



Journal of Social and Political Sciences

Mia, M. R., Hasan, M., & Joynal, A. M. (2024). Investigating Local Political Dynamics: A Case Study of the 2008 National Election in Bogura, Bangladesh. *Journal of Social and Political Sciences*, 7(3), 174-190.

ISSN 2615-3718

DOI: 10.31014/aior.1991.07.03.514

The online version of this article can be found at:

<https://www.asianinstituteofresearch.org/>

Published by:
The Asian Institute of Research

The *Journal of Social and Political Sciences* is an Open Access publication. It may be read, copied, and distributed free of charge according to the conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International license.

The Asian Institute of Research *Social and Political Sciences* is a peer-reviewed International Journal. The journal covers scholarly articles in the fields of Social and Political Sciences, which include, but are not limited to, Anthropology, Government Studies, Political Sciences, Sociology, International Relations, Public Administration, History, Philosophy, Arts, Education, Linguistics, and Cultural Studies. As the journal is Open Access, it ensures high visibility and the increase of citations for all research articles published. The *Journal of Social and Political Sciences* aims to facilitate scholarly work on recent theoretical and practical aspects of Social and Political Sciences.



ASIAN INSTITUTE OF RESEARCH
Connecting Scholars Worldwide

Investigating Local Political Dynamics: A Case Study of the 2008 National Election in Bogura, Bangladesh

Md. Rubel Mia¹, Mehedi Hasan², Abedin Md Joynal³

¹ PhD. Candidate in Public Administration, Incheon National University, South Korea

² MA in NGO Studies Department, Ajou University, South Korea

³ MA International Development and Cooperation, Ajou University, South Korea

Correspondence: Md. Rubel Mia. Email: mohammad.rubelk23@gmail.com

Abstract

This study intends to understand the local level politics in terms of changing political beliefs among the participants in the larger context of politics in Bogura, a northern district of Bangladesh. In particular, the research tries to investigate the voting behaviour during the national election of 2008 in Bogura. Though there are some studies about the national-level politics but still there is a dearth of researchers in understanding the local political dynamics. The study of a local-level election helps us engaging with different stakeholders and local agencies. To explore this research, with a list of questionnaires, researcher conducted interviews with grassroots level respondents' including local politicians, civil society members, academicians and mass people to examine the attitudes, opinions, voting behaviour and the political environment of the locality in reference to the parliamentary election of 2008 in Bogura district, Bangladesh. The study has found that behaviour of voters was influenced by several factors such as religion, caste, community, language, money, policy or ideology, purpose of the polls, extent of the franchise, political wave etc which led the Bangladesh Awami League (AL) to capture two seats from Bogura district. Since then the contemporary Bangladeshi politics has taking place through conflicts and corruption.

Keywords: Local Politics, Voting Behaviour, National Election, Democracy, Multi-Party System

1. Introduction

Bangladesh has a multiparty parliamentary democracy, in which elections are carried out by secret ballot. The people of Bangladesh have an elected democratic system, but, it has been always under scrutiny because of the problem in practice of the ideals of democracy. The idea of good governance has been interrupted by changing alliances of power with the political parties. By and large, Rahman, T. (2019), has studied that since 1991, the multi-party system has been institutionalized in Bangladesh. However, each time the defeated party creates some kind of dispute related to the election process, as there are many incidences when the party who lost the election claimed of unfair voting and alleged incredulous voting statistics, and thus trying to prove the votes were forged. According to the *Bangladesh Election Commission*, (n.d.) there are more than forty political parties in Bangladesh. Out of those, there are two major political parties which are 'Bangladesh Awami League' (AL) and

'Bangladesh Nationalist Party' (BNP) are interchangeably holding power at the centre since 1991. Given the predominant nature of these two major political parties, other parties find it impossible to break the shield of political power that these parties have created for keeping themselves intact.

The main aspiration of the rural people in Bangladesh is to fulfil their basic daily needs and live their life happily. There are promises by the candidates during the election, but after post-election periods the rarely look at the development in the rural area, therefore, people in the rural areas are not that much interested in the elections (Jahan, 2000). During the time of elections, various strategies are used by different political parties to get the votes from the rural people. These kinds of strategies involve the people during the election times. To understand this political process in detail I wanted to conduct this research. I was interested to know about the local level politics hence conducted an in-depth study following the ethnographic method in Bogura district in Bangladesh.

Since 1991, Hasan, M., & Hasan, M. (2020), when democracy returned in Bangladesh, Bogura district has its own significance, as it is the birth place of the founder of BNP and the former president Ziaur Rahman. In the 1991 election, BNP won 6 seats out of seven seats in Bogura district. Since then the tradition of winning all 7 seats by BNP in Bogura district continued till 2001 elections results. BNP was in power on all seats of Bogura till 2006. In the elections of 2008, for the first time, BNP lost two seats from Bogura district, which became a shock because these were supposedly sure seats for BNP. To understand the complexity of this electoral politics happened in Bogura, an attempt was made to investigate the notion of electoral politics of the country taking two particular villages within a single constituency and Bogura district in general as the representative sample in terms of people's notion of how they have changed their political loyalty in choosing their representatives in the election.

According to Hashmi, T. (2022), Bogura has been historically a major stronghold for BNP. On the other hand, it was also a great challenge for Bangladesh Awami League as they were not able to win any single constituency on their hold. That is why Bangladesh Awami League always has made an effort to capture Bogura's constituencies. There are seven constituencies which contribute towards candidates for the parliament election. These constituencies prove to be very influential in the national electoral politics of the country. In every parliamentary election, BNP always wins seats in Bogura; however, in December 2008 election there was a marked change. The research thus attempt to understand that why people change their political behaviour/ beliefs or voting behaviour during 2008 parliamentary election in Bogura district, Bangladesh.

The research focused on the political perceptions of voters who choose their political representatives by means of universal adult franchise. An attempt was made to understand the factors behind the changing in people's political behaviour as well as the political situation during the election of 2008, at Sonatola Upazila in Bogura district, Bangladesh. Through this study which was qualitatively conducted, it tried to provide a better picture of prevailing mentalities and ground reality of local politics in rural Bangladesh, particularly in Bogura.

2. Research Questions

The following research questions are helpful to have a better understanding about the local level politics-

- What were the reasons that lead the voters of Bogura district to choose Awami League party in 2008 parliamentary election, Bangladesh?
- What strategies were carried out by the successful candidates in those particular constituencies?

To critically analyze the people's voting behaviour during 2008 national election of Bogura's constituencies where BNP lost their two traditional home seats, with the specific focus of changing perspectives of the voter's outlook, the above research questions were considered while exploring this study. In addition to illustrate the basic notions of political culture in terms of people's participation, political party's activities and the role of different agencies in electoral politics during a local election in Bogura district, the predominant nature of two major political parties and the mass people's conception would come under investigation in this research.

3. Background of the Study Area

The research was conducted in Sonatola Upazela Bogura-1 constituency where BNP lost their traditional seat. According to the population census of 2011, Sonatola Upazila is under Bogura district in the Rajshahi division, Bangladesh. Initially, it was declared as a Thana in 1981 and later on was converted into an Upazila in 1984. The total area of Sonatola Upazila is 156.75 square kilometres, land area is 145.14 square km and the riverine area is 11.61 square km. According to (*Sonatola Upazila - Banglapedia*, n.d.), there is 1 municipality, 7 unions, 94 mauza, 16 mahallas and 125 villages in Sonatola Upazila.

Researcher visited many times to the two villages of Sonatola Upazila namely 'Telihata' and 'Mohichoron' from where the data had collected to explore the research. In those two villages of Sonatola upazila, research found that Hindu and Muslims people have been living together. On the other hand, most of the local political leader of BNP, AL, Jamat-E-Islam, Jatiya Party are also there. Besides BNP and AL, there are other minor political party's leaders, namely Liberal Democratic Party, Krishak Sramik Janata league, Workers Party of Bangladesh, Bikalpa Dhara Bangladesh, Jatiyo Samaj Tantrik Dal (JSD) have been living found by the researcher as well.

3.1. At a Glance of Bogura district

Bogura is located in the northern district under Rajshahi Division of Bangladesh (Census 2011). Initially, according to *Mahasthanagarh / Wondermondo*, (2014), Bogura was part of 'Pundravardhana' region and it was the capital of 'Pundravardhana' in the ancient time which is now known as 'Mahasthanagarh'. (*SAARC Cultural Capital – Bogra, Bangladesh – Inauguration* |, n.d.), reported that Bogura is really well known for its historical norms and values with 'Mahasthanagarh' as former capital, which is now declared as the SAARC Cultural capital for 2016-17. Moreover, as per the information from *Bogra District - Banglapedia*, (n.d.), it is often heard from the people that Bogura district was named by Sultan Mohammad Nasir Uddin Bughra Khan who was an independent Ruler of Bengal during 1279 - 1282 A.D.

However, the greater Bogura was established as a Zila in 1821 under British rule. In 1983 greater Bogura was divided into two districts namely Bogura and Joypurhat District. For making governance easier Bogura was further divided into 12 Upazila (Districts) and 7 constituencies in Bogura district. The Upazila's are Adamdighi, Bogura Sadar, Dhunat, Dupchanchia, Gabtali, Khahaloo, Nandigram, sherpur, Shibgang, Shajahanpur, Sariaikandi and Sonatola Upazila. The constituencies are Bogura-1 Sonatola-Sariaikandi, Bogura-2 Shibgang, Bogura-3 Adamdighi-Dupchanchia, Bogura-4 Khahaloo-Nandigram, Bogura-5 Sherpur-Dhunat, Bogura-6 Bogura Sadar and Bogura-7 Gabtali-Shajahanpur. There are 108 unions, 1672 mauzas, 2618 villages, 11 paurashavas, 111 wards and 360 mahallas in Bogura district. During the British rule, Bogura municipality was established in 1884. But later on, Bogura Municipality was renamed as Bogura Paurashava in 1977. Bogura Paurashava was made of 21 wards and 111 mahallas. In 2008 general election Bogura-1 Sonatola-Sariaikandi and Bogura-5 Sherpur-Dhunat BNP lost their two traditional seats.

Suman, *et al.* (2021), have argued that Bogura is famous as an industrial hub of North Bengal. Due to the constructions of the Bangabandhu Jamuna multipurpose Bridge, all kinds of opportunities regarding trade and commerce have increased, not only in Bogura but also in other parts of north Bengal. Bogura district is also tremendously popular for its festivals and cultural tradition. By and large, Bogura plays an important role in the politics of Bangladesh. Due to its strategically position in northern part of the country, Bogura is called the gateway to North Bengal (*Bangabandhu Jamuna Multipurpose Bridge - Banglapedia*, n.d.).

3.2. Background of Bogura's politics

Different studies show that since very ancient time Bogura was a remarkable region for politics. The Bogura district holds a crucial land in the famous and the earlier historical story of Bengal. According to Ali, (2009) the third prime minister of undivided Pakistan Mohammad Ali Bogra was from Bogura. He was born in Barisal district during British India on 19th October in 1909 but he grew up in Bogura. He started his study in Calcutta at 'Hasting House'. After that Mohammad Ali Bogura attended at 'Presidency College' of Calcutta University. Then he was living in Bogura until being the chairman of Bogura Municipality. Later on, Mohammad was being elected as a chairman of the District Board of Bogura. Then he started his politics in 1937 having been elected

to the legislature of undivided Bengal in Calcutta from the Muslim League Assembly (MLA). When Nazimuddin was elected as the new governor of Pakistan July in 1949, Mohammed Ali Bogura was sent as the first high commissioner of Pakistan to Canada (Balouch, 2015). Then he was made as an ambassador of Pakistan to the United States in 1952. In 1953 he was appointed as the prime minister of Pakistan (“Mohammad Ali Bogra (1909-1963),” 2012). During his period there were many achievements done. Just after three days of his working, the president of the United States’ Eisenhower sent thousands of tonnes of wheat to Pakistan to aid the new country. In 1953 while taking charge as the prime minister of Pakistan he outlined his ‘Bogura Formula’ which would have made as a bicameral legislature. Mohammad Ali Bogura announced that his ultimate aim is to formulate of Pakistan constitution following the ‘Bogura Formula’. Then he presented his ‘Bogura Formula’ before the Constituency Assembly of Pakistan on 7 October in 1953. Mohammad Ali’s ‘Bogura Formula’ was being applauded by various parts of the society in Pakistan (admin, 2003). “Mohammad Ali Bogura formula had given the concept of parity whereas East Bengal’s population was larger than West Pakistan’s region. According to Kiran, (2016) Mohammad Ali Bogura said while giving details of the formula, “We then proceeded to make special provision that neither of the two parts of Pakistan may apprehend domination by the other.”

On 23 January in 1963, Mohammad Ali Bogura, died in Dhaka and he was buried in Bogura district on the grounds of the Bogura Nawab Palace (*Who Was Muhammad Ali Bogra?*, n.d.). Like Mohammad Ali Bogura, there are many famous politicians are also from Bogura district such as former Bangladeshi president Ziaur Rahman, first female prime minister of Bangladesh Begum Khalida Zia senior Vice-Chairman of BNP Tareq Rahman, former organizational secretary of Bangladesh Awami League (AL) and first elected AL MP from Bogura Md Abdul Mannan and famous national cricketers Musfikur Rahim, Shafiul Islam. Because of various reasons Bogura keeps a very crucial role in Bangladesh politics.

3.3. Practice of local politics in Bogura

Due to geographical area, Bogura is considered very important in the national-level politics. Bogura district has a Muslims majority area. Since the partition, the political history of Bogura is taking place the enormous contributions of various political personnel. The political figures of Bogura present their performance during the election. During my field work in December, one respondent said me the political conditions of Bogura are not good since very long as we local people want. After partition in 1947, the local people of Bogura struggled to gain their basic demands and rights. When Ziaur Rahman became president of Bangladesh the required demands and rights were being filled to mass people up by him. On the other hand he gradually became the symbol of hopes and ambition of the persecuted people of Bogura. Being president of Bangladesh Ziaur Rahman tried to be popular by doing many welfare works for the mass people of Bangladesh. Not only had that he brought in a new idea in the constitution that he styled as Bangladeshi Nationalism. He strongly believed that in over populated country like Bangladesh in where masses are from various diverse ethnicities and they assume various norms, values, faiths have a different culture, fashions, nationalism should be better thought in terms of territory rather than culture. Bangladeshi nationalism keeps influence on national unity and integration for all people of Bangladesh irrespective of religion, caste, creed, gender, culture, and ethnicity. This popularity assisted BNP to win all seats from Bogura in the parliamentary election from 1991 to 2001.

Basically, Ziaur Rahman was given the mandate of the people to make a constitution for the improvement and prosperity of the persecute people not only in Bogura but also in whole Bangladesh. Since long independence, there were many political parties practicing their politics and Bogura was their choice place in whole north Bengal for politics. Subsequently, just after independence when Sheik Mujibur Rahman was in power he rushed to Bogura in public meeting. The main motto of Mujibur Rahman was to grab and create a good image about AL to people not only in Bogura but also in whole north Bengal respondent said me. During Mujib regime, Bangladesh Awami League was the one and only largest political party in Bogura, Bangladesh but BNP was not formed that time. However, when Ziaur Rahman came to power and formed a new political party to spread its ideology in Bangladesh, the people of not only Bogura but also whole kept trusting faith in this newly formed political party. Since that time BNP has become the largest political party in Bogura, Bangladesh. As the AL was the largest political party in Bogura that is why the existence of AL is still there but not that much popular as BNP is. Besides AL and BNP there are many minor political parties in Bangladesh which also practicing their

politics in Bogura such as Jamat-E-Islami, Jatiya Party (JP), Jatiya Samaj tantrik Dal (JSD), communist Party of Bangladesh, National Awami Party, Workers Party of Bangladesh, Islamic Front Bangladesh, Islami Oikya Jote, Bangladesh Khelafat Majlish, and Islamic Andolon Bangladesh and so on.

According to some messes, however, as a leftist and minor party, Jatiya Samaj tantrik Dal (JSD) played a great emphasis on local politics in Bogura especially at Gabtali, Sonatola and some nearest places of Bogura district. The Bogura district president of JSD Rezaul Karim Tansen was very much discussed and criticised in Bogura politics. He is always against of Islamic politics. Once in a 'Regional dialogue at Bogura' on 26 August in 2006 organised by Centre for Policy Dialogue (CPD) which was addressed on national election in that seminar Rezaul Karim Tansen demanded prohibition of politics based on religion. "No reforms no elections," he said adding that bringing reforms in the electoral system is necessary to avoid conflict. A report was made by Center for Policy Dialogue regarding *National Election 2007*, (n.d.), at the same seminar, on the other hand, the district Awami League President Alhaj Momtaz Uddin categorically addressed that his party would not participate in the next parliamentary election if not its demands is met. He alleged that "politics have been corrupted by people who came from the cantonment."

Like this way Jatiya Party's (Ershad) local leaders of Bogura Shariful Islam Jinnah the Bogura district president of JP, Nurul Islam Omar current MP of Bogura from Jatiya Party and Jamat-E-Islam leaders of Bogura such as Bogura district Jamaat Ameer Shahab Uddin, active and veteran leader of Jamat-E-Islam Nazir Ahmmed, and Principal Rostom Ali were also active practicing and participating in all sorts of political activities in local as well in national level politics. For the second time just before the 9th parliamentary election as a partner alliance of BNP demanded two seats for nomination in Bogura but they were not given because it was said that the seven seats of Bogura are always reserved for BNP. But Jamat Ameer Shahab Uddin was talking to the Daily Star on December 01, 2008 saying that "at least 65,000 Jamaat voters were listed in the last enrolment in Bogura -4 and another over 70,000 in Bogura-5. More than 34,000 people in Bogura-4 cast their votes in favour of Jamaat leader Nazir Ahmeed in 1996". He also said that "we requested BNP central leadership through proper channel to reconsider their decision regarding selection of Jamaat-e-Islami candidates Nazir Ahmmed for Bogura-4 and Principal Rostom Ali for Bogura-5 (the daily star, 2008)."

3.4. The role of local political parties in Bogura

The political parties can keep an importance influence at the local level politics. According to the local BNP leaders, there is no existence of political parties in Bogura district other than BNP. On the other hand, the AL leaders informed me that within the next national election AL will be the largest local political party in Bogura. The existence of BNP will be disappearing. But the real scenario is that in AL there are two groups are visible in Bogura politics. One is Momtaz Uddin group (Bogura AL president) and another is Monjurul Alam Mohon group (Joint general secretary of Bogura AL). Momtaj Uddin is the leader of one group and Mohon is the leader of another group but Momtaj group is very strong in Bogura politics. Momtaj group leads from the district level to grassroots level in Bogura district. On the contrary, according to joint secretary of Bogura BNP, there are no internal clashes and conflicts in Bogura BNP.

Moreover, the BNP has a very crucial influence on local level politics in Bogura. However, during BNP government it was engaged in maximum development activities in Bogura. The BNP local political leaders assume that the main force of BNP is the people of Bogura. BNP central leaders also pay a strong attention to Bogura. The political situation of Jatiya Party (Ershad) was not very good in Bogura during 2008 parliamentary election. But in 2014 parliamentary election Jatiya Party was able to get four seats from Bogura because of the absence of BNP. However, among 4 seats from one seat the Presidium member of JP and Bogura district president Md. Shariful Alam Jinnah from Bogura. Being elected in the election, he offered many social works for his constituency's people. Moreover, having got 4 seats from Bogura the MPs are active to make their party strong. That is why they are frequently organizing some political programs as it were the inactive supporters and workers become active. Meanwhile, the party chairman Hussain Mohammad Ershad used to visit in some political program in Bogura to encourage its supports, local leaders and activists. But problem is that JP political activities are limited in those areas where they have been elected. Its activities are not that much visible in such

area like Sonatola-Sariakandi, Sherpur-Dhurat constituency in where AL won in 2008 national election and Bogura Sadar Upazila. In these places, AL is very strong. I heard from my interviewers that the AL MP Md Abdul Manna is working very hard to implement his political manifestos for the well-being of people in Sonatola- Sariyakandi constituency. The Same thing is happening in Sherpur-Dhurat constituency. That is why; the popularity of AL at these grassroots level is being increased than before. And in Bogura Sadar Upazila level the Bogura AL president Momtaj Uddin is controlling the whole political situation by his own hand.

3.5. Scenario of national elections in Bogura

The national elections in Bogura district, Bangladesh, during the years 1996, 2001, and 2008 were pivotal moments in the region's political landscape. Let's explore each of these elections:

Table 1: Parliament Election Winner (Party wise): 2008, 2001 and 1996

Constituency	National Election-2008 & Winning Party	National Election-2001 & Winning Party	National Election- 1996 & Winning Party
Bogura-1	Bangladesh Awami League (AL)	Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP)	Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP)
Bogura-2	Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP)	Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP)	Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP)
Bogura-3	Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP)	Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP)	Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP)
Bogura-4	Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP)	Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP)	Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP)
Bogura-5	Bangladesh Awami League (AL)	Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP)	Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP)
Bogura-6	Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP)	Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP)	Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP)
Bogura-7	Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP)	Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP)	Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP)

The above table provides the information about the last three terms' election report of Bogura's constituencies' result of Bangladesh Awami league and Bangladesh Nationalist party (BNP). In the June 1996 election, the Bangladesh Awami League (AL) secured 146 seats nationally, however, was to able to secure any single seat from Bogura district where the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP), in Bogura district, emerged victorious, winning all seven seats. This marked the beginning of a tradition where the BNP consistently won all seats in Bogura district. However, in October 2001 election was conducted under a caretaker government concept where the Four Party Alliance, led by the BNP, secured a majority with 193 out of 300 seats nationally. Again in Bogura district, the BNP continued its dominance, winning all seven seats.

On the other hand, in October 2008 General Election marked the return to elected government after military intervention. In this national election, the Awami League, led by Sheikh Hasina, secured a landslide victory nationally, winning 230 out of 300 seats. In Bogura district, however, there was a significant shift: the BNP lost two seats, breaking their streak of winning all seven seats. This outcome was unexpected and had a considerable

impact as well. These elections reflected the dynamic nature of Bangladeshi politics, with power shifting between major parties and local dynamics playing a crucial role in Bogura district's representation.

Table 2: Elected MP (s) in 2008 parliamentary election

Constituency	Elected Candidate	Political Party
Bogura-1	Abdul Mannan	Bangladesh Awami League (AL)
Bogura-2	A.K. M Hafijur Rahman	Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP)
Bogura-3	Abdul Momen Talukder	Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP)
Bogura-4	Z.I.M. Mostofa Ali	Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP)
Bogura-5	Md. Habibur Rahman	Bangladesh Awami League (AL)
Bogura-6	Begum Khaleda Zia	Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP)
Bogura-7	Begum Khaleda Zia	Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP)

3.6. Political situation in Bogura, 2001-2006

It is important to discuss something about the political situation of Bogura since 2001 to 2006. For the 2nd time when BNP came to power through free, fair and neutral election took some steps to develop Bogura as their election manifestos. Subsequently, the son of Begum Khaleda Zia, Tarique Rahman was appointed as the Senior Joint General Secretary of BNP in June 2002, just after being selected Tarique Rahman commenced his program namely 'Grassroots Level Conference' from Bogura. Through the program he tried to encourage the impoverished people to be self-dependant in various ways having established poultry, dairy and fish farm. Gradually he would become very popular throughout the country by these kinds of activities. As a politician, he tried to begin 'Bogura Model' to change the whole country's economy. This time the other local political leaders of BNP maintained good relation with him. Subsequently, he was the popular leader of BNP in Bogura, constructed many things for the well-being of Bogura's people such as international cricket Stadium, Medical college, supplied gas line, Gabtali Model Thana, fire station, reconstruction of many schools, colleges, religious institutions, infrastructure development, proposed TV centre and domestics airport and so on would be set up in Bogura and also acquired lands for this purpose. He did more priority to introducing agro-based industry to develop a communication system to improve the society through its work. Later on, his 'Bogura Model' was going to be appreciated by many foreign experts as well. Within this period the PM and BNP Chairperson Begum Khalida Zia used to visit Bogura and shared views with various classes of people. For these reasons, the common people of Bogura were devoted to activities. But these development activities were stopped when the government was changed. On the other hand, it is often heard that besides Tareq Rahman's welfare activities were badly engaged with corruption during BNP period.

On the contrary within this period, the opposition parties AL, JP and other minor parties tried to mobilize people towards their own party. The Awami league leaders Md. Abdul Manna and Momtaz Uddin tried to motivate people by saying that BNP and Jamat are not in favour of the independence of Bangladesh. But they could not convince the people so properly. The processes of the practice of AL's activities in Bogura were not that much appear during BNP period. The Awami leaders Momtaz Uddin used to take care of the sub unit leaders, Thana, union, and ward level (ibid: 2004).

3.7. Political turmoil, 2006-2008

At the end of the period of BNP government in 2006, they were supposed to hand over the power to Care Taker Government (CTG). But whom BNP appointed as a caretaker government, AL did not accept. Since that time the political impasse has begun. Subsequently, the chief adviser and the president of Bangladesh Iajuddin Ahmed, attempted to initiate a dialogue with the two major political alliances led by Awami League (AL) and BNP (*Définitions et Usages de : Tarique Rahman - Dictionnaire de Anglais Sensagent*, n.d.). After dialogue, AL decided to participate in the election but later on, they raised another issue about reforming the election commission. During the 2001-2006 in BNP regime what election commission was formed that was the political controversy especially in 2005 and 2006 (Moniruzzaman, 2009). Then AL refused to participate in the election under this controversial election commissioner and demanded his removal. But BNP government was not

agreeing to entertain the demand. On the other hand, AL became violent on the matter when BNP handed over power to Caretaker government in October 2006. AL called countrywide strikes and street violence.

During Dr. Fakhruddin Ahammed's (CTG) period most of the political leaders got arrested from both parties due to their corruption such as BNP Chairperson Begum Khalida Zia, Tareq Rahman and AL leaders Sheikh Hasin and her others leaders (*Bangladesh Former PM Is Arrested*, 2007). This time from Bogura most of the local political leaders of both parties also got arrested. Especially BNP local leaders like Rezaul Karim Badsha President of Bogura BNP, VP Saiful Islam General Secretary of Bogura BNP, Shokh Rana MP Candidate of BNP Sonatola constituency and others former MP of Bogura BNP got arrested and sent them to jail. On the contrary, district AL president Momtaz Uddin, Secretary General Mujibur Rahman Moynu and others local leaders also got arrested from Bogura. During this caretaker government, all political activities were banned before the election to control the political situation. That is why the local political leaders were not active in engaging in political activities during this period. But just before the 9th parliamentary election the political condition become in favour to practice.

4. Literature Review

A Democratic country like Bangladesh local level politics is very crucial. Local level politics has a great emphasis on national politics. Wohab and Akhter, (2004) have indicated that the restoration of democracy in 1991, political activities have spread from the capital to local level. The local level politics can be a great platform to practice for national level politics.

According to Ahmed (2004) "political scientists opine that voting behaviour is influenced by social class plus one or more other factors, such as regions, ethnic group, religion and urban-rural differences". Similarly, a related studied by Hossain, Aktar and Islam (2017) observed that the voting behaviour and public decisions were made either by public decision-makers, which has been a central concern for political scientists. Moreover, Van der Brug, et al. (2017), investigated that the changing voting pattern and voting behaviour can be affected by both political and non-political as well. Furthermore, Ahmed, M., & Naseem, F. (2011), found that socio-economic aspects can also be responsible for changing the political beliefs and voting behaviour in a rural election such as age, education, gender, and occupation and so on. On the contrary, there can be some socio-politico and economic issues like, political ideology, party affiliation, candidates 'qualification, family background and son on that have strong influence on changing the voting behaviour, this research particularly explored the changing of voting behaviour with its socio-politico and economic determinants, during the parliamentary election in 2008 in Bogura.

According to Hazarika (2015), voting behaviour is a field of study concerned with the ways in which people tend to vote in a public election and the reasons why they vote as they do. The term voting behaviour can refer to the meaning and it has taken as one massive and broad area of study included within the major title of political behaviour. It engages a practice of human political behaviour regarding the voting pattern in elections. Voting behaviours examine the open windows on the mindset of the people who are engaged in the political system as voters. Biswas, F. (2023), argued that the behaviour of voter might be affected by some issues like religion, caste, community, language, money, policy or ideology, the purpose of the polls, the extent of the franchise, political wave etc. The local political party leaders and its supporters try to make use of these to win in the battle of the ballot box.

A related study conducted by Lieske, J. (1989), where it was found that the voting behaviour attempts to look up narrating the matters accountable for individual's functions or showing behaviour in elections and why people change behave the way they do politically. It might be various from money politics and vote-buying not only that they grab same natures and characteristics. Moreover, Leigh, A. (2005) found that social, psychological and individual perspectives are involved in voting behaviour during the election period. Individual outlook like an evaluation of the personal nature and features of the candidates, assessment of government functions and performance of certain policy problems, party identifications and ideology are few of the definitive matters in building choice of candidates and their different political parties. According to Adamu, Ocheni and Ibrahim

(2016) for social factor, race, religion, region and social class are all factors contributing to voting behaviour Psychological factors are based on emotion.

Political power might be understood in very different ways. Especially, the loss of political power is characterized by Shaw (2008) said that 'Weber's primary concern in his later political writings seems to be less with the distribution of power in modern states than with the amount of power they can support. He worries that there is not enough political power, in the sense of intentional control of political life'. I have researched as an effort to the voters from the research area. Since it's an ethnographic work, I was to go to the field to interact with the respondents to grab the required data to explore my research.

According to Banerjee, (2007) an election is one big ritual serving a single function in the society. The political leaders try to pay close attention to the voters by this ritual approach. Political leaders try to be like a God to fill up the all required demands of the voters during the election. I have tried to find whether the AL political leaders acted to motivate people here or not to get their vote by following this kind of activity during election Sonatola Upazila under Bogura district. Because at Sonatola, Sariyakandi constituency under Bogura district where AL candidate won in the 2008 parliamentary election might motivate the voters by paying his good attitude which has been questioned by the interviewers during the investigation.

An article by Wohab and Akhter (2004) focuses on local level politics of Kushtia district, Bangladesh is important to understand the local politics in the rural area. It also tries to explain how the rural politics influences on nation politics because of the population of voters. However, it has been mentioned by the authors that since the last two regimes when a party comes into power, they ignore the people's demand at local levels. This can only happen by using strategies during the time of election as they are not working for the poor, during the rule. So to gain the trust of people various kinds of strategies are used in the election to get votes. All these strategies will be identified by doing the ethnography at the research site.

Moreover, studying the political phenomenon of elections demands a methodological framework which is sound as well value-free. The methodological framework applied by the authors in the book lays stress on the study of small communities. This is done through extensive fieldwork and interviews with local respondents of the area. In the words of Yadav (2007), this is referred to as the worm-eyed view of society, in contrast to the bird's eye view offered by other methods of research. Ethnographic fieldwork would be the guiding light of the research.

5. Post-election Ethnography

5.1. Methodology of information collection

The research is based on people's views, thought and choosing the political representative by means of universal adult franchise. The research has explored the common perception of the political circumstance in the election according to gender, age group, urban-rural and different constitutional setting, socio-economic and geographic divisions. The research focuses on the people's belief regarding choosing their political representative during the election.

To explore the research, in-depth interviews with a questionnaire have been conducted so that the research succeeds in throwing light on the main research question. The interviews have been conducted with some local voters especially those who have changed their political allegiance from BNP to AL, AL to BNP and there are few people those who are still in AL and BNP. On the other hand, interviews were carried out with the candidate of BNP who lost in 2008 election from Sonatola Upazila and also interacted with few Bogura local political leaders of both parties. There have been many approaches employed in qualitative data analysis.

5.2. Interview analysis and discussion

According to the research plan, authors had an ethnographic study going to the field for 25 days by interviewing respondents including local politicians, school teacher, bankers, petty businessman, rickshaw pullers, farmers

and some mass people who change their political parties from AL to BNP and BNP to AL and there some people who are still in AL and BNP to understand their political behaviour before and during the national level election held in 2008. Authors analysed the following interviews conducted in the field.

5.3. Interview with the Union Parishad Chairman

Before venturing into the field, I confirmed an appointment with Ali Toyob Shamim, the Union Parishad Chairman of Mohichoron village and an Awami League (AL) supporter and activist. Shamim had received the AL nomination for the Union Parishad election. On the 23rd of December 2016, after Jumma Namaz and lunch, I hurried to his office in Mohichoron village. Upon arriving, I noticed a large crowd gathered, piquing my curiosity. I learned that Shamim was on his way to the office and that blankets were being distributed to the impoverished. Witnessing this charitable act allowed me to gain insight into his relationship with the community.

While waiting for Shamim, I grabbed a cup of tea at a nearby tea stall and asked the owner why so many people were present. He informed me that the Chairman would distribute blankets to the poor. Soon after, the distribution began. Observing the event, I saw the grateful faces of those receiving the blankets. An elderly woman expressed her appreciation, mentioning the improved quality of the blankets and blessing the Chairman for his generosity. The chairman's involvement and support from the local MP Md. Abdul Mannan was credited for the quality and quantity of the blankets.

Once the blanket distribution concluded, I approached Shamim's personal secretary for permission to meet him. With approval granted, I introduced myself and explained my purpose. Shamim was welcoming and agreed to sit down for an interview. He discussed his political journey, from joining the AL in 1991 to becoming an active participant in 2008. His political aspirations revolved around serving people, an ideal influenced by the honourable MP Md. Abdul Mannan. Shamim proudly acknowledged the achievements made during the 2008 parliamentary elections and attributed the AL's success in Bogura to a desire for change and a growing discontent with the BNP candidate's reputation.

During our conversation, Shamim explained that the BNP's failure in the 2008 election could be traced to the unpopularity of their candidate. The BNP nominee was a newcomer with a poor reputation, failing to connect with the people. Additionally, internal conflicts within the BNP and a lack of development during their tenure caused the party's downfall in Bogura. He believed that the voters, who once blindly supported the BNP due to party loyalty, shifted their allegiance to AL as they sought a more effective and dedicated candidate.

5.4. An interview with the BNP candidate

As per the plan, authors met with the BNP candidate who lost in the 2008 Parliamentary election in Sonatola Upazila, Bogura. His name is Mohammad Shok Rana about 66 years old. Basically, he is a businessman besides roles as an Adviser of BNP in Bogura. He joined with BNP in 1999 as a member of Bogura BNP. He has a 5-star hotel in Bogura where he has a personal office as well. I went to his office to meet but unfortunately, he was outside of the office. Authors were asked to wait there until he came to office. After waiting for about 30 minutes finally he came. Authors were given permission to enter into his office. Offering 'Salam' authors entered into his office, he asked me to sit. Then he wanted to know about my purpose of the interview. Despite narrating him the reasons to visit he did not agree to talk. He was saying that 'it is prohibited to talk about the politics without permission from the party'. However, authors finally made him convinced him then he told that, 'okay, I can give you only 30 minutes not more than that'. I asked him that how do you consider about your personality as a local political leader of BNP? He answered me that 'I am a freedom fighter, from student life I am engaged with politics, my grandfather was an MLA of undivided Pakistan, and I am very helpful for the poor people of my locality'.

Then he was again asked despite having such good qualities, why people did not vote for you in 2008 parliamentary election? He replied me that 'the election was very controversial not only in my constituency but also in whole Bangladesh because before the election the AL party made a latent connection with the caretaker

government and during the election the AL candidate Md. Abdul Mannan spent a huge amount of money to purchase votes from the masses, and on the election day from few centre there was vote snatching, vote ragging by AL local goons. In a word the election of 2008 was not free, fair and credible, it was an election to make AL party happy by the caretaker government'. Moreover, authors wanted to know the political manifestos of BNP during the election in 2008 and he informed that 'infrastructures development, job for all qualified candidates, health facilities for all, free education, electricity supply, free distribution of agricultural seeds and fertilizers among all poor farmers and so on'.

Then finally he was asked to know his recommendations to regain this seat in the next election. Rana shared his views on the election, firmly believed that BNP would regain its seat in the next election if a fair process were ensured. Rana also expressed confidence in his party's ability to secure the constituency once again, citing its long-standing popularity in Bogura.

5.5. Meeting with local BNP activist

During our conversation, he reflected on the significant development that occurred during BNP's rule, including infrastructure improvements and increased government job opportunities. However, he admitted that the party's loss in 2008 was due to poor candidate selection and internal divisions. He mentioned that vote buying and influence from other political parties also contributed to the BNP's downfall.

5.6. Interview with a voter

Fazlul Haque, a businessman in the clothing industry, experienced a significant shift in political allegiance during the 2008 parliamentary election in Bangladesh. Previously a supporter of the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP), Haque realigned his loyalty to the Bangladesh Awami League (AL) in that election. When asked about his reasons for this change, Haque highlighted several key qualities of the AL candidate, whom he described as educated, experienced in politics, possessing strong leadership skills, and deeply committed to helping the poor. He noted that the AL candidate regularly visited his constituency to address the needs of the people, qualities he felt the BNP candidate lacked. Haque criticized the BNP for nominating a "local goon" and expressed his desire for change in Bogura politics. He further described the AL candidate as a "charismatic leader," echoing Max Weber's definition of such leaders in his work *'Politics as a Vocation'* those who inspire devotion and trust among the people, particularly in times of political instability.

5.7. Interview with Gaziul Islam: A shifts in political allegiances and social influence

Md. Gaziul Islam, a 47-year-old illiterate petty businessman, reflects a growing trend in the post-2008 electoral landscape of Bangladesh, where social factors like income, religion, and status influence voting behavior. Initially a BNP supporter, Gaziul changed his allegiance to the Awami League (AL) following the 2008 parliamentary election. His reluctance to discuss politics at first stemmed from fear of repression, as he believed criticizing the government might result in police action, while criticism of the BNP could lead to harassment by local gangs. Despite these concerns, Gaziul opened up, revealing that while he had voted for the BNP in 2008, the party's candidate was unpopular and lacked strong local support. His shift to AL was driven by the positive qualities of the AL candidate, who regularly visited the community, listened to the concerns of the poor, and implemented policies such as subsidizing essential goods and providing almost free healthcare. These measures, particularly beneficial to low-income individuals like Gaziul, played a significant role in his decision to support the AL, marking a broader realignment of political loyalties in his constituency after 2008.

5.8. A teacher's shift in political loyalty

Kajol Kumar, a 40-year-old high school teacher from Mohichoron High School, represents a broader trend of political realignment in Bogura following the 2008 parliamentary elections. Initially a supporter of the BNP, Kajol's political allegiance shifted to the Awami League (AL) after 2008. He explained his change by contrasting the candidates: the BNP's candidate was a new and notorious figure in Bogura, known for corruption, criminal

activity, and repeated imprisonment, which tarnished his image across the constituency. On the other hand, the AL candidate, Md. Abdul Mannan, was well-educated, socially active, and politically experienced, making him a more appealing choice. Kajol noted that despite several previous electoral losses, Mannan's consistent work for the welfare of the people during his time with the AL ultimately swayed voters who were eager for change. His efforts in social development projects played a significant role in shifting public sentiment, leading to his eventual victory.

5.9. Interview with a farmer

While doing interviews with another respondent, who only supports Awami League named Md. Badsha about 32 years old. By profession, he is a farmer. I tried to know the people's view regarding the feature of nomination as a comparison between the candidate of AL and BNP. The respondent told me, 'AL always evaluates the qualified, experienced, morally sound and dedicated person for nomination in the election but BNP does not do anything of that sort'. According to him 'BNP candidate was not highly qualified, sincere, honest, dedicated, people loving and experienced person like AL candidate'. Again I asked him which party's manifesto was more meaningful for the wellbeing of the people. The respondent replied to me that though Awami League now is in power as the MP for the constituency is very helpful and tries his level best to implement the offered manifesto than previous governments. Beyond mere promises by candidates, my survey was trying to look at the voter's perception about the implementation of manifesto goals of the political parties. Having interviewed with the common voters it was clear to me that most of the people want honest and capable representative for their own benefit. Among some of my respondents said they would look for dedicated party candidates to vote.

The financial wellbeing can be a crucial determinant for political evaluation and vote choice. This influence might be unnoticed for the people as a whole by the measurement of mass voter turnout for which financial benefit has little-assumed link to politics. The common behaviour of the voters regarding the politics might install a sense of order in an otherwise baffling political fact.

5.10. Interview with a businessman

At this stage, we found an old respondent named Abdul Kuddus, about 63 years old businessman. While conducting an interview with this common voter once we asked him how you choose your political party during the election for vote. By smiling a bit he told me that "choosing a political party which has the few common views to me such as political parties should think deeply for the common people when they are in power. We believe that the elected government is to offer the better education for all citizens, provide our basic rights, develop a safe nation with strong and enlarge our economy'. Not only to maintain peace and order in the country, eradicated the violence, protect the democracy, that the party would like to do this, I'd vote for him".

Kuddus expressed that he chooses his political party based on its dedication to the common good, economic stability, and the protection of citizens' rights. His views reflected a broader trend of voters seeking tangible improvements in their lives rather than political rhetoric.

5.11. Insights from former BNP supporter

On the other hand, I was conducting with another voter named Md. Rezaul Karim was an activist of BNP before 2008 parliamentary election but since that election, he has changed his political beliefs. Now he is a supporter of AL. Authors wanted to know the reason for changing the apolitical party. He was telling that 'Bangladesh Awami League is committed to promoting our standard of life in each and every corner of the country'. He also told that Bangladesh Awami League had played a major role in the political liberation war and the party took measures to accomplish its declaration and program such as 'to uphold the ideal of independence and the spirit as well as values of Liberation war'. On the contrary, 'Jamat-E-Islam is the opposed group of war of Liberation and BNP did make a big mistake to make an alliance with Jamat' he said. According to the Democracy International, 'Bangladesh Awami League is the most popular party in Bangladesh'.

All in all, Karim highlighted AL's commitment to national development, the party's role in the Liberation War, and his disillusionment with BNP's alliance with controversial factions. He pointed out that these factors led many voters to abandon BNP and place their faith in AL, which was seen as a party focused on progress and national pride.

6. Findings and Critical Analysis

6.1. Political belief/voting behaviour in Bogura in 2008 election: Determinants

Election indicates a system of taking part in which all the people reveal their choice to select political representative by using a secret ballot. The behaviour of voter is influenced by several factors such as religion, caste, community, language, money, policy or ideology, purpose of the polls, extent of the franchise, political wave etc" (ibid: 2015). The all political parties and groups try to utilize these to win in the election. During the time of voting, the voter's interest and behaviour may be emphasised by the nature of the election. The role of all these matters can be scrutinized in the study of Bogura's political behaviour in 2008 election. There can be some issues responsible for changing the voting belief during the in 2008 parliamentary election in Bogura. This research highlighted several determinants of Bogura's voters particularly at Sonatola Upazila. In Bogura the following core political and socio-economic issues which play as determinates of voting belief/behaviours in our voting system;

6.2. Charismatic leadership and political realignment

Charisma is one of the important factors in changing the voting behaviour in the election. It means extraordinary virtue of a political leader that can be an origin of attraction and trust for the voters in the election; on the opposite site, it also means that an origin of fear and panic that intimidates the voters and nothing to say against the wishes of the powerful leader. Luckily, in Bogura district particularly in Sonatola Upazila the AL candidate Md. Abdul Mannan was a charismatic leader according to my respondents which let people changes their political or voting behaviour during the election in 2008. On the contrary, BNP candidate did not occupy such this quality to attract the people attention during the election which can be a reason to lose BNP in the election in Bogura.

6.3. Religion's role in shaping political behaviour in Bogura's 2008 election

Religion was a pivotal role to change the people's political behaviour during the election. Since the establishment of a secular³⁹ state by AL in Bangladesh, therefore, most of the Hindu community people had strong trust to AL candidate in 2008 parliamentary election in Bogura. In my research area, almost half of the people are Hindu. While informally talking to them most of the Hindu people let me know that "BNP and Jamat-e-Islami are the alliance, coming to power they will be more fundamentalist". Subsequently in Bogura during the election the two party's candidates tried to achieve the voter's mind from both religions. According to most of my respondents, the Awami league candidate had a good relation with both Hindus and Muslims people but BNP candidate could not maintain this. Therefore, the AL candidate Md. Abdul Mannan was able to secure the seat from Bogura. Like this way, people might be changed their political behaviour in 2008 parliamentary election in Bogura politics.

6.4. Election campaign and manifestos

One of the objectives of the research was to analyse about the election campaign and its political manifestos from both parties. As a part of the election campaign, canvassing and campaigning commenced early in the election in Bogura, generally soon after the candidates had announced their candidature. Subsequently, party workers and supporters and activists began moving around through the election area by distributing pamphlets, posters and handbills. Sometimes, the supporters and workers also went from each voter door to door and tried to convince the head of the household. According to the Awami League supporters, the election campaign of AL during the election was as honest, hardworking and united. The AL candidate Md. Abdul Mannan is an

agronomist, therefore, he was able to motivate the farmer's voters by offering some agricultural facilities among the farmers as election manifestos which were not done by BNP candidates. Sometimes, especially in the rural area the AL candidate Md. Mannan and BNP candidate Md. Shokh Rana himself used to come and spoke with the local people as an election campaign during the 2008 parliamentary election in Sonatola Upazila, Bogura district.

On the other hand, the election manifestos can play a crucial role to change people's political view during the election, and having come into power, every voter expects to fulfil its promises given there in. 'Good or bad performance of the ruling party, just on the basis of the election promises made and promises actually fulfilled influence the basis behaviour of the people in a big way' (ibid, 2015). People experienced that from 2001 to 2006 in Bangladesh when Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) came to power for the 2nd time could not win in the very next election held in 2008 mainly because of its failure to perform successfully during its time period. In 2008 parliamentary election the BNP and its alliance become failed to get power because of their failures to exercise power and maintain its political stabilities during their time period.

6.5. Factionalism's impact on Bogura's 2008 election

The local political scenario of Bogura, from the rural level to the national level, was characterized by factionalism in both parties BNP and AL. It was observed that no political party, even BNP and the two communist parties are free from factionalism other than Jamat-e-Islami in Bogura. According to the respondents, there is a strong factionalism in Bogura BNP. Because of factionalism in Bogura BNP, during 2008 election, the BNP supported, workers did not work properly. On the other hand, despite having factionalism in Bogura AL, during election, all supporters and activists worked together for AL candidate. From the analysing of interviewed data it can be said that because of factionalism of Bogura BNP, the party leaders and local workers were not able to retain its supporter's political behaviour during 2008 parliamentary election.

6.6. Party's accomplishment in power

On the basis of election manifestos each and every political party competes election and having come to power, it is longed to perform the promises that made before the election as manifestos. People of Bogura experienced from 1996 to 2001 by AL that candidate despite being failed in the election he did many social works for the wellbeing of the people and maintain their political stabilities because during this time AL was in power. From my field work, on the other hand, it is assumed that during the BNP since 2001 to 2006 the promises that made before the election did not follow properly by BNP in Bogura because of this some voters changed their political behaviour from BNP to AL in 2008 national election. This was the good performance done by AL candidate during 1996 to 2001 of AL period in Bogura which led people to change their political behaviour in 2008 national election. Not only that, on the other hand, on the basis of the bad performance by BNP from 2001 to 2006 in Bogura, many people literally changed their political party from BNP to AL which has been reflected by my field work.

7. Conclusion

The aptitudes of the local political environment of Gabtali, Shibgang, Bogura Sadar, Kahalu, Nanadigram, Adhomdighi, Dhupchachiya are mostly same but there are some differences in Sonatola-Sariyakandi and Sherpur-Dhonot constituencies. The BNP and AL local politics have been actively practicing in Bogura Sadar Upazila to prevalent their dominance. Basically the research has highlighted in various local political parties and their activities that perform in Bogura district, Bangladesh. Respondents have informed me that the AL, which has been able to come to power after a long time in 2008 through the free and fair election, people became very disappointed to this government because the way that government is following to govern the people is not participatory. It has found that after coming to power, the AL government was trying to control over the political situation and not to allow the others political parties to practice their political rights in not only Bogura but also in whole Bangladesh. Though there are many political parties in Bogura, they are not allowed to practice their local politics freely. But In 2001 when BNP won all seven constituencies from Bogura district, the others

political parties would practise their politics in Bogura freely. Therefore, some of my respondents said to me that 'it's a political game by AL to dominate the political situation in Bogura into order to grab all seats from Bogura in the next elections'. On the other hand, just after coming to the power AL commenced to use law enforcing agency to arrest the opposition's political leaders especially BNP leaders from Bogura. On the contrary being an AL MP of Sonatola constituency Md. Abdul Manan kept visiting his whole election constituency to become more popular as well as to grab BNP's popularity. But the Sonatola Upazila Chairman (Present BNP Candidate) and other local BNP leaders also trying to keep organising their party programs in order to people are engaged with BNP politics.

Moreover, during AL government Jatiya Party (Ershad) is also not that much active in Bogura politics though it's an alliance of AL and some JP leaders Bogura such as Presidium Member and district president of Bogura Md. Shariful Alam Jinnah and another Presidium Member and current MP of JP in Bogura Md. Nurul Islam Umar are also from Bogura. For not having the party program and have internal party conflicts some of the JP local leaders, activists and supporters have moved to others parties such as AL, BNP in Bogura. On the other hand, the organizational strength and process are very strong in Jamat-E-Islami but the supporters are not more because the government is strict on Jamat's activities. The political parties try to maximise their strength through the organisational structure which is hidden from the mass of the population. But, there is interesting thing is that there are some people who keep trust on Jammat because they think that it's not involved with outlaws party in Bogura. All the people of Bogura district want to have a very good life where peace and tranquillity are prevalent in the finest form. But it's a matter of fact that in this circumstance the popularity of BNP gradually was decreasing in compare with another party.

It is needed to be said that the both largest political parties AL and BNP try to draw their power from the charisma of their two leaders—Sheikh Hasina and Khaleda Zia (ibid, 2004). In Bogura, if BNP and AL want to retain their power over the election system, and want to skip extreme mutual hatred, these two major parties competitive process might be institutionalized with the expectancy for a durable democracy. By investigating the whole political and its surrounding circumstances, the local level politics in Bogura is being bit by bit transcript with the national politics in Bangladesh. Besides that, the exchange of political views between local and national level are also being developed. It is often too heard to say by the local people that if the national level political leaders of AL do not keep communication to the local area in Bogura, their acquired popularity will be diminished and they will not be able to capture any single constituency from Bogura. Subsequently, the PM Sheikh Hasina visited once in Bogura in 2015 to encourage its supports, activists, and local leaders. On the other hand, the BNP party chairperson Begum Khalida Zia and its other central leaders keep coming to visit to encourage its supporters, activists and local leaders to seize their all constituencies including two losing as well in Bogura district.

Author Contributions: All authors contributed to this research.

Funding: Not applicable.

Conflict of Interest: The authors declare no conflict of interest.

Informed Consent Statement/Ethics Approval: Not applicable.

References

- admin. (2003, June 1). Bogra Formula. *Story Of Pakistan*. <https://storyofpakistan.com/bogra-formula/>
- Adamu, A., Ocheni, D., & Ibrahim. 2016. MONEY POLITICS AND ANALYSIS OF VOTING BEHAVIOUR IN NIGERIA: CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS FOR FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS. *International Journal of Public Administration and Management Research*, Vol. 3(3):89-99
- Ahmed, M. 2012. *Voting behaviour in rural and urban areas of Punjab*. Retrieved on July 5th.

- Ahmed, M., & Naseem, F. (2011). Social system influences political system. *Berkeley Journal of Social Sciences*, 1(1), 1-10.
- Akhter, Sanzida & Md. Abdul Wohab 2004. Local Level Politics in Bangladesh: Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, Dhaka.
- Ali, S. H. (2009, October 19). *Mohammed Ali of Bogra*. The Daily Star. <https://www.thedailystar.net/news-detail-110424>
- Balouch, A. (2015, September 8). *The Pakistani Prime Minister who drove a locomotive—DAWN.COM*. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1205473>
- Bangabandhu Jamuna Multipurpose Bridge—Banglapedia*. (n.d.). Retrieved April 24, 2024, from https://en.banglapedia.org/index.php/Bangabandhu_Jamuna_Multipurpose_Bridge
- Bangladesh Election Commission*. (n.d.). Retrieved April 24, 2024, from <http://www.ecs.gov.bd/>
- Bangladesh former PM is arrested*. (2007, September 3). http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/6975340.stm
- Biswas, F. (2023). Electoral patterns and voting behavior of Bihar in Assembly elections from 2010 to 2020: a spatial analysis. *GeoJournal*, 88(1), 655-689.
- Bogra District—Banglapedia*. (n.d.). Retrieved April 24, 2024, from https://en.banglapedia.org/index.php/Bogra_District
- Correspondent, S. & Bogra. (2008, December 1). *Jamaat grumbles for tickets in Bogra-4,5*. The Daily Star. <https://www.thedailystar.net/news-detail-65708>
- Définitions et usages de: Tarique Rahman—Dictionnaire de anglais sensagent*. (n.d.). Retrieved April 24, 2024, from <https://dictionnaire.sensagent.com/Tarique%20Rahman/en-en/>
- Dr. Mughees Ahmed, Faisalabad Division ke Siasat per Biradarism kay Asraat, (Ph.D Thesis, Department of Political Science and International Relations, (Multan: B Z University), 2004, p.235
- Ganapathy. V., 2015. Battle of Bogra. *Scholar warrior*.
- Hasan, M., & Hasan, M. (2020). The BNP, Ummah, and Politics in Bangladesh. *Islam and Politics in Bangladesh: The Followers of Ummah*, 115-144.
- Hashmi, T. (2022). “Dynastic Democracy” Under the “Battling Begums,” 1991–2021. In *Fifty Years of Bangladesh, 1971-2021: Crises of Culture, Development, Governance, and Identity* (pp. 191-242). Cham: Springer International Publishing.
- Hazarika, Biraj. 2015. Voting Behaviour in India and Its Determinants. *IOSR Journal Of Humanities And Social Science*, Vol 20(10): 22-25
- Hossain, Aktar and Islam. 2017. People’s Voting Behavior In Local Election: A Study On Annadanagar Union Parishad , Pirgachha , Rangpur. *IOSR Journal Of Humanities And Social Science*, Vol 22 (3): 01-14
- Jahan,R.edi. 2000. *Bangladesh: Promise and Performance*. Dhaka: The University Press Ltd.
- Leigh, A. (2005). Economic voting and electoral behavior: how do individual, local, and national factors affect the partisan choice?. *Economics & Politics*, 17(2), 265-296.
- Kiran, Dr. N. (2016). The Federal Cabinet of Pakistan and Politics of East Bengal/Pakistan I , 1947-1958. *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 21(08), 23–34. <https://doi.org/10.9790/0837-2108092334>
- Lieske, J. (1989). The political dynamics of urban voting behavior. *American Journal of Political Science*, 150-174.
- Mahasthangarh / Wondermondo*. (2014, June 28). <https://www.wondermondo.com/mahasthangarh/>
- Ministry of Planing, Bangladesh, 2014. *Bangladesh Population and Housing Census 2011*.
- Mohammad Ali Bogra (1909-1963). (2012, September 6). *History Pak*. <https://historypak.com/mohammad-ali-bogra-1909-1963/>
- Moniruzzaman, M. 2009. Party politics and political violence in Bangladesh: issues, manifestation and consequences. *South Asian Survey*, 16(1), 81-99.
- National Election 2007: Civil Society Initiative for Accountable Development | CPD*. (n.d.). Centre for Policy Dialogue (CPD). Retrieved April 24, 2024, from <https://cpd.org.bd/national-election-2007-civil-society-initiative-for-accountable-development/>
- Organization and Process. *BRAC University Journal*. Vol 1(1):23-32.
- Rahman, T. (2019). Party system institutionalization and pernicious polarization in Bangladesh. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 681(1), 173-192.
- Rajasena, K. S., & Thanikodi, A. *Election Manifesto is the Key Determinant of Voting Behaviour in Tamil Nadu Electoral Politics*.
- SAARC Cultural Capital – Bogra, Bangladesh – Inauguration |*. (n.d.). Retrieved April 24, 2024, from <https://saarcculture.org/saarc-cultural-capital-bogra-bangladesh-inauguration/>
- Shaw, T. 2008. Max Weber on Democracy: Can the People Have Political Power in Modern States?. *Constellations*, Vol 15(1): 33-45.
- Sonatala Upazila—Banglapedia*. (n.d.). Retrieved April 24, 2024, from https://en.banglapedia.org/index.php/Sonatala_Upazila

- Srinivas, M. N., & Shah, A. M. 2007. *The grassroots of democracy: field studies of Indian elections*. Permanent Black.
- Suman, M. N. H., MD Sarfaraj, N., Chyon, F. A., & Fahim, M. R. I. (2021). Facility location selection for the furniture industry of Bangladesh: Comparative AHP and FAHP analysis. *International Journal of Engineering Business Management*, 13, 18479790211030851.
- Van der Brug, W., Van Praag, P., & Van der Eijk, C. (2017). Elections, Cleavages and voting behaviour. *Political Science and Changing Politics*, 137-161.
- Weber, M. 1968. *Politics as a Vocation*.
- Who was Muhammad Ali Bogra? Everything You Need to Know*. (n.d.). Retrieved April 24, 2024, from <https://www.thefamouspeople.com/profiles/muhammad-ali-bogra-5876.php>