Politics without Principles and Partisan Bureaucracy Fueling Corruption: Bangladesh Perspective

Professor Dr. Md. Fakrul Islam[1], Dr. Md. Anisur Rahman[2]

[1] Professor, Department of Public Administration, Islamic University, Kushtia, Bangladesh

[2] Associate Professor, Department of Law, Islamic University, Kushtia, Bangladesh

Abstract: Corruption has been treated as an exuding phenomenon of development. Corruption remains in most of the countries of the world but its degree indicates the motion of development. Extensive corruption impedes economic growth, distorts competition, and inhibits development and productivity. Corruption also undermines the rule of law and good governance process. At first, the writing discusses regarding the issues of corruption, good governance and democracy. Then this paper attempts to explore the actors and factors of corruption in Bangladesh. The article explains again how corruption hampers good governance and democratization process in Bangladesh. Finally, the contributor tries to present some preventive measures as recommendations for ensuring good governance by means of elimination of corruption.

Keywords: Corruption, good governance, bureaucracy, politics.

1. Introduction: Corruption is behavior of public officials which deviates from accepted norms in order to serve private ends. Corruption obviously exists in all societies. Corruption is one measure of the absence of effective political institutionalization.[1] So democracy and good governance are inseparable condition for ensuring political institutionalization. At the same time, they (democracy and good governance) are intertwined issues in the path of development. Matured political culture always requires ensuring good governance and brings to achieve democratic norms in the political institution. Good governance has become a giant parameter of institutional development to calculate the level of democracy in terms of accountability, transparency, participation and other characteristics.

---

[1] Huntington, Samuel P. (1979), Political Order in Changing Society, Yale University, Virginia, p. 59.

Good governance preserves the human needs including civil, political, economic and social rights. Good governance is a cohesive term of institutional development. But good governance and corruption do not remain together. Poor governance always helps to accelerate corruption and breaks down democratic values of the political and social institution. From this point of view, corruption has been treated as an impedimental phenomenon for socio-economic and political development. It makes barrier economic growth, distortion competition, inhibition development and productivity. Corruption creates again social and political inequality among the living people. A country remains in serious crisis for the sake of indulging in corruption. In fact, corruption enhances in the absence of the rule of law and good governance of the society. The present paper attempts to search out actors and factors of corruption in Bangladesh in the view of good governance and democratic values.

2. Objective of the Study: The main objective of the study is broadly discussed on the concern of corruption which makes barrier in the pavement of good governance and democratization process of Bangladesh. The supplementary objectives of the paper are to find out the actors and factors of corruption. Finally, the study provides some suggestion for mitigating corruption as a social disease in Bangladesh.

3. Methodology of the Study: The research is a qualitative study. The general methodological approach of this study is theoretical approach based on the data and information systematically gathered and analyzed from basically from secondary sources. The second set of data and information are from specific records, official desk reports, article, surveys, newspapers, electronic media, magazines and journals.

4. Conceptual Clarification of Key Terms: The present study has used several theoretical terms in order to understand the problem. Conceptual clarification always enriches the paper and makes relationship with the findings. A social study becomes comprehensible to the readers through exploring the conceptual clarification properly. It is an important part of social study. Therefore, several conceptual clarifications of key terms are explained here.

4.1 Corruption as a Concept of Social Disease: Corruption is one of the greatest challenges of the developing countries. In undermines good government, fundamentally distorts public policy, leads to the misallocation of resources, harms the private sector

and private sector development and particularly hurts the poor. Corruption hampers democratization process in which several political institutions are to be weakened i.e. political party, election and decision making process etc.

Corruption is defined as the abuse of authority and or power entrusted to someone to gain self-benefit offered by the third side finding from the benefits from the abuse of the trust game. Corruption is in itself a many-faceted phenomenon and the concept of corruption contains too many connotations to be analytically functional without a closer definition. The forms of corruption are diverse in terms of who are the actors, initiators and profiteers, how it is done, and to what extent it is practiced. Also the causes and the consequences of corruption are complex and diverse, and have been sought in both individual ethics and civil cultures, in history and tradition, in the economic system, in the institutional arrangements, and in the political system.

Corruption is a broad term encompassing various aspects of abusing entrusted power for personal gain. It can take many forms, ranging from hiring relatives giving contracts to supporters, or abusing privileged information to buy or sell stock are the most familiar and pervasive forms of corruption, however, is bribery. On a grand scale, bribery typically involves government officials, top executives, and huge sums of money.

4.2 Democracy a Concept of Social and Political Development: Democracy can be understood as an ideology, a concept of a theory. It is an ideology in so far as 'it embodies a set of political ideas that detail the best possible form of social organization'.[2] It can therefore be understood as an ideal. To be a democrat is to have faith in people, to believe that people have inalienable rights to make decisions for themselves, and to be committed to the notion that all people are equal in some fundamental and essential way. The meaning of democracy can be summarized as:

> "mode of decision-making about collectively binding rules and policies over which the people exercise control, and the most democratic arrangement to be that where all members of the collective enjoy effective equal rights to take part in such decision making directly - one,

---

[2] Abdellatif, A. M. (2003) Good Governance and Its Relationship to Democracy and Economic Development. Global Forum III on Fighting Corruption and Safeguarding Integrity, (GF3/WS/IV-3/S1), Seoul, 20-31 May.

that is to say, which realizes to the greatest conceivable degree the principles of popular control and equality in its exercise...”[3]

Democracy is further reflected in the 'Purposes' of the United Nations which include: to respect the principle of equal rights and self-determination of people, and to promote and encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights elaborated on this original commitment to democracy by proclaiming that "the will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government" and guaranteeing to everyone the rights that are essential for effective political participation.

The General Assembly adopted its first resolution on 'Promoting and Consolidating Democracy' to provide means for consolidating democracy through:[4]

a. Promoting pluralism;

b. Promoting, protecting and respecting all human rights;

c. Strengthening the rule of law;

d. Developing, nurturing and maintaining an electoral system that provides for the free and fair expression of the people's will through genuine and periodic elections;

e. Creating and improving the legal framework and necessary mechanisms for enabling the participation of all members of civil society in the promotion and consolidation of democracy;

f. Strengthening democracy through good governance;

g. Strengthening democracy by promoting sustainable development;

h. Enhancing social cohesion and solidarity.

4.3 Good Governance a Concept of Sustainable Development: Governance as a theoretical construction, separate from the theory of state, is not only in an embryonic stage, but its formulation also differs among researchers depending on their ideological

---

[3] Beetham, David. 1993. "Liberal Democracy and the Limits Democratization", Political Studies Special Issues, Vol. 40. p. 40.
[4] UN Resolution adopted by the General Assembly, A/RES/55/96 on Promoting and Consolidating Democracy.

convictions. Policy analysis based empirically on the historical experiences of governance gives prominence to government's failures to deliver, leading to propositions for downsizing or rightsizing, while policy prescriptions for good governance take an evolutionary view of the matter questioning relevance of public sector management of certain activities in a changed context.[5] Good governance is the term that symbolizes the paradigm shift of the role of governments.[6]

Good governance is, among other things, participatory, transparent and accountable, effective and equitable, and it promotes the rule of law. It ensures that political, social and economic priorities are based on broad consensus in society and that the voices of the poorest and the most vulnerable are heard in decision-making over the allocation of development resources.[7] Good governance is regarded as indispensable agent of sustainable development now-a-days.

According to the World Bank, government is "the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development."[8] On this meaning, the concept of governance is concerned directly with the management of the development process, involving both the public and the private sectors. In encompasses the functioning and capability of the public sector, as well as the rules and institutions that create the framework for the conduct of both public and private business, including accountability for economic and financial performances, and regulatory frameworks relating to companies, corporations, and partnerships. In broad terms, governance is about the institutional environment in which citizens interact among themselves and with government agencies/officials.

5. Key Elements of Good Governance: A number of multilateral organizations including the United Nations Development Programme and the World Bang have reflected on the elements of good governance, and on their relation to development. As the experiences of these organizations vary, so, too, do their perceptions of what constitutes good governance. In its report, Governance for Sustainable Human Development, the UNDP acknowledges the following as core characteristics of good

---

[5] Hasnat, Addul H. (2001), Governance: South Asian Perspective, Oxford, p. 1.
[6] Holzer Marc & Kim Byong-Joon (ed.) (2002), Building Good Governance: Reforms in Seoul, (National Center for Public Productive), Preface.
[7] Government for Sustainable Human Development, A UNDP Policy Paper, UNDP, 1997, p. 2-3.
[8] http://www.adb.org/Documents/Policies/Governance/gov300.asp?p-policies

governance: 1) Participation, 2) Rule of law, 3) Transparency, 4) Responsiveness, 5) Consensus orientation, 6) Equity, 7) Effectiveness and efficiency, 8) Accountability, 9) Strategic vision.[9]

6. Actors and Factors of Corruption in Bangladesh: The country has transformed with significant changes over the last few decades but not all changes have taken place in accordance with the moral expectation in terms of political, economic and social aspects. A plenty of materialistic development have been seen in Bangladesh, but most attempts are becoming in ruin in vain due to rampant corruption. After almost four decades of independence, the country faces several crises; corruption is the most serious one. The paper tries to explore some important actors and factors of corruption which phenomenon impedes good governance and democratization process as well.

6.1 Authorization Patterns of Leadership in Bangladesh: Leader is a pattern who leads a group of people, especially the head of a country or an organization including political party. Efficient and effective leadership always promote socio-economic and political development as well as mitigate corruption. But Bangladesh could not achieve its goal yet in the scarce of competent leadership. Though the Constitution of Bangladesh has proclaimed, in Clause (1) of Article 8 and 11,[10] "to be identified and established as a democratic state, major political parties including BNP (Bangladesh Nationalist Party) and AL (Awami League) hardly follow this norms in the sense of leader selection process.

The leader selection process is simply undemocratic in most of the political parties of Bangladesh. Authoritative pattern of leadership has been grown up in the party system of Bangladesh. The chairperson of BNP, Begum Khaleda Zia, wife of late President Ziaur Rahman, the founder of this party, has been kept in her position over 35 years. On the other hand, the chief of AL as well as the running Prime Minister of Bangladesh also comes to become part head by dint of patriarchal inheritance. She is a daughter of late President Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the founder of the nation and has been occupying the position of party chief over 35 years. In the Constitution of BNP the chairperson has been empowered as a dictator by which she can take any decision

---

[9] Government for Sustainable Human Development, A UNDP Policy Paper, UNDP, 1997, p. 2-3.
[10] Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh (2009), The Ministry of Law, Justice and Parliamentary Affairs, Dhaka, BG Press.

without the concern of Standing Committee, the apex decision-making body. Again, AL and another political party of Bangladesh, Jatio Party resembles BNP where party president takes any dictatorial decision ignoring the apex decision-formulating body of the party. However, the chief of all political parties becomes the Prime Minister as the head of the government. He/She also becomes the leader of the Parliament. It observes that a particular person obtains three important positions in his/her grips at a time, i.e. head of the party, leader of the Parliament and head of the government as well. That is why, authoritarian pattern of leadership, often hampers the democratization of Bangladesh and it transforms as an impedimental agent of good governance.

6.2 Inclusion of Partisan Bureaucracy in Administration: Corruption and fund misuse are still rampant coupled with maladministration, marginalization of the common people, unethical conduct of both elected representative and government officials, shifting and changing of policies between regimes, politicization of public institutions such as the bureaucracy and education, and politics based on oligarchy, i.e. concentration of power in few hands joined by family, lineal and party linkage in Bangladesh.[11] The Daily Prothom Alo has published a study report entitled as Politicization is a Great Barrier in Administration (in Bengali: Jonoproshason-e Boro Badha Doliokoron). This report shows that 95% government officials want to serve the welfare of the people, but foils their dream due to political pressure.[12]

Politicization has gradually been augmenting in the public administration in Bangladesh from 1990. The government official directly participated against the government in the name of Jonotar Moncha[13] in 1996 which incident explicitly violated the Service Rule of public officials. Subsequently, most political governments fail to control the situation. In the study, 32 per cent and 41 per cent respondent opined that political affiliation and personal relationship are important determinants to appoint the government job particularly in lower posts of the administration (3rd class and 4th class employees).[14] Moreover, political affiliation, nepotism or good relationship is being regarded as the main determinant of qualification for promotion and lucrative posting. This study again found that many officials have got their suitable posting with the help

---

[11] Jamil, Ishtiaq and others(2011), Understanding Governance and Public Policy in Bangladesh, Dhaka, MPPG Programme, North South University.
[12] The Daily Prothom Alo, 28 March, 2019, Dhaka, pp. 1-2
[13] A political forum established by some public officials against the government during 1996.
[14] The Daily Prothom Alo, 28 March, 2019, Dhaka, pp. 1-2

of illegal gratification.[15] These characters not only demoralize the administration but also extremely hamper good governance process in Bangladesh and help to promote corruption as well.

6.3 Emergence of Weak Political Party System: Political party is an indispensable agent of political system through which the people can get opportunity to participate in politics. The political parties organize the people to compete capturing the state power in order to implement its aims and objectives. Political party as an opposition, frequently, searches out the loopholes of the ruling party and criticizes the actions of government. Strong political party system always helps to ensure good governance. This political environment creates strong bondage among the living people, strengthens democracy and mitigates corruption.

Bangladesh is not only densely populated country in South Asia but also almost 60 per cent of its population lives under the poverty level.[16] Political party had played an important role to gain the independence from the colonial ruler during British and Pakistani regime in the historical point of view. In the recent time, the ideological conflict between ruling party and the opposition hampers democratization and good governance process in Bangladesh. Most ruling parties hardly control corruption. Meanwhile, political parties, particularly opposition, have involved in negative action for gaining power after rescuing democracy in 1990. In many times, they destroy the assets in the name of hartal. In the years since independence, Bangladesh has established a reputation as a largely moderate and democratic majority Muslim country. But this position has been demolished for chronic political violence, weak governance, poverty and corruption.

Opposition parties always seek to regain control over government through hartals (political strikes), demonstrations, labour strikes, transport blockade and different forms of political turmoil. On the other hand, ruling party oppress the opposition by means of concealed murder, arrest with false allegation and filing cases with political allegation for their harassment with the co-operation of law enforcing agencies. Political violence with the help of opposition parties has long been a part of political landscape in

---

[15] Ibid.

[16] Shakil, Md. R. H. and Marzia, K., 2013, Political Parties and Good Governance: Bangladesh Perspective, IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science (IOSR-JHSS), Vol. 8, Issue 5 (Mar-Apr 2013). pp. 37-45.

Bangladesh. In the failure of political party both opposition and ruling, corruption is rampant in Bangladesh.

6.4 Instable Local Government System with Bureaucratic Dominancy: Local government indicates the issue of governance for a specified geographical territory empowered by central authority. The norms of local government always emphasize more people's participation. From this point of view, it helps to ensure good governance with the co-operation of institutional accountability and transparency. The existing local government system is the colonial legacy in Bangladesh. In addition, the local government system is the history of changing and re-changing fact here. For the time being, the Local Government Ordinance (Union Parishad) has been modified again and again during various regimes, i.e. 1993, 1997, 2003, 2008 and 2009. UP is a first tier and ancient local institution of Bangladesh. Though the Local Government Ordinance has been turned up gradually, those changes come up on the basis of the Local Government Ordinance (Union Parishad) in 1983. This changing approach not only makes instability but also turns to hamper the development process of UP as a local government body.

Union Parishad (UP) depends both upon the central and bureaucratic authority. In the historical perspective, most governments attempt to keep control on the local body for their greater interest. They paralyze the local government system by the way of subservient institution to bureaucratic authority. For instance, the government has worked out the procedures and principles for the preparation and sanction of annual budgets. The general pattern is that the annual budget is prepared by local body (Union Parishad) by a special meeting. Before the commencement of the first year, Upazila Nirbahi Officer (UNO) gives approval to the annual budget of Union Parishad according to the Article 57 of the Local Government (Union Parishad) Act in 2009.[17] If the budget is not prepared by the Union Parishad before commencement of the financial year, the UNO may prepare the budget under the Article 57(3) of the Local Government (Union Parishad) Act in 2009.[18] The UNO further may amend its fiscal budget according to this Act. This provision proves that without approval of the bureaucratic authority, the budget of Union Parishad could not be legalized.

---

[17] Local Government (Union Parishad) Act (2009), Bangladesh Gazette, The People's Republic of Bangladesh, BG Press.
[18] Ibid.

6.5 Existent Pervasive Inequality in Bangladesh: In Bangladesh there is a profound and ever-widening socio-economic disparity between rural and urban areas, more developed and less developed regions and also between the rich and poor within a region. In case of the distribution of goods and services, there is a clear bias towards Dhaka city, the capital and the mega city with population exceeding 13 million. Dhaka city is the centre of government and administration, diplomatic missions, commercial hub and the centre of all socio-political and economic activities. However, from the existing database that focuses mainly on the large geographical units—divisions and districts, it is often difficult to identify spatial pockets of severe social diseases affected by the intra-regional inequality.[19]

The two issues—inter-regional inequality and Dhaka-centric development can be substantiated from the location of manufacturing industries and distribution of educational facilities. The Census of Manufacturing Industries (CMI) reported that around half (47 per cent) of those establishments were located in Dhaka division in 1997-98 generating 60 per cent employment, which was almost twice as compared to its share of the population.[20] During 1993-94 to 1997-98, a 14 per cent increase was noted with regard to the expansion of these establishments in Dhaka division. Next in order was the Rajshahi division that shared around a quarter of those establishments (24 per cent) but over time it has recorded a negative growth rate of 6.4 per cent. A declining trend was also observed in the case of Chittagong division that had 15 per cent of the establishments although it observed the second largest proportions of employees—20 per cent. Whilst Khulna division had the lower share–14 per cent of the establishments, but during the reference period, it saw an increase of 53 per cent.[21]

With regard to higher educational facilities, Dhaka district had the largest share of colleges (12.5 per cent), teachers (17.2 per cent) and students (16.6 per cent). Rajshahi ranked second having 10.75 per cent of the total colleges, 10.4 per cent teachers and 7.5 per cent students. However, the gap between the two districts on all counts has been too wide to draw one's attention. Of the 26 government and private universities around

---

[19] Sen, B. and Z. Ali, 2005, Spatial Inequality in Social Progress in Bangladesh, PRCPB Working Paper # 7, Dhaka/Manchester: Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies (BIDS), Dhaka and Chronic Poverty Research Centre, University of Manchester.
[20] Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS), 2003, Report on Bangladesh Census of Manufacturing Industries (CMI) 1997-98, Dhaka, Ministry of Planning, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.
[21] Ibid.

two-thirds are located in Dhaka city and surrounding thanas (sub-districts). All the English-medium and the top-ranked schools and colleges are located in Dhaka city. So are the reputed and specialized health care facilities. For example, 42.4 per cent of the non-government hospitals are located in Dhaka district. Maulavibazar in Sylhet division has the second largest share–7.8 per cent, followed by Chittagong–7 per cent,[22] clearly pointing to a high spatial imbalance in the distribution of health care facilities. From the above discussion, it is clearly seen that central dominancy has existed in all spheres of Bangladesh in which inequality is enhancing day by day. Indeed, this miserable condition not only makes barrier to good governance but also increases the possibility of corruption.

7. Remedial Suggestion and Ending Speech: Democracy needs the government of the people, and the government requires loyal, competent and professional civil servant, good government needs efficient leadership as well. Good governance has a basic character to combat corruption. In this paper we have discussed the several actors and factors of corruption in Bangladesh. At the same time, the paper has focused how governance and democratization process is failing here for the causes of corruption. Now the study attempts to give some preventive suggestions.

7.1 To Reform Election System: Election is an important factor for ensuring democratization process. Efficient leader is searched out by means of acceptable and credible election. In Bangladesh, political violence has often occurred in the absence of free, fair and participatory election. Most governments have failed to conduct acceptable and credible elections since 1990. The parties, when they come to power, forget their previous commitment. It is seen that the ruling parties never lose their position after gaining state power. So, free, fair and participatory election is needed for ensuring good governance in Bangladesh. If it is possible to implement by reforming election system, corruption may be controlled in many respects.

7.2 Promoting Democracy in the State Policy: In recent year, democratic values are being demolished in Bangladesh. Authoritative leadership impedes the development and enhances the administrative system loss. Dogmatic leadership again breaks down the constitutional institution, i.e. Parliament, Judiciary, Election Commission etc. For

---

[22] Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS), 2002, Statistical Yearbook of Bangladesh 2000, Dhaka, Ministry of Planning, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

instance, most national elections under the control of the ruling party (10th Parliament Election in 2014 on 5th January and 11th Parliament Election in 2018 on 30the December of Bangladesh) have failed to gain its credibility because of having many irregularities of election process and procedure. This type of government hardly ensures accountability and transparency in their function. In the absence of accountability and transparency, corruption is rampant here. Inclusive and participatory election must be needed in order to rescue democracy in Bangladesh. That is why, leader selection method should be followed in accordance with the democratic way for establishing good governance and erasing corruption.

7.3 Establishing Partisan Free Bureaucracy: The Daily Prothom Alo has published a report on Annual Report of Durniti Domon Commission (Anti Corruption Commission) in 2017. This report pointed out that it would not be possible to eliminate corruption and irregularities without reforming of the public welfare system by the administration.[23] Most political governments give promotion and position to the officials in the consideration of their own interest. For this, partisan free bureaucracy should be established in order to control corruption.

7.4 Spreading Moral and Ethical Values in Politics and Administration: In the view of Socrates, ethics and politics are closely connected with each other. It is true that without politics ethics carries no value, and without ethics politics becomes harmful. Socrates observed that the highest of all virtues is the political arts which includes statecraft and makes men good politicians and public officials.[24] He thought again the purpose of politics was not to capture power, nor it was an art how to remain in power. Indeed, political ethics makes a man a good and proper citizen in the light of moral development. That is why, both public and private persons must learn the art of political ethics. In the absence of moral and ethical values, a man involves in corruption in Bangladesh. Most people both mass and administrator hardly know regarding the ethical knowledge. Politics become a profitable business her for politicians and administrators. For example, many government officials and businessmen are, often, involving in politics for their personal interest. Meanwhile, politics are controlled by the businessmen today here. So political ethics should be introduced immediately for the sake of eliminating corruption.

---

[23] The Daily Prothom Alo, 28 March, 2019, Dhaka, pp. 1-2.
[24] Duning, W. Archibald (1991), A History of Political Theories, Allahabad: Central Publishing House.

7.5 Establishing Tolerance based Political Environment: A truly democratic government cannot violate civil and political rights of the individual. This means, they (individuals) can freely express their views without fear of being arrested, tortured or discrimination. But it is hardly seen in Bangladeshi politics. Government should provide the fundamental rights for all citizens including opposition parties. Tolerance based environment has to be established in Bangladeshi politics for ensuring good governance and controlling corruption.

7.6 Following achievement Based Model: A public official should appoint according to merit, not by following other criteria. Promotion and posting should also be provided for an official by dint of merit as their qualification which means achievement based model. Traditional system always emphasizes on aspiration based model which enhances the possibility of corruption. From this point of view, government should not only appoint the officials according to merit as qualification but also give their posting and promotion by dint of efficiency, honesty and sincerity in order to ensure good governance. This system again helps to eliminate corruption from the society.

The Western model of governance are developed on the basis of values like individualism, rationality, meritocracy, neutrality of the state, plurality of the political system and impersonality of leadership; whereas in case of Bangladesh the political system is following the Asian values of collectivism, strict hierarchical structure of the society, patron-client relation, arbitrary attitude of ruling elite personality based and personalized leadership.[25] The policy maker should be concerned about the Western model of good governance to introduce in institutional building in order to eliminate corruption in Bangladesh.

---

[25] Haque, Sk. Tawfique, M. (2011), The Normative Roots of Governance Theories: Prospects and Challenges from Bangladesh Perspective, Jamil, Ishtiaq and others (eds.), Understanding Governance and Public Policy in Bangladesh, Dhaka, MPPG Programme, North South University.

Bibliography

1. Huntington, Samuel P., (1979), Political Order in Changing Society, Virginia: Yale University, p. 59

2. Abdel M. Abdellatif, (2003), Good Governance and its Relationship to Democracy & Economic Development, This paper presented on the workshop IV. Democracy, Economic Development and Culture in the Global Forum III on Fighting Corruption and Safeguarding Integrity (GF3/WS/IV-3/S1), Seoul, 20-31 May.

3. Beetham, David, Liberal Democracy and the Limits of Democratization, Political Studies, Special Issue Vol. 40, 1992, p. 40.

4. Abdul. H. Hasnat, (2001), Governance: South Asian Perspective, Oxford, p. 1.

5. Holzer Marc & Kim Byoong-Joon (ed.) (2002), Building Good Governance: Reforms in Seoul, (National Centre for Public Productive), Preface.

6. A Policy Paper of UNDP (1997), Governance for Sustainable Human Development, p. 2-3.

7. http://www/adb.org/Documents/Politics/Governance/gov300asp?p=policies.

8. Constitute of the People's Republic of Bangladesh (2009), The Ministry of Law, Justice and Parliamentary Affairs, Dhaka, BG Press.

9. Jamil, Ishtiaq and others, (2011), Understanding Governance and Public Policy in Bangladesh, MPPG Programme, North South University, Bangladesh.

10. The Daily Prothom Alo, 28 March, 2019, Dhaka, pp. 1-2.

11. Shakil. Md. R.H. and Marzia, K. 2013, Political Parties and Good Governance: Bangladesh Perspective, IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science (IOSR-JHSS), Vol. 8, Issue 5 (Mar.-Apr. 2013). pp. 37-45.

12. Local Government (Union Parishad) Act (2009), Bangladesh Gazette, The People's Republic of Bangladesh, BG Press.

13. Sen, B. and Z. Ali, (2005), Spatial Inequality in Social Progress in Bangladesh, PRCPB Working Paper # 7, Dhaka/Manchester: Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies (BIDS), Dhaka and Chronic Poverty Research Centre, University of Manchester.

14. Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS), (2003), Report on Bangladesh Census of Manufacturing Industries (CMI), 1997/98, Dhaka, Ministry of Planning, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

15. Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS), (2002), Statistical Yearbook of Bangladesh, 2000, Dhaka, Ministry of Planning, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

16. Dunning, W. Archibald, (1991), A History of Political Theories, Allahabad Central Publishing House.

17. Haque, Sk, Tawfique, M., (2011), The Normative Roots of Governance Theories: Prospects and Challenges from Bangladesh Perspective, Jamil, Ishtiaq and others (eds.), Understanding Governance and Public Policy in Bangladesh, Dhaka, MPPG Programme, North South University.