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Department of Government and Politics

Jahangirnagar University

Savar, Dhaka-1342, Bangladesh

E-mail: govpoli@yahoo.com

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CONTRIBUTORS

Dr. Md. Shairul Mashreque	Professor, Department of Public Administration, Chittagong University, Bangladesh
Dr. Ejaz Hussain	Assistant Professor, Department of Social Sciences, IQRA University, Islamabad.
Ahmed Khan	Ejaz Hussain holds PhD in Political Science and Works as Assistant Professor at IQRA University, Islamabad. Ahmed Khan, a native of Balochistan, has recently obtained <i>Baccalaureate</i> from FC College Lahore.
Shakil Ahmed	Post-Doctoral Research Fellow, Center for International, Comparative and Advanced Japanese Studies University of Tsukuba.
Bashir Ahmed	Associate Professor and Chair, Department of Government and Politics, Jahangirnagar University, Savar, Dhaka-1342
Dr. S. M. Anowara Begum	Professor, Department of Political Science, Jagannath University, Dhaka
Mohammad SajedurRahman	Assistant Professor, Department of Government and Politics, Jahangirnagar University, Savar, Dhaka-1342
Dr. Hasibur Rahaman	Senior Lecturer, Department of Politics and Governance, Gono Bishwabidyalay (University), Savar, Dhaka-1344.
Faysal Jamal Shishir	Lecturer in Political Science, Government Akbar Ali College, Ullapara, Sirajganj.
Dr. Shamsun Naher Khanom	Associate Professor, Department of Government and Politics, Jahangirnagar University, Savar, Dhaka-1342.
Raihan Sharif	Master of Business Administration (1 st Semester), School of Management (SOM) Asian Institute of Technology (AIT), Thailand .
Md. Naim Akter Siddique	Lecturer, Department of Political Science, Jagannath University, Dhaka, Bangladesh
Urmi Akter	Lecturer, Department of Political Science, Savar University College, Savar, Dhaka.
Rakiba Sultana Ratna	Lecturer, Department of Political Science, Jagannath University, Dhaka.

Prime Ministerial Government in Bangladesh

Md. Shairul Mashreque¹

Abstract: The Prime Minister (PM) as the head of government in a parliamentary democracy enjoys power and influence of infinite degree in the overall institutional set up. Democratic structure of cabinet government based on the supremacy of political leadership represents a manifestation of the collective actions of the ministers with the Prime Minister taking the lead. Absolute and even simple majority in the parliament is crucial for enabling political leadership to reign supreme in every course of action. The key note of the cabinet government is PM. Membership strength of the treasury bench in the parliament accounts much for the growth of 'premier domination' in the context of cabinet dictatorship. Its authoritarian face speaks for itself with deeply embedded institutional paramountcy of the office of PM. The cabinet consisting of PM and his/her ministerial colleagues lies at the apex of central administration. It is the ultimate decision making body in central administration. All ministers except a few chosen from technocrat quota are politicians with seats in the parliament.

Key words: Prime Minister, Prime Ministerial Government, Parliamentary Democracy, Cabinet Government, Leadership, Bangladesh

Introduction

The very basis of the constitution of Bangladesh is 'the age old concept of parliamentary system' more or less resembling 'the time tested Indian constitution, which itself drew its inspiration from the mother of democracies, i.e. the British Westminster style of parliamentary democracy'. But the way the Prime Minister (PM) in Bangladesh conducts himself/herself under the intoxication of unbridled power it seems the PM smacks of a totalitarian dictatorship with the office of PM ruling the roost. "Indeed to-day the situation has come to such a pass that for the student of political science and constitutional law, the all powerful office of the Prime Minister of Bangladesh has almost become a riddle, since it has a few parallels worldwide. Even the rules of business have been so carefully drafted and later amended that all power automatically flow into the hands of only one person, i.e. the Prime Minister (PM) and none else. To be more explicit, if we try to look through the language of the scriptures not even a leaf of the tree moves without the PM's nod (Huq 2005:19)

The hallmark of parliamentary government is the Prime Minister (PM). PM is the supreme political executive with centrality of position in overall administration. "The Prime Minister is the keynote of the cabinet arch, central to its life, central to its death" (Jennings 1968:30). PM is supposed to make his/her own choice of cabinet colleagues. He/she has the sole authority to distribute portfolios among them. This is a sort of allocation of functions on the basis of capacity, aptitude and experience. The PM may

¹ Professor, Department of Public Administration, Chittagong University, Bangladesh

deem it necessary to hold the charge of some ministries that are strategically important. PM directs the ministers to supervise day to day activities of their respective ministries in weekly cabinet meeting. The cabinet secretary convenes cabinet meeting and prepares its proceedings. PM has to co-ordinate the activities of different ministries to avoid inter-ministerial conflict and forge discipline. The PM has supreme control over all executive matters and guides all executive functions of different ministries.

Leadership of the PM is the main focus of cabinet government. Being the head of the cabinet he/she occupies an extraordinary position. "There is a common subordination of other Ministers to the Prime Minister, though each Minister is given the authority to run his/her ministry independently." (Ahmed 1998: 30). The Prime Minister's key position in the entire executive establishment is based on three major institutional sources: political leadership in the parliament, commanding position in the cabinet secretariat and the exclusiveness of his/ her official status in Prime Minister Secretariat (PMS). His/ Her power of patronage is the main source of leverage over policy decisions. The PM appoints and removes the ministers, reshuffles his / her cabinet and makes government appointments among the chosen members of the government and the backbenchers. Normally he/she has to depend on enough support from the cabinet members (Sapru 1994:65).

Premier Domination: the Primacy of Political Leadership

The office of PM is a real vantage point to ensure interconnections among departmental policies steering policies towards projected political objectives and development goals. The PM in fact 'plays a crucial coordinating role having access to all ministers and communication with all departments. In UK Harold Wilson created the policy unit in 1974 that operates as policy analysis unit. It is headed by a political sympathizer of the PM. Other members may include either political appointees or civil servants seconded from department (Wood and Wilson 1974:84). The dominant prime ministerial model is a threat to the deliberative, consensus building style of executive leadership (Kingdom 1990:15). In UK in the 1960s controversy arose over the role and authority of the Prime Minister (PM) within the cabinet. It was widely believed that UK government has become presidential in character with each successive prime minister having arrogated to itself the power residing with the cabinet (Ibid; 16). The ascendancy of the office of PM during the incumbency of Margaret Thatcher is worth mentioning. She resorted to the prime ministerial arena than has been the case with many of her predecessors in peacetime. (Ibid: 6)

In fact the Prime Minister plays second fiddles to none in governing process and other members of the cabinet 'play varying degree of subordinate role. Nevertheless the assertiveness of premier position converges on three factors: charisma, party position in the parliament and internal and international situation. In India, for example, Jawaharlal Nehru, the first prime Minister and a man of mission and vision, used his charisma to build up modern India during post-independence national reconstruction (1947-1962). But the humiliation he suffered during Indo-China war in 1962 rendered him almost powerless. His daughter became a single most powerful person after victory in 1971 Indo-Pak war. His son proved to be very powerful PM assuming the position of a

presidential figure (sapru1994:66). The cabinet government succeeding him after his tragic death was something different significantly. Mentionably, VP Singh, Deve Gowda and IK Gujral who formed cabinet could not claim to have electoral mandate in favour of their party manifesto affording much less legitimacy compared to their predecessor who had the numerical strength in terms of seats in Lok Sabha. The dominant PM is likely to curb policy-making influence of bureaucracy. Or, he may seek to harness it. In Bangladesh each successive PM in parliamentary democracy of 'Westminster system' represent the prototype of premier domination.

The first PM after national independence in 1972 became the 'focal point' of decision making. He exerted tremendous influence on the overall governing process not merely on the strength of an overwhelming majority in the parliament; his charisma mattered much. Such manifestation of political leadership in his institution was perhaps of a degree one could not dispute during initial years of national reconstruction in a war ravaged country. The circumstances of time gave him vantage point aplenty for enjoining special privileges enabling him to direct the whole course of action in favour of his cherished ideology and national goals. He happened to introduce a number of measures to reduce policy influence of bureaucracy (Ahmed1995: 60). Noteworthy among them were the replacement of bureaucrats from senior policy positions in the planning commission(PC), the harbinger socialist planned economy, by professional economists and the appointment of business executives and professionals as heads of different public corporations and public enterprises(ibid:60). The first PM during post-liberation period initiated moves to reform and restructures the civil service. Administrative and Service Reorganization Committee headed by Professor Mujaffar Ahmed Chowdhury was appointed to review the existing administrative structure and suggest measure for 25 organizations. The report of the committee was perhaps influenced by Fulton Report in UK. The committee recommended that the posts from grade2 to grade1 should be called "senior policy and management (Maniruzzaman1982:205).

A frantic quest for new state structure was to stamp out the legacies of the colonial and semi-colonial administrative state thus creating a new policy environment suiting the interests of the intermediate regime. Attempt was made to create the post of junior minister (minister of the state) in between secretary and the minister (Islam1988:62).The penetrating influence of PM during intermediate regime clustered around the dominant role political leadership in the whole range of policy administration with party cadres serving as political watchdogs from the outside (ibid: 62). It was dictated by the unflinching loyalty of the elected ministers and backbencher to the Prime Minister as the part icon. They extended influence far to local/field administration through party cadres for implementing decisions 'according to their dictates.' The ruling party desired such pattern of intervention to establish its hegemony on a solid footing. The office of PM became powerful with the officers like principal secretary, private secretary, political secretary, economic secretary, and investigation director (Rahman1980:125). Most top policy advisors were non-bureaucrats and leaders of 'part-oriented interests groups ' who would provide inputs for policy and programme development in line with party ideology based on four pillars: nationalism, socialism, democracy and secularism. . Such a broad framework of objectives includes almost countless policy options. At times there was

considerable flexibility in selecting policies and programmes that might not always mutually consistent and compatible ((ibid: 136).

The enormous concentration of power in the hands of PM during post-liberation period resulted in the alienation of civil bureaucracy. It was not possible to get things done without clearance from the office of PM. Even routine matters were referred to PM for approval (Rashiduzzaman1980:178). The inexperienced political appointees who flourished during that period created a buffer between the senior bureaucrats and PM which unnecessarily complicated decision making process (ibid:178). Unlike their predecessor Khaleda and SK. Hasina did not take any measure to reduce the power of top civil servants who are policy officials. What they have actually done is to downgrade the position of the politicized civil servants suspect of making policy sabotage. The Prime Minister SK. Hasina inducted a few former bureaucrats in the cabinet. Unlike her father she turned clock back to the old fashion of being dependent on bureaucracy as necessary evil. The ex-prime minister Begum Zia was criticized by the opposition for politicization of bureaucracy and massive patronization. SK. Hasina followed suit and faced the likelihood of opposition's criticism.

Prime ministerial mode of domination in a strategic function like policy making is found among others on the formation of advisory committees, appointment of political advisors and advisors from amongst the secretaries as his/ her trusted lieutenant. The PM influence may go to the extent of making partisan recruitment same as spoil system, political appointment and promotion to produce loyal groups of policy makers. This is to conducting bureaucratic compliance with policy objectives of the government. Another manifestation of such influence of political leadership that undermines bureaucratic morale is to force some officials into the position of OSD either on political ground or gross inefficiency. The Prime Minister's dominant policy role may be found in what one may term as absolutely policy-oriented activism in cooperation with experts specific to a policy issue and those concerned with policy advocacy and representatives of various pressure groups, civil societies and professional bodies. There is further manifestation of PM domination. This is what one might term as 'inner cabinet' around the PM to maintain secrecy of state policy on strategic issues with the participation of the senior minister, cabinet secretary and PM's Chief Secretary. The parliamentary democracy based on the supremacy of political leadership enables the political executive to assert itself as the policy making center of the political system.

Notwithstanding this institutional omnipotence in the policy role of PM the support of all cabinet colleagues even the junior minister cannot be underrated. Even ministerial policy role within its own jurisdiction has much to be reckoned with. Distribution of portfolio among the ministers is the allocation of policy responsibilities. It covers a large variety of policy sectors and sub-sectors. Such responsibilities are onerous compelling each minister to immerse himself in details (Ibid: 171). A vast number of decisions are of course; made by the individual ministers within the prescriptions of the business rules and these are fully authoritative decisions on behalf of the government. The Prime Minister does fear to veto his colleagues' decisions. Even policy proposals of the cabinet colleagues are hardly rejected by the PM. Things, however, depend much on political maturity of a minister; his personality and wisdom matters much. Who he wishes to

decide and what he will refer to the cabinet or the PM- all he is supposed to do in his own right. So one may well content that the PM in Bangladesh becomes omnipotent enjoying a near monopoly of power with his/her office as the powerhouse when his/her party enjoys two-third or more majority in the parliament. Three Prime ministers-- Bangabandhu SK. Mujib, Khaleda Zia and SK. Hasina were able to ride roughshod over their cabinet colleagues and officials thanks to the absolute majority of their party in the parliament.

The cabinet meetings enable the individual minister to partake in decision making in the significant socio-economic areas. It is usual for the cabinet to reach a consensus decision. This is necessary for dealing with complex issues. Lack of consensus in case of different opinion in any vital policy issues like domestic or international get delay decision by consensus. In conditions of such conflict the premier may impose his / her own opinions. The PM rarely does so. For such imposition as a mark of top sided participation may jeopardize his position among the colleagues and in the party. What actually happens in case of conflicting views about a particular policy matter, as a normal course of action is to keep such matter in abeyance for quite some time or defer taking decision on it. Collectively the ministers take the wider view of state policy. The Minister as political executive may initiate new policy moves placing draft policy proposals or proposals for policy change /shift in the cabinet committee. Either department minister may turn out to do it or the cabinet committee may discuss new policy agenda to take a collective view on any policy sectors in response to demand for

Reasons for Premier Preponderance

One may assign several reasons for monopolization of power by the prime Minister in parliamentary democracy especially in Bangladesh.

First, the nature of premier dictatorship lies in the system theoretically devoid of check and balance. The architect of the Bangladesh constitution gave PM a vantage point aplenty in shaping the direction of control in a manner he/she likes. 'The office of the prime minister is vested with all the powers available minus its original beauty—that is without its inherent 'checks and balances'. The constitutional provision regarding parliamentary democracy and party discipline aimed to create a unique system of dictatorship by the prime minister (Islam 2006: 300) Conversely, the high office of the president is simultaneously emasculated beyond imagination, making it just a mockery of sorts (Huq, 2005:19)

Second, personality factor matters a much and this is universal phenomenon. The PM like Bangabandhu was a man possessed of charismatic personality. He could command high respect from his party men and cabinet colleagues. Post-liberation construction required such personality and Pandit Jawaharlal exhibited such personal quality during post-partition period.

Third, two third or three fourth seats in the parliament indicating an absolute majority provides enough room for cabinet dictatorship with PM dictating terms and conditions and manipulating things in a manner he/she likes. Already the experience with strong

cabinet government and extremely weak opposition was unsatisfactory. Misgovernance has taken a heavy toll all to the wrath and suspicion of the people.

Fourth, absence of democratic culture within the party: Authoritarian predisposition is deeply ingrained in the political culture of the South Asian countries. Party chief and those in the commanding key party positions falter the practice of democracy within the party. The choice of party chief is reflected in the selection of the key position holders. There is irregularity in the holding of council meetings. The ordinary party members and party workers continue to suffer from hurt burning and frustration. All big guns in the party excreting policy influences do not pay heed to the grievances of the ranks and files in the party. The party high-ups only gratify coterie interests. The party chief would like to hold the position till death. He/she and his/her sycophants would not like to create a second string for the sake of sustainability. There is no democratic arrangement to elect party chief.

Fifth, dynastic politics: This has happened to be legacy of the traditional political culture somewhat reflecting the phenomenon of the South-Asian political culture. Ascriptive consideration comes first with the rule of succession determined by traditional values. All the same dynastic politics continues to deter institutionalization of democracy. The criterion does not account for the development of the civic culture. The approach is parochial with the notion of perennial domination of the some ruling families.

Sixth, politicization: Politicization of administration is rampant in South-Asian context, especially in Bangladesh. It tends to weaken the base of democratic governance. The influence of PM has become a matter of infinite degree under the whirlpool of politicization. It gives an outlet for depersonalization of politics in Bangladesh with inefficient sycophants hovering around the office of PM.

Seventh, Ministerial inefficiency and corruption: It goes without saying that most ministers especially in Bangladesh make fool of themselves having a little knowledge about the management of the affairs that they are supposed to do. It accounts much for their docility with the office of PM taking hand in their respective affairs. Any efficient minister with a strong personality would not the office of PM to dictate terms and conditions in his own arena. All the same rampant corruption has its negative impact on the governing process. Corruption tends to ruin the image of the minister as a person and as an institution. Since corruption has reigned supreme in most ministries misgovernance thrives compelling the PM to intervene in the affairs of the ministries soaked with malfeasance.

Since the prime minister of Bangladesh heads the cabinet, and that is an integral part of the parliamentary system, s/he must be prevented from choosing members of the cabinet from outside the Jatiya Sangsad. For the purpose, Article 56 (2) of the Constitution should be amended. Article 70 of the Constitution should be partly amended for the purpose. This was intended to prevent floor-crossing of the members on flimsy grounds with a view to stabilising the government and to that extent this Article played a stabilising role. It has however been used by successive prime ministers as a positive threat to the conscientious members, making them and their free will hostage to a constitutional provision.

The Office of Prime Minister (PM)

The marked distinction of the office of PM reflecting the potential of prime ministerial direction of policy and administration existed even after the resurgence of parliamentary democracy in 1991. The presidential style of domination of the two successive female PMs bears a testimony to primordial authoritarian attitude opposed to democratic culture in cabinet government. Both female PMs enjoyed a near monopoly of power. Even the sitting PM too does have such monopoly. The party government under premier leadership has to maintain such domination even at the cost of efficiency to appease the party men. In fact PM runs the show in absolute terms with bureaucracy at his/her beck and call. One potent factor propelling the PM to control bureaucracy is the fear of policy failure and policy sabotage by some high officials covertly opposed to his / her political ideology.

The ethos of governance in parliamentary democracy proclaims the primacy of cabinet in policy determination. Its authority in decision making emanates from its electoral mandates. Numerous observers reject the prime ministerial thesis emphasizing the collective role of the cabinet (Wood and Wilson 1984:82). Nevertheless the reality of decision making process in Bangladesh now and then establishes the prime ministerial thesis revealing the nucleus of prime ministerial secretariat in the final approval of any policy proposals or matters. Leadership position in the party is the main source of premier domination. Both Khaleda Zia, the ex-PM and SK. Hasina., the present PM, contributed to the exclusiveness and enhancement of PM office with a vast array of officials and advisors. This is because PM “requires briefing about policy options experts producing through policy analyses” (ibid1984:82);

The office of PM consists of PM and a lot of key personnel like PS-1 to PM PS-2 to PM APS-1 to PM, APS-2 to PM, Protocol officer-1 to PM, Protocol officer-2 to PM, 3 assignment officers, MS. AMS, 3 APC. Besides, PM is flanked by several advisors including Advisor (economic affairs), Advisor (political affairs) and advisor (international advisors). Special assistants in the office are appointed from among the trusted party colleagues. The burden on the office of PM is so great one can hardly imagine. The volume of function/assignment is vast. Even an expert could not hope to surmise the complexity of such function taken on by PM to meet the challenges of new millennium. Decisions have so far been taken on multifarious issues where PM might have his/her own interest and values. The prime Minister as an institution is thus overwhelmed by legislative and executive action in connection with vital policy matters; the amount aggravating the complexity of the function of PM office. Even pretty matters concern this office.

The normative development of the ministerial/departmental pattern has been largely handicapped by the intervention of the office of PM. Clearly speaking most service as well as organization-related decisions, even trifling ones, that fall within the confines of ministries department and attached offices are referred to the PM office for necessary action. Consequently the Prime Minister secretariat has turned out to be brimful with files and even individual cases. Sometimes official notes on each file/case at the departmental/ministerial level are wittingly/unwittingly overlooked in the welter of prime

ministerial assignment and even nullified by the discretion allowed to the official staff/advisors of the Prime minister.

This pattern related to the haphazard development of organizational contours in central administration. It becomes acute when interdepartmental conflicts creep into overall set up or when roles are ill-defined and organizational policy matters in a ministry are not properly handled due to inefficiency of the minister. thing is that new ministry, new departments and ne attached offices take a long time to take shape and develop and political consideration dictates otherwise the process of its functioning with internal policies, implementation decisions and clientele principle. The crisis is reported to be complicated by the advent of enormous projects and resultant necessity of organizing new offices. The issue of creating new offices is also fraught with political expediency.

During the incumbency of Begum Khaleda Zia as Prime Minister (2001 to 2006) there were more than 50 minister/deputy minister/state ministers. They looked to PM for final decision; none dared to take decisions unless PM permitted him to do so. During the meeting of the cabinet committee held in 31st August, 2002 the issue of prime ministerial workload was discussed (Prathom Alo 2003:1-2). The meeting observed that delay in decision making and decision i8mplementation was caused by the need for prior permission of PM office and the need for final approval whatsoever. The meeting clearly pointed out that the PM was occupied with policy making functions on various important subjects in domestic and international spheres. The meeting decided to direct the cabinet secretary to identify those matters that required no action of PM. (ibid). The Rules of Business specifies 21 areas within the functional jurisdiction of PM. It provides for the leverage of the PM office on any matter of course within the limit set by the Rules of Business (GOB 2000:3).

There used to be shadow of the influence of Howabhabon over the government run by the Khaleda Zia. It may well be termed as the extension of the office of the Prime minister. The prime ministerial secretariat was her formal office and Howabhaban was her informal office being a party chief. This was a building stood out as a symbol of premier domination with her close party associates and members of inner cabinet influencing vital decision making. It was the behind-the-scene power house of her government. Any matter of persuasion for getting things done seemingly in a doubtful manner required back up support from this building. In fact it was the special office of Khaleda Zia, being a party chief. Even matters of less importance, say transfer of nationalized college teacher, concerned this office within the office of PM. The alleged activities of Howabhaban drew the loudest criticisms (Jahan 2010:36).

In practice centralization of administration runs parallel with the centralization of power in the office of the Prime Minister. Prime ministerial secretariat is a practical reference for such centralization. This likened to the presidential secretariat introduced by the then President HM Ershad. PM secretariat consists of chief secretary, secretary, additional secretary, four director generals and PM's personal officials. Two successive PMs retained presidential pattern of centralization with little interests in decentralization either in the form of deconcentration or in the form of delegation even after historic shift to parliamentary democracy. Although SK Hasina during first tenure(1996 to 2001) made

amendments in the Rules of Business to make minister the executive head of his /her concerned ministry/department the ministers were reluctant to take financial responsibilities and so the secretary would act as administrative head and principal accounting officer(Prathom ALO 2003:1-2). However the institutional arrangement continued to be that the secretary continued to intimate the minister about possible approval of any agenda of action /programme/project. The minister was to approve decision but in case of any confusion and obscurity he was required to bring it to the notice of PM.

Work procedure in connection with decision making process continues to be cumbersome from bureaucratic ritualistic rings to the office the Prime Minister. Things to be settled at the secretariat level even with complicated work procedure are to be finally settled at PM office via concerned ministry. File processing is lengthy involving several steps. Any policy matters even a trivial issue settled at the ministerial level may be changed second time in the office of PM. As a result file is finally approved with necessary amendment, additions and omissions. In some cases the concerned officials in PM office may think to dispatch any proposal initiated by ministry/department to the cabinet division functioning under PM. In the recent past development projects and even miscellaneous trivial matters that were routine functions were not decided upon without informal permission of PM office. Even now the PM may show concern in such development project and matters that bear strategic and political significance.

To a great extent once policy/programme has been decided in the ministry/department the question of final approval is left to PM office. There are various tactics the officials in PM office might have deliberately employed to thwart authentication of policies/programmes decided by the ministry about which they might be skeptical: procrastination, imposing unworkable suggestions and other insurmountable obstacles. It was alleged that PM as the head of the government has been captive in the hands of a host of advisors sitting in the office of PM. Some advisors become so powerful that as if they were running the show forming an inner cabinet.

Conclusion

Does it hint that accountability and transparency in the parliamentary democracy is more rhetorical than real. Premier absolute domination without the element of transparency might have a disquieting impact on overall process of governance. Indeed, frightening is the fact that his/her injudicious decision bolstered by the supportive roles of the cabinet colleagues and political appointees may undermine the impersonal image of the institution and panders to partisan administration—all at the cost of efficiency. It does mean that the PM and his cabinet associates are motivated by narrow party interests less by common interests undermining responsible governance in democracy thus isolating themselves from the voters.

Now in an era of globalization with the proponents like good governance, sustainability and open market economy a country needs positive political leadership answerable to popular institutions. Positive leadership demands much potency and competence on ruling elite and its advisors. Amidst the challenges of great magnitude prime minister has

to efficiently manage things placing value on good governance and even good enough governance. The pm may well precede with politicization mission of course exercising rationality in selecting experts from the persons of his/her liking. This is to ensure smart implementation of public policy in the age of information.

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Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan- The Case of Balochistan

Ejaz Hussain¹
Ahmed Khan²

Abstract: This article attempts to explain the complexity of civil-military relations (CMR) in Pakistan. Methodologically, Balochistan is taken as a case study to conduct a qualitative analysis with the help of both primary and secondary sources. Theoretically, the article has built its agency model to be applicable to the case of Balochistan. The model, grounded in agency theory of CMR, assumes four actors, namely, (pro- and anti-state) politicians, (traditional and modern) judiciary, civil bureaucracy and the military, whose interests and preferences either converge or diverge rationally but contextually. The divergence of interests and subsequent choices lead to chaos and conflict (insurgency) whereas convergence provides a semblance of orderly rule. The Baloch nationalists have become increasing anti-military (and anti-state) due to federalization project of Pakistan state. The past grievances and its solutions are though suggested in, for example, Aghaz Haquq-e-Balochistan and Mengal's 'six-points', the center has still to reconcile with the reality. Until this is done, Balochistan, Pakistan and its neighborhood is expected to suffer from political, socio-economic and strategic instability.

Key words: Civil-military Relations, Pakistan, Balochistan, Aghaz Haquq-e-Balochistan, Mengal's 'six-points'

The Problem Stated

This paper attempts to explain the nature, mode and scope of civil-military relations (CMR) in Pakistan with specific reference to Balochistan by drawing on the comparative analysis of two regimes, dictatorial and democratic, spanning from 2002 to 2012. The selected time period represents two unique cases of governmental setups in Pakistan. The first half of the decade covers the dictatorial regime of General Pervez Musharraf (2002-2007) in which the flow of decision making was from top to bottom, while the second half (2008-2012) comprises a democratic setup. In this respect, four actors are assumed in the case of Balochistan, namely, (local) politicians, civil bureaucracy, judiciary and the military. Moreover, one of the objectives of this study is to explain which actor assumed dominant position, and how. Also, the impact of a certain stakeholder in decision making, at the local and provincial level, is part of the analysis.

Background to the Problem

Humans throughout the history came in contact with each other through wars, negotiations, cultures exchanges etc. The role of the military in human history is

¹ Assistant Professor, Department of Social Sciences, IQRA University, Islamabad.
Email: ejaz.hussain@iqraisb.edu.pk

² Ejaz Hussain holds PhD in Political Science and Works as Assistant Professor at IQRA University, Islamabad.
Ahmed Khan, a native of Balochistan, has recently obtained *Baccalaureate* from FC College Lahore.

important and pervasive. Militaries were made to protect the people from other powers, but this role has been over-ruled by militaries worldwide (Finer, 1962:32-57). The role of protecting people has been transformed into ruling over them. The military intervention in the domestic affairs of a state is not new to human civilization. But with the evolution of new world order, this phenomenon has reduced to a great extent in the developed world largely on account of civilian oversight- the US, for example, is a case in point. However, the developing states and traditional societies are still facing this problem of military intervention in politics (overtly or covertly).

In the South Asian context, Pakistan and Bangladesh have witnessed coups d'état and martial laws. Sri Lanka and Nepal mark the presence of strong militaries. Only India is an exception where the military chose not to stage a coup and take politics, economy and the state in its hands. Pakistan is a special state in the sense she has experienced five military coups (1958, 1969, 1977, 1999 and 2007) in her political history. Balochistan, being very strategically located, has faced five military operations in the past. The first military operation took place in 1948 when Khan of Kalat (Mir Ahmed Yar Khan) refused to accede to Pakistan; the second operation started in 1958, third during 1961-63. The fourth military operation was initiated by a civilian, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (ZAB) during 1973-77. The fifth operation (which is the latest) started in 2005 and continues till date. The foregoing makes it pertinent to take the Balochistan case seriously, with the aim to explain the problem and suggest solution to (re)solve it.

Methodology

The qualitative method is used to explain the civil-military relations where Balochistan is taken as a case study within the broader CMR context of Pakistan state (Pennings 2006:9). Moreover, this research builds on primary (i.e. interviews, (non/semi-)official reports etc.) and secondary data (i.e. books, journals' articles etc.). In addition, this article attempts to build a model which is applied to the case of Balochistan to theorize empirical facts. The model is grounded in the assumptions of rational choice and agency theory (Mitra, 2006:9, Hussain, 2013:44-54).

Theoretical Framework

In this section, the authors aim to build a theoretical framework in terms of proposing a model to explain civil-military relations in Balochistan. This model, it is posited, may also help to make a sense of CMR at the federal level. In order to achieve the foregoing, it seems not inappropriate to critically review the existing literary on CMR theory.

Society-oriented Literature

The society-oriented literature covers a wide range of scholarship that includes political science peer, Huntington, and the giant of sociology Janowitz (Hussain 2013:28-32). Since the works of the latter view military as part and, in cases, extension of society, the being and role of the state gets demoted. Moreover, these authors have not highlighted the importance of agency and rationality in theory accounts.

Comparative Literature

The works of Nordlinger, Finer, Perlmutter make the core of this category. This literature provides useful information about Latin American and Middle Eastern militaries cross-nationally. In so doing, however, comparative method is not properly applied. Also, these scholars have, in some degree, played with social and cultural cleavages to understand issues of civil-military (non-)interaction. Nevertheless, agency, causality and (specific) context of a case is grossly ignored by such writers (see Hussain, 2013:32-37)

Structural Perspective

Michael Desch has argued that ‘threat perception’ may invoke military in a country to take over reins of power. This thesis sounds interesting. However, on empirical grounds, the structural perspective cannot be applied to Pakistan case (Hussain, 2013:39-40). Hence, we assume it cannot be applied to Balochistan case either since the issue of threat construction and perception are not dealt with by Desch nor are they taken meaningfully by the existing works on Pakistan politics and foreign policy.¹

Actor-centered approach

The agency theory of CMR, as is propounded by Feaver (1996, 2003) , assumes actors capable to affect, in principle, any change in the ‘structure’ of a state. Also, it assumes actors to be rational. They have a clear conception of costs and benefits. Furthermore, the agency work assumes and treats actors as principal and agents. Following are given the assumptions of agency theory as is understood and applied by Hussain in his work on Pakistan’s CMR:

- Civil-military relations are primarily a strategic interaction;
- Civilians are the principal and the military is the agent;
- Civilians and the military are rational actors- they have a clear conception of cost-benefit analysis. Also, they hold preferences which lead to actions;
- The problem of delegation occurs when there is divergence between preferences of the two;
- To make its preferences prevail- or to make the military work- the civilians devise and implement oversight mechanisms/regimes. In the absence of an oversight regime, the rational military tend to shirk: the minimum form of which is a ‘crisis’, and the maximum, a coup.
- The question of military intervention is beyond the confines of *a democracy*- whether functional, transitional or advanced.. As already mentioned, it is posited that the civilian control of the military is a game of strategic interaction. Even in the USA- an advanced democracy- there are many instances of potential ‘crises’ of civil-military relations;
- The ‘punishment’- be that physical or financial, as assumed in the theory- helps to explain why the agent military stops short of a coup (in the context of the US civil-military relations.);

¹ Ejaz Hussain has established correlation between domestic politics and foreign policy in Pakistan both theoretically as well as empirically (see Hussain, 2010).

- Civil-military relations could be understood and explained on a ‘daily-basis’.
(Hussain, 2013:41-42)

The above shows comparative advantage of agency over structure. Hence, the following is an effort to theorize the structure of Pakistan state at Partition. It is assumed that at Partition, Pakistan’s principalship was assumed by the politicians constitutionally, electorally and politically. This can be understood with the help of the following matrix:

Flow Matrix 1 Four Actors: Principal-Agent Relationship at Partition

Politicians (Principal)	Civil Bureaucracy (Agent)
Military (Agent)	Judiciary (Agent)

Source: *Military Agency, Politics and the State in Pakistan* (Sanskriti, 2013)

However, Pakistan state and politics went through many a ebb and flow in terms of changing patterns of civil-military actors, interested involved and strategies adopted. In other words, based on empirical facts, it is assumed that there remained one (context-specific) principal and three (context-specific) agents in the game of Pakistan CMR. In empirical terms, we posit that politicians assumed the principal position from 1947 to October 1951.² From October 1951 to October 1958, the civil bureaucracy’s preference prevailed and it ruled the roost. However, the military, hitherto an agent, assumed direct powers when General Ayub Khan sent President Iskander Mirza into forced exile. The civil bureaucracy, along with a section of politicians and judiciary, chose to work as agent. Paradoxically, however, the era of 1972-77 marked the civilian agency whereby Zulfikar-led politicians ruled the state as principal. Bhutto’s honeymoon with power was short-lived. His elected government was toppled unconstitutionally and illegally by General Zia-ul-Haq-led military in July 1977. Since then, in our view, the military has maintained and consolidated its hold over politics and the state in Pakistan. The foregoing can be made more explicit with the help of the following:

Flow Matrix 2 Principal-Agent Relationship in Pakistan

Politicians (Principal-Agent-Principal-Agent)	Civil Bureaucracy (Agent-Principal-Agent)
Military (Agent-Principal-Agent-Principal)	Judiciary (Agent)

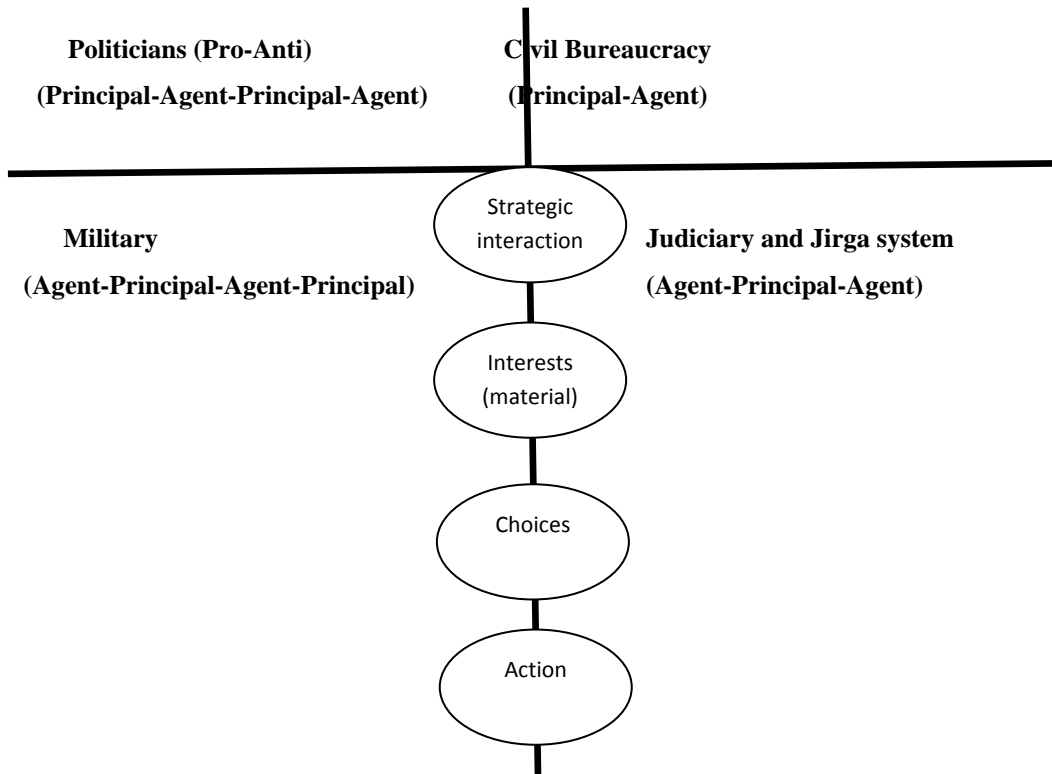
Source: *Military Agency, Politics and the State in Pakistan* (Sanskriti, 2013)

² The first Prime Minister of Pakistan, Liaquat Ali Khan, was assassinated on 17 October 1951 in Rawalpindi.

Building the Model

As the Matrix 2 depicts the actors and agency in the overall case of Pakistan, the foregoing model cannot be applied to the case of Balochistan on empirical grounds. One may here point to the presence of politicians (and political governments), (provincial and district) judiciary, (provincial and federal) civil bureaucracy and the military (along with paramilitary apparatus). Nonetheless, there are certain unique facts that singularly demarcate between the level and degree of CMR at Pakistan and Balochistan level. For example, the institution of *Jirga* functions in support- and, at times, as parallel- of the constitutional judiciary. Similarly, political class in Balochistan can easily be classified (especially post-Bugti) as anti-military (and anti-state) politicians as well as pro-military and (pro-state) politicians. Owing to these facts, we feel the need to modify Ejaz Hussain's model of civil-military relations in Pakistan. The following is an effort in this respect:

Agency Model of Civil-Military Relations in Balochistan



Source: The model is built by the authors.

As the Model marks, the principal-agent relationship exists throughout the history of Balochistan. Importantly, the military acts as principal in Balochistan too since 1977. In the section on politicians, there exist two types of politicians: pro-and-anti military (and the state). The civil bureaucracy is divided into Punjabi, Urdu speaking and the Baloch

section and the Pashtun section is hanging in between. Besides, there is existence of two types of judicial system in Balochistan: one is representative of a strong tribal *Jirga* system; and second is the (state-oriented) constitutional judicial system. Overall, we have assumed four actors (stakeholders) in the Balochistan case. These actors engage among themselves strategically as well as rationally. Their choices/preferences are based on their respective (largely material) interests. Importantly, action (policy) is based on choice(s). In simply words, each stakeholder tends to maximize his interests given opportunity. The following sections of the article shall help us explain events of politics in Balochistan in light of the proposed model.

The Case of Balochistan

This section of the article provides a brief introduction to notions of territory, sovereignty, and population dynamics in Balochistan. Our aim is to locate the stated four actors across the political, administrative and state confines of the province.

Geographic and Human make-up

Balochistan is the largest of Pakistan's four provinces by geographical area. It is the least populated but resource rich province. It has common borders with all the three provinces viz. North West Frontier Province (now Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (K-P)) through Federally Administered Tribal Area (FATA) to the north, Punjab to the extreme northeast and Sindh to the east. Balochistan has a long coastline that links it to the Arabian Sea in the south. In the west, it has 814 Km long border with Iran. Last but not the least, to the west and north west, it has a border of 1096 km with Afghanistan (Ahmed, 1992: 9-11). Population-wise, about 8.5 million Pakistanis reside in the province. Balochistan is home to roughly half a million ethnic Punjabis- or nearly six percent of its population- and (a small fraction of) Urdu speakers. Around 35 % of the population is Pashtun. The ethnic Baloch population (including Brahui) is about 6.8 million. Of these about 5 million reside in Balochistan accounting for about 55 % of its population. About 27 % Baloch live outside Balochistan, mainly in Sindh (Vision, 2012:3-11).

At the time of creation of Pakistan, Balochistan was divided into two parts: the British Balochistan comprising Quetta, Pishin, Zhob, Loralai and Lasbela and the native Balochistan constituting Kalat, Kharan and Makran. Makran became a district within the province of Balochistan, minus an area of 800 sq/km around Gwadar, which was then part of the Sultanate of Oman. In 1783, the *Khan* of Kalat had granted suzerainty over Gwadar to Taimur Sultan, the defeated ruler of Muscat. When the sultan subsequently retook Muscat, he continued his rule in Gwadar by appointing a *wali* (governor). This *wali* was then ordered to subjugate the nearby coastal town of Chah Bahar (in modern day Iran). Until 1958 Gwadar was part of Oman. Pakistan purchased it in September 1958. The money for the purchase was generated through taxation and donations. Gwadar was made part of the Balochistan province in 1977 (Siddiqi, 2012).

Balochistan province itself, as we know it today, came into being on July 1, 1970, with the abolition of One-Unit in West Pakistan. The administrative divisions of Quetta and Kalat were merged to form this province. Balochistan is the abode of different people mainly populated by the Bloch, Barohis and Pashtuns. A great number of settlers from

across Pakistan, particularly from the Punjab, have settled in the province for generations. Interestingly, they are known as ‘Settler Bloch’ (Districts Gazetteers 1980, Ahmed, 1992: 17-53).

A Past with ‘Grievances’

Balochistan history since 1947 represents an unending narrative of the incessant conflicts. The long standing resentments that date back to its merger with Pakistan have led to the present crisis in the province. The issues and grievances, which gave rise to the previous and present conflicts relate to demands and aspirations about the economic, ethnic and political rights of and for the people of the province. The reasons for the present crisis have been known to the politically aware people all along. But little has been done in terms of a coherent and meaningful policy to address and resolve these matters by the successive governments. Consequently, the wounds have continued to fester and periodically given rise to bleeding insurgencies and revolts. There have been five insurgencies in Balochistan since the creation of Pakistan. According to the official estimates, these have resulted in more than five thousand deaths among the insurgents, and almost three thousand among the Pakistan army (Mahvish, 2012: 7-8). The recent violence which started in 2005 took a serious turn at the end of year 2009 and became a potential threat to the stability of Pakistani state, as the insurgents spurred and inflamed, and in all likelihood aided and abetted by the outsider international players in the area, gave rise to the separatist movement in the province (Vision, 2012: 9-22).

From Tribal to Civilized Balochistan?

Balochistan being a tribal periphery produces troubles throughout its history. The tribal elites and the religious nobles are the center piece of whole political scenarios occurring in Balochistan through ages. Mir Chakar Khan during the fifteen century established a strong tribal system in Balochistan especially in the Baloch dominated regions (Ahmed, 1992: 3-6). This tribal system evolved into extreme feudal setup that started diminishing the prevailing difference between the elites (i.e. Sardars, Nawabs and Khans) and that of a common Baloch. The elites got riches, modern education and hence accrued socio-economic and political power. On the other hand, the commoner became weak, dispossessed and hence disposed off the power game (Ahmed, 1992: 43-55)

The above can be substantiated even in political-electoral terms. For example, in 1946, when the British India went through election- and later referendum to join either India or Pakistan-, the Quaid-e-Azam tried to influence the Khan of Kalat, Nawab Ahmed Yar Khan, to support Pakistan. The Nawab, a friend of the Quaid, did so though with the condition of autonomy (Awan, 1985:181-212). After the Partition, the dream of autonomy- and later of Independent Balochistan- did not materialize since the political elite at the federal level had its own agenda of federalization of Pakistan. Hence, the military operation of March 1948, initiated at the orders of Governor-General Jinnah, was a measure to consolidate the state though at the cost of localized identity (Mahvish, 2012: 2-4).

The process of integration of princely states (of Balochistan, among others) proved a daunting task for the newly and resource-constrained state of Pakistan. The forgoing was compounded and complicated due to divergence of interests between early political elite and the civil and military bureaucracy. Since the political elite (i.e. Muslim League top leadership) was migratory in nature and character, it preferred centralization of powers over provincialization. This also points to the fact that Pakistani politicians (mostly non-Bengalis), in strategic alliance with the civil bureaucracy, canceled the idea of constitutionalization and democratization. In the post-Jinnah-Liaquat period- when the civil bureaucracy assumed the principal position (Oct. 1951), the contours of politics started to further dominate political and cultural forces of the day. This came in terms of 1956 Constitution that was the brainchild of a career bureaucrat- Chaudhry Mohammad Ali. The 1956 Constitution formalized the One-Unit scheme that divided Pakistan into two parts/zones geographically, administratively, politically, culturally (Bengalis viz-a-vis non-Bengalis) and socio-economically. Balochistan remained under the direct control of the center until 1970 in terms of One-Unit.

In 1958 though certain tribal-cum-political forces preferred agitational over electoral politics, the Khan of Kalat-led resistance was diffused through the instrumental use of military means. This situation went on until 1970's when Nawab Ghous Bakhsh Bezenjo and Sardar Attullah Mengal protested against the One-Unit. The two leaders, it is to be noted, even invoked anti-Punjabi, anti-military (and, at times, anti-state) sentiments in the hope to launch a full-fledged separatist movement against the federation during the Yahya years (1969-71). Yaha Khan, having judged the situation, acted rationally by undoing the One-Unit. This move of his was admired by the aggrieved and increasing becoming anti-Pakistan Balochistan-based politicians. Paradoxically, this sort of politicians then negotiated perks and privileges with the central government led by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto- indeed, National Awami Party (NAP) and Jamiat-e-Ulam-e-Islam (JUI) formed provincial governments in Balochistan and today's K-P (Aslam, 2011, Mahvish, 2012: 4-6). Nawab Akbar Bugti became the first Chief Minister of Balochistan in 1973. The Nawab started to go against Bezenjo and Mengal as they were of the view that Punjabi and Urdu speaking bureaucrats should be replaced with the local Baloch. Akbar Bugti strategically and rationally supported Bhutto against his political and tribal rivals. He even was supportive of the military operation against the Baloch rebels (Mahvish, 2012: 7-8). The military operation was ended when General Zia-led military derailed the semblance of democracy that Pakistan was experiencing. Moreover, Zia era further consolidated the center's control over the units especially Balochistan given its resource-richness.

Politics in Contemporary Balochistan

In this section, an attempt is made to explain civil-military relations in Balochistan during Pervez Musharraf-led regime (2002-2007). The article categorizes this period in the form of three cases. The latter is explained with the help of our agency model.

The Musharraf-led Regime (2002-2007)

General Pervez Musharraf toppled the elected government of Nawaz Sharif on October 12, 1999 and declared himself as head of the state (chief executive). The Musharraf-led military ruled in strategic alliance with judiciary, top bureaucrats from 1999 till 2002. In

order to gain popular legitimacy, he held (rigged) elections in October 2002. In the post-election period, PML-Q along with MQM and MMA (a pro-religion electoral alliance) rationally allied with Musharraf and his institution. Nevertheless, the people of Balochistan especially Baloch nationalists had a different view of such political developments. The Baloch nationalists continue to disagree and dissent the gradual expansion of military rule in that province. Slowly, the rebels in Balochistan, once again, resorted to agitational politics over the alleged rape incident of a paramedic, Dr. Shazia Khalid. The local tribal leaders and general people pointed to an army man to be involved in the incident. Before going into detail of this event, on 31 January 2005 a proposal was presented to Musharraf which he accepted and showed his willingness for talks with Nawab Akbar Bugti (*Dawn*, 2005). From January 1st to January 30th several bomb blasts, rocket launches and attendant armed attacks occurred in Balochistan. As a result, a bill was presented to parliamentary committee on Balochistan in this respect. The followings subsections shall explain it in a bit detail.

The First Case

During the Musharraf regime, Balochistan was divided in two types of leadership: the pro-Musharraf (and pro-military) politicians, and the anti-Musharraf (and anti-military) ones. The civil bureaucracy, from the center's point of view, is an effective instrument to extend the state's reach to different areas in the country, Balochistan being one. The (Punjabi and Urdu-speaking) bureaucracy, on its part, rationally allied with the military since the nationalist accused and targeted it for being anti-Baloch. As is already mentioned, the nationalist, since 1960's till present, demanded deputation of bureaucrats from Punjab and Sindh (Harrison, 1981:26-31). Similarly, the judiciary in Balochistan exists in two forms (constitutional and the local *Jirga* system). The constitutional judiciary throughout the history worked as agent of the state. Importantly, it is the parliament during the Musharraf era that started playing an active legislative role over the issue of Balochistan.

For example, the parliament presented a bill in this respect. In this first case of bill for constitutional amendments for Balochistan, the flow of decision was mixed. Indeed, the bill was forwarded by the senate parliamentary committee on Balochistan and was approved by President Musharraf himself. In the bill, recommendations were made in order to give provincial autonomy and the withdrawal of forces from Sui. The Baloch separatists especially Attullah Mengal and Nawab Akbar Bugti were not in the mode to accept the military presence in Balochistan especially in the areas controlled by Bugti and Murree tribes. However the non-nationalists politicians acted as agents to the principal military. In this case, the main objective of the center led by Musharraf was to get rid of the extremist nationals such as Nawab Akbar, Sardar Attullah Mengal and Nawab Khair Bux Murree.

The Second Case

The second, during this period (2002-07) is related to the 2005 military operation. The operation initially started in (Sui) Balochistan and, later on, expanded to Murree/Bugti

hills. The rise in the Baloch (neo-) nationalism was realized by end of 2004, with bomb and rocket attacks on different army and state installations i.e. blowing off electricity line, gas pipelines and firing rockets on army vehicles. In January 2005, almost 12 bomb blast and attacks took place (*Dawn*, 2005). However, most relentless out of these was the incidence of Dr. Shazia.

According to primary reports, she was raped by army personnel, and later on the courts set the accused scot free after having conducted a procedural inquiry. According to media sources, on the 7th of January 2005- the day she got raped-, the local Baloch started a protest movement which, over time, transformed into a militant resistance grounded in the ideal of separatism (*Dawn*, 2005). After two days of the incident, the Inter-Services Public Relations (ISPR) told the media that the Frontier Corps (FC) has taken the charge of Sui gas field and the supply of gas has been restored. The local tribes especially Bugtis and Murrees went against the interference of the military into their local affairs and started (re-)grouping and, consequently, a guerilla war started against the Pakistan military. The latter also used military means to curb what she termed as anti-state elements. The armed Baloch resistance and the subsequent military operation put Balochistan again on the backburner. Last summer, when one of the authors was in Quetta, he met a friend of his who has adopted nationalist ideology and got training for a regular freedom fighter.

The Third Case

The third case of the Musharraf era pertains to killing of a senior political leader and a stung Baloch nationalist, Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti. It seems this incidence has brought Balochistan to a point of no return. The killing of Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti took place on 26 August 2006 when Nawab Akbar Bugti was in the cave (makeshift) near the Bugti/Murree hills. Before going into the detail, it seems not irrelevant to narrate the following to emphasize context of the killing. On 13th January 2005, the People's Party Senior Vice-President and former minister, Mir Baz Mohammad Khan Khetran, while giving interview to local media, said that the military cannot (re-)solve the issue of Balochistan. He was commenting on the TV interview of Musharraf in which he warned the nationalist not to go against the state interest (*Dawn*, 2005). The tussle between military and nationalist got severe over time. On the 16th of January 2005, four nationalist parties under the leadership of Nawab Akbar Bugti demanded evacuation of the state forces especially the military from 'their' land.

Balochistan: 2008-Present

The era 2008-present is very important in the history of Balochistan because the (direct) military rule came to an end and a democratic setup took charge of the matters, at least politically. By the end of 2007, the political parties tried their level best to end the eight years frustrating military rule. They ultimately succeeded in restoring democracy in the form of February 2008 elections. In this section, the paper selects three cases, namely, the

missing persons, Aghaz-e- Haquq-i-Balochistan and the six points of Akhter Mengal. These cases are briefly but analytically explained to make sense of contemporary Balochistan. Our model's assumptions shall be our guide, in this respect.

The Missing Persons

The Missing Persons is one of the major concerns for the elected civilian government of Balochistan. The issue has grabbed media attention post-Musharraf. With the presence of elected government, the people now rush toward their representatives for their love ones to be restored. They allege the country's intelligence agencies to have abducted them for strategic purposes. According to Amnesty International, in 2010, some 40 Baloch political leaders and freedom fighters were missing. This number raised by 2012 to 110 according to local human rights organization (Walsh, 2012: 1-2). The Supreme Court (SC) of Pakistan has set a commission to probe into the issue in 2010. Moreover, the SC even ordered the concerned authorities to locate and bring the missing persons before the court of law.

According to Declan Walsh, about the missing Baloch, their families are claiming that they had been arrested by the FC (the Frontier Corps). But when he interviewed General Obaid, the head of 46,000 FC troops in Balochistan, he absolutely dismissed this allegation and stated that 'it is the separatists (Baloch) who commit such crimes in the guise of FC men' (Walsh, 2012: 2-3). Walsh in his recent article in *Express Tribune* has pointed to the severity and intensity of such cases and their impact on socio-economic fabric of the province. For example, as a result of the missing persons, the Baloch rebels has started to target innocent Punjabi employees in Balochistan- and a large number of people have been killed in such target killings. Even Balochistan University has observed three deaths of its three professors in the last three years. (Walsh: 2012). The elected government in Balochistan has not taken a serious notice of such incidences. The Balochistan Provincial Assembly comprised of 67 members out of which 65 were ministers.

The political setup was, ironically, either pro- government (or pro- military) or anti-government (and anti-military) since the nationalists have boycotted the elections held in 2008. The participatory politicians, at the local and provincial, level acted rationally and hence they appeased the military and law enforcing authorities in terms of strategically not disagreeing with the definition of the federation of Pakistan. Resultantly, they benefitted by utilizing (federal) state resources at will. This partly explains the sorry state of socio-economic indicators in the province. In addition, the provincial bureaucracy is working along with the center and apex judiciary- the latter has also been unable to play any effective role in this respect (Martin, 2009: 87-91).

Aghaz Haquq-e-Balochistan

The next important development during the era under analysis is the introduction of the Aghaz Haquq-e-Balochistan (the beginning of the rights of Balochistan). On November 24, 2009, the joint sitting members of the Parliament approved a set of comprehensive proposals titled 'Aghaz-e-Haquq-e-Balochistan (AHB) to address genuine grievances of the people of Balochistan. The main themes of AHB are given in the Box 1 below:

Box 1 Aghaz-e-Haquq-e-Balochistan Package

- Release of prisoners not involved in heinous crimes.
- Issue of missing persons is being resolved.
- 15000 youths will be given employment through Special Internship Program for one year.
- Rs.4.00 billion to be given to WAPDA on account of subsidy for farmers of Balochistan.
- 2400 vacant posts will be filled in Federal Governments department with assistance of MNAs and Senators of Balochistan.
- Regularization of all contractual employees from Balochistan with effect from 20th January, 2012.
- Facilitation of political exiles' return to homeland (except those involved in terrorism).
- Tracing missing citizens and facilitating their immediate release.
- Constitutional matters to be settled by Constitutional Reforms Committee.
- Concurrent List be deleted from Fourth Schedule of the Constitution.
- Judicial probe into the killings of Akbar Bugti, other Baloch leaders and target killings.
- Frontier Constabulary (FC) to replace Army at Sui.
- Rs.120 billion gas royalty to be paid to the government of Balochistan.
- End of all military operations except actions against terrorism.
- The policy of conversion of "B" areas into "A" areas to be reviewed from time to time.
- FC's law-enforcement role to be under the Chief Minister; powers conferred under the customs Act to be withdrawn; and Coast Guards to perform its primary duty of checking arms and narcotics smuggling.
- 5,000 additional jobs at the earliest.
- Rs.1 billion for Dera Bugti IDPs.
- Parliament Committee on National Security to monitor package implementation.
- Fishing trawlers to be restricted to 33km from the coast to help small fishermen.

This package, on the paper, looks attractive, but in reality, it did not add anything to reduce the miseries of the Baloch. The elected (provincial and national) government was every active at the floor of the assembly, but it could not deliver anything meaningful during the four year of its existence and functioning. The Baloch nationalists continued with their demand of the withdrawal of paramilitary forces from their areas. Also, the promises made in Aghaz-e-Haquq-e-Balochistan about the missing persons are not kept, as yet. The foregoing aggravated the situation to which we turn in the next section.

Mengal's 'Six-Points'

As is explained already, the divergence of interests and preferences between (local) politicians, judicial systems, civil bureaucracy and the military-led organizations have

compounded the situation in Balochistan. Being dissatisfied with the provincial and federal approaches, the (soft) nationalists, still believing in light at the end of the tunnel, chose to negotiate.

In this respect, Sardar Akhter Mengal (son of the former chief minister of Balochistan Sardar Attaullah Mengal) presented his six points to the Supreme Court of Pakistan on 2 October 2012. Sardar Akhter Mengal had returned to Pakistan after three years of self-imposed exile in London.. He has submitted a six-point plan in order to create an environment of truth and reconciliation for resolving the conflict in the province in light of his six-points given below:

Box 2 Mengal's 'Six-Points'

1. All overt and covert military operations against the Baloch should end;
2. All missing persons should be produced;
3. All proxy death squads created by the ISI and MI should be disbanded;
4. Baloch nationalist parties should be allowed free political play without interference from ISI and MI;
5. Those responsible for the killings and disappearances should be brought to book;
6. Thousands of Baloch displaced by the conflict should be rehabilitated.

(Express Tribune, 2012)

Conclusion

This article has attempted to explain the complicated civil-military relations in the case and context of Balochistan-the province that has experienced five insurgencies and consequent (para-) military operations. The problem of provincilization started at the very inception of Pakistan state. Since the founding father of the country implemented a federalization project, the interests of the units especially East Bengal (pre-1971) and Balochistan got compromised. The state relied on military means to main orderly rule. The result was the opposite. There was partition of Pakistan state in December 1971 and the Baloch nationalists are demanding their due rights since then. The problem still persists even in the 21st century whereby the nation-state are expanding its socio-economic outreach to otherwise neglected areas and marginalized communities. The question of Balochistan has lingered on due to divergence of interests and choices between/among a variety of stakeholders that are represented in our agency model. It is argued that the problem of Balochistan cannot be (re-)solved until there is convergence of interests and preferences among (local) politicians, civil bureaucracy, judiciary systems and the military. All these actors seriously need to think in a larger context of Balochistan as well as Pakistan.

Moreover, the federal and provincial governments are suggested to implement the Aghaz Haquq-e-Balochistan meaningfully. Similarly, the Six-points of Mengal may also provide a roadmap to normalize the situation. Moreover, it's the primary responsibility of both the local forces (politicians, *Jirga* etc.) to get united for a larger provincial cause and urge the center to do the needful. Also, the state's non-elective institutions need to honor the wishes and pledges of the people of Balochistan. Last but not the least, all the rational actors need to realize that divergences of politics and policy shall further destabilize not

only Balochistan but also Pakistan and the region. Hence, there is more benefit in cooperation rather than confrontation. Finally, this paper posits that the military has emerged as the principal actor in politics and the state in Pakistan since 1977. The former has consolidated its hold over the country's domestic and foreign policy due to its agency. The military rationality, however, has made it realized the cost of direct intervention in politics. Nevertheless, in order to have orderly rule both in Balochistan and rest of the troubling areas such as FATA, the military also need to re-visit her strategic vision. The sooner it is done, the better for Balochistan, Pakistan and the South-west and Central Asian region.

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Newspapers

Dawn, Jang, Express Tribune

Interface of Postmodernist Civil Society: Against the Modeling

Shakil Ahmed¹

Abstract: The aim of the paper is to examine how the postmodern idea of civil society is challenging the cultural and structural understandings of civil society. In social science theories, it is a constant debate which comes first, structure or culture? The blurring line between structural and cultural dimensions is becoming more elusive in recent democratization movements in the Arab world. First, this paper argues that neo-Tocquevillian model has changed and has adopted the structural model which works closely with state. Second, in developing countries process of democratization start with Gramscian way of civil society, nevertheless, it intends to build neo-Tocquevillian institution. This paper concludes the theories of civil society in contemporary literatures are postmodernist in nature. The structural and cultural approaches already have compromised in the line of postmodernist understanding of civil society.

Key words: Civil Society, Structuralism, Culturalism, Postmodernism, Arab Spring

1. Introduction

The aim of the paper is to examine how the postmodern idea is challenging the cultural and structural understandings of civil society. In postmodern milieu structuralism is seen as overarching tendency which could misrepresent the reality. Each event is different than the other and it is difficult to make a generalized model of reality. In the similar vein, culturist has the tendency to make modeling within specific cultural context. The postmodernist idea of civil society favors the plurality of cultural dimension; yet, it is uninterested to offer a general theory of civil society organization (CSO). This opposing trend between structural and cultural models of civil society has created an opportunity to explain the state and society relation through postmodernist lenses.

In social science theories, it is a constant debate which comes first, structure or culture? Robert Putnam puts this as 'culture-vs.-structure, chicken and egg debate' and he concludes this debate as 'ultimately fruitless' (Putnam 1993: 181). However, in the Tocquevillian tradition, it is assumed that replication of civil society is possible in another cultural context. When Alexis de Tocqueville saw the rich association life in America, he thought that this can be also implanted in Europe (Cohen and Arato 1992). In 1993 Robert Putnam published his seminal study on civil society in the Northern and the Southern Italy. The neo-liberal thinkers find this publication as a new theoretical ground for social capital

¹ Post-Doctoral Research Fellow, Center for International, Comparative and Advanced Japanese Studies
University of Tsukuba, Email shakil553@hotmail.com

which can be a vehicle of democracy-building in other countries (Carothers 1999 and Fukuyama 2001). Both the Tocquevillian and neo-Tocquevillian traditions profess to make overarching theories which try to transplant the idea of civil society with liberal tradition. On the other hand, the Hegelian tradition has been developed over structural approach. Subsequently, the Marxist notion of state is an interim process; in practice it overdeveloped the state machineries.

The Gramscian idea of civil society was not away from the communist revolution, though many portrait Antonio Gramsci as merely civil society theorist (Thomas 2009). Many neo-Gramscian analyze the state and civil society through liberal ideas, nevertheless, they abandon the idea of the communist revolution (Quadir 2003 and Wood 1997). For example, scholars on the civil society of Bangladesh go beyond structural and cultural models that challenge modeling (Kennedy 1999, White 1999, Rahman 2006, Huda 2008, Karim 2008 and Ahmed 2011). These critics are not interested in rendering alternative theory. The blurring line between structural and cultural dimensions is becoming more obscure in recent democratization movements in the Arab world.

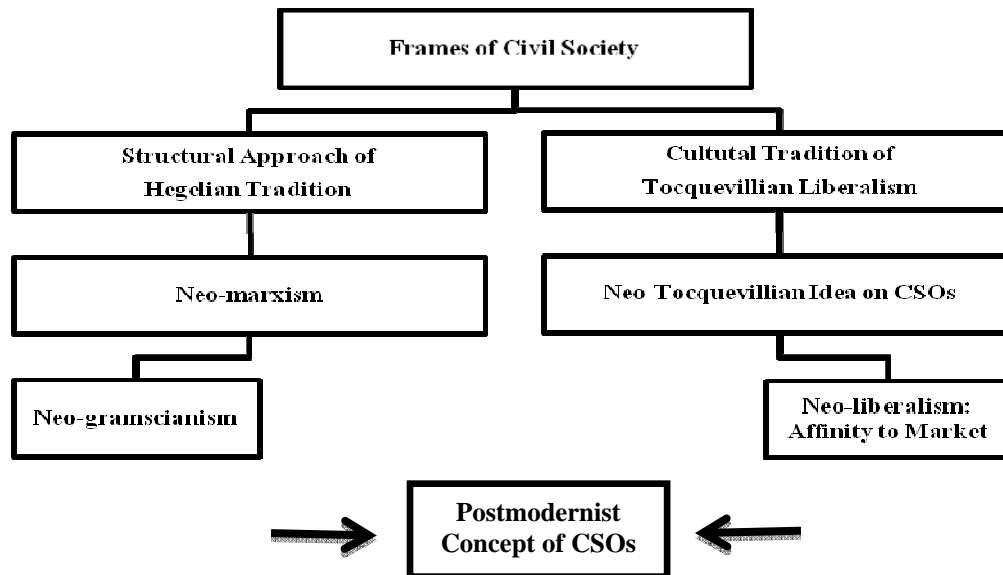
First, this article argues that neo-Tocquevillian model has been changed in many ways and it has adopted the structural model which works closely with state. The neo-Tocquevillian theories are not always pluralistic as they try to replicate the idea of civil society of Western countries into developing countries with the help of the state. Second, in the developing countries process of democratization start with Gramscian way of civil society, nevertheless, it intends to build neo-Tocquevillian institution. Third, it is very difficult to distinguish between the structural approach and cultural approach as they are intertwined. This paper concludes the theories of civil society in contemporary literatures are postmodernist in nature. The structural and cultural approaches already have compromised in the line of postmodernist understanding of civil society.

This study focuses on the theoretical understanding of post-modernist civil society and it analyses the evidence of 'Arab Spring.' The structure of the paper is succeeding in the following sections. First, it will give an overview of the historical and contemporary literature of civil society. Second, it will proceed on two broad frames of civil society such as the structural approach of Hegelian tradition and cultural tradition of Tocquevillian liberalism. In the third section this paper will discuss how 'Arab Spring' phenomenon has initiated postmodern interface to rethink about structural and cultural approaches of civil society. This empirical evidence helps to conclude the importance of postmodernist civil society in describing the recent democratization process.

Blurring lines of civil society

The concept of civil society has two basic frames that have shaped the debate of modern civil society. The school of thought of civil society can be broadly divided into two frames, such as, the Hegelian tradition of state centrality and Tocquevillian liberal tradition. Many scholars on civil society discussion follow these trends and they also look for the alternative theories. So, separate discussion is needed on the postmodernist trend of civil society to conceive the intellectual engagement of structural and cultural approaches.

Figure 1 Transformation of CSOs from seminal concepts to postmodernism



Source: Depicted by author

The Hegelian view is skeptical between civil society and the state and contrary, Tocqueville sees civil society is compatible with liberal values. Nevertheless, the Both traditions were modified by neo-Marxian and neo-Tocquevillian interpretations of civil society. Even compelling ideas can learn from each other by public reasoning (Sen 2009). Still, these dominant views were diluted in many ways. The structural view of Hegel was diversified as the vehicle of social change and the Tocquevillian liberal ideas was co-opted by market economy. These opposing trends are overlapping in the postmodern era.

Statist approach of Hegelian tradition

Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel denounces everything that challenges the supremacy of the state. He proposes that the dialectical process of thesis and antithesis to analyze the history. Civil society was seen as counter to the hegemony of the state through the nineteen century experience which Hegel pursues as completeness of universality. Moreover, Hegel considers civil society is narrowly focused on and self-serving interest group that produces a partial view of completeness. Cohean and Arato conclude that this battle against the conception as civil society of a whole as state, in fact, leads to abandoning civil society by Hegel (Cohen and Arato 1992). The state is ideological for Hegel and latter his modified follower Karl Marx is particularly against the idealistic approach of the state itself.

Karl Marx adopts the dialectical process of Hegel to analyze the history and key of his analytical tool is the class struggle. He finds civil society an element of the bourgeoisie and the state is not impartial actor rather it leans to the privileged class. His cynical view on the civil society is not only designed to establish the supremacy of state which he differs from Hegel rather it is also originated from the skeptical perception of civil society which can be seen from the medieval period and nineteen century insights. The idea of civil society in

the Europe during renaissance and industrial revolution was associated with the bourgeoisie class. In the modern time civil society includes other social organism such as labor union, agricultural groups, cooperatives, citizen groups, professional groups, sports and cultural groups, religious groups, NGOs, chamber and trade organizations, and even fun clubs. Marx would be rather happy to see in the modern civil society concept includes labor union as component of civil society. Marx also differs from the Hegelian idealistic state; he sees state as an interim process and it eventually 'wither away' by establishing communism (Joseph 1990). Nevertheless, from Marxist theory to communist practice the state became stronger than ever under the communist party.

Neo-Marxism and civil society

Neo-Marxist thinker like Antonio Gramsci is being called post-Marxist theorist for his concept of hegemony (Laclau and Mouffe 1985). Gramsci was impressed by the power of the bourgeoisie that makes even the working class to think as one of them. Things can be done reversely, the supremacy of the working class in state power is possible with the support of civil society and this could be done with cultural hegemony. Any main stream idea can be blended with radical ideas through cultural hegemony. Civil society is an instrument to establish the communist idea, in that sense, Gramsci is not post-Marxist rather he can be best described as neo-Marxist (Thomas 2009). The difference between Marxist idea and Gramscian ideas is about the instrumentalization of civil society. Marx sees civil society as a counter instrument against the working class revolution. Oppositely, Gramsci caters the idea of civil society favorably if it is arranged through the cultural hegemony. The instrumentalization of an idea is a double edged sword. If the conceptualization of instrument unleashes to gain the political end the complete revered ideology can bias an instrument to achieve opposite aim. Fundamentally, Gramsci completely opposed the idea of using civil society to ignite the political economy because the dynamic of class system remains same in different geographic locations (Thomas 2009). Pierre Bourdieu is far away from neo-Marxist idea. Bourdieu acknowledges the importance of the class, nevertheless, his class conception is unlike Marxist economic class. It is about the anthropological and sociological view of the class. By controlling of social resources actor defines the economic, cultural and social position (Bourdieu 1986). He broadened the idea of competition among the classes which determines the paramount position of power.

Comparing Marx and Foucault in opposition to civil society Jean Cohen and Andrew Arato said, 'If Marx was the peerless nineteenth-century critic of modern civil society, surely Michael Foucault deserves to inherit that title for the twentieth' (Cohen and Arato 1992: 256). Foucault does not consider him even a neo-Marxist. Michael Foucault does not see class relation is important to analyze the modern power relation. Nevertheless, he is critical to the civil society which holds the 'the juridical model of power' allowing groups to represent and replace the actual common people which are 'strangely restrictive' (Foucault 1980). The opposition to civil society by Foucault derives from the philosophical standpoint of denial of representation of power which is a strategic choice of a given society. In the real world, we need to deal with power and more we assemble power players the more it will be alleviated. The defused arrangement of power is critical to pluralize it and civil society is important to this powerful to decentralized process.

Jurgen Habermas sees power is shifting from the 'representational' culture of the state into the domain of the public sphere. 'Representational' power has the origin in the feudalistic society and capitalistic process as it is spreading out in the public sphere. This is again being contained by the state, market and organizations and they are restricting the participatory nature of the public sphere. In the modern time corporate mass media, public relation and consumerism are crippling the potential of the public sphere. Habermas also argues that political parties are also undermining and misusing the parliament and centralizing power and reestablishing the power of representation (Habermas 1962). Habermas finds nation state as problematic one, public sphere will be fully fledged if deliberate democracy takes place which put first citizen participation in law and governance process than voting as a prime source of legitimacy. The problem with Habermasian search for a pure public place never exists in this world. It is contested area with different players who are simultaneously trying to claim same place. As mass media are getting bigger, we do not see shrink of public place rather it is getting bigger. Habermas depicts his idea in 1962 and at that time how mass media was defined was different then today. In the last decade the more mass is participating through social media. His argument was designed to analyze the fully groomed capitalist societies in some Western countries.

Tocquevillian liberal tradition

Liberal view on civil society is sharply contrasted with Hegelian and Marxist interpretation of the public sphere. Liberal political philosophy developed in the Western Europe and later in the US to idealize freedom, human rights and equality as key components of engagement between the state and citizen. Alexis de Tocqueville is the first liberal thinker who 'first to realize' that civil society 'is an important terrain of democratization and democratic institution building' (Cohen and Arato 1992: 16). Tocqueville lived in aristocratic Europe and found liberalism with democracy in America. He sees that civil society can break the social class system and work as 'intermediary' between state and individual. The 'selfish individualism' creates the 'melancholy isolation' and associational bandage makes a man strong to challenge the rule of the few (Mitchell 1995). The individual is weak and frail to protect itself from state power which needs to be associated to boost the democratic values. Unlike Hegel and Marx Tocqueville does not explain the human history by state and economic class introducing something revolutionary rather he finds the solution in the existing social order. Civil society remains dormant in the society and can be nurtured to cater the democratic value. He finds Europe can learn from America how they adopted the associational life to mitigate individualism and state power. He sees the coexistence of religious view and democracy is a deviation of Western values of separation of Church from the state. He finds the Western values in two separate entities, the European values and American values. European values are old and need to be reformed and America is a model of democratic values which is supported by association life.

The implication of Tocquevillian thought to make civil society as a guiding force to democratize the state and society is worldwide, especially in developing countries. First, Tocquevillian idea of reform of social and political institutions guides us to realize that democratic model can be replicated in the other countries. Second, 'rolling back' of the state is necessary to use the potential of civil society as civil society needs autonomy to grow (White 1999). Third, Tocqueville believes in separation of church and state and the same time he is an advocate of importance of the religious institutions. (Tocqueville 745

and 961). Tocqueville has a deep moral conviction to civil society that he thinks it would work as 'common social glue' to check the individualistic approach of a human being and the aristocratic approach of state which limits the democracy (Smith 2007).

Neo-Tocquevillian idea of civil society

The basic idea of neo-Tocquevillian is that the people who participate in voluntary associations are more like to be politically active, as they already know the skill to make networking and mindset to go beyond the 'selfish individualism'. The neo-Tocquevillian idea has added more importance of networking on civil society to pursue the organizational power. Almond and Verba found a correlation between 'civic community' and the political culture (Almond and Verba 1965). The study of neo-Tocquevillian idea of civil society achieved momentum by Putnam's argument about the functioning of democracy. He claimed that civil society is crucial for the smooth running of the institutions which is important for democracy (Putnam 1993). The neo-Tocquevillian scholars take it granted that civil society has inbuilt political function which has 'ripple effect' on democracy (Newton 1999). It has the most positive view which sees civil society as an effective instrument to make state and society democratic. It also includes all varieties of civil society from the leisure club to activist organizations. Most importantly, this school of thought does not distinguish civil society with different categories on the basis of their preferences.

Some studies are critical about the gross assumption of the ability of civil society in producing social capital as many of them do not conceive the idea of face to face interaction of the members and simply dependents on the financial contribution (Skocpol 2003). Theda Skocpol is against the 'romantic construction of [T]ocqueville supposes' that advocates civil society can get things done outside of government and politics. On the contrary, state has a strong role in propelling or impeding civil society (Fox 1996). Robert Pekkanen articulated that the 'political institutions' shape the nature of civil society. The 'political institutions' are precisely as regulatory framework and political opportunity. But we need to make a distinction among the political institution, organization and intervention of the state. First, the political institution is more concerned with the values, such as, democratic value; second, the political organization is a nonpartisan process, through this process values of the political institution can be achieved, like executive, judiciary and legislative branches of government can be narrowly identified as a political organization and third, the political intervention comes from the party politics which could be partisan in nature.

In the Japanese case bureaucracy is one of the parts of the political process which is in fact setting the values of the state (Tsujinaka 2003). When Pekkanen discussed the role of state in the development of civil society he tried to focus on the political institutions. As a matter of fact, he deals with the political organization of the state, i.e. bureaucracy, to prove his argument against the 'neo-Tocquevillian believe' with civil society as the catalyst of state (Pekkanen 2006). In the developed countries, the political organization is important to analyze the political institutions but in the developing countries we need to dig more to find political intervention, like a political party to find political institution. Theda Skocpol also have broadened the scope as 'state and politics' to influence civil society to criticize the 'neo-Tocquevillian romanticism' (Skocpol 1996). As 'state and politics' are broad ideas we need to break it down from analytical level to analytics piece and political party could be an important part of the set.

‘Arab Spring’ a postmodern interface

The ‘Arab Spring’ is a crucial point that connects different contesting ideas. The post-Gramscian model of political economy and ‘moral responsibility’ of the Western countries to help in the democratization process in developing countries are major interfaces in the Arabian countries. The religiosity of Arabian countries also has interfaced with the postmodern concept of civil society. The demographic variables like fertility rate and the literacy rate of women has been projected for democratic transition (Courbage and Todd 2007). Nevertheless, civil society as change maker has been contested by the demographic variables. Samuel Huntington identified third wave of democratization in the developing countries and one of the critical causative factors is the spread of democratic values by the European Union and the USA (Huntington 1991). Lester Salamon found the correlation between ‘Democratic Revolution’ and ‘Associational Revolution’ and scope is ‘well beyond’ the third wave (Salamon 1994). The recent evidence shows it is very difficult to find causal relation between Western support to civil society in promoting democratic process and democratic revolution.

The ‘Arab Spring’ originated in Tunisia and spread out in Egypt, Yemen, Bahrain, Libia, Morocco, Syria, Lebanon and other Arabian countries. These countries are under the strict authoritarian rule and autonomous civil society is a dream to achieve. The ‘Arab Spring’ broke the notion that the West supported ‘Associational Revolution’ are facilitating the ‘Democratic Revolution.’ On the contrary, Western countries supported ‘friendly dictators’ in many Arab countries to secure the oil reserve and vital geopolitical location rather than promoting civil initiative to democratize the countries. Neo-liberalism designs civil society organizations, particularly NGOs to get their support in implementing the capitalist model. Despite the weakness of civil society organizations in Arab countries ‘Arabian Spring’ has broadened the area of revolution in almost every Arab speaking country. Amani Kandi asked the question not only about the effectiveness of NGOs but also about their legitimacy. ‘It is therefore legitimate to ask ourselves whether these (Western) concepts and theories that were developed according to a specific economic (capitalist, liberal), political (democratic) and socio-cultural context (the civic culture), have succeeded to deal with the Arab reality.’ (Kandi 2010: 4)

The World Bank and International Monetary Fund are key international institutions in advocating neo-liberal policy and they incorporate the economic, political and social-cultural policy together. The socio-cultural organism like civil society organizations is incorporated with the economic and political dimensions of the international relation. Society is being designed to comply with the economic and political dimensions. ‘In the fundamentalist pursuit of capitalism people are treated not as an end but as a means. Consequently, human dignity is lost’ (Hatoyama 2009). After the World War II the USA led the ‘market fundamentalism’ tried to make the social aspiration as a secondary element of development. In the cold war era the USA helped in ‘foreign-supported democratization’ process in developing world and abandoned the ‘friendly dictator’ as opposition political power signaled to comply with the neo-liberal policy.

Conclusion

The major concepts of civil society are intertwined and losing their dogmatic values in these postmodern times. The structural and cultural conceptions of civil society have been challenged by their own schools of thoughts. Structuralist views

join with the cultural dimension of civil society and culturist views vice versa join structuralist views. This article employs two major traditions of civil society to prove the argument against the binary nature of academic discussions of political literature. These two traditions are depicted as the structural approach of the Hegelian tradition and the cultural tradition of Tocquevillian liberalism. Recently, the Hegelian understanding of civil society has developed as greater influence on the state and civil society could be an important terrain in statist affairs. On the contrary, the cultural tradition of Tocquevillian liberalism put more emphasis on the amount of civil society and how it affects political institutions and democratization. This article found that the Hegelian statist tradition of civil society has become more social and the Tocquevillian social emphasis tradition has become closer to the state as both the state and social systems cooperate with each other despite their intrinsic competition.

The structuralist mode emphasizes the state centric idea and anything in the way of it, has been opposed. The classical Marxist tradition stays away from the state yet it considers civil society to be a threat to its ideologies. It was Gramsci who thought of civil society being an instrument to support revolution. The post-Gramscian theorists have stripped off the revolutionary connotation, yet they still consider civil society to be in the interests of political economy. However, the cultural dimension of civil society comes from the liberal tradition. Tocqueville saw civil society as a way out of selfish individualism. This tradition finds affinity with pluralism becoming the champion of the promotion of democracy. The structuralist traditions have been intermingling in many ways. The post-Gramscian school of thought seeks pluralism in developing countries without the intervention of foreign countries. On the contrary, the culturist tradition admits the importance of the state in the development process. In developing countries social development is the interface of all the parties. Postmodernism caters for the idea of uncertainty and is contrary to dogmatic views which seek certainty. This uncertain nature of postmodernism offers a challenge to any attempt at instrumentalization of civil society. Both the Gramscian and Tocquevillian traditions of civil society promote social organizations to achieve certain goals. This seems more like activism by creating modeling than academic interest in civil society. The academic endeavor of civil society is dubious, uncertain and postmodern in nature.

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Reflections on Democratic Governance in Bangladesh

Bashir Ahmed¹
S. M. Anowara Begum²

Abstract: It is obvious that, Bangladesh is striving hard towards attaining sustaining democratic governance. The increasing effectiveness of the civil society organisations remain as complementary force towards realizing the people's aspiration for democratic governance into reality. Governance is integral to any form of government that has been conceived and practiced in the world since the dawn of civilization. Moreover, people's participation in the democratic process is exerting growing influence over public policy on a variety of issues. Bangladesh, in many instances, people do not see democracy as delivering material benefits, but often the contrary is true as it is evident from the civic opinion survey. It is also revealed from the civic opinion that, in an effort towards achieving viable democratic governance, empowerment of people in all spheres of state life in Bangladesh is indispensable. Regardless of remarkable progress in some areas, Bangladesh has to walk a long way to get the desired momentum on democratic governance which triggers economic growth, poverty reduction, and improvement in quality of life and overall social development.

Key words: Democracy, Governance, People's Participation, Public Policy, Bangladesh

Introduction

Participatory governance has become a central element of both national and international policies, practices and instruments to the point that the international community might be witnessing the possible emergence of a "participatory governance entitlement. Bangladesh, one of the developing countries continues to make significant efforts to improve governance. However, despite many high profile successes in recent past an embedded political culture prone to confrontation, widespread perceptions of corruption, disturbed judicial system, ineffective parliament, lack of national consensus, less accountable public service delivery, and few well-established protections for the basic rights of citizens remain problematic endanger the institutionalization of democracy governance in Bangladesh.

Governance is integral to any form of government that has been conceived and practiced in the world since the dawn of civilization. It is common to democracy, monarchy, autocracy and dictatorship. But it differs from one form of government to another in terms of its goal and objective. Governance may be for self-interest, enlightened self-interest or public interest. Though each form of government is associated with a particular goal there may be a disconnection between the two (Asheim, 1999). For instance, democracy may not always promote public interest. Contrarily, a goal considered to be the characteristics of a particular form of government may not be found to promote public interest.

¹ Associate Professor and Chair, Department of Government and Politics, Jahangirnagar University, Savar, Dhaka-1342 (bashirju@gmail.com)

² Professor, Department of Political Science, Jagannath University, Dhaka

Good governance promotes public interest in two ways. Firstly, by promoting services to people irrespective of political affiliation and secondly, by supporting economic development that creates employment and produces good and services available for the general public, again irrespective of political affiliation (Barbier, 1987). For developing nations like Bangladesh, in many instances, people do not see democracy as delivering material benefits, but often the contrary is true as it is evident from the civic opinion survey. More public participation is needed in the policy decision-making process, and disadvantaged groups, such as women and other minorities, should be drawn more into the process to ensure sustainable development. The paper intends to explore the current state of democratic governance in Bangladesh and how does it contribute towards attaining sustainable development.

Democratic Governance: Conceptual Clarity

Good governance or democratic governance is, in effect, a concept, or rather a practice, the implementation of which is fundamental in allowing countries receiving international aid to take control of their political, economic and social development effectively (Donovan, 2009). Good governance will also ensure that the various support and assistance programmes from which they benefit from partner countries and international organizations operate as efficiently as possible. Institutions play a major role in economic growth and human development. The fight against poverty is not simply a social, economic and technical objective but also a political and institutional goal. In the Millennium Declaration, the international community reached an agreement on the importance of good governance for development. Most deliberations on the topic of governance assume that everyone involved has the same notion of just what "democratic governance" means.

In fact, there may be substantial differences in understanding of what it does mean. So the best starting point in any discussion is a common definition, to ensure that everyone is on the same page. The definition offered here is based on an extensive review of governance literature and validation through research, teaching, and consulting experience (Mahmud, 2013). Democratic Governance is defined here as the dynamic interaction between people, structures, processes and traditions that support the exercise of legitimate authority in provision of sound leadership, direction, oversight, and control of an entity in order to ensure that its purpose is achieved, and that there is proper accounting for the conduct of its affairs, the use of its resources, and the results of its activities. The distinctiveness of democratic governance includes (Mick, 2001):

- effective institutional design upholding democratic principles such as the separation of powers, a system of checks and balances, independence of the judiciary, and civilian control over the armed forces;
- a predictability in performance i.e. the ability of institutions to undertake regular tasks of reproducing legitimacy through consultations with the population (e.g., elections) and ensuring fair contestation over political power.
- This is a critical element in promoting democratic, peaceful and rule-bound change in political leadership; a responsiveness and adaptability, e.g., the ability to respond and adjust successfully to changing political, social and economic environments through sound flexible policies and
- A sustainability and self-reliance, e.g., the ability to raise resources and revenues to keep state institutions running and ensure their absorptive capacity. An effective civil service is at the heart of ensuring necessary development services.
- Essential developmental and governance functions include:

- A provision of safety and security as well as the protection of rights (political and social rights);
- A provision of key basic services that cannot be left to market forces alone to provide. Such services may, for instance, require uniform territorial coverage or entail sizeable investments for medium- to long-term returns;
- A regulatory functions including the formulation, implementation and enforcement of laws and regulations; and
- A performing certain redistributive functions for improving social justice, e.g., furthering gender equality and redressing regional and sectoral imbalances.

Democratic Governance in Bangladesh: Some Reflections

It is apparent that, Bangladesh has made impressive advances in providing basic human needs for her population since its stressful independence struggle in 1971. While poverty remains its greatest challenge, Bangladesh's greatest asset is its people (Strivers, 1976). Its community of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) has emerged as one of the most vibrant and creative in the world. Their experiences have provided models for poverty alleviation in numerous countries including the western countries (Huntington, 1991). The increasing effectiveness of these civil society organisations has led to more consultation of NGOs by Government of Bangladesh. As a result, NGOs and local communities exert a growing influence over public policy on a variety of issues. The government is beginning to overcome the colonial legacy of a highly centralized and pervasive bureaucracy, but law and order still leftovers as a growing problem. The Supreme Court is independent, but lower courts continue to be closely tied to the administration, and village-level people's courts can be severe in their judgments and liable to influence by local élites. Also at the local level, there are reports of human rights abuses by law enforcing agencies. However, aspiration is ahead of us as the growing human rights community is working to raise awareness, increasing dialogue with government, and the government has begun to establish a human rights commission and an ombudsman's office.

The position of women, traditionally inferior in Bangladesh, but momentum has begun under auspicious of the present government. Appointment of women at top level positions speaks about women participation across level. Besides, violence against women is minimized over the time and trafficking in women and children for the purposes of prostitution is encountering more vigorously. The Government of Bangladesh is working to implement the Convention on the Rights of the Child and is investing heavily in education, especially for girls. It has also embarked on a National Action Plan based on the Platform for Action (United Nations Division for sustainable Development, 2005). Taking advantage of an increasingly open environment for policy dialogue between government and civil society, different national and international organizations including UN mission in Bangladesh is supplementing the national efforts of the Government of Bangladesh to institutionalize democratic institutions by the way of enhancing their capacity in policy formulation and policy execution through participatory manner.

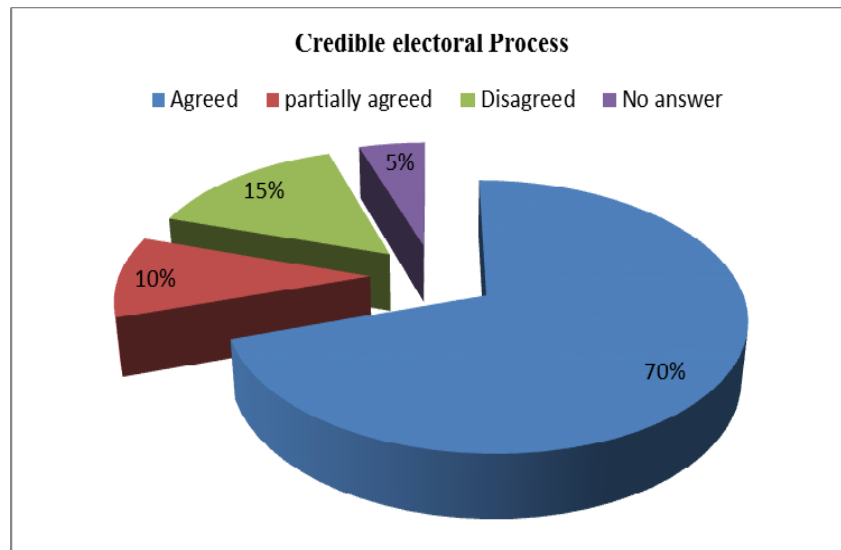
The valid fact that, mobilizing power of people in Bangladesh that have moved towards greater political liberalization has been well recorded in the literature (UN, 2006). As more people enter the political arena, changes in their voting behavior, their presence in national parliaments, and their active role in civil society undoubtedly increased the spirit of democratic governance in Bangladesh (UNDP, 2012). It is evident that, an effective, transparent and accountable civil service is one basic requirement for

establishing legitimate institutions and ensuring necessary development services. Public administration reform is crucial to developing the kind of civil service that embodies the core values of democratic governance in its functions. If the government in a democracy like Bangladesh remains pre-occupied with staying in power by any means, it will neither have time nor any inclination to take medium to long term policies that are necessary for sustained development (UN, 2012). Policy making in such a situation becomes self-serving and for the short term. Such policies do not encourage investors to come forward for investment. Investment requires long term policy framework and it is only a politically stable government that can formulate it with due diligence

Public sector here in Bangladesh is perceived as insubstantial to meet the demand of its citizens, ineffective public services, and unfavorable environment for the proper growth of private sector, leadership crisis, lack of transparency and accountability in administration, ineffective political institutions and so on. Moreover, appropriate systems of decentralized and local governance are also critical for the provision of effective and responsive social services at the local level. Increasingly important is the State's capacity to encourage creative service delivery methods that involve the private sector and civil society organizations. Needless to say that, identifying appropriate interventions to support and build state capacity in Bangladesh requires an assessment of their current realities, as well as an understanding of the overall context within which these realities evolved. Historically, Bangladesh emerged as sovereign nations by overcoming colonial rule and establishing herself as modern State.

The study was based on a fieldwork conducted between November and December 2012 and involved the application of a structured interviews. Opinion survey was conducted with a sample size of 100 citizens (age 18+) who were selected randomly from Mohammadpur Upazila of Dhaka City Corporation to gain a comprehensive impression of the city dwellers on current position of democratic governance in Bangladesh. Findings of the opinion survey are as follows:

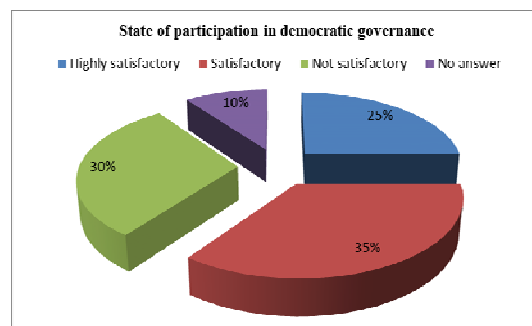
Figure-I: electoral process is credible to all



(Source: Opinion Survey, Nov-Dec, 2012)

From the pie chart on right, it can be seen that out of total number of respondents 70 % have opined in support of credible electoral process in Bangladesh while 15 % respondents have partially agreed on the query. On the other hand, 15% have disagreed explaining that the confrontational electoral process poses serious intimidation towards building consensus and mutual trust among the political parties and to institutionalize the practice of democracy in and out of the parliament.

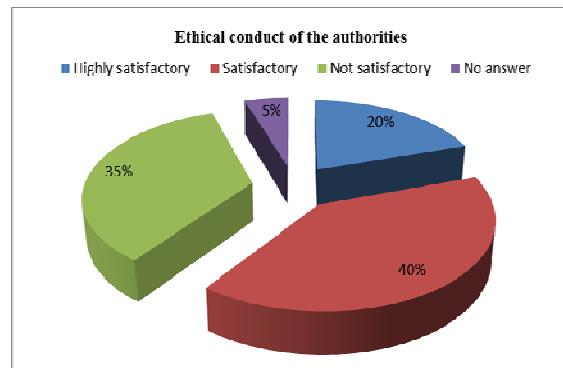
Figure-II: Participation of relevant stakeholders in planning, decision processes, and evaluation is established



(Source: Opinion Survey, Nov-Dec, 2012)

From the pie chart shown on the right; it can be seen that out of total number of respondents 35 % are of the opinion that, participation of relevant stakeholders including electors, different groups, CSOs and general people in the decision making process is satisfactory while 25% expressed high gratification over participation explaining about the effectiveness of local government bodies. In contrast, 30 % opined negatively explaining that, only the elite class and the ruling party electors are predominantly involving in the decision making process however 10% have kept themselves undemonstrative in responding to the query.

Figure-III: Anti-corruption drive is instrumental

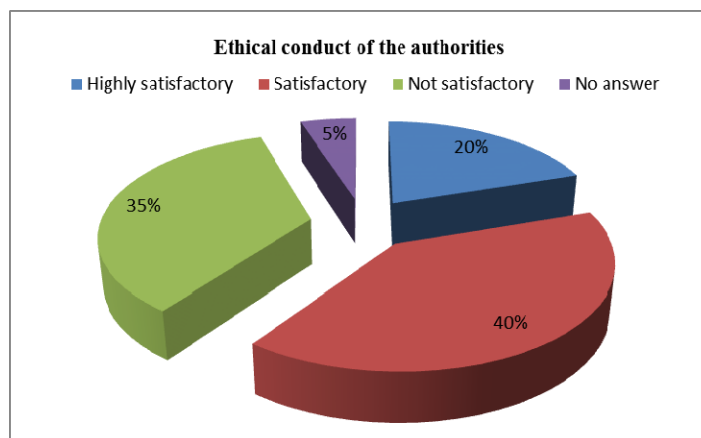


(Source: Opinion Survey, Nov-Dec, 2012)

From the pie chart it can be seen that out of total number of respondents 30 % felt that, anti-corruption drive of the government is effective and only 15% respondents strongly

felt that it is effectiveness while only 50% opined that, the anti-corruption drive of the government is mainly exploited to harass and afflict the opposition political parties to stopover their democratic movement against the misdeed of the ruling party.

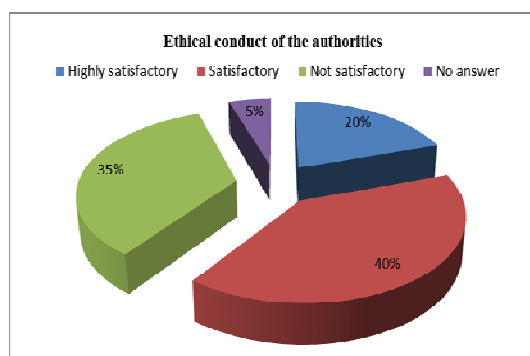
Figure IV: Ethical conduct is upheld



(Source: Opinion Survey, Nov-Dec, 2012)

From the pie chart it can be seen that out of total number of respondents 40 % felt that, ethical conduct of the authorities is satisfactory and at the same time, 20% respondents expressed high satisfaction while 35% opined depressingly explaining that, ethical conduct includes respect, honesty, openness, integrity, trustworthiness and fairness in all interactions to the authorizes concerned is worthless.

Figure V: Transparency and accountability in all interactions/service delivery channels is deep-rooted



(Source: Opinion Survey, Nov-Dec, 2012)

From the pie chart it can be seen that out of total number of respondents 10 % strongly felt that, course of actions undertaken by the authorities is transparent, accountable and at the same time, 35% respondents expressed their satisfaction while 55% opined negatively explaining that, transparency and accountability in public service delivery or in course of actions undertaken by the public officials are ill-motivated, less accountable and less transparent.

Conclusion: In Search of Viable Democratic Governance in Bangladesh

The challenge for emerging democracies for developing countries like Bangladesh is how to internalize them and shape them to reflect regional realities while respecting universal values. In this fashion people can take ownership of them so that they are not seen simply as being imposed. There is a crucial issue of state-civil relations in many nascent democracies. The ongoing political crisis in Bangladesh demonstrates the difficulty of enforcing commonly accepted democratic standards as a means for solving a political crisis. Their institutions have proven to be insufficiently strong, however; the rule of law has also been weak, and corruption is endemic. It is important for civil society organizations (CSOs) to hold governments accountable to standards, but there is also a concern about negative reactions of international organizations to CSO criticism of their enforcement of standards in Bangladesh. In addition, while formal democracy is more prevalent than substantive democracy, civil society sometimes minimizes the importance of elections and its role in the system of checks and balances.

The importance of representative democracy in favor of “participatory” democracy should not be minimized. Elections must be viewed in the context of a longer-term process, including pre- and post-election periods, and not just in the context of Election Day. The international community has to be more unified, and domestic CSOs should continue to have a critical role in ensuring governmental adherence to democratic norms (World Commission on Environment and Development, 2011). In the developing countries like Bangladesh, CSOs have a role in continually reviewing standards to ensure that they are culturally contextualized and agreed upon. Such organizations must also help build civic understanding of the importance of governmental adherence to standards and be willing to participate in government performance audits.

Bangladesh has made fair progress by introducing e-governance toward ensuring public service delivery. Successful e-governance systems standardized the rules and procedures. The processes were reengineered to eliminate discretion. The design of the systems did not permit any deviation from the established procedure and also reported nonconformance. Similarly features that contribute to accountability and transparency were deliberately built into the design of e-governance systems. However e-governance systems need continuous monitoring and assessment and the respective governments cannot afford to be complacent after initial successful implementation.

Regardless of remarkable progress in some areas, Bangladesh has to walk a long way to get the desired momentum in economic growth, poverty reduction, and improvement in quality of life and overall social development. In order to realize national aspirations and global commitment like millennium development goals, democratic governance has to be attained across level. Problem of leadership in governance loom large in every sector. United Nations has a major role to play in the developing countries like Bangladesh so as to encourage the government to translate the global adherence for democratic governance into action. Developing countries like Bangladesh should direct sincere efforts towards accelerating the following stakes to give democratic governance in institutional shape for protection of the development gained already achieved as well as to brand the development viable:

All men and women should have a voice in decision-making, either directly or through legitimate intermediate institutions that represent their interests. Such broad

participation is built on freedom of association and speech, as well as capabilities to participate constructively. Legal frameworks should be fair and enforced impartially, particularly laws on human rights. 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. Institutions and processes try to serve all stakeholders. 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 procedures. All men and women have opportunities to improve or maintain their well-being.

Processes and institutions produce results that meet needs while making the best use of resources. 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; and 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 that perspective is grounded.

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The Challenges of Fiscal Autonomy and Financial Accountability at Local Governments: A Review on International Experiences

Mohammad SajedurRahman¹

Abstract: Strengthening Local governments by providing more autonomous power in fiscal affairs and ensuring citizen involvement is believed to empower people at local level and can bring changes from root level as local governments only know the needs from grassroots. This paper is designed to examine the major issues and concerns related to fiscal autonomy, accountability mechanism and decentralization at local level around the world and connect those issues to broader governance paradigm and find out the major challenges to advance democratic practices at local level. A wide range of literatures is examined for the purpose. Dependence on central government in fiscal affairs is recognized as common scenario in local government financing, though, a wave of decentralization is noticed around the world. It is observed that the decentralization process was not followed by proper empowerment in fiscal affairs at local level, both in developed and developing nations. However, Most of the local government experiences indicate positive relations between financial decentralization and better governance. Though some examples of escalating corruption by fiscal decentralization are recorded, fiscal decentralization is recognized to have a positive impact in reducing corruption. Fiscal autonomy is identified in different experiences as an effective tool to ensure accountability and transparency. Furthermore, introducing of cost-effective e-government in advancing good governance is increasingly being recognized around the world.

Key words: Local Government, Decentralization, Financial Fiscal Autonomy, Financial Accountability, International experiences.

1. Introduction

Over the past two decades an unprecedented wave of decentralization to the local political bodies has been noticed all over the world.(Martinez-Vazquez, May 2007, p. 1) These worldwide trend towards decentralization is welcomed by the academicians and experts as a positive sign for democratic transformation and the process can be perceived in two fundamental observations, :*“First, decentralization is most often associated with an increase in local autonomy. Second, the connotations and values attached to decentralization and local autonomy are almost exclusively positive.”*(Beer-Tóth, 2009, p. 29)However, it is observed in most of the cases that political or administrative transfers of power were not followed by proper empowerment in fiscal affairs. Low fiscal autonomy has been a major policy problem in the decentralization process at local level both in developed and developing nations. Central control and supervision of local affairs also found to be a major obstacle in the trends of governing local governments around the

¹ Assistant Professor, Department of Government and Politics, Jahangirnagar University, Savar ,Dhaka (sajib1996@yahoo.com)

world. Lack of fiscal autonomy is closely related to ensuring accountability and transparency for the local government bodies. For better governance at local level, it is urged that more emphasis should be given to local level fiscal decentralization so that local governments can have a certain level of financial resources to organize their internal affairs and ensure peoples empowerment at local level .This paper is designed to examine the major issues and concerns related to fiscal autonomy, accountability mechanism and decentralization at local level around the world and connect those issues to broader governance paradigm and find out the major challenges to advance democratic practices at local level. The paper will try to give an overall view of the trends of local level governance practices in both developed and developing world and will try to bring under a comparative lens of all the concurrent issues and challenges related to local level governance financing.

A) Financing by Central Government: central control and the question of autonomy

Dependence on central government in fiscal affairs is a worldwide trend in local government financing. Intergovernmental transfers are the important sources of local government financing around the world. It is thought that these government transfers have political dimensions as most of such kinds of transfers are designed from center with political motives. Therefore, it is important to assess the role of center government in financing local bodies around the world. In this part, the global trends of intergovernmental transfers, imbalance between center and local and its political dimensions around the world will be discussed and analyzed with the purpose to comprehend the magnitude of central government transfers to local government around the world.

1. Intergovernmental transfers for financing local governments

Intergovernmental transfers are the main source of local governmental finance around the world.

The transfers are especially important for developing nations because local government taxing powers are very limited in most of the developing world. In fact, many different types of transfers are in use around the world and it is difficult to settle on a best practice(Roy, 2008, p. 30). It is urged to reduce the flow of government grants to local governments and increase the scope of local taxation and resource mobilization. In fact, the share of government grants in local government budgeting is recognized as an indicator for financial autonomy at local level(Daniel Bergvall & Merk, 2006, p. 4) and bridging the gap between revenues and expenditures remain the main challenge for the effective execution of decentralization and democratic transformation. However, there is yet any consensus whether those transfers promote efficiency or misallocate resources at local level. In one view, lack of adequate resource transfers to local governments creates difficulties to finance their expenditure responsibilities, while in other view; overdependence of central grants can undermine local accountability. According to one analyst over-dependence can create perverse incentives at the local level to misallocate public resources in federal system.(Khemani, July 24,2001, pp. 5-6)

2. Political dimension of financial decentralization

Local autonomy is a fundamental base for making democracy work, and is often referred to as a “school in democracy.”(Shimizutani, 2010, p. 99) People’s participation should come from the roots and decentralized and autonomous local body can equip the people at local level to promote democratic procedures .Nevertheless, it can backfire from its own strength. Decentralization which is believed to break down the asymmetric relationship of clientelism at local level can create a new type of clientelism political practices in real world (García-Guadilla & Pérez, 2002, p. 104). Indeed, in many cases, decentralization simply empowers local elites to capture a larger share of public resources, often at the expense of the poor(Johnson, Deshingkar, & Start, 2005, p. 937). Recentralization process also can be noticed for political reasons. Nicholas Awortwi examines the administrative reform policy of Ghana and Uganda; and showed that recentralization and further weakening of LGs are likely to continue in both countries because the initial path that was created benefited politicians and bureaucrats and they are committed to staying on that course.(Awortwi, 2011) Political calculation is always a major factor in any policy setting. Even, in Developed world, like UK, political trend of targeting local government fund can be identified.(John & Ward, 2001).Central-periphery financial relations in different countries always evolved differently in different political perspective. Moreover, developing countries often reach their decision about intergovernmental transfers for political reasons as well.(Roy, 2008, p. 33)Bahl Roy explained the politics behind the intergovernmental transfers in three categories:

- i. *The Central authority likes to provide local governments with intergovernmental transfers that carry stringent conditions to bypass the decentralization demand.*
- ii. *A reason for advocating intergovernmental transfers by central government is the goal of enforcing uniformity in the provision of public services.*
- iii. *A transfer system may be put in place as part of a political strategy to hold open the option of offloading the budget deficit on to subnational governments (for example, underfunding a grant program).(Roy, 2008, pp. 33-34)*

Thought, it is thought that there are political calculations behind the sanctions of government grants, it is the dominating trends in both developed and developing world and the trend of Intergovernmental transfers is likely to continue.

3) Financial Gap between local and central governance

Countries, both developed and developing, transfer funds to equip the local governments for providing services and generate development at local level .However; Developing and transition countries are characterized by wide disparities among regions in economic well-being.(Roy, 2008, p. 31) Nevertheless, vertical imbalance existed between centre and periphery is a common symptom of fiscal imbalance of developing nations which is believed to treat with taking policies of financial empowerment. An analyst emphasized the solution to adopt equalization measures of inter-regional differences in financial capacities and it can be accomplished by providing intergovernmental transfers.(Roy,

2008, p. 31) In a study of 9 major developed and developing countries², it is suggested to adopt more equalization formula to face the disparity problem.(Ma, 1997)Roy Bahl identified a reason behind transfers (subnational) is to offset externalities so that local governments can make their own decision and may underspend on services where there are substantial external benefits (Roy., 2000, p. 3). It is also argued by Roy that reducing administrative cost of taxing may be another cause to collect tax by central authority and then the central government transfers grants to local level. (Roy., 2000, p. 4)

In OECD countries 34.4 percent of revenues come from transfers (Shah & Shah, 2006, p. 37). In a study of OECD countries, a growing trend of widening gap between sub-national tax and expenditure shares in the last twenty years is identified (Daniel Bergvall & Merk, 2006, p. 5) which caused a higher dependence of sub-national governments on grants. So fiscal decentralization in OECD countries, in fact, shrink the scope of fiscal autonomy as sub-national governments have become more dependent on central governments for their resources. Intergovernmental transfer from centre to state governments in USA constitutes a larger part of state budgeting. These transfers accounted for about 38% of all local government revenues, ranging from a low of 19.2% in Hawaii to a high of 70.2% in Vermont (Wildasin, 2009, p. 7).In developing countries, the dependence of fiscal transfers is more instrumental. Intergovernmental fiscal transfers finance about 60 percent of subnational expenditures in developing and transition economies. (Shah. A. , 2007, p. 1)In a study of World Bank on some selected countries, it is found that the average funding of local governments by government transfer is 50.9 percent.(Shah & Shah, 2006, p. 37)It is found that the fiscal transfers are much larger than average in Uganda (85.4 percent), Poland (76.0 percent), China (67.0 percent), Brazil (65.4 percent), and Indonesia (62.0 percent).(Shah & Shah, 2006, p. 37)It is also noticed in AND report that significant vertical fiscal imbalances prevails in Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan, and at the local level in the Philippines, the PRC, and Viet Nam.(Martinez-Vasquez, 2011, p. 5)In case of revenue autonomy, lower autonomy can be found as a common practice in many countries. Revenue autonomy is found low outside Japan and the Republic of Korea, and much less in Indonesia and the Philippines. However, autonomy at provincial level can be traced in India, Pakistan, and the PRC.(Martinez-Vasquez, 2011, p. 5)

4) Fiscal autonomy and the question of public service delivery of Local Government

Decentralization is recognized as a way to bring people closer to government services and also as a feedback mechanism to response the local people needs.This move reflects public preferences for more democratic and participatory forms of government in order to improve the level of public services to respond to the needs of users of those services.(Sayuri, 2005)Though the notion of fiscal autonomy is central in fiscal decentralization literature; the idea of fiscal autonomy did not get proper academic investigation at the beginning. The local autonomy concept can be traced from Tibeout model of 1956 as an arrangement for local competition. Probably the earliest attempt was

² The countries were United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, Australia, Germany, Japan, Korea, India, and Indonesia

from Clark who described autonomy as a relative concept with two specific powers: power of initiations and power of immunity.(Beer-Tóth, 2009, p. 31) Early theorization was mostly involved to deal with the question of the capacity of local government following *Clark* and then later literatures incorporate other issues including local government autonomy. The European Charter of Local Self-Government taken by the Council of Europe in 1985 described *local self-government* (i.e. local autonomy) along the double characteristics of *right* and *ability* to manage local public affairs.(Beer-Tóth, 2009, p. 36) Therefore, it is obvious that fiscal empowerment is an important part of decentralization and without it, the goal of effectively providing services from local level cannot be achieved.

Though a wave of decentralization is recorded around the globe in the last two decades, the decentralization of local bodies did not supported by proper autonomy in fiscal affairs. Low expenditure autonomy due to the central supervision lacks the local government to introduce or keep services by their own. A study on the local government finance of some OECD countries found that the most common way of transferring resources from central to subnational government is through earmark grants and these grants are used for the purpose of financing and subdivision of services and for equalization of tax or service capacity (Daniel Bergvall & Merk, 2006) The study affirmed that non-earmark grant can be more effective instrument for financial purposes. On the other hand, a study on fiscal decentralization of Asian countries found that many Asian countries exhibits the highest level of decentralization in the world in term of the share of subnational government in total expenditures (Martinez-Vasquez, 2011, p. 3) It is showed in the report that 70% of total expenditure is allocated at subnational level in PRC, 66% in India, 60% in Japan, 45% both in Republic of Korea and Vietnam. However, this data in many cases failed to interpret the actual level of autonomy at local level. Throughout the entire region, heavy reliance and dependence on transfers and revenue sharing can be found. Lower tier governments in most Indian states have a very little expenditure autonomy from their state governments.(Martinez-Vasquez, 2011, p. 3) It is also noticed that central government in many countries involved in local functions as well. Expenditure autonomy (percentage of own expenditure under effective control of sub-national governments), is on average higher (74% for all but 96% in Croatia, and 7% in Albania) in transition economies than developing countries (58% for all but 95% for Dominican Republic and 23% for South Africa.(Shah. A. , 2004, p. 17)

B) Financing by own: three major sources for local financing

There are different means of financing local needs by own resources of local governments. Three sources from which local level bodies mostly rely on are local level taxation, local government Borrowing and Public private partnership which have significant importance to enforce local financing.

1. Local level Taxation: empowered by own sources

Taxes are the most important sources of the local government revenues. Financial decentralization process provides the Local governments institutions with the necessary authority to change tax rate, initiate new tax and enhance the scope of the tax. It is

thought that fiscal decentralization will increase taxation net and a greater share of GDP will be reached by tax system. Indeed, it is believed that increased subnational revenue mobilization will reduce the need for intergovernmental transfers from central revenues (Bird & Bahl, 2008, p. 4).

Significant tax assignment to subnational governments has become prevalent in developed countries (Bird R. , November 2010, p. 1). Bird & Bahl examines different country cases and identified the trend of developed world. (Bird & Bahl, 2008, p. 6) US State governments and Canadian provinces have almost complete autonomy in choosing any tax base, so long as there is no interference with interstate commerce. In Denmark and Sweden, local taxes account for nearly one-half of local government spending. Revenues from subnational government taxes in Switzerland are greater in amount than revenues received from grants. Though, Japan had a conservative tax policy which allow little to local government in term of taxing capabilities but the country is planning to introduce new intergovernmental reform to shift taxing power significantly to local governments (Bird & Bahl, 2008, p. 6) However, it is noticed that in most developing countries, central governments have been reluctant to reform the taxing system for subnational governments. (Bird & Bahl, 2008, p. 7) The subnational tax share in total taxes in developing countries is only about 10 percent while it is 20 percent in industrialized countries. These figures have changed little in the last 30 years. (Bird & Bahl, 2008, p. 7) Local governments in countries like Cambodia, China and Vietnam get less than 5 percent of their total revenues from their own sources (Talierciao, 2005, pp. 107-128) On the other hand, in a few developing countries, like the Philippines, Brazil, and Colombia, a third or more of subnational government expenditure is met up by own sources (Bird & Bahl, 2008, p. 7)

It is thought that increased fiscal autonomy would improve the efficiency and responsiveness of the public sector governance (Fjeldstad & Semboja, 2000, p. 28) However; strengthening autonomy by providing more taxation power to local government can cause greater mismanagement and corruption in local authorities. In developing country like Tanzania where Local taxes represent less than 6 per cent of total national tax revenues (Fjeldstad & Semboja, 2000, p. 7), it is strongly recommended to restructure the revenue system combined with capacity building and improved integrity mechanism. In case of India, it is noticed that decentralization of fiscal power to local Panchayat Body eventually decreases the volume of taxes and also shrink the tax base. The chiefs of the Panchayats always count the elections factors which is one of the cause of declining taxes. So it is recommended to undertake more accountability measures and provide intensives in tax collection of the Panchayat. (Jha, Kang, & Nagarajan, 2011) Therefore, in case of tax autonomy, it can be assumed that capacity building and ensuring accountability and transparency are crucial while transferring power to local authority.

A major part of local revenues is collected from property taxes around the world. OECD countries raise 54 percent of local revenues from property taxes, 23 percent from personal income taxes, 14 percent from corporate taxes, and 9 percent from other taxes. (Shah & Shah, 2006, pp. 37-39) Therefore, it is apparent that local governments in OECD countries depend more on property and income taxes than other sources. But developing word lacks proper tax autonomy because of the unwilling political elites and capacity

problems. For all developing countries, revenues from property taxes constitute only 0.5 percent of GDP which is about 2 percent (1 to 3 percent) of GDP in industrial countries. (Shah & Shah, 2006, p. 39) Therefore, property taxes may represent significant untapped potential for funding local affairs in developing countries.

2. Local government borrowing: Challenges and promises

Unavailability of government grants and Lack of local funding sometimes compelled local governments to take loans from public and private sectors. Local government bodies usually collect loans from banking sector (both national and international development program loans) or issued bonds. (Bucic & others, 2011, p. 2) Development projects are designed with such type of borrowing options for emergency situation. Large infrastructure deficiencies in developing countries call for significant access to borrowing by local governments. (Shah & Shah, 2006, p. 40) Local access to credit requires well-functioning financial markets and creditworthy local governments; however, in most of the local governments in developing countries lacks both. (Shah & Shah, 2006, p. 40) Heavy reliance on borrowing also can jeopardize macroeconomic stabilization. For example, perversely structured intergovernmental systems destabilized the economy of Argentina in the late 1990s. (Yilmaz, Beris, & Serrano-Berthet, 2008, p. 281) After the 90s Japan took some initiatives to empower local governments by issuing bonds with guarantees, uniform issuing conditions, and secured finance from public funds to meet up the gap between revenues and expenditure. But it was proven ineffective and unproductive in most of the cases and it is suggested to adopt accrual-based accounting system instead of cash-based accounting system (Sayuri, 2005). Most countries follow the policy to limit, control, or even prohibit the issuance of debt by local governments. A World Bank study report found none of the local governments of ten country's health and education sectors that are surveyed in the study was given full discretion to borrow. However, it is noticed in the study that local governments in Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, Kerala, Philippines, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda, have partial authority over borrowing. (Bank, 2009, p. 55)

3. Public Private Partnership (PPP): A New Window of local Financing

Public-Private Partnerships (PPP's) have been hailed as the latest institutional form of co-operation between the public sector and the private sector (Greve & Ejersbo, 2002, p. 1) If local government enjoys necessary autonomy from central government, PPP can be used as effective instrument to respond to the local demand without looking funding from central government. For example, Mandaluyung city of the Philippines build a new Market place using the PPP formula which had lacking of fund at that time.³ But PPP has some instrumental risks concerning the possibilities of misuse of power, corruption and transparency. The Danish local government of Farum in Denmark was considered as one of the success story of PPP at local level governance in 90s. But later, a huge scandal of corruption and irregularities were erupted in the organization in 2002. Clash between

³ UN ESCAP Report on *Public Private Partnerships A Financier's Perspective* . Available at www.unescap.org/ttdw/ppp/.../PPPs_A_Financiers_Perspective.pdf

central government and lack of democratic accountability mechanism were thought to be responsible for the failure of the local governance.(Greve & Ejersbo, 2002) In an article on the PPP taken by Morogoro municipality in Tanzania, Lameck analyzed various PPP project by the city and urged that there should be a framework of rule and regulation to undertake such practice; otherwise Government will lose control over the whole procedure.(Lameck, 2009).As private organizations are more profit oriented, the local governments should be more careful about the accountability and responsiveness of the project. John Hood and N Mcgarvey showed that the local Government PPP initiatives taken by Labour Government in Scotland lack proper risk management procedures which might jeopardize the whole arrangement.(Hood & Mcgarvey, 2002)

C) Corruption, accountability and Fiscal decentralization

Decentralization of fiscal affairs is thought to be a panacea for corruption and to promote accountability and transparency at local level. However, it has some significant policy risks as it can open up new windows of nepotism, corruption and mismanagement.

1.Does fiscal decentralization combat corruptions?

It is assumed that fiscal devolution to local governments creates space to bring the services to the people and installs a way of trustworthiness which can decrease the culture of corruption practice. A flow of increasing intergovernmental and political competition installed by decentralization can reduce rent seeking and monopolistic behavior and improve service deliveries (Fisman & Gatti, 2002) But there is huge debate on the effectiveness of fiscal reforms to bring accountability and transparency by installing decentralized structure. Some researchers have an optimistic assessment on the effect of decentralization of fiscal affairs on corruption while some other explained decentralization as a way of corruption. Treisman argued that decentralized government creates many levels of governments and a more complex system of governance reduce accountability and increase corruption.(Treisman, 2000)Prud'homme stated that there is more opportunity for corruption at local level as local bureaucrats have more powers to execute and they are influenced by the local interest groups.(Prud'homme, 1995) Goldsmith argued that it is easy to hide corruption in local level than center level.(Goldsmith, 1999) But most other studies found a negative relationship between the two variables. An exclusive study on 24 countries in the time frame of 1995-2007 found that fiscal decentralization has a positive impact in reducing corruption.(Padovano, Fiorino, & Galli, 2011)In another rigorous study of 182 countries, it is founded that decentralization and corruption has a negative relationship.(Ivanyna & Shah, 2010)

In Malawi, a move to decentralize the local government body in 2000 following the act of 1998 opened up a huge window of corruption in the country.(Tambulasi & Kayuni, 2007)After the fiscal reform and devolution of fiscal power to local bodies, the new-patrimonial leadership became reinforced exploiting the opportunities which eventually broke down the accountability system.(Tambulasi & Kayuni, 2007)Tambulasi in another article expressed the view that adaptation of new public management strategy is the policy problem of the whole process and suggested to take public governance reform model with more participation and transparency.(Tambulasi R. I., 2009) Some argues that

using bribery as an indicator of corruption is problematic and other social and economic indicators should be examined.(Bardhan & Mookherjee, 2005) He summarized that the relation between corruption and decentralization is very complex as a lot of variable is involved in the process and single one approach is not enough to unveil the underlying relationship. He also mentioned that the problem of capture and lack of accountabilities are the major obstacles in developing countries. Robert Klitgaard (1988) explained *the principle-agent theory* and argued that monopoly and discretion can exacerbate corruption while accountability has a reducing effect.(Witz, 2011, p. 5)A report on the corruption of Local governments in Latin American countries also suggested taking legal and institutional reforms to combat the problem.(Bliss & Deshazo, 2009) The Report emphasizes on the availabilities of information and urged for performance management efforts to be undertaken.(Bliss & Deshazo, 2009, pp. 14-15) Nina Witz in a paper showed that accountability in local level water governments is relatively higher than central government in Sweden and described decentralization as an antidote of corruption. (Witz, 2011)Arikan also found evidence that decentralization can lower the level of corruption.(Arikan, 2004) .Furthermore, fiscal decentralization believed to have positive impact on the citizen behaviors regarding the corruption issues and can boost social capital by increasing trust among the citizens to the government officials and bring the government closer to the people. OguzhanDincer found a positive correlation between fiscal decentralization and trust using data from US states.(Dincer, 2010) Following the seminal work of Putnam, a good number of empirical studies found a positive impact of social capital on the economic growth of a country and it is suggested to follow fiscal decentralization as a policy to increase social capital and trust in both developing and developed countries. (Dincer, 2010, p. 189). In case of Zambezia of Mozambique, Akiko Abe found that Social trust (one dimension of social capital) was formed in a shorter period of time than Putnam has outlined.(Abe, 2009, p. 77)

2. Risks of Local fiscal Autonomy and accountability mechanism

Financial devolution of power is thought to empower the local leadership and provides accountability and transparency to the whole settings. However, providing financial autonomy at local level has some potential risks. Fiscal decentralization depends on the ability of local governments to manage revenues and expenditures effectively and requires strong institutions for financial accountability.(Yilmaz, Beris, & Serrano-Berthet, 2008, p. 23) Financial accountability seeks transparency in the management of public funds. It also requires that governments manage finances prudently and ensure integrity in their financial reporting, control, budgeting and performance systems.(Sahgal & Chakrapani., 2000., p. 3) In an article, SerdarYilmaz, YakupBeris and Rodrigo Serrano-Berthet explained two methods of downward accountability (*Public accountability approaches* and *Social accountability approaches*) of local financial organization along with other methods .They examined different experiences of financial autonomy and accountability from different countries and identified different issues arising from the lack of internal controls.(Yilmaz, Beris, & Serrano-Berthet, 2008) They showed that many nations impose central control over local governments as a policy to restructure subnational relations observing the capacity problem of local governments around the world. They suggest not taking only upward accountability mechanism which may limit local government autonomy in decision-making and service delivery negating

the intended empowering of local governments. (Yilmaz, Beris, & Serrano-Berthet, 2008, p. 26) Yilmaz and Felicio examined the decentralization and low accountability problems of Angola and urged for a checked and balanced policy to cope with the tendency of abusing of discretion power. (Yilmaz & Felicio, 2009) Though citizen participation is ensured at local level, Provincial and Municipal administrators did not genuinely embrace the spirit of the citizen councils. It is suggested to incorporate appropriate advocacy efforts to ensure quality participation processes at the municipal and provincial levels and emphasis on strengthening civil society's skills that will incrementally increase accountabilities in public expenditure management activities and will ensure proper oversight (Yilmaz & Felicio, 2009, p. 21) In Ethiopia, it is noticed that progressive features of fiscal decentralization were not followed by political management. A strong upward accountability structure without the accompanying discretion and downward accountability mechanism was the main feature of the system which failed to ensure the accountable nature of organization. (Yilmaz & Venugopal, 2008, pp. 23-24) It is evident from different experiences that a combination of upward and downward accountability arrangement and a participatory nature of governance only can ensure democracy, better management and transparency at local level. Anwar Shah, in an article, urged for judicial accountability measures in developing countries where laws on property rights, corporate legal ownership and control, bankruptcy, and financial accounting and control are not fully developed. (Shah. A. , 2004, p. 34) He also emphasis on traditional channels of accountability such as audit, inspection and control functions should be strengthened, since they tend to be quite weak in transition and developing economies. (Shah. A. , 2004, p. 34)

3. Participatory local budgeting for more accountability and transparency

Budgeting at local level is a significant instrument for the fiscal health of a local body. Traditional municipal budgets which is in fact, focused with incremental line-item budgeting practice, have historically been constructed on giving emphasis on accounting staffs to face the audit requirements and it said by one analyst mentioned that it is aimed to the audited financial statements required to be submitted by municipal authorities after the fiscal year. (Schaeffer & Serdar Yilmaz, 2007, p. 8) Over the last two decade, it is observed that different reform measures have been taken incorporated with the traditional budgeting to ensure more transparency and accountabilities. Program budgeting at local level brought different planning and accountability measures differing from the traditional line-item approach in preparing, reviewing, and presenting the budget. In recent changed global world, participatory local budgeting becomes a powerful good governance tool to integrate citizens in government's matters.⁴ Participatory budgeting is considered as a direct-democracy approach to budgeting and by enhancing transparency and accountability participatory budgeting can help reduce government inefficiency and curb clientelism, patronage, and corruption. (Shah A. , 2007, p. 1) However, Participatory budgeting has some significant risks. Participatory processes can be captured by interest groups. Such processes can mask the undemocratic, exclusive, or elite nature of public decision making, giving the appearance of broader participation and inclusive governance while using public funds to advance the interests of powerful elites. (Shah A. , 2007, pp. 1-2)

⁴ <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTRANETSOCIALDEVELOPMENT/Resources/Zamboni.pdf>.

4.E-Governance for strengthening decentralization

The potential of e-government in advancing good governance is increasingly being recognized.(Bank., 2004) E-governance is identified as an efficient tool to generate transparency and ensure accountability in government procedures. Moreover, one of the strength of e-governance is that it is cost effective. E-procurement creates a highly competence and transparent environment of procurement and a faster method of getting quotes which can narrow the scope of corruption and also reduce the cost as well. E-procurement can even cut 50 % municipalities public procurement cost.⁵ In this backdrop, it is highly recommended to induce electronic methods in government procurement and other administrative procedures for transparency and ensure easy access of the citizens.

World Bank funded some pilot cases in developing world (some state in India) and found a positive result in widely used services, such as issuance of licenses and certificates and collection of payments and taxes(Bank., 2004). One of the strength of e-governance is that it provides transparency which acts as a viable tool against corruption. For example, Karnataka State of India digitalized the transfer system of teachers and it eventually reduced the scope of corruption in the transfer process.(Bank., 2004) In Andhra Pradesh of India, the e-governance strive faced lot of difficulties due to manage huge information of complex administration which is related to a vast population. Reengineering and changing work processes across 70 departments in the secretariat have been a challenge even for the country's largest information technology company, which is implementing the project (Bank., 2004) Most e-governance project requires huge funding to automation the whole system and also huge population in developing countries are outside the internet facilities. In a report on African prospect to introduce e-governance, it is identified that adequate funding and low rate of literacy and PC penetration rate are the challenges to update the whole system under e-governance.(Kitaw, 2006, p. 8) Another study of six African southern countries (Ghana, Kenya, Tanzania, Namibia, South Africa and Swaziland) examined e-Readiness conditions and suggested to initiate more capacity building measures to strengthen the procedures.(Meyaki, 2010)Digital divide is a big challenge to integrate all the people in a more citizen centric structure of e-governance. Growing mobile networks around the world and also in developing countries can be easily recognized and m-Governance (providing services through mobile phones) can be an option to fight the digital divide. Integrating fiscal measures in local affairs can ensure accountability and transparency at local level as well. Kerala state of India initiated m-governance by launching various services focusing on the utilization of mobile technologies to deliver citizen services which includes electricity and water services billing, road tax and vehicle registration.(Young, 2009)

⁵ In a study of TIB, it is found that 50% procurement cost was reduced after installing e-procurement method in Slovakia .the research finding was quoted in <http://europeandcis.undp.org/blog/2012/05/11/how-can-local-governments-increase-their-fiscal-autonomy/>

Conclusion

Strengthening Local governments by providing more autonomous power in fiscal affairs and ensuring citizen involvement is believed to empower people at local level and can bring changes from root level as local governments only know the needs from grassroots. In this paper a wide range of literatures is examined to recognize the trends and issues concerning fiscal autonomy and financial accountability mechanism at local governments around the world. Most of the local government experiences indicate positive relations between financial decentralization and better governance. In this age of globalization and Information technology revolution, a more global world with localization of governments is emerging. This trend must be supported by financial empowerment of local bodies and accountability mechanism at local level. Access to untapped revenue sources and digitalization of organization procedures has become an important tool to cope with the challenge of globalization and Information technology revolution nowadays. Bangladesh, a developing nation which has a huge population living under local government bodies and the weakness of her local government is depicted as the root cause of her dysfunctioning democracy, can be benefited from the lessons of decentralization around the world and can reevaluate her policy regarding local government and decentralization.

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The Post-Colonial State: A Theoretical Perspective

Hasibur Rahaman¹

Abstract: After the 2nd world war, historical evidence advocates that the colonial states have manipulated post-colonial states either ideologically or economically or militarily. Therefore, after the period of decolonization, the post-colonial states have never been considered as a state free from the influence of external power. The liberation of post-colonial states was a ceremony and a celebration, a formal handover of power by some representative of the colonial power to the designated successor. In the post-colonial states, the political elite thereof maintained the same pattern of colonial rule to ensure continuity of their grip of power. This article traces the colonial legacy in the post-colonial states from the theoretical viewpoint. In this context, the issues affecting Bangladesh till date as a post-colonial state are discussed.

Key words: Colonialism, Colonial State, Post-Colonialism, Post-Colonial State, Colonial Legacy and Bangladesh.

Introduction

The post-colonial nation state emerged with the collapse of western empires in Asia, Africa and Latin America in mid 20th century. It developed from and mainly refers to the time after colonialism. The post-colonial direction was created as colonial countries became independent. After independence, most of the post-colonial states could not have been successful in transition from colonial rule to stable democracy. Some countries have managed to embed stable political order that have facilitated the long term survival of its democratic system. Why some post-colonial countries had been able to establish stable democracy, while other countries have been failed to establish stable democracy in spite of having same colonial legacy? It depends on colonizing state itself, “the reason for which it sought to extend itself overseas and, especially, on the response of the colonized people (Clapham,1998:12).

This article traces the colonial legacies in the making of politics in the post-colonial states. It can be argued that the historical experience of colonialism has had a significant impact on the political structure of post-colonial states. The political structure under colonial rule established to run the colonial territory was necessarily both centralized and authoritarian. Same colonial political structure was followed by the post-independence politicians in different ways. The different ways in which post-independence politicians adapted to-and were constrained by-the past legacies and present situations of their countries helped determine the shape of the new politics (Chiriyankandath, James 2012: 2).

Post-Colonial States: A Theoretical Perspective

The concept of “post-colonialism” has given rise to debates, because, although post-colonialism refers to a period, we have no historical particularity on its beginning and

¹ Senior Lecturer, Department of Politics and Governance, Gono Bishwabidyalay (University), Savar, Dhaka-1344. Email: riponjugp@yahoo.com

ending. Moreover, its definition is also problematic because of being defined from different points of view; some argue that most of the former colonies are far from being free from colonial influence or domination, so they are not postcolonial in genuine sense, rather they are in a new form of colonization in which post-colonialism means modernization and development in the age of increasing trans nationalism; so there are still colonized countries under foreign control. As “post-colonialism” means the study of the interactions between colonial nations and the societies they colonized in the modern period in disguise of their developing partner, this loyalist interaction has made post-colonial states colonized in the modern form. On the contrary, the “postcolonial” includes the countries that have yet to achieve independence, or people in First World countries who are minorities, or even independent colonies that now contend with “neocolonial” forms of subjugation through expanding capitalism. In all of these senses, the “postcolonial”, rather than indicating only a specific and materially historical event, seems to describe the second half of the twentieth-century in general as a period in the aftermath of the colonialism. To define post colonialism some theories and literature have been analyzed here.

Postcolonialism and Imperialism

The term *imperialism* was used from the third quarter of the nineteenth century to describe various forms of political control by a greater power over less powerful territories or nationalities. The common meaning of *imperialism* denotes may differ greatly from each other and from the *new imperialism*. Edward Said uses the term *imperialism* more broadly to describe any system of domination and subordination organized with an imperial center and a dominated periphery. But the concepts of post-colonialism tend to ignore the long history of Marxist anti-imperialist thought. How useful is the Marxist concept of imperialism to understand the post-colonial polities? Human history in Marxist philosophy is history of class straggle. It says that in every era of history one class has exercised authority on another class. And capitalism is the last phase of class straggle. Capitalism is capital centered class straggle. Under capitalism class straggles occur between two classes such as capitalist class and proletariat class. The capitalist class is the symbol of power and symbol of state. In the last analysis the capitalist class is the torturing class. State here is the main device of domination and torture. The capitalist class as owner of the capital continues exploitation by using the state. This exploitation of capital does not remain confined to one state alone as it expands itself from one state to another. The greatest expansion of capital has been termed as “imperialist” by Vladimir Lenin. In this respect, Lenin in his book *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1916), argued that capitalism necessarily induced monopoly capitalism-which he also called imperialism (Lenin, 1916:1). According to him, “imperialism is capitalism in the stage of development in which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital has established itself; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international thrusts has begun; in which the division of all territories of the globe among the great capitalist powers has been completed” (Lenin, 1916:2). The result is imperialism.

John A. Hobson argued that “imperialism results from maladjustments within the capitalist system, in which wealthy minority over saves while an impoverished or ‘bare substitute’ majority lacks the buying power to consume the goods of modern industry. Capitalists are therefore faced with the problem of over-production and under-

consumption. If capitalists were willing to redistribute their surplus wealth in the form of domestic welfare measures, there would be no serious structural problem. The capitalists, however, seek to reinvest their surplus wealth by seeking foreign profit-making ventures abroad (Hobson, 1913:2). According to Young, imperialism operates as a policy of state, driven by the ostentatious projects of power within and beyond national boundaries. On the one hand, imperialism is susceptible to analysis as a concept grounded in exploitation, partnership and assimilation (Young, 2001:26-27). The far-reaching effect of this is that in the post-colonial states political uncertainty overwhelms and political stability gets lost. The grand result is that the post-colonial states remain undeveloped. In the above mentioned circumstances, Slemon said that imperialism as a concept and colonialism as a practice are still active in a new form (Selemon, 1995:102). This new form is called neo-colonialism. Neo-colonialism is another form of imperialism where industrialized powers interfere politically and economically in the affairs of post-independent nations. For this reason, Spivak says, “we live in a post-colonial neo-colonized world” (Spivak, 1990:166).

The neo-imperialism or neo-colonialism or post-colonialism is the question of history itself, and the ways in which it is theorized, categorized. According to Aijaz, “it is worth remarking, though, that in periodising our history in the triadic terms of pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial, the conceptual apparatus of ‘post-colonial criticism’ privileges as primary the role of colonialism as the principle of structuration in that history, so that all that came before colonialism becomes its own prehistory and whatever comes after can only be lived as infinite aftermath” (Childs, 1997:8). The notion of post-colonialism has an ‘infinite aftermath’. When notion of post-colonialism will come to an end? Aijaz also emphasized on the global impact of colonialism, “the fact that it affected some areas for centuries, and that its effects are still felt, it would be irresponsible not to give it due weight, which is not the same as making it the ‘primary principle of structuration’ of other people’s histories” (Childs, 1997:8). Robert Young have suggested that post colonialism can be best thought of as a critique of history (Gandhi, 1998:170). As Leela Gandhi mentioned that “this is a contentious claim and one which has been vigorously debated between Marxist and post-modernism or post-structuralism commentators, while Marxist theorists have been unequivocally dismissive of the postcolonial allegory to history, their opponents, as we have seen, have responded by including Marxism itself into their critique of historical reasoning” (Gandhi, 1998:170).

Postcolonialism and Dependency

Marxist theories of imperialism are related to the theory of dependency. So, post-colonialism can be also analyzed in terms of “dependency theory.” Many scholars namely Frank, Dos Santos, Galtung, Samir Amin and others belong to this school. According to these scholars, the blockage mechanism to political development in post-colonial states is nothing internal, rather it is deeply rooted to their association with the international system. In this context, Frank says that “the present under development of post-colonial states is not due to the slow growth of institutionalization or social mobilization or due to lack of capability of the political system. On the contrary, under development is prominent due to their ‘metropolis-satellite’ relations (Gunder, 1973:94). In the post-colonial states, the centers of the periphery are the owning class. Here in the periphery live the dominated and tortured populaces. In the international arena the post-colonial states are dominated and peripheral wherein the states that contain the global economic and political power centers like European imperialist states and North American powerful states assert that domination on the post-colonial states.

This is the character of neo-colonialism as Galtung opines that neo-colonialism is an imposition by the imperialists and capitalists on the post-colonial states. This is a sort of hegemony that imperialist practices in the post-colonial states (Galtung, 1971:81-117). It brings nothing good for the people of peripheral states. When, through this patron-client relationship, the people of the peripheral states, because of external and internal conspiracy get frustrated to the extreme point, they expressed their hatred to the bourgeois democracy and civil politics. In this situation, the military intervenes in politics to continue the interests of imperialist states and the interests and existence of internal bourgeois of the peripheral states. Then the military destroys the integrity of the political institutions and principles of the political process and becomes totally dependent on the imperialist states. Such “metropolis”-“satellite” relationship of the post-colonial societies is the product of their past economic and social history. Therefore, in order to achieve political development in the post-colonial societies, Galtung emphasizes that the post-colonial societies have to bring about social revolution (Galtung, 1971:81-117).

To do social revolution the post-colonial states has to depend on economic management. Economic management is not only concerned with the economic plight of the post-colonial states. It is also concerned with the management of the economy as a political problem facing post-colonial states (Clapham, 1998:90). “By far the most important priority of economic management is the maintenance and consolidation of the state, and alternative capitalist or socialist development strategies may be much better regarded as different means for attaining this common goal, than as serving in their own right as the principle objective of government action, or as defining the key types of social and political systems in the way that they are usually taken to do in comparing development states” (Clapham, 1998:90). The critic called him an agent of capitalism. In reply to this criticism Deng Xiaoping said, “it is not important whether the cat is white or black, what is important is if the cat can catch the rats.” Later it was proved that what Deng Xiaoping thought was right. China has effected substantive economic development by mixing up two typology of economic system. Not only this, China also ensures to itself a more developed social and political structure. Out of this an inference can be safely drawn that political and economic development and social revolution are complementary to each other. This depends on the efficiency and competence of the rulers and not on specific policy and ideology.

Postcolonialism and Orientalism

The concept of “post-colonialism” first emerged in late 1970s. Most important work was done by Edward Said in his influential critique of western constructions of the *orient* in his book *Orientalism* in 1978. The concept of *orientalism* refers to the *orient* in contrast to the *occident*. Said argues that orientalism can be found in western projections of oriental cultures and traditions. These cultures and traditions of the East, was shaped by the attitudes of European imperialism in the 18th and 19th centuries. In orientalist discourse, the orient has been expressed and represented with the support of “institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, imagery, doctrines, even colonial bureaucracy and colonial styles (Jukka, 2006:2). In Said’s words “orientalism is the discipline by which the orient was approached systematically, as a topic of learning, discovery, and practice. But in addition I have been using the word to designate that collection of dreams, images and vocabularies available to anyone who has tried to talk about what lies east of the dividing line. These two aspects of orientalism are not incongruent, since by use of them Europe could advance securely and unmetaphorically upon the orient” (Said, 1995:73). These

notions are trusted as foundations for policies developed by the Western. These policies will to govern over the orient. Both are supported and perhaps even impelled by impressive ideological formations which include notions that certain territories and people require and beseech domination, as well as forms of knowledge affiliated with that domination”(Gandhi, 1998:67). In connection to this type of domination, Edward W. Said on his book *Culture and Imperialism*, also said that an illegal attempt to dominate comes into being only when the cultural traditions of the orient appear to be a threat to their (occidental) own. Huntington, by mentioning the idea of conflict between civilizations in his book *Clash of Civilization and Rethinking of World Order*, actually instigated conflicts between civilizations. Edward W. Said, by studying Huntington’s thesis deeply, showed in his essay *The Clash of Definitions* that it was an ill motive of some extremist western scholars, such as Huntington, to lengthen, instigate and deepen their aggressive attitude towards Islam and Orient. According to Said, scholars like Huntington want to create a world like “We versus They” by shaping conflict of civilizations. In this way Said’s work has given rise to a new discipline for analysis called “post- colonialism.”

In the above mentioned western hegemonic epistemology, Foucault’s scrupulous attention to the discursive structure and order of western civilization remains culturally myopic with regard to the oriental world. To analyze this western hegemonic epistemology a critical approach with an optimistic view of postcolonial theory is, therefore, more preferable and appropriate. According to Homi Bhabha, post-colonialism “bears witness to the unequal and universal forces of cultural representation” that is involved in a constant competition for political and economic control in the contemporary world (Bhabha, 1994:171). Bhabha also argues that “postcolonial perspectives emerge from the colonial testimony of Third World countries and the discourses of ‘minorities’ within the geographical divisions of East and West, North and South. They intervene in those ideological discourses of modernity that attempt to give a hegemonic normality to the uneven development and the differential, often disadvantaged, history of nations, race, communities and peoples”(Bhabha, 1994:171).

The growing interest in academic arena the term “postcolonial” was consolidated by the appearance in 1989 of *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures* by Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin. In the opening chapter of this book, the authors provide a definition which has mentioned here that “we use the term ‘post-colonial’, however, to cover all the culture affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonization to the present day. This is because there is a continuity of preoccupations throughout the historical process initiated by European imperial aggression” (B.Ashcroft, 1989:2). According to Canadian critic Stephen Slemon, “definitions of the post-colonial of course vary widely, but for me the concept proves most useful not when it is used synonymously with a post-independence historical period in once-colonized nations, but rather when it locates a specifically anti- or post-colonial discursive purchase in culture, one which begins in the moment that colonial power inscribes itself onto the body and space of its others and which continues as an often occulted tradition into the modern theatre of neo-colonialist international relations”(Ian Adam, 1991:3).

In both Slemon’s and in *The Empire Writes Back* formulations, there are possibilities to conceptually gain over the discussion on post-colonialism. But it is difficult to formulate a period based model of post-colonialism. Because, it is shared preference for post-

colonialism as a form of writing which it is difficult to pin down in chronological terms. Moreover, it is related to modernism and subsequently postmodernism. It also links up with the definition given in the book *Past the Last Post: Theorizing Post - Colonialism and Post - Modernism*, where it is suggested that like postmodernism, post-colonialism can be defined as having two 'dimensions': "the first here constructs it as writing from countries or regions which were formerly colonies of Europe. The second dimension of post-colonialism is intimately related to the first, though not co-extensive with it. Here, the post-colonialism is conceived as a set of discursive practices, prominent among which is resistance to colonialism, colonialist ideologies and their contemporary forms and subjectificatory legacies" (Ian Adam, 1991:3). But why colonial legacies are still continued in the post-colonial societies to engage with the imperial aggression? Since all the post-colonial societies we discuss have achieved political independence, why is the issue of coloniality still prevalent in these societies? This is another complicating factor to identify why colonial power still operates colonies? In this respect, Slemon described it in his essay, "Modernisms Last Post" as "the modern theatre of neo-colonialist international relations" (Ian Adam, 1991:5).

With reference to the definition of Slemon mentioned above it can be safely said that after the Second World War decolonization process came in to being and with this decolonization process many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America became independent from colonial power. By making use of the weakness of the post-colonial states the colonial powers made historical relationship with them (post-colonial states) to materialize their economic interests. In this process, where the post-colonial states with their own political structures entered into present global political system, then, post-colonial states subordinated to global political system and political institutions as well. In this process the destruction of indigenous political system and institutions of post-colonial states were made possible by the imposition of western-oriented economics and political system. This process was carried through with greater intensity in the post-colonial states. Ultimately the post-colonial countries could not come back from the western - oriented economics and political system.

Another feature is that just after the independence of post-colonial states, the national leaders govern the state on the basis of two major political organizations (Clapham, 1998:66)-(1) the political parties organized by the national leaders to accumulate public opinion to protest the colonial power, (2) bureaucracy coming from the colonial power. The national leaders of the post-colonial states ran the government on the basis of these two power bases. The political party's power shifted to state power. On the other hand, as a nationalist leader the party chief possesses absolute power to run the state. Just because of the exercise of this absolute power, no political organization gets institutionalized. Whenever, as a protest against this absolute power, there arises any political forces, the political party in power suppresses it with the assistance from bureaucracy obtained from colonial background. When opposition party gets harassed, they have no chance of taking over control of government. The weapons at government disposal range from simple and forcible suppression to the subtler use of the state regulative (Clapham, 1998:66). In this process state consolidation can be seen as a return to the authoritarianism of colonial rule. The national leaders intensify rather than resolve the problem of managing the state itself. This politically disappointing situation makes those counties victims of military interventions. Although military rule can achieve materialistic development, it has no record of achieving political development. They, rather, make political institutions dysfunctional to prolong their rule. No political development is possible without

institutionalization of political institutions. Huntington says that “political development is the institutionalization of political organization and procedures”(Huntington, 1965:386-430). Without institutionalization of political organization and procedures the post-colonial states run the state apparatus with a vehement risk.

Bangladesh: An Example

In Bangladesh, the indigenous culture could not autonomously evolve to reach its due maturity on grounds of the penetrating colonial interventions. Any culture in its own environment can flourish best. Own environmental support ensures balance in the growth and dynamics of any culture. Colonialism in a very complex and minute manner tried to devastate the base of the indigenous culture. Firstly they injected a sort of neo-elitism. The neo-elite due to deliberate colonial training and orientation became distortedly cultured in the sense that neither they could remain native nor they could become like the colonialists. Thus the culture of the elite in the colonial society gets paralyzed. Culture is the strength and inspiration of a nation that can ensure unity to itself in defense of its true indigenous development. In other words, unmixed as well as genuine culture is determinant of an independent society.

Colonialism could thus become a long term continuum against this back ground. Added to this had been the legal system and the police mechanism of the imperial powers. The entire judiciary has been so shaped as to ensure disfunctionality of judicial verdicts. The legal procedure has been made long drawn so as to deprive the mass of their legal rights and thus weaken them in their respective class position. This long-drawn judicial process at the same time made the powerful more powerful. So class distance was widened with the results that the dominant class got furthered their empowerment as well as used that in support of colonialization. The dominant class became the powerful agents of imperialist forces and thus maintained their cost of administration and colonial clutch. It has created a sort of automation for their continuous dominant influence on the colonial states. Naturally the post-colonial states like Bangladesh could not get out of this trap. The institutions of Bangladesh, on the same account could not be developed to match with the standard of ideal institutions. After their inception, they did not get enough time to modify the above mentioned cultural and judicial distortions. Meanwhile military intervened. The political culture required for independence and democracy could not find enough time to flourish. This created a weak space in the political process. The military occupied this space. In Bangladesh, the colonial bureaucracy joined hand with them. The state machinery was snatched from the politicians by civil-military bureaucracy.

Against this backdrop as a newly emerged country Bangladesh encountered the challenge of independent public policy making. As mentioned above the perspective and the environment were against the possibility of independent public policy making. The nature of the state authorities and the neo-colonial financial capitalism which started in the aftermath of the 2nd World War asserted powerful influence on policy formations. Bangladesh as a post-colonial state has to yield to the pressures and conditions of the colonial powers to conform to their suggestions and sense of directions. Sometimes, through foreign aid, sometimes through loan for development projects the colonial power, de facto, framed the public policy of Bangladesh. Even today Bangladesh is thoroughly dependent on the colonial power for policy and finance. The process of institution building has remained barren here. The cultural conspiracy, the hypocrisy of the elite in general and politicians in particular have in combination left the country in omni-directional uncertainty.

Concluding Remarks

Over all it is said that the character of the post-colonial states has been determined by their colonial origins. The colonial legacy in turn has been altered in crucial and often negative ways since political independence was attained. There existed and continues to exist post-colonial social formation in combination with pre-colonial, colonial and global economic structures. It has been argued that the post colonial state has been addressed by former colonial power with a view to perpetuate own typology of political system in the aftermath of independence. It can be also said that after decolonization the colonial governments handed over power to their designated successors. Thus after achievement of independence the national leaders continued to maintain colonial political system to perpetuate their state power in the same way of colonial power. Therefore, post-colonial social formation continues to be under force and political process is also governed through internal authoritarianism.

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Primary Health Care Service and Role of NGO in Bangladesh: An Empirical Study

Faysal Jamal Shishir¹

Abstract: This study actually spotlights on the void of existing Primary Health Care system in Bangladesh which makes the whole system fall apart and yet, NGOs contribution in Health Care is quite magnificent though insufficient. Despite driven by poverty, low social pointers and the continuing prevalence of social discrepancy, the health sector in Bangladesh has shown remarkable progress but still it is far from satisfactory phase. In current circumstances, the intimidating challenge is the health of poor people who are customarily restricted from getting healthcare services of an acceptable quality and at an acceptable cost. However, government has always tried to make the whole system uphold to ensure health security as they have devised health policies on several occasions. Sometimes these policies have produced highly encouraging outcome but it has failed very often to prolong its effectiveness due to lack of firm commitment of government, poor monitoring, supervision and selection of inappropriate partners. NGOs are playing substantial role to fill those voids along with Government but still it is inadequate to make viaduct between policy making and its execution. Development parameters differ from Urban to Rural in developing countries as their modern and other facilities are not the same in the both areas. Therefore, it affects their social structure and does not let prolong the effectiveness of taken policies in developing countries like Bangladesh. The purpose of this qualitative research is to find out those disparities, spot the gap between policy making and its implementation. Findings indicate that, the intervention of the NGOs will promote the poor people and their contribution in Primary Healthcare System in Bangladesh is Immense. Recommendations are made for future research, education and management.

Key words: Primary Health Care, NGO, Government Hospital, Bangladesh.

Introduction

Access to health care is dismal for both poor urban and rural populations in Bangladesh. The Government health system is weak, with inadequate attention given to the delivery of basic healthcare to poor people (Dreze; 2003). For the past 15 years, Local Government Division has been responsible for providing primary health care services to poor urban populations, but it has been unable to meet their needs and demands adequately (Alia; 2006). Unlike Bangladesh most of the countries in the world usually emphasize on public health security. While, taking noteworthy steps are required, we typically fail to produce the desired result. By adopting new liberal policy government leads health system towards privatization step by step and thereby the association of NGOs is mounting (Matt; 2011). Sounds good, it makes an immediate impact on primary health care system in Bangladesh. 75% of the people in Bangladesh live in rural areas. It will be unrealistic to

¹ Lecturer in Political Science, Government Akbar Ali College, Ullapara, Sirajganj Email: foysal8891@gmail.com

expect that, sustainable economic development in our country is possible without guaranteeing their health security and also, when these large numbers of people are under serious threat because of minimal government aid.

Recently, within their limitations NGOs are doing great job for both urban and rural population. Such as the NGOs' Service Delivery Program (NSDP) along with BAT (British American Tobacco) to provide health care coverage for farmers, set in motion some clinic like Green Umbrella, Smiling Sun, Marie Stopes in both urban and rural area are notable (Afrina; 2009). Especially BRAC has done what few others have-they have achieved success on a massive scale, bringing life-saving health programs to millions of the poorest people. They showed that, even the most intractable health problems can be solved. Their achievement is remarkable including the reduction of child mortality rates from 2% to 70% through immunization program in Bangladesh (Lovell and Abed; 2008). So undoubtedly the role of NGO's initiatives in Bangladesh cannot be overlooked. Given the limited resources and inefficiencies of both GO's and NGO's sectors, working together can be a straight forward solution to address the growing health care system in Bangladesh and while working together, it is required to exploit the strengths of all the sectors towards fulfilling the health needs of the people, which is always challenging. To facilitate the actual scenario of primary health care system and contributions of NGOs, we needed to scrutinize their activities both Dhaka city and outside Dhaka city. It has helped us to find out exact portrays of Primary Health Care system and contributions of NGOs. Clients and Policy makers have expressed their ideas about primary health care and role of NGOs. Scrutinizing all those findings, finally this research reveals some recommendations which will be effective to fill the void which exists in Primary Health Care system.

Research Methodology:

In this, research I have selected Mirpur, Dhaka and Sirajganj district town for collecting data. In order to know about primary health care system in Bangladesh we have gone through simple random sampling in both Mirpur, Dhaka and Sirajganj District town. We have picked fifty five and fifty seven respondents in Mirpur, Dhaka and Sirajganj District town respectively. In case of service providers/policy makers we have taken their interview and collected some common information through questionnaire and discussion. The research is an analytical one, although it is a qualitative manual but qualitative and quantitative information are gathered where necessary. For having primary sources, I had to go through different techniques. Such as survey, interview, case study, observation etc.

Study Results and Findings

Socio Economic condition

In this study, socio-economic status consisted of in terms of their education, profession and income of the household heads. In calculating socio-economic status of the respondents in both areas, it was found that, in Sirajganj district town and Mirpur, Dhaka about 26.32% and 21.82% respondents was Government Service holder respectively.

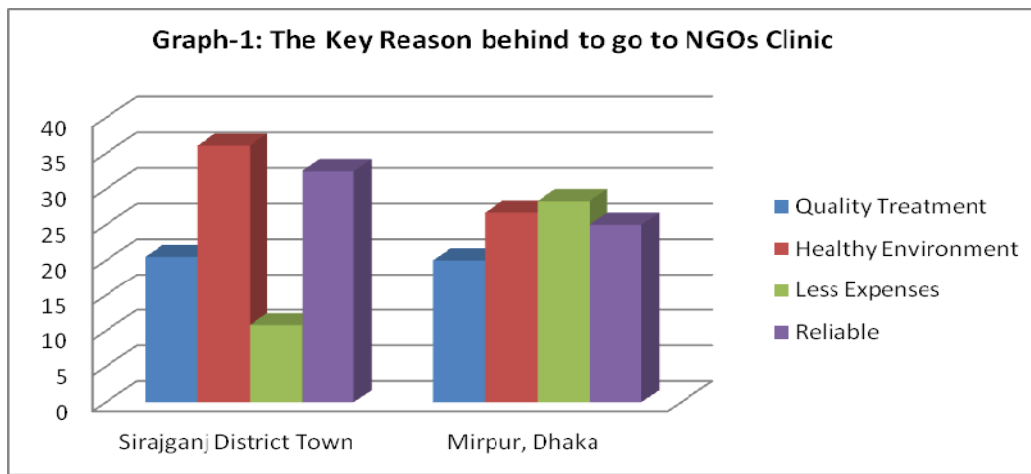
Other professionals were also included to validate the qualitative research (see Table 1); education - Our research will be a qualitative research, that is why we needed to pick different educational qualified to find out real scenario of primary health care system and role of NGOs in it as their opinion over our research topic will play a key part (See Table 2).

Table 1: Statistical details of the respondents in terms of Profession		
Primary Health Care System: Role of NGOs Initiative in Bangladesh.	Occupation	Number of respondents and percentage.
Sirajganj District Town	Government service	15 (26.32%)
	Business	09 (15.79%)
	NGOs/ Private Service	17 (29.82%)
	Other (Garments worker/House wife/Agriculture)	16 (28.07%)
	Total	57 (100%)
Mirpur, Dhaka	Government service	12 (21.82%)
	Business	12 (21.82%)
	NGOs/ Private Service	10(18.18%)
	Other (Garments worker/House wife/Agriculture)	21 (38.18%)
	Total	55 (100%)

Table 2: Statistical details of the respondents in terms of Gender and Education			
Primary Health Care System: Role of NGOs Initiative in Bangladesh.	Number of respondents and percentage.		
	Educational Qualification	Gender	
		Male (percentage)	Female (percentage)
Sirajganj District Town	Secondary	02 (6.9%)	02 (7.14%)
	Higher Secondary	06 (20.69%)	06 (21.43%)
	Graduate/Post Graduate	19 (65.57%)	14 (50%)
	Illiterate	02 (6.9%)	06 (21.43%)
	Total	29 (100%)	28 (100%)
Mirpur, Dhaka	Secondary	04 (12.9%)	04 (16.67%)
	Higher Secondary	05 (16.13%)	04(16.67%)
	Graduate/Post Graduate	19 (61.3%)	10 (41.6%)
	Illiterate	03 (9.67%)	06 (25%)
	Total	31(100%)	24(100%)

The Key Reasons behind going to NGOs Clinics

When the query is about why people usually go NGOs clinic, then it is certainly something good in the NGOs clinics that encourage the patients to go there for taking health care services. However, from figure we can see that, in Mirpur, Dhaka 28.3% respondents have admitted that, NGOs provide health care services at an acceptable cost. 26.7% respondents have opined about healthy environment of NGOs clinic, 25% and 20% respondents have stated respectively that, NGOs clinics are reliable and provide quality treatment (See Graph 1).



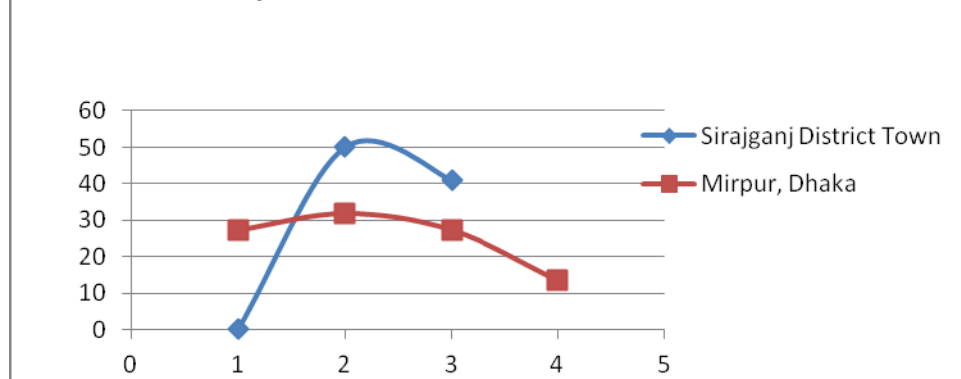
Source: Data collected from field study. (During 4th March, 2013 – 11th May, 2013)

On the other hand, in Sirajganj district town among all respondents 36.1% have opined about healthy environment of NGOs clinic, 32.5% has expressed that, it is reliable, 20.5% have confessed that, NGOs clinics provide quality treatment and rest of the respondents (10.8%) have told about NGOs lowest amount treatment charge. So the scenario is almost same in here comparing with Mirpur.

Assessment of NGOs Given Health Care Services (Mother and Child Health Care & Vaccination)

Now NGOs health care centres are providing wide range of health care facilities. In order to ensure health security and reduce the burden of government they are offering various types of health care facilities including mother and child health care, vaccination, diagnostic services etc. In Bangladesh, many NGOs such as BRAC, Smiling Sun, Marie Stopes, Radda etc. are providing same health care facilities.

Evaluation of NGOs Given Health Care Services (Mother and Child Health Care & Vaccination)

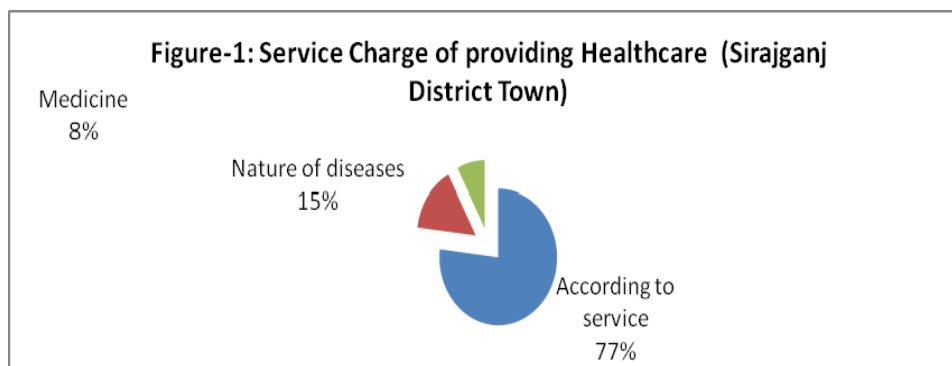


Source: Data collected from field study. (During 4th March, 2013 – 11th May, 2013)

It is observed that, most of the people come NGOs clinics to take maternal health care service and vaccination program. Though, NGOs provide others health care facilities. However, from the graph 2, we can see that, in Mirpur, Dhaka among all respondents 31.8% have expressed their satisfaction about NGOs given health care services because of its good treatment with modern facilities. 27.3% have admitted that, NGOs given health care services are reliable and other 27.3% have also admitted it is not expensive as well. However, rest of the respondents (13.6%) have stated about other facilities. Same can be said for Sirajganj district town too. Logistic and its availability like medical facilities, surgical apparatus, laboratory facilities for pathological tests, x-ray facilities, blood bank, operation theatre, freeze, emergency unit, ambulance facilities and oxygen etc. are very much important to provide medical care in the health complexes (Khan, 1988:55). Among all respondents 50% have stated their satisfaction about NGOs given health care services because of its good treatment with modern facilities. 40.9% have told that, NGOs health care services are reliable.

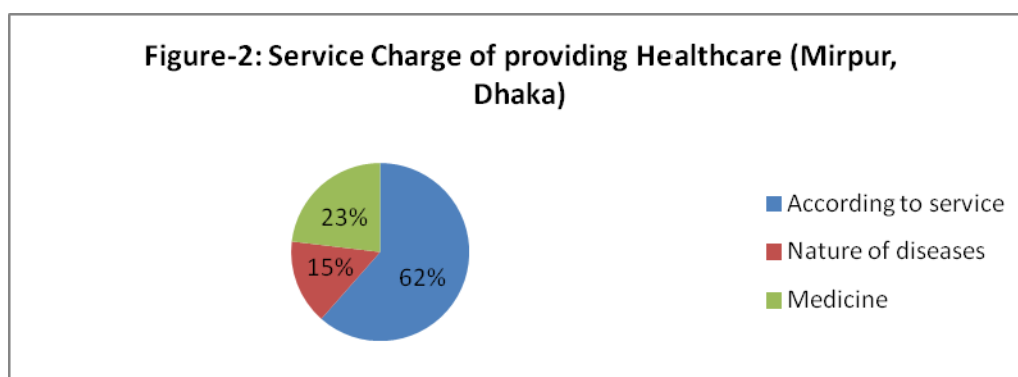
Infrastructure and Management of NGOs Health Care Centres

Even though, NGOs health care centres are providing wide range of health care services including maternal and child health care, vaccination, diagnostic but comparing with government hospitals only a few number patients can be treated from here due to accommodation crisis. However, according to respondents their management is still way better than government hospitals. Some respondents have complained that, NGOs clinics stipulate excess service charge though service providers have denied it. Service providers have also stated that, they take only a few amount of service charge. In fact, they provide some services free, such as family planning. Whatsoever, NGOs health care centres' maternity service charge is minimum 5000tk and maximum 16000 tk. It seems expensive for poor people in country like Bangladesh.



Source: Data collected from field study. (During 4th March, 2013 – 11th May, 2013)

For maternity service, Marie stopes accepts over six thousands and maximum sixteen thousands BDT. Same can be said for smiling Sun too. Their charge for maternity service is almost five and half thousands taka and up to fifteen thousand taka, though most of the NGOs health care provides vaccine with fixed government rate. It seems so much for poor people as the respondents have claimed, sometimes NGOs health care centres demand too much medical treatment charge. In this research, we have solicited service providers to tell us about their service charge. Well in Sirajganj district town among all service providers 76.9% have told that, they take only minimum service charge. Their services are including maternal and child health care, vaccination or pathological test etc. 7.7 % has opined they also stipulate money on medicine in some cases (from the figure-1). In Mirpur, among all service providers over sixty one percent (61.5%) have stated about service charge and they have stated the same. However, it seems their charge over medicine (23.1%) is higher than the NGOs health care of Sirajganj district town. That means they take money for providing medicine in some cases (from the figure-2).



Source: Data collected from field study. (During 4th March, 2013 – 11th May, 2013)

However, in order to provide sound and proper health care services, NGOs clinics also supervise training for their nurses, technicians and other staffs. Though, they only arrange short term training for them. Certainly, it helps them to be more adroit. In Sirajganj district town, almost all NGOs (92.3%) arrange such short term training for the staffs. Sometimes they also manage long term training. On the other hand, in Mirpur

most of the NGOs also provide short term training for their staffs. Almost eighty eight percent (87.5%) service providers have said that, they provide this facility. Yet 12.5% have told about long term training. To find out organizing process of NGOs clinics was also one of the main mottos of our research. During collecting data from field level we have asked service providers to find out how they run their clinics and what about their doctors and other staffs.

Table-3: Average Patients come health care centers for taking services								
Name of health care centers	Less than 50		50-100		100-150		More than 150	
	Sirajganj District Town	Mirpur, Dhaka	Sirajganj District Town	Mirpur, Dhaka	Sirajganj District Town	Mirpur, Dhaka	Sirajganj District Town	Mirpur, Dhaka
The Smiling Sun	✓			✓				
Marie Stopes	✓					✓		
BRAC Health Care Centers	✓			✓				
Radda MCH-FP Centre								✓

Source: Data collected from field study. (During 4th March, 2013 – 11th May, 2013)

It is really important to sort out this information as it will display the existing system of primary health care system in Bangladesh. However, in Mirpur we have asked several clinics that, have them sufficient doctors, technicians or staffs to run it smoothly? 88.9% have articulated that, they have, though, in Sirajganj district town their answer was not satisfactory regarding this issue, according to them only 50% have stated the positive.

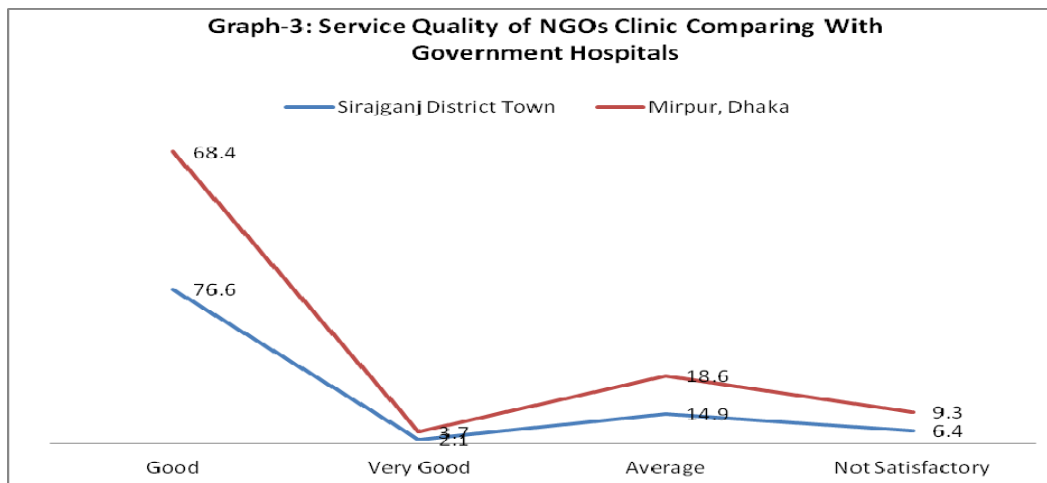
Having sufficient doctors and other medical staffs are vital for providing proper health care. Though, response from service providers was satisfactory as they explained that, they have sufficient doctors and medical staffs for providing services. However, the above chart will provide some imperative information about it. From above chart we can see that, in Mirpur according to service providers of various NGOs clinics that on daily basis average over hundred patients come for taking health care. In some cases, that number increases up to two hundred. Such as in Smiling Sun and in BRAC on daily basis average 50-100 patients come for taking various health care services. In Marie Stopes on daily basis average 100-150 patients come for taking health care while in Radda MCH-FP Centers on a daily basis almost two hundred or even more patients come for taking medical treatment (from the table 3).

On the other hand, in Sirajganj district town according to service providers of various NGOs clinics (The Smiling Sun, Marie Stopes, BRAC) on daily basis average less than fifty patients come for taking health care. So it is very important to have sufficient doctors, technicians or other medical staffs for providing proper health care services

otherwise patients will not get proper medical assistance from those clinics. However, in both Mirpur, Dhaka and Sirajganj district town service providers have stated that, they have sufficient doctors and other medical staffs. They have also stated that, in their clinic average 20-50 patients can be treated medically by a doctor on daily basis (from the table-11). So according to them it is quite remarkable

Service Quality of NGOs Clinics Comparing With Government Hospitals

From field data we have noticed some limitations exist in both NGOs clinics and government hospitals. However, comparing between these two health care centres majority has chosen NGOs/Private clinics even though, there are plenty of rooms to develop NGOs health care centres.



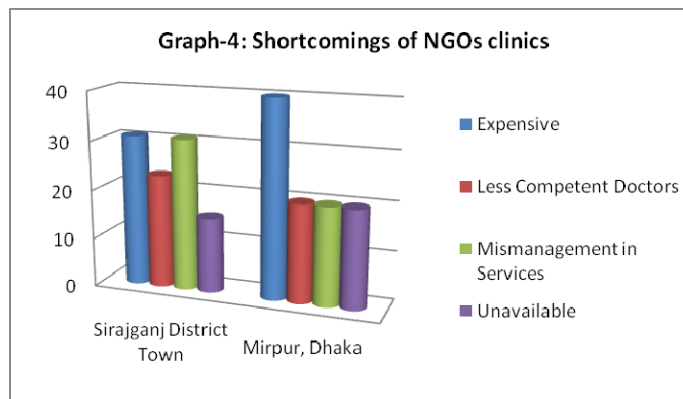
Source: Data collected from field study. (During 4th March, 2013 – 11th May, 2013)

From the graph-3, we can see that, in Sirajganj district town among all respondents over seventy six percent respondents (76.6%) have rated NGOs clinics as good comparing with government hospitals. 2.1% respondents have stated it as very good. Though, almost fifteen percent (14.9%) respondents have ranked it as average and rest of the respondents (6.4%) are not satisfied.

On the other hand, in Mirpur among all respondents 68.4% respondents have rated NGOs clinics as good comparing with government hospitals. 18.6% have said that, their service is average and almost ten percent (9.3%) respondents have stated their dissatisfaction about NGOs health care centres. NGOs health care centres are providing many conveniences. Surely, modern equipment's and other facilities have given NGOs clinics upper hand over government hospitals. They provide medicines, family planning equipments with cheap rate, besides, NGOs health care centres management and premises environment is quite impressive. That is why majority percent patients have rated NGOs clinics as good comparing with government hospitals. Though, they have pointed out some limitations which still exist in NGOs health care centres and they have urged to fix it as soon as possible but overall they have stated that, NGOs primary health care services are satisfactory comparing with government hospitals.

Why do NGOs Fail to Achieve Goals?

Graph 4 shows that, there are plenty of rooms of improvement for NGOs health care centres. Though the NGOs Clinics have the facilities of modern medical instruments but comparing with other countries they have to face an uphill task to reach that level. Whereas modern medical equipment and proper management is considered as important way of getting patients cure. In both areas respondents have pointed those limitations and that is why NGOs clinics are still a few way short of achieving goals. (See Graph 4) However, during collecting data from both Mirpur, Dhaka and Sirajganj district town respondents have pointed out some limitations on NGOs clinics. Though, only a few respondents have pointed out some limitations, but there are no rooms for overlooking their opinions. However, from the graph-4 we can see that, in Sirajganj district town, among very few respondents 30.8% have opined about NGOs mismanagement in services and equally 30.8% have also expressed that, their service charge is just too high. However, 23.1% have admitted that, NGOs clinics lack competent doctors and other respondents have stated other problems which create obstacle in providing proper health care services.



Source: Data collected from field study. (During 4th March, 2013 – 11th May, 2013)

On the other hand, in Mirpur, Dhaka among very few respondents forty percent has opined that, NGOs clinics service charge is little bit expensive. Rests of respondents have also indicated NGOs mismanagement in service and less competent doctors.

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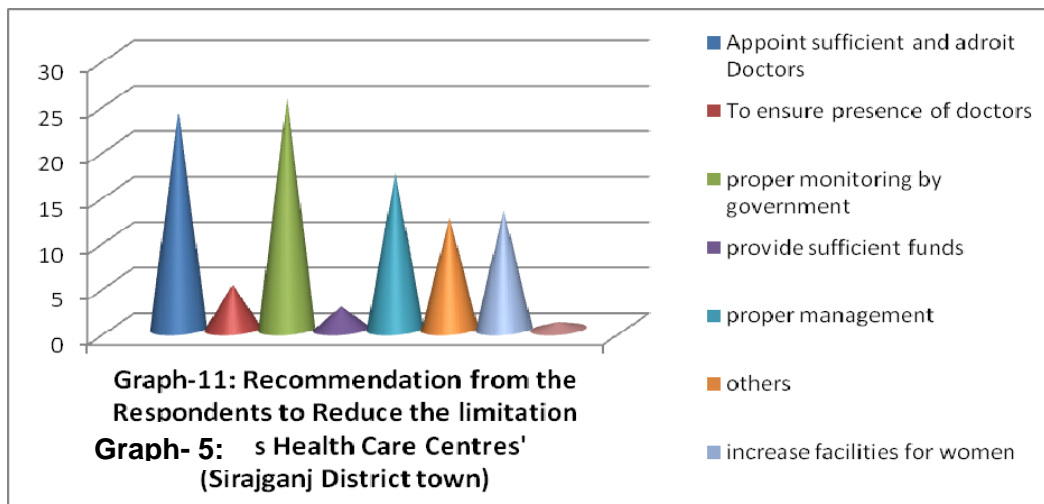
তমেবি বগ	তমেবগ্জ	cY" গ্জ "
গব্জি " " (Maternal Health)		
KৱDৱYৱ্জ s ৱfৱRU (FP/RH)	30,00	0.00
beRৱZৱKi তমেব (New Born Care)	50,00	0.00
bi গ্জ তৱ্জ fৱi x (Normal Delivery)	2,000,00	
ৱmRৱi qvb তৱ্জ fৱi x (C-Section Pacakage)	12,000,00	0.00
তনvg তৱ্জ fৱi x (Home Delivery)	-	-
mৱৱRৱ"vj তৱ্জ (Surgical Dressing)	100,00	0.00

Figure-3: Service charge of NGOs Health care centers (smiling sun and mariestopes)

Some important health care services including maternal health care service, vaccination and other health care services demand comparatively higher charges (See Figure 3). Respondents of both Mirpur, Dhaka and Sirajganj district town have criticized such price tag. These price lists are obviously higher for lower earner people. NGOs motto is to provide proper primary health care services within very reasonable charge in both urban and rural areas. But such price tag surely will not help poor people to get proper medical care. In that case, they need to reduce service charge, otherwise poor people will find it difficult to cope with such expenses.

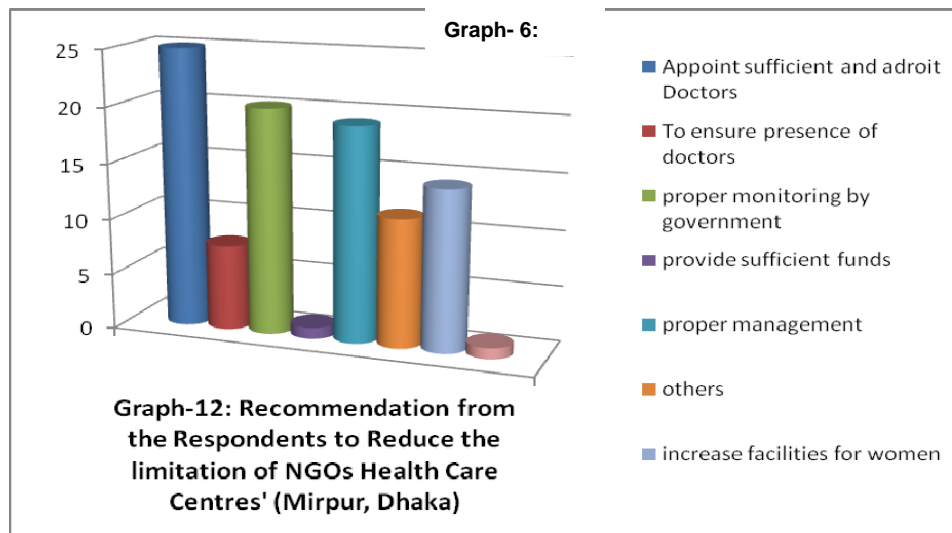
Improvement of Services: Clients Perspective

The respondents of both Sirajganj district town and Mirpur, Dhaka have given several opinions that, exactly where to be fixed in NGOs health care centres.



Source: Data collected from field study. (During 4th March, 2013 – 11th May, 2013)

However, it needs to be given utter importance because their opinion is vital for policy makers. Among all respondents in Mirpur, Dhaka 25% respondents have opined that, NGOs clinics need to appoint sufficient and more adroit doctors, cause sufficient doctors and other medical staffs can provide quality treatment (from the graph-6). In Sirajganj district town almost twenty four percent (23.8%) respondents have stated the same thing as they do need to appoint sufficient doctors to provide proper health care service (from the graph-5). It is very unfortunate that sometime doctors prefer private practice and in that case patients of those clinics cannot get treatment. In Mirpur, Dhaka among all respondents 7.7% have urged to ensure presence of doctors, while in Sirajganj district town 4.9% respondents have told to ensure presence of doctors.



Source: Data collected from field study. (During 4th March, 2013 – 11th May, 2013)

As we have said before that, to run these NGOs clinics government needs to support them, because NGOs are playing a great job to reduce the burden of government and the ultimate result is it will ensure health security of our country. Among all respondents in Mirpur, Dhaka 20.2% respondents have expressed that, proper monitoring by government can be vital for providing proper health care of NGOs (from the graph-6).

On the other hand, in Sirajganj district town among all respondents over twenty five percent (25.4%) respondents have also opined about government supervision to ensure proper health care service for the people (from the graph-5). Some respondents have also articulated about to provide sufficient funds to run it smoothly. In fact, in Sirajganj district town among all respondents only 3.5% have opined about it, while in Mirpur, Dhaka among all respondents 1% have told about it. Management is one of vital segments of any department. NGOs clinics are no exception. However, in Mirpur, Dhaka among all respondents 19.2% respondents have urged to focus on proper management. They have also said that, proper management can bring proper and desirable outcome (from the graph-6). Same can be said for Sirajganj district town too. There among all respondents over seventeen percent (17.2%) respondents have articulated about proper management besides.

Most of the cases in Bangladesh women health care facilities are not good enough. In Mirpur, Dhaka among all respondents 14.4% has opined that, to increase facilities for women. Such as appoint more lady doctors. The scenario is almost same in Sirajganj district town. Among all respondents 13.1% have also stated about the importance of increasing facilities for women (from the graph-5). Advertise can play a vital role to provide broader range of health care facilities in both urban rural areas. Respondents have also stated about it. 0.8% and 1% respondents of Sirajganj district town and Mirpur, Dhaka have admitted it respectively. However, it really can be effective, cause advertise creates social awareness for sure. In the end, rest of 12.3% respondents in Sirajganj district town and 11.5% respondents in Mirpur, Dhaka have opined that, limitations should be fixed in other way.

Concluding Remarks

In view of above discussion and analysis, it is said that, within their limitations NGOs are doing great job for both urban and rural people. It is apparent from the study findings an intractable health problem can be solved through proper management and applying appropriate policies. Many positive outcomes in health sector have come through NGOs clinics. Their achievement is remarkable including the reduction of child mortality rates from 2% to 70% through immunization program in Bangladesh besides, maternal health care services is typically remarkable as well. The role of the government in Primary health care system is justified on the grounds of outcome where government has failed to deliver desirable output in large scale. But now it's time to take incisive steps for reducing disparities in health by both GO and NGO. In order to improve health care system and reduce disparities between urban and rural area at first government needs to formulate an active health policy and thus with the intention of executing it they should work along with NGOs and increase helpful hands towards them. But in truth, after forty years of independence we the people of Bangladesh still cannot get proper health care facilities and government can't ignore the fact and in that case government needs to work along with NGOs for shrinking existing tribulations from primary health care system.

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Historical Origin of Dowry System in Bangladesh

Shamsun Naher Khanom¹

Abstract: The study refers to the origin and expansion of dowry system in Bangladesh. In view of historical perspective, the study starts from Vedic era and covers some broad stages of the origin and expansion of dowry system in Bangladesh. The study demonstrates that the dowry system prevailing in Bangladesh has a long and diverse history. It is apparent from the discussion that, form of dowry also varied from time to time and region to region. Dowry system was originated in Hindu culture and religion but subsequently it intervened in Bengali Muslim community. It is a historical inevitability because Hindus and Muslims lived together in this region for many centuries. Even so, the continuation, expansion and diversity of the system in contemporary Bangladesh largely depend on the realities of the society in addition to its historical legacy.

Key word: Dowry, Hindu Culture, Muslim Community, Historical Origin, Bangladesh

Introduction

The present condition of dowry system in Bangladesh can be assumed analyzing its historical perspective. There is a hypothetical discernment that dowry has its socio-cultural and religious origin in present Bangladesh. And so, this study has been designed in order to examine the hypothesis set for as well as to do so, the factors led to the origin of dowry system in undivided India and Bangladesh has been dealt with from the historical point of view. In this process, social, cultural, religious and economic factors have been taken into account with special importance. Numbers of scholars like A. S. Altekar applied stage theory in order to understand the position of women in Hindu civilization (Altekar, 2005: 49). But in this study, no rigid stage-based analysis has been followed rather some general and broad stages have been examined in order to understand the origin and expansion of dowry system in this region. In view of the fact, the present study deals with the historical origin and expansion of dowry system in Bangladesh; and tends to conclude that dowry system originated in the historical past and Bangladesh society bears the legacy of the history.

Vedic Era

The Veda is a significant source of understanding about the social life of ancient India. In dealing with Indian civilization, it is customary to trace everything to Vedic thought. Position of women and origin of dowry system can also be dealt with by this approach. The earliest literature of this age is the Rigveda, which could be considered roughly as having evolved from 1,500 BC to 1,000 BC. In Vedic philosophic thought, men have

¹ Associate Professor, Department of Government and Politics, Jahangirnagar University, Savar, Dhaka (merry_fatema@yahoo.com)

been given the most powerful anthropomorphic form. The word *nari* appears frequently in the Rigveda and is supposed to be the origin of *nar* (man) and *nari* (woman). The word *nari* is also used for bravery, working alongside man, provider of equality and leadership. At the highest level, *nari* was worshipped as Usha or Dawn, the bringer of hope, the pathfinder of the sun and his sister as well as mother (Seth, 2001: 10). The social, economic, political and financial status of the Indian women is also governed by her past. When we analyze her situation in the earliest historic phase, we find that in the Vedic age women had perhaps the most honored position in the contemporary world (Seth, 2001: 16). In the Vedic period, the birth of a son was an important development in any pastoral society gradually turning agrarian. In Aryan society, which was constantly waging with a substantial indigenous population, it was even more important. A special ceremony called *Punswan* was prescribed in the third or fourth month of pregnancy for those anticipating the birth of a son although its main aim was to ensure the security and safety of the foetus (Seth, 2001: 16). Therefore, a son was also desired to a mother during the Vedic period.

Women had own rights and choices in their personal lives in the Vedic era. It is an interesting reflection on women's status in the Vedic age that women could remain unmarried and remain 'Brahma Vadinis' -devoted to the pursuit of knowledge and self realization. Young men and women married after *brahmacharya* (a life of celibacy till the age of 25). Discussions on love between young men and women are often reported in the Rigveda. Girls could find a husband of their own choice. Young men, and even not so young men, could convert their romantic friendships into marriage. Marriage, according to the Rigveda, was based on truth and duty. It had a spiritual connotation meant to strengthen the social aspect, the mind, life breath and body of the couple. It could be Brahma *vivaha* (marriage) or Daiva *vivaha* in both cases involving the selection of marriage partners by their parents or Gandharva *vivaha* based on the couple choosing each other. During the marriage ceremony, the couple took solemn vows. The woman promises in the *saptapadi* (seven steps taken around the fire) that she will look after her husband and his family and the husband endows her with his wealth, grain and eatables which are her managerial responsibility. She has equal rights as a partner. Marriage was regarded as such a noble institution that there was no mention of divorce. From such state of affairs women's respectable position in the society and family can be realized (Seth, 2001: 18). At that period, the marriage bond was strong. Men did tapa to secure a wise wife and women knew how to cement the bond through service of the husband and the family. The bride was decorated with jewels for the wedding ceremony but no dowry as such is mentioned, though sometimes cows and servants were given to the groom. A woman was considered a symbol of good fortune in the husband's home. She could perform *yajnya* herself or along with her husband. Visvarara used to perform *yajneja* everyday in her home.

The bonds of marriage were not hard but comfortable to live with. The marital bonds appeared to have been so strong that even when a man performed the Vanaprastha Samskara or left for as stated in the Atharvaveda Samhita, he was supposed to take his wife along (Seth, 2001: 18). The basic religious belief and patterns of kinship of the Dravidians remained in their original form with some adoption of Aryan practices. The Aryan practice of *ban* or *sapinda* or collateral marriages on the mother's father's side was not adopted by the Dravidians. Here all castes believed in cross cousin marriages with one's

mother's brother's children or father's sister's children (Seth, 2001: 20).

The most important concept of *kanyadan* or giving the bride as *dana* or charity or gift to a suitable bridegroom was largely accepted in the south. In some cases, this led to lowering the status of the woman. In the south, this was mitigated due to the subject of charity going to a family she knew from her childhood and would largely be treated with due to family ties. In the north, the woman assumed a completely new identity. In both cases, she was supposed to make her husband's family complete. In the south, it often had the advantage of family property remaining within the family (Seth, 2001: 20).

Era of Manu

A very important influence on the status of the Hindu woman has been the Manusmriti, a grand composed by Manu (In some Hindu traditions, Manu is a title accorded to a progenitor of humanity) somewhere between 200 BC to AD 200. In the beginning of his book he writes: "Brahma separated his body into two parts: from half he created man and from the other part woman. She is, therefore, born equal (Seth, 2001: 23)". God resides where women are respected and where they are insulted all endeavor is useless. Women are also seen by Manu, as in the Jatakas, as seductive, who blame men and should be avoided seclusion. The importance of marriage is stressed as paramount for women. Most of the marriage mantras are prescribed for women during the marriage ceremony. Manu prescribes, very strictly, the qualities of a girl who should be selected by a man as his wife. He states that a girl should not hail from a family which does not perform *jati* rituals (custom of the race) (Seth, 2001: 24). Manu has prescribed different forms of marriage like Prajapatya, Asura, Grandharva, Raskshana, and Paisacha. In marriage, a wise father is prohibited from taking any money for giving the daughter in marriage. As far as the actuals of marriage were concerned, he states that a man should invite an educated and well-mannered youth to marry his daughter who should be adorned with ornaments and given clothes for purposes of *kanyadan* after blessing them by saying that 'both of you (the couple) should perform *Dharma*'. According to Manu, the most accomplished children are born out of such unions (Seth, 2001: 24). Here Manu put emphasis on ornaments and cloths which are not be labeled as dowry. He rather maintains men wanting prosperity should always respect women and on special occasions give those clothes, ornaments and special food. A family where there is conjugal harmony and happiness will have more lasting welfare than any other family.

In the marriage institution, Manu gave respect to women and enjoined on the husbands to provide her every comfort and respect. In those families, where wives do not get respect, they curse the family which is destroyed, as after death or a murder in the family. He also states that if men desire greater welfare then as fathers, brothers, husbands and brothers-in-law they should respect women and adorn them with ornaments (Seth, 2001: 24). Manu respects the bond of marriage and condemns adultery stating that nothing reduces a man's life more than involvement with another man's wife. He goes on to state that if a lower caste man enjoys a higher caste woman, he should receive the death penalty while in the case of a woman who is proud of her beauty and copulates with another man, the king should get her bitten by dogs. He, therefore, advises that women should be protected day and night (Seth, 2001: 24). The Manusmriti clearly states that a society cannot prosper

where women are not happy and no family can thrive if its female members are unhappy and cursed. They were not shown disrespect through the process of marriage. They could keep their *sridhan* (money given to them by parents or in laws) and inherit property and wealth, if unmarried or no male issues of their family were left (Seth, 2001: 26). Manu stated about high esteem of women both in family and society. He did not mention about groom price rather emphasized bride price. According to him, marriage is a holy institution through which women are respected by men. But he did not allow inter-caste marriage which is punishable offence according to them.

Modern India and Bangladesh

In ancient Hindu society there developed the custom of paying dowry as bride price but in modern times this has turned into dowry as groom price because of hypergamy or *kulinism*. The traditional concept of hypergamy based on caste distinctions, since the 19th century, has assumed a new dimension in the shape of university degrees. *The Bengal Census Report of 1911* quoted one eminent observer as saying: "Education, instead of stifling or mitigating the baneful effect of *kulinism*, has gone to a horrible degree to strengthen them. In fact, the university standard has become a more powerful engine of oppression for the girl's father than *kulinism*" (Islam, 2003: 381). Educational qualification put up the price of a groom because he has more likely to get a remunerative employment. As Muslims took English education about fifty years behind Hindus, this brand of *kulinism*, in addition to the prevailing *kulinism* in the grab of *khandani* families in contrast with the families in such lowly professions as farming, fishing, wearing and oil-milling, also developed among them promoting the practice of dowry on a wider scale (Islam, 2003: 381).

The position of women in Indian society underwent many changes as a result of the social changes in the century.

The honored position which the women enjoyed before the advent of Muslims in India gradually deteriorated during the Turkish rule. While the older tradition of high respect for them continued in a section of society, there were some people who looked down upon them and denounced them as the root causes of the ruin of men. A girl in a Hindu house was taught to respect the members of the family, especially the elders, from her very childhood. She was supposed to worship her husband like God and obey his commands. She was to follow her *pativrata dharma* (complete loyalty and devotion to husband) and lead a very chaste life (Misra, 1967: 129-130). Dowry was an old custom and gradually it became rigorous. This system was prevalent more among the rich than among the commoners. It also appears that it was absent among the Brahmins. The nature of dowry was different with the economic standards of the parents. The foreign travelers also took notice of the system of dowry prevalent in India. Usually it was the bridegroom's side which received the dowry. But the reverse cannot be ruled out and in some cases the parents or guardians of the bride also receive the dowry. This custom was prevalent mostly among the lower classes in the region comprising today of the states Uttar Pradesh and Bihar (Misra, 1967: 129-130).

In Bangladesh the widespread prevalence of dowry among Hindus is attributed to strict

kulinism or caste restrictions, especially among the highest castes. Until the 19th century, this led to the spread of polygamy on a scale that saw high caste Brahmans having even more than a hundred wives allowing them to visit a wife left in her father's house not more than once a year. This made it easy for these Brahmans to live like parasites on the dowries and hospitality of their many fathers-in-law ((Islam, 2003: 381). Dowry originated in upper caste families as the wedding gift to the bride from her family. The dowry was later given to help with marriage expenses and became a form of insurance in the case that her inlaws mistreated her. Although the dowry was legally prohibited in 1961, it continues to be highly institutionalized. The practice of dowry abuse is rising in India. It is evident that there exist deep rooted prejudices against women in India. Cultural practices such as the payment of dowry tend to subordinate women in Indian society. The practice of dowry in India goes back thousands of years. Its original intent, scholars say, was to protect women, who by bringing property and belongings to the marriage could enjoy some creature comforts and not have to depend entirely on their husbands. However, somewhere along the line, what was supposed to be security for the bride came to be seen as a born to the groom and his family, a way for them to augment their wealth.²

It was perceived that, the bull's eye of conjugal life is to get company of a husband from which the wife was totally oppressed in her life. It was basically materialized due to *kulin* polygamy of the husband. The husband came to his father-in-law's house to collect money and then came back (Begum, 2006: 6). More money was collected if the husband stayed at night with his wife. In this way, the society did not pressure on husband for the maintenance cost of the wife rather it pressured on brides family for the cost of maintenance of the groom. The groom price that was started in the 17th - 18th century was transformed into as education (pass/degree) *kaulinnay* in the early 19th century that introduced dowry or the demand of *pan*. On the other hand, polygamy was emerged as the means of living from *kaulinnay* here literally (*bangsha kaulinnay*) the *kuline* Brahman got married as their livelihood and in course of time it was quite impossible to collect grooms for the guardians of the brides (Begum, 2006: 10). In nineteenth century, education and degree *kaulinnay* had become high in price in the marriage market. Bengali Hindu educated groom's party started competition for demand capitalizing education. Once dowries are free and spontaneous gifts in the Bengali Hindu society and the gifts are gifted to help the grooms of the brides. In nineteenth century this practice turned into the form of dowry demand (Begum, 2006: 10). In this way, dowry or *pan* system started its journey first in Bengali Hindu community and then in non-Hindu community.

The value of educated grooms who have money but no *bangsha kawlinnay* also increased. The guardian of the bride weared indirect string to their daughter's neck agreeing with dowry demand of the educated *kaulin* grooms. The guardians of the bride started to choose *shikkhita patra* (educated groom) for the happiness of their daughter's future. The guardians of the educated grooms also started to take the chance of these conditions. As a result, they took the compensated money of their son's education expenditure from the bride's family. When the trend of getting conjugal life of the son with his wife in place of son's employment/job was begun even in joint family, the full cost of education and other costs were also collected from the bride's parents. The son

². Chu, Henry, Wedded to Greed in India, <http://articles.latimes.com/2007/sep/22/world/fg-dowry22>.

may look after his parents in near future or not from such psychological build-up of the parents- they did not want to wait for that. Therefore, their attention was to collect money as soon as possible from the bride party and they started to use their son's education in competition of marriage market. In the above mentioned way, educated grooms turned them into *biddabebashayi* (educated businessmen) class. The pan system in marriage was emerged in this way in Bengali Hindu society (Begum, 2006: 10). A chief historic motivation for bestowing dowry as practiced in Ancient Greece, Rome, India and medieval Europe, was to provide a degree of financial autonomy to a bride, how otherwise had little or no right to property after marriage.

According to various traditions, dowry might flow from the groom and/or his family to the bride thus ensuring her economic well being in the event of her husband's death or the dissolution of the marriage or from the bride's parents to the bride or her new husband, as a form of bequest, or premortem inheritance, for their daughter. Now practiced primarily in Asian cultures, dowry payment in its current manifestation typically involves the transfer of wealth from the parents of the bride to the groom and his family. Although women and girls are no longer the direct beneficiaries, some researchers maintain that the practice still confers benefits to the bride by enforcing her status in the marital home. Evidence from India, however, indicates that the positive effects of dowry for wives have more than diminished. Once considered a beneficent and even spiritual act observed only by the wealthiest and holiest castes with the lower castes practicing the more pragmatic tradition of bride price, involving compensation by the groom's family to the bride's family for the loss of human capital, the dowry system today often functions more as a commercial transaction and has been resolutely embraced by the middle and lower classes.³ Dowry system directly relates with the marriage system. To know about the emergence of dowry system it is essential to know the marriage system of the Bengalis. During the birth of agricultural civilization there was no marriage system. At that time, a man could build a family ensuring his future inheritance by entrancing a woman in his house. From the anthropological information it is known that it was compulsory for woman to make marriage relationship with a male partner. Relation with many women was recognized in the society for the male husband. From that times women is treated as property. As a result, control over women started from the period.

The marriage system of Bengali Hindu, Muslim, Buddhist and Christian is different. The marriage system of Bengali Hindu community is guided by religious rituals and local customs. On the other hand, Muslim marriage is conduct by 'contract'. The Aryan society was built up by the patriarchal ideologies. In between tenth and eleventh century Bengali smiriti and puranist built-up the social system of Bengal in the frame of Indian caste classification. Aryan marriage custom also mixed with Bengali caste Hindu society through this process (Begum, 2006: 10). The marriage system of Bengali society has turned into present condition through many changes. Dowry system in Bengali Hindu and Muslim communities has retained same form through gradual transformation in different places and times. Dowry system was not practiced in the Bengali Muslim society before the 20th century. But the trend of *gharjamai* (the groom who puts up with his father-in-law's family) was practiced in many families at that time. In the Muslim marriage, it has

³. <http://www.Irinnews.org>, "Broken Bodies- Broken Dreams: Violence Against Women Exposed."

to mention in the contract form or *kabinnma* that how much money will be given to the bride by the groom as *mahrana*. The money given to the bride is called *denmahr*. This Muslim religious rule had been granted into the marriage registration act of Bangladesh (Begum, 2006: 3). The emergence of dowry system can be known from analyzing the history of dowry system. The custom of *kaulinnay*, the system of bride sell, bride price and groom price are related with the emergence of dowry system. The lives of Bengali women faced unflagging sufferings due to the negative role of *kaulinnay* system. Polygamy, child marriage, misfortune of women, adultery all are the negative effects of *kaulinnism* in the society (Begum, 2006: 3). Since the emergence of dowry system it created economic pressure on bride's party.

To say about the emergence of dowry, Moulana Mosharraf Hossain said four sources are responsible for the emergence of dowry system (Islam: 83). These are:

1. In ancient Egypt dowry or *pan* system was present. It can be known that this system was introduced by the fire-worshippers.
2. In ancient period, the non-Aryans got their daughter's marriage with the Aryans in exchange of lot of dowry money hoping for their superior social prestige.
3. The main root of practice of dowry system lies in Hindu inheritance law. According to Hindu inheritance law, daughters have no share in her father's property. For this reason, Hindu fathers give a number of items as well as a lot of money at the marriage time of their daughters. In the next time, the practice turned into dowry system.
4. In the second and third decade of the twentieth century a strong middle class society emerged due to the expansion of English education. This educated class got different government jobs that increased their social status. They were attractive as grooms to the bride's party. Bride's father gave a lot of gifts and other valuable things to the groom's party to get their attention and attraction. Groom's parent's satisfaction depended on the amount and qualities of the various gifts, later it turned into burning factor. It means that the gift items or money that was given to the groom's party spontaneously in the later period, it turned into the demand of the groom's party. In the nineteenth century even in the poor families' fathers had arranged their son's marriage in condition of getting educational cost from brides' fathers. Sometimes aristocratic bride party took step willingly to provide education cost as well as living cost even to the poor groom of aristocratic gentle caste. The combination of both the demand of the groom's party and willingly gifts of the bride's party was practicing continuously all over the time of twentieth century. Later, in the twenty first century this practice turned into dangerous form and women of any caste, educated or uneducated, economically depended or independent suffered a lot for dowry demand.

From the emergence of *kawlinnay* system, *kannaypan* (bride price) and, *borpan* (groom price) were publicly established. The non-*kulin* grooms started to offer bride price to the *kulin* brides to get marry them. On the other hand, the bride party started competition to collect groom by giving *pan* due to lack of *kulin* groom. In such way, *pan* system expanded in the society. In Bengali Hindu society, *pan* system took place as a negative

result of *kawlinnay* system.

The seed of *borpan* system lied into polygamy as well as in child marriage. Once upon a time, the number of unmarried girls was higher than the number of boys. Unmarried girls were treated as criminal/guilty person as well as being was disgraceful in the society. Girls were unprotected in society. So it was father's firm duty to arrange marriages for their daughters. The family of the unmarried girls was socially excluded. So getting *jamai* (groom) even in exchange of money was a serious headache for the bride party. The *barpan* system started from such an urge of searching groom of the bride party. The practice of dowry significantly shifts the terms of exchange at marriage in favor of the groom's party. This reflects a change over the last two generations in Bangladesh and parts of North India, where bride price used to be the norm. The British policy in India and consequent expansion of English education and economy were responsible for the origin on dowry system in Bangladesh. In this respect, a scholar's observation is worth quoting at length (Lindenbaum, 1996: 183). There is a general consensus among South Asianists that emphasis on dowry (of which groom price is a corrupt version), co-varies with social mobility, higher social position, urban employment and involvement in commerce.

The first opportunity for meeting these pre-requisites in this predominantly rural part of the British Empire arose when the British administration in West Bengal offered government employment to Hindu males in the end of the 19th century. This in India introduced money accumulation into the prestige system that had been based until then exclusively on land ownership. Thus education and employment possibilities gave rise to a new category of grooms—ones with salaried income. Henceforward, the rural householder's economic success depends on an ability to diversify a household's activities among landholding and private or government connected commerce. High demand for salaried grooms thus redirected the focus from desirable brides to qualified grooms and opulent dowries were meant "as an inducement to the family of a qualified groom to make an alliance" (Kotaliva, 1996: 183). In this context, Lindenbaum goes on explaining: The departure of the British followed by the formation of the Muslim state of East Pakistan in 1947, accompanied by continuous pauperization, dwindling landholdings and an ever increasing category of landless Muslim peasants, provided a political and economic framework for an aggravation of the male exodus from the villages. The educated minority could find an opportunity in the administrative and military services of the newly created state while the rest were absorbed by diverse odd jobs in the urban service and commercial sector. Hence the 'shortage' of males in rural areas created the appearance of a new type of groom- one with in income potential (Lindenbaum, 1996: 183).

Regarding the expansion of dowry during Pakistan period Linderbaum further states that a further factor contributing to the change was the economic re-orientation of East Pakistan towards the international market after 1947.

East Pakistan's ever increasing dependence on foreign aid gave rise to a new sort of business class and introduced to the local market a wide range of foreign made consumer goods. In this scenario, the groom is no longer an undifferentiated category. The modern groom, one with regular cash income and dual residence, corresponds to a new ideal which fathers strive to obtain for their daughters in marriage and it is the suitable groom

(Lindenbaum, 1996: 183). Lindenbaum points to the different implication the political and economic changes had for men and women. The diversified economic activities split the attachment of the new groom between the employment market and the home and lead to his comminuting life style. His income potential thus surpasses previously valued attributes of the bride. Brides in contrast, remain, in spite of emerging education opportunities, a relatively homogeneous, static and secluded group, embedded in old values. While grooms demand externally designed objects that facilitate outward orientation and achievement through the acquisition of knowledge, speed, adjustment to outward forces, the valuables for the bride include, the locally defined items of home manufacture (Lindenbaum, 1996: 184).

Islam and Dowry

The custom of giving dowry (*jahaz*) is not part of Islam although it actually seems to be on the increase among several Muslim cultures, notably these of Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin. In fact, it is a practice which has never been sanctioned by Islam and is not prevalent amongst Muslims of other cultures. It seems to be in imitation of ancient Hindu culture in which daughters were not given any share in the family property, but were given payments, part of which might be in the form of household goods, as a measure of compensation. Islam granted daughters a rightful share in their family property and inheritance. As a result dowry is not legal as well as logical in Islam. In the first era of Islam, marriage was a simple affair without pomp or ceremony. Any expenditure incurred in its performance was quite minimal and not a burden on either family. Indeed, the Prophet stated: “the most blessed marriage is one in which the marriage partners place the least burden on each other” (Haythami, 2005: 255). Nowadays, much difficulty and hardship can be caused by the setting and giving of dowries, bride prices and *mahr* not to mention enormous wedding feasts and celebrations in some cultures which bring a most unreasonable financial burden on the families concerned. Financially crippling celebrations are totally in opposition to the spirit of Islam, and are not necessary. They are purely a matter of the culture of certain regions. No Muslim should feel obliged to continue these un-Islamic traditions, or be embarrassed about breaking with their old cultural traditions. A woman holds a very high status in the Islamic faith. She is honored and respected at all times, but many startling transgressions have script into Islamic practice. These transgressions have been caused by cultural influences that have no bases in Islam. One such influence is the dowry. Muslim living on the Indian subcontinent has slowly incorporated the payment of dowry into their lives. In India, the dowry originated in the upper caste Hindu communities as a wedding gift (cash or valuables) from the bride’s family to the groom’s family. There is nothing strange or unique about a culture influencing Muslim practice, as it is a common occurrence around the globe. There is nothing wrong with this as long as those cultural practices do not contradict with Islamic law. The practice of dowry, however, does in fact transgress Islamic Law.⁴

Conclusion

⁴. Abdullah, Amatullah, <http://writerinislam.blogspot.com>.

It is apparent from the discussion that, dowry system in Bangladesh has a long and diverse history. The present condition of dowry system is the ultimate result of its growth throughout last couple of centuries. It is found that, dowry form also varied from time to time and region to region. However, the point is to be noted that dowry system originated not in the Bengali Muslim culture rather its origin was in Hindu religion and culture. Polygamy, Hindu inheritance law, child marriage, caste system and emergence of English education were responsible for the expansion of dowry system. Hindus and Muslims remain coexisted for many centuries in this region. As a result, cultural hybridism emerged and its direct implication is the intervention of dowry system in Bengali Muslim community. It is realized that the continuation and expansion of the system depends on the realities of contemporary Bangladesh society.

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Assessment of Knowledge, Attitude & Perception of Credit Rating Industry of Bangladesh towards Development of Learning Organization Practice

Raihan Sharif¹

Abstract: Information & communication technology has conquered distance. We are living in a global village now. It brought a lot of opportunity for us. At the same time it also increased job switching tendency of the employees. The organizations are the ultimate sufferer of this job switching tendency. Corporate can't retain an employee for long. It takes long to train up new employees to fill up the vacancy. Knowledge management can help to minimize this risk of losing employees. But knowledge management is not an easy task to do. To reach to the stage of knowledge management, organizations have to ensure a learning culture inside the organization. Human beings need to be motivated to do any task. So establishing learning organization culture should have motivation for the employees. This paper assesses knowledge, attitude & perception of employees of credit rating companies of Bangladesh towards learning organization practice.

Key words: Knowledge Management, Learning Organization (LO) practice, Credit Rating Industry, Leadership style

Introduction

The term "Credit Rating" can be analyzed by dividing it in two parts – credit and rating. Credit is borrowing money or some benefits by a borrower with a promise to pay back the principal amount and the interest after a specific time period. Rating usually denotes to a symbol or on a relative judgment of something on a scale. So the entire term 'Credit Rating' can be defined as a judgment or an opinion on the quality of a credit, whether the creditor or the borrower is financially capable to meet the obligations i.e., principle and interest. In Bangladesh, only a few organizations provide this service. After the world recession of 2008, the importance of credit rating increased significantly. From January 2009, Bangladesh Bank has prescribed all the banks to follow BASEL II standard. As a part of the BASEL II all the financial institution must be rated by External Credit Analyst Institution (ECAI). The activities of a bank have direct influence on the economic development of a country. The Bangladesh Bank has also decided to go for adoption of Basel-II with effect from January 2009. Bangladesh banking sector has 48 commercial banks including 4 PLCs (former NCBs), 5 specialized banks, 9 foreign banks, 30 private sector commercial banks including 6 private sector banks operating on Islamic Shariah principles. There are two credit rating companies operating in Bangladesh now. Those are:

¹ Master of Business Administration (1st Semester), School of Management (SOM) Asian Institute of Technology (AIT), Thailand email: jewellibaju@gmail.com

- I. CRAB (Credit Rating Agency of Bangladesh)
- II. CRISL (Credit Rating and Information and Services Limited)

Another 11 companies applied for license and SEC (Security and Exchange Commission) has approved 2 companies. Those are:

- I. Emerging Credit Rating Limited(ECRL)
- II. National Credit Ratings Limited(NCRL)

Credit rating industry is still in its early stage in Bangladesh in terms of growth. Organizational Learning is very helpful for this industry. As this industry is in its early stage, it cannot retain employees for long. Employee turnover is very high in this industry due to less attractive remuneration comparative to other service industries. Organizational Learning can solve this problem. Credit Rating companies can use learning tools to collect and disseminating information from and to employees. This will help sharing knowledge of one with others. The researchers said, “Relationship assessment revealed that one construct, learning and development, proved to be strongly significant and positively related to company performance in Jordan” (Khadra and Rawabdeh 2006, Page. 471). However, learning and its implementation, when integrated with organizational commitment and organizational effectiveness; contribute to business success (Marsick&Watkins, 1999). A learning organization is an organization skilled in modifying its behavior to reflect new knowledge, insights (Garvin, 1993), commitment (Bhatnagar, 2007), and effectiveness (Woodall, 2005).

Literature Review

A learning organization is “a place where employees excel at creating, acquiring, and transferring knowledge” (Garvin, Edmondson, &Gino, 2008, p.110), and “an organization skilled at modifying its behavior to reflect new knowledge and insights” (Garvin, 1993, p.80).The learning organization (LO) accelerates individual learning capacity, and redefines organizational structure, culture, job design, mental models, and encourages employee involvement (Khadra and Rawabdeh, 2006). Learning organizations promote a culture of learning, a community of learners, and ensure that individual learning is shared and used to enrich the organization (Agarwal, 2005). Extending capacity to use learning as a strategic tool to generate new knowledge, in the form of products and processes, and to use technology to capture knowledge, is becoming increasingly important. The learning organization is a paradigm shift from the traditional organization, and is considered to be a change of the highest order (Hitt, 1995). The term learning organization was first coined by Garratt in 1987 to describe organizations that experimented with new ways of conducting business in order to survive in turbulent highly competitive markets (Ortenblad, 2004). Learning organizations are those firms that have in place systems, mechanisms and processes that are used to continually enhance their capabilities, and encounter people who work with it or for it to achieve sustainable objectives for themselves and the communities in which they participate (Farago and Skyrme, 1995). Senge (1990) popularized the concept to describe organizations where people at all levels, individually and collectively, are continually increasing their capacity and expanding their capabilities to produce truly desired

outcomes. From systems perspective, he identified five requirements: personal mastery, mental models, shared vision, team learning, and systems thinking as the principles necessary to create the learning organization.

The learning perspective proffered by Pedler et al., (1991) defined the LO as an entity that facilitates the learning by all its members, and continuously transforms itself and its context. He identified eleven characteristics which facilitate learning, and so better collect, manage, and use knowledge for corporate success (Moilanen, 2005; Yang et al., 2004). These characteristics incorporated the traditional elements of management to support learning at all organizational levels (Leitch et al., 1996). The integrative perspective of a learning organization developed by Watkins and Marsick (1993) identified seven distinct, but interrelated, dimensions of the concept at individual, team, and organizational level. The model integrates two main organizational constituents of people and structure, to emphasize at the system-level, continuous learning to create and manage knowledge outcomes. This in-turn will lead to improvement in performance as measured through both financial and non-financial intellectual capital (Yang et al., 2004). From literature review we have found several dimensions of management & human resource practices that support the development & operation of learning organization which result improved performance. Those issues are: Supportive Organizational culture, Facilitative leadership, Strategic planning, Horizontal organization structure, Knowledge Management system, Rewards & recognition and Performance evaluation system.

Learning organization hypothetical model

The LO implementation constructs which support the creation of a learning organization are combined into one framework based on the work of Marquardt's (1996) learning organization profile, O'Brien's (1994) learning organization practices profile, and Phillips' (2003) the ten-pillar ideal learning organization model. The developed research model is focused on continuous learning and performance improvement through its elemental interaction. The LO hypothetical model is illustrated in Figure 1. The model is divided into five levels:

- i. Leadership and strategic planning
- ii. Performance evaluation
- iii. Continuous alignment with strategy
- iv. Learning organization practices
- v. The learning infrastructure

This model provide management support to establish necessary conditions to exercise leadership and create the cultural change required to encourage employees' learning and involvement. The new culture should be developed and sustained collectively to maximize employees' contribution to the organization's objective of achieving excellence through organizational renewal. The ultimate objective in the learning organization is to empower the workforce to exercise self-direction while pursuing continuous learning and improvement strategies. Leadership per se examines management style and personal involvement in setting strategic directions, and building and maintaining a leadership system that will facilitate high performance, individual development, and organizational learning (Samson and Terziovski, 1999).

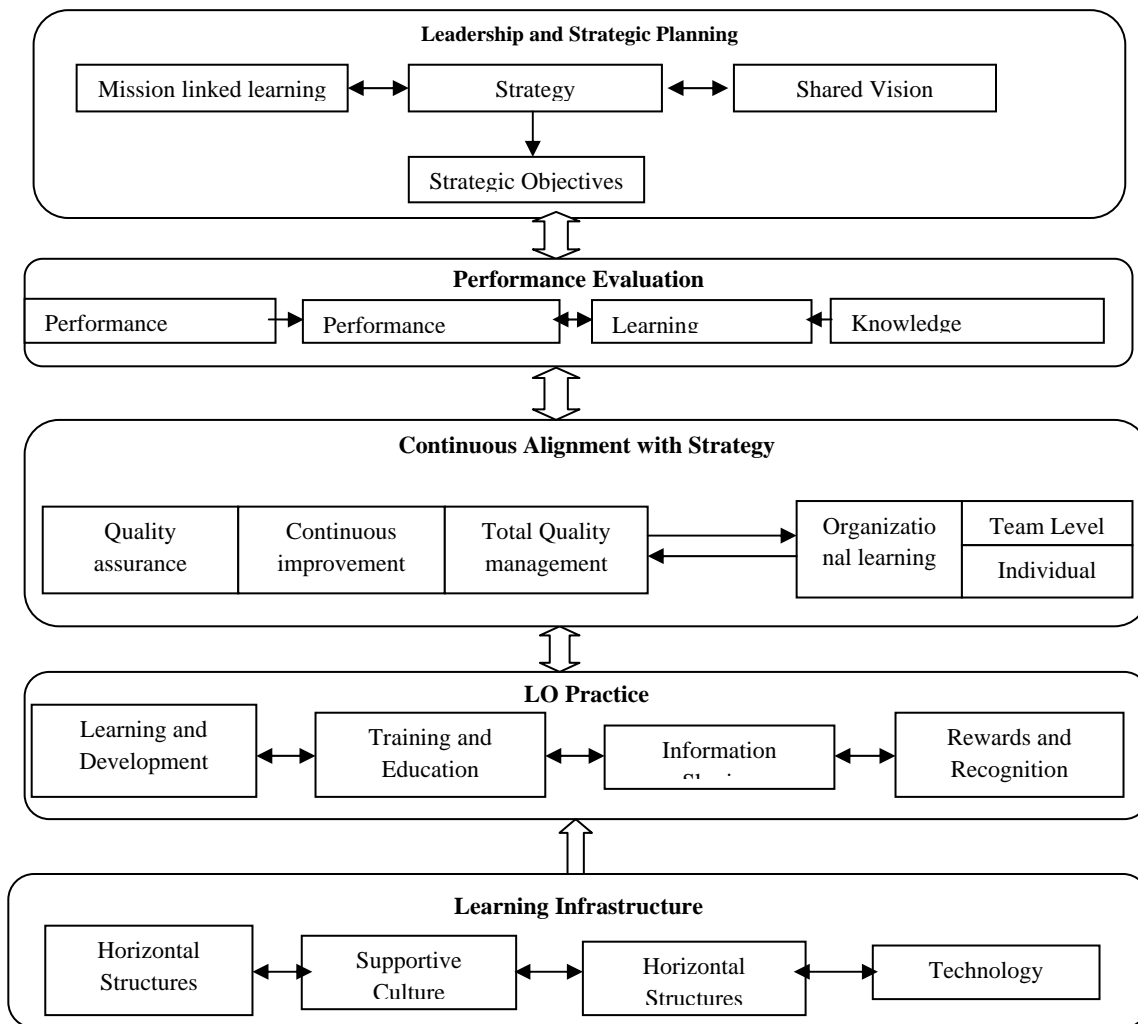


Figure 1: Learning organization hypothetical model (Khadra and Rawabdeh 2006)

Problem Definition

Learning Organization concept is a very important issue. But this is not followed in any industry of Bangladesh. No research has been conducted on this issue in the context of Bangladeshi Industry. This practice can improve employee commitment with the organization and can improve efficiency. We have found that in the developed countries, many organizations follow this concept and thus they compete with their competitors. To understand the effect of this concept in rating industry of Bangladesh deems to be a valuable study.

Objective of the Study: This study assesses the level of understanding and appreciation of learning organization concept in credit rating industry of Bangladesh. Specific Objectives of the study are as:

- To identify employee's attitude toward organizational learning
- To examine the learning organization constructs both for individually & collectively

Scope: This study focuses on organizational learning. This study measures employees' understanding of LO practice constructs. This study shows the attitude of employees toward issues important for implementing LO practice.

Methodology: Data for the study was collected by conducting a survey on the employees of CRAB and CRISL. The research instrument is a structured questionnaire designed to collect information about the main elements and practices that are provided to contribute most to Learning Organization development in credit rating companies of Bangladesh.

Data Analysis Method: Total population of the study was 150 and sample size for the study was 56. Sampling unit consists of employees from top level, middle level and front level. Sample selection procedure is judgmental sampling. Out of 56 respondents 30 is from CRISL and 26 is from CRAB. SPSS is used to analyze the information collected. Factor analysis is used to measure correlation among the factors. More information about sample selection is shown in the following table:

Limitation: There are only two credit rating Companies in Bangladesh. So the sample of survey is very limited. Lack of research work in this area also another limitation of the study.

Analysis: Some issues required to be established before introducing Learning Organization practice. This research shows the most important issues those have to be established before implementing LO practice. This research also shows the understanding of LO constructs of employees of Credit Rating companies of Bangladesh. The following sections presents the demographic profile of the respondents of survey questionnaire, their understanding of LO constructs, the principal factors those needed to be ensured before implementing LO practice, the variables those constitute the principal factors and the model fit.

Profile of the Respondents

Total 56 employees from 2 credit rating companies were interviewed for this research. The respondents are working as Financial Analyst, Research Officer, Management Trainee, Executive, business development officers and Additional Vice President (AVP) in the companies. Following table shows age of the respondents.

Table 1: Number of respondents according to age

Age Range	Percentage of respondents
20 Years – 29 Years	87%
30 Years – 39 Years	11%
40 Years – 49 Years	2%

From the study I found that most of the employees have experience less than 1 year. Following table shows number of employees based on their experience in credit rating industry.

Table2: Number of respondents based on experience

Experience (in years)	Percentage of respondents
0 year - less than 0.5 years	25%
0.5 years – less than 1 years	33%
1 year – less than 2 years	24%
2 years – less than 3 years	9%
3 years – less than 4 years	7%
4 years+	2%

The respondents include employees from all level. Front level employees include Junior Financial Analyst, Business Development Officer, Executive and Management trainee. Middle Level of employee consists of Financial Analyst and Research Officer. Top level employees include Manager, Senior Financial Analyst and Additional Vice President. Following table shows the sampling unit based on their designation.

Table-3: Sampling unit based on designation

Designation	Percentage of respondents
Top level	16%
Middle level	66%
Front level	18%

There was a part in the questionnaire for collecting data about the understanding of LO constructs of the respondents. The following figure shows the number of respondents having idea about those constructs.

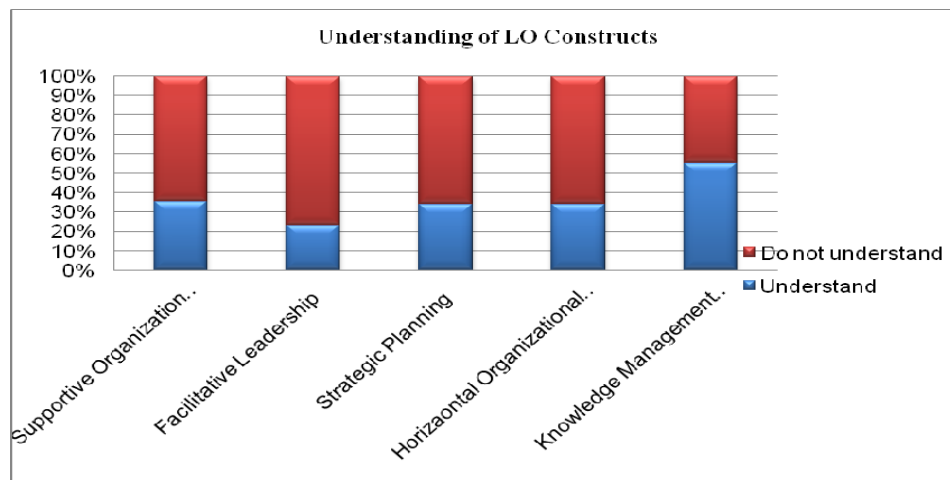


Figure 2: Understanding of LO constructs

Correlation Matrix Analysis

The variables must be correlated for the factor analysis to be appropriate (Malhotra, 2004). So the variables must have strong correlation between them to mean anything significant. From the correlation matrix, it is found that significant correlation exist between several variables. The variable “Recognition for New Ideas & Working Procedure” is highly correlated (0.711) with the variable “Reward for Performance” High Level of correlations also exists between variables: BPE & CM, FTP & RP, ID & EP, ETP & CLS, JR & MPTQ, CV & TRP and TBE & EDD.

The Model Fit

The basic assumption of factor analysis states that observed or estimated correlations between the variables can be used to reproduce correlation to check the fit of the factor model (Malhotra, 2004). The difference between estimated and reproduced correlations is called the residuals (Rahman& Sultana, 2008, Page. 17). There are only 34% residuals, which are larger than 0.05 and it indicates the acceptable model fit for factor model used in the study.

Factors important for implementing LO practice

The principal component analysis (PCA) with varimax rotation was performed to extract the factors important for implementing LO practice in the Credit Rating companies of Bangladesh. PCA is used in those instances when the primary concern is to determine the minimum number of factors that would account for maximum variance in the data (Malhotra, 2004). There is a KMO statistic for each individual variable, and their sum is the KMO overall statistic. KMO varies from 0 to 1.0. Overall KMO should be .50 or higher to proceed with factor analysis (Hair et al., 1998). In order to measure the appropriateness of the factor analysis, Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure of sample adequacy was examined. The value of KMO was 0.766 which indicates sample size is adequate for factor analysis. According to the factor analysis, there are six factors which need to be established before introducing LO practice. The following table shows the factors:

Table 4: Factors important for implementing LO practice

Factor	Name of the Factor	Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
		Eigen Value	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	Training, Benchmarking, Reward & Recognition	7.375	35.120	35.120
2	Company Vision & HR Policy	3.087	14.701	49.821
3	Learning & Development	1.683	8.015	57.836
4	Leadership	1.415	6.740	64.576
5	Knowledge Capture	1.114	5.303	69.878
6	Information Sharing	1.007	4.795	74.673

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis

The table stated above shows that the eigen value of Training, Benchmarking, Reward & Recognition factor is 7.375, which implies that the variance explained by the first 35.12%. The Company Vision & HR Policy factor explains 14.701% variances. The variances explained by the Learning & Development, Leadership, Knowledge Capture, Information sharing are 8.02%, 6.74%, 5.30% and 4.80% respectively. The result of the factor analysis shows that six factors collectively 74.67% variance in the data set.

Constitutes of Training, Benchmarking, Reward & Recognition Factor

The Training, Benchmarking, Reward & Recognition factor has ten elements- Information Database, Education program, Feedback of training program, Recognition for new ideas & working procedure, Reward for performance, Job Rotation, Benchmark for performance evaluation, Measuring performance in terms of quality, Training program based on expertise and ease of decision dissemination. The loadings represent the correlations between the variables and the resulting factor and loadings greater than 0.5 collectively construct the factor (Aaker and George, 1990). Here all the variables that constitutes Training, Benchmarking, Reward & Recognition Factor have factor loadings more than 0.5. The following table shows the factor loading of the variables constituting this factor.

Table 5: Sources of Training, Benchmarking and Reward & Recognition factor

Variable Number	Name of the Variable	Factor Loading
1	Information Database	0.579
6	Education program	0.742
7	Feedback of training program	0.792
10	Recognition for new ideas & working procedure	0.808
11	Reward for performance	0.849
12	Job Rotation	0.546
13	Benchmark for performance evaluation	0.693
14	Measuring performance in terms of quality	0.758
16	Training program based on expertise	0.581
20	Ease of decision dissemination	0.778

Constitutes of Company Vision & HR Policy Factor

The second factor- Company Vision & HR Policy – is the result of four variables. These are Training on study presentation, HR policy, Company Vision and Company Mission. Here the variable Company Mission has highest factor loading 0.856. Factor loading of the other variables constituting this factor are shown in the following table.

Table 6: Sources of Company Vision & HR Policy factor

Variable Number	Name of the Variable	Factor Loading
3	Training on study presentation	0.786
15	HR policy	0.530
17	Company Vision	0.856
18	Company Mission	0.567

Constitutes of Learning & Development Factor

Two variables constitute the third factor- Learning & Development. These two variables are- Collective Learning Session & Evaluation of Training Program. Here both the variables have factor loading higher than 0.8. The following table shows associated factor loading of the elements with this factor.

Table 7: Sources of Learning & Development factor

Variable Number	Name of the Variable	Factor Loading
5	Collective Learning Session	0.819
8	Evaluation of Training Program	0.882

Constitutes of Leadership Factor

Three variables constitute the fourth factor- Leadership. Those three variables are- Web based data delivery, Employee involvement and freedom to work. The following table shows associated factor loading of the elements with this factor.

Table 8: Sources of Company Vision & HR Policy factor

Variable Number	Name of the Variable	Factor Loading
3	Web based data delivery	0.672
15	Employee Involvement	0.688
17	Freedom to work	0.620

Constitutes of Knowledge Capture Factor

The fifth factor- Knowledge Capture is the result of one variable- subscription to online journal. The associated factor loading of this element with the factor is 0.853.

Table 9: Sources of Knowledge Capture factor

Variable Number	Name of the Variable	Factor Loading
9	Subscription to online journal	0.853

Constitutes of Information Sharing Factor

The last factor- Information Sharing is the result of one variable- Seminar. The associated factor loading of this element with the factor is 0.791.

Table 10: Sources of Knowledge Sharing factor

Variable Number	Name of the Variable	Factor Loading
4	Seminar	0.791

Conclusion

Learning Organization Practice is an initial step toward Knowledge Management System. LO practice is very helpful for organizations especially for Credit Rating companies. Because the opinion of the analyst helps an organization to get loans, to issue share etc. If the analyst makes any mistake, it would misguide the investor and other stakeholders. So the analysts have to keep them up to date. LO practice can help them to get up to date news and share those information with others. This also helps others to share their knowledge. But in Bangladesh no organization have initiated this LO practice. Credit Rating companies is in its early stage in terms of growth in Bangladesh. This concept can help this industry much. The findings of this study have classified issues needed to be established before implementing LO practice into 6 broad categories: Training, Benchmarking, Reward & Recognition, Company Vision & HR Policy, Learning & Development, Leadership, Knowledge Capture and Information Sharing. This implies that Management should ensure these issues before implementing LO practice. Because without this issues the LO practice would not work.

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Political Participation of Ethnic Minority Groups in Bangladesh: A Case Study on Santal Community

Md. Naim Akter Siddique¹
Urmi Akter²

Abstract: This paper intends to demonstrate the trends of political participation of the Santal community, one of the major ethnic minority groups in Bangladesh. This paper is based on a survey result conducted at Mukondupur and Khosalpur villages of Dinajpur district in November, 2012. It is observed from the study that almost all the respondents of the community including education and occupation groups vote regularly in all national and local elections and also participate in the electoral meetings, rallies and campaign activities at a good rate. They are politically conscious and responsive to their voting rights which are similar to that of the majority Bangalee people. It is also found that their participation rate in the activities of political contact is lower than the voting and campaign activities which is a normal trend in any political system. It is also identified from the study that the respondents from the middle aged and higher educated people are more active in political participation than old aged and lower educated people. The study finally concludes that the Santal people are not apathetic to political participation and their participation rate is satisfactory comparing with other ethnic communities in Bangladesh like Garos, Hazong and Oran groups.

Key words: Political Participation, Ethnic Minority, Santal Community

Introduction

Political participation is a crucial instrument in any democratic setup. All political systems encourage political participation in varying degrees. Political participation fosters stability and order which also reinforce legitimacy of political authority. Voting is the most important tool of political participation and a common mode of participation in any democratic system (Friedrich, 1986). There are other forms of political participation such as attending meetings, rallies, campaigning and particularized contacts etc. Participatory democracy requires citizens to be participant and every corner of the society must be included in the policy process. "Inclusive democracy" incorporates all segments of the populace to be part of the political system and without ensuring the participation of the minorities, it will not be possible to ensure equality and justice to all segments of the society. Therefore, it is imperative to investigate the trends of participation of ethnic minorities in a political system to measure their position in broader political domain. For

¹ Lecturer, Department of Political Science, Jagannath University, Dhaka, Bangladesh
Email: naim_siddique@yahoo.com

² Lecturer, Department of Political Science, Savar University College, Savar, Dhaka
Email: urmiakterju@gmail.com

the purpose, the study intends to examine different dynamics of political participation of the Santal community in Bangladesh.

A Brief description of Santal Community:

The word “Santal” is synonymous with Samantawala that is etymologically originated from Sanskrit “Samanta”. In Bangladesh, the Santals live mostly in Northern part of the country especially in the greater districts of Dinajpur, Rangpur, Bogra, and Rajshahi etc. It is assumed that the Santals of Bangladesh originally migrated from the Santal Pargana of India to Bangladesh and nothing distinguishes them from those who are still living there. According to the 1991 census, the Santal population in Bangladesh is 202,162 (Ashan, 1995). At present total Santal population is around 225,000 (Hossain, 2002). Santals are thought to be the descendants of Austral-speaking Proto-Australoid origin. They have distinct language, religion and cultural features which are different from other ethnic people. They are familiar for their festivals that mainly start from the season of *Falgun* (roughly, 15 February-15 March). However, almost each month has a festival celebrated with pomp of dances, songs and music. The Santal people are divided in twelve gotras (groups) and marriage between a man and a woman of the same gotra is prohibited in common practice. The Santals believe in the existence of the spirits who are called of “Bonga”. The “Bonga” have much influence on everyday lives of the Santals. Santali has profound similarity with Kole and Mundari languages. At present most Santal people of Bangladesh speak both Bangla and Santali. The Santals have long history of political activism during the British colonial period. In 30 June 1855 Santal rebellion against British colonists, Tundir Santal rebellion (1871-1885), Nichol Rebellion etc are some of the rebellions (E.T Delton, 1975). Those political activities can be categorized as unconventional political activities. However, in present time, any such unconventional activity by the community is not common among the community in both Bangladesh and India.

This study intends to analyze the modes (Voting, electoral meetings, rallies, campaigning and political contact) of political participation of the Santal community in Bangladesh by administering a survey in two typical Santal villages. A comparative investigation will also be advanced to identify their magnitude of participation with reference to other ethnic groups like Garos, Hazong and Oran.

Conceptual Framework

Political participation: Political participation is a multidimensional phenomenon. It refers to different kind of activities such as voting, campaigning, political contacts and discussion on politics etc. According to Milbrath and Goel (1977), “political participation may be defined as those actions of private citizens by which they seek to support government and politics”. Social science refers political participation to different mechanisms for the public to express opinions and ideally exert influence regarding political, economic, management or other social decisions. An increasing shift of political realization of the mass has been recorded in the last decades in different corners of the world and the late sixties could be characterized as an era of the “Participation

revolution". Many minority groups started to participate vigorously for better and equal opportunities in society decisions at that time.

Milbrath and Goel (1977) define two types of political participation.

Conventional forms of political participation: It includes all the legal and democratic political activities such as voting, campaigning, attending meeting and rallies, political contact, belonging to a political party and formation of groups etc. Conventional participations are such activities that use the channels of state mechanism to influence the decisions of government.

Unconventional forms of political participation: It includes some that may be legal (such as petitioning) as well as those that are illegal, violent and revolutionary or protest behavior such as: demonstrating, marching, holding political strikes, rioting, rebellions and organizing guerilla activities etc. Unconventional participation is a relatively uncommon behavior that challenges or defies government channels or the dominant culture. It is usually personally stressful for both participants and their opponents.

Therefore, it can be said that political participation refers to those activities of the citizens that are related to voting activities and all activities that aim to influence decision making procedures of a political system. In this Study only four modes of democratic participation are covered to extend the analysis.

Ethnic minority group

The term "minority group" often occurs alongside the discourse of Civil Rights and Collective Rights which gained prominence in the 20th century. Members of minority groups are prone to different treatments in the countries and societies in which they live. Ethnic minority group is a group of people that experiences a narrowing of opportunities (education, wealth, etc) that is disproportionately low compared to their numbers in the society. A subordinate group whose members have significantly less control or power over their lives than members of a dominant or majority group can be defined under the category. Daniel smihula (2009) theoretically defined ethnic minority groups, such as (a) which is not in a dominant position.(b) which has culture, language, religion, race etc distinct from that of the majority of the population. (c) whose members have a will to preserve their specificity (d) members are citizens of the state where they have the status of a minority. (e) have a long-term presence on the territory where it has lived. Scourfield,(2004) defined ethnic minority group as "a group of people who, because of their physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out from the others in the society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment and who therefore regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination". This definition includes both objective and subjective criteria. Membership of a minority group is objectively ascribed by society, based on an individual's physical or behavioral characteristics; it is also subjectively applied by its members, who may use their status as the basis of group identity. Banglapedia (2003) states that a minority group has five characteristics: (a) suffering discrimination and subordination, (b) physical and cultural traits that set them apart, and which are disapproved by the dominant group, (c) a shared sense of collective

identity and common burdens, (d) socially shared rules about who belongs and who does not determine minority status, and (e) tendency to marry within the group.

Methodology

This study is mainly quantitative in nature and survey method was followed for collecting data from the respondents. For the purpose, structured questionnaire survey method was applied. Pre-test of the questionnaire was conducted in the area to ensure the validity of the survey. Moreover, qualitative method was also applied in the study. Observation method was followed during the study for qualitative purpose. Nevertheless, necessary data and information were collected from secondary sources as well. Different books, articles, research papers, paper clippings, research seminar, document papers, concept notes and related websites concerning the issues were followed and reviewed. Two typical villages (Mukundopur and Khoshalpur) under Kotoalli Thana of Dinajpur district was selected as the study area. The district has a significant number of Santal people who mainly lives under the kotoalli Thana. The two villages which are selected for the study are mostly inhabited by the Santal community. The villages are situated at the northern side of the Dinajpur- Panchagarh highway. The total Santals population of mukundopur village is 580 and khoshalpur 611. Total area of the villages is about 6 square kilometer. Some local institutions like mosque, club and some NGO like Proshika, BRAC, Karitas and Grameen Bank are functioning in these villages. Stratified sampling and simple random sampling were used for concluding the survey. Firstly, every family was counted and then one person of each family was interviewed through random sampling. 232 person of the whole adult (18 years and above) Santal population out of the 232 families have been included in the sample. As a technique for collecting information, structured questionnaire based on direct interview has been used to obtain information from the respondents. Later on information has been systematized and analyzed. Data were collected in November, 2012. The findings of the research are as follows:

Voting

Voting is imperative as it provides the government a legitimate authority to be in state power and therefore can implement laws and with the claim of a legitimate authoritative power. Without this legitimate authority, cannot successfully lead the country. Therefore, the act of voting is very important in a representative democracy. The occasion for voting is presented to the citizen in the form of regular elections. In this study, both local and national elections have been examined. Now we analyzed the voting tendency of Santal people in local and national elections.

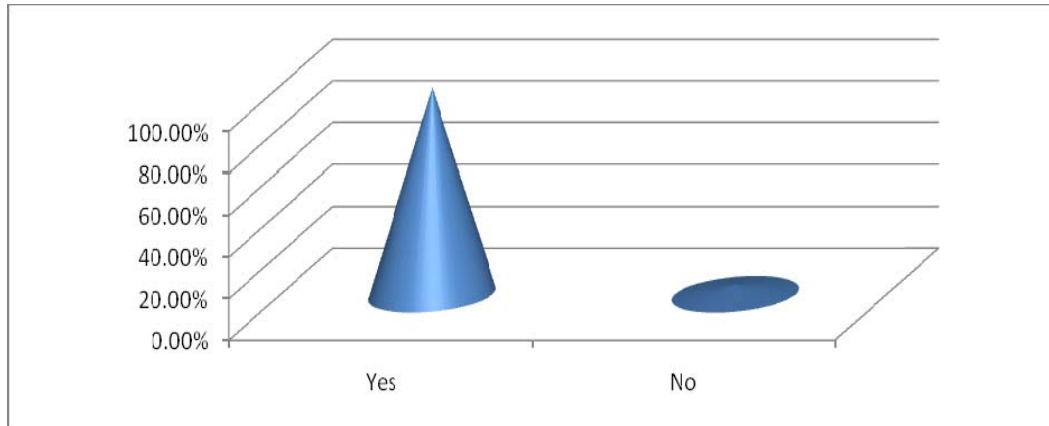
Table-1: Regular voting of Santal people in election

Yes	No	Total
230	2	232

Source: Field Survey, 2012

Table-1 demonstrates that out of 232 Santals respondents, almost all respondent voted regularly in elections. Only 2 respondents are not participating in regular voting. In this study, both local and national elections have been examined.

Figure-1: Regular voting of Santal people in elections is shown below in percentage.



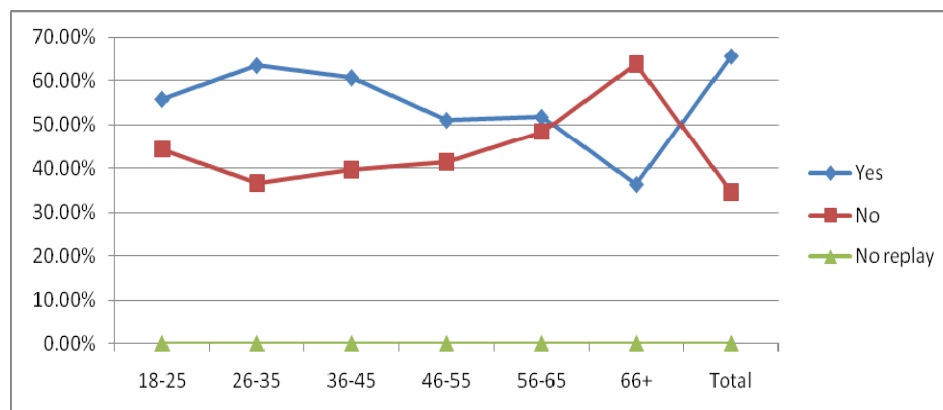
Source: Field Survey, 2012

Figure-1 demonstrates that out of 100% Santal respondents, almost 99.14% respondent participate regularly in voting. Only 0.86% respondents do not participate in regular voting. Most of the studies on the Bangalee people show their higher rate of participation in voting. In the study of Akter, the percentage of voting is 99.3 %. This study on Santal people shows that they have the higher rate like the majority Bangalees. All the respondents are used to vote in elections.

Attend Electoral Meetings, Rallies and Campaigning

Meetings and rallies are organized during the period of election and these are good channels of having information. Campaigning, the second the regular mode of citizen activity, is a familiar instrument in election politics. Through campaign activity, attending electoral meetings, rallies people not only get information of the candidate, they express their demands. In this study, attending electoral meetings, rallies and campaigning both local and national elections have been examined.

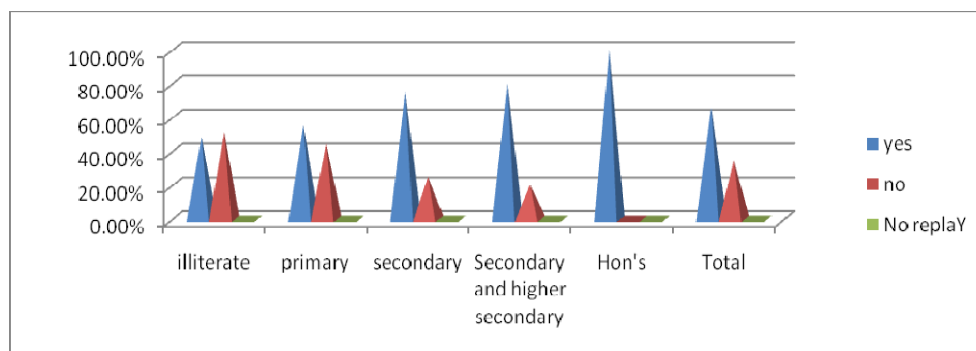
Figure-2: Attend electoral meetings, rallies and campaigning of Santal people is shown below by age group (in %)



Source: Field Survey, 2012

Figure-2 demonstrates that 65.52% of the respondents are attending electoral meetings, rallies and campaigning respectively. The highest percentages (65.52%) of the respondents belong to 26-35 age groups (63.38%). The respondents from 18-25 and 36-45 age groups participant at the rate of 55.76% and 50.36% respectively. 66+ age groups are less participatory (36.36%) in electoral meeting, rallies and campaigning. It seems that the respondents from young age group are more active and participants to these types of political activities.

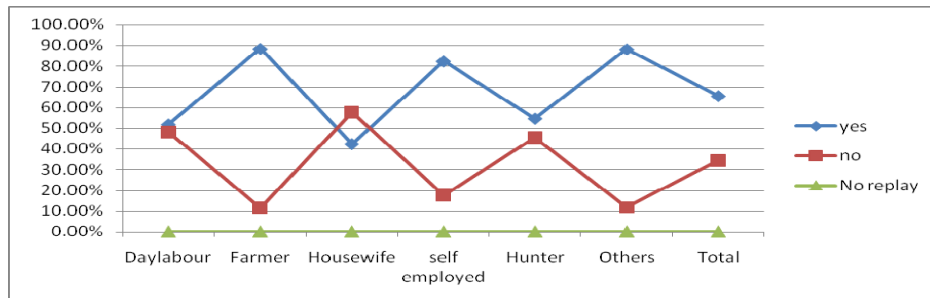
Figure-3: Attend electoral meetings, rallies and campaigning of Santal people is shown below by education group (in %)



Source: Field Survey, 2012

Education is a significant variable in the participation of electoral meeting, rallies and campaign activities of the Santal people. Figure -3 shows that people having secondary, higher secondary and higher education participate in electoral meeting, rallies and campaigning at a higher rate (75%, 80% and 100% respectively). Illiterate and primary education groups are less participatory to these activities. So the respondents of higher educated group are more active in participation.

Figure-4: Attend electoral meetings, rallies and campaigning of Santal people is shown below by Occupational group (in %)



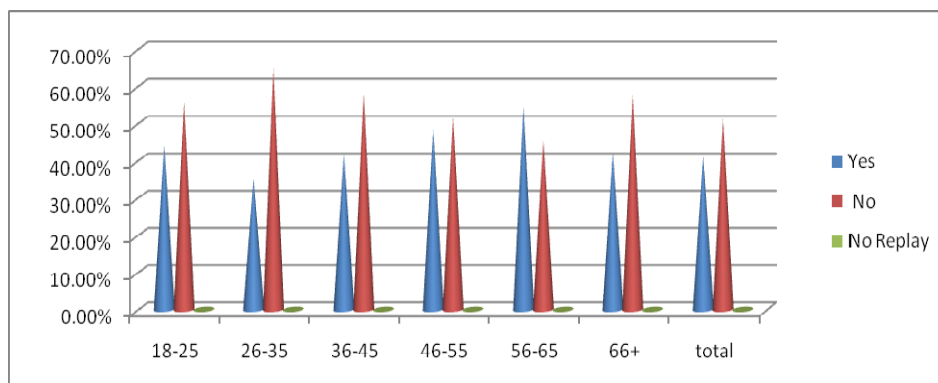
Source: Field Survey, 2012

Figure-4 Demonstrates the rate of participation in attending meeting, rallies and campaign activities of all occupational groups. It is found that 88.86% farmers, 82.35% self employed persons and 88.24% others (Driver, unemployed) attend in such activities. House wife (42.22%) and hunters (45.44%) are less participative in attending electoral meetings, rallies and campaign activities. So the respondents from farmer, self employed and others (Driver, unemployed) are more keen to these types of participations.

Participation in Political Contact

Political contact is another mode of political participation. It refers to the active involvement of the citizens as individual contact with government officials. Such activity is outside of the regular electoral process. The subjects of that contact are some general social issues. Non partisan activities involving group and organizational attempts to deal with some social issues are also counted as political contacts. It conveys a great deal of information to the leaders. The amount of pressure depends on the influence of the participating individual or group.

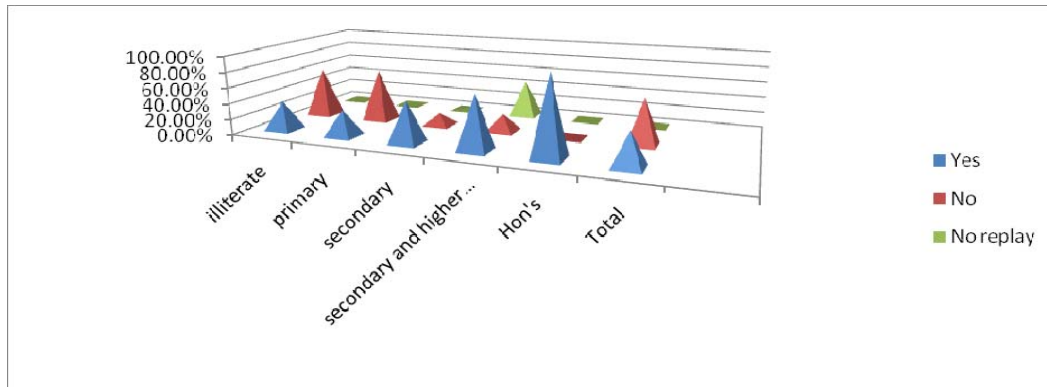
Figure-5: Participation in political contact of Santal people is shown below by age group (in %)



Source: Field Survey, 2012

Figure-5 shows that 58.19% of the respondents did not participate in such activities. It is observed that 26-35 and 66+ age groups are less participative to political contracts. From the above figure, we may generalize the middle age group are more conscious in political matters than the aged ones.

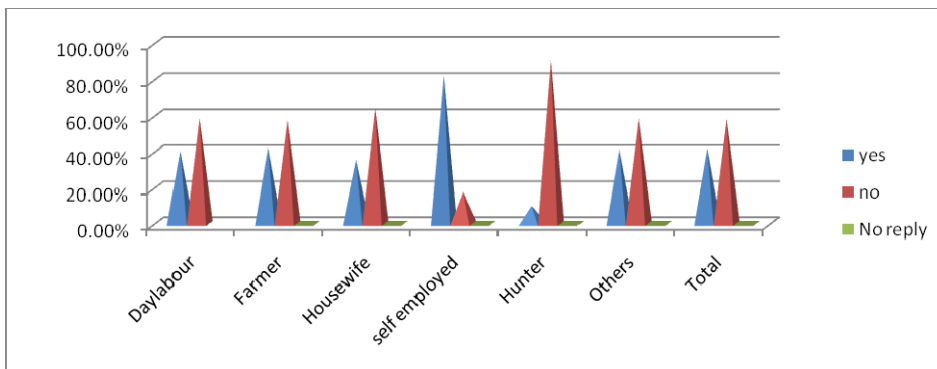
Figure-6: Participation in political contact of Santal people is shown below by education group (in %)



Source: Field Survey, 2012

It is assumed that people with higher levels of education tend to participate at a higher than those with less education. Figure-6 demonstrates that illiterate (37.50%) people (34.25%) having primary education are less participative in such activities. People having higher educational are more active to political contact. So it is found that education plays a significant role in this type of political participation.

Figure-7: Participation in political contact of Santal people is shown below by occupational group (in %)



Source: Field Survey, 2012

Occupation is a somewhat trickier variable to interpret than education or income. Figure-7 shows that farmer (9.09%), daylabour (40.38%), housewife (33.56%) and hunters (9.9%), participate in political contact respectively. Therefore, it is found that people

from major occupational groups are not participating in political contact. Only self employed are participating at a higher rate (82.35%). It seems that, self employed group are more active in political contact activities.

Political participation of the Santal community comparing with other ethnic minority (Garos, Hazong and Oran) groups:

It can be said that political participation is an important act of our society in many ways because it directly affects our lives and the way in which we are able to live. In a representative democracy, every person does not directly contribute to the governing of the state. Instead, representatives are elected to make decisions on behalf of the people. This study found that, as a major ethnic group, Santal people participate in regular voting (99.14%), attend electoral meetings, rallies and campaigning (65.52%) and political contact (41.81%) at a good rate. So it is important to find out whether the Santal community's participation rate is comparable with other ethnic minority groups of the country. In the study of Rahman (2008), it is found that the percentage of voting of Garos is 99.1%; Attending electoral meetings, rallies and campaigns is 44.49% and political contact activities is 2.6%. Zaman (2010) study shows that, Hazong people's percentage of voting is 97.8%; campaigning activities is 45.52% and political contract is 8.7%. Islam's (2012) study shows that Oran people's percentage of voting is 62.1%; campaigning is 40.3% and political contact is 2.7%. This study on Santal community shows that they have the higher rate like the other ethnic groups in the country (Garos, Hazong and Oran). All the Santal respondents are used to vote in elections. None is found, who did not vote in any national and local elections. So, the Santal people are active in voting, attend electoral meetings, rallies and campaigning, and political contact activities and their participation rate is higher than the other ethnic minority (Garos, Hazong and Oran) groups.

Conclusion

In this study, it is found that, as a major ethnic group, Santal peoples are active in political participation in Bangladesh. They actively participate in regular voting and electoral meetings, rallies and campaign activities. This study reveals that Santal people are conscious and responsive to voting rights like other ethnic groups and is similar to the majority Bangalee peoples. Their participation in political contact is lower than voting and campaign activities. The data demonstrates that education plays a significant role in the participatory activism of the Santal people. The finding of the study shows that, the highly educated respondents are more active (100%) than illiterate or less educated respondents. In respect of age distribution the study demonstrates that the young santal people are more active than other aged groups. Occupational groups are more positive in attending electoral meetings, rallies and campaign activities but only housewife are less positive than other occupational groups. It is to be noted that majority of Santal people participate in regular voting, attending meetings, rallies and campaign activities which is higher than that of other ethnic minority groups like Garos, Hazong and Oran. Such kind of response in political participation from an ethnic minority group has an immense significance for consolidating and institutionalizing democracy in Bangladesh.

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Economic Diplomacy and National Interests: An Overview of Developing Countries

Rakiba Sultana Ratna¹

Abstract: This article focuses economic diplomacy as one of the most important appliances through which governments comprehend their national interests. Several aspects of the economic policy of developing countries are duly examined from this perspective. Summing up the positive experience of economic diplomacy in developing countries, it is said that developing country's multilevel system of economic interests in the global economic expanse is rest with the successful application of economic diplomacy. Economic diplomacy is the process through which countries tackle the outside world, to maximize their national gain in all the fields of activity, including trade, investment and other forms of economically beneficial exchanges, where they enjoy comparative advantage. It is also evident from the analysis that, in recent year's economic diplomacy has gained in distinction, leading towards maximization of national interests of the developing countries.

Key words: Economic Diplomacy, Diplomat, Globalization, National Interests & Developing Countries

Introduction

In brief, economic diplomacy is traditionally defined as the decision-making, policy-making and advocating of the state-business interests towards outside world. Economic diplomacy requires application of technical expertise that facilitate analyzes the effects of a country's economic situation on its political climate and set way forward to influence the external actors for the benefit of the country. Versatility, flexibility, sound judgment and strong business skills are needed in the execution of Economic Diplomacy. Diplomacy like politics is the art of the possible that is the ability to construct arguments and implement practical measures in a way that yields maximum remuneration. But the remuneration in this case can only be expressed in the realization of interests, be they tactical or strategic, short-term or long-term, local or systemic(Berridge, Keens-Soper, and Otte, 2001). Diplomacy is motivated by interests, while economic diplomacy, correspondingly, by economic interests. Since it is precisely these interests that form the framework within which contemporary international relations are structured, economic diplomacy is becoming particularly pertinent in carrying out research studies and elaborating rational policy.

Indeed, the global world is widening the boundaries of the possible in every direction, particularly in the economy, and it is vital to find out how the "art of the possible" is taking advantage of this fact. Diplomacy that promotes national economic interest and business in other countries is defined as economic diplomacy (Harun, 2004). It is

¹ Lecturer, Department of Political Science, Jagannath University, Dhaka Email: rakibasultanaratna@gamil.com

associated with trade, business, market and investment promoted through political diplomacy. Economic diplomacy illustrates how states conduct their economic relations with other countries by using political influence and promoting trade and investment to find a market for its products and services.

Historical evidence suggests that, the emergence of democracy and globalization has transformed the role of political diplomacy toward economic diplomacy. Before the late 1970s, South Asia was one of the most highly-regulated economies outside the communist block. Sri Lanka was the first to liberalize its economy in 1977, followed by Bangladesh in 1980, Nepal in 1986, Pakistan in 1989 and India in 1991(The Financial Express, 2009). There is a growing realization that economic relationships have a strong impact on political diplomacy. The end of the Cold War, emerging democracy and development are the products of economic diplomacy. For instance, many Eastern European states joined the European Union in the 1990s to fulfill a larger economic interest among European nations (the Daily Star, 2012). In the contemporary world, economic diplomacy is one of the most effective ways to realize national economic interests. We can only agree with the opinion that economic diplomacy implies diplomatic efforts concentrated on confirming the country's economic interests at the international level. The paper intends to rationalize link between economic diplomacy and national interests of a country presenting the case of developing countries.

Economic Diplomacy: Conceptual Discussion

It is believed that, economic diplomacy has evolved from trade diplomacy. Traditional trade diplomacy was the domain of government officials/diplomats and there was not much involvement of the private sector and the civil society except in some developed countries. With ever expanding economic globalization and associated complexities, economic diplomacy has become an intrinsic part and determinant of the process of formulating and implementing a country's foreign policy. A significant result of the evolution of traditional trade diplomacy into economic diplomacy is that the private sector and the civil society are now even more involved in decision making that influences the negotiating position of a country (BIISS, 1998). While private sector involvement stems from the need to remain competitive in relevant markets, the involvement of the civil society results from the imperative to get views of common stakeholders factored into negotiating positions to conquer the position with their concerns, and thus both engagements result in wider national ownership.

Economic diplomacy is concerned with economic policy issues, e.g. work of delegations at standard setting organizations such as World Trade Organization. Economic diplomats also monitor and report on economic policies in foreign countries and give the home government advice on how to best influence them. Economic diplomacy employs economic resources, either as rewards or sanctions, in pursuit of a particular foreign policy objective. This is sometimes called "economic statecraft (Wikipedia). Economic diplomacy is functional at three levels: Bilateral, regional and multilateral. Bilateral economic diplomacy plays a major role in economic relations. It includes bilateral trade and treaty; agreements on investment; employment or avoidance of double taxation; and range of formal and informal economic issues between two countries. Bilateral Free Trade Agreements have been the order of the day, and is being implemented by many countries around the world.

Nonetheless, economic diplomacy requires special skills and capabilities from the people who engage in it. Priorities must first be identified that proceed from criteria established by national interests. In this respect, both the economic and the political and socio-cultural contexts of common interests are very important (Hocking, 2000). This is achieved by creating a semantic field that is common for all the entities participating in coordinated interaction. This common field of interaction emerges under the influence of the common goals of its participants, without which their single economic motivation loses its bearing and they no longer have a basis for coordinating their action in the global expanse (Lampton, 2001). This primarily requires precise designation of the macro-objective parameters of national interests within the framework of which economic entities can interact in terms of resource, factor, and institutional values, as well as find an established market, a steady source of income, and, finally, state and legal guarantees of right protection.

The country's economic whole serves as the target of national economic interests, which is primarily developed by the efforts of domestic manufacturers and is supported in their interests by the state's economic and social policy. Only with this kind of mechanism of interaction is it possible to ensure economic self-development based on an identified economic model, which is the highest and natural goal of the national economy. However, an interest aimed at developing both the whole and the parts of the national economy in the contemporary world cannot be realized by means of unilateral protectionism and require comprehensive economic cooperation on the international arena (Leifer, 2000). By reinforcing the instruments of traditional diplomatic work with economic factors, economic diplomacy promotes a more profitable solution to international problems. At the beginning of the 21st century, ideological contradictions in relations among states have been receding into the background, while the role of the economic component in foreign policy is increasingly rising. Diplomacy is being made economic by countries taking more active part in the international division of labor and by greater integration of their national economies in the world economy in the context of globalization.

The main task of economic diplomacy is to achieve optimal, from the viewpoint of achieving national interests, focusing of the interests of these centers on the country's economic potential and geo-economic position. In other words, economic diplomacy is needed for realistically evaluating one's own opportunities and elaborating methods for handling the competitive advantages that are available (Olins, 1999). These are primarily factor advantages, among which raw material sources and production potential consequently come forward as interchangeable priorities for countries with a transition economy. Globalization has augmented the importance of economic interdependence among countries. The emergence of an expanding rules-based global trading system under the World Trade Organization and bilateral/regional trade agreements has opened the door for new opportunities in the sphere of world trade. This has spurred countries into engaging in negotiating a large number of international agreements through bilateral, regional and multilateral fora. These negotiations have generated the need for better understanding of the science and skills of economic diplomacy (Rana, 2000).

Economic diplomacy is concerned with anticipating and influencing the outcomes of future economic policy regimes of other countries. This requires a need for better understanding of the working of market forces in different countries in the given dynamic global economic environment. The process of continuous engagement through

economic diplomacy helps a country in advancing its economic interests and, equally importantly, those of its partners (Rana, 2004). A crucial pre-condition for the successful conduct of economic diplomacy is the existence of a critical pool of skilled personnel in the government, private sector and civil society to understand and negotiate trade, investment and other economic issues from the national development perspective after taking into account a country's strengths, limitations, opportunities and threats.

Economic Diplomacy and National Interests: Interplay

Economic diplomacy is a major theme of the external relations of virtually all countries. At home, economic ministries, trade and investment promotion bodies, chambers of commerce, and of course foreign ministries, are all participants in economic work. Current trends include increasing collaboration between state and non-official agencies, and increased importance given to WTO issues, the negotiation of free trade and preferential trade agreements, and accords covering investments, double taxation avoidance, financial services and the like. Abroad, embassies, consulates, and trade offices handle economic diplomacy. The main focus is on promotion, to attract foreign business, investments, technology and tourists. Economic diplomacy connects closely with political, public and other segments of diplomatic work (Lakshmanan, 2001). Without doubt, it is shown that core value of the foreign policy aims is rest with the survival of the state and its citizens.

The protection of the sovereign and territorial integrity of the nation and the lives and property of developing countries at home and abroad remain the cardinal values that constitute her national interest. Middle range objectives within the framework of developing country's foreign policy mostly include such broad matters as economic development and social welfare, promotion of international cooperation, respect for fundamental rights and mutual respect among nations. On the other hand, long-range objectives are the dreams and aspirations of the state in the international system. While other objectives are subject to constant flux, core objectives are constant because they represent the national interest of the country. National interest is therefore, the core, concrete and constant objectives of a nation which translate into actions and define the relationship between independent States. In this respect, it is very important to use national competitive advantages, as well as specialization and cooperation of production to achieve the country's overall strategic and current interests. States, especially those that formed after the collapse of the Soviet Union, are finding it easier to join the current and relatively balanced system of international economic interests, first, by virtue of their own economic opportunities and, second, by participating in specific regional and international organizations. These organizations serve not only as a source of funding, but also as a means of adaptation to the international economic environment.

Economic diplomacy must be carried out with respect to all areas and vectors of international economic relations, since national economic interests reflect the reproduction process in which all the economic entities are involved. So it is legitimate to subdivide the diversity of economic diplomacy tasks into two levels of implementation—macro- and microeconomic. Whereas microeconomic diplomacy implies support of certain enterprises, the macroeconomic level covers questions of analytical elaboration and defense of the national position (interest) when resolving problems relating to integration of the country's economy into the world economy and

is concentrated on the interaction among national economic systems. In this context, it is very important to, first, present economic diplomacy with scientifically substantiated, rather than imaginary objectives that could ultimately lead to severe losses and, second, anticipate events that could pose threats to the realization of national economic interests from the outside.

The process of globalization and technological has drawn the attentiveness of developing countries and for which the nation-states are engaged in fierce competition for economic gains and at the same time seek cooperation with other like-minded states to mold regulatory institutions in their favor. Countries also compete with each other to attract foreign direct investment, push other countries to gain market access for their national companies and attempt to protect their domestic markets by covert or overt trade barriers. Economic Diplomacy for developing countries is guided by the following principles (Abdul Matin, 2005):

- Promotion and protection of the national interest
- Promotion of regional integration in adherence to the UN values
- Promotion is international cooperation for the consolidation of universal peace and mutual respect among all nations and elimination in all its manifestations
- Respect for international law and treaty obligations as well as the seeking of settlement of international disputes by negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration and adjudication, and
- Promotion of a just world order.

The development of economic diplomacy and the ways it is carried out can be traced based on the example of different countries. Every country has its own approach to understanding economic interests and economic diplomacy. While some countries proceed from historical factors in the description of these interests and political-diplomatic methods of achieving them, others rely on ideological imperatives, while still others are aimed at pragmatics. This implies pragmatic goals of preserving or achieving leadership, protecting the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity, carrying out reforms, and ensuring socioeconomic wellbeing. The last alternative appears to be the most effective, where the main postulates of diplomacy, and foreign policy as a whole, are not dogmas of precepts advanced by theological imperatives, but an increase in national production and standard of living.

The people's real interests and the economic means for achieving them can be institutionalized in a civil society, as well as with the help of democratic regulations. In this way, prerequisites of sociopolitical stability in the country and national consent are acquired, and, in the end, the possibility of independently solving both internal political, economic, and social tasks and realizing national interests on the international arena. The need for placing greater emphasis on economic diplomacy is now universally recognized. Politics no longer drives economics. Economics must drive politics. Economic considerations must remain in the forefront of efforts to achieve foreign policy goals. Countries have been slower in recognizing this than others have been disadvantaged. India sadly seems to belong to the former category in comparison with some of the other major actors on the global scene today.

Economic diplomacy is the art of serving economic security and strategic interests of the country by the use of economic instrument in conduct of State to State relations. There is nothing new or unethical about it. Economic diplomacy is designed to influence policy and regulatory decisions of foreign governments as well as those of international organizations. It goes beyond trade and investment to the resolution of multiple causes of international conflicts. Economic diplomacy is necessarily performed by the official representatives of the State but with the changing scenario today the private sector has an important role to play and function to perform in its successful implementation. Some selected tasks for the practitioners of economic diplomacy could be (Rana, 2004):

Influence economic and commercial policies of the host-country to make them most conducive for the country's national interests who include those of business and other stakeholders; Work with rule-making international bodies for shaping their decisions in the interest of the diplomat's own country; Forestall potential conflicts with foreign governments, economic actors and NGOs so that risks of doing business etc. are minimized; Use multiple fora and media to enhance and safeguard the image, capability, reputation and credibility of their own country and enterprises; It should be possible to identify a private sector Indian entity to make a major overseas investment in the IT sector in return for preciously required minerals and metals. Some of this is already being done, but on a small scale. The need for such inter-linked action and the realization that this is the prime requirement needs to be promoted through a change in the Foreign Service mindset.

Concluding Remarks and Policy Options

In many developing countries there is need to give greater weight to economics in induction training in the diplomatic services, as well as more, high-quality mid-career training programmes for officials from the foreign ministry and its economic counterparts. Knowledge of the fundamental principles and methods of economic diplomacy is pertinent not only for diplomats as such. The objectives, tasks, and instruments of economic diplomacy are important for all entities and functionaries of economic policy with its different aspects and vectors. The differences among developing countries in their economic diplomacy partly reflect differences in the evolution of their response to the external environment. Frequently those that pursue their economic interests poorly also do an inadequate job in their political diplomacy; their foreign ministries are isolated islands, inadequately networked with official and non-state counterparts. In opposition, when the government structure works in unison, with a decision process that is open to inputs from a wide community of stakeholders, we also find the best diplomacy role models. Sound economic policies at home and effective economic diplomacy go together. Suggested Action for Excellence of Economic Diplomacy is as follows:

It is necessary to impart the specialized knowledge so as to ensure that right from the start Foreign Service Officers are adequately equipped to handle economic work. Certainly the Foundation Course for the Foreign Service Officers can only deal with generalities. Specialized courses, therefore, need to be devised for mid-career training –

particularly for officers going abroad for economic assignments as First Secretary /Counselor. It is important to strengthen the diplomat's connectivity with own countries. A road map must be devised so that diplomats are better equipped with state-level information including investment opportunities and tourism related details. Emphasis right from the beginning should be on the importance of networking with the public and private sector, academic institutions etc. Economic diplomacy should be supported with research that is stellar to empirical studies and focuses on a practical base. Extensive use should be made of latest technology, for example by establishing hyperlinks with websites of States, trade and industry bodies etc. both for creating awareness as well as for promotional work. Concerned Foreign Affairs Ministry should periodically review the financial outlay for economic work particularly in respect of the missions in the major target countries with a view to optimizing the returns. There should be greater reliance on local talent, particularly at junior levels, in the commercial wings of the missions. Above all, the chart below speaks about basic tools to be required for excellence of economic diplomacy:

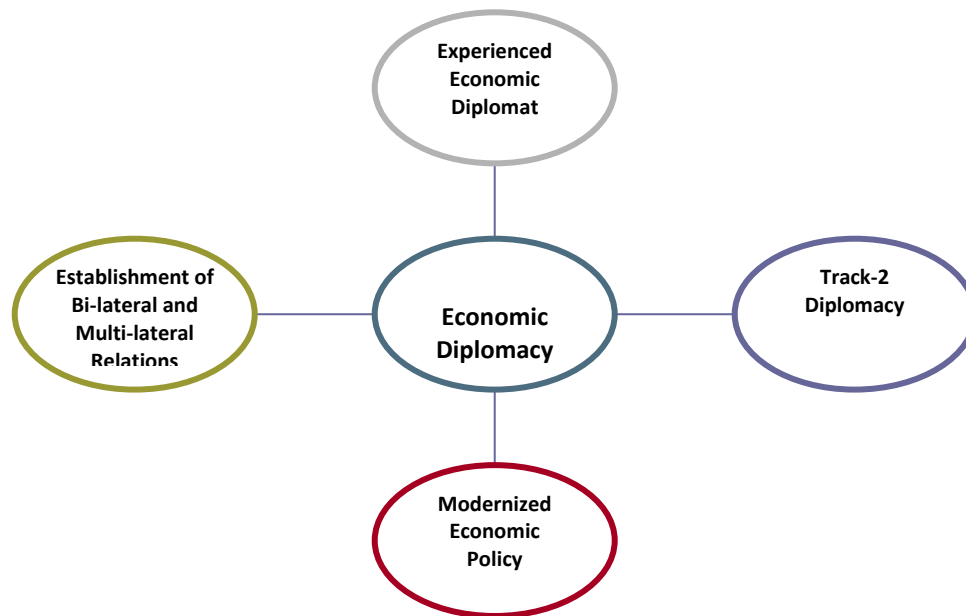


Figure 1= Basic Tools of Economic Diplomacy (developed by author)

Combining foreign affairs and foreign trade is a powerful device to lay foundation in realizing national interests. Lastly, foreign ministries need to build economic skills into their diplomatic networks and to open themselves to the economic partners, with exchanges of personnel. Economic management systems can benefit from mutual learning, analyzing the best practice models.

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