

Political Development and Modernisation in Bangladesh

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ABSTRACT

Political development, since very long, has been the subject of debate among the arenas of political analysts and philosophers whose list is wide ranging. It includes from classical to 20th Century's modern analysts. Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Karl Marx and so many others, due to their discontentment over the political conditions around them, presented their philosophies with a wishful thinking of progress and development of the respective civic cultures. The concern for political progress under the expression of political development became more pervasive after the Second World War. During this intellectual fermentation, a host of scholars offered a wide variety of definitional explication of the concept of political development. They all soon realised the ambiguity of the offered definition of the concept of political development. L.W. Pye defined it by using at least ten sub- concepts. This article will analyse the political development and modernisation in Bangladesh after explicating the concept of political development and modernisation which have been widely and generally accepted by the political scientists. This study will be confined to the areas: the organisation of the political system and its structural coherence, the democratic experience of the nation, and socio- economic development.

Key words: Political development, modernization, socio-economic development, Bangladesh

Political Development

Generally speaking, political development depicts the stages of change in the structure of the government. The state being the repository of the institutions including government, is referred as a country's key responsible institution for making, implementing and adjudicating important policies in that country. It is a commonly observed phenomenon that all states are not same, despite having the common elements of statehood. The difference actually lies in the institutions of governance, modes of participation, representation and its political implications. As mentioned earlier, political development is the stages of change in the governmental structure, but it is too simplistic definition. Actually, this leads us directly to another question, which is concerned with the direction of these changes. If there is a change, it is needed to analyse whether this change will lead to a better society. This question has remained the main concern of classical to 20th Century's philosophers and political analysts. Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Karl Marx and so many others presented their philosophies owing to discontentment

over the condition of politics with a wishful thinking of progress and development with a positive change in society.

The concern for political progress specifically under the expression of political development became more pervasive after the Second World War. Three reasons are mainly subscribed for this intellectual fermentation. First, the rise of dictatorships in Europe like Nazism and Fascism during the interwar period and the subsequent victory of the democracies after the second world war, secondly, the partial end of colonialism with the birth of many new independent and sovereign states in Asia, Africa and Europe as well as ushered myriad changes in the international system. Optimism about the political progress prevailed all over the world. The United Nations represented symbolically this widespread hope for political development. Thirdly, the profound changes in the early 50's and 60's in agriculture, industry, health, education and welfare profiles of the state were regarded as economic and social development. This invoked a parallel need of improvement or development in the political spheres specifically for newly born states in Africa and Asia. Eventually, a number of political scientists got attracted towards this phenomenon, but they soon realised the difficulties in defining the concept of political development as L.W Pye employed ten different indicators to define and circumscribe the concept of political development. He undertook from mass mobilisation to the operations of the state. All this was done to look for what "improving politics could entail." So, apparently, there was a seeming intellectual impasse over the definition of political development (Huntington, 1965)

After discerning over the issues of progress, change, with a last aim to achieve a good society, the political scientists, and political development analysts offered two sets of definitions of political development;

Political Development in relation with Social and Economic Development

This category suggests that political development is concerned with the politics of industrialised or with a process of social change. They presented this notion believing that the economic and social development is measurable. We can easily measure the level of income distribution, the extent of industrialisation and levels of educational and social services. So far as political progress is concerned, the agreement on what type of data is to be collected, is yet to be reached? But as political activity also consists in decision making, its effect can be apprehended by policy outputs, specifically by economic and social outputs. So, this concept leads us to think that 'there is a such political development where one could trace the existence of social and economic development however the hidden pitfalls like avoidance of corruption, inefficient or wasteful bureaucratic procedures or the sheer inability of the politicians turned the political scientists to look for the other definitions of political development as well.

Political Development as Organisation of Political System

This is concerned with the state operations and administrative efficiency because it conceives political development dependent upon state structure, bureaucratic order, groups, parliament, executives and judiciary as well. Any lacking or deficiency cripples down the process of political development.

Keeping in view all these definitions, this article will focus upon socio-economic indicators, the democratic experience of the nation and structural organization of the political system of Bangladesh.

Bangladesh: An Introduction

In 1971, after the long nine months of internal strife against the federation of Pakistan with entrenched external intervention by India, Bangladesh came into being on the map of the world.(Rizvi, 2000). The region of Bengal has its own long legacy of experience and history. It was the kingdom of Vanga or Banga with experiences of different civilisations and styles of governance. Earlier it had been marked by the civilization of Buddhist kingdom and Hindu kingdom. In 1576, Bengal was subdued by the Moguls. Afterwards, it was ruled by the Britishers from 1757 to 1947. After their withdrawal from the region, it was parted in two, the East Bengal was made part of Pakistan (1947-1971) and the West Bengal became the part of India (Karim, 2013).

Geographically, it is located on the Tropic of Cancer at the eastern edge of the Indian Subcontinent and the total area of the country is 56,977 square miles. Before the formation of the Himalayas, its basin was the part of ancient Assam Gulf. It is located between the 88°01' and 92°52' East longitude and 21°30' and 27°29' North Latitude. The country can be divided into four topographic zones. Bangladesh is surrounded by Indian states on the western border, Assam on northern, Tripura on the eastern and Burma on the southeast. The Bay of Bengal is in the south, where Jamuna-Brahmaputra, Padma (Ganges) and Meghna rivers empty. Bangladesh is an agrarian country almost 70% lands is cultivable producing 7% of the world wide production of rice. The other important productions are jute, pulses, sugarcane, potato and cotton (Wallace & Harris, 1989).

Having largest river system in the world, it approximately covers the area of 25,000 square miles following from Himalayas. The 12 nautical miles is the territorial waters limits. It has one of the biggest delta plain in the world while some southeastern part is hilly known as Chittagong Hill Tracts and the Sylhet District to the northeast. Climatically, it has humid tropics which cause number of natural hazards like cyclones, floods and riverbank erosion damaging the crops. Bangladesh has been suffered from two worst cyclones one in 1970 resulting in the death of almost 300,00 people and second was in 1991 causing the death over 2200 people per square(Islam & Peterson, 2009).

According to the census of 2011, the total population of Bangladesh is 142.3 million. It ranks 11th in population density. The annual population growth is increasing at the rate of 2.36%. There is a sustainable decline in the poverty in Bangladesh. According to Millennium Development Goals, target of poverty reduction during 1992-2010 was 2.12% but poverty was declined at an annual rate of 2.46%. From 1991-1992, poverty declined 59.6% while it declined 31.5% in 2010. By the end of 2015, only 30% people were living below the poverty line. However, 50 million people still are living below the poverty line (Ministry of Environment and Forest, 2012). According to the Bangladesh Bureau of statistics (BBS), the literacy rate is 59.82%. (Bangladesh Literacy Survey, 2010).

Since secession from Pakistan, Bangladesh worked hard for the socio-economic and political development. She suffered from the civil military imbalances; democracy was toppled by military rule for 15 years out of the 41 years of independence. From the last few decades, the health sector, economic escalation, agriculture efficiency, human rights, women empowerment, independent judiciary, effective institutions, free and fair elections, greater transparency and so on are the product of sustainable socio-economic and political development. However, the main hurdle in this sustainable development is political instability mainly caused by internal power struggle between the political parties i.e Awami League and BNP led the state to stand between the hope and depression (Karim, 2013).

The study will evaluate the political development with respect to social and economic development, political system and the values implementation in Bangladesh. Socio-economic development implies the process of social and economic development in a society. These developments can be measured with certain indicators like GDP, literacy, infant mortality, poverty, malnutrition, agricultural growth, employment and so on. Political system consists of various sub systems which are mutually interdependent. In order to understand the political system of any country, it is necessary to study these sub systems in detail. Every political system has its own specific values such as democratic values and efficiency of civil society and their impact on the society as a whole. So, the study will discuss the entire development in Bangladesh.

Political Development Related to Social and Economic Development

The social and economic wellbeing in a society is its social and economic development. In a society, there are certain tools for measuring the development such as human development index, income index, employment rate, population growth, educational sector, quality of health and etc. Social development process is in which social institutions effectively and efficiently fulfil the social responsibilities and their inspirations. Social development is a two way process in which social institutions as well as individuals adopt progressive attitude and values towards the society. Economic development leads to the social development. Economic development is caused by the increased gross domestic

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production, national income, trade , agricultural productivity, market economy and so on.

Since independence, Bangladesh is continuously struggling for the socio-economic development. The reduction in poverty, population rate and mortality rate are the clear indications of efforts. The agriculture sector is also remarkably increasing food production inspite of massive cyclones and floods. The literacy rate is also increasing with the passage of time. Different reforms are introduced for the betterment of the health sector such as government allocated special funds for the eradication of polio. But it is worth noticing that a large number of people are still living below the poverty line. The famine and hunger result in the death of many children and women. Here in the following, we would examine the political development with respect to the socio-economic development, political system and political value. There can be several parameters to be used for the study namely, development index, demography, education level, child mortality rate, life expectancy, economic growth, women empowerment, rule of law, violence, consumption patterns, entertainment industry, and so on but none of them can individually tell us something meaningful. To make the information relevant, several of the factors, if not all, are to be qualitatively analysed. But to do so, an empirical database is necessary (Karim,2013)

Human development Index

The concept human development is related to the concept social development and the ultimate goal of both of them is to empower the people. The Human Development Index (HDI) is used to measure the human social development (Malik, 2014).

In 2014, the HDI value of Bangladesh was 0.570 which places the country in the medium human development category at the position of 142 out of 188 countries. The HDI increased from 0.338 to 0.570 between the years of 1980 and 2014; an average annual increase of about 1.55%. There are usually three parameters to determine the HDI (i). Life expectancy (ii) Education Index (iii) Income index.

Life expectancy, in statistical sense, is expected remaining years of life at a given age. With the passage of time, the life expectancy also increases. This improvement is there mainly because of the increasing development in the medicine sector. The life expectancy of females is 71.98 years as compared to the life expectancy of males that is 68.21 years. This is the clear indication of reduction in infant mortality rate as well as overall improvement in the quality of life in Bangladesh (Human Development Report, 2015).

Table. 1. Life Expectancy Rate in Bangladesh 1980 to 2015

Year	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010	2015
Life Expectancy at Birth	53.5	55.6	58.4	61.9	65.3	68.0	70.1	71.3

Source: Briefing Note for the Countries on the Human Development Report Bangladesh, p.3, 2015.

Since its inception, Bangladesh is trying to increase the budget for educational sector. Moreover, different NGOs, IGOs like UNICEF, and World Vision etc, are working for the improvement of educational sector in Bangladesh. Both at primary and secondary levels, Bangladesh successfully achieved the Millennium Development Goal (MDG). Despite high level of poverty and widespread social repression, the spending on the primary education is remarkable specially for girls. In 2013, the net primary school enrollment was 97.3%.

The literacy rate continuously increased from 35.5% in 1991, 47.8% in 2001 to 59.8% in 2010. In 2010, the literacy rate of males is 61.3% and of females is 52.2%. Government successfully overcame the gender disparity in order to access to primary and secondary education (Karim, 2013). This is done through various educational policies such as Primary Education Compulsory Act 1990 for free and compulsory primary education, supply of free books upto higher secondary level. Special attention was given to the female education by allocating specific funds. More than 15 state universities as well as many private educational institutes also received funds from government through University Grants Commission. (Human Development Report Bangladesh, 2015).

The steadily increase in the allocation of budget can be viewed in the following:

Table. 2. Expenditure on the Education 1980-200

Expenditure Subject	1980/81	1985/86	1990/91	1995/96
	1984/1985	1989/90	1994/95	1999-2000
Percentage of total budget expenditure on Education	08.16 %	11.24 %	13.62%	15.51%

Source: (Karim, 2013)

Income index is also an instrument for measuring the Human Development Index. Income index is an average income of per person in a given area in a specified year. The progress and development can not be possible without the growth of per capita. Since its inception, there is a gradual growth in the per capita income facilities, better standard of living, sound economic policies and broad base economic growth. Social development comes in relation to per capita income specially large social spending on welfare oriented programmes.

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Table. 3. **Per capita Income of People of Bangladesh**

Year	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Per Capita Income In US\$	1002.73	1078.28	1164.6	1265.96	1370.96	1472.46	1556.94	1651.8	1788.3

Source: www.tradingeconomics.com / WORLD BANK

As mentioned in the table shown above, the gradual decline in per capita income is also contributing in poverty reduction. This development helps Bangladesh reduce poverty. The gradual increase in per capita income helps Bangladesh develop her place in world HDI.

Population Rate

Bangladesh is ethnically a homogenous country. It had the highest population rate during 1960 and 1970. According to the census of 2011, the total population of Bangladesh was 142.3 million. It ranks 11th in the population density. The annual population growth is increasing at the rate of 2.36%. According to the World Bank 2013 report, Bangladesh has a population of 151 million occupying 147570 square kilometers. This has the highest density in the world as 1161 people per square kilometer. The official census is conducted after every 10 years while the last one was conducted in 2011. There is a sharp decline in the population growth rate as it dropped from 7 to 2.4 in 2005 to 2010 (Wallace&Harris, 1989).

Table. 4. **Population of Bangladesh 1975-2015**

Country	Total Populations (in million)		
Bangladesh	1975	2001	2015
	75.2	140.9	181.4

Source: Human development report 'Bangladesh', Working for human development Briefing notes for countries, 2015.

Health Sector

Article 15 of the Bangladesh constitution deals with the provision of basic health services making the government obligatory for providing health security to the citizens. Since independence, Bangladesh has established an extensive health structure and introduced various reforms both in private and public sectors. As compared to the population, the health and education levels are relatively low. There are a number of major problems such as poverty, corruption, over population and vulnerability to climate change. Several reforms have been made to establish an extensive health infrastructure. There are four key defining factors in the structure and function of health sector i. Government ii. Private sector iii. Non governmental organisations iv. Donor agencies. Providing comprehensive health services is the major responsibility of the government. The network of private sector and NGOs has been established to complement the government's

limited facilities. In Bangladesh, NGOs are the major donors as the total health expenditures were increased from 6% in 1997 to 9% in 2007 (Ahmed et al., 2015).

The first and foremost goal of the MDGs is the improvement of the health sector in Bangladesh. It is trying its best to attain the goal as set by MDGs by the end of 2015. The health facilities in Bangladesh are divided into four levels are Upazilla Health Complex, Union Sub Center & Community Clinics, secondly healthcare like District Hospitals, tertiary health care (Medical College Hospitals) and specialized care. There are as compared to 1991, the Maternal mortality ratio has reduced from 574 per 100,000 live births to 320 per 100,000 live births. Further, the maternal mortality ratio was reduced to 290 per 100,000 live births in 2006.

The life expectancy of people 13,500 new community clinics facilities 6000 population are constructed under Health and Population Sector Programme. For children below one year of age, different programmes have been introduced to reduce infant and child morbidity such as Expanded Programme for immunisation for six vaccine preventable diseases such as tuberculosis, diphtheria, pertussis, tetanus, poliomyelitis and measles. During the period of 1990 and 2015, the maternal and mortality ratio should be reduced by three quarters. This has also increased in the last two decades with an excellent performance in controlling the child mortality rate. Currently, Bangladesh is one of the countries which is achieving the Millennium Development Goal relating to child mortality. In 1972, there was a sharp decline in infant and child mortality rates from 140 and 95 respectively and about 60 and 30 in 2000 (Karim, 2013).

Economic Growth

Banladesh got independence in 1971 at the expense of 3 million lives in a bloody war of liberation. The physical administrative structure was completely destroyed after this war. Bangladesh started with limited mineral resources. At that time, it was left only with land and labour. After the independence, the restrict trade policies for one decade was followed. In 1980s, various structural adjustment programmes in different sectors of the economy moving towards outward orientations were introduced. (Sultan, 2008)

Since independence, Bangladesh has been making continuous economic progress by achieving this progress effectively utilising its labour force. The series of economic reforms has been introduced in late 1980s and 1990 including the integration of national economy with international economy raised the annual GDP growth rate from 3.2% in the 1980s to 4.8% in the 1990s. there was an export oriented production policy was initiated. The textile industry and garments sectors are becoming the main exporter of ready made garments (RMG). In 1990s, the textile industry accounted for only 0.6% of global apparel export and it increased to the 4.8 % in 2011. This export increases the GDP from 5% in 1990 to 23% in 2011. There is a substantial increase in the textile export as it is accounted

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for \$21.5 billion in 2013 (Labor Studies of International Labor Organization, 2013)

The high degree of industrialisation is directly related to the trade. Bangladesh has not only increased the trade but also changed the export from traditional items such as jute towards new manufactures' products such as ready made garments. Following table shows the shifts of commodity exports of Bangladesh:

Table. 5. The Major Exports by Commodities

Year	Jute Goods	Raw Jute	Leather	Tea	Frozen Foods	Chemical Products	Other	Woven Garments	Knitwear
1972-1973	51.4	38.5	4.6	2.9	0.9	0.9	0.9	-	-
1981-1982	45.5	16.3	10.1	6.1	8.5	1.1	10.4	1.1	-
1990-1991	16.9	6.1	7.8	2.5	8.3	2.6	5.4	42.8	7.6
2002-2003	3.9	1.3	2.9	0.2	4.9	1.5	10.2	49.8	25.3

Source: (Sultan, 2008).

In 2012, Bangladesh earned from annual export of some \$25 billion mainly from knitwear and garment products, remittance equivalent to \$14 billion along with the growth of 6.0% of GDP. In the following table, GDP of Bangladesh since 1999 to 2010 are mentioned:

Table. 6. GDP of Bangladesh 1999-2015

Year	Gross Domestic Production
1999	5.2
2000	5.3
2001	5.6
2002	4.4
2003	5.3
2004	4.9
2005	6.4
2006	6.6
2007	6.3
2008	4.9
2009	5.7
2010	5.6
2011	6.5
2012	6.5
2013	6
2014	6.1

Source : world macroeconomics research 1970-2014

Agriculture Productivity and Food Security

The foremost important force of the economy of Bangladesh is agriculture. Bangladesh is an agrarian country. Between 1990 and 2005, the agriculture sector grew at a rate of 4.8%. They used modern technology for effective agriculture growth as they are self-sufficient as since independence its rice production increased from 10 million MT in 1971 to over 32 million MT today. On the 75% of the total rice cropped area modern varieties have been introduced. The utilization of 77% of agriculture land use now led Bangladesh sixth largest producer of rice. The agriculture sector contributed around one-fourth of the total GDP by employing about 65% of the current labor force. The 26.53 million tons and 2.32 million tons for rice and fish respectively is estimated for the annual production. Agriculture sector accounted for 23.5% of the total GDP in 2009-2010. The following table indicates the importance of agriculture in the economy of Bangladesh. (Bishwajit et al., 2014).

Table 7. Contribution of Agricultural Sector in the Economy

Year	1980	1990	2000	2010	2011
Agriculture, Value added (% of GDP)	31.5 5	30.25	25.51	18.59	18.29
Agriculture, Value added (annual % growth)	0.16	9.37	7.38	5.24	5.13

Source (Bishwajit et al., 2014)

Political Development as an Organisation of the Political System

Almond defines Political Development as the “acquisition of new capability in the sense of a specialised role, structure and differentiated orientation which together given a political system the range of problem”. Hegan stated that “growth of institutions and practices that allow a political system to deal with its own fundamental problems more effectively in the short run, while working towards more responsiveness of the regime popular demand in the long run”. Political development is directly linked with the rule of law, transparency, efficiency, responsiveness, effectiveness, accountability and so on. The aim of political development is defined by Rostow and Pye as “national political unity and broadening of the base of political unity and broadening of the base of political participation”. Lucian Pye describes political development as the organisation of political system as:

- Political development as the political mobilisation
- Political development as the function of nation state
- Political development as the democracy
- Political development as mobilisation and participation
- Political development as a state building

Moreover, Pye also discussed the capacity as a key feature of political development with respect to the political system. It refers to the management of

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public affairs by efficiency and effectiveness. It also includes the ability to cope with popular demand. The ultimate goal of political development is political stability (Almond, 1956)

The political system of Bangladesh has experienced different forms of the government. The political history of Bangladesh is a long struggle of political improvement without nation's democratic growth. This was the result of two violent partitions of 1947 and 1971 respectively.

The brutal independence movement of 1947 in subcontinent led the creation of two states, India and Pakistan. Further, Pakistan was consisted of two wings; East Pakistan and West Pakistan. There is about 1500km distance between both the wings. Soon after inception, East Pakistan suffered from political, economic and social discrimination which created unrest for nearly a quarter of century. First general elections in 1970s marked the separation of East Pakistan from West Pakistan naming it Bangladesh. This is linguistically and religiously a homogenous country as compared to other major countries of subcontinent. It passed through different experiences of authoritarian and partial democracy. It did not achieve internal peace as there was an attempt of imposition of one party system, long period of military rule, two heads of state were assassinated and in 2000s, there was weak democracy. The democracy in Bangladesh is described as high level of political corruption and insufficient attention towards developmental policies and institution building.

Bangladesh enjoyed three elected parliamentary forms of government from 1991 to 2006; two of these were led by BNP and one was led by Awami League. During this time period, elections were held by the caretaker government. These elections were considered more free and fair than previous ones. Though, the democratically elected governments may not fulfil the complete requirements of the true spirit of democracy, these governments are better in terms of social justices and political development. In 2007, military once again came into power as an interim government with a promise to conduct general elections. This interim government became a nightmare by running the state affairs for two years. The elections in 2008 led to the establishment of the government of Awami League under the leadership of Sheikh Hasina. On the other hand, there is long legacy of struggle between democracy and military rule (Barman et al., 2002)

Bangladesh started suffering from the 13-year military coup soon after the independence. In 1975, the president of the country was assassinated by the military coup lead by Major Syed Faruque and Major Rashid. In the same year, Brigadier Khaled over threw the coup of Major Rashid. After 3 days, the coup of Mosharraf was over thrown by Lt. Colonel Abu Taher. During the five years of Zia ur Reham's presidency (1977-1980), 21 coup attempts were made and Zia ur Reham was assassinated in the coup of 1981 led by General Abdul Mazar. From 1982 to 2007, there were coups in 1982, 1996 and 2007 (Ahmad, 2004).

Indicators to Measure the Political Development of Bangladesh

Form of Government

The political system of any country can be studied through its form of government. Bangladesh experienced different forms of government. Soon after independence, she adopted the western parliamentary form of government as provided under 1972 constitution of Bangladesh. The father of nation Sheikh Mujib transformed the democratic parliamentary political system into authoritarian presidential system under one party rule. After the sixteen years of presidential rule, in 1991, there was a shift towards parliamentary system. This was also run for two years under interim government run by the military. After the general elections 2007, the country once again moved from presidential to the parliamentary system (Karim,2013).

State Building

State building is the process involve the construction of public building and infrastructure essential for the public goods. Bangladesh focused on the Development National Capacity through effective policies and legal measures such as Fifty Five Year Plan, Agriculture Plan 1990 , Environment Policy, Forest Policy 1994, National Environment Management Action Plan 1994-1995, National Fisheries Development Policy 1998 and etc. Since 1990s, these legal measurements contributed annual growth of about 5.4% to 6% during past few years. Moreover, there is also a remarkable technological advancement in Bangladesh. The complete social transformation has been brought by technological advancement. In 2000, the Bangladesh Telecommunication Regulatory Commission was established. In 2002, around more than 1.75 million people were subscribers of mobile and Public Switched Telephone Network. Industrialisation backed the state building in Bangladesh. Over the last 2 decades, Bangladesh showed rapid growth in the industrialisation specially in pharmaceutical, ceramics, electric wires and etc. The export of industrial goods accounted for 80% annual revenue. She also established a ship breaking industry providing much need of iron and steel. There are approximately 250,300 steel re rolling mills of varying capacity. About 600,00-700,00 tons of steel is produced per year by Bangladesh Steel Rolling Mills.

Bangladesh also focused on the infrastructure development especially in the rural area as government spent 1 billion \$ for the rural growth such as road construction, rural centers, rural hubs for markets, rural health center, small bridges and etc. There are series of projects under Rural Development Projects (Ministry of Environment and Forest, 2012).

Nation building

Nation Building is a concept related to the concept of nationalism, the degree of political socialisation, political culture and having faith in democracy. The separatism movement of the subcontinent 1947 led the emergence of East Pakistan and West Pakistan. East Pakistan was treated as a colony of the West Pakistan. It was fallen in the hands of elites, high rank military officers, politicians and important civil servants of West Pakistan. All the important matters such as currency, defense, foreign policy and budget were dealt by West Pakistan. All the development projects were largely vested into West Pakistan. As a result of the 1971 civil war, East Pakistan was separated from West Pakistan. Soon after the independence of East Pakistan as Bangladesh, she faced the problem of nation building (English, 1976).

Nationalism is a great challenge faced by Bangladesh because of various tribes and religions. The Muslims constitute 85% of the total population while other minorities are Hindus, Christians and Buddhists. There are 34 tribes in Bangladesh so it is a great difficulty to unite them under one umbrella of nationalists. For this purpose, government introduced secular constitution for accommodating all religious sects and tribes. But in Bangladesh, Islam is used as a tool for the power politics as in 1988, an amendment was made eight times for the induction of "Islam" as a "state religion". The amendment stated that "the state religion of the Republic is Islam, but other religions may be practiced in peace and harmony in the Republic". There was a huge resentment on this amendment. The Christians and Hindus showed their reservations on this amendment as they started protests and demonstrations. The fifteenth amendment was passed in 2011 under which the stress was given on equal status and right to perform religious activities of other religions. For the sake of nation building, Bangladesh's government introduced special quota, scopes and opportunities for the backward group of people and for different ethnic groups in all public services. This is the effort made by the government especially to satisfy the people of backward hilly areas as the people of hilly track areas organised themselves under the name of "Shanti Bahini" to revolt against the government. This revolt was ended after signing peace pact "Hill Tracks Peace Treaty" made between the Awami League and the people of Hilly Track area in 1997. Bangladesh government through accommodation and negotiation firms its political system and nation building system (Iqbal, 2009).

Independence of Judiciary

The independence of judiciary depends upon the free and fair judicial system as provided by the constitution. The free and fair judiciary implies the independent of any influence and interference of the executive. The appointment of the judges on the key positions should be on merit. The independence of judiciary implies the substantive judiciary mean judges take all the decision without any internal and

external pressure. There must be personal independence, in which judges should not depend on the government for reaching any decision. In the democratic state, all the three organs of the government have their own distinct separate powers. In Bangladesh, executive powers are invested in executive, legislature powers are invested in legislature but no specify judicial powers are invested in both these institutions. The judicial powers are only invested in judiciary. The first constitution of the Bangladesh was imposed on the first independence anniversary on December 16, 1972. The constitution discuss the nature and structure of the judiciary. The Article 7 , Part VI of the constitution define the independence of the judiciary as stated that “ no functioning of the state oversteps the limit his powers of judiciary”. The Article 94(4) deal the independence of the judiciary and the judges of the supreme court. Similarly Article 115 and 116 deal with the independence of the judges of the subordinate judiciary. The constitution of the Bangladesh uplifts the supremacy of the judiciary through the concept of separation of judicray from rest of the organs of the government. The Article 22 clearly stated that “ the state shall ensure the separation of the judiciary from the executive organs of the state”. Article 95(1) empowered the president for the appointment of the Chief Justices of supreme court and Article 115 and 116 for the appointment of the judges of the subordinate courts.

The constitution provides a judicial sturture which consists of two divisions; the supreme court and the subordinating courts. Supreme court is the highest court further consisted of Appellate court and High court. The functioning and role of both courts are distinctive. There is no separate chief justices for both the courts but chief justices sit in both courts. The subordinating courts are also futher divided into district courts and sessions courts. The District courts are belong to the civil services and under the jurisdiction of Supreme court. There are also Magistrate courts, judges of these courts are belong to the administrative cader. These courts are under the control of Ministry of Establishment and the government. These courts are responsible for 80% criminal cases. Executive body excerises the their notable influence and control over the judiciary through the Magistrate courts. However time to time, efforts has been made for the separation of subordinate courts on the criminal side from the exective body such as in law commission recommended in 1976. In 1987 the two extra constitutional processes has been initiated for the separation of magistracy by amending code of Criminal Procedure 1898. Moreover supreme court also proposed the 21 points directives for the separation of the judiciary from the executive. Almost all governments delay the process amd slow down the procedure of separating judiciary from executive.

Role of Political Parties

In the western democracies, the effective functioning of the political system depend upon the efficient role of political parties. Political parties performed the major task of interest articulation and interest aggregation into the political system.

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They also performed the task of political training of people, mobilization of public opinion, provides the political legitimacy to the regimes, resolving the conflicts, promote political stability, facilitate nation building and role of bridging between the people and government. They keep the people informed about the policies of the government. They are the essence of the political system. In Bangladesh, there are long legacy of political parties as it experienced various party systems. The prominent political parties are Bangladesh Awami League founded in 1949, Bangladesh Nationalist Party founded in 1978 and some other religious political parties founded in 1940s. Although political parties played very significant role in 1940, 1950, 1960 and 1970s in the nationalist movement. But after the independence, there is contradiction with the image of political parties because after the independence these political parties are failed in mobilizing the people on one platform to strengthen the democracy. Soon after the independence, one party dominate the political system of Bangladesh but unable to bring political stability. In 1975, the first elected parliament introduced presidential system and single party system. The political parties, Awami league and others were dissolved and joined Bangladesh Karishak Shramik Awami League (BKSAL). This was single party dominating whole political system. But within six month, martiallaw was imposed and political parties were banned. For the fifteen years, Bangladesh was suffered from the martiallaw rule. The two military dictators Major General Ziaur Rehman and Lieutenant General Hussain Muhammad Ershad build their own political parties. These parties regarded as a Sarkari Parties. In 1975, the Colloration Act of 1972 was repealed by Gerenal Ziaur Rehman for rehabilitation of politicians.

In April 1977, Zia ur Rehman took oath as a president of Banglasesh. On the occasion of oath taking ceremony, he replaced the word secular with the word "absolute trust and faith in Almighty Allah". He also established Bangladesh Nationalist Party having both rightest and liftest politicians. The second military man Lt General H M Ershad formed the Jatiya Party in 1985. During 1975 to 1990, the two military men rule with the short interregnum of civilian president. They both build their own political parties, in order to civilianized their military rule. All retired civil-bureaucrats and technocrats joined their Sarkari party. Both military rulers made an attempt to activate the Islamist group for using the Islam as a tool to gain popular support. The presidential and parliamentary elections were held as well, but these elections were regarded as most rigged elections.

After the long years of military rule, the fifth parliament elections were held in 1991. After the elections, bipartisan engagement came into being. During 1991 to 2006, democratic political parties remained in confrontation with one another. They are failed in developing mutual consensus on various issues of national interest. In 2007, once again martial law was imposed with the purpose of introducing major governance reforms. This time martial law would not sustain for more than two years. In 2008, the ninth parliamentary elections were held and once again the tug of war started among the political parties.

The role of political parties as a political development in Bangladesh are remained very ineffective. They are almost failed in nation building and Sarkari parties are build in such a way to exploit the factionalism within the existing political parties. The political parties as an opposition always engaged in street agitation and violent protests (Jahan, 2014).

Conclusion

It is clearly visible from the study that Bangladesh political condition was not very impressive. The three pillars of the government almost proved ineffective in performing their functions. The political system are suffered from the long military rules as well as incompetent civil governments. The tug of war between parliamentary system and presidential system further fragile the political system. The Judiciary is also not free from political influence. The political parties also failed to act like a national party and lacking the broad national agenda. The member of political parties are showed their loyalty towards their respective political parties rather than towards people.

The poor political condition is effected the socio-economic development in Bangladesh. The educational sector has shown little progress but still there are lack of proper facilities such as lack of localities, qualified staff and other related things. The another main issue that is facing Bangladesh's government is population growth. The Family Planning Department should make more active efforts to control the population. The growth in population has created the health related issues. The health facilities are more worse in rural areas. The government should increase the health budget. However, Bangladesh is the second largest RMF exporter but the other sectors are highly underdeveloped such as agro based industry, finishing goods, cold storage centers, mills and etc. The government should make more active efforts in proving political and socio-economic conditions of the country.

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