
International Journal of Social, Political and Economic Research

IJOSPER

ISSN: 2667-8810 (Online)

ijosper.uk

OPEN  ACCESS

Original Article

Article No: 20_V7_I1_A5

doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.3763784

Locating Disparity in Political Culture in Bangladesh: A Comparative Study between Bangali and Rakhine Communities

Md. Al-Amin*

* Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Barishal, Barishal-8200, Bangladesh
E-mail: maamin@bu.ac.bd

Abstract:

This study attempts to explore the disparity in Bangali and ethnic political cultures in Bangladesh. Methodologically, Barishal Sadar and a village under this Upazila and a para of Rakhine community at Kalapara thana in Patuakhali district were taken as a case study to conduct an analysis of the disparity of political cultures between ethnic and Bangali communities in Bangladesh. It is observed from the analysis that there is a huge disparity between Rakhine and Bangali political cultures except in certain cases. In every case, Bangali people behave subjective and participative in communication with political issues, whereas Rakhine people behave parochially except on the question of objectives of the government, political parties and political rights in this regard. It is also observed that no specific political culture exists in Bangali communities, but the Rakhine community behaves parochially in every case. Therefore, in the case of Rakhine community, the concept of civic culture is not applicable but in the Bangali communities, there are no distinct political cultures, but rather a mixed one, which is termed as a civic culture. The causes of the parochial political culture of Rakhines are their dearth of education, backwardness, scarce of mobility as well as apathetic political communication.

Key Words:

Political Culture, Bangali, Rakhine, Civic Culture, Parochial, Subjective and Participative.

1. Introduction

The political culture is an inalterable hallmark in a modern political system. When politics pretenses the question of “who gets what, when, where, and how,” then it provides a huge portion of the answer. If politics is the “art of the possible,” then political culture helps define the limits of that art, for culture defines what is generally permissible in a given society. (Swedlow, 2013) The term is as old as culture, which was first employed by Lenin. However, after using it in civic culture, it became a landmark in the study of political culture. (Khan, 1996, p.5) It indicates to the values, beliefs and most importantly attitudes towards the political system, which underpin the particular operation of it. These were seen as included knowledge and skills about the operation of political system, positive and negative emotional feelings towards it, and evaluative judgments about the system. (McClean, 2014, p. 414) On the other hand, the political culture in Bangladesh is an area, which has hardly been explored. Some scholars illustrate the cultural bedrock of Bangladesh in terms of rural and urban community, mass political parties, petty-bourgeois and the peasant society. Some others had characterized the political culture of Bangladesh as extreme individualism, (Maniruzzaman, 1994, p. 78) authoritarianism, (Hakim, 1993, p. 101) internal conflict in party politics, self-centric ideology, conflict resolution through applying power, patron-client relations, lack of secularism, over developed bureaucracy and factionalism. (Khan, 1984, P. 149) Nevertheless, these works are not constructive enough at all, specifically in that work they have paid little attention to discrepancies between ethnic and Bangali communities political culture in Bangladesh. That’s why, it has concentrated firstly on exploring the differences between ethnic and Bangali communities political culture in Bangladesh; secondly, on examining the patterns of political culture of Bangladesh; Thirdly, want to identify to what extent the civic culture is applicable in this regards and Finally, if Rakhine community behaves parochially with the political issues like other ethnic people, what are the reason behind this.

2. Theoretical Analysis

In general, culture means the way of life, knowledge, beliefs, and customs that a man acquires a man from the society and acts as a member of that society. *Cambridge dictionary* states that “culture is the way of life, especially the general customs and beliefs, of a particular group of people at a particular time”. (*Cambridge Dictionary*, 2020) In other words, “culture is the customs and beliefs, art, way of life and social organization of a particular country or group”. (*Oxford Dictionary*, 2020) E.B. Tylor stated that “culture is that complex whole which

includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society". (Tylor, 1871, P.1) All account of these we can conclude it as the characteristics and knowledge of a definite society that may be defined by customs, beliefs, art, language, religion, social habits, morals and law. Culture is a multi-dimensional concept and political culture is one of them. The concept of political culture has been used in political science since the culture has emerged in sociology which means political culture is as old as culture. The term was first employed by Lenin and its first use in English can be traced to Sidney Verba and Beatrice Webb in the middle of 1930s. They used the term to refer to "the role of political education and mass media in the soviet union."(Khan 1996, p.5) G. A. Almond and J. S. Coleman used the term "political Culture" instead of "public opinion" in their great work *The Politics of the Developing Areas*. (Almond et, al, 1960) Then Almond and Verba, initially defined political culture as the "particular pattern of orientations" to political action. It was, however, *The Civic Culture*, (Almond et. al, 1963) which became a landmark in the study of political culture. Basing their views on the survey data of five countries, Almond and Verba fleshed out the properties and types of political culture. (Khan 1996, p.5) This study also applied their theory for analyzing collected data. But now the discussion going to concentrated on what political culture is and how many distinct types of political culture could be seen in a society. Political culture may be defined as general political beliefs, customs, norms and political life of a particular class of people at the definite period. Basically, when emotional and attitudinal environment becomes a perceptible and a permanent feature of a political system serving thus as an independent means of denoting the character of latter and also of distinguishing it from other political systems, we can call it political culture. Indeed, much of political culture may not always be consciously held; it may grow implicitly under the influence of too many factors not lying within the jurisdiction of the political authority.(Mukhopadhyay, 1977, P. 86) Almond and Powell stated, "political culture is the pattern of individual attitudes and orientations toward politics among the members of political system".(Almond et, al, 1960, P. 50) Allan R. Ball also defined like Almond and Powell; he said that "political culture is composed of the attitudes, beliefs, emotions and values of society that relate to the political society and to political issues". (Ball, 1977, P. 52) On the other hand, Lucian W. Pye defined it in a broad sense. According to him, "the notion of political culture assumes that the attitudes, sentiments, and cognitions that inform and govern political behavior in any society are not just random congeries but represent coherent patterns which fit together and are mutually reinforcing. The

concept of political culture thus suggests that the traditions of society, the spirit of public institutions, the passions and the collective reasoning of its citizenry, and the style and operating codes of its leaders are not just random products of historical experience but fit together as a part of meaningful whole and constitute an intelligible web of relations. For the individual political culture provides controlling guidelines for effective political behavior, and for the collectivity it gives a systematic structure of values and rational considerations which ensures coherence in the performance of institutions and organizations". (Pye et. al, 1989, P. 7) Sidney Verba's observes that "the political culture of a society consists of the system of empirical beliefs, expressive symbols, values which defines the situation in which political action takes place. It provides the subjective orientation to politics". (Pye et. al, 1989, P. 513) After all the above opinion it could be said that political culture is the part of culture, which deals with the political customs, norms and behavior of individuals and it also collectively describes the institutional and organizational values.

There are a number of classifications about political culture. Among them, one of the most popular and seductive classifications is given by Almond and Verba. (Almond et, al, 1960) They classify it into three types, Which are parochial, subjective and participative. Firstly, when the individuals have no cognition towards political system, then it would be parochial political culture. In this part individuals have no communication and expert role with the political system. Secondly, when individuals have direct communication with the political system but their political stand are very low, then it would be subjective one. Here is interesting to note that peoples have strong orientation towards political system but they have no participation in the input structure. Thirdly, in case of participant culture, individual's physiological reaction, expressive emotions and values are extremely higher towards state or political system, on the one hand, their political role or stand also significant in these regards. Accordingly, among these three classified cultures, however, no individual culture could be seen in a political system, rather the combination of these three types that are known as civic culture. "The Civic culture combines all the characteristic of the three ideal types of political culture. It is not a modern culture but a mixed modernizing-traditional one". (Almond et, al, 1960, P. 6) The most significant thing are it contains both humanistic-traditional and scientific culture which permits people to interdict and interchange without diminishing or polarizing other.

3. Rakhine and Bangali Community

Different small ethnic communities, such as Chakma, Tanchangya, Marma, Orao, Garo, Tripura and Rakhine live in different geographies of Bangladesh. Selected Rakhine lives in Cox's Bazar, Chittagong, Chittagong Hill Tracts, Barguna and Patuakhali. Most of them mainly live at Kalapara in Patuakhali just on the bank of Bay of Bengal. They have unique language, culture, history, rituals, festival and unlike most of the Rakhines who live in other regions they also believe in Buddhist religion. Unlike other ethnic groups, they are also underprivileged in terms of language, education, profession, citizenry facilities like civilian opportunity, political affiliation and in decision making process, but are entitled to enjoying all kind of rights according to the constitution. On the other hand, Bangali's are the major ethnic identity, they are almost 98.5 % of total population. Bangali stand unique with its distinctive Bengali language, culture, rituals and festivals and unlike most Bangalis are religiously Muslims and Hindus whereas a little number of them are Christians and Buddhists. Bangalis are the most privileged in terms of education, occupation and other political as well as civil opportunities.

4. Methodology

This study is mainly based on social survey method and for collecting data primary and secondary sources were consulted. For the purpose of collecting data, structured questionnaire survey method was applied. Pre-test of the questionnaire was conducted in the area to ensure the validity of the survey. Nevertheless, necessary data and information were collected from secondary sources as well. Different books, articles, research papers, research seminars, document papers, concept notes and related websites concerning the issues were followed and reviewed. On the other hand, interviews have been conducted in two distinct areas which are Barishal Sadar thana and Kalapara upazilla at Patuakhali district. Data from the Bangali community has been collected from Barishal Sadar thana. One Village (*Dapdapia*) of *Dapdapia* union and one ward of city corporation (*Brown Compound*) under the Barishal Sadar thana were selected for the study area and then simple random sampling was used for concluding the survey. One hundred and twenty persons or samples (village sixty and Urban sixty) of 18 years and above were interviewed randomly. On the one hand, data from ethnic (Rakhine) community has been conducted at Kalapara Upazila in Patuakhali. A village which name is at *Goraamkhola Para* has been selected for the study area. Data has been collected by simple random sampling from 120 people who are above eighteen years old in that area. At the end, data has

systemized and analyzed through different computer application like SPSS, MS Excel and Ms word.

5. Findings

To find out the discrepancies on political culture between Rakhine and Bangali communities several questions on different concepts such as elections in Bangladesh, Parliament of Bangladesh and its formation, Executive department, Judiciary and its formation as well as citizen's communications with it, different political parties and finally political rights of the citizens of Bangladesh. After collecting data through questionnaire method, it has been analyzed which are presenting now in the following.

5.1 Election and Political Culture

In a representative democracy, ordinary citizens do not govern; rather, they choose those who do. (Moten et. al, 2005, P. 345) The process through which the ordinary citizens choose their representatives is called Election. The constitution of Bangladesh has declared that all types of elections are conduct based on adult franchise. According to constitution (Article-122), the elections to parliament shall be based on adult franchise. (*The Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh* , 2011, P.44) In addition, article 72(3) also declared, unless sooner dissolved by the president, parliament shall stand dissolved on the expiration of the period of five years from the date of its first meeting. (*ibid*, 2011, P.24) Therefore, we can say that an election of the parliament of Bangladesh is held every five years. To find out the differences firstly, discovered their knowledge and activities, which are related to elections and asked them questions like knowledge about the pattern of the elections, gaps between every national election and frequencies of participation with voting system. Secondly, gathered the data on the basis of these questions and finally analyzed it through tables that are below.

5.1.1 Elections in Bangladesh

Response on elections in Bangladesh				
	Rakhine		Bangali	
	Frequencies	Percentages	Frequencies	Percentages
Yes	67	52.5	117	97.5
No	53	47.5	3	2.5
Total	120	100.0	120	100.0

Source: Assembled and processed by the researcher.

The table highlights the data, which is related to the elections in Bangladesh. It could be seen that in the part of Rakhine respondents maximum 52.5% are knowledgeable about the elections of Bangladesh. That means they know about the patterns of election and 47.5% of the them are blind in this regard. On the other hand, in the part of Bangali respondents, here maximum 97.5% have knowledge about it whereas only 2.5% of them remain in dark. If we discuss comparatively, it could be seen that Bangali peoples are significantly wise than the Rakhine.

5.1.2 Formation of Electorate in the National Parliament Election in Bangladesh

Response on electorate in Election				
	Rakhine		Bangali	
	Frequencies	Percentages	Frequencies	Percentages
Citizen	30	44.8	114	97.4
Don't know	21	31.3	3	2.6
No answer	16	23.9	0	0
Total	67	100.0	117	100.0

Source: Assembled and processed by the researcher.

On the question (This question is applicable only for those, who has knowledge on the matter of elections) of who are eligible for voting in the national parliament election or who has the right to enroll as a voter in the national parliament election in Bangladesh both the Rakhine and Bangali respondents responded differently. From the table it could be seen that maximum 97.4% of Bangali respondents know about the formation of electorate in the national parliament election and the rest 2.6% of them answer that they do not know about it. On the contrary, on the same question Rakhine society reacted differently, among them 6.9% respondents did not want to comment and about one third(31.3%) failed to answer it, whereas below 44.8% of them are conscious about the formation of electorate, which is very insignificant in contrast to the mainland Bangali society.

5.1.3 Voting Behavior

Response on voting				
	Rakhine		Bangali	
	Frequencies	Percentages	Frequencies	Percentages
Regular	30	25.0	80	66.7
Irregular	15	12.5	15	12.5
Never	75	62.5	25	20.8
Total	120	100.0	120	100.0

Source: Assembled and processed by the researcher.

Here it could be seen that on the question of voting in the national parliament election both societies reacted differently. In the Rakhine societies only 25.0% do vote regularly whereas 66.7% of the mainland Bangali peoples are voting regularly. On the one hand, same percentages which is 12.5% from both societies of do vote irregularly. However, maximum 62.5% of the Rakhine peoples said that they had voted never whereas a considerable number of Bangali peoples (20.8%) had voted never which is very sticking in contrast to the Rakhine peoples. So, it could be said in the conclusion that Bangali peoples are much more participative than that of Rakhines.

5.2 Legislature (Parliament) and Political Culture

In modern democracy, there are three organs of a government for running the governance process. Among the three organs, legislature is one of the vital components because of all types of ventilation of demand are articulated through the legislature. Legislature or assemble refers to that organ that means to meet to accomplish a variety of functions: to make laws, to control the executive, and to carry out a few judicial functions. (Finer, 1961, P. 369) In Bangladesh legislature is known as parliament and the constitution of the people’s republic of Bangladesh has declared (65, clause1, 2and 3) that there shall be a parliament for Bangladesh (to be known as the house of the nation) in which, subject to the provisions of this constitution, Shall be vested the legislative powers of the republic. Parliament shall consist of three hundred members to be elected in accordance with law from single territorial constituencies by direct election. There shall be reserved fifty seats exclusively for women members. (*The Constitution of the People’s Republic of Bangladesh* , 2011, P.21) To find out the discrepancies at first discovered their knowledge and activities, which are related to parliament and asked them questions like objective of national parliament election, members

in our national parliament and number of reserved women seats. Secondly, gathered data and analyzed it through tables that are given below.

5.2.1 Objective of National Parliament Election

Response on objective of national parliament election				
	Rakhine		Bangali	
	Frequencies	Percentages	Frequencies	Percentages
Forming govt.	30	25.0	108	90.0
Forming parliament	1	.8	6	5.0
Don't know	80	66.7	3	2.5
No answer	9	7.5	3	2.5
Total	120	100.0	120	100.0

Source: Assembled and processed by the researcher.

In the question of objective of national parliament election, majority of the mainland Bangali people (90.0%) answered for the formation of government and 2.5% responded for the forming of parliament, whereas 7.5% remain silent. In contrary 25.0% of Rakhine respondents answered inaccurately, 5.0% responded correctly and 2.5% remains in dark. We can summarize that both Rakhine and Bangali peoples have poor response in this matter which means both the Rakhine and mainland Bangali peoples are blind on the question of objective of the parliament election.

5.2.2 Members of National Parliament

Response on members of national parliament				
	Rakhine		Bangali	
	Frequencies	Percentages	Frequencies	Percentages
300	27	22.5	18	15.0
350	13	10.8	96	80.0
don't know	80	66.7	6	05.0
Total	120	100.0	40	100.0

Source: Assembled and processed by the researcher.

On the question of the number of seats of national parliament in Bangladesh, are mainland Bangali peoples are very wise than the Rakhine's. One tenth of the Rakhine people are concious about it, whereas two third of them are remain in dark. On the other hand, Bangali peoples reacted antithetically, 80 percent of them showed their participative character on this

issue whereas a little number of them is parochial. To sum up, it could be said much wisely that Rakhine peoples are very parochial in contrast to the mainland Bangali.

5.2.3 Reserved Women Members of National Parliament

Response on reserved women member seats				
	Rakhine		Bangali	
	Frequencies	Percentages	Frequencies	Percentages
Fifty	10	8.3	96	80.0
Sixty	2	1.7	11	9.2
Hundred	1	0.8	0	0
Don't know	80	66.7	9	7.5
Total	120	100.0	120	100.0

Source: Assembled and processed by the researcher.

On the matter of reserved women member seats of national parliament, Bangali peoples showed their consciousness more anticipatively as usual in contrast to the Rakhine. Only 8.3% of the Rakhine peoples have accurate knowledge whereas rest of them are completely blind of this issue. On the other hand, 80.0% of Bangali people have very strong communication over the subject of reserved women member seats of national parliament whereas a little number of them are blind on this seductive matter. So, it would be much wise to say that Bangali peoples are significantly participative than the Rakhine one.

5.3 Executive and Political Culture

The cabinet and the chief of state together comprise a body that is usually called the executive. (Finer, 1961, P. 575) In a broad and collective sense, the executive organ embraces the aggregate or totality of all the functionaries which are concerned with the execution of the will of the state as they have been formulated and expressed in terms of law.(Garner, 1928, P. 6) According to constitution (55 clause 1,2), there shall be a cabinet for Bangladesh having the Prime minister at its head and comprising also such other ministers as the Prime minister may from time to time, designate. The executive power of the Republic shall, in accordance with this constitution, be exercised by or on the authority of the prime minister. (*The Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh*, 2011, P.17) To find out discrepancies between Rakhine and Bangali communities, firstly, discovered their knowledge and activities, which are related to executive and asked them questions like objective of the government and

head of the government. Secondly, gathered data and analyzed it through tables that are given below.

5.3.1 Objectives of the Government

Response on the objectives of the government				
	Rakhine		Bangali	
	Frequencies	Percentages	Frequencies	Percentages
Run the govt.	31	77.5	34	85.0
Don't know	9	22.5	6	15.0
Total	40	100.0	40	100.0

Source: Collected and prepared by Researcher.

It is clearly seen that on the matter of Objectives of the government 77.5% of rural respondents and 85.0% of urban respondents answer in favor of run the govt., on contrary rest of respondent in both area do not have any knowledge about it. In the sense of comparing both rural and urban respondents are near about even knowledge on the factor of the objective of the government.

5.3.2 Head of the Government

Response on head of the government				
	Rakhine		Bangali	
	Frequencies	Percentages	Frequencies	Percentages
Prime minister	9	7.5	114	95.0
President	2	1.7	3	2.5
Don't know	108	90.0	0	0
No answer	1	0.8	3	2.5
Total	120	100.0	34	100.0

Source: Assembled and processed by the researcher.

On the question of head of the government of Bangladesh, Rakhine peoples are more blind than the previous response. In this regards 7.5 showed their competency whereas 90.0% of them remained in incompetency level. Contrarily, 95.0 % of Bangali peoples showed their participative character in this regards. Whereas a minimal number of them remain in dark. So, it could be said in the conclusion that Raknaine peoples are very much unconscious and have a minimum level of communications with the national political issues.

5.4 Local government and Political Culture

Local government means a governing institution which has authority over a sub national territorially defined area or decentralized local area. In other sense, local government is a form of public administration, which, in a majority of contexts, exists as the lowest tier of administration within a given state. The constitution of Bangladesh also declared it in its chapter III (Article 59-60). Article 59(1) comprises that local government in every administrative unit of the Republic shall be entrusted to bodies, composed of persons elected in accordance with law. Article 59(2) prescribed the function of local government, which includes (a) administration and the work of public officers; (b) the maintenance of public order; (c) the preparation and implementation of plans relating to public services and economic development. To find out discrepancies at first discovered their knowledge and activities, which are related to the institution of local government. Secondly, gathered data and analysed it through the tables that are below.

5.4.1 Communications with the Local Government Institutions

Response on the communication with city corporation/Union council				
	Rakhine		Bangali	
	Frequencies	Percentages	Frequencies	Percentages
Yes	10	8.3	69	57.5
No	110	91.7	48	40.0
No answer	0	0	3	2.5
Total	120	100.0	120	100.0

Source: Assembled and processed by the researcher.

If we compare with other factors of the above, here is a decline trend in the connectivity with local govt. institution. If we focus on the above table, it could be seen that Bangali peoples are more connected than Rakhine people. There is a notable issue that maximum 57.5% of rural people are not willing to go to union council or city corporation, whereas only 8.3% of them have connected with the local government institution. On the other hand, 40.0% of Bangali respondents also do not pursue to go to City Corporation for solving local problem, whereas, 91.7% of total Rakhine peoples are totally aloof from this institution. Finally, Bangali peoples are more frequent than rural people in going to local govt. institutions.

5.5 Judiciary and Political Culture

The judiciary (also known as the judicial system or court system) is the system of courts that interprets and applies the law in the name of the state. The judiciary also provides a mechanism for the resolution of disputes. Generally, legislature makes law, executive formulates that law and judiciary interprets the law and upholds constitution. The Judiciary consists of a Supreme Court and other subordinate courts in Bangladesh. The constitution also declared about it in part VI (Article 94-117). Article 94 of the constitution states that there shall be a supreme court for Bangladesh (to be known as the supreme court of Bangladesh) comprising the Appellate Division and the High Court Division. (*The Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh*, 2011, P.35) To find out discrepancies at first discovered their knowledge and activities which are related to judiciary and asked them questions. Secondly, gathered data and analyzed it through table that is below.

5.5.1 High Court of Bangladesh

Response on the high Court of Bangladesh				
	Rakhine		Bangali	
	Frequencies	Percentages	Frequencies	Percentages
Supreme court	9	7.5	114	95.0
District court	78	65.0	0	0
Don't know	30	25.0	6	5.0
No answer	3	2.5	0	0
Total	120	100.0	120	100

Source: Assembled and processed by the researcher.

On the question about high court in Bangladesh 95.0% of Bangali people have clear knowledge about it and 5.0% of them haven't any knowledge on it. On contrary, in Rakhine society only 7.5% people have accurate knowledge that Supreme Court is the high court in Bangladesh which is very insignificant whereas more than 90% haven't any knowledge in this regards. Finally it could be said that Rakhine peoples are very much lacking behind than Bangali.

5.5.2 Communication with the High Court for Justice

Connectivity with High Court for justice				
	Rakhine		Bangali	
	Frequencies	Percentages	Frequencies	Percentages
Yes	1	0.8	1	0.8
No	117	97.5	118	98.4
No answer	2	1.7	1	0.8
Total	120	100.0	120	100.0

Source: Assembled and processed by the researcher.

For seeking justice in High Court majority percent both in Bangali and Rakhine peoples are lacking behind. It could be seen that both Bangali and Rakhine peoples showed same portion of competency in this issue. Though Bangali peoples are more conscious about the justice but they are not willing to solve their disputed issues. So, it could be said that though Bangali peoples are aware of the justice system of supreme court but they have no direct communication with this system, whereas, Rakhine peoples have no idea about it and very much lacking behind to communicate with the supreme court.

5.6 Political Party and Political Culture

Political party is a group of people, whose aim is to aggregate the demand of general people and for doing that they try to form the government in a constitutional way. According to Joseph LaPalombara, a political party is a formal organization whose primary purpose is to place and maintain in public office persons who will control, alone or in coalition, the machinery of government. LaPalombara, 1974, P. 507) In Bangladesh, there are several political parties such as Awami League, Bangladesh Nationalist Party, Jatiya Party, Workers Party of Bangladesh, CPB, Jashad and so on. Now Awami League is in government since 2009. To find out discrepancies at first discovered their knowledge and activities, which are related to political parties in Bangladesh and asked them questions. Secondly, gathered data and analyst it through table that are below.

5.6.1 Political Parties in Bangladesh

Response on Knowledge of political party				
	Rakhine		Bangali	
	Frequencies	Percentages	Frequencies	Percentages
Yes	102	85.0	114	95.0
No	18	15.0	6	5.0
Total	120	100.0	40	100.0

Source: Assembled and processed by the researcher.

On the question of the knowledge of major political parties in Bangladesh, most Bangali people (95.0%) have knowledge about political party and in Rakhine people, majority of them (85.0%) also have idea about political party but frequency of knowledge is less than that of Bangali.

5.6.2 Membership of Political Parties

Response on the membership of the parties				
	Rakhine		Bangali	
	Frequencies	Percentages	Frequencies	Percentages
Yes	5	4.9	30	26.3
No	97	95.1	66	57.9
No answer	0	0	18	15.8
Total	102	100.0	114	100.0

Source: Assembled and processed by the researcher.

On the question of whether a member of political party or not, both Bangali and Rakhine reacted more or less parochially (Question is applicable for those who answer in the favor of political party). Here it could be seen that only 4.5% of the Rakhine people are members of any political party whereas 26.3 of Bangali people are members of any political party. On the other hand, 95.1% of Rakhine peoples aren't member of any political party whereas 57.9% of Bangali peoples aren't member of any political party. So, it is very obvious that on the response of the membership of political party Rakhines are extreme parochial whereas Bangali peoples are also parochial but they are slightly low than the Rakhine.

5.6.3 Agreement with the Policies of Political Party

Support the policies of party				
	Rakhine		Bangali	
	Frequencies	Percentages	Frequencies	Percentages
yes	1	17.7	27	90.0
no	5	83.3	3	10.0
Total	6	100.0	30	100.0

Source: Assembled and processed by the researcher.

This table is applicable for those who are the member of a distinct political party. In Rakhine society, 1 (17.7%) respondents among the 6 are willing to agree with the policies of that party and 5 (83.3%) respondents sometime contradict with the policies of that party. Contrarily, among Bangali peoples maximum 27 (90.0%) of 30 respondents agree with the policy of that party and 3 (10.0%) responds reacted negatively. So, It could be said in the conclusion that though Rakhine peoples showed their participative character on the knowledge of political parties but on the question of membership and agreement of the policies of political party they showed their parochial character in contrast to the Bangali.

5.7 Political Rights and Political Culture

Rights are some recognized ethics or morality on a state, family or individual level that helps a man survive and ensures their development. Laski says that rights define those states in social lives without which man can't enjoy his own personality. (Laski, 1967, P. 91) Political rights are that part of civil rights, which provides political freedom for engaging with politics to their citizens. This is mentioned in the article 26 to 47 of the current constitution. Of which 29, 33, 37, 38, 39 and 43 number articles accept the political rights. It has been said in the article 37 that every citizen shall have the right to assemble and to participate in public meetings and processions peacefully and without arms, subject to any reasonable restrictions imposed by law in the interests of public order or public health. (*The Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh*, 2011, P.11) In this manner, the right to vote, get government jobs, right to apply, right to criticize the government, right to protest and right to unite have been recognized by the constitution. To find out discrepancies between Rakhine and Bangali communities culture about political rights, firstly, discovered their knowledge which is related to parliament and asked them questions on ideas about political rights. Secondly, gathered data and analyzed it through table that is below.

5.7.1 Political Rights

Response on the knowledge about political rights				
	Rakhine		Bangali	
	Frequencies	Percentages	Frequencies	Percentages
Yes	46	33.3	99	82.5
No	67	55.8	12	10.0
No answer	7	5.8	9	7.5
Total	120	100.0	120	100.0

Source: Assembled and processed by the researcher.

On the question of political rights, first of all, it is interesting to note that in case of ethnic community's awareness on political rights 46 (33.3%) respondents told that they are aware of their political rights and 7 (5.8%) respondents are refrained from answering whereas maximum 67 (55.8%) respondents are unconscious of their political rights. On the other hand, 99(82.5%) of Bangali peoples are aware of their political rights, whereas only 12(10.0%) of them are not conscious of their political rights and 9(7.5%) of them refrained from answering in this regard.

Here, it could be concluded to say that Bangali peoples are very much participative on the question of their political rights as the same time, as a backward community, majority of Rakhine people remain in dark of their political rights. Those who are conscious are mostly aware of only two to three political rights like voting right, right to procession and right to form party.

6. Causes of Parochial Political Culture of Rakhine Community

It has been proved from the previous explanation that a large number of Rakhine people behave parochially with the most seductive issues of politics. Again, those who have direct communication with politics are mostly Objective of the government, political rights, political party and elections. It has been observed from the field analysis that the prime reason for their parochial political behavior is the backwardness. It seems that the Rakhine people are living in exile in their land; as a result, they are reluctant to be acquainted with the politics of Bangladesh. They are much more curious about news, which is mostly correlated to the Rakhine state of Myanmar. It is also observed that dearth of mobility is another vital reason for their parochial reaction to central politics. Usually, they like to be confined within their community; furthermore, they are not used to communicate with Bangali people who are their neighbors. It is interesting to note that when they gather with Bangalis, though it is quite rare,

they feel very awkward and use Rakhine language with people from their own communities despite being in that gathering, which is very unprofessional and Bangali community take it negatively. Though almost all the Rakhine people are literate in their language and that is up to class five through their educational institution *Keyong* which is not recognized by the state organization. On the one hand, they are not willing to take education from state facilitated educational institutions. As a result, Rakhines lose their motivation to educate themselves furthermore in the state-owned higher educational institution that brings the low rate of literacy rate, which also causes of parochial character. As a backward community, they are not smart enough to connect with mass media which is another vital cause of weak stand towards politics. Research shows that only 12.5% of them watch TV regularly, but those who connect with TV watch entertainment programs instead of politics-oriented programs. It is also observed that only 4.2% of them read the newspaper regularly whereas only *Morols* (leaders) are connected with international media like BBC, DW, VOA Bangla and most importantly BBS (Burma Broadcasting Service). There is another vital fact which makes them very reluctant towards national politics, which is political parties and state agencies are less concerned about the Rakhine people. It could be said in the conclusion that not a single reason is not a vital factor for making them parochial towards politics rather above mentioned reasons are collectively acted as a driving force to make them aloof from politics.

7. Estimation

After examining the Bangali and Rakhine communities communication with the most seductive political concept like elections, legislature, executive, local government, judiciary, political party, and political rights, that illustrate the political culture of Bangladesh, it could be seen that in the matter of the pattern of the election, there is a discrepancy between Bangali and Rakhine respondents. Then the second question, gaps between the national parliament elections, here also data shows the same scenario. In every case, Bangali peoples behave subjective and participative character whereas Rakhines behaves extremely parochial communication with politics.

The data presented in the study, which is related to the legislature shows the imbalance between Bangali and Rakhine people. Here the standard of Bangali people is comparatively high, here it is notable that in the factor of national parliament election, Bangali people are more appraisable. The same ratio is also seen between Bangali and Rakhine peoples on the side of executive affairs except for the objectives of the government. Though the disparity

between them is about the same the participative behavior of Bangali people is slightly higher than the Rakhaine. As the survey communication with City Corporation or union council showed, there exists a gap between Bangali and Rakhine people; however, the parochial political behavior of Rakhine respondents yield, to their authoritative decision of union council. But there is an opposite scenario in the connectivity with high court for justice that Bangali people are more connected than Rakhine people. A little gap exists in the sense of political party. But Bangali people are relatively participants in being a member of a party. On the one hand, Bangali peoples have an acute tendency for supporting the policies of that of the party. As our survey showed that, the disparity level is very high between Rakhine and Bangali communities to the cognition about their political rights. The level of communication of the Bangali people is double that of the Rakhine people.

It is stated in the theoretical part, three types of political cultures may exist in a society. If we apply it in the context of Rakhine people it could be seen that they behave parochially in every case. But in the context of Bangali, it could be seen that sometimes they behave as parochial, sometimes they act as subjective and similarly, they also have shown participative character. There are, as we have seen in the result of the communication with the high court, almost all the people of them acted as parochial (98.4%). However, several conclusions have emerged as subjective attitudes for the elections, reserved women's seats and knowledge about political parties, etc. At the same time, participative behaviors also appear in participating in the voting system, policies of the political parties and connections with local govt. institutions and so on. After analyzing the patterns of the political culture of Bangali people, it has observed that there exists an excellent combination of the mixed political culture that comprises the civic culture, but Rakhine people behave parochially in every case. So, it could be said that the concept of civic culture of Sidney Verba is not applicable in Rakhine society whereas Bangali people's political culture is a purely civic one.

On the other hand, from the above analysis it has been observed that most of the Rakhine population has no direct communication with politics which comprises parochial political culture and the causes of parochial political behavior towards political system are basically clumsiness, lack of adaptability or mobility, detached from mass media, the scare of education, political apathy and inadequate measures by the state agencies as well as political parties.

Finally, it is exciting to conclude is that as there is an extreme discrepancy between Bangali and Rakhine's political culture. Where the concept civic is truly applicable for the Bangali

community while in Rakhine community the concept is not true there exists a single culture which is parochial and the causes of this parochial culture are backwardness and several other factors like apathy towards politics, lack of accessibility to mainstream media and racial attitudes of the state apparatus towards them.

References

- Swedlow, Brendon, 2013, 'Political Culture', In Claeys, Gregory, *Encyclopedia of Modern Political Thought*, California, CQ Press, pp. 624-626.
- Khan, Shamsul I, et, al, 1996, *Political Culture, Political Parties and Democratic Transition in Bangladesh*, Dhaka, Academic Publishers.
- Mclean, Iain and Mcmillan, Alistair(eds.), 2014, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Politics*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press.
- Maniruzzaman, Talukder, 1994, *Politics and Security of Bangladesh*, Dhaka, University Press Ltd..
- Hakim, Muhammad A., 1993, *Bangladesh Politics: The Shahabuddin Interregnum*, Dhaka, University Press Ltd..
- Khan, Zillur R., 1984, *Martial Law to Martial Law*, Dhaka, University Press Ltd..
- 2020, *Cambridge Dictionary*, Cambridge University Press, Retrieved from <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/culture>
- 2020, *Oxford Learners Dictionary*, Oxford University Press, Retrieved from <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/learner/culture>
- Tylor, E. B., 1871, *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art, and Custom*, New York, Gordon Press.
- Almond, G. A & Coleman, J. S., (eds.), 1960, *The Politics of the Developing Areas*, New Jersey, Princeton University Press.
- Almond, G. A., and Verba, Sidney, (ed.), 1963, *The Civic Culture: Political Attitude and Democracy in Five Nations*, New Jersey, Princeton University Press.
- Mukhopadhyay, Amal Kumar, 1977, *Political Sociology: An Introductory Analysis*, Calcutta, K P. Bagchi and Company.
- Ball, Allan R., 1977, *Modern Politics and Government*, London, The Macmillan Press.
- Pye, Lucian W., 1989, 'Introduction: Political Culture and Political Development' in Pye, Lucian W. and Verba, Sidney, *Political Culture and Political Development*, New Jersey, Princeton University Press.

Verba, Sidney, 'Comparative Political Culture' in Pye, Lucian W. and Verba, Sidney, *ibid.*

Moten, Abdul Rashid and Islam, Syed Serajul, 2005, *Introduction to Political Science*, Singapore, Thomson Learning.

2011, *The Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh*, Dhaka, Ministry of Law, Justice and Parliamentary Affairs, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

Finer, Herman, 1961, *The Theory and Practice of Modern Government*, London, Methuen & Co. Ltd..

Garner, James Wilford, 1928, *Political Science and Government*, New York, American Book Company.

LaPalombara, Joseph, 1974, *Politics within Nations*, N J: Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs.

Laski, J. Harold, 1967, *A Grammar of Politics*, London, George Allen & Union Ltd..