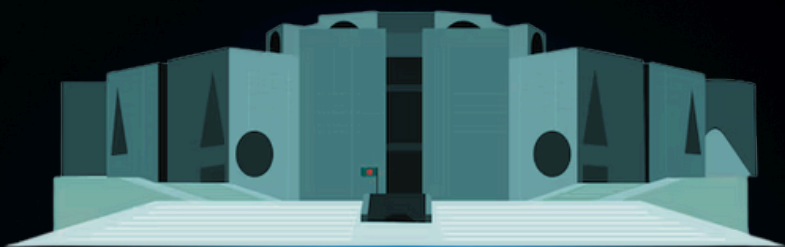




THE THIRD SECTOR AND THE STATE

Civil Society, Policy Advocacy, and
Governance in Bangladesh



Salahuddin M. Aminuzzaman
S M Mashrur Arafin Ayon

**The Third Sector and the State: Civil Society, Policy
Advocacy, and Governance in Bangladesh**

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Published in 2025

Research Assistance

Mahmud Bin Morshad, Research Associate, South Asian Institute of Policy and Governance (SIPG), NSU

Published by

South Asian Institute of Policy and Governance (SIPG), North South University, Bashundhara R/A, Dhaka, Bangladesh.

South Asian Institute of Policy and Governance (SIPG) Room No - NAC 1074

Phone: +88-02-55668200 Ext. 2164

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Preface

The landscape of civil society in Bangladesh is a complex tapestry woven from threads of deep historical legacies, vibrant contemporary activism, and persistent political challenges. This book seeks to unravel this complexity, arguing that the role, strategies, and effectiveness of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in modern Bangladesh cannot be understood without a thorough appreciation of their long, often contentious, historical evolution. The relationship between the state and civil society in this nation is not a recent phenomenon but is path-dependent, shaped by centuries of interaction, from the autonomous community structures of the pre-colonial era to the anti-colonial struggles and the nationalist movements that defined its birth.

This work builds upon foundational research that identified the pivotal role of CSOs in policy advocacy, while also recognizing the significant constraints they face. It aims to expand this analysis into a comprehensive monograph by introducing a deep historical narrative, refining the theoretical framework, and systematically examining the contemporary dynamics of advocacy.

A central methodological choice in this book is the anonymization of the organizations and individuals featured in the case studies. This decision was made to shift the analytical focus from the specific histories of individual institutions to the broader patterns, strategies, and challenges that characterize the civil society sector as a whole. By examining the work

of "A Prominent Anti-Corruption Watchdog" or "A Leading Legal Aid Organization," we can distill lessons and insights that are applicable across the sector, without compromising the confidentiality of those who graciously provided their perspectives for the research.

The book is structured to guide the reader from the foundational concepts of civil society to a nuanced understanding of its present-day operations and future trajectory. It begins by establishing the theoretical and conceptual vocabulary necessary for the analysis. It then embarks on a historical journey from pre-colonial Bengal to the present, tracing the evolution of civic action. Subsequent chapters delve into the strategies, impacts, and challenges of modern CSOs, using anonymized case studies to illustrate these dynamics in practice. The book concludes with forward-looking recommendations for strengthening the civil society ecosystem and fostering a more constructive relationship between the state and its citizens. It is intended for academics, students, and practitioners who seek a deeper, historically grounded understanding of the vital role civil society plays in the ongoing project of governance and development in Bangladesh.

Abstract

Civil society organizations (CSOs) play a pivotal role in policy advocacy in Bangladesh, significantly influencing government policies and accountability. Utilizing a grounded theory approach to systematically develop theories from data, this study combines content and document analysis with Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) involving diverse stakeholders, including media personalities, academics, government officials, lawyers, top-level executives, country-level directors of NGOs and INGOs, and founders of civil society organizations. This qualitative methodology seeks to uncover the strategies, challenges, and impacts of CSOs in shaping policy discourse and implementation. By analyzing the interactions between CSOs and various sectors, the research explores how these organizations contribute to fostering good governance, transparency, and public participation in the policy-making process. Additionally, the study identifies areas where the capacity and effectiveness of CSOs can be enhanced to strengthen their advocacy roles. This research provides a comprehensive understanding of the dynamics between civil society and policy-making entities in Bangladesh, offering insights into the potential for CSOs to further influence positive societal and political change.

Keywords: Civil Society Organizations, Policy Advocacy, Good Governance, Accountability, Bangladesh, Grounded Theory, Public Participation, Transparency, NGO, INGO

Chapter 1: The Idea of Civil Society in the Bangladeshi Context

This chapter establishes the conceptual and theoretical foundation for the analysis of civil society in Bangladesh. It moves beyond generic definitions to situate the core ideas of civil society, policy advocacy, and good governance within the nation's unique socio-political milieu. Furthermore, it introduces the key analytical lenses—Resource Mobilization Theory and Agenda-Setting Theory—that will be employed throughout this book to dissect the strategies and effectiveness of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs).

1.1 Defining the Sphere: Core Concepts

To understand the dynamics of CSOs in Bangladesh, it is essential to first clarify the key terms that define their sphere of action. These concepts, while universal in their basic sense, acquire specific meanings and significance when applied to the postcolonial and developmental context of Bangladesh.

Conceptualizing Civil Society

At its core, civil society is often understood in the classical Western tradition as the "third sector" of society, a realm of voluntary

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associational life distinct from the state and the market.¹ It represents the space between the private sphere of the family and the formal structures of government, encompassing a wide range of organizations such as non-governmental organizations (NGOs), community groups, professional associations, trade unions, and social movements.² Thinkers from Montesquieu to Tocqueville saw this sphere as standing, at least partially, in opposition to the state, serving as a crucial check on its power.²

However, applying this definition to a postcolonial context like Bangladesh requires nuance. Here, civil society is not merely a neutral collection of associations but a highly politicized and contested terrain.⁴ As scholars like Cohen and Arato suggest, a more fitting understanding of civil society is as a sphere of social interaction that includes not only formal organizations but also social movements and forms of public communication that can influence public policy.³ This broader definition captures the dynamism of the Bangladeshi landscape, where civil society actors are engaged in a continuous project of imagining and forging a new nation, often in a confrontational relationship with the state.⁴ It is this active, often contentious, role in shaping public life and holding power to account that defines civil society in Bangladesh.

Policy Advocacy

Policy advocacy refers to the intentional activities undertaken by organizations to influence the policymaking process.⁶ Its ultimate goal is to achieve tangible changes in official policies, laws, and practices.⁷ This distinguishes it from other forms of advocacy, such as broad community

education or individual service delivery. While educating the public is a component of advocacy, policy advocacy specifically targets those in positions of power to create, amend, or eliminate policies.⁷

The methods of policy advocacy are diverse and multi-pronged. They include "inside" strategies like direct lobbying, providing expert testimony, and participating in government consultations, as well as "outside" strategies such as media campaigns, public demonstrations, and grassroots mobilization.⁷ A successful advocacy campaign requires a clear objective, a well-defined target audience (e.g., policymakers, the public), and a network of like-minded individuals and organizations to build momentum.⁸ In Bangladesh, CSOs have become adept at using these strategies, leveraging research, public engagement, and legal action to create a dialogue with decision-makers and press for reforms.

Good Governance

The concept of "good governance" adds a normative dimension to the process of governing. While governance itself refers to the institutions and processes through which issues of common concern are decided and regulated, good governance evaluates these processes based on their outcomes, particularly in relation to human rights.⁹ From a human rights perspective, good governance is the process whereby public institutions conduct public affairs, manage public resources, and guarantee the realization of civil, cultural, economic, political, and social rights.⁹

The United Nations and other international bodies have identified several key attributes of good governance, including transparency,

responsibility, accountability, participation, and responsiveness to the needs of the people.⁹ These principles are intrinsically linked to the work of CSOs. In the Bangladeshi context, CSOs act as crucial agents of good governance by serving as watchdogs that monitor state activities, promoting transparency through research and public reporting, and facilitating citizen participation in the policy process. Their advocacy efforts are often framed through the lens of achieving good governance, pressuring the state to be more accountable and responsive to its citizens. The relationship is symbiotic: human rights principles provide the values that guide good governance efforts, while good governance provides the necessary environment for human rights to be respected and protected in a sustainable manner.⁹

1.2 Analytical Lenses: Theoretical Frameworks

To provide a structured analysis of how CSOs operate and exert influence in Bangladesh, this book employs two complementary theoretical frameworks: Resource Mobilization Theory and Agenda-Setting Theory. These theories offer powerful lenses through which to understand the internal capacities and external strategies of these organizations.

Resource Mobilization Theory

Resource Mobilization Theory, which emerged in the 1970s, posits that the success of any social movement or advocacy effort depends

less on the existence of grievances and more on the organization's ability to acquire and effectively utilize critical resources. This framework shifts the analytical focus from the psychological motivations of individuals to the broader organizational and societal factors that enable collective action.¹²

According to this theory, resources are not limited to money. They are categorized into five key types, each of which is vital for the functioning of CSOs in Bangladesh ¹²:

1. **Material Resources:** These are tangible assets like funding, office space, and equipment. For many Bangladeshi CSOs, securing material resources is a primary challenge, often leading to a heavy reliance on international donor funding, which comes with its own set of constraints and regulatory hurdles.
2. **Human Resources:** This refers to the people involved in the organization, including staff, volunteers, and leaders. The success of advocacy depends on having personnel with the right skills, such as researchers, lawyers, and communication experts, which requires investment in training and capacity building.
3. **Social-Organizational Resources:** These include an organization's networks, coalitions, and social infrastructure. Building strategic partnerships with other CSOs, media outlets, and international bodies is a key strategy for amplifying impact and outreach.
4. **Cultural Resources:** This encompasses specialized knowledge and expertise, such as how to conduct policy research, draft legislation, or organize a media campaign. CSOs that possess deep cultural

knowledge of the policy process are better equipped to engage effectively with policymakers.¹²

5. **Moral Resources:** This refers to an organization's legitimacy, credibility, and public support. An organization with high moral resources, often built through years of effective work and public trust, is more likely to be taken seriously.¹²

This theory is particularly relevant for analyzing the Bangladeshi context, where CSOs must constantly navigate a landscape of financial constraints, regulatory restrictions, and human capital shortages to sustain their advocacy efforts.

Agenda-Setting Theory

Agenda-Setting Theory, pioneered by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw, explains how the media influences public discourse and policy priorities.⁵ The core premise is that the media does not necessarily tell people *what* to think, but rather *what to think about*.¹⁶ By selecting certain issues for coverage and giving them prominence, the media shapes the public's perception of which issues are most important.

The theory identifies three distinct but interconnected agendas¹⁶:

1. **The Media Agenda:** The set of issues highlighted in media coverage.
2. **The Public Agenda:** The set of issues the public considers most important.
3. **The Policy Agenda:** The set of issues that policymakers are actively

addressing.

CSOs in Bangladesh strategically engage with this process to advance their causes. They act as crucial agenda-setters, using strategic communication, research reports, and grassroots mobilization to draw media and governmental attention to specific issues like corruption, human rights violations, or gender inequality.⁵ For example, when an anti-corruption watchdog releases a widely publicized report on governance failures, it places corruption on the media agenda, which in turn elevates it on the public agenda, creating pressure on policymakers to respond.

However, the application of this theory in Bangladesh is complex. The media itself is not a monolithic or entirely independent actor; it is subject to political and corporate pressures that can influence its own agenda.¹⁷ Therefore, a CSO's ability to set the agenda often depends on its capacity to produce compelling, evidence-based narratives that are difficult for the media and policymakers to ignore.

The interplay between these two theories is fundamental to understanding the work of CSOs in Bangladesh. An organization's ability to set the public and policy agenda is directly contingent on its capacity to mobilize the necessary resources. A CSO cannot hope to launch a successful media campaign (an agenda-setting strategy) without the material resources to fund it, the human resources to execute it, and the moral resources to ensure its message is perceived as credible. This dynamic—the constant negotiation between advocacy goals and the resources required to achieve them—forms a central theme of this book

and provides a robust framework for analyzing the successes and failures of civil society in shaping policy in Bangladesh.

Chapter 2: The Historical Evolution of Civil Society in Bengal and Bangladesh

The character and conduct of contemporary civil society in Bangladesh are deeply rooted in a long and complex history. Its evolution was not a linear progression but a series of transformations shaped by indigenous traditions, colonial interventions, and nationalist struggles. The present-day relationship between the state and civil society—often characterized by a mixture of partnership and suspicion—is a direct legacy of this history. This chapter traces the evolution of civil society from its pre-colonial forms through the transformative crucibles of the British colonial and Pakistan periods, arguing that the confrontational, advocacy-oriented nature of modern Bangladeshi civil society is a path-dependent outcome of its historical role as a primary force of opposition to authoritarian rule.

2.1 Pre-Colonial Foundations (Ancient Times to 1757)

Long before the advent of European colonialism and the modern nation-state, the Bengal delta was home to vibrant and largely autonomous forms of social organization. The fundamental unit of this early civil society was the *samaj*, a local community bound by shared religious, caste, or kinship values.¹⁹ The *samaj* was not merely a social grouping but a functional institution responsible for maintaining social order and

managing local affairs.

Within the *samaj*, the primary mechanism for governance and dispute resolution was the *shalish*, a village-level council composed of community elders, or *matbars*.¹⁹ The *shalish* operated as an informal court, mediating conflicts and enforcing community norms. Alongside these dispute-resolution functions, pre-colonial society also featured other forms of voluntary action, including religious charity (such as the construction of mosques and temples) and philanthropy by affluent community members who would fund schools, *madrasas*, or disaster relief efforts.¹⁹

These indigenous institutions represented a form of localized, community-based governance that operated with considerable autonomy from the larger political structures of the Sultanate and Mughal empires.²⁰ While these empires introduced new administrative and legal systems, they often coexisted with, rather than replaced, the traditional *samaj* and *shalish* at the village level. This historical foundation of localized, self-regulating communities established a tradition of civic action that predated the modern concept of the state and provided a resilient social fabric that would be both challenged and transformed in the centuries to come.

2.2 The Colonial Crucible (1757-1947)

The period of British colonial rule was a pivotal turning point, fundamentally reshaping the landscape of civil society in Bengal. It introduced new, Western-style associational forms and a modern public

sphere, but did so within an authoritarian framework that cast civil society in an inherently adversarial role. This era laid the groundwork for the confrontational state-society dynamics that persist to this day.

The Emergence of a New Public Sphere

The introduction of English education by the British created a new, educated Bengali middle class, often referred to as the *bhadralok*. This elite engaged critically and creatively with colonial modernity, establishing a host of new organizations that formed the bedrock of a new public sphere.⁴ These included literary societies, sports clubs, and, most importantly, autonomous public institutions like universities, research institutes, and periodicals. In the colonial context, these institutions were more than just venues for associational life; they were central to the project of imagining a new nation, laying its intellectual foundations, and challenging the colonial state.⁴

Social and Religious Reform Movements

Among the earliest and most influential of these new associations were the social and religious reform movements of the 19th century. These groups functioned as the first modern advocacy organizations in Bengal, tackling what they saw as the ills of their own society in order to strengthen it.

The **Brahmo Samaj**, founded by Raja Ram Mohan Roy in 1828, was a seminal movement that advocated for a monotheistic, rationalized Hinduism based on the Vedas and Upanishads.²³ It campaigned vigorously

against social evils such as *sati* (widow immolation), polygamy, and child marriage, while promoting women's education and widow remarriage.²⁴ The Brahmo Samaj was instrumental in pressuring the colonial government to pass the Sati Regulation Act of 1829, a landmark victory for social reform advocacy.

The **Young Bengal** movement, led by the charismatic Eurasian teacher Henry Louis Vivian Derozio at Hindu College in the late 1820s and 1830s, was even more radical.²⁶ Inspired by the French Revolution and Western rationalism, Derozio and his students—the Derozians—challenged all forms of orthodoxy, be it religious, social, or political.²⁶ They advocated for freedom of thought and expression, women's rights, and greater civil liberties, including a free press and fair trials.²⁷ Though the movement was short-lived and failed to gain mass support due to its radicalism, it played a crucial role in fostering a spirit of critical inquiry and intellectual awakening that influenced subsequent generations of reformers and nationalists.²⁷

The Rise of Anjumans and Nationalist Groups

As the colonial period progressed, civil society became increasingly organized along community and political lines. In the latter half of the 19th century, Muslim elites began to establish their own associations, known as *anjumans*.³¹ These organizations, such as the Anjuman-i-Islami of Calcutta (1855), aimed to promote Muslim unity, undertake social and educational reforms, and represent the community's interests to the British government.³¹ While often cooperative with the

colonial administration, the *anjumans* were also a response to the growing political assertiveness of the Hindu majority and served as forerunners to more explicitly political organizations like the Muslim League.³¹

Simultaneously, a more confrontational strand of civil society emerged in the form of secret revolutionary societies. Groups like the **Anushilan Samiti** and **Jugantor**, particularly active after the 1905 Partition of Bengal, rejected the reformist approach and advocated for armed struggle to achieve independence.³³ These societies skillfully blended religious symbolism, particularly the cult of the goddess Kali, with nationalist ideology to mobilize Bengali youth for "spiritual violence" against the "white-demons" of the British Empire.³³ This radical tradition of anti-state mobilization added another layer to the evolving character of Bengali civil society, demonstrating its capacity for both reformist engagement and revolutionary confrontation.

2.3 The Pakistan Period: Civil Society and the Nationalist Struggle (1947-1971)

The creation of Pakistan in 1947 did not resolve the adversarial state-society relationship forged during the colonial era; it intensified it. For the people of East Pakistan (formerly East Bengal), the new state, dominated by a West Pakistani civil-military bureaucracy, soon came to be seen as a form of "internal colonialism".³⁴ In this context, civil society became the primary vehicle for the expression of Bengali cultural and political identity, and the engine of a nationalist movement that would

culminate in the birth of Bangladesh.

The Language Movement (1948-1952): The Foundational Struggle

The defining moment in the politicization of East Pakistani civil society was the Language Movement (*Bhasha Andolan*). The Pakistani state's decision to impose Urdu as the sole national language was perceived as a direct assault on Bengali cultural identity.³⁶ The resistance was not initially led by established political parties, but by a vibrant coalition of students, intellectuals, and cultural organizations.³⁸

Cultural organizations like the **Tamaddun Majlish**, an Islamic cultural group founded by Dhaka University professor Abul Kashem, were at the forefront.³⁸ On September 15, 1947, it published a booklet titled "Pakistan's State Language: Bengali or Urdu?", which laid out the core demands: Bengali as a medium of instruction, court language, and official language in East Pakistan.⁴⁰ This was followed by the formation of the first National Language Action Committee (*Rastrabhasa Sangram Parishad*) in late 1947, which united students and cultural activists.³⁷ The movement reached its climax on February 21, 1952, when police opened fire on student demonstrators at Dhaka University, killing several. This event, now commemorated as Martyrs' Day, galvanized Bengali nationalism and irrevocably discredited the ruling Muslim League in East Pakistan.³⁹ The Language Movement forged a new, secular-linguistic Bengali identity and established a pattern of civil society-led resistance that would define the next two decades.

The Politicization of Professional and Labour Groups

The spirit of the Language Movement permeated all sectors of East Pakistani society, drawing various professional and labor groups into the broader nationalist struggle.

Students remained the vanguard of political dissent. Organizations like the East Pakistan Students' League and the Dhaka University Central Student Union (DUCSU) consistently challenged the state on issues of economic disparity, political suppression, and educational policy.³⁹ A key moment was the **1962 Education Movement**, a massive student-led protest against the recommendations of the Sharif Commission, which proposed to make education more expensive and reinforce the dominance of Urdu.⁴² These movements demonstrated the capacity of students to act as a substitute for formal political opposition, especially under martial law.³⁹

Teachers and Intellectuals were also central to the nationalist cause. While they did not form overt political associations, university professors and other intellectuals provided the ideological framework for Bengali nationalism, articulating theories of economic exploitation and cultural suppression.³⁹ The Pakistani state recognized their influence, often blaming "Indian-influenced Hindu teachers" for breeding secessionist sentiment and later targeting them for elimination during the 1971 genocide.³⁹

The **Legal Community** became a key arena for constitutional and political battles. Lawyers like Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy and Maulvi

Tamizuddin used the courts to challenge the authoritarian actions of the central government.⁴⁴ The judiciary, though often collaborating with the military-bureaucratic establishment, was a constant site of contestation over issues of provincial autonomy and legislative supremacy, making lawyers and judges critical actors in the political drama.⁴⁴

Trade Unions played a vital role in mobilizing the industrial working class for the nationalist movement. At partition, the trade union movement in East Pakistan was weak, with only 30 registered unions, and was further hampered by the exodus of experienced Hindu leaders.⁴⁶ However, new federations emerged, such as the East Pakistan Federation of Labour and the communist-led

*Purbo Pakistan Sramik Federation.*⁴⁷ These unions linked workers' rights to the broader struggle for regional autonomy. The widespread strikes and the *gherao* (encirclement) movement of 1969, in which workers joined students in a mass upsurge against the Ayub Khan regime, were critical in forcing his resignation.⁴⁷ During the non-cooperation movement of March 1971, trade unions were instrumental, effectively taking over the management of industries and executing the directives of the nationalist leadership.⁴⁷

This historical trajectory reveals a clear path dependency. The confrontational role that civil society was forced to adopt during the colonial and Pakistan periods became deeply ingrained in its institutional DNA. It emerged into independent Bangladesh not as a neutral partner to the state, but as a battle-hardened force of opposition, accustomed to

challenging authority and mobilizing popular dissent. This legacy helps explain the persistent tensions that define state-civil society relations in contemporary Bangladesh, a central theme explored in the subsequent chapters of this book.

Table 2.1: Timeline of Key Milestones in the Evolution of Civil Society in Bangladesh

Period	Dominant Civil Society Form	Primary Role/Function	Relationship with State
Pre-Colonial	<i>Samaj</i> (Community) / <i>Shalish</i> (Council)	Social order, dispute resolution, local development	Autonomous / Parallel
Colonial (19th C)	Social Reform Movements (Brahmo Samaj, Young Bengal)	Social and religious reform, modern education	Engaged but critical
Colonial (Late 19th- Early 20th C)	<i>Anjuman</i> s, Nationalist Societies (Anushilan Samiti)	Community development, political mobilization, anti-colonial resistance	Cooperative and/or Confrontational
Pakistan Era (1947-1971)	Student, Cultural, and Labour Movements	Articulating Bengali nationalism, demanding autonomy, pro-democracy agitation	Adversarial / Oppositional
Post-1971	Non-	Service delivery,	Collaborative

Bangladesh	Governmental Organizations (NGOs), CSOs	development partnership, policy advocacy, rights-based work	and/or Confrontational
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Chapter 3: The Modern Era: From Service Delivery to Policy Advocacy (1971-Present)

The independence of Bangladesh in 1971 marked a new chapter for its civil society. The adversary—the colonial and later the West Pakistani state—was gone, but the country was born into a landscape of profound devastation. This chapter traces the evolution of civil society in independent Bangladesh, focusing on the phenomenal rise of the Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) sector and its critical, albeit complex, transition from a primary focus on service delivery to an increasingly prominent role in policy advocacy.

3.1 The Rise of the NGO Sector

In the immediate aftermath of the 1971 Liberation War, Bangladesh faced a catastrophic humanitarian crisis. The state infrastructure was shattered, and millions were displaced and impoverished. In this context, the initial response from civil society was one of relief and rehabilitation. As one analysis notes, "The early civil society efforts were predominantly service-oriented, focusing on poverty

alleviation, healthcare, and education rather than active policy engagement".

From Relief to Development

This period saw the birth of what would become some of the world's largest and most innovative NGOs. Organizations that began as small-scale relief operations quickly realized that charity alone was insufficient to address the deep-seated structural poverty plaguing the new nation.⁴⁸ This realization prompted a strategic shift from first-generation strategies of relief and welfare to second-generation strategies focused on community development.⁴⁸ Organizations began to implement integrated programs in health, education, and rural development, with a growing emphasis on building the capacity of the poor to become self-reliant.

Pioneering organizations, which remain anonymous in this text but are globally recognized, led this charge. They introduced groundbreaking models in areas like microfinance and non-formal primary education, demonstrating an efficiency and reach that often surpassed that of the state.¹⁹ This success attracted significant attention and funding from international donors, who saw these NGOs as effective partners for channeling development aid directly to the grassroots, often bypassing what was perceived as a weak and inefficient state bureaucracy.⁴⁸

The NGO Boom and Professionalization

The 1980s and 1990s witnessed an explosive growth in the number and scale of NGOs in Bangladesh, a phenomenon that led some to

label it the "land of NGOs".⁴⁸ This expansion was accompanied by a significant professionalization of the sector. A 2003 World Bank survey of NGOs in Bangladesh revealed a sector that was highly organized and increasingly homogenous in its institutional form.⁴⁹ The study found that most NGOs, regardless of size, had adopted a model characterized by:

- A primary focus on credit and other fee-based services.
- A reliance on salaried, professional staff rather than volunteers.
- Formalized governance structures with detailed, externally audited financial accounts.
- A management class of college-educated professionals.⁵⁰

This convergence towards a professionalized, service-delivery model was driven by a combination of factors, including donor requirements, sociological pressures toward conformity, and the proven effectiveness of this approach in delivering services at scale.⁴⁹ By the turn of the millennium, the NGO sector had become an indispensable part of Bangladesh's development landscape, filling critical gaps in service provision that the state was unable to meet.¹³

3.2 The Advocacy Turn

While service delivery remained the bedrock of their operations, the 1990s marked a significant "advocacy turn" for many of Bangladesh's leading CSOs. The transition from service delivery to policy advocacy became evident in the 1990s and early 2000s when CSOs started playing

a more proactive role in shaping national policies.

This shift was driven by several interconnected factors. First, decades of grassroots work had given CSOs a profound understanding of the structural barriers that perpetuated poverty and inequality. They recognized that sustainable change required not just delivering services, but changing the policies and laws that created the need for those services in the first place.⁴⁸ Second, the restoration of democratic governance in 1991 opened up new political space, creating greater opportunities for civil society to engage with and influence the policymaking process.

Third, international development partners began to actively encourage this shift. Frustrated with the slow pace of state-led governance reforms, donors increasingly viewed CSOs as crucial agents for promoting transparency, accountability, and human rights.⁵¹ They began to fund advocacy-oriented projects, providing CSOs with the resources needed to build their capacity in research, legal action, and public campaigning.

This advocacy turn did not, however, signify an abandonment of service delivery. On the contrary, the two functions became deeply intertwined, creating both a powerful symbiosis and a source of inherent tension. The vast service delivery networks of major CSOs provided them with unparalleled grassroots presence, generating a wealth of data and firsthand experience. This on-the-ground knowledge lent immense credibility and legitimacy to their advocacy work; their policy recommendations were not abstract academic exercises but were rooted in the lived realities of the communities they served.

Yet, this dual role created a strategic dilemma. The service-delivery function often necessitates a collaborative or at least pragmatic relationship with government agencies for operational purposes. In contrast, the advocacy function—particularly when tackling sensitive issues like corruption, electoral integrity, or human rights abuses—is often inherently confrontational. This risks antagonizing the very state actors whose cooperation is needed for service delivery programs to succeed. This fundamental tension requires CSOs to perform a continuous balancing act, navigating the fine line between being a partner to the state in development and a watchdog holding it to account. This strategic tightrope walk defines much of the contemporary experience of civil society in Bangladesh and provides a crucial framework for understanding the specific strategies and challenges detailed in the chapters that follow.

Chapter 4: Strategies and Theaters of Policy Advocacy

Civil Society Organizations in Bangladesh employ a sophisticated and multifaceted repertoire of strategies to influence public policy. Their approach is not monolithic but is adapted to the specific issue, the political context, and the resources at their disposal. These strategies can be broadly categorized into four interconnected theaters of action: direct engagement with state institutions, mobilization of public opinion, intervention through the legal system, and the formation of strategic coalitions. The effectiveness of CSO advocacy lies in their ability to strategically combine these different approaches to create sustained pressure for change.

4.1 Research, Evidence, and Direct Engagement

At the core of modern policy advocacy is the use of credible evidence to inform and persuade policymakers. This "inside" strategy involves direct engagement with the legislative and executive branches of government, grounded in rigorous research. As the original research for this book notes, "Research-based advocacy is another crucial strategy employed by CSOs in Bangladesh. Many organizations conduct extensive studies on governance, corruption, human rights, and social development, using empirical evidence to frame policy debates".

Leading CSOs and think tanks function as knowledge producers,

conducting large-scale surveys, in-depth field studies, and sophisticated data analysis. The resulting reports, policy briefs, and indexes serve multiple purposes. They provide policymakers with reliable data that can inform the design of more effective and equitable policies. They also serve as powerful tools for framing public discourse, defining a problem in empirical terms and proposing evidence-based solutions. CSOs then leverage this research to engage directly with the state through various channels, including submitting legislative proposals, participating in parliamentary committee hearings, offering expert consultations to government ministries, and engaging in formal policy dialogues. This evidence-based approach enhances the credibility of CSOs and allows them to move beyond mere criticism to become constructive partners in the policy process.

4.2 Public Mobilization and Media Engagement

Complementing their "inside" work, CSOs deploy a range of "outside" strategies aimed at mobilizing public support and shaping the public agenda. This approach is rooted in the understanding that policymakers are responsive to public opinion and that widespread citizen demand can create irresistible pressure for reform. Key tactics include public awareness campaigns, community outreach programs, rallies, and, increasingly, digital activism.

Media engagement is central to this strategy. By cultivating relationships with journalists and media outlets, CSOs can amplify their

message and ensure their issues receive prominent coverage. This directly links to Agenda-Setting Theory, as CSOs work to place their concerns—be it gender-based violence, environmental degradation, or electoral malpractice—onto the media agenda, which in turn influences the public agenda and creates a mandate for policy action.⁵ Digital platforms have become a particularly potent tool in this regard. Social media campaigns, online petitions, and viral content can circumvent traditional media gatekeepers and mobilize large numbers of people, especially youth, at a rapid pace and with minimal cost, allowing CSOs to bypass some of the restrictions on physical assembly and broaden their reach.

4.3 Legal and Judicial Interventions

A third, and increasingly significant, theater of advocacy is the legal and judicial system. As the foundational research for this book highlights, "Legal interventions have also emerged as a significant advocacy strategy, particularly for organizations focused on human rights and justice".⁵ When legislative and executive channels are blocked or unresponsive, CSOs can turn to the courts to challenge unlawful policies and protect the rights of vulnerable populations.

The primary tool for this is strategic litigation, especially Public Interest Litigation (PIL). By bringing cases before the High Court and Supreme Court, legal aid and human rights organizations have been able to establish crucial legal precedents that have the force of law. These landmark cases have addressed a wide range of issues, including the rights

of garment workers, protections against arbitrary detention, the legality of extrajudicial killings, and the rights of slum dwellers.⁵ In addition to filing their own cases, CSOs also intervene in important legal debates by submitting

amicus curiae ("friend of the court") briefs, providing judges with expert analysis and research to inform their decisions. This strategy allows CSOs to extend their advocacy into the judicial branch, leveraging the power of the courts to effect policy change and uphold constitutional and democratic norms.

4.4 Coalition-Building and Networking

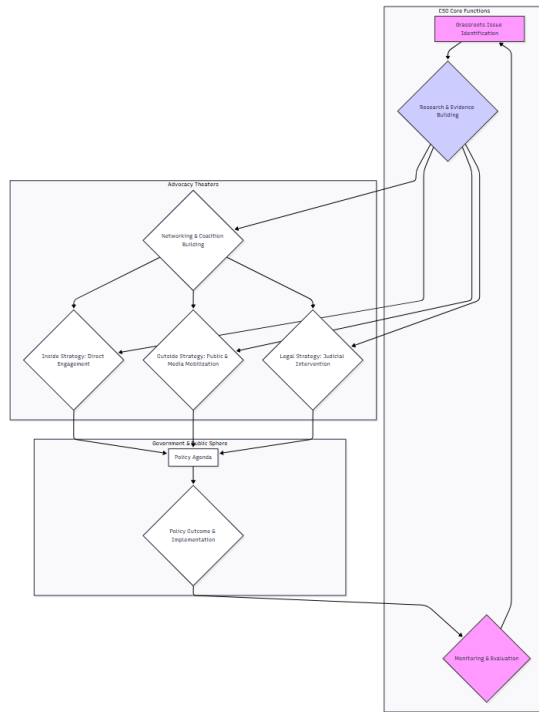
Recognizing that no single organization can achieve systemic change alone, coalition-building has become a cornerstone of effective policy advocacy in Bangladesh. The user's research rightly identifies that "Collaboration and coalition-building form another dimension of CSO-led policy advocacy". CSOs form horizontal and vertical networks with a wide array of stakeholders to pool resources, share expertise, and present a unified front.

These coalitions operate at multiple levels. Domestically, CSOs form networks focused on specific issues, such as electoral reform or gender justice, to coordinate their campaigns and amplify their collective

voice. They also build crucial alliances with academics, who can provide research support, and media outlets, which can disseminate their message to a broader audience.

Vertically, Bangladeshi CSOs partner with international donors and global institutions like the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the World Bank. These partnerships are vital for several reasons. They provide access to critical funding and technical expertise. They also lend international legitimacy to local advocacy efforts, which can provide a degree of protection against state pressure. By participating in global policy discussions on issues like climate change or sustainable development, Bangladeshi CSOs can bring international norms and pressure to bear on the national policy process. These multi-layered partnerships enhance the credibility, reach, and ultimately the impact of CSO-led advocacy initiatives.

Diagram 4.1: A Model of CSO Advocacy Strategies in Bangladesh



This model illustrates the dynamic and interconnected nature of CSO advocacy. The process often begins with the identification of issues at the grassroots level, which informs a research agenda. The evidence generated then fuels a multi-pronged advocacy campaign across different theaters—direct engagement, public mobilization, and legal action, all supported by strategic networking. The goal is to influence the policy agenda, leading to a policy outcome that is then monitored, starting the cycle anew. This demonstrates that policy advocacy is not a linear event but a continuous, iterative process of engagement and adaptation.

Chapter 5: Case Studies in Policy Advocacy (Anonymized)

To move from the abstract to the concrete, this chapter examines the work of several key Civil Society Organizations in Bangladesh. In line with the methodological commitment of this book, these organizations are presented anonymously, using descriptive titles to protect their identity while highlighting their strategic functions. These cases are drawn from the original research conducted for this project and illustrate the diverse ways in which CSOs have successfully influenced governance, legal reforms, anti-corruption measures, and gender justice, while also revealing the persistent challenges they face.

5.1 The Fight for Good Governance and Anti-Corruption

A central pillar of CSO advocacy in Bangladesh has been the promotion of good governance, with a particular focus on enhancing transparency and combating corruption. Two distinct types of organizations have been at the forefront of this struggle.

Case Study: A Prominent Anti-Corruption Watchdog

This organization, a national chapter of a global anti-corruption movement, has been a leading voice in holding government institutions accountable. Its primary strategy is evidence-based research combined

with relentless public engagement. A key informant from the organization articulated its mission clearly: “Corruption is one of the biggest obstacles to Bangladesh’s development. Our goal is to expose corrupt practices and push for systemic reforms”.

Through its widely publicized corruption perception surveys and diagnostic studies of various public service sectors, the organization has consistently succeeded in placing the issue of corruption on the national agenda. Its reports, which meticulously document systemic vulnerabilities and instances of graft, are often picked up by the media, sparking public debate and forcing government agencies to respond. One of its most significant impacts was its sustained advocacy for the passage of the Right to Information (RTI) Act. By building a broad coalition of support and providing expert input during the drafting process, the organization was instrumental in the creation of this landmark legislation, which has empowered citizens to demand greater transparency from public bodies.

However, this work is not without its risks. The organization has faced significant pushback from government officials and political actors who often perceive its work as politically motivated or an attempt to tarnish the country's image. A journalist covering governance issues noted, “TIB’s work is invaluable, but its reports often draw hostility from those implicated in corruption scandals”. This case demonstrates the power of evidence-based advocacy in achieving policy change, as well as the political backlash that such confrontational work can provoke.

Case Study: An Electoral Reform Group

This organization focuses on the foundational element of democratic governance: free and fair elections. Its advocacy centers on ensuring the integrity of the electoral process. A senior representative stated, “We believe that fair and transparent elections are the cornerstones of democracy. Our advocacy efforts center around ensuring that the electoral process is free from manipulation and undue influence”.

The group's strategies include publishing research on electoral laws, conducting voter education campaigns, and engaging in direct dialogue with the Election Commission. One of its notable campaigns has been the push for stricter enforcement of laws governing political party financing. By highlighting loopholes and demanding greater transparency in how parties are funded, the organization has successfully prompted legislative discussions on the issue.⁵

Yet, its efforts have met with considerable resistance from the political establishment. As one political analyst observed, the organization’s “push for election finance reform is crucial, but it has met reluctance from political parties that see such reforms as a threat to their entrenched interests”. This case highlights the specific challenge of advocating for reforms that directly threaten the power structures of the political elite, demonstrating how even well-reasoned policy proposals can be stalled by political interests.

5.2 Advancing Human Rights and Social Justice

Beyond institutional governance, CSOs have been pivotal in advocating for the rights of marginalized communities, using both the legal system and public campaigns to drive change.

Case Study: A Leading Legal Aid Organization

This organization is one of the country's most prominent legal aid providers, dedicated to ensuring access to justice for the poor and marginalized. Its work is a blend of direct service provision and high-level policy advocacy. A senior official from the organization explained, “Our primary goal is to ensure that justice is accessible to all, especially for those who lack the financial means to seek legal recourse. Policy advocacy is a major part of our work as we push for legislative changes that protect fundamental rights”.

Through strategic public interest litigation, the organization has influenced a series of landmark judicial decisions in areas such as gender-based violence, labor rights, and housing rights. These legal victories have not only provided relief for the individuals involved but have also established important legal precedents that have shaped national policy. A key informant from the judiciary confirmed this impact, stating that the organization’s “interventions in cases related to women’s legal protections have led to significant legal precedents, compelling the government to take legislative action”. Despite its successes, the organization faces challenges of funding constraints and regulatory hurdles that limit its ability to scale up its vital legal aid services.

Case Study: A Gender-Focused Advocacy Group

This organization, part of a global federation, is a leading voice for gender equality and women's empowerment in Bangladesh. Its mission, as a senior policy officer described, is “to challenge systemic gender inequalities and advocate for policies that promote women’s empowerment at all levels”.

The organization combines grassroots mobilization with sophisticated policy advocacy. One of its landmark campaigns focused on combating workplace harassment, which contributed to the High Court issuing directives that led to stronger workplace protection laws and enforcement mechanisms. A government representative involved in these discussions acknowledged the group's influence: “ActionAid’s advocacy on gender-sensitive workplace policies has had a tangible impact, influencing government directives on labour protections”. The organization has also been a powerful advocate for the rights of female garment workers, a cornerstone of the national economy.

However, its work illustrates the persistent gap between policy and practice. A gender activist commented, “Bangladesh has progressive gender laws, but enforcement remains weak. challenge is not just influencing policy but ensuring that these policies translate into real change on the ground”. This case underscores the long-term nature of advocacy, which must extend beyond legislative wins to include monitoring and pressure for effective implementation.

5.3 Thematic Focus: Gender Advocacy in a Patriarchal Context

The work of gender-focused CSOs in Bangladesh deserves special attention, as it highlights the unique challenges and strategies involved in promoting progressive social change within a conservative and patriarchal society. These organizations have been pivotal in mainstreaming gender perspectives into national policy, challenging discriminatory laws, and combating gender-based violence.

Their advocacy has led to significant legal reforms, including the Domestic Violence (Prevention and Protection) Act of 2010 and amendments to laws concerning sexual harassment and inheritance rights. A legal officer from one such feminist organization stated, “Many of our advocacy efforts have focused on securing women’s legal rights, ensuring that they have access to justice when facing gender-based discrimination”. Furthermore, groups have worked to increase women’s political participation through training programs and advocacy for gender quotas in government.

Despite these successes, gender advocacy remains one of the most contentious areas of policy work. These CSOs constantly face backlash from conservative social and religious forces that view gender equality as a threat to traditional norms. A feminist activist captured this struggle: “There is always pushback when advocating for gender justice. We have to constantly navigate resistance from social and political forces that seek to maintain the status quo”.⁵ This requires immense resilience and the ability to build broad coalitions to sustain momentum for change.

5.4 Comparative Analysis of Strategies and Impact

While these organizations operate in different advocacy spaces, their experiences reveal common threads. Each has demonstrated the profound impact that civil society can have on governance in Bangladesh, successfully influencing policy through a combination of evidence-based research, legal intervention, public engagement, and coalition-building.

They also face a common set of formidable challenges: political resistance from entrenched interests, regulatory restrictions that create a shrinking civic space, and chronic funding constraints that hinder their long-term effectiveness. Restrictive laws governing foreign donations have particularly affected organizations that rely on international support for their advocacy initiatives.

The resilience of these CSOs is, therefore, remarkable. They have adapted to this challenging environment by innovating their strategies, increasingly turning to digital advocacy, strategic litigation, and community-led initiatives to navigate obstacles while continuing to press for reform. Their work underscores a fundamental reality of the Bangladeshi political landscape. As a senior governance expert remarked, “The role of civil society in Bangladesh is crucial, but it is constantly evolving. Organizations must find new ways to engage with the state while maintaining their independence and credibility”. These case studies illustrate not only the transformative potential of civil society but also the adaptability required to realize that potential in a complex and often hostile environment.

Chapter 6: The Constraining Environment: Challenges to Civil Society

While the contributions of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) to policy advocacy in Bangladesh are significant, their work does not occur in a vacuum. They operate within a complex and often restrictive environment characterized by a multitude of structural, political, financial, and social constraints. These challenges collectively impede the ability of CSOs to function effectively and limit their capacity to influence governance and drive policy reforms. Understanding these constraints is essential for a complete picture of the state of civil society in the country.

6.1 The Shrinking Civic Space: Regulatory and Political Pressures

One of the most pressing challenges confronting CSOs in Bangladesh is the increasingly restrictive legal and political environment, often described as a "shrinking civic space." This is manifested through both formal legislative measures and informal political pressures.

Legislative measures, most notably the Foreign Donations (Voluntary Activities) Regulation Act, have imposed significant bureaucratic hurdles on organizations that rely on international funding. This law grants government bodies extensive oversight over the approval and use of foreign funds, creating a process that is often slow, opaque, and subject to political considerations. A senior official from a leading

governance-focused CSO captured the sentiment of many in the sector: “The regulatory framework in Bangladesh has made it increasingly difficult for CSOs to operate freely. Excessive oversight on funding sources creates delays and uncertainties, which ultimately weakens our ability to engage in sustained advocacy”.⁵ This regulatory burden not only hampers the operational capacity of CSOs but also creates a chilling effect, discouraging organizations from engaging in advocacy on sensitive topics for fear of losing their funding or registration.

Beyond formal regulations, political interference presents a formidable constraint. CSOs that work on issues of governance, anti-corruption, and human rights often find their work in direct opposition to the interests of powerful political elites. As a result, these organizations frequently face pushback in various forms, including public discrediting campaigns, legal harassment, and threats against their staff. An informant from an anti-corruption watchdog explained the risks involved: “There is always a risk when advocating against corruption. Those in power often perceive our work as an attack rather than an effort to improve governance”. This hostile environment forces many CSOs to self-censor or adopt less confrontational approaches, thereby limiting the scope and impact of their advocacy.

6.2 Operational and Societal Hurdles

In addition to the overarching political and regulatory environment, CSOs face a range of operational and societal challenges that hinder their effectiveness.

Financial Sustainability remains a critical issue. The heavy dependence on international donors makes many organizations vulnerable to shifting global funding priorities and the political agendas of donor countries. This precarity makes long-term strategic planning difficult and often forces CSOs to tailor their projects to fit donor requirements rather than the most pressing local needs. For smaller, grassroots organizations, accessing these funds in the first place is a major challenge due to complex application processes and a lack of institutional capacity. An executive from a grassroots gender advocacy group noted, “Funding constraints restrict our ability to expand our programs. Without adequate financial support, it is difficult to sustain advocacy efforts or scale up successful initiatives”.

Bureaucratic Hurdles further compound these problems. Navigating the state's administrative machinery for registration, project approvals, and other necessary permits is often a slow and cumbersome process. A legal advisor for a policy institute described the effect of this "bureaucratic red tape," which "discourages many CSOs from actively engaging in advocacy. Administrative delays create unnecessary obstacles and divert resources away from meaningful policy work.

Social and Cultural Resistance poses another significant barrier, particularly for organizations working on progressive social reforms. CSOs advocating for gender equality, minority rights, and LGBTQ+ rights often face strong opposition from conservative social and religious groups who view their work as a threat to traditional values. A feminist activist stated, “Gender advocacy remains one of the most contentious areas in

policy work. Many of our initiatives are met with resistance from both political leaders and community elders who are unwilling to accept change”.⁵ This cultural backlash can limit the effectiveness of public campaigns and makes it difficult to build broad-based societal consensus for policy change.

Finally, the CSO sector itself is not without **Internal Fragmentation**. Competition for limited funding, differing organizational mandates, and personality-driven conflicts can sometimes hinder the formation of broad, unified coalitions. While many successful advocacy campaigns have been built on strong partnerships, a lack of sustained coordination can weaken the sector's overall influence and lead to a duplication of efforts.

Despite this array of formidable constraints, CSOs in Bangladesh have demonstrated remarkable resilience. Many have adapted by leveraging digital platforms for advocacy, allowing them to circumvent some traditional barriers and mobilize support in new ways. A digital rights advocate observed, “Online platforms have become an essential tool for civil society advocacy. They allow us to mobilize support, share critical information, and engage with policymakers in ways that were not possible before”. This adaptability is a testament to the sector's dynamism, but the fundamental challenges to its operational freedom and sustainability remain a central feature of the governance landscape in Bangladesh.

Table 6.1: Key Constraints on CSO Operations in Bangladesh

Constraint Type	Specific Manifestation	Impact on CSO Operations
Regulatory	Foreign Donations (Voluntary Activities) Regulation Act; Complex registration and approval processes.	Delays in project implementation; Uncertainty in funding; Chilling effect on advocacy; Diversion of resources to compliance.
Political	State scrutiny and surveillance; Discrediting campaigns; Legal harassment and threats against activists.	Shrinking civic space; Self-censorship; Increased security risks for staff; Weakened ability to challenge government policies.
Financial	Heavy dependence on international donors; Shifting donor priorities; Limited access for smaller CSOs.	Lack of long-term sustainability; Projects driven by donor agendas; Competition and fragmentation within the sector.
Societal	Backlash from conservative/religious groups; Traditional patriarchal norms.	Resistance to progressive reforms (e.g., gender equality); Difficulty in building broad public support for sensitive issues.
Operational	Bureaucratic red tape; Lack of internal coordination among CSOs.	Administrative delays; Inefficient use of resources; Weakened collective bargaining power of the sector.

Chapter 7: Assessing the Impact of Civil Society on Governance

Despite operating in a challenging environment, the advocacy efforts of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in Bangladesh have had a profound and undeniable impact on the country's policy and governance landscape. Their contributions range from tangible legislative victories and institutional reforms to more intangible, yet equally important, shifts in democratic culture and public discourse. This chapter assesses the multifaceted impact of CSO advocacy, highlighting their successes while also acknowledging the persistent gap between policy formulation and on-the-ground implementation.

7.1 Tangible Policy Wins and Institutional Reforms

The most visible impact of CSO advocacy can be seen in concrete changes to laws, policies, and institutions. Through sustained, evidence-based engagement, CSOs have played a critical role in shaping reforms across a wide spectrum of issues.

In the realm of **anti-corruption and transparency**, the advocacy of watchdog organizations was a key factor leading to the passage of the Right to Information (RTI) Act of 2009. This legislation has been a transformative tool for citizens and journalists seeking to hold public institutions accountable. As a policy researcher from one such

organization remarked, “Our work has put corruption under the spotlight. When we publish findings on governance failures, it forces government agencies to respond and sometimes take corrective actions”. While challenges in implementation remain, the institutionalization of the right to information represents a major victory for CSO advocacy.

In the field of **human rights and access to justice**, legal aid organizations have used strategic litigation to achieve significant victories. Their court challenges have resulted in landmark judicial precedents that have strengthened legal protections for vulnerable populations. A senior legal officer at one such group stated, “Many of the cases we have fought have set precedents that ensure long-term legal protections for vulnerable populations”.⁵ These precedents have covered issues ranging from workers' rights in the garment sector to protections against gender-based violence, effectively shaping the legal framework of the country.

CSO advocacy has also been instrumental in advancing **gender equality**. Campaigns targeting workplace harassment led to High Court directives and subsequent legal reforms to ensure safer working environments for women. A policy analyst from a gender-focused organization explained, “Our campaigns on gender justice have led to tangible policy changes, such as the adoption of workplace harassment laws and improved labour rights for women”. Similarly, in the area of **electoral reform**, the persistent lobbying of governance-focused CSOs has led to stricter enforcement of campaign finance regulations and improved electoral oversight mechanisms.

Furthermore, in the domain of **environmental policy**, research and advocacy by specialized CSOs have significantly influenced the government's climate adaptation strategies, disaster preparedness plans, and sustainable development initiatives. A climate policy researcher noted, “CSOs have provided invaluable expertise and data, helping shape policies that address the unique vulnerabilities of Bangladesh to climate change”.

7.2 Intangible Contributions to Democratic Culture

Beyond specific policy wins, the impact of CSOs extends to the broader democratic culture of Bangladesh. These contributions, while harder to quantify, are fundamental to the health of the nation's democracy.

CSOs have been crucial in **fostering public participation and giving voice to the marginalized**. By mobilizing grassroots communities, facilitating public dialogues, and bringing the concerns of ordinary citizens into national policy debates, they bridge the gap between the state and society.⁵ They create platforms where citizens can articulate their needs and demand accountability from their representatives.

They also play a vital role as **agents of accountability**. Through their monitoring and watchdog functions, CSOs serve as a critical check on state power. Their reports and media campaigns expose corruption, highlight governance failures, and pressure public officials to be more transparent and responsive. This function is particularly crucial in a

political system where formal opposition may be weak or ineffective.⁵¹

Finally, CSOs contribute to the **empowerment of citizens**. By educating people about their rights, providing them with legal aid, and organizing them for collective action, CSOs help transform individuals from passive recipients of services into active citizens who can claim their rights and shape their own destinies.

7.3 The Implementation Gap: A Persistent Challenge

Despite these significant achievements, a major challenge tempers the impact of CSO advocacy: the persistent gap between policy formulation and effective implementation. CSOs may succeed in getting a progressive law passed, but ensuring that the law is enforced and translates into meaningful change on the ground is a separate and often more difficult battle.

As a policy expert from a governance think tank highlighted, “One of the biggest challenges is the disconnect between policy design and execution. CSOs can push for reforms, but without proper enforcement mechanisms, the impact remains limited”. This implementation gap is caused by a number of factors, including bureaucratic inertia, a lack of political will, insufficient resource allocation for enforcement, and continued resistance from entrenched interests.

This reality means that the work of advocacy is never truly

finished. A legislative victory is often just the beginning of a longer struggle that requires CSOs to shift their focus to monitoring implementation, documenting gaps, and continuing to apply pressure on state institutions to fulfill their responsibilities. As one civil society advocate observed, “Policy change is a long-term process. While we can track certain legislative outcomes, the broader impact on governance structures takes time to materialize. This underscores the need for CSOs to adopt a long-term perspective and develop the capacity for sustained engagement not only in policy design but also in the crucial, and often frustrating, work of ensuring policy implementation.

Chapter 8: Future Directions and Recommendations

The landscape for Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in Bangladesh is in a state of constant flux. Navigating the crosscurrents of political constraints, evolving societal needs, and new technological opportunities requires strategic foresight and continuous adaptation. To enhance their impact and ensure their sustainability, CSOs, along with the government and international partners, must embrace a forward-looking approach. This chapter outlines key recommendations and future directions aimed at strengthening the civil society ecosystem and fostering a more productive and democratic relationship between the state and its citizens.

8.1 Strengthening the Civil Society Ecosystem

To navigate future challenges, CSOs must first look inward and bolster their own institutional resilience and strategic capacity. Several key areas require attention:

- **Diversifying Funding Sources:** The heavy reliance on international donors creates a significant vulnerability. A governance researcher emphasized, “CSOs must move beyond donor dependence and cultivate domestic sources of funding to ensure long-term sustainability”. This involves exploring innovative models such as developing membership-based funding structures, seeking

contributions from domestic philanthropy, and forging strategic partnerships with the private sector through corporate social responsibility (CSR) initiatives that align with their advocacy goals.

- **Investing in Institutional Capacity:** The demands of policy advocacy are increasingly complex. As a senior CSO leader remarked, “Advocacy is becoming more complex. We need to equip our teams with advanced research and negotiation skills to be taken seriously by policymakers”. This necessitates sustained investment in capacity-building programs focusing on high-level policy research, data-driven advocacy, financial management, and leadership development. Partnerships with academic institutions and think tanks can be instrumental in providing this specialized training.
- **Prioritizing Coalition-Building:** Fragmentation within the sector can dilute its collective voice and weaken advocacy efforts. A development specialist observed, “Collaboration among CSOs allows them to pool expertise and present a stronger voice in policymaking arenas”.⁵ Strengthening networks and building broad-based coalitions—both among local CSOs and with national and international partners—is essential for creating sustained pressure for reform and ensuring that critical governance issues remain on the national agenda.
- **Measuring and Demonstrating Impact:** To maintain credibility and secure support, CSOs must become more adept at measuring and communicating their impact. A governance researcher noted, “To gain credibility, CSOs must present evidence of their impact. Data-driven advocacy will make their work more compelling to both

policymakers and donors”. This requires developing and adopting standardized impact assessment tools, such as policy tracking mechanisms, stakeholder feedback surveys, and rigorous case studies, to systematically evaluate the outcomes of their advocacy.

8.2 Reforming the State-Society Relationship

A more enabling environment for civil society ultimately depends on a fundamental shift in the state-society relationship, moving from an adversarial posture to one of constructive engagement.

- **Legal and Regulatory Reform:** The current regulatory framework often serves to control rather than enable civil society. A legal expert stated, “Civil society cannot function under constant threat of closure or legal action. Reforms are needed to protect organizations that engage in legitimate policy work”. This requires a concerted push from advocacy coalitions for legislative amendments that simplify bureaucratic processes, guarantee the operational independence of CSOs, and protect the fundamental rights to freedom of expression and association.
- **Institutionalizing Dialogue:** The government should move to institutionalize the role of CSOs in the policy process. A policy expert argued, “The government needs to recognize CSOs as partners rather than adversaries. Creating structured dialogues between policymakers and civil society actors can lead to more sustainable policy solutions”. This could involve establishing formal

mechanisms for CSO participation in legislative drafting, creating permanent advisory committees with civil society representation, and ensuring that policy consultations are meaningful rather than perfunctory.

8.3 Adapting to a New Era: Technology, Youth, and New Frontiers

The future of civil society advocacy in Bangladesh will be shaped by its ability to adapt to emerging trends and harness new opportunities.

- **Harnessing Digital Technologies:** Digital platforms have already become a vital tool for advocacy. A digital rights advocate emphasized, “The internet provides a powerful platform for civic engagement. CSOs must harness digital campaigns and social media activism to push for reforms more effectively”. CSOs must continue to invest in their digital capacity, not only for mobilization and communication but also for data analysis and cybersecurity to protect their work from online suppression.
- **Engaging the Next Generation:** A new generation of youth-led civic initiatives is emerging in Bangladesh, often organized through informal networks and digital platforms. These groups represent a significant shift in the motivations and methods of activism.⁵³ Established CSOs must find ways to engage with and support these new actors, recognizing that they are a vital source of energy and innovation for the future of civil society.
- **Embracing Innovation and Inclusivity:** Looking ahead, the

challenges facing Bangladesh—from climate change to economic inequality—are increasingly complex. As a governance consultant concluded, “CSOs must evolve with the times. The future lies in innovation, inclusivity, and data-driven advocacy”. By proactively adapting to these changes, embracing new technologies, fostering interdisciplinary collaborations, and championing the voices of the most marginalized, civil society can ensure it remains a powerful and indispensable force for accountability, social justice, and democratic progress in Bangladesh.

Conclusion

The role of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in the policy and governance landscape of Bangladesh is both profound and paradoxical. This book has traced the long historical arc of civil society, from its indigenous roots to its modern, professionalized form, arguing that its contemporary character is deeply shaped by a legacy of acting as a countervailing force to state power. The findings underscore the indispensable role CSOs play in promoting democratic governance, while simultaneously highlighting the formidable structural and political challenges that constrain their work.

A central conclusion of this study is that CSOs have been remarkably effective in bridging the gap between the state and its citizens. "Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) play a pivotal role in policy advocacy in Bangladesh, significantly influencing government policies and accountability". Through a sophisticated combination of evidence-based research, public mobilization, strategic litigation, and coalition-building, they have achieved tangible policy victories. Organizations have successfully driven reforms in anti-corruption, human rights, gender equality, and electoral integrity, demonstrating the transformative potential of sustained and strategic advocacy.

However, this impact is achieved in the face of significant obstacles. The operational environment for CSOs is often characterized by a "shrinking civic space," marked by restrictive government regulations, financial constraints tied to donor dependency, and political resistance that

can place organizations and their staff at risk. This forces CSOs into a delicate balancing act: they must collaborate with the state to deliver essential services to millions, yet they must also challenge the state to uphold its commitments to transparency, justice, and human rights.

Despite these challenges, the resilience and adaptability of Bangladeshi CSOs are a testament to their vitality. As the research shows, "despite these challenges, CSOs have continued to evolve, adopting innovative strategies to strengthen their advocacy impact". The increasing use of digital tools for mobilization, the formation of dynamic coalitions, and the engagement with new generations of activists demonstrate a sector that is not static but is constantly innovating to remain effective.

Looking to the future, the sustainability of civil society's impact will depend on its ability to navigate this evolving landscape. Strengthening institutional capacity, diversifying funding sources, and fostering a more constructive, institutionalized engagement with the government are critical priorities. Legal and regulatory reforms are essential to create an enabling environment where CSOs can operate without fear of reprisal. Furthermore, embracing evidence-based advocacy and data-driven approaches will continue to enhance the credibility and influence of CSOs in the eyes of both policymakers and the public.

In the final analysis, "civil society organizations remain a vital force in shaping Bangladesh's policy landscape. Their role in promoting accountability, transparency, and citizen participation in governance cannot be overstated". While the path is fraught with challenges, the

history and contemporary practice of civil society in Bangladesh offer a powerful lesson in resilience.

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Declaration

The authors gratefully acknowledge the Technical Writing Assistance of the Office of Research at North South University for copy-editing support. As non-native English speakers, the authors also used grammar-checking tools (e.g., Grammarly) and consulted large language models to improve clarity and readability; all substantive content, interpretations, and conclusions remain the authors' own.

Civil society organizations (CSOs) play a pivotal role in policy advocacy in Bangladesh, significantly influencing government policies and accountability. Utilizing a grounded theory approach to systematically develop theories from data, this study combines content and document analysis with Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) involving diverse stakeholders, including media personalities, academics, government officials, lawyers, top-level executives, country-level directors of NGOs and INGOs, and founders of civil society organizations. This qualitative methodology seeks to uncover the strategies, challenges, and impacts of CSOs in shaping policy discourse and implementation. By analyzing the interactions between CSOs and various sectors, the research explores how these organizations contribute to fostering good governance, transparency, and public participation in the policy-making process. Additionally, the book identifies areas where the capacity and effectiveness of CSOs can be enhanced to strengthen their advocacy roles. This research provides a comprehensive understanding of the dynamics between civil society and policy-making entities in Bangladesh, offering insights into the potential for CSOs to further influence positive societal and political change.



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