

**Role of Mass Education
in Political Development
Bangladesh Perspective**

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Mst. Murshida Khanam



**OSDER
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ISBN : 978-984-91161-5-8

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Cover Design
Ahmad Fattah

Computer Makeup
Md. Shahjahan Kazi

Published by **Osder Publications** : 24/2 Eskaton Garden, Dhaka 1000, Bangladesh , www.osderpublications.com and printed by Osder Printers.

Printed in Bangladesh, July 2016

Price : Tk. 250.00, US\$ 10

Dedicated to

My beloved sons
Siam and Samin

Preface

There is no alternative of education to uphold democratic practice. Education also ensures over all development of a nation. About 30% people are illiterate in the country. Activities of Gonoshikkha (mass education) (Adult education) have been implementing under the ministry of mass and primary education of the government. Under this project, people are made aware of their social life, gender issue, environment, values and increasing participation of women in development activities. It also correlates between political and socio-economic development. However, alongside the formal education system, non-formal education plays vital role to make people literate in the country.

However, this book, in fact, is an outcome of my M. Phil thesis . To make it possible, my respected teachers Professor Ansar Uddin, Director, Institute of Education and Research, University of Rajshahi and supervisor Professor Dr. Moksudur Rahman, Department of Political Science, and Dr. Mahfuzur Rahman, Department of Islamic History and Culture University of Rajshahi, encourage me relentlessly. Mr. Md. Ayen Uddin, MP, Rajshahi-3, also encourages me to publish it as book format. I am grateful to all of them. Moreover, I would like to mention the names without whose support I am doubtful to publish this as book. They are Mr. Mostak Ahmad, my beloved husband, working as senior assistant registrar, national university and Professor Muhammad Shariful Islam Department of Social Work, University of Rajshahi. I am owe to them for their mental support.

I am grateful to those writers whose works are consulted to write this book. I must thanks to Mr. Abubakar Siddique of Institute of Biological Sciences of the University of Rajshahi for his relentless efforts to compose this book. I am also grateful to the Chairman, Osder Publications, Dhaka for taking decisions to publish this book.

Last but not the least, if there is any error, it is unintentional and any kinds of advice will be welcomed.

Abstract

An attempt has been made in the study to inquire into the role of mass education in political development. The study was conducted among the 100 participants and 200 non-participants in mass education-in two selected villages of Paba Upazila of Rajshahi district in Bangladesh. The researcher followed the techniques of survey and observation methods to collect primary & field data for this study. The data were collected on different dimensions such as demographic and socio-economic political background of participant and non-participant in mass education in the study area and political awareness, values, and political participation of respondents. To investigate the role of mass education in political development, the researcher examined the participation of the respondents about political right, political participation, awareness about female members, citizenship duties as voters, knowledge of cross voting and opinion about the bad impact of strike, opinion about of voting in election and other activities of political development. The study revealed that the respondents are lower in soci-economic status, in terms of occupation, land ownership, income and so on. The study explored that participants in mass education have better political knowledge and awareness than non participant respondents. An analysis of non participant's political background revealed that they were not politically active and conscious. Though majority of the non participants of respondents who did not come in touch of mass education have given their vote in favour of their party's nominated candidate. Candidate's quality or party's programme was less important to them. On the other hand, those who come in touch of the mass education programme before performing their voting power, have considered party's programme and quality of candidates.

The study has clearly depicted that most of non-participants of the respondents at the grass root level were not aware of and active about politics, political rights and participation in political activities. However, it was found that participants in mass education were comparatively more aware than the non-participants regarding these issues.

The study also explored that there is a significant relationship between mass education of participant's and their occupations, political involvement of family members and political awareness of respondents.

Finally, the study identified some issues which need serious attention to develop the role of mass education in political development.

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Acronyms

AL	– Awami League
BARD	– Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development.
BNP	– Bangladesh Nationalist Party
BRAC	– Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee.
DCO	– District Co-operative Officer
FREPD	– Foundation for Research Educational Planning and be Advanced.
HSC	– Higher Secondary Certificate.
INFEED	– Integrated Non-Formal Education Expression Programme.
IRDP	– Integrated Rural Development Programme.
MEP	– Mass Education Programme.
NGO	– Non Government Organization
PLCHD	– Post Literacy Continued Education Project For Human Development
PROSHIKA	– Proshika Manbik Unnayan Kendro
SPSS	– Statistical Package for Social Science
SSC	– Secondary School Certificate.
TLM	– Total Literacy Movement
UNDP	– United Nations Development Programme.
UNESCO	– United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UP	– Union Parishad
V-AID	– Village Agriculture Industrial Development.
VERC	– Village Education Resource Center.

Chapter One

Introduction

Background

The significance of mass education is vital in the progress and development of a state. There is no alternative human resources in the formation and development of society. The development of our democratic Bangladesh is not possible without political development. We know that the main purpose of the development process is changing. Besides, it is clear to all that the poor and the illiterate people are the burden of the society and they are a great barrier to development. Education helps manifestation of mentality, psychological development and change which directly create impacts in the social development. Specially, mass education (adult education) helps such people to be inspired to bring change in their habits, culture, social condition and management as well. Then he became inspired to change himself. Consequently, he achieves ability to play vital role in individual, social and political development as well. Mass education can act as a light house in political development and in overcoming political crisis. It is necessary to educate the people of developing countries of the South Asian region to diminish the obstacle in developing political environment. Our country is a developing and democratic one. It needs to ensure enormous participation of the public to develop our political environment. However, there is a little spontaneous participation of the public in the progress of our country.

Statement of the Study

Bangladesh is one of the poorest countries in the world. Most of the people of this country can not fulfill their basic needs due to poverty. In recent times the govt. provides privilege on expansion of education for human resource development. Consequently, the expansion of education especially primary mass education is cheered all over our country. The Integrated Non-formal Education Extension Programme (INFEEP) was taken in 1991. This programme was substantialized in the term from 1991-1997 and about 24.7 lakh illiterate people were made literate under this programme though the goal was 16.7. The main objective of this programme was to build non-formal structure in our country. During the period this programme had a new department with the small department of primary & mass education, established in 1992. In 1995 the office of INFEEP was transformed to non-formal education department. Consequently, the country wide expansion of mass education occurred in

a well organized way. Actually, a well compacted movement for mass education was introduced from that time.

Later the department of primary and mass education turned into Ministry of Primary and Mass Education. And different projects of non-formal education have been directing directly under this Ministry. In 1995, four non-formal education project were taken with an estimated cost of 12, 76.62 core to make literate a total of 345.54 lakh illiterate people. The programmes under project-2 have already been successfully accomplished. The programmes under project-3 are now in process. The programmes under project-4 is not in operation It is mentioned that-

1. Project-1 performed, its activities in the Thana,
2. Project-3 is performing its activities in the towns and divisional headquarters.

Hundreds of NGOs are running as the assistant organizations for the advancement of mass education under Ministry of Primary and Mass Education. On the other hand, the TLM project is also running in different districts under the leadership of DC. There was the existence of post literacy program for period of ¾ months, substantialized under the ministry. A total of 935 education center has been directed under non-stop education programme. Now the rate of literacy in our country is 65.5%, where the non-formal education programme played a significant role. UNESCO also played a significant role in establishing a strong base of non formal education and its effectiveness in our country. The non-formal education programme was propounded from September, 2003 to August 2005 under the govt. order. The mass education programme was again started from August 2005 under the non formal education bureaus. The Participants will become self dependent, skilled, experienced and capable of holding their newly achieved knowledge along with attaining literacy, through this programme. Bangladesh is a democratic country. To ensure political development we have to make our people literate and efficient. As it is impossible to make our people literate through formal education, there is a great significance of non formal education for attaining this purpose. It becomes obviously clear that almost every govt. from the very beginning of our country was less attentive to mass education. However, it has positive impact on social and political development of our country in consideration of the influences and consequences of this education programme.

In Bangladesh most of the illiterate people in both urban and rural areas are influenced by sentimental politics. They are convinced very easily by others and they hardly have their own common sense. This is

why the developing countries are attempting to follow different tactics to implement up-to-date education system to make the people conscious of their rights. The provisions of education are arranged to convert the illiterate and other people who are deprived of education into literate, conscious and efficient human resource. It also changes the view of people towards educational development. We have a huge number of illiterate people here in our country. It is possible to transform the people into productive human resources through manifesting their thoughts and social sense through educational Programme. As a democratic nation, the majority of our people are illiterate. The massive expansion of mass education can make the people educated, conscious and experienced. It is noted that this education is designed for the people with the age ranging from 11-45. They are also provided with the knowledge of socio-economical, political, theoretical and practical knowledge. Different efforts have been undertaken for the making of the illiterate people literate through mass education and literacy programmes have been running for about half a century. In Bangladesh the mass education Programme is conducted under the Ministry of Primary and Mass Education. It is mentioned that Mass Education (adult education) Programme was lunched many years ago and is still continuing in Bangladesh.

It is noted that in 2005 non-formal education Programme was introduced under the Ministry of Primary Education with the title of Bureau of Non Formal Education. So, it has appeared that every government of our country in different periods was interested in mass education. This process was sometimes dynamic, sometimes sluggish, but has created more positive attention to political and social changes. So, making the people literate through non formal education is an epoch-making step as it is impossible to make all the people literate through formal education. Thus, the political development of the country will be expedited.

Rationale of the Study

Every citizen of our country must be educated and conscious to get rid of the crisis in the political development of our country. Mass education programme is an effective step like general education system. Claude. C. Welch has mentioned in his book *Political Modernization that* –political development requires the gradually increasing participation of the people and the solidarity of the persons involved in the political provisions. In that two terms (participation and solidarity) there must be included only the educated and experienced person. No illiterate person will be allowed to enter in this process. And mass education is such education system

which has the ability to make all the people literate who are deprived of education. So mass education played a wide spread role in the political development of a country. It is necessary to gather sufficient data relevant to mass education and its role in the political development. For this reason, I am highly interested to make a study on the “Role of Mass Educational Programme in Political Development”. The benefits of this study are as follows:

Development about Politics of Bangladesh

Bangladesh is a developing country in South Asia. Almost all the features contained in our politics are available in the politics of South and South-East Asian region. What about our politics? Whether we have rich or poor political environment? Through my research, it will be clear to all.

Development about Politics and Mass Educational Knowledge

I tried my best to interpret development, political development as well as mass education as much as possible through analyzing the definitions given by some famous writers. The main advantage here is that any person will be able to grasp these matters and can get knowledge about it easily.

Development about Social Awareness

This research will help in realizing the benefits of mass education and its role in developing the consciousness of people about their role in the development of politics and society wherein they live. For this necessary data are collected directly from the students in the fields with reliable evidences. The collected data are also enriched through communicating with the teachers and the organizations who direct the mass education programme. So, it may be expected that this research will be helpful to realize the role of mass education in political development.

Development about Non Formal Education

To eliminate the present crisis in political development, we need proper expansion of mass education. We hope that this expansion will increase day by day. **Abu Hamid Latif**, has mentioned that “there is the absence of advanced political and socio-economic circumstances in the colonial dominated free countries of the third world. There is no reason to think that this situation will be changed in near future. In this context, if we want to involve the mass people in the large circle of education and culture, non formal education can also be an effective way. A recommendation has also been made in this research to expand the non formal education programme (Latif, 1984:94).

Development about National Politics

About half of the total population of our country are women. Most of them, specially the village women are deprived of their basic needs. It is quite impossible to ensure the notional and political development without the contribution of half of the total Population. We have to ensure education for every root level women which might ensure both social and political development. For example I made an appointment with *Nasima Khatun*, a housewife who helped her husband in the agricultural activities and she was completely an illiterate woman. But after participating in mass education programme, now she is not only a housewife but also an active member of rural government. She has acquired a good conception of politics and she is very much confident in leadership.

Development of Own Confidence

If implementation of mass education can be made and consciousness about education can be created among the adult, the illiterate men and women of our country will inspire our national level of education. Non-formal education may be the way to ensure it, because mass education results in –

- The participator will become able to read signboards;
- Can be capable of reading newspapers and documents;
- Will be able to write letters;
- Will attain the ability to communicate with others;
- Acquire the knowledge of how to use computer;

They can also be conscious about their rights and be free from persecution and torture. Consequently a person can be very much confident in every sphere of his or her life. And it is another rational aspect of my research.

Development about Adult Literacy

Mass education is a mandatory pre-requisite for the prosperity of individual, family, society and state as well. My research is conducted over the title “Role of Mass Educational Programme in Political Development”.

From the research, it appears that mass education programme or adult education can keep the following contributions in political development—

1. Mass Education helps people to be democratic, conscious and ethical.
2. The people become conscious about the government policy in the proper distribution of resources and implementation of government’s rules and policies.

3. A leading part of national manpower attains literacy and high level training.
4. This manpower can be employed in different development programmes which will decrease wastage of resources and ensure its maximum utilization.
5. Increase of production, per capita income, national income can be made through creating skilled manpower.

So, it became obviously clear that the importance of research on mass education in personal, social and national perspectives is absolutely vital.

Development of Social Culture

The reasons behind my research are as follows——

- Mass education increases the basic literacy, ability to compute and skill to solve the problem among the people who are deprived of education. So they become able to contribute in the general activities of their society.
- They become able to use their skill in their daily life attained from literacy program/mass education.
- It inspires the newly literate person to join income generating activities through arranging trade based training.
- It inspires self-consciousness, self confidence, patience and other qualities among the newly literate people.
- Make the people conscious about their rights.
- It helps in attaining the ability to take part in the social development activities with personal and combined effort.
- It introduces the people with profession based on strategies and techniques besides taking education and also inspires them to use these techniques and strategies in different activities.
- It creates positive mentality of the newly literate people. So they become careful about the education of their children.
- Mass education helps the people to attain the leadership quality.
- The continuous process of mass education contributes in the overall development of the society.

Lastly, the target groups of Mass Education programmes are the drop-out people from schools, poor illiterate people of towns and slum dwellers, rural illiterate people, illiterate women of villages and illiterate tribals of the hilly region as well. Under the Ministry of Primary and Mass Education, it is attempting to make their target group literate and which

is directed under non-formal education programme. That leads to massive political development. It is necessary to spread the success and usefulness of this education system into the root level of the society. For this, it needs wakeful attention of the people. Another important matter is, we have to increase the dynamism of mass education programme for the overall political development of our country. For these reasons, I have found the rationale behind this research

Objectives of the Study

The main objective of the study is to assess the role of mass education in the political development of Bangladesh. The specific objectives of the study are;

1. To analyze the role of mass education in political development of Bangladesh;
2. To collect sufficient information on the role of mass education programme in political development;
3. To describe the existing state of mass education and political development;
4. To present the historical development of mass education;
5. To evaluate social impact of mass education in political development;
6. To provide suggestions for the more effective role of mass education in political development.

Operational Definition of Key Concept

The word variables may have subjective or objective meaning. The objective meaning refers to universal understanding that is same to dictionary meaning, while the subjective meaning may vary from situation to situation, place to place or from person to person. For instance the word 'birth' and 'death' are universally understood while the word 'poor' conveys different meaning for different persons, there being no obvious universal margin between rich and poor. Following are some key words and variables in this study that have been operationally defined for distinctness of purpose.

Politics

Many scholars define this term from their own view. Rogers (1950) defines politics as it "covers the entire field of political life and behaviors." It embraces the relation between the state and the individual. The politics deals with human relationship of super ordination and subordination of dominance and submission of the governors and the governed. Politics may broadly include "non institutionalized violence as

a means of carrying or settling conflict; or it may be restricted to conflict carried on by institutionally controlled patterns of voting, lobbying etc.” (Ban Field, 1964:516).

Pye (1966:29) defines politics as “The activity by which differing interests within a given unit of rule are conciliated by giving them a share in power in proportion to their importance to the welfare and the survival of the whole community.

Development

Generally development refers to economic growth. There are some people who mean development as socio economic and infrastructural transformation. Example may include as the transformation of feudalism to capitalism. In broad sense, development refers to provide specialty to over all development and advancement of society and public living. In the fifth decade political scientist S.M. Lipset expressed in his analysis that “there are ample possibilities of democratically successfulness of such country where there are a lot of scope of industrialization and mentionable rate of education as well”. That it is clear that industrial development involves the social as well as political development.

According to economists development is a dynamic process, which ascertains the economic, social and mental development to the people through perfect participation of the mass people in the social and economic field. According to UNDP “Development means the increasing of per capita income mean lifetime and knowledge of a specific area of a country”.

Political Development

Political Development is a wide, complex and multi-facet idea. There is no common agreement on the definition of the term. Some consider economic and social advancement are the index of political development. S.M. Lipset thinks that a country where level of industrialization is substantial, comparatively the people livening in the town is higher, economic solvency and rate of literate people is higher, the prospect of democracy is higher in that country L.W. Pye in his book “Aspects of Political Development” has enumerated ten syndromes of political development.

Education

Education refers to the process of learning and acquiring information. Education can be divided into two main types: formal learning through an institution such as a school and self-taught learning or what is often termed life experience. Generally, education is important for learning

basic life skills, as well as learning advanced skills that can make a person more perfect in all side. Political scientist Aristotle said “Education is the creation of sound mind in a sound body”. So, Education aims at developing innate powers of man.

Mass Education

We know, that the main purpose of development is changing. Education aims at the manifestation of mental, psychological development and change which have impact on social development, but it is clear to all that the poor are deprived of education and illiterate people are the burden to the society and they create barrier to development. However, mass education or adult education helps such people to be inspired to create change in their habits, social condition and management skills as well. Then they would become able to be changed by themselves. Consequently, they would become able to play vital role in individual, social and political development as well. The scope of getting knowledge for the illiterate people is limited. As they are unable to read, their only way of getting knowledge and understanding about something is to hear from others. So they become victims of the selfish person and groups. When the illiterate person will become literate, they will be able to read books and newspapers and thereby they can acquire knowledge. This leads to the rapid development of their, their country and the politics therein. Education of mass people leads to increasing social consciousness of human beings. Thus they become able to understand the individual's interest and they start to think about the social development and territorial activities with spontaneous effort. This type of motivation comes from education and also creates unity of thought. Then they provide probability of a group effort than individual effort for social development. They become attentive to development from this perception and learn how to be united. Then they form schools, clubs and co-operative organizations etc. which relate to political development in the society. The term ‘mass’ refers to public. So the general meaning of mass education is education of the public. There are various terms for it in different countries. In U.K. it is ‘Further Education’, in France it is ‘Popular Education’, in U.S.A. it is ‘Adult Education’. In Bangladesh it is “Mass Education”. “Mass Education” in Bangladesh is literacy training for the adult illiterate people, so that they can increase their work efficiency and develop consciousness by having primary education. It means that the programme which is introduced to provide minimum education to the adult illiterate people is considered as mass literacy program (Ali, 1967:20-35).

We should be clear about the literacy which is provided to the public. Literate means literate of knowledge. Signature means ones signature of

his own. In 40th decade, one person was considered as literate if he was able to sign his name only. But with the change of time this view has also been changed.

A table is provided in Bangladesh National Curriculum and Textbook Committee report which provides the characteristic and character of formal education and non-formal education and a clear concept about the definition, nature and features of mass education.

Table1.1 Objectives and Characteristics of Formal and Non formal Education of Bangladesh

System of Education	Objectives
Formal Education	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The objectives of formal education are determined to form a wide formation for all students (Technical education also comes under this definition). 2. Certificate Oriented: Attaining certificate is the prime objective in every phage of this education system. And education life requires a long time, but ensures any gain of economic and social opportunities and also helps in increasing positional status. 3. Long Term: Formal education is a long-term process. They know that they have to stay some years to pass each of the stages of this education process. 4. Full Time: Formal education is full time. There are less opportunities for doing other works.
Non-formal Education	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The objectives of non-formal education are determined on the necessity of group, class or community. 2. Not Certificate Oriented: This education system is mainly practical, effective and work-oriented. Student does not get any certificate after finishing this education. But it can be profitable to be assigned to a work. 3. Short Term: Non-formal education is a short term process. The period of time of each function is determined, according to the necessity of the learners to reach at the ultimate goal. 4. Part Time: Since non-formal education is part a time, work the learners can be engaged in other activities. There is every scope of allotting time according to the opportunity of the learners.

However, although there are some differences between the characteristics and features of formal education and non-formal education, they are complimentary and supplementary to each other. If education is considered as the process to change the skill and behavior of human beings through the manifestation and unfolding of creativity in them, it must be considered that these education systems are mutually related. But it is necessary to form a planned relation between these

education systems for the purpose of making education opportunities available for every level of people of the society through diversification of education process. Different countries are now attempting to form connection between formal and non-formal education. It is very difficult to materialize, but if it is possible, a benefit will be attained in the development of political & educational sector.

Review of Literature

Literature review is a very important aspect of research work, because a comprehensive idea can be obtained and starting point can easily be made by reviewing the previous work as reflected in various reports and publications. On the other hand, review can also disclose and identify the knowledge gaps in respect of the concerned field. Goode and Hath state that an important part of the preparation for research work consists in reviewing concerned literature. It is important because all research inevitably involve the use of the books, pamphlet, periodicals and documentary materials that are available in libraries and archives.

To conduct this study successfully I have studied a number of books, articles, thesis and journals. From among these some important literatures are discussed below.

According to A.P Thirlwall “A concept of development is required which embraces the major economic and social objective and values that societies strive for. This is not easy.” Whodisting wishes three basic component or core values in this wider meaning of development, which he calls, life sustenance, self-esteem and freedom. Life sustenance is concerned with the provisions of basic needs. Self-esteem is concerned with the feeling of self respect and independence. Freedom refers to freedom from the three evils-want, ignorance and squalor’s so that people are more able to determine their destiny. This speech shows that development is concerned with mental claims and necessity, expectation, satisfaction and also with the attainment of capabilities. But it is also related to social system and environment as well. So, the overall aspect (social, cultural, political, psychological, economical and other surroundings) of social system is the matter of discussion about development for the purpose of making happiness in human life that may be individually and nationally, as well.

The specialists also provide similar opinion in an international conference arranged by the UNESCO. They also include social cultural and psychological factors along with economic factors in the term “development” for attaining psychological expectations and necessities.

So, social factor was included with development from 80's of the last century and question regarding expectation also got significant

importance. Consequently, the process of the manifestation of human power and the inspiration regarding local society and culture became the prime subject matter of discussion. From 90's human resource has attained another significant point of development. At the starting of this decade UNDP becomes able to show development as the identity of expanding the expecting level of human resource in 1990. In 1993 this concept was transformed into "human development is development of the people for the people by the people" That means through investment it will be the development of the people regarding their education, health, nutrition, and social condition. It will be the development of the people by the people through ensuring participation in structure and power of taking decision. And lastly it will be the development of the people by satisfying need and opportunity for all (UNDP, 1992). The development of human resource refers to the manifestation of his abilities and capabilities as well. Such manifestations are confined to the measurement of proper utilization of social system and exact setting of it. According to Nobel Winner economist Amartya Sen "Development is the manifestation of the capabilities of the human being". The capacities of human being depend on his proprietorship. That means control over what quantity of commodities and services (Sen, 1990). Edward W. Weavner said "Development is a psychological condition, trend of a direction instead of specified goal. It is the rate of transformation through a specified way" (Hossain, 1996:8). Frade-E-Emerh and others said, "Development is a changing process of structural activity of an organization. This organization has a gradual contribution to the path of proper health management, through education of growth." That is, he generally means, "Development is a changing process at the path of noble proficiency." Actually, the main theme of development is changing generally, national development is the overall development of persons' social, cultural and territorial condition. People all over the world want development. It is the general tendency of the human beings. All the people (rich & poor) all over the world are now under a "slogan" we want development. But the meaning of development varies from country to country. Some countries hold a concept that development means industrialization. However in some countries development means no discrimination in educational facilities, of urbanization and development. Communication system or construction of sky-high buildings. There are also some countries where development is concerned with alleviation of poverty, hunger and sickness, free from illiteracy and mean-lifestyle etc. Actually, there are no available easily and general definitions of development which may be accepted by all till today. For this reason the feature of development varies from person to person.

It is not only an economic proposal but also a psychological problem. So, the following experimentation may be made.

- a. The economists seem that the main index of economic development is the increase per capita income & the distribution of national income
- b. According to politicians a society is developed when there is certainty of basic needs and Political liberty.
- c. Behavioral scientists believe that social & cultural development is the actual development wherein there are available opportunities of human prosperity.

In the 3 above mentioned points, though the specialist express dissimilar opinions, any person has to admit that, development means the basic satisfaction of needs of human beings. Basic development needs comfortable life cycle, nutritious foods, developed transportation & communication system, education, service & other healthy opportunities.

Claude Welch described political development as “revolution of modernization” in his book “political modernization.” He also said “Modernization is the process, based upon the rational utilization of resources and aimed at the establishment of a (modern) society.” He mentioned some characteristic of modern society.

1. Utilization of resources
2. High social mutual dependency
3. Utilization
4. Increased rate of education
5. Social mobility and
6. Other similar elements. (Claude Welch, 1966:2)

Benjamin Schwartz’s (1967:4) comment about modernization is “Systematic and sustained and purposeful application of human energies to the ‘rational’ control of man's physical and social environment for various human purposes.” Here interpretation of modernization has been done in such a way that the developing society can be able to attain the general characteristics of a developed society.

Another definition is provided by Robbert Word. He says modernization as the movement toward a modern society characterized by gaining ability to control or influence the physical and social circumstances of its environment and by a value system which is fundamentally optimistic about the desirability and consequences of this ability”

Lucian Pye said about modernization in his book "Aspects of political development". "Modernization is such a high performance of social change wherever the commonplace villages and colonial societies become compelled to attune to the pressure and demand of modern industrialized and urban based world." He called it the "Diffusion of a world culture."

David Apter (1965:67) said "Modernization and development are two different but mutually related elements". He mentions circumstances of modernization as-

1. Social system containing power of invention;
2. Differentiated and flexible social structure,
3. Supplying needed skill and knowledge for developing society and technology based social structure.

Cloud Welch (1965:67) interpreted modernization from different aspects such as-

1. It is mainly an economic factor which actually involves industrialization process.
2. It is psychological and social change brings change in the commonplace behavior and perception.
3. Differentiated political change such as diversification of new political structures, increase participation, manifestation of nationalism etc.

So, modernization is not a single element rather it is a combination of multiple elements. Social and natural developments develop in the society due to modernization. That means it is a universal matter. The specialists provide the definition about political development as imposing on some special aspects of it as there is no unanimous definition of this concept. According to M. Hasanuzzaman, there are main four definitions. Political development includes the following factors. These are as follows:

1. Political development is the capability of providing attendance and having skill about political system.
2. Political development is political modernization.
3. Political development is social mobility.
4. Political development is political institutionalization. Huntington also supports it. Notes that, there is some rationality behind each of the sections. Claude Welch (Claude, 1965:13) said in his book "Political Modernization" that political modernization involves three activities:-

1. An increased centralization of power in the state couples with the weakening of traditional sources of authority.
2. The differentiation and specialization of political institutions.
3. Increased popular participation in politics and greater identification of individuals with the political system as a whole. Samuel Huntington provides in detail, the interpretation about-political development in his famous book "Political development and Political decay." He interpreted this concept from two aspects. First one (a) Base of support and second one (b) Level of institutionalization. Base of support means here how many members involve in organization. He describes political developments as institutionalization of political organization and procedures. He also defines political development as institutionalization of political organization and procedures.

According to him, in a political system the more the institutionalization of political organization and procedures is occurred, it seemed that the more political development occurred. Huntington used 4 variables to measure the level of institutionalization.

These are Adaptability, Complexity, Autonomy and Coherence **Lucian Pye** uses 10 points to define political development in his book "**Aspects of political development**" (1967, P.35)

1. Political development is the political precondition of economic development.
2. Political development is similar to the politics of industrialized society.
3. Political development is political modernization.
4. Political development is the effectiveness of nation-states.
5. Political development means legal & administrative development.
6. Political development means the participation & mobility of mass people.
7. Political development means establishing democracy.
8. Political development is stability and disciplined transformation.
9. Political development means power & mobilization of it
10. Political development is an element of diversified social change.

Lucian Pye (1965, P.35) also mentioned that there are 3 major syndrome of political development- A. Equality: it means herein equal opportunity and increased participation of public in political activities. II. All are equal in the eye of law III. Recruitment to public offices should be based

on achievement rather than ascription. B. Capacity: Here capacity refers to I. Capacity of influencing other section in political system II. Realization of govt. policy effectively and skillfully. III. Possessing/Containing positive view relevant to the rationality & policy of the administration. C. Differentiation: Differentiation means here- I. Political structures are to be diversified. II. It accomplishes definite activities. III. Specializations are attained by diversified structures. IV. The Structure will be not only diversified but also stuck together.

There is a great role of “Comparative politics: A development approach” by **Almond & Powell**, in the theory of political development. They said– “Political development is the increased differentiation and specialization of political structure & the increased secularization of political culture.” **Almond & Powell** have also a prominent role in analyzing the political development as marked accomplishment skill of political structures. According to them the level of the capacity of accomplishment is the skill of political structure. They mention 6 types of capabilities in this perspective-

1. Extractive capacity: The capacity of turning out the subjective & human resources from environment.
2. Regulative capacity: Capacity of controlling the behaviors of the individuals & groups.
3. Distributing capacity: Capacity of distributing resources, services, goodwill & other facilities to the society.
4. Symbolic capacity: Capacity to enhance loyalty and unity among the public to political of system, through different symbols & formation.
5. Responsive capacity: Capacity to make co-relation between input and output through response to changed of environment.
6. Domestic & international capacity: Capacity to implement policy in national and international arena.

However, In the language of Claud C. Welch, “political modernization means political development” So, We can say, political development is such a view which refers to nourishing high solidarity with political system, utilization of power, development, participation and individual as well.

So far, we have discussed political Development, political modernization and various requisites of political development.

From the writings of different political writer's on political developments we come to know that capacity and awareness building are the main precondition of political development. At the same time we

understand that education is to a great extent help develop capacity, awareness buildings and participations in the political affairs.

James Jennings (1990:23) mentions the meaning, concept and definition in a different way in his book "Adult Literacy: Master or Servant?" He states that about adult literacy and said that ambiguity begins with the definition of both the term.

The word 'adult' has a variety of meanings and connotation in various languages and cultures. In the western world, adult generally means one who has completed his formal studies and (usually) is no longer financially dependent on his parents support. In the developing world, particularly in countries where the majority of the population never goes to school and the children's dependence on parents often changes over a number of years to parents dependence on children, the common meaning of 'adult' may be quite different. UNESCO statistics are generally based on a classification of anyone aged 15 or above as an adult. However, in many adult literacy programs, a high proportion of the participants may be 12 year old or even younger, anyone above the age for normal enrolment in primary school may be considered as candidate for adult education. It has been suggested that adult and non going school youth might be a better term to describe the adults, but in general the ambiguous term 'adult' is applied.

He also mentions that the meaning of 'literacy' is also not clear. There is no generally accepted definition and the controversy depends on the discipline of the researchers studying it. Besides the wider definition, proposed cultural implications of literacy will be discussed later. Even defining literacy in the technical sense is problematic. Until the early 1950, most governments considered the ability to read, write and compute at fairly elementary level to be the criterion, and the United Nations Population Commission in 1948 recommended that literacy should be defined as the "ability both to read and to write a simple message in any language" (UNESCO, 1957:18). During the 1950s, there was a growing tendency to differentiate between a literate person and a functionally illiterate person. The idea of functionality as related to the literacy skills needed in the particular society is reflected in this, According to the definition of literacy of UNESCO 1962 in "A person is literate when he has acquired the essential knowledge and skill which enables him to engage in all those activities in which literacy is required for effective functioning in his group and community and whose attainments in reading, writing and arithmetic make it possible for him to continue to use his skills towards his own and the community's development" (James Jennings, 1990:23).

In “*Education and National Development*” published by Dhaka Ahsania Mission, it is mentioned that a huge number of skilled and energetic people are needed for the development of a country. Either formal or informal education is not available for the fulfillment of overall demand of the country. This education system plays special role in providing skill to the mass people outside the formal education. The professional people who get education through a massive but less costly and less durable program is called non-formal education system. Actually, mass education is a planned and organized education system under the scope of non-formal education like formal education. But it is not run in definite and fixed rules and regulations like formal education. The extraordinary characteristic of non-formal education is flexibility though it is directed through some rules and regulations. It is possible to clear the concept about this education system through comparative discussion between the characteristics and features of mass education and formal education. The characteristics and features of mass education are-

1. The objectives of this program are determined keeping in view the special needs of specific group.
2. The goal of it, is to increase skill, not getting certificates.
3. Necessity oriented determination of the period of training.

As this education system is flexible, necessary changes can be made when needed. There are some people who think that non-formal education is only for the attainment of low level education and skill. It is true, that the non-formal education is confined to acquisition of liberty, attaining basic education and attaining medium level skill in the developing countries. These programmes are actually taken in the reality and socio-economic perspective of the developing countries. But it is a temporary effort. We have to include up-to-date education and training system in our non-formal education system. Some programmes or activities can be taken as equivalent to the industrially developed countries. In recent years some developed programmes are included in the non-formal education of developed countries, which are impossible to take in the existing opportunities of the well reputed universities or other high level institutions.

James Jennings (1990:23) provides a detailed discussion about the meaning, concept and definition of adult education (mass education). He also made a case study over the existing adult education (Mass education) at the subsequent period of liberation war of Bangladesh. He also analyzes the nature, role and importance of adult education (mass

education) and its role in the development of rural area of Bangladesh with an easy and obvious manner. Kazi Rafiqul Alam (1988:9) stated about literacy, nature of adult education, importance and necessities of mass education and present condition of mass education in Bangladesh. But in his book there is no definite interpretations about the importance of mass education in the perspective of our political structure. But his book is very much helpful in gaining knowledge about mass education and other aspects of it.

Abu Hamid Latif in his book provides a detailed discussion about non-formal education in developing society and non-formal education as development strategies. But there are no available uses of the term 'mass education'. As a result there is a little ambiguity about the conception and definition of mass education in his book. Thereafter, there is a detailed discussion about the title "Non-formal Education" in Bangladesh. Nevertheless, I think that it is very essential to include up to date information about it. Besides, there are no obvious discussions about the importance of mass education in political development in this book. But I will try my best to enrich my research with providing such information. The writers manuscript, "Upoanusthanik Shikkha abong Samajshikkha" Published by Dhaka Ahsania Mission, provides a detailed interpretation about national development, developed nation, relation between national development and education, role of education in national development as well as overall development in their articles. But there is no obvious discussion about the major problems of our politics. We should try to get rid of it and ensure the contributions of mass education in political development as well. Here the writers provide a short discussion about the involvement of mass education in political development. There are also incomplete interpretations about the role of mass education in political development. I keep no lacking in my effort to mention the importance and role of mass education in political development in my research. The writers of the book *Shikkar Viththi*, published by Mita Traders provides detailed discussion about the meaning and definition of mass education. There are available discussions about the importance of literacy and education in the development of work efficiency. Actually, this book provides us with a brief discussion about the importance of mass education in political development which is the precondition of overall national development. So, I like to provide a detailed interpretation about the contribution of mass education in political development in my research. In the *Fifth Five Year Planning*, mass education is indicated as a need of different education system for illiterate adult people, for the youth drop-outs from

school as well as for our children. The detailed and massive discussion about non-formal education of this book helped me much in my research.

‘Manual for training’, published by Director of Non-formal Education helped me to enrich my research because there are available discussions about the definition of literacy and the condition of mass education program under the periods of different governments in Bangladesh.

Finally, I admit that there are some other newspapers, magazines and journals which helped me much to enrich my research in the field of “*Role of mass Educational Programme in Political Development*”.

In recent years, the government gives priorities on expansion of education for human resource development. Mass education system is functioning all over our country. The integrated non-formal education expansion program (INFEEP) was taken in 1991.

This programme was implemented during the term 1991-1997 and about 24.7 Lac illiterate people were made literate though the target was 16.7 Lac. The main objective of this programme was to build a non-formal education structure in our country. During the implementation period of this programme, a new department with the title *Department of Primary and Mass Education* was established in 1992. In 1995, the office of INFEEP was transformed to *Non-formal Education Department*. Consequently, the country wide expansion of mass education was done in a well organized way. Actually, a well compact movement for mass education was introduced from that time.

Later the *Department of Primary and Mass Education* was turned into Ministry of Primary and Mass Education. And different projects of non-formal education have been running under this ministry. In 1995, four non-formal education projects were taken with an estimated cost of Tk.1275.62 Crore to make a total of 345.54 Lac illiterate people literate. The programmes under Project-2 have already been successfully accomplished. The programmes under project-3 are now under progress. The programmes under Project-4 is postponed. “Assistant manual for training: post literacy”, continued under project-1 for human resource development. It is mentioned that-

1. Project-1 performed its activities in the Upazila.
2. Project-3 is performing its activities in the towns and divisional headquarters.

Hundreds of NGOs are working as the associate organizations in the implementation of mass education under Ministry of Primary and Mass Education. On the other hand, the TLM project is also implementing in

different districts under the leadership of Deputy Commissioners. There was the existence of post literacy programme in a period of 3/4 months implemented under the Ministry. A total of 935 educationists have been working under the ministry of education programme in different districts.

So, we see from literature review that many discussions have been made in different books and literature about mass education programme in our country. But there is no available discussion about the role of mass education in political development.

Methodology of the Study

The present research on the topic *Role of Mass education in Political Development* has been done on a realistic and effective basis. Man is not only a social being but also a political being as well. The political development of an area is highly dependent on the auspicious environment and the political ideology of the people therein. The main weapon of political development and politics is education. It is very essential to estimate the effectiveness of mass education in this regard. Especially the conscious people are very much concerned about the problem made by our education deprived people in the political development of our country as well as the developing countries like us. This Research is actually conducted to represent the role of mass education in the development process of politics. For this purpose, the mass education programme directed by the “Directorate of Non-formal Education” under the Ministry of Primary and Mass Education has been taken into consideration. It becomes already clear that the illiterate people become more conscious and confident by taking mass education through Non formal Education Programme. They are now very much conscious and capable to provide deliberate opinion about the present political conditions, government, political representatives, election and qualified and disqualified candidates as well. It becomes obviously clear from my survey in two villages that the political knowledge and skill of the participants in mass education program are higher than the rest of the people therein. The conscious persons of the society like teachers, doctors, members and chairmen of the local bodies and others spontaneously admit that the mass education programme creates a great dynamism in the political development. However, political instability and illiteracy are the major problems of our country. To find out the role of non-formal education in politics is another aim of my research programme.

Study Design

This research is actually performed to evaluate how and what role does mass education play in political development. Another aim and importance of the research is to find out the significance of mass education in political development. For this, research has been conducted in two selected villages of Paba Upzilla under Rajshahi district. Bangladesh is a developing country and a large part of its population is illiterate. So, I feel interested to do research on the title *Role of Mass Education in Political Development* to reckon the role of mass education in political development.

Firstly, I gathered preliminary information about the geographical position, roads as well as the area of the two villages of “*Barogachi*” and “*Dumkura*” under Paba Upazila of Rajshahi district and for this, I collected the required data from Upazila statistics office and also obtained the atlas of Paba Thana of Rajshahi district as well. I also took two separate days for going to the two specific villages.

Secondly, I launched to prepare the questionnaires for taking interviews of three types of persons as a unit of my research. In this stage, I made a draft of questionnaires, in consultation with the supervisors of my research. More than ten days were needed to prepare the final questionnaires for its elegance and commandment as well. The final questionnaires were printed in computer and a total of 200 questions were made as one set for each person.

Thirdly, I took two separate days to visit the two villages separately as the area of my research programme. I also took four days to be introduced with the teachers and participants of mass education centers, members, chairmen and the villagers as well.

Fourthly, I went to the *Non-formal Education Bureau* of Rajshahi district to collect information about the number of mass education centers, number of separate centers of male and female, number of scholars as well as the list of their names. It took five days to end this task.

Fifthly, I took fifteen days to take interviews of the participants of mass education, village dwellers and conscious persons as well through submitting questionnaires. An assistant was engaged to collect separate information of the two villages through taking interviews which leads to make obvious the role of non participants to mass education in the political development process.

Sixthly, the budget was implemented to direct the research in the field.

Area of the Study

Rajshahi district is one of the most important locations of Rajshahi division of Bangladesh. There are ten Upazilas in this district of which Paba Upazila has been selected for this study. There are thirteen unions in Paba Upazila from which two villages namely ‘Dumkura and Borogachi’ were selected.

Map 2.1 The Map of Bangladesh



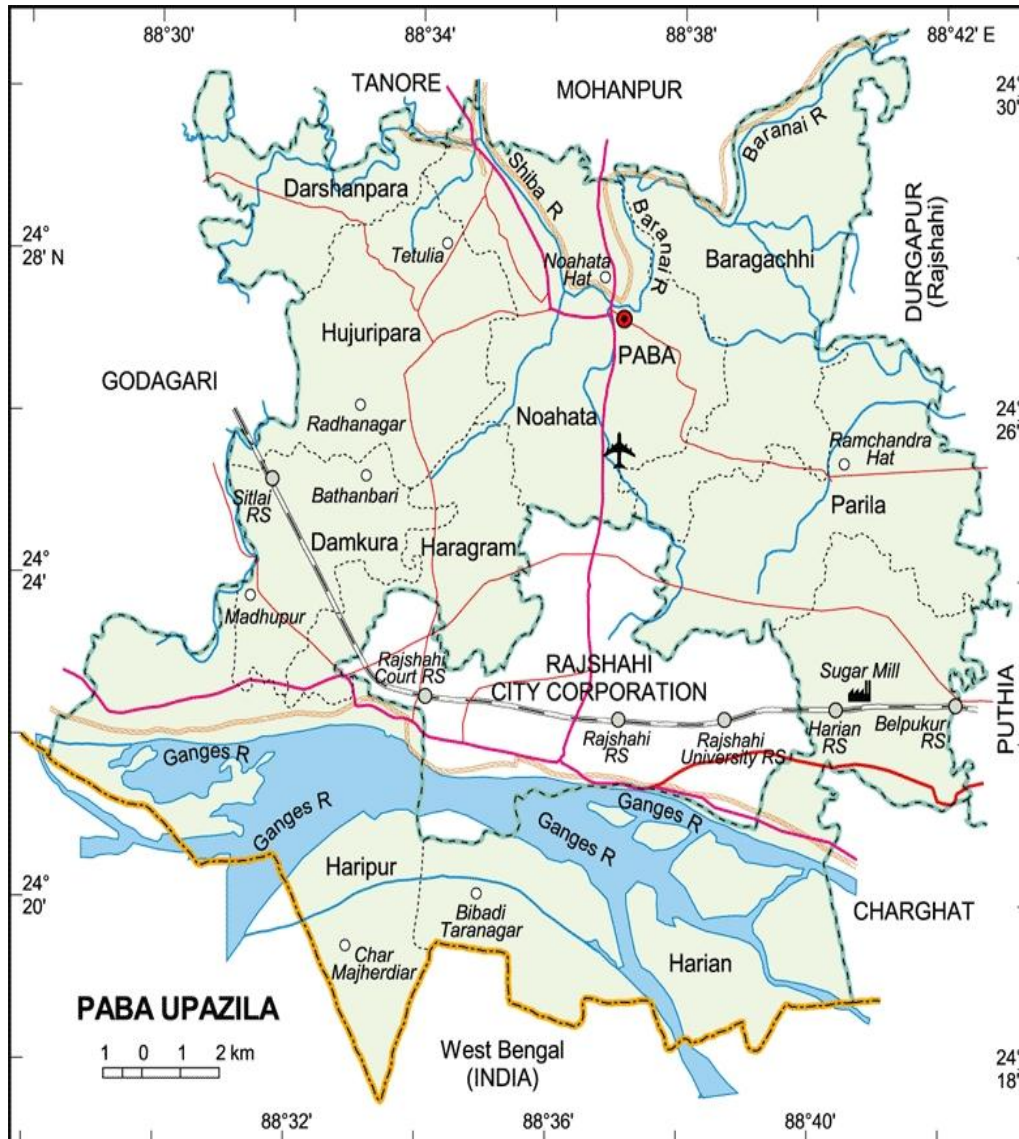
There are 13 unions Parishad under Paba Upazila two of which are taken under Municipality. The location of Paba Upzilla in Rajshahi district.

Map 2.2 The Map of Rajshahi



The total area of Paba Upazila is 69,211 acres or 280.42 square kilometer or 108 square mile. The total population is 2,62,2551 out of which 1,13,798 are male and 1,25,457 are female. And growth rate of population is 2.08%. There are 186 Mouzas and 269 villages in Paba Upazila. I selected two villages from that 269 villages for the purpose of my research program and my selected villages are “Borogachi” and “Damkura” under Union No.3 and 6 of this Upazila. The location of these two villages in that atlas is shown below:

Map 2.3 The Map of Paba Upazila



The total area of “Borogachi” union is 8680 acres or 13.78 square miles or 35.94 square kilometers. According to population census-2001, the total population here is 33,079 among whom 15,991 are female and 17,888 are male. The rate of literacy here is 42.77%.

Another area of my research is “Damkura”. The total area is 4.278 acres or 17.31 square kilometers or 6.68 square miles. The total number of people living here is 17,028 among whom 8,756 are male and 8,268 are female. Rate of literacy here is 44.02%. (Upzila Statistics Office, Paba, Rajshahi: 15.10.2007).

In the two villages, the mass education program is directed under the “Directorate of Non-formal Education” of the Ministry of Primary and Mass Education. And the name of that project is (PLCEHD) Post Literacy and Continuing Education for Human Development Project-1. The NGOs “BCVD” and “VERC” have actually launched the education

program through establishing separate centers for both male and female in these two villages. 15 male and 15 female centers are available there. Here 450 male and 450 female are getting education. That means there are 30 male 30 female candidates in each of the centers. It is actually literacy based education. Here some life based issues such as health and medicines, cleaning and sanitation, domestic animal rearing, fisheries, agriculture, poultry as well as rights of women, voting and knowledge about existing laws are provided to the learners along with mass education. In the second level, necessary training is also provided to them to make them efficient through justifying their enthusiasm. Actually the Level-2 is not so important for my research. Whether the Level-I of this education program has brought any change in the mentality and consciousness of the people and what are the influences of it in the political development are important for my research. For this I took necessary interviews through providing questionnaires to the participants, village dwellers and other conscious persons of these two villages with my own effort. I also made necessary observations on the thought processes, mental change and the impact of mass education on the people in political development.

I also observed the mentality, consciousness and ability to forecast on the people who do not take part in the education programme. That helps me to make clear the difference among these two types of people.

Analysis of the Units of the Research Programme

I divided the units of analyzing my research program into two categories-

- Participants (who took part in mass education programme)
- Village dwellers (who did not take part)

Population of the Research Programme

I took 100 male and female scholars from mass education centers and 100 male and female the village dwellers out of this education programme of these villages as the population of my research programme. I have collected two types of information from these populations through sampling.

Sample size and Sample Procedure

Sampling means having conception about a vast thing through picking a representative sample from a small no. of population. It actually helps in minimizing the time and cost to collect information from a set of data. I collected the following 2 types of informations:

A total of 200 respondents were interviewed of whom 100 participated in mass education programme (50 male and the rest of them

were female) and 100 non-participated (50) male and 50 female). The total respondents in this study were taken from two villages namely Borgachi and Damkura and they had been taken equally from the two villages.

Sources of Data

Most of the data or information of my research programme were collected from the schools of mass education programme. Besides, data are also collected from the people out side of this education programme to show comparison. Some informations have been collected from the conscious and educated people of these two villages. Besides, information has also been collected from the books, journals, reports, etc. published by the Bureau of Non-formal Education. Actually I used two types of sources for collecting data-Primary Sources

In this stage, I have supplied questionnaires to collect information from the field that were submitted to-

- Participants in mass education programme.
- People outside this education programme.

Secondary Sources

I have collected the secondary information from three sources-

- *Non-formal Education Bureau* office of Rajshahi district and the office and library of Dhaka Ashania Mission.
- Upazila statistics office and
- From the books, training manuals, yearly reports and research books composed of the topic of mass education.

Instrument of Data Collection

I have used questionnaires as the device to collect necessary information that combines 55 questions. And this questionnaire is directly presented in front of the people to ensure exact information. I like to say that it is an organized questionnaire because I made necessary planning to make this questionnaire to ensure most important and constructive data. Some information's are also collected for enrichment of my research.

Strategies of Data Collection

It is to be mentioned here that the main criteria to conduct this research is data collection. For this, I have launched effective strategies to collect data for this research. I have used interview system to collect data in my research programme because this system is very much effective for the less educated rural people of developing countries, like Bangladesh. I made a direct interview of the people. '*Borogachi*' and '*Dumkura*' were

the two selected villages of my research area. I went there sometimes alone and sometime with an assistant. That helps me to define the change and advancement of the people who took part in mass education programme. It also became easier to define the backwardness of the people outside this mass education programme. Besides, questionnaire, I also used to ensure the accuracy and adaptability of the data by a strategic device.

Experience of the Field Work

It has been mentioned earlier that approximately six months were spent for the fieldwork. During this period, I gathered various types of experiences and also faced with many problems which have been discussed in the following sections. At the initial stage, it was very difficult to find out the addresses of the respondents. Transportation and communication system of the study areas were not so good. Most of the roads of the study areas (in villages) were *kachha* which made the journey to the villages troublesome. But I was able to overcome that problem with the help of the key informer and the common people of the villages, as the participants of mass education were very interested and well acquainted with the villagers.

Processing and Analysis of Data

Data have been presented through univariate distribution in tables and figures. Some statistical techniques have been used to analysis the data. The Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) Version 20.0 (IBM SPSS Inc., Chicago, IL; USA) has been used for statistical analysis.

Chapter Two

Historical Perspective and the Necessity of Mass Education for Political Development

Historical Background of the Study

Politics in Bangladesh not only means the politics subsequent to the liberation war but also includes the politics of British and Pakistan period as well. Actually, the history of mass education is not new. The history of mass education includes the mass education of entire British, Pakistan and present periods, which had been taken from the perspective of the time. Joint initiative of government and private sector was also an important feature of that contemporary period of mass education. The history of mass education in Bangladesh needs a little elaboration. The first literacy Programme was launched by individual initiative in the 1950s. H.G. Bever was the first initiator of this Programme. He established a literary center in Dhaka in 1956. Another mentionable year in the history of mass education of Bangladesh is 1980. A Programme was launched during President Ziaur Rahman's period to educate the illiterates through SSC/HSC examination. A Programme was declared on 21 February, 1980 to commence literacy Programme. A decision was taken that 1,00,000 illiterate people of the age ranging from 11-45 will be converted into literate. TK. 4 cores were estimated for this Programme. Ministry of Education formed a committee named Mass Education Evaluating Committee in 1982. The government decided to postpone the mass education Programme before this committee finished its work to a great extent. In the subsequent period government had taken the following projects to continue the proposed education Programme:

- 1984: Upazila and School Committee for Literacy.
- 1988: Mass Education Implementation Project (Govt. and NGOs)
- 1991: Integrated Non-Formal Education Programme
- 1996: Shondipon
- 2001: Mass Education Programme under Non-Formal Education Project. Recently under the Ministry of Primary and Mass Education, by name of Non Formal Education Bureau has started the mass education with new speed.

British Period (1757-1947)

British government had a long time (1757-1947) involvement in the governance of South Asia region. During this period they established “Night School” to provide adult education (mass education). James Jennings has mentioned this in his case study, “Bangladesh Adult Literacy: Master or Servant” in Bengali region. Mass education was introduced probably in 1918 through “night school”. According to the report of 1926, there were about 20,319 students in 926 night schools along with 140 adult education centers which were under the supervision of different co-operative societies. It is also mentioned that around 1939 the literacy movement in Bengali region adopted the slogan “each one teach one” and the approach was made popular by Frank Laubach. Adult education was placed under the provincial governments and newly formed Department of Rural Reconstruction (FREPD, 1979:16). Along with literacy, there was an attempt to include other relevant subjects such as agriculture, animal husbandry and sanitation on the curriculum. However, with the advent of world war-II, the interest of colonial government was diverted from the Programme and the Department of Rural Reconstruction was abolished and all the adult education centers were eventually closed. Later, it was commenced in Sylhet as mass education in 1940. Sylhet was then a part of Assam (Hossain, 1983:167). This Programme has survived over the many political changes since that time and even continued in the periods when there were no other government literacy Programmes. The office which was entrusted with organizing mass education Programme is mentioned in various reports through the years but often with comments, “due to limited resources and fund allocation, no headway could be made” (Haque, 1971:5).

Pakistan Period (1947-1971)

During the Pakistan period the initial ventures were undertaken by individuals. The pioneering work of a member of the Indian Civil Service, English by birth HGS Bivar is particularly worth mentioning. Mr. Bivar and those who worked with him prepared times and charts following the “Laubach” and in 1956 established a literacy center in Dhaka. Bivar wrote a book on adult literacy with special reference to Bengali education for all within six month, published in Calcutta in 1949. He helped to form the East Pakistan Adult Education Co-operative Society. Laubach visited (East Pakistan) in 1954 and the materials were based on Laubach’s key word and picture method (Bivar, 1955:15). Calling for a campaign to eradicate illiteracy from East Pakistan within

ten years, the rationale for literacy work was typical of the “Literacy Doctrine” of the 1950s that may be seen from the reports of one of the centers.

This centre concentrates on literacy as the key to all the others. In this country 83% of the population cannot read and write. Of course, without knowledge of reading and writing illiterate person can learn something, but it is generally admitted that the royal road to all education is through the written word. It is the most efficient and most economical method. (Bivar, 1958:4-5). By 1960 over 10,000 illiterates had been taught with the help of literacy teachers trained through the center. Unfortunately, it appears that the movement Bivar started lost its momentum after his death in 1962 (Khan, 1979:18). The first government level attempt to alleviate illiteracy was taken in contemporary East Pakistan under V-AID Programme (Village Agriculture Industrial Development) in 1954-1955. This Programme was terminated before it contributed anything to social development. Comilla Academy for Rural Development which was introduced as BARD (Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development) inherited the responsibility of literacy Programme of “V-AID” in the 1960s. The short name of Comilla Academy for Rural Development was “Comilla Academy.” Akhter Hamid Khan a civil servant who was the founder of Comilla Academy had taken steps to start the Programme in selected regions through pilot projects. First Comilla Academy attempted to reform the centers of V-Aid Programme for adult education. But this Programme failed to achieve its target. Comilla Academy endeavored to take new Programme. Then it arranged a seminar on adult education in may 1962. Considering the perspective of the discussion in the seminar, it was decided in December 1962 that the mosques would be used as the centers of providing education and the children would take education in the morning and adults at night. Imams of the mosque would be employed in the teaching Programme under the supervision of co-operative society. This Programme was introduced in January 1963 through the training to the Imams (Latif, 1988:90).

Adult education in Bangladesh was limited into three parts. The duration of first and second parts was for six months and third part lasted for one year. Although there was the provision of exams at the termination of each period, there was no specific time. The Imams informed to the organizer about the number of students and then he transfers the duty of taking examination to management of a co-operative society or another man of a new mosque. After getting the examination script the organizing body checked and distributed certificates among the students who passed. The adult education Programme was implemented

by Comilla Academy (1962-1963) and survived facing with different difficulties. A survey shows that about 1917 students were taken education through 80 centers under this Programme in 1972-1973 (Soliman, 1975:25-30). Adult education has become a mentionable success of Comilla Academy than its other activities. In Comilla Academy in 1963, the government has established an adult education section in mass education department and took initiative to adult education in a limited range. This Programme was introduced in Sadar Thana of Comilla, Gouripur Thana of Mymensing, Natore of Rajshahi region and Gaibandha of Rangpur. In 1967 it expanded in another four Thana i.e. Sadar Thana of Faridpur, Magura of Jessore, Sadar Thana of Khulna and Cox's Bazar of Chittagong.

The last evaluation about this Programme was made in 1967 where it was mentioned that about 14,476 adult education centers were in operation from 1963 to 1979 including 6,904 centers for the women within this time and a total of 3,83,666 participant students were admitted in these centers. Wherein 2,12,895 were male and 1,70,771 are female. A total of 1,22,972 student were certificate holders at the termination of their education which was approximately 1/3 of the total students. A female teacher for each female center and a male teacher for each male center were employed to teach students. Although about 72% expenses were made for the teachers, the teacher's got little salary. Each teacher received Tk 30 where in Tk 9-32 was spent for each of the students. Consequently neither the teachers nor the students take this Programme comprehensively. According to the census 1961 and 1978 the rate of literacy in the said areas of this Programme was shown as 18% and 26% respectively (IER, 1979:43-45).

James Jenning described in his case study-in 1963 the govt. established an "Adult Education Division" under the education directorate. This office was located at the campus of BARD in Comilla, and performed its work in co-operation with the academy. A pilot project for adult education was started under the office in 1964, working in four thanas (Soliman, 1975:25-30). The programme was extended to include eight thanas in 1967, and it was reported in mid 1969 that almost 40,000 literacy certificates had been awarded through the programme (Haque, 1971:8).

Bangladesh Period (1971 to Present day)

A plan was made for implementing the slogan "nobody will be illiterate" in November 1971, just after the liberation war of Bangladesh and a pilot

project was taken for this. Consequently “East Pakistan Adult Education Council” of Chittangong was reformed and the new title was given as “Bangladesh Adult Education Samsad”. When our liberation war had been continuing there was 27 adult education centers in the Roumary thana of Rangpur. As many as 30 participants took education from each center under 7 unions of Chilmaly and Roumary Thanas. According to Abul Kashem, training programme was also taken to train the volunteers who helped directing the centers and teaching there as well. The West Bengal Illiteracy Alleviation Society had sent 5 trainers to help this programme. Besides, ten employees helped in created of fund by selling their blood to aid the literacy programme of the newly liberated Bangladesh. (Kashem, 1972:11-12). Some NGOs also took programmes for literacy-practical literacy and adult education. In this field initiative were taken by BRAC: (Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee). Bangladesh National Co-Operative Union, Integrated Rural Development Programme: IRDP, National Youth Council Literacy Society of Bangladesh. BRAC introduced its literacy programme in Salla Thana of Sylhet in 1973. Under this programme a total of 255 literacy centers were established in its 220 village where 225 trained teachers were employed. In the first stage about 500 participants became involved with this education programme. The function of teaching was commenced in traditional classroom system. A few years later, the related personal realized that, this system was not suitable for the adults. After this, BRAC started to search for a new way for adult’s education. In 1974 an educational ingredient development center was established at the Dhaka office of BRAC. Some steps were also taken to include the livelihood of the participants for introducing a suitable education system for the adults. The education systems and subject matters of the text were also determined after justifying the necessities and eagerness of the participants. At that time BRAC innovated fundamental and practical adult education system characterized by 70 lessons. This course was completed in six term period with 65 compulsory lessons. Thus BRAC became a pioneer in the adult education sector and the practical adult education system was substantialized for some years (Latif, 1988:94). National youth council was a voluntary organization. It was established in October, 1966. The number of branches was raised to 750 till March, 1982. One of its prime activities was mass education programme. This mass education programme is divided into two stages. (1st stage 1972-1975).

A total of 3, 520 participants were admitted in 15 centers under the district of Dhaka, Jessore, Khulna, Comilla and Kushtia etc. The participants were actually children and juveniles. A total of 78 youths were employed as teacher. In this stage, a total of 725 participants

successfully finished their courses. In 1972 Bangladesh National Co-Operation Union took planning for adult education and 15 volunteers were provided with adult education programme training under the initiative of Thakurgaon Thana Center Co-operative Society and the government continued the pilot project under the Directorate of Public Instruction. It was reported that the total number literate made by the programmes from 1964 to 1977 were all most 1,40,000 (FREPD, 1979:18). A Dhaka University study of the project found that 81% of the participants in their sample were in between 9 to 18 age group with almost half under the age of 14 (UNESCO, 1984:45)

Shortly after liberation two proposals were made for the development and one by the Education Commission (Khoi and Rivess, 1974:17). Literacy is an essential input for the emancipation of the society and development of the nation.

On 21st February 1980, the then president Ziaur Rahaman formally lunched a nation wide programme of literacy and adult education. The first stage of the campaign entitled Mass Education Programme Phase I, lasted until the end of 1980 and was intended to be a crash programme with the target of achieving literacy among the 10 (Ten) million people within the year. The immediate objectives of the programme were to enable the illiterates to: (a) write simple sentences in Bengali (b) read and understand simple Bengali, and (c) do fundamental calculation such as addition, subtraction, multiplication and division. (Selim, 1980:5-6). Mass Education Programme Phase II, lasted from 1980 to 1985. The scheme had the aim of eradicating illiteracy in millions out of school youth and adults within the five years of the programme (Islam, 1982:130). An elaborate plan was drawn up involving government education officials at all levels and representatives of the elected members of the union and village councils. The programme was planned on a self-help basis and personnel for the programme were drawn mainly from the unused manpower in the villages and the representatives of development originations operating at the village and union levels (UNESCO, 1984:147). School teachers, students and many others were recruited as volunteer teachers for the programme. To broaden the manpower base, all students of classes IX and X were required to take part in the programme “as a compulsory curricular activity” (UNESCO, 1984:47). The financial allocation made by the second five year plan for the mass literacy programme was 60 million taka, representing 9.44% of the total allocation for education, but 500 million taka for this programme came as contribution from the private sector in the form of voluntary work by the community (UNESCO, 1984:42).

The programme received national coverage, and in the early days great deal of enthusiasm for the campaign was created. The accomplishments of the first phase fell far short of the target, but the programme continued with the full support of president Zia. It was claimed officially that 3.5 million were made literate (Hossain, 1983:171). However, after the assassination of President Zia in 1981, the campaign soon lost its momentum. The campaign was eventually terminated, and it was later admitted that many of its claims of success were exaggerated. Towards the middle of 1982 the government decided to accord low priority to the adult literacy programme launched in 1980 and attached greater emphasis to UPE. This shift in policy was caused primarily by the disappointing achievement attained by the mass literacy programme during the two years of its implementation. The mass literacy programme evaluation committee formed by the government in early 1982 found that as against the declared target of covering 10 million illiterates, only about 0.7 million illiterates were made functionally literate, at a cost of about Tk. 7.8 million. The government did not consider it worth while to go ahead with the programme (UNESCO, 1984:43). Even the figure of 0.7 million is probably an exaggeration, as the committee also found that only 40% of the neo literates were tested who “Could do the elementary reading, writing and calculation with comparative ease” (UNESCO, 1984:43). For a time, it seemed that the task of dealing with adult literacy had been left almost entirely to the externally financed NGOs (Rasmussen, 1985:38). However, on 8 September 1987, the government announced a three-year project which was extended up to June 1990. The work of the Mass Education Programme (MEP) actually started in four Upazilas in February 1988 (MEP, 1988:8). The plan was to set up 60 centers in each of 64 selected Upazilas in the first year and to cover all 160 Upazilas by the end of the period. The goal of the MEP was to increase the literacy rate of the 11 to 45 year –old age group to 60% by the year 2000. By June 1990, however, the programme had been extended to only 27 Upazilas. Besides the centers run by the local government committees, a total of 9600 NGOs are presently associated with the MEP. The plan accords high priority to the work of NGOs in literacy and recognizes the value of the many NGOs working in the field (MEP, 1980:1).

The Necessities of Mass Education for the Political Development

It is important to discuss the necessities of mass education in the overall welfare and prosperity of a country before discussing the necessity of mass education in political development.

Development of Political Knowledge

People are the weapon of development, and the main goal behind development is to make the people solvent and to create easiness in their life. Most of the countries of developing world have attained liberty from the colonial status in some decades ago. In our country non-formal education equivalent to the occidental countries has become unable to provide mentionable changes in living standards and life environs. A continuous effort is now running in Bangladesh for the expansion, transformation and structural change in formal education. Due to this effort an awakening is occurred in the number of students and educational institutions as well. But available opportunities are not created coping with increasing number of people. Consequently, a part of student is remaining outside the formal education. The number of illiterate people is also increasing for lack of other way of education. As a result, the development activities face obstacle and become sluggish. People have huge lack of responsibility and political knowledge and they also have strong belief in traditional conception, superstition, views and senses etc. This initiative is defined as a noble initiative in reality which is dominating mass education programme.

Development of Own Culture

In the perspective of these circumstances, there are no alternatives to solve the problem of the developing countries other than seeking of new ways and strategies. That must be done by holding the local tradition, social structure and culture of our country. The way that should be followed must be within the range of economy, life and profession. So there is a vital role of mass education in the overall political development of mass people.

Development of Socio-Cultural Environment

It is possible to introduce relevant activities through non-formal education for the purpose of changing the process of life, profession, work, social and cultural environments. That will help finding out meaning of fickleness, pleasure and value of life of people of every age. According to Abu Hamid Latif, formal education is not only a long time and costly process but also unable to provide some vital experience. In the perspective of present socio-economic situation, non-formal education introduces a new door of possibility for involving the mass people in educational activities in developing countries. If these possibilities get effectiveness through a planned way, it will be further beneficial for the welfare of our society.

Quick Solution of the Problem

National development planning was taken on the basis of narrow conception in most developing countries like Bangladesh. Although most of these countries are agro-based and their main resource is human resource, the capital based industrialization gets privilege for economic growth. The role of education is also determined on the basis of development strategies in such developing countries. To gain this goal, necessary attempts are made to develop the structural standard and expansion of the secondary and post secondary level of education. That leads in creating a professional class. There was no direct communication between this education and life style of the people, whatever may be the contribution of this education system. The working people could not avail of this education which introduces a gradual discrimination. It also appeared that this education also failed to attain its goal. There are many educated and skilled unemployed persons who are now burden of the society. The main reasons behind it are the narrow policy and strategy both in education and development. That has failed to use the mass people as human resources. Example may include providing privilege to the secondary and higher secondary levels rather than the primary education. As a result, it becomes impossible to develop the primary education and the poor people lose their right to get primary education. This leads in increasing the economic, social & cultural difference between the rich and the poor and this difference is not decreasing in these circumstances. Eventually, non-formal or mass education is not able to provide a quick solution.

Development of Political Value

Human resource is a big factor in any kind of planning and development process. In production process, spontaneous participation of people is very essential along with the proper utilization of education, work efficiency and creativity of human beings. For this, manifestation of latent power of the mass people is very much necessary. So we have to form suitable mentality, views and ethics as well. A lot of inspirations are created now to make non-formal education more substantial. The main reason behind it is that non-formal education is very much able to ensure education and necessary skill in the boys and the girls out of school of both villages and towns.

Alleviation of Mass Illiteracy

Analysis can be made on the real circumstances of developing countries like Bangladesh. It appears that there is the availability of vicious cycle of mass poverty, mass illiteracy and mass unemployment as well. Rapid

increase of production should be the main goal through proper planning and participation of mass people. It is possible to achieve this goal through proper policy and process, though it is very difficult to implement. To combat against mass poverty and mass illiteracy, non-formal education might be taken as a supplementary policy. Actually, the alleviation of poverty and illiteracy is highly dependent on political development. So, there is massive importance of mass education in political development.

Development of Own Confidence

We know that change is the main goal of development process. Mass education and literacy among the people initiate change their habit, custom, social condition and management process. Then they take initiatives for their self-development.

Introduce Appropriate Work Policy

Mass education and literacy teach people how to think of having freedom from passion and superstition. Consequently, they become able to introduce sensible planning and appropriate work policy on analyzing the socio-economic facts. As a result, political development is occurred. So, it is needed to expand and materialize mass education for political development.

Development of Political Awareness

Illiterate person possesses a limited capacity to gain knowledge about politics. If an illiterate person becomes literate through mass education, he will be able to read newspapers, magazines, books etc and this he can earn knowledge through it. It will also make him prudent and conscious about politics. That leads him to keep a positive role in the development of his country.

Increase Political Unity

Mass education makes the people socially and politically conscious and united. They become highly conscious about their duty and influence on their society as they get the opportunity to exchange views with the consultants and experienced people therein. They realize that personal interests are confined to social interest. This is why, they initiate spontaneous effort for the welfare and development of their society. This inspiration actually comes from education which leads to introduce political unity among them. They become organized and take initiative to establish school, social organization and co-operative society to attain desired goals.

Increase the Responsibility

The people perceive the need to accomplish their civic responsibility through mass education and literacy programme. They also become motivated to enforce their social and statutory rights. The literate people are not the burden of the society, rather they can provide sensible decision for the state and the society by using their capacity and prudence.

Improvement of Skill

Literacy creates political skill among the people through increasing political desire. A literate employee is more skilled than an illiterate employee. A literate person is able to enhance his skill through reading books, newspaper and higher training. A skilled employee gets pleasure to earn with his own effort. And this pleasure leads him to develop his creativity.

Necessity of Mass Education in the Political Development of Bangladesh

There is the existence of uncertainty and unstable circumstances in the politics of developing countries like Bangladesh. Actually, there is a complex relation between modernization and instability in politics in developing countries. Economic development, consciousness building and social dynamism may be the way to get rid of such political problem and instability. Massive publicity and expansion of education must be made to ensure these overall developments. Mass education is highly essential to ensure overall development. This programme ensures education for every level of people of both villages and towns who are deprived of education. So, the necessity of mass education is very important along with formal education for the political development of developing countries like Bangladesh. It may be discussed in the following dimensions:

Poverty Alleviation

Poverty may be mentioned as an ever active cause of political instability. Majority of the people of Bangladesh are poor and illiterate. Generally, these people are disinterested and dissatisfied with the government ruling them. It cannot be expected that these people will be respectful to the existing rules, regulations and controls like responsible citizens. Sometimes their silence turned into agitation. Education is the only way to get rid of it. One can make himself self-dependent on taking this education because mass education not only makes a people literate but also makes them capable of earning through various trainings.

Awareness of the People

The main profession of the people of Bangladesh is agriculture and they are also backward in education. Most of our people are disinterested and dissatisfied with the government. They think that the government is the representative of the capitalists, the borrowers and well to do people. The main reason behind it is their ignorance and unconsciousness. Besides, once our country was ruled by the colonial rulers. These rulers failed to change the fate of the farmers. This is why the farmers are dissatisfied with the rulers traditionally. Consequently, this incredibility and silence of the people turned into agitations sometimes. Mass education can play vital role to diminish such kind of mentality of the people.

Political Stability

Malicious mentality is prevalent among the people as well as the politicians about the government in most newly independent countries of South Asian region. This kind of mentality was actually created at the time of the movement for independence. This situation still exists today. So, to fight against the government becomes the only ideal of political behavior here. As a result, malicious political activities become daily incident. For this reason, most of the time the government fails to perform the administrative activities. Consequently, political instability turned into common phenomenon here. So, to alleviate such kind of malicious and traditional mentality, mass education might be a vital tool beside formal education.

Creation of Democratic Motive

There are limited conceptions about democracy among the people of Bangladesh. There is also a far difference between the education of the colonizers and elite class and the general and illiterate people. So, the people feel disinterested to the new political trend, policies and other democratic functions implemented by the government. It is necessary to expand education to spread democratic motives and thoughts among the public. So, to achieve this goal, mass education can play a vital role in the root level in addition to formal education.

Development of Literacy

There is a low percentage of modern educated and conscious people in our country. The number of conscious, solvent and middle class people is also lower than the working class people. The middle class people are separated from the general people as they hold the western views. So, it is very difficult to establish a strong democratic sentiment on the basis of colonial society. For this purpose, we need to arrange educational and

training activity to make the illiterate people literate where mass education might be a suitable way under non-formal education system.

Educated Leadership at Root Level

To bring political stability, we need strong leadership in both the national and root levels. Although we have some efficient and educated leaders in national level, but there are a huge shortage of efficient leaders at the root level. We have to select leaders in our root level because there is huge shortage of educated people at this level. Mass education can play a vital role to diminish this problem.

Constructive Criticisms

There is a huge lacking of suitable political opposition in the politics of Bangladesh. Here the members of political parties are engaged in enforcing their individual party interest. Some politicians believe that the opposition parties fail to raise constructive criticisms. The politicians, become involved with non-democratic activities. To develop this situation the people have to be educated and mass education can play a vital role in this case.

Political Development of Minority People

There are different ethnic communities and minority people such as the Chakma, Marma, Marmn, Shantal in Bangladesh. This fact sometimes appears as an impediment to the unity and political stability. Mass education can play a role vital in this case and also helps political development.

Development of Political Forbearance

Sometimes people are indifferent about politics. So we shall have to make them conscious about politics. To achieve this goal, mass education programme can play a vital role along with formal education. The main problem behind political development is the limited scope of education in the developing countries like Bangladesh. To make our mass people literate, conscious and diligent, some government and NGOs are arranging some programmes as adult education, mass education and literacy programme for some years. This introduces some success in the political development of our country.

Role of Mass Educational Programme in Political Development

The flow of mass education continues throughout the whole life. It is actually the modern concept of this education system. Modern knowledge, skill, views and new transformation systems have also now become the part of mass education. It is capable of keeping continuous contribution to the overall activities of society and state. In Bangladesh,

both mass education and adult education are basic education programmes for the illiterate people. That help increase the civic sense of the deprived people. The roles of mass education in political development are as follows –

Creates Willingness to Transformation

We know change transformation is the main goal of development and political development as well. Mass education and literacy inspire the people to change their habits, customs, social conditions and management system and also in having the conception of transformation.

Manifests the Power of Thought and Justification

Mass education and literacy make the people free from superstition. So people become capable of playing sensible role in individual and social development.

Earns Knowledge with Self Inspiration

When an illiterate person becomes literate, he can read books, newspapers, magazines etc and can earn knowledge. He can also contribute to the development of his own and his country as well. He can use his own prudence and experience in this case.

Manifestation of Social Consciousness and Unity

Education enhances a person's social consciousness. He becomes capable of understanding that combined effort is more productive than single effort in case of individual and social development. From this point of view they become united and establish schools and social organizations and other co-operative society for attaining their desire.

Teaches the People to Live in the State as Political Being

It is unthinkable to live outside the state. Everything is involved with state structure that we do from our birth to death. No one can expect a smooth and civilized life without state. Mass education is such a system which helps people live as a political being which actually leads to political development.

Manifests a Person's Civic Rights and Duties

The people become capable of realizing the necessity of performing their civic duties through mass education and literacy programme. As a result, they become conscious to enforce their right.

Increase Work Efficiency

A literate employee is more efficient than an illiterate one. The thinking, analyzing, evaluating and decision making capability of a literate person is better than that of the illiterate person.

Make the People Conscious about Health and Family Planning

A literate person is more conscious than an illiterate person about his health. Citizens are needed to maintain the responsibilities of family, society and the state. Mass education creates consciousness about it and makes the people literate.

Inspire People to Develop their Life Standard

The people have to follow different kinds of rules and regulations of political environment as they are social beings. Mass education makes people conscious about the rules, regulations, opportunities etc. of his state where he lives in. That ultimately leads to develop his living standard.

Chapter Three

Profile of the Respondents

This chapter provides a brief profile of the respondents. For an in-depth analysis of political development through mass education, it is essential to study the demographic, socio-economic and cultural aspects of the respondents. So, it would be better to study their various aspects i.e., profile of the respondents at the outset of the analysis.

In this chapter various aspects of the respondents have been discussed. For example, age range of the respondents, their occupational diversity, knowledge and awareness about local level politics and its various aspects etc. To grasp the research findings clearly well this chapter would be very much effective. Thus socio-economic and cultural analysis would lead to the interpretation of results and to examine any cause-effect relationship among the study variables i.e., mass education and political development of the respondents.

After analyzing the socio-economic and cultural data, collected from the respondents, it was found that, most of the respondent's belongs to the age range of 24 to 34 years. Respondents are engaged with various types of occupation. Here is a discussion regarding respondent's profile.

Age of the Respondents

Age is one of the most important factors since it can help to assess whether the respondents were physically and mentally mature or not. For a mature thinking age is very much important. That's why respondent's age distribution comes at the first consideration.

Table 3.1 Age Range of the Respondents

Age (Year)	Categories of Respondent				Total	
	Participant		Non Participant			
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
14-24	24	24.0	20	20.0	44	22.0
24-34	43	43.0	48	48.0	91	45.5
34 & above	33	33.0	32	32.0	65	32.5
Total	100	100.0	100	100.0	200	100.0
<i>Mean</i>	30.61		29.89		30.25	
<i>STD</i>	7.77		7.14		7.45	

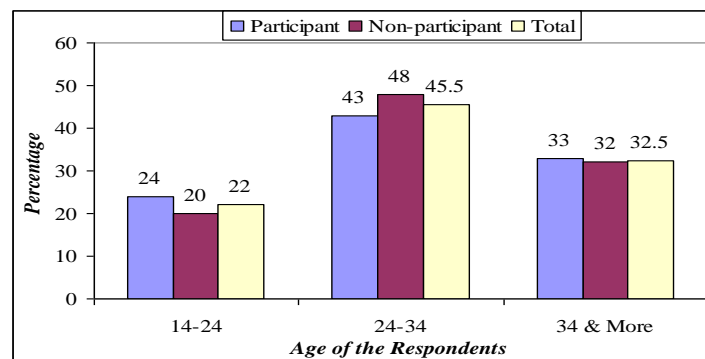
From the above mentioned table, it could be clearly observed that a significant relation exists between the respondents at different age group with their involvement with mass education programme. However, 24 % of the participant respondents with mass education belong to the age group 14-24, followed by 43 % belonging to the age group of 24 to 34 and 33 % belonging to the age group of 34 and above.

On the other hand, 20 % of the non participant of respondents belonging to the age group of 14 to 24, followed by 43 % belonging to the age group of 24-34 and 33 per cent belonging to the age group of 34 and above.

It is seen that, out of our total 200 respondents 91 respondents (45.5%) belong to the age group of 24-34 years, and it is representing the majority; and physically & mentally more mature. From rest other respondents' 65 respondents (32.5%) belong to the age group of 34 and above representing that section which is more matured physically & mentally. And the rest 44 respondents (22%) belong to the age group 14-24 years.

It could be said from afore mentioned discussion that the selected 200 respondents were physically matures enough. Since physical maturity, in one sense, express the mental maturity so that we can assume respondent's statements, views, opinion, analysis etc represents the political development of the people who have gone through the mass education programme, accurately.

Chart 3.1 Age Distribution of the Respondents by Categories



Occupational Status

The study was conducted over two villages of Bangladesh. Generally working opportunity in the rural areas is limited. That's why people of the country side are engaged with some limited occupations. The following image we got from the study area:

Table 3.2 Occupation of the Respondents

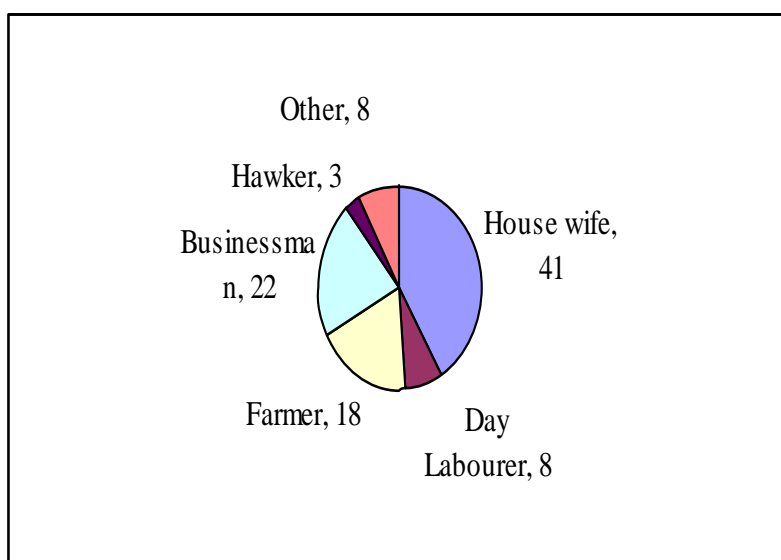
Types of Occupation	Categories of Respondent				Total	
	Participant		Non Participant			
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Housewife	42	42.0	40	40.0	82	41.0
Day Laborers	09	9.0	07	7.0	16	8.0
Peasant/Farmers	13	13.0	23	23.0	36	18.0
Businessmen	27	27	17	17.0	44	22.0
Hawkers	04	4.0	02	2.0	06	3.0
Others	05	5.0	11	11.0	16	8.0
Total	100	100.0	100	100.0	200	100.0

We could get from the above table that 42 % respondents are housewife, 27 % are businessmen, 13 % are peasants or farmers, 9 % are day labourers, 4 % are hawkers, and 5 % involves in other occupations who were engaged with mass education.

On the other hand, the respondents who were not engaged with mass education program are housewife (40%), peasants or farmers (23%), businessmen (17%), day labourers (7%), hawkers (2%) & the rest of 11% involves in other occupations.

From the above table we observed that 41 % respondents are housewife, 22 % are businessmen, 18 % are peasants or farmers, 8 % are day labourers, 3 % are hawkers, and 8 % involves in other occupation

Chart 3.2 Occupational Distribution of the Respondents



Knowledge about the Elected Female Member of Union Parishad

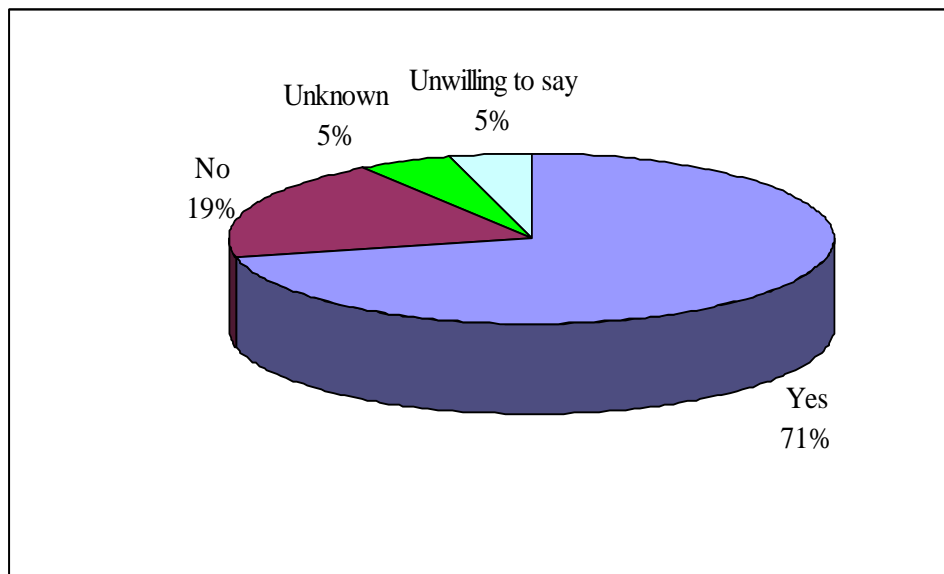
During the period of data collection, there was a question to the respondents that was there any post for female in the Union Parishad? The respondents had expressed their opinion. Their opinions were as follows:

Table 3.3 Knowledge about the Female Member of Union Parishad of the Respondents by Categories

Nature of Knowledge	Categories of Respondent				Total	
	Participant		Non Participant			
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Yes	80	80.0	63	63.0	143	71.5
No	20	20.0	18	18.0	38	19.0
Unknown	--	--	10	10.0	10	5.0
Unwilling to Say	--	--	09	9.0	09	4.5
Total	100	100.0	100	100.0	200	100.0
Chi-Square	Value=21.13		DF=3		Significance=.000	

From the above mentioned table we could see that, in response to our question 80% respondent's answer was 'yes' and 20% respondent's answer was 'no'- those who were engaged with mass education. On the contrary, 63% respondents said 'yes' and 18 % said 'no'. 10% respondent's answer was 'don't know about the issue' and 9% respondents were unwilling to say or answer.

Chart 3.3 Knowledge of the Female Respondents by Percentage



We have found a good relation between mass education and political development of the respondents. People who are educated (80%) have a good knowledge about the female member of Union Parishad (UP). On the other hand, people who were not engaged in mass education (63%) have medium level knowledge about the female member of UP. The difference between two groups in this regard is statistically significant with .000 levels.

Knowledge about the Principle/Policies of the Political Parties

Every political party has a manifesto or constitution so that the party's activities could be executed without any problems. Every party has its own philosophy to govern the party as well as to govern the state- if it could be possible for them to gain the state power by the supports of mass people or via election system or something else. The respondents were asked about their observation regarding the political party/parties who are now working in the government of Bangladesh, especially their principal policies to govern the state.

There is a written constitution to govern the state. Government's main duty is to govern the state according to the rules and regulation of the constitution. But what is the reality? Respondents gave the following opinion:

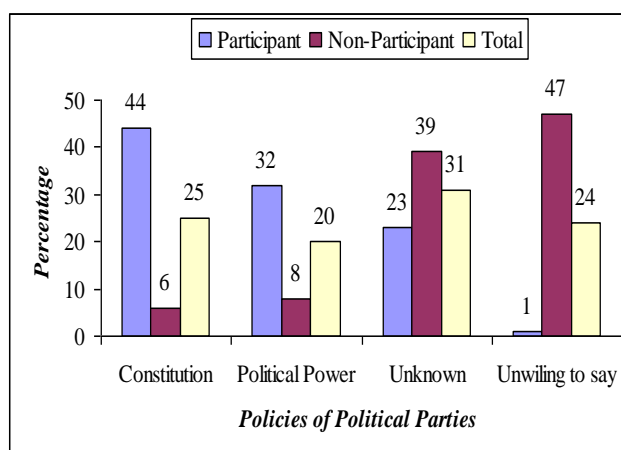
Table 3.4 Opinion of the Respondents about Principal Policies of the Political Parties for Ruling State by Categories

Principal policies of the Political Parties	Categories of Respondent				Total	
	Participant		Non Participant			
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Constitution	44	44.0	6	6.0	50	25.0
Political Power	32	32.0	8	8.0	40	20.0
Unknown	23	23.0	39	39.0	62	31.0
Unwilling to say	1	1.0	47	47.0	48	24.0
Total	100	100.0	100	100.0	200	100.0
<i>Chi-Square</i>	<i>Value=91.49</i>		<i>DF=3</i>		<i>Significance=.000</i>	

According to the above mentioned table, around 44% respondents- those who were engaged with mass education programme, think that governing policy is constitution based, 32% think that governing policy is political power based, 23% does not know the issue and 1% respondents are unwilling to say about this issue.

On the other hand, only 6% respondents- those who did not come in touch with mass education programme, think that governing policy is constitution based, 8% think that governing policy is political power based, 39% did not know the issue and 47% respondents are unwilling to say about this issue.

Chart 3.4 Policies of the Political Parties for Ruling State by Categories



Knowledge about the Mohajot (Great Alliance)

Every political party wants to achieve the power and authority of a state. They want to govern the state by their own policies. Since, Bangladesh is passing a hard time on the basis of political perspective many political parties assumed that it would not be possible for them to be elected. So it would be quite tough for them to hold the state power. Then question comes, what is the rationale to exist as political party if it would not be possible to hold the power. So, many of them made an alliance among themselves to get the political supports of general public. This alliance is

termed as great alliance (or Mohajot). The leading party of mahajot is Awami League (AL). There are 14 political parties in great alliance or in Mohajot.

To testify the knowledge about great alliance the respondents were asked about the number of political parties in Mohajot. The following picture was seen:

Table 3.5 Knowledge about the Number of Political Parties in Mohajot (Great alliance) by Categories

How many Political Parties are in the Mohajot?	Categories of Respondent				Total	
	Participant		Non Participant			
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Sixteen	16	16.0	17	17.3	33	16.7
Fourteen	46	46.0	11	11.2	57	28.8
Eleven	30	30.0	37	37.8	67	33.8
Four	8	8.0	35	33.7	43	20.7
Total	100	100.0	100	100.0	200	100.0
<i>Chi-Square</i>	<i>Value=37.480</i>		<i>DF=3</i>		<i>Significance=.000</i>	

According to the above table it is observed that the respondents who participated in mass education programme are more aware of the matter. Around 16% of respondent think that there are sixteen political parties in Mohajot, followed by 46% think fourteen political parties, 30% think eleven parties and 8% think that there are four political parties in Mohajot.

On the other hand, 17.3% of respondents think that there are sixteen political parties in Mohajot, followed by 11.2% think fourteen political parties, 37.8% think eleven parties and 33.7% think that there are four political parties in Mohajot.

So, it is clear from above mentioned figure that the contribution of mass education is very significant for making awareness about political parties or a group of political parties like Mohajot.

Knowledge about Nationality of the Respondents

As a citizen of an independent state, it is the moral responsibility of every one to know his/her nationality. To know the nationality accurately education helps a lot. Mass education or adult education could help those people who did not come in touch of schooling system in their childhood. Not only this, it also helps create change in their habits, social condition and management process as well.

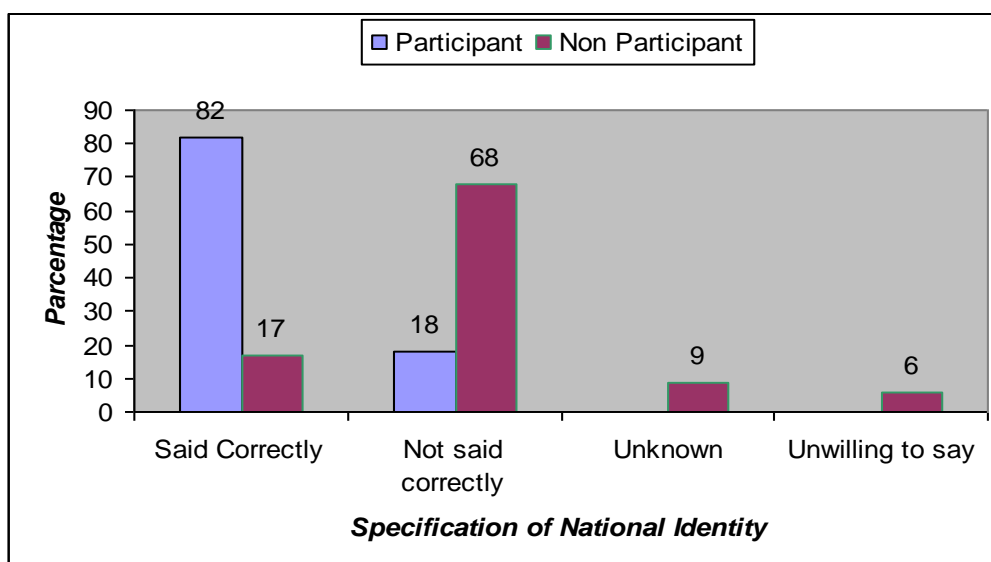
In this study, the respondents were asked about their nationality. Response was as follows:

Table 3.6 Knowledge about National Identity of the Respondents by Categories

Specification of National Identity	Categories of Respondent				Total	
	Participant		Non Participant			
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Said correctly	82	82.0	17	17.0	99	49.5
Not said correctly	18	18.0	68	68.0	86	43.0
Unknown	--	--	9	9.0	9	4.5
Unwilling to say	--	--	6	6.0	6	3.0
Total	100	100.0	100	100.0	200	100.0
<i>Chi-Square</i>	<i>Value=86.747</i>		<i>DF=3</i>		<i>Significance=.000</i>	

According to the above mentioned table it is seen that in the case of participant respondents, majority of the respondents (82%) have given the correct answer. Whereas, most of the non-participant respondents (68%) did not give the right answer. A higher level significant correlation between the two categories implies a positive impact of mass education on increasing peoples awareness regarding their nationality.

Chart 3.5 Knowledge about National Identity of the Respondents by Categories



Knowledge about Voting Right

Vote is a civil right or a democratic right. A person can express his opinion through exercising his/her voting power. He can choose some one by giving his vote in favour of that person so that he could be elected as their representative. That’s why this right is very much important for a citizen. The respondents were asked whether they were aware of their voting rights or not? The following answers were found:

Table 3.7 Knowledge about Voting Right by Categories

Knowledge About Voting Rights	Categories of Respondent				Total	
	Participant		Non Participant			
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Yes	79	79.0	32	32.0	111	55.5
No	21	21.0	39	39.0	60	30.0
Unknown	--	--	23	23.0	23	11.5
Unwilling to say	--	--	6	6.0	6	3.0
Total	100	100.0	100	100.0	200	100.0
<i>Chi-Square</i>	<i>Value=54.30</i>		<i>DF=3</i>		<i>Significance=.000</i>	

From the above mentioned table, it could be observed that those who were engaged with mass education programme 79% of them think that giving vote was a right, whereas only 32% of the respondents- who were not engaged with mass education programme, know that voting power was a right. It is needless to calculate, what's the difference between 79 and 32 for getting an assessment about what was the impact of mass education to increase the knowledge about citizen's rights like voting power. So, undoubtedly it could be said that, mass education leads to increasing the social and political consciousness of general people.

Knowledge about Consideration of Voting in Election

It is already known to us that voting power is one of the rights of the citizens. Beside this, these is also a social responsibility for the citizens to choose someone who is really reliable, who can lead the society well, who will share the will and woe of the general people and finally who is not harmful for society or its members. Since mass representatives are elected by the vote of general people so it is necessary to know on what consideration the general people select or choose their candidates. The respondents were asked what criteria influence them before performing their duty or exercising their voting power. We got the following opinions:

Table 3.8 Consideration of Voting in Election by Categories

Consideration of voting in election	Categories of Respondent				Total	
	Participant		Non Participant			
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Parties Programme	49	49.5	7	7.0	56	28.1
Quality of candidates	31	31.3	19	19.0	50	25.1
Candidate of Parties	18	18.2	44	44.0	62	31.2
Unknown	2	1.0	30	30.0	32	15.6
Total	100	100.0	100	100.0	200	100.0
<i>Chi-Square</i>	<i>Value=72.41</i>		<i>DF=3</i>		<i>Significance=.000</i>	

From the above table, we could observe that 49.5% of respondents- who participated in mass education programme said parties programme influenced them and 31.3% respondents said that quality of candidates

and 18.2% respondents said about candidate of this parties were the factors of consideration before exercising the voting power. Whereas 7% respondents- who were not engaged with mass education programme said about parties programme followed by 19% said about quality of candidates, 44% said about candidate of his parties which were the factor consideration before exercising their voting power. Here we could see a good impact of mass education programme on the general people. Those who came in touch with the mass education programme before performing their duty have considered parties programme and quality of candidates Should of prime consideration. On the other hand those who did not come in touch with the mass education programme have given their vote in favoure of their party's candidates. Candidate's quality or parties programme was less important to them.

Knowledge about Political Party that is in Power

In the history of Bangladesh we could see that most of the time Bangladesh was governed under some sort of non-democratic government. Bu after the decade of 1980's or from the beginning of 1990's we observed that the country came back to democratic rule. But there are always a lot of political parties in this country and parties formed the government by the mass support. The party which is in power or which party has formed the government, what are the manifesto of the parties are the basic issues to identify someone's political awareness or political development.

To assess the level of political development of the respondents there was a question whether do they know the name of the chief the party that is in power of the government? Respondent's response was as follows:

Table 3.9 Opinion of the Respondents about the Name of the Party's Chief Who is in Power of the Government by Categories

Chief of Party who is in power of the government	Categories of Respondent				Total	
	Participant		Non Participant			
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Chief of Party	95	95.0	47	47.5	142	71.4
Secretary	1	1.0	6	6.1	7	3.5
Unknown	4	4.0	23	23.2	27	13.6
Unwilling to say	--	--	24	23.2	24	11.5
Total	100	100.0	100	100.0	200	100.0
<i>Chi-Square</i>	<i>Value=56.164</i>		<i>DF=3</i>		<i>Significance=.000</i>	

From the above mentioned table it is seen that 95% of the participants who have taken the mass education know the Chief of the party, followed by 1% know the secretary and 4% were unknown about this issue. On the other hand, only 47.5% participants know the Chief of the party, 6.1% know the secretary, 23.2% was unknown about this issue and 23.2% respondents were unwilling to say about this issue, who did not take part in mass education programme.

Participation in National-Day Rally

Bangladesh as an independent country got independence in 1971. Before getting the independence it had also a glorious history of movement e.g. movement for getting the right for using mother language as a national language in February, 1952 etc. After getting independence Bangladesh government declared these special memorable days as National Day, say for example Mother Language Day (21st February), Independence Day (26th March), Victory Day (16th December) etc.

Knowledge about these day and feelings about these days as well as people's activities concerning these days are a part of political awareness. Education develops people's insight and make aware about various types of socio-economic and cultural issues. If someone was aware about these days gradually through engagement with mass education then we could say that it was nothing but an outcome of mass education.

To assess the impact of mass education in the case of developing the sense and awareness about these days it was asked the respondents whether they participate in national days rallies like victory-day and followed by Independence Day and mother language day respectively.

Table 3.10 Respondent's Participation in Various Types of National-Day Rallies Like Victory-Day, Liberation Day, Mother Language Day Rally etc. Respectively by Categories

Opinion	Categories of Respondent				Total	
	Participant		Non Participant			
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Yes	54	54.0	05	5.0	59	29.5
No	43	43.0	58	58.0	101	50.5
Unknown	03	3.0	22	22.0	25	12.5
Unwilling to Say	--	--	15	15.0	15	7.5
Total	100	100.0	100	100.0	200	100.0
<i>Chi-Square</i>	<i>Value=72.36</i>		<i>DF=3</i>		<i>Significance=.000</i>	

We observe from the above table that those who were engaged with mass education programme are attending the rallies and it's around 54%. On the other hand, those who were not in touch with by mass education programme are not familiar with those days and attendance to those national days is very low, and it is around 5% only.

So, we could say, there was a significant correlation between the categories of participant in mass education and participation in rally at the National Days. Therefore, it could be argued that mass education participation is an influential positive factor for raising political consciousness among the people.

Chapter Four

Role of Mass Educational Programme in Political Development

‘Businessmen, investors, professionals, foreign concerned authorities and even the general people are worried for this hard time. The problem is acknowledged by the government also. The statements of the country's top rulers are clear that they are a critical this time and they are trying to solve problems. The background of the problem has a long and successive history. Since independence, the country has been facing hard times politically, economically etc. After the autocratic Government of Ershad, People were fully hopeful about a good future for Bangladesh through ensuring a sound democratic environment in all sectors. Joint movement by almost all political parties against Ershad gave a positive hope for the nation. But after some years, the whole country rallied for a caretaker government. The politics got a new fuel to fire. The inflexibility of the BNP-led government made the situations tougher. A valueless election took place and declared invalid later on. Again after election a new government led by AL came to power in 1996 and they were doing generally what a political government naturally does. Again in 2001, BNP-led Joint government came to power with vast majority. That majority made the government untouchable and uncontrollable.

But the problems of our country remain intact. The country was facing its highest political, economical, trade, foreign aggression and cultural challenges. The policies made by the government became worthless. Deficiency in balance of trade, threats and interference of foreign donors and aid agencies, poverty, social security of the citizen, image of the country all were damaged. The unnecessary government Expenditures, wastage of resources, poor planning for human and natural resources management, poor and surrendering foreign policy, rival and tense relationship among political parties, corruption, and politicization in all potential sectors are some among the main weaknesses of the governments from independence till to date. In spite of that, there are some positive developments in our country like the improvement in mass education, health facilities, poverty reduction, GDP growth, foreign investment etc. Since independence, of all the problems facing the country political crisis is at the fore front. The politics outside parliament, undue politicization, political rivalry and tense relations,

poor respect to other political ideology, negative reaction to other suggestion or demands, destructive political programmes to meet the demand from the government, poor accountability and transparency regarding the sources and uses of funds, poor political morality, lack of productive and sincere commitments to the country, political blindness are some common features of our political system. They rarely want to see the face of other political leaders closely. They never think that there are other political parties with their own ideologies. They believe that they are the only party in the right way. It is rarely seen that the demand of the opposition in the parliament is accepted by the government. The government rarely pays heed to the opposition and opposition never supports the plan of the government. Keep oneself intact in power or capturing power is the common wish of the political parties. The 1/11 is the result of that political unrest in the country, though it is said that this was a pre-planned revolution. The development of our lovely Bangladesh is not possible without the settlement of the political crisis. We have to solve these problems. Through cultivating a new political culture where there will be some major common goals for the country, respect to each other, love for all, understanding in common issues, carrying and attractive political programmes to settle the demand, the promise to build the country rather than destroying it, the application of highest political morality with patriotism. The political problems are created by political parties in Bangladesh. We are responsible for it. The solution must be made by the political parties. The caretaker government was trying to remove political weaknesses, though they had limitations over this issue. To make the country free from political crisis, they were taking some initiatives like dialogue with political parties. The dialogue was expected to be arranged at the beginning of taking the power. By this time, the parties representing the majority of the population of the country, declared that they would not participate in dialogue with the government until their demands were settled. But the government was busy with schedules for meeting with social, businessmen and other political parties.

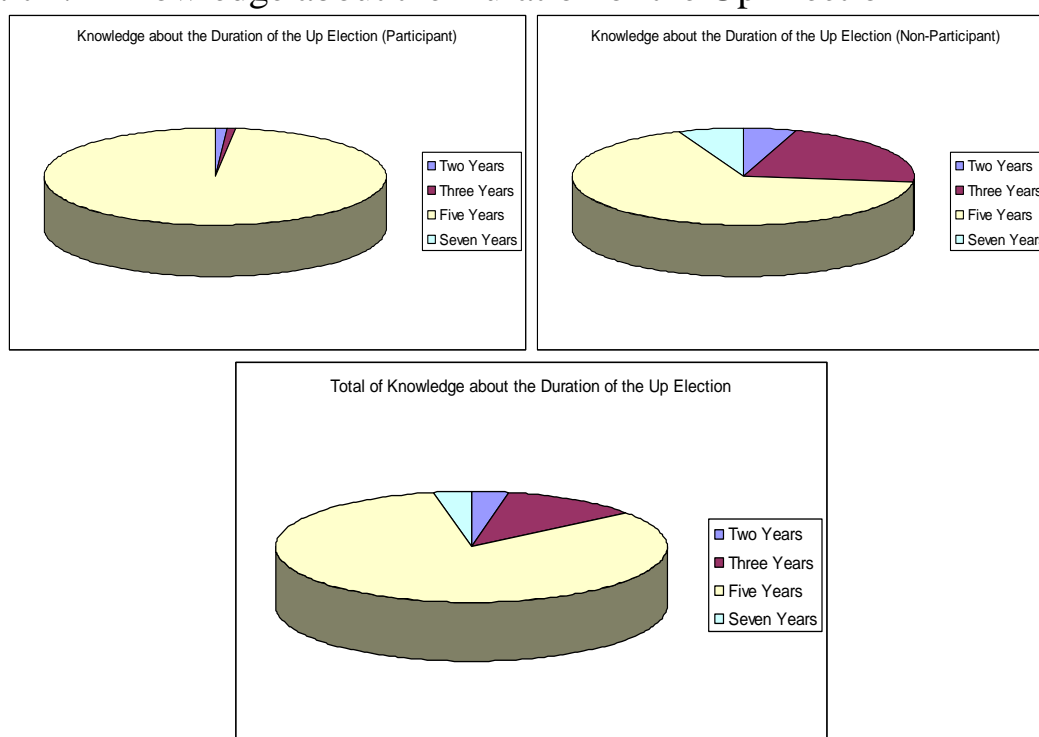
In the circumstances, the mass education may play a vital role for socio- economic and political development. This education makes conscious ignorant person by reading books, newspaper, listening radio and watching television. When all people of Bangladesh will be aware about the condition of the politics of the country they will be able to make good decisions for the development of the country. So, for the political development of our country, mass education is very important.

Knowledge about the term of the UP

Table 4.1 Opinion of the Respondents about the Duration of Union Parishad Election by Categories

Term of the UP	Categories of Respondent				Total	
	Participant		Non Participant			
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Two Years	01	1.0	05	5.0	06	3.0
Three Years	01	1.0	22	22.	23	11.5
Five Years	98	98.0	67	67.0	165	82.5
Seven Years	00	00	06	6.0	06	3.0
Total	100	100.0	100	100.0	200	100.0

Chart 4.1 Knowledge about the Duration of the Up Election



Union Parishad is the lowest administrative unit of local government. To assess the political knowledge of the respondents I asked the respondents about the term of UP. Most of the respondents (82.5%) replied that the duration of UP election is five years followed by 11.5% three years and 3% seven years respectively.

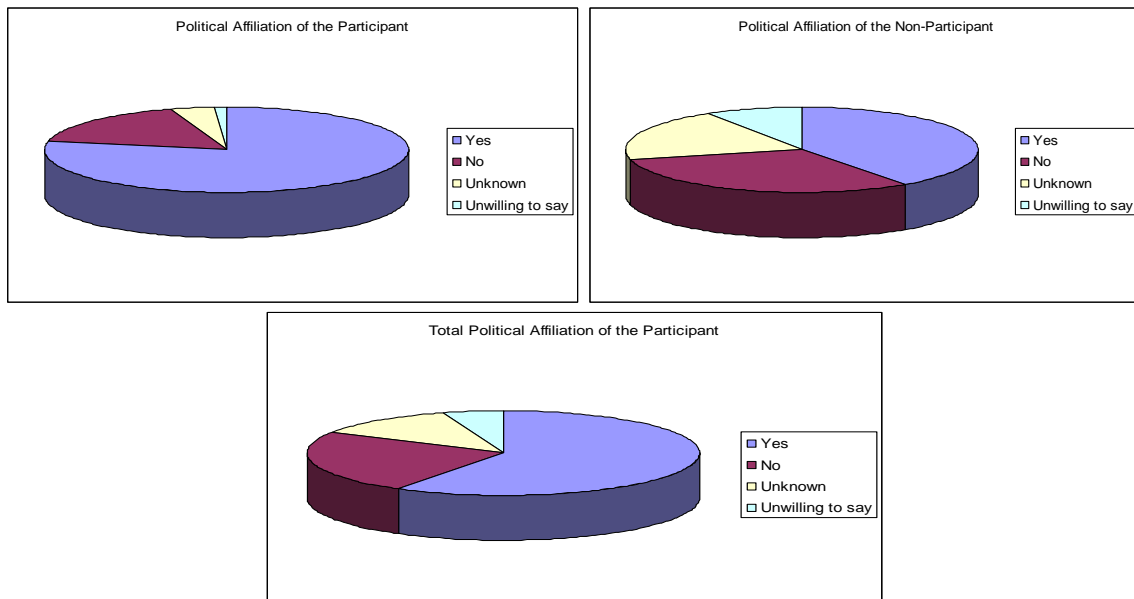
If the categories are considered, it would be seen that the participant respondents in mass education are more knowledgeable compared to the respondents who are excluded from mass education. It is 98% for participants and 67% for non-participants. If the more percentage is considered, it can be remarked that the participants in mass education is more knowledgeable about the term of UP compared to non-participants in mass-education.

Knowledge about Political Affiliation

Table 4.2 Opinion of the Respondents about the Political Affiliation of the Elected Candidates in the Last Union Parishad Election by Categories

Political Affiliation of the Candidates	Categories of Respondent				Total	
	Participant		Non Participant			
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Yes	78	78.0	40	40.0	118	59.0
No	17	17.0	31	31.0	48	24.0
Unknown	04	4.0	20	20.0	24	12.0
Unwilling to say	01	1.0	09	9.0	10	5.0
Total	100	100.0	100	100.0	200	100.0

Chart 4.2 Knowledge about Political Affiliation of the elected Candidates



Union Parishad election is a local level election. Local level election can influence national level politics. That is why local level election is important for understanding the political affiliation of candidates. If we analyse the above table we see that 59% respondents know about political affiliation of the candidates, followed by 24% No, 12% unknown and the rest 5% unwilling to say.

If we compare the data with the participants of mass education and non-participants, we see that 78 % participants and 40 % non-participants know the political affiliation of the candidates and a total of 17% participants said No, 4% unknown and only 1 percent unwilling to say. On the other hand, 31% non-participants said No, 20% unknown and 9% unwilling to say. Here it is also seen that participants of mass education are very conscious about the political condition than non-participants.

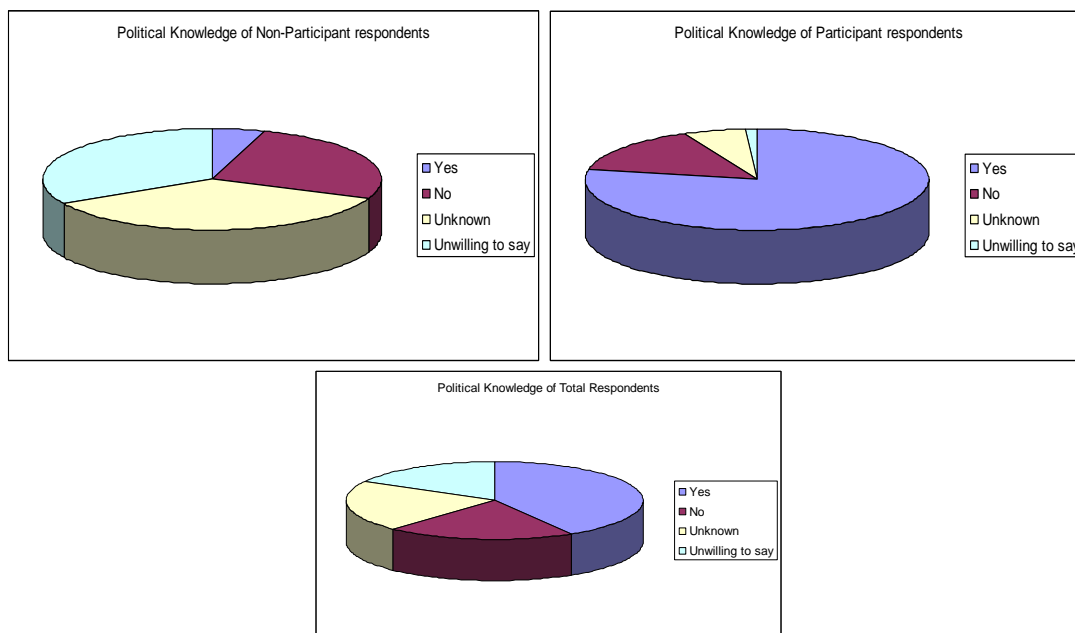
So, it is clear that participants in mass education are more aware about politics than non participants of mass education. Mass education is very effective for political development.

Knowledge about Values in Politics

Table 4.3 Political Knowledge from Watching TV, Listening over the Radio and Reading Newspapers of the Respondents by Categories

Political Knowledge of respondents	Categories of Respondent				Total	
	Participant		Non Participant			
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Yes	78	78.0	5	5.0	83	41.5
No	15	15.0	26	26.0	41	20.5
Unknown	6	6.0	36	36.0	42	21.0
Unwilling to say	1	1.0	33	33.0	34	17.0
Total	100	100.0	100	100.0	200	100.0
<i>Chi-Square</i>	<i>Value=118.70</i>		<i>DF=3</i>		<i>Significance=.000</i>	

Chart 4.3 Knowledge about Values in Politics of the Respondents



The respondents said that they acquired knowledge from watching TV, listening over the radio and reading newspapers. 41.5% of total respondents said Yes, 20.5% No, 21% don't know and 17% unwilling to say. According to the table it can be remarked that 78% of the respondents who participated in mass education say 'yes' and on the other hand it is just 5% which is very poor in the context of mass education participants. It is also seen that participants in mass education 15% says No, 6% unknown, just 1 percent unwilling to say. In case of non-participant the percentages are respectively 26%, 36% and 33%. If knowledge about political value is important for comparison between participants in mass education and non-participants, it can be said that

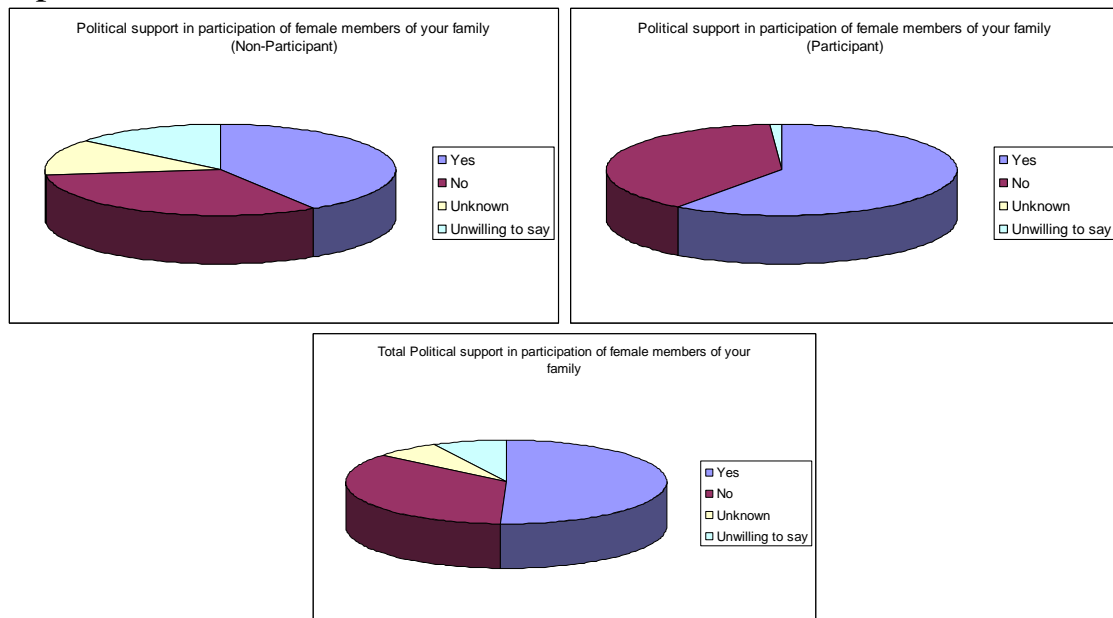
the participants in mass education are more knowledgeable than the non-participants in mass education.

Political Participation of the Respondents

Table 4.4 Opinion of the Respondents about Support for Participation of Female Members in their Family by Categories

Support for participation of female members in their family	Categories of Respondent				Total	
	Participant		Non Participant			
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Yes	60	60.0	41	43.2	101	51.8
No	39	39.0	32	33.7	71	36.4
Unknown	--	--	13	8.4	13	4.1
Unwilling to say	1	1.0	14	14.7	15	7.7
Total	100	100.0	100	100.0	200	100.0
<i>Chi-Square</i>	<i>Value=23.418</i>		<i>DF=3</i>		<i>Significance=.000</i>	

Chart 4.4 Political Support in Participation of Female Members of the Respondents



Female constitutes about 50.0% of the total population in Bangladesh but this section is totally ignored in most cases. Our attitude towards them should be changed as soon as possible through empowering them.

So, the respondents were asked about their support in the election of female members of their family. From the table, it is seen that 51.8% of the total respondents will support if any of their female family member desires to participate in the election. 36.4% of the total respondents will not support it. 4.1% of the total respondent said they don't understand and 7.7% of the total respondents are unwilling to say. Here, 60.0% participants of total respondents express their positive opinion and 43.2% non-participants of the total respondents express the same opinion. Participants in mass education express their support for the participation

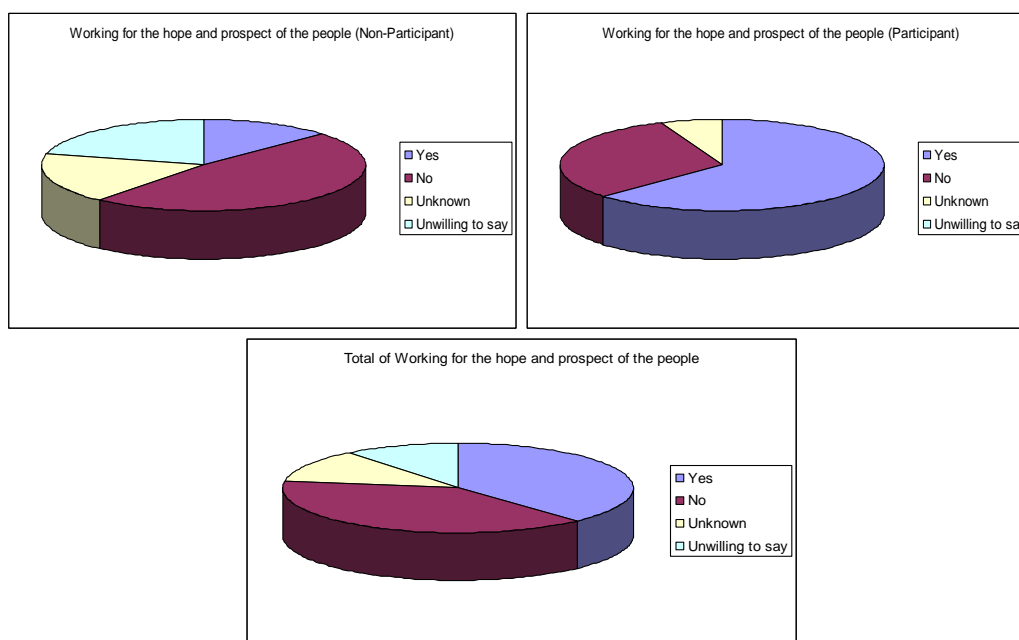
of female members in election. This may be symbol of improvement of women empowerment throughout the country. So, it can be said that Mass education has vast role in political development.

Knowledge of Political Development

Table 4.5 Opinion of the Respondents about the Political Parties which are Working for Fulfilling the Hope and aspiration of the People by Categories

Working for fulfilling the hope and aspiration of the people	Categories of Respondent				Total	
	Participant		Non Participant			
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Yes	63	63.0	13	13.0	76	38.0
No	31	31.0	48	48.0	79	39.5
Unknown	6	6.0	18	18.0	24	12.0
Unwilling to say	--	--	21	21.0	21	10.5
Total	100	100.0	100	100.0	200	100.0
Chi-Square	<i>Value=63.55</i>		<i>DF=3</i>		<i>Significance=.000</i>	

Chart 4.5 Knowledge of the Political Awareness



Though Bangladesh is considered as a democratic country, most of the people are not well informed about the duties and responsibilities of political parties. Here, most of the political parties work for their own interest. To know about the knowledge of political development, I asked them to put their opinion whether the political parties work for fulfilling the hope and aspiration of the people or not. About 38 % respondents answered yes, 39 % answered no, 12 % were unable to understand the question and 10.5 % were unwilling to answer.

If the categories are considered, it is seen that the respondent participants in mass education have a good knowledge about political

development. Among the participants of mass education 63 % answered Yes and 31 % answered No and 13 % non- participant answered Yes and 48 % answered No.

Opinion about the Bad Impact of strike

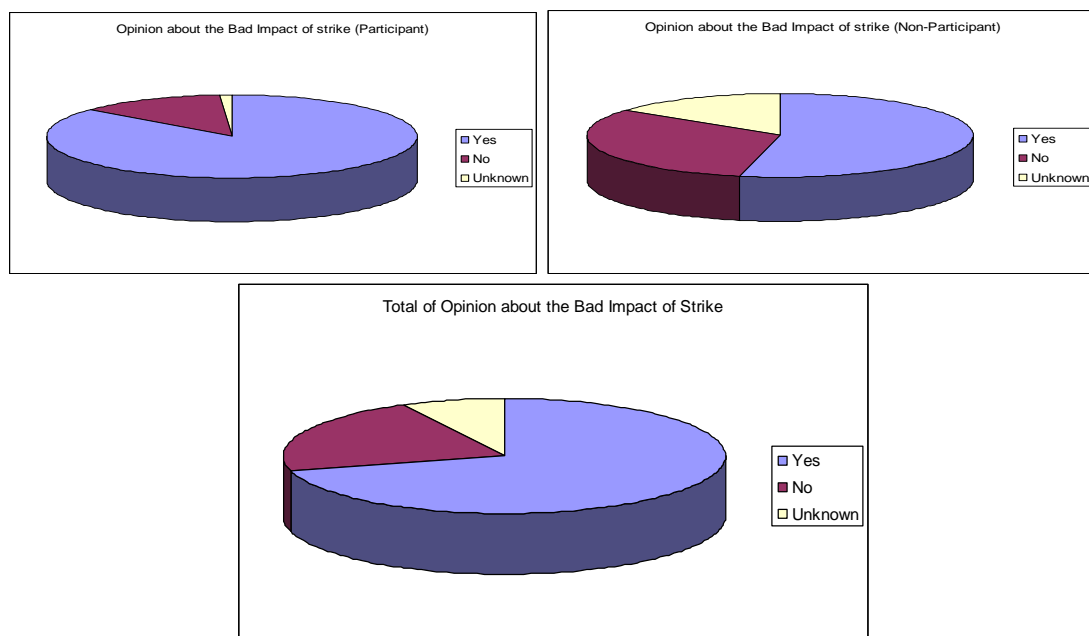
Table 4.6 Opinion of the Respondents about the Bad Impact of Strikes Called by Political Party by Categories

Opinion	Categories of respondent				Total	
	Participant		Non Participant			
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Yes	86	86.0	47	47.0	133	66.5
No	13	13.0	28	28.0	41	20.5
Unknown	01	1.0	13	13.0	14	7.0
Total	100	100.0	100	100.0	200	100.0
<i>Chi-Square</i>	<i>Value=39.21</i>		<i>DF=3</i>		<i>Significance=.000</i>	

Although, Bangladesh is a democratic country having political parties with diversified activities who nourish many bad cultures like Hartal, Strike etc. These bad cultures are widely practiced by the political parties of Bangladesh.

For increasing awareness and consciousness about those bad cultures mass education can give some fundamental knowledge to its participants through TV, newspaper and other means of communication. Mass education gives some fundamental knowledge to participants about the good and bad side of it.

Chart 4.6 Knowledge about Political Culture



From the categories it has is that 66.5% of the total respondents expressed their opinion about the bad impact of Strike as yes, 20.5% answered as No, 7% were unable to understand the question.

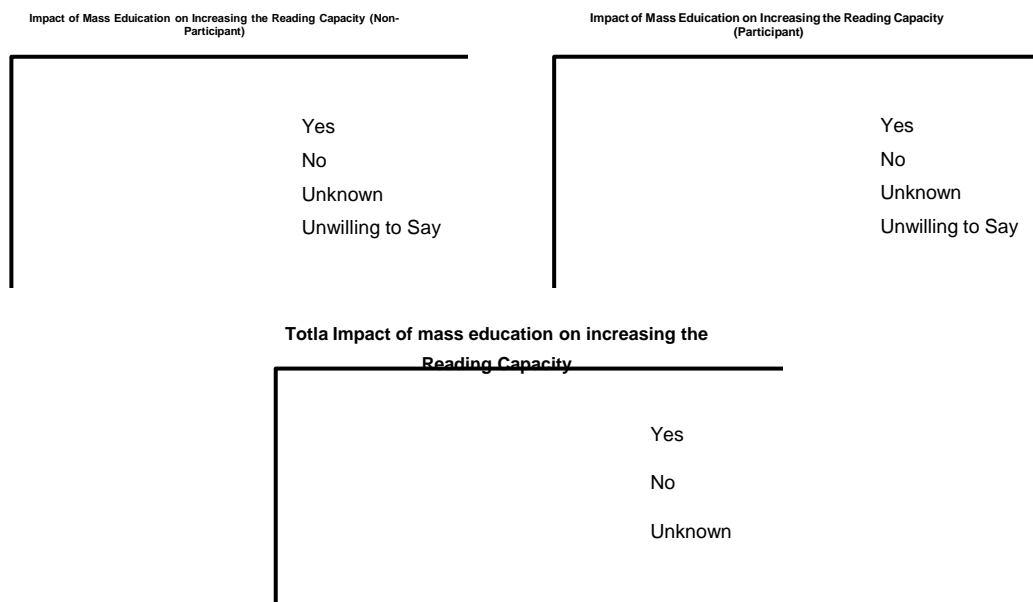
Impact of Mass Education on the Reading Capacity

Table 4.7 Opinion of the Respondents about the Impact of Mass Education on Increasing Reading Capacity by Categories

Illiteracy is a curse and an illiterate man always lies in darkness. On the other hand, education is the light of eradicating the darkness.

Opinion	Categories of Respondent				Total	
	Participant		Non Participant		Number	Percentage
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage		
Yes	83	83.0	12	12.0	95	47.5
No	15	15.0	61	61.0	76	38.0
Unknown	01	1.0	17	17.0	18	9.0
Unwilling to Say	01	1.0	10	10.0	11	5.5
Total	100	100.0	100	100.0	200	100.0
<i>Chi-Square</i>	<i>Value=26.93</i>		<i>DF=3</i>		<i>Significance=.000</i>	

Chart 4.7 Reading Capacity of the Respondents before Participation in Mass Education



From the above categories, it can be remarked that 83% of the participants in mass education programme can read and write very well. On the other hand 12% non-participants in mass education don't know how to read and write. That is why they are unable to read whatever writing comes in posters, and scripts on TV screen about the political issues.

So, it can be said that mass education play an important role in removing the darkness of illiteracy as well as making them aware of the political issues among people.

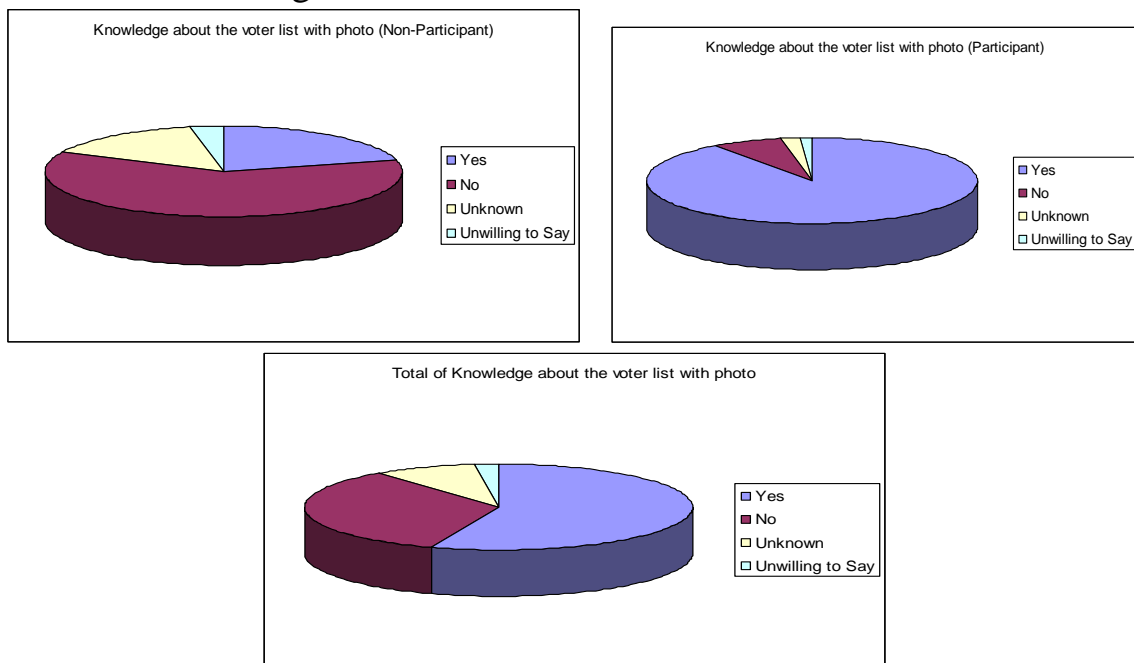
Knowledge about Voter List with Photo

Table 4.8 Opinion of the Respondents about Voter List with Photo by Categories

Recently Bangladesh election commission has developed a new system of introducing voter identity card with photo of voter. Voter identity card with photo is a current data based information about the citizens of the country.

Opinion	Categories of respondent				Total	
	Participant		Non Participant		Number	Percentage
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage		
Yes	90	90.0	21	21.0	111	55.5
No	07	7.0	61	61.0	68	34.0
Unknown	02	2.0	15	15.0	17	8.5
Unwilling to Say	01	1.0	03	3.0	04	2.0
Total	100	100.0	100	100.0	200	100.0
<i>Chi-Square</i>	<i>Value=96.91</i>		<i>DF=3</i>		<i>Significance=.000</i>	

Chart 4.8 Knowledge about Political Awareness



I have collected the opinion of respondents about voter list where it is seen that 55.5% of the total respondents have knowledge about voter list and 34% have no idea, 8.5% respondent couldn't answer the question and 2% respondents were unwilling to answer. About 90% participants in mass education know about Voter List with Photo comparatively only 21% non-participants know about that. So, the participants in mass education are very conscious in comparison to non-participant in mass education. It is clear that non-participants are not educated and conscious

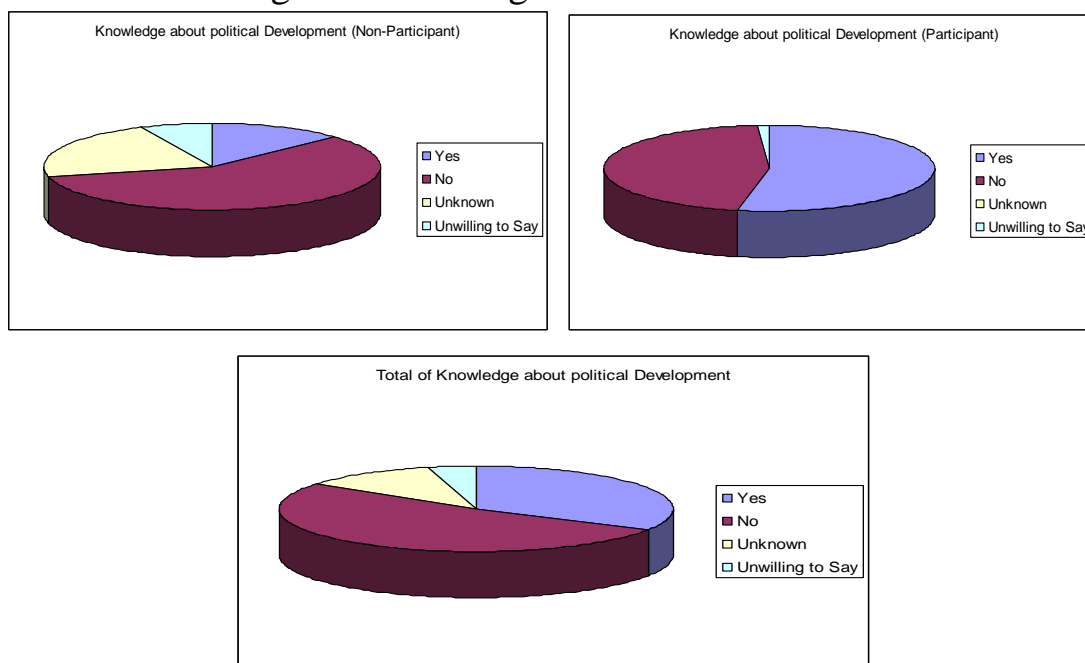
about politics, voter list and such others. On the other hand, participants in mass education answered that the voter list with photo ID is an up-to-date process.

Knowledge about Cross Voting

Table 4.9 Knowledge about Cross Voting of the Respondents

Knowledge about cross voting	Categories of respondent				Total	
	Participant		Non Participant			
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Yes	53	53.5	13	13.0	66	33.2
No	46	46.5	58	58.0	104	52.3
Unknown	--	--	22	22.0	22	11.0
Unwilling to say	1	--	7	7.0	8	3.5
Total	100	100.0	100	100.0	200	100.0
<i>Chi-Square</i>	<i>Value=54.62</i>		<i>DF=3</i>		<i>Significance=.000</i>	

Chart 4.9 Knowledge about Voting



It is for the first time in Bangladesh that the Election Commission gives an option to give cross vote if the voter does not like any of the candidates. To assess about the knowledge in political development I asked the respondents whether they know about the cross- voting system or not.

From the table 4.9, it is seen that only 33.2% of the total respondent are informed about cross voting. Among the mass education participants, 53.5% know about cross voting whereas among non-participants 13.0% have idea about cross voting. A significant value of chi-square indicates the importance of the association.

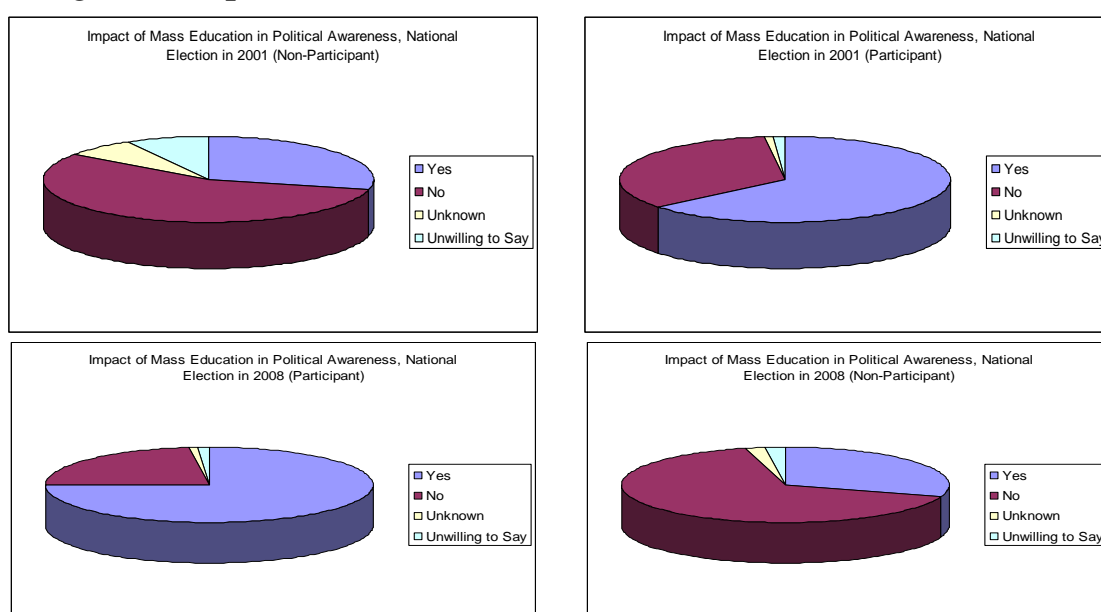
Impact of Mass Education on Political Awareness Building

Bangladesh is a democratic country. The inhabitants of Bangladesh are eligible to cast their vote at the age of 18 and above. From the previous records, it was observed that though one became eligible to vote but not fully aware about the value of their vote. Besides, female voters are discouraged to vote. Sometimes they exercise their voting rights according to the instruction of any male guardians, because the female voters are not aware of their own rights. But it is very important to keep knowledge about the voting.

Table 4.10 Opinion of the Respondents about Participation of all Voters in Family for Comparison between the Election of 2001 and 2008 by Participants in Mass Education

Opinion	Time of the National Election							
	Election in 2001				Election in 2008			
	Participant		Non-participant		Participant		Non-participant	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Yes	64	64.0	29	29.0	75	75.0	30	30.0
No	34	35.0	56	56.0	23	23.0	66	66.0
Unknown	01	1.0	07	7.0	01	1.0	02	2.0
Unwilling to say	01	1.0	08	8.0	01	1.0	02	2.0
Total	100	100.0	100	100.0	100	100.0	100	100.0

Chart 4.10 Impact of Mass Education on Political Awareness Building Through Participation in National Election of 2001 and 2008



From the information of the national election of 2001, it is seen that 64% participants in mass education have knowledge about the participation of

all voters in a family in the election, where as 29% answered in the negative. From the national election of 2008, it has been observed that about 75% participants in mass education answered positively about the participation of all voters in a family, while 30% non-participants answered negatively.

Awareness among the participants of mass education has increased from 64% in 2001 election to 75% in 2008. On the other hand, awareness has decreased among the non-participants day by day. That is 56% answered no in the election of 2001 whereas 66% in 2008. The result indicates that participation in voting among the respondents participating in mass education programme is comparatively higher than the non-participants.

Impact of Leadership Capacity

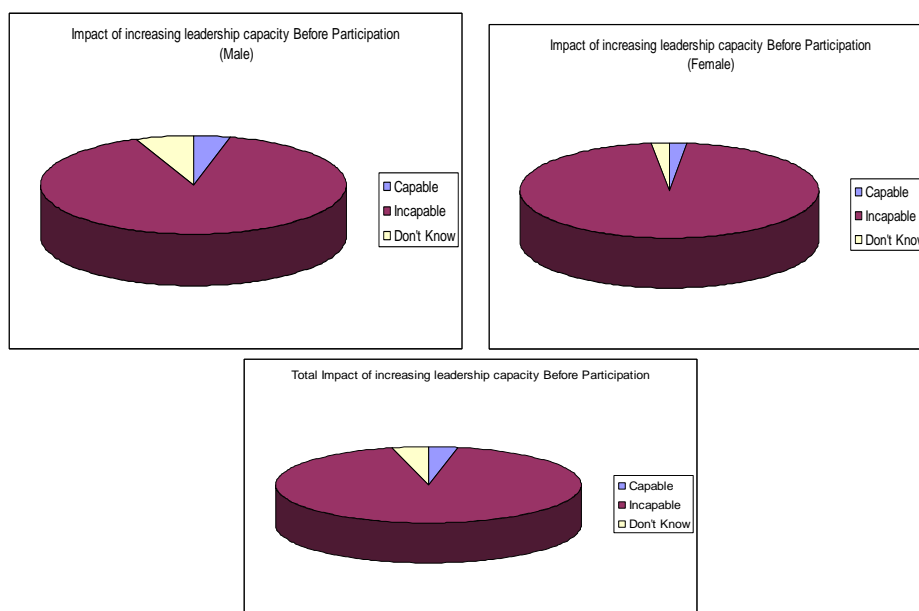
About 70% people of Bangladesh are illiterate. Government and non-government efforts are going on to increase awareness through education. As a result, NGO’s are taking many programmes alongside of government activities to educate the illiterate people. So, the village people becoming aware by taking education.

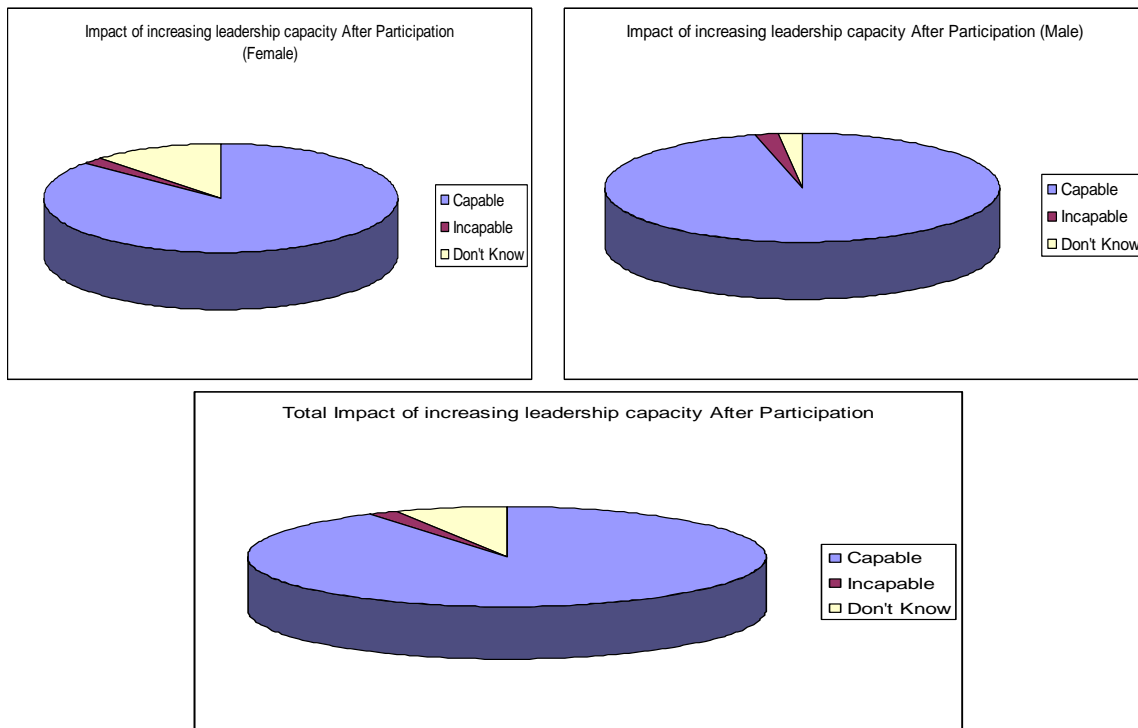
Table 4.11 Opinion of the Respondents about the Impact of Mass Education on Increasing Leadership Capacity by Time and Gender

Opinion	Time and Gender					
	Before Participation			After Participation		
	Male (%)	Female (%)	Total (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)	Total (%)
Capable	02 (4.0)	01 (2.0)	03 (3.0)	48 (96.0)	43 (86.0)	91 (91.0)
Incapable	45 (90.0)	48 (96.0)	93 (93.0)	01 (2.0)	01 (2.0)	02 (2.0)
Don't Know	03 (6.0)	01 (2.0)	04 (4.0)	01 (2.0)	06 (12.0)	07 (7.0)
Total	50 (100.0)	50 (100.0)	100 (100.0)	50 (100.0)	50 (100.0)	100 (100.0)

Before Participation:

Chart 4.11 Leadership Capacity of the Respondents before Participation in Mass Education



After participation:**Chart 4.12 Leadership Capacity of the Respondents after Participation in Mass Education**

It is evident from the table 4.11 that leadership capacity of the respondent has been increased after taking mass education. It is also seen that most of the respondent 96% were incapable before participation in mass education. But it is highly increased their capacity after participation of mass education. It is 91%. Same sceneries is found between male and female respondents. So it can be said that mass education has been contributed to develop their leadership capacity.

Chapter five

Findings, Recommendations and Conclusion

Bangladesh is a democratic country. But at present it is passing through many political crises. So, every citizen of this country must be educated and conscious to get rid of the crisis of political Development. The level of education is a major criteria which indicates how far a country has developed. In the context of socio-economic and political development, its need is more acutely felt. There are a huge number of illiterate people in Bangladesh who cannot participate in the political activities. The behaviour and attitude of these people can be changed through mass education and literacy programme. During the last half century, a number of steps have been taken by the government of Bangladesh namely literacy, adult education, practical literacy and mass education to get rid of the curse of illiteracy of the country.

At present, “Mass Education” means literacy for the adult illiterate people. They can increase their work-efficiency and civic sense through primary education. We observe a remarkable change and development in the political sector as a result of all these efforts. In this research the real picture of the grassroot people of Bangladesh has been reflected.

The number of drop outs and education deprived children are increasing in Bangladesh day by day. The children refrain from education due to poverty. They cannot complete their formal primary education in life. In many cases, the carelessness of the guardians and the mismanagement of the schools are also responsible for this. The education of this drop out children (6-10 years) can be ensured through mass education.

Now, under the slogan of “Education for All”, theoretical and practical education on the socio-economic and political system of our country has been provided to all, especially the education deprived adult people (age from 11 to 45 years).

Political crisis is one of the major problems of Bangladesh. The political parties of this country do not tolerate others due to ideological differences. They believe that they are the only party in the right way. The 1/11 event is the result of political unrest. We are responsible for it. The political development of Bangladesh is not possible without the development of the political culture.

Under the circumstances, the mass education can play a vital role for socio-economic and political development. Education can make people conscious through books, radio, newspapers etc. When every people of Bangladesh will be aware about the conditions of politics, they would take good decision for the development of the country. So, for the political development of our country, mass education is very important.

Summary of the Findings

Mass education serves a vital role in socio-economic and political development of the country. After analyzing the data, it is revealed that the participants in mass education programme have gained knowledge about various issues of political development in comparison to non-participants in the mass education programme. The major findings of this research study are stated below.

The respondents belong to the age range of 24-34 years and above. Out of the total respondents 41 % are housewives, 22 % businessmen, 18 % peasants/farmers, 8 % day labours, 3 % hawkers and 8 % are involved in other occupation.

Mass education programme has played a vital role in political development. People who are educated (80%) have a good knowledge about the female member of union parishad (UP). On the other hand, people who were not engaged in mass education programme (63%) have medium level knowledge about the female member of UP.

The respondents who participated in mass education programme are more aware of the matter and knew how many parties are there in Mahajot. It is also observed that the respondents who participated in mass education programme are more aware of the matter. Around 16 % of them said that there were sixteen political parties in the Mahajot followed by 46 % who said that there were fourteen political parties, 30 % said that there were eleven parties and 8% thought that there were four political parties in the Mahajot. Here, the figure mentioned that the contribution of mass education programme is very significant for making people aware of the political parties or groups.

In response to the question about their nationality, majority of the participant respondents (82%) have given the correct answer, whereas most of the non-participant respondents (68%) have given wrong answer.

The respondents were asked whether they were aware of their voting right or not? Respondents who were engaged in mass education programme, 79% of them said giving vote was a right, whereas only 32% of respondents who were not engaged in mass education

programme, did not know that voting power was right. It is needless to calculate, what is the difference between 79% and 32% for getting an assessment about the impact of mass education programme on individual. So, undoubtedly it can be said that mass education leads to increasing the social and political consciousness of general people.

It is observed that 19.5% of respondents who participated in mass education programme, said parties programme influenced them, and 13.3% respondents said that quality of candidates and 18.2% respondents said about candidates of parties was the considering factor before exercising the voting power. Whereas 7% respondents those who were not engaged with mass education programme, said about parties programme and followed by 19% who said about the quality of candidates, 44% said about candidates of parties was the considering factor before casting votes.

People who were involved in the mass education, 95% participant people know the chief of the party. On the other hand, only 47.5% people know the chief of the party who were not involve in the mass education programme. It is very simple that only the respondents who participated in mass education programme were aware of the matter.

Knowledge about national days and feelings about these days as well as people's activities regarding these days is a part of political awareness. We have observed that those who were engaged in mass education programme attended the rallies and it was around 54%. On the other hand, those who were not in touch with mass education programme were not familiar with these days and they did not attend the rallies of the national days and there number was around 5% only.

It is observed that most of the respondents, about 82.5%, replied that the duration of election was five years followed by 11.5% three years and 3% seven years respectively. As a result, 2% knew nothing. Among the female 86% was able, 4% was unable and 14% knew nothing. So, a great change is evident among the male and female after taking mass education. So, it can be said that mass education can aware the mass people to a great extent.

If the categories is considered, it is seen that the respondent participants in mass education programme are more knowledgeable, compared to the non-participant respondents in mass education programme. It is 98% for participants and 67% for non participant. If the more percentage is considered as more knowledge, it can be remarked that the participants in mass education are more knowledgeable about the term of UP, compared to non-participants in mass education.

We see that 59% respondents know about political affiliation of their candidates, followed by 24% no, 12% unknown and the rest 5% are unwilling to answer.

If we compare the data with the participants of mass education programme and non- participants, 78% participants and 40% non-participants respondents said that they know the affiliation of their candidates with the political parties, 17% participants said 'no', 4% unknown and only 1% unwilling to say. So, it is clear that participants of mass education are more aware about politics than non participants of mass education. So, mass education is effective for political development.

The respondents said that they acquired knowledge from watching TV, listening over the radio and reading the newspapers. As many as 41.5% of total respondents said 'Yes', 20.5% 'no', 21% don't know and 17% unwilling to answer.

Regarding the knowledge about political values, 78% of the respondents who participated in mass education say yes and on the other hand, it is just 5% of non-participant respondent. Respondents in mass education programme 15% participant say 'no', 6% unknown, just 1% unwilling to say. In context of non-participants the percentages are respectively 26%, 36% and 33%. Now, it can be said that the participants in mass education programme are more knowledgeable than the non-participants in mass education.

Although Bangladesh is a democratic country having political parties with diversified activities including many bad culture like hartal, strike etc. Mass education programme gave some fundamental knowledge to participants about good and bad side of political culture by watching TV and listening radio and reading newspapers etc.

It is observed that 86% of the respondents who were engaged in mass education programme expressed their opinion about the bad impact of strike as 'Yes', on the other hand just 47.0% who are poor in context of mass education participants. It also states that of the participants in mass education 13% say 'no' and 1% unknown. In context of the non-participants the percentages are respectively 28% and 13%.

About voter list, it is seen that 55.5% respondents have knowledge about voter list and 34% have no idea, 8.5% respondents couldn't answer the question and 2% respondents were unwilling to answer.

About 90% participants of mass education programme know about voter list with photo and 21% non-participants don't know it. 50% of the participants of mass education are very conscious. So, it is clear that non-

participants are not educated and conscious about politics, voter list and others.

It is for the first time in Bangladesh that the Election Commission gives an option to give cross vote if the voter does not like any of the candidates. To know about the knowledge in political development, it was asked to the respondents whether they knew about the cross voting system or not. It is seen that only 33.2% of the total respondent are informed about cross votes. Among the mass education participants 53.5% respondents understand about the cross voting whereas, among non-participants 13% respondents have idea about cross voting. A significant value of chi-square indicates the importance of the association.

It is observed that though one become eligible to vote but not fully aware about the value of their vote. Besides, female voters are discouraged to vote. Though is very important to keep knowledge about voting.

From the information of national election 2001, it is revealed that 64% participants in mass education have, knowledge about the participation of all voters in a family in election, whereas 29% have answered 'No'. From the national election 2008, it has been observed that about 75% participants of mass education answered positively about the participation of all voters in family while 30% non-participants answered negatively. Awareness among the participants of mass education has increased from 64% in 2001 election to 75% in 2008.

On the other hand, awareness has decreased among the non-participants day by day. That is 56% answered 'no' in 2001 whereas 66% in 2008.

The result indicates that participation in voting among the respondents in mass education programme is comparatively higher than the non-participants.

About 70% people of Bangladesh are illiterate. A number of projects and programmes taken by the government and non-government organization are going on to increase the awareness about education. So, the village people have become aware by education. It is evident from the table 6.11 that leadership capacity of the respondent has been increased after taking mass education. It is also seen that most of the respondent 96% were incapable before participation in mass education. But it is highly increased their capacity after participation of mass education. It is 91%. Same sceneries is found between male and female respondents. So it can be said that mass education has been contributed to develop their leadership capacity.

Recommendations

Analyzing the findings of the study and realizing the overall socio-economic status of respondents, political awareness, political participation, values, knowledge, culture of the participants in mass education programme as well as other relevant issues, some recommendations are made for further policy prescription.

1. Education

The government should run the mass education programme as the largest education programme. It only should be provided by the government like formal education and not by NGOs. Bangladesh is a democratic country so the basic knowledge about democracy and the objectives of development in political view will be included in this programme. The number of centres of mass education programme should be increased for more involvement of root level people. If it is done, people of Bangladesh can be conscious, about democracy and it would lead them to make contribution in political development.

2. Publicity and Participation in Mass Education

In this research it is found that in the sector of political development the role of mass education is very important. So, from the national level, the activities and role of this education programmes should be published more. For this seminar, symposium, mass education workshop, rally, should be organized and religious organizations, local government agents and social organizations as well as more public programmes can be added to achieve the desired goals. Then, the mass education programme will take a new look.

3. Economic Empowerment

The lack of economic power is found among the people who have participated in this research. Most of the participants in the research are lower middle class people and poor. So, the employment should be created for them so that they feel the economic security and they can participate in different types of political activities spontaneously. Particularly they can move easily to take education.

4. Accountability

The accountability of mass education should be more lucid. Infrastructural elements such as class room, books, paper, blackboard, bench, etc. should be supplied to the participants. Increasing initiative for providing the professional education should be taken and with the co-operation of local government bodie's accountability can be ensured.

5. Motivation

People should be mobilized and motivated to take active part in various political and social organizations. Simultaneously, they need to be linked with motivational sessions and programmes. In this regard, local government representatives can play vital role. They can popularize the slogan of “Education for All” among the grass root people as well as the community people. So doing the grass root level people will come out from their confined life and take part in mass education.

6. Government Initiatives

Undoubtedly, the government is the main stakeholder in this regard. Therefore, the government should take special steps to ensure greater involvement of people in mass education programme for political development. Government has to take specific programme in this regard. Especially, mass education programme for political development should be arranged by the government.

7. Social Attitude

Social values, attitude and out look of male should be changed. Constitutionally, the position of men and women is the same. Males attitude towards female should be changed so the women can take part in education and politics freely.

8. Research

To create general awareness among different sections of the people about the role of mass educational programme for political development, it is necessary to conduct further comprehensive research, academic discussion and debate so that this issue can get priority as a national agenda. The initiative for the betterment of the grass root people whose participation in mass education programme is really important for political development.

9. GO-NGO Co-operation

In a developing country like Bangladesh GO-NGO co-operation is badly needed. Here, NGOs are working as a development partner of government. As a result, programmes should be undertaken simultaneously by the government and non-government organizations so that duplication of work may be avoided and the financial loss can be reduced.

10. Decision Making Process

Special measures to be taken for increasing the improvement of participants in mass education in political decision making process is necessary. It should be started from family, community, local government level then it should be extended to the national level.

11. To Issue Certificate

Basically, the participants who take part in the mass education programme are not given any certificates to them. But following the structure of formal curriculum system after finishing the education such as S.S.C, H.S.C Graduation & Masters', a certificate is given after the evaluation of merit. Evaluation system is not practiced in the mass education programme but this should be done. No doubt, taking this initiative, the role of peoples participation in this programme will be increased and the participants will apply their capacities to accept the competitive learning or education with a view to achieving better result.

Conclusion

After analyzing facts and findings of this research study it is clear to us that there is a great role of mass education programme in political development. Beside, mass education makes people conscious not only about their right but also about there social responsibility. It is said that consciousness in development. We know majority of our people in Bangladesh are illiterate. If we make them educated through mass education they will not be a burden but the asset of society. It also brings positive impact on individual life which leads to better life of the people.

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