ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS AND GOVERNANCE IN BANGLADESH: HOW FAR THE DREAM OF SUCCESS?

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ABSTRACT: The aim of this paper is to evaluate the status and impact of reforms in governance which has been taken by various governments in Bangladesh since its independence. In doing so, the paper highlights on two reform packages New Public Management (NPM) of OECD member countries and Good Governance (GG) of donor agencies and its impact on Bangladeshi governance. Bangladesh was a colony of British and Pakistan over two centuries. As a result, at the initial stage of independence; the inherited administrative structure failed to manage the postcolonial economy and expectation of citizens of independent Bangladesh, which hinders to implement most of the reform efforts. Civil-military elitism dominated the bureaucracy that caused the lessening of accountability of the administration; as a result, corruption, inefficiency and ineffectiveness of administration appear to exemplify Bangladeshi governance. The learning lessons for public administration is lack of appropriate political leadership, unrealistic and ambitious reform initiatives, incapacity of government, chaotic political culture, absence of permanent reform institution, and lack of strong political will are responsible for futile to implement any reform initiative. Apart from these, some important elements of New Public Management (NPM) and Good Governance (GG) has been bespoke by recent past governments in governance process through policy initiatives to make the administration more accountable and citizen centric which is a very good sign of good governance in Bangladesh. Therefore, the impact of reform strategies of western world (NPM) and donor agencies (GG) influenced the third world countries like Bangladesh which ultimately transforming the literature of Public Administration to Public Management.

KEYWORDS: Bangladesh, Bureaucracy, Governance, NPM, Public Administration, Reforms.

INTRODUCTION

Bangladesh is a twice born independent nation of South Asia as it is ruled by colonial rulers firstly by British and then by Pakistan over two centuries and finally emerged as
an independent country in 1971. Accordingly, the inherited structure of bureaucracy is a legacy of British colonial rule. Since the emergence of the country, a number of commissions and committees were constituted by different governments for administrative reform and reorganization to suit the needs of their respective policy declarations. The donor agencies also prepared several reports toward that end. The aim of this paper is to examine how far the administrative reforms efforts taken by various governments in Bangladesh are underscored by the philosophy of reform model NPM or post NPM governance approach and to what extent it has been implemented in Bangladeshi public sector to change and improve the administrative structure and behavior to serve the citizens. One question may lift up why I chose to evaluate the strategies of NPM or governance for reforming public sector in Bangladesh? In searching the answer of this question it has been revealed by the scholars that one of the important aspects of administrative reform is its’ implications for representative democracy (Lægreid and Roness, 1999). It has also been argued that the conditions for governing by political leaders on behalf of the people and the effect of administrative reform on political governance are particularly relevant (Christensen and Lægreid, 2009). Public sector reforms in recent decades, whether NPM or post NPM reflects major changes in administrative policies in different countries (Pollitt and Bouckaert 2004; Christensen and Lægreid, 2009) influenced by governance approach of World Bank (1992). The governance approach emphasizes on efficient, effective, transparent and accountable manner for managing the affairs of a state through using it existing resources with the cooperation of private sector, donor partners, NGOs, business organizations, and other civil society organizations with a view to ensuring good governance. Most of the Aids providing organizations are stipulated some basic ingredients of good governance such as- accountability, transparency, rule of law, participation, equity, responsiveness, independence of judiciary etc. (WB, 1992 & 1994; IMF, 1997; ADB, 1999; UNDP, 1997). On the other hand, NPM seeks to offer more efficient and effective mechanism of government for delivering goods and services with a view to satisfying the citizens treated as customers (Hood, 1991; Pollitt, 1995; Osborne and Gaebler, 1993; Hughes, 1998; Lan and Rosenbloom, 1992). Sometimes it is represented as copying business managerialism of a now older kind (Pollitt 1993), and in terms of unusually strong customer service orientation (Dunleavy, et al 2005:469).

Both NPM and Governance emphasize on accountability, transparency, efficiency, effectiveness, customer satisfaction as well as human rights or rule of law. Conversely, governance focuses on participation of civil society or private sector to relieve the government of over-burden and engage others who are more efficient in producing and providing services to the people but NPM focus on outsourcing and import private

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1 In 1947, India and Pakistan were emerged as independent states; however, Bangladesh was remained the part of Pakistan and later Bangladesh also separated from Pakistan as an independent state in 1971.

2 Many foreign powers ruled the Indian subcontinent for many centuries and left a governance legacy which for many years after independence has affected the government and politics of these societies.
sector management style. Though, the country started its journey through a parliamentary form of democratic government, however, military form of government took place for 15 years from 1975-90. In this paper, how far the reforms initiatives taken by various governments are influenced by the philosophy of NPM or governance and implemented to the end of efficient public management or good governance through changing traditional public administration in Bangladesh. It has been evaluated under four phases based on few criteria of NPM and Governance such as: accountability and transparency, combating corruption, customer care, rule of law and human rights, independence of judiciary, citizen centric local government and participation of private sector, NGOs, civil society and media in governance process.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Reforms and governance of a state are closely interrelated and interlinked with each other. Both the terms are using from time immemorial but recent three decades or more it draw extra attention of academics, politicians and policy makers globally. Definitions of reform and governance are varying from scholar to scholar and there is no universally consensus and established definition and this is just like a debating and controversial issue. Therefore, for understanding theoretical acquaintance we need to generalize the concepts. Administrative reform (hereafter, AR) as the deliberate use of authority and influence to apply new measures to an administrative system so as to change its goals, structure, procedures and behavior of public bureaucracy with a view to improving organizational effectiveness and to attain national development goals (Quah, 1981; UN, 1983). AR commonly described as solutions to problems or as means to change tedious situations and arguments based on these notions are often used when new reforms are introduced (Brunsson & Olsen, 1993). Furthermore, new solutions are often more striking than current practices (Forsell, 2002) and reforms have a propensity to imitate further reforms that become routines rather than actual breaks in organizational life (Brunsson, 1989). Therefore, reforms are not only attempts to change or to improve but also are the expressions of hopes for more rationalistic, idealistic, and truer public organizations (Brunsson, 2006). There are many reform models are using overall the world but a reform model New Public Management (here after NPM) introduced and popularized by OECD member countries from 70s to 80s and some scholars like- Pollitt (1990), Hood (1991), Lan & Rosenbloom (1992), Osborne & Gaebler (1992). Few years later another contemporary reform concept ‘good governance’ took great momentum overall the world emphasis on the development of third world countries to overcome crisis of governance and efficient project implementation (WB, 1990 and 1992; UNDP, 1997; IMF, 1997; ADB, 1999). Therefore, reform usually takes to correct, amend, change and overcome deficiencies and drawbacks of state mechanisms by redesigning and re-engineering the structure, procedures, technology and manpower through innovative, realistic and adaptable policies and strategies to achieve
its’ goals efficiently and effectively. Thus, it is clear to us that reform needs to improve the condition of governance or system of management of a state.

Now a relevant question may rise what is governance? The term ‘governance’ has become a buzz word as a fashion of the development discourse in 1990s by donor agencies, social scientists, philanthropists, civil society and by academic scholars (UNSEC, 2006). For instance, in a study, Kjaer (2004) mentioned that a simple search on the word governance in the Social Science Index between 1986 to 1998 results in 1,774 articles and these amount goes in the Index 1,855 articles from the period 1999 to 2001(cited in Kitthananan, 2006). Besides, the term governance gained unprecedented momentum in both quest and usage in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (UNSEC, 2006) but it is disgracefully used by both academics and practitioners without a universal definition which all agree on (Kitthananan, 2006). Therefore, ‘governance’ may imply different meanings to different people who have very little in common in terms of their worldview, ideology and class status (Singh, 2003). In general, governance is a process by which a state manages its affairs. According to World Bank, governance is the manner in which power is exercised in the management of countries’ economic and social resources for development (World Bank, 1992). From a different view point, Kooiman (1993, 1999 and 2000) depicted governance as a blend of all kinds of governing levels, modes, and orders and argues that social and political governance implies arrangements in which public as well as private actors aim at solving problems or create societal opportunities, and aim at the care for the societal institutions within which these governing activities take place. Similar view also expressed by Pierre (2000) that governance refers to sustaining coordination and coherence among a wide variety of actors with different purposes and objectives. These actors may include political actors and institutions, interest groups, civil society, non-governmental and transnational organizations. Therefore, governance refers to a democratic process that encompasses the whole society such as the private sector, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), business organizations and other civil society organizations along with the government, are encouraged and appreciated for participating in this process.

Now again a question may lift up when reform is essential in governance system? In searching the answer of this question it has been disclosed by The World Bank in its 1989 report, Sub-Saharan Africa: From Crisis to Sustainable Growth, in which it characterized the crisis confronting the region as a “crisis of governance” and linked ineffectiveness of aid with governance issues (Paul, 2002; cited in Singh, 2003). That means reforms need to overcome failure of governance or crisis of governance to ensure good governance. However, the term ‘good governance’ has also suffered for lacking of universal accepted definition like governance. International Monetary Fund, World Bank, ADB, and UNDP have initiated a large-scale campaign promoting “good governance” as the new reform objective in the Third World development (WB, 1992;
UNDP, 1997; IMF, 1997; ADB, 1999). These agencies came to recognize that good governance is not only related to development by creating free markets, promoting investment, and adopting the right macro-economic policies but also related to the institutional reform. The administrative filament of good governance refers to an efficient, open, accountable and audited public service, to help design and implement appropriate policies and manage public sector (Leftwich, 1993). To achieve efficiency in public services, the World Bank, in particular, strongly encourages various kinds of competition in policies and market mechanisms to achieve good governance such as capacity building, privatizing public enterprises, decentralizing central administration, and encouraging greater participation of non-governmental organizations (Leftwich, 2000). Though, the meanings set out by various multilateral and international organizations appear to differ significantly but all those organizations set out some similar core ingredients of good governance such as: rule of law, accountability, transparency, participation, equity and responsiveness (WB, 1992 and 1994; UNDP, 1997; ADB, 1999). But good governance depends on good and efficient public administration, which is ultimately responsible for the implementation of government policy. Good and efficient public administration means such administration, which acts fair, accountable and transparent manner to assure effective delivery of public services to the citizens.

On the other hand, what NPM requires or why it emerged? NPM as a reform model of public sector that began three decades ago to boost the management performance of the public service (Aucoin, 2012) as a powerful critique of the traditional model of public administration as being inefficient, rigid, costly, corrupt, unaccountable and unsuitable to meet the needs and expectations of citizens (Gruening, 2001). The theoretical underpinning of NPM concept based on public choice and principal-agent theory, managerialism and containing elements of total quality management (Aucoin, 1990; Dunsire, 1995; Lueder, 1996; Reichard, 1996; Schedler, 1995; Osborne & Gaebler 1993; Reinermann 1995) by which NPM seeks to offer more efficient and effective mechanism of government for delivering goods and services with a view to satisfying the citizens treated as customers. NPM was considered as a dominant paradigm for more than two decades in the discipline of public administration and has become a motto in most countries of the world. It raise up an image entangled with a downsizing government, performance management, debureaucratization, decentralization, privatization, outsourcing, customers satisfaction, reduction of civil service requirements, unit autonomy, market orientation of public service and so on (Hood, 1989, 1991 and 1995; Pollitt, 1995; Osborne and Gaebler, 1993; Hughes, 1998; Common, 1998; Minogue, 1998; Lan and Rosenbloom, 1992; Borins, 1995). These features denote a striking disparity with the traditional model of Public Administration, which exemplifies a leading role of the government in the provision of services, hierarchical structure of organization, centralization, rules orientation, inefficiency in service delivery, elitisms in bureaucracy and so forth. The governments of New Zealand and Australia soon followed, and their
success puts the NPM reforms on the agendas of other countries as well (Groot and Budding, 2008). Even, most of the developing countries showed their interest to citizen centric governance through expansion of the political and social dimensions of citizenship so that the state became the main actor in the overall socioeconomic development (Haque, 1999).

Although the NPM model has several incarnations such as managerialism (Pollitt, 1990), new public management (Hood, 1991), market-based public administration (Lan & Rosenbloom, 1992), and entrepreneurial government (Osborne & Gaebler, 1992) but the basic premises are same and based on the assumption that public sector organizations need to learn from private sector (Hood, 1991; Pollitt, 1993). It incorporates most of the structural, organizational and managerial changes and a package of management approaches and techniques borrowed from the private sector. The mission and goals of NPM and good governance are almost similar. Both the reform motto desire to make the administration more efficient, effective, transparent and accountable to delivery it services to the citizen treated as customer. For instance, according to The World Bank’s (1994), good governance is epitomized by predictable, open, and enlightened policymaking (that is, transparent processes); a bureaucracy imbued with a professional ethos; an executive arm of government accountable for its actions; and a strong civil society participation in public affairs; and all behaving under the rule of law. It signifies a participative manner of governing that functions in a responsible, accountable and transparent manner based on the principles of efficiency, legitimacy and consensus for the purpose of promoting the rights of individual citizens and the public interest (Munshi, 2004). Thus, good governance indicates the exercise of political will for ensuring the material welfare of society and sustainable development with social justice.

But how the political zeal will be implemented to ensure good governance? In the words of Santiso (2001), good governance requires an efficient executive, a functioning legislature, an independent judiciary and the effective separation and balance of powers, all constituent elements of a democratic regime. Thus, both NPM and good governance emphasize on efficient and effective working of government actors with the cooperation of various nongovernment actors and strategies. NPM promises a leaner and better government, decentralization, empowerment, customer satisfaction and better mechanisms of public accountability. Whereas, governance emphasize on mutual consensus process of management where state is the main actor and the private sector, civil society, business organization and even development partners are also encouraged to participate in different activities to establish good governance by ensuring its various ingredients. The objective is to relieve the government of over-burden and engage others who are more efficient in producing and providing services to the people. Therefore, there is a very close relationship between reform and governance.
MEASURES OF ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS IN BANGLADESH

In most developing nations, one of the dominant features of state administration is its inherited colonial legacy, in spite of the postcolonial rehabilitation and reorganization in the administrative superstructure (Luke, 1986; cited in Haque, 1997). After a bloody war Bangladesh emerged as an independent nation in 1971 from Pakistan and started its journey by means of forming a parliamentary system of government. The main concern of the new government was to transform the existing structure of provincial administration into Bangladesh public administration and made accountable to the people at large (Obidullah, 1999; Younis and Mostafa, 2000) because the inherited administrative structure exhibited all the cardinal features of colonial bureaucracies (Zafarullah, 1987). Eventually, public administration and management of Bangladesh is characterized by long bureaucracy, unnecessary procedures, and not customer (citizen) friendly (Khaled and Chowdhury, 2011). In this section, an attempt has been made to evaluate the reform efforts have been taken since independence by various successive governments in Bangladesh. Over 20 reform Commissions/ Committees are constituted with a view to reorganizing/reforming civil service and public administration and submitted their reports in various times (UNDP, 2007; Sarkar, 2004; CPD, 2001; Khan, 2009). Besides, some reports were prepared by some of the important donor partners, particularly the World Bank, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Asian Development Bank (ADB), the Department for International Development (DFID), and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) (Kim and Monem, 2009). Though, most of the reports prepared by donor agencies are recommended mainly focused on the principles of NPM and some ingredients of good governance but except public administration reform commission (PARC) report 2000, very few committees and commissions focused on NPM. The following sections outlined a brief summaries and status of those committees/ commissions’ and donors supported reports.

Phase -1: Democratic Government (1972-75):
The first democratic phase started under Prime Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rahman (Mujib the Father of Independent Bangladesh) since 16th December 1971. Immediately after liberation as an independent state the first challenge of Bangladesh government was to reinstate the civil administration and to transform the existing provincial administration into a central one (Obaidullah, 1999). The first democratic phase under Mujib government constituted three committees/ commissions to this end. It has also revealed that most of the committees are submitted their reports duly with very crucial and substantial recommendations to revitalize postwar administrative structure but those recommendations didn’t sketch the philosophy of NPM or good governance (Huque, 1996; Khan, 1998; Sarkar, 2004). Though all the recommendations were

3 See annex for brief outlines of all the commissions and committee’s reports with aid partner reports.
accepted by government but only few recommendations of first committee were implemented by the government. Secretariat administration was reorganized with 20 ministries and some constitutional bodies like Supreme Court, the High Court, the Public Service Commission, the Election Commission and the Office of the Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG) were established (Khan, 1998; CPD, 2001). However, the recommendations, which provided no significant different approach from the system established by the Pakistan government, indicated the complexities that could be expected in introducing radical changes, particularly with civil servants in crucial positions (Huque, 1996). But the recommendations of two other committees/commission were not implemented except introduction of a new pay scale including 10 grades. The major causes behind failure to implement the recommendations of those committees and commission were: firstly, the behavior and service attitude of bureaucracy were not favorable as the inherited bureaucratic structure was colonial and most of the senior bureaucrats were emanate from previous job who were treated masters instead of servants as a result they hinder the changing pattern of citizen friendly bureaucracy (Zafarullah and Huque, 2001; Jamil, 2007; Khan, 2009). Secondly, the postwar socio-economic condition was very vulnerable and demand of mass were paramount that’s why the government concentration was mainly to fulfill basic needs and expectation of citizens through socio economic and infrastructure development instead of reforming administration. Thirdly, political chaos, nepotism, politicization in various public jobs, misuse of power by leaders and followers of Awami League (AL) which created confusion and dissatisfaction to the minds of other parties which ultimately influenced the civil and military disorder and consequently President Shiek Mujib the father of nation was killed brutally by some military officers and the government was changed as a result the reform efforts was remained as an unfinished agenda.

Phase-2: Military Rule (1976-90):
The military phase constituted mainly by two military rulers Ziaur Rahman (Zia) and Hussain Mohammed Ershard (Ershad). Under this phase total 11 committees and commissions were constituted (one is under Zia regime and rest of under Ershad regime) with a view to reforming various aspects of public administrations including local government and field administration to ensure rational pay structure, efficient and effective public management (Zafarullah and Huque, 2001; Khan, 1998 and 2009). All of the committees/commissions’ recommendations were very significant and extensive to overcome the deficiencies of colonial administration through an efficient public administration and were accepted by governments (both Zia and Ershad) but except introducing to revised pay scales and reducing the size and scope of government and upgrading thanas into upazilas none of them were implemented (Khan, 1998 and 2009; Kim and Monem, 2009). Though, these few steps were sketching NPM philosophy and were very effective for citizen centered administration but inappropriate political directions, lack of accountability and transparency, misuse of power, rampant
corruption, deteriorating law and order situation made the administration inefficient which exhibited crisis in governance. Though, the bureaucracy was permitted to work by self regulation but overall control was retained by the military rulers (Zafarullah and Huque, 2001:1386). Latter, the government was under tremendous pressure of anti Ershad movement by most of the political parties as it was recognized as an authoritarian and corrupt government. Under this period, a study was conducted by USAID in 1989, which recommendations were closely related to NPM but were not implemented for the same causes mentioned above.

**Phase-3: Democratic Governance (1991-2001):**

After a decade and half ruled by two military rulers the parliamentary form of government came back again through general election of 1991. This phase of democratic government governed by two Major political parties- Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) lead by Begum Khaleda Zia (wife of Ziaur Rahman for two terms of 1991-96) and Awami League (AL) lead by Sheikh Hasina (daughter of Mujib for two terms of 1996-2001). During this phase 3 commissions/committees formed by BNP (Khaleda) and 4 commissions/committees formed by Awami League (Hasina) under this phase and most of the commissions and committees submitted their reports with very significant recommendations for a modern, equipped and efficient public administration (Kim and Monem, 2009; Khan, 2009). However, except some recommendations of the report submitted by Public Administration Reform Commission constituted by AL (PARC, 2000), no recommendations of any committee or commission were implemented. In fact, BNP (Khaleda) government did not take any initiatives to implement the recommendations of reform committees/commissions in its regime seriously although its leadership did initially promise to restructure government and “to establish a transparent, accountable system of public management” (Zafaullah and Huque, 2001:1396). Lack of strong political will and concentration is the main cause of unimplemented the recommendations in this era. The report submitted by (PARC, 2000) was the most important in the history of Bangladesh in the sense of NPM or good governance. The Commission made three types of recommendations (total 137), interim (30), short term (70) and long term (37) for administrative reforms in areas such as, defining of missions and functions of the public offices; affirming professionalism in the civil service; performance monitoring and result oriented performance, audit of government agencies; delegation of powers to subordinate and field offices; open and free access to government documents and reports for the sake of transparency and accountability; separation of judiciary from the executive; separation of audit from accounts; simplification of outdated laws, rules, regulations and forms in the light of NPM and good governance (PARC, 2000; Khan, 2009:142). Though, Hasina government accepted those recommendations and took initiatives to implement major recommendations but the tenure of the government was terminated. Under this phase 7 other reports were prepared by various aid partners to suggest an open, transparent, accountable and performance oriented administrative system to support parliamentary
democracy (CPD, 2001; Kim and Monem, 2009). All those studies, of course, identified several weaknesses which greatly outnumber the strengths. These include inadequate system for defining functions, ineffective allocation of resources, slow and complex decision-making processes, excessive centralization, lack of information bases, lack of familiarity with proper relations between civil service and politicians, and awkward central-local relationships (Haque, 1996; CPD, 2001; Sarker, 2004; Kim and Monem, 2009). The major recommendations of those studies were for improving performance management system; rationalization of civil service structure; elimination of redundant government functions; merit-based selection and promotion; strengthening Public Service Commission. Though the recommendations of sector study were based on the ideas of NPM and post NPM governance to overhaul a modern public administration in Bangladesh but all the successive government failed to implement for some reasons identified by ADB Report (2007) in the following manner: (1) outside interference in administrative decision making; (2) politicization of the civil service; (3) nepotism and favoritism; (4) a lack of delegated authority by mid-level and local level public officials; (5) a lack of public scrutiny of public administration; and (6) a paucity of citizen demand for improvements in public administration. According to a Bangladeshi scholar M.M. Khan (2009:143,145), for several reasons all those recommendations were not implemented such as: enormity and complexity of the task involved; poor manpower and insufficient financial resources; strong bureaucratic resistance; and unwillingness of the donors to collectively put pressure on the government to implement major reforms. After ending AL (Hasina era:1996-2001), no government constitute any significant commission or committee for reforming public sector but some policy initiatives were taken by subsequent government which influenced by previous recommendations of PARC commissions and some reports of donor agencies.

Phase-4: Current State of Governance (2001-onward):
Though no commission or committees were constituted by any successive government from 2001 but some elements of NPM and good governance are introducing and practicing through policy initiatives by the subsequent government influenced by PARC report and other aid partner reports in Bangladesh which has been evaluated through some elements of NPM and Governance below.

Accountability and transparency are two core elements of both NPM and good governance. For the last few decades, concern for accountability received special attention from academic scholars and policy makers in various postcolonial developing nations performing an embryonic manner of democratic governance (Haque, 2007). Though, all the traditional mechanism of accountability are existed in Bangladesh but were very formal, weak, ineffective and confidential like hierarchy, rules, regulation, judicial process, departmental remedies, audit by comptroller and auditor general (CAG), and parliamentary committees’ oversight claimed by scholars and aid partners (Khan, 2009; Zafarullah, 2011). However, some important recommendations of the PARC have been implemented by the BNP (Khaleda lead alliance-20001-2006) and then
by interim caretaker government (Fakhruddin: 2006-08) to make the mechanisms of accountability more effective. One of the important initiatives was taken by BNP government for financial transparency and accountability by establishing a Tax Ombudsman on July 12, 2005 through passing Tax Ombudsman Act 2005. However, this institution was ineffective to achieve it targets and abolished by AL (Hasina lead alliance 2009-onward) government through the Tax Ombudsman Avoidance Law 2011 (Hasanuzzaman, 2012). The logic behind this was office of Anti Corruption Commission is more powerful than this and also doing as substitute of it.

In 2007, the caretaker government (Fakhruddin) introduced a number of institutions such as the Regulatory Reforms Commission, Bangladesh Better Business Forum and separation of judiciary from the executive. In the period of caretaker government all these institutions works effectively with a view to ensuring rule of law and good governance but caretaker government was criticized rigorously as it was undemocratic government. After ending the period of caretaker government, most of the initiatives were infringed by new democratic government formed by AL (Hasina lead Alliance 2009-onward). Some notable initiatives were taken by AL (2009 to onward) government after immediate taking power in hand such as- National Human Rights Commission and The Right to Information Act 2009 with the aim to make public agencies accountable and subsequently an information commission was set up to serve citizens’ need for information(Hasanuzzaman, 2012). This Act not only enhances the power of citizen to participate and attain government programs for getting their rights but also enhances the power of various mechanisms (such as Human Rights Commission, Anticorruption Commission, NBR, CAG, And Parliamentary Committees) of ensuring accountability of government officials for their misuse of power or illegitimate exercise of power or any forms of corruption. Though, four years have been passed after passing the Act, however, there is no substantial progress in practice, the current status of human rights, democracy, abuse of executive and political power and corruption are still continuing. Besides, for accounting executives (ministries) and MPs 48 parliamentary committees and standing committees were set up in the very first session of 9th Parliament where seven MPs of other parties were chairmen of various committees which are a good sign for ensuring fair dealings of committees (BSS, 2010). It was reported that the committee members met 408 times but the Standing Committees on Privileges and Standing, on Rules of Procedures and on Petitions never met (BSS, 2009). Though four years has been passed but no report has been published yet.

The AL (Hasina lead) government (2008-2013) took some initiatives for local government which can be mentioned here- devolution of power, responsibility, and financial management to the Upazila and other local government tiers for better utilization of public resources, the Local Government (Union Parishad) Act 2009, Local Government (City Corporation) Act 2009 and the Local Government (Pourashavas)
(Amendment) Act 2010 were passed by the parliament. The five-year plan (2011-15) seeks to reform the property tax base in order to strengthen the financial autonomy of city corporations and municipalities (Hasanuzzaman, 2012). Some extraordinary features of the Act of UP 2009 include provisions for the introduction of 

*wards shawa* (ward meetings), open budget meetings, declaration of *Citizen’s Charter*, and a provision for *the right to information* (Panday, 2011). All these provisions are incorporated for ensuring peoples participation in the decision-making process, and to ensure accountability and transparency of the local government. The government is, however, yet to make any positive impact on reducing the core local conflict over distribution of public provisions. To overcome this problem, there have been talks of establishing a ‘National Decentralization Policy and Decentralization Commission’ (Hasanuzzaman, 2012).

The *customer care* or satisfaction is one of the basic approaches of NPM which has been introduced in both public and private sector in Bangladesh. The notable example is Mobile Phone in private sector such as Grameen Phone (GP), Banglalink (BL), City Cell, Aktell and Robi. Tele Talk (TT) is another example of public sector where customer care is applying but the customers of TT is less satisfied than GP or BL. This approach is also practicing in public service delivery in various public offices through citizen charter (CC) (MOE, 2010). It is an interactive stage where public officials and citizens meet and share their specific needs, problems and challenges and find out possible solutions (Hoque, 2012). According to a JICA report, approximately 80 per cent of public offices in Bangladesh display the charters (cited in Razzaque, 2012). However, lack of capacity, inadequate budget and unskilled personnel are the main obstacle in the way of implementing citizen charter and for whom it has been introduced the citizens are not aware enough for this and its applicability (Hoque, 2012; MOE, 2010; Razzaque, 2012). Though, the approach of customer satisfaction is successfully applied in above mentioned private sector and gain popularity but in public sector it is not fully accepted and success. However, it can be fruitful in public sector by taking adequate training and awareness building program by both government and NGOs with a view to changing culture of service delivery system in Bangladesh.

*Rule of law and human rights* are the basic ingredients of good governance. Though several provisions of constitutions (articles 27-44), articulated for ensuring rule of law and fundamental rights, introduction of national human rights commissions, proactive role of judiciary and human rights defenders organizations exists in Bangladesh but persistent abuse of power and authority by the law enforcing agencies resulting violation of rule of law, worsening law and order situation, extra-judicial killing in the name of cross-fire giving rise to gross violation of human rights. However, it can be mentioned here that the current situation is better than previous 10 years.
One of the recommendations of PARC report was *independence of judiciary* which is one of the requirements of good governance for ensuring rights of individual through accounting public officials and politicians. To this end, judiciary has been separated from the executive by the initiative of Caretaker government in November 2007 (The Daily Star, 2007). Judiciary is one of the crucial mechanisms of ensuring accountability of government officials as well as human rights in a country. The judiciary is now playing very vital role in ensuring accountability and transparency of government authority through its judicial review process and judicial activism by *suo moto* rule and public interest litigation (PIL) initiated by NGOs and human rights defender organizations (DLR, 2007 and 2008). However, the judiciary is not out of criticism, delay and disposal of cases including corruption and executive interferences are still continuing over judiciary which are the major obstacles of implementing fair justice in Bangladesh (Mollah, 2012).

As per the recommendation of PARC report 2000, *combating corruption* is one of the vital agendas of Bangladesh government. In 2004, the bureau of anti corruption re instituted as the name of Anti Corruption Commission (ACC) by BNP (Khaleda) government but actual functioning was started under caretaker government in 2007. The Commission investigated and prosecuted a significant number of cases against political leaders and prominent citizens particularly during the period of Caretaker Government in 2007-08 who were perceived to be corrupt by the public and the government. A total of 129 accused were convicted in 113 corruption cases filed by the ACC till December 31, 2008 (Parini, 2011). However, most of the cases are challenged in a number of occasions in the High Court Division and found weak or faulty foundations of the ACC cases (Parini, 2011). Therefore, the Commission needs to develop its disciplinary enforcement capacity for more complex cases that are subjected to meticulous legal challenges. Moreover, it can be disclosed that the present ACC is very proactive and independent for interrogating any ruling political or bureaucratic elite for instances alleged public officials and ministers related to scandals of Padma Bridge and Halmiks group are interrogated several times and some are already arrested through court prosecution. However, its effectiveness depends on the final verdict of higher judiciary.

*Parliament* is the main crucial institute of policy making which can play a pivotal role in governance of a country by ensuring accountability and transparency of administrators and ministers. From 2009 to 2012 a number of notable acts and policy passed by parliament can be mentioned: *The Citizenship (Amendment) Act, 2009; Money-laundering Prevention Act, 2009; Anti-Terrorism Act, 2009; Right to Information Act, 2009; Consumer Protection Act, 2009; and the Code of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Act, 2009* (Sangshad Bulletin, 2012). All those acts are passed by the parliament for ensuring rule of law and good governance in Bangladesh. One important thing should be mentioned here that the major opposition party (BNP), which had only 12% representation in
parliament remained absent for most of the session (Iva, 2009). The observation of last fifteen years revealed that both the position and oppositions are responsible for lack of participation of opposition parties in parliament. Though, the main duties of MPs are policy making with a view to ensuring public interest and development goals, however, the major policies are passed by the parliament without the consent of opposition which is contradictory to the rule of law. Besides, since independence, most of the laws are not implemented properly rather applied impertinently in Bangladesh. As a result, violation of rule of law and human rights, lack of accountability and transparency, abuse of power and other forms of corruption are still continuing. The working of parliamentary committees is also like eye washing and there is no substance in empirical evidence.

Apart from these, some other important elements of NPM and good governance are participation of private sector, NGOs, civil society and media in governance process. All those elements are very proactive in Bangladesh now especially media is playing a lead role to disclose most of the incidences as a result citizen can know everything timely. Besides, by dint of media, government law enforcing agencies are very vigilant with fear and care to take necessary steps in any unexpected situation for protecting discipline and citizens’ rights. Civil societies are working sincerely for criticizing government wrong steps with a view to upholding national and public interest. NGOs and human rights defender organizations are working for empowering community peoples, protecting rights and interest of poor, vulnerable and backward citizens through various educational, microcredits, awareness building and litigation aid programs. However, government still less cares to take their participation and prescriptions in policy making to implementation. A recent (January, 2013) incident can be mentioned here that government suddenly pick up the price of oil and gas without the consent of energy regulatory commissions and consumer association (The Financial Express, 11 January 2013).

CAUSES OF FAILURE TO IMPLEMENT INITIAL REFORM INITIATIVES

It is evident that most of the reform efforts are failed to achieve its targets since independence of the state. Several causes are responsible for this identified by renowned national and international scholars of Bangladesh public administration along with various aid partners. However, I am sketching the major general causes of failure to implement reform initiatives from broader perspectives: Bangladesh started its journey by passing over two centuries through colonial rule and inherited a war ravaged vulnerable socioeconomic infrastructure that was unfit for governing a country smoothly. Primarily most of the reform efforts were unsuccessful because most of the government on the one hand constituted reform commissions/committees to prescribe for a modern and efficient public administration and on the other hand they concentrated themselves to accumulate recourses and donors’ aid for healing the
damaged socio economic conditions. As a result, though the recommendations of those commissions and committees were very ambitious and significant to revamp the bureaucratic structure but lack of concentration and oversight of political executive, existing ill equipped bureaucratic machinery and poor socio economic infrastructure were incapable to implement those prescriptions. The structure and culture of bureaucracy in Bangladesh is deep rooted in the history and tradition of British administration which is characterized by Bretts at al. (1988:97-98 cited in Khan, 1998:34) as: centralization of authority; multiple layers of decision making; regulative rather than facilitative; modus operandi; and lack of trust, accountability, commitment and incentive structure to encourage initiatives and award excellence. Besides, corruption, elitisms, resistance to change, citizens treated as children are some other cardinal features (Khan, 1998:35-41) of Bangladesh bureaucracy which made the government dependent on them rather than implement policies. The inexperienced government had come to realize that it could not afford to antagonize the bureaucracy whose expertise and experience were found to be invaluable for the survival of the regime (Huque, 1996:90). Though, bureaucracy is treated as the main instrument of implementing any policy or strategy of a country but it was remained unfavorable in Bangladesh. Therefore, there is a need for serious rethinking about recent changes in the modes of governance and their critical impacts; for adopting appropriate measures to remedy these unfavorable conditions and for reconsidering some of the reinvention initiatives (Haque, 2007:447).

Politics, political culture and political leadership are very vital instruments for policy making, execution and implementation. The premature death of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman by military officer and other four national leaders (Taz Uddin Ahmed, Kamaruzzan, Sayed Nazrul Islam and Captain Munchur Ali) in jail by first military ruler (Zia) which created a huge political vacuum in Bangladesh. Then, civil and military bureaucrats mutually govern the country around 15 years. Since, 1991 democratic government regain power but political dependence on bureaucrats are still continuing for instance, the present Prime Minister (Hasina) is guided by half a dozen of advisers and most of them are retired bureaucrats. In addition, some ministers of present government are from military force. That means, vacuum of political leadership, incapacity and amateurish still exists in politics and government of Bangladesh, which hinders to implement any reform effort as their aim is to gain personal interest instead of public interest. Besides, political chaos and blame game

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4 Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was one of the world renowned charismatic and influential leaders under whose leaderships and directions Bangladesh won the war of independence against Pakistan. As an independent state Bangladesh started its journey as a parliamentary form of government under the Prime Minister Sheikh Mujib who recognized then the most popular and influential leader of Bangladesh. However, the postwar country was suffering a lot of problems like, a near-famine economic situation, criminality in opposition political parties and social delinquency which made chaotic and unrest situation in politics and governance in Bangladesh. Eventually, through this unrest condition made premature death of Sheikh Mujib and the governance was shifted to the hand of military ruler as a result most of the reform efforts taken by Mujib were unsuccessful.
both intra and inter political parties, boycotting of parliament by opposition, political violence, strike etc. are the common affairs of Bangladesh politics, which deteriorating law and order, violation rule of law and human rights. Therefore, perfect leaderships and strong political command is absent in Bangladesh politics as a result most of the successive government failed to implement nearly all of the recommendations of reform commissions or committees.

_institutional capacity_ is of one of the crucial elements of government to carry out its functions. Since independence most of the government institutions especially bureaucracy and its training institutes were not well equipped. Besides, political interferences, weakness and lack of autonomy of some other institutions like- Public Service Commission (PSC), Parliamentary Committees (PC), Implementation, Monitoring and Evaluation Department (IMED), absence of Ombudsman, lack of sophisticated technology and application of information technology (IT) were some other barriers to implement performance and result based reform instructions reported by various donor agencies and reform commissions or committees of Bangladesh. Apart from these, _governance pattern_ of Bangladesh is like British India through traditional public administration which is characterized as hierarchical, rules based, centralized and elitist bureaucrats dominated governance instead of result based and customer oriented private sector management style. Whereas, present governance require such a management style which is govern by government with cooperation of private sector, NGOs and civil society organizations. Though, a lot of NGOs, civil society organizations and strong private sector are working in Bangladesh but in very few cases government ensure their participation or accept their prescriptions. Therefore, governance pattern remained like conventional and it should be more participative, proactive and citizens’ friendly.

**Lessons for reforms and governance**

Since independence of Bangladesh, scholars, policy makers, members of civil society organizations and donor agencies are hammering their brain through academic exercise, consultancies, seminars, symposiums, roundtable conferences, debates and discussions and proposed new ideas, strategies and guidelines to make public administration efficient, effective and proactive(Khan,2009). However, public administration is remained like previous stage. Some important learning lessons have been identified by Khan (2009;14-15) to overcome the existing problems of administrative reform which can be mentioned here: i) Avoiding the trap of complacency; ii) Establishing morality in public life; iii) Public Sector, private sector and NGOs working together; iv) Major reforms without political commitment doomed to fail; and iv) Authority and capacity. Therefore, it can be said that there is little scope of satisfaction for past initiatives in the field of public sector reforms. Hence, reformers should be preventive rather than curative with strong determination and long term
vision. The politicians should be liberal so that they can continue reform efforts after termination of one regime to another because they are the key policy makers and public administration works under their directions. There is no alternative of ethical development of both politicians and administrators as most of the colonial administrations are claimed as corrupt for taking bribe, misuse and abuse of power and authority, nepotism, favouritism and like. Until and unless the politicians will be honest and decisive the public officials will remain corrupt. Therefore moral education and ethical training should be introduced every sphere of public life from family to president house. And finally, governance should be cooperative with all existing apparatus in a state like: government, civil society, NGOs, private sectors, business organisations, consumer associations and all kind of media.

CONCLUSION

From review of the literature of past reform efforts and current state of governance it has been found by evidence and scholarly publications that the reform efforts initiated by various governments are like all play but hardly any work (Kim and Monem, 2009). Although most of the reports of development partners or donor agencies are reflected by the philosophy of NPM or Governance’ but except PARC report no other commissions or committees’ report highlighted on NPM or Governance. In practical application, except pay structure most of the recommendations were not implemented by any successive government. It is claimed by various aid partners and Bangladeshi scholars that the main barrier to implement all those recommendation are bureaucratic resistance, lack of strong political will, political turmoil, military interference in governance, poor socio-economic conditions and inadequate infrastructure (Huque, 1996; Zafarullah and Huque 2001; Khan, 1998 and 2009; UNDP, 2004; Kim and Monem, 2009) but pay structure was modified and upgraded time to time to maintain the status quo of bureaucrats.

Apart from these, it can be said that Bangladesh is going ahead through taking various policies and projects influenced by updated version of reform and governance approach prescribed by various donor agencies and western world. However, obstacles are still appearing in implementing major policies of government due to lack of strong political will, cooperation of opposition, bureaucratic resistance, lack of participation of civil society, and lack of adequate awareness of citizens. Though, political leadership, direction, strong determination, and cooperation of opposition of parliament are indispensible for reforming public administration but political chaos, conflict of both inter and intra political parties, inappropriate leadership, disregard of opposition and boycotting of parliament and continuing blame game are the general features of Bangladeshi culture of democracy. As a result most of the government passing their times to blaming each other both inside and outside of the parliament instead of making effective public policies and taking account of public officials. Thus, public officials take
the opportunity to delay and disposal of service delivery and implementation of public policies as they remain unaccounted. Therefore, political culture should be changed through academic curricular both inside and outside of academic institutes with fair politics of teachers and students because most of the public officials and political leaders produced by academic institutes like school, college and universities. Implementation of reform efforts also depends on the ability and capacity of government which includes economic condition, infrastructures, technology, manpower and managerial capability. Administrative reforms, therefore, should be designed with a long-term view and realistic goals, and the policy makers should have a clear vision of the concourse toward which the system is moving ahead. The status of the economy should not be overlooked as it is also a very important building block for planning and implementing effective reform measures. Efforts should be made to bring forth the co-operation of a well thought-out civil service which is decisive for introducing major revolutionizes in administration. Finally, plans for public sector reforms should not be over striving and must take a lucid view of the expectations and the precincts of the system. And a permanent and independent Public Administration Reform Commission (like Election Commission of Bangladesh) should be introduced with adequate man power, infrastructure, technological supports and financial autonomy who will responsible for diagnosis the pitfall of administration and have adequate power and authority to take necessary reform measures and to implement those measures.

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Annexure

Table-1: Over view of Past Reform Efforts by Bangladesh Government
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Commissions and Committees</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Main Focus</th>
<th>Recommendations</th>
<th>Status of Implementation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Civil Administration Restoration Committee(CARC)</td>
<td>Appointed on 27th December, 1971. Report submitted on 4th January, 1972.</td>
<td>Organizational Set-up for the Government after emergence of Bangladesh</td>
<td>The provincial secretariat was transformed into the national secretariat with 20 ministries, 3 other secretariat organizations and 7 constitutional bodies; Detailed specification of functions of civil servants at the Division, District, Sub-division levels; Providing appropriate status and respect to the officers and staff of civil administration as lawful organs of the Government.</td>
<td>Secretariat administration was reorganized with 20 ministries; Constitutional bodies like Supreme Court, the High Court, the Public Service Commission, the Election Commission and the Office of the Comptroller and Auditor General were established.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative and Services Reorganization Committee (ASRC).</td>
<td>Appointed on 15 March 1972. Submitted its report in two phases in April 1973 and May 1974.</td>
<td>Service Structure</td>
<td>Unified civil service structure with a continuous grading system from top to bottom. Division of all posts into two broad categories: Functional and Area Group Posts; Top 3 grades, i.e., I, II and III to be designated as Senior Policy and Management Posts.</td>
<td>Not Implemented: Though the recommendations of ASRC were very substantial and indispensable but the government failed to implement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pay and Services Commission (P&amp;SC)</td>
<td>Appointed on 20 February 1976 and submitted report on 27 May 1977.</td>
<td>Services Structure and Pay Issues</td>
<td>28 services under 14 cadres created within the civil service; establishment of senior services pool (SSP) and for 52 pay scales from 250(lowest)- 4000(highest).</td>
<td>The New National Grades and Scales of Pay was introduces with 21 scales of pay, 28 services under 14 main cadres were created within the civil service and a Senior Services Pool was constituted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martial Law Committee (MLC1-Headed by Brigadier Enamul Haque) for examining organizational set-up of Ministries/Divisions/Departments and other Organizations</td>
<td>Appointed on 18 April 1982 and submitted report in phases between 31 May –August 1982.</td>
<td>Organization and Rationalization of Manpower in the Public Sector Organizations</td>
<td>Reduction of the size of government, reduction of layers of decision making; delegation of administrative and financial powers down the hierarchy.</td>
<td>Number of ministries was reduced from 36 to 19; Number of other offices was reduced from 243 to 181; Number of constitutional bodies were reduced from 12 to 9; Number of officials and employees mostly working at the lower levels was reduced from 9,440 to 3,222.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Committee for Administrative Reform and Re-organization (CARR- Headed by Rear Admiral MA Khan)</td>
<td>Appointed 28 April 1982 and submitted report on 22 June 1982.</td>
<td>Reorganization of District (Upazila) and Field Level Administration</td>
<td>Upgrading of Thanas into Upazilas with Upazila Parishad as the focal point of local administration; empowerment of the local authority in relation to rural service delivery system.</td>
<td>The new system of administration and local government was introduced in 460 Thanas (Thanas were later renamed as Upazilas).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martial Law Committee (MLC2) for Examining Organizational Setup of Public Statutory Corporations.</td>
<td>Appointed on 8 May 1983 and submitted report on 17 April 1983.</td>
<td>Public enterprise</td>
<td>Delegation of more financial and administrative powers down the hierarchy; timely release of funds from ministries; rationalization of manpower; preparation of organization charts, manuals, annual activity reports; merit based promotion.</td>
<td>Not Implemented.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Committee for Examination of irregularities in Appointment and Promotion of officers and staff in the government (CEI),</td>
<td>Appointed on 9 September 1982 and submitted report on 17 April 1983.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Pay Commission (2nd NPC)</td>
<td>Appointed on 31 May 1984 and</td>
<td>Pay Issues</td>
<td>20 grades pay scale from 660(lowest)-7500(highest).</td>
<td>The New National Scales of Pay was introduces with 20 scales of pay.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Committee Name</td>
<td>Appointed Date</td>
<td>Report Date</td>
<td>Summary</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Secretaries Committee on Administrative Development (SCAD)</td>
<td>20 April 1985</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>Promotion Aspects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Special Committee to Review the Structure of Senior Services Pool (SC)</td>
<td>23 December 1985</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>Structure of Senior Services Pool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Cabinet Sub-Committee (CSC)</td>
<td>3 June 1987</td>
<td>22 June 1989</td>
<td>Review of SSP and Promotion Aspects Rules of Business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Committee to Re-examine the Necessity of Keeping certain Government Offices in the light of Changed Circumstances</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td></td>
<td>Abolition of 27 departments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>National Pay Commission (3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; NPC)</td>
<td>August 1989</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Pay Issues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Commission for Review of Structure of the Local Government</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td></td>
<td>Structure of Local Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Administrative Re-organization Committee (ARC).</td>
<td>August 1993</td>
<td>August 1996</td>
<td>Structure and Rationalization of Manpower Across Ministries/Departments/ Directorates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Local Government Structure Review Commission</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td></td>
<td>Study the local government and recommend a suitable, effective, responsible and accountable local government structure for the country Review and Recommend LG system and structure</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Reports Prepared with the Assistance of Development Partners

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Report</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Agency Involved</th>
<th>Main Focus</th>
<th>Recommendations</th>
<th>Implementation Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Public Administration Efficiency Studies</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>USAID</td>
<td>Secretariat System, Relationship between Ministries, Departments and Corporations</td>
<td>Reducing secretariat’s operational activities through delegation; reducing layers in decision making; enhancing organization and management capacity; modernization of office equipment; increasing incentives for higher performance; enforcement of merit principle in promotion; expanding practical, problem-solving training; providing appropriate compensation structure for public officials.</td>
<td>Not Implemented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#</td>
<td>Report Title</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Implementing Body</td>
<td>Project Focus</td>
<td>Implementation Status</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Report on Public Administration Sector Study in Bangladesh</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>Performance management system; rationalization of civil service structure; elimination of redundant government functions; merit-based selection and promotion; strengthening Public Service Commission.</td>
<td>Not Implemented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Towards Better Government in Bangladesh (Four Secretaries Report)</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>DFID</td>
<td>Merit based recruitment and promotion; improvement of financial management system; incentives for better performance; improvement of accountability and transparency; establishment of ombudsman; strengthening of audit office; improvement of training programs.</td>
<td>Not Implemented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Government That Works: Reforming the Public Sector</td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>World Bank</td>
<td>Redefine frontiers of the public sector; enhancing level and nature of accountability and responsiveness of public organizations to different stakeholders; streamlining regulations, laws and processes; maintaining an efficient, committed and professional public service.</td>
<td>Not Implemented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Local Government in Bangladesh-An Agenda for Governance</td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>Local Government Issues</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Taming Leviathan- Reforming Governance in Bangladesh</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>World Bank</td>
<td>To achieve greater accountability and transparency in government operations in Bangladesh to the end of achieving more rapid and sustainable development. To this end priority should be given especially to: human development as a fundamental prerequisite for enhancing the awareness and capacities of civil society; judicial reform to help impose the rule of law and to underpin accountability mechanisms; lastly, the quality of donor coordination needs to be greatly improved to achieve a common and coherent approach to supporting improved governance and institution building.</td>
<td>Not Implemented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Public Administration Reform in Bangladesh</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>Civil Service Reform Issues</td>
<td>Not Implemented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Building a 21st Century Public Administration in Bangladesh</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>Suggested for various changes with a clear focus on managing change, human resource management (including individual performance management), human resource development and organizational performance management.</td>
<td>Not Implemented</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>