

**WOMEN REPRESENTATION IN TOP MANAGEMENT OF CIVIL
SERVICE IN BANGLADESH**

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ABSTRACT

Over the years women have managed to increase their number in the service of the Republic but their position in terms of power and influencing decision making has not yet improved; very often they are excluded from formal and informal decision making process and challenging duties. Since Bangladesh along with other developing nations are committed to reduction of gender discrimination as part of their social development programs; the state of inequality of women in the service of the republic calls for investigation of their actual status, find out the underlying reasons. In Bangladesh women have been regularly appearing in the service but the number of women in 28 cadres is still negligible. Women cannot exceed, nor can get closer to men in question of occupying positions that matters in terms of decision making. In particular, the presence of women in the top management of administration and policy formulation is not adequate that can affect economic and social development. The number of women in the top position of civil service is not a desirable reflection of ideal gender balancing. In fact, this situation of women is not an isolated case; it portrays a global picture of women's status in the work environment. In our country it is often seen that women in the higher position were posted in the less challenging areas of jobs. Patriarchal values and stereotype attitudes are responsible for undermining women's capability as a whole. Therefore, prime issues and problems of women remain unaddressed in decision making level because of lower representation of women in top management. Therefore, balancing women's representation a comprehensive approach is needed by all in the organization that enhance the effectiveness of each other and development of the capacities of less confident ones. Most importantly, a significant increase of women in senior managerial positions requires a basic restructuring of the distribution of patriarchal power in the society.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACR- Annual Confidential Report

BCS- Bangladesh Civil Service

DC- Deputy Commissioner

ADC Additional Deputy Commissioner

JMS- Jatiya Mohila Sangstha

PSC- Public Service Commission

UNO- Upazila Nirbahi Officer

SSB- Superior Selection Board

LD Tax- Land Development Tax

S- Secretary

Add S- Additional Secretary

JS- Joint Secretary

DS- Deputy Secretary

SAC- Senior Assistant Secretary

AC- Assistant Commissioner

AS- assistant Secretary

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

The journey of women in Bangladesh civil service is not a story of long back. They have been regularly appearing in the Bangladesh civil service since 1982 due to women's increased demand for job and affirmative actions taken by the government. In spite of these, the number of women in 28 cadres is still negligible. In particular, the presence of women in the top management of administration and policy formulation is not significant. In most of the cases, women in the higher position were posted in the less challenging areas of jobs. Patriarchal values and stereotype attitudes are responsible for undermining women's capability as a whole. Therefore, prime issues and problems of women remain unaddressed in decision making level because of lower representation of women in top management. It is undeniable that the fair representation of women in decision making is necessary for true empowerment of women because half of the population is women. Hence it is important that more and more women are included in the top management to formulate policy that ensures fair treatment, accommodation and responsive instrument to mainstream women in the development process.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

'In a democratic system power emanates from and rotates round the legislature, the Parliament, the government or the executive or Bureaucracy. Therefore, power centrifugates around Politics and Bureaucracy where only a few women so far could make their entry possible' (Huq et al 1995:ii). Women embody nearly a half of the country's human resources but their visibility in the civil service is not satisfactory. Only 10 percent of Bangladesh Civil Services (BCS), 14.48 percent of BCS Administration and 8.2 percent of top position are represented by women (MoPA & PSC 2011).

Research and evidence shows that unless women are at senior administrative and policy level position in a critical mass, they are unable to make meaningful and long-term gender mainstreaming decisions in service delivery to all citizens. So, the main focus of the study is to find out the underlying causes why women are underrepresented in senior and policy level positions and what can be done to overcome this situation.

1.3 Review of Existing Literature

Salma Khan (1995:71-85) collected primary data on the number of women in different Ministries and different positions of administration and she showed that women are underrepresented in those areas. She argued that despite constitutional assurance and different measures taken by the government including quota system introduction, women participation in bureaucracy is still very low. Khan statistically revealed that development planning and policy formulation in Bangladesh is essentially administered and controlled by men.

Nazmunnessa Mahtab (1995:86-99) discussed the status of women in Bangladesh and the position of women in education, in labor force and in civil services. She also demonstrated that women were duly accepted in certain cadres like BCS Health, BCS Education considering their dual and balancing duties in office and home.

Nilufar Begum (1995:100-108) argued for special training and facilities for women in civil service. She pointed out the temperament of the society in Bangladesh and mentioned women's subordinate status in family and society in that patriarchal society. She suggested special training on the art of public speaking to remove the shyness and hesitation which are inherited from the culture of the society and training course on personality development, leadership quality and physical fitness to make them competent and professional for civil service.

Momen et al. (2001:i) studied 'the employment status of women in the service of the Republic in terms of women's participation in decision making and influencing policy making in the public sector of Bangladesh'. This study is carried out on Class-1 female officers who belong to Grade 1 to Grade 9 of the National Pay Scale. It covered both cadre and non-cadre services and included different cadres with wide range of positions from entry level to top level. Both primary and secondary source of information is used for the study, and the questionnaire survey as well as the informal interview methods was applied for the study. The study found that discrimination against women as decision makers is on the decline.

Jahan and Kabir (2006:155-170) analyzed the global influence on advancement of women in Bangladesh. In the effort to eliminate discrimination against women, during the last three decades of the twentieth century, the United Nations (UN) has taken a number of steps to enhance women's status, roles and rights. They reviewed the various attempts made by the UN and highlighted the policy and programme initiatives of the Bangladesh Government in promoting women's advancement and development.

Jahan (2007:41-72) worked on 'Gender Mainstreaming in Bangladesh Civil Service: Prospects and Constraints' and found that gender streaming in BCS has already found a place in policy agenda of Bangladesh, however, female participation in Civil Service has not reached at the desired stage so far. The role of female officers in policy formulation or in influencing the policy is very small. She identified some reasons behind the inadequate participation of women in BCS such as transferable nature of the job and posting in remote areas, family responsibilities, lack of child care facilities in office, non-cooperation of male colleagues and family members, absence of appropriate and supportive environment in work place such as absence of day care center, unavailability of individual room in which to work, lack of separate toilet and rest room facilities, inadequate residential and transport facilities, superiority complexes and negative attitudes of male colleagues, lack of security and consequences of social backwardness.

Kabir and Jahan (2007:2-17) discussed the position of women in BCS and reasons for their under-representation in their paper 'Women representation in bureaucracy: A study on Bangladesh'. Prevailing socio-cultural norms, contradictory policies and laws with regard to employment of women, tokenism, and historical imbalances in educational opportunities with regard to genders are identified as some of the contributing factors to the underrepresentation of women in Bangladesh public sector.

Kabir (2007:59-74) studied on Indian women's political and administrative quota using the secondary sources that mainly include review of books, journals and research reports. She came up with the findings that 'without affirmative action women's representation in legislatures and local governance remains negligible. It is very much true in the case of India because there is no quota for women in entering in the civil service. Therefore, the participation of the women in the civil service is very low if we compare it to other

develop/developing countries of the world. Women's position in Lok Savha and Rajya Savha are also same like the condition of women in the civil service as they don't have any special reservation for women in this regard. But in the case of local government the situation of women in India is totally different. Reservation of seats for women in local bodies has shown that it has tremendous implications, not merely in terms of the number of women entering the public arena and holding public office, but also in terms of the social, economic and political impact that these reservations have had for the total system.'

Kabir (2008:41-54) also studied about women participation in Bangladesh Civil Service. She collected primary data from Ministry of Establishment (now the Ministry is named as Ministry of Public Administration) and showed the marginal presence of women in different levels of administration as well as in different Ministries. According to the article, women are severely under-represented at higher levels of public administration comparing to men. Meanwhile, women are likely to be well represented in redistributive agencies, such as the Health and Family Welfare Ministry, Cultural Affairs Ministry, Women and Children Ministry, Primary and Mass Education Ministry and Fisheries and Livestock Ministry, whereas they are extremely under-represented in regulatory and distributive agencies like the Liberation War Affairs Ministry, Youth and Sports Ministry etc. The author also discussed about the reasons of under-representation of women in civil service of Bangladesh. The writer categorized the barriers of women participation in civil service into two main types: personal and attitudinal barriers, and organizational and functional barriers.

Karim (2008) in his paper presented the state of women in Bangladesh Civil Service recruited through BCS Examination conducted by Bangladesh Public Service Commission (BPSC). In particular, he discussed about the structural, institutional and operational factors responsible for under-representation of women in civil service. Finally, he provided a set of policy recommendations for reducing the vulnerability and challenges confronted by women during selection of civil servants. The paper was based on key informant interview, review of official documents and reports.

Afroz (2010:i-ii) performed a research on effect of organizational governance on women's participation in decision making. 'Research findings shows that since women have considerable experience in balancing their work and family lives and in catering to the demands of their husbands' careers, organizational policy is an important element which helps to develop a culture within the organization to encourage women at work. People come into the organization with their own values, attitudes and preferences. Organizational forms, structures, norms and values also help to shape the behavior and attitudes of people. Female employees emphasize the supportiveness dimension of their organizational cultures and will value support from their colleagues, especially for child care'.

Jahan (2010) did a research on problems of working women civil servants of Bangladesh at the field level. The study revealed that the women working in the field are in disadvantageous position compared to their male colleagues as well as compared to the officials of head offices. Though women civil servants are part of very powerful, respected and sometimes feared organizations; because of their gender identity they have to bear most of the problems those other women in the society experience. According to this study, dual responsibility of job and household chore (95%), housing (84%), safety at duty station (67%) and uncongenial working environment (47%) were the major problems being faced by women at the field. In addition to difficulties, there are some common barriers that seriously inhibit women to carry out duties spontaneously. The results revealed that one of the major problems is the negative attitude towards them from the community, colleagues and the authority. Society perceived women as soft and not fit for taking challenges. Respondents noted that they have to face sexist comments, even threats of stigma. Their ability as civil servants is constantly put in question, and they have to put extra effort to prove their competence. The reasons behind most of the problems they face are: male domination, patriarchal mentality and perceived lower social status of women. Other problems are related to conservative view, lack of education among people and underdevelopment of the country. Consequences of these problems are: reduced performance, mental and physical stress, problem in the family, negative effect on children, disturbance in family life, impaired career development and weakened initiative and innovativeness.

A Workshop was held on “Women in the Bangladesh Civil Service: Addressing Career Development and Improved Service Delivery”, in Dhaka at the Bangladesh Institute of Administration and Management (BIAM), on 20 April, 2010 organized by the Ministry of Establishment and its Civil Service Change Management Program (CSCMP). The workshop was designed to assess the opportunities for forming Women’s Civil Service Network and gender guidelines and other methods of professional development for women in the Bangladesh Civil Service, to increase the representation of women in the service and to provide better service delivery to all, male and female, citizens of Bangladesh (UNDP, MoE & CSCMP:2010). The participants of the workshop were requested to discuss what formal and informal measures discourage women in joining or remaining in the BCS and why. Their opinion was summarized in the report made by CSCMP. Female civil servants said that the things that persuade them against remaining in the BCS are lack of logistical supports to contribute to challenges in performing one’s job to the best of her abilities, transfers to different districts away from the home district which causes separation with family, promotion uncertainty, limitations in infrastructure and office facilities like day care service and bathroom facility, poor salary structure and absence of proper evaluation and recognition.

They suggested for introducing quota system for promotion and training, bringing in performance based evaluation, establishing a Career Planning Cell, providing suitable posting for women, properly enforcing of the laws and regulations related to gender issues, increasing salary and taking more gender sensitive initiatives.

Arafunnesa (2011) studied on the prospects and the problems of female officers in public administration and found that women are doing the administrative jobs successfully, however, there are some problems for female officers. She categorized the problems into four broad groups: work environment related problems, non-cooperation from male colleagues, familial problems and problems related to mindset. She found in questionnaire survey that transfer without considering the familial condition and inappropriate residential facility are the two major problems in work environment, and caring for children without having day care service is the greatest problem for female administrator.

Bilkis (2012) studied on the Motivation and De-motivation of female Civil servants: A study on Bangladesh civil service administration Cadre and it has been found that female officers are highly motivated to the job of administration. Job security, job characteristics and family influence are the core motivating factors to join and continue in BCS Administration Cadre. Interestingly it has been seen that physiological need (salary) is not the foremost motivating factors for female civil servants in the socio-cultural context of Bangladesh. However, there are few de-motivating factors such as transfer in field level especially in remote areas which made them separated from family members, absence of separate and clean toilet facility and day care service in office, negative attitudes of male colleagues, gender discriminate behavior by boss, no assured promotion, lack of market based salary and dual duties in office and home. Since historically the roles of women were limited dealing with domestic affairs in the patriarchal society, and women are working in public administration only for last three decades, enough time has not yet passed to overcome all the de-motivating issues. However, day by day the situation is gradually improving for female officers in the BCS Administration.

Aminuzzaman(2012) studied on Policies Budget and PRSP and found that women are very much underrepresented in the civil service. Despite the government's policy of equal opportunity, affirmative action (quota policy), and the situation has not improved to any significant degree. It becomes particularly serious when considered against the fact that women constitute roughly half of the country's population, but their representation is not adequate in institutions that affect economic and social development. Policy makers have realized that contribution to development cannot be confined to men, but this realization is undercut by tokenism and lip service to the ideal of gender balancing. The number of women in the leadership positions in the civil service does not adequately represent the existing pool of trained female labour in the country. It is an imperative that women are adequately represented in the policy making and policy implementation levels so that incorporation of women's critical and strategic needs in the development plans can be ensured and women's interest in various sectors are taken care of. We can summarize the main observations of these researches are as follows:

- There is a significant difference in the perception between male and female employees with respect to recruitment, selection, promotion and transfer, condition of services and personal qualities.
- Women's position in terms of power and influencing decision making has not yet improved.
- The presence of women at the higher echelon is still low
- Women experience additional stress from conflicts between their jobs and family responsibilities
- The dual responsibility of women for home and family act as barriers to advancement to top management and to professional commitment.
- Personal, attitudinal, organizational and functional barriers hinder women's participation in civil service
- Gender discrimination and sexual harassments in the working place are two major concerns for working women.
- Absence of friendly working environment is another area of concern
- Despite government's policy of equal opportunity and affirmative action the situation of women has not improved to any significant degree.

So far, no inclusive and in-depth study has been undertaken to assess the trends of gender representation at top management in civil service. This study, therefore, would attempt to fill in a significant gap in the literature of women in Higher Echelon of Bureaucracy.

1.4 Objectives of the Research

The main objective of the study is to find out the trends of gender representation at top management in Bangladesh Civil Service and how the existing policies affect these trends.

1.5 Research Question

Does women adequately represent at top management position in Bangladesh civil service? If no, what are the reasons behind that?

1.6 Significance of the Research

The research on women representation in top management of Bangladesh civil service can be considered significant at least for two reasons:

This study is from gender perspective and there are few studies on gender ground in the arena of civil service's top management. In Bangladesh, men were serving in public administration for more than 200 years and for obvious reason they rank almost in all the top positions. Women have involved in the mainstream of administration from 1982 batch of BCS and established themselves in the arena of public administration, which had traditionally been a male preserve. Therefore, is there any policy matrix to balance women representation in male dominant top management due to their late entrance? Are the dynamics of social- cultural superstitions and structured values still not ready to see women largely in decision making process? By answering the questions the study will explore the current trend of women's participation in public administration, and the factors determine their position in top management.

1.7 Scope of the Study

It is important to know about the factors that determine women's representation in top management of civil service, because on the basis of the findings of this study, we can address those factors to encourage women and increase their number in desired level, and government and concerned stakeholders can take necessary effective measures to ensure the equal and equitable participation of women in public administration of Bangladesh. The policymaking level of the government is expected to know what bothers female officers when they are eager to go up the career ladder. This study will help to identify the barriers of women and why they are Under-representation and Concentration in the Bottom of the Hierarchy in BCS Administration Cadre. This will also help to take realistic measures to remove those obstacles, and promote them in service by giving required supports. From that point of view, this research has policy implication for government and concerned stakeholders. Constitutional and legal mandates which are known as safeguards for women cannot ensure equal and equitable employment opportunity for women if their operational and glass ceiling problems are not addressed properly and motivating tools are not used to inspire them on the basis of the findings of a systematic study.

1.8 Methodology

There are at least three points that should be in mind while choosing an appropriate research method, these are: answering to the research question, current state of knowledge and the nature of the variables involved in research (Bennett, 1983:85 cited on Aminuzzaman, 1991:34). Considering these three matters, a combination of content analysis, Interview and Case Study methods has been selected for this study. Selected three methods are the most suitable for the study considering the variables involved and for answering the research questions and it is expected to be a reliable tool for the study.

“Content analysis method critically and objectively reviews the published or printed facts, figures, opinions, observations, generalizations in the light of its content value “(Aminuzzaman, 1991:35)”. Therefore, it is helpful to give insight about the research topic from the secondary sources. Content analysis acts as a base and directs the research in a proper direction.

The case study helps to examine the complex situation and combination of factors involved in that situation so as to identify the causal factors operating (Gopal, 1964). “It enables us to explore, unravel and understand problems, issues and relationships (Aminuzzaman, 1991:43).” The problems faced by women public servants are not isolated issues; those are derived from complex interplay of factors – historical, cultural, socio-economic, administrative and attitudinal (Jahan, 2007). So, “... through study of cases it became possible to abstract the properties which are common to, or typical of, many cases from those which are peculiar only to the exceptional cases (Aminuzzaman, 1991:43),” with special focus on women civil servants. The use of case study method provides an opportunity for relating facts and concepts, reality and hypothesis (Wievioka, 1992). Another reason for choosing it is that “it is a holistic approach” in which cases are studied as wholes (Regin, 1987).

The interview method has been taken to gather clear idea about the topic through discussions with the relevant personnel. Case study has been used for in-depth learning of the phenomena. Observation method has been used to watch the overall fact, and in-depth

observation of events with structured observation techniques is really very helpful to explain the issue.

1.9 Sources of Data

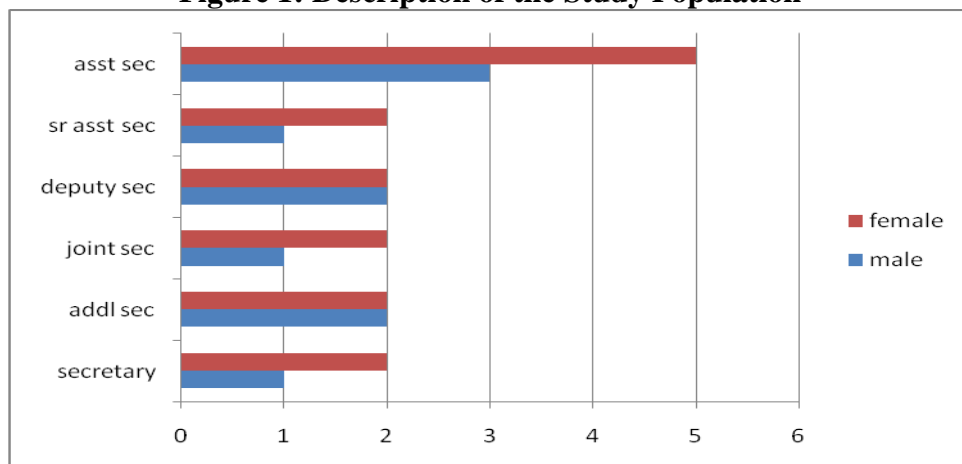
The study was carried out with the civil servants working in the field levels and also in ministries. It is notable that as the research topic is about top management so interview was made with senior civil servants mostly from administration cadre. 15 junior civil servants were also interviewed to know about the motivational level, planning for career progression and responses towards society's view.

1.10 Description of the Study Population

Table 1: Description of the Study Population

Rank	Total	Male	Female
Secretary	3	1	2
Addl. Secretary	4	2	2
Joint Secretary	3	1	2
Deputy Secretary	4	2	2
Senior Asst. Secretary	3	1	2
Asst. Secretary	8	3	5

Figure 1: Description of the Study Population



1.11 Area Covered:

The respondents of this study were scattered over a geographical area of 15 districts. At the district level Dhaka shared the leading position.

1.12 Techniques of Data Collection

Data were collected during January—February 2013. Both primary and secondary methods of data collection were used.

1.12 (a) Primary Data:

In-depth interview method was used to collect primary data. The questions were both open and close ended. Some parts of it were designed to get opinions and comments on specific issues from the research participants. Close ended questions were used to save time and open ended questions to get in-depth knowledge and insight; as well as personal experiences and observations. Interviews were taken by the researcher. Interviews of some experienced persons were taken. For example, former civil servants, especially with field experience, experts like gender specialist, academician working on women issue, etc. Interviews were based on an interview guide. But a number of issues popped up during interview and were discussed. The participants were encouraged to tell their own story and experiences, which allowed further understanding of the phenomenon. As the respondents had high prestige and power in the society, an open but formal approach was maintained.

1.12 (b) Secondary Data:

In this study, the use of books, journals, reports, some official's records and documents were some of the most important sources of data. The books and published documents relevant to the study collected from various sources are- Mohila Parishod(A Human Rights Organization); Library, Women for Women, (Research Organization); Central Library, Dhaka University; Library, Nari Grantha Probortona (A Women Organization) ; Seminar, Department of Women

Studies, Dhaka University; Central Library, Dhaka University; Bangladesh Public Administration Training Centre; Ministry of Women and Children Affairs; Resource Centre, Institute of governance studies, BRAC University.

1.13 Validation of Data

Interviews and discussions were conducted by the researcher as well. In case of content analysis, principle of authenticity and objectivity was maintained. So data were credible and reliable as possible.

1.14 Data Processing and Analysis

Qualitative method was used to explain the significant phenomena, causalities, social realities and experiences. But it was not intended to test any theory. This is the best way to get the insiders perspectives, the actor's definition of the situation and the meanings people attach to things and events. They are well able to deal with the complexity of social phenomena (Punch, 1998).

The study includes both at the Ministry level and at the field level. The study is limited to civil servants (who belong to BCS Administration Cadre) only working at different Ministries in Bangladesh Secretariat and at Different Districts and Upazilas in various positions. Ministries have been selected on the basis of the importance in terms of key policy issues, the accessibility of the researcher and the density of the female officers.

1.15 Problems in Data Collection

Every social research has some limitations, and nothing is perfect in Social Science as because everybody has a distinct view and argument. Time constraint is the prime limitation of this study. Another limitation is that all the respondents were very busy especially the top management. It was quite difficult to interview them. Schedules have been changed several times. The documentation system of the government is not systematic. It took huge time to get relevant data. It was also very difficult to get

permission to enter into the secretariat and collect information. Getting relevant information was a very tough job. Use of influential connections was helpful in this regard. Some of the questions were related to the personal experiences; so, it was not very easy to get answers for those. To convince the respondents to get adequate response was a big challenge. It was a privilege for the researcher that the population was qualified and the researcher did not face communication problem in collecting information from the sample. The interview period, therefore, was interesting.

CHAPTER 2: OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS AND RELATED CONCEPTS

This chapter aims to give a clear understanding to the readers, the operational definitions and the related concepts of the area that are discussed in the following sections:

2.1 Civil Servants:

The people who work in Civil Service are known as civil servants. 'Civil service' includes all functionaries of the government excepting those in the military service (Government of Bangladesh, 1977). The civil service of Bangladesh has several features in the organization, composition and classification (Morshed 1997:77). Based on level of authority, responsibility, educational qualification and pay scale, the civil service vertically falls into four categories: class I, class II, class III and class IV. The class I officers have the highest power and prestige in civil service (Karim 2008:1). This study has considered only the class I Cadre officers directly recruited through BCS Examination conducted by Bangladesh Public Service Commission (PSC) and the officers who belong to BCS Administration Cadre of Civil Service and are promoted in different ranks of Administration after this kind of recruitment.

2.2 Cadre:

Cadre service means the organization of civil servants in well defined groups, services or cadres. Cadre services are constituted under specific laws having a clear structure with a number of hierarchical positions. Cadre services have specific recruitment and promotion rules and the employees recruited by PSC through BCS examination. In contrast, non-cadre services are mostly based on posts and positions having no definite structure of mobility either horizontally or vertically. In Bangladesh, Cadre Service was first officially recognized in 1981 by formulating the Bangladesh Civil Service Recruitment Rules (Wahhab 2009:4).

At present there are 28 cadres in Bangladesh Civil Service and these are divided into two broad categories, like general cadres and professional or technical cadres.

2.3 BCS Administration Cadre:

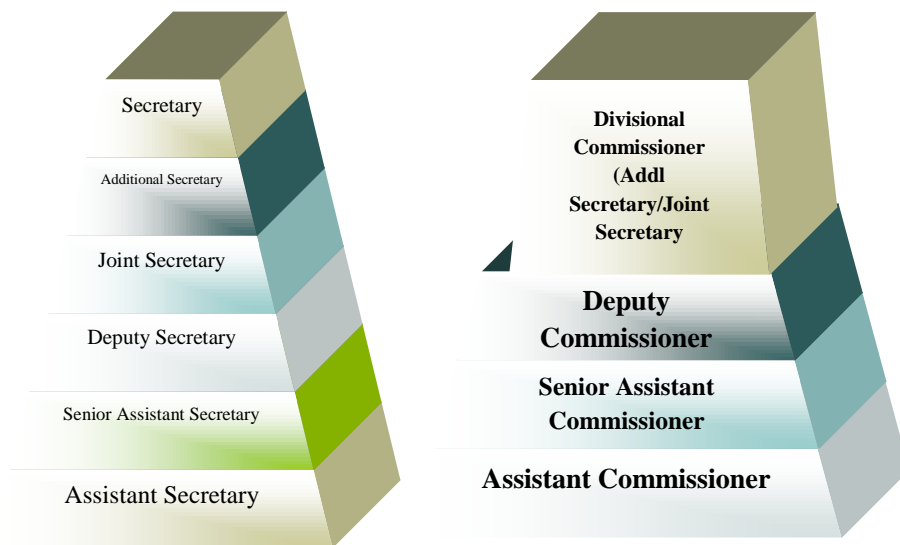
BCS Administration belongs to the general cadre and this cadre basically runs the administration of the country. The entry level post of this cadre is Assistant Secretary (AS). This cadre has a career path to go up of the hierarchy through promotion and the other positions after entry in the service. Along with ascending order of the ranks, the positions vertically go with Assistant Secretary (AS), Senior Assistant Secretary (SAS), Deputy Secretary (DS), Joint Secretary (JS), Additional Secretary (Add S) and Secretary (S).

In field level, the officers can be posted as Assistant Commissioner (AC), Senior Assistant Commissioner (SAC) and Deputy Commissioner (DC) based on the seniority, and executive magistracy power is vested upon them. DC works as a representative of central government and holds three designations in one chair. He works as the District Magistrate to oversee and control the law and order of the district, as the District Collector to collect the land development tax (LD tax) and manage the land related issues including record keeping of land, and finally works as the Deputy Commissioner to execute all government policy decisions in field level and to coordinate among different departments (subordinate offices of different Ministries in field level). The AC and SAC are subordinate officers of the DC. At Ministry level, the officers of the Cadre work for policy formulation and implementation. The cadre follows the *Weberian Characteristics* of bureaucracy including hierarchical structure and a very strong chain of command. The hierarchical structures both in Secretariat and in field are shown in the following section.

2.4 Hierarchy at Secretariat and Hierarchy at Field

Field level includes Divisional level, District level and Upazila level. From field administration perspective, Bangladesh is divided into seven distinct geographical areas called Divisions to monitor, coordinate and supervise the implementations of policy decisions initiated by the government. The administrative unit that figures prominent in this country is called District. The basic unit of administration of the country is locally named as Upazila, field level functionaries of the development departments operate here at the grass-root level. There are 64 districts and 485 Upazilas in the country (MoPA Website, access on 7 February 2012)

Figure 2: Hierarchical Order of Administration



2.5 Superior Selection Board (SSB)

It is an administrative body constituted by the government in the Ministry of Public administration to scrutinize the government servants' service records, and then recommend them for promotion to higher positions in the civil service, including autonomous bodies. It was first constituted in 1972 with the cabinet secretary as its chairman, and the secretaries of Home, Law, Establishment and Finance Ministries/Divisions as members. The concerned secretary of a ministry/division (if not a member of the Board), making proposals for promotion of the officers under his control, was to be invited to participate in decision processes of the Superior Selection Board.

Since its first constitution, the composition of the SSB underwent modifications from time to time ending in August 1991. The reconstituted SSB of 1991 saw the inclusion of four

new members namely the Principal Finance Secretary, the Comptroller Auditor general and two other additional secretaries with professional background classified as professional/technocrat members. In November 1991, the Principal Secretary to Prime Minister was also made a member of the SSB. The secretary of the Ministry of Public Administration acts as its member-secretary.

The major responsibility of the SSB is to consider and make recommendations on the promotion and appointment of different categories of officers:

- (i) to the posts of deputy secretary and above in the Secretariat
- (ii) to pay grades III, II and I of the officers belonging to various service cadres and those outside the cadres;
- (iii) to pay grades III, II and I of those government officers who are on deputation to various autonomous bodies;
- (iv) to the posts of executive heads of various government departments and directorates;
- (v) to the posts of management heads of a selective number of autonomous bodies, including the directors of management boards of these bodies who are employed on a full-time basis; and
- (vi) to award of time scale of the officers mentioned above.

Until the early 1990s, the recommendations of the SSB were to be considered further by the Council Committee on Promotion and Appointment, composed entirely of a selective number of senior ministers. However, following a verdict of the High court in the late 1990s, the Council Committee was dissolved. At present the practice is to send the recommendations of the SSB directly to the Prime Minister, whose decision is final.

2.6 Focusing on the Female Officers of Administration Cadre

This study has focused on the female officers of the BCS Administration Cadre rather than other Cadres such as BCS Education, BCS Health Cadre of Bangladesh Civil Service, because the number of females in general cadres or administrative posts are relatively

smaller than the number in professional cadres. Moreover, BCS Administration cadre has a different kind of job nature from the other general and professional cadres. This occupation has a high work volume with a combination of desk and field jobs, managerial and coordinating jobs. Officers belonging to this service have to do many challenging jobs like eviction, disinter, fixed court, mobile court, challenging enquiries, coordination among different departments, celebration of national days, collection of land taxes, maintaining law and order, carrying out fair public examination, holding national and local elections, and public policy formulation and execution. With this high work volume BCS Administration cadre plays a very vital role to run the machinery of state. The postings and transfer system of this profession is also different from other cadre or service. Officers after joining the service are transferred to different districts and Ministries. Therefore, officers including the women have to work in remote districts and Upazilas which is more challenging for women than men, given the socio cultural scenario of Bangladesh. In this service, there are some vital postings such as Upazila Nirbahi Officer (UNO), Deputy Commissioner (DC), Secretary at Ministries etc. which are very important to run the state. And in top management the number of women is comparatively larger than other cadre. There is a very strong chain of command in this profession. Moreover, this Cadre is directly related to policy formulation and execution. Therefore, considering the unique characteristics of the Cadre and the importance of women participation in policy making process, the study has been done on Administration Cadre rather than the other cadres.

2.7 The Glass Ceiling

The ‘Glass Ceiling’ is a development buzzword which has widely and frantically travelled from mouth to mouth in the west but like many other fashionable development buzzwords it has not lost its meaning, significance and dimensions encompassing women and development. An easy definition of ‘glass ceiling’ is difficult to come by. It invites multisectoral debates. The ‘glass ceiling’ consists more or less of artificial barriers based on attitudinal or organizational biases that prevent qualified women’s movement upward. (Chicago Area Partnerships, 1994, quoted in Burton 1997:34)

The culture of public sector offices, corporations, and organizations and private sector nurtures the same 'male company culture' characterized by a 'male all view' with long hours and after hours office and meeting and socializing that can be mostly possible for men to attend. This puts women in a disadvantageous position in times of initiating a reform, a change and a new decision of significance. The decision making structure composed wholly mostly of men led to gender blindness (Burton 1997). The blindness gets internalized with the organizational culture and nurtures and promotes the culture of gender based discrimination.

The glass ceiling prevails. But why in a regime of proclaimed equality the ceiling should prevail? Were women being restrained by traditional socio-cultural perceptions which portrayed them as being less committed than men to their careers due to family responsibilities, despite the fact that they had demonstrated their intellectual capacity, resourcefulness, leadership and management abilities in many walks of life? (ILO 1998; 4). Responses are different on their questions. But, there is recognition of that such a ceiling exists and it needs to be removed.

Although at times the glass ceiling appears to be impenetrable, the gradual advancement of women in judiciary, banking and civil services as well as private sector as investors and entrepreneurs is likely to crack the glass, if it has not already cracked it. Elimination of double standards and dual market in question of women in jobs has been viewed as an effective but difficult approach to treat ceiling effectively and efficiently.

Anker (Ibid) forwards three theoretical explanations of discrimination and gender segregation viz. (a) neoclassical and human capital theories, (b) institutional and labor market segmentation theories (c) non- economics and feminist theories.

2.8 Evaluation Procedure for Promotion:

After Senior Asst. secretary the following Criteria determines the promotional process:

Table 2: Evaluation Procedure for Top Management

No.	Description	Distributed Marks
1	Education qualification	25
2	Average marks of Annual confidential report for last five years	30
3	Average of ACR from the very first to just before of the last year of service life	25
4	Bonus number for not having any adverse comments in ACR in whole service life	10
5	Number for not having any punishment in whole service life	10

2.9 Evaluation of Educational Qualification:

Table 3: Evaluation of Educational Qualification

	First Division/ Class	Second Division/ Class	Third Division/ Class
SSC	6	4	2
HSC	6	4	2
GRADUATION	9	6	3
MASTERS	4	3	2

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This Chapter discusses the theoretical base of the research topic.

3.1 Cultural Theory – Geert Hofstede

The research topic can be illustrated in the light of Geert Hofstede's (Hofstede, 2005) "cultural theory". According to cultural theory there are four dimensions of culture, as – power distance, collectivism versus individualism, masculinity versus femininity and uncertainty avoidance.

Power distance

Power distance can be defined as "the extent to which the less powerful members of institutions and organizations within a country expect and accept that power is distributed unequally. (Hofstede, 2005: 46)." In small power distance countries there is limited dependence of subordinate on superiors and there is a preference for consultation. On the contrary, in large power distance countries, there is dependent relationship among superior-subordinates. Superiors can impose their opinion on subordinates. Common belief here is that, powerful should get extra privilege.

Collectivism versus individualism

To explain collectivism versus individualism, Hofstede mentioned that the vast majority of people in our world live in societies in which the interest of the group prevails over the interests of the individual. These societies are termed as collectivist. Individualist society is, in which the interest of individual prevail over the interests of the groups. "Individualism pertains to societies in which the ties between individuals are loose; everyone is expected to look after himself or herself and his or her immediate family. Collectivism as its opposite pertains to societies in which people from birth onward are integrated into strong, cohesive in-groups, which throughout people's life time continue to protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty (Hofstede, 2005:76)."

According to Hofstede, power distance and individualism is negatively correlated. The large power distance societies are more collectivist and small power distance societies are individualist.

Masculinity versus femininity

“A society is called masculine when gender roles are clearly distinct: men are supposed to be decisive, tough, and focused on material success, where as women are supposed to be modest, tender and concerned with the quality of life (Hofstede, 2005:120).” The predominant pattern is for men to be more assertive and for women to be nurturing. Careers are compulsory for men and optional for women. Thus, there is a lower share of working women in professional jobs. In a feminine society both men and women are supposed to be modest, tender, and concerned with the quality of life.

Uncertainty avoidance

“Uncertainty avoidance is defined as the extent to which the members of a culture feel threatened by ambiguous or unknown situations (Hofstede, 2005: 167).” A weak uncertainty avoidance culture belief that uncertainty is a normal course of life and each day is accepted as it comes. On the contrary, uncertainty avoiding cultures shun ambiguous situation. This feeling is, among other things, expressed through nervous stress and a need for predictability. This dimension admits that, what is different is dangerous. Uncertainty can be minimized through technology, rules and religion. All the dimension of culture is deeply rooted in all members of the society.

3.2 Management Culture of Bangladesh: Hofstede’s Framework

A study undertaken by (Aminuzzaman, 1993) observed that in Bangladesh public bureaucracy is perceived as a highly specialized and powerful institution. It is the backbone of government services and plays key role in the policy making and delivery of programme. Very aware about its power and influence, the bureaucracy, in fact, venture far beyond its legitimate authority. Culturally, Bangladeshi society shows features of a conservative society.

Behavior and culture of individuals and institutes here are governed by traditional values. Living is such a society, “The management behavior and attitude of the senior managers of Bangladesh public administration system is merely reactive rather than pro-active. It is also observed that managers are risk averse and to a large extent subjective in their attitude (Aminuzzaman, 1993:103-104).” This was reflected in a study conducted in Bangladesh.

Table 4: Four Dimensions of Management Culture of Sampled Managers

Dimension	Score		Mean	Remarks
	Ministries	Public Corporations		
Power Distance	75	65	70	High Power Distance
Individualism	24	26	25	Low Individualism
Uncertainty Avoidance	72	68	68	High Uncertainty Avoidance
Masculinity	42	54	48	Moderate Masculinity

It was evident in the survey that on an average, Bangladeshi Managers scored high on power distance and uncertainty avoidance index. On the other hand they scored moderately in masculinity index and a relatively low on individualism index. On the other hand, they have registered a moderate score on masculinity index and a relatively a low score individualism index.

It appears from the table that managers from the ministries show a relatively higher index score of power distance and uncertainty avoidance as against the managers of the public corporations. There are also slight variations in scores between these two groups of managers in terms of individualism and masculinity index. It can be generally concluded from that study that managers in ministries tend to maintain a relatively high power distance and have a tendency to avoid uncertainty as compared to the managers of the public corporations.

3.3 Cultural Theory—A Framework

The cultural theory is highly relevant and comparable to explain the phenomena in extensive manner. It is mentioned in the literature review part that the previous researches recommended that the causes of the problems that faced by women civil servants are deeply rooted in the mindset of the people. The main effect of stereotyping keeps women under-represented in operational roles and in the typical routes to senior management.

The cultural theory is related to the proposed study in the following ways:

Women civil servants of the field are entrusted with power and authority; still it does not always help to feel them empowered. Deep-rooted mindset sometimes compels women officials to assume that they belong to powerless group. "... because of social taboos about the role of women in society, women generally perceive that they have only a limited role to play in government and administration (Zafarullah, 2000)." "Prejudicial attitude of employers and co-workers makes women shun challenging careers (Khan, 1988:67)." Additionally, Bangladesh does not have glorious history of decentralization. The following paragraph depicts this claim evidently.

"Bangladesh is a country with a tradition of over 100 years of decentralized local government structure. Surprisingly, it could not achieve the expected level of decentralization and people's participation despite her 100-year's effort." (Ahmed: 1987:1)

Consequently, while working at the periphery, power distance has become rule of the game in Bangladesh civil service.

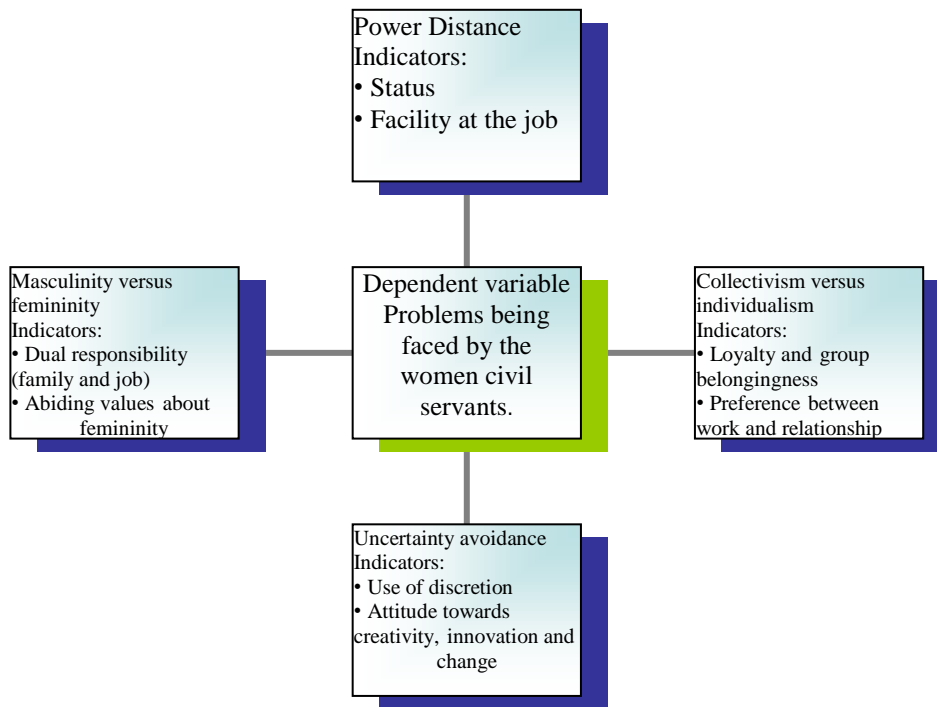
As a member of collectivist society women have to compromise with career for the sake of family; for example, they sometimes forgo promotion or in extreme case, leave job to avoid field level posting. Glen and Walter (1966) suggested that the attitudes of the employed women's husband, children, and friends also influenced their plan for participation in employment. As women civil servants are the members of large power distance and

masculine society, they accept subordination of their male family members to maintain harmony.

Masculine culture is very much prevalent in Bangladesh. Women are portrayed as softhearted, and humble. The people in general expect they should consider domestic work as their primary duty, and career as secondary. Thus women officials working at the field, failed to discharge all the household activities expected by their families. “Women receive the message that home and family are of paramount importance and jobs are secondary to home and family obligations regardless of occupational qualifications. They are socialized to abandon careers if conflict with family needs arise (Ilays, 1997: 39).” Therefore, women civil servants face problems in two different ways, firstly, they need to make good time management to satisfy their family members, and secondly, they have to take prompt decision in office to prove their competence.

Tendency of uncertainty avoidance implies, a person feel threatened by unknown situation. It is, more or less accepted that the bureaucratic culture is rule bound. Bangladesh is not an exception to this. Potency to go against the wind is rare here. Most of the members look for certainty and security. A study conducted by Ferdaus Jahan (2006) pointed out that job security is the most important factor to encourage people to join the civil service. Women working at the grass root belong to the same bureaucratic culture. Field level office environment, people, as well as the region all are unknown to the women civil servants which make them insecure and scary. Therefore, they feel endangered to face unpredictable problems and are likely to maintain status quo, which stand on the way to be innovative and creative.

Figure 3: Influence of Different Components of Culture on the Problems of Women Civil Servants



CHAPTER 4: ADVANCEMENT AND TRENDS OF REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN AT THE TOP MANAGEMENT

This chapter presents the major advancement of women over the years and the trends of representation at the top management.

4.1 Major Steps in Women’s Advancement: Bangladesh Perspectives

Time/ Period	Women’s Advancement
1972	Approval of the Constitution with the equal rights and equity provisions. Establishment of Bangladesh Women Rehabilitation Board
1973	Establishment of women’s quota in the national parliament.
1974	Approval of a law on Muslim marriage and divorce registration. Creation of Women Rehabilitation and Welfare Foundation
1975	Participation of women representatives of Bangladesh at the First International Women’s Conference in Mexico City.
1976	Establishment of Jatiya Mohila Sangstha (JMS). Creation of Women Affairs Cell in the Social Welfare Department Appointment of Assistant to the President for Women Affairs and Establishment of Women Affairs Division in President’s Secretariat Establishment of a quota for women in the public sector

1980	Participation of women representatives of Bangladesh at the Second International Women's Conference in Copenhagen. Establishment of law against dowry
1982	Renaming of Ministry of Social Welfare as Ministry of Social Welfare and Women Affairs.
1984	Approval of the charter of CEDAW (except the clauses no.2, 13(A) and 16.1(C&F) by the Government of Bangladesh. Creation of directorate of Women Affairs in Ministry of Social Welfare and Women Affairs
1985	Participation of women representatives of Bangladesh in the closing Third International Women's Conference in Nairobi
1989	Separation of Ministry from Ministry of Social Welfare to become separate Ministry of Women Affairs
1990	Upgrading of Directorate of Women Affairs to Department of Women Affairs (DWA)
1991	Formation of a celebration committee for International Women's Day by the coordinators of different organizations working for women's rights. Creation of Women in Development Focal Points (WIDFP)
1994	Addition of Children Affairs to the Ministry of Women Affairs to become MWCA
1995	Participation of women representatives of Bangladesh in fourth International conference for women at Beijing
1997	Declaration of national women's development policy
1998	Development of the law to stop violence against women
1999	Inclusion of women in non-traditional profession

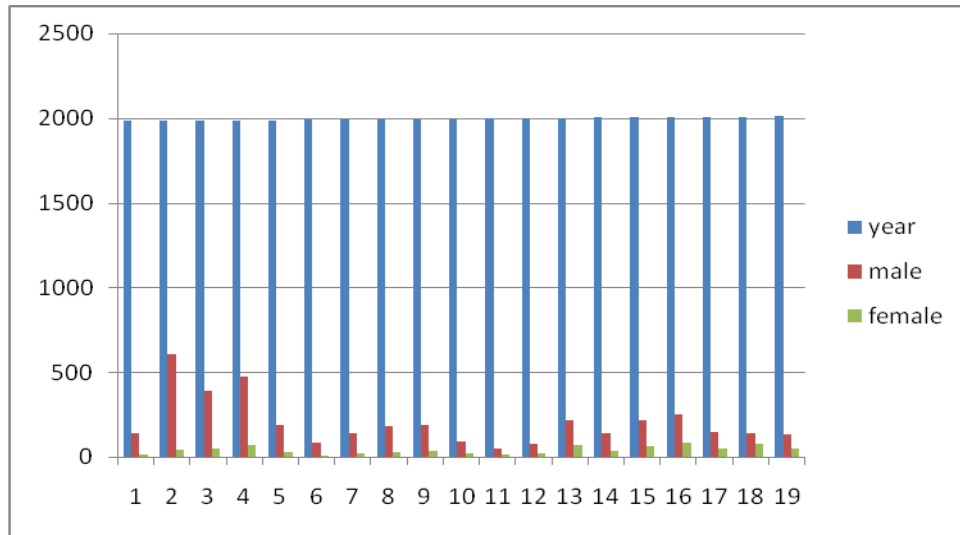
2000	Recognition of mother’s guardianship of children
2002	Establishment of 10 percent quota/allocation for women in the high government positions
2008	Women development Policy 2008

4.2 Trends of Women Representation in Entry Level:

Table 5: Trends of Women Representation in Entry Level

Year	Total Number of Officers	Total Number of Male Officers	Total Number of Female Officers	Percentage of Female Officers
1982	155	142	13	8.38
1983	650	608	42	6.46
1984	439	390	49	11.16
1985	543	473	70	12.89
1986	222	191	31	13.96
1990	92	84	8	8.70
1991	163	139	24	14.72
1993	209	180	29	13.88
1994	224	191	33	14.73
1995	116	93	23	19.83
1998	67	52	15	22.39
1998	95	76	19	20.00
2001	285	217	68	23.86
2003	175	137	38	21.71
2003	280	218	62	22.14
2005	335	249	86	25.67
2006	199	147	52	26.13
2008	272	139	79	29.04
2010	179	131	48	26.81

Figure 4: Trends of Women Representation in Entry Level



Source: Ministry of Public Administration

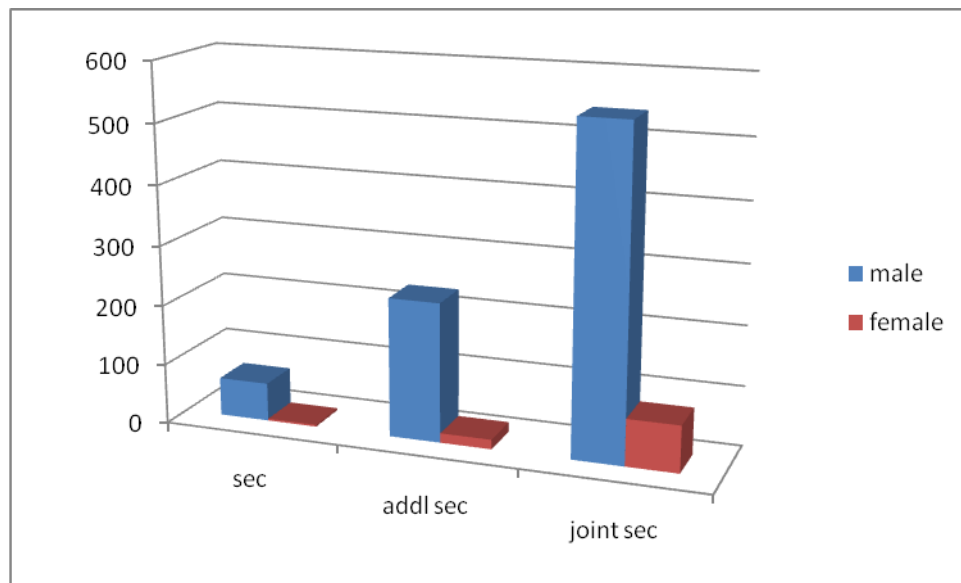
To know about the rate and state of women representation in public administration, primary data have been collected from the Ministry of Public Administration and these have been presented in the following sections. Among the different hierarchical ranks of BCS Administration cadre, only Secretary, Additional Secretary and Joint Secretary can participate in Public Policy formulation. The representation of women at Secretary Level is shown below:

4.3 Trends of Women in Top Position:

Table 6: Female Secretaries at the time of the Study

Designation (in the descending order of the rank)	Total Number	Women	Percentage
Secretary	67	3	4.47
Addl. Secretary	248	16	6.45
Joint Secretary	620	78	12.58

Figure 5: Female Secretaries at the time of the Study



In Bangladesh, Secretary is the highest post in public Administration. Above table reveals that there are only 3 Secretaries out of 67 posts (4.47%), and they are posted in comparatively soft Ministries which are not that much influential, challenging and powerful, and not related to core policy making and national decision making.

The participation of women at Additional Secretary level is also very low and it is only 6.45%. Out of 248, there are only 16 female Additional Secretaries and most of them are either attached or posted in soft-core ministries (which are not much related to core policy making).

Women are also marginal in Joint Secretary, Deputy Secretary, Senior Assistant Secretary and Assistant Secretary levels. Out of 620 there are only 78 female Joint Secretaries (12.58%), and almost half of them (25) are OSD.

Among all the ranks of administration, the rate of female officers is highest in Assistant Secretary level which is the lowest rank in the hierarchical public administration in Bangladesh.

The above table reveals that women are lower in upper positions and concentrated in lower positions. This means that the vast majority of women in the Civil Service have no say in either making or implementing policy. It may be for three reasons: women's late entrance in Civil Service, their perceived lower access in higher posts and the disadvantageous position of women to qualify the BCS examination.

4.4 Gender Representation

Bangladesh has significant constitutional provision and sufficient institutional arrangements guaranteeing women's equal rights. Since independence the government has given importance on women participation and taken many necessary measures to encourage women to participate in public sector. To achieve this goal, equal opportunity for women regarding employment of the Republic has been recognized legally and various steps have been taken both in national and international levels to achieve equal participation of women in the mainstream of national development.

Article 10, 11, 19, 27, 28 and 29 in the Constitution of Bangladesh (Government of Bangladesh 2008:5-15) declare the equal rights for both men and women, and there is a provision to take special measures for backward sections of citizens. Article 19 of the Constitution states about the equality of opportunity. According to the article 19, the State shall endeavor to ensure equality of opportunity to all citizens [19(1)] and the State shall adopt effective measures to remove social and economic inequality between man and woman and to ensure the equitable distribution of wealth among citizens, and of opportunities in order to attain a uniform level of economic development throughout the Republic [19(2)]. Article 27 declares that all citizens are equal before law and are entitled to equal protection of law. Again article 28 prohibits the discrimination on grounds of religion, sex, race, cast or place of birth [28(1)]. It gives direction that women shall have equal rights with men in all spheres of the State and of public life [28(2)]. No citizen shall, on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth be subjected to any disability, liability, restriction or condition with regard to access to any place of public entertainment or resort, or admission to any

educational institution [28(3)]. Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from making special provision in favor of women or children or for the advancement of any backward section of citizens [28(4)].

Article 29 provides instruction for maintaining equality of opportunity in public employment. According to the article 29(1), there shall be equality of opportunity for all citizens in respect of employment in the service of the Republic. No citizen shall, on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth, be ineligible for, or discriminated against in respect of, any employment or office in the service of the Republic [29(2)]. Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from-(a) making special provision in favor of any backward section of citizens for the purpose of securing their adequate representation in the service of the Republic; (b) giving effect to any law which makes provision for reserving appointments relating to any religious or denominational institution to persons of that religion or denomination; reserving for members of one sex any class of employment or office on the ground that it is considered by its nature to be unsuited to members of the opposite sex [29(3)]. (Government of Bangladesh 2008:5-15)

Therefore, the constitution of Bangladesh assures equal employment opportunities for all citizens regardless of gender. It also instructs for taking special measures for backward sections of citizens.

Bangladesh government has recently adopted the Women Development Policy. In first part of the policy document, women are recognized as the potential human resource in section 9, and for this reason, Government is giving emphasis on education for women to make them skilled human resource. Section 10 of the same part has discussed about the administrative empowerment of women and participation of women in decision making levels. In part two, section 16.3, 16.5, 16.6 and 16.12 have included the goals of ensuring economic, political, social, administrative and legal empowerment of women and equal participation in the mainstream of the socio-economic development, making all women educated and skilled human resource and establishing their equal rights in politics, all kind of jobs including

administration, and all spheres of life. Again, section 26 has given emphasis on the employment of women, and to ensure it the Government has a policy direction to increase quota in all phase in the service including the entry level (26.2). The Government also has policy decisions to create necessary environment for entrance, continuation and upliftment in service (26.5) and to modify all relevant laws, rules and policies for achieving greater employment of women (26.6). Moreover, section 28 has a policy to improve, extend and introduce additional facilities like child care facility and day care center in workplace and so on to encourage women participation in economic activities and development works. (Government of Bangladesh 2011:11-19)

The Government has included the women development agendum in national poverty reduction plan which is known as ‘Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper’ (PRSP), and also in the Millennium Development Goals (MDG). ‘Promoting gender equality and empowering women’ is the third goal of Millennium Development Goals of Bangladesh.

However, in spite of constitutional arrangement and statutory laws women do not enjoy their rights exactly as they would desire. They are not even fairly represented in the civil service let alone in top management. The fact is that women constitute roughly half of the country’s population, but their representation is not adequate in institutions that affect economic and social development. The number of women in the top position of the civil service is not a desirable reflection of ideal gender balancing. In line with the constitutional provision,, 10% of Civil Services are reserved for women at the early stage of recruitment. As a result the rate of female officers is highest in Assistant Secretary level which is the lowest rank in the hierarchical public administration. (Table-1 attached)

As the ladder goes up female representation become negligible and grievously underrepresented in the senior echelons of the civil service, in most of the cases not reaching the very modest goal of 10% of new senior service positions. For example, we take 82 regular batch and 84 batch for validitation. In 82 regular batch there were 155 officers altogether. Among them 142 were male and 13 were female officers which were 8.38% of total intake.

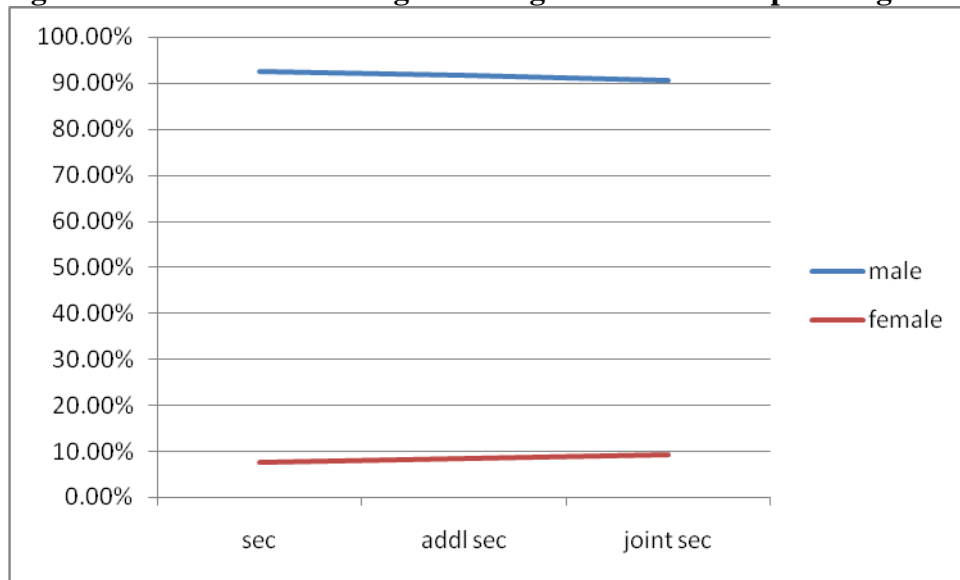
After retirement, optional retirement and death there are 75 officers (68 male officers and 7 female officers) who are in the position of joint secretary and above. As the position moves upward the percentage changes:

Table 7: Current Positioning of 82 Regular Batch in Top Management

Rank	Total Number	Male Officer's	Percentage	Female Officer's	Percentage
Secretary	26	24	92.4%	2	7.6%
Addl. Secretary	33	30	91.6%	3	8.4%
Joint Secretary	16	14	90.7%	2	9.3%

Source: Public Administration Computer Council

Figure 6: Current Positioning of 82 Regular Batch in Top Management



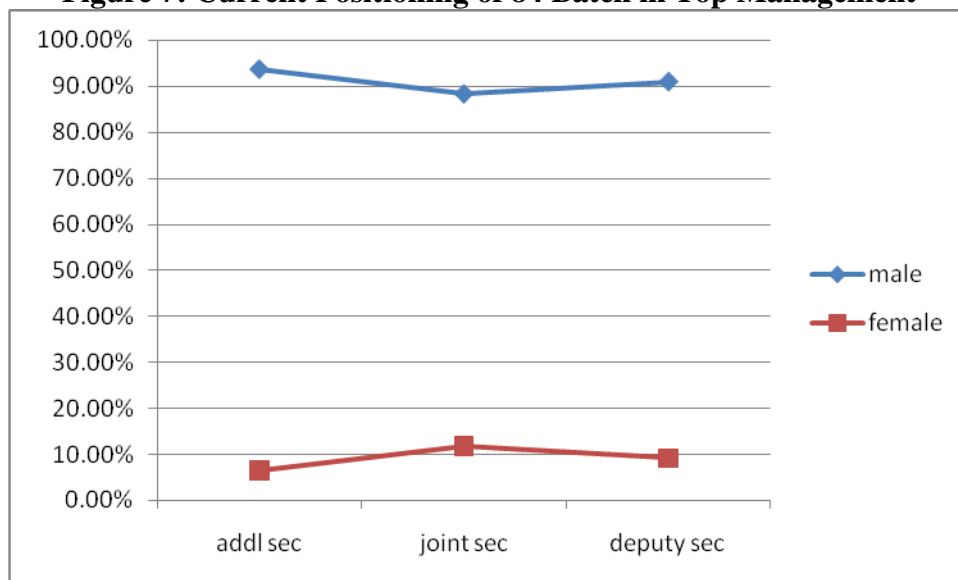
In 84 batch there were 435 officers in which male officers were 389 and female were 46 in number. So, the intake percentage was 10.17. Now there are 419 officer's who are in the position of Deputy Secretary to Addl. Secretary.

Table 8: Current Positioning of 84 Batch in Top Management

Rank	Total Number	Male Officer	Percentage	Female Officer	Percentage
Addl. Secretary	77	72	93.6%	5	6.4%
Joint Secretary	179	154	88.29%	25	11.71%
Deputy Secretary	163	155	90.93%	8	9.06%

Source: Public Administration Computer Council

Figure 7: Current Positioning of 84 Batch in Top Management



The first table shows that how the percentage declines as it moves to the upper echelon of the civil service and from the latter it can be predicted that the percentage of women officer will be similarly decrease when they will be promoted to the secretary level.

If we look at the trends of overall intake from 1982 to 2010 women constitute 16.75% of the total number and 4.6% in secretary level, 6.7% in addl. Secretary level and 12.58% in joint secretary level. In 1982 the journey that began with 8.38% now it touches almost 27% of total intake which is appreciating. But, in the same time the percentage of top position still very marginal which is less than 10% in first two cases and the latter is above 12%. Under the present context, ideally the representation should be above 10% in all the three top positions.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS OF THE STUDY

This chapter discusses the main observations of the interviews as well as the consequences on the basis of the study. It also examines how the cultural theory of (Hofstede, 2005), is applicable in the context of women civil servants working in the civil service. It is the theoretical framework that guided the investigation and find out its relevance in this context.

5.1 Observations from Entry to Senior Level Officers:

Total 15 respondents have been distributed from Asst. secretary to deputy secretary of administration cadre and interviewed. Among the fifteen respondents, seven persons said that family influence is a major motivating factor for them to join in the civil service. Besides these, scope to serve the humanity, power, prestige and social recognition of the job motivated them to join this profession.

It has been found that females are highly motivated to the job for family influences and male for prestige and power. However, there are few de-motivating factors like transfer in field level especially in remote areas which made them separated from family members, negative attitudes of community, colleagues and the authority, lack of career planning, no assured promotion, lack of market based salary and dual duties in office and home are their dominant de-motivating factors.

All the respondents agreed that women need to put extra effort to perform better because their good deed considered as occasionally happened and misdeed pointed finger to the whole womenfolk. To polishing the stone female takes much time when her counter part move ahead leaving them behind. Eight respondents experienced that they were not given specific task only because they were female officers. They are often discriminated against their male colleagues by the authority. In case of challenging eviction, task force operation, lucrative sections male officers are the first choice by their superiors. They are discouraged to undertake risky tasks either on security grounds or on a pre-conceived idea that they are not

capable of performing such tasks. Generally they are given less important desk- work and poorly estimated. There prevails a stereotype mentality that female cannot do anything properly and sometimes reluctant attitude shown by the junior female officers also help to establish this notion. Therefore, women themselves are responsible for degrading their dignity in the service. However, female bureaucrats also conveyed about their challenges in the job. According to them, balancing dual duties in both family and office is a great challenge for them. It was also found that the support from the family is very crucial for the career of a woman in Bangladesh. They can overcome many of the difficulties and shine in their career progression with the help of the family. Without the support of the family, they cannot even continue their profession, let alone excel.

Almost two-thirds of the respondents are not sure about their future growth. Though they consider themselves cent percent competent but according to them up to deputy secretary the procedure is visible and regular. After that as it goes up and up things became unpredictable, irregular and hazy.

Ten senior civil servants ranked from joint secretary to secretary were interviewed regarding existing policy which could optimize gender representation. They opined that there is no special arrangement for pushing women in the top position except the 10% quota in the entry level. Most interestingly no female officer was in favor of imposing quota in top management because women do not want to see them as a “product of quota”. All agreed that competent officers are badly needed in the top position who could lead the bureaucracy to the right direction. Male interviewee opined that the entry of female officers to the civil service is very recent. Therefore, historically the starting point of both male and female to the civil service is not same and it is obvious that there will be uneven size, misrepresentation or under representation of one group. Whereas, female interviewee felt that negative perception about women’s capability plays a vital role for low representation in top management. For this reason for last thirty years the civil service is waiting to see secretary from finance, public administration, home and law. One respondent opined that-

Ms. B joined the administrative service in 1982 as a first batch of this cadre. In the early 80's women who worked in the sub-urban areas faced protective or regressive attitude that hinder the growth of confidence among the women. In spite of this unfavourable situation, she voluntarily perform challenging tasks and did quite successfully. She was one of the first who was appointed as ADC. Having field experience, decision making abilities and leadership qualities she was performing well as ADC. In spite of well performance she was feeling a sense of insecurity in her workplace by her superiors. She felt embarrassed and physically threatened all the time. When she challenged her boss, to her utter dismay, she did not get support from her male colleagues. At that time harassment of women and undermining their capabilities were common features of public service. She was insisting to work beyond office hours and in addition to office work. After informing higher authority she was withdrawn from ADC taking the blame in shoulder that "women are not fit for the challenging job". After that female were not seen as ADC for couple of years. This is how women generalized by single incident. The success of women's effort depends largely by male superiors with traditional look.

Male dominant superior selection board often takes decision from a male point of view. Despite balancing dual responsibility women manages job with utmost dedication, sincerity and honesty. Once nobody seemed to recognize the dual role of a woman that needed to play as a working mother. But women's strong determination and non-surrendering attitude to the unfavorable situation over the years able them to reach in a position where they are now.

Mr. B, an Addl. Secretary in a reputed ministry opined that he had two junior female senior secretaries who worked under him. One is very much enthusiastic, punctual and proactive. She actively participates in all meetings, tries to give comments and consider decision making one of the important function in her job.

The latter always look for excuse to quit responsibilities. She frequently remain absent in the meeting and ultimately excluded her from the process of decision making. She hesitates to take charge of challenging jobs which imply either she is lack of confidence or not interested to perform difficult jobs. According to Mr. B all officers need to give his best at his or her work. One needs to compete with his or her own self. By doing that he or she can make difference at work. It is the capacity that determine who will advance fast in the career. The reluctant attitude of second officer has negatively impact on his superiors' mind that might affect the grading of their ACR.

One male respondent stated that 70% quota for administration cadre officers in joint secretary and additional secretary level is also responsible for low representation of women. For promotion to the top, performance, track record, ACR etc. determine one's promotion. Perhaps, the rationale for promoting a female officer cannot be justified simply because she is a female. There is no apparent 'glass ceiling' for positions of the top civil service for women though there may be an argument that certain positions are male dominated and not meant for women. But whatever progress has been made in the name of representation of female officers to the top is suggestive that contribution of 'patriarchal mentality' for promotion of female officers to the top is either minimal or has changed significantly over the years.

Ms. C, a secretary stated that, for a long time, women were encouraged to work in stereotyped occupations like teaching and nursing. They were not allowed to join services which required mobility, decision making ability, much meritocracy, diplomacy etc. potentials of women were underestimated and this sort of negative attitude acted as a barrier to enhancing self confidence of women.

With the changing policies of the government, women began to join almost all the services of the government. They have proved themselves in traditional and non- traditional fields. Although intake of women has increased substantially over the years but representation in the senior management is still negligible. Because women have been discriminated against for a long time, they should be promoted to higher echelon more and more through affirmative actions and this will, to some extent make the representation fair.

All the respondents argued that the pen paper system of promotion is not maintaining. As a result, to introduce performance measurement mechanism is badly needed which will ultimately put and end to all controversies.

Summaries of the observations

- Women need to put extra effort to perform better in most of the cases
- In case of challenging tasks they are often discriminated by their superiors
- Family support is the most crucial determinant for smooth functioning of women's career
- The young civil servants are very much confused about their future growth.
- Female officers do not want to see them as 'product of quota'.
- Male domination in the top resulting under representation of women in the upper ranks of administration.

- Removing obstacle is much important rather than empowering women.
- Struggle to reconcile office works with their traditional gender roles in the family and society affect the grading of the ACR in the early stage of career and give lack scope of networking in the mature stage of career.
- Introducing performance measurement mechanism will put an end to controversies like lobbying and favoritism in grading of ACR to a great extent.

5.2 CASE STUDY

Case Study 1: Challenge for Challenging Job and Positive Discrimination

Ms. A is an Asst. commissioner and very much enthusiastic towards her job. Before joining this job, Ms. A was working as an English teacher in a govt. school. Her father also was in Govt. service and motivated her daughter highly to join in civil service, especially in Administration cadre because of the prestige of the service.

After joining the service she successfully managed all the tasks that was assigned by her superiors and soon proved herself as a competent officer in the eyes of her superiors. However, one day her boss called her and her batch mate for assigning two tasks. She was given the duty to judge the cultural competition at “Shishu Academy” and her male colleague was assigned to conduct a mobile court ‘under pure Food Ordinance 1959’ with RAB in a risky area where a syndicate of corrupt businessmen adulterate spice with wood and brick dust. Later on they packed the spices and sold it to the innocent customers. At that moment she was happy that her superior gave her a less challenging job in comparison with the whole day tiring operation with RAB. She respected the decision of her Boss and did not challenge anything.

Few months later she experienced another similar kind of incident. She was dealing with Divisional sports file for couple of months but suddenly it was handed over to his male colleague because money and influential people of the locality were involved with it. So,

there was a huge pressure from ruling political party also. This time she did not feel relaxed because her superior took it as granted from her previous record that female officer is much relaxed with less challenging tasks. She realized that a stereotype mentality of our society distinguishes job into two categories: “male fitted job” and “female fitted job”.

Case study 2:

Ms. Y joined in BCS Administration cadre in 2008. She was posted in a divisional DC office as a probationer along with her four batch mates. All were enjoying their job though she was managing her dual responsibility as she had a baby of eighteen months. Her husband and family lived in Dhaka so she needed to rely upon her domestic help. She believes that the socio-cultural environment of Bangladesh does not encourage women to work as per their excellence. For women the society still regards that family responsibilities should come first. Many women job holders fall prey to this believe and tend to give importance to family obligations rather than their professional responsibilities. She also opined that during office time or after office male colleagues feel much comfortable in accompanying male bosses and they indulge themselves easily in doing bosses personal work. As women have various urgent and pressing commitments to the family they fail to give over time for official purposes. If any female officer tries to give extra time to her male superiors; even the society as a whole is not ready to see women anywhere anytime for any work. Our superstition our taboos consciously or unconsciously contribute in sustaining the glass ceiling. At the end of the year Ms. Y found that her three male colleagues got better grading than her. She thinks that apart from excellent work one should have apple polishing and knack for lobbying.

CHAPTER 6: RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

It is evident from the study that though women have managed to increase their number in the service of the Republic, their position in terms of power and influencing decision making has not improved.

Following recommendations are made to reduce problems and to create a congenial atmosphere for the women at the field level:

6.1 Recommendations

- Competent female officers should be posted in mainstreaming ministries. Government can by affirmative policy appoint qualified women to the posts generally held by men to help dispel the myth of gender stereotyped jobs.
- In superior selection board there should be a female representation. A post can be created on the basis of most senior female civil servant because in the administration and policy levels where power is defined and decisions are made, there is a dearth of women's participation.
- Optimal use of Presidential quota for selecting only bright and competent officers from different services and sectors.
- There should be a comprehensive policy in the civil service to remove all the hindrance that hinder the career progression of women and address their special needs for smooth functioning.
- It was found in the study that young officers are very much unsure about their career progression. In general, they are frustrated about the political entitlement that is badly needed for career growth nowadays. De-politicization is necessary. If eradication is not possible than mitigation can be done.
- To introduce a globally competent mechanism to measure performance. This however should be entirely merit based and through open competition for all.

6.2 Conclusion

It has become clear that in the context of Bangladesh, female civil servants are perceived as incapable, having lack of dedication to the job and overburdened by the female affairs. The trend of women's representation in the top management is slowly changing. So, our societal, cultural, structural and personal factors contribute altogether for the slow progress of the women's representation in the top management. When we are talking about a globally competent civil service we need to ensure both quality and quantity. Therefore, balancing women's representation a comprehensive approach is needed by all in the organization that enhance the effectiveness of each other and development of the capacities of less confident ones. Most importantly, a significant increase of women in senior managerial positions requires a basic restructuring of the distribution of patriarchal power in the society. And that can come through consciousness raising and empowerment of women spelled out not only in documents and policy statements, but through sustained commitment and implementation of those by the state. Otherwise none can be able to look for new directions.

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APPENDIX-Questionnaire

Research Topic: Women Representation in Top Management of Civil Service in Bangladesh

Questions: For junior Civil servants

Q.1: What are the motivating Factors that influence you to choose civil service as your career?

Q.2: What are the de-motivating factors that might influence someone not to choose the job as career?

Q.3: Do you think female civil servant need to put extra efforts to perform better rather than his counterpart?

Q.4: Have you ever experienced any situation where you were not given any challenging responsibilities only because you are a woman?

Q.5: There is a prevailing idea of the society that women take decisions emotionally rather than professionally? Does it also applicable for female civil servant also?

Q.6: Do you ever found any contradiction between your dual responsibility means performing your domestic role and official role?

Q.7: Being a female how much comfortable you are with your job in comparison with your male colleague? Please rank the rate.

3	2	1
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Highly Comfortable-1, Moderately Comfortable-2 and Less Comfortable-1

Q.8: Do you get any kind of extra pressure performing your job after having change in your familial life such as marriage, birth of your baby or absence of domestic help?

Questions: for senior civil servants

Q.1 To what extent the existing policy ensure to optimize gender representation in top management?

Q.2 In decision making level it is appearing that representation is not sufficient? So, what could be the ways to improve it?

Q.3 Do you think that female civil servants need to put extra efforts to perform better rather than his counterpart?

Q.4 Have you ever experienced any situation where you have to choose one option between your career preparation and domestic responsibility that particularly affect the grading of you ACR?