2000

People's Participation in Bangladesh Politics: A Study of June 1996 Parliamentary Election

Sarowardy, M. Hasan

University of Rajshahi

PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION IN BANGLADESH POLITICS: A STUDY OF JUNE 1996 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION

D- 2132

A Dissertation

Submitted to the University of Rajshahi,
Bangladesh in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

By

M. Hasan Sarowardy
Department of Political Science
University of Rajshahi
Rajshahi, Bangladesh

December 2000

CERTIFICATE

Certified that the entitled, "People's Participation in Bangladesh Politics: A Study of June 1996 Parliamentary Election " Ph.D. dissertation has been written by M. Hasan Sarowardy under our supervision. This is the candidate's own work and not a conjoint research work with any one else. This work is complete and we approve of its submission for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

(Dr. M. Shamsur Rahman)
Co-Supervisor
Professor of Public
Administration
University of Rajshahi
Bangladesh

(Professor Golam Morshed)
Supervisor
Department of Political
Science
University of Rajshahi
Bangladesh

DECLARATION

I do hereby declare that the thesis entitled, "People's Participation in Bangladesh Politics: A Study of June 1996 Parliamentary Election " submitted to the University of Rajshahi, Bangladesh, for the Degree of **Doctor of Philosophy** is my original work. No part of this thesis, in any form, has been submitted to any other University or Institution for any degree or diploma.

M. Hasan Sarowardy
23.12.2000
(M. HASAN SAROWARDY)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

ABSTRACT

As a nation Bangladesh was born in 1971 with high hopes. The historical circumstances that led to the creation of this state drew its inspiration from democratic ideals. The constitution provides that all powers of the Republic belong to the people, and their exercise on behalf of the people shall be effect only under, and by the authority of this constitution. The preamble declares that realization of "fundamental human rights and freedom" is the prime object of the state. Article 11 emphasizes on effective participation of the people. It provides that the Republic shall be a democracy in which fundamental human rights and freedom and respect for the dignity and worth of the human being shall be guaranteed and in which effective participation by the people through their elective representatives in administration at all levels be ensured.

But the problem is that the political actors have been violated - the rules of the game. The founders themselves arbitrarily transformed the parliamentary democracy into a one-party presidential authoritarianism. Then the constitution has been arbitrarily changed and suspended over and again. The parliament has been either suspended or dissolved through unconstitutional way. The state power has been seized by the military regime through unconstitutional means, thus the scope of peoples' participation in politics has been restricted and throwing the country into a state of political disorder and uncertainty. However, it is remarkable that from 1991 governmental power has been transferring through constitutional means but not in a peaceful manner.

The first chapter includes the statement of the problem, objectives, methodology, etc. The objective of the study is to understand the nature and scope of people's participation in Bangladesh politics. It aims to examine the variables and influencing factors related to peoples' participation depending on different variables and influencing factors. The study also aims to observe the consciousness of the people and their attitude toward the politicians and toward the political system as a whole. The study ultimately aims to suggest the right forms of peoples' participation in politics to deter the country's political turmoil, which is an urgent need for the development of Bangladesh.

The study used sample survey method, which was followed by personal interviews and participant observation for collecting data from the primary sources. The study also used secondary materials related to this study such as government documents, books, journals etc.

Chapter two deals with the theoretical framework of the study. Chapter three includes the political system and process in Bangladesh, which attempts to explore the shortcomings of peoples' participation in politics. In the original constitution of 1972 the independence of judiciary was clearly emphasized. But through the Fourth Amendment of the constitution the judiciary was made a victim of authoritarianism. However, there are many political parties working in Bangladesh but a few have representatives in the parliament. However, major political parties do not trust and tolerate each other.

However, the legacy of colonial rule and quasi-democracy produced demonstrative and agitate political culture. Mass media, especially the electronic media, has been always under the control of the government of Bangladesh. The government frequently uses the repressive measure to limit the activities of the opposition parties' leaders and workers who are being often harassed and imprisoned. This is followed by use of force and threat in which politics had always been less open, less competitive and more violent which facilitate the presence of musclemen, and as a consequence limits partisan identity in politics except very few who are committed to politics as a career. The political history of Bangladesh witnesses that power never changes peacefully. Regime changes either by military intervention or through mass movement, which produces 'suspicion' and 'jealousy' and so is the political culture in Bangladesh.

Chapter four explores the main feature of political participation through parliament. Theoretically, the legislature of Bangladesh, as a people elected body holds the highest status. The members of the parliament, specially the opposition members, as elected representatives, do not get the chance to participate in law making functions. Here, the parliament is not able to control the executive and above all the members of the parliament cannot influence the government policy or actions. The parliament often works as a "rubber stamp" and the opposition fails to influence or modify government decisions or policies, they lose their trust on parliament and organize violent movement outside the parliament to establish their demands, which results instability of the total political system.

Chapter five explores various aspects of the elections in Bangladesh. The elections of Bangladesh witnesses that it has been widely used by the rulers to establish or reinforce their legitimacy, their "title to rule". In Bangladesh elections takes place in the context of strong political movements. Elections provided the silent majority with an opportunity to register their voice on the hotly debated issues.

Chapter six analyses the data collected through field study. It appears that the June 1996 election was free from excessive influence at least at the voters' level. Although the study shows that the election was free and fair but a good number of them hold that winning was impossible without money. A few portion of the people participated in the election actively since nearly three-fourths of the voters are passive. The present study shows that voters mainly vote for party. They mainly expressed their fascination for the party chief. Voters only could recall a few names of the national leaders; even they could not name their local leaders. The study shows that voters are somewhat indifferent about party ideology. The study also shows that candidate' personal traits like religiosity, honesty, efficiency etc. hardly enabled them to get vote.

Chapter seven includes summary and conclusion of the study. The study suggests that

(a) To withdraw black laws.

(b) To strengthen the parliament of the country, specially the committee system of the parliament.

(c) To ensure the independence of judiciary.

(d) To ensure the autonomy of media and especially electronic media.

(e) To democratize political party.

(f) To ensure the security of life and property.

(g) To prevent corruption and terrorism from the country this is number one problem.

(h) Election campaign through EC.

(i) National elections under caretaker government and under independent election commission to ensure free and fair elections.

(j) To develop the socio-economic status of general mass.

Contents

Chapter-3 Political System and Process in Bangladesh

Chapter-4 Political Participation through Parliaments

Chapter-5 (a) Elections in Bangladesh: A Macro-Profile

(b) June 1996 Parliamentary Electrons: A Macro-Profile

Chapter-6 June 1996 Parliamentary Elections: A Micro-Profile

Chapter-7 Summary and Conclusion

List of Table

		Page
4.1	List of the Functions Accomplished in the First Parliament during Parliamentary Period	118
4.2	List of the Activities of the Parliament during the First Parliamentary Period	121
4.3	List of the Legislative Functions of the Second Parliament	124
4.4	List of the Controlling Activities of the Second Parliament	127
4.5	List of the Legislative Functions of the Third Parliament	128
4.6	List of the Controlling Activities of the Third Parliament	129
4.7	List of the Legislative Functions of the Fourth Parliament	131
4.8	List of the Controlling Activities of the Fourth Parliament	133
4.9	List of Legislative Functions Accomplished in the Fifth Parliament	137
4.10	List of the Controlling Activities of the Fifth Parliament	140
5.1	Party wise position in the 1973 elections	161
5.2	Party wise position in the parliamentary election 1979	165
5.3	Party wise position in the third parliamentary election 1986	167
5.4	Party wise position in the fourth parliamentary elections 1988	168
5.5	Results of Elections of the Jatiyo Sangsad held on 27 February 1991	172
5.6	Results of the 6th parliamentary elections held in February 1996	173
5.7	Results of the 7th Parliamentary Elections held in June 1996	178
6.1	Field Survey at a Glance	183
6.2	Occupation - wise Statement of the Voters from Rural Polling Center: Kharkhari Govt. Primary School, Poba, Rajshahi	184

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AL : Awami League

BAKSAL : Bangladesh Krishak Sramik Awami League

BCL : Bangladesh Chattra League

BCP : Bangladesh Communist Pary

BCU : Bangladesh Chattra Union

BJL : Bangladesh Jatiyo League

BJS : Bangladesh Jatiyo Sangsad

BKM : Bangladesh Khilaphat Mazlish

BNP : Bangladesh Nationalist Party

BSD : Bangladesh Samajtantrik Dal

BTV : Bangladesh Television

CEC : Chief Election Commissioner

CG : Caretaker Government

CHT : Chittagong Hill Tracts

CPB : Communist Party of Bangladesh

CPI : Communist Party of India

DL : Democratic League

EBCP : East Pakistan Communist Party

EC : Election Commission

EPCP : East Pakistan Communist Party

EPSU : East Pakistan Student Union

EU : European Union

FEMA	:	Fair Election Monitoring Alliance
GOJ	:	Gana-Oikya Jote
ICES	:	International Centre for Ethnic Studies
IDL	:	Islamic Democratic League
JAGADAL	:	Jatiyotabadi Ganatantrik Dal
JF	:	Jatiyotabadi Front
JJF	:	Jatiyotabadi Jukta Front
JP	:	Jatiyo Party
JSD	:	Jatiyo Samajtantrik Dal
ML	:	Muslim League
MP	:	Member of Parliament
NAP	:	National Awami Party
NAP-B	:	National Awami Party (Bhashani)
NAP-M	:	National Awami Party (Muzaffar)
NDI	:	National Democratic Institute
PAC	:	Public Accounts Committee
PDM	:	Pakistan Democratic Party
PM	:	Prime Minister
PPP	:	Pakistan Peoples' Party
PPR	:	Political Parties Regulation
SAARC	:	South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation
SAC	:	Student Action Committee
SKSD	:	Sramik Krishak Samajbadi Dal
UPP	:	United People's Party

GLOSSARY

Raj	:	Rule
Zamindar	:	Land Lord
Purba Bangla	:	East Bengal
Bangladesher Sammyabadi Dal	:	Communist Party of Bangladesh
Swadhin Samajtantrik Bangladesh	:	Independent Socialist Bangladesh
Mukti Bahini	:	Liberation Army
Jatio Samajtantrik Dal	:	National Socialist Party
Krishak Sramik Raj	:	Rule of the Peasants and Workers
Jatio Sangsad	:	National Assembly
Gono Bahini	:	Peoples Army
Biplobi Sainik Sangstha	:	Revolutionary Soldiers Associations
Jawan	:	Soldiers
Hartal	:	General Strikes
Oborodh	:	Violently Creating Obstacle
Jatiyo Rakkhi Bahini	:	National Defense Force
Jatiyo Sangsad	:	National Parliament
Mastan	:	Muscle Man

Chapter-1

Introduction

1.1 Preamble

Theoretically, every people can participate but in reality there is an unequal degree of political participation. Participation without power is more a characteristic of the poor while power with or without participation is characteristic of the rich[1].

Modern democracy is viewed comprehensively in terms of three general approaches: sources of authority of government, purposes served by government, and procedures for constituting government. The central procedure of democracy is the selection of leaders through competitive elections by the people they govern. In reality it is elections, which give meaning to democracy. Election - open, free and fair is, thus, the essence of democracy - the inescapable sine qua non. It is the first condition of democracy. A political system is democratic to the extent that its powerful collective decision makers are selected through fair, honest and periodic elections in which candidates competes for votes, and in which virtually all adult population is eligible to vote. The second condition implicit in the concept of democracy relates to limitations of power - the elected bodies do not exercise total power - they share power with other groups in the society and are obliged to remain within the bounds of the constitutions - the rules of the game. The third condition concerns the fairness and responsibility of

the politician and parties. In fact, stability and institutionalization of democratic system depends on the attitude and behaviour of political parties and their perception of peaceful transfer of power or succession of government. However, electoral competition and widespread voting participation are also important conditions without which the government suffers crisis of legitimacy and effectiveness[2].

People can participate with the political process in many ways. But election is the center of all politicos everywhere. In ancient time there was direct democracy in which people had direct participation in the affairs of the state. But the modern state is formed by a large number of people in vast areas. Therefore, it is not possible to make law and enforce it through direct participation of the people in recent times. So, people participate in the electoral process through which they elect their representatives. This way of political participation is the democratic right of the people in an indirect democratic system. The electorate is the key to modern democracy. The rule making and rule application process is executed by the representatives of the electorate. The electorates elect their representatives through election by which peoples' right is established. But in Bangladesh the slogan of free and fair election can constitute a vital part in this nascent democratic polity. Actually elections and voting behaviour reflect the forms, levels and bases of political participation as well as the question of peaceful transfer of power, which have been the subjects of extensive research in many democratic countries.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Bangladesh has got its independence by a historic surrender of the Pakistani forces in 1971 and took its shape into the world map. Then the country adopted a constitution by the constituent assembly on 4 November 1972 and it came into force on 16 December of the same year[3].

As a nation, Bangladesh was born with high hopes. The historical circumstances that led to the creation of this state drew its inspirations from democratic ideals. The nation started its journey with a democratic system - the first election in independent Bangladesh was held on 7 March 1973. A total of 1091 candidates of 14 political parties contested the collections. Bangladesh Awami League who spearheaded the independence movement won 293 seats out of 300 parliamentary seats. Awami League candidates won 11 seats uncontested. Jatiya Samajtantric Dal (JSD) and Jatiya League, the main opposition parties won one seat each. The Awami League secured 73.20 per cent of the votes cast[4]. The allegation of opposition parties appeared in the dailies as cited in Shamsul Huda Harun's elaborate study of psephology of 1973 election[5]. The ruling party's overwhelming victory was criticized on many grounds such as using government privileges, muzzling political opposition, monopolizing media coverage, spending money lavishly in electioneering beyond the limits fixed by the Election Commission, and intimidating the opposition. The democratic method of elections, thus had a bad start with unfair means like rigging, proxy votes thorough impersonation, snatching of ballot boxes, political intimidation and use of government facilities.

Following an interlude of military government for less than three years, Bangladesh again witnessed a presidential election in June 1978 and a parliamentary election in February 1979. Both were well-contested elections. The presidential election under the changed presidential form of government was participated by the major parties – Bangladesh Nationalist Party's (BNP) nominee General Ziaur Rahman was contested by General M.A.G. Osmany the nominee of the Gono Oikya Jote comprising Awami League, NAP, Gono Azadi League and Jatiya Janata Party. With 54 per cent votes cast, General Zia received 77 per cent and General Osmani 22 per cent[6].

Following the presidential elections, the second parliamentary elections were held in February 1979. In these elections Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) won 207 of the total 300 seats. Twenty-nine political parties with 2,125 candidates participated in the elections. Awami League (Malek) won 39 seats, Awami League (Mizan) secured 2 seats, Muslim League and Islamic Democratic League together won 20 seats, while Jatiya Samajtantric Dal bagged 8 seats. BNP received (41.16%) votes while Awami League got (24.50%) votes[7].

With the publications of results, the opposition complained "massive ballot rigging". Some foreign observers also characterized the elections as one of the 'questionable integrity' with administrative machinery and media-particularly Radio and TV being under the control of ruling party[8]. As a

result the dilemma to hold free and fair elections remained insoluble for the future.

However the country was able to enter the second decade of its existence with a democratic government under Justice Abdus Satter following the tragic assassination of President Ziaur Rahman. Justice Satter held the second presidential election. The second presidential election was held on 15 November 1981 and candidates of ten opposition parties including the AL candidate Dr. Kamal Hossain contested Justice Satter. BNP nominee Justice Satter defeated his opponent Dr. Kamal Hossain by a big margin. Justice Satter received 65.52% of the votes cast while Dr. Kamal Hossain received 26%[9]. There were also some instances of violence and questionable polling practices[10].

The third parliamentary elections held in May 1986 under General Ershad, which was not fully participated all by other political parties. The 7-party alliance led by Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) and the 5-party left alliance boycotted the elections. The ruling Jatiyo Party won 153 seats, while Awami League got 76 seats and Jammat-I-Islami 10[11]. While 1986 elections had some credibility, the mid-term 1988 parliamentary elections was unfair to the extent of farce and mockery and was not participated by any major opposition party[12].

Following the 'mass upsurge' of and fall of Ershad regime, Bangladesh went into parliamentary elections in February 1991, which is often termed as the fairest elections in Bangladesh's history[13]. It was participated by 76 political parties under the 'Caretaker Government' headed

by Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed. There were as many as 2774 candidates who contested the elections. Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) came out as the single largest party by winning 140 seats, followed by Awami League, which won 88 seats, Jatiyo Party 35 seats and Jammat-I-Islami 18 seats[14]. Many foreign observers including the Commonwealth team termed the elections as a 'model' one and, were 'free and fair'[15]. The 1991 election rekindled new hopes and optimism about Bangladesh's democratic future and good governance of the country.

Nonetheless Bangladesh politics took a new turn following the continuing boycott of the opposition members in the parliament which was further intensified by en-masse resignation of the opposition in support of contrived 'Caretaker Government' for the next election to be free and fair[16]. However, in the midst of the political turmoil the ruling BNP completed its full five years term and to fulfill constitutional obligation it held the most controversial sixth parliamentary elections. The election was held in the face of opposition movement and stiff resistance created disharmony and unmitigated conflicts in the political arena. However, the parliament held only one session and was dissolved after passing the 'Care-taker Government's bill[17].

The seventh parliamentary election was held in June 1996 under the second 'Care-taker Government' in the history of Bangladesh headed by Justice Habibur Rahman through which Bangladesh Awami League came to power after 21 years[18]. The present study aims to explore the various aspects

of peoples' participation in Bangladesh politics with especial emphasis on June 1996 parliamentary elections.

In developing countries like Bangladesh, elections are often epochal, and therefore fought with high stakes. Money thus plays a big role for securing nomination to the announcement of result. Money is often valued more than ideology and candidate's personality. It is valued in the sense of getting party affiliation. Money is also intimately linked with muscle power. Data from 1991 parliamentary elections shows that a candidate, on the average, had to spend Tk. 10-50 lakhs. In resource-rich regions, the expenditure was even more. It appeared that business houses and rich individual aspirants are the main sources of funding, and collection may be voluntary or coercive. The transaction of fund in the process of election campaigning is guided by expected pay-offs. In fact, when the election environment is vitiated by money and muscle, the free and safe atmosphere of casting votes is invariably spoiled. Moreover, money based electoral process is a disincentive to responsible and honest public representatives and party workers. This results in growing induction of moneyed men and muscled workers in the party-fold, engendering violent inter and intra-party conflict[19].

In Bangladesh, violent politics has become pervasive, and in many contexts the dominant mode of political interaction. In fact, the magnitude and pervasiveness of muscle power by armed people often make elections a meaningless exercise. The violent politics is destabilizing for any government and often leads to its paralysis. In the elections, the major

political parties act as to win the election at any cost. And, if one cannot win, it will deny others from victory even at the peril of the system. The non-party 'Care-taker Government' is therefore, put to a difficult situation to curb violence and armed politics, and is sometimes, blamed for partisan action if it goes incidentally against a particular party[20]. But the success of a free and fair election hinges mainly on the strict enforcement of law and order so that voters can come to the polling stations and exercise their franchise freely.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

To understand the above-mentioned phenomenon the present study aims to explore the following issues:

(a) To understand the nature and scope of people's participation in Bangladesh in the context of volatile politics and to identify the problems related to it.

(b) To explore the internal weaknesses of the political system through which peoples participate specially in elections.

(c) To examine the awareness of the voters as well as the influencing factors in wrecking franchise.

(d) To ascertain how various occupational groups use their voting choice in favor of candidates of preferred parties in urban as well as ruler areas.

(e) To determine the degree of freeness and to what extent voting behavior is influenced by money and coercion.

(f) To understand to what extent factors like religiosity, honesty, efficiency and other good characteristics of candidates enable them to receive votes vis-a-vis factors like party identification, use of black money and display of muscle power.

(g) To observe how peoples perceive parties and candidates and the attitude of the voters toward politicians.

(h) To suggest the right forms and patterns of peoples' participation in politics and ultimately to suggest how to eradicate the restrictions of political participation of the people in Bangladesh.

1.4 Review of Literature

The review of literature has been arranged on the basis of cross-national studies. First, we have pointed out the studies in Third World Countries including Bangladesh and India. Secondly, we have referred to the studies done in European and American countries.

1) Participation in the Developing Area

The book *Political Participation, how and why do people get involved in politics* edited by Lester W. Milbrath (1965) is a book where most of the articles are drawn from published literature and some are original research[21]. The author analyzed the key problem 'political participation' from different angles i.e. political participation as a function of stimuli, as a personal factor, as a function of political setting, as a function of social position etc. In conclusion the author argued that high participation is not required for successful democracy. High participation levels would actually be

detrimental to society if they tended to politicize a large percentage of social relationships. But the author admits that it is difficult to prove the validity of the above argument. However, it varies from society to society, and time to time.

The book *Political Culture and Political Development* edited by Lucian W. Pye and Sidney Verba (1972) is an attempt to stimulate a multi-disciplined attack upon political problem of nation building in the newly emerging countries[22]. The authors applied a common approach – that of political culture - to review the problem of modernization and development. They search some historical perspective on both the political culture and process of political development to analyze the role of the most important agents of political socialization. In short, the book is a study of the problems of political development in terms of political culture.

Seligson, Mitchell A, and Booth, John A. in their work *Political Participation in Latin America* (1976) stressed on the relationship between the individual citizen and the State in Latin America[23]. Though the book centers upon the least known aspect of the political participation in Latin America, the political activity of the poor-peasants, workers, urban squatters and migrants but it (the book) mainly focused on the relationship between the individual citizen and the state in the region while the present research includes all occupational groups.

S.P. Huntington, in his book *No Easy Choice* (1976) focused on the determinants and patterns of political participation in developing nations and

11

on the interaction between political participation and certain aspects of economic and social modernization[24]. The study is not a comprehensive analysis of political participation. The present research is related to the process through which individuals are incorporated into the political area. The analysis is on political participation as the dependent variable, rather than as a causal factor for influencing other trends.

The book *Political Order in Changing Societies* by Samuel P. Huntington (1979) is a description of violence, instability, and disorder of third world countries[25]. The writer makes effort to probe the conditions of societies changing rapid and disruptive socially and economically. The indices of political order or its absence are quantified here. He points out that economic development depends, in some measure, on the relation between investment and consumption, political order, in part, depends on the relation between the development of political institutions and the mobilization of new social forces into politics. But how could be minimize the gap between politicians and individuals has not been expressed in this study.

In the book *Comparative Politics Today: A World View* (1980) the authors G.A. Almond and G.B. Powell Jr. found that coercive and violent political participation is highest in the rank in India[26]. But the study did not mention the causes of violence disrupting political activity of the particular political system.

Talukder Moniruzzaman in his book *Bangladesh Revolution and its*

Aftermath (1980) traces the origins, nature and consequences of the violent course of his country's birth and its post independence period[27]. While studying in the selected political system during 1958-67 the authors found that violent political participation is highest in India. The study emphasized on political turmoil of the past and traces the future prospects of the state. However, the study deepens our understanding of the political process.

Rounaq Jahan's book *Bangladesh Politics: Problems and Issues* (1980) is a collection of twelve articles based on political experience of Pakistan and Bangladesh comprising national integration crisis, national liberation movement stressed on independence war and post independence problems, constitutional experimentations in the aftermath of liberation, the context of electoral participation, and political development[28]. These articles are originally written separately with different views. It is not a systematic analysis.

The book *Martial Law to Martial Law Leadership Crisis in Bangladesh* by Zillur R. Khan (1984) traces different stages of political evolution of Bangladesh with especial emphasis on how different types of leader-follower relations in a least developed country have impeded the institution building process[29]. The author argued that political and economic development in most LDCs, especially Bangladesh, the task of ensuring a balanced development has become vital for leaders but this task cannot be accomplished without an equitable allocation of resources. He observed that complexities and options of leadership and political development explored are relevant not only for Bangladesh but for countries of the third world. But

the observation is not supported by any empirical study.

T.R. Palfray, H. Rosenthal in their article "Voters Participation and Strategic Uncertainty" (1985) provides a unified treatment of two areas[30]. The first is the paradox of not voting and the second is the role-played by uncertainty or the lack of information in affecting political process.

Abul Fazl Huq in his work (Ph.D. Thesis) "Constitution and Politics in Bangladesh: Conflict, Change and Stability" (1985) analyzes the constitutional and political processes of Bangladesh during 1972-1982 identifying the causes of disorderly change political instability[31]. However, the study covers up to 1982 while the present study covers up to 1996.

Monoar Kabir's article "Movement and Elections: Legitimization of the Military rule in Bangladesh" (1988) explores the causes of participation of eight parties particularly in the general elections of 1986 by analyzing the courses of movement from 1983 and onwards[32]. The paper also deals with the impact of the elections on the political process in general terms.

Syed Mohammed Ziauddin's dissertation on "Psychological Dimension of Voting Behavior with Special Reference to Bangladesh" (1989) points out the pattern of similarities and differences in socio-political attitudes of political as well as apolitical voters related to personality variables, sex differences and demographic factors in the context of socio-political development and historical changes in Bangladesh[33]. The study emphasized on some psychological dimensions of voting behavior. However, the study is based on secondary information and analyzed from historical perspectives.

James I. Novak's *Bangladesh: Reflections on the Water* (1994) is a result of a combination of travel and living in Bangladesh, of verse conversations with scholars and actors in Bangladesh history, and of reading of the sources of a non-scholar[34]. It is not a book original research so much as an interpretive one based on primary and secondary research sources.

Dilara Chawdhury in her book *Constitutional Development in Bangladesh* (1995) stressed on constitutional changes and its nature[35]. Her attention mostly concentrated to the internal political changes through constitutional means.

Moudud Ahmed's book *Democracy and the Challenge of Development* (1995) is a creature of two dimensions faced by the third world countries like Bangladesh: institutionalization of democratic order and at the same time attain a target rate of economic growth for development[36].

Shairul Mashreque's article "Rural Politics and the Problem of Participation in Bangladesh" (1995) briefly presents the profile of political relations in rural setting under the existing institutional arrangement[37]. It has analyzed the dimension of the crisis by going deep into the nature of domination at the micro level based on the insights drawn upon a vast body of empirical study on rural politics. It stresses the internal mechanism of control and the variables associated with it. The study makes it clear that the prospect of participation is constrained by the fabric of power relations in traditional peasant communities. But the study has not covered other communities belonging in the society.

The International Centre for Ethnic Studies (ICES), Colombo (1996)

published a report on June 1996 parliamentary elections in Bangladesh known as ICES report which gives its comments and recommendations based on the election held on June 12, 1996 in Bangladesh[38].

The Fair Election Monitoring Alliance known as FEMA – (1996) an NGO which is working on awareness building of the electorate reports that election of June 1996 was not absolutely genuine from procedural defects which did not allow the genuine voters to cast their votes while they were observing votes in different polling stations and also suggested some remedies[39].

The book *Political Culture, Political Parties, and the Democratic Transition to Bangladesh* by Shamsul I. Khan et. al. (1996) is a systematic effort at understanding the failure of democracy that punctuates politics in Bangladesh[40]. The author aims to points out the factors that produced the failure of democracy in Bangladesh through an analysis of the crisis of political parties. Political culture of Bangladesh is also a central premise of the book.

A.J. Minhajuddin's study "Parliamentary Elections 1996: Voting Behavior of Rural Electorate in Bangladesh" (1996) discusses voters awareness, expectation and doubt about the fairness of the election etc[41]. But the author stated that the voters are fully aware about different parties working in their area, which is questionable in the context of Bangladesh where more than half of the population is illiterate and living below to poverty line.

Nurul Islam in his paper on "Participation in Polity and Rural Development" (1997) stated that education has an impact on participation in polity and rural development[42]. He also notes that education has a correlation with civic participation and rural development works.

Zaglul Haider in his paper "Parliamentary Democracy in Bangladesh: From Crisis to Crisis" (1997) holds that the parliamentary democracy is facing challenges because of lack of understanding between the government and opposition on major national issues[43]. But question is that-why it happens?

The book *Role of Opposition in Bangladesh Politics* by Al Masud Hasanuzzaman (1998) deals with the role of opposition in politics of Bangladesh under major regimes since its birth[44]. The author observes that in parliamentary democracy opposition, like the party in power, can play a crucial role both inside the legislature and outside. He comments that the parliamentary system offers various legislative devices at its disposal to enable the opposition performing its role properly. But in Bangladesh- how peoples' participation has been restricted is not properly explored in his book.

The book *Bangladesh: Rastro Wo Rajniti* (Bangladesh: State and Politics) edited by Tarek Shamsur Rahman (2000) is some of the best specimens of some university professors, related to Bangladesh politics where they analyzed the trend of Bangladesh politics, parliamentary democracy, perspective of civil and military relation, independence of judiciary, etc[45].

2) Participation in Europe

In *Political Man* S. M. Lipset (1959) deals with problems of democracy as a characteristic of social system[46]. The conditions necessary for democracy in societies and organization; the factors which affect men's participation in politics, particularly their behavior as voters; and the sources of support for values and movements which sustain or threaten democratic institutions. Many of the empirical generalizations cited in the book are based on analysis of public opinion survey made by research organizations in different countries. However, the present study mainly deals with the problems of participation of the people in politics especially in the electoral politics, which is at the center of all kinds of political participation.

G. Parry, G. Moiser and Nail Day (1992) in their book, *Political Participation and Democracy in Britain* presents a picture of political participation in Britain[47]. It was intended to display the two fundamental dimensions of participation. The first dimension shows the extent of citizen activity and the second gives social profile of participation. It also evaluates the programs to trace the impact of participation. But the present study aims to eradicate the restrictions of peoples' participation.

The book *Election in Britain Today* authored by David Butler (1996) categorized the active and non-active voters of different political parties[48]. In this book the author further explains how the political system works rather than explaining why the voters are supporting or not supporting party programs. The present study aims to explore-on what basis the voters' make-up their minds to support or not to support a party or a candidate.

3) Participation in America

Campbell's *The Voters Decide* (1954) is a small-scale study of U.S. 1952 presidential election[49]. The study describe the behaviors and attitudes of the voters, the processes by which people made up their minds, the extent and nature of public interest and participation in the campaign, how various people did vote, how did they perceive parties and candidates. It emphasized on the peculiarities of the behavior of voters. These elements are very important for the present study. But the main focus of the present study is to understand the nature and scope of peoples' participation in Bangladesh politics especially in electoral participation of the voters in the elections. The awareness of the voters as well as the influencing factors in wrecking franchise will be examined. However, the present study is more concerned to the question of fairness of the elections.

In a book *Political Behaviour* edited by H. Eulau, S. J. Eldersveld and M. Janowitz (1956) make a modest contribution toward improved understanding of how the political process actually operates in America[50]. It reports the results of some research on some individual citizen participation in political activity describing a tool that may be used for classifying individuals in terms of the amount of political activity in which they engage. Finally, it outlines the differences that are observed when attitudes with respect to some public personalities and issues held by the politically active portion of the citizenry as compared with attitudes of politically indifferent persons. However the present study emphasized on expressive activities of the voters.

Robert E. Lane in his book *Political Life* (1959) emphasizes on methods of increasing participation, which suggest that, in a larger sense, the target for social reform is not the degree of participation by the electorate, but rather nature of the society in which political life takes place[51]. He also pointed out if the values inherent in a democratic orientation are cultivated in all areas of the society a healthy political life will follow as a matter of course. Political life is an expression of values, the institutions and the tensions of a society; political symptom which appear pathological form the standpoint of the democratic model are reflections of malfunctioning of social institutions. On the other hand the present study aims to explore - how the nation could ensure peoples' participation in politics to achieve political stability, which is urgent for the development of the country.

In an article "Mass Political Participation in U. S. A and U.S.S.R: A Conceptual Analysis" written by D. Richard Little (1976) emphasis was given on political participation by individual citizens, rather than by professional political elite or interest groups[52]. He expresses that mass political participation involves three major aspects: (1) the types of political activities in which citizen engage; (2) the conditions under which those activities take place; and (3) the significance they have for political system as a whole. The purpose of his paper is also to examine the constitutional democracies in USA and the communist dictatorship in USSR in the light of contemporary peoples' participation in politics. It is merely a comparison between two systems rather than identifying the weaknesses of the system.

1.5 Justification of the Study

The present study aims to identify the problems of peoples' participation in Bangladesh politics especially in electoral politics as well as to suggest that how to eradicate the political restrictions. It is related to achieve political stability, consolidate democracy and ultimately to develop the country. The proposed research would be able to identify the gap between theory and practice of peoples' participation in Bangladesh politics. and would have some conveniences to tranquilize the existing political turmoil of the country.

1.6 Scope of Research

The present research is an empirical analysis of peoples' participation in Bangladesh politics, especially in electoral politics mainly depending on public opinion survey. It is a comprehensive study includes various occupational groups living in the society. The main focus of the study is to understand the nature and scope of peoples' participation especially the voters' participations in the elections. In this connection the awareness of the voters as well as the influencing factors in wrecking franchise has been examined. It aims to understand the electoral context in order to institutionalization of democracy in Bangladesh. Now it is the vital issue in the question of legitimacy of the government and in the democratic process. However, the study aims to discern the right forms and patterns of political participation, which can be ensured the political stability for the immediate development of Bangladesh.

1.7 Limitations of Research

The present study is more concerned to peoples' participation in Bangladesh politics especially to the June 1996 parliamentary elections in the context of fairness of the elections. The study emphasizes on the nature and scope of peoples' participation in the context of political stability. Though this problem calls for study of vast area but extensive coverage was not possible due to time, money and absence of prior study at national level. However, the study includes all occupational groups both urban and rural so that the study can be representative in character. However, since the people of Bangladesh are mostly poor and illiterate, usually they do not want to take any risk in giving any real information of their voting participation to the unknown person. For this reason, limitations may arise in this study.

1.8 Methods of Research

The present study has undertaken to dispel some notions about June 1996 parliamentary elections prevailing in the society. It has designed to meet some felt needs of the state and to provide it with basic information necessary for political development. To minimize cost and time like most of the social survey, the study also used sample survey techniques for securing desired data. This sample survey has gathered data for making generalization of the characteristics of peoples' participation by observing only a representative portion of the same. There are many techniques of survey research. But the present research has gone through the following techniques:

(a) Personal interview through structured questionnaire: It has formulated questionnaire for collecting necessary data, and information. Then the

researcher himself along with his trained wife has interviewed the cross section of people to fill-up the questionnaire.

(b) Participant observations: The researcher has tried to observe the peoples' attitude toward election, Election Commission, politician etc. with them and how people perceive political parties and candidates through mixing freely with them.

(c) Case study: The researcher also collected cross sectional data for intensive analysis of the people to explain the causal links and describe the real context of participation. This method would support the findings also.

However, the study used two types of methodology - primary and secondary.

a) Primary Data:

  i) **Selection of Study Area:** The Primary data of the study was collected from one of the constituencies, which has been selected on the basis of purposive sampling so that the study would make easy staying at the University of Rajshahi. The techniques used for primary data collection are as follows:

      1. Direct Interviews
      2. Observation

While framing questionnaire emphasis has been on both open-ended and close-ended questions.

b) **Secondary Data:** The secondary data included all sorts of published materials- books, articles, journals, party manifestos, by-laws, declaration, election results compiled by the Bangladesh Election Commission, evaluation reports of different election monitoring agencies in and abroad, Gazette Notification and Press Reports published in the Dailies, Weeklies, Monthlies, Journals and Magazines.

Data Processing and Analysis: The data collected through field study has been processed after necessary checking and editing. Data has been processed by computer and analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively. Statistical methods consisting of percentage co-relation has been used. The analysis of qualitative data has made through systematic and analytical description of the collected facts. In course of analysis the researcher has followed different tables in the relevant chapters.

1.9 Chapter Outline

The dissertation has presented the following chapters:

Chapter-1 : Introduction

- 1.1 Preamble
- 1.2 Statement of the Problem
- 1.3 Objectives of the Study
- 1.4 Review of Literature
- 1.5 Justification of the Study
- 1.6 Scope of Research
- 1.7 Limitations of Research
- 1.8 Methods of Research
- 1.9 Chapter Outline

Chapter-2 : Theoretical Framework

2.1 Political Participation

2.2 Who Participate?

2.3 Why Do They Participate?

2.4 Types of Participation

2.5 Variables of Participation

2.6 Apathy and Its Causes

Chapter-3 : Political System and Process in Bangladesh

3.1 Socio-demographic Profile

3.2 Legal Framework

3.3 The Role of Executive

3.4 The Role of Legislature

3.5 The Role of Judiciary

3.6 The Political Party

3.7 Political Culture

Chapter-4 : Political Participation through Parliaments

4.1 The First Parliament

4.2 The Second Parliament

4.3 The Third Parliament

4.4 The Fourth Parliament

4.5 The Fifth Parliament

4.6 The Sixth Parliament

Chapter-5 : (a) Elections in Bangladesh: A Macro-Profile

5.1   Aspects of Elections

5.2   Elections under Mujib Regime

5.3   Elections under Zia and Sattar Regime

5.4   Elections under Ershad Regime

5.5   Elections under First Caretaker Government

5.6   Elections under Khaleda Zia Regime

(b) June 1996 Parliamentary Electrons: A Macro-Profile

5.7   Perspective of June 1996 Parliamentary Elections

5.8   Party Manifestos

5.9   Vote Catching Techniques

5.10 Campaign Issues

5.11 The Verdict

Chapter-6 : June 1996 Parliamentary Electrons: A Micro-Profile

6.1   Selection of the Study Area and Respondents

6.2   Data Collection and Observation

6.3   Data Analysis and Findings

Chapter-7 : Summary and Conclusion

7.1   Summary

7.2   Conclusion

7.3   Recommendations

Bibliography

Notes and References

[1] *Social Science Encyclopedia*, 1992 eds., S.V. "Political Participation".

[2] Dr. Ataur Rahman, "Bangladesh in 1996: In Search of a Free and Fair Election", Paper presented at the seminar on "Elections 1996 and Bangladesh's Democratic Future" organized by Bangladesh Political Science Association, Dhaka, June 1996.

[3] The Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

[4] Report of the Bangladesh Election Commission, Dhaka, 1973.

[5] Shamsul Huda Harun, *Voting Behavior: A Psephological Study* (Dhaka: Dhaka University Press, 1980), pp. 134-170.

[6] Report of the Bangladesh Election Commission, Dhaka, 1978.

[7] Report of the Bangladesh Election Commission, Dhaka, 1979.

[8] Shamsul Huda Harun, *op.cit.*, p. 221.

[9] Report of the Bangladesh Election Commission, Dhaka, 1981.

[10] *The Daily Ittefaq*, 20 November 1981.

[11] Report of the Bangladesh Election Commission, Dhaka, 1986.

[12] Dr. Ataur Rahman, *op.cit.*, p. 6.

[13] Note : The election has been described as the only genuinely free and fair in Bangladesh history as it was held under a non-partisan caretaker government. International Observers, such as the British Parliamentary Team, the Japanese Parliamentary Team, The SAARC observation Team etc., termed this election as "free, fair and impartial" (see *The Daily Ittafaq*, 2 March 1991).

[14] Report of the Bangladesh Election Commission, Dhaka, 1991.

[15] M. Rashiduzzaman, "Political Unrest and Democracy in Bangladesh", *Aisan Survey*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 3, March 1997 and see *The Daily Ittafaq*, 2 March 1991.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Summary of Proceedings of the Sixth Parliament, Dhaka, March 1996.

[18] *The Daily Ittefaq*, 2 March 1991.

[19] Dr. Ataur Rahman, *op.cit.*, pp. 7-8.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Lester W. Milbrath, *Political Participation, How and Why do People get Involved in Politics* (Chicago : Rand Mc Nally & Co., 1965).

[22] Lucian W. Pye and Sidney Verba (eds.), *Political Culture and Political Development* (New Jersey : Princeton University Press, 1972).

[23] Mitchell A Seligson and John A Booth, *Political Participation in Latin America* (New York : Holmes and Meier, 1976).

[24] Samuel P. Huntington, *No Easy Choice* (Cambridge : Harvard University Press, 1976).

[25] Samuel P. Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies* (New Haven : Yale University Press, 1979).

[26] G.A. Almond and G.B. Powell JR., *Comparative Politics Today; A World View* (Toronto : Little Brown and Company, Boston, 1980).

[27] Talukder Moniruzzaman, *Bangladesh Revolution and its Aftermath* (Dhaka : University Press, Ltd., 1980).

[28] Rounaq Jahan, *Bangladesh Politics: Problems and Issues* (Dhaka : University Press, Ltd., 1980).

[29] Zillur Rahman Khan, *Martial Law to Martial Law Leadership Crisis in Bangladesh* (Dhaka : The University Press, Ltd., 1984).

[30] T.R. Palfray, H. Rosenthal, "Voters Participation and Strategic Uncertainty", *The American Political Science Review*, 79, No. 1 (1985).

[31] Abul Fazl Huq, "Constitution and Politics in Bangladesh : Conflict, Change and Stability", Ph.D. Thesis, University of Rajshahi, Rajshahi, 1985.

[32] Monoar Kabir, "Movement and Elections : Legitimization of the Military rule in Bangladesh", *The Journal of Political Science Association*, Abul Fazl Huq (ed.), (1988). •

[33] Syed Mohammed Ziauddin, "Psychological Dimension of Voting Behavior with Special Reference to Bangladesh", Ph.D. Thesis, The University of Rajshahi (1989).

[34] James I. Novak, *Bangladesh: Reflections on the Water* (Dhaka : The UPL, 1994).

[35] Dilara Chawdhury, *Constitutional Development in Bangladesh* (Dhaka : University Press Ltd., 1995).

[36] Moudud Ahmed, *Democracy and the Challenge of Development* (Dhaka : University Press Ltd., 1995).

[37] Shairul Mashreque, "Rural Politics and the Problem of Participation in Bangladesh", in Rashtro Biggan Samitee Patrika (Political Science Association Journal), (Dhaka : 1995).

[38] The International Centre for Ethnic Studies (ICES), Report on June 1996 Parliamentary Elections in Bangladesh (Colombo : 1996). ˒

[39] The Report of the Fair Election Monitoring Alliance (FEMA), (Dhaka : 1996).

[40] Shamsul I. Khan et.al., *Political Culture, Political Parties, and the Democratic Transition to Bangladesh* (Dhaka : Academic Publishers, 1996).

[41] A.J. Minhajuddin, "Parliamentary Elections 1996: Voting Behavior of Rural Electorate in Bangladesh" (Bogra : 1996).

[42] Nurul Islam, "Participation in Polity and Rural Development", *Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. VI, No. I, Annual Issue (1997).

[43] Zaglul Haider, "Parliamentary Democracy in Bangladesh : From Crisis to Crisis", *Journal of Asiatic Society Bangladesh*, Vol. 42, No. I, June 1997.

[44] Al Masud Hasanuzzaman, *Role of Opposition in Bangladesh Politics* (Dhaka : 1998).

[45] Tarek Shamsur Rahman (ed.), *Bangladesh: Rastro Wo Rajniti* (Bangladesh : State and Politics) (Dhaka : Mawla Brothers, 2000).

[46] S. M. Lipset, *Political Man* (London : Heinmann Educational Books Ltd., 1959).

[47] G. Parry, G. Moiser and Nail Day, *Political Participation and Democracy in Britain* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1992).

[48] David Butler, *Election in Britain Today* (Oxford : 1996).

[49] Angus Campbell, *The Voters Decide* (Illinois : Row, Peterson and Company, 1954).

[50] H. Eulau, S. J. Eldersveld and M. Janowitz (eds.), *Political Behaviour* (New York : The Free Press, 1956).

[51] Robert E. Lane, *Political Life* (New York : The Free Press, 1959).

[52] D. Richard Little, "Mass Political Participation in U.S.A and U.S.S.R: A Conceptual Analysis", *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 4, January, 1976, Sage Publications, Inc.

Chapter-2
Theoretical Framework

2.1 Political Participation: Its Definition

Man is by nature a political animal[1] and the state is a political organization. According to this concept every individual member of a state is a political being. And in the modern liberal democratic state every citizen has certain political rights. So, he can use these rights through political activities. But what are these political activities? Woodward and Roper explained it as (1) voting at the polls; (2) supporting possible pressure groups by being a member of them; (3) personally communicating directly with the legislators; (4) participating in political activity and thus acquiring a claim on legislators and (5) engaging inhabitual dissemination of political opinions through face to face communications with other citizens[2]. Agger and others remark that political activities constitute divers forms of behaviour like voting, discussing public opinions, attending meeting concerned with community affairs, belonging to organizations and associations, taking an active part on some public issues or problems[3]. Lerner defines political participation as exposition, awareness, expression of opinion, participating in voting and other decision- making process[4].

Usually people participate in politics through political organization. Here organization serves as a vehicle for citizen's participation. Once the

individuals are entitled to be organized and to exercise the franchise, the door was open to him for political participation of all kinds. The most nearly universal and perhaps the most important single type of citizen participation in government and politics is voting[5]. Lipset says that participation in politics includes leadership in national affairs, local leadership, activity as an organization member and informal "opinion leadership" among one's associates[6].

Political scientists use the term political participation for political awareness. Lerner defines political participation as exposition, awareness and expression of opinion; participation in voting and other decision-making process. According to International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, political participation refers to those voluntary activities by which members of a society share in the selection of rulers and directly or indirectly in the formation of public policy. These activities typically include voting, seeking information, discussing public issues, attending meetings, contributing financially, and communicating with representatives. The more "active" forms of participation include formal enrollment in a party, canvassing and registering voters, speech writing and speech making, working in campaigns, and competing for public and party office[7].

Political participation is a process through which political decisions are made. Participation influences the policy makers. Some times it determines governmental policy. Kousoulas spelt out that participation is an essential and indispensable element of democratic politics, which actually combines participation with representation. Through representation and

citizen's participation in the political process, the diverse views of the political community can and do become inputs into decision making machinery. The key to a realistic participation is diffusion of power[8].

In earlier studies of political participation focus was on psephology, or the study of electoral behavior. However, since 1960 the emergence and rise of political sociology has contributed not only to the study of conventional politics but to unconventional form of political participation as well, such as protests, movements, revolutions, power and the like[9]. Similarly, Miller explained the unconventional participation as 'elite challenging' or 'protest' modes of participation such as demonstrations, strikes, damage of property and violence against people. He further, argued, perhaps surprisingly, citizen tend to see at least some of these options as supplements rather than alternatives to voting, campaigning and lobbying. It has been described as 'democratic direct action', because it is in fact as much as part of conventional democratic activity. The author commented that there is a moderately sized positive correlation between supports for such participation (such as voting, electoral campaign and non-partisan lobbying)[10].

Usually political participation is defined as the extent to which citizens avail themselves of these ordinary democratic rights of political activity to which they are constitutionally entailed and the measure is held by political sociologist to indicate the nature of the country's political culture[11].

Now, we can define political participation as the political rights like other fundamental rights observing by the citizen as being a member of a

democratic state. It includes any voluntary activity concerning party or public issues like voting, campaigning, grouping, lobbying, influencing party or government officials in decision making process directly or indirectly, holding party office, contributing or soliciting party fund, attending in political movements like protests, demonstrations, picketing and discussing public issues.

2.2 Who Participate?

The right to participate in democratic politics is not exercised by all who possess it. The number of participants varies with time, place and circumstances. More people discuss politics than vote, and many more vote than join parties or work in campaigns. The attentive public is distinctly a minority. As Bryce observed, only a small group gives constant attention to politics, a larger group is interested but comparatively passive while the mass is largely indifferent[12]. The recent ideal of peoples' participation in government is best expressed in pure democracy in (the Swiss Landsgemeiden) Switzerland where every individual votes and otherwise shares directly in decision making. Switzerland has long been known as a country of genuine democratic participation. At present some of the Swiss Cantons elect their officials and pass laws in annual meetings (Landsgemeinden) instead of elected representatives. Meetings are held in the public square or in open fields near to capital city. No better evidence of complete citizen participation in government and politics can be found[13]. It refers to the peoples' participation. By achieving universal suffrage in the twentieth century the door is open to all participating politics. However,

another example of peoples' participation in government and politics in United State has been the town meeting in New England[14].

The role of an average citizen is that they participate in the choice of decision makers and they simply ask to be heard on an issue comes along that greatly concerns him or on which he can make some special contribution. Many citizens do not even vote or speak up on issues[15]. Verba, Nie and Kim have argued that there is a universal tendency for citizens with higher levels of 'socio-economic' resources to be more willing to participate in politics[16].

Theoretically, every citizen can participate and influence the political process, but in reality, there is an unequal degree of political participation and influence. Participation without power is more a characteristic of the poor and working classes, while power with or without participation is characteristic of the rich and upper classes[17].

2.3 Why Do They Participate?

Political participation is a necessary ingredient of every political system. By involving many in the matters of the state, political participation fosters stability and order by reinforcing the legitimacy of political authority. A society in which a substantial part of the population is denied any participation whatsoever is likely to be highly explosive. This is why even in modern non-democratic political systems the idea of political participation seems to be well nurtured. The idea of participation, naturally, assumes greater importance in a democratic system, which indeed, demands it. The

expansion of participation is stimulated by the desire to give meaning and force to the principles of consent, accountability and political opposition. Participation is the principal means by which consent is granted or withdrawn in a democracy and rulers are made accountable to the ruled. Since men can be equal and free only if they share in the determination of their own affairs. It is a fundamental right of the people in democratic process. People observe this right for many reasons. Graham Walls points out that men in politics are self interested, which impulses men to be interested is desire for property to excel[18]. Values also pursue men through political instruments. Lasswell explain these values are: power, wealth, well-beings, skill, enlightenment, affection, rectitude and respect. Men seek these values in politics[19].

Participation in policy-making at the local level tends to be specialized for most people in terms of the types of policies with which they concern themselves and in terms of the policy-making in which they act[20]. Lipset explains it as a general hypothesis for the greater changes in the structure of the society or organization the governing group attempts to introduce, the more likely the leaders desire and even require a high level of participation by its citizens or members. High participation by members has higher potential for democracy. Conversely, a society in which a large portion of the population is outside the political arena is potentially more explosive than one in which most citizens are regularly involved in activities which give them some sense of participation in decisions which affect their lives[21]. Members of the public join in political groups in order to expand

mobility opportunities and, in this respect, make representations to government in same manner. Government policy must then in part be responsive to the interests of political groups[22].

Participation is an ingredient of every polity, large or small. Those who fail to participate, cannot exercise or share power. The right to participate is an essential element of democratic government, inseparable from each other attributes of democracy as consent, accountability, majority rule, equality, and majority sovereignty. Indeed, the growth of democratic government is in part measured by the extension of suffrage and the correlative rights to hold office and to associate for political purposes. Participation has been viewed as a means for realizing these democratic objectives as well[23].

From Aristotle to John Dewey, political philosophers have extolled popular participation as a source of validity and creative energy, as a defense against tyranny, and as a means of enacting the collective wisdom. By involving many in the affairs of the state, participation should promote stability and order; and by giving every one the opportunity to express his own interests, it should secure the greatest good of the greatest number. The community should gain, furthermore, by drawing upon the talents and skills of the largest possible number of people. Some philosophers have claimed, in addition, that participation benefits the participants as well as the larger community. It enables men by giving them a sense of their own dignity and value, alert both rulers and ruled to their duties and responsibilities, and broadens political understanding[24]. It works as a defense mechanism. And as

a defense mechanism it seeks to preserve in one of the few ways possible some form of individual privacy and autonomy[25].

Political participation may perform many functions. It influences decisions or decision makers, either by controlling the process or injecting demands into it; it helps implement policies; it socializes the participant, influencing future political acts and attitudes; and symbolizes support for or identification with the community[26]. The most fundamental character of any democratic system, truly its defining characteristic, is the idea that citizens should be participated in some ways in the making of political decisions, either directly or through representatives of their choosing[27].

The basic assumption behind people's involvement is that a person should be able to have some about policy, about things that are done in the name of the public. Also in representative system, people participation should help ensure that public officials are responsive to the changing needs and demands among the citizenry. Even participation is expected to be good for people. If people participate in some ways in making decisions, their horizon may broaden, they may gain a feeling of social responsibility. They may become well-rounded, more complete individuals[28]. Without public participation the changes in social, political and economic fields are almost impossible and meaningless[29].

2.4 Types of Participation

The concept of people's participation in politics can, perhaps, be traced from the writings of Plato and Aristotle. Aristotle gave a detailed

account of Athenian direct democracy. In the Greek city-states all free citizens were involved in politics. In Athens all male citizens were given political rights and privileges. But Roman practice varied considerably from that of the small Greek city-state. Actual citizen participation in Roman government and politics was limited to the city of Rome. In the feudal period it is difficult to trace the individual participation. But the conditions of modern living have made it impractical as a method of government in most communities. In the citizen movement toward democracy conceived organization has served as a vehicle for citizen participation in politics and government. Through the Puritan revolt, French Revolution, American Revolution once the individual is entitled to franchise, the door was open to him for political participation of all kinds[30].

Besides political party there is a large number of organizations in the democratic states which enter the political arena when their interest are affected. Participation through these groups offers many citizens an opportunity to take part in government and politics. These include business group, women's minority, labour, farm cooperatives, veterans, and professional groups[31].

Milbrath brings all political activities into three categories. These are: "gladiators activities", "transitional activities" and spectator activities". Gladiators represent small number of party activists whose active association with parties keeps them engaged in a series of direct party activities like holding party offices, fighting elections as party candidates, raising party funds, attending party meetings and joining the party campaigns. In the

purest sense of the word, probably only 1 or 2 per cent American could be called gladiators[32]. Transitional activities include attending party meetings as party supporters or party sympathizers or just as neutral but attentive listeners, making contributions to the party funds and coming in contact with public officials or party personnel. Spectator activities, on the other hand, include voting, influencing others to vote in a particular way, making and joining a political discussion, exposing one to political stimuli and wearing a button or showing a sticker[33].

Milbrath's classification tends to show that political participation, basically, is of two types - active and passive[34]. It may be classified in terms of its purpose as instrumental and expressive. Instrumental means it is essentially directed to the achievement of concrete goals but expressive does not aim at the realization of any concrete goal; it is concerned with some immediate satisfaction or a mere release of feeling.

Political demonstrations are considered a legitimate expression of political feelings in a democracy and are widely held. Persons who do not have ready access to decision - makers or who feel that system does not respond to their demands have quite a different perspective on protest demonstrations. The very extraordinary characters of demonstrations help get their massage of dissatisfaction across the public as well as officials[35].

Seligson spelt out two types of political participation. One is individual participation and another is collective participation. As a collective, people can express their demands through either actions or threat

of action[36]. Almond and Powell mentioned some other types of participation. They explained it in this way:

Nations offer different opportunities for legitimate participation for peoples and leaders. In all nations there is an alternative form of political action, which may or may not actually be used. Most obvious and important is the possibility of coercion and violence, which are illegal except when used by the government, but which can be used by the citizens nonetheless. The appearance of widespread violence is usually a sign that the stability of the form of government itself is threatened.

Some forms of participation are legitimate in some nations, but not in others. A good example is the protest demonstrations. Peaceful protest demonstrations are legitimate in most democratic nations at least within certain bounds. They are usually an unconventional form of interest articulation, designed to publicize the demonstration feelings of injustice or concern and gain the attention of leaders of the public. In a study Almond and Powell shows that over a thousand such demonstrations were counted in the United States between 1958 and 1967, reflecting both the relative (and increasing) legitimacy of the type of action and the great breadth of citizen discontent[37]. The number of such demonstrations increased tremendously from the previous decade. In other democracies, too, protest demonstration were common in the 1960s, to the point that they virtually became accepted as conventional rather than unconventional form of political action. In authoritarian systems however, protest demonstrations were illegal and demonstrators severely punished.

They (authors) observed armed attacks made by individual citizens and, more usually, small terrorist groups against the government or political opponents. Such attacks were all too frequent in the United States also. Indeed in most of the industrial democracies peaceful protest was more common than violent attacks. In the late 1960s and 1970s peaceful protest became more common in France, also Nigeria, rapidly approaching the Civil War and the breakdown of civil authority, and India, torn by ethnic conflict over language and religion, all show high levels of armed attacks.

In many nations military groups attempted to move against the government. Coup attempts by the armed forces are usually associated with the breakdown of government. In Nigeria and Indonesia coups directly resulted in either civil war or massive retaliatory bloodshed. But in many nations military forces have been able to take over the governmental power with relative ease and lack of opposition. In Western nations coups attempts were rather rare, because their political systems are more successful in managing conflict, keeping it with legitimate bounds. But in many poorer nations operating in problems and pressures, military coups are a frequent occurrence, often almost a last means of holding together a society collapsing society' or a reflection of the loss of support of more popular government. In some countries there were repeated interventions by the armed forces[38].

Middle-Range Participation: Middle range participants in local and national politics link the public to the top policy makers, mostly through the media and formal organizations. They constitute a good part of the well-

informed and attentive political public. Such individuals may be leaders or members of radical student groups who want to change the political system; they may belong to civic action groups, which has recently proliferated or be functionaries in the political parties. But most are only intermittently recruited into active political roles on specific issues through their occupation or organizational affiliations. The middle range participants are mostly recruited from the extensively organized occupational groups, businessmen, farmer, skilled workers, and professional such as doctors, lawyers, and teachers. These political actors exert little direct influence on policy making; on occasion leaders to lend numerical support to the group on policy demands mobilize them. A few upper middle range participants plays more active and sometimes more influential roles. These sub-elites usually hold one or more governmental or non-governmental positions that involve them in the articulation or aggregation of policy demands or in the recruitment of decision makers. They may be party officials or civil servants whose task includes such activities but they may also be interest group functionaries, members of journalists who devote themselves primarily to nonpolitical matters. Essentially they play intervening roles linking leaders to followers and balancing demands from below with control from above[39].

Leading Participants: A few elected and appointed, co-opted and anointed leaders from the top layer in hierarchy of political influence and participation. As national and local decision makers they have more specific knowledge about the operation of the political system than other citizen.

The members of this top stratum can be divided into two types. They are manifest political leaders and latent political leaders. First, there are

manifest political leaders occupying influential positions that involve continuous participation in policy processes. Secondly, there are latent political leaders holding positions calling for only intermittent participation, but involving considerable political influence.

Manifest leaders belong to the policy-making stratum of holding key positions of authority. They also include top civil servants; most decrees and laws promulgated by appointed rather than elected officials. Latent leaders include the top functionaries of the major parties. The latent leaders are less obviously and less constantly involved in public affairs. They include industrialists and bankers, employers and labor leaders, interest group leaders, mass media personalities and intellectuals. Mass support, financial resources, professional expertise, or a generally recognized status of moral or intellectual authority provide them with access to and varying amounts of influence over the manifest leaders[10].

Interest Groups' Participation: On the other hand interest groups are more inclusive, more tightly organized, and occupy a more privileged position in policy processes. Some associations constitute elements of socio-economic and cultural continuity in a country marked by sharp political discontinuities. Law to represent certain common interests establishes some West German's interest groups. Prime example are the occupational "chambers" unlike the American Chambers of commerce, these are semi-governmental organizations of public law that have jurisdiction over their member, and are supposed to be key sectors of the economy to the state. Most private producers engaged in agriculture, commerce and manufacturing as well as members of the so called free positions such as self

employed physicians and lawyers must belong to appropriate local chambers, which determine and enforce occupational standards and conduct. The leading functionaries of these chambers not only represent their members in politics but also exercise a semipublic authority over them.

Other groups of political relevance may be more freely organized. These include traditional institutional groups explicitly endorsed and supported by the state as a host of voluntary associations formed to promote symbolic causes and material interest.

The greatest and most extensive political influence rests with the official and unofficial. The spokesmen of the large national organizations formal and informal inter-elite channels permit them to exert direct pressure on the leading party and government functionaries; at the same time, the major interest group elite can apply indirect pressure through influential opinion leaders and mass support[41].

2.5 Variables of Participation

There is no such a thing as a free choice in politics. People's preference are influenced and conditioned by the social and political context in which they live. Moreover, their political *actions* are distinct from their *preferences*. Political behavior depends upon the interaction between personal preferences and political context, since institutional incentives and constraints affect the translation of preferences into action.

Social scientists aim to develop general theories of human behavior that will account for as many relevant facts as possible with the smallest

numbers of assumptions and explanatory variables. So far no general theory of participation even approaches this ideal. Participation appears to be a complex phenomenon that depends on a great many variables of different relative weights. This does not mean that no conceptual model can be employed to explain it. However, we discuss, in brief, the variables for political participation. For one can at least group the relevant independent variables into those influences which are essentially internal (psychological and cognitive) and those, which derive from the individual's external environment, social and political[12].

Social Variables: The elements that compose the social environment include residence, family, sex, age, education, occupation, income, marriage, religion and mobility. Research in the United States shows that most of these variables correlate to some degree with participation. In general, participation tends to be higher among the better-educated, members of the higher occupational and income groups, the middle-aged, the dominant ethnic and religious groups, men (as opposed to women), settled residents, urban dwellers, and members of voluntary associations[43]. Social structure affects political behavior in two ways: it influences motivation (and the attitudes, goals and needs which are associated with it) and it influences the availability of means to pursue political ends. Social structure affects political behavior in two ways: it influences motivation (and the attitudes, goals and needs which are associated with it) and it influences the availability of means to pursue political ends[44]. Verba, Nie and Kim have argued that there is a universal tendency for citizens with higher levels of 'socio-economic resources' to be more willing to participate in politics[45]. By

socio-economic resources they mean, primarily education and income. These resources provide the skills the stimulation and the capability to participate in many kinds of political activity.

Residence: Residence is an important factor in political participation. Those who are resident of a city or urban area they always get more scope to participate. Their higher educational level with their greater understanding of the political issues, their lesser physical costs of participation, their increased exposure to mass media, their more salient class and ethnic cleavages and their greater penchant for forming voluntary associations are likely to make politics a more significant aspect of their lives than those living in rural areas. Hence, urbanities will participate more than the rural folk[46]. Similarly a settled residence gets the social acceptance may not be possible for a new comer in society. People first coming into a community are likely to have fewer associational ties, less information on community affairs. Fewer political contacts and fewer emotional and material stakes in-group tensions that manifest themselves in politics. Hence, the longer a person resides in a given community the greater are the chances of his political participation. A newcomer is not normally allowed to hold a public office or a party office; he can have them only after he has lived for some time in an area or in a country and thus has given the evidence of settled residence[47].

Family: The family incubates political man. It endows him with the qualities necessary to operate a democratic system, which infuses him with the appropriate attitudes, and beliefs or it fails in these respects. Family

makes the child feel his voice counts and people listen to him; that is, he acquires a junior version of a sense of political efficacy[48].

Sex: At every social level women vote less than men[49]. Participation is affected by the variable of sex. Extensive data from various countries like U.S.A., Great Britain, Italy, France, Germany, Mexico, Sweden, Norway and Japan confirm that men participate more than women who are more conservative, less liable to heterodoxy, less well-informed about political issues and public figures, less attentive to the diverse point of view and, therefore, have less interest in politics. Sometimes, women's major preoccupation with home and family may account for their low participation. Above all, women are more submissive to the general culture that usually emphasizes moral, dependent and politically less competent images of women, which, in effect, reduce their partisanship and sense of political efficacy and, thus fix for them a less active political role[50].

Age: The data from the U.S.A., Great Britain and France confirm, middle- aged persons tend to participate more than the too young and the too old. Lack of stability and security in the early age and also the relative inability to confront with a sustained zeal the various conflict situations naturally make the young rather evasive of participation. Similarly, the sense of political efficacy starts dropping sharply around the age of fifty when a person normally approaches retirement that, marking an end of his active life, saps his self-confidence and thereby affects the rate of his participation. On the other hand, life conditions of the middle age, including property ownership, increased family responsibilities, acceptance of group status and

more homogeneous social environment tend to promote greater political participation[51]. Specially, the younger are much more inclined than the old to support demonstrations[52].

Education: The relevance of education to participation is obvious. Education gives greater information and expands the horizon of one's interest. The higher education expands political competence, self-confidence and articulateness. It also broadens one's sense of civic duty, interest and responsibility. Regular participation in the corporate life of educational institutions, further, enables one to develop a skill for political participation. Again, the more educated are likely to be quite capable of transmitting their political interest and knowledge to the next generation. Thus education received by one generation is not only relevant to its own participation, it as well may influence the extent of political participation by the next generation. Education has been found to be a persistent correlate of political participation in countries like the United States, Finland, Mexico, Britain, France and Italy[53]. G. M. Connelly and H.M. Field have found that similar levels of educational attainment may lead to different degrees of political participation because of difference of income[54]. J.M. Foskett, on the other hand, has found that participation differs more in case of persons with the same income but different levels of educational attainment than in case of those with different income but the same educational attainment. In other words, education no doubt, is an important explanatory variable of political participation, but the magnitude of its influence is liable to be limited by the working of other variables[55].

Occupation: People holding higher occupation usually reveal a greater willingness for participation. Occupation provides them with some distinct socio-economic milieu resulting in class identification. The very psychology of belonging to a particular social class affects a person's political participation[56].

Income: Higher socio-economic status (SES) is positively associated with increased likelihood of participation in many different political acts; higher SES persons are more likely to vote, attend meeting; join a party, campaign and so forth[57]. Political participation is equally influenced by the financial status. Higher income brings greater prosperity, more leisure, less anxiety and wider opportunities naturally makes people more active in politics. Thus the higher income groups are found to vote proportionately more frequently than those with lesser income[58].

Some critics think that low income persons are less well organized in groups than upper income persons; the bias of the stronger organized groups toward the status quo; the lack of competition among much of the news and opinion media, combined with the domination of television and the press by a few corporations; and the virtual monopoly of party politics by major parties, which do not always offer the voters meaningful alternatives. These changes may be exaggerated but they cannot be denied[59].

Marriage: Marriage, however, makes a difference. Thus, as Lipset reports, in Stavanger, a city in Norway, it was found in 1957 that, even

within a low-voting working class ward, married people voted more than the average. Married people participate more than the single person. Because marriage represents a more stable existence, ensure more homogenous ties in the community and reduces the chances of social and geographic mobility[60].

Mobility: Mobility affects political participation. It invariably reduces the extent to which an individual will be engaged in different forms of activities. Moreover, mobility is likely to subject an individual to 'cross-pressures'–a phenomenon much emphasized by Lazarsfield, Beralson and Gaudet–which mean various pressures operating in opposite directions as when the various reference groups exert pressure on an individual in quite conflicting directions[61].

Political Variable: Much asserted but little is reliably known about the political correlates of participation. Political apathy is alleged to be affected by the size, remoteness and complexity of modern political system and, more specially by the frequency of elections, the number of offices to be filled, the length of ballot, and the necessity for observing and making decisions about two: local and national level and three branches (executive, legislature and judiciary) of government.

On the other hand, participation is highest among the very individuals who are most articulate and most capable of perceiving the ambiguities and complexities in the system[62].

The situational factors that predispose people toward political activity are not better understood than are the legal and institutional barriers to

participation. The common belief is that great national or international crises awaken the impulse to participate. Turnout does not increase during the depression or the recession. In wartime, voting tends to decline rather than to rise- partly, however, because many young voters are away from home. The popularity of a candidate seems to have a weight for voter's turnout[63].

In addition to the general variables touched on the party system, the nature of campaign, issues and ideology are three areas that shape participation in modern societies.

The Party System: Of all political influences on participation, the party is probably the most potent. Its role is partly expressive and partly instrumental. The party resembles the nation both in its symbolic force and in its capacity for arousing affection, devotion, and sacrifice on the party of its legal members. The party inspires its members feelings of belonging and, equally, of opposition to those in other parties. While membership in cognate social groups may strengthen party influence on participation, the party is a powerful reference group in its own right. Indeed, it may help to solidify attachments to other social groups. This mystic keeps large numbers of people persistently active even though they have only a slim chance of affecting the outcome of important public events.

The parties also perform a number of instrumental functions. Despite their many derelictions, the (American) parties contact and register voters, select candidates, organize the campaign, and tell supporters what to believe on issues and how to vote. Accordingly, people who affiliate with a party

vote more often than those who do not; and those who are strongly attached are more active in discussions, listen to more speeches, and respond more positively to their party's views than do those who are weakly attached. Again, these are correlates, and one cannot always be certain whether party affiliation causes participation or the reverse. Furthermore, even these co-relations are far from being perfect. Many voters have only a marginal preference for one party over the other, while many non-voters report strong party loyalties[64]. In France and some other European countries, party affiliation is less common than in the United States, but electoral turnout is higher[65].

Many students of politics believe that participation in the United states would be greater if the competition between parties were more intense that is, if they were more equally matched in the number of their adherents or more sharply divided in ideology. There is some empirical support for the belief that owing to greater incentives, turnout increases as the number of supporters of the competing parties becomes more equal[66]. But closeness of competition appears to exercise most of its effect on those with strong party identifications[67].

More debatable is the claim that greater ideological cleavage between parties increases participation. The argument rests principally on the assumption that those who see the parties as diverging are more likely to find the election important and will therefore be more strongly motivated to work and vote for their party. The support for the hypothesis can be gleaned from several sets of findings: turnout in regular elections is almost invariably

greater than turnout in primaries; votes in some countries with typically heavier turnouts than the United States (e.g., Norway) see their parties as more divergent ideologically than do Americans[68]. And within the United States, active party workers are more likely than ordinary citizens to regard the parties as differing sharply on issues[69]. But another set of observations can be adduced to support the opposite view. Many voters support their party without reference to the stand it takes on issues[70]. And only the minorities accurately perceive the degree of intellectual cleavage that already exists between the major American parties. In some countries with high turnout, such as France and Italy, voters do not see the parties so divergent ideologically. It is also possible that when party positions become polarized, some people will shrink from having to choose between extreme and unpalatable alternatives.

The Campaign: The effort made by the parties to involve the electorate in the political contest is concentrated in the campaign itself. Something has been learned about the effects of campaigns on polarizing party attachments, reinforcing candidate is preferences, and switching votes[71]. But little is reliably known about the effects of different kinds of campaign techniques on participation. One can assume that even the most listless campaign will succeed in arousing some people who might not otherwise think of attending a political meeting, listening to a political speech, or carrying a banner. Such findings as we do, have suggest that the campaign chiefly reaches the faithful, crystallizing partisanship and reinforcing the intention have committed party adherents to vote and to

persuade others to vote[72]. When the campaign ends, most of the participants revert to their relatively passive roles.

Some campaign techniques are most effective in stimulating citizen participation. All forms of persuasion and publicity probably have some effects, however minuscule. The most dramatic results, however, appear to be achieved through face-to-face communication with potential voters. This contact can be made formally, through designated party canvassers, or informally, through politically interested friends and opinion leaders[73]. The relative effectiveness of these communicators depends on their ability to command the attention of the people they seek to contact, to represent themselves as trustworthy sources of information, to enforce moral or psychological pressures, and to convey campaign messages in meaningful language[74].

The effect of the campaign on participation depends not only on campaign techniques but also on the popularity or charisma of the candidates. Intuitive or anecdotal data suggest that candidates with strong personal appeal can significantly increase the interest of typical non-participants and quicken the fervor and activity of party regulars. But in the few elections on which we have data, most voters were unable to discriminate clearly the personality attributes of the candidates[75].

Issues and Ideology: A sizable body of research has shown that participation is associated with political awareness, that is, actual knowledge of political affairs. (Awareness, of course, is in turn highly correlated with

interest.) As we have seen, the number of citizens who can be described as "aware" in any sophisticated sense is extremely small. As many as half or three-fourths of the electorate are unable to define terms common to ordinary political discourse-e.g., "monopoly," "plurality," "left," "right," "balanced budget"[76]. Many cannot identify the reference groups that speak for their interests, cannot classify themselves accurately as liberal or conservative, and can't describe the differences between their party and that of the opposition. Striking as these findings are for the United States, they are even clearer for other countries where education and dissemination of public information are less widespread.

Awareness affects both the nature and the quality of participation. If the "unaware" participate al all, they tend to do so in a random, inconsistent way that may actually work against their own stated aims. Data indicate that the politically aware are usually better able to relate their social values to their political opinions; to achieve stable, internally consistent belief systems; and to comprehend and act upon the constitutional "rules of the game"[77].

Issues also play a role in participation. Although voters may lack knowledge of the array of issues being contested in a given election, some are strongly motivated by a single issue or class of issues that are for them particularly salient. For some purposes, then, the electorate can be thought of as constituting "issue publics"-e.g., Negroes (civil rights), the elderly (Medicare), trade unionists (the closed shop), young men of draft age (the war in Vietnam), and so on. The activity generated within such publics by

the surfacing of the appropriate issue may be critical both for the outcome of the election and for the adoption of government policies. But the self-testimony about the important issues can be deceptive: Although some people may actually be moved to vote by the issues they name as decisive–e.g., the Korean conflict in 1952– others may be motivated largely by their preference for a candidate and, when asked, merely name the issues stressed by him[78].

Evidence suggests that the party activists are more likely than ordinary voters to be aware of and motivated by issues. In the United States the active members of the two parties differ sharply on a wide range of issues, while their respective followers tend to agree on all but a few issues[79]. These disagreements in the issue outlook of party elites furnish motive force, help to define the parties' images, and determine whom the parties recruit and activate.

In principle, any issue can be a powerful stimulus to participation; in practice, some issues are so narrow, technical, or esoteric that they have little chance of capturing the interest of a large public. "Position" issues (the so-called bread-and-butter issues) are generally thought to have a better chance of interesting would-be voters than "style," or symbolic, issues[80]. Such position issues as social security, minimum wages, and Medicare are presumably easier to understand, even for the uneducated, and promise more tangible rewards. Style issues, such as civil liberties and many foreign policy questions, are presumably more complex and abstract and, hence, less compelling. Obviously there are important exceptions to these

generalization: for example, civil rights is for most Americans a style rather than a position issue, but during the 1960s it has probably inspired more activity than any other domestic issue.

There are severe limitations on the degree to which issues of any type can stimulate interest and participation among large segments of the population. The distance between the individual's behavior and the eventual reward (i.e., effective government action on the issue) is typically very great, and the reinforcement pattern is sporadic and uncertain. The wonder, then, is not that people do not participate, but that they do.

Political factors, thus, may cause participation rates to vary, but one must keep in mind that the over-all rate of participation for a given country in a given era tends to remain fairly stable and that changes in the rates of participation from one election to another are usually small. This suggests that the broad social and psychological predisposition earlier discussed set severe limitations on the play of political and situational elements[81].

The political variables in respect of participation are, no doubt, important; but it is apt to remember that, as far as participation is concerned, the same political variables are often found to produce different results and this so happens because the operation of the political variables is very much limited by the psychological and social variables.

Psychological Variables: Participation survives by virtue of its capacity to provide rewards for those who engage in it. Political observer throughout the ages have variously attributed man's political activity to his

need for power, competition, achievement, affiliation, aggression, money, prestige, status, recognition, approval, manipulation, sympathy, responsibility, in short, to virtually every need that impels human behavior. Political participation gratifies certain needs that are not satisfied by other kinds of endeavor[82]. Similarly research shows that personality traits which are particularly influenced by social learning-such as dominance, social responsibility and self-confidence are positively associated with political participation. It is not so much that these signs of ego strength are sufficient to inspire political participation, but the individuals who lack them more likely to avoid active involvement.

These psychological variables and specially the degree to which political participation is felt to be rewarding, are powerfully, mediated by the individuals reference groups. Many of the values and habits of participation are instilled by the family and sustained by peers and other primary groups[83]. Any such group for which politics is highly salient will reward its members for participation or punish them for nonparticipation by granting or withholding approval and affection. Intermediate groups as well as primary groups may help prepare their members for citizenship by alerting them to their own interests, developing their social skill, and instructing them in the techniques of public activity. Membership in trade unions, service clubs, and other repeatedly voluntary associations has been found to correlate significantly with political participation[84]. Besides, Robert Lane argued that common political beliefs lay the groundwork for sharing equivalent emotions of anger, sympathy and distress; common interests improve the opportunities for small talk; common activities create bonds of friendship.

Politics may offer to the lonely man to get new opportunities for association with others- the excuse may be politics; the need may be fear of isolation[85].

2.6 Apathy: Its Causes

An individual is likely to be disinterested in his political participation if he strongly feels that it really makes no sense in as far as it will never be able to change the existing state of things. Robert A. Dahl explained that citizens who are pessimistic about their capacity to influence political events eschew politics on the ground that what they do won't matter anyway. Voters sometimes neglect to vote because they feel that one vote will not change the outcome; citizens often fail to press their views on public officials because they believe that public officials will not pay attention to people like themselves. In other words, the extent of a person's political participation is very much influenced by his sense of efficacy. This sense of political efficacy, on its part, is conditioned by a person's income, social standing, political experience, and also by the level of his educational attainment[86]. About one-third of the American adult population can be characterized as politically or passive; in most cases, they are unaware, literally, of the political part of the worlds around them. Another 60 per cent play largely spectator's roles in the political process; they watch, they cheer, they vote, but they do not do battle[87]. The apathetic ranks probably are even larger in strictly state and local elections; they are also larger in the American South. The five-nation study suggests that the apathetic ranks are also large in many other countries. They are especially large in Italy and Mexico. But Germany also had more apathetic than the United States and Great Britain[88].

When only a part of people participates in politics or most of the people is being apolitical, the government is likely to be directed as so to violate the interests of the people or non-participators. If apathy becomes widespread, power could easily be usurped and the quality of government seriously decline. If an issue in politics is not greatly concerns them or on which they can make no contribution they do not even vote or speak upon issues. They choose to be inactive as to fail to vote[89].

The term "apathy" refers to a state of withdrawal from, or indifference to those voluntary activities by which members of a society share in the selection of rulers and directly or indirectly formation of public policy. In other words political apathy is a political passivity.

In general two classes of apathetic individuals can be distinguished: those who fail to participate out of political indifference, exclusion, or incapacity; and those who consciously choose not to participate. Although no precise information is available as to their frequency, the first type includes the habitual non-voter who has little knowledge of issues or candidates and mystified by political events. Rarely are they able to connect what happens "out there" with the events of their own lives. Apathy if this type abounds among the uneducated, the inarticulate, the parochial, the isolated, and those who occupy roles in which political passivity is perceived as the norm, e.g., women in political systems heavily dominated by men. As these findings signify, political participation is not "natural" but must be "learned"; and for learning to occur, one must have capacity, motivation,

and opportunity. In some strata of the society, all three preconditions are missing[90].

The second class of apathetic, though small, is far more diverse. It includes those who disdain politics because it seems to them self-serving and corrupt. Some adopt this view as a projection of their own hostility or dissatisfaction with their own lives; others, out of misplaced idealism and the inevitable disappointment with human imperfection; some, out of a generalized cynicism toward mankind and all his arguments; and some, merely because their prey to prevailing stereotypes. Still others are disenchanted either because the system serves them badly or because politics does not seem to them sufficiently "meaningful". Some – the "realists" – have to conclude that their chances of influencing the gigantic and remote political system are too slight to warrant the investment of time and energy. Others believe that the system offers no genuine alternatives and that all efforts to change the outcomes are idle and self-deluding[91]. Still others, while aware of politics and convinced of its importance, simply finds the entire subject dull.

Nor are the forces that lead to withdrawal in all respects "negative". In certain subgroups of the society, apathy is positively reinforced. Among those who have attempted to set up their communities outside the prevailing culture — for example, certain "bohemian" subcultures — conventional political activities are frequently regarded as foolish and unbecoming while political indifference is esteemed. The same holds, though less consciously and articulately, for certain deprived minorities, who perceive participation

as useless, dangerous, or as an affectation. For them, the "affirmative" act is to express one's contempt by withdrawing[92].

The paradox of not voting is examined in a model where voters have uncertainty about the preferences and costs of other voters. In game-theoretic models of voter participation under complete information, equilibrium outcomes can have substantial turnout even when voting costs are relatively high. In contrast, when uncertainty about preferences and costs is present, only voters with negligible or negative net voting costs participate when the electorate is large[93].

Notes and References

[1] Ernest Berker (ed.), *The Politics of Aristotle* (Oxford : The Clanendon Press, 1968), p. 1129.

[2] Robert R. Agger and Ostrom Vincent, "Political Participation in a Small Community" in *Political Behaviour*, ed. S. J. Ealau, N. Eldersveld, and Moras Janowits, (New Delhi: American Publishing Co. Pvt. Ltd., 1956), p. 138.

[3] Daniel Larner, *The Passing of a Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East* (Glenco: The Free Press 1965), p. 71.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Conley H. Dellon, Carl Leiden and Paul D. Stewart, *Introduction to Political Science* (New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand Company Inc. Princeton, 1958), pp. 255-256.

[6] Lerner, *op.cit.*, p. 71.

[7] D.G. Kousoulas, *On Government and Politics: An Introduction to Political Science* (U.S.A.: Cole Publishing Company, 1982), p. 156.

[8] *The Social Science Encyclopedia*, 1989 eds., s.v. "Adam kuper and Jesica kuper" London. pp. 612-613.

[9] Mary Howkesworth and Maurice Kogan, eds. Encyclopedia of Government and Politics (New York: 1992) S.V. "Political Participation and Voting Behaviour" by W. L. Miller

[10] Ibid.

[11] *Anmol's dictionary of Political Science*, 1993 eds., s.v. "T.R. Nanda" (New Delhi : Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd. India).

[12] J. Bryce, *Modern Democracies*. Vol.2 (New York : Macmillan, 1931) p. 157.

[13] John Brown Mason, in Frits Morstein Marx ed., *Foreign Governments* (New York: Prentice Hall Inc. 1950) p. 380.

[14] Conley H. Dillon et al. *op.cit.*, p. 252.

[15] Lester W. Milbrath, *Political Participation: How and Why People Get Involve in Politics* (Chicago: Rand Mc Nally & Co., 1965), p. 145.

[16] Sydney Verba, Norman Nie and J. Kism, *Participation and Political Equality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), p. 63.

[17] *The Social Science Encyclopedia*, 1992 eds., S.V "Political Participation"

[18] Graham Walls, *Human Nature in Politics* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1909), p.22.

[19] Herald D. Lasswell, *Psychopathology and Politics* (Glenco: Free Press, 1951), p. 74.

[20] Julian L. Woodward and Elmo Roper, "*Political Activities of American Citizen*", in *Political Behavior* eds. Heinz Ealau, Samuel J. *Psychopathology and Politics* Eldersveld & Moris Janowitz (New York : The Free Press, New Jersey, 1956), p. 140.

[21] Seymour Martin Lipset, *Political Man* (London: Heinmann Educational Books Ltd., 1960), p.180.

[22] Herry Eckson and David E. Apter eds., *Comparative Politics* (New York : The Free Press, 1963), p.82.

[23] Harbert Mc Closky, "Political Participation", in Harbert Mc Closky (ed.), *International Encyclopedia of Social Science* (New York : Collier-Macmillan, 1968), S.V. Vol. 12, p. 253.

[24] Ibid., p. 253.

[25] T.J. Bellows, S. Erikson & H.R. Winter eds., *Political Science : Introductory Essay and Readings* (California : Duxbury Press, Belmont, 1971), p.123.

[26] G.A. Almond and G.B. Powell, *Comparative Politics Today: A World View*, (Toronto: Little Brown and Company, Boston, 1980), p.413.

[27] Layman Tower Sargent, *Comparative Political Ideologies* (Illinois: The Dorsey Press, Home wood, 1983), p. 31.

[28] Ibld. p. 32.

[29] Josep LaPalambara, "An Overview of Bureaucracy and Political Development" in Joseph LaPalambara (ed.), *Bureaucracy and Political Development* (Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1965), p. 5.

[30] Conley H. Dillon et.al., *op.cit.*, pp. 252-255.

[31] Ibid., pp. 259-260.

[32] Lester W. Milbrath, *Political Participation: How And Why People Get Involved in Politics* (Chicago: Rand Mc Naly & Co., 1965), p. 21.

[33] Ibid., pp. 18-21.

[34] Ibid., p. 14.

[35] Ibid., pp. 18-29.

[36] Mitchell A. Seligson and John A. Booth eds., *Political Participation in Latin America* (New York : Holmes & Meier, 1979), pp. 19-20

[37] Almond and Powell, *op.cit.*, pp. 64-67.

[38] Ibid.

[39] G.A. Almond and G.B. Powell Jr. *Comparative Politics Today: A World View* (Toronto: Little Brown and Company, Boston, 1980), p. 285.

[40] Ibid., pp. 285-286.

[41] Almond and Powell, *op.cit.*, pp. 288-289.

[42] *International Encyclopedia of Social Science, op.cit.*

[43] Ibid.

[44] Robert E. Lane, *Political Life* (New York : The Free Press, 1959), p. 185.

[45] Verba, et.al., *op.cit.*, pp. 63-79.

[46] Ibid., p. 127.

[47] Amal Kumar, *op.cit.*, p. 130.

[48] Robert E.Lane, *op.cit.*, p. 204.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Amal Kumer, *op.cit.*, p. 129.

[51] Ibid., pp. 210-212.

[52] *Encyclopedia of Government and Politics, op.cit.*

[53] Ibid., p. 127.

[54] G.M. Conley and H.M. Field, "The Non- voter- who he is, What the Thinkers", *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 8 (1944): p. 179.

[55] J.M. Foskett, "Social Structure and Social Participation", *American Sociological Review*, 20 (1955): 434.

[56] Samsul Huda Haroom, *Bangladesh Voting Behaviour: A Psephological Study 1973* (Dhaka: The University of Dhaka, 1978), p. 13.

[57] Milbrath *op.cit.*, p. 16.

[58] Amal Kumer *op.cit.*, p. 128.

[59] Burns, Peltason, and Cronin, *Government by the People* (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc. Englihood Cliffs, 1984), p. 441.

[60] S.M. Lipset, *op.cit.*, p. 212.

[61] P.F. Lazaresfeld, B. Berelson & H.Gaudet, *The People's Chocie* (New Yrok : Duell, Sloam and Pearce, 1944), p. 130

[62] Augnes Campbell et. al. eds., *The American Voter* (New York : Survey Research Center, University of michigan, 1960), p. 97.

[63] *International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, op.cit.*, pp.257-260.

[64] Angus Campbell et al. Eds. *The American Voter* (New York: Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, 1960), p. 97.

[65] Philip E. Converse and Georges Duplex, "Politicization of the Electorate in France and United States", *Public Opinion Quarterly* 26 (1962), pp. 1-23.

[66] Lester W. Milbrath, "*Political Participation in the states*" in *Herber Jacob and Kenneth N. Vines eds., Politics in the American States: A Comparative Analysis* (Boston : Lettle, 19675b) pp. 25-60.

[67] Campbell et al. *op.cit.*, p. 99.

[68] Angus Campbell and Henry Valen "Party Identification in Norway and the United States," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 25 (1961), pp. 505-525.

[69] Herbert McClosky, "Consensus and Ideology in American Politics." *American Political Science Review*, 58 (1964), pp. 361-382.

[70] Herbert McClosky, Poul J. Hoffman and Rosemasy O'Hara, " Issue Conflict and Consensus Among Party Leadesand Follower's" *American Political Science Review*, 54(1960), pp. 406-427.

[71] Bernard R. Berelson, Paul F. Lazersfield, and Willion N. McPhee, *Voting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), p.90

[72] Ibid.

[73] Phillips Cutright and peter H. Rossi. "Gran Roots Politician and the Vote," *American Sociologyca Review*, 23(1958), pp. 171-179.

[74] *International Encyclopedia of Social Science, op.cit.*, pp. 260-261.

[75] James C. Daies "Charisma in the 1952 Campaign" *American Political Science Review*, 48(1954), pp. 1083-1102.

[76] *International Encyclopedia of Social Science*, p. 261.

[77] Herbet McClosky, " Consensus and Ideology in American Politics," *American Political Science Review*, 54(1964), pp. 361-382.

[78] *International Encyclopedia of Social Science.* p. 262.

[79] Herbert McClosky, Paul J. Hoffman, and Rosemary O'Hara," Issue, Conflict and Consensus Among Party Leaders and Followers," *American Political Science Review*, 54(1960), pp. 406-427.

[80] *International Encyclopedia of Social Science.*

[81] Ibid., pp. 262-263.

[82] Ibid., p. 257.

[83] Herbert McCloskey and Harold E. Dahlgren, "Primary Group Influence on Party Loyalty", *American Political Science Review*, 5(1959), pp. 757-776.

[84] *International Encyclopedia of Social Science, op.cit.*

[85] Robert E. Lane, *op.cit.,* p. 108.

[86] Robert A. Dahl, *Modern Political Analysis* (New Delhi: Prentice Hall of India Pvt. Ltd., 1965). p. 61.

[87] Lester W. Milbrath, *Political Participation, How and Why Do People Get Involved in Politics* (Chicago: Rand Mc Nally & Co., 1965), p. 21.

[88] Ibid., pp. 21-22.

[89] Ibid. pp. 142-145

[90] *International Encyclopedia of Social Science, op.cit.*

[91] Morris Rosenberg, "Some Determinants of Political Apathy", *Public Opinion Quarterly* 18 (1984): 349-366 and William Erbe, "Social Involvement and Political Activity: A Replication and Elaboration", *American Sociological Review*, 29 (1964), pp. 198-215.

[92] *International Encyclopedia of Social Science*, 1968 ed., s.v. "Political Participation".

[93] Thomas R. Palfrey & Howard Rosenthal, "Voter Participation and Strategic Uncertainty," *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 79, No. 1, (1985): 62.

Chapter-3

Political System and Process in Bangladesh

3.1 Socio-demographic Profile

Bangladesh is an independent state. But this independence has not been achieved so easily. The people of Bangladesh had to struggle hard for long to achieve independence. Therefore, to understand the political system and process in Bangladesh we need to look back to our political history as to know the socio-demographic and cultural milieu.

The territory consisted Bangladesh were under the Muslim rule over a five and half century from 1201 to 1757[1]. Subsequently, it was under the subjugation of the British rule after the defeat of the last sovereign ruler, Nawab Sirajuddowla. The British ruled over the entire Indian sub-continent including this territory nearly for two hundred years. During that period Bangladesh was a part of British-Indian provinces of Bengal and Assam. With the termination of British rule in August 1947 the sub-continent was partitioned into India and Pakistan along communal line. Bangladesh was then a part of Pakistan and was known as East Pakistan. It remained under the internal colonization for 24 years. It appeared on the world map as an independent and sovereign state on December 16, 1971 following the victory at the war of liberation from March 25 to December 16, 1971. Bangladesh lies in the north-eastern part of South Asia. Except for a short boundary with Myanmar in extreme southeast and the Bay of Bengal on the south the country is surrounded by India.

It is a country where about 130 million people are living in an area of 147,000 square kilometers. The country is expected to reach a population of 129.6 million by the year 2000[2]. The percentage of the urban population is about 20%[3]. Endowed with a sub-tropical monsoon climate and rich alluvial plains dominated by the Ganges and Brahmaputra, Bangladesh has one of the worlds highest Population densities. The country is ethnically quite homogeneous, since 98% of the people are Bengali and speak a common language i.e. Bangla. However, 1% include assorted tribal groups and the remaining 1% Urdu-speaking non-Bengali Muslim immigrants from India, largely Biharis. Bangladesh contains more Muslim inhabitants than any other country except Indonesia where 88% of its people profess Islam, while that of Hindus, Buddhists and Christians are 10.5%, 0.6% and 0.3% respectively[4].

The literacy rate of the country is 36%[5] with a GNP per capita of only 330 US dollars. Bangladesh has been characterized by the World Bank as one of the world's poorest countries[6]. Nearly three-fourths of the labour forces are engaged in agriculture. The country's economy is mainly based on agriculture. This sector directly contributes around 35% to the total gross domestic products (GDP)[7]. Though Bangladesh has got one of the most fertile lands, but due to paucity of capital and lack of knowledge of new inputs and techniques its yield per acre is one of the lowest in the world. So, its food grain deficit is approximately two million tons per year. Rice is the principal food crop and Garments is the leading export item. Although significant natural gas reserves exist, the country is deficient in most other natural resources. The industrial sector contributes only 15% of the GDP

which is dominated by Jute processing followed by cotton, textile, cigarettes and garments[8]. The country's low-lying southern coast is extremely vulnerable to natural disaster by severe monsoon flooding cyclone and tidal bore.

Ethnic-linguistic and Religious Problems: Though over 98% of the population are ethnically Bengalees, but there are some non-Bengali people in tribal areas. For a long time after liberation they have been organized with articulation of their demands[9]. For resolving the tribal insurgency Bangladesh government accorded an agreement known as "Hill Tract Peace Accord" with the Janashanghoty Samittee (The leading organization of the tribal activists). Nearly 10.5% of the population are Hindus, which constitute the largest minority group in the country. Hindus are ethnically Bengali, but their religious difference is a source of separate group identity and organization[10].

Bangladesh is a third world nation in the classical sense. The legacy of British colonialism and internal colonization by Pakistan, its external economic dependency, its helpless 'peripherality', geo-political situation and external penetration, meager resources, population explosion, unsuccessful development strategies, Pahari insurgency (tribal insurgency in the Chittagong hill tracts) all contribute to making it as third world nation[11].

3.2 Legal Framework

The Constitution of the Peoples' Republic of Bangladesh was adopted by the Constituent Assembly on the 4 November 1972 and it came into force

on the December 16, of the same year[12]. It was a great success of the regime under Sheikh Mujibur Rahman adopting a Constitution within one year after independence. This Constitution includes 153 Articles within its eleven part, and four schedules. Bangladesh constitution has completed its 13th amendment within 25 years of its existence. It is a written Constitution having unitary form of government.

Before the Constitution came into force on 16 December 1972, Bangladesh was governed dejure from 26 March 1971 defacto from 16 December 1971 by three constitutional documents: the Proclamation of Independence, laws Continuance Enforcement Order, 1971 and Provisional Constitution of Bangladesh Order, 1972[13]. The Constitution is the supreme law of the Republic. The entire legislative, executive and judicial activities of the state are guided and regulated by the Constitution[14].

As stated in the US constitution, in the preamble of Bangladesh constitution also emphasized on people's sovereignty. It provides that - "We, the people of Bangladesh, having proclaimed our Independence on the 26th day of March 1971 and through a historic 'struggle for national liberation' established the independent, sovereign People's Republic of Bangladesh"[15].

In the original constitution of 1972 there was a provision of parliamentary form of government that was changed in 1975 by its 4th amendment and a one party presidential form of government was introduced. However, the parliamentary system was revived in 1991 by abolishing presidential form of government through 13th amendment of the Constitution. Article 7 of the constitution emphasizes two aspects: the

people as the repository of all powers in the Republic and the supremacy of the constitution.

Part II of the Constitution stipulates some fundamental principles of state policy. They are nationalism, democracy, secularism and socialism[16]. The mechanism adopted by the framers of the constitution was parliamentary democracy to achieve "socialism". It is interesting to note here is that the constitution was criticized for not providing adequate mechanisms to achieve fully the four principles of the state ideology. But the four principles themselves were accepted as legitimate. The socialist provisions of constitution failed to satisfy the socialists who thought that making socialism a part of the directive principles of state, without making that principle enforceable in a court of law would not lead to the establishment of socialism in Bangladesh[17]. The socialist provision of the constitution was also strongly criticized by one of the leftist Bengali intellectuals as a "fundamental measure against socialism, democracy, nationalism and secularism"[18]. The constitution provides that the "Republic shall be a democratic in which fundamental human rights and freedom and respect for the dignity and worth of the human shall be guaranteed and in which effective participation by the people through their elected representatives in administration at all levels shall be ensured"[19].

Like most constitutions framed after the Second World War, our constitution also contains a chapter on fundamental rights. The preamble declares that to realize "fundamental human rights and freedom", is the prime object of the state. The constitution provides that all existing laws

inconsistent with fundamental right shall void and any law so made shall be void to the extent of law in its inconsistency. Some of the fundamental rights namely, protection of law, right to life and personal liberty, safeguards against arrest and preventive detention, prohibition of forced labor, freedom of movement, freedom of association, and freedom of thought and conscience and of speech, freedom of occupation and the freedom of religion[20].

But the Constitution (Second Amendment) Act, 1973 introduces emergency provisions which empowered the President to suspend enforcement of fundamental rights during emergencies[21] soon ran into troubled waters. Because of this emergency provision the fundamental rights as enshrined in original constitution is being violated often by the executive's intervention and how the fundamental rights are violated are discussed below:

A Proclamation of Emergency on December 28, 1974 kept certain fundamental rights outside of the jurisdiction of Court and this state of affair continued up-to 27 November 1979. On 25 January 1975 came the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Act, 1975 changing the basic structure of the constitution. The parliamentary government was replaced by presidential form of government[22]. The Fourth amendment made a drastic inroad into the independence and jurisdiction of the judiciary. A one-party state was established and Sheikh Mujib immediately entered upon the office of the President from commencement of the fourth amendment Act. All newspapers and periodicals except a designated few were banned.

Though the constitution provides for a liberal parliamentary democracy with well-defined fundamental rights but most of the opposition parties challenged the legitimacy of the Constituent Assembly and demanded the formulation of the Constitution through an all-party national convention. They had also substantial disagreement about the fundamentals of the Constitution. The Islamic rightists preferred a parliamentary system but they were opposed to the principles of secularism and socialism. The leftists accepted fundamental principles but they contended that there was no adequate provision for realizing those principles, particularly socialism. However, the ruling AL sought to legitimize the Constitution through the general election of 1973 and achieved the people's verdict. Thus the legitimacy of the constitution was established[23]. During the period under consideration fundamental rights were enforceable only for two years from 1972 to 1974.

The criticism against the emergency power is that the extensive emergency powers incorporated in the Constitution and the limitations put on the fundamental rights by the emergency provisions led to the allegation that the document was intended for a perpetual emergency[24].

The emergency was revoked five years later on November 27, 1979. During this long period of 5 years (from December 1974 to November 1979) the Supreme Court of Bangladesh was denied the jurisdiction to enforce fundamental right. The law of fundamental rights, therefore, had very little scope to flourish in Bangladesh.

The interlude of 1979 to 1980 during which the constitution was again allowed to have its full play and during which there was a spate of constitutional litigation's, was followed by the second Martial Law in 1982 which continued up to 1986. The Supreme Court relapsed into Martial Law Jurisprudence again.

Again the restoration of the constitution in 1986, constitution litigation reached its peak in 1988 when certain provisions of the 8th Amendment of the Constitution were challenged. The Constitution (Eighth Amendment) Act, 1988 was enacted in 1988 substituting Article 100 altogether, providing that the High Court Division shall have a permanent Bench each at the same place where circuit Benches and sessions were held during the Martial Law period and the period following. But the amendment was challenged as ultra vires. And ultimately the original Article 100 of the constitution was restored by the majority judgement of the Constitution (Eighth Amendment) Case[25]. The constitution was again modified after 1990 through which the parliamentary system was revived.

3.3 The Role of Executive

Today the executive branch has become strong in order to face the complexities of modern government. We observe that in the polity of developed and developing nations three models of executives are working. The three models are as follows: the British cabinet system, the American presidential system, and the Swiss collegiate executive. Recently, the French model, which is a synthesis of parliamentary and presidential system drawn the attention of a number of countries. It would be worthwhile to mention

that the executive in communist system has been kept outside the framework[26].

The legal basis of the Provisional Government in Bangladesh was established on 10 April 1971 through Proclamation of Independence Order with retrospective effect from 26 March 1971. The Proclamation established an all-powerful presidential executive[27] is not uncommon under special circumstances, especially during a war situation.

Sheikh Mujib as President of Bangladesh promulgated a Provisional Constitutional Order providing for a parliamentary form of government in Bangladesh[28]. And he stepped down from the post of Presidency and became the Prime Minister (PM). Justice Abu Sayed Chawdhury was appointed the President of Bangladesh. Before that Sheikh Mujib promulgated another presidential Order on 23 March 1972, which provided for a Constituent Assembly[29]. A thirty-four members committee headed by Dr. Kamal Hossain was formed to frame the draft of the Constitution. The committee framed the Constitution, which came into force on 16 December 1972[30].

Part IV of the Constitution deals with the executive, its power and limitations. Article 48 (1) provides that the President shall be elected through Parliament. He shall take precedence over all other persons in the state. But except appointing Prime Minister (PM) and Chief Justice the President shall act in accordance with the advice of the PM[31]. However, he holds the power to grant pardons, reprieves and respites and to remit, suspend or commute any sentence passed by any court, tribunal or other authority. Article 49 provides that the President may resign his office by

writing a letter addressed to the speaker. Article 50 provides that he is not answerable to any court for anything done or omitted by him in the exercise of the functions of his office. But the President may be impeached on a charge of violating this constitution or of grave misconduct by a resolution passed by two-third members of Parliament. Article 53 provides that he may also be removed on the ground of physical or mental incapacity.

Article 55 provides that there is a Cabinet having a Prime Minister (PM) at its head and comprising also such other ministers as PM chooses from time to time. The executive power of the Republic is exercised by the PM. He is the chief executive of the state. The cabinet is collectively responsible to Parliament. All executive actions of the government shall be expressed in the name of the President. Article 56 provides that the President shall appoint as Prime Minister the Member of Parliament who appears to him to commend the support of majority of the members of Parliament. Article 57 provides that the PM can resign at anytime submitting his resignation to the President. If the PM ceases to retain the support of a majority of the Parliament, he or she either resigns or advises the President in writing to dissolve the Parliament.

Role of Executive under Mujib: The Bangladesh Awami League (AL) headed by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman (Mujib) formed the first government in Bangladesh. The government adopted a constitution for the first time providing a parliamentary system of government with competitive party system and inclusion of fundamental rights of the citizens.

However, the existing political forces including some factions of ruling (AL) party were not unanimous in support of the government policies. Beyond this the deteriorating economic situation in the successive years gave opportunities to the opposition political forces. There arose a crisis situation threatened the political stability of the country. Immediately a faction was developed in the ruling Awami League. "Student, youth, labour, and freedom fighters were split up". Besides the ruling pro-Moscow NAP also advocated for abolishing party government[32]. In such a political turmoil government adopted certain measures in order to face the challenging situation. The internal as well as the external threat by the underground communists and Mujib's own proclivity propelled him to introduce one party authoritarian rule through the Fourth Amendment of the Constitution. The ruling party introduced BAKSAL, a one party presidential system by replacing competitive party system and curtailed civil liberties. All these measures taken by the government appear to the people as transition to authoritarian rule.

However, with fall of Sheikh Mujib in August 1975 the military-backed government headed by Khandoker Mustaq Ahmed, a close associate of Mujib, pledged on 4 October 1975 to return to parliamentary form of government. But he was overthrown by another coup designed by Brigadier Khaled Mosharrof. But he (Khaled Mosharrof) was also dislodged through open revolt of *sepoys* who freed Ziaur Rahman from house arrest and helped him (Zia) to emerge as a strongman.

The regime, headed by Zia in order to create support base revived the political process with some Islamic fervor. He however dropped the word

'secularism' from the fundamental principles. Zia also changed the strategy of economic development. His government changed industrial policy replacing socialist orientation by capitalist system. He also introduced major changes in the foreign policy of the country and put more reliance upon Muslim world and western bloc and reduced reliance upon India and socialist bloc.

Zia took some measures to civilianize his military regime. A new political party was founded by Zia himself, which is now known as Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP).

In order to legitimize his authority he held a referendum in May 1977,on the basis of 19 points program based on socio-economic objectives, on which 99% of votes were in his favor. After the referendum Zia held presidential election in June 1978 and won the election with 77% votes and became the President. Then he announced parliamentary elections in February 1979. And in this elections BNP secured 207 seats out of 300 parliamentary seats. Zia expanded his council of ministers by including some civilian politician and claimed that his government was civilian in character. However, important positions in the government remained with his trusted military associates. The budget allocation for defense also went on increasing (from Taka 600 million in 1973-74 to 2524 million in 1980-81). But peace did not prevail in cantonments. Nineteen abortive military coups were attempted within a period of five years[33]. Zia was assassinated on 30 May 1981 in Chittagong in a coup, led by Major General Mohammed Abul Monzoor (Monzoor) who was also killed in confusion. Thus Zia regime came to an end.

Justice Abdus Sattar, Vice- President of Zia, assumed presidency for a short period. He held a presidential election in November 1981 and was elected President. But soon after President Satter's taking power, the army had started showing intolerance towards civilian authority. The army claimed for a share in the power structure. Even though the demand was partially met by forming military dominated National Security Council (NSC), a super body, the army could not be satisfied. Lt. General Hussain Mohammed Ershad (Ershad) whom Zia had appointed as army Chief, deposed Justice Satter and seized power on 24 March 1982 through a bloodless coup. Thus began the second spell of military rule headed by General Ershad.

General Ershad used religion to mobilize political support of the fundamentalist Islamic group base for his regime. He amended the constitution and adopted Islam as the state religion. He took initiative to legitimize his regime. He started political polarization. A new political party known as Jatiyo Party (JP) was organized under his patronization. To civilianize his military rule he held referendum and elections. But major political parties including BNP boycotted parliamentary elections. His regime faced major challenges from opposition political parties, especially from student organizations because of his wide scale corruption, massive vote rigging and institutionalization of terrorism. *Hartal* (General Strike), seizure, *oborad* (obstacle created by people), demonstration, procession, violence, movement etc. these were the daily features of Bangladesh politics in his time. In the midst of these political turmoil there built a consensus among opposition political parties. Major political alliances claimed

resignation of Ershad and hand over power to a non-party Caretaker Government (CG) who would conduct parliamentary elections within three months. Finding no alternative, at last Ershad agreed to resign and handed power over to an interim Caretaker Government headed by Chief Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed on 6 December 1990. Thus Ershad was thrown out of power in the face of people's movement.

The interim government performed its job remarkably well. It held a free and fair election of the fifth Parliament, which was appreciated at home, and abroad. In this elections BNP own by 142 parliamentary seats out of 300 and it emerged as a single majority party. It formed government headed by Begum Khaleda Zia (The wife of late President Ziaur Rahman) with the help of Jammat-I-Islami Party.

BNP government amended the constitution and adopted a parliamentary system was a public demand articulated through the movement against Ershad. However, opposition parties supported it whole-heartedly. Thus presidential system had ended after sixteen years and a parliamentary system began its march for the second time. The amendment came into force from September 1991 when it was approved by a national referendum.

Of the amendments to constitutions, the fourth, fifth and the eighth amendments are most controversial because they have changed the basic structure of the constitution. The fourth amendment introduced a one-party authoritarian rule. The Fifth Amendment approved Martial Law proclamations including Indemnity Act, which stopped the trial of the killers

of Sheikh Mujib and his family and also his cabinet members. The eighth amendment, which introduced High Court branched in six district's headquarters in Bangladesh which had been challenged in the court of law and kept in abeyance till the court, disposed of the case.

3.4 The Role of Legislature (Jatiyo Sangsad)

The legislature, which consists of the representative of entire population, has become the most important organs of the modern government. The legislators basically make laws as the representatives of the people. In a modern state they are engaged not only with the function of law making but also with the other highly important work, such as control over finance, extraction of information about the working of the executive branch of the government, and ventilation of public grievances. It uses various techniques and modus operandi to perform this non law-making functions, such as adjournment motions, question and answer sessions, investigation by committees etc. As such, in spite of its drawbacks the existence of a healthy and effective Parliament has become the sine qua non of a constitutional government[34].

Part V of the constitution of Bangladesh provides the nature, scope and role of the legislature. Being a homogenous nation Bangladesh opted for unicameral legislature. According to the Constitution of Bangladesh all legislative authority of the Republic is entrusted to Parliament which is officially known as Jatiyo Sangsad. Article 65 (2) provides that nothing shall prevent Parliament from delegating to any person or authority, powers to make orders, rules, etc. having legislative effect. The Constitution provides

that Parliament shall consist of three hundred members to be elected in accordance with law from single territorial constituencies by direct election and the members shall be designated as Members of Parliament. It provides that the reserved seats exclusively for women member, who shall be elected by the aforesaid Parliament members. Initially the number of women member was fifteen. Later on the number had been increased to thirty[35].

Article 66 provides that a person to be elected as Parliament Member (MP) shall be at least 25 years. However, Article 70 provides that a person elected as a member of Parliament (MP) belonging to a political party shall vacate his seat if he resigns from that party or votes in Parliament against that party. This Article is being criticized as it affects the independence and exercising free will of the individual MP[36]. The President is to summon, prorogue and dissolve the Parliament by public notification. Provided that a period exceeding "sixty days" shall not intervene between the end of one session and the first sitting of Parliament in the next session. It also provides that the President shall act in accordance with the advice of the Prime Minister tendered to him in writing. Parliament is summoned to meet within thirty days after the declaration of the results of polling at any general election of Members of Parliament. Article 72 provides that unless sooner dissolved by the President, Parliament shall stand dissolved on the expiration of the period of five years from the date of its first meeting provides that it may be extended at the time of war. Article 74 provides that the Parliament shall at its first sitting after any general election, elect from among its members a Speaker and a Deputy Speaker to preside over its sessions.

Rules of Procedure: The procedure of Parliament shall be regulated by rules of procedure made by it, and until such rules are made shall be regulated by rules of procedure made by the President. Article 78 provides that the decision in Parliament shall be taken by a majority of the votes of the members, present and voting. However, the parliamentary form of government is known as the responsible government. Besides, law-making the Parliament ensures government responsibility and makes the government accountable through its committee system. Article 76 provides that the Parliament "at it's first meeting in each session" shall appoint among its members the following Standing Committees: (a) Public Accounts Committee (PAC); (b) Committee of Privileges; and (c) such other Standing Committees as the rules of procedure of Parliament require in order to examine: (i) draft bills and other legislative proposals; (ii) review enforcement of laws; (iii) handle those matters which referred to Parliament; (iv) investigate or inquire into the activities or administration of the ministries to furnish information.

Besides, for further accountability of the executive to Parliament the Constitution provides for an Ombudsman. The Ombudsman shall exercise the powers to investigate action taken by ministry, public officer or statuary public authority.

Legislative Procedure: Article 80 of the Constitution provides that : (1) Every proposal in Parliament for making a law shall be made in the form of a bill; (2) When a bill is passed by Parliament it shall be presented to the President for assent; (3) The President, within fifteen days after a bill is

presented to him, shall assent to the bill "or declare that he withholds assent therefrom[37] it or, in the case of a bill other than a Money bill may return it to Parliament with a message requesting that the bill or any particular provisions thereof be reconsidered, and that any amendments specified by him in the message be considered; and if he fails so to do he shall be deemed to have assented to the bill at the expiration of that period; (4) If the President returns the bill, Parliament shall consider it together with the President's message, and if the bill is again passed by Parliament with or without amendments[38], it shall be presented to the President for his assent. Whereupon the President shall assent to the bill within the period of seven days after it has been placed to him, and if he fails to do so he shall be deemed to have assented to the bill on the expiration of that periods; (5) When the President has assented or has deemed to have assented to a bill passed by Parliament it shall become law and shall be called an Act of Parliament.

Though the legislative power of government vested in Parliament but due to complexity of modern government the legislature delegates its power to the executive. Often the executive initiates the bills. The legislature only discusses and passes or rejects it. But it is supposed that the bill is initiated by the legislature.

The legislature has control over public finance through which the accountability of the government would be ensured. Article 83 provides that in order to ensure the accountability constitution provides that no tax shall

be levied or collected except by or under the authority of an Act of Parliament.

To reduce dominance of the executive and ensure sovereignty of the Parliament constitution provides for a Consolidated Fund in which all money was to be credited to Public Accounts of the Republic. Article 85 provides that any matter relating to payment into the Consolidated Fund or withdrawal of money from the Fund could not be done without an Act of Parliament or without rules made by the President on that behalf. For each financial year a statement of the estimated receipts and expenditure of the Government should lay before Parliament. Article 87 provides that the Budget or the financial statement distinguishes between the money charged on the Consolidated Fund and other expenditure. Article 88 provides that the expenditure charged on the Consolidated Fund shall be charged by the constitution or by the Act of Parliament.

There are also some other law making provisions outside legislature. The law making power, as Ordinance, is given to the President by the Constitution. Article 89 provides that if the President is satisfied that circumstance exist which render immediate action necessary, he may at any time promulgate such Ordinances.

Functioning of the Jatiyo Sangsad: The legislature of Bangladesh had begun functioning with the adoption of its Constitution on 16 December 1972 and it strengthened its function after the parliamentary elections in March 1973.

The First Parliament: The result of the first parliamentary elections (March 1973) created problem for the effective legislature where the ruling Awami League (AL) won 293 seats out of 300 parliamentary seats. Thus the Parliament was dominated by AL, the ruling party, without strong opposition which is an essential condition for effective working of parliamentary system. As Morris-Jones stated, "In the absence of a proper opposition, with adequate strength and enjoying recognition, there can be, it is said, no healthy parliamentary government, for the government will be uncontrolled and unresponsive"[39]. Though Ataur Rahman Khan was an unofficial leader of the opposition in the first Parliament but government did not recognize him as the opposition leader.

The first Parliament passed 110 acts of which 91 were presidential Ordinances. It is apparently a misuse of Ordinance making power of the President as provided in Article 93 of the Constitution.

One of these Ordinances abridged fundamental rights provided in the original Constitution in the name of Emergency Power Act. In the same way, some controversial ordinances were put before Parliament in the form of bills. They are: the Printing Presses and Publications (Declaration and Registration) bill 1973; the *Jatiyo Rakhi Bahini* (Amendment) bill, 1974; the Special Powers Act, 1974; and the controversial Constitution (Fourth Amendment) bill, 1975. They were all passed without either eliciting public opinion or being sent to the Select Committees. The fourth amendment of the constitution introduced a one party authoritarian rule known as BAKSAL.

The lack of proper scrutiny of bills by Parliament during Mujib era was also due to the weak committee system. The opposition was not strong enough to insist. There were only seven Standing Committees and a few Select Committees on non- important bills. There was no private members' bill in the first Parliament. This clearly shows the avoiding tendency of the government to the opposition as well as the domination of the executive over legislature.

The Second Parliament: The second Parliamentary elections of 1979 were held under Martial Law through which General Zia's Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) came to power with 207 legislative seats.

The second Parliament passed 110 acts out of which 27 were Ordinances. It received 49 adjournment motions. The House established seven Standing Committees, a few Select Committees on non-important bills and thirty-six Departmental Committees.

The House also passed the Ombudsman Ordinance of 1980. The Act stipulated the establishment of the office of Ombudsman appointed by the President on the recommendation of Parliament[40]. But the office has not yet been set up.

But the constitution (Fifth Amendment) bill, 1979 passed in the second Parliament is the most controversial one. The bill, which sought to ratify and confirm all proclamations, martial-law order and other laws made during the period between 15 August 1975 to 9 April 1976, prevented the trials of the killers of Mujib from the court.

The Third and Fourth Parliament: The Third and Fourth parliamentary elections were held in 1986 and in 1988 under Ershad's Martial-Law through which Ershad tried to civilianize his military rule. But major opposition political parties boycotted those elections.

Ershad failed to legitimize his government. During his time opposition political parties demonstrated their agitation and organized movement against his (Ershad) dictatorial rule. Finally, on 6 December 1990 Ershad resigned from the office the of President and handed power over to the non-party Caretaker Government, headed by Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed, which was previously formed by the combined opposition alliances.

The role of the Third and Fourth *Jatiyo Sangsad* was disappointing. Mainly it passed bills, ratified and confirmed all Proclamations, Martial-Law Orders and other laws made in his period with the help of so called opposition.

One of the controversial bills passed in Ershad's time was 8th amendment of the Constitution. The Constitution litigation reached its peak in 1988 when certain provisions of the 8th Amendment of the Constitution were challenged. The Eighth Amendment Act was enacted in 1988 substituting Article 100 altogether, providing that the High Court Division shall have a permanent Bench each at the same places where circuit Benches and sessions were held during the Martial Law and post Martial Law period. But the amendment was challenged as ultra-vires. And ultimately the Supreme Court restored Article 100 of the Constitution[41].

The Fifth Parliament: The fifth parliamentary elections were held in 27 February 1991 which was appreciated at home and abroad under the non-party Caretaker Government after the fall of Ershad. In this election BNP emerged as single majority party having 142 parliamentary seats and formed the government with the help of Jammat-I-Islam. Begum Khaleda Zia (wife of late President Ziaur Rahman) became the Prime Minister.

However, the great achievement of the fifth Parliament is the revival of the parliamentary system once again replacing presidential system through the Twelfth Amendment of the constitution. Unlike the previous experiences, important bills like the Twelfth Amendment bill, 1991` were sent to the Select Committee and adopted only after consensus was reached. But on the issue of Upazilla Ordinance government bypassed the Parliament. The government also passed the controversial Special Security Force Act. 1992 (the violence control Act) within hours and in the midst of opposition's walk out. There was another criticism against Khaleda Zia, the leader of the House, very often remained absent in Parliament. However, the legislature was busy with non-political issues like Gulam Azam issue.

The fifth Parliament had a good beginning but only after two and half years the opposition began to show intolerance and subsequently they boycotted the Parliament. As a result the Parliament became inactive. The opposition submitted their resignation from the Parliament claiming all parliamentary elections should be under Caretaker Government (CG). They complained that the ruling BNP did massive rigging in a by election at

Magura constituency. In the midst of political severe confrontation, BNP could fulfil its terms of five years.

The Sixth Parliament: The sixth parliamentary elections were held in 15 February 1996 in the face of boycott by all the opposition political parties and its results was not accepted by them. This Parliament initiated first, the non-party Caretaker Government bill through its Thirteenth Amendment Act, 1996. But the opposition political parties continued their agitation against the government. At last, the ruling BNP was compelled to hand over power to the interim Caretaker Government headed by Justice Habibur Rahman constituted by the oppositions.

The Seventh Parliament: The seventh parliamentary elections were held on 12 June 1996 under this Caretaker Government in which no party commanded absolute majority. But AL emerged as the single largest party. The AL formed the government having 146 parliamentary seats with the help of Jatiyo Party of Ershad.

3.5 The Role of Judiciary

One of the primary objectives of the state is to provide protection of life and liberty of the people. Only a free and independent judiciary can accomplish these objectives. An independent and effective judiciary can put a brake on arbitrary actions of the executive in a country with a legacy of strong executives.

The people of Bangladesh had been deprived of their fundamental rights, previously under the British and in Pakistani regime. While framing

the constitution the idea of retaining an independent Judiciary was strongly felt.

Part VI of the Constitution deals with the Judiciary. It provides a Supreme Court with two divisions: the Appellate Division and the High Court Division. The Chief Justice who is also known as the Chief Justice of Supreme Court heads the former. The Chief Justice and other Judges of the Appellate Division would sit only in that Division and the rest of the Judges were to sit in the High Court Division. Article 94 provides that the Chief Justice and the other Judges shall be independent in the exercise of their judicial functions. Article 95 provides that The President shall appoint the Chief Justice and other Judges. A Judge shall hold office until he attains the age of sixty-five years. Article 96 provides that there is a provision of Supreme Judicial Council. However, the permanent seat of the Supreme Court shall be in the capital. Article 101 provides that the High Court Division shall have original, appellate and other jurisdictions, powers and functions as are or may be conferred on it by the Constitution or any other law. Article 102 provides that the High Court Division on the application of any aggrieved person, may give such directions or orders to any person or authority, including any person performing any function in connection with the affairs of the Republic, as rights may be conferred by part III of the Constitution. Article 103 provides that the Appellate Division shall have jurisdiction to hear and determine appeals from judgments, decrees, orders or sentences of the High Court Division. Article 104 provides that the Appellate Division shall have power to issue such directions, orders, decrees

or writs as may be necessary for doing complete justice in any case or matter pending before it, including orders for the purpose of securing the attendance of any person or the discovery or production of any document. Article 105 provides that the Appellate Division shall have power, subject to the provisions of any Act of Parliament and of any rules made by that division to review any judgment pronounced or order made by it. Article 106 provides that if at any time it appears to the President that question of law has arisen, or is likely to arise, which is of such a nature and of such public importance that it is expedient to obtain the opinion of the Supreme Court upon it, he may refer the question to the Appellate Division which may, after such hearing as it thinks fit, report its opinion thereon to the President. Article 108 provides that the Supreme Court shall be a court of record and shall have all the powers of such a court including the power subject to law to make an order for the investigation of or punishment for any contempt of itself. Article 109 provides that the High Court Division shall have superintendence and control over all courts. Article 112 provides that all authorities, executive and judicial, in the Republic shall act in aid of the Supreme Court. Article 116 provides that the control (including the power of posting, promotion and grant of leave) and discipline of persons employed in the judicial service and magistrates exercising judicial functions shall vest in the Supreme Court. Subject to the provisions of the Constitution, all persons employed in the judicial service and all magistrates shall be independent in the exercise of their judicial functions. Article 117 provides by the Constitution also provides for a Administrative Tribunals to exercise some jurisdiction relating to government servant.

Infringement of the independence of Judiciary: In the original Constitution of 1972 the independence of Judiciary was clearly emphasized. It is laid down that the state must ensure the separation of Judiciary from Executive. But through the Fourth Amendment of the Constitution in January 1975 the Judiciary was made a victim of authoritarianism. Major changes were made in Part VI of the Constitution, which deals with the Judiciary. The tenure, power, function, etc., of the Supreme Court were drastically changed in order to bring it in tune with the authoritarian regime. The terms of Article 95 were changed with the following words: 'The Chief Justice and other judges shall be appointed by the President.' The original provision was that while the Chief Justice was to be appointed by the President, the President would appoint the other judges 'after consultation with the Chief Justice'. The words 'after consultation with the Chief Justice' were removed. Not only that the Fourth Amendment removed the safeguards for the tenure of the judges which is considered as precondition of independence of judiciary. It was simply provide that a 'judge may be removed from his office by order of the President on the grounds of misbehavior or incapacity while it was a very rigid procedure in the original Constitution. Under Article 116 the authority of controlling of the members of the Judiciary given to the Supreme Court which was removed and vested it to the President under Fourth Amendment. While the original Constitution provides the power to protect fundamental rights issuing writ to the Supreme Court but the Fourth Amendment took away this power and provides for the creation of a so-called 'Supreme Constitutional Court.' The original Constitution provides that the appointments of magistrate (exercising

judicial function) were to be made in consultation with the Supreme Court was removed by the presidential rule. Similarly, the power of controlling the personnel of lower courts had vested in the President that taking it away from Supreme Court. In this way we found that the independence of judiciary was removed by the Fourth Amendment.

Judiciary in the first Martial Law period: It is said that Martial Law is no law at all. The commands of the Martial Law administrators are treated as law of the country during Martial Law. Martial Law means the negation of the rule of law.

Bangladesh observed a series of military coups from 1975 to1982. The November 1975 coup brought somewhat stable regime. It was only after the end of Martial Law in 1979 the judicial system was revived again as it was in the original Constitution.

Judiciary in Zia Period: To re-establish the democratic process in Bangladesh Zia removed many undemocratic provisions by adopting the Fourth Amendment. The Fifth Amendment Order of 27 November 1976 dealt with the judiciary. For example the 1972 Constitution provides that a judge shall not be removed from his office by an order of the President passed pursuant to a resolution of Parliament supported by two-third majority on the grounds of proved misbehavior or incapacity. But the Fourth Amendment removed this safeguard for the tenure of the judges and provides that a 'judge may be removed from his office by order of the President on the grounds of misbehavior or of incapacity' as mentioned

above. Only a show cause opportunity was given to the responsible judge. But under Zia's order the President could appoint the Chief Justice and other judges and he could remove a judge, however, with the help of a Judicial Council consisting of Chief Justice and two other senior judges.

Judiciary in Ershad Period: Through the Eighth Amendment of the Constitution in January 1988 Ershad introduced some changes in the structure and functioning of higher judiciary. Under this amendment it was provided that while the Supreme Court would have its permanent seat in the capital city of Dhaka, the High Court Division would have permanent Benches at Comilla, Chittagong, Barisal, Jessore, Rangpur and Sylhet. These benches at the various district headquarters would consist of such a number of judges, as the Chief Justice of Bangladesh would decide. But the lawyers of the country organized a movement against this amendment and they challenged it in the court. And ultimately such 'fundamental changes in the structure of the Judiciary could not be made by an ordinary amendment. Therefore, it was declared null and void.

Judiciary in Khaleda Zia Period: Khaleda Zia regime showed respect to the judiciary and allowed the judiciary to play its independent role.

The judiciary under the parliamentary system from 1991: As a result of the Twelfth Amendment of the Constitution in September 1991 the country's executive system was changed from presidential to parliamentary one. The Twelfth Amendment has not been interfered with the Judiciary and now the judiciary has been playing a vigorous independent role without

paying any heed to any government, however, so strong it is. There are some 'black laws', and very recently some contradictions have appeared in between government and judiciary. Even then there seems a better climate for a free judiciary in Bangladesh.

3.6 The Political Party

Direct participation with the political process of the people could be ensured through the political party. It is the basic structure through which democracy could work. It aggregates people's demand and articulates the interest of different groups belonging to the society and also provides devices of conflict resolution that could facilitate the policy making process of the government. However, political party should be broad-based ideology so that they can accommodate the growing forces in the society[42].

Though, there are many political parties in Bangladesh, we just discuss here only the major parties who have representative in the Seventh Jatiyo Sangsad.

Bangladesh Awami League (AL): Bangladesh Awami League (AL) was born in 1949. Since its inception it was named 'Awami Muslim League.[43] Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani (Bhashani) was made the first Chairman of the party and Sheikh Mujib was Joint Secretary. In the formative phase it came up with a demand of regional autonomy on the basis of Lahore Resolution[44].

AL got its popularity after the participation of language movement in 1952[45] which later turned into autonomy movement. AL made alliance

named with two other parties named Jukto Front (United Front) before 1954 provincial elections on the basis of 21 points program. The Front won the elections and formed government in East Pakistan[46]. But soon after the formation of the government it was dismissed by the central government.

In 1955 AL tried to be a non-communal party by deleting the word 'Muslim' from its name[47]. Bhashani left AL in 1957. Then Hussain Shahid Shurwardi (Shurwardi), who joined AL in 1953, and Sheikh Mujib jointly held the steering of the party and began organizing it.

After the death of Shurawardy in 1963, Mujib began to lead the party[48]. He presented his Six-Points Program before an All Party meeting at Lahore in February 1966. But the Pakistan Democratic Party (PDM) did not accept it. Then Mujib started a mass movement to mobilize support for it. Later this program was known as Magnacarta for Bengalees[49]. Six points program had strengthened the student movement of 1968 launched by SAC[50] and combination of both led to mass movement in 1969[51]. The movement compelled Ayub to step down. In this year Mujib was elected chairman of AL. Then AL declared its aim and objectives. The sole aim of the party was to "ensure the establishment of a society which will be free from oppression and suppression and all sorts of exploitations".

AL participated in the 1970's general elections on the basis of Six-Points program and won 160 seats out of 162 allotted seats for East Pakistan the National Assembly and won 288 seats out of 300 seats for Provincial Assembly by which it emerged as a absolute majority party[52]. On the other

hand Bhutto's Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) got only 88 seats out of allotted 144 seats for West Pakistan in the National Assembly.

But the military government headed by General Yahya took time in delaying the transfer of power as he was already poisoned by Zulfiker Ali Bhutto not to hand over power soon. On 25 March 1971 they attacked on the innocent people of the then East Pakistan and destroyed the important establishment. In protest against the brutal killing of Pakistani forces, independence movement was inevitably started which continued nine months.

After independence AL formed the government under Sheikh Mujib. But soon the government fell in trouble. The government had faced serious confrontations within the ruling party and also from the ultra leftist. The founding father himself arbitrarily transformed the parliamentary system into a one-party presidential system with authoritarian feature through the Fourth Amendment of the Constitution. Meanwhile, the army took advantage of the widespread discontentment and weaknesses of the dominant party to seize state power through a bloody coup d'etat on 15 August 1975 in which Sheikh Mujib and most of his family members were assassinated and his government was overthrown[53].

Again AL was revived under the political party Act, 1976. But then AL faced intra-party conflict. When it was at the peak, it was Sheikh Hasina, the daughter of Sheikh Mujib, who became the chairperson of AL and has been started to lead the party.

AL came to state power after twenty-one years[54] later headed by Sheikh Hasina through the seventh parliamentary elections held in June 1996. Now AL is trying to uphold its tarnish image and has attempted some measures to resolve some of the disputed issues like Ganges water sharing, Hill Tract's insurgency, etc.

Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP): BNP was born in 1978 abolishing 'Jagodal' and 'Jatiyotabadi Font' (Nationalist Front) which previously earned support of General Zia. Leaders from AL, Muslim League and NAP joined BNP for Implementing 19-points program declared by Zia which included protection of independence, faith in Almighty Allah, self sufficiency, women's dignity and integration of young's, encouragement of private sector and developing relationship with the Muslim World.

Zia held the parliamentary elections in 1979 and his party BNP had won 207 seats out of 300 parliamentary seats. It is worth mentioning, Zia also won the presidential election in 1978.

Zia was assassinated in a coup in 1981. Justice Satter, Vice-President of Zia, came forward to lead BNP. He held presidential election in November 1981 and won the race. But unfortunately General Ershad, the chief of army staff, dethroned him from power and he (Ershad) himself became the Chief Martial Law Administrator and held the state power.

Begum Khaleda Zia, the wife of late President Zia, elected Chairperson of the BNP and came to power in 1991 following the fall of

Ershad. Again BNP lost its power through June 1996 parliamentary elections and now playing a major opposition role.

Jatiyo Party (JP): Jatiyo party was formed in January 1986 under the leadership of General H.M. Ershad. In its declaration it mentioned that the fundamental ideology of Jatiyo Party was to maintain independence and sovereignty of the state and to keep up Islamic ideology, flourish Bangladeshi nationalism and democracy.

Ershad was in power for long nine years. The oppositions organized several movements against right from mid eighties. But his party was too weak to quell down the agitation demonstrated by the oppositions. Mainly he was depended on his military colleagues instead of his party. And since when the military refused to support his government he decided to step down from power on 4 December 1990. He transferred power to the Caretaker Government, which was previously instituted by the demand of opposition alliances. Soon Ershad was arrested and kept in jail on many charges brought against him. Now Ershad is jailed for five years after being convicted of abuse of power and possessing illegal arms. His party faces splits. In spite of that, Jatiyo Party has turned a third majority party in sitting Parliament.

Jammat-I-Islami Bangladesh (Jammat): Jammat Islami was founded in British India in 1941. Then it was named 'Jammat Islami Hind' and its chief leader was Syed Abdul Ala Mawdudi. Golam Azam joined to Jammat Islami in 1954.

The ideology of Jammat is to establish Islamic society on the basis of placing absolute trust on Almighty Allah[55]. Its aim and objectives are to establish peace in Bangladesh and all over the world following Islamic way of life[56].

During the war of independence of Bangladesh Jammat sided with Pakistan and opposed the creation of Bangladesh. Since it collaborated with the Pakistani ruler, their activities were banned after liberation of Bangladesh. However, the party was revived under the Political Party Act, 1976. Now the position of Jammat is fourth in the 7th Parliament having only three seats.

Jatiyo Samajtantric Dal (JSD): Jatiyo Samajtantric Dal (JSD) was created in 1972. There was a conflict among the student leaders of Chatra League (student front of AL). A.S.M Rob and Shahjahan Shiraj led one of the splinter group and criticized the activities within the party. Ultimately they came out of AL and formed another left ideology based political party known as Jatiyo Samajtantric Dal (JSD) in 1972.

JSD pledged to establish a society free from suppression, oppression and all sorts of exploitation, through scientific socialism, which will ensure the equal distribution. The party is committed to armed revolution for bringing about socialism[57]. ASM Rob, joint-convenor of JSD called upon the revolutionary people to launch a vigorous movement for establishment of scientific socialism through a class struggle in every sphere of social life. Criticizing the government he said that the government was misleading people in the name of establishing socialism. Tracing the background of the

formation of JSD he said in the present anarchic state of affairs in every walks of social life, the formation of such a new political organization had become essential for the emancipation of the people from all sorts of exploitations[58].

Government also took drastic action against the movement of JSD and other oppositions. Mr. Tofael Ahmed, Political Secretary to the Prime Minister, said nefarious and subversive activities of the "ultra revolutionaries" would be resisted at any cost[59].

JSD emerged as a strong opposition within very short and they played a crucial role against the ruling AL. They formed arms unit named 'Gonobahini' in the different areas of the country as well as they penetrated into the army in the name of 'Biplobi Sainik Sangstha'.

However they supported army coup staged in 1975 to achieve governmental power but failed. Then there arose conflicts and the party was split into many factions, which made the party weak. Even then the main stream is surviving under the leadership of ASM Rob and representing in the seventh Parliament having only one seat and he (Rob) is lucky enough to join the government as Minister.

Bangladesh Khilaphat Mazlish (BKM): Bangladesh Khilaphat Mazlish came out in December 1989 to establish an Islamic Society on the basis of Islamic ideology. Though the party has a seat in the Parliament, yet its activities are not visible. It is assumed that the only MP, Mr. Golam

Sarowar Hiru, had won the seat by self-image. Mr. Hiru was a candidate of an electoral alliance named "Islami Oikkojot" has already been dismissed from his own party meanwhile.

Most of the parties in Bangladesh were created overnight instead of evolving from the grass root level. Though AL is a broad-based party but from late sixties it has become leader centric. On the other hand, Zia came to power through military coup and began civilizing his regime he founded BNP. BNP is also leader-based. The same is true in case of Jatiyo Party of Ershad.

The political parties are characterised by their internal conflicts and not by ideologies. The Islamic and leftist's parties are also the examples of factionalism. Due to such internal weaknesses political parties in Bangladesh could hardly mobilize the people in favour of their program so as to influence the decision making process of the government. The weaknesses are also creating wide gap between political parties and the mass, which ultimately gives birth to agitate politics like Hartal, (general strike), Oborodh (creating obstacle) and many other direct action programs. As a result, political stability in Bangladesh has been far cry[60].

3.7 Political Culture

Political activities and behavior mold political culture. Let us analyze the motivational bases of the political attitudes and behavior of individuals and groups, which include studies of electoral attitude, and behavior through the analysis of political culture. Political scientists define political culture in terms of values, norms, beliefs, symbols, etc. Almond observed that "every

political system is embedded in a particular pattern of orientation to political actions[61]. Close to Almond, Lucian W. Pye also spelt out that political culture is a set of attitudes, beliefs and sentiments which give order and meaning to a political process and which provide the underlying assumptions and rules that govern the behavior in the political system or the manifestation in aggregate form of the psychological and subjective dimension of politics[62]. Sidney Verba defines political culture as a 'system of empirical beliefs, expressive symbols, and values which defines the situation in which political action takes place. It provides the subjective orientations to politics. It encompasses both the political ideals and the operating norms of the polity[63]. He argued that these beliefs affect and are affected by the way in which the structures operate and there is a close circle of relationships between culture and structure[64]. Likewise Verba accepts that although the relationship between political beliefs and behavior may vary, the inconsistencies between beliefs and action have significant implications for a political system.[65] Sidney Verba noted that the term 'political cultural' focuses our attention on basic values, cognition's, and emotional commitments. T.R. Nanda explained it as "it is the totality of ideas and attitudes towards authority, discipline, governmental responsibilities and entitlements and associated patterns - culture transmission, like the education system and even family life"[66].

The concept of political culture assumes that each individual must, in his own historical context, learn and incorporate into his own personality, knowledge and feelings about the politics of his own people and his community. This means in turn that the political culture of a society is

limited but given firm structure by the factors basic to dynamic psychology. Each generation must receive its politics from the previous one, each must react against that process to find its own politics, and the total process must follow the laws that govern the development of the individual personality[67]. D.G. Kousoulas said that the members of a political community are also bound by a common political culture. This means that they share some awareness of their state institutions and their functions; knowledge of the groups past history, traditions, and beliefs; emotional attachments to the community's symbol, myths or sacred illusions; and certain positive or negative views on the performance of the systems[68].

Types of Political Culture: Almond and Verba referred three types of political culture, such as the parochial, the subjective and the participant. Parochial political culture includes mainly African tribal societies and autonomous communities where there are no specialized political roles: headmanship, chieftainship, "shamaanship" are diffuse political-economic-religious roles. A parochial orientated society expects nothing from the political system. In the subject political culture the subject is aware of specialized governmental authority, he is affectively oriented to it ; and he evaluates it either as legitimate or as not. But the relationship between the system and subject is essentially passive which is a limited form of competence that is appropriate in a subject culture where the subject orientation in political systems have developed democratic institutions is likely to be affective and normative rather than cognitive. The participant political culture in which the members of the society tend to be explicitly oriented to the system as a whole and to both the political and administrative

structures and processes. Individual members of the participant polity may be favorably or unfavorably oriented to the various classes of political objects. They tend to be oriented toward an "activist" role of the self in the polity, though their feelings and evaluations of such a role may vary from acceptance to rejection[69]. These three types of political culture may appear different in the analysis but not in practice. So, they again suggested that all political cultures are indeed mixed. A participant culture may contain individuals who are oriented as subjects and parochial; and a subject's culture may contain some parochial. The term they used "systematically mixed" political cultures.

Besides, Myron Weiner stated two types of political culture in India, such as: "mass" and "elite" political culture. The individuals who are less educated, more traditional, residing mostly in the rural areas belong to the first category and the English speaking intelligentsia, planners, who mainly predominate the center are reluctant to move in rural areas known as elite class.

The Civic Culture: The civic culture is not a modern culture, but a mix of modern and traditional cultures. It is in fact, a culture plus something else. It stresses the participation of individuals in the political input process. It is an allegiance participant culture. The civic culture is a participant political culture in which the political culture and political structure are congruent. Political activity, involvement, and rationality characterize a balanced political culture. The civic culture implies high frequencies of

political activity, an exposure to political communications, political discussion, and is concerned with political affairs[70].

Nature of Bangladesh Political Culture: On the basis of above discussion we may analyze the political culture of Bangladesh in this way: the attitudes of the people toward political system, the nature of the regime, toward specific political institutions or policy outputs of the system of government is suspicious. In Bangladesh peaceful transformation of power could not take place. Regime changes either by military intervention or by mass upheaval resulting the strained relation between ruler and the ruled. Another feature of Bangladesh politics is the existence of charismatic leadership. Due to long colonial rule, internal colonialization, suppression and oppression by the authoritative regime, the people of Bangladesh is affectively oriented for which they develop a culture of protest movement which led by a few parties or a single party or a leader who later becomes the "Hero of the Game". Thus the charismatic leadership seems to grow in absence of democratic institutions where people never could participate freely. So they dislike governmental authority and evaluate it illegitimate which manifests the character of subjective political culture. The charismatic leaders influence individuals and also party's attitudes and behavior. Here people are oriented affectively, which include the subjective political culture.

Political ideology is a kind of belief and behavior that is related to decision-making but it is hardly appeared into the political parties as well as among the leaders in Bangladesh. The state launched with an ideology of

socialism through parliamentary democracy, which was changed within two and half year. However, the leaders often join another party by quitting own party and they do not bother for ideology which affects the moral basis of action.

The socio-economic structure that determines political culture is very weak in Bangladesh. Since majority of the populations living in the rural areas are mostly illiterate and apathetic to political system and expect nothing from it, may be characterized as parochial political culture. On the other hand, there are people living mostly in the urban area who appear to be more articulate in their expression belong to elite political culture.

People generally behave in accordance with their belief system while making a political choice. In this connection a research was conducted on our political culture to find out the causal relation between citizen's belief system, party preference and voting behavior in Bangladesh. The finding was 74% (respondents) believe that politics and religion should go together while 23% opined that politics should be independent of religion. This belief is similar to their belief in case of choice of party. Among the respondents 74% expressed opinion for religious parties and 23% were in favor of secular parties[71]. Most of them preferred moderate or moderately secular parties. Almost all the respondents said that their choice was made on the basis of their liking for the leader of the political party. Knowledge about the ideology, programs and organizational structure of parties was minimum. Majority of the respondents' believes that religious parties are good but they do not vote for religious party[72].

Another study on consciousness (which is a psychological variable) level of political activism and attitude towards leadership suggested that particularized and paternalistic character of political behavior. Charisma and successors of charismatic leaders are highly preferred for political leadership rather than capability, skill and in other words, achieved criteria are still less applied by general mass which hamper institution building politics in Bangladesh[73]. Another study about the political beliefs of intellectuals in particular found that generally this advanced section of the civil society also represent indigenous values and cultural beliefs.

Political parties often regarded the election campaign as a 'sangram' to achieve certain political 'cause'. And in course of 'sangram' politics the ruling party while brand the opposition parties as anti-state to restrict their activities, the opposition parties brand the ruling party as a 'anti-people', 'anti-democratic' and organize general strikes and disorderly demonstrations to protest government actions. It is perhaps due to colonial legacy, which has produced demonstrative and agitate character in political culture, the ruling elite behave in a way as they did during freedom movement. Often they impose many of the colonial restrictions of political freedom. Mass media had always been under the control of the government and on many occasions opposition newspapers were banned and their news had been censored. The government frequently used repressive measure to limit the activities of the opposition parties and their leaders and workers were harassed and imprisoned. This was followed by use of force and threat in which politics

had always been less open, less competitive and more violent which facilitates the presence of musclemen, and as a consequence limits partisan identity in politics except very few who are committed to politics as a career[74].

One very noticeable aspect of the political culture of Bangladesh is that 'suspicion' and 'jealousy' are the two main elements, which determine political relationship among the parties[75]. Sheikh Hasina, daughter of Sheikh Mujib and the chief of AL, suspect that Zia was involved in August 1975 coup in which Sheikh Mujib the founder of Bangladesh was assassinated. In the same way Begum Khaleda Zia, wife of late President Zia, the chief of BNP, thinks that Genral Ershad was involved in March, 1982 coup in which Zia was assassinated. On the other hand Jammat is alleged for collaboration in the liberation war and was banned by AL regime but was revived by Ziaur Rahman government. It seems that the politics of Bangladesh is characterized by a proclivity to power game.

Finally we may conclude that political culture in Bangladesh is low and fragmented. Further it is characterized by fierce competition, politics of agitation, money and muscles power, ascribed leadership, corruption, criminality, strikes and violence, lack of consensus and lack of tolerance to opposition.

Notes and References

[1] *Statistical Yearbook of Bangladesh, 2000*, Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 20th edition, p. xxiii.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid. Note : The literacy rate of the country is 36% while 60% of the population can sign only.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid.

[8] *Political Handbook of the World 1992* (CSA Publications, State University of New York, Benghanton, New York, 1992), p. 57.

[9] Rounaq Jahan, *Bangladesh Politics : Problems and issues,*(Dhaka : University Press Ltd. 1980), pp.161-162.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Dilara Chawdhury, *Constitutional Development in Bangladesh : Stresses and Strains* (Dhaka : University Press Ltd., 1995) p.17.

[12] *The Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh*, Preface.

[13] Justice Mustafa Kamal, *Bangladesh Constitution: Trends and Issues* (Dhaka, University Dhaka, 1994) Introduction.

[14] Ibid.

[15] *The Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh*, Preamble.

[16] Note : The word secularism was replaced by "Bismillah-ar-Rahman-ar-Rahim (In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful)" and "economic and social justice" replaced the word socialism by the Proclamations Order No. 1 of 1977.

[17] Raunaq Jahan, *op.cit.*, p. 68.

[18] Badruddin Umar, "The Proposed Constitution: A Fundamental Measure Against Socialism, Democracy, Nationalism, and Secularism", *Weekly Holiday* (Dhaka), 22 October 1972.

[19] Article-11, The comma and words were omitted by the constitution (Fourth Amendment) Act, 1975 then were inserted again by the Constitution (Twelfth Amendment) Act, 1991.

[20] Article- 31-41.

[21] Constitution (Second Amendment) Act, 1973.

[22] Justice Mustafa Kamal, *op.cit.*, p. 41.

[23] Abul Fazl Huq, "Constitution and Politics in Bangladesh (1972-1982 : Conflict, Change and Stability", Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis (Rajshahi : University of Rajshahi, 1985), p. 421.

[24] Badruddin Umar, "A Constitution for Perpetua Emergency", *Weekly Holiday* (Dhaka), October 29, 1972.

[25] Justice Mustafa Kamal, *op.cit.*, pp. 97-110.

[26] Dilara Chawdhury, *op.cit.*, pp. 20-21.

[27] The Proclamation of Independence Order (Dhaka : Bangladesh Secretariat of Jatiyo Sangsad, 1989) pp. 40-50.

[28] *Bangladesh Observer*, Dhaka, 20 January 1972.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Abul Fazl Huq, *op.cit.*, pp. 102-107.

[33] Moudud Ahmed, *Democracy and the Challenge of Development* (Dhaka : The University Press Ltd., 1995), p. 66.

[34] Dilara Chawdhury, *op.cit.*, pp. 94-96.

[35] Article 65 (3). Note : Clause (3) was substituted for the former clause (3) by the constitution (Tenth Amendment) Act., 1990 (Act. XXXVIII of 1990), s. 2.

[36] Dilara Chawdhury, *op.cit.*, p. 103.

[37] Note : Here the words "or declare that he with holds assent there from" were omitted by the Second Proclamation Order No. IV, 1978.

[38] Note : The words "by the votes of a majority of the total number of members of Parliament" were inserted, ibid.

[39] W.H. Morris-Jones, *Parliament in India* (Cambridge : The Eothen Press, 1987), p. 324.

[40] Bangladesh Gazette Extraordinary, Dhaka, 9 April 1980.

[41] Justice Mustafa Kamal, *op.cit.* pp. 97-110.

[42] Dilara Chawdhury, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

[43] AL declaration, p. 4.

[44] Ibid., p. 5.

[45] Note : Bengali Nationalism was stemmed from this language movement.

[46] Ibid., p.5.

[47] Ibid., 5.

[48] Ibid., p. 6.

[49] Zillur Rahman Khan, *Martial Law to Martial Law : Leadership Crisis in Bangladesh* (Dhaka : The University Press Ltd., 1984), pp. 12-21.

[50] SAC means Student Action Committee.

[51] Ibid., p. 6.

[52] Zillur Rahman Khan, *op.cit.*, pp. 12-21.

[53] Abul Fazl Huq, *op.cit.*, p. 424.

[54] M. Rashiduzzaman, "Political Unrest and Democracy in Bangladesh", in *Asian Survey*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 3, March 1997, p. 255.

[55] By Law of Jammat-I-Islami, p. 9.

[56] Ibid., p.13.

[57] Abul Fazl Huq, *op.cit.*, pp. 421-23.

[58] *The Daily Morning News*, Dhaka, Sunday, 24 December 1972, p. 1.

[59] *The Daily Morning News*, 13 November 1972.

[60] Justice Mustafa Kamal, *op.cit.*, p. 56.

[61] Almond, Comparative Political System, *Journal of Politics*, Vol.18, 1956.

[62] Lucian Pye and Sydney Verba, *Political Culture and Political Development* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1972), pp. 513-16.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Pye and Verba, *op.cit.*, pp. 524-25.

[66] T.R. Nanda, *Dictionary of Political Science* (Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1993), P. 387.

[67] Pye and Verba, *op.cit.*, p. 7.

[68] D.G. Kousoulas, *On Government and Politics* (California : Cole Publishing Co., 1982), p. 15.

[69] G.A. Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture* (New Jersey : Princeton University Press, 1972), pp.17-19.

[70] Almond and Virba, *op.cit.*, pp. 31-32.

[71] Abdul Bayes and Anu Mahammed (eds.), *Bangladesh at 25 : An Analytical Discourse of Development* (The UPL., 1998), pp. 210 – 211.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Rounaq Jahan, "Electoral Political Cultural in Bangladesh", *BIISS Journal*, Vol. 6, No. 8, pp.168-169.

[75] James J. Novak, *Bangladesh : Reflections on the Water* (Dhaka : University Press Ltd., 1994), p. 50.

Chapter-4

Political Participation Through Parliaments

Functions of the Parliament: As a people elected body the legislature holds the highest status. It has power to control over the government fund and to make general policy. Indeed, in all political system the legislature appeared as the direct representative of the electorate. Even in the autocratic system theoretically, the legislature, as the representative body, designated as the highest organization.

Role of the Legislature: There is no universal list of the functions of legislature. It depends mostly on the system of government that is on the authoritative allocation of power by the constitution. In the parliamentary system the executive is responsible to the parliament while in the presidential system both the branches of the government hold equal power. Even then, whatever may be the system of government the legislature plays a common role in a democratic state.

W.F. Willoughby classified the function of the legislature as: (a) rule making; (b) budget approval; (c) constitutional amendment; (d) election; (e) public opinion building; (f) inquiry and (g) rule concerning[1]. Illbert also divided British parliamentary functions into three: (a) law making; (b) finance control and (c) criticism of the government[2]. According to Michael Stewart the British parliament mainly perform five types of functions: (a) law making; (b) keeping a careful watch on government; (c) criticizing; (d) debating and (e) control over the financial matters[3]. D. C. Gupta in his

discussion about Indian Parliament divided the legislative functions into six: (a) law making; (b) control of government income and expenditure; (c) constitutional amendment; (d) control over the executive; (e) impeachment and (f) articulation of peoples demand[4]. Again Thomas R. Dye classified the U.S. Congressional functions into seven. They are: (a) rule making;(b) control over the executive; (c) constitution amendment (d) judicial; (e) inquiry; (f) approval and (g) election concerning[5]. Fred R. Harris in the light of power and functions of the U. S. Congress classified functions of the legislature into ten: (a) rule making; (b) control over the executive; (c) political orientation; (d) representation; (e) control over the government fund; (f) making foreign policy; (g) impeachment; (h) conducting inquiry; (i) constitutional amendment and (j) election[6].

Considering all the above functions of legislature discussed by the political scientists in different kinds of political system we may summarize the functions of the legislature like: (a) law making; (b) financial power; (c) constitution power; (d) control over the executive; (e) passing vote of no-confidence and census; (f) raising question and answer; (g) calling adjournment motion; (h) call for attention motion; (i) demand short notice discussion and also (j) non-government resolution.

In the Presidential system usually the ministers remain present in the parliament but can't vote on issues. So, the legislature does not play its role effectively to control the executive. However, the legislature controls the government applying its power in the following ways: (a) power of the purse; (b) electoral power; (c) ratification; (d) impeachment and (e) investigation.

In many democratic states, the legislature builds public opinion. Important information of the state emerges through debates and discussion made in the parliament. If the media can explore the legislative functions properly then the people can be educated and conscious, and may able to give their opinion on many legislative issues.

The parliament of a political system can play its role significantly because the parliament is designated as the sub-system of a political system. But many of the intelligentsia, those who have studied the parliaments of developing political system recognized as the "rubber stamp" as it approves the executive decisions. However, Peter Pyne observes that developing parliament also can play an important role. He expresses that the parliament of a developing polity performs two types of functions: (a) decision making and (b) legitimization[7]. By the decisional functions he includes law making, that is, introducing a bill before parliament, its modification or rejection and control over the executive (administrative surveillance).

He argues that legislature determines the financial system of the government through policymaking and budget compilation. Besides, the parliament can play its role significantly and influence government policy and actions.

By legitimatization functions of the parliament, Peter Pyne meant, establishment of the right to rule by the government or contribute for strengthening it (legitimacy). He, further, argues that the parliament as the representative body may give a democratic shape and political legitimacy of

the government by regular sitting in the session for law making and budget passing in accordance with the wishes of the state articulated through the debates and discussion. Otherwise, if the parliament disagrees to do it or refuses to admit government programs time and again the legitimacy of the government may be hampered. However, the legitimacy of the government its own depends on it, because it is the sub-system of a political system. So, its legitimacy mainly depends on its success or failure in the decisional functions.

The things to be regarded is that whether the members of the parliament, specially the opposition members, as elected representatives, are getting chances to participate in law making functions, whether the parliamentary system is able to control over the executive and above all whether the members of the parliament can influence the government policy or actions. If the parliament works as a "rubber stamp" and if the opposition fails to influence or modify government decisions or policies, they will lose their trust on parliament and will organize violent movement outside the parliament to establish their demands resulting instability of the total political system. Besides, there may be some political parties in the country who do not believe in parliamentary system. Rather they are self-determinant to establish their ideology through revolutionary way from outside the parliament. To combat the situation, government may take some suppressive measures to check those actions. In that case the ruling party and oppositions may be involved in violent competition outside the parliament without using the parliament as a forum of resolving the issues.

There are some indicators to evaluate the effectiveness of the parliament in a political system. Such as: functions of the parliament, that is, law making, budget approving, constitutional amendment and control over the executive etc. We may review the law making activities in the following manner:

(1) Whether the opposition members have the opportunity in law making process and if they have, to what extent they can influence.

(2) Whether the financial activities of the parliament are analysed on the basis of the opposition member's proposal. Whether the members of the parliament have got much scope to discuss the budget proposal in the parliament, whether they are able to influence the budget through discussion and criticism and is it possible on the part of non-government members to reduce or abrogate taxes?

(3) Whether the constitution amendment bills are discussed much or the scope of giving opinions about them by the opposition members and their reflections are adequate.

(4) We shall try to analyse the degree of control over the executive by the MPs through questions and answers, adjournment motion, vote of no confidence, censure, call attention motion and duration of short notice discussions.

4.1 The First Parliament

Functions of the First Parliament: We have seen that in the first parliament of Bangladesh worked under parliamentary system from March

1973 to January 1975. And from 25th January to 15th August 1975 it was under presidential system.

Legislative Functions of the First Parliament: Table-4.1 shows that the first parliament passed 100 bills in which 55 were Ordinances. Only 45 were basic bills. It is remarkable that when the parliament is not in session the President could promulgate such Ordinance that renders immediate action necessary. But the government promulgated some ordinances bypassing the parliament, which were not at all urgently important such as salary and allowances of the ministers[8]. However, opposition members proposed for 192 modifications of bills but no proposal was accepted in the House. Besides, out of 100 bills only 44 were passed without any discussion and 71 bills were passed without any modification[9].

Table-4.1

List of the Functions Accomplished in the First Parliament during Parliamentary Period

1. No. of notices of bills	113
2. No. of bills introduced in the parliament	107
3. No. of bills accepted in the parliament	100
a. Basic bills	45 (45%)
b. Ordinances	55 (55%)
c. Bills accepted with discussion	56 (56%)
d. Bills accepted without discussion	44 (44%)
e. Bills accepted with modification	29 (29%)
f. Bills accepted without modification	71 (71%)

Source: Summary of Proceedings, Bangladesh Jatiyo Sangsad, 1973-75 (vol. 7).

Committee Functions: The first parliament made effort to constituting parliamentary committees in 1974, which could be termed as

milestone in the democratic culture of the country. The first parliament (1973-75) was among a few parliaments in parliamentary democracies to put into practice the concept of having a standing committee on each ministry. If we go through the committee system in India and Britain we can see that in the British House of Commons Departmentally-related 'select' committees (equivalent of standing committees on ministries) were first set up in 1979. In the Indian parliament the departmentally related standing committees were set up only in 1993. Nonetheless, it is farcical that the chairmen of these committees were the ministers to whom accountability would ensure[10].

Budget Approval (First Budget): Under the parliamentary system in Mujib regime two budgets were passed in the Jatiyo Sangsad. The first budget was discussed by 64 MPs for seven days. The opposition members proposed for 22 cut motions on 12 'Demand for Grants' out of 78 in 1973-74 budget. But 66 were passed through guillotine having without any discussion. In this way, it is appeared that, a large part of the budget was passed without any discussion. Though 57 MPs from treasury bench participated in the discussion on the budget but they played the governmental role. So, whatever might be the number, there was no possibility of qualitative change in their opinions.

General Budget (Second Budget): The second budget was introduced before the parliament on 19 June 1974. In total 62 members discussed it for 8 days in which 7 members were from opposition parties. The opposition members discussed more on political affairs rather than

financial matters. Only one-day discussion was made on 'Composite Fund'. Eleven 'Demand for Grants' in the budget were discussed out of 90. The opposition members brought 38 cut motions for 11 'Demand for Grants'[11].

Total number of 'Demand for Grants' was 90 in which 79 were sent to 'guillotine'. As a result, no discussion was held in the parliament. There was allotted only 5 days for general discussion on the budget, which was very much inadequate. The parliament could not influence the budget from any side. It was passed as it was introduced in the parliament.

Constitutional Amendment: The first parliament possessed enormous power to amend the constitution due to absolute majority of the government party. The parliament passed four amendments to the constitution, which comprised the controversial 'Fourth Amendment'. In fact, Fourth Amendment was the end product of 'one party' authoritarian rule which also ended the sovereignty of parliament. By this amendment presidential system was introduced and thereby the president or his cabinet was not responsible to parliament. The president could set aside any bill (except constitutional amendment bill) passed by parliament. The president could call or postpone or could dissolve parliament. The amendment also curtailed the fundamental rights of the citizens and also the power of the Judiciary. In the new system nobody could elect MP without getting nomination by the national party[12]. However, the parliament, the cabinet, the Judiciary and the party, all political institutions became subordinate to the president. The Fourth Amendment bill was passed in the parliament hurriedly giving no chance of discussion.

Table-4.2

List of the Activities of the Parliament during the First Parliamentary Period

Questions or Proposals	No. of notices given	Accepted by the Speaker	Introduced in the Parliament
Star-marked questions	7576	5413	4678
Supplementary questions		4325	3353
Non-star questions	30	26	04
Short duration notice	108	50	25
Adjournment motion	16	01	0
Call attention notice	229	51	28
Short discussion proposal	19	05	04
Resolutionary proposal	343	272	06
No confident bills	1		

Source: Bangladesh Jatiyo Sangsad : Summary of proceedings 1973-75, Debate, (vol. 7).

One Party Presidential Rule of Sheikh Mujib: Only one session (Eighth Session) was held under one-party Presidential system. The session performed nothing but approved a budget and legislated some laws. Two notices of emergency matters related to public interest were submitted but they were not tabled for discussion in the House. There was present only the MPs of ruling party i.e. BAKSAL. The first Parliament was ended by the military intervention in Bangladesh politics in August 1975.

4.2 The Second Parliament

Proceedings of the Second Parliament: The second parliamentary elections were held on 18 February 1979 under Zia's Martial Law and were dissolved by imposing another Martial Law on 24 March 1982 by General Ershad. The second parliament met 8 sessions and spent 884 hours for 206 working days within its three years' duration[13].

Now we shall review how did the second parliament pass the laws, approve budget, amend constitution and control the executive.

Legislative Functions: The second parliament passed 49 bills in which 2 were non-government bills[14]. The parliament passed 17 (35%) Ordinances. The Government promulgated some Ordinances previously, which were not at all important[15]. In this connection we can mention "The Primary Schools (Transfer to Dhaka Municipal Corporation) Bill, 1980 (Act. No. 43 of 1980). The bill was introduced in the parliament on 24 December 1980 and it was sent to the Standing Committee for Ministry of Education on the same day, the committee reported the parliament in that day and the bill was passed by the parliament in the same day. Ibrahim Khalil an opposition MP said, "The process of introduction and passing of bills in the parliament are going so fast that it will beat 'the Ulka', an express train, in competition" [16]. Similarly discussion, criticism, opinion or suggestion of the opposition members failed to receive any importance by the government. In the same way, Mr. Sirazul Huq, an MP, got frustrated with the behaviour of the government and said with grief, "The opposition members have nothing to do except criticizes while the government is doing everything by its brute majority[17].

The opposition members logically demanded for withdrawing some of the bills introduced in the parliament but the government ignored their demands. This led Mr. Ibrahim Khalil, an MP said, "Parliamentary dictatorship has been established by a brute majority of the government members"[18]. The MPs felt discouraged as they failed to influence and did not get enough opportunity for discussing the bills. In this context, Mr. Asaduzzaman, leader of the opposition in the House said, "Honorable Speaker, today the members of the House is loosing their interest. You are

asking, "Yes" or "No", but nobody takes interest. Thus the interest of the members is declining. And it is the government who is responsible for this[19].

Modification of Bills: Out of 49 bills accepted by the Speaker the second parliament passed only 13 (27%) bills with modification and the remaining 36 (73%) bills were passed as they were introduced in the parliament.

Role of the Committee: The second parliament formed 41 committees including 36 standing committees. But only 16 bills were accepted, out of 49 general bills, on the basis of committee reports. The government accepted none of the bills from the opposition members. Even the government members could not discuss openly about the weak points of the ministry as the ministers concerned were chaired the meeting. Only 3 bills were sent to the Committee. The second parliament, unlike the first parliament, reformed the Public Accounts Committee (PAC) headed by an opposition member named Ataur Rahman on 14 March 1980. This Committee discussed 102 audit reports and accounts related matters and submitted a report to parliament.

Non-government Bills: The second parliament passed 2 non-government bills in which one was about dowry system. The Dowry Prohibition Bill introduced by Mrs. Dawlotunnesa, a woman member of the government party[20]. However, it is appeared that the treasury bench could not accept the opposition's criticism gracefully.

Table-4.3

List of the Legislative Functions of the Second Parliament

1. No. of notices of bills	146
2. No. of bills introduced in parliament	87
3. No. of bills accepted in parliament	49
a. Basic bills	32 (65%)
b. Ordinances	17 (35%)
c. Bills accepted with discussion	31 (63%)
d. Bills accepted without discussion	18 (37%)
e. Bills accepted with modification	13 (27%)
f. Bills accepted without modification	36 (73%)

Source: Bangladesh Jatiyo Sangsad, Summary of Proceedings, 1979-82. (vol. 8)

Budget Approval (Second Budget): Although the financial power of parliament was somewhat curtailed through the Fifth Amendment. Even then the second parliament passed three budgets.

General Budget (1979-80): The budget was passed as laws were passed quickly without any discussion in the parliament. The government members spoke traditionally supporting the budget. But a few of them requested for more allocation in agriculture sector and for rural people[21]. However, they alleged that the path of development had been grossly obstructed by corruption entered into every vein of the administration[22]. The parliamentarians discussed on 18 'Demand for Grants' while guillotines were executed on 70.

The opposition members failed to introduce any bill or specific modification or proposal on financial matters but opposed tax proposal. Though the government and opposition members proposed for withdrawing tax charged on 14 items in which only two were withdrawn. The government

did not agree to discuss in parliament about the prices of essential goods despite demand raised by the opposition members. Mr. Abdul Momin, an opposition member, said, "Though the Jatiyo Sangsad is said to be very powerful but it is appeared that the MPs have no power other than peruse"[23].

General Budget (1980-81): The budget of 1980-81 was the second budget accepted in the second parliament. It was introduced in the parliament on 7 June 1980. Most of the opposition members in their speech gave an account of corruption, nepotism and irregularities of the government. They demanded withdrawing of tax on 26 items but only two were reduced and one was abrogated. In the 1980-81 budget guillotine was imposed on 81 out of 99 Demands of Grants.

General Budget (1981-82): The third and last budget of the second parliament was introduced in 6 June 1981. The opposition members criticized the government vigorously for allocating a large amount for the defense sector[24]. They also discussed indisciplinary activities of the defense forces. According to them, the government allocated highest amount in the budget with the object of staying in power with their quite support. They proposed to enhance budget for education, health and agriculture reducing allocations for defense[25]. But government did not accept their proposals.

The MPs discussed only 15%, 34% and 13% cut motions of the three respective budgets accepted by the second parliament. About 80% 'Demands of Grants' were passed without any discussion.

The MPs, especially the opposition, MPs became hopeless as the government denied to accept their proposals and suggestions. Even then, they participated in the discussion thinking that the people of their own constituencies would come to know that their elected representatives participated on the issues on behalf of concerning national and local interests.

Constitutional Amendment: The second parliament passed two Constitutional Amendment Bills in which the Fifth Amendment was approved President Zia's Martial Law Regulations and also changes to the fundamental of the Constitution, which has been discussed earlier. The opposition MPs walked out from the parliament as in the way government disagreed to accept their suggestions related to Fifth Amendment. Thus, it was passed in the parliament in the absence of opposition. The Sixth Amendment created opportunity for Justice Sattar, the acting Vice-president, to be a Presidential candidate in 1981 election, after the assassination of President Zia.

Control Over the Executive: We have seen that according to presidential system the cabinet is not responsible to the parliament rather its existence depends on the pleasure of the President. But the Ministers could remain present in the parliament and participate in the discussion and could reply to the questions raised in the parliament concerned to their own ministries.

Table-4.4

List of the Controlling Activities of the Second Parliament

Questions or Proposals	No. of Notices given	Accepted by the Speaker	Introduced in the Parliament	Passed by the Parliament
Star-marked questions	20904	7298	7298	
Supplementary questions		4497	3167	
Non-star questions	980	856	830	
Short duration notice	108	23	12	
Adjournment motion	717	52	22	01
Call attention motion	1625	279	242	
Short discussion motion	190	27	10	
Half an hour motion	56	12	01	
Resolutionary motion	6928	2743	34	

Source: Bangladesh Jatiyo Sangsad : Summary of Proceedings 1979-82, (vol. 7).

4.3 The Third Parliament

Proceedings of the Third Parliament: The third parliamentary elections were held on 7 May 1986 under General Ershad's Martial Law. The parliament met four sessions and spent nearly 368 hours for 75 working days within its one-year duration[26]. It is remarkable that the opposition MPs of Awami League, Jammat, JSD, NAP (M), Workers Party and some other parties and individual members were absent in the first and second sessions of the third parliament.

Parliamentary Committees: The third parliament formed nine parliamentary committees, eight standing committees for special rights, and ten standing committees for Rules of Procedures, two special committees and one advisory committee. But only one meeting of the parliament committee was held and the sub-committee of the parliament committee met 4 days meetings. The standing committee for rules of procedure held 4 meetings. Doctor M.A. Matin, Deputy Prime Minister introduced the statement of the special committee concerning increased bus fare, accident and traffic jam.

Legislative Functions: The third parliament passed 52 bills in which 13 were Ordinances and only one was non-government member's bill. The parliament passed "The Constitution (Seventh Amendment) Bill, 1986" in the second session. The bill was proposed in the parliament on 10 November 1986 and it was passed on the same day[27]. Only six days were allotted for non-government members since when they proposed for 5 bills but they were not provided enough time as a result the bills remained dormant.

Table-4.5

List of the Legislative Functions of the Third Parliament

1. No. of notices of bills	62
2. No. of bills introduced in the parliament	55
3. No. of bills accepted by the parliament	52
a. Basic bills	40
b. Ordinances	12

Source: Bangladesh Jatiyo Sangsad, Summary of Proceedings, 1986-87.

Budget Approval: The third parliament passed only one budget. The general budget for 1987-88 and the supplementary budget for 1986-87 were introduced in the House on 18 June 1987. General discussions were held only for six days. There submitted 202 cut motions concerning supplementary budget in which 37 were set aside and the remaining 165 were rejected by votes.

On 29 June 1987 the parliament granted in advance (on account) Tk. 1966,31,80,000/- for the expenditure of 1987-88 financial years. Then the discussion on general budget started again and was continued for eight days (6-13 July 1987). Thereafter the discussion on "Demand for Grants" of remaining expenditure and election was held on the same day. There submitted 2,199 notices of cut motion concerning "Demand for Grants" on general budget in which 678 were set aside and 6 were cancelled through voting and the rest 1,515 cut motions could not be introduced in the parliament.

Table-4.6

List of the Controlling Activities of the Third Parliament

Questions or Proposals	No. of notices given	Accepted by the Speaker	Introduced in the Parliament	Passed by the Parliament
Star-marked questions	6794	2924	1441	
Non-star questions	1092	599	325	
Short duration notices	102	13	07	
Adjournment motions	209	05	04	
Call attention motions	680	124	47	
Short discussion motions	102	-	-	-
Half an hour motions	18	01		
Resolutionary motions (govt.)	2			
Resolutionary motions (non-govt.)	2038	1176	07	01
Special rights motions	85	19	01	01

Source: Bangladesh Jatiyo Sangsad : Summary of Proceedings 1986-87.

It is remarkable that there was no supplementary question in the third parliament. It seems that the resolutionary motions were submitted by the government members but were cancelled and the non-government members submitted 2,038 notices but all those were cancelled because, none of the days were allotted for the non-government members[28]. However, 680 notices of call attention motions concerning emergency public interest were submitted but only 45 were discussed. Some of the ministers gave their statements in the House. However, 102 notices of short discussion, concerning emergency public interest were barred by time limitation. In the same way, out of 18, the Speaker accepted only one notice of half an hour discussion. Whereas, most of the times spent in the House for unnecessary matters like thanks giving on presidential address.

However, A.S.M. Rob, an opposition MP, held a press conference while parliamentary session was going on where he acclaimed that the existing parliament failed to fulfill the aspiration of the people. So he demanded for dissolving the parliament and holding a mid-term election of the parliament[29].

4.4 The Fourth Parliament

Legislative Functions: The third parliament had been functional just for one and a half year. In the face of mass movement government dissolved the third parliament and held the fourth parliamentary elections on 3 March 1988. But this parliament could not also complete its full term. During three years of its term the parliament had seven sessions and spent nearly 806 hours in its 168 working days. Table 7 shows that the parliament during its

tenure passed 142 bills in which 89 were Ordinances. Although only seventeen days were allotted for the non-government's members but none of their bills was accepted.

Table-4.7

List of the Legislative Functions of the Fourth Parliament

1. Govt. member's bills :	
a. No. of notices	146
b. No. of bills introduced	142
c. No. of bills accepted	142
2. Ordinances:	
a. No. of Ordinances introduced	90
b. No. of Ordinances passed	89
3. Non-govt. Member's bills	
a. No. of notices	07
b. No. of bills introduced	02
c. No. of bills accepted	00

Source: Summary of Proceedings, Bangladesh Jatiyo Sangsad.

Financial Functions: The fourth parliament passed three general budgets and another three supplementary budgets in its first, fourth and sixth sessions. General discussion was held on these budgets, which lasted 45 days only. However, what is significant to note here is that all the notices of cut motions on the budgets got lost as many as submitted for discussion.

Functions of the Committee: In the fourth parliament committee functions were invisible. There were submitted four parliamentary reports by four standing committees. In the fifth session, it was seen that one

Parliamentary Committee was constituted and some standing committees and another some special committees were formed. Besides, some standing committees was included. However, one vacant post of the standing committee for Rules of Procedure was filled-up. In the sixth session one special committee was formed and some vacant posts of some committees were filled-up. Thus it is appeared that, committee functions of the fourth parliament were too disappointing since other functions were accomplished very little.

Control over the Executive: The controlling of parliament over the executive was insignificant in the fourth parliament. Maximum questions or proposals raised by the MPs were avoided in some or in other ways. Either the questions were rejected or cancelled. A few of them were resolved in the parliament. Table 4.8 shows that the number of star-marked questions was 15,820 in which 4034 were introduced in the parliament but none of them was accepted or passed by the parliament. Same thing happened regarding non-star questions and question of short duration. It is appeared that only 01 adjournment motion, 51-call attention motions, 21 short discussions, 01 half an hour motion, 07 non-government resolutionary motions and special rights proposals were able to draw the attention of the parliament. Regarding these issues the parliament either discussed or gave statement. It seems that the controlling activities of the parliament, which is regarded as the soul of parliamentary democracy, could not reach its goal.

Table-4.8

List of the Controlling Activities of the Fourth Parliament

Questions or Proposals	No. of notices given	Accepted by the Speaker	Introduced in the Parliament	Discussed	Cancel	Remained unsettled
Star-marked questions	15,820	6,016	4,034		5,170	4,642
Non-star questions	2,686	987	554		1,013	702
Short duration notice	89	15	03		74	
Adjournment motion	337	05	02	01	311	
Call attention motion	1,457	151	36	51	1,308	50
Short discussion motion	238	51	16	21	156	38
Half an hour motions	56	9	04	01	30	01
Resolutionary motions (govt.)						
Resulutionary motions (non-govt.)	9759	3775	42	07		358
Special rights motion	66	05			35	
Non-govt. members bills	02	01		01		

Source: Bangladesh Jatiyo Sangsad: Summary of Proceedings 1986-87.

4.5 Fifth Parliament

Formation of the Parliament: The fifth parliamentary elections were held in February 1991 under the non-party Caretaker Government for the first time in the history of Bangladesh. In the election BNP emerged as the single majority party and with the help of Jammat they (BNP) formed the

government. Bangladesh Awami League became as the major opposition in the parliament having 88 seats.

The first session of the fifth parliament was started from 5 April 1991. In the inaugural session Md. Abdur Rahman Biswas and Sheikh Razzaque Ali elected as the Speaker and Deputy Speaker respectively. In the second session the parliament passed the Eleventh and the Twelfth Amendment bills. It is remarkable that parliament reached consensus unprecedently in this question. However, the Jatiyo Party of Ershad took stand for presidential system. By the Eleventh Amendment of the Constitution the provision was made for Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed, the Chief Adviser of the Caretaker Government to get back his position as Chief Justice. And through the Twelfth Amendment the country revived the parliamentary system that was abandoned in 1975 through the Fourth Amendment. Then the parliament elected Mr. Abdur Rahman Biswas, the former Speaker, as the President of the country. So, the re-election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker were held again. And through this election Sheikh Razzaque Ali and Humayun Khan Panni were elected as the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker respectively.

Functions of the Fifth Parliament: It is for the first time in the history of Bangladesh that the fifth parliament fulfilled its five years term encountering a series of oppositions. The fifth parliament held 22 sessions. The paliament spent about 1,841 hours for 400 working days in which 332 days were allotted for government functions and 68 days for the private members. Though the attendence of the members were satisfactory at the beginning but it declined gradully. Specially, boycotting the session by the

opositions repeatedly made the parliament weak. And the unfortunate resignation of 147 MPs turned the parliament totally inactive. Even then, the ruling BNP continued the session's upto the last.

Discussion on Presidential Address: From the summary of proceedings of the fifth parliament it appears that 252 MPs had participated in the discussion on presidential address for 30 days. The MPs since felicitating the presidential address they also pointed out the problems and grievances of their respective constituencies.

Statement, Declaration and General Discussion: The leader of the House, the ministers and the leader of the oppositions had all together given 113 statements in the parliament. These statements included the flood situation of the country, the Rohinga refugees in Bangladesh and the destruction of Babri Mosque in India, etc. Besides, the Prime Minister declared that the MPs would be allowed to import tax-free car. In the general discussion the parliament discussed on prison situation, cyclone, arms firing in the educational institutions, transport strikes, Professor Golam Azam's residence in Bangladesh and People's Court against him, law and order situation, no-confidence against the cabinet, push in of Bengalee Indians in Bangladesh, foreign policy matter etc. Although the parliament discussed the deteriorating law and order situation, time and again, but the problem remains still unresolved. The problem created worries and tensions for the peace-loving people of the country. Though the fifth parliament passed anti-terrorist bill but yet it also failed to curb the terrorist activities.

Proposal: The parliament proposed a censure on the incident of Lalbag killing. The parliament accepted a proposal (general) on Hebron issue for which 63 Muslims were killed by the Jew's arms firing since they were praying in the Hebron Mosque in Israel. Besides, the Speaker gave a verdict on the resignation of 147 opposition MPs from the parliament, which was debated. Because, according to the constitution only the election commission is the proper authority of giving verdict.[30]

Committee Functions: The committees formed in the fifth parliament included standing Committees of the ministries, Special Rights Committees, Public Accounts Committee etc. In the fifth parliament (1991-1996) 50 parliamentary Committees were set up including 31 Standing Committees on ministries. Though the Committees were formed with the good intention but their performances were not satisfactory. Because, the concerned ministers headed all these ministerial Standing Committee. These committees submitted only 48 reports. However, the submission of timely reports was also disappointing. There were complaints against the Rules of procedure where there is inadequacy for which these committees could not be made effective.[31] Only one report was accepted and the rests were merely discussed in the House. It is also seen that committees were reorganized time and again. However, where the ministers themselves chaired the committee meetings there was no chance to ensure the accountability of the executives. The members, especially the government members of the committee felt hesitation to ask the minister the questions, which were embarrassing both for the minister as well as for the members. Nonetheless, it is worth noting that the bill to be introduced through parliamentary committee is a democratic norm, which was denied time and again in the parliament.

Legislative Functions: The fifth parliament passed the highest number of bills including two constitutional amendment bills. The constitution (Eleventh and Twelfth Amendments) Bills, 1991 have been introduced and passed by the parliament. Unlike the previous experiences, important bill like the Twelfth Amendment Bill, 1991 was sent to the select committee and was adopted only after a consensus reached through the select committee. However, the parliament passed also anti-terrorist bill. Table 4.9 shows that 372 notices were submitted in which government bills were 203, private member's bills were 82 and Ordinances were 87. Like Upazilla Ordinances government also passed a number of Ordinances that clearly proves the government had by-passed the parliament. A no-confidence bill against the cabinet was introduced in the parliament for the first time. But the bill was cancelled-through partition vote after discussion in the parliament.

Table-4.9

List of Legislative Functions Accomplished in the Fifth Parliament

1.	Total No. of Notices of Bills			372
2.	Total No. of Bills Introduced in the Parliament			280
3.	Total No. of Bills Accepted by the Parliament			245
4.	Govt. Bills :			
		a)	Number of notices	203
		b)	Introduced in the parliament	184
		c)	Passed by the parliament	184
5.	Ordinances			
		a)	Number of notices	87
		b)	Introduced in the parliament	86
		c)	Passed by the parliament	60
6.	Non-Govt. Members' Bills			
		a)	Number of notices	82
		b)	Introduced in the parliament	10
		c)	Passed by the parliament	01

Source : Summary of Proceedings of the Fifth Parliament of Bangladesh Jatiyo Sangsad.

Such issues of national interest even was not discussed in the House and was laid before the House in the form of bill which was passed under the constitutional provision of Article 70. The provision under 70 should have been stated and then said the House passed it without any discussion on it. Likewise, the government also passed an unpopular bill entitled Special Security Force, 1992, within an hour, and in the midst of an opposition's walk-out.

Financial Functions: The fifth parliament passed five general budgets and five other supplementary budgets. It is remarkable that only four days were devoted to the discussion of general budget for the year 1995-96 which was unusually inadequate. However, in total 1,597 cut motions were brought before the House on the supplementary budgets in which 119 were cancelled, 262 were disapproved by the vote of the House and 1,256 were not introduced in the parliament due to time constraints. Likewise, 18,331 cut motions were brought before the House on the general budget in which 3,362 were cancelled, 4,872 were disapproved by the vote of the House and 10,023 were not introduced in the House. Hence, it has been proved that the government passed these budgets by their brute majority without taking opposition's views on them.

Constitutional Amendment: The fifth parliament passed the constitution's Eleventh and Twelfth Amendment Bills, 1991. The Twelfth Amendment of the constitution changed the form of government from

presidential to parliamentary. The bill was sent to the select committee and later it was adopted only after a consensus was reached through the select committee.[32]

List of the Accounts of the Controlling Activities of the Fifth Parliament: The fifth parliament introduced the parliamentary system, which is also known as responsible government. As we know the accountability of the government may be ensured in two ways. One is through committee system and another is through motions. But the committees of the fifth parliament could not work effectively due to some constraints that we have mentioned earlier. The next step was also far from its satisfactory control on executive. From table 10 shows that 37,907 star-marked and 9,463 non-star questions were filed but the answer was given only to 3,131 and 1,063.

Table-4.10

List of the Controlling Activities of the Fifth Parliament

Questions or Motions	No. of Notices	Accepted by the Speaker	Introduced in the House	Passed by the House	Sent to the Committee	Discussed or Answered
Star-marked Questions	37,907	9,391	5,561	-	-	3,131
Non-star Questions	9,463	3,363	1,994	-	-	1,063
Short Duration Motions	214	10	05	-	-	-
Resolutionary motions of the Private Members	55,320	18,500	199	-	-	85
Special Rights Motions	1,078	177	-	-	172	30
Adjournment Motions	1,803	88	-	-	22	65
Call Attention Motions	5,876	581	-	-	-	-
Short Discussion Motions	806	84	39	01	-	39
Half an Hour Motions	170	14	03	-	-	03
Motions (General)	356	33	-	-	01	28

Source : Summary of Proceedings of the Fifth Parliament of Bangladesh Jatiyo Sangsad.

The number of short-duration notices was 214 in which only 05 were introduced but none of them was answered or even discussed in the House. Adjournment motions were 1,803 in which 88 were accepted for discussion and 65 were discussed only. The number of resolutionary motions of the private members was 55,320 in which only 319 were accommodated in the ballot and lastly 85 were discussed. However, it is remarkable that the House in which 2 were accepted with modification accepted 6 of the motions. The

resolution for Special Rights was 1,078 of which 30 were settled through discussion. The number of call attention motions was 5,876 for which concerning ministers made statements on 327 and MPs on 1,085. Total number of notices on short discussion motions was 806 of which 39 were introduced and discussed in the House. In this connection the concerned minister made one statement. The notices for half and hour discussion were given to 170 of which only 3 were introduced and discussed. The number of motions (general) introduced in the parliament was 356 of which 28 were discussed.

From the summary of proceedings of the fifth parliament it appears that the parliament was also busy with some unimportant issues like Golam Azam issue which was not at all germane to public interest. During the fifth session of the House 44 adjournment motions were on Golam Azam issue.

The above issues show that both the law making power of the legislature and its control over executive some how was missing than what was it due.

4.6 The Sixth Parliament:

The sixth parliamentary elections were held in 15 February 1996 in the face of movement and protests by the oppositions. None of the oppositions participated in that election and it was truly a one party that is the ruling BNP's elections. However, the sixth parliament passed the thirteenth Amendment Bill through which was provided that all the future national elections would be held under 90 days term by a non-party caretaker government. Then the parliament was dissolved after only one session in the face of mass movement.

Notes and References

[1] W. F. Willoughby, *Government of Modern States* (New York : Appleton-Century-crofts, Inc., 1936), pp. 312-320.

[2] Sir Courtenay Illbert, *Parliament: Its History, Contribution and Practice* (London : William Norgate, 1960), p. 68.

[3] Michael Stewart, *The British Approach to Politics* (London : George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1967), pp. 119-125.

[4] D.C. Gupta, *Indian National Movement and Constitutional Development* (New Delhi : Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., 1973), pp. 485-490.

[5] Thomas R. Dye, *Governing the American Democracy* (New York : St. Martin's Press, 1980), pp. 313-320.

[6] Fred R. Harris, *Americas Democracy* (New Mexico : University of New Mexico Press, 1983), pp. 382-390.

[7] Peter Pyne, "Legislature and Development : The Case of Equader (1960-1961)", *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 1, April, 1936.

[8] Note : The President promulgated an Ordinance to enhance salary and allowances of the Ministers even when the parliament was in session.

[9] Md. Aminur Rahman, "Jatiyo Sangshader Karjokarita (1973-82)" [Working of the National Parliament (1973-82)], Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Rajshahi, Rajshahi, 1996, p. 151.

[10] Md. Ali Ashraf, MP, "The Budget and Role of Committee" in *Parliamentary Committee System*, Bangladesh Jatiyo Sangsad, Institute of Parliamentary Studies, Conference Report, Dhaka, 27-28 May, 1999, pp. 137-138.

[11] *Debate*, Bangladesh Jatiyo Sangsad, Vol. 5, No. 30-33 (July 12-16, 1974), pp. 2450-2644.

[12] Note : The Fourth Amendment introduced 'one party system which was called Bangladesh Krishak Sramik Awami League (BAKSAL), that was the national party.

[13] Bangladesh Jatiyo Sangsad, *Summary of Proceeding*, Vol. 8, 1974.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Notes : The Assembly Members Privilege (Repeal) Ordinance, 1980 and the Speaker and Deputy Remuneration and Privileges (Amendment) Ordinances, 1981.

[16] *Debate, op.cit.*, Vol. 5, No. 10 (11 December 1980), p. 1330.

[17] *Debate*, Vol. 3, No. 16 (5 March 1980), p. 1959.

[18] *Debate*, Vol. 3, No. 24 (14 February 1980), pp. 1787-1789.

[19] *Debate*, Vol. 7, No. 6 (28 May 1981), pp. 643-646.

[20] The Dowry Prohibition Bill, 1980 (Act. No. 35 of 1980)

[21] *Debate*, Vol. 2, No. 26 (21 June 1979), pp. 2484-86.

[22] Ibid., p. 2576.

[23] *Debate*, Vol. 2, No. 21 (16 June 1979), p. 1909.

[24] Note: In the 1974-75 budget it was Tk.70.85 crore for defense sector but it was enhanced Tk. 306.51 crore in the 1981-82 budget. Ref.: Economic Survey of Bangladesh (1981-82), Finance and Planning Ministry, People's Republic of Bangladesh, Table 4.2, p. 368.

[25] *Debate*, Vol. 4, No. 19 (19 and 22 May 1980), pp. 1829-1838 and 2218-2250.

[26] Summary of Proceeding of the Third Parliament, Bangladesh Jatiyo Sangsad, 1986-87.

[27] Summary of Proceeding of the Third Parliament, Bangladesh Jatiyo Sangsad, 1986-87.

[28] There was no day allotted in Third Session while it was noticed.

[29] Summary of Proceeding of the Third Parliament, Bangladesh Jatiyo Sangsad, 1986-87, p. 30.

[30] Article 66 (4).

[31] Dilara Chawdhury, *Constitutional Development in Bangladesh* (Dhaka : The UPL, 1995), p. 152.

[32] *The Daily Observer* (Dhaka), 7 August 1991.

Chapter-5

Elections in Bangladesh

5.1 Aspects of Elections

Understanding Elections in Bangladesh: Elections are among the most ubiquitous of contemporary political institutions and voting is the single act of political participation undertaken by a majority of the nations of the world today. Although elections are of ancient origin, the practice of voting in nationwide balloting began to gain importance in Europe only in the nineteenth century, and become of worldwide significance in the periods after the First and Second World wars. Voting differs in legal form from nation to nation and from election to election[1].

For individuals the chief functions of voting are emotional or allegiance maintaining[2]. Only a limited fraction of the electorate seems able or willing to act so that their votes can consciously have for them the function of choosing governors or influencing government policy. The election has been widely used by rulers to establish or reinforce their legitimacy, their "title to rule"[3]. Voting behavior analysis is concerned to how voters make up their minds, and what factors lead/stimulate them to vote as they do so.

Bangladesh was born as a nation with high hopes and aspirations. The historic events, which constituted the background of the state, aimed at establishing a society based on democratic values, free from exploitation, self- help economy, language and culture based nationalism. But not

withstanding the electioneering in Bangladesh always stimulates the turmoil of politics rather than establishes the process.

Normally a general election, for all 300 parliamentary seats, takes place after every five years. However, parliament is usually dissolved by the president acting on the advice of the Prime Minister[4]-and an election called before the end of the full five years-term. The most recent general election was in June 1996. If a seat becomes vacant in the period between general elections (for example, following the death or resignation or rejection of a member-an 'MP'), a by-election is held within ninety days of the occurrence of the vacancy[5].

The simple majority system of voting is used in parliamentary election throughout Bangladesh. This means that the candidate with the largest number of votes in each constituency is elected.

Since when the right to vote was granted elections at which all adult men and women have the franchise (the legal right to vote) have started with the birth of the nation and was enshrined in the nations' first constitution[6]. The constitution provided that there shall be one electoral roll for each constituency for the purposes of elections to parliament,[1] and no special electoral roll shall be prepared so as to classify electors according to religion, race cast and sex[7]. The first legislation to make the parliament was formed according to the Representation of the People's Order, 1972, which includes the right to vote of the entire adult citizen aged 18 years or above.

The Representation Act 1973 extended 15 reserved seats for the women in the parliament, which later extended to 30[8]. Bangladesh

constitution provides that there shall be 30 reserved seats exclusively for women members, who shall be elected according to law by members aforesaid[9].

Parliamentary Constituencies: The state is divided into 300 parliamentary constituencies. Each of these is a geographical area whose inhabitants elect one member of the Jatiyo Sangsad. The boundaries for the constituency are approved by the parliament.[10] Parliament makes provision with respect to all matters relating to or in connection with election to parliament, including the delimitation of constituencies, the preparation of electoral rolls, the holding of elections, and all other matters necessary for securing the due constitution of parliament[11].

Voters and Candidates: (Who May Vote): Bangladeshi citizens are entitled to vote at elections provided that they are aged 18 or over and are not subject to any legal incapacity to vote[12]. To be entitled to vote electors have to be registered their names in the voter list of the constituency as resident on a qualifying date. The new registrar comes to the inhabitants often before election and includes young people who will reach voting age at that time.

Registration of Voters: Usually the voter lists for each constituency is prepared before election by electoral registration officers. In Bangladesh local government authorities with the help of school teachers and or field workers prepare the voter list. In order to find out the names of the people in an area who qualified to be registered, the registration officials go to every household to update the voter list before the general elections. The

householder is required to give details to all occupants who are eligible to vote. Individuals who fail to give the required information may be excluded from the list but they are provided with time margin to include their names in the list with proper information at *upa-zilla* and then at district election offices.

Voting in election is voluntary. In the last June 1996 elections 74.15% of the electorates voted[13].

Who are not the Voters: The following people are not entitled to vote in the parliamentary elections:

- Who is not a citizen of Bangladesh;

- Who is less than eighteen years of age;

- The patients detained under mental health legislation;

- Who does stand declared by a competent court to be of unsound mind;

- Who is not deemed by law to be a resident of that constituency;

How does Electors Vote? : In general, electors have to vote at the polling stations allotted to them by the returning officer. However, special arrangement exists for electors who are likely to be away during the period of an election. They may apply for a postal ballot. Postal ballot papers can be sent only to those who stay and work in Bangladesh. Those who are unable to attend the polling station due to physical incapacity may apply for taking the help of person to cast his/her vote.

Eligibility of the candidate: Any man or woman who is a citizen of Bangladesh may stand as a candidate in a parliamentary election provided he

or she is aged 25 or over and is not disqualified in any way. Voters are disqualified from voting are as follows:

- who is declared by a competent court to be of unsound mind;

- who is an undercharged insolvent;

- acquires the citizenship of, or affirms or acknowledges allegiance to, a foreign state;

- has been, on conviction for a criminal offence involving moral turpitude, sentenced to imprisonment for a term of not less than two years, under a period of five years has elapsed since his release;

- hold any office of profit in the service of the Republic;

- is disqualified for such election by or under any law[14].

Candidates normally belong to one of the main political parties, although smaller parties put forward candidates, and individuals may stand without party support. Candidates do not have to be resident in the constituencies for which they stand.

A selection committee is formed before election to select candidates. The committee interviews applicants before choosing a candidate. Then the candidates make themselves known to voters in the constituency and involve themselves in local affairs at the opening of the election campaign. Candidates who are on the voter list may vote in their constituencies.

In the June 1996 parliamentary election a total of 2574 candidates stood for the 300 constituencies[15]. The two main national parties-Awami League and BNP, each of which put up 300 candidates, contesting all 300 seats.

Calling and Election: Electoral procedures in Bangladesh are based principally on the Representation of the People Order, 1972 and its later amendments.

The superintendence, direction and control of the preparation of the electoral rolls for elections to Parliament and the conduct of such elections shall vest in the Election Commission, which shall, in accordance with the constitution and any other law –

a) hold elections of members of parliament;

b) delimit the constituencies for the purpose of elections to parliament; and

c) prepare electoral rolls for the purpose of elections to the office of president and to parliament.

A general election of members of parliament is held within ninety days after parliament is dissolved whether by reason of the expiration of its term or otherwise than by reason of such expiration[16]. Provided that in case where, in the opinion of the Chief Election Commissioner, it is not possible, for reasons of an act of God, to hold such election within the period specified in this clause, such election shall be held within ninety days following next after the last day of such period.

By Elections: By-elections take place when a parliamentary seat falls vacant between general elections. An election to fill the seat of a member of parliament which falls vacant otherwise than by reason of the dissolution of

parliament shall be held within ninety days of the occurrence of the vacancy[17].

By elections in individual constituencies are regarded as tests of national opinion in the period between general elections. By elections receive extensive coverage in the press and on radio and television. The results are much discussed by senior politicians and political commentators, who use the voting figures to speculate on the likely result of the next general election and the popularity of the parties' policy.

Administration of Elections: For holding elections the commission provides the Returning Officer for each constituency with copies of the electoral rolls for that constituency. The commission at least fifteen days before the polling day, publishes in the official gazette the final list of polling stations specifying the area and particular polling station where the electors will be entitled to vote.

The Returning Officer after obtaining a list of officers and employees from the heads of all offices and institutions shall prepare a panel of Presiding Officers, Assistant Presiding Officers and Polling Officers and shall inform the respective heads.

On the other hand, the Commission shall, by notification in the official gazette call upon the electors to elect a member from each constituency and shall in relation to each constituency specify in the notification:

a) a day on or before which the nomination of candidates may be filed;

b) a day or days for the scrutiny of nomination papers;

c) a day on or before which candidature may be withdrawn; and

d) a day, at least fifteen days after the withdrawal day, for the taking of the poll.

The Returning Officer must give public notice of these dates by publishing the notice at some prominent place of places within the relevant constituency. This public notice must invite nominations and specify the time before which and the places at which nomination papers will be received by the Returning Officer or the Assistant Returning Officer.

The Returning Officer shall provide the Presiding Officer of each polling station with copies of the electoral rolls containing the names of the electors entitled to vote at that polling station.

Most of the staff involved in the above work is local government employees, temporarily transferred from other work. In addition, others are employed for the day. School teachers often act as polling officers since most schools have declared holiday on Election Day while its buildings are used as polling stations. Polling officers count the votes.

Nomination of Candidates: Candidates must be nominated on official nomination paper, giving their full name and home address. The nomination papers include a proposer and a seconder.

At general elections, nomination paper must be delivered after the publication of the notice of election in the office hours. The procedure is the same at by elections, except that the Returning Officer fixes the last day.

A sum of Tk.10,000 must be deposited on behalf of each candidate during the period allowed for delivering of nomination papers. If candidates receive at least 5 per cent of the total vote cast, their deposit is returned; if not, their deposit is forfeited.

The deposit is intended to ensure that candidates are seriously seeking election. In June 1996 elections only two candidates from the main national parties had failed to get 5% of the votes and thereby lost their deposits.

Candidate may withdraw from the election within the time fixed by the Election Commission. Notices of withdrawal must be signed by the candidate and a witness and delivered to the Returning Officer.

Polling day: In general elections polling day is the last working day. If a candidate dies between the publication of nominations and the poll, or after the poll has begun and before the result is declared the procedure begins again. The election is held as though the writ had been received 30 days after the Returning Officer received the proof of death.

The Election Campaign: The general election campaign takes place at constituency level. The political parties those who participate in the elections hold mass meeting, distributes leaflets, hang banner and festoon, demonstrate procession and contract with miking. Major parties and alliances are recently provided for T. V. broadcasting to uphold their programme to the people. The main parties hold meetings each day during the campaign. These are widely reported in the media, as are other aspects of the campaign. Party leader also tour the country, while candidates and local party workers campaign in individual constituency.

Election Agents and Local Parties: Each parliamentary candidate opens offices and appoints personnel closed to him for maintaining campaign program and in particular, for controlling expenses. Candidates usually rely on volunteers and choose to concentrate their limited campaign expenditure on publicity. Some personnel are paid who are as party organizer in the constituencies in the election period.

Members of each constituency support the campaign of parliamentary candidates. This involves office maintaining, preparing and distributing publicity materials and canvassing electors.

Local Offices: At the beginning of the election campaign party supporters arrange for offices to be made available for the use of the party organisation in the constituency. The offices are used as the headquarters for speakers, canvassers, messengers and others involved in the election campaign. They are also used for distributing cigarettes, money, vehicles maintaining in election and as a base for briefing the candidate on the latest news about political developments or shortcomings or criticizing the party to which he belongs or the opposition party.

Publications and Advertising: All the main political parties produce a wide range of publicity materials. The publication of such materials increases dramatically during election campaign, although publicity directed at the election of individual candidates who are subjected to expenditure limits but in practice none of the candidates follow the limit.

The State control TV and Radio broadcasts the election rules and some sorts of awareness building program. Bangladesh TV is also recently

broadcasting the major parties' views and providing leader's participation in TV program. The parties also fix posters in prominent places, such as busy road junctions and street walls.

Local Publicity: The main form of publicity at constituency level is each candidate's door-to-door contact by his own or through supporters, card, leaflets, and posters, which can be sent free to every household in the constituency. This typically includes a photograph of the candidate some biographical sketch and a massage to the electors setting out reasons for voting for the candidate and the party he or she represents.

The candidates urge the voters to vote for serving the state and people. The posters also include photo of the founder or chief of the party and party symbol etc. The posters are usually in the party colours-green for the BNP, black for the Awami League. They bear the candidate's name and may show the party's symbols. Individual voters often display the posters on the wall of their homes. Local parties also arrange the distribution of larger posters for display.

The Media: All the media in Bagladesh extensively cover Election campaigns. The campaign coverage dominates the national newspapers while TV and Radio offer special election program as well as extending their existing news programs to cover the election.

The Press: In Bangladesh newspapers and magazines are all privately owned and represent a range of political viewpoints decided by the owners and editors; the newspapers are almost always financially dependent on government for receiving government subsidized newsprint and government

advertisement. In June 1996 general elections' campaigns, seven of the eleven national daily newspaper had come out in support of the AL, two in favour of BNP and one in favour of JP and two in favour of JIB, one newspaper expressed no views[18].

Most newspapers cover all aspects of election campaigns. Many publish article by taking help of the columnist. Many also attack certain aspects of the policies of the party they do not support or acknowledge some good points about parties they do support.

Television (BTV) and Radio: Television and Radio coverage political activities pertaining elections. Extended news programs cover all aspects of the major parties' campaign at national level. Special election programs include discussions of party leaders broadcast in the Television. Recently Radio and Television contribute towards the creation of the right atmosphere for elections that the government controlled media could become non-partisan and generally serve the objectives of educating and enlightening the voters on their rights and duties in a democratic election.

As the polling day approaches, the BTV becomes an important instrument of informing the voters about the importance of the election, the election results. The importance of the radio was illustrated by an observation where one member of the group was told by female voter on the polling day that "she came to vote because her husband gave her the permission, but she was going to vote as she liked because the radio had told her to do so"[19].

Canvassing: Canvassing involves local party workers visiting the homes of voters and asking them to vote for their party's candidate. During the campaign canvassing can provide candidates and their workers with valuable information on people's voting intentions and their attitude to particular issues, and enable them to adapt their campaign tactics. On the day of polling party workers bring the voters from their house that promised to support them.

Public Meetings: Candidates hold public meetings as to explain their own party policy and program as well as criticize other parties. Candidates frequently invite question to answer, speak or attend meetings in their support. Such speakers are often leading members of their parties or well-known personalities who are their party supporters. The party's best-known politicians and or ex-ministers, tend to concentrate their efforts especially on those marginal constituencies. Usually party supporters attend those meetings nonetheless other than party supporter also attend. Party leaders and key politicians also speak addressing huge crowd or gathering in a particular constituency. These events are usually well covered by the media.

Manifestos: Major parties in Bangladesh publish manifesto during general elections. These manifestos are intended to tell the electorate what the party would do, if it forms the next government, they, therefore, cover party policy. If elected, parties can claim a popular mandate from the voters. But it is interesting to note here that after elections, parties both victorious and defeated would hardly visit their respective areas. Manifestos are usually launched by each of the parties at press conferences in the first or so of the campaign. The respective party leaders normally present the press

conferences. They cover party policies in varying degrees of details but may also speak out the parties' past achievements and attack the policies of their opponents. In June 1996 the Awami League manifestos contain 13 pages, the BNP manifesto 23.

Although in practice relatively few people read party's manifestos, those of the major parties receive extensive publicity in the newspapers and on television and radio. Their themes are also taken up in individual candidates' election addresses. Manifestos thus provide the basis for much of the general election campaign debate.

Election Issues: Election issues are different between rival parties on which general election are contested. Their differing political philosophies and programs affect the parties' approaches to policy matters. However, although each of the main parties seeks to offer a full range of policies relating to all aspects of government, in practice only a few areas of policy normally emerge as key issues during election campaigns. These issues normally include policies on the domestic economy and relations with neighboring countries and other world-often pick up issues like healthcare, education, and agriculture and industry. The personalities and abilities of party leaders can also become issues. Policies towards some specific issues-such as the problems of Ganges Water, Chittagong Hill Tracks, and Indian transit through Bangladesh and use of natural gas and Chittagong Port etc. are also important.

Pressure Groups: Countless pressure groups have emerged in Bangladesh. Most of them seek to influence government policy on a

particular issue. They seek to advance the interests of particular group of people or organizations. Some pressure groups tend to favour particular political parties and they or their members may offer help during the campaign. However, during election campaigns they may also seek promises of support from candidates on particular issues. The fact is that so many candidates are actively seeking support on a range of issues, which allow pressure groups a good opportunity to air their views. NGOs also act as pressure groups and try to influence mainly indirect way. In the last June 1996 elections they took stand against the fundamentalist, which resulted in more participation of the women voters in the elections.

Marginal Constituencies: All the main parties target particular marginal constituencies and focus their campaign on winning such seats. Such constituencies are more likely to be visited by senior politicians and well-known personalities. The candidates and local key campaigners are often in regular contact with party headquarters and the parties may send extra volunteers and resources from outside the constituency to help during the campaign.

Tactical Voting: Voters in Bangladesh significantly vote for the candidates and party which they would most like to see win the election often determined before elections through ongoing movement. However, they may decide not to vote the party they support which has little chance of winning the election in their constituency. Thus a left supporter whose candidate has no chance of winning in the elections might decide to vote for a party like AL (a petty bourgeois party). This practice is known as tactical

voting. It is, however, difficult to assess its importance to win over or losing an election.

Opinion Polls: The public opinion polls play a major part in the general election campaign process. Their findings are much discussed by the media and influence parties' campaigns. The public opinions are normally conducted by independent organization i.e.-Democracy Watch, FEMA or on behalf of particular newspapers. People are usually questioned on voting intentions, people are often asked about their opinions on a range of political issues and on their attitudes to the different parties' policies. They are also often asked for their views on the competence and ability of the party leaders, etc.

Election Expenses: The election expenses of a contesting candidate excluding the personal expenditure incurred by such candidates shall not exceed *taka* three lakh[20]. After the election, the agent must make a return of all election expenses to the returning officer within fifteen days[21].

Corrupt and Illegal Practices: Certain offences connected with elections committed by candidates or their agents, or with their knowledge and consent, make a candidate's election invalid (or void). Such offences are of any subscribing or granting or commitment for it or for taking development project for any institution in the constituency or for any other institution by the candidate or on behalf of him directly or indirectly.[22]

5.2 Elections under Mujib Regime

The First Parliamentary Elections: The first parliamentary election was held in 1973 in Bangladesh. This election was significant for a number

of reasons. It was not only to form a new government or elect members to the parliament rather it was a verdict of the people on declaration of independence of Bangladesh on March 26, 1971 and events there after. The election was held on March 7, 1973 under the parliamentary system stipulated in the constitution of Bangladesh. In these elections AL who spearheaded the independence movement participated on the basis of Mujibbad[23]. The ruling AL sought the support of the people on four fundamental principles as enshrined in the new constitution. They were nationalism, democracy, secularism and socialism[24]. They also pledged for a socialistic structure for Bangladesh. The following political parties participated in the election on their ideological basis:

NAP (Bhashani) participated in the election on the basis of their ten points program to be ensured for Bangladesh. They wanted to assure the country with a socio-economic independence, constitution according to the aspiration of the common men, strong defense force, free press, fundamental rights, fair trade union movement and land reforms[25].

Before election the opposition's leaders accused the ruling AL of creation of violence and resist to submit the nomination papers in different constituencies. JSD intimidated to boycott the election. They even challenged the declaration of Shekh Mujib's uncontested election from Bakergonj-4 constituency[26]. However, some leaders of ruling AL had pledged to eliminate the opposition from the country after the election was over[27]. However, Mr. Abdur Razzak, one of the ministers emphatically said that rectification of parties should begin from home. Fourteen political parties participated in the election where voter's turnout was 55.61%. Eleven

candidates from AL were elected uncontested. Finally AL won 293 seats out of 300 in the parliament while JSD 1, Bangladesh Jatiyo League 1 and independent 5.

Table-5.1

Party wise position in the 1973 elections

Sl. No.	Name of the parties	No. of candidates set up	Percentage of votes received	Number of seats won
1.	AL	289	73.2	282
2.	NAP (M)	224	8.33	0
3.	NAP (B)	169	5.32	0
4.	JSD	237	6.52	1
5.	CPB	4	0.25	0
6.	CPB (L)	2	0.1	0
7.	BCP	3	0.06	0
8.	BJL	8	0.33	1
9.	BJL	11	0.28	0
10.	SKSD	3	0.2	0
11.	BSF	3	0.09	0
12.	JGD	1	0.01	0
13.	BCU	1	0.04	0
14.	BJC	3	0.02	0
15.	Independent	120	5.25	5
Total		1078	100	289

- Note: 11 candidates from AL were elected uncontested.
- Total number of parties contested: 14.

Source: Bangladesh Election Commission, Dhaka, Bangladesh.

Post Election Reactions: Ataur Rahman Khan, Chairman Bangladesh Jatiyo League (National League) and newly elected parliament member, stated his own experience of the election as the deep horror of cruelty. Khan criticized the role of the ruling party that it had violated all their commitments and norms of fair election and used administrative and party strength against him. He predicted that if such type of democracy was

initiated in a new state then the future of democracy would be absolutely uncertain[28]. On of the political commentator also expressed that the election result had created anguish, wonder for the parliamentary democracy[29]. He commented that nobody had any scope to doubt about the victory of ruling AL in the first general election, but all of them were sure about 25 to 30 seats would have been secured by the oppositions. So, they became frustrated. Leaders of the opposition parties complained that the ruling AL manipulated the election results in their favour through abusing state power and repressive measures. All of them alleged that the election could not take place freely and fairly. Because the ruling AL used all means of violence, threat, false voting, captured polling booths, hijacked polling agents etc.

However, the commentator stated that the opposition parties participated in the election could not hold a steadfast position against the ruling AL due to their wrong policy and factionalism though they had no major ideological differences.[30].

5.3 Elections under Zia and Sattar Regime

In the midst of coup and counter coup d' et.at. in 1975 General Zia emerged as a strongman in Bangladesh politics, and to legitimize and civilianize his regime he held referendum of 1977, Presidential elections of 1978 and parliamentary elections of 1979.

Referendum 1977: While the constitutional amendment was a definite move to pick up the support of the rightist group Zia declared the referendum. On 30 May 1977 a National Referendum was held and Ziaur

Rahman won a "massive" vote of confidence. However, the regime's claim of "massive vote" was a hit too "massive". It claimed 87 per cent voters turn out and 99 per cent vote in Zia's favour. Since in all previous elections of the country voter turn out never exceeded 60 per cent, the referendum result appeared to be too "massive" to be true[31].

Presidential Election 1978: In the process of "civilianization" and "democratization" his military regime Zia held the presidential election on June 3, 1978. In the election total number of candidates were 31. However, the major candidates were only Zia himself and his main opponent General (retired) MAG Osmani. Zia contested the election as a nominee of Jatiyotabadi Front (JF), an electoral alliance of both leftist and rightist parties. It consisted of JAGODAL, the Muslim League, the United People's Party (UPP), NAP (Bhashani), Bangladesh Labour Party, and Bangladesh Schedule Castes Federation. General (retired) Osmani, was a nominee of Gonotantric Oikya Jote (GOJ), an electoral alliance of the AL, NAP (Muzaffer), People's League, Jatiyo Janata Party, and Jatiyo League. Osmani contested the election mostly on the issue of form of Government – he promised a return to parliamentary democracy.

On the other hand Zia emphasized on his "good days" and "misrule of the "Awami-Bakshalities". Zia and his supporters blamed the AL regime and its policies for creating inflation in the country, for the famine of 1974, for political repression and killing, for failing to check deteriorating law and order situation, for mismanagement and corruption and for "selling out" national interests to India. Zia did not emphasis the issue on the form of

government. Nonetheless Zia emphasized economic self-reliance and Bangladeshi nationalism.

The opposition political parties were divided amongst themselves. The parties comprising the GOJ were united in a tenuous alliance. They agreed only on two issues: they all charged Zia regime of being a military dictatorship, and they all favoured the restoration of a parliamentary democracy. The voters' turn out in the elections was 53.34 per cent. Zia secured 76 per cent of the votes[32].

The Second Parliamentary Elections: The second parliamentary elections were held under Zia's martial law in 1979. Although 29 political parties contested the election but only five parties were major: BNP, AL (Malek), AL (Mizan), JSD, and Muslim League – IDL alliance. The number of candidates contesting for 300 general seats in the parliament was 2125.

Zia's BNP adopted the campaign themes and issues mainly in favour of the retention of the regime. They emphasized more on the positive aspects of Zia regime and the negative aspects of the Mujib regime. The voters were constantly reminded of what might happen if the "Awami-Baksalities" were to come back to power. BNP pledged for social justice, politics of production, Bangladeshi nationalism, a presidential form of government with a "sovereign parliament[33].

On the other hand, the opposition political parties appealed to the people not to continue with the Zia regime-as the major issue. But they could not develop a united platform against Zia regime. They all pledged

restoration of parliamentary democracy. The AL used the image of Mujib as an electoral issue. The party leaders constantly talked about the murder of Mujib and his family and demanded trial of the killers. They criticized amendment of the two fundamental principles of the original constitution of 1972. However, the ML and the JSD were equally critical of the records of the both the AL and Zia's regime.

Twenty-nine political parties participated in the elections. Even then the election campaign failed to evoke public enthusiasm in the parliamentary election. The voting turn out was only 51.29 per cent. ●ut of 300 general seats – BNP won 207, AL (Malek) 39, ML – IDL 20, JSD 8 and seven other minor parties 10. Sixteen independent candidates were elected to parliament; later ten of them joined the BNP[34]. Though the BNP won absolute majority in the elections, the party was not at all organized. The majority of members won the election on Zia's coat tails[35].

Table-5.2

Party wise position in the parliamentary election 1979

Sl. No.	Name of the parties	No. of Candidates set up	Percentage of votes received	No. of seats won
1.	BNP	298	41.16	207
2.	AL (Malek)	295	24.55	39
3.	AL (Mizan)	184	2.78	2
4.	ML & IDL	266	10.08	20
5.	JSD	240	4.84	8
6.	Other parties	420	6.49	8
7.	Independent	422	10.10	16
Total		2125	100	300

Source : Bangladesh Election Commission, Dhaka, Bangladesh.

All these elections seriously suffered from participation crisis. Particularly all the opposition parties accused the government of rigging election[36].

The Second Presidential Election 1981: Some aberrant army officer held the second presidential election on November 15, 1981 following the tragic death of President Ziaur Rahman. Although total number of candidates in the election was 31 but major candidates were only two. They were Justice Abdus Satter nominated by BNP, and Dr. Kamal Hossain, nominated by AL along with ten other smaller parties. Justice Satter won the election with a wide margin from his near competitor Dr. Kamal Hossain. He secured 65.52 per cent of the votes where his near rival Dr. Kamal Hossain received only 26.51 per cent of the votes. The turn out in the election was 65.51 per cent. It is said that Justice Satter had received such enormous support due to his predecessor's i.e. deceased Zia's overwhelming popularity.

5.4 Elections under Ershad Regime

The sudden intervention of General Ershad in politics tarnished the image of participatory democracy at least for nine years. Through continuous process of civilianization Ershad staged first the referendum on March 21, 1985, then the presidential election on October 15, 1986 and finally the parliamentary elections on 3 March 1986 but he was not successful in turning himself a democrat rather he established his authority as a dictator. Although the major opposition parties did not participate in the election even then the continuous malpractice and rigging by the regime not

only eroded the credibility of the elections but also wrecked democratic institutions seriously. Another outcome of Ershad rule was that the people at large lost confidence in the election mechanism[37].

The Second Referendum: The second referendum was held on 21 March 1985 viewed to approve the martial law regulations made by the martial law regime of Ershad. In this election 72.16 per cent votes were cast through which Ershad received apparently people's consent to continue his rule.

The Third Parliamentary Elections 1986: The third parliamentary elections held on 3 March 1986 were not fully participated. The Seven Party Alliance led by BNP and the Five Party left's Alliance boycotted the elections. It was alleged as election by design, and manipulated by the administrative apparatus[38]. When result was published it appeared that the ruling Jatiyo Party won 153 seats, while AL got 76 seats and Jammat 10. In the election 32 independent candidates won which was held peacefully but not in free and fair. The voters' turnout in the election was 60.31 per cent.

Table-5.3

Party wise position in the third parliamentary election 1986

Sl. No.	Name of the parties	No. of Candidates set up	Percentage of votes received	No. of seats won
1.	JP	300	42.34	153
2.	AL	258	26.16	76
3.	Jammat	77	4.61	10
4.	ML	102	1.45	4
5.	BCP	9	0.91	5
6.	NAP	20	1.29	5
7.	JSD	137	2.54	4
8.	Other parties	176	4.51	11
9.	Independent	448	16.19	32
Total		1527	100	300

Source : Bangladesh Election Commission, Dhaka.

The Fourth Parliamentary Elections: The fourth parliamentary elections were held in March 1988. It was a mid-term election held after dissolving the parliament on December 6, 1987 in the midst of mass-movement organized by the opposition political parties against Ershad's military regime. While 1986 election had some credibility, the 1988 parliamentary election was unfair to the extent of 'farce and mockery' and was not participated by any major opposition party. However, it was shown that the voter's turnout in the election was 52.5 per cent.

Table-5.4

Party wise position in the fourth parliamentary elections 1988

Sl. No.	Name of the parties	No. of Candidates set up	Percentage of votes received	No. of seats won
1.	JP			251
2.	COP			19
3.	JSD (Siraj)			3
4.	Freedom Party			2
5.	Independent			25
Total				300

Source : Bangladesh Election Commission, Dhaka.

5.5 Elections under First Caretaker Government

The Fifth Parliamentary Elections: The fifth parliamentary elections were held on February 27, 1991 following the fall of Ershad by the end of 1990 through a student-mass overwhelming upheaval. The election was held under the interim caretaker government headed by Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed. The election was supposed to be a distinctive one for a special reason was that it was the first time in Bangladesh held an election conducted by a non-party caretaker government. The election was unique and unprecedented. There was no party in power or in opposition in the

election rather the competition indeed, remain in between major two parties out of power. To ensure free and fair election the transient president reformed the EC, which was previously formed by Ershad not trusted by the oppositions. The government issued "Election Officer's Ordinance (Special Act) 1990" stipulated drastic action against any negligence or misconduct of personnel employed to the elections. Even then, the EC declared a sixteen point conduct rules according to the suggestions made by the political parties for every competitor to be exercised of control speech and tolerance, and to be abstaining from unbecoming and provoking statement.

In the election total number of candidates were 2,787 in which 2,363 were from 75 political parties and the rests were independent[39].

Manifestos: BNP emphasized on Zia's nineteen points program, the negative aspect of AL rule from 1972- 75 and the negative aspect of Ershad's rule from 1982-90. In the manifesto BNP pledged for waiving of certain agricultural loans, rent exemptions, improving economic situation, building of powerful army, improving law and order situation, and ensuring the rights of the women, smuggling and corruption, and the improvement of the government in general[40].

Khaleda Zia, leader of BNP, upheld the Islamic provisions. She began every speech with Bismillah-Ar-Rahman-Ar-Rahim (In the name of Almighty Allah). She criticized the AL rule as the "era of darkness" for their failure to prevent famine in 1974, for introduction of one party autocratic rule, for enactment of repressive legislation, and the building of the "Jatiyo Rakkhi Bahini" (National Defence Force), which was especially loyal to

Mujib[41]. However, Khaleda Zia accused Ershad of trying to destroy all democratic institutions and the judiciary. She also felt proud of her steadfast uncompromising attitude against Ershad regime. With regard to form of government Khaleda opined that this question would be resolved in the forthcoming parliament[42].

Bangladesh AL declared, in its manifesto, that the aim of the party was to establish a parliamentary system of government, which would be responsible in character. The party emphasized on the values of liberation war – i.e., secularism and socialism. The main theme of Sheikh Hasina, the leader of AL, was to realize the dream of Bangabandhu, her late father, and Ex-Prime Minister and to punish his killers. Sheikh Hasina accused both Zia and Ershad of military intervention, rigging elections, and used Islam politically to increase their appeal to the people.

However, both the parties promised a mixed economy and waive of agricultural loans up to taka 5,000 with interest, and exempt land revenue up to 25 bighas.

Jammat Islami committed for establishing a true Islamic state on the basis of the Quran and Sunnah[43]. In their party manifestos they presented an untainted ideological program. Its stance was anti-Indian and attack was against AL for their latter's secularism.

Jatiyo Party of Ershad upheld the success of Ershad regime. They stressed Islam as an essential element of Bangladeshi nationalism as they amended the constitution declaring Islam as the state religion. The candidates of the Jatiyo party restored the strategy of personal appeal to the

voters of their constituencies as "the sons of the soil". However, the central leaders of JP made an approach to vote for them against imprisonment of Ershad who was arrested by the interim government.

NAP, CPB and Five Party Alliance (leftists) emphasized on socialism, democracy and safeguarding the interest of the labors and workers, establishing parliamentary government, and unity of democratic power against the reactionary communal forces. Among these leftists groups the pro-Moscow communists made an electoral alliance with the AL and contested the election using AL's election's symbol (a boat) in thirty- six constituencies.

The main trend of 1991 parliamentary election campaign was offensive. The major two parties - AL and BNP spent their maximum times on criticizing each other instead of upholding their own program in the campaign meetings. On the other hand, Jammat-Islami, Five Party Alliance, NAP, JSD and other small parties stated the election campaign of two big parties-AL and BNP as mud slinging.

The Verdict: With the publication of result BNP emerged as the single majority party having 140 seats out of 300 parliamentary seats, AL 88, JP 35, Jammat 18, Bakshal 5, CPB 5, other parties 6 and independent 3. It is significant that the secularists and leftists, however, were badly defeated by parties who espoused various levels of Islamic Orientation. The Commonwealth observer team, and US National Democratic Institute, British Parliamentary Team, the Japanese parliamentary team the SAARC observation team etc. termed the election as "free, fair and impartial[44]".

Along with many foreign observers mentioned that the election was a model and they opined the election accomplished free and fairness. They stated that the election opened the door of new hopes for the good governance and a prospective democratic future of the state. The election was significant because it restored people's confidence in electoral process.

Table-5.5

Results of Elections of the Jatiyo Sangsad held on February 27, 1991

Sl. No.	Name of the Parties	No. of candidates set up	Percentage of Votes received	No. of Candidates Elected
1.	BNP	300	30.81	140
2.	AL	264	30.08	88
3.	JP	272	11.92	35
4.	JIB	222	12.13	18
5.	Bakshal	68	1.81	5
6.	CPB	49	1.19	5
7.	Other Parties	1188	7.67	6
8.	Independent	424	4.39	3
Total		2787	100	300

Number of parties participated 75 and voters turnout was 55.45%.

Source: Bangladesh Election Commission, Dhaka.

5.6 Elections under Khaleda Zia Regime

The Third Referendum: The third referendum was held on 15 September 1991, which approved the Eleventh and the Twelfth Amendments of the constitution.

The Sixth Parliamentary Elections: The sixth parliamentary election, which was a constitutional compulsion, was held in February 15, 1996 in the face of movement and protests by the oppositions. None of the oppositions participated in that election and it was truly a one party that is the ruling BNP's elections. However, the sixth parliament passed the

Thirteenth Amendment Bill through which was provided that all the future national elections would be held under 90 days term by a non-party caretaker government.

Table-5.6

Results of the 6th parliamentary elections held in February 1996

Sl. No.	Name of the Parties	No. of candidates set up	Percentage of Votes received	No. of Candidates Elected
1.	BNP	300	77.62	278
2.	Other Parties	693	9.94	1
3.	Independent	457	12.44	10
Total		1450	100	289

* Total number of parties participated 41 and voters turnout was 26.54%.

❑ 49 MPs elected uncontested (all of BNP)

❑ 1 (one) constituency's election was stopped by the order of court

❑ voters in 250 constituencies : 47,003, 956 (male : 23,765,752 female : 23,238,204)

❑ No pool possible into constituencies due to resistance of the parties those who boycotted the election.

Source : Bangladesh Election Commission, Dhaka.

(b) June 1996 Parliamentary Elections : A Macro Profile

5.7 Perspective of June 1996 Parliamentary Elections

BNP ascended into power wining the general election held in 1991 under the non-party caretaker government. But three years could hardly elapse. In December 1994 opposition political parties created a political impasse resulting a great deal of uncertainty about the future of democracy in the country. Bangladesh politics took a new turn following alleged rigging in Magura by-election. The opposition MPs continued boycott of the parliament and they subsequently resigned from the parliament in support of

'caretaker government' to ensure the free and fair election for the next. However, the ruling BNP fulfilled its five years term. Completing their term the government held the sixth parliamentary elections in February 1996, which was constitutional obligation. But all the major opposition political parties boycotted and tried to resist the elections.

However, the sixth parliament amended the constitution providing the caretaker government under which all future general elections would be held. Then the parliament was dissolved in March 1996 and the ruling BNP handed over power to the caretaker government in the face of opposition's movement. There upon the nation launched for another general elections, which was the second one within a year.

5.8 Party Manifestos

Total number of candidates was 2784 from 81 political parties and independent candidates in the election. Three parties – AL, BNP and Jammat contested all the seats while JP put up candidates in 293 constituencies (some candidates stood form more than one constituency). The voters' turn out in the election was 74.15 per cent.

In the manifesto AL emphasized the spirit of the liberation war, an administration free from party influence and corruption, peoples' participation, a new pay scale for the service holder, a society free from terrorism, free-market-economy, loans to agriculture on easy terms and subsidy of agricultural sector and increasing employment opportunities. They committed to separate the judiciary from the executive, well-equipped defense forces, autonomy to radio and TV, re-introduction of Upazilla

system, decentralization of power, reformation of education system, health for everybody.

On the other hand, BNP emphasized the democratization of administration in all tiers. They pledged for accountable administration, corruption free society, rule of law, market-economy, industrialization, fair price of agricultural implements, independence of judiciary, non-aligned foreign policy, special relationship with the Muslim countries, efficient, powerful and well equipped defence forces, free flow of information, women participation in development activities and their empowerment, technology for employment, formation of local governments including Gram Sarker (Village Govt.) modern education system, pension scheme for the old, islamic values and faith, etc.

Jatiyo Party committed for responsible and accountable government, new structure for the interim government, reintroduction of Upazilla system, maintaining law and order, formation of national capital, industrialization, free market, land reforms, separation of judiciary from the executive, friendship with all, modernization of defense forces, Palli Parishad (Village Council).

Jammat pleaded declaration of Bangladesh as Islamic Republic, amendment of constitution based on the Holy Quran and the Sunnah, eradication of misappropriation like bribery and corruption, rule of law, revision of anti-corruption act, economic development and balanced distribution, expansion of industries, elimination of interest, free market

economy in accordance with the principles of Islam, separation of judiciary from the executive, Islamic ideals in foreign policy motivated defence forces with the spirit of jeehad (Crusade), military training for all citizens from 18 to 40 years, mass media for character development, democratized local government, reduced educational expenses.

5.9 Vote Catching Techniques

Candidates set up camps in their constituencies and spent huge money to run these camps. They printed posters with different designs and layout. Wall writings also seen soliciting vote for "a boat", "sheaf of paddy", "plough", "balance" etc., hanged banners, erected colorful bill boards, demonstrated processions, organized public meetings, made effort from door to door, even they selected some female campaigners for this purpose which was not visible earlier. The major parties adopted posters, pamphlets and bulletins carrying massages of the parties and negative campaigns against the rivals were the main features of their strategy.

The major political parties adopted both "positive campaign" to bring into focus their programs and achievements as well as "negative campaign" against their rivals.

5.10 Campaign Issues

AL emphasized on the negative aspects of BNP rule, accused the BNP government of corruption, fertilizer scandal, and they tried to disprove their pro-Indian image. AL pledged not to renew the 25 years friendship treaty with India. The AL was also admitted the mistakes committed during the

AL's rule after independence and appealed to the people to give them a fresh chance to serve the nation.

BNP projected the negative aspects of AL. They portrayed AL as a pro-Indian, accused AL of 1974 famine and of formation of one-party (BAKSAL) rule. The BNP alleged AL for launching anti-BNP agitation to dislodge BNP and to clear its route to power to revalidate the 25 years pact with India which, in their own (BNP) words, "pact of slavery". The BNP called upon the nationalist forces to unite against the pro-Indian AL. The BNP tried to project the development works done during its tenure to catch votes.

Jatiyo Party made approaches soliciting votes for them to the voters to support them against the imprisonment of party chairman General Ershad. The party pledged for the Upazilla system and decentralization of administrative power. However, Jammat pledged to introduce the "Governance of God" (rule of Allah). They approached the voters for supporting the honest person as their representative.

5.11 The Verdict

When the election result was declared it was found that no political party could achieve absolute majority. But the AL emerged as the single majority having 146 parliamentary seats, while BNP 116 seats, JP 32, Jammat 3, Islami Oikay Jote 1, JSD (Rob) 1, Independent 1. Table 7 shows the election results in details.

Table-5.7

Results of the June 1996 Parliamentary Elections

Sl. No.	Name of the Parties	No. of candidates set up	Percentage of votes received	No. of seats won
1.	AL	300	37.44	146
2.	BNP	300	33.61	116
3.	JP	293	16.4	32
4.	Jammat	300	8.61	3
5.	Islami Oikya Jote	165	1.09	1
6.	Other parties	935	1.79	1
7.	Independent	281	1.06	1
Total		2574	100	300

Source : Bangladesh Election Commission Report, 1996.

BNP in a post election press conference alleged "massive rigging" in the polls[45] and demanded re-polling in 111 constituencies pending election result in the gazette. BNP also alleged that the administration in some districts worked in a partisan manner, the caretaker government even failed to provide adequate security to the BNP workers and agents; some of the NGOs were allowed to observe the poll who disrupted the polling process in some constituencies; there were fake voters in the electoral roll and the AL candidate distributed money to the voters.

The Jammat and the Communist Party also alleged rigging. Individual candidates, Jatiyo Party and even also the defeated candidates of the AL raised allegations of irregularities in their constituencies and demanded re-polling. However, BNP, JP, and Jammat jointly alleged that the AL candidates captured polling stations in Choddogram thana, Commilla-12. To deal with these complaints the EC set up 60 election tribunals to handle election petitions.

However, the election was a milestone on a long journey in strengthening and institutionalizing the democracy in Bangladesh. Through the election the people of Bangladesh once again demonstrated their firm commitment to the democratic process.

Notes and References

[1] Richard Rose and Harve Mossawir, "Voting and Elections" in Henz Ealaw et.al. (eds.), *Political Behavior* (New York : The Free Press, 1956), p. 330.

[2] That is, the decision to vote has abstained.

[3] Richard Rose and Harve Mossawir, "Voting and Elections" in Henz Eulaw, et.al. (eds.), *Political Behavior* (New York : The Free Press, 1956), p. 330.

[4] Article 72, The Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

[5] Article 123. *op.cit.*, This Article also provided that in case if it is not possible such election shall be held within ninety days following next after the last day of such period.

[6] Article 121, *op.cit.*

[7] Article 122, *op.cit.*

[8] The Representation of the People (seat for women members) Order,1973

[9] Article 65 (3), *op.cit.*

[10] Article 124, *op.cit.*

[11] Article 124, *op.cit.*

[12] Article 122, *op.cit.*

[13] Bangladesh Election Commission Report, 1996.

[14] Article 66, *op.cit.*

[15] Bangladesh Election Commission Report, 1996.

[16] Article 123, *op.cit.*

[17] Ibid.

[18] The Report of the Fair Election Monitoring Alliance (FEMA, 1996) an NGO working in Bangladesh (Dhaka : 1996), pp. 19-20.

[19] Personal interview with a woman voter in a polling center on 12 June 1996.

[20] The Representation of the People (Amendment) Act, 1991.

[21] Bangladesh Gazette, Additional Number, 4 May 1991.

[22] Conduct Rules of Elections, 26 April 1996, Election Commission Secretariat, Dhaka, Bangladesh, Article 3.

[23] Mujibbad means the ideology and works done by Mujib.

[24] The Constitution of The People Republic of Bangladesh. *op.cit.*

[25] Manifestos of NAP

[26] *The Daily Ittefaq* (Dhaka), 18 February 1973. p.1.

[27] Ibid., 3 March 1973.

[28] Ibid., 12 March 1973.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid., 12 March 1973.

[31] Talukder Maniruzzaman "Bangladesh in 1977", *Asian Survey.* Vol. XVII, No. 2, February, 1978.

[32] Bangladesh Election Commission Report, 1978.

[33] Manifesto of BNP published before the *Parliamentary Elections*, 1979.

[34] Source: Bangladesh Election Commission Report, 1979.

[35] Rounaq Jahan, "Local Power Structure and the Mobilization of Vote: A Study of the Bangladesh Election 1979", unpublished working paper, The CHR-Michelsen Institute. Bergen, Norway A 155, 979 (Bangladesh Politics), p. 211.

[36] Talukder Maniruzzaman, *The Bangladesh Revolution and Its Aftermath* (Dhaka : University Press Ltd., 1980), p. 227.

[37] Zaglul Haider, "Participation Crisis Threatens Young Democracy" *The Daily Star*, Dhaka, February 28, 1996.

[38] Ataur Rahman, "Elections 1996 and Bangladesh's Democratic Future", Paper Presented at the Seminar organised by Bangladesh Political Science Association, Dhaka, 1 June 1996.

[39] Bangladesh Election Commission Report, 1991.

[40] Manifesto of BNP published before the Parliamentary Elections 1991 in *The Daily Ittefaq* (Dhaka), 29 January 1991.

[41] See the Daily Newspapers of Bangladesh in February 1991.

[42] Ibid.

[43] *The Daily Ittafaq* (Dhaka), 30 January 1991.

[44] Ibid., 2 March 1991.

[45] Ibid., 13 June 1996.

Chapter-6

June 1996 Parliamentary Elections : A Micro-Profile

People can participate with political process in many ways. But election is the center of all politics. In the modern democracy people participate in the electoral process through which they elect their representative. The most nearly universal and perhaps the most important single type of people's participation in government and politics is voting[1].

The right to participate in democratic politics is not exercised by all who posses it. The number of participants varies with time, place and circumstances.

Theoretically, every people can participate and influence the political process, but in reality, there is an unequal degree of political participation.

Larger participation by people have higher potential's for democracy, the growth of democratic government is in part measured by the extension of suffrage. But individuals are embedded in a matrix of social forces (status, education, etc.) that orient them toward or away from political participation.

Political participation varies from country to country, from era to era, from one type of people in a society to another. Too many variables thus work behind political participation such as social, political, psychological etc[2]. Social variables include residence, age, sex, education, occupation, income etc. These variables correlate to some degree with participation. For

example, participation tends to be higher between the high socio-economic status groups[3].

The nature of campaign, issue and ideology, and political party are the areas that shape participation, which reveals the political variables of political participation. However, Participation survives by virtue of its capacity to provide rewards for those who engage in it. Political observers throughout the ages have variously attributed man's political activity to his need for power, competition, achievement, affiliation, aggression, money, prestige, status, recognition, approval, manipulation, sympathy, responsibility, in short, to virtually every need that impels human behaviour. Political participation gratifies certain needs that are not satisfied by other kinds of endeavor[4].

Actually election and voting behaviour reflect the forms, levels, bases and pattern of political participation as well as the question of peaceful transfer of power, which is the subject of present research. The present study has utilized the theoretical paradigm evolved through different election studies about voting behaviour as stated earlier chapter.

The present study aims to examine the awareness of the voters, the influencing factors in wrecking franchise, the socio-demographic and political variables, the freeness of the election and the people's attitude toward the politicians. The study finally aims to suggest – how the country might tackle the political turmoil and might ensure peoples' participation in Bangladesh politics in order to ensure the political stability as well as the development of the country.

6.1 Selection of the Study Area and Respondents

Now we are showing the above-mentioned issues through analysis of data collected through field study in a tabular form. Before, we do that we are providing sketchy figures of field data. The present study has conducted with the voters from two of the polling centers of Rajshahi-2 constituency in which one is from rural area and another is from urban area. Table 6.1 shows that total number of voter of those two centers were 5487 persons. Among the voters 548 persons (10%) were taken for the study from every occupational groups of people living in those area so that it could be representative in character and could probe the objectives empirically. The voters included in the survey are shown in the following table.

Table-6.1

Field Survey at a Glance

Total Voter (rural + urban)	5487
Male (rural + urban)	2753
Female (rural + urban)	2743
Study Covered (10%)	548
Male (55% of 548))	301
Female (45% of 548)	247
Rural Voter	438
Urban Voter	110
Rural Male	241
Rural Female	197
Urban Male	60
Urban Female	50

Source: Voter list collected from District Election Office, Rajshahi.

6.2 Data Collection and Observation

Since 80 per cent of the population of Bangladesh is living in the rural area the study covered 80 per cent of the respondents from rural area and the rest 20 per cent from urban area. However, the study conducted 55 per cent male and 45 per cent female voters among the total 548. Though the female voter is nearly fifty per cent and their recent trend of turnout is increasing, nonetheless, it is less than the male.

Table-6.2

Occupation - wise Statement of the Voters from Rural Polling Center:
Kharkhari Govt. Primary School, Poba, Rajshahi

Sl. No.	Name of village	Male					Female			
		Cultivation	Business	Labor	Others	Total male	Housewife	Others	Total female	Grand Total
1.	Kharkhari	73	50	34	10	167	171	0	171	338
2.	Kalumer	126	13	16	30	185	179	0	179	364
3.	Lalitahar	233	56	112	57	458	465	02	467	925
4.	Perapukur	16	15	12	03	46	56	0	56	102
5.	Bamonshikor	344	20	39	21	424	431	0	431	854
	Total	792	154	213	121	1280	1302	02	1304	2583

Source: Voter list collected from District Election Office, Rajshahi.

Table-6.3

Occupation-wise Statement of the Voters from Urban Polling Center:
Sericulture Research Institute, Rajshahi

Sl. No.	Name of the area	Male						Female					
		Service	Business	Labor	Student	Other	Total Male	House wife	Service	Student	Other	Total Female	Grand Total
1.	Baliapukur	286	171	161	120	89	827	615	32	45	87	779	1606
2.	Tikapara	49	36	33	25	27	170	115	10	17	25	167	337
3.	Shirail	177	115	35	103	77	507	335	44	67	38	484	961
	Total	512	322	229	248	193	1504	1065	86	129	150	1430	2904

Table-6.4

Occupation-wise Statement of the Voters Contacted for Survey from Rural Polling Center: Kharkhari Govt. Primary School, Poba, Rajshahi

Sl. No.	Name of the villages	Male					Female			Grand Total
		Cultivate	Business	Labour	Other	Total male	Housewife	Other	Total female	
1.	Kharkhari	14	9	6	2	31	26	0	26	157
2.	Kalumer	24	2	3	6	35	27	0	27	62
3.	Lalitahar	43	11	22	10	86	70	1	71	157
4.	Purapukur	3	3	2	1	9	8	0	8	17
5.	Bamonshikor	65	4	7	4	80	65	0	65	145
	Total	149	29	40	23	241	196	1	197	438

Source: The researcher devices the voter list collected from District Election Office, Rajshahi.

Table-6.5

Occupation-wise Statement of the Voters Contacted for Survey from Urban Polling Center: Sericulture Research Institute, Rajshahi

Sl. No.	Name of the areas	Service	Business	Labor	Student	Other	Total Male	House wife	Service	Student	Other	Total Female	Total
1.	Baliapukur	12	7	6	5	3	33	21	1	2	3	27	60
2.	Tikapara	2	2	1	1	1	7	4	0	1	1	6	13
3.	Shirail	7	4	2	4	3	20	12	2	2	1	17	37
	Total	21	13	9	10	7	60	37	3	5	5	50	110

Source: The researcher devices the voter list collected from District Election Office, Rajshahi.

6.3   Data Analysis and Findings

Socio-economic Status of the Respondents Contacted for Survey
Age group.
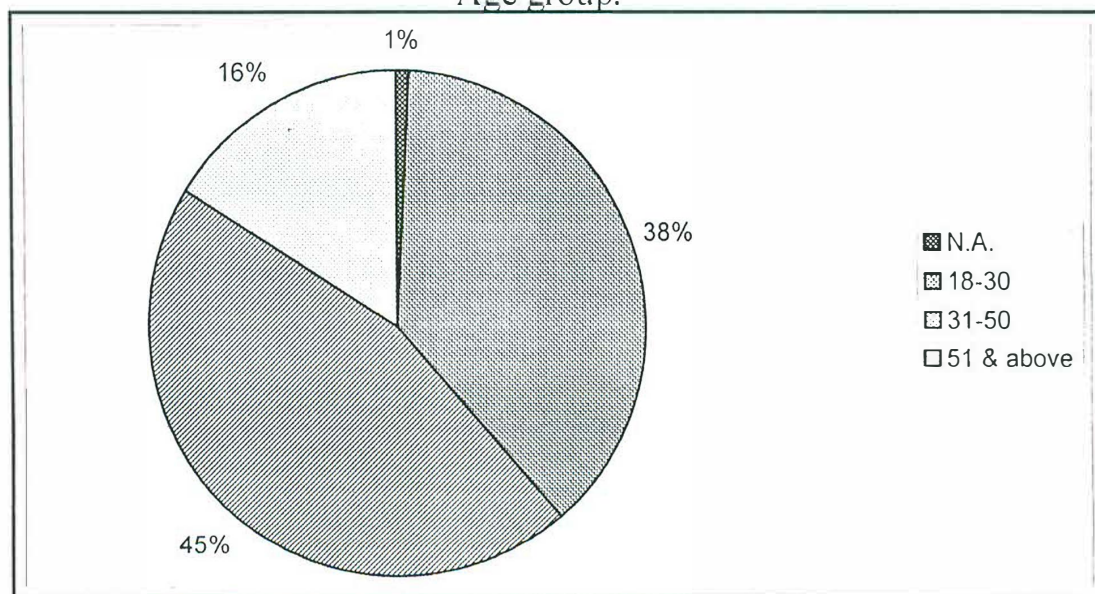
Education group

Income group
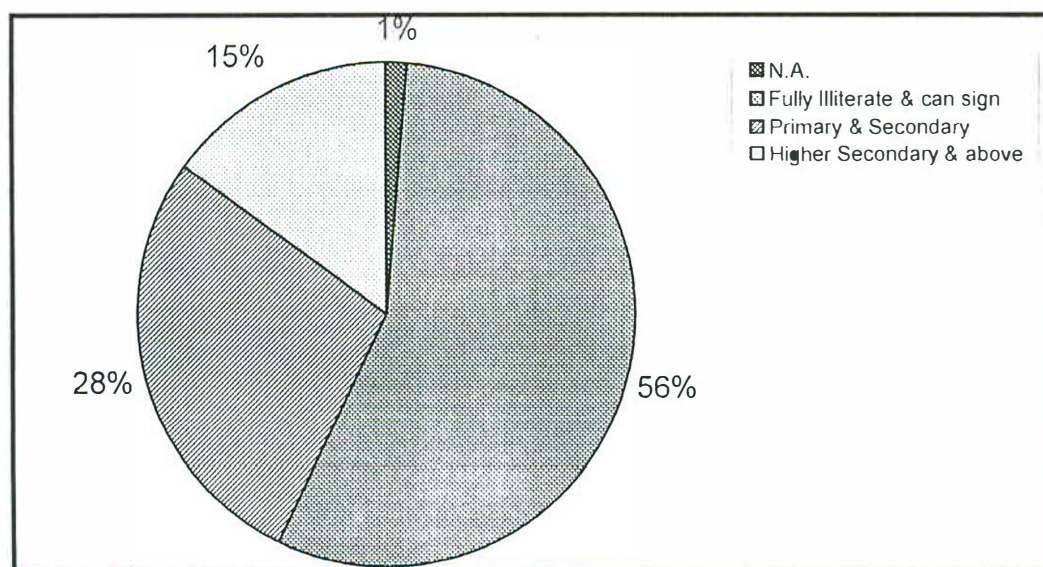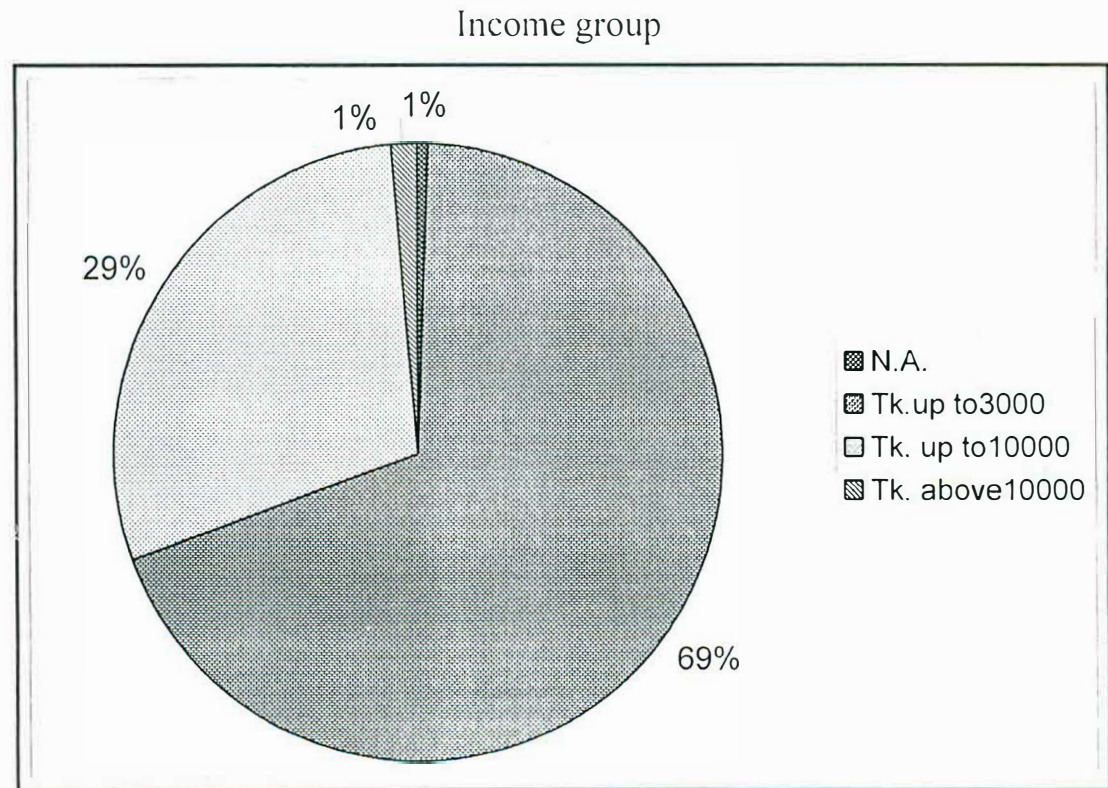
Influencing Factors: There are so many influencing factors related to voters' participation in the election in which some factors influence directly and other some influence indirectly. However, sometimes-indirect influence may stimulate much more than direct one. Attempt is made to discern first the direct influencing factors which includes money and muscle then the indirect influencing factors which includes political movement; nomination, campaign and the like.

Direct Influences

Influence of Money and Muscle: Political parties tend to recruit support by co-opting patrons in various professionals such as civil and military bureaucrats, businessmen, industrialists and so on those who have capacity to win the election any how and who can more subscribe the party. In building organizational support based among the bureaucrats and

moneyed men, parties de-emphasized ideology and issues. They try to win over the election at any cost. This implies exacerbation of factional conflict between intra-party and inters party. Since the newly recruited leaders are obliged to the chief of party instead of ideology and parties compete with each other to increase their support of influential personnel resulting organizational instability of parties are forever threatened with factional splits and desertions. Indeed all the major political parties of Bangladesh are created out of intra-party conflicts. The non-political person who comes to politics by dint of huge money is trying to deploy black money and muscle power in politics. They hire the arms cadre who often go to the voters' house before election and threat them not to go polling center. Sometimes these party cadres occupy polling center, snatch ballot papers and ballot boxes and fulfill the boxes with fake votes. Thus money and coercion influence the voting behaviour in Bangladesh.

But the seventh parliamentary election was more or less free while a few numbers of voters think that the election was influenced by money. When the voters were asked, "Do you think that the voters are influenced in the election"? Only 8 per cent of the respondents answered 'yes'.

Table-6.6

Influence on voters

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	N.A.	455	83.0
	Yes	44	8.0
	No	35	6.4
	Don't know	8	1.5
	Too Secret	6	1.1
	Total	548	100
Total		548	100

Again when they were asked, "How did they influence"? Only 8.6 per cent of the respondents reported that the election was influenced by money while 0.4 per cent stated creating violence and 0.5 per cent both the ways.

Table-6.7

Influence through money and muscle: respondents' attitude

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	N.A.	496	90.5
	Using money	47	8.6
	Creating violence	2	.4
	Both way	3	.5
	Total	548	100
Total		548	100

Although the study shows that the election was free and fair but a good number of respondents held that winning was impossible without money.

Table-6.8

Relation of Money with election winning: respondents' attitude

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	N.A.	17	3.1
	Yes	112	20.4
	No	117	21.4
	Don't know	302	55.1
	Total	548	100
Total		548	100

When they were asked, "Would you think the candidate won the election mainly through using money?" It is found that 47.5 per cent of the respondents answered positively.

Table-6.9

Candidate won the election mainly through money: respondents' attitude

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	N.A.	15	2.7
	Yes	42	7.7
	No	165	30.1
	Don't know	108	19.7
	Somewhat	218	39.8
	Total	548	100
Total		548	100

Again when they asked, "Whether winning was possible without money? It is appeared that 30.1 per cent of the respondents answered negative. That means money is unavoidable for winning the election.

Table-6.10

Possibility of winning without money: respondents' attitude

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	N.A.	17	3.1
	Yes	112	20.4
	No	117	21.4
	Don't know	302	55.1
	Total	548	100
Total		548	100

Although about 80 per cent of the respondents stated that the election was free from influence of money and coercion while 20 per cent of the respondents view that the election was somehow influenced.

Table-6.11

Who Influence?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	N.A.	427	77.9
	Candidates' workers	9	1.6
	Husband	55	10.0
	Son or daughter	3	.5
	Relatives	37	6.8
	Others	17	3.1
	Total	548	100
Total		548	100

The study found that the female voters were mostly influenced by husband while male voters by relatives or like so. On the other hand, only 2 per cent of the respondents reported that they have been tempted with money and feared with threat.

Table-6.12

Influence of money and threat

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	N.A.	419	76.6
	Tempting money	5	.9
	Passing threat	6	1.1
	Motivation	118	21.5
	Total	548	100
Total		548	100

From the findings it can be said that the voters were mostly free from money and muscle power with an insignificant exception.

Influence of Polling Personnel: The influence of polling personnel was insignificant. Only 4.2 per cent of the respondents reported that polling personnel made some influence.

Table-6.13

Influence of polling personnel on the voters

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	N.A.	17	3.1
	Yes	23	4.2
	No	437	79.7
	Don't know	71	13.0
Total		548	100.0

Influence of Husband: Participation is affected by the variable of sex. At every social level women vote less than men[5]. Men participate more than women who are more conservative, less liable to heterodoxy, less well informed about political issues and public figures, less attentive to the diverse point of view and, therefore, have less interest in politics. Sometimes, women's major preoccupation with home and family may account for their low participation. Above all, women are more submissive to the general culture that usually emphasizes moral, dependent and politically less competent images of women, which, in effect, reduce their partisanship and sense of political efficacy and, thus fix for them a less active political role[6].

The study shows that their husbands influence 10 per cent of the female respondents. Only 1.1 per cent of the respondent reported that giving threat influenced them. Table 20 shows that 19.4 per cent of the rural voters could not vote for preferred candidate while urban voter was 8.2 per cent. On the other hand 27.9 per cent of the female voter could not vote for preferred candidate while the male is 9.4 per cent.

Table-6.14

Who influence?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	N.A.	427	77.9
	Candidate's workers	9	1.6
	Husband	55	10.0
	Son or daughter	3	.5
	Relatives	37	6.8
	Others	17	3.1
	Total	548	100
Total		548	100

Indirect Influences

Influence of Political Movement: People of Bangladesh are mostly affectively oriented through political movement. In Bangladesh there is a close relation between political movement and election. Movement often determined the election's result. In Bangladesh elections take place in the context of strong political movements. Movement politicizes people and leads to higher participation. Indeed rate of electoral participation of Bangladesh can be favorably compared with those of the people in industrialized west. In the last few elections, on and average 60 per cent of the eligible voters cast their vote in the USA; while in Bangladesh 75 per cent of the voters cast their votes in June 1996 parliamentary election which was even highest than previous elections of Bangladesh[7]. These high rates of electoral participation in Bangladesh cannot be explained by the demographic variables but by the political variables.

Bangladesh inherited a political tradition where mass movements and election were closely entwined. Movement and election looked upon as complementary, each strengthen the other. A period of mass movement was

followed by a single decisive election. Periods of movements crystallized certain issues and brought forward certain political forces. Elections were held to decide the winning issue and wining political force. Movements drew the active participation of the mobilized section of the population but not involve the majority of the immobilized masses. Elections provided the silent majority with an opportunity to register their voice on the hotly debated issues and to participate in the critical political decision of the country. Our political history supports this view.[8]

However, it is appeared that movement against General Ershad's military regime and the uncompromising and challenging attitude of Begum Khaleda Zia brought her party's victory in 1991 parliamentary elections following the fall of General Ershad. Again AL organized movement against the ruling BNP in 1995-96 demanding caretaker government. The movement ultimately dislodged BNP government and brought AL into power through the successive election.

Thus it is appeared that Bangladesh elections' results mostly depend on great issues generating movement. Emotive issues always dominate electoral politics. The ethos of political movements makes elections more than instruments of selection of public officials on rational basis: more important, they are regarded as granting legitimacy. Often Bangladesh elections take place following the tradition of political movements' works as a counter weight. It politicizes people and leads to higher participation. The voting turn out was 75 per cent in the last June 1996 parliamentary election, which was highest in the political history of Bangladesh.

In Bangladesh the rich and the poor, the literate and the illiterate, the urban and the rural, the informed and the uninformed, all vote in high rates. The poor, the illiterates the rural and uninformed are brought to high participation through direct movements of the last six decades, which more than anything else, politicized the masses of Bangladesh that resulted in their high participation in the electoral politics. It is interesting to note that though voting participation is so high but voters are mostly indifferent since more than half of the respondents stated that they had no headache of election result. However, 40 per cent of the respondents stated that they were not willing to listen voting discussion. Thus it is appeared that people of Bangladesh are affectively oriented through political movement. They become aware of political dilemma through movements

The present study found that 38.1 per cent of the respondents got decision even before the election schedule was declared and the national voting turnout was 75 per cent[9], which was highest in the rank. So the study can state that the legacy of political movement, which also present before the seventh parliamentary elections had also a great impact on its ends.

Table-6.15

Time of voting decision

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	N.A.	69	12.6
	Before schedule	209	38.1
	After schedule	57	10.4
	During campaign	197	35.9
	Polling center	15	2.7
	Don't know	1	.2
	Total	548	100
Total		548	100

Voters are affectively oriented to it, sometimes they take pride in it, sometimes they dislike it, and they evaluate it, either as legitimate or as not. But the relationship is toward the system on the general level, and toward the output, administrative, or "downward flow" side of the political system; it is essentially a passive relationship, although there is a limited form of competence that is appropriate in a subject of political culture. In Bangladesh there is no significant differentiated structure in between government and ruling party or the party chief. In our political system though there developed some democratic institutions is likely to be affective and normative rather than cognitive.

Influence through Nomination: In the process of giving nominations, it was also observed that the contesting parties did not hesitate to disregard the spoil system and the candidacy of their dedicated party workers. It was thus commented that because of lack of recognition of services of the original party workers, a sense of demoralization and deprivation looms large on the activists who nurse political organization at the grassroots and this may eventually weaken the political process itself[10]. But in order to be sure of winning electoral seats, the contesting parties welcomed some of those fortune-seeking politicians who, even a month back, served the rival political camps. The major political parties were also seen to be nominating a significant number of businessmen and retired bureaucrats both from civil and military. The joining of numbers of businessmen in the country's electoral politics is significant. The involvement of the businessman in the countries politics and the induction of plenty of retired army and civil bureaucrats in the major political parties

have broad an unwelcome change in electoral politics indicating that professional politicians at various ranks are gradually losing ground. Since participation survives by virtue of its capacity to provide rewards for those who engage in it[11] the businessmen and retired bureaucrats overwhelmingly tend to politics in Bangladesh. The present politics of Bangladesh providing them power, money, recognition, etc. in a word, everything they want.

The socio-economic background of the parliamentarians of the seventh Jatiya Sangsad shows that among the MPs 152 are businessmen, 47 are lawyers, 22 are agriculturists, 12 are in the teaching profession, 15 are doctors, 10 are involved in political profession and the rest 60 do social work. The above figures indicate that the business community forming the single majority groups among the MPs of the seventh parliament. Thus the business classes constituting 43 per cent, 55 per cent and 50 per cent of the MPs belonging to Awami League, BNP and Jatiyo Party respectively[12].

Influence through Election Campaign: Election campaign has been found to play an important role in competitive politics. The various political parties try to influence the thinking of the electorate by various means at their disposal. In fact, the awareness, consciousness and preference about the act of voting are done through election campaigns. Socio-economically weaker sections of the electorate tend to be influenced more by election campaigns. The campaign chiefly reaches the faithful, crystallizing partisanship and reinforcing the intention have committed party adherents to vote and to persuade others to vote[13]. When the campaign ends, most of the participants revert to their relatively passive roles.

Some campaign techniques are most effective in stimulating citizen participation. All forms of persuasion and publicity probably have some effect, however minuscule. The most dramatic results, however, appear to be achieved through face-to-face communication with potential voters. This contact can be made formally, through designated party canvassers, or informally, through politically interested friends and opinion leaders[14]. The relative effectiveness of these communicators depends on their ability to command the attention of the people they seek to contact, to represent themselves as trustworthy sources of information, to enforce moral or psychological pressures, and to convey campaign messages in meaningful language[15].

However the present study found that the audience tended to give a positive response to themes based on hope oriented positive appeal and negative responses to fear-oriented negative appeal. In 1996 parliamentary elections Bangladesh Awami League, who won the election, approached positively and politely while BNP's appeal was somewhat negative[16]. People cherish the hope of AL's winning in the election for their positive approach.

Election campaign may influence the potential voters in the direction of attending the polls and casting the votes in the election. The campaign may be through media or direct face-to-face communication, which affect the voting turnout. In Bangladesh it is appeared that to face communication is more effective than the other techniques.

The electorate was actually sized with an issue of great national importance and the party who capable to provide an effective answer to such

a question through election campaign using effective campaign techniques such as arranging meeting as different important places can affect the voter in favour them. The present study shows that 35.9 per cent of the respondents have got their voting decision during campaign as stated earlier. It is also appeared that a large number of voters were swung with campaign efforts.

Table-6.16

Party men approached to the voters

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	N.A.	23	4.2
	Yes	338	61.7
	No	187	34.1
	Total	548	100.0
Total		548	100

The present study shows that 61.7 per cent of the voters have been approached directly by the party workers or by the candidate himself for vote during campaign while 26.6 per cent of the respondents participated actively with the campaign efforts such as attending party meeting, face to face contact, etc.

Influence through Media: Media exposure is more strongly related to participation than to discussion. Exposure of political news and current events through mass media is a form of election campaigning that appears as powerful force to influence the act of voting. However, mass media effect may encourage some voters to vote and media can affect voting behaviour in a substantial way. Sometimes knowledge of outcome of election provided by mass media may deter supporters of winners more than supporters of losers.

The present study shows that nearly 45 per cent of the respondents have some media connection while remaining 55 per cent are restrained from it.

Table-6.17

Media connection of the voters

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	N.A.	152	27.7
	Yes	133	24.3
	No	152	27.7
	A few	111	20.3
Total		548	100

The study shows that 24.3 per cent of the respondents listened to radio, 30 per cent observed TV and .16 per cent read newspapers while more other 20.3 per cent did not listen or read. However, nearly 60 per cent of the urban respondent had media connection while the rural had only 41 per cent. The urban people were mostly regular while the rural were almost irregular.

Table-6.18

Media connection cross-tabulation (urban-rural)

		Rural	Urban
Valid	N.A.	131 (29.9%)	21 19.1%
	Yess	98 (22.4%)	35 (31.8%)
	No	127 (29.0%)	25 (22.7%)
	A few	82 (18.7%)	29 (26.4%)
Total		438	110
		100.0%	100.0%

Although the urban people are somewhat more exposed to media than the rural but this figure is not satisfactory at all, we must note that awareness of the people is one of the preconditions of democracy, which forms through information media. Media connection is poor due to illiteracy and poverty, which has depressing effect for good exercise of democracy.

Awareness of the voters: Relatively a few people have sufficient information or sufficient understanding of the political system to be able to make a completely rational political choice. Citizen exposed more to newspapers; radio and other means of communication, which build greater political awareness, greater sense of political efficacy and greater issue consciousness. Broadcast news exposure is closely related to inter personal discussion. But in Bangladesh more than half of the population is still remains outside the media connection due to a number of constraints such as massive poverty and illiteracy, which was stated earlier.

Since 55 per cent of the respondents are illiterate and above 60 per cent are living below the level of poverty margin there are a few possibilities to be influenced by press or electronic media. It is observed that the voters are mostly motivated through voting discussion of their neighbors or through face-to-face contact during campaign. However, the voters mainly consider party or party chief's image rather than candidate or issue and ideology to vote.

However, most of the opinion polls before the election forecast that Awami League would have a thin or even a considerable edge over its rival BNP[17]. It is needless to mention that the AL won the election.

Minhaj Uddin Ahmed observed that the voters were fully aware of the different parties working in their locality and most of them cast votes considering the candidates' personal qualities and their contribution to the solution of local problems in preference to their party affiliation[18]. But this view has not been confirmed through the present study.

Security of Election: Election's credibility mostly depends on security. The voters' free movements and independent choice of candidates through franchise can only be guaranteed securing peace of polling booth. The success of a free and fair election rests mainly on the strict enforcement of law and order so that voter can come to the polling stations and exercise their franchise freely. Whereas in Bangladesh voter security is treated as number one problem.

Table-6.19

Security of the election

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	N.A.	15	2.7
	Full	461	84.1
	Not bad	49	8.9
	Not so good	1	.2
	In Secured	6	1.1
	Dangerous	10	1.8
	Don't know	4	.7
	Not security	2	.4
	Total	548	100.0
Total		548	100.0

From the study it appears that 93 per cent of the respondents felt the election was secure. When they were asked – "How much secure was the election, do you think"? It seems that 84.1 per cent of the respondents felt the election was fully secure while 8.9 per cent stated that it was 'not bad'.

On the other hand, only 2 or 3 per cent of the respondents reported that the election was not secure or it was dangerous.

Pattern of participation: In Bangladesh open engagement in partisan politics is a risky political act. So, only a few, who have taken politics as career, are drawn to it. This risk element involved in open participation in partisan politics shapes the character of the political actors. Only political entrepreneurs, who are willing to take the risk, generally become political activists. It is remarkable that the risk elements also provide musclemen in Bangladesh politics.

Like, Milbrath we can categorize the political activities of the voters into three, such as – gladiators activities, transitional activities and spectators activities. Gladiators subscribe to party or candidates funds, attend party meetings and join the party campaigns, worry about the winning of the preferred party or candidate. The study shows that only 5.7 per cent of the respondents were gladiators those who participated in the election more actively. However, the present study found that 12.2 per cent of the respondents were transitional, who made some efforts during campaign. Spectators did not show any interest other than voting. The study shows that nearly 70 per cent of the respondents included spectator activities.

Following Milbrath again we can categories all respondents into two – active and passive in terms of its purpose as instrumental and expressive. The prior voted for either party or candidate or issue while the latter voted for without any certain goal for which they meant they voted for winning party or candidate they supposed to win, it reveals the tactical voting like

UK as mentioned earlier. The present study shows that 80 per cent of the respondents are instrumentals essentially directed to the achievement of concrete goals while 16.6 per cent of the voters were expressive who had no aim at the realization of any concrete goal, it was concerned with some immediate satisfaction or a mere release of feelings. However, to ascertain the nature of participation voters were asked "How did they participate in the election during campaign? Would they make any effort like – participation in any lunch, dinner, tea party or open meeting, procession, demonstration, or home-to-home contact with or without candidate or their workers or spent money in favour of preferred candidate or party?"

Table-6.20

Efforts made by the voters for their preferred candidate or party

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	N.A.	86	15.7
	Yes	67	12.2
	No	316	57.7
	A few	79	14.4
	Total	548	100
Total		548	100

The study shows that only 12.2 per cent of the respondents have answered 'yes' and 14.4 per cent answered 'a few' that is total 26.6 per cent of the respondents made some effort. That indicates the active participation of the voters in the election. This portion comprised active voters. On the other hand 57.7 per cent of the respondents restrained from making any effort. This portion of the respondents comprises passive voters. The poverty, illiteracy, absence of strong party organizations tend to make people passive or silent participant in the electoral politics.

Table-6.21

Headache for voting result

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	177	32.3
	Don't bother	289	52.7
	A few	65	11.9
	Don't know	17	3.1
	Total	548	100
Total		548	100

However, it is interesting to note that 52.7 per cent of the respondents don't bother for election result, which reveals more than half of the population is even indifferent to the process. On the other hand, only 32.3 per cent of the respondents stated that they were concerned of the election results while 11.9 per cent were little concerned.

Table-6.22

Voters' attitude toward party men

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	N.A.	228	41.6
	Positive	34	6.2
	A few	54	9.9
	Negative	157	28.6
	Don't know	75	13.7
	Total	548	100
Total		548	100

Similarly it has been found that only 6.2 per cent of the respondents had positive attitude toward politician while 9.9 per cent had less positive. It reveals mass had almost no confidence in the politicians.

Voters' preferences: Attempt was made to identify the voters' preferences into four – party orientation, candidate orientation, issue orientation and other cases.

Party orientation: Political activity during the national election campaigns is centered on the major political parties. Most of the individual members in the society do not join political party formally, pay no subscription, hardly attend party meetings and have no contact with any official representative of the party but vote for their preferred party. Even if the party member is an unfaithful attendant at party functions and an infrequent contributor to its finances, he is likely to have a strong attachment for the heroes of the party, to its principles as he interprets them, and to its candidates on election day. Like the USA and UK two major parties in Bangladesh have served as rallying points for people for a long. The June 1996 poll shows that the electorate placed their support mostly in favour of Bangladesh's two major parties, namely Awami League and BNP.

New generations of Bangladesh have affiliated themselves mostly to Awami League and BNP. These two parties' background, their late and existing chief leaders or founders, their policies, have grown up and is widely shared by the population. It is remarkable that for the most part they impose no obligation for their followers. An individual is free to call himself a Awami Leaguer and to consider himself such without getting anyone's approval, paying any fee, or taking any pledge. He is equally free to desert Awami League whenever he feels and finds better opportunities in other party. While some people have much more formal connection with their party, the most part association with a political party in Bangladesh is largely a matter of what one regards himself as being, a Awami Leaguer or a BNP person.

The study shows that the voters are mostly party centric since 57.5 per cent of the respondents voted for party and 60 per cent of them voted for party chief. However, it is significant that 43.2 per cent of the respondents voted always for a particular party and 38.1 per cent of the respondents have got their voting decision even before the election schedule was declared. The above findings clearly manifest that the Bangladeshi voters are mostly party centric and party chief centric. It reveals parochial political culture just like the African States[19].

Table-6.23

Reason of voting

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	N.A.	15	2.7
	For party	315	57.5
	For candidate	121	22.1
	For special issue	6	1.1
	For other case	91	16.6
	Total	548	100
Total		548	100

The study shows that 57.5 per cent of the respondents voted for party while 22.1 per cent for candidate, 1.1 per cent for issue and 16.6 per cent for other cases. The voters who prefer party they have feelings for party chief of the their preferred parties like AL, BNP, Jammat etc. Most of the voters only could recall the names of the national leaders such as Mujib, Zia, Ershad, Khaleda, Hasina even instead of their local leaders and candidates. In the same way they could merely say the name of a few symbols like Nauka (a boat), Dhaner Shish (sheaf of paddy), Langal (plough), Dari-Pallah (balance), etc. They could say hardly the names of the local leaders of their own constituency. It is owing to their illiteracy, massive poverty and

eventually the lack of knowledge. In that case they simply depend on voting discussion and observe campaign efforts. Otherwise they consider the image of party chief for exercising their choice in favour of a particular party or its candidate. However, in some cases persons identified with one party but for some or other reasons note happy with the party is inclined to vote for the opposite party who has the possibility of winning over the election. This demonstrates that party allegiance is not sole determinant of the attitude supporting behaviour.

Image of party chief: People who are oriented with some political party have something more to interest them for the chief leader's personality instead of ideology of that party. For example, in Bangladesh the nation's first parliamentary election after independence was held in March 1973. In this election the image of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had a great impact on the electorates. The public media called Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as Bango Bandhu and this facilitated enormous influence among the voters to support Awami League's candidates. Election campaigning was also focused in building leadership image. In fact, it capitalized the emotion of the people. The leadership image of "Bango Bandhu" and emotionality of the people played decisive role in choice of the candidate in the election. As a result Awami League got overwhelming majority in 1973[20]. Similarly, in the parliamentary elections of 1979, it was found that leadership image of Ziaur Rahman had a great impact on voting decisions in favour of BNP. The leadership image of Zia as well as the opposition's loneliness was the main cause of victory of BNP in the parliamentary election of 1979[21].

Table-6.24

Reason for choosing party

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	N.A.	225	41.1
	Chief leader of party	195	35.6
	Party activist	3	.5
	Party programme	110	20.1
	Internal policy	3	.5
	Time to change	5	.9
	Not to change	4	.7
	For group or association	1	.2
	Other	2	.4
	Total	548	100
Total		548	100

The present study shows that 57.5 per cent of the respondents preferred for party and 62 per cent voted for party chief. It means voters preferences are mainly oriented toward party chief's image which manifests the parochial culture as stated by Almond and Verba in their famous book *The Civic Culture*.

Candidate orientation: It is important to note that image of the candidate may have an impact on voters' preferences and may influence electoral outcomes. Apart from their political party and issue orientation, the personal qualities of the candidates importantly influence the choice of the voters. But in Bangladesh, it appears that voters are somewhat apathetic about the candidates. The present study shows that only 10 per cent voters voted for candidates. Although candidates' personal quality play a central role in candidate's perception but the present study shows that candidates' good characteristics i.e. religiosity, honesty, efficiency etc. hardly enabled them to receive votes[22]. On the other hand, factors like party affiliation of

the candidate, which need money and other influencing power, greatly enabled them to receive vote. The table indicates that only 6.9 per cent of the respondents preferred candidates' qualification while 1.1 per cent for candidates' religiosity and 1.3 per cent for candidates' sincerity.

Table-6.25

If voted for candidate-what was the main reason?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	N. A.	489	89.2
	Candidates qualification	38	6.9
	Candidates role in different issues	1	2
	Religiosity	6	1.1
	Sincerity	7	1.3
	Time to change	2	.4
	Not to change	2	.4
	Personal relation with the candidate	2	.4
	For male leadership	1	.2
Total		548	100

Issue orientation: One traditional view about the operation of democracy is that parties should offer certain vital issues related with current events of the country. In fact electoral choice of voting depends on the issue selected for contesting election. There are some highly issue-orientated independent voters. It was also observed that in some elections voters ignore their party orientation and emphasized issue orientation such as the 'caretaker government' issue for choosing a party. Issue stands may introduce substantial changes in voting pattern of the people.

Nonetheless the present study shows that only 1.1 per cent of the respondents were issue oriented. Since the individual perception of political objects is often distorted by pre-existing partisan attitude or party orientation controls the selection of issues in order to maintain cognitive balance. Thus

in Bangladesh, party orientation is more important than issues in making a decision in the act of voting.

Ideologies: Party orientation can stimulate the voters to adopt a definite ideological preference for the choice of the candidate of preferred party in the election. Ideology is significantly related to vote and party orientation is controlled by ideological preference of the voter. But it is interesting to note that only 20.1 per cent of the respondents supported party ideology, its policies and programs that manifest those voters were somewhat indifferent to the party ideology.

Demographic differentiation and voting choice

Residence: Residence is an important factor in political participation. Those who are resident of urban areas they get more scope to participate. Their higher educational level with their greater understanding of the political issues, their lesser physical costs of participation, their increased exposure to news media, their class and ethnic cleavages and their greater penchant for forming voluntary associations are likely to make politics a more significant aspects for their lives then those living in rural areas.

To understand the dynamics of electoral politics in Bangladesh, one has to understand the socio-demographic, politico-cultural milieu in which elections take place. Bangladesh is an extremely poor country, where the vast majority of the population lives below the poverty line. However, the urban-rural cleavage in political involvement is an important dimension of the study in voting behaviour. In every country the gap between urban and

rural society is very clear. In urban areas, the effect of industrialization has provided a specific type of culture, which is very much different from the rural. Rural culture is mostly tradition based. These differences between urban and rural population have led them to respond differently to political activities[23].

The cross tabulation shows that the urban voters are more advanced to vote according to their preference of party or of candidate than the rural.

Table-6.26

Voted for preferred candidate: urban rural cross tabulation

			Rural	Urban	Total
Valid	N.A.	Count	14	6	20
		% within situation	3.2%	5.5%	36. %
	Yes	Count	339	95	434
		% within situation	77.4%	86.4%	79.2%
	No	Count	85	9	94
		% within situation	19.4%	8.2%	17.2%
Total		Count	438	110	548
		% within situation	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table shows that 86.4 per cent urban respondents' voting decisions are autonomous while rural were 77.4 per cent.

Likewise male voters are more advanced than the female. Since 86.8 per cent of the male respondents' decisions are autonomous then female who are 69 per cent.

Table-6.27

Voted for preferred candidate: urban-rural cross tabulation

			Rural	Urban	Total
Valid	N.A.	Count	1	12	20
		% within situation	100.0%	3.8%	3.6%
	Yes	Count		276	434
		% within situation		86.8%	79.2%
	No	Count		30	94
		% within situation		9.4%	17.2%
Total		Count	1	318	548
		% within situation	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Voting Participation of Different Occupational Groups

People holding higher occupations usually reveal a greater willingness for participation. Occupation provides them with some distinct socio-economic milieu resulting in class identification. The very psychology of belonging to a particular social class affects a person's political participation.

Table-6.28

Reason for voting occupation wise (cross tabulation)

			Reason for voting					Total
			N. A.	For Party	For Candidate	For special reason	For other case	
Occupation (P. Q. 5)	N.A.	Count	1					1
		% within Occupation (P. Q. 5)	100.0%					100.0%
	Cultivator	Count	3	116	18	1	23	161
		% within Occupation (P. Q. 5)	1.9%	72.0%	11.2%	.6%	14.3%	100.0%
	Housewife	Count	2	81	55	3	62	203
		% within Occupation (P. Q. 5)	1.0%	39.9%	27.1%	1.5%	30.5%	100.0%
	Student	Count	2	12	13			27
		% within Occupation (P. Q. 5)	7.4%	44.4%	48.1%			100.0%
	Land laborer	Count		6	1			7
		% within Occupation (P. Q. 5)		85.7%	14.3%			100.0%
	Rickshaw puller	Count		2	4			6
		% within Occupation (P. Q. 5)		33.3%	66.7%			100.0%
	Business	Count		31	12	1		44
		% within Occupation (P. Q. 5)		70.5%	27.3%	2.3%		100.0%
	Service	Count	2	29	10		2	43
		% within Occupation (P. Q. 5)	4.7%	67.4%	23.3%		4.7%	100.0%
	Laborer	Count	2	26	3		4	35
		% within Occupation (P. Q. 5)	5.7%	74.3%	8.6%		11.4%	100.0%
	Other	Count	3	12	5	1		21
		% within Occupation (P. Q. 5)	14.3%	57.1%	23.8%	4.8%		100.0%
Total		Count	15	315	121	6	91	548
		% within Occupation (P. Q. 5)	2.7%	57.5%	22.1%	1.1%	16.6%	100.0%

Table-6.29
Occupation wise voting choice (cross tabulation)

			Voted for						Total
			N. A.	AL	BNP	JP	Jamat	No Answer	
Occupation (P. Q. 5)	N.A.	Count	1						1
		% within Occupation (P. Q. 5)	100.0%						100.0%
	Cultivate	Count	8	43	77	2	23	8	161
		% within Occupation (P. Q. 5)	5.0%	26.7%	47.8%	1.2%	14.3%	5.0%	100.0%
	Housewife	Count	3	56	113		29	2	203
		% within Occupation (P. Q. 5)	1.5%	27.6%	55.7%		14.3%	1.0%	100.0%
	Student	Count	3	7	13		4		27
		% within Occupation (P. Q. 5)	11.1%	25.9%	48.1%		14.8%		100.0%
	Land labour	Count		2	5				7
		% within Occupation (P. Q. 5)		28.6%	71.4%				100.0%
	Rickshaw puller	Count		1	3			2	6
		% within Occupation (P. Q. 5)		16.7%	50.0%			33.3%	100.0%
	Business	Count		14	20	2	5	3	44
		% within Occupation (P. Q. 5)		31.8%	45.5%	4.5%	11.4%	6.8%	100.0%
	Service	Count	2	24	13		4		43
		% within Occupation (P. Q. 5)	4.7%	55.8%	30.2%		9.3%		100.0%
	Labour	Count	2	12	20			1	35
		% within Occupation (P. Q. 5)	5.7%	34.3%	57.1%			2.9%	100.0%
	Other	Count	3	7	7		2	2	21
		% within Occupation (P. Q. 5)	14.3%	33.3%	33.3%		9.5%	9.5%	100.0%
Total		Count	22	166	271	4	67	18	548
		% within Occupation (P. Q. 5)	4.0%	30.3%	49.5%	.7%	12.2%	3.3%	100.0%

The study shows that among different occupational groups land laborers are more advanced to prefer party in exercising voting choice while the rickshaw pullers and the students prefer candidates and the house wives mostly vote for other reasons for what they meant that they are influenced by their husbands as mentioned earlier. However, the laborers mostly vote always in the same party.

Further, in the elections, service holders' support crystallizes into AL, who won the election. It is remarkable that a large number of civil servants participated in the movement organized by the opposition before elections[24]. Thus it is appeared that the movement has influenced the elections. It is also seen that the people like urban, educated, high income groups who participate more in the movement like activities, they have been voted much more for AL in the election, who led the movement. It is notable that AL also declared a new pay scale for the employees in their election manifesto[25]. So, it is manifested that movement held before election influenced the election.

However, the cultivators, the laborers, the housewives, who are mostly indifferent to movement had supported BNP, the defeated party, while the advanced classes, of people supported AL as they visualized the bright prospect of AL in winning over the election. It is called tactical voting, which means votes for winning party.

Table-6.30

Willingness of voting discussion of the voter (occupation wise cross tabulation)

			Willingness of voting discussion of the voter					Total
			N. A.	Yes	No	Somewhat	Don't Know	
Occupation (P. Q. 5)	N.A.	Count	1					1
		% within Occupation (P. Q. 5)	100.0%					100.0%
	Cultivator	Count	12	71	27	51		161
		% within Occupation (P. Q. 5)	7.5%	44.1%	16.8%	31.7%		100.0%
	Housewife	Count	72	49	52	30		203
		% within Occupation (P. Q. 5)	35.5%	24.1%	25.6%	14.8%		100.0%
	Student	Count	2	14	1	10		27
		% within Occupation (P. Q. 5)	7.4%	51.9%	3.7%	37.0%		100.0%
	Land laborer	Count		4	2		1	7
		% within Occupation (P. Q. 5)		57.1%	28.6%		14.3%	100.0%
	Rickshaw puller	Count		5	1			6
		% within Occupation (P. Q. 5)		83.3%	16.7%			100.0%
	Business	Count		15	12	17		44
		% within Occupation (P. Q. 5)		34.1%	27.3%	38.6%		100.0%
	Service	Count	6	15	10	12		43
		% within Occupation (P. Q. 5)	14.0%	34.9%	23.3%	27.9%		100.0%
	Laborer	Count	6	7	13	9		35
		% within Occupation (P. Q. 5)	17.1%	20.0%	37.1%	25.7%		100.0%
	Other	Count	5	8	2	6		21
		% within Occupation (P. Q. 5)	23.8%	38.1%	9.5%	28.6%		100.0%
Total		Count	104	188	120	135	1	548
		% within Occupation (P. Q. 5)	19.0%	34.3%	21.9%	24.6%	.2%	100.0%

However, the students and the rickshaw pullers were aware of voting conversation. They were more willing and interested to know it. It was observed that these two occupational groups felt free to discuss about the political affairs among the occupational groups living in the society. On the other hand, it is also observed that the housewives, the laborers have undertaken the voting discussion as risky one. The later two occupational groups possess less capacity to influence others rather other groups influenced them. However, the housewives had some family restrictions while the laborers had some socio-economic restrictions due to their incapacity in this respect.

Voters' attitude toward election commission: In Bangladesh the Election Commission (EC) has to depend mostly on the government. In fact it does not have power to recruit and control its own staff. Its staff is under the administrative control of the Establishment Division of the Prime Minister's Secretariat. For budget it has to depend on the Ministry of Finance. Such dependence on the government for Finance and for personnel, tends to erode the constitutional independence which is conferred on the Election Commission. After receiving the voting results it simply delivers them to the Government press for publication in the Gazette without any conscientious evaluation of those results in the face of specific complaints, backed by substantial evidence, of large-scale irregularities. As a result the acceptability of the Election Commission has reduced. However, elections of Bangladesh held under party government are always a debated matter. The common allegation against party government often tries to influence the electoral process as well as electorate by using state machinery.

To understand the voters' attitude toward EC questions were asked to them, "Whether you are confident of EC or not"?

Table-6.31

Voters' attitude toward election commission

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	N.A.	210	38.3
	Positive	86	15.7
	Negative	45	8.2
	Medium	68	12.4
	Don't know	139	25.4
	Total	548	100
Total		548	100

The study shows that 15.7 per cent of the respondents are confident while 12.4 per cent are not confident on the whole. On the other hand, 8.2 per cent are not confident, 25.4 per cent could not understand the phenomenon and the remaining 38.3 per cent were restrained from giving answer.

Voters' attitude toward politicians: The candidates or their workers try to convince the voters in many ways during campaign. Candidates himself or his workers randomly communicates face to face with the voters and approach for votes and blessings. Sometimes candidates or party workers promise future development of the locality where they reside. But after election candidates or their workers hardly go to their constituency. The voters of Bangladesh also experienced the shrewdness and futile talk of the politicians. Hence, the voters have begun to lose confidence in promises made by the politicians. In this connection, whenever the voters were asked, "How do you think about promises of the candidates or their campaigning workers?"

Table-6.32

Voters' attitude toward politicians

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	N.A.	228	41.6
	Positive	34	6.2
	A few positive	54	9.9
	Negative	157	28.6
	Don't understand	75	13.7
	Total	548	100
Total		548	100

The study shows that only 6.2 per cent of the respondents are confident, while 9.9 per cent are not. On the other hand, 28.6 per cent stated that they had no confidence and 13.7 per cent was undecided.

Gap between leaders and masses: Although the voters cast their votes, they were almost apathetic about its future. And this observation has been supported by the study. In this connection voters were asked, "Whether you had any concern about election results"?

Table-6.33

Voters' headache for voting result

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	177	32.3
	Don't bother	289	52.7
	A few	65	11.9
	Don't know	17	3.1
	Total	548	100
Total		548	100

The result shows that 52.7 per cent of the respondents had no concern about election results.

Demographic differentiation of support: The study shows that BNP is popular among general masses such as rural illiterate, female and low-income people while AL is popular among middle class such as urban, educated, higher income people. On the other hand, the popularity of Jammat is mostly confined to the village level aged people while JP is perhaps a regional party. Data collected through field study confirmed the above-mentioned statements. The study shows that BNP received 49 per cent of the votes cast in which more than 80 per cent from the rural voters and mostly from illiterate, female and low-income people while AL received 30 per cent of the casting votes mainly from urban-educated and higher income people. On the other hand, Jammat received 12 per cent of the votes mainly from rural aged people while the figure of JP is insignificant. The election results of the study area are mostly similar to that of constituency result[26]. It is remarkable that BNP received 45 per cent of the votes while AL had 30 per cent at the constituency level.

Fairness of the election: In Bangladesh the slogan of free and fair election can play a vital part in this nascent democratic polity. In the context of political turmoil a non-party 'caretaker government' was formed through the Thirteen Amendment of the constitution[27] to hold the election free and fair, which creates a semblance of neutrality, restore the image of the Election Commission and to reestablish a reasonable control over the law and order situation. The task of non-party caretaker government was challenging in the context of present volatile political environment. The major problem areas were to control over the use of violence of the muscle power, ensuring administrative neutrality, persuading the political parties to behave rationally and to abide by the election's Code of Conduct.

However, the June 1996 election was free from excessive influence at least at the voters' level[28].

Table-6.34

Voters' attitude about the fairness of the election

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	N.A.	31	5.7
	Yes	486	88.7
	No	29	5.3
	Don't know	2	.4
	Total	548	100
Total		548	100

The table clearly shows that the election was free since 88.7 per cent of the respondents reported that the election was quite free and fair while only 5.3 per cent differed. Mannan and Alam support the above findings[29]. The FEMA report also stated that voters voted freely and the atmosphere outside the polling stations were remarkably peaceful. The Election Day wore a festival look resulting large turnout of the voters especially of the female voters.[30] In the same way the study also (table 13) shows that 93 per cent of the respondents were satisfied with the security arrangement while only 7 per cent or less than that[31] held negative view.

Nonetheless, the election was somewhat influenced by money and coercion. The study shows that only 8.6 per cent of the respondents complained that either money or threat was used to be influence the voters. The FEMA report also stated that although the election was generally peaceful, orderly, and transparent free and fair yet there were some exceptions, which was not part of any grand design.

Several groups of international observers watched the election and expressed their satisfaction about the fairness of elections held on 12 June 1996. The US based National Democratic Institute (NDI), the European

Union (EU), Commonwealth Team; International Center for Ethnic Studies (ICES) and Japanese election observer held that the parliamentary polls held on 12 June were generally free, fair and peaceful. Although they observed some intimidation and improprieties during the election but that did not take into account, as it did not affect the election results.

Table-6.35

How many times voted for a party

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	No Participation	72	13.1
	Always voted	237	43.2
	Sometimes	94	17.2
	First time	145	26.5
	Total	548	100.0
Total		548	100.0

The present study reveals that 43.2 per cent of the people supported always the same party for which they voted always and some 38.1 per cent had made up their minds to vote their preferred party before the schedule of election was declared. This is clear identification of partisan tendency.

Table-6.36

Time of voting decision

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	N.A.	69	12.6
	Before schedule	209	38.1
	After schedule	57	10.4
	During campaign	197	35.9
	Polling center	15	2.7
	Don't know	1	.2
	Total	548	100
Total		548	100

Notes and References

[1] Conley H. Dellon, Carl Leiden and Paul D. Stewart, *Introduction of Political Science* (New Jersey : D. Van Nostrand Company Inc. Princeton, 1958), pp. 255-256.

[2] Amal Kumer Mukhopadhay, *Political Sociology* (Calcutta: Anando Press & Publication Pvt. Ltd., 1977), pp. 124-25.

[3] Note: High (SES) group means people belong to high socio-economic group.

[4] International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences.

[5] Robert E. Lane, *op.cit.,* p. 204.

[6] Amal Kumer, *op.cit.,* p. 129.

[7] Bangladesh Election Commission Report 1996.

[8] For details see Rounaq Jahan, *Bangladesh Politics: Problems and Issues* (Dhaka: The UPL,1980), pp. 170-172.

[9] The voting turn out was 90 per cent in the study area.

[10] *The Daily Star,* 10 May 1996.

[11] Harbert Mc Closky, "Political Participation", in Harbert Mc Closky (ed.), *International Encyclopedia of Social Science* (New York : Collier-Macmillan, 1968), S.V. Vol. 12, p. 253.

[12] Al Masud Hasanuzzaman, *Role of Opposition in Bangladesh Politics* (Dhaka: The University Press Limited, 1998), p. 211.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Phillips Cutright and Peter H. Rossi, "Gran Roots Politician and the Vote," *American Sociologyca Review,* 23(1958), pp. 171-179.

[15] *International Encyclopedia of Social Science,* pp. 260-261.

[16] BNP mainly alleged AL as pro-Indian. For details see the Newspaper of Bangladesh in May and June 1996.

[17] *The Daily Janokantho,* 8 June 1996.

[18] A.J. Minhaj Uddin Ahmed, *Parliamentary Election 1996 : Voting Behaviour of Rural Electorate in Bangladesh,* RDA, Bogra : Bimurto Prokashani & Procharani, 1996), pp. 45-46.

[19] Almond and Verba, *The Civic Culture* (Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1972), pp. 17-18.

[20] Ziauddin Sayed Mohammad, "Study of some Psychological Dimension of Voting Behavior with Special Reference to Bangladesh", unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, submitted to University of Rajshahi, Rajshahi, Bangladesh, 1989, pp. 82-85.

[21] Ibid.

[22] In an interview, one of the BNP leaders, Mr. Salauddin, MP - Coxes Bazar – 1, stated that party is more important than the candidate in the election.

[23] Rounaq Jahan, *Bangladesh Politics : Problems and Issues* (Dhaka : The UPL, 1980), pp. 161-171.

[24] Some of the top-level civil bureaucrats were on the stage for meetings of opposition parties. The stage was defined as "Janater Manch" (peoples' podium) created by opposition parties.

[25] See the AL Manifesto of June parliamentary elections.

[26] See the Constituency wise report of Bangladesh Election Commission on June 1996 Parliamentary Elections.

[27] The Constitution (Thirteen Amendment) Act, 1996.

[28] Voters were reported that the election was free, fair and secure but the secondary sources stated that the election was influenced by bureaucratic manipulation, use of black money especially for getting nomination from party etc.

[29] Md. Abdul Mannan and Md. Shamsul Alam, "The June 1996 Parliamentary Election : A Quest for Stability and Democracy" in *Asian Studies*, No. 16, June 1997, pp. 21-22.

[30] Report of the Fair Election Monitoring Alliance (FEMA), an NGO Working in Bangladesh.

[31] Note : Some .7 per cent could not understand the phenomenon.

Chapter-7
Summary and Conclusion

7.1 Summary

Modern democracy is viewed comprehensively in terms of three general approaches: sources of authority of government, purposes served by the government, and procedure for constituting government. The central procedure of democracy is the selection of leaders through competitive elections by the people they govern. In fact, free and fair election is the inescapable sine qua non of democracy. It is the first condition of democracy. The second condition implicit in the concept of democracy relates to limitations of power-the elected bodies who do not exercise total power. They share power with other groups in the society and are obliged to remain within the bounds of the constitution i.e., the rules of the game. The third condition concerns the fairness and responsibilities of political parties. In fact, stability and institutionalization of democratic system depends on the attitude and behavior of political parties and their perception of peaceful transfer of power or succession of government. However, the electoral competition and widespread voting participation are also important conditions without which the government suffers crisis of legitimacy and effectiveness.

As a nation Bangladesh was born in 1971 with high hopes. The historical circumstances that led to the creation of this state drew its

inspirations from democratic ideals, concept of exploitation-free society, self-reliant economy and society, nationalism based on language and culture.

But in about two years' time, the founders themselves arbitrarily transformed the parliamentary democracy into a one-party presidential authoritarianism in January 1975. The political actors have violated - the rules of the game. Then the constitution has been arbitrarily changed and suspended over and again. The state power has been seized by the military regime through unconstitutional means, thus throwing the country into a state of political disorder and uncertainty.

The country's first election was held in March 1973. The ruling party's overwhelming victory was criticized on many grounds such as using governmental privileges, muzzling political opposition, monopolizing media coverage, spending money lavishly in electioneering beyond the limit fixed by the Election Commission and intimidation the opposition. The democratic method of elections, thus had a bad start with unfair means like rigging, proxy votes through impersonization, snatching of ballot papers, boxes filled with fake votes, political intimidation and use of government facilities.

The second parliamentary election was held in 1979 under General Zia's martial law, which was also questionable. Some foreign observer also characterized the elections as one of the 'questionable integrity' with administrative machinery and media - particularly Radio and TV being under the control of ruling party. Likewise the second presidential election,

held in 1981 had some instances of violence and questionable polling practices.

The third parliamentary elections held in May 1986 under General Ershad's martial law was not fully participatory while 1986 elections had some credibility, the mid-term 1988 parliamentary elections was unfair to the extent of farce and mockery and was not participated by any major opposition party.

The fifth parliamentary election was held in 1991 under the caretaker government was termed as the fairest elections. But soon the country's politics took a new turn following the continuing boycott of the opposition members in the parliament, which was farther intensified by en-masse resignation of the opposition in support of contrived caretaker government for the next election to be free and fair. However, the most controversial sixth parliamentary election was held in February 1996 in the face of opposition movement and stiff resistance created disharmony and unmitigated conflicts in the political arena.

The seventh parliamentary elections were held in June 1996 following the dissolution of sixth parliament, which held only one session. The present study aims at exploring the various aspects of peoples' participation in Bangladesh politics with special emphasis on June 1996 parliamentary elections.

In Bangladesh, violent politics has become pervasive, and in many contexts the dominant mode of political interaction. In fact, the magnitude and pervasiveness of muscle power by armed people make elections a

meaningless exercise. The violent politics is destabilizing the government and often leads to its paralysis. The major political parties act, as they must win the election at any cost. While one cannot win, it denies other from victory even at the peril of the system. The non-party caretaker government is, therefore, put to a difficult situation to curb violence and armed politics, and is blamed for partisan action.

The objective of the study is to understand the nature and scope of people's participation in Bangladesh politics. It attempts to examine the variables and influencing factors related to peoples' participation particularly in the June 1996 parliamentary elections and how voting behavior is influenced by money and coercion. The study also seeks to observe the peoples' attitude toward the politicians, toward the Election Commission and toward the system. The study ultimately aims at suggesting the right form of peoples' participation in politics as well as in the election that can eradicate country's political turmoil and make positive contributions to the country's political development, which is an urgent need for Bangladesh.

The study used sample survey method followed by personal interviews and participant observation for collecting data from the primary sources. However, the study also used secondary materials related to this study such as government documents, books, journals etc.

Bangladesh is a sovereign and independent but this independence has not been achieved so easily. The people of this country had to struggle hard

for a long period to achieve independence. And through this struggle people had gained a series of experiences of protest movements.

Bangladesh is a third world nation in the classical sense. The legacy of British colonialism and internal colonialization by Pakistan, its external economic dependency, its helpless 'peripheriality', geo-political situation and external penetration, meager resources, population explosion, unsuccessful development strategies all contribute to making its status as third world nation.

After liberation the country launched it's journey with a parliamentary democracy provided in the original constitution of 1972. The constitution is the supreme law of the Republic. The entire legislative, executive and judicial activities of the state are guided and regulated by the Constitution. Article 7 (1) of the constitution states that all powers of the Republic belong to the people, and their exercise on behalf of the people shall be effected only under, and by the authority of this constitution. Similar to the US Constitution Bangladesh Constitution also emphasized on people's sovereignty. The preamble declares that to realize "fundamental human rights and freedom" is the prime object of the state. Article 11 emphasizes on effective participation by the people. It holds that the Republic shall be a democracy in which fundamental human rights and freedom and respect for the dignity and worth of the human person shall be guaranteed and in which effective participation by the people through their elective representatives in administration at all levels be ensured.

Meanwhile, Bangladesh Constitution has completed its 13th amendment. Although the original constitution provided for parliamentary democracy the first government of Bangladesh turned into a one-party authoritarian rule in 1975, through which the Supreme Court of Bangladesh was denied the jurisdiction to enforce fundamental rights. The law of fundamental rights, therefore, had very little scope to flourish in Bangladesh. They imposed emergency time and again. Again the parliamentary democracy revived since 1991 through the twelfth amendment of the Constitution. However, the coup d états were in power from 1975 to 1990. They also amended the Constitution in order to legitimize their rule. It is remarkable that from 1991 governmental power has been transferring through constitutional means but not in a peaceful manner.

After liberation Bangladesh Awami League (AL) headed by Sheikh Mujib formed the first government in the independent state. But the existing political forces including some faction of ruling AL were unanimous in support of the government policies. Beside the deteriorating economic situation in the successive years gave opportunity to the opposition political forces. There arose a crisis situation, which threatened the political stability of the country. The internal as well as external threat propelled the government to introduce one-party presidential authoritarianism in January 1975. But the regime was overthrown by a military coup in August 1975.

With the fall of Sheikh Mujib the military backed government headed by Khondoker Mustaq Ahmed, a close associate of Mujib, came to power who was also overthrown by another coup in November 1975. And through open revolt of the 'Sepoys' General Zia was freed from house arrest and

helped him to emerge as a strongman. Zia again revived multi-party democratic system. However, Zia formed political party named BNP and held elections in order to legitimize his regime. But peace did not prevail in cantonment. Zia was also assasinated in a coup on 30 May 1981.

Justice Satter, vice-President of Zia, assumed presidency, held a presidential election, and was elected president. But soon after taking power the army staged another coup and seized power on 24 March 1982 headed by General Ershad whom Zia had appointed as Army Chief. Thus, began the second spell of military rule.

Ershad also amended the constitution, formed political party, known as Jatiyo Party (JP) and held elections to legitimize his regime. But his regime faced major challenges from opposition political parties, especially from the student organization because of his wide scale corruption, massive vote rigging and institutionalization of terrorism. Opposition political parties attempted to coerce the government to submit power to the caretaker government in order to conduct free and fair elections in future. At last Ershad agreed to resign and handed over power to an interim caretaker government headed by Chief Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed on December 1990. Thus Ershad regime was overthrown by the mass movement.

The caretaker government performed its job remarkably well. It held a free and fair election of the fifth parliament through which BNP came to power in 1991 headed by Begum Khaleda Zia, wife of late President Ziaur Rahman. The BNP government revived parliamentary system again in 1991, which was dropped in 1975. But Khaleda regime was also dislodged through

mass movement in 1996 for alleged rigging in the by-election and on the demand of a caretaker government in 1996. The seventh parliamentary elections were held under the second caretaker government through which AL came to power in Bangladesh after twenty-one year, headed by Sheikh Hasina, daughter of Sheikh Mujib.

Bangladesh has a unicameral legislature. The constitution of Bangladesh has vested all legislative power of the Republic to the parliament. Theoretically, the constitution provides all power to the parliament, but in reality, introduction of one-party presidential authoritarianism, military interlude, dictatorial behavior of the regimes all prevent the country's journey to institutionalization of democracy through parliamentary system for which the country pledged for since inception.

However, Bangladesh has a Supreme Court comprising two divisions- Appellate Division and High Court Division. In the original constitution of 1972 the independence of judiciary was clearly emphasized. But through the Fourth Amendment of the constitution the judiciary was made a victim of authoritarianism. The tenure, power, function of the Supreme Court was drastically changed in order to bring it in tune with the authoritarian regime. By this amendment a judge might be removed from his office by the order of the president.

After the end of martial law in 1979 the judicial system was revived again as it was in the original constitution. Now the judiciary of Bangladesh is somewhat free but not independent since the executive branch controls its finance and a large part of the administration. Besides the government is

trying to ensure the accountability of judiciary, which is now, becomes a bargaining issue in Bangladesh.

Political party is the basic structure through which democracy could work. There are so many political parties working in Bangladesh. But a few have representatives in the parliament such as Bangladesh Awami League (AL), Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP), Jatiyo Party (JP), Jammat-I-Islam Bangladesh (Jammat), Jatiyo Samajtantric Dal (JSD) and Khilafat Andolone. However, AL is one of the largest parties in Bangladesh. It was born in 1949. A large number of great leaders of the nation such as Mawlana Bhashani, Hussain Shahid Suhrawardy, Sher-e-Bangla A. K. Fazlul Huq and so on endowed the party. The party organized movement against the internal colonialization of Pakistani ruler, which eventually gave birth to Bangladesh as an independent nation. The party fell into trouble by factionalism following the tragic death of Sheikh Mujib which however, was minimized since when Sheikh Hasina, daughter of Sheikh Mujib, shouldered the leadership after coming back from India in 1981. Now the party is in power under the leadership of Sheikh Hasina.

Bangladesh Nationalist Party BNP, on the other hand, was formed with the support of military regime given by General Ziaur Rahman, in 1978, which also received a unanimous support in the parliamentary elections of 1979 under the leadership of General Ziaur Rahman, who had been elected as president in the presidential election in 1978. Zia revived multi-party democratic system that was dropped by the regime of Sheikh Mujib in January 1975. The party also faced a crisis for a while following the tragic death of Ziaur Rahman. Later on Begum Khaleda Zia, wife of late

President Ziur Rahman, took the leadership of the party in her own hand and challenged the successive military regime of General Ershad and earned confidence of the people for her uncompromising attitude against the military dictator. Eventually the party came to power through the parliamentary elections in 1991 following the fall of General Ershad. But it is a set back for BNP that it failed to restrain its support base as it had to face mass movement and finally was compelled to hand over power to the care taker government instituted through the constitutional amendment. Now BNP is playing role of the opposition in the parliament.

Likewise Jatiyo Party (JP) was formed in January 1986 under the leadership of General Ershad who seized power throwing the elected government of BNP in 1982. But General Ershad hardly depends on his party. He mainly depended on cantonment. So when cantonment stopped support to his regime he was swept away from power by the mass movement. With loss of power the party also began to split. Now JP is also in opposition in the parliament.

Jammat-I-Islam Bangladesh (Jammat) is an old party born in 1941. It is a religious party. During the war of independence of Bangladesh Jammat sided with Pakistani occupational forces and opposed the creation of Bangladesh. Eventually, their activities were banned after liberation of Bangladesh. However, the party was revived again under the political Act, 1976. And they are also sitting in opposition bench in the parliament.

On the other hand Bangladesh Khilaphat Mazlish (BKM) was born in 1989 to establish an Islamic society. Though the party has a seat in the

parliament but it appears that it has been won by the personal image of the candidates of his own. The party has no visible activity rather it has made alliance with BNP to oppose the government.

From the above discussion it is apparent that political parties in Bangladesh are mostly leader centric that is possibly the reason why party faces factionalism after the death of a leader. Again it becomes organized when party leader comes hereditarily, as a party chief, instead through democratic process. Thus institutionalization of party remains an illusion.

However, it is observed that in Bangladesh peaceful transformation of power could not take place. Regimes change either by military intervention or by mass movement. However, the main feature of Bangladesh politics is the existence of charismatic leadership evolved through movement against colonial rule, authoritarianism, quasi-democracy and military dictatorship. Due to suppression and oppression by the authoritarian regimes the people of Bangladesh is oriented with a culture of protest movement, which led by a few parties or leaders who later become the "hero of the game". Thus the charismatic leadership seems to grow in absence of democratic institutions where people never could participate freely. The charismatic leaders influence individuals and also party's attitude and behavior.

Political ideology, however, is a kind of belief and behavior that is related to decision-making but it is hardly seen into the political parties as well as among the leaders of Bangladesh. The state was launched with socialistic ideology and secularism. But with the change of the regime, after

a few years of independence, political ideology of the state also changed. Leaders also often quit party and do not bother for ideology.

The socio-economic structure that determines political culture is very weak in Bangladesh. The study shows that almost all the people made their choice on the basis of their liking for the leader of political party. Knowledge about the ideology, programs of the parties was minimum. The study also shows that paternalistic and charismatic leadership is highly preferred by the people of Bangladesh rather than ideology and candidates' capability, skill and in other words, achieved criteria, which hinder institution building of politics in Bangladesh.

However, the legacy of colonial rule and quasi-democracy produced demonstrative and agitate political culture. Mass media, especially the electronic media, has been always under the control of the government of Bangladesh. The government frequently uses the repressive measure to limit the activities of the opposition parties' leaders and workers are harassed and imprisoned. This is followed by use of force and threat in which politics had always been less open, less competitive and more violent which facilitate the presence of musclemen, and as a consequence limits partisan identuity in politics except very few who are committed to politics as a career. The political history of Bangladesh witnesses that power never changes peacefully. Regimes change either by military intervention or through mass movement, which produces 'suspicion' and 'jealousy' and so on in political culture in Bangladesh. However, major political parties such as AL, BNP, JP, etc. do not trust and tolerate each other. It seems that politics of

Bangladesh is characterized by a proclivity to power game. Thus politics of Bangladesh is full of violence and lack of consensus.

If we draw our attention to the legislature of Bangladesh we can see that the legislature, as a people's elected body holds the highest status. It has power to control over the government fund and to make general policy. But the functions of legislature depend mostly on the system of government that is on the authoritative allocation of power by the constitution.

During the parliamentary system the executive is responsible to the parliament but in the presidential system both the branches of the government held equal power. The parliament of Bangladesh performs mainly two types of functions: (a) decision making and (b) legitimization. Decisional functions includes law making while the legitimatize functions includes establishment of the right to rule by the government or contribute for strengthening it (legitimacy). The main feature of the parliament as the representative body gives a democratic shape and political legitimacy of the government. The members of the parliament, specially the opposition members, as elected representatives, is not getting chance to participate in the law making functions. Here the parliament is not able to control over the executive and above all the members of the parliament cannot influence the government policy or actions. The parliament often works as a "rubber stamp" and the opposition fails to influence or modify government decisions or policies, they lose their trust on parliament and organize violent movement outside the parliament to establish their demands, which results in instability of the total political system. And to combat the situation, government takes some suppressive measures to check those actions. In that

case the ruling party and oppositions involve in violent competition outside the parliament without using the parliament as a forum of resolving the issues. It is also noticed that the government promulgates ordinances bypassing the parliament. The government usually does not accept opposition members' proposal. Bills pass almost without any discussion and modification. A large part of the budget is also passed without adequate discussion. The parliament cannot influence the budget from any side; it is passed while introduced in the parliament.

The elections of Bangladesh witnesses that it has been widely used by rulers to establish or reinforce their legitimacy, their "title to rule". The electioneering in Bangladesh always stimulates the turmoil of politics rather than establishes the process. Voters in Bangladesh significantly vote for the party, which they would most like to see win the election often, determined before elections through ongoing movement. This practice is known as tactical voting.

The election scene of Bangladesh sometimes appears as horror of cruelty. There are complaints against the role of the ruling party that it had violated all their commitments and norms of fair election and used administrative and party strength.

To legitimize and civilianize their regimes both Zia and Ershad held referendum, Presidential and parliamentary elections. But all these elections seriously suffered from participation crisis. Particularly all the opposition parties accused the government of rigging election. The intervention of General Ershad tarnished the image of participatory democracy at least for nine years. However, the third and fourth parliamentary elections were not

fully participatory. The fourth parliamentary election was held in the midst of mass movement organised by the opposition political parties against Ershad's military regime. While 1986 elections have some credibility, the 1988 parliamentary elections were unfair to the extent of 'farce and mockery' and were not participated by any major opposition party.

The fifth parliamentary election was held in February 1991 following the fall of Ershad by the end of 1990 through a student-mass overwhelming upheaval. The election is supposed to be a distinctive one for a special reason was that it was the first time in Bangladesh held an election conducted by a neutral caretaker government. The election was unique and unprecedented. There was no party in power or in opposition in the election rather the competition indeed, remain in between major two parties out of power. To ensure the election free and fair the transient president reformed the Election Commission was previously constituted by Ershad and not trusted by the opposition political parties and alliances. The government issued "Election Officer's Ordinance (Special Act) 1990" provided drastic action against any negligence or misconduct of personnel employed to the elections. Even then, the Election Commission declared a sixteen-point conduct rules according to the suggestions made by the political parties for every competitor to exercise caution on irresponsible speech and showing tolerance, and to abstain from unbecoming and provoking statement.

The sixth parliamentary election, which was a constitutional compulsion, was held in February 1996 in the face of movement and protests by the oppositions. None of the oppositions participated in that election and

it was truly a one party that is the ruling BNP's elections and it was a one party election.

However, the seventh parliamentary elections were held in June 1996 under the non-party caretaker government provided through thirteenth amendment of the constitution. When result was published it appeared that none of the parties got absolute majority while AL emerged as a single majority party having 146 seats out of the 300 parliamentary seats. On the other hand BNP had 116 seats, JP 32 and Jammat 3 Islami Oikaoo Jote 1,JSD (Rob) 1, and Independent 1. BNP in a post election press conference alleged "massive rigging" in the polls and demanded re-polling in 111 constituencies pending election result in the gazette. BNP alleged that the administration in some districts worked in a partisan manner, the caretaker government even failed to provide adequate security to the BNP workers and agents; some of the partisan NGOs were allowed to observe the poll who disrupted the polling process in some constituencies; there were fake voters in the electoral roll and the AL candidate distributed money to the voters. However, BNP, JP, and Jammat jointly alleged that the AL candidates captured polling stations in Choddogram Thana, Comilla-12.

To deal with these complaints the EC set up 60 election tribunals to settle election petitions. However, the election was a milestone on a long journey toward strengthening and institutionalizing the democracy in Bangladesh. Through the election the people of Bangladesh once again demonstrated their firm commitment to the democratic process.

However, the data collected from the field study aims at exploring the nature and scope of peoples' participation in the June 1996 election in the context of influencing factors and demographic differentiations, which reflect that a few people have sufficient information or sufficient understanding of the political system and thus make them rational in their political behavior.

The study shows that the voters mainly consider party or party chief's image rather than candidate or issue and ideology. More than 55% of the respondents are remaining outside the media connection, which is inconsistent with democracy. Awareness of the people is one of the preconditions of democracy, which is largely constituted through information media. Media connection is poor due to illiteracy and poverty, but is essential for good exercise of democracy and thus create obstacle for institutionalization of democracy in Bangladesh. Since 55 per cent of the respondents are illiterate and above 60 per cent are living below poverty line. The study finds that voters are mostly motivated through voting discussion of neighbors or though campaign efforts.

However, Bangladesh election's results mostly depend on great issues, which turn into movement before election. There is a close relation between political movement and elections in Bangladesh. Movement often determines the election's result. In Bangladesh elections takes place in the context of strong political movements. Movement politicizes people and leads to higher participation. In Bangladesh 75 percent of the voters cast votes in June 1996 parliamentary elections, which was even highest of all previous election turn out records in Bangladesh. The study would come to a

conclusion that the legacy of political movement which also present before the seventh parliamentary elections had also a great impact on it's ends since the present study found that 38.1 per cent of the respondents took decision even before the schedule of election was declared, while 57.7 per cent voted for party and the voting turnout was highest in the rank then Bangladesh inherited a political tradition where mass movements and elections were closely related. Movement and election looked upon as complementary, each strengthens the other. Elections provided the silent majority with an opportunity to register their voice on the hotly debated issues and to participate in the critical political decision of the country.

In Bangladesh the rich and the poor, the literate and the illiterate, the urban and the rural, the informed and the uninformed, all turn into the polls in high rates. The poor, the illiterates the rural and uninformed are brought in the arena of participation through direct movements of the last six decades, which more than anything else, politicized the masses of Bangladesh that resulted in their high participation in the electoral politics.

The major political parties were also seen to be nominating a significant number of businessmen and retired bureaucrats. The involvement of the businessman, in the countries politics and the induction of plenty of retired army and civil bureaucrats in the major political parties have brought an unwelcome change in electoral politics indicating that professional politicians at various ranks are gradually losing ground. Since participation survives by virtue of its capacity to provide rewards for those who engage in it. The businessmen and retired bureaucrats overwhelmingly tend to enter politics in Bangladesh. The present politics of Bangladesh is providing them

power, money, and recognition, etc. in a word, everything they want. The businessmen comprise the single majority groups among the MPs in the seventh parliament since 152 out of 300 are businessman.

Political parties tend to recruit support base by co-opting patrons in various professionals such as civil and military bureaucrats, businessmen, and industrialists and so on those who have capacity to win the election anyhow and who can subscribe more to the party. In building organizational support base among the bureaucrats and moneyed men, parties de-emphasis ideology and issues. They try to win over the election at any cost. These imply exacerbation of factional conflict between intra-party and inter party. Since the newly recruited leaders are obliged to the chief of party instead of ideology and parties compete with each other to increase their support of influential persons and which results in the organizational instability of the parties. The parties are also forever threatened with factional splits and desertions. Indeed all the major political parties of Bangladesh are created out of intra-party conflicts. The non-political person who comes to politics by dint of fabulous wealth is also trying to use black money and muscle power in politics. They hire the arms cadre who often go to the voter's house before election and threat them not to go to polling centers. Sometimes they occupy polling center, snatch ballot papers and fill the ballot boxes with fake votes. Thus money and physical force influence the voting behaviour in Bangladesh.

However, the June 1996 election was free from excessive influence at least at the voters' level. The FEMA report also stated that voters voted freely and the atmosphere outside the polling stations was remarkably

peaceful. The Election Day wore a festival look resulted in large turnout of the voters especially the female voters. Nonetheless, the election was somewhat influenced by money and muscle power.

Although the study shows that the election was free and fair but a good number of them hold that winning was impossible without money. Money is unavoidable for winning the election. The male members of the family influence the female voters. The polling officers' influence inside the polling center was insignificant. However, the election was fair since 93% of the respondents thought that the election was secure. Election's credibility mostly depends on security. The success of a free and fair election rests mainly on the strict enforcement of law and order so that voter can come to the polling stations and exercise their franchise freely. But in Bangladesh voter's security is treated as number one problem. In Bangladesh open engagement in partisan politics is a risky affair, which implies that only those few, who are committed to politics as a career, are drawn to it. The risk elements also provide musclemen in Bangladesh politics.

The present study shows that 16.6 per cent of the voters were expressive who had no aim at the realization of any concrete goal. The study also shows that 12.2 per cent of the respondents made some efforts while another 14.4 per cent, which manifests that a few people participated in the election actively since nearly three-fourths of the voters are passive. The poverty, the illiteracy and the absence of strong party organization attribute to peoples' passive participation in the electoral politics.

The June 1996 polls show that the electorate placed their support mostly in favour of Bangladesh's two major parties, namely Awami League and BNP. Present generations of Bangladesh have affiliated themselves mostly to Awami League and BNP. These two parties background, their late and existing chief leaders or founders, their policies, have grown up and is widely shared by the population. The present study finds a clear identification of partisan tendency among the voters. The voters who had preferred parties expressed their fascination for the party chief belonging to the parties like Awami League, BNP, etc. Voters only could tell the names of the national leaders such as: Sheikh Mujib, Zia, or Hasina, Khaleda, Ershad. Even they could not name their local leaders or candidates. In the same way they could merely say the names of a few party symbol like Nawka (a boat), Dhaner Shish (sheaf of paddy), Langal (plough), Dari-Pallah (balance), etc. The study shows that nearly 70 per cent of the voter's family living below poverty line. Personality was found as an important correlate of party orientation. People who are oriented with some political party have something more to interest them for the leader's personality instead of ideology of that party. The image of the party chief has a great impact on the electorates. The voters who preferred party instead of candidate, took decision even before the schedule of election was declared. Voters voted mainly for a particular party.

Party symbol is another important factor of voting behavior in Bangladesh has been observed in the present study. A large number of voters voted for party symbol rather than party or candidates. Table 6.2 shows that only 20.1 per cent of the respondents supported party ideology, its policies

and programs which implied that voters were somewhat indifferent about party ideology. The present study shows that nearly 10 per cent of the voters voted for candidates' (table 7) personal qualities. The study also shows those candidates' good characteristics i.e., religiosity, honesty, efficiency etc. hardly enabled them to get vote. On the other hand factors like party affiliation of the candidate, which need money and other influencing powers played an important role in getting votes.

However, elections of Bangladesh held under party government are always a debated matter. The common allegation against party government is that it often tries to influence the electoral process and electorates by using state machinery.

The study shows that 15.7 per cent of the voter's believed in the integrity of Election Commission while 12.4 per cent had little confidence. On the other hand, 8.2 per cent of the respondents had no confidence while 25.4 per cent was undecided and the remaining 38.3 per cent restrained from giving answer.

The voters of Bangladesh are also aware of the shrewdness and false promise of the party men. Only 6.2 per cent of the respondents expressed that they had faith in the politicians. Although the voters cast their votes, they are almost apathetic about its future. And this observation also proves when the voters say they have no headache whether the candidate would win or nor. The study shows that 52.7 per cent of the respondents are not worried at all about the election results. Thus, it speaks of the gap between the politicians and the masses on the election process. The study shows that

BNP is popular among general masses such as rural illiterates, female and low-income people while AL is popular among middle class such as urban, educated, higher income people. On the other hand, the popularity of Jammat is mostly confined to the rural aged people while JP is a regional party.

In Bangladesh the slogan of free and fair election plays a vital role in this nascent democratic polity. In the context of political turmoil a non-party 'caretaker government' was formed through the Thirteen Amendment of the constitution to hold the election free and fair, which is expected to create a semblance of neutrality, restore the image of the Election Commission and to reestablish a reasonable control over the law and order situation. The task of non-party caretaker government was challenging in the context of present volatile political environment. The major problem areas were to control election campaign funding and use of violence of the muscle power, ensuring administrative neutrality, persuading the political parties to behave reasonably and abide by the election code of conduct and insulating the bureaucracy from active involvement in partisan politics.

7.2 Conclusion

Bangladesh Election Commission has to depend mostly on the government machinery for conducting elections since it does not have the power to recruit and control its own staff. Its staff is under the administrative control of the Establishment Division of the Prime Minister's Secretariat. For budget it has to depend on the Ministry of Finance. Such dependence on the government for finance and for personnel's tends to erode the constitutional independence, which is conferred on the EC. Thus the EC has

turned into a post office. After receiving voting results it simply delivers them to the government press for publication in the gazette without any conscientious evaluation of those results in the face of specific complaints of large-scale irregularities backed by substantial evidence. As a result the acceptability of the EC has reduced. But the acceptability of the EC could significantly be strengthened ensuring appointment of its CEC and other election commissioners after consultation with the leaders of the opposition. And by giving power to recruit its own personnel and to exercise administrative control over its staff and by parliament the EC could ensure its efficacy and credibility. And if the EC could be empowered to monitor violations of the code of conduct and provision of the electoral law and to institute prosecutions against the offenders at any time even before the elections it could be genuinely effective.

In this connection we remember the dimensions of caretaker government (CG) introduced in Bangladesh to conduct the national elections freely and fairly. The demand of CG arises from the bitter experience of the past elections. Now it is related to the fundamental objectives of ensuring the neutrality of administration, police and security forces and the media and to avoid any abuse of public power in favour of any particular party, in particular the ruling party. The CG, however, addresses only one major element in the framework for holding free and fair elections. It is remarkable that election under any party government is unreliable in Bangladesh. Elections in Bangladesh are held under one party government tries to influence the electoral process as well as electorates by using government machinery. The government makes effort for politicizing the police and administration. Government creates pressure on the personnel involved in

elections. On the other hand police and administration also try to please the government's view to get some advantages from the government, which is called 'give and take policy'. This culture has been grown up through the legacy of colonial, autocratic rule and absence of democratic rule.

Another problem is the use of black money and muscle power in politics. The country is so poor that about 50% of the population is still living below the poverty line. In this economic scenario the moneyed men can easily influence the voters. Political parties also nominate persons who have enough black money, local influence and capacity to control terrorists, police and administration during elections. Each political party usually nominates persons who have the capacity to win polls at any cost. These candidates are less familiar with the voters. So they cannot rely upon the voters. Rather they often rely upon the musclemen. In this way, blackers, black money holder, bad debtor, 'God Fathers' are getting nomination. After getting nomination these types of candidates hire musclemen and try to win the election through coercive measure. In this way, ultimately the country is going to be in the hands of terrorist groups. Both the politicians and terrorists treat politics as a profitable business. In Bangladesh it is said that political and economic power consolidated each other reciprocally. It is seen that if the terrorists are arrested they are not punished. Because their 'God Father' soon makes effort to bring them out from the prison. These arms cadre often go to the voter's house before election and put them under fear, not to go to the polling centers. Sometimes these cadres forcefully occupy polling centers, snatch ballot paper and ballot boxes from the polling personnel and the ballot boxes with fake votes. However, after election the

results can be otherwise manipulated by giving money to the magistrate and in the same way the polling center can be occupied by giving money to the police. Besides, sometimes it is appears that fake voting is being practiced. Voter's list may be inflated to rig the future election. Even a person is dead his name remains in the voter's list or persons who are not present in the polling center their votes are cast by way of impersonation.

In countries like the UK and USA where the security of voters is highest, there the voter's turnout on an average is 50 per cent. But in our country, 70 to 90 per cent voters cast their vote in the poll, which is unbelievable where voter's security is number one problem. Besides, there is media abuse. It gives undue advantage to the ruling party and denies equal access to the opposition parties.

Electoral rules to be reformed: Electoral Code of Conduct (CC) should be adopted to prevent the political party or the candidate from maintaining arms squads. Maintaining such squad by any political party or by candidates should be recognized as illegal and disqualify that party or its candidate from contesting the election by the CC. This could be monitored and by monitoring division should be subject matter of prosecution initiated by it with the adjudication to be carried out by another division of EC, to be known as the adjudication division.

All the political parties should be registered with the EC. Statement of account of political party i.e. sources of fund, expenditure etc. has to be submitted to EC at regular intervals. Violation of any provision of electoral rules should render the registration cancel or suspended by EC or which can

debar the party from participation in any political activity till the registration is restored. Besides, any financial contribution by a candidate to a party or party functionary should be disclosed. Because many wealthy persons overwhelmingly getting nomination by dint of their money the real dedicated workers of the party are dropped from nomination. Nomination should be made from grass root i.e. constituency level so that a new and non-committed persons are kept outside nomination. EC can minimize violation during election through regulations. However, a speedy and effective election tribunal should be set up for adjudication of complaints of electoral grievances and impugn the validity of elections. Now the elections disputes are kept unresolved for a long. The election related disputes should be resolved within the period of CG. Strict rules should be made for the government service holder preventing them from any political involvement, which now breaks down the chain of command. However, the partisanship of the police and administration may be revoked through continuing the election under CG and independent EC. The EC should have provided voters ID card and a continuous data base voter is registration, so that the new voter could register his name in the voter list as well as the name of deceased could be excluded from the voter list soon. The present study shows that a large number of voters lost their voter ID card due to constraints of shelter and lack of consciousness. Here, there is no alternative but to develop the socio-economic status of the people in general. With the development of their SES, they will be conscious about their duties and responsibilities.

Security of the election: The smooth and free movement of the voters and free exercise of franchise can only be guaranteed, if the people

feel secure that they will not be subjected to violence and repression. So, security at all levels i.e. of the voters in their houses, security during campaign, during consultation with voters, in public meeting of candidates, of the voters movement to and fro voting centers, of ballot boxes and ballot papers and of polling personnel must be ensured. The election could be held on several dates to strengthen the security of the election and to overcome the shortage of security forces. The number of security personnel could be multiplied in election areas if polls are held on different dates for mobilizing adequate security personnel. A Combined Security Team (CST) could be formed comprising Army, BDR, Police and Ansar. The team should be sent to each area at least seven days ahead of polling so that they can have a clear idea about the locality. The CST should be empowered during election so that they could take necessary action, instead of showing of force, and could not wait for order from magistrate. Because, people still rely on army as alternative to politician.

The study reveals that a wide gap between the participatory demands and responses and the arbitrary authoritarian rule have produced serious discontent and tension in the society leading to violent political actions, wide-spread alienation between the rulers and the ruled, the political disorder. Once, in power, the rulers tend to perpetuate themselves in power.

Responsibility of political parties: Political party has some responsibility to hold the election free and fair. First the political party has to be institutionalized and democratized. The selection of party leader and decision-making should be on democratic line. Prejudice of trade union and student organization has to be given up. The alleged prevailing culture of

political party to maintain arms cadre has to be abandoned. However, the attitudes of giving nomination to the businessman to ensure the flow of money to the party should be given up. Institutionalization of political party is a must for strengthening democracy. Now decision are made and party primaries are selected mainly on the wishes of the party chief, which is amounting to personal rule.

The politician of Bangladesh should learn the art of coalition building, compromise, negotiation and bargaining which lie at the heart of democratic process. The political leaders and parties should overcome their myopic vision, and show ingenuity and resolve power conflicts in peaceful manner through their commitment to the democratic method of free and fair election.

Media: Autonomy of media is an important component of democracy. A free press can contribute significantly to the evolution of an institutionalized electoral process. To build the consciousness of the people, media can play a decisive role. In the developed society, like the USA, political parties mostly depend on media to contact with the voter during election. But in our society, media is highly controlled by the government resulted in inequality between government and opposition parties. Nonetheless the CG creates scope of participation through media for both the opposition and position during election. But in other time media, especially the electronic media is fully controlled by the government. So, code of conduct could ensure equal access to media for both the position and opposition political parties. We know that the present government is trying to give autonomy for Radio and TV that is a national consensus among the political parties including the party in power.

The NGO: The NGOs working in Bangladesh can make efforts to build public opinion and consciousness about the duties and responsibility of the voter. They can arrange training programs for both polling personnel and voters. The Civil Society can also educate voter. A 'citizen watch effort' could be developed to monitor the activities of the contesting parties. However, the intelligentsia and the urban professional groups can also help the process of mobilizing public opinion for a free and fair electoral process i.e. nomination process-a necessary condition of democracy. They themselves could be organized to observe and monitor the electoral behaviour made by the party activists and report to the law enforcing agencies when necessary.

7.3 Recommendations

Some important recommendations that will ensure peoples' participation in Bangladesh politics:-

(a) To withdraw black laws.

(b) To strengthen the parliament of the country, specially the committee system of the parliament.

(c) To ensure the independence of judiciary.

(d) To ensure the autonomy of media and especially electronic media.

(e) To democratize political party.

(f) To ensure the security of life and property.

(g) To prevent corruption and terrorism from the country this is number one problem.

(h) Election campaign through EC.

(i) National elections under caretaker government and under independent election commission to ensure free and fair elections.

(j) To develop the socio-economic status of general mass.

Bibliography

Government Documents

Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, Govt. of the People's Republic of Bangladesh. *Statistical Year Book of Bangladesh, 1997*. 18th edition.

Bangladesh Country Report on Human Rights, 1994. Prepared by the US Department of State.

Bangladesh Election Commission Secretariat. *Report of the Bangladesh Election Commission*.

Bangladesh Gazette Extraordinary. Dhaka : 9 April 1980.

Bangladesh Gazette. Additional Number. 4 May 1991.

Bangladesh Jatiyo Sangsad. *Summery of Proceedings 1973-74*. Vol.7.

Bangladesh Secretariat of Jatiyo Sangsad. *The Proclamation of Independence Order*. Dhaka : 1989.

Conduct Rules of Elections. Election Commission Secretariat. Dhaka : Bangladesh, 26 April 1996.

Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh. *Bangladesh Economic Survey, 1992-93*.

_____. *Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, 1996*.

_____. Press Information Department. *A Background Paper on Bangladesh Fifth Jatiya Sangsad Election*. Handout No. 429, Feb. 1991.

_____. *Statistical Year Book, 2000*.

_____. Bangladesh Election Commission. *Report on the First General Election to Parliament in Bangladesh, 1973*. Dhaka : Bangladesh Government Press, 1973.

Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh. Bangladesh Election Commission. *Ganavote* (Referendum), 30 May 1977. Report. Dhaka : Bangladesh Government Press, 1977.

_____. Bangladesh Election Commission. "Report of Election". Dhaka : Bangladesh Election Commission, 1978.

_____. Bangladesh Election Commission. *Report on Parliamentary Election, 1979*. Dhaka : Bangladesh Government Press, 1982.

_____. Bangladesh Election Commission. "Form XI, Consolidation of the Results of the Count by the Returning Officer, Election to the Office of President, 1981". Dhaka : Secretary, Bangladesh Election Commission, 1981.

_____. Bangladesh Ganaparishad. *Bitarka* (Debates) (Official Report), vol. I, Nos. 1-2 (April, 1972); vol. 2, Nos. 1-19 (October-November, 1972). Dhaka : Bangladesh Government Press, 1982.

_____. Bangladesh Jatiya Sangsad. *Bitarka* (Debates) (Official Report), 1975-1980. Dhaka : Bangladesh Government Press.

_____. Bangladesh Jatiya Sangsad. *Bangladesh Jatiya Sangsader Karjyabaher Sarangsha* (Summary of the Proceedings of the Bangladesh Parliament), 1973-1981. Dhaka : Bangladesh Government Press.

_____. Bangladesh Parliament. *The Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh* (As Modified up to 25th January, 1975). Dhaka : Bangladesh Government Press, 1975.

_____. Bangladesh Parliament. *Rules of Procedure of Parliament of the People's Republic of Bangladesh*. Dhaka : Bangladesh Government Press, 1973 and 1974.

_____. Constituent Assembly of Bangladesh. *Report of the Constitution Drafting Committee*. Dhaka : Bangladesh Government Press, n.d.

_____. Constituent Assembly of Bangladesh. *The Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh*. Dhaka : Bangladesh Government Press, 1972.

Books

Ahamed, Emajuddin (ed.). *Bangladesh Politics*. Dacca : CSS, 1980.

_____. *Bangladesh Shangshadiya Ganatantra Prashngik Chinta Bhabna*. Dhaka : Karim ook Corporation, May 1992.

_____. *Military Rule and the Myth of Democracy*. Dhaka : University Press Ltd., 1988.

_____. *Society and Politics in Bangladesh*. Dhaka : Academic Publishers, 1989.

Ahmad, Moudud. *Bangladesh : Era of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman*. Dhaka : The University Press Ltd., 1983.

_____. *Bangladesh : Constitutional quest for Autonomy*. 2nd Revised Edition. Dhaka : University Press Ltd, 1991.

Ahmed, Abul Mansur. *Amar Dekha Rajneetir Panchas Bachhar* (Fifty Years of Politics as I saw it). 3rd ed. Dhaka : Nauroj Kitabistan, 1975.

Almond, Gabriel A. and Sidney Verba. *The Civic Culture*. Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1972.

Almond, G.A., and G.B. Powell JR. *Comparative Politics Today : A World View*. Toronto : Little Brown and Company, Boston, 1980.

_____. *Comparative Politics*. Toronto : Little, Brown and Company, 1966.

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

Ball, R. Allen. *Modern Politics and Government*. 2nd edition. London : The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1977.

Baxter, Craig. *Bangladesh : A New Nation in an Old Setting*. Boulder : West View Press, 1986.

Bayes, Abdul and Anu Mahammed, eds. *Bangladesh at 25 : An Analytical Discourse of Development*. Dhaka : The UPL, 1998.

Bellows, T.J., S. Erikson & H.R. Winter eds. *Political Science : Introductory Essay and Readings.* California : Duxbury Press, Belmont, 1971.

Berelson, Bernard R., Paul F. Lazersfield, and Willion N. McPhce. *Voting.* Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1954.

Bertsch, G. K., et al. *Comparing Political Systems : Power and Politics in Three Worlds.* 2nd ed. New York : John Wiley and Sons, 1978.

Bhuiyan, Abdul Wadud. *Emergence of Bangladesh and Role of Awami League.* New Delhi : Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., 1982.

Bryce, J. *Modern Democracies.* New York : Macmillan, 1931.

Campbell, Angus et.al. eds. *The American Voter.* New York : Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, 1960.

Chakravarty, S.R. *Bangladesh The Nineteen Seventy-Nie Elections.* New Delhi : South Asia Publishers, 1988.

Chawdhury, Dilara. *Bangladesh and the South Asian International System.* London : Scorpion Publishers, 1992.

_____. *Constitutional Development in Bangladesh : Stresses and Strains.* Dhaka : University Press Ltd., 1995.

Choudhury. G. W. *Constitutional Development in Pakistan.* 2nd ed. London : Longman, 1969.

_____. *The Last Days of United Pakistan.* London : C. Hurst. 1974.

Clapham, Christopher. *Third World Politics: An Introduction.* London : Croom Helm, 1985.

Dahl, Robert A. (ed.). *Regimes and Opposition* (New Haven : Yale University Press, (1973).

_____. *Poliarchy Participation and Opposition.* New Haven : Yale University Press, 1971.

Dahl, Robert A. (ed.). *Political Oppositions in Western Democracies.* New Haven : Yale University Press, 1966.

Dahl, Robert A. (ed.). *Modern Political Analysis*. New Delhi : Prentice Hall of India Pvt. Ltd., 1965.

Dellon, Conley H., Carl Leiden, and Paul D. Stewart. *Introduction to Political Science*. New Jersey : D. Van Nostrand Company Inc. Princeton, 1958.

Diamond, Larry. Et al. (ed.). *Democracy in Developing Countries*. vol. 3 Asia. Bouldr. Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1988.

Dodd, C. *Coalitions in Parliamentary Government*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976.

Duverger, Maurice. *Political Parties*. London: Mehuen and Co., 1954.

Dye, Thomas R. *Governing the American Democracy*. New York : 1980.

Eckson, Herry, and David E. Apter. eds. *Comparative Politics*. New York : The Free Press, 1963.

Eckstein, Harry and David E. Apter (eds.). *Comparative Politics*. New York : The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963.

Emerson, Rupert. *From Empire to Nation*. Cambridge, Mass : Harvard University Press, 1960.

_____. *Political Modernization*. Denver: University of Denver Press, 1963.

Finer, Herman. *The Theory and Practice of Modern Government*. London : Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1965.

Finer, S.E. *The Man on Horseback*. London : Pall Mall Press, 1975.

Franda, Marcus. *Bangladesh : The First Decade*. New Delhi : South Asian Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1982.

Friedrich, Carl J., Constitutional Government and Democracy (4th ed.). Calcutta : Oxford and TBH Publishing Co., 1966.

Gupta, D. C. *Indian Government and Politics*. 4th revised edition. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., 1979.

Gupta, D. C. *Indian National Movement and Constitutional Development.* Delhi : 1973.

Hafiz, Abdul and Rob, K.A. (eds.). *Nation Building in Bangladesh.* Dhaka: BIISS, 1986.

Hakim, Muhammad A. *Bangladesh Politics: The Shahabudding Interregnum.* Dhaka: University Press Ltd., 1993.

Hakim, S.A. *Begum Khleda Zia: A Political Biography.* New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., 1992.

Haroon, Mostafa (ed.). *Who's who in the Parliament.* Dhaka : Shaukhin Prakashani, 1979.

Haroon, Samsul Huda. *Bangladesh Voting Behaviour : A Psyphological Study 1973.* Dhaka : The University of Dhaka, 1968.

Harris, Fred R. *Americas Democracy.* New Mexico : 1983.

Harun, Shamsul Huda. *Parliamentary Behaviour in a Multi-National State 1947-56 Bangladesh Experience.* Dhaka: Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, 1984.

Hasanuzzaman, Al Masud (ed.) *Bangladesh: Crisis of Political Development.* Dhaka: Department of Govt. and Politics, Jahangirnagar University, 1988.

Held David and Politt, C. (eds.). *New forms of Democracy.* London: Sage, 1986.

Held, David. *Models of Democracy.* Cambridge: Olity Press, 1987.

Hossain, Golam (ed.). *Bangladesh Sarkar O Rajniti.* Dhaka: Academic Publishers, 1992.

_____. *General Ziaur Rahman and the BNP.* Dhaka: UPL, 1988.

Huntington, Samuel P. *Political Order in Changing Societies.* New haven: Yale University Press, 1988.

Huq, Abul Fazl. *Ph. D. Thesis.* Rajshahi : Rajshahi University,

Husain Shawkat Ara. *Politics and Society in Bengal*. Dhaka: Bangla Academy, 1991.

Iftekharuzzaman and Sabur, A. K. M. (eds.). *Bangladesh: Society Polity Economy*. Dhaka: Progoti Prokashani, 1993.

Illbert, Sir Courtenay. *Parliament : Its History, Contribution and Practice*. London : 1960.

Jahan, Rounaq, *Pakistan Failure in National Integration*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1972.

_____. *Pakistan : Failure in National Integration*. London: Oxford University Press, 1973.

_____. *Bangladesh Politics: Problems and Issues*. Dhaka: University Press Ltd., 1987.

Jennings, W. Ivor. *Parliament*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1970.

Kamal, Justice Mustafa. *Bangladesh Constitution : Trends and Issues*. Dhaka : University Press Ltd., 1994.

Karim, A. K. Nazmul. *The Dynamics of Bangladesh Society*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., 1980.

Key, V.O. Jr. *Politics, Parties and Pressure Groups (5th ed.)*. New York: Crowell, 1964.

Khan S.I., Islam, S.A., and Haque, M.I. *Political Culture, Political Parties and the Democratic Transition in Bangladesh*. Dhaka: Academic Publishers, 1996.

Khan, Aillur Rahman. *Martial Law to Martial Law Leadership Crisis in Bangladesh*. Dhaka: University Press Ltd., 1984.

Khan, Akbar Ali. *Discovery of Bangladesh*. Dhaka : UPL, 1997.

Khan, Mohabbat M. and Thorp (ed.). *Bangladesh: Society, Politics and Bureaucracy*. Dhaka: CENTAS, 1984.

Khan, Mohabbat M. and Zafarullah, H. M. (ed.). *Politics and Bureaucracy in New Nation Bangladesh*. Dacca : CENTAS, 1980.

Khan, Zillur R. *Martial Law to Martial Law : Leadership Crisis in Bangladesh*. Dhaka : The University Press Ltd., 1984.

Khan, Zillur Rahman and Khan, Serajul Alam. *Constitution and Constitutional Issues*. Dhaka: University Press Ltd., 1985.

Kochanek, Stanley. *Patran Client Politics and Business in Bangladesh*. Dhaka: University Press Ltd., 1993.

Kothari, Rajni. *Politics in India*. Boston: Little Brown and Co., 1970.

Kousoulas, D. G. *On Government and Politics : An Introduction to Political Science*. USA : Cole Publishing Company, 1982.

La Palombara, J. and Weiner, Myron (eds.). *Politics, Parties and Political Development*. Princeton University Press, 1966.

La Palombara, J. *Politics Within Nation*. Prentice Hall : Yale University Press, 1974.

Lane, Robert E. *Political Life*. Now York : The Free Press, 1959.

Lane, Jan-Erik and Ersson Svante, O. *Politics and Society in Western Europe*. London: Sage Publication, 1987.

LaPalombara, Joseph and Myron Weiner (eds.). *Political Parties and Political Development*. Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1966.

Lasswell, Herald D. *Psychopathology and Politics*. Glenco : The Free Press, 1951.

Lazarsfeld, P. F., B. Bereloon & H. Gaudet. *The People's Choice*. New York : Duell, Sloam and Pearu, 1944.

Lerner, D. *The Passing of a Traditional Society : Modernizing the Middle East*. Glenco : The Free Press, 1965.

Lifschultz, Lawrence. *Bangladesh : An Unfinished Revolution*. London : Zed Press, 1979.

Lijphart, A. *Democracy in Plural Societies: A Comparative Exploration.* Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1989.

Lindsay, a. D. *The Essentials of Democracy.* London: Oxford University press, Sixth Impression, Oxford at Claedon Press, 1957.

Lipset, S.M. *Political Man.* Garden City NY: Doubleday, 1959.

Lipset, Seymour Martin. *Political Man* (First Indian ed.). New Delhi : Arnold-Heinemann, 1973.

Lipset, Seymour Martin. *Political Man.* London : Heinmann Educational Books Ltd., 1960.

Lively, Jack. *Democracy.* Oxford: Basil Basil Blackwell, 1975.

Lyon, Peter and Manor, James (eds.). *Transfer and Transformation: Political Institutions in the New Commonwealth.* Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1983.

Maniruzzaman, Talukder. *The Bangladesh Revolution and Its Aftermath* (2nd ed.). Dhaka: University Press Ltd., 1988.

_____. *Group Interests and Political Changes.* New Delhi : South Asian Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1982.

_____. *Military Withdrawal from Politics: A Case Study.* Dhaka: University Press Ltd., 1988.

_____. *Politics and Security of Bangladesh.* Dhaka: University Press Ltd., 1994.

_____. *Radical Politics and the Emergence of Bangladesh.* Dhaka : Bangladesh Books International, 1975.

Mascarenhas, A. *Bangladesh: Legacy of Blood.* London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1986.

Mason, John Brown. *Foreign Governments.* Edited by Frits Morstein Marx. New York : Prentice Hall Inc., 1950.

Mclennan, Barbara N. (ed.). *Political Opposition and Dissent*. New York: Dunellen Pub. Co. Inc., 1976.

Milbrath, Lester W. *Political Participation : How and Why People Get Involve in Politics*. Chicago : Rand Mc Nally & Co., 1965.

Mills, C.W. *The Power Elite*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1956.

Morris-Jones, W.H. *Parliament in India*. Cambridge : The Eothen Press, 1987.

Morris-Jones, W.H. *The Government and Politics in India*. Cambridge: The Eothen Press, 1987.

Mukhopadhay, Amal Kumar. *Political Sociology*. Calcutta : Anando Press & Publications Pvt. Ltd., 1977.

Nanda, T.R. *Dictionary of Political Science*. New Delhi : Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd., 1993.

Novak, James J. *Bangladesh Reflection on the Water*. Dhaka: University Press Ltd., 1993.

Novak, James. *Bangladesh : Reflections on the Water*. Dhaka : The UPL, 1994.

Palmer, Norman D. *The Indian Political System*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1971.

Peltason, Burns, and Cronin. *Government by the People*. New Jersey : Prentice-Hall, Inc. Englihood Cliffs, 1984.

Peltason, Burns, and Cronin. *Political Handbook of the World 1992*. CSA Publications, State University of New York, Binghamton, New York : 1992.

Powell G., Bingham Jr. *Contemporary Democracies: Participation, Stability and Violence*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press 1982.

Pye, L.W. (ed.). *Communications and Political Development*. Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1963.

Pye, L.W. (ed.). *Aspects of Political Development*. Boston : Little, Brown and Co., 1966.

Pye, L.W. and Sidney Verba (eds.). *Political Culture and Political Development*. New Jersey : Princeton University Press, 1972.

Rahman, M. Shamsur. *Administrative Elite in Bangladesh : A Study of their Attitude towards Development*. New Delhi : Mahak Publishers Ltd. 1991.

Rahman, Moksudur. "Political Development of Rural Local Self-Government in Bangladesh". Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. Rajshahi : Department of Political Science, University of Rajshahi, 1997.

Rasahiduzzaman, M. *Pakistan: A Study of Government and Politics*. Dacca; Ideal Library, 1967.

Russell, Bertrand. *Power: A New Social Analysis*. London: Uawing Books, 1975.

Sabine, George H. *A History of Political Theory* (3rd ed.). London: George G. Harrap and Co. Ltd., 1968.

Sargent, Layman Tower. *Comparative Political Ideologies*. Illinois : The Dorsey Press, Home Wood, 1983.

Scott, Roger (ed.). *The Politics of New States*. London : George Allen & Unwin, 1970.

Seligson, Mitchell A. and John A. Booth (eds.). *Political Participation in Latin America*. New York : Holmes & Meier, 1979.

Sen, Rangalal. *Political Elites in Bangladesh*. Dhaka   University Press Ltd., 1986.

Shelly, Mizanur Rahman. *Emergence of a New Nation in a Multi-Polar World: Bangladesh*. Dhaka: University Press Ltd., 1979.

Shilla, Edward. *Political Development in New States*. The Hague : Mauton & Co., 1966.

Shils, Edward. *Government and Opposition*. London: Macmillan, 1971.

Shrivastava, M.P. *Parliamentary Accountability and Supervision Over Public Enterprises*. New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publications, 1992.

Silva, De K. M. (ed.). *Problems of Governance*. New Delhi : Kanark Pub. Pvt. Ltd., 1993.

Stewart, M. *The British Approach to Politics*. London : 1967.

Umar, Badrudding *Politics and Society in East Pakistan and Bangladesh*. Dacca: Mowla Brothers, 1974.

Varma, S.P. *Modern Political Theory*. New Delhi : Vani Education Books, 1986.

Verba, S. and Kim, J. *The Modes of Democratic Participation*. London : Sage Pub., 1971.

Verba, Sydney, Norman Nie and J. Kim. *Participation and Political Equality*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1978.

Vorys, Dari Von. *Political Development in Pakistan*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1965.

Walls, Graham. *Human Nature in Politics*. Boston : Houghton Mifflin, 1909.

Weiner, Myron and Huntington, S.P. *Understanding Political Development*. Boston : Little Brown, 1987.

Willoughby, W. F. *Government of Modern States*. New York : 1936.

Wood, Geof D. *Bangladesh Whose Ideas Whose Interests*. Dhaka : University Press Ltd., 1994.

Woodward, Julian L. and Elmo Roper. *Political Behavior*. Edited by Heins Ealau et. al. New York : The Free Press, New Jersey. 1956.

Ziring, Lawrence. *Bangladesh from Mujib to Ershad: An Interpretive Study*. Dhaka: University Press Ltd., 1992.

Adam Kuper and Jesica Kuper (eds.). *The Social Science Encyclopedia*. s.v. London : 1992.

Journals

Ahmed, Nizamuddin. "Parliamentary Politics in Bangladesh", *The Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*. Vol. XXXII, No.3. November 1994.

_____. "The 2nd BNP Government: A Mid-Term Apraisal". *Regional Studies*. Vol. XII, No. 3. Summer 1994.

Alavi, Hamza. "The State in Post-Colonial Societies Pakistan and Bangladesh". *New Left Review*. July-Aug. 1974.

Almond, G.A. "Comparative Political System". *Journal of Politics*. Vol. 18 1956.

Almond, G.A. "Crisis of Liberal Democracy in South Asia". *The Journal of Political Science*. Vol. II, Issue-1, 1985.

Aminuzzaman, M. Salabuddin. "Institutional Process and Practices of Administrative Accountability: Role of Jatiya Sangsad (Parliament), in Bangladesh". *South Asia Studies*. Vol. 10, No. 2, July 1993.

Aminuzzaman, M. Salabuddin. "Bangladesh: A Parliamentary Democracy, If They Can Keep It", *Current History*. March 1992.

Baxter, Craig and M. Rashiduzzaman. "Bangladesh Votes : 1978 and 1979". *Asian Survey*. Vol. XXI, No. 4, April, 1981.

Campbell, Angus and Henry Valen. "Party Identification in Norway and the United States", *Public Opinion Quarterly*. 25 (1961).

Choudhury, Dilara. "Political Accountability of a Parliamentarian as an Individual" (mimeo).

_____. "Democracy in Bangladesh: Problems and Prospects". *Asian Studies*. No. 12, 1993.

_____. "Constitutionalism in Bangladesh", *Asian Studies*. No. 13, 1994.

Choudhury, R.I. "Foreign Policy, Comparative Politics and International Relations: A Conceptual Framework and Research Designs". *Political Studies*. Vol. I, Department of Political Science, Chittagong University, 1978.

Coleman, J.S. "The Political Systems of the Developing Areas", in G.A. Almond and J.S. Coleman (eds.). *The Politics of the Developing Areas*. Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1960.

Conley, G.M., and H.M. Field. "The Non-voter-Who he is, What the Thinkers". *Public Opinion Quarterly* 8 (1944).

Converse, Philip E. and George's Duplex. "Politicization of the Electorate in France and United States." *Public Opinion Quarterly*. 26 (1962).

Cutright, Phillips and Peter H. Rossi. "Gran Roots Politician and the Vote." *American* Sociological Review 23 (1958).

Daies, James C. "Charisma in the 1952 Campaign". *American Political Science Review* 48 (1954).

Diamond, Larry. "Three Pardoxes of Democracy," *Journal of Democracy*. Vol. I, No. 3, Summer 1993.

Foskett, J.M. "Social Structure and Social Participation". *American Sociological Review* 20 (1955).

Haider, Zaglul. "Participation Crisis Threatens Young Democracy." *The Daily Star*. Dhaka : 28 February 1996.

Hakim and Huque. "Constitutional Amendments in Bangladesh". *Regional Studies*. Vol. XII, No.2, 1994.

Hakim and Huque. "Parliamentary Committee System in Bangladesh". *Regional Studies*. Vol. XIII, No. 1, Winter 1994-95.

Haque, Azizul. "Bangladesh 1979 : Cry for a Sovereign Parliament". *Asian Survey*, vol. XX, No. 2, February, 1980.

_____. "Bangladesh in 1980 : Strains and Stresses Opposition in the Doldrums". *Asian Survey*. Vol. XXI, No. 2, February, 1981.

Hawkesworth, Mary, and Kogan Maurice, eds. *Encyclopedia of Government and Politics*. New York : 1992. S.V. "Political Participation and Voting Behavior", by W.L. Millar.

_____. *Encyclopedia of Government and Politics, 1992, S.V.* "Political Participation and Voting Behaviour."

Horwitz, Donald L. "Democracy in Divided Societies". *Journal of Social Studies*. No. 5, October 1979.

Huntington, S.P. "Democracy's Third Wave". *Journal of Democracy*. Vol. 2, No.2, Spring 1991.

Huq, Abul Fazl. "Bangladesh : Constitution, Politics and Bureaucracy", *The Rajshahi University Studies*. Part-A, vol. VI, 1980-83.

Jahan, Rounaq. "Electoral Political Cultural in Bangladesh." Vol. 6, No. 8. *BIISS Journal*, 168-169.

_____. "Local Power Structure and the Mobilization of Vote : A Study of the Bangladesh Election 1979". unpublished DERAP Working Paper. *The CHR-Michelsen Institute, Bergen, Norway*.

Khan, Mohammad Mohabbat and Habib Mohammad Zafarullah. "The 1979 Parliamentary Elections in Bangladesh", *Asian Survey*. Vol. XIX, No. 10, October, 1979.

Khan, Zillur R. "Bangladesh in 1981 : Change, Stability and Leadership", *Asian Survey*. Vol. XXII, No. 2, February, 1982.

_____. "Politicization of the Bangladesh Military : A Response to Perceived Shortcomings of Civilian Government". *Asian Survey*. Vol. XXI, No. 5, May, 1981.

Kyi, Aung San Suu. "In Quest of Democracy", *Journal of democracy*. Vol. 3, No. 1, January 1992.

Lipset S.M. "Some Social Requisites of Democracy". *American Political Science Review*. Vol. 53, 1959.

Lipset S.M. "Reflections on Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy". *Journal of Democracy*. Vol. 4, No. 2, April 1993.

Maniruzzaman, Talukder. "Bangladesh : An Unfinished Revolution". *The Journal of Asian Studies*. vol. XXXIV, No. 4, August, 1975.

_____. "Bangladesh in 1975 : The Fall of the Mujib Regime and Its Aftermath". *Asian Survey*. vol. XVI, No. 2, February, 1976.

_____. "Bangladesh in 1976 : The Fall of the Mujib Regime and Its Aftermath". *Asian Survey*. vol. XVII, No. 2, February, 1977.

_____. "Bangladesh in 1977." *Asian Survey*, XVII, No. 2. February, 1978.

_____. "Crises in Political Development" and the Collapse of the Ayub Regime in Pakistan". *The Journal of Developing Areas*. Vol. 5, No. 2, January, 1971.

McCloskey, Herbert, and Harold E. Dahlgren. "Primary Group Influence on Party Loyalty". *American Political Science Review* 53 (1959).

McCloskey, Herbert, Paul J. Hoffman, and Rosemary O'Hara. "Issue, Conflict and Consensus Among Party Leaders and Followers". *American Political Science Review* 54 (1960).

McClosky, Herbert. "Consensus and Ideology in American Polities". *American Political Science Review* 58 (1964).

Milbrath, Lester W. "Political Participation in the States." Edited by Herbert Jacob and Kenneth N. Vines. Boston : Little, 1967.

Miller, Turdi C. "Three Years of Democratic Governance in Bangladesh". *Asian Studies*. No. 13, June 1994.

_____. "Challenges of Governance in Bangladesh". *BIISS Journal*. Vol. 14, No. 4, 1993.

_____. "The Operation of Democratic Institutions". *Public Administration Review*. Nov. Dec. 1989.

Morshed, Ghulam. "Coexistence in a Plural Society under Colonial Rule : Hindu-Muslim Relations in Bengal, 1757-1912". *The Journal of the Institute of Bangladesh Studies*. vol. I, 1976.

Palfrey, Thomas R. & Howard Rosenthal. "Voter Participation and Strategic Uncertainty." *The American Political Science Review*, 79, No. 1, (1985).

Pye, Lucian W. "Identity and Political Culture", in Leonard Binder *et.al.* (eds.) *Crises and Sequences in Political Development*. Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1971.

_____. "The Legitimacy Crisis", in Leonard Binder *et.al.* (eds.) *Crises and Sequences in Political Development*. Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1971.

Pyne, Peter. "Legislature and Development : The Case of Equader 1960-1961." *Comparative Political Studies*. Vol.9, No.1, April, 1936.

Rahman, Ataur. "Elections 1996 and Bangladesh's Democratic Future", Paper Presented at the Seminar Organized by Bangladesh Political Science Association, Dhaka : 1 June 1996.

Rahman, M. Shamsur. "Political Consciousness in Rural Community in Bangladesh : A Case Study of Hatinada Village in the District of Rajshahi". Local Government Quarterly (Dhaka), IX : 1-2 (March-June), 1980, pp. 39-54.

Rashiduzzaman, M. "Bangladesh: The Civil Society and the New Equilibrium". *Asian Studies*. No. 13, 1994.

_____. "Changing Political Patterns in Bangladesh: Internal Constraints and External Fears". *Asian Survey*. Vol. 17, No. 9, September 1977.

Rokkon, Stein. "Approaches to the Study of Political Participation". *Acta Sociological* 6, No.1/2 (1962a).

Rose, Richard and Harve Mossawir. "Voting and Elections" Edited by Henz Ealaw *et.al.* 1968.

Rosenberg, Morris. "Some Determinants of Political Apathy." *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 18 (1984) and Erbe, William. "Social Involvement and Political Activity : A Replication and Elaboration." *American Sociological Review*, 29 (1964).

Sills, David L. ed. *International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*. New York : The Macmillan Company and The Free Press, 1968.

Umar, Badruddin. "A Constitution for Perpetual Emergency". *Holiday*. Dhaka : 29 October 1972.

_____. "The Proposed Constitution: A Fundamental Measure Against Socialism, Democracy, Nationalism, and Secularism". *Holiday*. Dhaka : 22 October 1972.

Verba, Sidney, "Comparative Political Culture", in L.W. Pye and Sidney Verba (eds.). *Political Culture and Political Development*. Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1965.

Weiner, Myron. "Political participation", in Leonard Binder *et.al.* (eds.). *Crises and Sequences in Political Development*. Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1971.

_____. "The Politics of South Asia", G.A. Almond and J.S. Coleman (eds.). *The Politics of the Developing Areas*. Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1960.

Party Literatures

Bangladesh Awami League (AL). *Bangladesh Awami League-er Ishteher* (Election Manifesto of the Bangla Jatiya League). Dhaka, 1973.

_____. *Gathantantra* (Constitution). Dhaka : Sarder Amjad Hossain, n.d.

_____. *Ghoshanapatra* (Manifesto). Dhaka : Sayeda Zohra Tajuddin, 1977.

_____. *Ghoshanapatra* (Manifesto). Dhaka : Sarder Amjad Hossain, 1379 (B.S.).

Bangladesh Awami League (AL). Kendriya Sangathanik Committee. *Bigate Council Adhibeshan, Sangathanik Committeer Sabha O Bardhita Sabbai Greehita Prostababali* (The Resolutions Adopted in the Last Council Session and the Meetings of the organizing Committee and Extended Committee) Dhaka : Syeda Zohara Tajuddin, , 1977.

_____. *Mujibbad kee of keno* (Mujibism : What and Why). Dhaka : Sarder Amjad Hossain, 1379 (B.S.).

Bangladesh Jatiyatabadi Dal (BNP). *Gathantantra* (Constitution) (As modified upto 1996). Dhaka, August, 1996.

_____. *Ghoshanapatra* (Manifesto). Dhaka, August, 1978.

_____. *Partir Adarsha* (Ideology of the Party), Part I & II. Dhaka, n.d.

Manifesto of BNP. Published before the Parliamentary Elections June 1996.

Manifestos of BNP. Parliamentary Election, 1979.

Party declaration of Bangladesh Awami League.

Newspapers

The Bangladesh Observer (Dhaka)

The Bangladesh Times (Dhaka)

The Dainik Ittefaq (Dhaka)

The Daily Morning News (Dhaka)

The Daily Star (Dhaka)

Weekly Jai Jai Din (Dhaka)

Weekly Holiday (Dhaka)

Weekly Bichitra (in Bengali) (Dhaka)