

STUDY OF SLUM DWELLERS IN THE CAPITAL CITY OF DHAKA.

A thesis submitted to the Dept. of Anthropology,
Dhaka University for the Degree of Master of Philosophy.

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DECLARATION

I do hereby solemnly declare that the dissertation entitled Study of the Slum Dwellers in the Capital City of Dhaka is the outcome of my own endeavors and research.

The material embodied in this work, is original and has not been submitted for any other Diploma or Degree in any university and published fully or partly in any journal or book in any form.

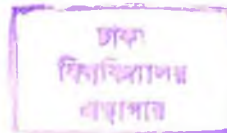
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CERTIFICATE

It is certified that Mrs. Kamrun Nahar M.Phil. Researcher, Dept. of Anthropology, Dhaka University, has completed her M.Phil. thesis entitled Study of Slum Dwellers in the Capital City of Dhaka at her own effort under my constant supervision and guidance.

To the best of my knowledge and belief, this is an original research work ~~which I recommend for submission~~ which I recommend for submission for the Degree of Master of Philosophy. So far my knowledge goes, materials of the work, fully or partly has not been published or submitted for any other Degree or Diploma in any university/Institute.

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Chapter –1

Introduction

1.1 Proposition:

Dhaka, the capital city of Bangladesh, has been identified as the “Mega slum of the twenty first century” by the Asia week. (Meenar, M. R., 1999 page: 6). Present population of the slums in Dhaka city is nearly 3.0 million.

This is a study of a slum in Dhaka city with a focus on the life and living of slum-dwellers. Agriculture sector accounts for agrarian society nearly 46% of the country’s GDP with nearly 65% of the total labour force employed in agriculture. But arable land is decreasing gradually due to repeated fragmentation of land, urbanization, river erosion etc. On the other hand population of the country is increasing geometrically. Loss of crops due to natural calamity is also repeating almost every year. This is creating joblessness in rural areas, which force the rural poor people to migrate to urban areas. The rate of migration towards city is also increasing in geometric proportion. The impact of migration has paralysed the City life.

Because of the unplanned migration, the city life, its economy is getting affected seriously. On the other hand, due to the migration of rural poor towards urban areas, an artificial vacuum has been created in agricultural sector also. Farmers are not getting required manpower for agricultural purposes during peak seasons. Skilled agricultural labourers are now gradually becoming construction, industrial and transportation workers in the urban life. Thus shortage in agricultural sector is affecting the agricultural production. Bangladeshi agricultural system is mostly manual oriented. Migration of rural poor

towards city is definitely creating shortage in the labour requirement for agricultural purposes. Reciprocally when rural poor people are shifted in the urban areas, they can hardly render good services for different city and industrial requirements. These unskilled workers face serious problems. Naturally they become looser financially, physically and socially.

Increased rate of migration of rural poor to urban areas is affecting the infrastructure of the city. The city is not planned to accommodate them. So this excess population is creating pressure on sanitation, power, transportation, health and environment of the city. The migrants are also endangering city life by creating anti-social activities.

Due to unusual slum settlement all around the Dhaka city, its normal life is becoming hazardous. The condition of city life is getting worse. Ultimately it is affecting the national economy also.

1.2 Objective of the study.

The main objective of the present study is to prepare an ethnographic account of the people living in a slum in Dhaka city. In other words, it is a study of the slum dwellers. One of the objectives of the present study is to know the impact of migration on urban life. The study will investigate into their socio-economic life, their housing pattern, food habits, and their conditions of health, sanitation, social organization and their religion, rituals and ceremonies.

1.3 Scope and Importance of the study:

Scope of the present study on the slum life is quite board. Importance of the study is also very significant because the slum people

represents most of the district of the country, availability of varieties of people of different occupation and easy comparison with the city life etc. Because of long period of settlement of the dwellers in this slum—their life style, different events and occurrences could be studied in broader aspect. As the location of the slum is very adjacent to the municipal aided area, the impact of the presence of slum on urban life also could be studied.

Significance of this study is enormous. Without studying these people of the slum, planing of Dhaka City is next to impossible. Dhaka city is already overburden with its population. In the coming century it will become a mega slum city. So the importance of the study of slum-dwellers requires no explanation to make the city healthy and planned.

1.4 Methodology:

I have followed anthropological method or the method of intensive fieldwork in the present study. In other words, I have followed the method of participant-observation. “Anthropological method, which involves direct participation and observation in the field seems to us the most useful method” (Chowdhury, 1978:12) for the purpose of present study.

We have applied anthropological method for collection of qualitative data for this work. I went to the research area, lived there and collected important data about their society and culture. It is an intensive study of their family, kinship, marriage, occupation, income, religion, belief, rituals and the problems confronted by them. I was able to establish friendship with them and therefore, I was not a stranger to them. I used my field dairy and I collected data about their life and living during my fieldwork in the slum under study.

This is a holistic study of a slum dweller community. We have tried to gather information about many aspects of their life and living.

I have followed some techniques of data collection for qualitative work which are used in the anthropological method.

Techniques of data collection:

- a. Participant-observation.
- b. Key informant interviewing.
- c. Collection of life histories.
- d. Genealogy.
- e. Case study.
- f. Technical equipment of fieldwork like camera, tap recorder.
- g. Acquaintances with the indigenous languages.
- h. Use of facts, documents and analysis.
- i. Location map and population census.
- j. Archives and other written records.
- k. Note taking and use of Diaries. (Chowdhury, A. and Rashid, S. page-87)

Chapter-II

Review of Literature

For the purpose of our present study, we have decided to review the relevant existing literature in this field. This would give us some information about the present condition of slums in Dhaka city. Here, in this chapter, I have attempted to review some of the most important studies on the slum dwellers of Dhaka city.

2.1 Slums and Squatters in Dhaka city 1988.

The first among them is the study of Islam and Mahbub (1988). This survey was aimed at mapping the slum and squatter settlements with the Dhaka Municipal Corporation (DMC) area and they collected basic socio-economic information on every slum. They defined slum and squatter in this report. The major objective of the study was to determine the type of ownership of the lands occupied by the slum and squatter communities. The survey involved field observation, mapping and administration of a set of questionnaire. The authors tried to collect information on the basic socio-economic characteristics of slum dwellers, the quality of the physical environment of slum area, and the available of utility services within the slum communities. The researchers identified through the field survey, a complete list of 1125 slum and squatter settlements in DMC area. They prepared the map showing location of old (1125) slums and squatters with 10 or more households. It was found the three fourths of settlements were established during the last 17 years. Therefore, between 1971 and 1988, a total of 833 clusters were added to the total units, an average of almost 50 clusters per year. The expansion of slum and squatter settlements during the recent years led to higher growth of population in Dhaka city and an acute shortage of housing

in the capital. The map showed that the slums and squatters were distributed in an irregular manner throughout the city. It was also evident from the map that the peripheral zone of the city had more number of slums as compared to the inner zones.

The above mentioned study provided some general information of the physical environments of the slums, mainly on land and home ownership pattern, area covered by the slums, drainage condition and flood situation and availability of some basic utility services in the slum areas. This study therefore, showed that the rapid growth of slums and squatters settlement in Dhaka city had become a critical issue and a highly visible problem. The most striking features of Dhaka's slum population were that they comprised one-fourth of the city's total population but shared only a tiny proportion of city's total residential area. As a result, the density of slum population remained very high. It was five or six times higher than the overall density of Dhaka's population.

2.2 Vagrants of Dhaka city.

Ali Akbar (1972) conducted a study on the slum dwellers of Dhaka city in 1972. This study provided information on the property and economic conditions of the villager's who migrated to Dhaka city and became slum dwellers. Ali Akbar further investigated into the causes of such migration from rural areas to Dhaka city. He found that most people came to Dhaka from rural areas in search of job but many of them remained unemployed and became slum dwellers. The slum dwellers became vagrants. It can thus, be concluded here that vagrants were the slum dwellers in the city of Dhaka as found by Ali Akbar in his study.

Faruk (1976) conducted another study on the vagrants of Dhaka city during 1975 and the results of his survey was published in 1976 by

the Bureau of Economic Research of Dhaka University. Faruk in this study revealed the socio-economic background of the vagrants of Dhaka city. He also tried to ascertain the causes of becoming vagrants. According to him, most of the vagrants came from rural areas. They were hit by a disaster like crop failure, river erosion, flood and loss of job etc. As there was no saving or loan or no employment was available in the neighbourhood, they came to the city to try their luck. But in the city there was no secured job and no secured accommodation for them. They were uprooted from their village homes, and became vagrants even after years of struggle in the urban environment. Bulk of woman vagrants came to visit friends or for medical aid or to seek relief and charity. Woman vagrants also came to Dhaka city for seeking employment. The vagrants whether male or female, finally settled in the slum of Dhaka city. The study of Faruk showed that slums in the city of Dhaka grew in this process. It appeared from similar studies that slums became enlarged in Dhaka city with the settlement of vagrants and beggars in the slums.

2.3 Urban Research in Bangladesh 1999

In another edited work of Nazrul Islam Urban Research in Bangladesh, some of the contributors highlighted on urban poor, poverty, environment, infrastructure and health situation of urban population in Bangladesh. The centre for urban studies defined urban poor in Bangladesh as follows: “The urban poor are living in urban area who cannot afford to meet the basic needs requirements include food or nutrition, clothing, primary healthcare, education and shelter” (Islam 1990).

Islam identified the following causes of poverty in Bangladesh in this study.

1. **Historical factors:** The country's colonial background and its exploitation by colonial rulers.
2. **Environment factors:** Recurrence of natural hazards, (especially cyclones, floods, droughts and river bank erosion).
3. **Resources and demographic factors:** Limited natural resources, and small size of the country against a very large population. Unfavorable and low land-man ratio.
4. Dependence on foreign aids, loans, drain of resources from the country (material, monetary and brain drain). Neo-colonial exploitation through metropolitan capital, multinational and foreign NGO's.
5. **Poor quality of human resources:** Due mainly to poor health, illiteracy and low skill.
6. **The socio-economic political superstructure:** Particularly the power structure, the oppressive and exploitative role of the ruling power elite, social oppression in rural areas, and unequal resource structure.
7. Absence of popularly elected people's government and lack of people's participation in development activities.
8. Administrative and managerial weakness and widespread corruption.
9. Stagnation of productive forces and production over time.
10. Rich-biased government policies and lack of sufficient government support for the poor.
11. Lack of political awareness and organization of the poor (or for the poor).
12. Behavioral factors (both individual and societal behavior). The above factors explain both urban and rural (more rural) poverty in Bangladesh.

The study revealed that urban poverty in Bangladesh is partly a manifestation of rural poverty. The vast majority of urban poor are still in fact recent migrants from rural areas. The causes of migration are rural poverty, landlessness, rural unemployment, natural hazards, social injustice and oppression etc. These are known as rural push factors whereas better education and employment opportunities in urban areas are known as urban pull factors. For women, marriage is a major cause of rural to urban migration. Thus the rural poor become urban settlers and vast majority of them live in the urban slums. This is why and how big slums grow in the city of Dhaka in recent time. Mizanuddin (1992) has recently completed his research on "Social Organization of Urban Poor". He has conducted a study on a squatter settlement of Dhaka city. He has found that similarity of the income and occupation of bastee dwellers facilitate them to belong to class in itself but not being transformed into class for itself. "Grinding poverty of bastee dwellers, absence of a direct oppressor class and their inclination towards alignments, based on traditional ties like family, kinship, regional ties and class were held responsible for keeping the class in itself situation" (Mizanuddin 1992).

Many of the urban studies in Bangladesh by geographers, sociologists, planners, engineers and architects have addressed the land and housing problems of the urban poor particularly of those living in slums and squatters.

2.4 Environment, Infrastructure and Health, in urban areas in Bangladesh.

Amanat Ullah Khan (1994) in an article "Environment, Infrastructure and health, in urban areas in Bangladesh" has given an idea of research activities on environment, infrastructure and health. According to him the applied research or urban problem is of more

recent origin. In the Eighties when the urban problems became acute, the government started seeking outside help in a bid to contain these problems. As a result, various environment improvement projects were taken up in the country with international help. The applied researchers started these projects.

As for published books dealing with urban environment, infrastructure and health issues in Bangladesh, only a few has been produced. These are Khan 1967, Hussain 1970, Saqui 1977, Miah et. el 1988 and Ahmed 1991.

Early research interest in this country focused on the broader aspect of the urban environment. Interest in the seventies, however turned to be specific aspects of urban environment and infrastructure of them, basic urban services, the water supply, sewage and sanitation problem in Dhaka city received sustained attention from researchers. The problems of water supply and sewage disposal in Dhaka city was studied by Salam (1968). Rahman (1968) looked into the over all water supply and sanitation situation in the urban areas of the country. Anisuzzaman (1968) studied the attitude towards sanitation in public places in Dhaka city. Saqui (1977) published a pioneer book on the water supply situation in Dhaka city. The focus of his study, however, was financial analysis rather than a study of the environmental aspects.

Turing to environmental aspects of water, Islam (1977) studied the characteristics of water in and around Dhaka city. Morshed (1984) investigated the water supply situation in poor areas within the Dhaka city. The relationship between sub surface geology and its relationship was investigated by Saifuddin (1985). He investigated the water supply problems of the Uttara Model Town. Very recently

during the early nineties there has been several historical studies on the water supply and sanitation in old Dhaka (Khanum 1991, Ahmed 1991).

Many projects have been taken up in order to attend the various environmental and infrastructure problems faced by the city. There has been several studies on the flood protection and drainage and the environment of the greater Dhaka (Sneel and AAE 1969, Harlow & Partners 1973 and 1988 JICA 1987, 1990 and 1991 WASA 1989 and 1990).

Urban health problems in Bangladesh in the past have always been treated secondarily by the bulk of Medical and health researchers of the country. The medical researchers over the past three decades have assembled a wide array of studies on the various aspects of the health situation of the urban areas. Preliminary review has identified a large number of research projects that are related to aspects of urban health problems. For the purpose of detailed review these were grouped into:

- a) Studies of particular disease of the Urban Area.
- b) Studies of health problems of particular groups.
- c) Studies of particular areas in cities.
- d) Studies of particular disease carriers in cities.
- e) Studies of the nature of health care delivery in urban areas.

In a study on the incidence of diphtheria carried out before the EPI was started in Dhaka in 1973 and 1974, Haq and Haq (1987) found the incidence to be one per thousand, roughly under 10 years age group. Fatality rate was found to be highest in 6 months to 5 years age group. The children residing in crowded and congested areas was found to be more vulnerable.

Heart disease were studied by Malik (1976) and Banoo et. al. (1987). Malik's study was on both urban and rural society. He found that about 3 percent of the study population had some kind of heart disease. Rheumatic heart disease were common in poor people of younger age whereas well to do people suffered more from ischaemic heart disease. Martin et.al (1969). Khan and Carlin (1977), studied the nature of the cholera producing agents, the spatial pattern of the incidence and its relationship with various environmental factors. Stanton and his group (during the late 80's) have studied the effect of altering water sanitation behaviour and its relationship to childhood diarrhoea in urban areas. (Stanton et. al. 1987a, 1987b, 1988, 1989).

Fariduddin and Khan (1989) and Mannan (1990) conducted two studies on the similar subjects. The first report was based on secondary information about the health and nutrition status of the urban poor in Bangladesh. It also reviewed the nature of healthcare pattern, institutional framework and the quality of service delivery to the poor. The second study was based on primary field data and provided a very good comparison of health of the urban and rural population in Bangladesh. It reviewed the morbidity, mortality and nutrition situation in the urban and rural areas. The study gathered information from a sample of 2400 rural and 500 urban households spread throughout the country. These two studies contributed significantly to the general awareness on the urban health situation of the country.

2.5 The squatters of Dhaka city (1996)

This study was an outcome of team work of three researchers who conducted a study on the Agargaon squatters. They highlighted on different issues. Rita Afsar worked on migrants in a squatter settlement, Ms. Simeen Mahmud on the people of the Agargaon

squatter settlement and Protima Paul Majumder on occupation, income and earning strategies of the slum-dwellers. They highlighted on the consequences of rapid migration of the migrants and their families, urban economy and urban social services. Through an intensive survey of 300 randomly selected households the study presented an analysis of the socio-economic and cultural dynamics in the life of squatters in the Aargaon area.

The existing literature is an attempt to examine the social dynamics of the slums such as the social hierarchy with the slums, their power structure, social network of the slum dwellers in the way of relations between people, social cohesion and conflict, social disorders, such as juvenile delinquency, crime, alcoholism, drug abuse, violence on woman, prostitution etc.

It is interesting to note here about 80 to 100 percent respondents¹ of this slum (Dhaka, Rangpur, Jamalpur, Barisal and Mymensingh districts) came to Dhaka city for economic reasons like job search and better employment opportunity. The female head migrants from Jamalpur and Mymensingh came exclusively for economic reason. A sizeable proportion of migrants also cited non-economic reasons for their migration. The major non-economic reasons were loss of parents or family members and torture by stepmother. Thus they became slum dwellers. It was found that although economic reasons were documented over the years, socio psychological reasons are gradually assuming importance.

The study revealed that although Agargaon squatter settlement existed for almost two decades, the residents were deprived of basic services, such as water supply, toilet facilities, electricity and gas line.

¹The respondents are the heads of the households living in the slums under study.

Rita Afsar found wide spread prevalence of liquor consumption and violence on women in the slum and squatter communities. Drug addiction was also not uncommon. Prostitution was also not uncommon in the Agragaon squatter settlement. Beside prostitution, women of this squatter were subject to different other forms of torture such as, wife beating, kidnapping and rape. She could successfully identify the power wielders in the slum area.

There were strong occupational groups in the slum. Ms Simeen Mahmud worked on the people of Agargaon squatter settlement. She attempted to look at a number of demographic behavior or population in order to assess the nature of residence and change among the squatter dwellers. The age structure of the sample population revealed that the population was fairly young with nearly 47 percent aged under 15 years. This was equal to the national proportion according to the 1981 census. According to Simeen Mahmud, the age structure may be compared to that observed in other slums of Dhaka city in a study conducted in 1987 (CUS, 1983). It appears that the population of the Agargaon area had relatively more infants (under one year) and children under 10 years and working age of men and women and relatively fewer very elderly persons (above 60 years). In both the samples the proportion of female children under 5 was somewhat higher than the proportion of male children. Similarly, the proportion of females aged 15-29 was also higher than the proportion of males in both the populations. However, for both men and women the proportions aged 30-59 i.e.-the older working age group, are higher for the Agargaon squatter population, particularly for men. In the preceding age group 15-29 the proportion of females is slightly higher and the proportion of males slightly lower for the Agargaon population.

A consistent pattern of household organization that emerged in Agargaon squatter settlement related to the period of migration. The dominant form of household organization was nuclear form. It was nearly 82 percent for the most recent migrant, who came during 1985-88. Consequently, the proportion of joint/extended types of households which dominated among the non-migrant households clearly has been losing round over the years. Ms. Simeen Mahmud found that as migrants from rural areas become more used to urban life and begin accepting urban values and norms of behavior. There is a distinct erosion of traditional norms defining sex roles. Hence, the longer that a household and its members have been residing in the city, the less rigid are traditional "*pardah*" and social restrictions on women's involvement in remunerative work, and the greater is the probability of women members taking up income-earning work, particularly in the context of increasing economic pressure.

Paul-Majumder worked on occupation, income and earning strategies of Agargaon Squatters. According to her, most of the Agargaon squatter dwellers were migrants from villages who come to Dhaka city primarily in search of jobs. Protima in this study revealed that the squatters in Agargaon were able to fulfill their economic expectation through entry into the job market, either in the informal sector or to a small extent in the formal sector, and it also showed how their economic status changed over a period of time. It also analysed the factors affecting their economic conditions.

The labour force participation rate for Agargaon squatter population was estimated at 53 percent, 77 percent for males and 26 percent for the females. The female participation rate was substantially higher. The prevalence of child labour was low in Agargaon. The occupational pattern of the Agargaon squatters was different from that

of the informal sector of the country as a whole, where trade and business activities accounted for the largest group of economic activities. It was also a little different from that of other slums and squatters settlement in Dhaka city. More than 9 percent of the sample household heads had a second occupation to supplement their income. The study of Protima, showed that about 21 percent, of the migrant household heads who came to the city for the first time found a job almost immediately. This was mainly because of the operation of social networking. They had either acquaintances, friends, or relatives in the Agargaon settlement and they migrated to the city mainly with the help these people. This is how Agargaon squatter settlement grew in the city of Dhaka.

According to Protima, it was a fact that squatters and slum dwellers provided labour and services essential for the functioning of city life. There were no attempts at reaching the benefits of development to the poor, the essential precondition of all slum and all squatter dwellers by the municipal and other authorities as citizens with rights and obligations. Only then, attempts at integrating them into city and urban planning can be undertaken in a conscious way through the mechanism of the annual and five year plans of the government.

2.6 The urban poor in Bangladesh Phase I Vol: VIII

The urban poor in Bangladesh (1990) was prepared by CUS for Unicef and urban World Bank. Author of this volume highlighted on the third year plan where the questions of rural unemployment, landlessness, rural poverty and rural income generation are elaborately attended in the planning literature. But the issues related to urban poverty, especially that of urban employment and income. According to him third five year plan document turned its attention to rural development and suggested measures to enhance rural non-farm

employment through rural industries, rural infrastructure development programme and rural food for work programme. It did not spell out any policy action to strengthen the role of the informal sector toward providing employment to the urban poor. The causes of migration of the constant streams of the poor to urban areas and the importance of the urban informal sector to economically accommodate them has been recognized in the document. But it has not gone further in this direction.

The study of Khan showed that the country's research organizations, and the Universities neglected the issues related to urban employment and income structure. Organizations like BIDS while maintaining sustained research interest on problems of rural poverty and unemployment have almost totally ignored the urban employment issues. The Present review of the employment and income situation of the urban poor in Bangladesh was mainly based on information gathered from a series of surveys of the urban poor of various cities in Bangladesh. These surveys were conducted at various times mainly by the Centre for urban studies (CUS). Khan in this study revealed that, according to the 1983-84 labour force survey, there were a total of 3.9 million persons employed in various types of activities in urban area. Between 1974 and 1984 the urban centres in the country absorbed an additional 1.8 million workers.

Another feature to the labour force growth rate between 1974 and 1984 is the increase in female labour force participation. Nationally it grew at the rate of almost 11 percent annually, the female work force growth rate in urban area was even higher. It grew at a rate of about 15 percent annually in urban areas. The total female work force grew from 1 million in 1974 to 4 million in 1984 representing a fourfold increase.

Occupational pattern changed in the urban areas between 1974 and 1984. Comparing the male employment in various occupations for the two years, it can be seen that administrative/managerial, clerical, sales worker categories registered significant advances while agricultural work, production and transport occupations declined in proportion. The female employment pattern indicated significant rise in the professional/technical category occupations. The female however lost out in administrative /managerial category jobs. Generally the poor occupied the lower end of the urban employment spectrum. The slum accommodates the urban poor. Poor in cities are employed in both formal and informal sectors. In the formal sector the types of occupations include factory labour, low skill technicians like electricians, plumbers, repairmen, service holders-like clerks, office assistant, typists, lift operators, peons, security guards and others.

In a detailed study of the urban informal sector employment of Dhaka city Nurul Amin classified these occupations into the following five broad classes:

- a) Street selling and other petty retailing.
- b) Repair and other personal service.
- c) Crafts and other manufacturing.
- d) Construction work.
- e) Transport service.

The CUS study on urban poor in Bangladesh found that on an average 16.38 percent of all working members were labours followed by transport workers (14 percent) who are mainly rickshaw pullers and cart pullers. The study also found the relative significance of small business and this accounted for 17.14 percent of employed members.

In another CUS study of slums in Dhaka city in 1983 the occupational pattern of the head of the households was found to some what different (CUS 1983, P.73). There were about 80 different types of occupation held by the male heads of households. The female members were found to belong to only three occupations (maid servant, ayas and housewives).

The entry of the poor to the informal economy of the city was easy. Very little skill development was required. Considerable proportion of the poor were found to have received loans from mainly informal lenders to their initial capital. Some of these loans were against commercial interest.

Khan in his study revealed that the income pattern which indicated that the bulk of the poor in cities received much less than the taka 2600 per month. Majority was found to have received as monthly income of less than taka 2000 per month. The review of these programmes indicate that much of these programe are targeted to the educated unemployed and as such may miss out a large section of the urban poor.

2.7. Suritola an Inner city slum in Dhaka, Bangladesh 1977.

This was a case study of inner city slums. This study was conducted by Centre for urban studies. The physical layout of Suritola was unplanned, irregular, unscientific and unsuitable for balanced development. This slum had all the typical characteristic of old slums. Spatial arrangements did not have any consideration for physical or mental health. Most of the buildings were old and in run-down conditions. Other houses were also filmsy and poor. The area as a whole presented extremely high residential density. The people lived in sub-standard housing and in a very deplorable physical

environmental condition. The area was a centre of many vices. They were also socially, economically and culturally assimilated rather easily with the similar economic group already settled there.

The study revealed that housing condition of Suritola slum was very poor. Three types of households were identified in the area. The richer people lived in pucca buildings. A sizeable number (50 percent) in the area belonged to the comparatively lower middle income group. Their flats or dwellings consisted one or two room with small kitchen. They used to live in semi pucca buildings. The poor income groups, mostly kutchra house and shanty dwellers or room sharers, perform sleeping, cooking and social purpose all in the same room.

The conducted study on public utilities, water, sewerage and garbage disposal, cooking, roads, drainage etc. Basic utility services were also in adequate and poor in quality. Poor perception about use of useful services also kept many services away from the residents. The community services were in worse condition than the basic utilities.

According to Islam and Khan, the Government started some programmes earlier, but they were functioning very poorly. In spite of many being old urbanities, most of the people of the area were illiterate or very poorly educated and conservative. However, their community and ethnic feelings were quite strong. They were basically co-operative and sympathetic to each other but passive in attitude. Many of them lacked in initiative and entrepreneurship.

They found that traditional leadership and organizational base was trying to adjust with emerging modern democratic process of leadership and organization. An interesting synthesis was taking place through continuous interactions between the old native residents and

the rural migrants. While the old native residents were tradition bound, the migrants were comparatively more responsive to change. This trend was expected to form the potential base for change and social development. Islam and Khan thought that in Suritola slum development would require guidance from the Government and other semi-Government, autonomous and voluntary organizations.

2.8 Squatters in Bangladesh cities 1974

The above report presented the findings of a survey of urban squatters in the cities of Dhaka, Chittagong and Khulna, carried out during the period between 1st August 1974 and 30th December 1974 by the 'Centre for urban studies. Squatters in Bangladesh cities 1974 examined the problem of squatting in the three cities (Dhaka, Chittagong and Khulna) of Bangladesh. All squatter settlements in the three cities had extremely poor or even hazardous environmental conditions. The Centre for urban studies revealed that squatters were known by different name in different countries. Even squatters were of many types. In Bangladesh cities squatters can also be classified according to siting, such as ground, boat (floating) and roof top squatters.

The problems of squatters and squatting in the cities of Bangladesh had a considerably long history. It started with the birth of Pakistan and the consequent mass migrants from India. The rural poverty and unemployment also significantly contributed to the flow of squatters to the cities.

The study revealed that the development of industries and improved communication system and the increased amenities of urban life had also attracted the rural population to the cities. These people illegally occupied vacant lands in the cities and started the squatter

settlements. CUS identified causes of their migration and on their impact on the delivery of various social services at the urban areas.

In analyzing the characteristics of urban immigrants in Bangladesh there are three broad categories:

Pushed migrants-these immigrants are of rural origin, mostly landless peasants, turned destitutes due to growing economic pressure and pushed to the urban centres. Several factors were responsible:

- a) Population pressure.
- b) Diminishing average holding
- c) Lack of adequate rural and agricultural development programs.
- d) Natural disasters.

Pulled migrants-this group of migrants comprise those who came to the cities from the villages or smaller towns for better opportunities. This migration is more the result of urban pull factors than rural push. A great in flux of such migrants to the major cities was marked, particularly after liberation. Several factors were responsible:

- a) Employment opportunities.
- b) Amenities
- c) Education
- d) Safety and security
- e) Changed values.

Migrants from Pakistan: Since the liberation of Bangladesh, a large number of Bangladeshis were repatriated from Pakistan. The additional number does not significantly change the total population

of the cities as this is more or less balanced by the out migration of non-Bengalis from the cities of Bangladesh to Pakistan.

According to the present survey hundred percent of the squatters dwellers were found to be of rural origin. Also they were mostly pushed migrants, i.e. the result of rural "push" factors, and many of them came to the cities after liberation and thus they have become the squatters.

Centre of urban studies found that all squatter settlements in the three cities had extremely poor or even hazardous environment conditions. The situation in the social service sector was equally bad. The social services in the squatter settlements was highly inadequate and could lead to further lowering in the social environment of such areas.

CUS recommended in this report that squatters in the three cities of Dhaka, Chittagong, Khulna demanded immediate attention for immediate rehabilitation both in the interest of maintenance of environment and socio-economic equilibrium within the cities as well as in the interest of squatters themselves.

2.9 Study of the urban poverty in Bangladesh, 1996 Vol-1

This was a study of the urban poverty in Bangladesh. This report was prepared by Nazrul Islam, ATM Zahirul Haq and Quazi Mafizur Rahman on behalf of ADB. Studies under taken by UNESCAP and the Asian Development Bank during the last three to four years and also demonstrated their concern with urban poverty. This study provided some general information on the poverty situation. The poverty was pervasive in Bangladesh and it was a well recognized fact. The absolute number of the urban poor in Bangladesh would be approximately 12 million. This population was increasing at a

estimated rate of over 5 percent annually. By the year, 2010 the magnitude of urban poor population would be around 27-30 million. The objective of the study were as follows:

1. To establish a comprehensive national baseline for monitoring trends in urban poverty through various types of surveys.
2. To develop a capability at a suitable location in the government for regularly monitoring urban poverty.

This study recommended to reduce urban poverty and improve access of the poor to various urban services such as land, housing, education, health, water supply, sanitation, drainage, solid waste collection, public lighting, roads and public transport services.

Centre for urban studies conducted various surveys such as:

- a) Household surveys conducted in the 10 cities/towns.
- b) Surveys of institutions
- c) Survey of street dwellers, in Dhaka.
- d) Case study of Agargaon, a large squatter settlement in Dhaka.

The major task of the study of urban poverty in Bangladesh was to conduct baseline survey of urban poor households of a representative national sample to determine their economic social demographic housing and other physical infrastructural characteristics. The present study showed that 18 percent of the poor households own land in urban areas of Bangladesh. While the remaining 82 percent do not own any land. The pattern of land ownership, however, varied among cities of different categories. With lowest incidence of ownership in the largest city and the highest in the small towns. In general the situation of access to drinking water had improved to a large extent in both rural and urban Bangladesh in the recent years. The present

study showed that 99 percent of the poor households in urban areas had access to "safe" drinking water the largest proportion of poor households (55%) used tap water for drinking purpose. Outside Dhaka city, a limited number of poor households used tap water.

Condition of sanitation in urban areas was not at all satisfactory. More than half of the poor households, (55%) in the urban areas used a variety of non-hygienic system of sanitation. About 60% of the poor households used electricity for home lighting. The remaining households used kerosine lamps. The electricity used among hard core poor were fewer (53.3%) than the moderately poor (73.4%) households. The hardcore poor households had little facilities to dispose their garbage in the municipal bins. Largest proportion of the hardcore poor (57%) still had no definite place for solid waste disposal in urban areas. Information on illness during the one month was sought on all members of household. For Dhaka city, out of 3964 total household members, 18.82% suffered illness. Again the prevalence of illness was more in hardcore poor group of the 746 member taking ill, 56.2% were hardcore poor and the rest 43.8% moderately poor, for Dhaka the rate of literacy situation was reverse, here the rate of literacy was higher among the heads than all members of household. Around 60% was the literacy rate here. There were 2569 children aged 6-14 years in all the study centers of there, 59.66% were found currently attending school and 40.4% not attending. Among the working population the literacy rate was found to be 54%, 46% workers were illiterate.

The main criterion used in this study to determine the poverty line was income, some others indicators were also used. They were as follows:

- 1) Crisis coping.
- 2) Development assistance.
- 3) Security of urban poor and eviction.
- 4) Access to information and communication.
- 5) Perception of Basic needs and services.
- 6) Participation in Association organization.
- 7) Role of women in decision making.
- 8) Leisure and recreation.
- 9) Self categorization.

2.10 Survey of slum and squatter settlement in Dhaka city, CUS for urban poverty reduction project Dec. 1996 on behalf of ADB.

CUS conducted a survey on slums and squatter settlements in Dec. 1996 on behalf of Asian Development Bank. The survey aimed at mapping of all the slum and squatter settlements of Dhaka metropolitan Area and they have collected selected information on each cluster. The Centre for urban studies defined slums squatters as follows:

Slums: Slums are settlements/ areas of poor housing (i.e. shacks or jhupris, Kutchha flimsy structures, semi pucca flimsy structures dilapidated old buildings in bad condition and so on), very high population density (over 300 persons per acre), high room crowding (3 or more adults per room), poor sewerage and drainage conditions, inadequate water supply irregular or no clearance of garbage, little or no paved roads, insufficient or no street lighting and little or no access to gas facility.

Squatter settlements: In terms of above characteristics there was no difference between slums and squatter settlement. Slums were termed

squatter settlements when located on illegally occupied land belonging to government, semi-government, autonomous and other organizations.

Slum/squatter household: Households are usually defined as group of people who share food from the same kitchen (chula) and live together.

The main objective of the survey was to update the map and key information of slums and squatter settlement prepared in 1991. The investigators identified site locations and estimated its area and collected information on other variables from key informants. They were slum owners/managers, old residents, shop keepers in the slum and educated persons living in slums.

The Total number of slum and squatter settlements (clusters) recorded by the UPRP-CUS Survey in 1996 was 3007 in the Dhaka metropolitan area (DMA) among them 679 (29.58%) were squatter settlement (being illegally located on public land).

According to the ICDDR, CUS survey conducted in 1991, the total number of slums and squatters within the same area (DMA) was 2156. Only 1649 slum/squatters out 2156 (1991) had survived and the remaining 507 disappeared. On the other hand the 1996 survey identified 1358 new slums and squatter settlement. For the high degree of mobility, disappearance of slum and squatter and formation of new settlement were very common.

According to the UPRP-CUS survey 1996 the number of people living in slum and squatter settlement was found to be 1:1 million. Of these 50.69 percent lived in slums and 49.31 percent lived in the squatter

settlements. The slum settlements were generally very small in size, approximately 85.27 percent slums had an average household size of between 10-50 households.

The present survey showed that the density of population in slums and squatters was about 1065 per acre. It was observed that the density of population was increasing more rapidly in the squatters than the slums. The origin of population by the type of settlements (Slum and squatters) did not show significant difference.

CUS report showed that quality of housing depended largely on the environmental conditions and on the extent of utility services among 3,007 slum and squatter settlements identified by the present study (1996) an overwhelming majority of the poor settlements were located on land owned by private individuals. Only 644 clusters were located on government and semi-government land while a few settlement to non-government organization. The physical topographic and environmental condition of slums and squatter settlement was extremely poor.

On average, 73 of the households in all 3007 slums and squatter settlements had electric connections. 30.36% had gas facilities, 85.83% had access to safe drinking water and about 58% had access to sanitary latrine. Such availability of services varied substantially among various thanas. For example, access to safe drinking water varied from 62% in Uttara thana to 98% in Demra thana. Similarly gas facilities varied from 0 to 57 percent while electricity varied from 17 to 98% respectively.

2.11 The urban poor in Bangladesh, 1996.

In a recent work of Nazrul Islam (ed) The urban poor in Bangladesh, some of the authors highlighted on Urban poor and poverty and other

infrastructural facilities and health situation in Bangladesh. Islam shows in his article "The urban poor: Definition and Magnitude", that the centre for urban studies defined "the urban poor are people living in urban areas who cannot afford to meet the basic needs requirements with their own incomes". Basic needs requirements include food or nutrition, clothing, primary health care, education and shelter.

According to Nazrul Islam some studies concerned with the macro estimates of poverty in Bangladesh provide generalized picture of urban (as well as rural) poverty. These studies made at different times by different people or organizations. The Bangladesh bureau of statistics BBS, (1988) and Rahman, Mahmud and Haque (1988) of BIDS.

BBS estimated poverty by fitting a calorie expenditure graph and the World Bank calculates poverty using the household expenditure survey (HES) data of BBS and a consumption bundle based on actual intake pattern of the poor. Rahman, et. al. 1988 of BIDS estimated poverty in two methods namely: (a) the direct measure based on calorie intake derived from two sets of large sample surveys (estimates using HES raw data for FY '82 and '84, for both rural and urban areas) and INFS nutrition surveys for FY '76 and '82 for rural areas only and (b) using the income method, by calculating a poverty line income for various years.

All these studies also maintained that the poverty situation in Bangladesh including the urban poverty situation improved. Rahman et. al. BIDS, in their critical review of the poverty situation also seem to agree, but they assert that the improvement is not as remarkable as claimed by BBS data. (Rahman et. al. 1988).

Assuming these poverty levels to be under estimated, but assuming also that the situation was improving, CUS made rough estimates for 1990 and subsequent years. There are approximately 11.45 million people in the urban areas of Bangladesh in 1990 who were under the poverty level-I, while 6.87 million were the hard-core urban poor or people who fell below the poverty level-II. In 2000 AD these figures would be 16.76 million and 9.0 million respectively and by 2010 A.D., 22.72 million and 10.8 million respectively. CUS estimated that 50 percent of the urban population fell below poverty level-I and 30 percent of the under poverty level-II in 1990. The figures would be 45 percent and 25 percent for 2000 A.D. and 40 percent and 25 percent in 2010 A.D.

Nazrul Islam of CUS identified the causes of poverty in Bangladesh and explained both urban and rural (more rural) poverty in Bangladesh. It was partly a manifestation of rural poverty, as majority of the urban poor still in fact were recent migrants from rural areas. Thus urban poverty was largely due to the transfer of the rural poor to urban areas.

Chapter III

The Jheelpar Slum and its Inhabitants

An attempt has been made here to identify the location of the slum and to find out the reasons for migration. This chapter also describes settlement pattern, housing pattern and food-habits of the slum dwellers. It also provides demographic situation of the Jheelpar slum.

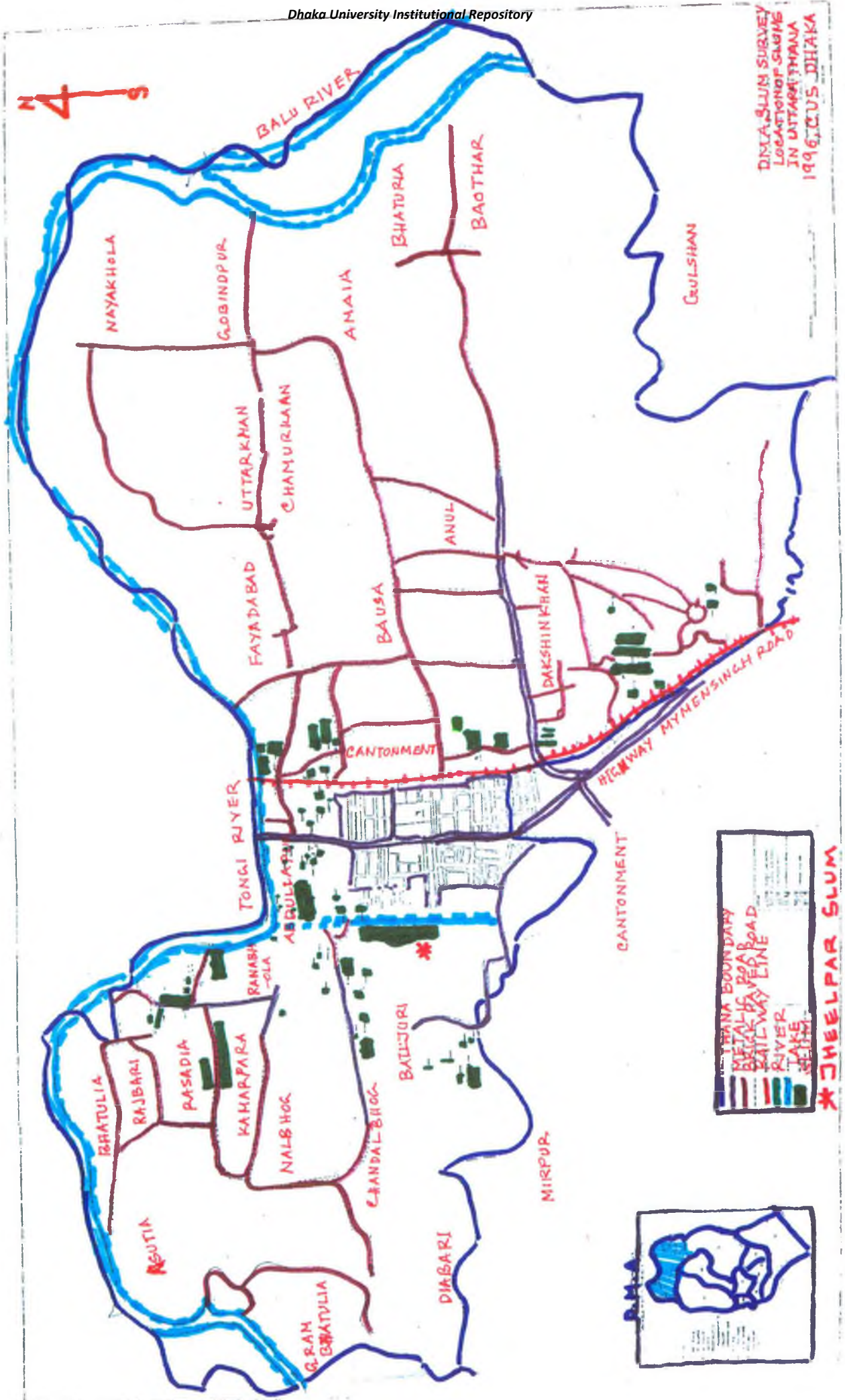
3.1 Location, Origin and growth of the slum.

This slum is located on the northern part of the city of Dhaka. Settlement started here during 1988-89. Both Hindus and Muslims settled here from the beginning. With the expansion of the city, unemployed and poverty stricken people started settling scatteredly at different places of this part of the city. They came from different districts of the country. With massive residential and institutional development of this part of the city, floating people started getting united on the Jheelpar area. According to the density of population, Jheelpar slum may be considered as one of the largest settlements of Dhaka. This slum is now spreading towards the northern side of the Jheel. There was a Jheel (lake) at the site of this slum and the slum grew on the western bank of this neglected Jheel (lake). Thus it came to be known as Jheelpar slum.

3.2 Migration and settlement pattern.

The present study aims at understanding the causes for migration. It also shows the districts from which they have migrated to this slum. The study also attempts to assess the impact to migration on slum dwellers and their perception about city life. Information on migration aspects of the slum dwellers are inadequate as available in different





DHAKA SLUM SURVEY
 LOCATION OF SLUMS
 IN UTTARA THANA
 1996, C.U.S. DHAKA

Legend:
 Dhaka Boun Dary
 Dhaka Road
 Dhaka Road
 Railway Line
 River
 Lake
 Slum

* JHEELPAR SLUM

studies so far carried out. In this study, effort has been made to gather detail information on this aspect.

3.3 Migration characteristics and Migration pattern.

It has been observed that the slum dwellers of Jheelpar have originally come from rural areas to seek job. Settling in the slum, they find financially more secured. They are able to earn their livelihood.

All the inhabitants of this slum have migrated from rural areas. They can be divided into pushed and pulled migrants:

- (a) **Pushed migrants:** These who have come from rural areas-due to increasing population pressure and consequent scarcity of agricultural land. The study on Jheelpar slum reveals that most of the slum dwellers are of this nature. Lack of adequate rural and agricultural development programme is also another factor for the villagers to migrate towards urban areas. Natural calamities such as flood, cyclone, river erosion, drought are also important factor which route the rural life and turn people towards city.
- (b) **Pulled migrants:** This group of migrants has come from villages for better opportunities of the civic facilities of the city. Percentage of this group is small as compared to the previous type. Being attracted by the city amenities, educational facilities, safety, security, changed values etc. some of the villagers have dreamt about city life. Finally they have migrated to Dhaka city and take shelter in the in the slum without knowing their future. This type of migrant is also available under the present study. But their percentage is very few.

3.4 Cause of migration:

The present research shows that before migrating, they were engaged in agricultural activities. The limited land have created tremendous economic pressure on rural life and has pushed people to migrate to this slum. The causes of migration to Jheelpar slum are as follows:

- a) River erosion and flood.
- b) Crop failure
- c) Socio-psychological reason.
- d) Job opportunities
- e) Landlessness.

It appears that 84.87 percent of the slum dwellers have come to Jheelpar slum in search of job. This is the main cause of migration. About 9 percent have migrated due to natural calamity like river erosion. This is one of the major rural socio-economic phenomenon of our country. Another big problem is the socio-psychological factor like separation. Because of separation few female member (4.63% of the total household) has taken shelter in this slum. They have mainly migrated from Dinajpur and Jamalpur. It appears from this investigation that majority of slum dwellers have migrated form Barisal and Mymensingh and settled here due to economic reasons.

3.5. District of origin

Most of the slum dwellers have come in Jheelpar slum from the densely populated districts of the country. Present census on Jheelpur slum shows that migrated people are mostly from Barisal. They constitute about 52% of the total households. The main cause of migration is landlessness and lack of job opportunity. About 35% have come from Mymensingh in search of job and for better

employment opportunities. Crop failure is another important factor for their migration to this slum. Rest 13% of the slum dwellers have come from Jamalpur, Comilla, Dinajpur, Faridpur, Chittagong, Khulna, Dhaka, Syhlet, Sherpur, Pabna, Noakhali, Rangpur and Kishorganj districts. It is evident from this study that no migrants have come from greater Rajshahi and Chittagong-hill-tract district. This is very significant. It may be considered that density of population in both greater Rajshahi and Chittagong hill-tracts is less compared to available agricultural land. Greater Rajshahi district is not deficit with food grains and Chittagong hill tract grows vegetables abundantly. So people of this locality is independent in agri-production. May be this is the reason, we could not find any slum dwellers migrated from greater Rajshahi and Chittagong Hill-tracts to this slum.

3.6. Settlement pattern

Migrated people settling in this slum takes shelter with their close or distant relation. Although they are illiterate, unskilled and having less physical ability, yet they can manage any kind of work in the informal sector. They get acquainted with the locality and activities of the city life. The construction sector helps them to find jobs even without any skill. Very fast they become independent and hardly requires any help from other migrants. Then they start thinking to bring other family members.

Table: 1, shows that out of 410 households about 86% are living with their families, about 14% household heads left their families in the village. They have migrated recently and staying with relatives or with messing arrangement. Single household (household having single member) is totally absent in Jheelper slum. It is also observed that

recently some people have migrated along with their full family and started living in Jheelpar slum

Table-1
Pattern of household heads who are living with families or who left their families in the village

Pattern of household	No	%
Household heads who are living with families	353	86.09
Household heads who left their families in the village	57	13.91
Total	410	100%

Source: Fieldwork in Jheelpar Slum.

Out of 410 household about 10 percent are early settlers about 20 percent have settled during last 7-8 years and about 45-50 percent have settled during last 3-4 years and the rest have settled in course of last 1-2 years.

3.7 Housing pattern:

In Jheelpar slum there are three types of houses or huts. All these are temporary in nature:

First Type: This type is built with brick soled flooring, bamboo thatched walling and roofing with C.I. sheets. This huts are provided with single door having chain and locking arrangement. For ventilation one or two swing type bamboo oriented windows is provided. There is provision for power connection in this type of house but the connection is illegal.

Second Type: This type is built with earthen flooring bamboo thatched walling and roofing with bamboo sticks and polythene sheets. Doors and ventilation's are similar to that of first type. There is no electric supply. Height is little less than the previous type. These types of houses are called shacks (*Jhupries*).

Third Type: This type is built with earthen flooring, semi circular bamboo thatched roofing without any walling. It is of low height. One can not stand inside. These types of houses are called "*Jhupries*". To avoid rain water leakage the roof is sheeted with polythene and plastic sheets. There is one movable door without locking arrangement but no window, no electric supply. This is cheapest type, easy to install and 85 percent of the total housing.

Floor space:

It has been observed that the houses have an average floor space of 70-80 square feet. This is only 50 percent to that of CUS (150 sft per household). However earlier migrant using first type of houses avails maximum hut space (it is similar to that of CUS study).

3.8 Ownership of Dwellings

Earlier it was mentioned that Jheelpar slum was established in the year of 1988-89. Before the devastating flood of 1988, the earlier settlers were living scatteredly, at other places. Because of flooding they took shelter in the Jheelpar area-as land level of this area was higher and above the flood level of 1998.

Whole Jheelpar area belongs to govt. and directly owned by the then DIT (now RAJUK). In the year 1994 this land was mostly leased to public body in plots.

None of the lease holder could start any development work as yet. So dwellers of Jheelpar slum area are living without any worry. It is understood that all slum dwellers are residing without any legal right.

Settlers of the slum have constructed their huts with their own savings without any help from GO's or NGO's. The earlier migrants which was about 57 percent, were the owners of "*Jhupries*". It is found that there are rental arrangement in the slum and sizeable proportion of the "*Jhupries*" are occupied by the recent migrants on rental basis. Rent income from these "*Jhupries*" are enjoyed by the earlier migrants and some local influential or political "*Mastan*".

3.9 Perception of the slum dwellers or, Impact of migration

The present slum grew on govt. land and land allotted to private owners. It is learnt from the slum dwellers that since settlement of this slum they did not face any obstruction or notice from any corner to vacate the land. They are now semi permanent residents of the slum. None of the slum dwellers has any idea that eviction notice might come any time to vacate that land. But some of the dweller are aware that eviction programme by Police dept. and Municipal authority is going on in the main road side of the International Airport road to push all illegal settlement¹.

The present study shows that 7.32% respondent have expressed their willingness to return to village after few years when will have the ability to buy land for homestead or agriculture. Discussion with them gives an idea that they are trying to save for that. About 9.27% shows their

¹ Unthorised settlement of different types of shops, hawker market, restaurant on the footpath/public road.

unwillingness to return village. This section of people lived a poor life and therefore left the village. About 34.5% slum dwellers cannot comment about the future. They do not have any plan, rather they are adjusting with the floating life of the city. It is found that after coming to Dhaka city they have taken shelter with their relatives or acquaintances in the slum. In most cases their relatives arrange job for them. About 48.78% slum dwellers are involved with co-operative society and little bit organized. Out of their day to day saving they have build up co-operative society. They have some future programme about financial aspects, political move and social activities. Members of this co-operative society have mental satisfaction. Some of the members express their desire to get help out of this society. They belief that co-operative society shall help them to rehabilitate in the city or in the rural area. Table-2 shows a distribution of the household heads by their future plan to improve their life.

Table-2
Future Plan of the Jheelpar slum-dwellers

Future Plan	No of house hold	%
Return to village	30	7.32
Shall not return	40	9.75
Undecided	140	34.15
Rehabilitation through co-operative society	200	48.78
Total	410	100%

Source: Fieldwork in Jheelpar Slum.

Perception:

The migrated people of this slum coming in touch with city life remain ignorant about their future. They do not have any clear idea about their

prospect and have no planning. But they are not worried that eviction notice might come any time to vacate the house and the land.

3.10 Food habits.

Food habits of the inhabitants of the Jheelpar slum is very interesting. They spend lion share of their income for food. Most of them cannot afford minimum calorie requirement. They cook once a day and take three times. Rice is their staple food with vegetable curry and lentils. Hardly they can afford fish or meat although some time they take small fish or dried fish. Food standard of this population is an index of their poverty. Higher or lower income group do not show any difference in their food habits. Working people cook in the morning and eat fresh but during noon and evening they take "*pantha*" (rice mixed with water). Also some slum dwellers cook during noon and evening and take "*pantha*" in the morning. It is revealed that this food practice is a part of their rural habits and they cannot change it. Their infants also take "*pantha*" directly after breast feeding. Though food intake pattern remain unchanged but the criterion of quality of life such as, living conditions, education, health situation are getting worse or remaining static. These poor people have the chance of taking rich diet like "*birani*" once in a month or more. This chance comes during programmes like "*kangali Boze*", "*Sadka*", "*Kulkhani*" etc. organized by rich people of the adjacent residential area.

Some of the slum dwellers which is about 20% seems to be little better in food habits. They are higher income group in the slum. They also take rice three times a day and "*pantha*" as usual. But they sometime enjoy vegetable curry, fish, meat or chicken. Some of them spend their entire savings in a single function like marriage ceremony, circumcision of male baby etc. Basically they are imprudent in character. During this type of function, they start playing songs in loud speaker round the clock and improved diet is served among all neighbours and invitees.

3.11 Clothing's:

Dress and clothes used by the slum dwellers are of very common type. Poor slum dwellers spend around 5% of their income for clothing's. But very important to note here that due to availability of imported old clothes in the market poor slum dwellers get help and can save their money. They can purchase rejected clothes of Garments from hawkers of footpath at a negligible price. These poor dwellers hardly have the capacity for buying new clothes. Some of the female members collect old clothes from the adjacent residential areas. It is found that irrespective of age and sex they prefer colorful dress.

A classification showing different types of clothes and dress used by the slum dwellers are mentioned below:

- (a) Adult male use shirts and "*lungi*", Few of them use trousers and "*punjabi*".
- (b) Adult female mostly use "*sari*" (a piece of long cloth). Female garments workers wears mostly "*salwar*" and "*kamiz*".
- (c) Boys and girls mostly remain with half pants and bare bodied.
- (d) Children and minors remain totally naked.

3.12 Demographic profile of the Jheelpar slum dwellers.

In this chapter we have tried to show the demographic characteristics of the of Jheelpar slum. Different demographic variables have been used to study the demographic characteristics of the slum dwellers in order to asses the nature and change among the slum dwellers.

Jheelpar slum contains 410 households with a population of 1774. The slum is situated on a land area of 4 acres (approximately). It shows a very high density of the population. Most important to note, a basic difference

of the present study with that of CUS study (1996) on the same slum and over a time gape of 2 years. Present study shows number of household is 410 while CUS showed 400. Total population from this study is 1774 while from CUS it is 2000. Total area of land is 4 acres while from CUS it is 3.66 acres. To identify these basic differences of the two study, the following factors may be outlined:

- (i) Number of household has increased with the passage of time.
- (ii) With increasing number of household land area has increased from 3.66 to 4.0 acres.
- (iii) Household taking shelter in this slum 8-10 years back with 4-5 minor, now their family size have decreased, because grown-up sons and daughters have shifted.
- (iv) Death of family member in the slum is also another reason.
- (v) Some identical female-head who are abandoned by their husband in the recent past.
- (vi) Some of the families were reported to settle in this slum along with close relation like sister in law, brother, cousin etc. These relatives subsequently left the slum.

Future expansion of slum is more or less restricted because of land limitations.

Total population of Jheelpar Slum is 1774 in 410 house hold. Male member is 884 which is 49.8%. Female member is 890 which is 50.2 %

Table No: 3
Age vs. Sex distribution of the household heads

Age limit	No. of Male and percentage		No. of Female and percentage		Total	
	Below 18 yr.	02	0.487%	01	0.243%	03
18.1 to 25	69	16.829%	04	0.975%	73	17.80%
25.1 to 35	130	31.707%	35	8.536%	165	40.24%
35.1 to 50	120	29.268%	18	4.390%	138	33.658%
Above 50	29	7.073%	02	0.487%	31	7.56%
Total	350	85.36%	60	14.631%	410	100%

Source: Fieldwork in Jheelpar Slum.

It appears that 3 number household heads which is 0.731% are below 18 years. Out of them 02 persons are male and one is female. Maximum household heads belong to the 25.1 to 35 age group. Because at this stage of life maximum number of people left the village in search of job. In total out of 410 household 350 persons which is 85.36% are male and 60 persons which is 14.631% are female.

Table No: 4
Age vs. earning and non earning member

	Below 10 years	10.1-18 years	18.1-35 years	35.1-50 years	Above 50 years	Total
Earning member/percentage	Nil	35 (4.71%)	352 (47.37%)	307 (41.31%)	49 (6.59)	743 (100%)
Non earning member/percentage	660 (61.01%)	333 (32.25%)	11 (1.07%)	9 (0.87%)	18 (1.75%)	1031 (100%)

Source: Fieldwork in Jheelpar Slum.

Table-4 shows that out of total population 1774, earning member is 743. Within age group of 10.1-18, earning member is 35 which is 4.71% of the total earning member. Within age group of 18.1-35 years shows maximum 352 no. of earning member. Because at this stage they have maximum work ability. Age group 35.1-50 years shows 307 earning member which is 41.31%. Age category above 50 years shows 6.59% earning member. The study reveals that age group above 50 years have hardly any work ability to earn due to aging.

Non-earning member is 1031 or 58.11 % of the total population. It is observed that, in the non-earning group, some minor (who are in between age group 8-10) work as small vendors, coolie, pickers etc. Their percentage is 5% of the total population. Though they earn but hardly they can contribute to their family. They are categorized in the non-earning group. In the non-earning group 61.01 % are below 10 years and their percentage is the highest. In the earning group, out of 743, 43.74 % are female and 56.26 % are male. In the non-earning group out of 1031 population, 54.80 % are female and 45.20 % are male.

Table-5

Educational level of the household heads of the Jheelpar Slum

Education level	Male		Female		Total	
	Nos.	%	Nos.	%	Nos.	%
Illiterate	223	54.39	44	10.73	267	65.12
Primary	108	26.34	14	3.41	122	29.75
Secondary	19	4.63	-	-	19	4.63
Madrasa	-	-	2	0.48	2	0.48
Total	350	85.36	60	14.62	410	100

Source: Fieldwork in Jheelpar Slum.

The above table reveals that majority of the household heads is illiterate. The percentage of them is 65.12. The majority literate household heads have studied up to primary level. Percentage of such literate persons is 29.75. A smaller percentage (4.63) of them have studied above primary level. Most of them came from high status lineage and they had the facilities to study above primary level. The study reveals that the intensity of literacy in a family positively correlated with their socio-economic back ground.

The occupation of the illiterate slum dwellers are brick breaking, construction work, rickshaw pulling etc. Major occupation for women are brick breaking, unskilled construction labour and domestic maid. Garments workers are all female and they are literate upto primary level. Percentage of female household head in secondary level of education is totally absent. It is interesting to note here that 0.48 percent of female heads have studied upto Madrasa level.

Family Size: In Jheelpar slum it is found that out of 410 household, family size is 2 in 20 households which is 4.87%. Family size is 3 to 4 in 267 households which is 65.12%. Family size is 5 to 6 in 102 households which is 24.87%. Family size is 7 in 21 households which is 5.13%. It was noted that 3.91 percent of the total population are living without family and they are all male. This category of people live with messing arrangement and some are attached with some households. Three no. Hindu families are also noticed containing 12 population in the 410 households.

Family Type: In Jheelpar Slum nuclear family is dominant and it is 70.8%. About 24.2 % family belongs to extended categories. And the rest 5 % belong to joint category.

Causes of Migration: It has been observed that 8.29 % household head came to Jheelpar as a result of river erosion, about 84.87 % in search of jobs, about 1.95 % as a result of crop failure, about 4.63 % for separation and about 0.24% for torture by step mother.

Socio-economic back ground: Poverty stricken population of different districts of Bangladesh came to Jheelpar Slum in their struggle for existence. Information gathered from the household heads and some of the senior members of the slum shows that low, middle and high status background lies in the proportion of 21.71%, 51.45% and 26.34% respectively.

Primary Occupation of Jheelpar Slum: A different picture of occupational pattern is found in Jheelpar slum. Slum dwellers are found to work as unskilled, skilled labourers in construction, business, production and service activities. Major occupations are construction works (28.04%), Earth work (20.73%), Rickshaw- pulling (20.24%), Brick breaking (11.46%), Garments worker (3.42%) etc.

Chapter IV

Family, Marriage, Kinship & Religion

4.1 Types of Family

Bangladesh is a patriarchal society. According to the degree of power, family may be divided in two types.

- (a) Patriarchal
- (b) Matriarchal

In the Jheelpar Slum the population is dominated by patriarchal system.

“Marriage lays the legal foundation for the family. A family is a domestic group in which parents and children live together, and in its elementary form, it consists of a couple with their children. This often called the nuclear or elementary family. Societies in which this does not exist as a domestic group are very rare” (Mair Lucy, page-94).

According to the size of family, it may be divided in three types.

- (i) Nuclear Family
- (ii) Extended family.
- (iii) Joint family.

(i) Nuclear Family :

A family in which husband and wife with or without children live together. This type of family is dominant in this slum (70.8 % of the total household).

(ii) Extended family:

Extended family is larger or extension of the nuclear family. In this type of family husband wife live with their son or daughter

along with their offspring (grand children). Extended family consists of more than two generations. Percentage of this type of family are 24.2% (approx).

(iii) Joint Family :

This type of family is large and includes relatives within the household unit. Parents, children, grand children, aunts, cousins and other can be included in the unit. This type of family is absent in the Jheelpar slum because of meager income and acute housing problem. However, due to kinship network some of the family in the Jheelpar slum are observed to reside with along with non related person. These person are either recent migrant or professional partner. This type of family live in high room crowding. About 5% of such families are observed in the present study.

Family Function:

The first human institution in the family. The first family was no doubt one of those inventions that enabled some of our species to survive and procreate. The function of a family is huge. This basic institution or family is formed for some basic needs. These needs are:

- (i) Regularizing sex and mating.
- (ii) Biological function.
- (iii) Psychological function.
- (iv) Security and maintenance.
- (v) Economic function.
- (vi) Educational function.
- (vii) Religious educational function.
- (viii) Political function. Socialization and social control.
- (ix) Recreational function.

In Jheelpar slum 75 % of the slum dwellers have no idea about the function of their family. Due to lack of knowledge they think that family has only

biological role. Around 20 % of the Slum dwellers think family has psychological, security, economic and maintenance role. However 5 % considers educational or religious role of the family.

4.2. Type of Marriage:

There are different types of marriage systems in our society. Marriage function is also found different, according to upper, middle and poor class.

In the Jheelpar Slum, the population may be categorized as lower or poor class. And all the types of marriage are observed in this slum as observed in our country in the poorer section of people.

Monogamy :

In monogamian system one husband is married to one wife. Their percentage is 30 out of total 410 household. Families followed by monogamian system are more stable as found in the slum.

Polygamy:

Polygamy or multiple system of marriage are more in this slum and their percentage is 70. In the polygamous system individual have more than one spouse. There are two varieties, one is common and the other, very rare. The common variant is polygyny in which a man has more than one wife. In this slum 70%, of the male member are of this category. About 10 % are living in the slum with two wives. Others have more than one wife but these wives are kept in their village.

It is also found that wife of some of the household heads were married earlier. After separation with the previous husband, they are married again to their present husband and having one or more children. This type of household is 30%. Stability of this type of households are learnt to be uncertain.

Reasons of higher percentage following polygamy are the socio-economic conditions of the slum dweller. Some household heads take the advantage of marrying more, (showing the muslim laws of marriage). Generally husband live with latest wife and hardly take care of the previous ones. It is observed that divorce is a common phenomenon in this slum.

Sororate / Levirate:

Another system of marriage called sororate was also observed in the Jheelpar slum. Percentage of which is very negligible (0.24%). In this system the husband married the younger sister of the dead wife. Opposite to Sororate is levirate which is totally absent in this slum.

Exogamy and Endogamy:

Marriage system in the slum may be defined in other ways also. Endogamy practiced in the slum. Marriage takes place within the slum (local endogamy) or within the lineage. Exogamy is completely absent here. Hindu families available in this slum strictly follow endogamous system and the marriage takes place only within the caste.

Marriage Ceremony:

In our society marriage is usually arranged through "match maker". In the Jheelpar slum marriage through match maker is not very usual. Boys and girls of the slum, before coming of proper age get smeared in illicit love. When their illegal relation become disclosed, ceremonially they get married through local 'matbar' or by *shalish*. This type of marriage are most common and 64%. Another group of boys and girls get into love with each other and they get married in the 'Kazis' office. Their percentage is 12. Some of them get married by the intervention of their parents and their percentage is 10. This system of marriage takes place in a little befitting way when cassette player is played

through loud speaker round the clock, serving improve diet etc. Other system of marriage is settle type, arranged by the parents choosing bride and bridegroom within the slum. (which is 8 %). Another system prevails with solvent slum dwellers. Here the parents find out a bride from a solvent farmer family of same lineage in their village for their grown up girl. Their percentage is 6.

Extra Marital Relations:

This type of relation is very much restricted in our society. But it is very usual in the slum and among the poorer section of people. In the Jheelpar slum it occurs off and on. Information in this respect is collected from some female sources. Male members of this slum between age limit 16 to 55 reported to engage in this unsocial activities. Male members usually instigate the females. They take advantage over those women who are helpless, abandoned or divorced. Adultery is also reported to occur in this slum. This leads lot of quarrel in the slum life. Some time these type of quarrel continue for days together. Lately the matter get solved by local 'Matbar' through *Shalish*. This *Matbar* has got an exclusive character and serve as God-father. This *Matbar* take full advantage of his position and remains engaged in extra-marital affairs and other anti-social activities.

4.3. Role of Kinship

The relation of kinship among the slum dwellers of Jheelpar plays a very important role in their socio-economic activities. It is observed that kinship or social ties also exists between these dwellers and their relations in villages. Kinship plays important role in the settlement of disputes among the dwellers of Jheelpar slum and also in finding job for constructing their houses in the slum and in cases of ailment, delivery, or deaths. Simply it may be noted that kinship is vital in the socio-economic development and expansion of the Jheelpar slum.

Kinship role in settlement at Jheelpar:

Majority of slum dwellers of Jheelpar came from Barisal district. In the settlement process on Jheelpar slum social ties influenced their development. New migrants had to depend completely on the earlier migrants. Also the earlier migrants extended their full co-operation, to settle in the slum. People from Barisal go to the village in a group. When they return they bring their kith and kin. These migrants are their close or distant relations. Earlier migrants when got information about job opportunity in different projects like new garments factory, construction site etc., they take the chance to bring people from their villages. In this process the earlier migrants also get benefit in their professional mobility. Ultimately new migrants settle in the slum and remains grateful to their elders and they remain in group.

Dwellers from other districts also maintain good ties but unlike that of Barisal. They also remain in group with their district people.

Kinship role in job opportunity:

Kinship also plays important role in getting jobs. It has already been pointed out, that how earlier migrants help new comers in getting job in bigger projects. Migrants who come in search of job, takes shelter with the earlier migrants. Earlier migrants make them acquainted with their own profession, job place and

about their employer. New comers are eventually provided with foods by the earlier till they get job. Some times it is observed that earlier migrants share their jobs with new comers.

A percentage of female workers work as housemaid on demand from different household of the residential zones. Some dwellers of the Jheelpar slum bring needy female member from the village. It is increasing with the active intervention of kin network. For jobs in the construction sector or rickshaw pulling etc, does not require experience or investment. So it is easier for earlier migrant to engage or manage jobs for the new migrants.

Kinship role in building houses or shacks :

After settlement in the slum, they remain active for getting a job. Once food & job is ensured the next priority is to construct a house for living. Construction of new shacks does not require any permission. Only the local *matbar* remains posted. He gets some remuneration for this.

In building a house, the earlier migrants help the new settlers in all respect including collection of construction materials. Sometime they help financially. It is observed that in building houses, kinship ties plays very important role.

Kinship role in renting houses:

Some occupants live in rented houses before they could construct a house and sizeable portion of this dwellers lives in rental houses. Earlier migrants allow the new comers to stay with them. Initially, the earlier migrants spare some space at no cost before the new migrant gets job. Once they can arrange job, they pay rent for the space allowed.

Kinship role in ailment, delivery and deaths:

This part is very interesting in the Jheelpar slum. It is found that these people are more generous in this respect. Irrespective of relationship, they behave more rationally with each other, in cases of ailment, delivery and deaths.

In the Jheelpar slum serious diseases like Jaundice, Gastric, Skin diseases, female disease etc are common. When one member of a family is affected seriously, neighbor shows all possible helps physically and financially. Kinship role play a bonded affinity to each other.

In cases of delivery, Jheelpar slum dwellers hardly take help from the hospitals. Some members who are the quack doctor aid the delivery. The affected family accept their medical advice.

In case of deaths, slum dwellers accept it normally. But they are quite sympathetic to the affected family.

4.4. Religion and role of religion:

In the Jheelpar slum the people perform their religious beliefs and practices. Out of 410 households 99.25% are Muslim families and only 3 families (0.75%) are Hindus.

“Religion differs from the other aspects of social life....., because it is concerned with systems of belief as well as systems of relationship and action, and because its systems of action are themselves directed towards entities the existence of which is not open to observation”. (Mair Lucy page- 210).

Dwellers of the slum have no knowledge about their religion but they are very definite while perform their religious beliefs and practices. This

practices are turned as rituals. People of the slum are blind about their religious beliefs and practices. It is observed that religion plays a very important role in their social life, sexual activity, pregnancy, delivery, child birth, child reception, naming, marriage, death, funeral, death anniversary etc. Also it influences their profession, earning, expenses, education and medical treatment. Slum dwellers are very sensitive about religious beliefs and practices.

Out of their religious mind they get mental strength. Their beliefs and some other activities of life are influenced by religion. Jheelpar slum is mostly inhabited by Muslims. Therefore, the slum dwellers observe the major Islamic religious festivals in the slum. These festival bring moral cheerfulness among the dwellers. Also these festivals keep the slum dwellers united.

During my field investigation, I keenly observed superstitions, religious beliefs and rituals of the slum dwellers of Jheelpar.

Religious Duties :

People of the slum does not perform the rituals strictly and regularly. Only 0.5 % (aged around sixty) pray five times a day. Around 10 % of male members go the nearby mosque during "Jumma" prayer and 20 % of the slum dwellers fast regularly or irregularly during the month of "Ramadan". During two biggest "Eid festivals" male member attend the Eid prayer along with their children.

Hindus of the slum are also not punctual about their religious duties. But they report that they can not follow their duties because of financial insolvency. However every evening female member pray with 'Ulu', 'Pradip' and by burning 'Dhup' in the name of Deities. Male members also maintain similar custom in his grocery shop. Hindus with full of

their family attend "Durga Puja", the biggest festivals, at their native village.

Religion in social Solidarity:

People of this slum came from 17 different districts. But 99.25 percent of them follow Islam as their religion. Their life style, language, customs and rituals differs from district to district. Because of same religion, they remain under social unity. During Jumma day, Eid day etc dwellers attend the mosque and say their prayers together. This has grown a religious solidarity among the slum dwellers. Member of Hindu families are very minor. But it is interesting to note that, these Hindu families are considerably synchronous with the Muslim families with their customs and way of life.

Beliefs and Rituals

Religious Superstitions:

The slum dwellers of Jheelpar slum believe in many religious superstitions and perform many religious duties as laid down in Islam. They are illiterate and, therefore, superstitious. These superstitions have great impact on their life and living. They believe that the following reasons are responsible for their misfortunes.

(a) Effect from nature :

A section of slum dwellers were effected from natural calamities like river erosion, loss of crop etc. They think that this is act of God, and God was unsatisfied with their fore-father.

(b) **Belief on religious worker:**

People in the slum at the time of their different problems and diseases some times go to the local '*peer*'. This '*peer*' tries to solve their problem by "*panipara*"¹ and "*doa*"². Sometimes it works, and sometime it does not.

One religious worker was also found distributing talismal ("*tabij*") to the believers. He explains that these "*tabij*"³ is the outcome of his dream and it can solve the problems.

Belief on activities of "Genie" or "Fairy" :

Some of the dwellers believe in the spiritual activities of Genie or Fairy. Some times when they face problems or diseases, they consider it as an act of Genie or Fairy. Dwellers, to get remedy from this, take shelter to the nearby '*kabiraj*'.⁴

Submission to "Darga" or "Majar-sharif":

Some of the dwellers belief on the '*Peer*' of '*darga sharif*'. They annually visit the '*Peer*' and offer their promise with cash or kinds. They belief that with the blessing of the '*Peer*', they can come out from their problems.

Rituals :

Slum dwellers follow different rituals in their social life. Out of their belief they celebrate or practice different types of rituals. These rituals are performed during their rites of transition or rites of passage. Different types of rituals as observed in the Jheelpar slum are narrated below:

¹ *Panipara*: The "*peer*" says few lines from the Holly Quran as a prayer and blow a puff of breath in the pot containing water. Now this water is consider as sacred and this is given to the patient or affected person as medicine

² *Doa*: To say a few lines from the holly Quran and pray to the almighty Allah.

³ *Tabij*: It is made of metal thing in which a piece of paper with Arabic literature or herbs are put. Those word or act has occult power. This is called amulet or charm.

⁴ *Kabiraj*: Physician who treats people in cause of disease and injuries. The people are treated with medicine manufactured from herb and other.

- (a) After delivery of a child some functions and practices are being followed by the slum dwellers with their new born baby. Irrespective of district of origin, Hindu or Muslim they do not allow the mother, any fish, meat or salt for certain days. They do not know religious or scientific reason of this practices but they follow it.
- (b) Before delivery, in few house holds it is reported to celebrate a function called "*sad*". This function is observed before the expected delivery. This is limited within the solvent families only. This function is observed only during the first delivery. During this function improved diet is served among the invitees.
- (c) In case, a dead baby is delivered, they follow a interesting ritual. They smear the body of the mother by turmeric and allow her for a shower.
- (d) After the birth of a male baby in the house, the head of the house hold or the father summon to prayer (*Ajan*).
- (e) It is found that during circumcision of the boys of Muslim household, they serve their relations and neighbors with "*kheer*" or "*pies*".
- (f) Among the solvent household of Muslim families they celebrate function with sweets ("*jelapi*") when children starts reciting from holy Quran.
- (g) Marriage is an important function in the rites of passage. In the Jheelpar, Slum dwellers arrange this function according to their means. Apart from the marriage function, they smear the body of both bride and bridegroom with turmeric. This function is called "*gae halud*". After marriage some of the families observe another functions called "*firani*". This is similar to that of "*walima*" observed by the rich section of people. But in this slum they celebrate the function with their abilities. The marriage function is conducted by the family of the bride. And "*firani*" is conducted by the bride groom's family.

(h) After the death, some of the muslim family follow a function called "kulkhani" by "Milad Mahfil". They distribute sweets after the "Mahfil" or prayer. Among the Hindu families, it is called 'sraddha'. But it is limited within their Hindu community.

Among the Hindu families after cremation they observe some rituals to complete the funerals, one is to cut hair of elders son (ball head) another function is 'sraddha'. For few days they take diet of vegetable food ("niramish") and follow the vegetarianism to express their mourn to dead person.

Chapter – V

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITION OF SLUM DWELLERS

In this chapter, we have described the socio-economic conditions of the slum –dwellers of Jheelpar slum.

5.1 Socio-economic background of slum dwellers :

It is found that 100 percent of the slum dwellers under study have migrated from rural areas. They have come from different socio-economic background. The poverty stricken people of the rural areas are now the settlers of this slum. Causes of their poverty were landlessness, crop failure, natural calamity, river erosion, unemployment etc. When they left their village, they were penny-less excepting some house hold appliances only.

- i) Most of these migrants have already lost their homestead. People who are still left with the homestead, was not in a position to maintain it. From socio-economic point of view they may be classified as liabilities on the rural economy.
- ii) Rural economy is mostly agri-based. It has serious limitations for the landless people. Some of them own no lands due to repeated fragmentation of their paternal holdings.
- iii) Some have lost their land due to river erosion.
- iv) Some other persons have already sold out their minimum agricultural land including homestead due to acute hardship.
- v) Some of them on their acute hardship borrowed money from some quarter (mortgagee) on a very high rate of interest and mortgaging their land property. Ultimately they could not repay the loan and this mortgaged land property was captured by mortgagee.
- vi) A section of people borrowed money from relatives and natives. They were not in a position to return the loan because of

joblessness. All the time they were under tremendous pressure to maintain minimum lively hood for the family.

- vii) Another section of people has received loan from agricultural bank through banking regulations. During receipt of such loan they were to sign and provide finger prints. None of them could repair loan nor could pay partly. Finally bank authority has sued against them. They don't have the guards to face it. Now they are absconding and taken shelter in the slum.
- viii) Another painful story behind some dwellers of slum who lost everything by exploitation. They were dreaming to become rich by going middle east. The household head has sold out his land properties. He handed over a handsome amount of money to a middleman to arrange going abroad. But afterward it was observed as forgery. With the incident the whole family has totally ruined.

This part contains brief account of the previous occupation in their native village of slum dwellers under study:

- i) **Agricultural labourer** : From this investigation, it appears that around 65 % of the male households were employed as low paid agricultural labourers before they settled in this slum. They used to get wages on monthly basis along with food from the employer. Some others used to get their pay on daily basis.
- ii) **Share croper** : 15 % were engaged in the cultivation of crops sharing with land owners. Due to lack of investment or natural calamity they failed and finally took shelter in this slum.
- iii) **Agricultural land owner** : A few (which is around 8 %) were land owners upto 0.50 acres. Due to lack of investment, natural calamity and quarrelling with relations about ownership, they failed and finally took shelter in this slum.

- iv) **Fisherman** : A few slum dwellers (about 6 %) were engaged in the fishing business. They were engaged in fishing and selling it in the village market. Due to scarcity of fishes in the river and channels they were not in a position to earn their livelihood.
- v) Other professionals were milkmen, carpenters etc.

According to their profession and socio-economic background these people may be categorized into low, middle and high status lineage. Agricultural labourer and a percentage of share croper may be classified in the low category. A percentage of agricultural labourer, share croper, fisherman etc. comes from the middle status lineage. Their percentage is the maximum. Agricultural landowners and a percentage of the share croppers goes to the higher status lineage. From this study it is observed that a noted percentage comes from higher status of lineage. Due to landlessness and unemployment they have become poorer and ultimately taken shelter in this slum.

5.2 . Transition to the city :

This part shows a picture of the transit or passage of this dwellers form their villages to this slum. This transition may be categorized in the following way:

- i) A group of people were compelled to leave the villages. They migrated along with full family. They took all of their household appliances along with bedding etc. A day or two is required in their transit before taking shelter in the slum. This type of family struggled a lot for their bread. Even they sometime had to pass their days on starvation.
- ii) Another section of people initially comes alone. They try to understand the city life. They keep regular contact with the family in the village and remains almost in transition. Once accommodation for the family is arranged, they bring their family. During this transition some gents (male) member after adopting

city life, get married again and do not take care of their family who are living in the village. Ultimately they leave the whole family.

- iii) Another section of people came in the slum in co-ordination with the earlier migrants. Their job was pre-arranged. Some times their transit fair was also arranged by the elders. For obvious reason these people were financially more organized. They brought their family on arrangement of accommodation in the slum.
- iv) Another section of people kept their family in the village. They used to stay in messing arrangement with group or with a family. They visit their family monthly or at more interval. Substantial portion of their income is transferred to their village. These groups of people remain under frequent transition.

5.3. Occupation of slum dwellers:

Due to rapid urbanization of the Dhaka city, economic activity has increased many-fold. But economic activities has no comparison with that of the rural areas. Mobilization of resources in the Construction and Garment industries in the urban area has created lot of employment opportunity. Also this economic growth has created other avenues for people to earn. So people migrated to this slum, can arrange their job easily.

Category of Occupations:

A variety of occupations were noticed in the slum. The following table shows different occupations:

Table –6
Total working population of Jheelpar slum by their occupation.

Occupation	No	%
Construction worker (skilled)	49	6.59
Construction worker (unskilled)	101	13.59
Rickshaw puller	135	18.17
Earth work	133	17.90
Brick breaking	125	16.82
Garments worker	57	7.67
Beggar	4	0.54
Hawker	5	0.67
Fisherman	12	1.61
Vegetable seller	12	1.61
Shopkeeper	19	2.56
Maid	63	8.48
Security Guard	13	1.75
Transport worker	6	0.81
Religious worker	2	0.26
Jobless	2	0.26
Quack	1	0.13
Carpenter	3	0.40
Sweeper	1	0.13
Total	743	100

Source: Fieldwork in Jheelpar Slum.

Brief of their occupations :

Construction worker:

The major occupation of this slum dwellers is construction work. It requires no previous experience. Workers get their wage on daily basis. They remain engaged in their job at different residential and commercial projects. They work 20 to 25 days a month. Their working schedule is from morning upto sunset. This job requires physical fitness. So male worker gets more wages than female worker.

Earth worker:

This job is the first phase of the construction project. Huge labourer both male and female remain engaged in the same project. Each worker has a spade and bamboo "*jhuri*". They get their wage on daily basis. They work 20 to 25 days a month. Working schedule is from morning upto sunset. Both male and female workers receive similar wages.

Rickshaw puller :

This is also a major occupation in this slum. This job requires hardly any experience. One can pull a rickshaw after 6/7 days of training. Initially he faces some difficulties. Within a month he becomes fully trained. Rickshaw puller, pull the rickshaw in two shift. In the first shift one person drive it from 6 A.M to 2 P.M., in second shift another person drive from 2 P.M. up to 11 P.M. or more. The pullers get the rickshaw on rental basis. Some persons (which is around 10 %) holds the ownership of a rickshaw. This job is done by male member and is a very laborious work.

Brick breaker:

This work is comparatively easier. Both male and female work unitedly. Even minors upto 10 years of old join with their father or mother in breaking bricks. They work from early morning upto evening with frequent intervals. This job is done on measurement basis. Doing this work they require one iron hammer and a big natural stone. They become skilled with time and experience and can break more efficiently. The breakers work unitedly under one 'sardar'. He distributes the money which he received from the owner. Some female workers were seen breaking bricks when her infant baby was lying near the work side.

House maid:

In this occupation female workers remain engaged in residential quarters for different household works. Minors from 10 years upto 50 years old women remain engaged in this profession. They have to work round the clock from morning upto midnight. For this job wages is given on monthly basis. This job is a thankless job. They can never satisfy the employer. Very often she is abused by the landlord or housewife. Sometime sexually abused by the male member of the residence.

Garments worker:

There are many garments industries in this part of the city. It has opened a new horizon for the employment of female workers. The female dwellers of this slum has accepted this as a major occupation. Workers engaged in this profession perform their duty at different shift. Some works in the morning-shift, Some in the day-shift and others at night-shift. Female garment workers express that they are quite satisfied with this profession due to their liberty. They feel easy with this job then domestic maid.

Security Guard:

Some male members of the slum are engaged as security guard at different residential quarters. They remain engaged on monthly basis. Some of them work as night guard and some other work round the clock from morning upto night. In that case they get food and shelter from the employer. Some of them get their uniform also. Usually older persons beyond 40 years are more trusted for this profession.

Shop Keeper:

Some persons are engaged in shop keeping. This business requires reasonable amount of investment. They erect one bamboo thatched shop with C.I roofing. They arrange different household commodities including food items for display. Usually the slum dwellers are their clients. Some shop-keepers sells cigarettes, matches, *pan*, *supari*, etc. Financially they are found more stable.

Vegetable Seller: (Hawker)

Some male member remain engaged as hawker, selling vegetables from door to door. This is a part time job. Usually this business continues in the morning shift only. Some hawker with different items does this job from morning up to evening. Physically these professionals are weaker. Financially they are reported to be unsound. Off and on they loose their working capital due to different reasons and remain unemployed for some days.

Carpenter:

A few dwellers of this slum are working as carpenters. From socio-economic point of view this profession is more sound. But unfortunately, carpenters of this slum could not achieve financial soundness because they are unskilled. They remain in financial hardship.

Others:

Some others are engaged as fisherman, beggar, quack doctor, sweeper etc. These professions are very unstable. Off and on, they change their profession. Some old dwellers are found engaged in begging. They do not have any alternatives and are liabilities to their family.

Unemployment:

Another section but a very few, was found unemployed who are searching for job. This is because of their lack of seriousness. They are dependent on other family members. During my fieldwork, these unemployed persons are interviewed. They are idle in nature and move in the city like vagrants. They have been found to create nuisances and liabilities to the family.

People (engaged with different occupation on monthly basis), some time remains unemployed for months or more. During their unemployment they run from saving. Who does not have any saving, found to work as daily worker, till he can arrange a job. During this transition, they are some time compelled to change their occupation. Socio-economically this transition may be termed as silent famine. They take food item from the adjacent shop keepers on credit. Afterwards due to lingering in payment, quarreling starts among themselves. Some time this type of quarreling is settled by the '*matbar*'.

People (engaged on daily basis at different occupation) some time remain unemployed. It is mostly due to natural calamity, political turmoil like hartal, strike, physical sickness etc. During these days they run partly from savings and partly on credit.

Hurdles in different profession :

Some difficulties have been identified which the dwellers face at work:

- i) Workers (engaged on daily basis, some time) are exploited by their "sardar". Also sometime they are deprived by their employer on different pleas.
- ii) Off and on they are found to loss their money by exploitation or cheating.
- iii) Garments worker some time get their salary much later than the schedule. Sometime they get their pay in the alternate months and passes acute hard ship.
- iv) Due to financial strain, shop keepers very often sell their products on credit. Afterwards it becomes difficult to realize.
- v) Age is another big factor to adopt their profession. It is observed that between 15-50 years of age they can earn more and remains fit for profession. Because of poor nutrition their working ability decreases after fifty years of age.
- vi) People engaged in fishing showed their extreme disappointment due to scarcity of fishes in the river and channel.

Educational background of slum dwellers: (How it influence on their occupation?)

about 80.73 % of the slum dwellers were found illiterate or literate upto primary level. So educational background of the dwellers hardly can influence their socio-economic condition. Some people can sign only, even for counting they have to depend on others. They face hurdles in their economic activity but for this they do not have any repentance. People who attended up to primary level although can sign and know counting but their economic level and status is same to that of an

illiterate person. With this poor literacy they can hardly earn any advantage.

5 % of the slum dwellers studied above primary level. Their social position or status in the slum is obviously higher. Other has some respect for them. These people help the illiterates for their accounts with the employer. They also help the dwellers during official correspondences with the ward commission office, City-corporation office etc. People who attended upto secondary level of education were found engaged in security guard, garments worker or as shopkeeper. Economically they are more balanced in comparison with other dwellers.

Status of occupation and a comparative study:

Slum dwellers engaged in different occupations on monthly basis are found more stable socially and economically. They try to keep their expenses limited within their income.

Persons engaged in occupation on daily basis are found financially less stable. They earn and spend a substantial amount at the work place for taking tea, snacks, cigarettes etc. Their family remains on continuous hardship. It is seen that this category of people unnecessarily remain absent from their duty. Usually on an average they loose 8 to 10 days a month. Because of their idleness they have to go for credit. This leads an unbalanced financial position for this category of people.

Domestic maids (employed on monthly basis), have minimum liberty although they get food in addition to their pay. This job bears less status. Some of them go on duty for 2/3 houses of the adjacent residential area. It is a laborious job compared to their earnings.

Shop keeping is the most prestigious among these different professions. Socially and economically they remain in good order. They cover the deficit of other professional by allowing credit.

Religious worker enjoy maximum status in comparison with other professionals. This is a spiritual job. They don't go for any labour.

Dwellers of this slum have to depend on the quack doctors. Quack doctors get much respect than others professionals.

Fishermen are silent worker. They go for fishing mostly at night. In the morning they sell their products. Then they sleep upto evening. So socially they remain aloof. Economically his position remain comparatively better than daily workers.

5.4. Economic activity of slum dwellers:

It has been observed, economic activity of the slum dwellers play important role in their life. Poverty is the part of their life and the available facilities are below requirement. If we consider economy is one side of the coin, the other side of the coin is the poverty. In a real sense economic study of the Jheelpar slum is a measure of the degree of poverty.

During economic study the following parameters have been carefully evaluated to establish the activity:

i) Income vs. profession:

Eighteen (18) different category of profession were found. Their accumulated income generates the total economic activity of the slum.

Table-7
Average monthly income vs. profession

Occupation (Person involved)	Average (Monthly income TK)
Construction worker (49)	2500
Construction worker (unskilled 101)	1500
Rickshaw puller (133)	2000
Earth works (133)	1800
Brick breaking (125)	1500
Garments worker (57)	1200
Shop keeper (19)	4000
House maid (63)	300
Security Guard (13)	1800
Transport worker (6)	2200
Beggar (4)	1000
Hawker (5)	1500
Fisherman (12)	1800
Vegetable Seller (12)	1600
Religious worker (02)	4000
Quack doctor (01)	4000
Carpenter (3)	2400
Sweeper (01)	1500

Source: Fieldwork in Jheelpar Slum.

The above table shows that shopkeeper, religious worker and quack doctor are the highest earning groups. Skilled construction worker, transport worker, carpenter are the 2nd highest earning group. In the group of skilled construction worker some persons were observed to earn around Tk. 5000 per month. The group of occupation whose

average income level lies within 1500-2000 are unskilled worker, rickshaw puller, security guard, hawker, fisherman etc.

(ii) Expenses and commitments :

The major portion of their income is spend for food—for the average earning group. A little is being spend for clothing. Earlier migrants do not pay any house rent. Rather, they have got some income for letting house. The highest earning group is found spending money little generously for food. They purchase new cloths. But a substantial portion is saved. Young group both male and female go to cinema hall very regularly. So these category of people, spend some money for enjoyment. Workers on daily basis spent some portion of his daily income for tea, snacks and cigarettes. Some people irrespective of category spend some money for playing cards, gambling etc. Daily workers off and on smoke cigarettes along with drug like ophim.

(iii) Credit and food deficit:

Category of professionals below average monthly income Tk. 1800 some time runs deficit. It is the food deficit. During such deficit they mostly run on credit from the adjacent shop-keeper. People engaged on monthly basis, on demand sometime get some credit in cash from their employer.

Shop-keepers allows credit for the clients, simultaneously he also receives credit facility from the supplier.

Vegetable seller and hawkers also get their products partly on credit. They repair this credit from their sell process.

Some people earlier experienced with banking credit from Grameen bank, Agricultural bank is scared to take any loan. Some of them do not go for any loan even if they remain on starvation.

(iv) Co-operatives :

Majority of this slum dwellers are illiterate but they have confidence in co-operative society. It is observed that two or more such co-operatives have been organized by the slum dwellers. This organization is either from same native district or from same group of occupation.

Organizer of the co-operatives is usually a senior person. Also earlier migrants are the promoter of such venture. They organize and attracts his native people or people from same profession. Basic concept of this co-operative is monthly subscription by all members at the same proportion. Accumulated subscription is held by the organizer. Definitely he is trusted by all other members. He maintains a register of accounts.

Motto of such co-operatives:

Motto of such co-operative is initially considered very good. All members, specially the elders they like idea. The aim of it is as follows:

- a) To give loan to member in case of death, accidents or illness of the individual or his family member.
- b) To facilitate purchase of furniture, radio, watch, winter clothes etc. from his savings.
- c) To purchase rickshaw, van and other commodities.
- d) To met up loan and to purchase land in the rural areas.

Deviations from the initial motto:

The co-operative was initially established with good and definite objectives. But after wards there is lot of deviations. These deviations are decided by the key persons or a group of members. Deviations observed are:

- a) Manipulation by the key persons or miss-appropriation.
- b) Political expenses by the key persons and his followers.
- c) Group expenses to attend political meeting.
- d) Group expenses to attend sports, VCR etc.

(v) Living standard:

“In Bangladesh the income of a family is more influenced by the ownership of capital rather than by the amount of work that is done..... Income and living standard, it does not depend each other, highest or lowest does not show the better standard of living, it depends on religion, culture and neighbour-hood”.....
“No hypothesis is possible about any relation between income and the living standard score. (Faruk A. and Ali. M.) page-60.

The average living standard of the Jheelpar slum is below standard. This standard is just for survival. Standard of food, clothing, education, sanitation or health, none lies close to the minimum level. From the previous table per capita average income per day can be worked out as follows:

Av. income (per capita per day) =

$$\frac{\text{Total income generated by different Professionals per month} \times 12}{365 \text{ days} \times \text{Total Population}}$$

Sum of average monthly income by each professionals x No of persons working with that profession x 12 months

$$\frac{\text{Sum of average monthly income by each professionals} \times \text{No of persons working with that profession} \times 12 \text{ months}}{365 \text{ days} \times 1774}$$

From the above fig. We can derive that average annual income is 178 U.S \$ per year. This is eventually much less than our national average, which is US \$ 280 per year.

(vi) Socio economic development of the slum dwellers :

In this section, we have tried to examine the development in the socio-economic condition of the dwellers of Jheelpar slum.

History of establishment of this slum is about a decade. It was mentioned earlier that poverty stricken people of the rural areas of different district has taken shelter in the slum. Most of the migrants joined this slum almost at empty condition and was searching for job. Their present earning, living standard etc. indicate the development of the dweller compared to their rural life. Economic development in the social life of the slum dwellers may be measured from the development of their life style on the following para-meters in comparison to their rural life.

- a) **Food :** On an average each member is getting food two to three times a day. In their rural life they were in a position very difficult to manage their daily food. So on this parameter they have developed economically.
- b) **Clothing:** In their rural life they had single piece of cloth to wear and had no winter clothing. After migrating to this slum they are more comfortable. Some times they are getting clothes free of cost from richer communities of the adjacent residential area. Some of them are purchasing new cloths or second-hand clothes from the market. Rejected garments winter clothings are available at a very cheap price which giving them much relief. During this study it is observed that they are more comfortable in clothing then their rural life.

- c) **Housing or shelter :** Among the dwellers 41.22 % are totally landless and another 58.78 % are having homestead or cultivable land in their villages. Most of them have bamboo thatched house to live in rural area. But Jheelpar slum dwellers have no ownership of land, they have taken shelter on Govt. land. This housing is completely uncertain. So it may be concluded that on this parameter they could not gain.
- d) **Education:** Primary school and educational institution are limited in rural area. In the village, people who can effort their children to send to educational institute, they also hesitate. And for poorer people it is considered most unnecessary. After migrating to this slum, some of the dwellers sending their children to free primary institutes. Possibly, on acquainted with the city life, they could realize the necessity of education. So on this parameter this dwellers has gained.
- e) **Health care:** In the rural areas, in case of disease most of them are to depend on the quack doctor or on nature. Medical facilities are available in the district Head Quarters only. So it remains out of rich for the poorer people in the rural areas. Migrating to this slum now they are getting advice from qualified doctors also. Mostly they get free Medical services. In case of serious sickness, accidents they can admit in the nearby Govt. hospital. So in this sector they are well, compared to their rural life.
- f) **Sanitation and civic facilities:** People used to get more or less clean water from stream or pond in the village. Toilet facilities are very much unhygienic and electric facilities totally absent in the rural area. Migrating to this slum they are hardly getting safe drinking water, katcha toilet is adjacent to the shack, most unhealthy, unhygienic and risky. Some of quarters in this slum is availing unauthorized electric connection. Most important comparison is that they are affected from city polluted atmosphere, while in their rural

life they got natural fresh air. So migrating to this slum they could not gain on this parameter.

Socio-economic development of the slum dwellers in comparison to their rural life may be mathematically represented as follows:

$$ED = (EF+EC+EE+EHH) - (ESH+ES)$$

Where,

ED= Over all socio –economic development.

EF= Economic development on food.

EC= Economic development on clothing sector.

EE= Economic development on education sector

EHH= Economic development on health and health care.

ESH= Economic development on housing sector which is negative in the above equation.

ES= Economic development on sanitation and civic facility sector which is also negative in the above equation.

From the above equation it is seen that economic development is positive on four factors and negative on two factors. So it may be concluded, that after migrating to this slum they are now better than their earlier life in the rural areas.

(vii) Remittance by the dwellers to their village:

A family who earns more than Tk. 2500 per month, try to save. It is observed that around 30 to 40 percent of the household head along with other earning members, earn more than Tk. 2500 per month. They remit their savings to their village. Usually the household head visits his village three to four times each year. During his visit he transfer the savings in cash. This money is utilized for release of mortgage land, repair of loans, maintenance of old houses, purchase of furniture etc.

A section of people live single (around 4 %) in mess or with other household. They visit their family in the village almost every month. They transfer full amount of their savings for their family expenses. Dwellers having profession like shop keeping, religious worker or quack doctor has got maximum income. Also they can save maximum. Naturally they can remit more in comparison to others. They try to purchase land and cows for agricultural use out of their remitted money.

5.5. Land Ownership Pattern

So far land ownership pattern is concerned it is only a story for this migrated slum dwellers. This story is two to three generation old. From the statement of the slum dwellers (household head), it is observed that all of their previous generations were landowners. Here it may be noted that this land ownership pattern was based on agricultural land only. Out of 410 household head only 41(10%) have ownership of land.

The statement of landlessness may be drawn as follows :

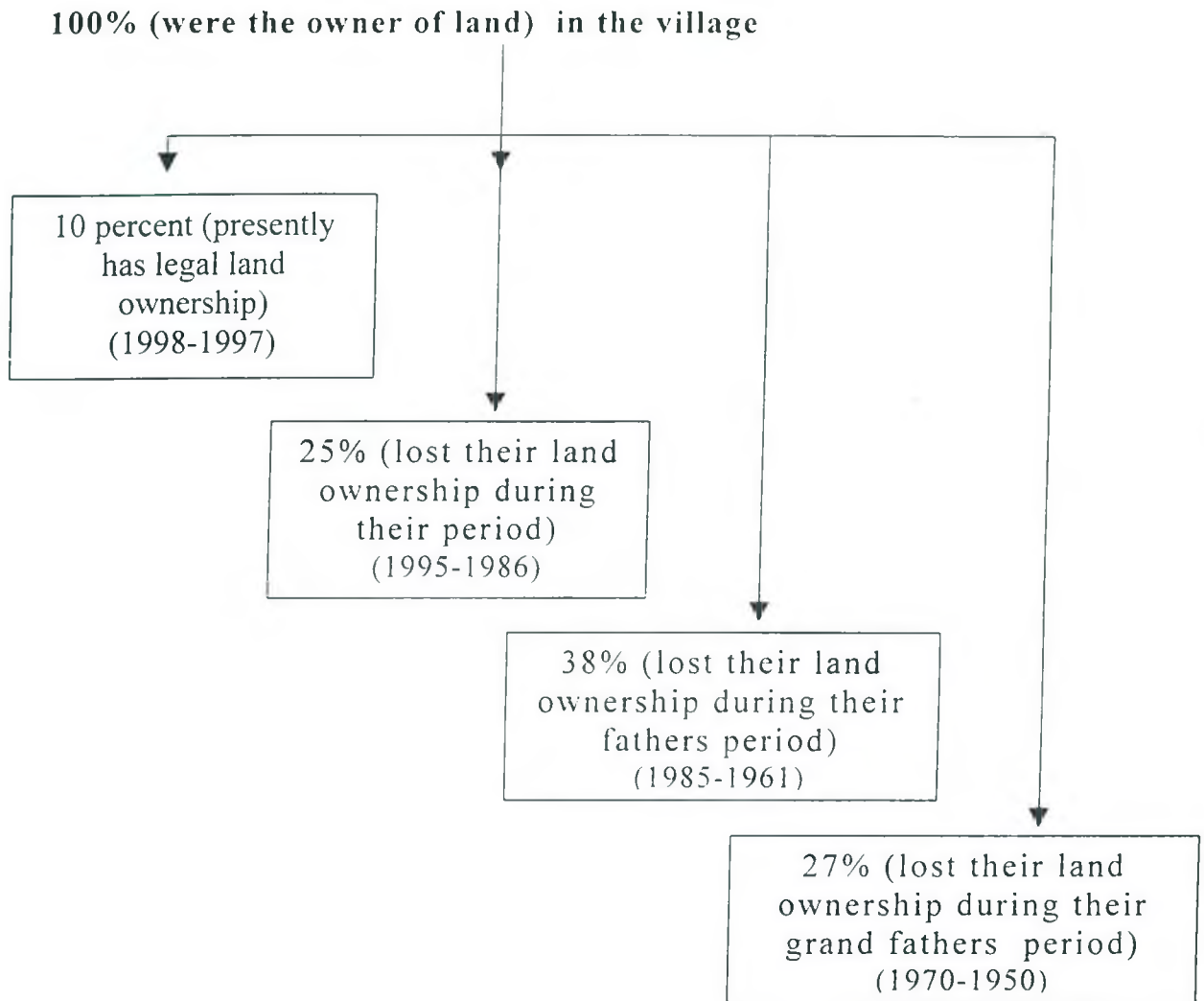


Table-8

From the above diagram it is seen that rate of land loss is:

Period (years)	/(Total	Percent of People becoming landless	Average land loss per year
1. 1986-1995/ 10 years		25%	2.5%
2. 1961-1985/ 25 yrs.		38%	1.52%
3. 1950-1970/ 20 yrs.		27%	1.35%

Source: Fieldwork in Jheelpar Slum.

Now it may be established that rate of land loss is increasing over time and during 1986 to 1995 it is alarming.

From the above chart we are getting answer to our question when they lost their land? Now we will try to get the answer how they lost their land?

A brief statement showing reasons or factors out of which they became landless was narrated in the socio-economic background of slum dwellers.

The following table shows the factors which are responsible for the loss of lands.

Table-9
Land loss factors

Sl No.	Different factors responsible for land loss	No. of household	%
1.	Loss of land due to repeated fragmentation of land	163	44.1
2.	Loss of land due to river erosion	31	8.4
3.	Loss of land as they sold it, out of poverty.	130	35.23
4.	Loss of land due to Bankruptcy	19	5.14
5.	Loss of mortgage land which could not be realized	24	6.50
6.	Loss of land due to ambition for overseas employment	02	0.54
	Total	369	100

Source: Fieldwork in Jheelpar Slum.

From the above table our observations on the issue are as follows:

- a) The major factor responsible for land loss is repeated fragmentation of land. This factor is related with the family size. Because of higher number of family size, they have become landless within two to three generation gap.
- b) The second major factor is poverty. This is also related with the family size. Because of bigger family size, income of the family is much less than the requirement. These poverty stricken people finally compelled to sold out their land.
- c) Loss of land due to river erosion is the next factor. It is studied that dwellers migrated from greater Barishal and Faridpur district are mostly affected with this factor.
- d) The next factor is loss due to bankruptcy. This is also a unbalanced economic factor. They took loan from bank for agricultural production. Afterwards they fail to repair the bank loan. This is due to mismanagement with increased family need compared to their income. Ultimately they loss their mortgage land.
- e) Same is the story with mortgage land provided to local influential *Matabar*.

Chapter VI

Environment, Health and Education

Because of its location, Jheelpar slum has some advantages on environment, health and education facilities in comparison to other slums of Dhaka City (as studied from CUS). This is because of concentration of more resources on this northern part of the City. But even then it is much below the normal requirement and standard. Although educational institution, medical services at Govt. and private level are available within walking distance of the Jheelpar slum but this facilities are beyond their financial capability.

Density of population in the area is a measuring factor to know the environmental situation. Influx of poverty stricken rural people to the Jheelpar slum is gradually increasing over the recent years. They are concentrating in the same area. There is hardly any scope for expansion of the slum area. So gradually situation is getting more detrimental.

6.1 Environmental situation:

There are different factors which control the environmental situation of an area. Major factors which guide the environmental situation of the Jheelpar slum are given below:

(a) **Density of population:** Total population of the Jheelpar slum is 1774 living in an area of 4.0 acres. So density of population

$$\begin{aligned} & \frac{1774}{4.0 \text{ acres}} \\ = & \frac{1774}{4.0} \\ = & 108 \text{ sqft per head.} \end{aligned}$$

During early settlement of this slum there were small number of house-holds with full of space. But present situation, signify a state of inhuman living condition. This density is increasing at a very high rate. Higher density of population is responsible for polluting the nature and environment at a higher rate.

- (b) **Flood protection:** The location of Jheelpar slum is very close and within the enclosure of Dhaka flood protection embankment. So the place is free from flooding. During flooding, the slum area and its environmental situation remains less affected.
- (c) **Heavy rainfall and drainage:** Because of poor drainage system, the Jheelpar slum area becomes inundated during heavy shower or rainfall. Water remains stagnant after the rain and creates discomfort to their normal life. The soil becomes loose and muddy which disrupt environmental situation.

Stagnancy of water and poor drainage in most of the slum area of Dhaka city causes unbearable pain to the slum dwellers. During rainy season it becomes the news of the Daily Newspaper. Poor and unhealthy environmental situation becomes health hazardous and it causes different diseases like fever, Diarrhoea, skin disease etc. Slum dwellers, use rain water for bathing and washing and children play and swim with rain water. This effect the health situation seriously.

- (d) **Dampness:** Slum dwellers use their courtyard for their cleaning, washing and bathing. Because of poor drainage the soil remains damp continuously. This keeps the environment unhygienic but slum dwellers are unaware of it and they are practiced.
- (e) **Ventilation:** Earlier we mentioned that the shacks of the Jheelpar slum were constructed mostly without proper ventilation system. Due to irregular and unplanned positioning of the shacks cross ventilation and aeration is also badly hampered. If the shacks could

be aligned properly during erection, they could live more comfortably. They are completely unaware and hardly got any idea of ventilation system.

- (f) **Natural pollution:** There is no sanitary toilet in this slum. Most of the slum dwellers use "*Kutchra latrin*". These are located very nearby and these are very unhygienic. It pollutes the air and environment. Children and infants use the court yard as toilet, which remains mostly uncleaned. If any outsider comes in the slum, will become impatient with the heavy foul odor of the slum area.

Another important factor causing natural pollution is the burning of PVC items, cotton, papers and waste. These are used as fuel for cooking. This is seriously polluting the environment.

Some households have domestic birds and animals like duck, hens and goats. Those quarter earns some financial benefit from this business. They keep these animals within their hut during night time and in day time, these remain on the courtyard. So the courtyard remains unclean with dirt of birds and animals. Naturally this is another cause of deteriorating the environmental situation.

Most usual and important factor of natural pollution is use of polythene bags. Slum dwellers use this bag for their day to day consumption and after the use, they throw it on the roof of huts, courtyard, back site of the huts etc. This is seriously polluting the environmental situation.

- (g) **Mechanical and Industrial pollution:** Jheelpar slum is located very adjacent to Turag river. On the other side of river Turag there are many industries. Owner of these industries leave their industrial waste on the river. Slum dwellers off and on take their bath in this river. Polluted Water is causing skin disease among them. Pickers and child labours collect industrial garbage, by-products or waste in

a jute bag. In the evening they deposit it in their courtyard. During night and next morning they remain engaged for segregation of this product as per their market requirement. It is observed that during this process slum environment becomes polluted.

6.2 Health profile of The slum dweller's

Information collected on health situation of the Jheelpar slum dwellers shows that it is an extremely precarious situation. General health situation of an individual or a community depends on the following parameters:

- i) Environmental situation of the area where they are living.
- ii) Financial capability against health care.
- iii) Education and awareness toward health and healthcare.
- iv) Medicare facilities available surrounding or close to the area.
- v) Nutrition they are receiving.

Excepting the serial no (iv) above, all the other parameters are absent in this slum. Because of poor economic condition of slum dwellers they cannot afford the available medical facilities, though it is available at the private level. So it may be mentioned here that medical situation of the slum is inhuman. But it is very surprising to note here that in spite of such adverse health situation rate of mortality is comparatively low here.

(a) Morbidity :

The following table summarizes the available information on morbidity situation in the Jheelpar slum. Information was gathered during the fieldwork in Jheelpar slum. Age limit was categorized into four groups.

- (i) 0-15 years as infant /child age, when type of disease and sickness is found of general type.

- (ii) 15.1-25 years may be considered as youth – when it is observed that disease and sickness is comparatively less than other period.
- (iii) 25.1-45 years aged people were found as less energetic and sickness is also comparatively more.
- (iv) 45.1-46 years and above may be considered as old age (in this slum). During this age they loose most of their energy. Most of the people above this age are observed suffering from disease of varieties.

Table No. 10
Different Diseases vs. Age limit

Type of Disease	Age limit			
	0-15 years	15.1-25 years	25.1-45 years	45.1-46 years and above
Cough and cold	80%	15%	32%	60%
Scabies	75%	50%	23%	28%
Helminthosis	90%	10%	-	-
Artherities	15%	-	25%	55%
Gastric	-	12%	50%	75%
Diarrhoeal Disease	80%	10%	15%	30%
Jundice	25%	12%	15%	15%
Chicken pox	10%	5%	5%	-

Source: Fieldwork in Jheelpar Slum.

Total number of child or persons counted corresponding to the above age limits are as follows :

0-15	years	are	783
15.1-25	years	are	502
25.1-45	years	are	417
45.1-46 above		are	<u>72</u>
Total		-	1774

The percentage shown in the age column in the above table has been evaluated from persons affected with the disease out of the total persons corresponding to that age limit.

(b) Mortality :

During the study period I found the death of 2 infants, 1 child, and 1 old woman. Proportionately 8 deaths in one year out of 1774 people. During the study period mortality rate was very low. But it does not reflect the whole situation. History of all the 410 households, have been studied- recording all death incidents happened to all the house-holds during their settlement till to date. Following table summarizes all death incidents recorded from the total history of the slum. All deaths are categorized into three division, viz, due to disease, accidents and old age, versus age limit:

Table -11
Causes of Death vs. Age limit

Causes of death	Number of Death		
	infant / child	Young	old age
Accident	29	21	02
Disease	38	11	12
old age	-	-	06
Total Death	67	33	20

Source: Fieldwork in Jheelpar Slum.

Total death recorded were 130 in 410 households in the total history of the slum.

(c) Population growth rate :

During my fieldwork (six months), 25 birth took place in 410 households This reflects around 50 birth during one year. So growth rate is 50 out / 1774 which is 2.82 percent. It shows that the birth rate of slum dwellers is still higher than the Governments statistics which is 2.1 percent.

Inquiring all the households, it is recorded that total births were 533 in 410 house holds since the settlement in this slum. Some families did not give birth to any issue after taking shelter in this slum. While some of the families, were reported having more than 4 issues after taking shelter in this slum.

(d) Family planning :

Ninety percent of the household heads have not adopted family planning measures to limit the family size. But now they feel that with a smaller family they could be more comfortable. About ten percent are aware about family planning. They maintain and follow systems of family planning but not regularly.

Knowledge and awareness of slum dwellers about family planning and its fruit is very much insufficient. Motivation by Govt. field workers from Health Directorate or by NGO's is also very occasional as reported by the slum dwellers.

(e) Maternity and child care facility:

There is a govt. run maternity centre nearby. It is one and a quarter mile from this slum. They get free medical services from this Govt. hospital. There are two private owned organizations having maternity and child

care facility. But these are beyond their financial capacity. It is reported that none of these dwellers has ever gone to this hospitals. Dwellers of this slum mostly follow traditional system advised by the Quack, Herbalists (the dying breed of Hekim's and kabiraj) and village "Dai" (mid wives). They follow lot of superstitions during maternity, delivery and for childcare. Some of the households were reported to take shelter in their village during maternity and delivery stage.

(f) Nutritional level :

Hunger and malnutrition related to poverty affect all the people in the country. Only 5 % population of the whole country consume adequate quantity and quality of food. So it is easily understood the level of nutrition of the inhabitants of this slum. More inner tragedy is that among the slum dwellers children are much worse off.

Malnutrition is maximum among children and infants. The next affected categories are the mothers and expectants.

Food habits was studied among 410 households. It is observed-two broad classes according to their capability of taking food. Out of 410 house holds, 37 families (which is 9.02 %) were found taking good food in comparison to other. These families can afford meat, fish and eggs as they earn more. The lower income groups depend on rice, vegetables curry and dry fish. They can hardly afford meat or fish.

Minimum calorie requirement for an adults is 2122. This is much more than that taken by an adult of the higher income group of the slum. In the lower income group, it is founds some of the families sometimes remain on almost starvation.

(g) Mode of Treatment:

Slum dwellers is less sensitive towards any disease and sickness, During early days of sickness they remain less care, when it aggravates they become serious about the disease. Then they go for treatment. Mode of treatment followed may be classified as:

- (i) Allopathic treatment
- (ii) Homeopathic treatment
- (iii) Traditional herbalist ('*hekim*' & '*kabiraj*')
- (iv) Quack doctor

Slum dwellers widely depend on Allopathic treatment and it is more than 80%. Because of cheap price, dwellers try with homeopathy as primary treatment. Finally when failed with homeopathy they switch over to allopathic.

It is interesting to note here, that slum dwellers mostly lost their confidence on homeopathic treatment. Most of the dwellers use allopathic medicine in-consultation. with the compounder who act as a pharmacists.

In cases of major ailment or when the situation of a patient aggravates seriously then they under go treatment trough qualified doctors. Some of the patients visit specialist also. They do not follow the medicine schedule and courses properly. Before getting totally cured they stop taking medicine. As a result sometime they have to repeat the course of medicine.

About 10 to 15 percent people show their confidence on homeopathic treatment depending on the variety of disease.

About 8 to 10 percent people show interest in 'fakir', 'kaviraj' and Quack. Out of their superstition, sometimes they remain blind with the herbal and spiritual treatments.

6.3 Education of the Jheelpar slum dwellers.

Literacy rate is very poor among the inhabitants of Jheelpar slum. Formal education in the schools of Dhaka city is very much competitive and expensive. Children of poor parents can hardly afford it. They are the most deprived groups. Most of the slum parents do not encourage their children to enroll in the formal school because of poverty. The reasons for lower rate of entry at primary level is the economic reason. Immediately after the migration, parents try to engage their children in income earning activities in the informal sector, mostly as pickers, tea stall boys, domestic servants etc. A few parents enroll their children in non formal primary school. But percentage of drop-out is very high. The proportion of children currently attending school is very much insignificant. Obviously it is due to poverty.

1. Primary Education:

Primary education is compulsory as declared by Govt. of Bangladesh. Govt., NGO's, TV, Radio are taking some programme for mass education upto primary level. But it has hardly any impact on slum dwellers and they hardly send their children to school. However parents having educational background are more inclined towards sending their boys and girls to the primary school.

(a) Location of primary schools.

There are two of primary schools within walking distance of the slum area. This school is being run by primary education board of the Govt.

free of cost. There is one school in slum vicinity run by a local NGO. But this school is not regular. There is a mosque very adjacent to the slum. Primary arabic course is administered there by mosque authority. There is one "maktab" run by one "Moulana". It is available within the slum. Apart from this, there are couples of kindergarten under private management near the slum area. But these schools are beyond the imagination of slum dwellers.

(b) Condition of the primary Institute:

There are two Govt. Primary schools within walking range of the slum area. One is a two storied and the other is a four storied building. Although these school buildings are well planned, they remain dirty and unclean most of the time. Children of the slum can join the school in morning and day shift. Guardian of the slum children hardly care about the school administration or its cleanliness.

(c) Primary school run by NGO.

A local NGO is running a school upto primary level within the slum premises. The school has a roof with corrugated iron sheets and it has bamboo walls. Students of this school mostly come from the slum. There are no benches. Students are taking there lesson siting on the bamboo mat. The school is administered and taught by single lady teacher. Financial part is looked after by the NGO and students get their education free.

(d) Primary Arabic Study:

There is another schools in the slum premises for primary arabic study. The school is run by the slum dwellers themselves voluntarily. The only teacher is the Imam of the adjacent mosque. Arabic class is held everyday in early morning and continue for about an hour. The teacher is given remuneration on monthly basis from the subscription

by the guardians of the students. This education mostly reflects the religious attitude of the families of slum.

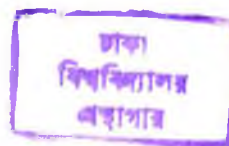
(e) Participation in primary education:

This part is most important which portrays the status of primary education in the slum. Earlier it was mentioned that parents having primary educational background are more concerned to send their children to the school. We now discuss about the rate of participation, interest towards primary education by the children and hurdles faced by them. Within the age limit 6-13 years, total number of children are 509 of both sex. Out of 509, 26 children (which is 5.10%) go to Govt. Primary education, 17 (which is 3.33%) go to the school run by NGO. and 28 (which is 5.5%) go for Arabic study. This reflects the weakness of the slum dwellers toward religious study. But practically this is unproductive education (to help this children in their next life and livelihood). Total 13.95 % children go to primary schools. But in true sense children going for Arabic or religious study are not becoming literate. So 43 children (which is only 8.45 % of the total children) are receiving primary education. But it is very significant and matter of regret that during end of the year, this figure will be further reduced because of dropout.

(f) Interest and hurdles in primary education:

While studying 'interest' towards primary education the following factors are observed:

- (i) Parents having primary educational background are more concerned for sending their children to school.
- (ii) Parents having occupation of skilled worker, rickshw-puller, shop keeper, transport worker, show interest in primary education.



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- (iii) Children hardly show any interest for going school. But some parents compel their children for going to school.
- (iv) Some of the parents (getting acquainted with city civilization) are becoming ambitious to send their children to school.
- (v) Free-studentship in the Govt. school and NGO's school along with books and uniforms is also another interest.

The following factors are responsible for not attending the school.

- (i) Poverty and destitute condition.
- (ii) Illegal practice of some school authority. This is another reason when the parents loose their interest.

(g) Mass education programme by BTV.

Bangladesh Television broadcast a programme on mass education for adult literacy in the afternoon. Because of odd timing the dwellers never watches this programme. There are two number T.V. sets. in the slum. But it may be noted that this programme has no relation with this slum dwellers.

Chapter VII

Community facilities, Recreation and Anti-social activities.

7.1. Community Facilities:

Community facilities for the dwellers of Jheelpar slum is very inadequate. Compared to the density of population, the facilities available within the slum or its vicinity can be described as negligible. The slum dwellers are also living in a very unhygienic condition. Jheelpar slum dwellers have very limited scope for leisure and recreation. Anti-social activities among the slum dwellers are there but not very significant.

During the field work it is observed that this inadequacy of community facility, is beyond the feeling of the commoners of the slum.

(a) Classification of community facilities.

- (i) General Community facility
- (ii) Water supply and sanitation
- (iii) Electric and power supply
- (iv) Sewage and garbage disposal

(b) General community facility

- i) **Shops and Markets:** There are seven shops near Jheelpar slum. These are mostly grocery shops, vegetable shops, barber's shop and hotel. These shops are owned by some individuals residing in the slum. Dwellers of the slum for their essential commodities depend on these shops. These shop owners serve key role in the daily life of the slum dwellers and to their utility requirements.

It is found that many of the dwellers for their essential commodities off and on visit Tongi commercial area which is

only one kilometer distance. Uttara commercial complex is within walking distance but very unfortunately it is beyond their economic capacity.

- (ii) **Play ground:** There are many vacant land around this slum. Children of the slum play foot ball, cricket, "ha-du-du" etc. on this ground.
- (iii) **Mosque :** In the Jheelpar Slum 99.25 percent of the dwellers are Muslim. Only three family which is 7.5 percent of the total population was found Hindu. There are two mosque within the vicinity of the slum for the major Muslim population of the slum. For the Hindus, there is no temple near the slum.
- (iv) **Medical service and Maternity Centre:** There is one Govt. hospital and one Maternity Centre near the slum. They receive free medical services from this institutions. In case of major ailment they go to Dhaka medical hospital.

There are four private clinic within slum vicinity but this institutions are beyond their economic capacity.

(c) Water supply and Sanitation.

Water is a life saving requirement. But there is not a single source of fresh water within the slum community. Then how they are meeting their water requirement?

- (i) **Wasa supply:** Slum dwellers collect their drinking water from the different residential quarters of the adjacent area. This is done by mostly children and female member of the household. Some workers take chance of bathing with WASA water at their working place or site.
- (ii) **Tube-well:** There are three tube-wells adjacent to the slum located on different construction site. As there is no

financial involvement, authority do not impose any restriction. Slum dwellers collect their drinking and bathing water at their convenience.

- (iii) **Lake water:** The lake or stream is very near to the slum. Most of the slum dwellers use the lake for their bathing and washing. It is found that lake water is dirty but slum dwellers do not care, due to lack of awareness.
- (iv) **Flood water :** During rainy season, after heavy rainfall water remains stagnant for days together in the field. Slum dwellers, specially children and old women use this muddy water for bathing, washing and playing.
- (v) **River water :** River Turag is within walking distance from the slum. During holidays and before Jumma prayer some gent member can go to river side for bathing & washing.

(d) Electric and power supply:

The next immediate requirement is energy supply for lighting, cooking and to run the electric appliances. The slum area comes within the PDB/DESA service line. But there is not a single authorized electric connection in the slum. Then how they are meeting their energy requirement ?

- (i) **Unauthorized PDB/DESA Connection:** Service line of DESA is passing very close to the slum area. The electric connection has been drawn from the nearest electric pole. It is found that an arrangement exists between the slum beneficiary and the DESA line man. For such unauthorized connection, line man gets remuneration monthly from the users.

Three electric connection have been drawn from the nearest construction sites. The site authority has regular connection from

DESA. But subsequent connection to the slum has no permission. This type of unauthorized connection with naked aluminum wire might lead to any accident. It is reported that 7/8 years back one young lady died with electric conduction in this slum.

- (ii) Purposes served with electric connection: Slum dwellers use electric power supply for lighting bulb, table fan, playing radio/TV, Cassette and electric heater for cooking.
- (iii) Use of kerosine : Most of the house hold use hurricane-lantern and oil lamp fueling with kerosine for lighting purposes. During rainy season a few number of household use kerosine stove for cooking and others suffer due to inability to buy kerosine.
- (iv) Use of fire wood, cow dung, dry leaves, waste paper etc: During dry season most of the household use fire wood for cooking. They purchase fire wood mostly from the nearest market. Some of the household use cow-dung as fuel. Mostly children collect it and dump on their courtyard. Usually female member of the household prepare cow-dung stick which is used as fuel. Children between 8 to 10 years of age roam over the town with jute bag. They are the well known "tokai". They collect dry leaves, waste paper, broken glass, metals etc. Dry leaves and waste paper is used by some household for fueling.
- (v) Gas connection : During the study it is observed there is no connection of Titas gas in this slum.

Table -12

Percentage of households availing power from different sources:

Purposes served	Percentage of Household using different sources				
	PDB/DESA Source (Unauthorised)	Kerosine	Fire wood or Cow dung	Dry leaves or waste paper	Gas
1. Lighting	2.5%	97.5%	-	-	-
2. Playing Electric Appliances	5%	-	-	-	-
3. Cooking	1%	20%	70%	9%	-
4. Warming	-	-	10%	5%	-

Source: Fieldwork in Jheelpar Slum.

(e) Sewage and Garbage disposal :

Sewage and Garbage disposal is the most dirty and unhygienic part of the Jheelpar slum which is common with other slum of Dhaka city. Majority of the slum people of Dhaka city have their own community toilet facilities. Jheelpar slum dwellers have very poor and unhygienic toilet facilities. They have no sanitary or pit latrine. The whole community use "kutchra" toilets which are located along side the drain and lake. These toilets are covered with 'hogla', mat, bamboo strip or jute strip. Foot-rest are wooden planks and the waste is directly disposed on the drain or lake. Because of poor toilet facilities, dwellers are polluting the lake water and the environment. There are about 25 toilets for 410 households. This is very inadequate for the total requirement. In the morning it is found that there is a queue in front of each toilet. An odd smell is felt, while passing across these toilets and creates very bad

feeling. Maintenance of the toilet is very poor. This toilet hardly has any privacy. These toilets are constructed collectively and also maintained in the same way.

Some of the dwellers has got the opportunity to use sanitary toilet at their working place. Children use open space or drain side for toilet.. Infants use their courtyard which remains, uncleaned for hours together.

The slum comes within the municipal services. Municipal truck and van collect garbage every day from the around the slum area. Residential quarters of the zone are availing the municipal facility. But due to lack of awareness slum dwellers fail to avail the service. They throw, dump or dispose their waste on their courtyard, roof top of the hut, around the slum and along side the drain. These drains have hardly any outlet so these drains remain mostly dirty. Littering of garbage in the slum area are practically a common scene. The whole area always remains with foul odor, which creates dirty feeling. This is a breeding places of deadly diseases.

Lack of awareness and unusual disposal of garbage is the major reason of different disease like skin disease, diarrhoea etc. in the slum area.

7.2 Recreational facilities of Jheelpar slum:

Jheelpar slum dwellers have very limited scope for leisure and recreation. They can hardly afford any recreational facility and time to enjoy leisure. Within the limited scope, different events of recreation of slum dwellers have been mentioned below:

- (i) **Radio, TV, Cassette Player:** Twenty percent of the household own radio. They play it in high volume, specially when songs are broadcast. Two percent household have cassette player. In a nearby hotel (run by one of the householder) cassette plays

round the clock and in full volume. Dwellers enjoy it much. Cassette player owned by other households, also play it very unscheduledly and loudly. The dwellers enjoy it as the key recreational mode. Two households have TV. These are mostly played during night when special programmes are announced. Slum dwellers enjoy it in groups. This is the second major recreational arrangement for the slum dwellers.

- (ii) **Video-player:** During the holidays young gents members arrange playing Video-cassette player. They collect it on rent for the whole day. They pay the rent collectively. Mostly Hindi and some time Bengali films are played. Both male female members enjoy the film show.
- (iii) **Indoor-games:** Among the females young groups play Ludo during leisure time. Some times male also participate in playing Ludo. Among the males some play cards. Playing cards is sort of a gambling. This game often creates quarrel among themselves. Some member are very regular and play hours together. They loose all their money whatever they earn. Even they do not finance their family and the family remains under acute hardship. Although they finds recreation with playing card but it creates an adverse situation in their family life.
- (iv) **Cinema:** There are half dozen of cinema halls within one and half Km of Jheelpar slum. Enjoying movies is another important recreational mode among the slum dwellers. Female garments worker and rickshaw pullers are great fans of cinema movies. They enjoy cinema upto midnight and return home on foot. Specially rickshaw pullers spend a substantial portion of their income for enjoying cinema.

7.3. Anti-social activities of the Jheelpar slum dwellers:

The study reveals that it is not safe for the slum dwellers to expose the hidden dimension of slum life. There are many social problem; i.e., intra-household quarrels, theft, drug addiction and violence against women. Quarrels with regard to children is very common. Wife beating is also a common feature among the slum dwellers. Some times quarrels lead to violence against women.

Varieties of the anti-social activities have also been observed during my fieldwork. They are listed as follows:

- (a) Drug-addiction.
- (b) Theft
- (c) Gambling
- (d) Women-repression.
- (e) Child abuse
- (f) Child labour
- (g) Violence.

- (a) **Drug:** One drug addicted person can be found out of every 10 households. They belong to the age group of 20 to 50 years. No female members is found as drug addicted. But some women smoke. Professional background of the addicted people is mostly rickshaw pulling. Some of the rickshaw pullers are reported to have spend lion-share of his earnings for drugs. From the key informants, we have come to know that users of opium is about 5 % and liquor is 1.76 %. Drug addicts are reported to engage in quarrelling with other family members and they often beat their wives after addiction. There are frequent offence like drug addictions and alcoholism. Sources of these drug in mostly the nearby markets. Sometimes these people take drug in groups and mostly in the evening after their working time. Two persons take

injections and have become addicted. These two persons are well known to all the slum dwellers. An exclusive interview with one of the addicted person reveals the following facts.

Q.1. What do you do?

Ans. I pull rickshaw.

Q.2. Do you take drug?

Ans. Yes.

Q.3. Why do you take drug?

Ans. Its my wish and pleasure.

Q.4. How old you are?

Ans: 30 years

Q.5. Do you know that drug is harming you?

Ans: yes I know.

Q.6. Then why do you take it?

Ans: I don't know.

Q.7. Do you plan to abandon it?

Ans: Yes I have.

From the above interview, it is apparent that these poor people are taking drugs due to lack awareness. They are getting instantaneous pleasure by taking drugs.

(b) **Theft:** Theft and burglary are common incidents in the slum area. Boys and girls are mostly involved with this occurrences. Involvement of outsiders could not be identified.

It has been observed that on average 15 to 20 theft cases occur in each month within the slum premises. Stolen goods are clothes, home appliances, sandles, furniture, radio and cassette player etc. When any stolen goods get identified inside another household

then they get involve quarreling with each other. Sometimes member from other families also get involve in the quarreling. Afterwards the matter is solved or negotiated by the local "matbar". It is learnt that about a year back there was a violence occurred after such theft occurrence. One person was seriously injured and taken to hospital with allegation of burglary.

In this slum, professional theft could not be identified. But it is reported that one transport worker was involved in pick-pocketing in the bus service. But when the individual was contacted, he refused any such involvement.

(c) **Gambling:** Most of the young male members are involved in gambling. They play inside the skacks or in the under construction buildings adjacent to the slum. Usually they continue playing hours together from evening upto midnight. Off and on they involve in quarreling among themselves during play. It is learnt that on two or three occasions this type of quarrelling created violence in the slum. Some of the young male members join "housy" (one kind of gambling) in the nearest market. This "housy" takes place one or twice in a week from evening upto mid-night.

(d) **Women-Repression:** Repression on women or more-simply torture by male members on women is increasing in the slum day by day. More usual picture of women repression in this slum is torture, by their husband. Some times it turns to violence. Law and social rules are helpless in this respect. Some times the wives are beaten inhumanly, but no one dare to save her. They even live with physical injury. No torturous husband was ever convicted or received any punishment from any corner. In most cases the

helpless wives have to spend their lives with their cruel husbands. When the husband creates violence then the local "matbar" help the issue and try to manage the guilty husband. There were many cases when the tortured wives were taken to doctors. During my fieldwork I came across 10 to 12 women who were having permanent physical scar or stain on their body for inhuman torture by their husbands.

Sexual harassment by male members on women are comparatively low in this slum. During my fieldwork, three such cases could be identified. Such incident may occur one in each month. In most cases, unanimous involvement of the local 'matbar' could be identified. As the matter is very fishy, it is hard to gather information of this matter.

Many female residents of this slum are working in the garments factories. These female workers face lot of problems. They have reported verbal and physical harassment as the major problem in commuting. They mostly travel to the factory on foot. On their way to the factory and return to the slum, they off and on face teasing, pushes, pulling clothes by young labourers, rickshaw pullares and others. A large member (63 female member) of Jheelpar slum were found working as domestic maid. They also faced trouble in doing their duty. Off and on they were abused by housewives and some time received beating. Some time they were harassed by male members like driver, care taker, security guard of that household.

Five women (who are abandoned by their husband) are living in this slum. During their early days in the slum they were helpless and jobless. They were to maintain themselves along with their

two/three minors. The "matbar" and two/three touts of the slum used to harass and exploit the helpless women.

It is reported that two /three young girls of this slum (who are working in garments factory) are also involved in anti-social activities. They were rather forced by the "matbar" and touts for doing so. Now they are used by them.

Repression by women on women also present in this slum. In most cases married wives are tortured by their mother-in-laws.

(e) Child abuse:

Children are the most neglected section of population in this slum. They are growing naturally in the inhuman atmosphere of the slum. Parents do not take care about their safety, security and other requirements. More practical story is that these children are sometime beaten by their parents, guardians or other members for any minor fault. Sometimes they are tortured inhumanly. Types of torturing were beating after tying, searing with small spud, keeping them under lock and key etc. During such inhuman torturing no body comes to rescue them. Slum dwellers are less aware about their duties towards children.

Slum children are also sexually abused by many. They get involved in sexual crime even before attaining puberty. It is found that 10-12 female child are engaged at different residential units adjacent to the slum as housemaid. It is reported that these children often faces sexual harassment by male employee like caretaker, driver etc. Sometime it turns to scandal and they loose their jobs. One incidence is reported when the young son of the landlord was involved.

Children in the slum sleep with their parents in the same room. Taking some lesson from the parents they try to apply with other children of the slum. These children learn violence from an early age and often have homosexual relations. They are growing up with deviated sexual behavior, created due to lack of space and facilities. Children become easily lure with sweets or money. Lustful person of slum or outsider take this opportunity. It is observed that if the child protest they receive abuses and insults. This pain is difficult to quantify.

(f) Child labour:

Child labour in Jheelpar slum is no exception in comparison to the picture of the whole country. From CUS study, there are 58 lacs children of Bangladesh are working at different sector. Among which 30 lacs are working in agricultural sector and 28 lacs in other sectors.

Child labour has been recognized as a source of abuse and exploitation of the child rights. But unfortunately, child labour is increasing due to poverty in our country. It has become a serious problem for the whole nation. Due to increasing child labour, illiteracy is also increasing proportionately in the Dhaka city.

In the Jheelpar slum children are 28.70% of the whole slum population. Out of this, around 40 percent of the children are working at different sectors. Children of the Jheelpar slum are employed in works like domestic works, brick breaking, garment factories, tea stall, hotels, pulling goods in markets, picking etc. Sometimes parents are not aware about the hard work of their children. Because most of the parents go to work place in the morning and come back in the evening. Some children work at

construction site for brick breaking with their parents. Some children are engaged in markets for pulling goods and others engaged as pickers. They earn and spend their earnings. They do not contribute anything to their family.

(g) Violence:

Violence in the slum is also a common occurrence. Small incidents turn into violence. Mostly young male members are involved in the violence. The incidents of quarrellings, theft occurrences, gambling, women repression, child abuse etc. some times turn to violence. Sometime male and female members are injured seriously and they are taken to hospital out of such occurrence. In each month on an average 3 to 4 incidents turn to violence. Behind the violence sometime involvement of the "matbar" is found. Sometime "matbar" also take initiative to administer the violence.

7.4 Power wielders:

Another scene of the Jheelpar slum is the outrageous activity of some musclemen or power-wielders on these poor earning group. Although these power wielders are very few in number, they have tremendous influence on the slum dwellers. They influence and harass the slum people socially, financially and politically, whenever needed by them.

Social harassment by the power wielders:

These influential men very frequently interfere with different social events of the slum people. It is observed that these men sometime force the parents to marry his young daughter. Sometime they use their muscle power to the parents for forceful marriage of their daughter to a selected person. Some of the power wielders off and on

get involve in quarreling with different slum family. They bring outsiders for gambling inside the slum area and sometime they take liquor etc.

These power wielders sometimes forcefully try to establish illegal relation with young housewives and daughters of the slum dwellers. The helpless dwellers silently bear this kind of intolerable torture.

Financial harassment by the power wielders:

Financially the power wielders oppress the slum family in many direction. During new settlement of a hut by any family or any extension of an existing hut, they demand subscription from the dwellers. Otherwise they do not allow them to do so. They threat to evict the family. Sometime they forcefully demand general subscription from all the families with reasoning religious or political issues.

Political harassment by the power wielders:

Politically they sometime force the slum dwellers to join political meetings, function, strike etc, as per their will. In the political gathering of big parties they supply men and women from the slum by truck and buses. Although they commit financially for joining the meeting but mostly they deprive them. As a result the poor dwellers loose earning from their workplace. During national election the slum dwellers are forced to cast their vote as per the political selection of the power wielders.

Conclusion

In fine, we can say that we have narrated the ethnographic accounts of the slum dwellers of a slum of Dhaka city in the previous chapters. We have tried to highlight the major aspects of their life and living in the present study.

We have begun with the investigation of the causes of migration of the households and the process of settlement of them in this slum known as Jheelpar slum. The investigation shows that both the push and pull factors are responsible for their mobility (migration) from rural to the urban areas and the Jheelpar slum grew as a result of this rural-urban migration.

This study further shows that majority of the slum dwellers of Jheelpar slum have moved (migrated) from Barisal and Mymensingh districts. River-erosion have made many people homeless specially in Barisal district and these people have ultimately migrated to Dhaka city and many households have settled in this slum.

They live in small huts which they themselves have built in the process of settlement. They call their huts as *juphries* and as they have constructed them by their family labour, they also own them. Their food habit and calorie intake has been described in one of the previous chapters. It has found that their average calorie intake is much below the normal, what they require. They cannot afford what they need. They have, however, fulfilled their need, of clothes by collecting second hand foreign clothes (bought at a cheaper price) and by collecting clothes from nearby residential quarters of rich people. The study shows that about 30% of the population of Dhaka city are slum dwellers, whereas they occupy only 3% to 4% of the residential

area. This example is enough to understand the miserable housing condition in which the slum-dwellers live.

The present study reveals that the slum dwellers are traditional in their habits and attitude. They are traditional with respect to their religion, beliefs and rituals. But with regard to their marriage and family life, they have become much liberal and they are less rigid in traditional *purdah* because of women's involvement in remunerative work. This is the change, that has taken place after their settlement in the slum. They have become more used to urban life and begin accepting urban values and norms of behavior. For example, free mixing has become now common among them and marriages take place with a very short notice but it does not last long.

The slum dwellers are landless. Most of them earn their livelihood from earth-work, rickshaw pulling, brick breaking etc. However, some female members work in the garment factories of city and thus earn their livelihood. Some of the males work as hawkers and some of the females also work as part-time housemaids. Construction work is also a major source of their income. After settlement in the slum they get a job in the informal sector almost immediately. This is mainly because of the operation of social networking. But the average wage of these people is low and they, therefore, live below the poverty line. They hardly get job in the formal sector. It is very difficult to improve their present socio-economic condition under the present urban power structure.

The slum dwellers are also living in a very unhygienic condition. They have no access in the basic utility services. The general condition of health and sanitation is very poor. It is far from satisfactory.

The study further reveals that because of diversified immunization programme by Govt. and NGO's mortality rate is now low among the infants and children. But members of the slum suffer from different diseases. Hundred percent of them are suffering from mal-nutrition. Ninety percent children of the slum are becoming literate to "the sense, and they are learning alphabets & numbers. But among the older generation fifty percent are completely illiterate.

Anti social activities among the slum dwellers are seen. Due to lack of awareness they are involving with, and committing different types of anti social activities. But these are not very significant with comparison to those of the wider society. The capital city of Dhaka is expanding very fast and the slum-population is also increasing at the same rate. There is hardly any initiative from any quarter to improve the condition of their life and living.

Glossary:

<i>ajan</i>	- Summon to Muslim Prayer
<i>bandhak</i>	- Mortgage
<i>bastee</i>	- Slum
<i>birani</i>	- Cooked rice with sliced meat
<i>hiri</i>	- A kind of indigenous cigar made of leaf and tobacco
<i>durga</i>	- Who is represented as a ten-armed Goddess.
<i>darga sharif</i>	- The graveyard of a religious personality
<i>dhup</i>	- Incense, resin
<i>eid</i>	- A very special day of Muslim festival.
<i>firani</i>	- A ritual in which bride groom come back to paternal house from Father-in-law's house after the marriage ceremony.
<i>Fakir</i>	- Beggar
<i>gin</i>	- Genie
<i>gae-halud</i>	- a ritual in which a bridegroom smeared with turmeric.
<i>hindu</i>	- The religious tenets the Hindus
<i>hogla</i>	- A species of long dry grass used for sheds.
<i>islam</i>	- Mohammedanism
<i>imam</i>	- A Muslim leader who leads in the prayer.
<i>jhupries</i>	- Shanties, shacks, huts
<i>jheelpar</i>	- Bank of a lake
<i>jumma</i>	- Prayer by the Muslim people at Friday noon
<i>jeelapi</i>	One sort of sweets.
<i>kaviraj</i>	- Ayurvedic practitioners physician.
<i>kazi</i>	- An authorised person who conduct the marriage

<i>kheer or pies</i>	- Sweetmeats
<i>kulkhani</i>	- Followed by a prayer after the death of a Muslim
<i>khas land</i>	- Govt./private land
<i>kutchra</i>	- Temporary
<i>ludu</i>	- One type of indoor game.
<i>lungi</i>	- National cloth of Bangladeshi men
<i>madrassa</i>	- A place or institute where Muslim children's are taught
<i>mazar sharif</i>	- The graveyard of a religious personality
<i>maktab</i>	- Religious education centre of the Muslim children
<i>matabar</i>	- Headman
<i>milad mahfil</i>	- A religious function in which people pray for any special purpose
<i>moulana</i>	- The person who teaches the children in Arabic
<i>niramish</i>	- A diet of vegetable food
<i>pari</i>	- Fairy
<i>prodip</i>	- Candle light
<i>Pantha</i>	- Washy or watery food (rice mixed with water)
<i>pardah</i>	- Veil
<i>quran</i>	- The holy book of Muslim
<i>ramadam</i>	- The Muslim month of fasting
<i>rickshaw</i>	- Pulling cart.
<i>sardar</i>	- Leader
<i>shalish</i>	- Judgement of culprits by the local headman and other important persons.
<i>sraddha</i>	- A ritual which take place after the death of Hindu people.
<i>samity</i>	- Co-operative society.
<i>sad</i>	- A ritual take place before delivery

- sadka* - Sacrifice of animals offering to the Almighty.
- sari* - National cloth of Bangladeshi women.
- salwar* - Wearing of women for the lower part.
- ulu* - A sound uttered by women on Hindu festive occasions.
- walima* - Bridegrooms reception party.

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CHILDRENS OF JHEELPAR SLUM



JHEELPAR SLUM



NEWLY MARRIED COUPLE



A FAMILY OF JHEELPAR SLUM



FEMALE SHOP KEEPER



CARPENTER



FEMALE EARTH WORKERS



A MOTHER IS POURING WATER BY A MILK POT DURING FEVER



WEMEN WASLING AND COLLECTING DRAIN WATER



A PATIENT OF MALNURTITION



A "KUTTCHA" TOILET.



A GIRL SUFFERING FROM CHICKEN POX



CHILDREN INFORT OF A SCHOOL



A MOTHER COOKING WITH HER NEW BORN BABY



A JAUNDICE PATIENT



A MAN WEAVING AND ENJOYING MUSIC



INFANTS TAKING PANTHA



SOME FEMALE PLAYING LUDU



SOME MALE PLAYING CARDS.

HEAD MAN OF JHEELPAR SLUM



SEWING AT LEISURE BY FEMALE

