

-RESEARCH ARTICLE-

**GOOD GOVERNANCE AND STUDENT POLITIC IN PUBLIC
UNIVERSITY CAMPUSES: BANGLADESH PERSPECTIVE**

Abdulla AL MAHMUD¹ & M H MAHMUD²

Abstract

Student political role is the most crucial and dominant in the history of the birth of Bangladesh. Despite having its glorious past in the birth of Bangladesh and bringing many historical political changes towards democracy and good governance, Student politics is now shriveling up the good governance and academic environment with violent and parochial political culture. However, with the passage of time, student politics is gradually losing its historical importance and legitimacy as political violence and brutality become part of its regular activities. Student political violence is a nationwide problem in Bangladesh, public college and university campuses are occupying the forefront of this issue. But despite the multitude of strategies aimed at achieving effective governance in public educational institutions, the level of success attained remains less than desirable. This paper intends to emphasize the student political scenario on the basis of the normative scale of good governance. Among many spheres of student politics in Bangladesh, this paper will analyses the scenario of public university campuses, where student politics have a distinct political structure from off-campus student politics. This paper will conduct a qualitative analysis to inquire about the status of good governance in these campuses and how student political violence and parochial culture deter good governance in those institutions and later impact the national good governance process. The research paper suggests that to ensure efficient, good governance on campus and at the national level, the current pattern of student politics has to be revised rigorously. To increase the chances of good governance in Bangladesh, a realistic policy needs to be developed for student politics and university authorities.

Keywords: *Good Governance, Student politics, Accountability, Inclusivity, Bangladesh*

JEL Codes: *Code1, Code2.*

Başvuru: 30.08.2023 **Kabul:** 05.03.2024

¹ Assist. Prof. Dr., Department of History, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Sakarya University, Turkey, mahmutoday@gmail.com, ORCID: 0000-0002-5122-5854

² Graduate student (MA), Interdisciplinary Graduate Studies, University of British Columbia, Canada, mh.mahmud1971@gmail.com, ORCID: 0009-0006-7301-1554

DEVLET ÜNİVERSİTELERİNİN KAMPÜSLERİNDE İYİ YÖNETİŞİM VE ÖĞRENCİLERİN POLİTİK ROLÜ: BANGLADEŞ PERSPEKTİFİ

Öz

Öğrencilerin politik rolü, Bangladeş'in tarih sahnesine çıkışındaki en önemli ve en baskın unsurdur. Görkemli bir geçmişe sahip olan Bangladeş'in ortaya çıkışı, demokrasi ve iyi bir yönetime sahip olmaya yönelik pek çok tarihi ve siyasi değişikliği meydana getirmiş olmasına rağmen öğrencilerin siyasi çekimleri, şiddet içeren ve dar görüşlü bir kültürle ülkenin demokratik yönetimi ve akademik ortamı sekteye uğratmıştır. Bununla birlikte, siyasi şiddet ve vahşetin sıradan bir parçası haline gelmesinden dolayı, öğrencilerin politik rolü tarihî önemini ve meşruiyetini zaman içinde yavaş yavaş kaybetmiştir. Öğrencilerin siyasi şiddeti Bangladeş'in ülke çapında bir meselesi olsa da, devlet okulları ve üniversite kampüsleri bu meselenin en önde gelen safını işgal etmektedir. Ancak devletin eğitim kurumlarında etkili yönetim sağlamayı amaçlayan çok sayıda strateji geliştirilmesine rağmen, elde edilen başarı arzu edilenin altında kalmaktadır. Bu makalenin amacı, öğrenci politik temsilini iyi yönetişimin normatif ölçeği temelinde vurgulamaktır. Bangladeş'teki öğrenci politikasının birçok alanı arasında, bu makale, devlet üniversitelerinin kampüslerini tahlil edecektir. Zira bu mekânlar, öğrenci politikasının üniversite dışına nazaran kendine has bir siyasi yapıya sahiptir. Bu makale, kampüslerdeki iyi yönetişimin durumunu ve öğrenci siyasi şiddetinin ve bağınazlık kültürünün dar anlamda bu kurumlardaki ve geniş anlamda ise ulusal çapta iyi yönetişimi nasıl baltaladığını sorgulamak maksadıyla nitel bir analiz yürütecektir. Bu araştırma makalesi, kampüste ve ulusal düzeyde etkili ve iyi bir yönetimin sağlanması için mevcut öğrenci politikası modelinin titizlikle revize edilmesi gerektiğini öne sürmektedir. Bangladeş'te iyi yönetim şansını artırmak için öğrenci politikaları ve üniversite yetkilileri için gerçekçi bir politikanın geliştirilmesi gerekiyor.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İyi Yönetişim, Öğrenci Politikası, Hesap Verebilirlik, Kapsayıcılık, Bangladeş.

JEL Kodları: Kod1, Kod2.

“Bu çalışma Araştırma ve Yayın Etiğine uygun olarak hazırlanmıştır.”

1. INTRODUCTION

Student politics in Bangladeshi public educational institutions are getting scholarly attention to examine its relevancy and legitimacy as the way it is functioning now is in line with national political parties rather than focusing on student services or interests. The violent nature of political activities and parochial political culture contributes to Bangladesh's decaying participatory political culture (Hossain, Alam, and Shahriar, 2014: 1-6). Though so many approaches to ensure good governance in public educational institutions, the success rate is not satisfactory. Despite having its glorious past in the birth of Bangladesh and bringing many historical political changes

towards democracy and good governance, Student politics is now shriveling up the good governance and academic environment with violent and parochial political culture (Aynul Islam, 2015). Public universities are the sanctuaries of political violence shaping overall national political culture and impeding good governance (Kuttig and Suykens, 2020). The student political culture in public universities of Bangladesh has been characterized by long-standing issues, giving rise to several pertinent questions. One crucial query pertains to the motivations that drive students to engage in political activities. Furthermore, it is imperative to examine how student political violence hampers the process of good governance within these institutions. Specifically, the impact of student political violence on participation, accountability, inclusiveness, effectiveness, and the rule of law necessitates a thorough investigation.

This research paper examines student political scenarios in public universities of Bangladesh, where degrees are provided through government funding. The investigation delves into the repercussions of student political violence on good governance, with a particular emphasis on aspects such as participation, accountability, inclusiveness, effectiveness, and adherence to the rule of law. The study employs qualitative and quantitative literature reviews to discern how student political violence hinders the realization of these principles in Bangladeshi universities. We will discern, through our theoretical discussion, that national political parties in Bangladesh employ students as political instruments to further their own interests, leading to the establishment of an ominous cultural practice.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

In Bangladesh, educational institutions are gradually incorporating neoliberal values in their governance process (Kabir, 2013), aiming to develop its curriculum to reach international standards. University Grant Commission (UGC), an authority that governs public and private universities in Bangladesh, collaborates with World Bank and other international organizations for funding, and in response, it promotes good governance as a condition (Kabir, 2021). Bangladesh struggles to meet the demand of aid donor's criteria as the poor governance, and weak institutions hinder the process (Kochanek, 2000). The student political culture, which is parochial, as Almond and Verba classified what parochial culture is (Almond and Verba, 1989: 17), is accelerating the hindrance against the good governance process. After the 1990s, Bangladesh is experiencing a violent and brutal student political culture, which is denigrating the glorious history of student involvement in the birth of Bangladesh, and the mass movement of 1990 against military dictator Ershad's regime to regain democratic rule. Now Student political violence in public educational institutions has become the common scenario, resulting from inter and intra-party clashes. Student politics is not so influential in developed countries, regarding their influence on society or campus, as in the USA, though students join in national political issues and relevant activities (Altbach, 1997: 209). In Bangladesh, student politics essentially shape the national political culture and control the pace and direction of political trends. All the national political parties try to control student politics and patronage and back student political activities (Kuttig, 2019: 406). There are several scholarly

works on good governance and political violence in Bangladesh. Islam analyzed the political culture and good governance in Bangladesh and focused on democracy deficit and good governance deficit (Islam, 2016). Kuttig analyzes the student political violence and identifies their pattern and nature in several articles (Kuttig, 2019; Kuttig and Suykens, 2020; Suykens, Julian Kuttig, and Aynul Islam, 2020). However, there is a research gap as nobody analyzed the impacts of student political violence regarding good governance in Bangladesh. This paper analyzes the impacts of student political violence on the good governance process, particularly accountability, participation, inclusiveness, effectiveness, and rule of law from 1991 to 2019.

3. METHODOLOGY

This study is conducted through qualitative approaches based on sources of data. For incorporating a conceptual discussion of good governance, this study analyzes the secondary sources, articles and books, on that particular concept. This paper incorporates most quantitative data to clarify relevant arguments from analyzing content-specific reports and articles. It analyzes the most recent scenario and finds relations among the factors, and recognized news articles will also be analyzed. Currently, the focus country, Bangladesh, faces severe problems in that student political violence occurs and, most significantly, it weakens democratization and good governance. The scopes and spheres of good governance are enhancing day by day. For this study, it was critical to choose which portion of good governance is being deterred by student political violence, as all the good governance principles are somehow affected by political violence. This qualitative research will focus on student political violence and its impact on good governance. This analysis is organized into several parts. Firstly, it discusses the nature of student political culture in public universities in Bangladesh, secondly, the factors that motivate students to be engaged in political activities, thirdly, how student political violence creates obstacles against the good governance process in Bangladesh, and finally, how student political violence deters the accountability, participation, inclusiveness, effectiveness, and rule of law. The analysis includes American student political examples, where necessary, to compare the developed and under-developed student political culture.

4. CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS

The term "governance" is derived from Latin and ancient Greek, signifying concepts of control, guidance, and manipulation (Keping, 2018). The World Bank Report of 1992, titled "Governance and Development," popularized the term among development NGOs, bilateral donors, and multilateral institutions, leading to its widespread usage (Hyden and Bratton, 1992; Yanacopulos, 2005). According to Merriam-Webster dictionary, governance means "the act or process of governing or overseeing the control and direction of something (such as a country or an organization) ("Definition of GOVERNANCE," 2023). Governance is a process of how a government, state, institution or organization run its function and activities. Governance is a concept that broadens its scope with the development of new modes and ways of state functions. Moreover, all the state and non-state actors all over the

world are currently incorporating governance in their theoretical and practical mode of activity. Like governance, the concept of good governance is also enhancing its scope from traditional points of effectiveness, inclusiveness, transparency and the rule of law to equity, participation, inclusiveness, sound regulation, decentralization and many more(Grindle, 2017). This term was coined by World Bank in 1989 while working for reducing corruption in sub-Saharan Africa (Santiso, 2001). In 1998, the Asian Development Bank (ADB) expanded the notion of good governance by incorporating five additional principles: transparency, accountability, openness, predictability, and participation. Subsequently, in 2002, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) further enriched the principles of good governance by including control of corruption, rule of law, equity, gender-balance, and consensus orientation. Additionally, the UN Commission for Economic and Social Affairs for Asia and the Pacific outlined eight key principles as criteria for good governance, encompassing accountability, participation, consensus orientation, transparency, responsiveness, effectiveness, efficiency, equity, inclusivity, and adherence to the rule of law (Islam, 2016). Stoker presented five propositions aimed at enhancing our understanding of governance: 1, Governance pertains to a framework of institutions and actors that extend beyond the traditional confines of government. 2, Governance acknowledges the blurring of boundaries and responsibilities in addressing social and economic challenges. 3, Governance recognizes the power dynamics and interdependencies inherent in the relationships among institutions engaged in collective action. 4, Governance revolves around autonomous, self-governing networks of actors collaborating towards common goals. 5, Governance appreciates the capacity to achieve objectives, not solely reliant on the government's commanding power or authority. It envisions the government employing innovative tools and techniques to steer and guide societal progress (Stoker, 2006).

On the other hand, governance is also a growing idea, which areas of focus are expanding continuously. Like governance, good governance also incorporates more areas and increases scholarly devotion in this field. Sometimes as a concept, good governance obscures rather than enlighten us due to its inflated idea and tendency to incorporate all the good things necessary for the development of public institutions (Grindle, 2017). In Bangladesh, public universities are progressively embracing principles that advocate for good governance. The World Bank has played a significant role in expediting the introduction and implementation of good governance through its financial support and associated requirements. In 2009, the World Bank approved a credit of US\$9.1 million from the International Development Bank (IDB) to foster innovation, enhance the quality of teaching and learning environments, and promote accountability within the higher education system (Kabir, 2013).

5. BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Three major and dominant student political organizations are primarily involved in student political activities and violence in Bangladesh. The student political organizations in Bangladesh consist of the Bangladesh Student League (BCL), affiliated with the Awami League (AL); Jatiyotabadi Chhatra Dal (JCD), associated

with the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP); and Islami Chhatra Shibir (ICS), the student wing of the Islamist party Bangladesh Jamaat-e-Islami. Apart from these, there are many more student political organizations of other political parties affiliated with leftist, rightist (religion-based organization), and nationalist political parties. Student politics has a golden history of contributing to the liberation of Bangladesh, then East Pakistan, from Pakistan in 1971. Particularly the role of public universities played a significant role in that war. However, after the liberation, student politics gradually lost its past fame and became tools of political violence. After independence in 1990, students had another significant role in removing military dictatorship and regaining parliamentary democratic rule in Bangladesh. However, student politics is now in a shape that its function is focused not on student interest rather on serving and entertaining major national political parties. The patron-client relation is one of the most significant obstacles that hinder good governance in Bangladesh. The practice of patron-client relations starts during the student political actions and later gets stronger in national political and administrative sectors. These factors motivate students for making chaos and create violence and sacrifice themselves, only to show their patron political leaders to gain a dominant position within their party (Suykens, 2018). The fact that accelerates student political violence is the open engagement and association of university authorities, including academicians, in partisan politics. The involvement of teachers in partisan politics not only obstructs academic integrity but also negatively impacts overall educational and career outcomes. (Shiddike and Bockarie, 2020). In Bangladesh, student murder in gruesome political violence in public universities is common. However, not only educational institutions but also the state remain reluctant to ensure justice for such killing or violence of students. Despite having certain regulations and acts for students' non-academic and criminal activities, educational institutions always remain silent, and if they do anything, it is for handling immediate chaotic situations and media attention. The violent student political culture is the main force that nurtures all these mismanagements and enhances the good governance deficit.

6. UNDERSTANDING STUDENT POLITICS IN PUBLIC UNIVERSITIES: NATURE, CULTURE AND MOTIVATIONS

Suykens vehemently asserts that student politics in Bangladesh has become increasingly violent (Suykens, 2018: 883), leading many to perceive it as a sign of deterioration since the 1990s. Gabriel A. Almond classified political culture into three categories: parochial, subject, and participant political culture (Almond and Verba, 1989). Both parochial and subject political cultures identify those cultures where citizens have a passive role in the political process. The notion of parochial culture encompasses the notion that the political system resists change initiatives. In more complex and differentiated political systems, parochialism tends to be more effective and normative in nature, rather than cognitive (Almond and Verba, 1989: 19).

On the contrary, participant political culture means citizens' active and direct participation in the political process. According to Almond, "They (citizens) tend to be oriented toward an "activist" role of the self in the polity, though their feelings and

evaluations of such a role may vary from acceptance to rejection" (Almond and Verba, 1989). This paper argues that the student political culture in Bangladeshi public universities is parochial and violent in nature. General students have minimal interests and expectations of the political process, where national political parties control and dominate the student political activities. Normal expectations from student political activities are students' interest, necessary bargaining with institutional authority, demanding student service, quality education, and financial issues. Ideology based party formation and doing political activities are also, to some extent, common scenarios. In Bangladeshi public universities, student political activities mainly focus on national issues where the quality of education, student interest, academic services has no priority. Student leaders bear a dormant desire to be national political leaders with more power over economic resources and facilities. In the USA, the student political activities are different where no expectation that the student leaders of today will be the government leaders of tomorrow and student politics can barely impact the national political issues (Altbach, 1997). Education in public universities is almost free of cost, and the universities have resources for maximum students, which is also free of cost. The most demanded facilities universities provide along with education is free accommodation in the student dormitory, known as student hall. Student political parties try to take control of student dormitories with muscle power, denying the universities' authority. This capturing of student halls gives them power over students that, if any student wants to live in the halls, he/she need to obey the student political parties that occupies the halls.

Furthermore, the motivation for engaging in student politics extends beyond the campus boundaries, as it offers opportunities to access employment and networks associated with influential local or national politicians (patronage and shelter) (Kuttig and Suykens, 2020: ix). To get easy and disproportionate access to the state resources to control violence and show muscle power. To reach the peak of the power structure, one student leader has to demonstrate his capability to organize violence as well as self-sacrifice. Suykens argues that "self-sacrifice play a crucial role in the integration of student activists and leaders in these party-state networks. While it might seem counter-intuitive, violence can help actors to gain protection from what I will call the Bangladesh party-state" (Suykens, 2018). Though it sounds ridiculous that one wants himself to be wounded in a violent incident, it is happening to gain the attention of the patron national political parties hence access to the state's resources. All the student political parties (BCL, JCD, ICS and others) follow the same techniques and strategies. If one student can show that he has a strong rivalry with the opposition and has evidence of inciting and conducting violence against the opposition, he gets more attention, like self-sacrifice. The tendency to entertain the patron national political leaders motivates them to engage in violent activities.

Another factor motivating student political organizations is domination and power in student dorms and campuses. Students who are not affiliated with any political group are regularly threatened and tortured physically and verbally. Student political groups control the dormitory (rooms and seats) and distribute rooms and seats according to the loyalty and participation in the group's political activities. Seat and room

distribution are the most significant incentives that general students fall into the dilemma and later follow the political groups. All the political groups try to maximize their control and domination over a maximum number of rooms and seats. It triggers violence among student political parties, and the ruling party supported student political party always takes advantage of these violent incident. In all public university's campuses, student political parties that are affiliated with the ruling party always dominate and control. When BNP is in power, JCD dominates and controls the campuses, tortures the political opposition party's supporters and leaders. The same scenario happens when AL is in power, BCL becomes powerful, control student dorms and extrudes all other opposition from dorms.

The job recruitment process in Bangladesh is highly influenced by nepotism and corruption. Before recruiting the candidate for the most demanded government jobs, law enforcement agencies do several rigorous verifications to identify whether the candidate is engaged with any criminal activities or not. However, law enforcement agencies can easily identify who is pro-ruling party and who support the opposition in this process. During the Public Service Commission (PSC) recruitment process each year, many qualified candidates are denied their final enlistment in the gazette due to police verification, where most of the cases are vague and blurred. However, the candidates claim their political affiliation is the curse for not being recruited. (Mosabber Hossain, 2020). To be visible within and outside the peer circles and locality, students create political moves to draw attention, which might help them be identified to the verification authority. Social media has become the common tool to demonstrate one's political activities to be visible to the political seniors and localities. Kuttig and Suykens contend that in Bangladesh, Facebook has evolved into a primary platform for student politicians to engage in visibility politics within the realm of digital public space (Kuttig and Suykens, 2020).

7. STUDENT POLITICAL VIOLENCE AND GOOD-GOVERNANCE IN PUBLIC UNIVERSITIES

We will focus on some particular principles of good governance, which are deterred by student political violence in public universities in Bangladesh. Moreover, this analysis also briefly includes the effects of student political violence over the national good-governance process.

7.1. Effectiveness

The academic outcome from the educational institutions indicates the country where it is heading in the near future. The concentration of students on education makes worthy outcomes to lead a nation toward progress and betterment. Students always have some incentives to be more concentrated on education, like job, social honor, social status and power in society. One most significant quality student can pursue from educational institutions is skill and capacity. According to the Oxford Online Dictionary, effectiveness means "the fact of producing the result that is wanted or intended" ("Effectiveness Noun - Definition, Pictures, Pronunciation and Usage Notes | Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary at OxfordLearnersDictionaries.Com," n.d.).

According to Keping, effectiveness means management efficiency (Keping, 2018). The current political culture opposes all these mechanisms, rather focuses on political linkage and nepotism to pursue all these incentives. Islam states a similar position, "Students put more emphasis on being a leader of a political party's student wing than on studying hard to achieve a better future. Since getting a job is increasingly dependent on having political links than on good academic records, many students subscribe to the notion that politics, more so than doing well in education, will provide a better future and that doing well in education will have less market currency than having a good political career" (Islam, 2016). In another way, educational institutions always struggle to check student political leaders' tender- business, extortion, and violence. The student political leaders try to control every aspect of educational institutions, interfering in the admission process, resource distribution, forcefully occupying student dorms, and sometimes shutting down academic activities following the agenda of the national political party. Controlling the student dorms is the most significant as this possible to do other tasks with forced support of all resident's students of dorms. The power practice over student dorms shifts with the change of power in national politics. Suykens takes an interview from a student leader who opines, "After every national election, the first thing the student wing of the winning party does is take control of all the educational institutions from the losing party cadres" (Suykens, 2018, p. 898). As mentioned in the previous discussion, these parochial motivational forces lead student politics towards violence. The presence of campus politics and its inherent volatility detracts from the value of higher education and diminishes overall satisfaction with the academic experience. While some advocate for the prohibition of campus politics, it is essential to recognize that students have historically played a substantial and influential role in national affairs (Andaleeb, 2003: 502). Thus, the effectiveness of the educational institutions is seriously backpedaled by student political violent culture, which later impacts national good governance.

7.2. Participations

As per the African Development Foundation, participation refers to a process whereby all members of a community or organization are engaged and hold sway over decisions pertaining to developmental activities that will impact them (ADF 2014). As a developing country, which is following a parliamentary democratic system, Bangladesh is struggling to implement liberal and good governance principles simultaneously. Participation could be analyzed focused on the development and economic sectors. Addink describes six core principles of good governance where participation is important one (Addink, 2019). The student politics in public universities nakedly impede the participation principle. To begin with, within campus political activities, the student wing of the ruling party consistently holds a dominant position, leading to the marginalization and exclusion of all other political parties. As discussed earlier, the domination starts with the control of the student dorm. Later, any other student political activities are violently opposed by ruling party-supported student political parties. In Bangladesh, since 2008, AL has been occupying state power. Since then, BCL, the student wing of AL, has been mastering all the political activities on campus. From 2008 to 2018, 13% of total reported political violence

occurred on campuses (Aynul Islam, 2015). In 2019 the incident of Abrar Fahad murder could be a significant example, which shows that the voice of political opposition is barely tolerated in the campus dormitory.

The participation is systematically deterred by other characteristics of student political culture, which is patron-client relations. If student politics matter to students concerns and issues, equal participation in selecting and electing student leaders will promote liberal democratic values as well as good governance. However, the student leadership is selected by patron political party leaders where the common student has no voice. The patron political party evaluate one leader based on his/her rivalry, power to conduct violence and occupy campus resources against opposite political party supporters. Student politicians get motivation from this culture to exclude opposite political party supporters and leaders and establish maximum possible domination on campus. These tendencies devaluate the participation principle of good governance.

7.3. Accountability

Keeping defines accountability as the act of holding each individual responsible for their own behavior. (Keping, 2018). If one individual is unable to perform his duty or responsibility, he/she must be accountable for this. Keping argued, "If they fail to fulfil their bounden functions or duties, or if they do so in an inappropriate manner, their conduct constitutes dereliction of duty or lack of accountability. The more accountable the public, the higher the level of good governance will be"(Keping, 2018). In line with the commonly accepted definition, Schmidt and Wood described accountability as a process that includes the actor or organization providing information, engaging in discussions or deliberations based on that information, and the potential application of rewards or sanctions in cases of misconduct. (Schmidt and Wood, 2019). In Bangladeshi public universities nakedly failed to ensure academic environment for students, including enough accommodation, library, classroom, technology, and an equal political environment for all student political parties. Whenever general students protest against maladministration and mismanagement of university authority, the ruling party blessed student political party create violence against it. More importantly, nobody can stand against the unparalleled domination and power practice of the ruling party's wing student organization. This culture bluntly impedes the practice of accountability in public universities, and later it impacts the national political culture.

A question may arise why the ruling student political party supports university authority. The parochial political culture is not limited to students only. Rather, university educators and administrative bodies also have distinct political formations in line with national political parties. Shiddike and Bockarie find on university teacher's engagement in partisan activities and identify "In Bangladesh teachers who work in formal education institutions, especially universities, engage in partisan politics and participate in political meetings and forums, and they openly express their political views to show active support for particular parties" (Shiddike and Bockarie, 2020). In Dhaka University, the most famous university in Bangladesh, there are two main parties among teachers, Nil Dal (blue party) is pro AL, and Sada Dal (white party) is pro BNP. Students are first treated based on their party affiliation, not their actions whenever they do any criminal occurrence. The university administrative

authority is run by teachers, mostly those who have a strong affiliation with partisan politics. Student and teachers' politics are somehow supportive of each other, which hinders accountability and good governance.

7.4. Inclusiveness

Inclusiveness denotes policy-makers' receptiveness to all groups, ensuring their involvement in a manner that maintains balanced representation. (Schmidt and Wood, 2019). When it comes to the public universities of Bangladesh, the student political party acts as the interest group and demand their rights to university authorities. The violent political culture silences the opponent's voice and crate comfortable negotiation with authority. When AL is in power, its student wing BCL does not tolerate the presence of JCD or ICS to seek their demands from the university authority. JCD does the same when the BNP comes to power. Violence continues to persist as a prominent characteristic on university campuses, serving as the primary means for resolving power struggles. (Aynul Islam, 2015: 28). The group making and political show off cost student life, which is common in campus politics. Thus, university authority remains out of strong protest and right-seeking movement of students. This same culture is noticed in the national political sphere. The lack of plurality in campus politics creates a narrow political approach in student thought. Thus, the overall good governance process is oppugned by student political violence.

7.5. Rule of Law

Defines as the paramount principle in public political administration, the rule of law demands universal adherence from both government officials and citizens, ensuring equality before the law. Its primary objective is to govern citizens' conduct, effectively oversee social affairs, and establish a stable order in society. However, its overarching purpose lies in safeguarding fundamental political rights such as freedom and equality for all citizens.(Keping, 2018: 6). Student political culture seriously threatens to implement rule of law in public universities. The muscle power they show against the university authority to negate the implementation of rules and laws are considered a triumph. If university authority tries to pull up the violent activities, they get indirect threat from the ruling political parties. The student political leaders barely care about the law and regulations existing to protect and safeguard the rights of students. They accomplish violence against the opposition and try to maximize their outreach to draw patron leaders' attention.

There is strong evidence that the rule of law is extremely denied, and violent political culture dominates in Bangladesh's public universities. From 2002 to 2013, 312 students were murdered in on-campus and off-campus violence (Suykens, 2018: 894), where no single criminal was brought to book. The number of non-lethal incidents is enormous, and university or law enforcement agencies, nobody, can do enough to resist those crimes. Student leaders commit the most common crime, torturing someone for alleged connection with opposition and then handing the victim to police. The victim is normally taken by police and university authority, where police or university authority should punish the perpetrators. It is the common scenario of rule of law in public university campuses in Bangladesh.

8. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the paper articulates the declining role and negative impact of student politics on the governance and academic environment of public universities in Bangladesh. It traces the historical significance of student activism in the country's political landscape and contrasts it with the current situation marked by violence and partisan politics, undermining good governance principles. To address the issue, a thorough reevaluation of student politics is crucial. The study calls for a comprehensive reform in the structure and conduct of student politics to ensure better governance and academic integrity. It stresses the need for realistic policy development, inclusive participation, and accountability mechanisms to revive the educational institutions' democratic ethos and governance quality. The paper highlights the necessity of a collaborative effort among all stakeholders to foster a positive political culture that supports educational advancement and national development. Through such measures, Bangladesh can enhance governance and ensure a brighter future for its students and society.

DEVLET ÜNİVERSİTELERİNİN KAMPÜSLERİNDE İYİ YÖNETİŞİM VE ÖĞRENCİLERİN POLİTİK ROLÜ: BANGLADEŞ PERSPEKTİFİ

1. GİRİŞ

Öğrencilerin politik rolü, Bangladeş'in tarih sahnesine çıkışındaki en önemli ve en baskın unsurdur. Bununla birlikte, siyasi şiddet ve vahşetin sıradan bir parçası haline gelmesinden dolayı, öğrencilerin politik rolü tarihî önemini ve meşruiyetini zaman içinde yavaş yavaş kaybetmiştir. Siyasi faaliyetlerin şiddetli doğası ve dar görüşlü siyasi kültür, Bangladeş'in çürümekte olan katılımcı siyasi kültürüne katkıda bulunuyor. Kamu eğitim kurumlarında iyi yönetimi sağlamaya yönelik bu kadar çok yaklaşım olmasına rağmen, başarı oranı tatmin edici değildir. Devlet üniversiteleri, genel ulusal siyasi kültürü şekillendiren ve iyi yönetimi engelleyen siyasi şiddetin sığınaklarıdır. Bangladeş'teki öğrenci politikasının birçok alanı arasında, bu makale, devlet üniversitelerinin kampüslerini tahlil edecektir. Zira bu mekânlar, öğrenci politikasının üniversite dışına nazaran kendine has bir siyasi yapıya sahiptir. Bu makale, kampüslerdeki iyi yönetimin durumunu ve öğrenci siyasi şiddetinin ve bağınazlık kültürünün dar anlamda bu kurumlardaki ve geniş anlamda ise ulusal çapta iyi yönetimi nasıl baltadığını sorgulamak amacıyla nitel bir analiz yürütecektir.

2. ÇALIŞMANIN ARKAPLANI

Öğrenci siyaseti, Bangladeş'in ardından Doğu Pakistan'ın 1971'de Pakistan'dan kurtuluşuna katkıda bulunma konusunda mühim bir role sahiptir. Bu savaşta özellikle devlet üniversitelerinin tavrı önemli bir rol oynamıştır. Ancak kurtuluşun sonradan öğrenci siyaseti yavaş yavaş eski şöhretini kaybetti ve siyasi şiddetin bir aracı haline geldi. 1990'daki bağımsızlıktan sonra, öğrencilerin Bangladeş'te askeri diktatörlüğün

kaldırılmasında ve parlamenter demokratik yönetimin yeniden kazanılmasında önemli bir rolü daha oldu. Ancak öğrenci siyaseti artık işlevini öğrenci çıkarlarına değil, büyük ulusal siyasi partilere hizmet etmeye ve eğlendirmeye odaklı hale getirdi. Patron-müşteri ilişkisi, Bangladeş'te iyi yönetimin önündeki en önemli engellerden biridir. Patron-müvekkil ilişkileri uygulaması, öğrenci siyasi eylemleri sırasında başladı ve daha sonra ulusal siyasi ve idari sektörlerde güçlendi. Bu faktörler, öğrencileri kaos yaratmaya ve şiddet yaratmaya ve kendilerini feda etmeye motive etti. Öğrenci siyasi şiddetini hızlandıran faktörler, akademisyenler de dahil olmak üzere üniversite yetkililerinin partizan siyasete açık katılımı ve işbirliğidir. Öğretmenlerin partizan siyasete dahil olması sadece akademik bütünlüğü engellemekle kalmadı, aynı zamanda genel eğitim ve kariyer sonuçlarını da olumsuz etkiledi.

3. BANGLADEŞ'TE ÖĞRENCİ POLİTİKALARININ DURUMU: DEĞERLENDİRME

Bangladeş'teki öğrenci siyaseti eğitim ortamını olumsuz etkilemektedir. Öğrenciler, daha iyi bir gelecek elde etmek için çok çalışmaktansa, bir siyasi partinin öğrenci kanadının lideri olmaya daha fazla önem verirler. Eğitim kurumları, öğrenci siyasi liderlerinin ihalelerini, gaspı ve şiddeti kontrol etmek için her zaman mücadele etmekte. Öğrenci siyasi liderleri, eğitim kurumlarının her yönünü kontrol etmeye çalışıyor, kabul sürecine, kaynak dağıtımına müdahale ediyor, öğrenci yurtlarını zorla işgal ediyor ve bazen ulusal siyasi partinin gündemini izleyerek akademik faaliyetleri kapatmaktadır. Yurtta kalan tüm öğrencilerin zorunlu desteğiyle diğer görevleri yapmak mümkün olduğundan, öğrenci yurtlarını kontrol etmek en önemlisidir. Kampüs politikasının varlığı ve onun doğasında var olan oynaklık, yüksek öğretimin değerini ve akademik deneyimden duyulan genel tatmini azaltmaktadır. Bazıları kampüs siyasetinin yasaklanmasını savunurken, öğrencilerin tarihsel olarak ulusal meselelerde önemli ve etkili bir rol oynadıklarını kabul etmek önemlidir. Bu nedenle, eğitim kurumlarının etkinliği, daha sonra ulusal yönetimi etkileyen öğrenci siyasi şiddet kültürü tarafından ciddi şekilde geri püskürtülmektedir.

4. SONUÇ

Sonuç olarak bu makalede, öğrenci politikaları Bangladeş'teki devlet üniversitelerinin yönetim ve akademik ortamı üzerindeki rolünü azalttığını ve olumsuz bir etki bıraktığını dile getirmektedir. Öğrenci aktivizminin ülkenin siyasi ortamındaki tarihsel öneminin izini sürmekte ve bunu şu anki durumla karşılaştırmaktadır: Şiddet ve partizan siyaseti, iyi yönetim ilkelerini baltalamaktadır. Öğrenci refahını ve demokratik değerleri öncelleyen gerçekçi politikalar geliştirilmelidir. Bu çalışma, daha iyi yönetim ve akademik dürüstlük sağlamak için öğrenci siyasetinin yapısında ve yürütülmesinde kapsamlı bir reform çağrısında bulunmaktadır. Ayrıca çalışmada Bangladeş'teki üniversitelerde yaşanan bu olumsuzlukları gidermek amacıyla gerçekçi politika geliştirmeyi, kapsayıcı ve adaletli bir mekanizmaya olan ihtiyaca cevap vermeyi amaçlamaktadır. Eğitim kurumlarının demokratik, ahlakı ve kaliteli bir yönetim ortamı oluşturabilmesi için eğitimsel ilerlemeyi ve ulusal kalkınmayı

destekleyen pozitif bir siyasi kültürü teşvik etmelerini, tüm paydaşlar arasında işbirliğine dayalı bir çabanın gerekliliğini vurgulamaktadır. Bu önlemlerle Bangladeş, yönetişimi geliştirebilir ve öğrencileri ile toplumuna daha parlak bir gelecek sağlayabilir.

REFERENCES

- Addink, H. (2019). *Good Governance: Concept and Context* (1st ed.). Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198841159.001.0001>
- Almond, G. A., and Verba, S. (1989). *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*. Princeton University Press.
- Altbach, P. G. (Ed.). (1997). *Student Politics in America: A Historical Analysis*. New York: Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781351306164>
- Andaleeb, S. S. (2003). Revitalizing Higher Education in Bangladesh: Insights from Alumni and Policy Prescriptions. *Higher Education Policy*, 16(4), 487–504. <https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.hep.8300036>
- Bert Suykens, and Aynul Islam. (2015). The distribution of political violence in Bangladesh (2002-2013). *Conflict Research Group*, Bert!Suykens,Universiteitstraat8,9000, Ghent,Belgium.
- Definition of GOVERNANCE. (2023, July 8). Retrieved July 20, 2023, from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/governance>
- Effectiveness noun—Definition, pictures, pronunciation and usage notes | *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary at OxfordLearners Dictionaries.com*. (n.d.). Retrieved July 20, 2023, from <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/us/definition/english/effectiveness?q=effectiveness>
- Grindle, M. S. (2017). Good Governance, R.I.P.: A Critique and an Alternative: Good Governance, *Governance*, 30(1), 17–22. <https://doi.org/10.1111/gove.12223>
- Hossain, M., Alam, M. M., and Shahriar, S. (2014). Students' perceptions study on 'student politics' in Bangladesh. *International Journal of Economics and Empirical Research*, 2(1), 1-6.
- Hossain, M. (2020). Negative police verification report a curse for BCS candidates. Prothom Alo.
- Hyden, G., and Bratton, M. (Eds.). (1992). *Governance and Politics in Africa*. Lynne Rienner Publishers. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781685853297>
- Islam, S. S. (2016). Good governance and political culture: A case study of Bangladesh. *Intellectual Discourse*, 24(2). <https://journals.iiu.edu.my/intdiscourse/index.php/id/article/view/913>
- Kabir, A. H. (2013). Neoliberalism, Policy Reforms and Higher Education in Bangladesh. *Policy Futures in Education*, 11(2), 154–166. <https://doi.org/10.2304/pfie.2013.11.2.154>
- Kabir, A. H. (2021). 'Network governance' and the formation of the strategic plan in the higher education sector in Bangladesh. *Journal of Education Policy*, 36(4), 455–479. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02680939.2020.1717637>

- Keping, Y. (2018). Governance and Good Governance: A New Framework for Political Analysis. *Fudan Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences*, 11(1), 1–8. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40647-017-0197-4>
- Kochanek, S. A. (2000). Governance, Patronage Politics, and Democratic Transition in Bangladesh. *Asian Survey*, 40(3), 530–550. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3021160>
- Kuttig, J. (2019). Urban political machines and student politics in “middle” Bangladesh: Violent party labor in Rajshahi city. *Critical Asian Studies*, 51(3), 403–418. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14672715.2019.1587712>
- Kuttig, J., and Suykens, B. (2020). How to Be Visible in Student Politics: Performativity and the Digital Public Space in Bangladesh. *Journal of Asian Studies*, 79(3), 707–738. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021911819001839>
- Kuttig, J., Suykens, B., & Islam, A. (2020). Student politics and political violence in Bangladesh.
- Santiso, C. (2001). Good Governance and Aid Effectiveness: The World Bank and Conditionality. *The Georgetown Public Policy Review*, Volume 7(Number 1 Fall 2001), pp.1-22.
- Schmidt, V., and Wood, M. (2019). Conceptualizing throughput legitimacy: Procedural mechanisms of accountability, transparency, inclusiveness and openness in EU governance. *Public Administration*, 97(4), 727–740. <https://doi.org/10.1111/padm.12615>
- Shiddike, M. O., and Bockarie, A. (2020). Higher Institution Engagement in Partisan Politics: Perspective of Bangladesh, *International Journal of Teaching and Learning in Higher Education*, 2020, Volume 32, Number 2, <https://ourspace.uregina.ca/handle/10294/10295>
- Stoker, G. (2006). Public Value Management: A New Narrative for Networked Governance? *The American Review of Public Administration*, 36(1), 41–57. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0275074005282583>
- Suykens, B. (2018). ‘A Hundred Per Cent Good Man Cannot do Politics’: Violent self-sacrifice, student authority, and party-state integration in Bangladesh. *Modern Asian Studies*, 52(3), 883–916. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0026749X16001050>
- Yanacopulos, H. (2005). Patterns of governance: The rise of transnational coalitions of NGOs. *Global Society*, 19(3), 247–266. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13600820500135379>

KATKI ORANI / CONTRIBUTION RATE	AÇIKLAMA / EXPLANATION	KATKIDA BULUNANLAR / CONTRIBUTORS
Fikir veya Kavram / <i>Idea or Notion</i>	Araştırma hipotezini veya fikrini oluşturmak / <i>Form the research hypothesis or idea</i>	M H Mahmud

Tasarım / <i>Design</i>	Yöntemi, ölçeği ve deseni tasarlamak / <i>Designing method, scale and pattern</i>	Abdulla Al Mahmud
Veri Toplama ve İşleme / <i>Data Collecting and Processing</i>	Verileri toplamak, düzenlenmek ve raporlamak / <i>Collecting, organizing and reporting data</i>	Abdulla Al Mahmud.
Tartışma ve Yorum / <i>Discussion and Interpretation</i>	Bulguların değerlendirilmesinde ve sonuçlandırılmasında sorumluluk almak / <i>Taking responsibility in evaluating and finalizing the findings</i>	Abdulla Al Mahmud
Literatür Taraması / <i>Literature Review</i>	Çalışma için gerekli literatürü taramak / <i>Review the literature required for the study</i>	M H Mahmud.