

## Paradoxical Social Changes in Bangladesh

Kamrunnahar\*  
Supad Kumar Ghose\*\*

### Abstract

*This paper explores and interprets that Bangladesh has made unprecedented progress in raising its per capita income and gross domestic product (GDP) over almost half a century. However, the nature of the overall social change this country has experienced seems more paradoxical in that a mere increase in per capita income, GDP, and basic infrastructure does not constitute development itself. Instead, development and social change imply more holistic positive changes in the socio-economic structure, social norms and values, political system, cultural milieu, and natural environment. Growth-oriented social changes have been accompanied by unbridgeable socio-economic inequality between different social classes and strata. Economic governance is increasingly marred by predatory practices in the banking sector, crisis-ridden stock markets, and money laundering. While recent economic changes have brought about a boom for the professional sections and comprador business classes, overall, the agricultural sector and farmers have experienced a bust in their socio-economic status. Our political system lacks sound governance since all state institutions are increasingly becoming corruption-ridden and dysfunctional. Unprecedented lawlessness, food adulteration, intolerable environmental pollution, and the resurgence in religious orthodoxy pandered by the ruling party have darkened its shiny side of socio-cultural progress in terms of modernity. On top of that, prioritising quality education, public health, and well-being has become a nightmare compromised incrementally by deficit financing and unscrupulous management systems. Given this backdrop, this paper has sought to offer several policy suggestions to put Bangladesh on its trajectory towards development.*

\* Corresponding Author; Assistant Professor, Department of Bangladesh and Liberation War Studies, Noakhali Science and Technology University (NSTU), Email: [knshapla@nstu.edu.bd](mailto:knshapla@nstu.edu.bd)

\*\* Assistant Professor, Department of Bangladesh and Liberation War Studies, Noakhali Science and Technology University (NSTU), Email: [supad.ghose@gmail.com](mailto:supad.ghose@gmail.com)

**Keywords:** Growth • Development • Governance • Inequality • Social Change  
• Paradox

## **Introduction**

Over the last three decades, Bangladesh has achieved major macro-social changes in increasing its per capita income and overall Gross National Product (GDP). These macro-social changes have affected major socio-economic changes, improving its image as one of the ‘development’ successes among the Least Developed Countries (LDCs) of the United Nations. As a result, it is no longer regarded as ‘a basket case for foreign aid’. It is no longer known ‘as a poster child of poverty.’ Instead, different quarters, especially the international development community consisting of different officials associated with various development agencies such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, various personnel involved in development-oriented Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) have been hailing Bangladesh as a model for development. This community also suggests that other developing countries can adopt Bangladesh as a model for their development activities. The current Government in Bangladesh and the ruling party leave no stone unturned to exaggerate the achievements and the resultant image of Bangladesh.

What is distinguishing here is that even the epistemic community of economists who deal with growth, development, and poverty alleviation have also recently joined the chorus, singing aloud about the achievements of Bangladesh (Mushtaque, 2007). Even some economists have sought to project this economic and social progress of Bangladesh as a “development surprise” They further suggest that Bangladesh could be a “development model” for other developing countries (Barai, 2020). Contrary to mainstream economists, the authors of Bangladesh in the Asian Century argue that macroeconomic drivers in the form of good governance have led to sustained economic growth in Bangladesh. Mujeri and Mujeri (2021) argued that Bangladesh is one of the most interesting cases in studying present-day development combined with its rapid growth and catching up. They highlight the development traps Bangladesh encountered during its journey and the ones it may face in the coming decades to make progress and attain prosperity (Mujeri & Mujeri, 2021). Miracles and challenges have also made a bold claim that Bangladesh is a development “miracle” because it has achieved much under unfavourable conditions while suggesting that other developing countries can adopt policy interventions that have worked in Bangladesh (Sawada et al., 2018).

Although the increasing number of young people appears to offer a dramatic horizon of new opportunities, Bangladesh has not been able to take advantage of

the population dividend. Instead, greater sections of society have been willy-nilly kept outside development activities through neo-liberal jobless growth. One of the main reasons is that the country has yet to adequately finance education, health, skill development training, and opportunities targeted at young adults. Therefore, an increasing number of people tend to seek overseas employment for worthwhile jobs and better lives. However, the migration pattern of Bangladesh seems entirely predictable, with low-skilled labour resulting in lower remittance (Wadood et al., 2022). In fact, with prioritised policies and programs, the burgeoning youth section of people in Bangladesh could be used to achieve great potential inside or outside the country. Our national political system is lacking both sound governance and a sustainable future. Almost all state institutions are increasingly becoming corruption-ridden and dysfunctional. The transport sector has undoubtedly experienced unprecedented infrastructural developments, but lawlessness has darkened its shiny side. The education sector has recently experienced a revolution in quantity, but its quality is questionable. Socio-cultural progress in terms of modernity has been dimmed by the resurgence in religious orthodoxy pandered by the ruling party. Gains in the health sector have been compromised by the poisonous food culture and mismanagement exacerbated by unscrupulous doctors and other personnel. Socio-economic prosperity has been accompanied by intolerable environmental pollution, unsustainable population growth, the slow death of the existing river system, and global climate change. This paradoxical social change will likely hamper Bangladesh's future tempo of development. In this light, this paper aims to make several pragmatic policy suggestions for Bangladesh to uphold its genuine spirit of development.

This paper is divided into two parts. Part I seeks to deal with and interpret a variety of issue areas in which Bangladesh has been making progress while simultaneously experiencing paradoxes of one kind or another. On the other hand, Part II offers a wide array of policy suggestions that Bangladesh can adopt and thus overcome many bottlenecks in its future development trajectory. It is followed by a short conclusion that seeks to capture the normative essence of the paper. Methodologically speaking, this paper mostly depends on qualitative data, though quantitative data have also been used to explain and interpret various issues dealt with in this paper. Since it is primarily an interpretive paper, quantitative data have been amply used in this paper to develop an understanding of the development paradigm of Bangladesh and its resultant paradox.

### **Part I: Growth, Progress, and Paradox**

We have made progress in per capita income, poverty alleviation, the standard of living, infrastructural development, literacy rate, and overall human capital

development over the last fifty years following our independence in 1971 (Malek et al., 2022). However, our development is not as rosy as we see because these neo-classical economists still measure development only in terms of per capita income and gross domestic product (GDP). However, a mere increase in per capita income, GDP, and essential infrastructure development does not constitute development *per se*. Instead, development and social change imply more holistic positive changes in the socio-economic structure, social norms and values, political system, cultural milieu, and natural environment.

It merits our attention here that the hegemony of neo-classical economics has been subject to criticisms from several schools of economics (William & McNeill, 2005). Similarly, our fascination for growth and GDP has also been criticised (Pilling, 2018). Nevertheless, economists still belonging to the neo-classical school of thought cling to per capita income and GDP while measuring development. Taking per capita income as the basic denominator of development, one can argue that the USA is more developed than Sweden because the former has higher per capita income than Sweden (World Bank 2020). However, in real life, Sweden is more advanced than the USA because Sweden still has a good social welfare development despite substantial dents inflicted on this once-vaunted Scandinavian model made by the neo-liberal hegemony over the last thirty-five years (World Bank 2020).

Moreover, development thinkers of the Neo-classical School seek to project the current development of Bangladesh as a 'success' story. However, if we assess this development paradigm from many indicators of development associated with the Human Development Index (HDI) and other schools of development, we get a different picture of the current socio-economic reality of Bangladesh (Azad, 2015). Anyway, the cumulative development that Bangladesh has experienced over the last two decades is questionable from the standpoints of various socio-economic indicators of development.

Governance is one of the crucial factors both in ensuring and sustaining economic development among developing countries. Khan (2013) stated that governance is one of the critical factors ensuring different levels of performance among developing countries. Nevertheless, prominent development thinkers have not yet reached any consensus on which governance model is more effective in ensuring development (Fortunato, 2015). Anyway, Democracy, Sen (1999) argues, has been preferred as a universal value by the vast majority of people for its intrinsic importance in ensuring political participation and freedom in human life. Sen (1999) also emphasises the constructive role of democratic governance in forming human values and understanding needs, rights, and duties. Besides, most economists prioritise democratic government as more effective in ensuring and sustaining development.

Bangladesh has been seriously lacking democratic governance and institutional building. No doubt, we started a democratic journey in 1991 after having overthrown a military dictator in 1991, but we have deviated from that democratic trajectory over time. In the forward book *Bangladesh at 50: Development and Challenge*, Sobhan (2020), the doyen of economists in Bangladesh, has sought to capture the reality of the democratic deficit in Bangladesh more poignantly. According to him, Bangladesh has experienced remarkable economic growth but is underperforming in the governance sector. It is also a significant challenge for the trajectory of growth and progress in Bangladesh (Sobhan, 2020). The crisis in governance has been profoundly affecting the prospects of democratic government in the sense that the possibility of holding a peaceful election, which is a pre-condition for the transition of power, is increasingly becoming controversial. Other democratic institutions, cultures, and norms are also in crisis. The freedom of the press is not up to the mark in our national life. The rule of law as a principle of democracy stands compromised because semi-anarchy prevails in parts of the country where the mighty call shoots in public life, and the weak and poor are often the victims of their wrath and aggrandisements. Foreign governments are taking advantage of such a crisis in democratic governance and increasingly interfering in our national politics.

The high rate of economic growth and rampant corruption, which characterised Bangladesh's development scenario for the last few decades, may establish positive correlations between them. Still, in the final analysis, it becomes vividly clear that corruption and economic growth are negatively correlated in Bangladesh. Corruption is rampant in national life because it has permeated all aspects of society. Financial sectors, especially the banking sector and share market, are hostage to the greed of the affluent class, who are prone to loot these institutions and launder their loot abroad. The state has a vital role as a regulator in a capitalist economy like ours, but the state mechanism has proved deficient in regulating several sectors such as banking, finance, insurance, industry, environment, health, education, manpower export, and transportation. Bangladesh has made considerable investments in public infrastructures, which are expected to have an enabling role in accelerating development. However, the quality of these projects is being increasingly questioned due to delayed construction and cost overruns. Corruption deprives people of their rights and erodes their faith in the government. Monwarul Islam rightly points out (Islam, 2021):

*“What corruption does is, however, far more fundamental. It erodes people's rights to services. It negates people's rights to the quality of life that they are promised by the government and to benefits that public agencies and legal institutions are entrusted with to ensure. Corruption, to put it in a nutshell,*

*gnaws at people's lives, making them suffer in ways that economic discourses and economic growth indicators leave largely unattended. For example, people in Bangladesh, as in other corruption-ridden countries, routinely find it difficult to have unhindered access to legitimate services from the law enforcement agencies, road transport authorities, courts, land records and settlement offices, educational institutions, hospitals and other service sectors. Studies show that at least 68 per cent of the rural and 65 per cent of the urban people experience bribery while they seek services from public agencies and institutions. Such a widespread culture of bribery undermines people's legitimate rights to services for which they pay taxes."*

The neoliberal economic order that most of the countries have been practising over the last three decades has no doubt accelerated the rate of economic growth, but it has almost created unbridgeable income inequality between the few rich at the top and the overwhelming majority at the grassroots level. Stiglitz (2012) has pointed out that society has become unfair due to the working of the neoliberal economic order, which has created a widening gap between a small, rich class and a broader section of the poor (Stiglitz, 2012). Piketty (2017) has also highlighted more profoundly the inequality that has been increasing between the owners of rentier capital, who constitute no more than one percent of the population, and the overwhelming majority, who are almost ninety-nine percent of the people.

From the standpoint of inequality, Bangladesh society is an appropriate example because income inequality is rampant in Bangladesh more than in many other countries. And this is the product of the unequal neoliberal economy. To be sure, inequality in Bangladesh has been widening so fast that only 10% of the people at the top are gaining at the cost of 40% of the mass people. Resources are concentrated in the hands of a few rich people, and a large section of the people are becoming deprived and thus peripheral in national life (Titumir, 2021). Like the economists of the World Bank, neo-classical economists seek to hide class as a criterion in socio-economic analysis in Bangladesh. Accordingly, they ignore the growing inequality between different people in Bangladesh. Still, one should not make both class and inequality invisible because this overarching inequality aggravates class differences in the country and disturbs socio-economic equilibrium among different categories of people. The bane of growing inequality is pernicious because the more the middle and lower classes experience inequality, the more they lose purchasing power, with its deleterious effect on the country's overall economic well-being. Covid-19 has further aggravated the already unequal relationships among different classes of people because this pandemic has added more than 20 million people to the growing army of poor living below the poverty line.

Our national budget has been becoming bigger in size and more ambitious in goals because we have been relatively successful in mobilising vast amounts of internal resources over the last three decades. As a result, our dependence on foreign aid has decreased to a greater extent. Nevertheless, our internal revenue generation in the tax-GDP ratio is weak. Foreign direct investment (FDI) is indispensable for accelerating the economic growth rate in Bangladesh's economy. The high economic growth that Bangladesh has been achieving for the last three decades should have been a sufficient factor for attracting a higher level of FDI. However, Bangladesh has been experiencing a paradox because "bureaucratic issues, infrastructure shortfalls, high tax rates, and difficulty in accessing finances are" (Shariar, 2022) impeding the flow of FDI in Bangladesh.

Bangladesh, a garments exporting country, has become the second biggest exporter of garments producer after the People's Republic of China. However, unprecedented growth in the garments industry has increasingly been undermined by a series of accidents, the lack of skill development and diversification, and the rampant exploitation and deprivation of workers. Overwhelming dependence on a single sector, such as garments, also does not bode well for the country in the long run. We can improve the quality of our garments industry by persuading the owners to introduce skill training for workers, diversify their products and ensure workers' rights. The state can also diversify and develop a multi-sectoral economy by paying importance to pharmaceuticals, light engineering, and agro-based industries. However, concerted efforts to further develop these sectors are still lacking. Much heralded digital economy and the computer industry have made headway, but these sectors have not witnessed any optimum level of growth.

The agricultural sector has made progress in reaching national self-sufficiency in food production, but farmers have not been able to share this prosperity. High labour and input costs, slow distribution of credits among farmers, the dominance of both middlemen's chains, and the formation of cartels in agricultural sectors have stopped the progress of the farmers and diversification of agriculture (Azad, 2021). Agriculture has made progress, but overuse of fertilisers has a detrimental impact on the quality of the land, reducing its fertility and growing crops with a negative impact on human health and the environment (Azad, 2021; Titumir, 2021). Hunger almost disappeared in twenty-first-century Bangladesh since our development enabled us to conquer this age-old social menace. However, we still have problems with nutrition, which results in the stunting of children. However, hunger is again returning due to the recent crisis caused by the Russo-Ukraine war. A UN study has revealed that 87% of people find it hard to eat three times a day (Prothom Alo, 2022).

The job creation record in the national economy is not encouraging since we have jobless growth (Titumir, 2021). The number of unemployed graduates, especially unemployed graduates, is increasing in the country. However, much more disappointing has been the meagre job prospects for those still preparing for employment in the future. As a result, our disillusioned young generation is easily falling victim to the misguided religious sermons of unscrupulous religious scholars. As a palliative, they are turning to extremism and violence by joining the so-called jihadi organisations and fuelling Islamic resurgence (Khan, 2013). Since our cultural space is getting narrower and narrower due to the ever-increasing closing of our minds, another group of young people is turning to computer games, drug addiction, and pornography for instant gratification. It should be mentioned here that nationalist and progressive forces are responsible for the poverty of our cultural life because they lack imagination, innovation, and creativity in this epoch distorted by the receding legacy of neoliberalism.

A wide range of informal indicators of development, such as quality of public transport, chaotic traffic system, lack of quality tap water, and non-availability of public amenities such as public libraries, museums, zoos, and pedestrians' roads, are also telling upon the quality of national life all over the country. We have experienced unprecedented growth in the number of educational institutions and enrolments of students at every level, from the tertiary to the primary. However, quality education is still a far cry in national life. Many factors, such as non-implementation of national education policy, lack of efficient and motivated teachers, who have mainly been recruited through corrupt practices and local pressure, high dropout rates at the primary and middle schools, state failure in ensuring vocational education, outdated Madrassa education, lack of emphasis on science education and scientific culture, and low rate of government investment in the education sector are responsible for this dismal picture in education. The lack of national consensus on national education policy and curricula is also accountable for this poor state of our education. The government further complicates the education sector because it does not spend what it promises. Expenditure on education as a percentage of GDP and the total budget outlay rank Bangladesh at the bottom among South Asian countries. Even Nepal is ahead of Bangladesh (Billah, 2022).

The health sector has experienced tremendous growth in institutional expansion, but the lack of a motivated workforce, corruption, and mismanagement have compromised its efficacy. Concerning the national investment rate in the health sector, it spent much less than many South Asian countries, such as Nepal and Pakistan, and only about half of India (Azad, 2015). Environmental pollution and excessive chemicals in foodstuffs are affecting our overall health. The global climate crisis has already made Bangladesh one of the most vulnerable countries



in the world. Undoubtedly, the World Air Quality Report 2020 finds Bangladesh the most polluted country. As a result, we are increasingly breathing contaminated air. Bangladesh has become among the twenty unhealthiest countries globally (Noorane, 2021). In addition, Bangladesh's ecological crisis has been further aggravated by politicians and accomplices illegally possessing our rivers, lakes, haors, and canals. They often work in cahoots with the local administrations. The dumping of chemicals in almost all bodies is another national scourge.

Compared to other countries in the developing world, Bangladesh made relative progress in ensuring gender equality and women's participation in the national workforce. Still, the much sought-after and hard-gained progress in this sector has also been harmed by the oppression of women and a national culture of rape with impunity. The state has also not yet been able to reduce the marriage of underage girls significantly. As a result, children are giving birth to children. Women are still vulnerable and often victims of sexual exploitation in the economy's informal sector and patriarchal society. Mahtab (2012) has mentioned that worsening economic conditions also result in the rise of commercialisation and commodification of women, as evidenced by a higher incidence of trafficking and oppression. In search of a better life, many women migrate to new cities, both nationally and internationally, creating thousands of stories about women's plight and exclusion (Mahtab, 2012).

Like many other countries, neoclassical economists who dominate development thinking in Bangladesh have sought to make a rosy picture of our development by highlighting per capita income and GDP. Still, if we delve further based on conventional and non-conventional development indicators, we discover several pitfalls associated with our national development paradigm. It explains why we have not yet reached the much sought-after quality of life for all classes of people in Bangladesh that our development model promised. The growth we have experienced has not brought about any significant change in the quality of life for most people. In other words, our development model is questionable because "it has brought forth more complications than it has offered solutions to concerns and problems" (Islam, 2021).

Against this backdrop, it is time to review the neo-classical development paradigm for our national prosperity through national thinking, debate, and planning. The late-life realisation of Mahbub ul Haq, a world-renowned Pakistani economist who developed the HDI report, is worth remembering here. He said (Crossette, 1998),

*"There is widespread consensus today that the purpose of development is not just to enlarge incomes but to enlarge people's choices, and that these choices extend to a decent education, good health, political freedom, cultural identity,*

*personal security, community participation, environmental security and many other areas of human well-being. A link between growth and human lives must be created through conscious national planning.”*

## **Part II: Policy Suggestions**

In the previous part, we have sought to delve into the paradoxical nature of the socio-economic progress that Bangladesh has experienced over the last three decades. However, the challenge is to reduce the nature of the contradictions with which the model of Bangladesh has been associated. A caveat is in order because there is no guarantee that the policy planners working with the Bangladesh Government will adopt these measures. However, these policy suggestions will at least enable this writer to join the ensuing policy debate that Bangladesh has been having due to the paradoxical nature of the development experienced over the last three decades. First, Bangladesh should rethink the neoliberal development model it has been implementing over the last three decades because this much-vaunted Reaganite and Thatcherite model has failed in many countries worldwide.

Second, Bangladesh should impose a wealth tax on the rich and distribute it among the poor so that the majority can share in the prosperity of the few. In other words, we should have a reasonably fair socio-economic system in which the rich and the poor can share in the prosperity.

Third, Bangladesh should establish a robust regulatory system that can establish order and control over various agencies that are corrupt, inefficient, and incompetent.

Fourth, it should undertake major infrastructural projects after a thorough feasibility study. At the same time, it should undertake developmental projects that we can implement with our existing technical knowledge and expertise as a nation.

Fifth, the ruling and opposition parties should sit in a national dialogue to develop and ensure a free and fair election system for periodic government changes. We should strive for national consensus in this regard. Otherwise, the country may be plunged into a civil war-like situation over the question and modality of the national election.

Sixth, the education system should be based on the Qudrat E- Khuda Education Commission's report. The government should strive for a single standard primary and high school education curriculum. Our present Madrassa system cannot be abolished. Instead, we should introduce science and technology as part of the Madrassa curriculum. Instead of building more educational institutions, we should provide quality education at the primary, secondary, and tertiary levels.

Seventh, ethical education and programs should be introduced to reduce, if not eradicate, the magnitude of corruption in national life. To reduce corruption,

all forms of government services should be digitalised. National accountability should be introduced at every level of public affairs and in every institution.

Eighth, we should not exclusively depend on the garments industry anymore; instead, we should diversify our industrial sphere by developing light engineering, pharmaceuticals, leather industry, jute, and agro-based industries.

Ninth, public health must be prioritised with sufficient budget and well-planned restructuring. Therefore, our health sector can be revamped by introducing accountability and inviting foreign competition.

Tenth, there is scope for improving the higher education sector by inviting foreign competition and attaching foreign faculty to every academic institution.

Eleventh, the productivity of our workers should be enhanced by introducing various skills training programs based on the Japanese model of human resource development. Technical education should be promoted as part of human resource development.

Twelfth, national and cultural rejuvenation should be achieved by imparting patriotic education, especially among the younger generation, invoking the spirits of the national liberation struggle.

Last but not least, women should be brought to the forefront of development activities so that they can be major stakeholders in this inclusive development model.

## **Conclusion**

Bangladesh has faced many development challenges since its birth as a nation-state in 1971. It has put itself on a trajectory of development by overcoming major obstacles and financial constraints in the last few decades. In particular, the country has attained remarkable achievements in terms of sustained economic growth, food security, infrastructural development, educational attainment in quantity, and gender parity to some extent. In fact, it is on the road to transitioning from a Least Developed Country (LDC) to a developed country within a couple of years. However, its existing development model, which emphasises growth instead of holistic development, is paradoxical. Since it imitates the neoliberal development model, it is neither viable nor sustainable in the long run. Given these inherent limitations of the neoliberal model, we must accelerate the tempo of development in Bangladesh by introducing an environment-friendly, fair and egalitarian development that seeks to serve the majority of the people and not just the upper one per cent of the population. In other words, we must move beyond the neo-classical model of development that has created a paradox in our national life. It would be better if Bangladesh could adopt the policy suggestions outlined above. The faster Bangladesh deals with this development paradox, the better future beckons us.

### *References*

- Azad, A. K. (2015). Development: Where do we stand? *The Financial Express*. (December 19, 2015). [https://scholar.google.com/citations?view\\_op=view\\_citation&hl=en&user=YyMOEqsAAAAJ&citation\\_for\\_view=YyMOEqsAAAAJ:7VEv-pLvLSsC](https://scholar.google.com/citations?view_op=view_citation&hl=en&user=YyMOEqsAAAAJ&citation_for_view=YyMOEqsAAAAJ:7VEv-pLvLSsC).
- Azad, A. K. (2021). Determinants of Crop Diversification in Bangladesh: An Econometric Analysis. *Asia-Pacific Journal of Rural Development*, Vol. 31, Issue 2, 195–217. <https://doi.org/10.1177/24551333211069752>
- Barai, K. M. (2020). Bangladesh's Economic and Social Progress: From a Basket Case to a Development Model. New York: Palgrave/Macmillan.
- Billah, M. "Nothing much happening in education budget" *The New Age* (July 18, 2022).
- Crossette, B. (1998). Mahabub ul Haq 64, Analyst and Critique of Global Poverty. "*The New York Times* (July 17, 1998).
- Fortunato, P. (2015). Democratic Government and Development. *Asian Development Review*, Vol. 32, No. 2, pp. 153-177.
- Islam, M. (2021). "Paradoxes of Growth and Corruption." *The New Age* (December 8, 2021).
- Khan, M. (2013). The Islamic Resurgence: Why Bangladesh is a Special Case. An Unpublished Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia, 2013.
- Mahtab, N. (2012). Women, Gender and Development: Contemporary Issues. AH Development Publishing House, 143, New Market, Dhaka-1205. Pp. 197-198.
- Malek, A. M., Kikkawa, A., Azad, A. K. and Sawada, Y., (2022). Rural Development in Bangladesh over Three Decades: Findings from Mahabub Hossain Panel Data and the Way Forward (Forthcoming as ADBI Working Paper).
- Mujeri, M. K., and Mujeri, N. (2021). Social and Climate Change Vulnerability. In: Bangladesh at Fifty. Palgrave Studies in Economic History. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-56791-0\\_7](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-56791-0_7)
- Mushtaque, H. K. (2007). Governance, Economic Growth and Development since the 1960s. Desa Working Paper No. 64. Available at [https://www.un.org/esa/desa/papers/2007/wp54\\_2007.pdf](https://www.un.org/esa/desa/papers/2007/wp54_2007.pdf), retrieved on July 30, 2022.
- Noorane, S. (2021). Twenty Unhealthiest Countries in the World." *Insider Monkey* (April 16, 2021) Available at <https://www.yahoo.com/finance/news/20-most-unhealthiest-countries-world-144509607.html>
- Piketty, T. (2017). Inequality in the Twenty-First Century. Boston, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017.
- Pilling, D. (2018). The Growth Delusion: Wealth, Poverty and the Well-being of Nations. New York: Tim Dugan Book, Random House.
- Prothom Alo (2022). 73pc people in Bangladesh cannot afford healthy food: UN. Prothom Alo, (July 15, 2022).

- Sawada, Y., Mahmud, M., and Naohiro, K. (2018). *Social and Economic Development of Bangladesh: Miracles and Challenges*, New York: Springer, 2018.
- Sen, A. (1999). "Democracy as a Universal Value." *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 10, No. 3, pp. 3–17.
- Shariar, A. (2022). "Challenges to Bangladesh's Macroeconomic Development." *The Daily Star* (July 19, 2022).
- Sobhan, R. (2020). Bangladesh at 50: Development and Challenges. In "S. Narayan and Sreedha Dutta (eds.). Hyderabad: Orient Black Swan Pvt. Ltd., 2020.
- Stiglitz, J. (2012). *The Price of Inequality: How Today's Divided Society Endangers Our Future*. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Titumir, R. A. M. (2021). *Numbers and Narratives in Bangladesh's Economic Development*, Singapore: Palgrave.
- Wadood, S. N., Choudhury, N. N., and Azad, A. K. 2021. Does Migration Theory Explain International Migration from Bangladesh? A Primer Review. *Social Science Review*, Part-D (Forthcoming in the next issue).
- William, J. & McNeill, J. (2005). The Current Crisis in New Classical Economics and the Case for an Economic Analysis Based on Sustainable Development." *SSRN Electronic Journal*, U21 Global Working Paper No. 001.
- World Bank, (2020). *World development report 2020: Governance and the law*. The World Bank.

