<b>Numbers</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Attack on political activities	552	29.01
Internal conflict	372	19.55
Hartal, strike & siege	352	18.50
Election-related	205	10.77
Non-cooperation with ruling party	112	5.86
Tender and extortion	72	3.78
Revenge	70	3.68
Abusive comments	44	2.31
Arrest and Release of leaders	40	2.10
Poster-related	35	1.84
Protest against leader's arrival	18	0.95
Change of party	11	0.58
Leader's photographs removed	10	0.53
Silly incidence	7	0.37
Anniversary of the leader	3	0.16
<b>Total</b>	<b>1903</b>	<b>100</b>

(Source: Islam, S. Aminul.2005c.Governance Research Manual. PPRC: Dhaka: mimeographed research report)

Analysts in the field of good governance have identified the main two causes of the bad governance of Bangladesh as- **A. Illiberal Democracy** and **B. Horizontal clientelism** between political parties and the bureaucracy.

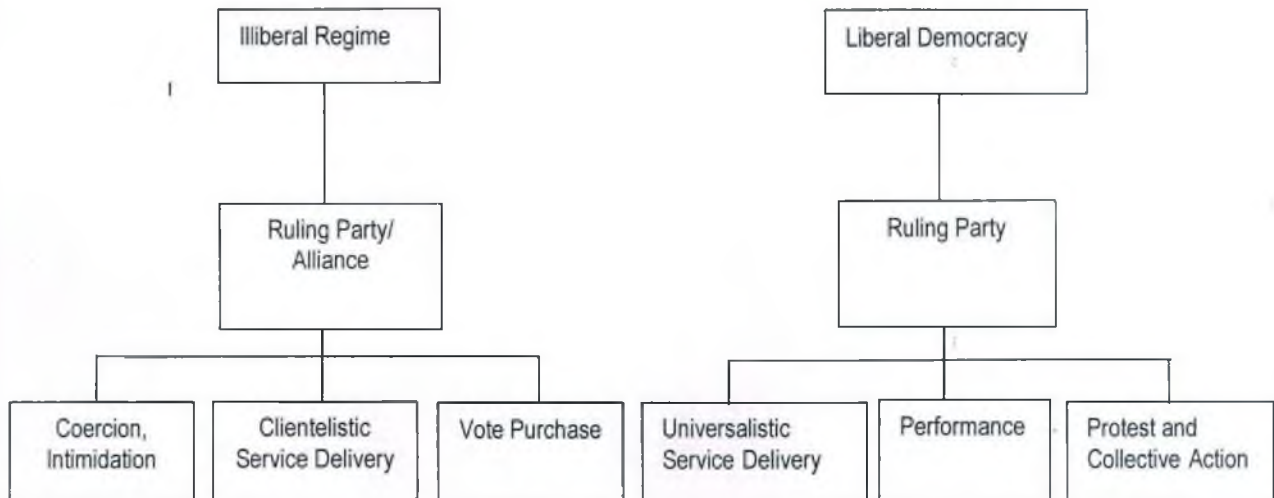
### **8.2.1 Bad Governance in Bangladesh: Illiberal Democracy**

Fareed Zakaria (1997) finds that about half of the countries between dictatorship and consolidated democracy including Bangladesh fall under the rubric of illiberal democracy. Illiberalism is not a passing phase; it is likely to be one of the permanent forms of democracy. It is characterized by partisan state, and technocratic control of public space and lack of genuine pluralism. In fact illiberal democracies are on the rise increasing from 22 percent to about 50 percent between 1990 and 1997. Illiberal democracy is a democracy where elections are not completely fair and free and civil



liberties not totally guaranteed.<sup>213</sup> In 2002 Zakaria (Zakaria 2002) found that the trend towards illiberal democracy had actually hardened.<sup>214</sup>

**Figure 48: Illiberal Regime and Liberal Democracy**



### 8.2.2 Bad Governance in Bangladesh: Horizontal clientelism between political parties and the bureaucracy:

One particular aspect of horizontal patron-clientelism is the link between the ruling party, politicians, and public administration. The party rewards the loyal civil servant by quicker promotions and profitable postings and with important positions within party after his retirement. The public administration, because of this political nexus and a variety of other reasons, resemble more a patron-client or factional structure rather than a rational organization as envisaged by Weber.<sup>215</sup> It is thus more like a patrimonial system in which recruitment, postings and promotions are guided by consideration of political loyalty rather than technical competence. Even a government report found that political consideration in promotion has dealt a death blow to the civil service (GoB, 2001). One survey indicated that 37 percent of the civil service

<sup>213</sup> Fareed Zakaria, The Rise of Illiberal Democracy, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol.76, No.6 (1997)

<sup>214</sup> Fareed Zakaria, Illiberal Democracy Five Years Later, *Harvard International Review* (Summer 2002)

<sup>215</sup> Kamal Siddiqui (1996), *Towards Good Governance in Bangladesh: Fifty Unpleasant Essays*. University Press Ltd. (UPL), Dhaka

respondents thought that political connection and nepotism were necessary for promotion.<sup>216</sup> In this contrary position, good governance is beyond of expectation.

From the past governance scenario analysis of Bangladesh, we will show the overall governance scenario based on the World Bank's six indicators of good governance given for Bangladesh. Following Figure 49 reveals clearly the governance scenario-

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<sup>216</sup> World Bank.2002. Improving Governance for Reducing Poverty. Dhaka: World Bank

Figure 49: Overall Good Governance Scenario of Bangladesh, 1996-2004

<b>Voice and Accountability</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2002</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>1998</b>	<b>1996</b>
Estimate (-2.5 to + 2.5)	-0.69	-0.57	-0.34	-0.17	-0.33
Percentile Rank (0-100)	28.6	28.8	38.7	44.5	41.9
Standard Deviation	0.15	0.17	0.22	0.23	0.21
Number of surveys/polls	9	8	6	4	4
<b>Political Stability</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2002</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>1998</b>	<b>1996</b>
Estimate (-2.5 to + 2.5)	-1.24	-0.65	-0.55	-0.43	-0.53
Percentile Rank (0-100)	11.7	26.5	28.5	26.7	26.8
Standard Deviation	0.21	0.21	0.27	0.27	0.32
Number of surveys/polls	9	8	6	4	4
<b>Government Effectiveness</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2002</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>1998</b>	<b>1996</b>
Estimate (-2.5 to + 2.5)	-0.72	-0.55	-0.47	-0.38	-0.67
Percentile Rank (0-100)	26.4	31.8	35.5	39.3	22.3
Standard Deviation	0.16	0.15	0.19	0.25	0.24
Number of surveys/polls	11	10	7	4	4
<b>Regulatory Quality</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2002</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>1998</b>	<b>1996</b>
Estimate (-2.5 to + 2.5)	-1.15	-1.05	-0.16	-0.08	-0.54
Percentile Rank (0-100)	13.3	14.8	40.1	41.8	26.5
Standard Deviation	0.19	0.18	0.27	0.33	0.27
Number of surveys/polls	10	9	6	4	5
<b>Rule of Law</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2002</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>1998</b>	<b>1996</b>
Estimate (-2.5 to + 2.5)	-0.86	-0.74	-0.65	-0.72	-0.68
Percentile Rank (0-100)	22.2	27.6	29.9	25.9	27.1
Standard Deviation	0.13	0.13	0.18	0.21	0.18
Number of surveys/polls	13	12	10	7	6
<b>Control of Corruption</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2002</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>1998</b>	<b>1996</b>
Estimate (-2.5 to + 2.5)	-1.09	-0.95	-0.6	-0.4	-0.47
Percentile Rank (0-100)	10.3	16.8	33.9	43.2	35.3
Standard Deviation	0.14	0.14	0.16	0.21	0.24
Number of surveys/polls	10	10	8	5	4

(Source: GRICS: Governance Research Indicator Country Snapshot, [http://info.worldbank.org/governance/kkz2004/country\\_report.asp?countryid=20](http://info.worldbank.org/governance/kkz2004/country_report.asp?countryid=20))<sup>217</sup>

## CHAPTER NINE

### SUGGESTIONS AND CONCLUSION

#### 9.1 Suggestions

In the recent years, Bangladesh made some progress in many areas of economic and social development such as maintaining macroeconomic stability, growth in exports and in remittances, increase in enrolment in primary education, improvements in female's education, reductions in infant and maternal mortality and improvement in women's empowerment. Yet there are growing concerns that Bangladesh's development prospects are frustrated by bad governance. So, averting from this bad governance, Bangladesh should take a significant measures for ensuring good governance. Our study also indicates Bangladesh's place under the cave of bad governance. From the findings of both primary and secondary sources of the study, we may confer some recommendations for the successful transition to good governance. In this regard, recommendations can be traced out in the following points-

**A. Rule of Law:** In Bangladesh, good governance has become myth for the people when the public representatives, bureaucrats and judiciary put rules and regulations aside and start ruling by using political office for personal gains. And the people's representatives in parliamentary democracy have got the scope of generating rule of terrors or criminals for holding immense power in their functioning ground. Thus Bangladesh is considered the breeding ground of corruption, mis-governance and misfortune. Good governance is an extension of the principle of the rule of law. So, for ensuring good governance in Bangladesh, we should establish rule of law, not the rule of man or muscle power.

**B. Political and Administrative Reform:** The wide concept of good governance is the course of action of governing with highest participation of the people. Good

Governance refers to the broad set of actions that a government undertakes to ensure people centric socio-politico- economic mechanisms to function effectively. Good governance, then, arises from actions of a government which is honest, transparent, accountable, efficient, and institutionally sound. Establishing good governance in Bangladesh requires reforms of the political system, electoral system, state machinery – and institutions to monitor the governance.

**C. Legislative Function and Co-parliamentary Body:** Legislature is a fundamental component of good governance, which serves as a demonstration of pluralism, tolerance of diversity and dissent as well as a place for compromise and consensus building to sustain good governance. Parliament should appoint speaker beyond partisanship. Parliament Members loses their membership if they vote against anti people bills presented in the parliament by their party due to the law like Article 70 of the constitution of Bangladesh. It should be changed. Ensuring ministerial accountability even to the MPs and Prime Ministerial dictatorship will be removed from the parliamentary law. And elected opposition has to ensure taking part in the proceedings of the Parliament. In this regard, a Co-parliamentary body<sup>218</sup> may be formed to oversee or to accurate the parliamentary activities.

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<sup>218</sup> The co-parliamentary body might be consisted of the combination of civil society workers, veteran party leaders, businessmen, retired civil servants, retired army personnel, religious leaders etc. After the national election, the government would be formed as the process in Bangladeshi affair is continued. Then, the honorable President of People's Republic of Bangladesh will call a meeting with the participation of all the members of Parliament. In this meeting, the co-parliamentary body would be formed with the proposal given by these members of parliament. The members of co-parliamentary would be not more than ten likewise the present caretaker government. After ending the meeting, the president will declare the name of ten members based on the proposals given by members of parliament. President will promulgate the body with the keen consideration or combination. Actually, president of country will also be the chairman/president of this co-parliamentary body. This body might also be called as 'shadow ministry'. All types of meeting/functions would be held/ accomplished under the presidency of the President of People's Republic of Bangladesh.

The functions of co-parliamentary body/shadow ministry are to discuss about the facts which would be passed in the parliamentary session by the members of parliaments in the parliament. With the fruitful discussion of co-parliamentary body, the members of this body under the presidency of the President of People's Republic of Bangladesh shall find out one or two options of a bill prior to the discussion of members of parliament in the parliament. On the basis of these (one or two) options, it would be taken to discuss by members of parliaments and after ending the discussion, fruitful one of them would be selected as a bill and lastly it would be passed in the parliament. And this co-parliamentary body will also conduct the national election of Bangladesh. (*Contemporary Approach on National & International Issues by Monirul Islam, Professors' Prokashon, Dhaka, November 2008, P.64*)

**D. Collaboration between Government and Civil Society:** Government alone cannot succeed in combating corruption without the active participation of civil society and citizen action groups. Civil society is in the best position to articulate the grievances of the citizen and highlight priorities of action on corruption to governments. Civil society in Bangladesh can serve many important roles—as observer, critic, analyst, campaigner, or protestor. It can create public awareness against mis-governance like corruption, abusing power, mismanagement of public sectors etc. and mobilize citizens to fight against these in ways that governments cannot.

**E. Privatization Process:** The private sector can play a more active role in rooting out the supply side of corruption. Towards good governance the private sector must emphasize on internal controls and auditing mechanisms. Corporate bodies and business houses need to set clear and enforceable policies against corrupt or unethical business practices. Business house need to periodically train middle and senior management on business ethics to ensure that standards are institutionalized throughout the organization. Business houses should change their mind-set to prefer managers having comprehensive business education with emphasis on ethics.

**F. Notable Commission Formation:** For good governance, existing institutions need to be strengthened by laws and regulations. Stopping political appointments in institutions like the i) Anti-Corruption Commission, ii) Human Rights Commissions, iii) Law commission, iv) Media and Press Commission, v) Ombudsman system can be a good start towards ensuring good governance. Another area that is easily noticeable is lack of monitoring on government spending. Ministries spend allocated funds as they see fit on political considerations rather than their economic impact. An effective institution should be formulated to monitor government spending which could go a long way towards curbing irresponsible government spending on political or corrupt

motives. In this regard separating the accounting function from the auditing system is now only a demand of time.

**G. Gathering Ideas from Concern Field of Orientation:** Policy makers, professionals, business leaders, sociologists, economists and others independently from their respective fields should generate amazing number of ideas and thoughts. The reasons that these ideas don't come to fruition is because like-minded reformers do seldom collaborate to bring changes. There are a lot of international and domestic organizations, NGOs, government agencies, opinion leaders and others – that are all individually form particular system in their working areas. Besides, in this policy measurement, the citizens will have to participate in the doctrinal fields of crusades against corruption to support the Anti Corruption Commission (ACC).

**H. Functionalizing the Separation of Judiciary:** The last remaining bastion of the rule of law, the judiciary has separated but it is not free from the control of executive organ previously and now also. The lower judiciary has degenerated into a politicized instrument of any ruling party. The upper judiciary is now being exposed to a process of creeping politicization, where judicial appointments, even at the highest level, are now made with an eye on who will be more serviceable as the head of the Caretaker Government. To remove this misappropriations in the judicial activities, like in the United States and many other countries we must also have an effective disciplinary authority over the misconduct of the judges both in the lower judiciary and the Supreme Court. It is through judiciary that people truly experience the working of a democracy and good governance.

**I. Oversea Committee for Bureaucracy:** While politicization of the bureaucracy disgustingly damaged the entire administration, another new dimension is that the

senior bureaucrats themselves are now inclined to get political color to get short and long-term benefit package. In this perspective, an oversea committee might be formed for taking account of bureaucrats' activities. Besides, a rule could be imposed that if any affiliation of bureaucrats to the political party is proved, they will be sacked from his profession. Another oversea committee may be proposed to lock the bureaucrats' involvement in politics. Thus, good governance in the officials sectors may be established.

**J. Law for Mass-media:** Bangladesh does have a very active media in establishing good governance. The recent growth in the number of private electronic and print media outlets has increased not just the amount of information available but also its quality. However with its powerful role, even the media may get corrupted or come under undue influence. Editors and reporters must be vigilant so that corrupt and unethical journalistic practices do not undermine the power of the media. Media groups, just like professional bodies, need to set journalistic ethical standards and train their reporters adequately to ensure that they are not easily influenced by corruption. Bangladesh needs modern laws towards ethical journalism to ensure accurate reporting without undue influence or intimidation. Law needs to ensure that the media acts responsibly in investigations to avoid slandering business or political leaders without adequate information or with evil motives.

**K. Endeavors from the Root Level Institutions:** Teachers, trainers, professionals, educators have big responsibilities to raise voice for good governance. Intermediate and secondary education can inform young minds about the importance of good governance as precondition for development. Education on critical issues like women empowerment, human rights, consumer rights, right to information, freedom of speech



etc can help empower a new generation who will come forward to initiate positive reforms towards good governance.

**L. Politicization Free PSC:** The Public services in Bangladesh are services provided by the government to the community and include administration, police, health, education, taxation, forestry, and electricity, Foreign Service, amongst others. Provisions should be made so that the President of the Republic can make such appointments judiciously and piously without any interference of a political Prime Minister. If politicization of the PSC can be stopped Bangladesh Public Service Commission (PSC) could play a vital role in recruitment, promotion, discipline, posting and transfer of government servants. This constitutional body is supposed to ensure that decisions relating to the public services sector are made in line with equity and merit.

**M. Independent Election Commission:** Independent and Non Partisan Election Commission is a precondition for free & fair participative elections to elect public representative to the parliament. Elections, however, are not the only cornerstone to democracy. Independent election commission must ensure that voters are not put in a coercive helpless situation to choose muscleman or criminals nominated by party A or party B as their representative to the parliament to establish rule of terrors or criminals. The election commission must ensure the options for voters to reject if criminals are given nominations by casting "No" votes.

**N. Anti-Corruption Commission:** Good governance also means combating corruption, and countries cannot be considered having good governance, if they are corrupt. To preserve the integrity of democracy, governments must strive to rid themselves of corruptions and bribery. The best way to combat corruption is for governments to be open and transparent. Official Secrecy Act must not be abused.

While in certain cases governments have a responsibility to retain secrecy and confidentiality regarding national security and similar issues. Strong laws against corruption and application of such laws and the actions of law enforcement agencies that work against corruption demonstrate a government's commitment for the principle of good governance. The Independent Anti-Corruption Commission (ACC) has been set up. If this Independent Anti-Corruption Commission (ACC) is freed from political manipulation, it will prove to be sufficiently independent and bold to punish corruption in high places of the government. Corruption must be uprooted to help the institutions of good governance function in the way these are intended to. Because where good governance fails democracy does not also survive and where democracy is absent politicians do not rule.

**O. Think-Tank Organizations:** In the age of globalization, various economically advanced countries like US, china, India, Japan has already put together its course of occupying world market with their native commodities through promoting sophisticated market policy framed by various think tanks situated within countries. Bangladesh for the expansion of market of various lucrative commodities worldwide can follow the policy of establishing some notable think tanks either public or private. Bangladesh's place between two dilemmas – “interest and interference” often disheartens the stable politics by foreign diplomats whose walks within country are now in question for their ghastly inclination. Only think tank with its stylish policy may frame a check point to intercept foreign diplomats' illicit move in country. Presently the security of Bangladesh is now under threat for the attention triggered by big powers and neighboring country aimed at crossing the frontier of Bangladesh. If it has had some inimitable think tanks, they could convene people protecting the sovereignty of Bangladesh as a forecaster. Coming up to this circumstance, pragmatic think tanks, like

U.S and other countries in the world formulating policy and putting it into operation is very imperative for Bangladesh.

Beside these, freedom of speech, investing in the people, independent human rights commission, independent ombudsman system, investment friendly government, patriotism, incorporating religious values etc. may be the significant apparatus for ensuring good governance in Bangladesh.

## 9.2 Conclusion

In Bangladesh, it is evident that the present condition of governance is not satisfactory that has been assigned through our discussion. In short, we may identify that many issues and problems are the barriers to ensure good governance, equity and social justice. Corruption, political interference in administration, nepotism, misuse of power, absence of rule of law, non-accountable and non-transparent government etc. are the common features of our governance.<sup>219</sup> Since its inception to present, Bangladesh more briskly faces its challenges to take necessary plans for its greater development concerning political, economic, societal and over all cultural panorama. Protagonists of various ages stride out composing state ingredients into mounting figure. They dreamt such a thing never be pursued either their lacks of articulating objects or of enthusiasm in the mechanization of seeking interest of definite fields of orientation.<sup>220</sup> So, the conditions as claustrophobia has remained persist in Bangladeshi affair and it never came at the sight as an ancillary outline for country's convenience. Some analysts ascribe it the leadership crisis where leaders, in most cases, seek their individual interests through smashing their core value of leadership. Aristotle's experience of elucidation is more okay in figuring out the trends of our leaders from the birth to present Bangladesh as an independent country in the world.<sup>221</sup> He said, 'The sense of the value of "ruling and being ruled in turn" is derived from the experience that the ruler may use his power to subordinate the lives of the citizens of the state not to the common good but to his own private purposes'<sup>222</sup> which has been assumed regarding Bangladesh as the bad governance-prone country in the world.

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<sup>219</sup> Monirul Islam (2008), *Contemporary Approach on National & International Issues*, Professors' Prokashon, Banglabazar, Dhaka, P.18-19

<sup>220</sup> Monirul Islam, Co-parliamentary Body, Not National Government, Published in *The New Nation*, the National English Daily of Bangladesh, 19-02-2008

<sup>221</sup> Ibid

<sup>222</sup> Quoted from the manuscript on *'Aristotelian Concept of Constitution: An Implicative Measurement'* by Jonathon Morish, *Electronic Journal of Views*, Vol.15, No.30 (2003), Pdk publishers

The problem of achieving consensus on basic issues of national importance is one of the serious problems that new states usually confront. Soon after independence, the different ethnic, religious, and regional forces that joined hands during the movement for freedom begin to unfold separate identities. To their dismay, the nationalist leaders who led the independence movement discover that the society they have been leading is not at all homogeneous. It is rather a conglomeration of diverse and mutually conflicting interests, loyalties and identities.<sup>223</sup> As the leaders fail to make a positive contribution to improve the quality of life of the people, the “the revolution of rising expectation” gradually transforms itself into a “revolution of rising frustration”. The consequences of this, in most cases, are turbulence, instability, and resort to violence.<sup>224</sup> All these contribute directly to the problem of achieving consensus on vital national issues.

When general agreement among the members of a political community on vital political mechanism of the state breaks down, civil war or revolution may result. It is however difficult to achieve on every specific issue, institution, and procedure. But, consensus on broad structural arrangements is unavoidable to hold together the political community forming the state.<sup>225</sup> This highly disseminates the history of Bangladeshi nation prior to be a sovereign independent nation and aftermath of the independent war in 1971. This also is in continuation in the country's affair with the procedural mismanagement severely triggered by its actors in various ages of Bangladeshi history. While political instability, violence, corruptions incarcerated the country as a whole, external forces i.e. external countries treated as big powers and neighbor countries approached with enmity for seeking their interests. In fact, Bangladesh faced into ‘two

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<sup>223</sup> W. Howard Wringgins, “Impediment to Unity in New Nation: The Case of Ceylon”, *American Political Science Review*, Vol.52, No.2 (June 1961), Pp.313-20

<sup>224</sup> Samuel P. Huntington, “Political Development and Political Decay”, *World Politics*, Vol.17, No.2 (April 1965), Pp.386-430

<sup>225</sup> A. Hakim, *Bangladesh Politics: The Shahabudding Interregnum*. University Press Limited (UPL), Dhaka, 1993, P.67

in one policy dilemma' for satisfying either internal demand of changing circumstances or external stress in the policy formulation for the country.<sup>226</sup> So, the country is being foiled to achieve its process of good governance.

But the dawn of 1990s witnessed changing notes-the successful transition of Bangladesh to democratic system of government after a hiatus of almost two decades of military authoritarian rule was a positive and hopeful sign of change. The collapse of authoritarian regime was almost 'exhilarating-the creation of democratic regime was, however, not easy. The tentative understanding and agreement made among the parties in their movement against authoritarian rule broke quickly after a consensus has been challenging one-the major challenge came from governing a highly turbulent polity with a contradictory tradition of rule and conducting politics in an environment of mistrust, factional political culture and rent-seeking behavior of political elite.<sup>227</sup>

The last phase of country has not averted itself from disastrous order in its political, economic and cultural fields. During much of the post-liberation years, the nation has also suffered from periodic hunger and starvation, famine and malnutrition. One may attribute many of these conditions to recurrent flood, cyclone, tornado, tidal bore and such other natural calamities and environmental hazards. They may also be related to rampant corruption, maladministration and mismanagement. Such a phenomenon contributed to the making of an image of Bangladesh as one of the most disadvantaged, poverty-stricken or what is often euphemistically called the largest among the least of the less developed countries (LLDCs) of the world.<sup>228</sup> Although the democratic change in the 1990s ushered some hope of good governance in the country's search for a new

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<sup>226</sup> Monirul Islam (2008), *Contemporary Approach on National & International Issues*, Professors' Prokashon, Banglabazar, Dhaka, P.172

<sup>227</sup> Ataur Rahman (2008), *Essays on Democracy and Leadership: Bangladesh Perspective*, BPSA Publishers, Dhaka, P.10

<sup>228</sup> Abul Kalam (1996) ed. *Bangladesh: Internal Dynamics and External Linkages*, University Press Limited (UPL), 1996, P.1

destiny, the country, till now, couldn't come out of unhygienic political turmoil for the existing problems which are in site likewise post-liberation period.

In the short travel of country as democratic nation, it has formulated an innovative idea for conducting free, fair and credible election with accumulating some advisors in an enthusiastic manner is called the Non-party Caretaker Government. This Caretaker Government was in position in taking the responsibility of fair election as a neutral authority for three times of country's scenario. In no case, they proved themselves as the full-fledged responsible authority. The government of 1/11 also belongs to like those but exception in character because it marked at the beginning of new era in Bangladesh as the President of Bangladesh acting within his constitutional prerogatives declared State of Emergency in Bangladesh backed by the patriotic armed forces. It's being said that Bangladeshi politics will take a new turn. And it was also assumed that 'a paradigm shift' will make some far reaching implications for Bangladesh's quest for security and democratic aspirations. This govt. of 1/11 has arranged vital changes in the various sectors like politics, administration, economy and society. Their greater achievement of this government is to conduct an election on December 29, 2008 and AL-led fourteen parties or grand alliance has triumphed in the election and formed government.

Anyway, this study shows the causes and scenario of bad governance of Bangladesh. The study argues that our administrators, state-actors are largely responsible for the grievous conditions of the country. For this, some propositions as suggestions have been added in this study to refrain country from the discourse of mis-governance. If our study findings and suggestions are taken as the curable measures of bad governance, expectedly the incumbent authority could be able to ensure good governance in Bangladesh.

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## Appendage-1

### বৈধতার সনদ

আপনাদের সদয় অবগতির জন্য জানানো যাচ্ছে যে, মোঃ মনিরুল ইসলাম, রাষ্ট্রবিজ্ঞান বিভাগ, ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় এর একজন এম. ফিল গবেষক। তার গবেষণার বিষয়টি হলো- বাংলাদেশের সুশাসনঃ তত্ত্ব ও বাস্তবতা (Good Governance in Bangladesh: Ideals and Reality). আমার তত্ত্বাধানে তার গবেষণাটি সম্পন্ন হচ্ছে। উক্ত গবেষণাকর্মটি সম্পাদনের জন্য বাংলাদেশের সব শ্রেণীর লোকের মতামত নেয়া প্রয়োজন। এরই প্রেক্ষিতে মোঃ মনিরুল ইসলাম আমার নির্দেশ মোতাবেক বাংলাদেশের ছয়টি বিভাগে তার গবেষণা টিম প্রেরণ করেছে। আশা করি, আপনি গবেষণাটির সাফল্য কামনা করে আপনার মূল্যবান মতামত লিখিতভাবে ব্যক্ত করে গবেষণা টিমকে সাহায্য করবেন। তবে এ ব্যাপারে নিশ্চয়তা প্রদান করছি যে, অত্র প্রশ্নপত্র দ্বারা সংগৃহীত তথ্য কেবলমাত্র গবেষণা কাজে ব্যবহার করা হবে। সংগৃহীত তথ্য সম্পূর্ণ গোপন রাখা হবে এবং কোন মাধ্যমে প্রকাশ করা হবেনা। আপনার জীবন সুখী ও সুন্দর হোক।

নিবেদক,

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প্রফেসর ড. শওকত আরা হোসেন  
চেয়ারম্যান,  
রাষ্ট্রবিজ্ঞান বিভাগ  
ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়  
ঢাকা-১০০০।

## Appendage-2

### এম. ফিল গবেষণার প্রয়োজনে জরিপ প্রশ্নপত্র

গবেষণার শিরোনাম	:	বাংলাদেশের সুশাসনঃ তত্ত্ব ও বাস্তবতা (Good Governance in Bangladesh: Ideals and Reality)
গবেষকের নাম	:	মোঃ মনিরুল ইসলাম
গবেষণা প্রতিষ্ঠান	:	রাষ্ট্রবিজ্ঞান বিভাগ, ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়।

[অত্র প্রশ্নপত্র দ্বারা সংগৃহীত তথ্য কেবলমাত্র গবেষণা কাজে ব্যবহার করা হবে। সংগৃহীত তথ্য সম্পূর্ণ গোপন রাখা হবে এবং কোন মাধ্যমে প্রকাশ করা হবেনা।]

#### ১। ব্যক্তিগত তথ্যাবলীঃ

নাম :  
পিতার নাম :  
মাতার নাম :  
স্থায়ী ঠিকানা : গ্রাম/মহল্লা/রোডঃ..... বাড়ী নংঃ.....  
খানাঃ.....জেলাঃ.....টেলিফোন নংঃ.....

বর্তমান ঠিকানা : গ্রাম/মহল্লা/রোডঃ..... বাড়ী নংঃ.....  
খানাঃ.....জেলাঃ.....টেলিফোন নংঃ.....

ধর্ম :  
জাতীয়তা :  
বৈবাহিক অবস্থা :  
শিক্ষাগত যোগ্যতা :  
পেশা :  
বাৎসরিক আয় :

২। ক) সুশাসন বলতে আপনি কি বোঝেন?

খ) সুশাসনের জন্য সরকারের পাশাপাশি আর কারা ভূমিকা রাখতে পারে বলে আপনি মনে করেন?

৩। ১৯৯১ সাল থেকে ১৯৯৬ সাল পর্যন্ত বাংলাদেশে যে প্রথম সংসদীয় পদ্ধতির সরকার প্রতিষ্ঠিত হয়েছিল, সেই বি এন পি নেতৃত্বাধীন সরকার সুশাসন প্রতিষ্ঠার নিম্নোক্ত উপাদানসমূহ কতটুকু সম্মুন্নত রাখতে পেরেছিল?

ক) প্রশাসনে স্বচ্ছতা ও জবাবদিহিতা ছিল কি?

হ্যাঁ

না

আংশিক

খ) আইনের শাসন প্রতিষ্ঠায় বিচার বিভাগ নিবাহী বিভাগের নিয়ন্ত্রণমুক্ত থেকে নিরপেক্ষ ভূমিকা পালন করেছিল কি?

হ্যাঁ

না

আংশিক

গ) নির্বাচন ব্যবস্থা কি স্বাধীন ও নিরপেক্ষ ছিল?

হ্যাঁ

না

আংশিক

ঘ) মিডিয়া ও সুশীল সমাজ কি গণতান্ত্রয়ণে কার্যকরী ভূমিকা পালন করেছিল?

হ্যাঁ

না

আংশিক

ঙ) বিরোধীদের উপস্থিতিতে সংসদ কার্যকর ছিল কিনা?

হ্যাঁ

না

আংশিক

চ) নারীর আর্থ-সামাজিক ও রাজনৈতিক অংশগ্রহণ নিশ্চিত ছিল কিনা?

হ্যাঁ

না

আংশিক

ছ) ক্ষমতার বিকেন্দ্রীকরণ প্রশাসনে সম্মুন্নত ছিল কি?

হ্যাঁ

না

আংশিক

৪। ১৯৯৬ সাল থেকে ২০০১ সাল পর্যন্ত বাংলাদেশে আওয়ামীলীগ নেতৃত্বাধীন সংসদীয় পদ্ধতির যে সরকার শাসন করেছিল, তা সুশাসন প্রতিষ্ঠার নিম্নোক্ত উপাদানসমূহ কতটুকু সমুন্নত রাখতে পেরেছিল?

ক) প্রশাসনে স্বচ্ছতা ও জবাবদিহিতা ছিল কি?

হ্যাঁ

না

আংশিক

খ) আইনের শাসন প্রতিষ্ঠায় বিচার বিভাগ নিবাহী বিভাগের নিয়ন্ত্রণমুক্ত থেকে নিরপেক্ষ ভূমিকা পালন করেছিল কি?

হ্যাঁ

না

আংশিক

গ) নির্বাচন ব্যবস্থা কি স্বাধীন ও নিরপেক্ষ ছিল?

হ্যাঁ

না

আংশিক

ঘ) মিডিয়া ও সুশীল সমাজ কি গণতান্ত্র্যগে কার্যকরী ভূমিকা পালন করেছিল?

হ্যাঁ

না

আংশিক

ঙ) দুর্নীতি দমন কমিশন দুর্নীতি দমনে কার্যতঃ ভূমিকা রেখেছিল কিনা?

হ্যাঁ

না

আংশিক

চ) মানবাধিকার কমিশন মানবাধিকার রক্ষায় সচেষ্ট ছিল কি?

হ্যাঁ

না

আংশিক

ছ) বিরোধীদের উপস্থিতিতে সংসদ কার্যকর ছিল কিনা?

হ্যাঁ

না

আংশিক

জ) নারীর আর্থ-সামাজিক ও রাজনৈতিক অংশগ্রহণ নিশ্চিত ছিল কিনা?

হ্যাঁ

না

আংশিক

ঝ) ক্ষমতার বিকেন্দ্রীকরণ প্রশাসনে সমুন্নত ছিল কি?

হ্যাঁ

না

আংশিক

৫। ২০০১ সাল থেকে ২০০৬ সাল পর্যন্ত বাংলাদেশে বি এন পি (চারদলীয় জোট) নেতৃত্বাধীন সংসদীয় পদ্ধতির যে সরকার শাসন করেছিল, তা সুশাসন প্রতিষ্ঠার নিম্নোক্ত উপাদানসমূহ কতটুকু সমুন্নত রাখতে পেরেছিল?

ক) প্রশাসনে স্বচ্ছতা ও জবাবদিহিতা ছিল কি?

হ্যাঁ

না

আংশিক

খ) আইনের শাসন প্রতিষ্ঠায় বিচার বিভাগ নিবাহী বিভাগের নিয়ন্ত্রণমুক্ত থেকে নিরপেক্ষ ভূমিকা পালন করেছিল কি?

হ্যাঁ

না

আংশিক

গ) নির্বাচন ব্যবস্থা কি স্বাধীন ও নিরপেক্ষ ছিল?

হ্যাঁ

না

আংশিক

ঘ) মিডিয়া ও সুশীল সমাজ কি গণতান্ত্রয়গে কার্যকরী ভূমিকা পালন করেছিল?

হ্যাঁ

না

আংশিক

ঙ) দুর্নীতি দমন কমিশন দুর্নীতি দমনে কার্যকর ভূমিকা রেখেছিল কিনা?

হ্যাঁ

না

আংশিক

চ) মানবাধিকার কমিশন মানবাধিকার রক্ষায় সচেষ্ট ছিল

হ্যাঁ

না

আংশিক

ছ) বিরোধীদের উপস্থিতিতে সংসদ কার্যকর ছিল কিনা?

হ্যাঁ

না

আংশিক

জ) নারীর আর্থ-সামাজিক ও রাজনৈতিক অংশগ্রহণ নিশ্চিত ছিল কিনা?

হ্যাঁ

না

আংশিক

ঝ) ক্ষমতার বিকেন্দ্রীকরণ প্রশাসনে সমুন্নত ছিল কি?

হ্যাঁ

না

আংশিক

৬। আপনি বাংলাদেশে সুশাসন প্রতিষ্ঠার ক্ষেত্রে কোন বিষয়গুলি প্রতিবন্ধকতা বলে মনে করেন?

ক)

খ)

গ)

ঘ)

৭। সর্বোপরি বাংলাদেশে সুশাসন প্রতিষ্ঠার ক্ষেত্রে আপনার সুপারিশগুলি কি কি?

ক)

খ)

গ)

ঘ)

ঙ)

The End