

ELECTORAL VIOLENCE IN BANGLADESH: A STUDY OF DEMOCRATIC REGIMES

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ABSTRACT: *Elections are very common methods of peaceful transfer of power in democracy. Like many other developing countries, Bangladesh also follows a method of peaceful transfer of power by the elections. However, electoral violence in every national and local level election is a serious problem and hindrance to the democratic development in Bangladesh. Thus, this study attempts to explore the nature of electoral violence in national or parliamentary election in Bangladesh on the basis of secondary source of data following a qualitative method. Special attention has been drowned in the democratic regimes, particularly after the reintroduction of parliamentary democracy in Bangladesh from 1991-2018. This study reveals that electoral violence after the every national elections has become as an event in which incumbent leaders and ruling party agents employ or threaten violence against the political opposition or potential voters before, during, or after elections - is common. The findings of the study reveal that different types of violence with different number of death and injury in pre, during and post-election time is a regular phenomenon in Bangladesh.*

KEYWORDS: Bangladesh, politics, election, electoral violence, democracy

INTRODUCTION

Election and electoral violence is regular phenomena in Bangladesh. Bangladesh follows a multi-party democracy where parliamentary elections held since the country gained independence in 1971. Notwithstanding the nominal existence of democratic institutions, tactics of electoral manipulation used by the government is a serious problem. Every political party whether they are in power position or opposition wants to win in the elections by any means and thus they make violence in the elections. As a result, electoral violence is a massive problem and hindrance to the democratic development in Bangladesh. Electoral violence after every national election - in which incumbent or rival political party agents employ or threaten violence against the political opposition or potential voters before, during, or after elections - is common. In Bangladesh, parliamentary democracy has been continuing since 1991. From 1991 to 2018 seven parliament elections (fifth to eleventh parliamentary elections) has been held in Bangladesh. Every election demonstrates different types of violence with different number of death and injury in pre, during and post-election time. In every election, the opposition parties demanded for neutral caretaker government, except in eighth parliamentary election. The government and the opposition both the

parties considers violence as the way for fulfilling their demand. Electoral violence also occurred during and post-election periods from the both side - winning and defeated party. Thus this paper explores the electoral violence in Bangladesh after the reintroduction of parliamentary democracy in Bangladesh especially from 1991-2018.

Objective of the Study

Although political violence occurs in many forms in a polity but the analysis of violence as an aspect of political culture opens up interesting insights into the evolution of the Bangladesh polity. While the visual story of the incidents of violence in elections in Bangladesh started since post-independent period but this study aims to provide an in-depth empirical focus or overview of the nature, accurate causes and consequences of the electoral violence. In doing so, attention has been drowned on in the national election of Bangladesh from 1991-2018.

Importance of the Study

Scholars of comparative politics generally agree that holding elections does not mean that a country is democratic. In fact, less than half of the governments that now hold direct elections for national office do so within a context of consolidated democratic political institutions and respect for human rights. Nevertheless, there is little debate that elections, like protections for human rights, are necessary for democratic governance. Yet, as elections have spread to nearly every country in the world, so have complaints about the role of violence in democratization and the use of violence as an electoral tool. Scholars have argued that elections increase political polarization and potentially increase human rights abuses in countries without well-developed respect for the rule of law, and that even politicians in democracies can have strong incentives to use violent electoral tactics (O'Donnell, 1999). By contrast, others have argued that elections in illiberal states eventually bring about broader political participation, civic engagement, and political accountability, all of which will improve respect for human rights over time. In this milieu, as a democratic country, the analysis of the nature of electoral violence in Bangladesh is essential for finding out the proper solution from it to protect the human rights in the country.

Methodology of the Study

This study has been conducted by the secondary source of data. Secondary data and information was collected from the published books, journals, newspapers, articles and internet which were related to the study. For the purpose of this study, many theoretical literatures have been reviewed relating to the electoral violence. For analyzing data qualitative approach has been applied.

The Theoretical and Conceptual Notes

The theoretical conceptual framework introduces and describes the main concepts of a study. It demonstrates an understanding of the main concepts that are relevant to the research. In this study, electoral violence is main and dominant concept which is the combination of two separate concepts; election and violence and the other used concept is democratic regimes. Therefore, it is necessary to explore the two overall concepts; election and electoral violence and democratic regimes in the conceptual illustration.

Election and Electoral Violence

Elections in Bangladesh generally consist of four categories: referendum, presidential election, parliamentary election and local council elections. In this article, an endeavor has been made to analyze the nature of electoral violence in Bangladesh by analyzing various parliamentary elections in Bangladesh after restoration of parliamentary democracy in 1991. Elections are very common methods of peaceful transfer of power in democracy. The democratic method is that institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote (Schumpeter, 1976). Democracy thus means power of the people and it is now regarded as a form of government in which the people rule themselves either directly or indirectly through their representatives. This implies a form of representative democracy in which the right to exercise government power is gained by success in regular and competitive elections. So, election is a process for representation of people's voice in state decision making through representatives. Election is the most widely accepted basis for legitimate representation (Friedrich, 1968). Elections are the central institution of democracy. Elections to the legislature should serve as barometers of political mood of a nation in a parliamentary democracy. It is through these elections that changes in government, or policy, may take place. By the elections voters exercise their freedom of choice freely. Without this guarantee, the elections may prove meaningless (Rahim, 1990). All the essential elements of democracy are present in democratic election (Kirkpatrick, 1984). Elections are means of making political preferences by voting. Political preferences in a democratic society are expressed through the institutional mechanism of periodic elections. No government receives unqualified and indefinite support of the people over whom it asserts its jurisdiction. Every political system, if it is to endure, must provide ways of expressing the political preferences of the people (Huntington, 1985). Robert Dahl says a democratic political system is one which is completely or almost completely responsible to all its citizens (Dahl, 1989). Huntington also observed that democratic development depends on strong economy and efficient political institutions such as electoral system, political parties and bureaucracy (Huntington, 1985). A political system or regime is defined as democratic to the extent that its most powerful collective decision-makers are selected through periodic elections in which candidates freely compete for votes and in which virtually all the adult population is eligible to vote (Huntington, 1985). However, government and opposition parties in some third world countries try to manipulate the electoral process. As a result, violence occurs in electoral process. Electoral violence is very common in the third world countries. Political group or alliance tries to advance their political interest by the violence. By threatening opponents, voters, or election officials and by the deliberate destruction of campaign materials, vehicles, offices, or ballot boxes the political parties try to manipulate election result. Violence is seen in every general election. Every political party or alliance tries to go to the power. General election is the way to go to the power. In most of the election the political party or alliance tries to manipulate the election result by violence. Violence means the use of physical force or use of great destructive force or energy to harm somebody, to damage property, etc. (Merriam-Webster, 2015). World Health Organization defines violence as "the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, which either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, mal-development, or deprivation". The most common cause of death and injury in interpersonal violence is assault with

a firearm, sharp object etc. Electoral violence is a sub-type of political violence. In electoral violence actors employ coercion in an instrumental way to achieve their specific political ends. Electoral violence includes acts, such as assassination of opponents, clashes between rival groups of supporters and threatening opponents, voters, or election officials and deliberate destruction of campaign materials, vehicles, offices, or ballot boxes. Electoral violence is more than just physical violence.

Electoral violence can be seen as a sub-set of activities in a larger political conflict. Then it can be seen as part of the trajectory of ethnic or communal violence in divided societies that tends to cluster around election times (Hogland, 2007). Electoral violence generally denotes any acts or threats of coercion, intimidation, or physical harm perpetrated to affect an electoral process, or that arise in the context of electoral competition (Islam, 2015). The confrontational bipolar political system is the main reason behind the electoral violence in Bangladesh. Particularly, winner-takes-all power game, promotes electoral violence and in an insecure political and economic environment, political elites attempt to survive using violence through various mechanisms (Islam, 2015). In this study, the conflicts, the incidents and physical damages of lives and properties have been considered as the measurement tools of electoral violence. The number of death and injury and the types of violence of every parliamentary election has been divided into three phases- pre, during (election day) and post-election period.

Democratic Regimes

Like others emerging democratic state, a significant feature of the political culture of Bangladesh is the historical association of its people with, and their long participation in electoral politics. In Bangladesh parliamentary or general election is held every five years after and the citizens elect their representatives (MP) from each constituency. Although rarely held and mostly unfair when held, elections have proved significant watersheds or milestones in the political development of the nation. Bangladesh started to the journey with the introduction of Westminster type of parliamentary democracy after its independence. Though the inception of the political system of Bangladesh was a democratic form with the introduction of parliamentary form of democracy where election has taken place as the most vital method of legitimizing and democratizing the polity, but it was short live and like other developing nations, the practice of parliamentary democracy faced various constraining factors and the country was thrown under army rule and depredation of authoritarianism (Hasanuzzman, 1998). Political system of Bangladesh since 1975 till 1990 worked in an authoritarian environment and as such the country developed a political culture of non-democratic character. However, in 1991, Bangladesh backed to the parliamentary form of government and tried to restore democratic political system and responsible government by holding free, fair and impartial elections. Meanwhile, Bangladesh experienced with eleven parliamentary elections and government, seven of them after restoration of parliamentary democracy in the country. Therefore, the regimes which are turning over the state power since 1991 to present has been considered as the democratic regimes in this study.

Electoral Violence in Democratic Regimes (1991-2018)

In order to understand the nature of electoral violence, this paper attempts to examine the nature of violence during national elections in Bangladesh, focusing on its confrontational bipolar political system and transformation of the system of government in democratic regimes. The democratic regimes have been considered since 1991 to date. Therefore, the discussion on electoral violence has been started since the 5th parliamentary election to 11th parliamentary elections in this paper.

Electoral Violence in 5th Parliamentary Election

Fifth parliamentary election of Bangladesh was held on 27 February 1991 under the acting President Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed who headed a neutral caretaker government. The election was generally hailed as 'the most free and fair' not only by local observers but foreign observers too were unanimous about it (*The Daily Star*, April 1, April 24, 1991). This election generated unexpected enthusiasm among the voters. The election was contested and participated fully and freely by all political parties and alliances. 75 political parties and 2,787 candidates contested in this election. However, violence occurred across the country in pre election days, election day, and in post election days. Many people were killed and many were injured on those days (The Daily Ittefaq, 1996). It should be noted that in December 1990, President Hossain Mohammad Ershad - in office since 1983 - resigned after months of an anti-Government campaign by opposition political parties and student protesters. Fifth parliamentary election was held on 27 February 1991 under the acting President Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed. The relatively peaceful campaign occasionally became intensely personal between the two main contenders-Sheik Hasina and Begum Khaleda Zia. Table 1 presents the types of violence that caused death and injury in 5th parliamentary elections.

Table 1: Types of violence that caused death and injury in 5th parliamentary election

Time Period	Types of violence
Pre Election Days (December 31, 1990 – February 26, 1991)	1. Clashes between political rivals 2. Bomb blast 3. Vandalized vehicles
Election Day (February 27, 1991)	1. Clashes between political rivals
Post Election Days (February 28, 1991 – March 31, 1991)	4. Clashes between political rivals 5. Attack on political rivals 6. Bomb Blast 7. Attack on minorities group 8. Vandalized vehicles

Source: The Daily Bangladesh Observer (January 01, 1991 – March 31, 1991), The Daily Ittefaq (March 01, 1991 – March 31, 1991).

Table 2: Death and Injury in the 5th Parliamentary Election

Time Period	Death	Percentage (%)	Injured	Percentage (%)
Pre Election Days (December 31, 1990 – February 26, 1991)	1	25	65	25.49
Election Day (February 27, 1991)	1	25	100	39.22
Post Election Days (February 28, 1991 – March 31, 1991)	2	50	90	35.29
Total	4	100	255	100

Source: The Daily Bangladesh Observer (January 01, 1991 – March 31, 1991), The Daily Ittefaq (March 01, 1991 – March 31, 1991).

Table 2 shows that 1 people were killed in pre election days, 1 people were killed in election day and 2 people were killed in post election days. At the same time 65 people were injured in pre election days, 100 people were injured in election day and 90 people were injured in post election days. In this parliamentary election violence occurred across the country in pre election days, election day and post election days. Among the 64 districts some were the violence prone districts. These are Dhaka, Rangpur, Patuakhali, Chittagong, Narail, Sherpur etc.(The Daily Bangladesh Observer, 1991), (The Daily Ittefaq, 1991).

Electoral Violence in 6th Parliamentary Election

Sixth parliamentary election of Bangladesh was held on 15 February 1996 under the government headed by Begum Khaleda Zia. It was not a participatory election. The main opposition party Awami League protested the election. On the otherhand, the BNP government was adamant to hold the election and therefore, violence occurred across the country in pre election days, election day and in post election days. Many people were killed and many were injured on those days (The Daily Ittefaq, 1996). Table 3 presents the types of violence that caused death and injury in 6th parliamentary elections.

Table 3: Types of violence that caused death and injury in 6th parliamentary election

Time Period	Types of violence
Pre Election Days (December 31, 1995 – February 14, 1996)	1. Attack on houses of political rivals 2. Vandalized vehicles, houses. 3. Bomb attack
Election Day (February 15, 1996)	2. Clashes between political rivals 3. Bomb Blast 4. Bullet
Post Election Days (February 16, 1996 – March 31, 1996)	1. Clashes between political rivals 2. Bomb Blast 3. Set on fire to bus 4. Petrol bomb attack 5. Derailment of train 6. Attack on Bank 7. Bullet

Source: The Daily Ittefaq (January 01, 1996 – March 31, 1996).

Table 4 shows that 8 people were killed in pre election days, 10 people were killed in election day and 48 people were killed in post election days. At the same time 813 people were injured in pre election days, 300 people were injured in election day and 2345 people were injured in post election days. It is seen that 12.12 percent, 15.15 percent and 72.73 percent people of total (100%) were killed in pre election days, election day and post election days respectively. At the same time 23.51 percent, 8.68 percent and 67.81 percent people of total were injured in pre election days, election day and post election days respectively.

Table 4: Death and Injury in the 6th Parliamentary Election

Time Period	Death	Percentage (%)	Injured	Percentage (%)
Pre Election Days (December 31, 1995 – February 14, 1996)	8	12.12	813	23.51
Election Day (February 15, 1996)	10	15.15	300	8.68
Post Election Days (February 16, 1996 – March 31, 1996)	48	72.73	2345	67.81
Total	66	100	3458	100

Source: The Daily Ittefaq (January 01, 1996 – March 31, 1996).

It is seen that election day was the deadliest one and post election days were more violent days than pre election days. It should be noted that the main opposition of the parliament, Bangladesh Awami League, did not participate in this election. The government did not accept their demand for caretaker government. So, the opposition continued their movement for stopping the election that caused more violence on those days (The Daily Ittefaq, 1996). Violence occurred across the country in pre election days, election day and post election days. Among the 64 districts some were the violence prone districts. These are Dhaka, Cox's Bazar, Sirajganj, Sherpur, Natore, Patuakhali, Gazipur, Narshindi, Tangail, Khulna, Chittagong, Rangpur etc. (The Daily Ittefaq, 1996).

Electoral Violence in 7th Parliamentary Election

Seventh parliamentary election of Bangladesh was held on 12 June 1996 under the caretaker government headed by former chief justice Habibur Rahman. A free and fair election was held on June 12, 1996. 81 political parties and alliances contested in the election and voters participated enthusiastically, peacefully and fearlessly in the elections. The voters turn out registered a new record of 74.81 percent including 40 percent female votes. Violence occurred across the country in pre election days, election day and in post election days. Many people were killed and many were injured on those days (The Daily Ittefaq, 1996). Table 5 presents the types of violence that caused death and injury in 7th parliamentary elections.

Table 5: Types of violence that caused death and injury in 7th parliamentary election

Time Period	Types of violence
Pre Election Days (March 31, 1996 – June 11, 1996)	1. Clashes between political rivals 2. Bullet 3. Bomb blast 4. Slaughter
Election Day (June 12, 1996)	1. Clashes between political rivals 2. Gun fire 3. Stabbing
Post Election Days (June 13, 1996 – June 30, 1996)	1. Clashes between political rivals 2. Ransacking and looting houses. 3. Attack on houses of political rivals

Source: The Daily Ittefaq (April 01, 1996 – June 30, 1996), The Daily Star (June 13, 1996).

Table 6 shows that 15 people were killed in pre election days, 5 people were killed in election day and 6 people were killed in post election days. At the same time 511 people were injured in pre election days, 150 people were injured in election day and 85 people were injured in post election days. It is seen that 57.69 percent, 19.23 percent and 23.08 percent people of total (100%) were killed in pre election days, election day and post election days respectively. At the same time 68.49 percent, 20.11 percent and 11.39 percent people of total were injured in pre election days, election day, and post election days respectively.

Table 6: Death and Injury in the 7th Parliamentary Election

Time Period	Death	Percentage (%)	Injured	Percentage (%)
Pre Election Days (March 31, 1996 – June 11, 1996)	15	57.69	511	68.49
Election Day (June 12, 1996)	5	19.23	150	20.11
Post Election Days (June 13, 1996– June 30, 1996)	6	23.08	85	11.39
Total	26	100	746	100

Source: The Daily Ittefaq (April 01, 1996 – June 30, 1996), The Daily Star (June 13, 1996).

In seventh parliamentary election violence occurred across the country in pre election days, election day and post election days. Among the 64 districts some were the violence prone districts. These are Dhaka, Chittagong, Cox's Bazar, Sirajganj, Narayanganj, Sylhet, Bhola, Mymensingh, Netrokona, Barisal, Bogra, Shariatpur, Kushtia, Feni, Satkhira, Natore, Gazipur, Sirajganj, Pabna, Chandpur, Comilla, Khagrachari, Laxmipur etc. (The Daily Ittefaq, 1996), (The Daily Star, 1996).

Electoral Violence in 8th Parliamentary Election

It was another violent parliamentary election in Bangladesh which was held on 01 October 2001 under the caretaker government headed by former chief justice Latifur Rahman. In this election, 50 political parties and 1,935 candidates including 486 independent candidates contested for 300

general seats of Parliament. Violence occurred across the country in every phase - pre election days, election day and post election days. Many people were killed and many were injured on those days. Many people were killed on that day alone (The Daily Star, 2001). Table 7 presents the types of violence that caused death and injury in 8th parliamentary elections.

Table 7: Types of violence that caused death and injury in 8th parliamentary election

Time Period	Types of violence
Pre Election Days (August 31, 2001 – September 30, 2001)	1. Attack on political rivals 2. Bullet 3. Set fire to bus 4. Bomb blast 5. Attack on minorities group
Election Day (October 01, 2001)	1. Bullet 2. Clashes with political rivals
Post Election Days (October 02, 2001, 2008 – October 30, 2001)	1. Clashes between political rivals 2. Clashes between political rivals 3. Bullet 4. Attack on minorities group 5. Stabbing

Source: The Daily Star (September 01, 2001– October 31, 2001).

Table 8 shows that 82 people were killed in pre election days, 5 people were killed in election day and 39 people were killed in post election days. At the same time 3835 people were injured in pre election days, 450 people were injured in election day and 864 people were injured in post election days. It is seen that 65.08 percent, 3.97 percent and 30.95 percent people of total (100%) were killed in pre election days, election day and post election days respectively. At the same time 74.48 percent, 8.74 percent and 16.78 percent people of total were injured in pre election days, election day and post election days respectively.

Table 8: Death and Injury in the 8th Parliamentary Election

Time Period	Death	Percentage (%)	Injured	Percentage (%)
Pre Election Days (August 31, 2001 – September 30, 2001)	82	65.08	3835	74.48
Election Day (October 01, 2001)	5	3.97	450	8.74
Post Election Days (October 02, 2001, 2008 – October 30, 2001)	39	30.95	864	16.78
Total	126	100	5149	100

Source: The Daily Star (September 01, 2001– October 31, 2001).

It is seen that violence occurred in every phase (pre election days, election day, and post election days) of the election. Violence occurred across the country in pre election days, election day and post election days. Among the 64 districts some were the violence prone districts. These are Dhaka, Sirajganj, Bhola, Shariatpur, Kushtia, Feni, Satkhira, Natore, Gazipur, Sirajganj, Pabna,

Chandpur, Noakhali, Comilla, Chittagong, Mymensingh, Rangamati, Narayanganj, Sandwip, Laxmipur, Rangpur etc.(The Daily Star, 2001).

Electoral Violence in 9th Parliamentary Election

Ninth parliamentary election was held on 29 December 2008 under the caretaker government headed by Fakhruddin Ahmed. Violence occurred across the country in pre and post election days. Some people were killed and many were injured on those days. Violence also occurred in the election day (The Daily Prothom Alo, 2008). Table 9 presents the types of violence that caused death and injury in 9th parliamentary elections.

Table 9: Types of violence that caused death and injury in 9th parliamentary election

Time Period	Types of violence
Pre Election Days (November 30, 2008 – December 28, 2008)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Attack on political rivals 2. Clashes between political rivals 3. Attack on minorities group
Election Day (December 29, 2008)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Bomb blast. 2. Clashes with political rivals 3. Attack on police 1. Stabbing.
Post Election Days (December 30, 2008 – January 14, 2008)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Attack on political rivals, 2. Clashes between political rivals 3. Ransacking and looting houses. 4. Set fire to the houses of the political rivals.

Source: *The Daily Ittefaq (December 01, 2008 – January 15, 2008), The Daily Prothom Alo (December 01, 2008 – January 15, 2008), The Daily Star (December 01, 2008 – December 31, 2008).*

Table 10 shows that no individual was killed in pre election days, only 1 person was killed in election day and 4 people were killed in post election days. At the same time 93 people were injured in pre election days, 100 people were injured in election day and 138 people were injured in post election days. It is seen that pre election days were more peaceful than election day and post election days. The degree of violence of ninth parliamentary election was very low compared to other parliamentary elections in Bangladesh.

Table 10: Death and Injury in the 9th Parliamentary Election

Time Period	Death	Percentage (%)	Injured	Percentage (%)
Pre Election Days (November 30, 2008 – December 28, 2008)	0	0	93	28.09
Election Day (December 29, 2008)	1	20	100	30.21
Post Election Days (December 30, 2008 – January 14, 2008)	4	80	138	41.69
Total	5	100	331	100

Source: The Daily Ittefaq(December 01, 2008 – January 15, 2008), The Daily ProthomAlo (December 01, 2008 – January 15, 2008), The Daily Star (December 01, 2008 – December 31, 2008).

It should be mentioned that ninth parliamentary election was to be held on 22 January 2007. The Grand alliance headed by Bangladesh Awami League tried to postpone the election and demanded for creating a congenial environment for holding the election. The Awami League said that it and the smaller parties of its Grand Alliance would boycott the general election to be held on 22 January 2007. Violence was occurring across the country until the military intervened to support the caretaker government of President Iajuddin Ahmed on January 11, 2007. On January 12, 2007, his caretaker government was replaced by Fakhruddin Ahmed. Fakhruddin Ahmed was been a new chief adviser of caretaker government. (Wikipedia, 2015). From October 2006 to December 2006, 32 people were killed and many were injured. Among the 32 people 28 were political activists and 4 were general people. Types of violence were Clashes between political rivals, attack on political rivals, bullet etc. (The Daily Prothom Alo, 2015). Ninth parliamentary election was held on 29 December 2008 under the caretaker government headed by Fakhruddin Ahmed (The Daily Prothom Alo, 2008). This may be the reason of less violence in the ninth parliamentary election. Violence occurred across the country in pre election days, election day and post election days. Among the 64 districts some were the violence prone districts. These are Dhaka, Madaripur, Shariatpur, Bhola, Kushtia, Khulna, Satkhira, Mymensingh, Kishoreganj, Sirajganj, Chapai Nawabganj, Barisal, Noakhali, Comilla, Chittagong, Pabna etc. (The Daily Ittefaq, 2008), (The Daily Prothom Alo, 2008), (The Daily Star, 2008).

Electoral Violence in 10th Parliamentary Election

In Bangladesh 10th parliamentary election was held on 05 January 2014 under the government headed by Bangladesh Awami League. Violence occurred across the country in pre and post election days. Many people were killed and many were injured on those days. The election day was the deadliest one. Many people were killed on that day alone (The Daily Star- Online Edition, 2014). Table 11 presents the types of violence that caused death and injury in 10th parliamentary election.

Table 11: Types of violence that caused death and injury in 10th parliamentary election

Time Period	Types of violence
Pre Election Days (October 31, 2013 – January 04, 2014)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Throwing petrol bomb into the vehicles 2. Using gun powder to set fire to the vehicles 3. Clashes with joint forces (Police, RAB, BGB) 4. Clashes between political rivals 5. Attack on political rivals 6. Attack on police 7. Ripped up fishplates and clips from the rail lines, derailment of train, throwing petrol bomb and set fire to the train. 8. Vandalized vehicles, houses, shops. 9. Blasted crude bombs at different parts in the capital 10. Attack on Hindus, burnt and vandalized their houses, shops etc.
Election Day (January 05, 2014)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Attack on political rivals 3. Attack on Hindus 4. Attack on Ansar member, 5. Ransacking and looting houses.
Post Election Days (January 06, 2014 – January 14, 2014)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Attack on political rivals, 2. Attacks on Hindus, 3. Petrol bomb attacks, 4. Raped Hindu homemakers for casting vote in the election. 5. Bomb blast.

Source: *The Daily Star (November 01, 2013 – November 30, 2013), The Daily ProthomAlo (November 01, 2013 – November 30, 2013), The Daily Star- Online Edition (November 01, 2013 – January 15, 2014)*

Table 12 shows that 94 people were killed in pre election days, 18 people were killed in election day and 5 people were killed in post election days. At the same time 4934 people were injured in pre election days, 300 people were injured in election day and 101 people were injured in post election days. It is seen that 80.34 percent people of total (100%) were killed in pre election days, whereas only 4.27 percent people of total were killed in post election days. And 15.38 percent people of total were killed in election day alone. At the same time 92.48 percent people of total were injured in pre election days, whereas 1.89 percent people of total were injured in post election days. And 5.62 percent people of total were injured in election day.

It is seen that pre election days and election day were more violent days than post election days. It should be noted that the main opposition of the parliament, Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP),

did not participate in this election. The government did not accept their demand for caretaker government. So, the opposition continued their violent movement for stopping the election that caused more violence on those days (The Daily Star- Online Edition, 2014).

Table 12: Death and Injury in the 10th Parliamentary Election

Time Period	Death	Percentage (%)	Injured	Percentage (%)
Pre Election Days (October 31, 2013 – January 04, 2014)	94	80.34	4934	92.48
Election Day (January 05, 2014)	18	15.38	300	5.62
Post Election Days (January 06, 2014 – January 14, 2014)	5	4.27	101	1.89
Total	117	100	5335	100

Source: The Daily Star (November 01, 2013 – November 30, 2013), The Daily ProthomAlo (November 01, 2013 – November 30, 2013), The Daily Star- Online Edition (November 01, 2013 – January 15, 2014) “Bangladesh: Violence Wracks Pre-Election Period”, Human Rights Watch, 2013

Violence occurred across the country in pre election days, election day and post election days. Among the 64 districts some were the violence prone districts. These are Dhaka, Satkhira, Chittagong, Comilla, Gaibandha, Dinajpur, Nilphamary, Noakhali, Khulna. Dhaka and Satkhira should be mentioned specially because many people were killed and many were injured in Dhaka, especially in Dhaka City on those election days. On the other hand, about 20 people were killed and many people were injured in Satkhira on those days (The Daily Star, 2013), (The Daily Prothom Alo, 2013), (The Daily Star- Online Edition, 2014).

Electoral Violence in 11th Parliamentary Election

In Bangladesh 11th parliamentary election was held on 30 December, 2018 under the government of Bangladesh Awami League. It was participatory election. Although the credibility of the election is questionable for alleged rigging in the election. Violence occurred across the country in pre and post election days. The nature of violence was typical Many people were killed and many were injured on those days. At least 9 people were killed in before election days and 18 people were killed on election day. Comilla, Chattogram, Rajshahi, Brahman baria, Cox’s Bazar, Rangamati, Bogura, Sylhet, Noakhali, Dinazpure, Lalmonirhat, Gazipur, Natore, Narsingdi, Jashore and Pabna were the violence prone districts. Table 13 presents the number of death and injury in 11th parliamentary election.

Table 13: Death and Injury in the 11th Parliamentary Election

Time Period	Death	Percentage (%)	Injured	Percentage (%)
Pre Election Days (November 01, 2018 – December 29, 2018)	09	31.03	12923	92.48
Election Day (December 30, 2018)	18	62.07	200	5.62
Post Election Days (December 31 – January 15, 2018)	2	06.90	157	1.89
Total	29	100	5335	100

Source: Compiled by the author from various news paper (November 2018 to January 2019).

Comparison of Violence among Parliamentary Elections

If we compare the rate of violence between parliamentary elections, we will find out some specific findings. In a comparative analysis from the above tables, it is seen that total 373 people were killed in violence of parliamentary elections, from 5th to 11th parliamentary elections in Bangladesh. And total 28197 people were injured in violence of fifth to eleventh parliamentary elections. Data shows that 34.01%, 1.45%, 36.63%, 7.56%, 19.19% and 1.16% people were killed in the violence of 10th, 9th, 8th, 7th, 6th and 5th parliamentary election respectively in Bangladesh. However, the casualty and the intensity of electoral violence was less in eleventh parliamentary election than before. On the other hand, 34.93%, 2.17%, 33.71%, 4.89%, 22.64% and 1.17% of total 100% people were injured in the violence of 10th, 9th, 8th, 7th, 6th and 5th parliamentary election respectively. It is seen that highest 36.63% people were killed in eighth parliamentary election. Second and third highest are 34.01% and 19.19% which were in tenth and sixth parliamentary election respectively.

Table 14: Comparison of Violence between Parliamentary Elections (Death and Injured)

Parliamentary Election	Time Period	Death	Injured
11 th Parliamentary Election	Election Day (December 30, 2018)	09	12923
	Post Election Days (December 31 – January 15, 2018)	18	200
	Pre Election Days (November 01, 2018 – December 29, 2018)	02	157
10 th Parliamentary Election	Pre Election Days (October 31, 2013 – January 04, 2014)	94	4934
	Election Day (January 05, 2014)	18	300
	Post Election Days (January 06, 2014 – January 14, 2014)	5	101
9 th Parliamentary Election	Pre Election Days (November 30, 2008 – December 28, 2008)	0	93
	Election Day (December 29, 2008)	1	100
	Post Election Days (December 30, 2008 – January 14, 2008)	4	138

8 th Parliamentary Election	Pre Election Days (August 31, 2001 – September 30, 2001)	82	3835
	Election Day (October 01, 2001)	5	450
	Post Election Days (October 02, 2001, 2008 – October 30, 2001)	39	864
7 th Parliamentary Election	Pre Election Days (March 31, 1996 – June 11, 1996)	15	511
	Election Day (June 12, 1996)	5	150
	Post Election Days (June 13, 1996 – June 30, 1996)	6	85
6 th Parliamentary Election	Pre Election Days (December 31, 1995 – February 14, 1996)	8	813
	Election Day (February 15, 1996)	10	300
	Post Election Days (February 16, 1996 – March 31, 1996)	48	2345
5 th Parliamentary Election	Pre Election Days (December 31, 1990 – February 26, 1991)	1	65
	Election Day (February 27, 1991)	1	100
	Post Election Days February 28, 1991 – March 31, 1991)	2	90
	Total	373	28197

Source: Compiled by the author

On the other hand, highest 34.93% people were injured in tenth parliamentary election and second highest is 33.71% which was in eighth parliamentary election. It is seen that there were comparatively less percentage of killing and injury in other parliamentary elections. So, eighth and tenth parliamentary elections were more deadly elections than others in Bangladesh. Eighth parliamentary election was deadliest election in terms of the number of killing and tenth parliamentary election was deadliest in terms of the number of injured person. Above data Tables show that Highest 94 (27.33%) people were killed in pre election period of tenth parliamentary election. Second, third and fourth highest were 82 (23.84%), 48 (13.95%) and 39 (11.34%) people who were killed in pre election period of eighth parliamentary election, post election period of sixth parliamentary election and post election period of eighth parliamentary election respectively. Other percentage of violence is below 10 percent of total (100%). On the other hand, highest 4934 (32.30%) people were injured in pre election violence of tenth parliamentary election. Second and third highest were 3835 (25.11%), 2345 (15.35%) people who were injured in pre election period of eighth parliamentary election and post election period of sixth parliamentary election respectively. So, it is seen from the table 5.2 that pre election period of tenth parliamentary election, pre election period of eighth parliamentary election, post election period of sixth parliamentary election and post election period of eighth parliamentary election respectively were more deadly periods than other election periods. If we compare the violence of election Day between the parliamentary elections we will see that election day of tenth parliamentary election (January 05, 2014) was the deadliest in the country's history with 18 deaths so far. In the February

1996 polls (6th Parliamentary Election), 10 people lost their lives in violence which is the second deadliest of the election day.

Relation between Types of Government in the Time of Parliamentary Elections and Violence

It is very difficult to make a relationship between types of government in the time of parliamentary elections and violence. In fifth, sixth, seventh, ninth and tenth parliamentary election the opposition parties violently demanded for neutral caretaker government to hold the parliamentary election. Their demands were fulfilled, except in sixth and tenth parliamentary election, by sacrificing the life of many people. Sixth parliamentary election was held under the elected government (Bangladesh Nationalist Party). In the time of election 66 (19.19 percent out of hundred percent) people were killed in violence. It is the third deadliest parliamentary election in Bangladesh. But the data from the eighth parliamentary election demonstrates that it was the deadliest election of Bangladesh where highest 126 (36.63 percent out of hundred percent) people were killed in violence of the election. It is very interesting to find that the eighth parliamentary election was held under the caretaker government and the transference of power from elected government (headed by Bangladesh Awami League, 1996 – 2001) to the caretaker government was peaceful. The opposition parties including Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) had no objection or complain about the new caretaker government headed by former Chief Justice Latifur Rahman. They had also no complain about the way and time of transference of power. It was timely and peaceful transference of power. But it is the deadliest parliamentary election in the history of Bangladesh where 126 people are killed and 5149 people are injured in the violence. On the other hand, the second deadliest election of Bangladesh is the tenth parliamentary election (Table 12) which was held in 2014 under the elected government (headed by Bangladesh Awami League). It is observable that eighth parliamentary election is the deadliest election in the history of Bangladesh where the transference of power from elected government to the caretaker government was peaceful and the opposition parties had no complain about the caretaker government. Tenth and sixth parliamentary elections were the second and third deadliest elections where the elections were held under the elected government. In tenth and sixth parliamentary elections the demand for caretaker government of the opposition parties was not considered by the government. In other three elections (5th, 7th, and 9th) the demand for caretaker government of the opposition parties or alliances was fulfilled where many people were killed and many were injured in the violence for fulfilling the demand. So, it should be said again that it is very difficult to make a relation between types of government in the time of parliamentary elections and violence in Bangladesh.

CONCLUSION

The above analysis reveals that a number of parliamentary elections held in Bangladesh after restoration of democracy since 1990 to 2018. Any regimes even military could not stay in power for a long time without holding elections; they rather sought their legitimacy through elections. Unfortunately, it is generally accepted that most of the elections in Bangladesh have not been free, fair and impartial. Moreover, electoral violence occurred in every election across the country and many people were killed and many were injured. If we analyze the number of death of the type of people we will see that tenth parliamentary election is different from other elections. In tenth

parliamentary election 40 general people were killed (From 25 November to 08 December) which is two times greater than political activists (19). In other elections more political activists were killed than general people. Data indicates that there were more clashes between political rivals than attacking on general people up to ninth parliamentary election. But the situation is changed in tenth parliamentary election, where political activists attacked on general people in more cases for achieving their demand. They tried to avoid face to face clashes with political rivals and joint forces (Police, RAB, BGB). In the pre election periods the opposition parties demanded for neutral caretaker government, except in eighth parliamentary election, to hold a free, fair and credible election. But the government tried to avoid their demand. During the election the political parties or alliances tried to manipulate the results. In post election periods the result of the election was initially rejected by the losing parties. The problems of these three periods (pre, during and post election periods) stimulated violence. Electoral violence has destroyed political harmony. As a result we have reached in a critical condition, where one political party cannot trust on other political parties.

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