

**EDUCATED UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM
IN BANGLADESH :
A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY**

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সেবাগার

**DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF DHAKA
1993**

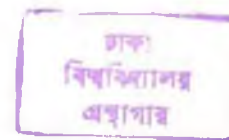
**EDUCATED UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM
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A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY

ROFIQUL ISLAM

**A Thesis Submitted
To The University of Dhaka For The Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

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DECLARATION

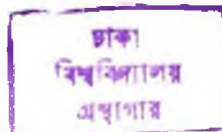
The material embodied in this thesis is original and has not been submitted in part or full for any other diploma or degree of any University.

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The present study has its origin in the study and analysis I was engaged in during the session 1986-87 while undergoing masters course in the Institute for Development Policy and Management, University of Manchester, England.

There was a separate module on Educational Planning and Development in the Department of Education of the same University. I am immensely grateful to Dr. R Carmen, my academic supervisor during that period, who opened my eyes on the social inequality in receiving education, the skill mismatch and the resultant widespread unemployment of the educated prevailing throughout the developing countries. Since then I have never ceased to think about the existing disparity and the disturbing paradox that while the education system is highly subsidised and run by huge investment of public money, the benefits accrue to the rich elite of the society and the skills generated by the educational institutions do not match with the skills required by the society, leaving the millions of educated people unemployed. I am also greatly indebted to Dr. Petemann, Dr. Joseph Mullen,

David Marshal and Lloyd Edmond who also assisted me during that time with affectionate and painstaking care. My everlasting debt to them can not be redeemed by mere words of thanks and gratitude.

This preliminary teachings and thoughts started haunting me with the tenacity to consider educated unemployment problem of Bangladesh as the burning problem of the present and would like to remain so in future also if measures are not identified to effectively combat this sociological aspect.

After my return to Bangladesh on completion of my studies abroad, I was sincerly looking for an opportunity for further carrying out research into the subject. I deem it my academic duty to record that my supervisors Professor Emajuddin Ahmed, Vice-Chancellor, University of Dhaka and Professor Anwarullah Chowdhury, Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences and Chairman, Department of Anthropology rendered active assistance, sincere guidance and affectionate care, without which it would not have been possible to undertake this study. It is needless to mention that I am very much grateful to both of them, who were kind enough to supervise the present work. My words will eventually fail to express my thankfulness for their everlasting affection, invaluable advice and sincere assistance. Thier encouraging interest, enormous patience and continuous guidance enabled me to complete the study.

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I also deem it a profound privilege of having easy access to the University Grants Commission, Bangladesh Institute for Development Studies, Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, Bangladesh Rural Development Academy, National Institute of Local Government, Public Service Commission and other local Institutions for collection of national level data and other references.

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And last, but not the least, I wish to thank my wife Nilufar and daughter Rupam and son Rupel for their love, patience and understanding during my work, when my pre-occupation with research often made me unable to give them the love, affection and time they so earnestly deserved.

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Rofiqul Islam

the educational institutions have stimulated the aspiration of many young people for a kind of life and work they will never actually achieve. This growing gap between the aspirations and the existing opportunities has engendered great strains in many developing countries including Bangladesh resulting in millions of young educated people unemployed.

During the early Sixties and Seventies, confidence in education was at its euphonic high. Educational expansion was regarded as the main means of promoting development. Considering formal education as an engine of economic growth, both developed and developing countries started investing in education to achieve myriad of economic, political and cultural objectives. Educational system throughout the world began a process of expansion of education which had no precedence in the history. Enrolment doubled, budgetary expenditure rose at even faster rate and education emerged as the largest local industry in many countries. The rapid expansion of education was strongly motivated by both human right and economic considerations.

It was believed that the emergence of skilled manpower would stimulate economic growth, remove social inequality and eradicate poverty. Educational policy makers in the developing countries projected a mode of optimism concerning the continuity of

expansion of educational opportunity and the contribution of schooling in social and economic development. Most developing countries including Bangladesh invested more for the expansion of formal education but the expanded formal education system could not produce skills corresponding to the need of the respective societies. Apart from the serious imbalances between the skills generated by the educational systems and actual needs of most developing countries, educational systems are often ill-conceived and not adapted to the development needs. Education apparently promised for equal opportunities to the people, but failed to narrow down the distribution of income between the rich and the poor. Thus formal education systems could not meet the needs of the poor majority and bring about the higher standard of living. The magnitude of educated unemployment problem, particularly in Bangladesh, has become very severe in the recent years. Therefore, the formal education system seems to have utterly failed to produce skilled manpower according to the needs of the society resulting in millions of educated people unemployed. Educated unemployment problem in Bangladesh is a gigantic problem of the present which is likely to remain so in future also unless necessary measures are adopted to combat the same. I propose to investigate into the problem of unemployment of the educated and the related issues with particular reference to Bangladesh in the present research.

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Philip Coombs (1985) observed that since 1964, all countries have undergone great environmental changes, brought about by a number of concurrent world-wide revolutions in science and technology, economics and political affairs and in demographic and social structures. Educational systems have also grown and changed rapidly but perhaps could not adapt to the pace of environmental and social changes.

While education has been considered as the prime creator and conveyor of knowledge, it has failed to apply to its own inner life the research functions it performs for the society at large and failed to infuse the teaching profession with new knowledge and methods that are required to remove disparity between educational performance and needs of the society.

The campaign for universal primary education could not achieve its desired result. The rate of growth of enrolments began to fall by 1965. Primary school enrolments failed to keep pace with population growth, contributing to an increase in the number of illiterates. Evidence suggests that expansion of formal education not only inhibited economic growth but also contributed to economic inequality. Formal education provided skills for urban jobs and neglected rural development or rural sector

employment skills. Students from poor families in most cases failed to continue education at the tertiary level. The poor were usually asked to believe that they were inferior. They failed to be promoted from one class to the other. Educational systems, on the whole are characterized by inefficiency with the schools indicating high dropout rates, imbalance between aspirations and opportunities and inequalities in the distribution of educational opportunities (Coombs Philip, 1985:27).

Formal education (expanded rapidly during the 1960s) has proved to be expensive, inefficient and inequitable. The cost of education kept the poor out and evidence shows that the children of upper income class received the benefits of schooling than those of their poor rural counterparts.

The labour force in most developing countries is increasingly characterized by unemployment. The rate of unemployment sharply increased among the educated. Blaug (1980 : 149) argued that the public subsidies to promote education always result in excess demand for education and hence in an excess supply of educated manpower. Modern wage employment sector is limited in size to absorb all the educated people and therefore, it gave rise to severe educated unemployment problem.

The world as a whole is facing a grave unemployment problem. In Africa, Asia and Latin America, no less than 40-45 percent of the work force is either unemployed or underemployed causing great under utilisation of human resources. The projected increase in the labour force for the Third World countries (in the period between 1980 and the year 2000) will be from 40 million to 700 million. This is particularly serious, when it is realised that between now and the end of the century, some 700 million young people will be looking for work on top of the 1200 to 1300 million people in the existing labour force (Farooq M.Gazi, 1985: 78).

One of the features of unemployment is the large number of individuals usually educated youth of 15-24 age group. They form the bulk of the unemployed population seeking employment for their survival.

The pattern of works is changing. People were mainly engaged in agricultural work until eighteenth century, which declined sharply throughout nineteenth and twentieth century. Educated people found very low esteem in agricultural activities and preferred to be engaged in manufacturing and other production services. There are strong signs that industrial sector will continue due to interplay of demographic technological and other factors accompanying sharp increase in self employment.

The World Employment Programme of the International Labour Organisation identified the unemployment problem as the problem of poverty. Blaug (1980:72) pointed out that the World Employment Programme had its original objective to persuade low-income countries to make maximum employment a central goal of economic policy but this objective has been replaced by one which seeks to emphasize poverty as the crucial problem. The employment problem is therefore primarily a problem of inadequate income and secondarily one of insufficient work opportunities. It is argued that the ultimate objective should be to provide gainful employment or jobs which yield enough income to sustain a minimum standard of living. The question naturally arises whether education can play effective role in eradicating poverty. It may be argued that the poverty is apparently a problem indirectly affected by education. It may be assumed therefore that there exists scope for educational policies to make an impact on poverty problem.

In the past, primary school leavers and secondary school leavers constituted the bulk of the educated unemployed in many less developed countries. In the last decade, however university graduates have joined the ranks of the unemployed in some countries. In Srilanka, the problem is largely one of unemployment among secondary school leavers, while in Kenya, on

the other hand, it is primary school leavers who constitute the bulk of the educated unemployed. In the Philippines, a general employment rate of 8 percent in 1965 is combined with rates of 55 percent for those with primary education, 26 percent for those with high school education and 13 percent for those with College education. In India, according to government estimate in 1978, 700,000 graduates have been looking for jobs and their number was increasing by 150,000 each year (Coombs Philip, 1985 : 198).

There is a tragic irony about high unemployment among the educated youth of Asia; the rate of unemployment tends to be highest for those with most years of education. The sub-Saharan countries after independence concentrated on building up the tiny modern sector which failed to absorb fully the enlarged number of educated young people. By 1980, the problem reached disturbing proportions in practically all of these new African nations. Similarly, Latin American countries also experienced in varying degrees the painful problems of educated unemployment by the late 1970s and early 1980s.

A recent study (Leonor MD, 1985 : 1-8) on unemployment problem of educated youth in Tanzania, Egypt, the Philippines and Indonesia revealed that in appropriateness of the type of education is the major cause of widespread unemployment among

school leavers and University graduates in developing countries. Both Columbia and Kenya report prepared by the International Labour Organization also expressed the view that the problem of educated unemployment is essentially one of the mismatch between the job expectations generated by the traditional education system and job opportunities provided by the labour market. In the supply side, most developing countries have experienced rising enrolments, particularly in Secondary and Higher Secondary education over the last 10 or 15 years. Enrolments are determined by the proportion of the national budget allocated to education, which is in turn influenced by the private demand to education and the rising school age population. In the 1950s and 60s, the principal rationale for the rapid expansion of higher education was manpower forecasting. The long term forecast in Africa, Asia and Latin America revealed an enormous shortage of Secondary and Higher educated manpower. The developing countries gave a high priority for expansion of education, boosted up their output of students at all levels rapidly which produced large supply of educated young people. In the last few years, a sense of disillusionment with manpower forecasting has gradually spread throughout the world because of inability of economic structure to absorb educated people into employment.

In demand side, the leading approach is the rate of return analysis or cost-benefit analysis. In practice, the benefits of

education in rate of return analysis are taken to be extra earnings that typically accrue to people with additional earnings or higher salaries, while the cost of education is largely borne by the society. Public subsidies to education always result in excess demand for education. Education continues to be a privately profitable investment far beyond the point at which it has ceased to be socially profitable. Private rates of return to education everywhere exceed social rates of return and greater visibility of the earnings of those who are employed, exaggerates the profitability of more education which increased demand for education. Consequently increased demand for education results in enormous supply of educated youth. Evidence suggests that unemployment tends to be always greater among the people with more schooling than those with little or no schooling at all. Then it is difficult to deny the argument that additional schooling aggravates the employment problem by raising unrealistic aspirations beyond all hopes of satisfying them and imparting wrong skills or attitude¹.

1. The present education system tends to raise high aspiration among the students attaining higher education. They find agriculture and related economic activities as low esteem and remain unemployed for unlimited period, until they get jobs of their own choice and expectation. The education system generates false hopes and dreams among the students which they will never actually achieve.

The effect of rapid population growth is also a factor to be considered. A population growing at 2 percent or more may have an age distribution in which half of the population is 15 years old and 60 percent is less than 25 years old². The rate of educated unemployment is bound to be higher and school age population will constitute rising percentage of the labour force. Finally, labour market itself is a contributing factor. Employers will always prefer to recruit experienced and more educated people. The students are therefore motivated to acquire extra education in order to compete better. It can be argued that if the labour market is poorly organised and employers show unwillingness to appoint youngsters and seek experience and more education, a sustained expansion of education at accelerated rate will necessarily result in relatively high rates of educated unemployment.

2. When this research was undertaken in 1988, the population growth rate of Bangladesh was 2.18 percent. The present population growth rate of Bangladesh is however 2.17 percent (Statistical Pocket Book of Bangladesh 1991:3)

The magnitude of the problem of unemployment and under employment of Bangladesh

According to the census of 1974 only 2.4 percent of the total labour force of Bangladesh was found unemployed. This figure is even lower in the population census report of 1980 and 1991.

The definition of employment thus rested only on 'usual status' and specified no minimum period of employment necessary to be classified as employed. This naturally resulted in an extremely high percentage of employment. Those engaged in 'unpaid family help' constituted a large segment of the agricultural labour force, and by the definition used, fell in the category of 'employed' irrespective of whether they worked in the field for a single day or throughout the year³.

3. The basic explanation for such low estimates of unemployment lies in the definition of employment adopted by the census. Two questions were asked to all adult (aged 10 years and above) individuals :

(i) 'Were you working for profit or to earn wages or salary or helping any member of the family in the farm work during the last week?'

(ii) 'If not working at present, are you looking for work?' An affirmative answer classified the person as 'unemployed', and a negative one threw him outside the labour force.

Although the seriousness of the problem of agricultural or rural unemployment or underemployment is no longer debated, it is very difficult to come by any reliable estimate of the magnitudes involved. Quite a number of estimates are, however, available by now. While most of these estimates are available in percentage terms, they could be applied to the relevant labour force estimates to obtain the absolute magnitudes. The various estimates are presented in Table 1.1.

A few comments about the data presented in the table are in order. First, most of the estimates presented here deal with the agricultural sector alone, and more specifically, with crop production. Activities of the rural population of Bangladesh do not, however, remain confined to crop production or to agricultural operations only; they may extend to non-agricultural activities like improvement of rural infra-structure, small trade and so on. Hence, any guess about the magnitude of rural unemployment from the figures presented should be made with caution.

Table 1.1

Various Estimates of Agricultural-Rural Unemployment in Bangladesh (In percentage)

Source of finding	Late 1950's	Period (in millions)			
		1960- 1961	1964- 1965	1969- 1970	1974
1. Dhaka University Socio-Economic Survey Board	30.00 (5.42)	-	-	-	-
2. Rajshahi University Socio-Economic Survey Board	-	20.00 (3.61)	-	-	-
3. Habibullah, M.	-	25.00 (4.51)	-	-	-
4. Stern, J.J	-	34.00 (6.14)	30.00 (6.41)	32.40 (7.44)	-
5. F.A.O.	-	-	-	32.00 (7.47)	35.60 (8.73)
6. Robinson, W.C.	-	20.00 (3.61)	-	-	-
7. Muqtada, M.	-	-	-	39.80 (9.15)	35.70 (8.73)
8. Rabbani A.K.M.G.	-	-	40.00 (8.32)	-	-
9. B.I.D.S.	-	-	-	-	28.00 (6.86)
10. Masum, M.	-	28.14 (5.08)	-	-	-

Source: From 1 to 9, Alangir, M., Rural and Urban Unemployment and Underemployment and Educated Unemployment in Bangladesh : Concept Magnitude Policies. (Mimeo). BIDS, Dhaka, 1976. For 10, Unemployment and Underemployment in Agriculture : Case Study of Bangladesh. Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, University of Delhi, 1977.

Second, and more interesting is the variation in the percentage of unemployment found by different estimates. It may be mentioned here that while some of the estimates presented here are based on micro-level data, others are based on national data. And it is quite possible that estimates based on one type may differ from those based on another. Some of the variation may also be due to difference in the time period involved. But the more fundamental cause of the variation may lie in the different concept involved and the consequent differences in the methods used.

Third, an important factor which characterizes agricultural activities is seasonality. Labour requirement in agriculture does vary substantially between peak and slack seasons, and with that may vary the gainful employment opportunities of agricultural workers. This fact becomes all the more important because labour applied in one season cannot act as a substitute for that applied in another. Hence, the blanket terms like agricultural unemployment or underemployment should be treated with caution, unless any reference is made to seasonal variation. Such aggregate figures (as presented in Table 1.1) therefore, do not carry much significance especially if one is concerned with employment policies.

Even a great deal less is known about urban unemployment than is the case with the agricultural sector. The data presented by Iftikhar Ahmed (1974:193), although not up-to-date, is known to be one of the few well organized findings in the field. Table 1.2 provides a summary of the data presented by Ahmed.

It is seen from this table that the latest year for which information is available is 1965 ; and very little is known about how the demand for and supply of labour have behaved in these cities after 1965, Alamgir(1976), has used these figures along with the population of 1974 to arrive at a tentative estimate of the urban unemployed. They have provided three estimates-high, low and medium- for the year 1974. The respective figures are 1.15, 0.48 and 0.65 million.

estimated that of the total urban population in 1974 at least 39.36 percent came from the rural areas. It is thus clear that the supply of labour force in cities must have grown at a very high rate during 1965-1974.

On the other hand, it is difficult to see how the demand for labour could have matched this rapid increase in supply for at least two reasons. First, the elasticities of employment in large and medium-scale industries have been found to be small during mid and late sixties. Second, small scale industries, a potential source of demand for labour, grew at a much smaller rate than the population growth rate. Moreover, it is also unlikely that the government sector has been able to expand employment at a rate required to absorb the residual job-seekers. Hence, the picture of urban unemployment must be much gloomier today than may appear from the figures presented above.

It may, of course, be argued that not all whose employment status could not be explained are unemployed; it is quite possible that a substantial part of them may end up as self-employed in the so-called urban 'informal sector'. But it must be remembered that many of the activities classified as informal sector are characterised by very low productivity and low income. And a large number of those engaged in such activities would be available for work if more productive job could be found for them.

With regard to unemployment of the educated, a fairly exhaustive account is available in the Planning Commission documents⁵. According to these studies, about 48 percent of the educated job-seekers (defined as all economically active persons with S.S.C. degree or higher qualifications) in Bangladesh were unemployed in June 1978, which marks an increase of about 4 percent in unemployment for the same categories of persons over June 1973 levels. Table 1.3 brings out the picture clearly.

5. According to the Planning Commission, the 1974 labour force participation rate was underestimated on account of a serious underestimation of the Female labour force which was due to an incorrect census classification. The Commission put the figure for labour force participation rate at 30.15% for 1974 which is estimated to have increased to 31.5% in 1980 (Draft Second Five Year Plan, Ch. vi P.2). The figure however rose to 43.9% in 1986 (Statistical Pocket Book of Bangladesh 1991).

Table 1.3

Employment and Unemployment among the Educated in Bangladesh.

(Figures in thousand)

Year	Educated Job-aspi- rants	Appropriate placements	Inappropriate placements	Wholly Unemployed	Rate of Unemploy- ment
1973	1,088	421	189	478	44%
1978	1,390	549	175	665	48%

Source : Manpower Section, Planning Commission, Government of People's Republic of Bangladesh, Employment Market for the Educated in Bangladesh, Dhaka, 1974; Employment Performance of the Bangladesh Economy with Regard to Educated Manpower during the First Five Year Plan Period (1973-78), Dhaka June, 1978.

The Planning Commission studies point out that posts against which a deficit was indicated were not in fact kept unfilled but were filled by persons with inappropriate and unprescribed educational qualifications. On this basis it is seen that of the total number of 1,088 thousand educated job-seekers in 1973, 421

thousand were absorbed in occupation appropriate to their educational background, 189 thousand were inappropriately placed and 478 thousand were unemployed. The number of job-aspirants rose to 1,390 thousand in 1978 while the numbers of appropriate placement, inappropriate placement and wholly unemployed were 549 thousand, 175 thousand and 665 thousand respectively in that year. It is thus clear that the problem of unemployment of the educated has already reached grave dimensions.

According to Public Service Commission estimates, approximately 8.7 million educated unemployed people are seeking jobs in the country (Public Service Commission Annual Year Book :1990). It is reasonable to think that the actual number will be much higher than mentioned in the report.

Educated unemployment of such high magnitude with no signs of diminishing demands adequate measures to combat the prevalent alarming situation.

Literature Review in the field

Although no serious attempt has so far been made to study educated unemployment problem in Bangladesh, many scholars have carried out research work in order to assess unemployment problem in general. Social Science Research Council of the Planning Commission (Sponsored by UNESCO) conducted field survey in 4 selected areas of Bangladesh for identifying literacy rates, household economy, demographic aspects, employment and occupation level of the youths and role of youth in national development (Rahim Khan & Rowsonazzaman: 1985). The report mainly deals with the problems and issues regarding the youths of Bangladesh, but it does not contain comprehensive analysis of educated unemployment problem now prevailing in Bangladesh. The report also contains prospects of students' participation in national politics and sports & cultural activities and points out frustration and social consequences caused due to unemployment of the youth but lack elaborate study of the problem for enabling policy makers to find solution to the problems of the educated unemployed. The researches have thus failed to suggest measures to solve this gigantic problem. They have also not been able to find out correlation between education, employment and social structure.

In 1982, a study on the relationship between higher education and employment was undertaken for the first time in Bangladesh⁶. The study explored the relationship between the unemployment of graduates and the development of higher education in both quantitative and qualitative terms. Keeping in view the fact that higher education and employment in Bangladesh represents a critical area of study with an important bearing in both economic and social development of the country, this study was of special significance to planners and policy makers. This study was a timely venture, as the number of educated unemployed and inappropriately employed has been rising at an alarming rate in Bangladesh. But the method adopted by the project may not be acceptable to many scholars in the field. The researcher, instead of carrying out in-depth field survey, depended heavily on the data collected by another project namely, "The Lobar Market Adjustment Process". The preliminary results of the study were the subject of review at a national work, attended by a large number of educational decision makers of the country.

6. This was the result of a cooperative research project between the International Institute for Educational Planning, Paris and the National Foundation for Research on Human Resource Development (NFRHRD) of Bangladesh (M. Shamsul Haq & others : 1983).

Such study is far from accurate and detailed one. This is not an exhaustive study as there is no mention of existing social structure and its effect on education. However this study may be regarded as a pioneer work for future researchers.

Mr. Habibullah⁷, undertook the research work in 1961-62 as a part of the research programme of the University of Dhaka with the financial assistance of the Ford foundation. Mr. Habibullah carried out intensive survey of one village in a particularly densely populated area. The report presents the results of the study of a village situation through an intensive field investigation and an attempt has been made to analyse the two important facets of underemployment in agriculture, namely disguised unemployment and seasonal unemployment. But this study is all about estimation of agricultural or rural unemployment and underemployment and does not refer to educated unemployment problem.

In 1972, Burea of Economic Research, University of Dhaka undertook the study on the employment problems of the natural science trained manpower in Bangladesh with the financial support of the National Manpower Council (A Faruk & others : 1972).

7. Mr. Habibullah is the Professor of Department of Commerce, University of Dhaka,

This study indicated that at present there is some cause to feel frustrated about the worthwhile employment of natural science trained manpower. This is a paradox, because we have a very small science trained manpower and science education is at least more costly than Arts education. The employment prospect in the present stage of our economic development is rather limited. This study suggests that expansion of higher education in natural science should be made keeping an eye on the actual need of trained manpower. This is a well comprehensive study, but related to the employment prospect of science trained manpower only. This study does not contain any reference of unemployment of urban unemployment and rural unemployment. The study has therefore dealt with one aspect of unemployment only.

There have been number of World Bank Publications on the education and employment. Notable World Bank research publication is *'Employment Policy in Developing Countries'* (Lyn squire ; 1981). This book was originally written as a background study for the World Development Report 1979 addressed to the problem of industrialization and urban development. Low rates of growth in industrial employment, high rates of unemployment for new entrants to the urban labour market and low levels of labour productivity and remuneration are the three issues discussed in the book. Square's policy discussion is concerned with

identifying the more important determinants of labour demand and supply and inappropriate policies. Although attention has been focussed on population and education policy, the findings are not supported by empirical illustrations. Moreover this book speaks of employment policy in developing countries in general and does not contain anything about existing employment situation of Bangladesh.

Sector Working Paper on Education was published by the World Bank in 1974. It has been pointed out that the developing countries have greatly expanded their educational system over the past quarter of a century, but much of the expansion has been misdirected. The results are seen in one of the most disturbing paradoxes: while millions of people from among the educated are unemployed, millions of jobs are waiting to be done because the people with the right education, training and skills can not be found. This paper raised several questions: How can educational systems be reshaped to help the poorest segments of society? How can education contribute to rural development and thus respond to the needs and aspirations of the vast majority of the poor living in the villages? How can educational opportunities be made more equal in order to promote social mobility in countries where educational systems have hitherto favoured the urban dwellers and the relatively rich? This is a well written theoretical paper

which lacks documentation of ground level information and the study is not evidenced by any field work. This book contains general comments which do not fully commensurate to the social condition prevailing in Bangladesh.

In the book '*Education and the employment problem in developing countries*' Mark Blaug⁸ (M. Blaug: 1973) assesses the responsibilities of educational authorities in the employment problem of less development countries. Are there reasons to think that the quantity and quality of education in these countries have a significant impact on their employment problem? If so, how can educational systems be reformed so as to maximise the rate of growth of income-earning opportunities? Which policies are actually feasible in the light of different national conditions?

These questions are tackled in this book but this book is not related with social conditions and present economic and cultural conditions of Bangladesh.

8. Mark Blaug, Professor of the University of London, Institute of Education and London School of Economics, is one of the world's leading specialists in the economics of education and in educational planning in general.

Martin Carnoy has stressed on manpower planning and largely talked about non-industrialized economy faced by an apparent 'excess' of highly schooled labour (M. Carnoy: 1977). The author agrees that the unemployment problem is actually a problem of poverty. Rapid Population growth, rapid urbanisation and the high rates of the labour force are part of a complex socio-economic situation that may be summarily described as an employment crisis, manifested partly by a relatively high rate of open unemployment particularly in urban areas, but also by extensive under employment and a low rate of participation. This book elaborately deals with educational planning and is therefore not pertinent to the educated unemployment problem alone and definitely not addressed to the widespread unemployment of educated being faced by the developing countries.

Martin Godfrey has written '*Global Unemployment*' (M. Godfrey: 1983). This book is a significant contribution to development and labour economics which focuses on economic theories of unemployment in the context of the modern world economy. Godfrey considers the classical theories of surplus population of Smith, Malthus, Ricardo and Marx; the neo-classical and Keynesian theories of unemployment in a matured capitalist economy. The contents of this book therefore are not applicable

for a developing country like Bangladesh. This book is not also addressed to the educated unemployment in particular.

Essays on World Education (George Z.F. Bereday, edited : 1969) assembles eighteen essays by a distinguished group of international educators addressed to various aspects of the growing crisis in world education. This book although offers analyses and propose solution to a number of specific problems, but it does not fully concentrate on the world-wide educated unemployment problem.

Tim sinkins has written '*Non-formal Education and Development*' highlighting the importance of Non-formal education (Tim Sinkins : 1976). This book provides a review of some of the literature on non-formal education in developing countries. This book has not made elaborate discussion on educated unemployment problem.

International labour office (ILO, Geneva) and UNESCO have also published articles about labour force management, urban informal sector and rural poverty in World Labour Report (1981-84), but none of these studies is related to educated

unemployment problem. Gary S. Becker⁹, wrote about investment of Human Capital, which stands as a land mark in analysing human capital and the concept of investment in improving the skills, knowledge and health of individual citizens has widespread implications for economic and social policy. But this book does not address to the educated unemployment problem in particular.

Philip H. Coombs, the author of the famous book *'The world crisis in Education'* (Coombs : 1985) has assessed the present state of world education and its prospects. The author states that the rapid growth of formal education is loosing momentum and the new name non-formal education is getting a vigorous boost. This is a significant book in the area but does not concentrate on Bangladesh situation.

'Learning to be, the world of education today and tomorrow', published by the UNESCO raised questions regarding various aspects of education. The book contains essays written by many scholars but does not refer to detailed study on educated unemployment problem.

Psacharopoulos (1973) has analysed investment choices in his book *'Education for Development'* and showed that the private rate -----
9. Professor of the University of Chicago and a recent Nobel laureate.

of return for primary education is 8 percent higher than its social rate of return, for secondary 4 percent higher and for higher education 10 percent higher, which follows that if educational facilities are expanded at a socially optimal rate and the social and private opportunity costs of capital are similar, the private demand for education will exceed public supply even if education is not regarded as a consumption good. This is a World Bank publication which discusses investment in education and other fundamental issues but do not merely concentrate on educated unemployed.

James Jennings (1990) has written the book named '*Adult Literacy : Master or Servant*'. This is a case study from Rural Bangladesh of integrating literacy activities with an overall effort to implement social and economic changes. He suggested for an interactive organic approach to development programmes and adult literacy initiatives. But nothing about unemployment problem in general has been mentioned.

Gravin Karuna Ratne (1984) has written '*Non-formal education Theory and Practice at Comilla*'. The book deals with the concept of non-formal education and education for development in the context of rural development practiced in the Comilla programme under the direction of Dr. Akhter Hameed Khan in the sixties. This book, though important one, does not deal with the educated unemployment problem.

Ellen Sattar (1982) has written '*Universal Primary Education in Bangladesh*'. It discusses the state of the present system, its functions, problems, curricula, teachers, administration policy and planning. This book describes several innovative approaches and suggests some courses of action to impress present situation. The issue of universalization has been fully discussed but at no stage of the book, the author has mentioned about educated unemployment problem.

Mary Warnock (1986) has written '*A common policy for Education*' in which mainly the structure of the curriculum has been discussed and nothing has been mentioned about unemployment problem of the educated.

'*Development and planning of Modern Education*' is a significant book in the field, written by J C Aggarwal (1982). Efforts have been made to discuss various education commission and development of education system in India, but the author has not thrown any light on educated unemployment problem.

Styrbjorn Gustavsson (1990) has written '*Primary Education in Bangladesh for whom?*' In this book the author examines the conditions for achieving universal primary education. This book concludes with a set of recommendations but does not refer to the unemployment problem.

Kazi Shahidullah (1987) is the author of a book entitled '*Patshalas into Schools*'. This book mainly concentrates on the systematic development of indigenous elementary education in Bangal from 1854 to 1905. The book presents a detailed investigation of the nature of education in the Patshalas in the late nineteenth century but it does not speak about unemployment problem.

Besides, sociologists and anthropologists have also conducted academic researches on the rural society of Bangladesh at the micor-level. They mainly deal with different aspects of social structure and stratification of rural Bangladesh. These studies, therefore, are not the studies on rural unemployment or educated unemployment. Even then, I have discussed these studies below to show the pattern of social structure and stratification of rural Bangladesh as depicted in these studies. The prominent among them are Mukherjee (1974), Qadir (1960), Bertocci (1978), Islam (1974), Wood (1976), Arens and Beurdens (1977) Chowdhury (1978), Adnan (1977), Howes (1979) Westergaard (1980), Shendal (1974) and Blanchet (1984) etc. A poineer work in this regard is '*Social Stratification in a Bangladesh village*'. This book is the outcome of intensive field work carried out by Professor Anwarullah chowdhury in 1973-74. The author has described the determinat factors responsible for the stratification pattern of

a village and showed how the stratification pattern has undergone changes over time. The main factor responsible for such a change are the social processes started by modern education, urbanization and industrialization.

The major sociological works on Bangladesh Society is '*Six villages of Bengal*' (1958) and '*The Dynamics of a Rural Society*' (1957) by RK Mukherjee. The former is a general description of social and economic life of six villages of Bogra districts based on empirical research. It provides a fairly comprehensive view of the economic structure of a district of rural Bengal.

The second study '*The Dynamics of a Rural Society*' is based on the empirical material and statistical data secured through various surveys. The materials from *six villages of Bengal* has also been drawn upon for this study. But both the books does not specifically deal with educated unemployment problem of Bangladesh.

Another major work on Bangladesh society is '*changing Society of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh*' (1956). Karim's book presents a general view of social change and social stratification in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, but it is not an exhaustive study of social structure of rural Bangladesh based on intensive field work.

'Agrarian Social Relations and Rural Development in Bangladesh' written by Anwarullah Chowdhury is another major work in the field. The author attempts to show hierarchial and unequal nature of relationships of agrarian classes and examines which social class monopolizes the benefits. The book suggests a new approach of rural development within the frame work of the present agrarian structure, but this book is also not about educated unemployment problem.

Professor Afsaruddin Ahmed (1979), based on the material of field survey of a Bangladesh village, has written 'Rural life in Bangladesh'. This book is about sociological analysis of rural life in Bangladesh and not about educated unemployment problem.

'Exploitation and The Rural Poor' edited by M. Ameerul Huq (1976) gives insight of rural power structure, class differentiation and effects of modernisation of agriculture. This book mentions many pertinent issues of village politics, economic activities and political and social organisations, but does not mention particularly about educated unemployment problem.

Objectives and importance of the study

The objectives of the present study are three - fold:
First, to find out the extent, magnitude and causes of educated

unemployment problem in Bangladesh; second, to examine the present education system of Bangladesh, and third, to identify the relationship between education and social structure with special reference to Bangladesh.

The resultant disparity between educational systems and their environments is the essence of the world-wide crisis in education. The benefits of formal educational systems accrue largely to the rich elites of the society and the poor people have hardly an access to higher education, but education is highly subsidised. The growing disparity among different classes with regard to education, output of the educational system, job opportunities in the modern sector and skill mismatch, will inevitably crack the frame of both educational system and the society. It is likely that the educational needs of national development will continue to grow and the pressures on demand side of the educational system will continue to build. Educational system of Bangladesh will consume resource which will be harder to get. Education is not only a consumption goods but also investment for economic development. But in reality, rapid expansion of education and huge investment in formal education have failed to fulfill the aspirations of the people of

Bangladesh and on the other hand have created economic inequality, serious imbalances and frustations. The structure of education, the contents of formal education and the curricula now prevailing in Bangladesh perhaps deserves immediate attention for modification and change. This study is therefore vitally important as it focuses on one of the burning social problem.

Methodology

I have mainly followed the method of social survey for the purpose of present research. After collecting national level data from secondary source for the problem of educated unemployment, I decided to collect primary data on the educated unemployment situation at the mirco-level, because without primary data such study would have been incomplete and meaningless. Therefore, I conducted a sample survey on this problem in Comilla district.

One union of Comilla sadar thana was selected as the basic unit of study. First I conducted a census of all the educated people of that union. On the basis of this census, I identified 2110 educated persons in that union, the level of education however varied from class VIII to master's level.

For the purpose of collecting indepth information from the educated unemployed persons, I selected 229 (15%) respondents from among them. So the sample size in this study was 229. These

229 samples were however selected on a random sampling basis. It was thought that if the sample size would have been more than 229, then it might have been unmanageable for the present research.

Questionnaire was prepared, pretested and finalised for the purpose of interview. One questionnaire was used for one respondent. Questionnaire was administered at the premise of respondent's household in an informal atmosphere. The questions were not directly asked; rather required information were gathered by informal discussion or gossip with the respondents.

I made several field trips to Durgapur North union for the purpose of present study. It was not always possible to collect all relevant information by questionnaire method. Therefore I had to depend on observation in the field. I therefore visited the people under study and tried to understand the problem through observation. Although this was non-participatory observation, yet I could gain deep insight into the present problem of the study by such field visits. Besides, I have also conducted 12 Case Studies to supplement information collected through other methods. Case Studies were extremely useful for the understanding and analysis of the present problem.

Finally, as mentioned earlier, I also collected information from relevant books and literature available in different libraries. For collecting some rare information on the subject, I visited United Kingdom for 18th July, 1988 to 18th October, 1988 and consulted relevant materials and gathered rare available literature and lots of information from the University of Manchester.

However I had wonderful experience while carrying out field work. Some innocent educated unemployed persons considered me as representative of the government who could provide them with gainful employment and asked me whether I could help them in finding out suitable jobs for them. Some people however expressed hostile attitude and refused to respond to my questions. In previous interviews with other researchers, they got the impression of getting jobs and finally they got nothing. Some respondents however did not show any interest for obtaining jobs. They expressed their interest for self-employment because according to their statement, they can possibly earn more by small scale trade or transport business.

Summary of the chapters

Chapter One, being introductory chapter, envisages to throw light on the gigantic educated unemployment problem prevailing throughout the developing countries including Bangladesh. In the first place, the problem of the present research has been described. This chapter also contains the background, scope and importance of the present study and the review of literature in the field.

Chapter Two attempts to analyse existing social structure and stratification of Bangladesh. Rural power structure, mode of production, social cleavage and status hierarchy have been described to bring home the age-old conflict between the poor and rich and effect of resultant exploitation of the poor and benefits of the present education system.

Chapter Three contains the present education system of Bangladesh and its critical review. Explosion of formal education, high budgetary allocation for higher education and the consequences of rural-urban disparity have also been examined.

Chapter Four deals with the existing employment situation with a view to identifying the characteristics of educated unemployeds of Bangladesh.

Chapter Five describes the socio-economic condition and educated unemployment problem in the study area. The contents of this chapter are the result of social survey of the educated unemployeds in the study area and relevant case studies.

And **Chapter Six** presents the concluding remarks.

CHAPTER TWO

SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND STRATIFICATION OF RURAL BANGLADESH

Introduction

The study of social structure and stratification of rural Bangladesh, though not directly related to the problem of educated unemployment, will perhaps assist us to understand the existing widespread disparity in receiving educational facilities between the rural people and their urban counterpart. We should first try to define the term 'Social Structure'. Many sociologists and social anthropologists have tried to give it a more precise meaning, but their conceptions of social structure diverge widely. Radcliffe-Brown (1964:191-2) regards all social relations of person to person as a part of the social structure. He goes on to say that the object which we attempt to describe and analyse is structural form ie, the general relationship, disregarding variations and the particular individuals involved. It is this structural form which most writers have designated social structure. Other writers have restricted the term to the more permanent and organised relationship in society. M. Ginsberg (Ibid:113) regards social structure as the complex of the principal groups and institutions. R.Firth (*Elements of Social Organization*, P.30) has proposed the term 'Social Organisation' which he defines as 'the systematic ordering of social relations by the acts of choice and decision.

A third approach, which defines social structure in a still more restricted way in the light of the notion of social role: it is exemplified by S.F.Nadel (*The Theory of Social Structure*) and H.Gerth & C.W.Mills (*Character and Social Structure*). Nadel (*op.cit.,p.12*) argues that, 'we arrive at the structure of a society through abstracting from the concrete population and its behaviour pattern. Similarly Gerth and Mills (*op.cit.,p.22-3*) say that the concept role is 'the key term in our definition of institution,' and just as role is the unit with which we build our connection of institution and so institution is which we build the conception of social structure. This latter account makes clear as is implied by Nadel, that the analysis of social structure in terms of social role is not fundamentally different from an analysis in terms of social institutions; for an institution is a complex or cluster of roles. T.B.Bottomore (1962:115-6) has pointed out that the existence of human society requires certain arrangement or processes. The minimum requirements seem to be :

- (i) a system of communication
- (ii) an economic system dealing with the production and allocation of goods
- (iii) arrangement (including the family and education) for the socialization of new generations,
- (iv) a system of authority and of distribution of power; and perhaps;

(v) a system of ritual, serving to maintain or increase social cohesion, and to give social recognition to significant personal events such as birth, puberty, courtship, marriage and death. The major institutions and groups are concerned with such basic requirements. From them, others may emerge, such as social stratification.

Bangladesh is predominantly rural and the majority of the population is concentrated in the rural areas and about 80 percent of the rural population live below the poverty line. The main economy of the rural mass is agriculture and almost all the rural population directly or indirectly associated with agriculture except the occupational groups who live by their traditional occupation. The principal means of production in Bangladesh is land and therefore, the agrarian population is divided into classes on the basis of ownership and non ownership of land. More than 50 per cent of the rural population is functionally landless in a situation where agricultural land is the principal source of production (A sectoral policy paper, Bangladesh Planning Commission :1984). In Bangladesh, we do not have many empirical studies regarding social class, nor do we have studies showing how people define their social and economic needs and the extent to which the people have fulfilled their needs. In the society, social

stratification has significant bearings upon how people live and interact with each other. From historical observation, it is certain that the people are stratified in some identifiable form (Karim :1976). Experiences suggest that such a stratification system has a direct bearing on the nature of formal or informal association, community activities, kin relationship, neighbourhood feelings, identification of various social and economic needs, attitude towards life, perception of future goals, aspirations, sense of participation, life style of people etc. It is also claimed that social class largely determines individuals personality, ideological orientation, physical and social capability. In the absence of many satisfactory empirical studies, it may however be stated that the basic elements of social stratification in a society are essentially occupation, educational level, political power, income, standard of living etc. It should be however remembered that the social strata are not necessarily classes. Social classes are psycho-social grouping, something which is subjective in character dependent upon class consciousness i.e. the feeling of groups or sense of belonging to a particular type of people inhabiting in the same society. In urban areas, class consciousness has however been observed in the form of various professional and occupational groups.

It is usually claimed that in an agrarian and tradition bound society of Bangladesh, the stratification system is dependent on family tradition, landholding and possession of traditional authority. With increasing urbanisation, modernisation, industrialisation and the resultant changes in rural landholding pattern, people are not stratified only in terms of traditional criteria. Educational achievement, non-agricultural occupation, participation in local government bodies and various other development programmes and their relations to ruling political party have emerged as important factors for social class belongings of the people.

Family, marriage and Kinship

The kinship plays a very vital role in the social and community organisation in the rural areas of Bangladesh. In many parts of Bangladesh, factions are formed on the basis of kin ties and often, a faction comes in co-operation or conflict with another for gaining economic and political control. Social, economic, political and religious co-operations are important aspect of life within the kin circle. It is, therefore, important to understand the role of kinship in the social organisation in rural Bangladesh (Chowdhury : 1982).

It is indeed a fact that the conflicting interests of the groups of people lead to the formation of factions at the village level in Bangladesh. Their conflicts may be of different nature including land, wealth, property and any other political matter.

It is often found that even if the initial nature of conflicts are non-political, they assume political colour in the long run. In the village politics, conflicts take place over distribution of relief goods, agricultural credits and inputs, nomination and election of Union Parishad and Thana Parishad. These factions are locally formed on the basis of kinship and lineage. Kin ties play an important role in making the kin-members as groups. Interdependence is also noticed among the kin-members for the purpose of production.

Nicholas, a Social Scientist, studied factional politics in rural areas of West Bengal and in reference to Bangladesh said: "Villages, which appear to be the most 'natural' of human communities and the most obvious basis for co-operative development organisation, frequently prove to be cockpits of bitter struggle factionalism, and the very opposite of co-operation; no one has an effective remedy, but it is clear that rural development is severely hampered by the prevalence of such conflict. Social scientific research cannot solve any of these

problems but by identifying them and dispelling some of the general ignorance that prevails about them, it may provide policy makers with an initial basis for action" (Nicholas, 1973:26).

The factions are therefore social conflict groups which emerge as political conflicts. The members of factions are recruited on the basis of diverse principles such as kinship, patronage etc. The faction leaders patronises and the supporters of the faction leaders become their clients. The patrons manipulate things in favour of the clients and the clients lend their support to the patrons in return. The supporters surrender their allegiance to the patron and defend him, as and when necessary, and support him in his endeavour to achieve his economic and political goals.

There can be no doubt that the political interaction of the predominantly peasant society are manifested on factional politics. The political cleavage in our rural society are often vertical cleavages which run across class lines, rather than horizontal ones of class conflict. Faction leaders act as brokers for or against of political parties, who organise political groups of rich peasants or their followers who are either economically dependent or obliged as a result of favours done in the past. This has very far reaching effect on national politics.

Wood (1976) carried out empirical study in a Comilla village and found out that factional politics in the village hinders the emergence of class solidarity among the poor peasants and land labourers and thus contributes to the strength of the dominant classes both in rural and urban areas. Wood said that the power elite group in a village consists of homestead heads and village heads. Homestead is the primary unit of the village. The loyalty of a family head for homestead head is essential if the homestead head is to enjoy any leadership position in the village. Wood therefore concludes that the homestead leaders cannot usually come from landless and poor peasant class. Like Wood, Bertocci mentions that factional conflict groups centers around one or more leaders. Bertocci holds the opinion that whatever may be the causes of factional conflict, it does inevitably involve the more wealthy and powerful peasants who often fight among themselves.

In order to understand the kinship lineage in social organisation, it is pertinent here to discuss about various groups such as *Gram* (village), *Khana* (household), *Paribar* (family), *Bari* (homestead), *Gushti* (lineage), *Samaj* (association or society) and *atmiya-sajan* (kinsmen).

Gram(village): A village is composed of more than two wards or neighbourhoods. A village is the basic socio-economic and

political unit in Bangladesh. The villages are called Mouzas for the purpose of revenue collection. A village community consists of households, homesteads, family, lineage, *samaj* and *atmiya* groups. Kinship undoubtedly plays a vital role in formations of these groups.

Khana(household): *Khana* or hoheshold is the primary unit for production and consumption. It is the basic unit of kinship group in rural Bangladesh and also the smallest unit of social organisation.

The members of a household is usally accommodated in a *ghar* or residential house and take food from the same hearth. A wealthy household may have two or three *ghars*. The kitchen is normally separated from the main house but in a poor household, the kitchen is the part of the *ghar*.

The members of a household are related either by blood or affinity. It normally consists of a husband and wife and their children. In some cases, it may include three generations, for example, grand parents, parents and grand children etc. In some cases, a household may contain a non-kinsmen, for example, house tutor or poor student who is given food and shelter in return of his service either teaching children free or simply shopping. A household being small, the group relationship among the members of a household is very close and intimate.

Paribar(family): A family may consist of one or more households in rural Bangladesh. The edifice of our wider society rests on the family which is the smallest socio-economic unit of our country. It is the primary or basic unit of human interdependence and interaction which forms the basis of inter-relationships of different men living together. (Afsaruddin, Mohammad: 1979). Thus the family is the social group characterised by common residence, economic co-operation and reproduction.

In Bangladesh societies of rural areas, the families may be of three distinct categories, namely : joint, extended and nuclear.

In joint families, the kin of three or more generations live together and share all landed and other properties. They take their meal from the same hearth, store produce in a common granary. Parents, brothers, sisters, wives and their children live under the same roof in a joint family.

The extended family is composed of related individuals from more than one generation who live in the same household but they take food from separate hearths. The household units do not own common land and property. Each unit of the extended family is free from control of other units but they are bound by some kind

of bondage, either blood or affinity, but while major decisions on political or family matters (for example marriage) are taken, the senior members are consulted.

A nuclear family consists of a husband and wife with or without children. In some cases, one or more people may live with them. They invariably live in the same house and take food from the same hearth. Nuclear families become extended when daughters-in-law and their children and other lineals or collaterals join them. In the family structure of Bangladesh nuclear families are growing fast due to poverty, attitude of self interest, family quarrels and maladjustment etc. and other kind of families are gradually breaking up over the past few decades. It is experienced that normally after the death of the head of the family, in most cases father, the brothers seek separation and share of property.

Bari (Homestead) : In Bangladesh villages, a *bari* consists of several households, each households having separate *ghar* located in the same compound. All the members of a *bari* has kin-relationship with one another. The heads of the households are related either by blood or affinity. Aziz(1979) carried out his research in the Matlab thana of Comilla district and found that close co-operation exists among the *bari* members and described

the *bari* as a cohesive social unit. Wood (1976) while carrying out his study of a village in Kotwali than of Comilla district observed that internal conflict and competition between *bari* members prevailed in most homestead of the village. In such a situation, the bond of kinship had been displaced by a bitter struggle and clash of self interest. Wood suggests that each *bari* has a recognised head, while Aziz mentions that normally a *bari* has no head acknowledged as such, but each family has a functional head.

Gushti (Lineage): A *gushti* comprises of several households. All families/households are related to one another except in marrying wives and out marrying daughters. A *gushti* is therefore nothing but descendants of a great grand father. All members are bound together by a sense of belonging due to common ancestry. In other words *gushti* is therefore a lineage because of their common origin from a male ancestor. Ellickson (1972) observed that a women after marriage acquire dual *gushti* membership, as she becomes a member of her husband's *gushti* and also retains her parental *gushti* due to her rights of inheritance.

Atmiya-sajan: In addition to the above, as individual or a group of individuals may be related to one another either by blood, marriage or simple affinity. These individuals with affined connection are known as *atmiya-sajan* or kinsmen. *Atmiya-sajan* may be so wide as it may be extended over a number of villages. A common ancestor is not necessary in this case.

Samaj : The *samaj* is a social organisation of a group of people living together generally on the basis of kinship having a common socio-political identity and a territorial boundary. According to Aziz (1979) the *samaj* pattern is taken as the basic frame of reference of social activities. The *samaj* has the authority to award punishment if anyone deviates from established social norms. Every individual is conscious about the controlling authority of *samaj*. Social control of individuals who are involved in activities against the social and religious tradition of the society is an important function of the *samaj*. From area to area the *samaj* pattern varies from highly cohesive to loosely informal.

In rural community, *samaj* is therefore a traditional association of the people. A *samaj* may consist of one or more lineages and there may be number of *samaj* in a village. A village may have five *paras* having five different *samaj* with separate status and life style. In some cases a *samaj* may be extended over a *para* in a village. *Samaj* may also be an endogamous group.

The word '*samaj*' therefore implies a cultural concept of community, etymologically rested in the notion of going together. The leadership of *samaj* consists of some elderly people of

different homestead or village united with loyalty and under whose sponsorship all religious/cultural activities take place.

A *samaj*, as earlier mentioned, awards punishment to people disobedient to social norms. In doing this, a *samaj* has to perform a variety of functions such as arranging a compromise of disputes, marriage negotiation etc. Chowdhury (1978) carried out intensive field work in Noakhali district and observed that *samaj* has to decide whether a particular member should arrange a feast on the occasion of his son's/daughter's wedding. In a village, if a member of a *samaj* arranges a marriage, he would have to inform the *samaj* leader. In case of disobedience of the decision of the *samaj*, the individual so disobeying is socially boycotted and none of the *samaj* leaders would help or cooperate with him.

However, it is now being experienced that such controlling power of the *samaj* is gradually diminishing. The bond of *samaj* is becoming weaker day by day due to the presence of external authorities over a period of time. The punishment imposed by the *samaj* is not so serious as it was a decade ago. The members of the *samaj* do not have any fear of breaking the rule of *samaj* as it was before. The members of the *samaj* do not have sufficient allegiance to the *samaj* leaders. Although *samaj* still retains some control over its members and performs important role, it

would not be unfair to say that the bond of *samaj* is gradually disintegrating and to predict that the *samaj* group may not exist at all in the long run in rural Bangladesh.

Rural Economy, Property Inheritance and Status Hierarchy

There has been little change in the economic structure of the country over the last decades. The density of population increased from 922 in 1961 to 1286 in 1974 and 1566 in 1981 which exerts heavy pressure on land since agriculture is the main economic activity. Agriculture contributes 55 percent of GDP and employs over 70 percent of the labour force, the share of industry in the GDP is stagnant at 8 to 9 percent. With such a low level of growth of industrial sector, Bangladesh economy is essentially agriculture based. The state of underdevelopment is reflected in low productivity, low employment and income. Agriculture alone apparently failed to sustain the growing population and labour force giving rise to widespread poverty and resultant unemployment in rural areas. Rural economy of Bangladesh being basically subsistence agriculture, the majority of the labour force in the rural areas do not have full employment (Bangladesh Planning Commission:1984).

The rural population of Bangladesh is estimated to be 82 million. The age structure shows a dependence ratio. About 43 percent of population belong to the age group of 0-14 and about 3 percent over the age of 45 years. There is an increasing number of households with relatively large family size in the rural areas. About 70 percent of household have a family size of over 5 members as against 60 percent in the urban areas. It is estimated that rural areas have about 27 million labour force. The occupational structure shows a preponderance of agricultural work and less for other works such as production, transport, trade and services. The sheer dependance on agriculture due to lack of work opportunities in a non agricultural sector and the vastness of the size of the agricultural labour force explain the reasons for underemployment. The seasonal nature of the agricultural activities also creates a fluctuating agricultural labour market for certain periods of the year.

The rural social structure has evolved over time, centering around land, with the landowners enjoying a higher social position. Land is considered as the main productive asset in the rural areas, distribution of which is highly skewed creating sharp differences in income among the rural households. Table 2.1 shows the distribution of land and areas by size of holding.

Table - 2. 1

Landholdings and farm areas (1977)

Farm size	No. of holding (millions)	% of total holding 1960/1977		Area (million acres)	% of total farm area 1960/1977	
1.Total farm holding	6.26	-	-	21.96	-	-
2.Small holdings	3.11	51.6	49.8	4.12	16.2	18.7
a)Urban 0.5 acre	0.34	13.1	5.5	0.11	0.9	0.5
b)0.5 to under 1.0 acres	0.65	11.2	10.4	0.47	2.3	2.1
c)1.0 to under	2.12	27.3	33.9	3.54	13.0	16.1
3.Medium holding (2.5 to 7.5 acres)	2.56	37.7	40.8	10.74	45.7	48.8
4.Large holding	0.59	10.7	9.4	7.10	38.1	32.4

Source: Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, Agriculture Census :1977

Land available is also too meagre as compared to the size of the labour force resulting in low productivity. It is natural that landlessness in an agriculture based economy with lower growth in agriculture sector, would increase with rising population and consequent pressure on land would mount. Magnitude of such landlessness in Bangladesh has increased over time. It has been experienced that there is a trend towards growth in relatively larger size of holdings and corresponding decline in the smaller size of land holdings. Evidence suggests that there has been transfer of land from small farmers to the relatively large or medium ones¹.

1. In Bangladesh rural society the poor and marginal farmers are trapped in such vicious circle that they take loan from rich farmers and money lenders to overcome poverty and fail to repay the same in time. As a consequence, they are, at a later stage, compelled to sell their land to rich farmers for repaying the loan. Agriculture being the main and only source of income, they lease out their land in exchange of money and ultimately fail to get back the land for non payment of money. In this process the poor and marginal farmers become landless and the land is thus transferred to the rich farmers.

The most distressing features of increase in landlessness is that it would lead to increased rural poverty. Landlessness by itself would not pose problems if work opportunities outside agriculture were available and landless people had other assets and skills to earn sustained income. Landlessness enhances the problem of poverty as neither land nor work opportunities are available. Landlessness has been accentuated on one hand due to lower income and on the other, the higher income of those who have access to other means of income generation. A small number of farmers, because of introduction of high yield variety seeds and higher prices of commodities, has now more surplus funds or savings to invest than in the past but because of lack of investment opportunities in other sectors, they normally invest in land.

There is a trend among absentee landlords who live in the urban areas and invest in land, driving the poor or marginal farmers out of land and consequently out of employment. Socio-economic conditions have thus facilitated the process of growing landlessness. A farmer having little land finds it increasingly difficult to hold on to it and is forced to dispose it of and become landless (ibid :10). Rural Bangladesh is thus caught up in a vicious circle of poverty with a per capita income of US \$ 160 only. As a result of depressing income, low rate in agriculture,

rapid population growth and socio-economic structures, poverty is so widespread that more than half of the rural population cannot meet the basic needs of life resulting in lower ability to work and lower productivity. In a developed economy, the share of non-agricultural sector is relatively higher than agriculture. Consequently, per capita income of these countries are comparatively higher than those of the agricultural countries. When an economy moves from primary stage to the secondary or industrial stage, capital tends to flow to the entrepreneurs for investments leading to further growth, production, employment and income. Nations with such a growth create new jobs and income opportunities for the unemployed. This process of growth and income distribution is not the characteristic of the Bangladesh situation. The benefits have flown primarily to the richer sections leaving behind the poor, and employment and income opportunities have not expanded to match the growing landlessness and poverty. The distribution of income among households are indicated in Table 2.2.

Table - 2.2

Distribution of income among households

Year/area	Bottom 20	Bottom 40	Top 20	Top 40
Rural				
1966/67	9.6	20.5	16.2	4.4
1968/69	10.4	23.6	13.1	37.0
1973/74	7.2	19.1	16.0	42.6
1976/77	6.7	15.3	29.0	53.2
Urban				
1966/67	7.3	18.2	21.5	47.3
1968/69	8.3	19.2	20.6	45.9
1973/74	6.8	17.8	18.8	45.2
1976/77	4.5	13.5	37.1	59.0

Source : Statistical Year Book Bangladesh : 1981.

Wood (1976) stated that the *bari* leaders do not usually come from the landless and poor peasant class. Leadership in the village is usually inherited by the eldest son unless he has clearly been superseded by another son for other criteria of economic position, education etc. The basis of leadership in rural Bangladesh is the strong *gushti* meaning high status

lineage, numerical strength, respected social status and extensive economic control in the village and ability to do justice to others in the case of disputes. The main characteristic of village leaders is that they are rich peasants and they have reputations for making decision. They are heads of *baris* which are usually strong. The question of acceptance by his own class and subordinate classes is very important, since class rather than factional support is responsible for the maintenance of leadership status (Chowdhury :1982). It also appears from Bactocci's analysis that the village politics is inseparable from the present rural leadership system. He cited a number of cases of conflict but he has hardly shown an instance how an individual has acquired power over a period of time to become a village leader except through inheritance.

It has been experienced that a village leader at the last stage of his life nominates a younger member of his *bari* to take on some of his functions. This nominee will already gain some reputation of being interested in village affairs, concerned with maintenance of ethical conduct and free himself from public criticism for faults and previous misdeeds. The nominee may not always be his first son, but a younger brother, another son or a nephew etc. The nominee may have a kinship connection to more than one village leaders which obviously strengthens his position.

Bertocci (1979) conducted his study in two villages of Comilla district and concluded that : "absolute smallness in farm size should not obscure the importance of small differences in landownership and associated economic activities associated with them as there reflects clear variations in class, status, life style and power". The relationship between landholding, status and class is a complex phenomenon. Bertocci's data confirmed an overall association of landownership with relative social rank. He nevertheless considered that it was important to maintain a conceptual and empirical distinction between status and class. The villagers themselves discriminate between high status lineage, middle status lineage and low status lineage, However, not all these families with high status titles are wealthy peasant households since within the same *bari* there can be considerable variation in landholding between the households. It is likely that there will be a continually changing balance of strength between *paribars* in a *bari* and perhaps between *baris* and families divide holdings amongst sons and the demographic balance of the nuclear family shifts. Bertocci has distinguished between the people having traditional high status and the people acquiring economic strength through education and marriage and thereby have become politically important. From this he attributes a great deal of fluidity to the system in which different lineages rises to power and there they are not high

status lineages but then acquired status by marrying into high status lineage (ibid :27-37).

It will be very important to take up this analysis especially to contrast a situation which has been heavily involved in the new technology with an area which has been relatively untouched. The hypothesis here would be that the tendency for status (especially *sardari*) and landownership to coincide would increase, and the extent of circular mobility decrease under conditions of new opportunities for increasing agricultural productivity which also provides greater scope for investment in non-agricultural processing plants. In other words, the hypothesis suggests that a stable rich peasant class will emerge under conditions which reduces the vulnerability of families in that class to the weakening process of fragmentation through inheritance as other non-agricultural source of income become available as a result of initial higher productivity of holdings. This hypothesis is in contrast to Bertocci's speculations, who does not seem to take account of either the possibility for richer peasants to prey on the misfortunes of other by acquiring their land, or the role of the new technology in stimulating other forms of rural (but non-agricultural) economic activity like money lending itself which hitherto plays a prominent part in his analysis.

Chowdhury (1978:67) conducted intensive field work in the village Meherpur. He observed : "Meherpur is inhabited by two major religious groups, namely Muslims and Hindus. The Muslims of the village are stratified as high and low status and the Hindus are ranked as high, low and scheduled castes. The social hierarchy among the Muslims of Meherpur does not follow the Hindu caste pattern. The Hindu caste system in Meherpur is primarily based on the concept of ritual purity and pollution sanctioned by Hindu religion. But the Muslims of the village are not stratified on the basis of the ritual purity and pollution. They are stratified mainly on the basis of traditional ownership and control of land, wealth, education and on the differences in the style of life".

The basis of ranking among the Muslims in the rural areas is high and low status. The high status Muslims are known as *khandans* and low status Muslims as *grihastas*. The *khandans* include all those who have the patronymics of *kazi, Gazi, Bhuiya, Chowdhury* etc. These patronymics are hereditary and are used either before or after the names. The *grihastas* are directly engaged in agricultural work. A *grihasta* may be a land owner, who cultivates his own land. He may take lease of other's land and work on land for production. They do not have much

formal education. Besides these, there are low status muslims such as *Jolas* (traditionally weavers) and *Baddis* (village eyesurgeons). It may be mentioned that some *khandan* families do not own any land as they sold out their land in course of time but still they hold high status. Chowdhury (1978:70) further observed : "The *khandan* are landowners of the village. They trace their *khandani* to the ownership and control of land from an early stage. In fact, they were the intermediary groups who used to collect land revenues even during the British rule. They were entitled to enjoy a portion of land revenue collected by them. The old status acquired through land control and their new status acquired through education and a particular style of life followed by them decide their position in the status hierarchy of Meherpur. A *khandan* is he who is long associated with ownership and control of land and has at least some education and who can be distinguished from the *girhastas* and *kamlas* by a particular style of life."

The *girhastas* are neither old landowners nor educated. They do not have any tradition of land ownership and land control. They have also not entered into school and colleges. The *girhasta* landowners are recent landowners. They purchased land when the

khandans began to sell out their land in the recent past. They could not purchase khandani by purchasing land. By and large they are sharecroppers. Therefore, economic class and social status groups are almost identical and it is possible to establish certain correlation between the two.

Chowdhury (1978:71) also observed that there cannot be any marital relations between the *khandans* and *girhastas*. There is not a single case of intermarriage between a khandan and girhasta in the known history of Meherpur. Besides the lack of marital relations between the *khandans* and *girhastas*, there are a number of informal endogamous both among the khandans and girhastas.

In 1947 there had been a large scale migration of Hindus. Before their migration, they used to maintain the structural distance between the different castes. Srinivas (1966:15) has rightly observed that the elders of the dominant caste in a village were the watchdogs of a pluralistic culture and value system. Traditionally, they prevented the members of a caste from over the hereditary occupation of another caste, the only exceptions begin agriculture. The dominant castes, then, maintained the structural distance between the different castes living within their jurisdiction.

Hindus can be broadly classified into three categories; namely, upper caste Hindus; the lower caste Hindus and the schedule caste Hindus. The division is hierachial, based on the concept on purity and pollution and sanctioned by Hindu religion. In this case, birth determines the position of an individuals in the Hindu society.

The lower caste Hindus are again divided into many caste sub-division on the basis of superiority and inferiority. Intermarriage between *Brahmin* households, *Kaistha* and the schedule caste *Sudras* is almost impossible.

Rural Power Structure

The administrative pattern of the local self-government is the legacy of colonial rule. In 1870, Lord Mayo issued a resolution on financial decentralisation. In that resolution it was observed that local interest, supervision and care were necessary to succeed in the management of funds allotted to education, sanitation, medical relief and local public works. The resolution thus intended to extend opportunities for the development of local self government. In response to Lord Mayo's resolution, the Bengal village Chowkidari act was passed in 1870 which marked the beginning of some form of local self-government

in the village areas (Ahmed Ali: 1979). Under the provision of this act, the countryside was divided into unions. Each union comprised about ten or twelve square miles. A Panchayat was constituted for each union which consisted of five members, all of them, appointed by the District Magistrate (now called Deputy Commissioner). In 1882, Lord Ripon adopted the famous resolution on local self-government. The objectives contained in the resolution were three-fold: first, that the policy of financial decentralisation should be carried to the level of local bodies; second, that the administration of local bodies should be improved; third, that the local bodies should be developed as instruments of political and popular education. Under this resolution, Local Self-government Act of 1885 was passed which provided for a Union Committee for each Union. These committees were elected by resident villagers. In 1907, the Decentralisation Commission was set up under the Chairmanship of Lord Hobhouse to enquire into the relationship between the Central and the Provincial Governments and the authority subordinate to them. The commission recommended that the members of the Panchayat should be formally elected and the functions of the Panchayat should be gradually extended giving responsibility for minor community works. The functions of the Panchayats and those of the Union committee were merged. In 1917, the Secretary of State for India announced the government policy of increasing association of

Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions. In 1919, the Bengal village Self Government Act was passed which significantly changed structure and functions of the local bodies at the Union level. The Panchayat and the Union committees were integrated and only one local body was formed at each union which was called Union Board. The Union Board was to be composed of elected and nominated members; two-thirds of members were elected and one-third nominated. In 1946, the system of nomination was abolished and the Union Board became fully a representative body.

Under the Act of 1885, District Boards were constituted having two-thirds of their members elected and one-third nominated. The main functions of the District Boards were concerned with primary education, construction of roads and bridges, public health and medical aid, and sanitation etc. The process of constituting the District Board was not democratised. In adopting a policy there was often lack of harmony. One reason for this was the presence of the nominated members who always tried to safeguard the interests of the Government while elected members had to look after those of the voters. The District Boards could not function properly due to excessive government control. The control was exercised in all walks of the Boards - in constitution, policy-making, financial matters, etc.

Government had the power to suspend both District Board and Union Board. Centralised control did not allow the Boards to develop as the self-governing bodies. Such is the foundation of local government institutions in Bangladesh.

During the years from 1947-1958, one striking feature of the local bodies was the elected members and chairman. In 1958, a new system of local self-government in the name of Basic Democracy was introduced. The members of the Union Council were elected representatives who were utilised for political gains of the ruling party by making them members of the electoral college for the election of President and the members of National and Provincial Assemblies. The members of the local bodies were not generally composed of capable and efficient people who were engaged in corruption of fund allotted for Rural Works Programmes. The basic democracy system was abolished in 1970 after experiencing a mass revolution.

Bangladesh is geographically divided into five divisions namely, Dhaka Division, Chittagong Division, Rajshahi Division, Khulna Division and Barisal Division. The executive head of Division is called the Commissioner who is a senior member of the civil service. Each Division is divided into districts. There are 65 districts in Bangladesh which are headed by Deputy

Commissioners who are also civil servants. Earlier the Districts were divided into sub-divisions, which have recently been abolished. Each District is sub-divided into Unions. Each Union consists of few villages. There are 434 thanas (excluding urban areas), 4352 Unions and nearly 65 thousand villages in Bangladesh. A Union Parishad consists of one chairman who is directly elected by the voters of the entire Union, nine members who are directly elected by voters of the ward concerned and two women members who are nominated by the Deputy Commissioner concerned. The official term of a Union Parishad is five years. A chairman or member of Union parishad, may be removed from his office if he is guilty of misconduct or misappropriation of money or become disabled. The Government exercises general supervision and control over the Union Parishad. The prescribed authority may quash the proceedings of Union Parishad, suspend the execution of any resolution passed by the Parishad and prohibit it from doing anything proposed to be done (Ibid PP 108-49).

The Union Parishad is composed in a democratic process on the basis of adult franchise although two women members are nominated. The women in Bangladesh are shy and conservative and not interested to participate in the affairs of the Union Parishad through election. This system of nomination of women members has been introduced to provide opportunity to rural women.

The method of taking decisions and conducting business are not different from the past. It is a truism to say that the functions of Union Parishad remained the same except curtailing voting power for the election of President and members of Provincial and National assemblies. Centralised control is visible in all the parts of the Union Parishad. The conditions for qualifications, disqualifications, resignation, vacation and removal of chairmen and members are determined by the Government and ultimately subject to the approval of the government. The government have firm control over the financial matters also. Appointment, transfer, pension and gratuity on retirement and all other service conditions are prescribed by the government. The government can conduct enquiry into the affairs of the Parishad and supersede it if it is found not discharging its duties or if it persistently fails to discharge its duties.

A Zilla Parishad consists of such number of elected members, official members and women members as may be fixed by the government (Faizullah, Mohammad: 1987). The composition of the Zilla Parishad under local government ordinance 1988, is not democratic. Earlier, Deputy Commissioner who is a civil servant, was chairman of Zilla Board but now the Chairman, official members, nominated members and women members are all nominated by the Government. It is feared that there may be clear domination

of official members as they are more educated, experienced and knowledgeable, over the elected members destroying the cardinal principles of democracy.

The ordinance also provides for extensive centralised control over the Zilla Parishad. The provisions for the constitution, composition and election of Zilla Parishad and number of official members and nominated members and their qualifications, removal, vacation etc. are determined by the government officials. The Secretary and other Principal Officers are appointed by the Government. The terms and conditions of service of local government are regulated by the rules prescribed by the Government.

In the recent past, longfelt administrative reform was made in Bangladesh and democratisation of the decentralised administration in Bangladesh pledged to solve many age old issue that have plagued the country for centuries. Thanas existed in the past also but now they are designed as a basic unit of development administration, which would perceive the development need, plan and allocate resources for execution. The Thana Parishad with elected, nominated and official members headed by an elected chairman is a powerful forum. Organically linked both with Union Parishad and the District administration, it is entrusted with Rural Development activities (Hyder, Yousuf:1986).

The thana administration is organised with an elected chairman, as its chief executive. On the official side, there is the Thana Nirbahi Officer, a staff Officer to the chairman. Then there are ten other mid-ranking departmental officers dealing with subjects relating to development. These subjects have been transferred to Thana Parishads. The Government retains the direct responsibility for regulatory functions, such as accounts, Police, Magistracy, Ansars and Village Defence Party and statistical function. The administration of these retained subjects will, however, be exercised by the respective departmental officer under the direction of the chairman. The underlying idea of thana administration is that the people in the villages should undertake the responsibility for governing themselves and be their own masters.

Development oriented rural administration is not a new idea in Asian context. But as long as the thana's dependence on the borrowed bureaucracy continues, the thana will continue to pass through a stage of conflict. Dependence on the government grant instead of self help is another factor which is bound to weaken the autonomy and slow down the pace of development. The Thana Parishads have generated a new kind of educated and capable local leadership. The bureaucracy, still inhibited by the traditional ideas of supremacy over the local government leaders, no longer

finds the thana an attractive place to serve, which is a disastrous attitude. The Chairman and the Nirbahi Officers are the two most important functionaries of the thanas. It is important that these two enjoy a lot of mutual understanding, one holding the other in mutual respect. The reality may be different due to 'dirty' politics which embitter the relationship. The rural administration suffers from a special kind of politics borne out of a particular kind of socio-economic political condition that dominates rural activities. Political ideologies often clash with each other. The central government ought to have real authority and use it unsparingly on the chairman who breaks such code of conduct and acts as an agent of a political party. For the survival of any decentralised administration particularly through the institution of Thana Parishad, the existence of a strong central Government is an indispensable precondition. It is the real dilemma for the Central Government to be strong and be the epitome of autonomy to achieve self-reliance.

There exists conflicts of status and personalities between Thana Parishad chairman and Deputy Commissioners. In pursuance the provision laid down in local government ordinance 1982, Deputy Commissioners should co-ordinate, support and guide thana administration. While Deputy Commissioners are civil servants,

the Thana Parishad chairman are elected representatives. It is conceptually wrong to put elected peoples' representative under a government servant. There is also a similar kind of strained relationship between Thana Parishad chairmen and Members of Parliament, both being elected peoples' representative.

There is a lack of co-ordination between various ministries: thanas belong to Cabinet Division for administration and Ministry of Local Government for funds and administration of thanas for training and monitoring. The Establishment Ministry is responsible to depute key personnel and the Planning Commission issues the planning guides. This multilateral control gives rise to utter confusion.

The Union Parishad is the lowest tier of the Local Government system in the rural areas. An average Union consists of about ten to fifteen villages covering an area of ten to fifteen square miles. The Union Parishad is a ten member body directly elected by the local people on the basis of adult franchise. The development works of the Union Parishads were mainly confined to the construction and repair of roads, bridges and canals. Those works were carried out under the government aided Rural Works and Food for Works Programmes. The contribution of the Union Parishad from their own revenue income in those

projects was virtually nil. The Union Parishads have been found to be completely dependent on the Central Government grants to finance their activities. Such a phenomenon cannot, however, be an encouraging sign for the healthy growth of the Union Parishad as a self-governing organisation. The major danger of such a syndrome in local government finance is that local bodies may be made subjected to direct Central Government pressure and manipulation. The situation has been successfully utilised by the previous regimes to mobilise rural votes in the election. It is, therefore, desirable that necessary precautions be taken to prevent utilisation of Union bodies for short term political gains.

Class Relations

Many social Scientists have attempted to study class relations in rural areas of Bangladesh. In Bangladesh the principal means of production is land and therefore the rural people is divided into classes on the basis of ownership and non-ownership of land. The production is mainly organised through 'tenancy and wage labourers'. The rural households are mainly divided into three categories; landowners, share-croppers and landless. The landowner class is again sub-divided into two categories; rentiers who do not work in the field and rent out their land and owner cultivators who work in the field. The main source of income of the share-croppers is the land they take

lease and cultivate. The landless labourer do not have any land who give their labour on a daily wage basis. The landless people are employed in the peak season; many of them remain unemployed during the slack season.

Several micro-studies have also tried to analyse class relations in rural societies of Bangladesh in recent times. Wood (ibid) studied a village called *Bandakgram* in Comilla district. His research shows that land is concentrated in the below 2.5 acre category. He found that class differentiation is dominated by surplus capital. Money lending and mortgage transaction played a major role in the rural areas. According to Wood: "The significance of these mortgages cannot be overstated in this minifundist context, since they are likely to be much more important part of the class structure and power distribution story in this area than elsewhere. The cumulative impact of these mortgage transactions function to increase and stabilize the gap between the richer and poor peasants."

The rich peasant accumulates land through mortgage transaction and diversify their economic activities in the spheres of exchange and professional employment. Wood also shows that the benefits of the Rural Development Programmes sponsored by the government accrue to the rich peasants. Poor peasants being weaker economic class has little access to these benefits.

Arens and Beurdens (1977) conducted a village study in Kushtia district. The population of the village was classified by them into four distinct categories, namely, poor peasants, middle peasants, rich peasants and landlords. The poor and middle peasants are exploited by the landlords and rich peasants. Production is organised through tenancy and wage labour system. Poor peasants are forced to sublet their land due to prevailing circumstances. Most rich landowners exploit the poor and middle peasants for their personal wealth and do not invest for agricultural innovations. Arens and Beurdens therefore concluded that the remnants of feudal relations is still dominant in Kushtia and fighting against them by poorer class is part of the class struggle there.

Jahangir (1976: 318) carried out studies in two villages of Savar Thana of Dhaka district and found that there was clear process of differentiation which led to the formation of rich peasants layer on the one hand and a depressed layer of impoverished peasants composed of middle and poor peasants on the other. Jahangir stated that in the colonial era, the rich peasants were not so strong due to the distance from political power but in post colonial era they got opportunity to come closer to national and political power and thereby became politically and economically strong and influential. He therefore

suggested that a strong rural entrepreneur would emerge under the patronage of the state (Jahangir, 1977: 16-17).

Westergaard (1978) studied the Boringram village of Bogra district. She pointed out that the process of pauperization is not due to land accumulations, but it is through the employment of their educated sons, as well as money lending and investment in non-agricultural activities, the rich peasants are able to stabilize its position while at the bottom an increasing number is forced off their land.

Mick Howes (1979) carried out field work in four hamlets (of two villages) of Jamalpur district. While attempting to find out alternative approaches to irrigation, he also describes the class relationships in the locality. Howes divided the villagers into three classes: Rich peasant, middle peasant and poor peasants (again subdivided into small and landless categories). The rich peasants hire the labour to cultivate their land or make share-cropping arrangement. Middle peasants are also landowners and make production mainly through family labour. Poor peasants either own small piece of land or take lease of some land and cultivate themselves. Howes stated that the rich peasants are linked with the state bureaucracy and politicians. He therefore concludes that exploitation of poor peasants by the rich peasants should be considered not in isolation but in wider context of state and international economy.

Bertocci (1972) did his field work in two villages (Hajipara and Tinpara of Comilla district and classified the rural population on the basis of landownership, sources of income and economic behaviour. He suggests that there are broadly three classes in Hajipara and Tinpara: rich, middle and poor peasantry in Maoist terminology. He links the classes to the differences in status and power in these two villages.

Adnan (1978) made class analysis of the population of village char-samaj in terms of a labour exploitation criterion devised by Utsa Patnaik (1976) and found the criterion was inadequate in analysing class structure in a Barisal village. He pointed out that Patnaik's notion of class analysis is a partial one because it concerns itself with the agricultural aspect of the status of the households. This may be helpful in understanding differentiation where agriculture is indeed the chief occupation. But this can be grossly misleading if applied to stratify households having occupations other than agriculture. His paper is mostly connected with methodological and theoretical formulation with respect to class and class society, basing on empirical evidences of a rural community in Southern Bangladesh. His emphasis is not on the description of inter-class relationship in the rural community as have been done by Bertocci, Wood, Arens and Beurdens, Chowdhury and others.

The social structure and stratification pattern is continuously changing. The social process due to modern education facilities, urbanisation and industrialisation, popular mass movements culminated in the liberation struggle and the emergence of sovereign independent state are the main factors for affecting social changes. If the socio-economic background of topmost policy makers and implementors are examined, it would reveal that the civil servants are occupying the most dominant positions in the civil bureaucracy of Bangladesh since independence. According to the formal rules of government business, they are basically implementors, and are supposed to advise the elected government but their actual role in the decision making process has always been far greater than allowed by their formal powers. Professionals, traders, businessmen and politicians have rural interest despite their occupation and are at the top of rural society in terms of amount of land owned and a majority of them are absentee agriculture landowners. It means that they sharecrop out their land rather than cultivating through wage labour. It may therefore be inferred that most of the professionals and politicians originate from the ranks of urban or rural rich and hence are hardly expected to pursue the interest of rural poor. Most bureaucrats have married into rich urban or rural families, originated from lower middle class families and made up their class disadvantages through institution of marriage.

The rural power structure in Bangladesh comprises of local government bodies and informal social organisation which strongly reflects the existing economic reality in the society. Those who own and control the means of production are generally also power holders in the rural society. There is a class collaboration between the rural power structure and the central government agencies owing to common class background.

Bangladesh's natural resources are mostly confined to the agricultural sector which consists of land and water. Lumping of the rich and the poor together in the existing rural institutions have led to exploitation of the poor by the rich and domination of the elites in the management of services. Consequently, major portion of benefits arising out of these institutions are being captured by the dominant groups. There is little scope for participation of the poorer people in planning and implementation of the development projects. Lack of effective organisation at village level have failed to protect the interest of the poor. There exists no cadre of change agents in the village/union level in the existing circumstances. Unless the social structure is changed, reform regarding ownership of land is made and administrative reform is undertaken to change the attitude of the rich elite, it is difficult to protect the poor and middle class from exploitation.

Religions and Rituals

A study on social class has convincingly pointed out that there exists a clear relationship between social class identification and their religious behaviour. (Miah, Ahmadullah: 1979). The study has demonstrated differential response to various social classes to the forces of modernisation. Prior to the arrival of Muslim missionaries and conquerors in Indian sub-continent, the social system represented a typical caste society with a rigidly stratified social structure. In that system birth used to determine the whole life of individuals and social mobility was almost sealed. Under European feudalism also, birth used to determine the social class.

The principles which determined the social structure of the Greeks and the Romans in Europe showed a striking similarity to these which conditioned the social structure of Hindus and Muslims in India. With the growth of commerce and large scale production in Europe, the rigidity of feudal social class began to breakdown and this ultimately made room for an open social system with higher frequency of class mobility. In the Indian sub-continent, the Hindu religion provided strength behind the rigid class arrangement in caste principles. The main ingredients to maintain rigid stratification system were based on caste principles until muslim rulers exerted new influences upon the social structure of the sub-continent.

During the muslim rule, new customs, art and literature made tremendous effects on the composition of society. A clear cut division between the foreign born muslims and the native converted muslims took place with all class implications. (Miah, Ahmadullah: 1978) The former group of people used to get special privileges from the rulers and was provided with high civil and military assignments while the latter group was involved mostly in low esteemed agricultural activities. Thus the doctrine of caste gradually entered in the muslim community and it took such an extreme shape that in some places the members of the muslim community were so sub-divided that they would neither inter-marry nor would they eat in company.

Under the Indian feudal system, land was the principal form of wealth. The British introduced some new elements in the feudalistic economic structure in the political and social structure, which later on penetrated into political and social relationship. There was growth of a new middle class, possessing education, wealth and social influence which claimed political rights to rule the sub-continent. The significant consequence was the transfer of power by the British to the Indian political leaders in 1947 and the liberation struggle in 1971 which gave birth to an independent and sovereign Bangladesh. This paved the way for further significant changes in the social and economic

outlook, since the changes of social and economic mobility have increased and the span of the middle class has been widening. However till now the social stratification is popularly described in terms of three classes: Upper class, middle class and lower class.

Bangladesh societies are inhabited by two major religious groups namely the Muslims and the Hindus (Chowdhury: 1982). The majority populace i.e. 80% percent of the total population are muslims. The muslims follow five dictates of Islam: five times prayer daily, fasting in the month of Ramjan, giving annual Zakat and making pilgrimage to Mecca if financially competent. The first three are compulsory for all muslims and the last two are obligatory for the rich people. Besides these, on every Friday, Jumma prayer is held in congregation in village mosque where Imam recites from Hadith and asks the muslims to be regular in their religious duties. The muslims also observe religious festivals like Eidul-fiter and Eid-ul-Azha with great solemnity. Other religious functions like Muharram, Milad, Shabe-Barat etc. have also significant influences on the religious lives of the people.

The Hindus believe in God and His incarnations. Traditionally the Brahminical religion followed by the Hindus consists of various beliefs and practices. It enjoins in itself

the doctrine of Karma, theory of Hindus predestination. Traditionally the life of a person in a Hindu society is divided into four phases. Brahmacharya (student life), Garhastya (married life), Banaprasta (retreat from life), and Sanysasa (renunciation of the world). According to Hindu religion, life is not complete without passing through these four stages.

In the rural areas, a Hindu gets up early morning and goes to nearby river or pond for bath. After bath, he stares the rising sun, sprinkles water and offers his prayer. He brings a pot of water and pour the same on the Tulshi tree planted on the northern side of his house. Then he puts various marks on his forehead and arms. He then sits for meditation. In the evening he prays and meditates again when the oil lamps are lit to welcome the evening. However, the working men have no time to follow all these rituals in detail. There are six religious festivals for the Hindus, such as Saraswati Puja, Durga Puja, Manasha Puja, Kali Puja, Basantee Puja and Lakshmi Puja. The Hindus perform these religious functions with great enthusiasm.

Rituals and beliefs are the products of human imagination but they have great influence on social behaviour. Some of the beliefs are termed as superstitions. Religious beliefs and rituals greatly affect society, for instance, marriage and

population control. Islam has allowed four marriages which are conditioned but in Hindu religion only one marriage is allowed. According to Hindu religion, semen of a person is very pure and precious and its wasteful use is sin, whereas in Islam many marriages have been allowed. Rural people live in the belief that it is the Almighty Allah who provides living to all and therefore, human beings should not worry about the subsistence of their new born babies. They believe that it is Allah who bless them with new lives and it is sinful to go against His will. It transpires from the study that rural people are reluctant to use contraceptives of any kind because of religious fear. This has got definite influence over the demographic situation of the country.

Some of the popular beliefs and rituals are as follows:
(Afsaruddin, Mohammad: 1979 & Ameerul Huq, M: 1979)

- a. If an owl hoots at night when a person is lying ill in the house, it is believed that the person will die soon.
- b. While going out from home, if a villager sees an empty jar or a country boat on dry land, he will stop, come back and start again. Because it indicates bad luck.

- c. The people of the village believe in ghosts and evil spirits. They take recourse to various methods to negotiate with them. To get rid of ailments and misfortunes brought about by them they take amulets from medicinemen for cure.

- d. Cultivators do not generally sow seeds or transplant seedlings on Tuesday or Saturday. These are considered inauspicious days. The first harvesting is done either on Thursday or on Friday.

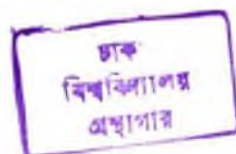
- e. While sowing the seed of jackfruit the villagers will sweeten their mouths with a little sugar or molasses and carry the seeds in big pot. They believe that by doing so the tree will grow big and bear fruits big and sweet.

- f. When paddy is infested by insects, the cultivators are used to get water breathed upon by a Moulavi and sprinkle such water in the field with the hope that the insects will be killed. The cultivators also put bamboo poles with replica of devils hoping that their crops would be protected from the evil eyes and the depredation of animals.

- g. A farmer relates a bumper crop to abundant growth of mangoes and a flood to the abundant growth of tamarind.

- h. During examination period, the students are forbidden to eat eggs or utter the word Kacchap or to look at an empty pitcher because any of these acts will result in failure in the examination.
- i. Combing hair at night or looking in a mirror is prohibited because it is feared that life may be shortened.
- j. Sweeping the floor or throwing away the used water is bad at night because this would bring poverty to the family.
- k. The majority rural people believe that they are poor because of their fate decided by the Almighty. The religious leaders propagate that the poor suffer from poverty because of their fate. For example the Moulovies ask the people to believe that during the night of Shabe-barat, the fate of every man is written by Allah. This religious belief impedes social class consciousness of the poor and the majority people remain unconcious of the fact that they are being exploited by the rich because of the existing social system.

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Conclusion

Bangladesh is predominantly rural with about 80 percent of the population in the rural areas. The rural population directly or indirectly associated with agriculture except occupational groups. The principal means of production is land and therefore, the people are divided in classes on the basis of ownership and nonownership of land.

In the study of power politics in the rural areas, it has been found that the traditional landowning and high status families who used to control the local Union Parishad for generations are gradually losing their political control and influence (Chowdhury: 1978). It does not however mean that they no longer yield power. By and large the Union Parishad leaders still belong to the rich landowning class. The traditional high status families no longer monopolize their control and influence on the Union Parishad, nevertheless they still retain some control over the local bodies. The emerging big landowners irrespective of their status are gaining more power and influence to control the Union Parishad. The political power is therefore in the process of shifting from the traditional high status groups to the emerging wealthy landowning groups. Landownership may thus be considered as the most important source of power in rural Bangladesh. The village leaders, mostly rich farmers are

the rural elites, who may not necessarily be elected Union Parishad Chairman or members. The rich farmers yield full power and exercise complete political control and influence in the rural society of Bangladesh. The class dominance thus corresponds to political dominance, which means that the rich landowners exercise political dominance over the weaker economic classes in the rural areas.

The existing social structure of Bangladesh has tremendous impact on overall education system. The benefits of education system accrue to the rich who control and dominate the society because of their wealth. It is generally the children of the rich who can afford to proceed for higher education and acquire high status and income. The children of the poor people normally fail to avail facilities from education because of unfavourable economic condition.

CHAPTER THREE

PRESENT EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF BANGLADESH : A CRITICAL REVIEW

Introduction

Bangladesh possesses a rich cultural heritage as far as education is concerned, but till the advent of British rule in India, education was regarded primarily as a source of social prestige. Economic objectives occupied a place of secondary importance. During British rule a system of education was designed to produce an elite class from within the local people, so as to serve the economic and political interests of the rulers. Under instruction issued by Warren Hestings, Lord Macauly prepared policies for educational framework in the Indian sub-continent, which is the genesis of educational systems in the country. Educational institutions were set up in selected urban centres and English was used as the medium of instruction. As a result, only a privileged group got access to education, and grandually isolated themselves from the general masses of the people.

The period between the two World Wars saw a considerable expansion of the education system, although the growth seemed to be outpaced more and more by the increase in polpulation and was hardly accompanied by any improvement in the quality of education. The system remained unchanged for sometime even after

the cessation of foreign colonial rule and the creation of Pakistan. It was only in the fifties that education came to be valued not only for social and cultural development but also as an agent of economic development. During this period, attempts were made to bring some changes in the prevailing situation by making education available to a larger group of people. Although technical education was emphasized, the need for trained and efficient manpower in adequate numbers in the various sectors remained unfulfilled.

With the War of Independence in Bangladesh in 1971 there was a massive loss of lives, dislocation of living condition of millions and considerable destruction of physical capital in the education as well as other sectors. While physical facilities seems to have been restored, the educational administration appears to have been unable to cope with the situation created by the greatly increased demand placed on the system in the aftermath of independence. Educational progress seems to have been imbalanced, and there appears to have been a considerable deterioration in quality, practically at all levels of education.

Education is an important investment in human resource development. Viewed against this concept, government provides the largest allocation in the annual budget.

The importance of the national language in every education system is great. So, 'Bangla' is the medium of instructions at all levels of education in Bangladesh. However, english is widely used at the higher level of education, particularly in the Universities.

The modern education system of Bangladesh may be broadly divided into three stages, viz, primary, secondary education in junior secondary/high schools and intermediate colleges and higher education in degree colleges and Universities.

The nation inherits a traditional system of education as well known to be 'Madrasah system' for the Muslims. Similar facilities to a certain degree are available through Tols (Pali & Sanskrit) for Hindus and Buddhist in the country. The whole system may be represented by a diagram shown in the next page.

Diagram showing the Education Structure

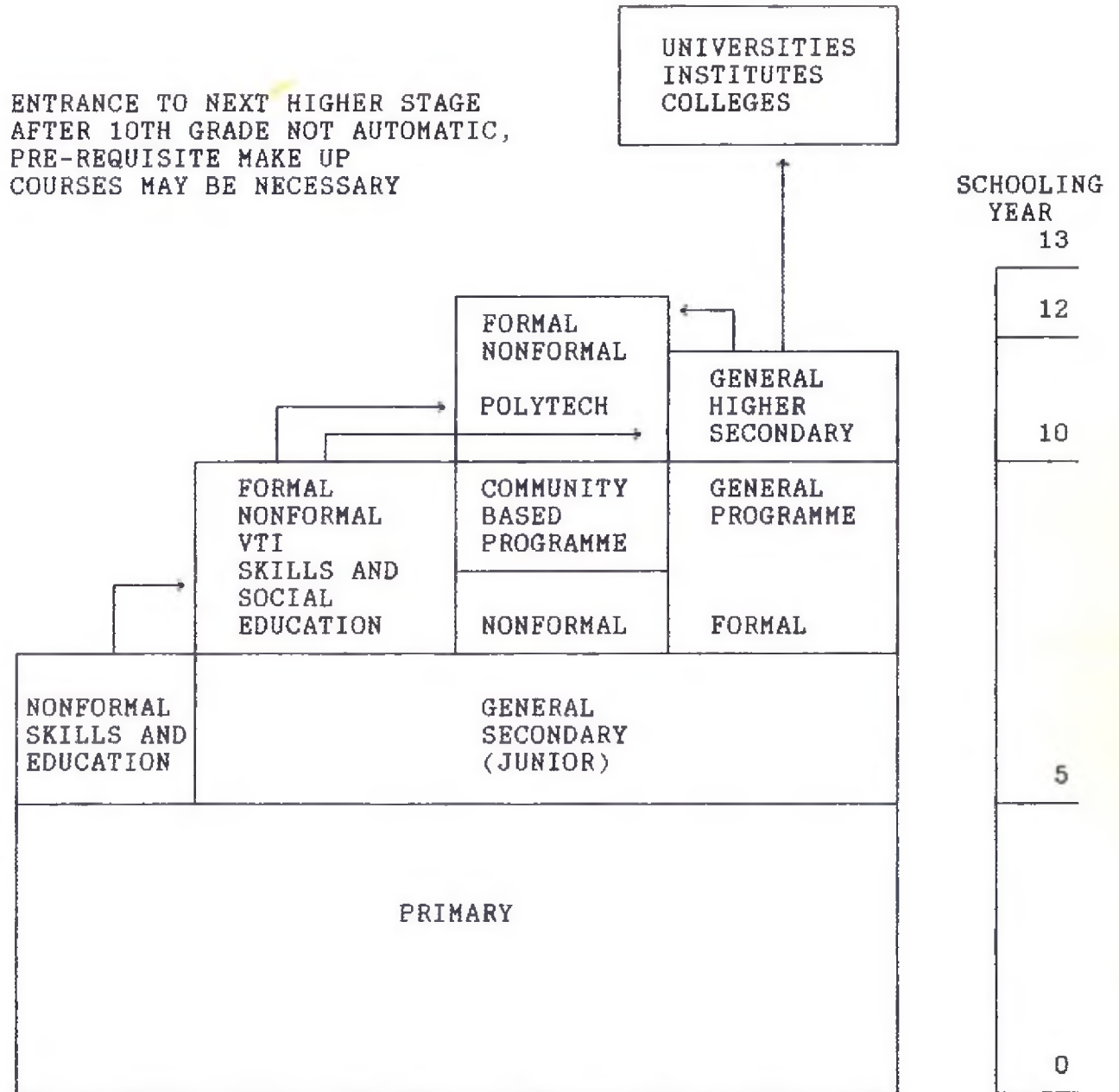


Fig. 1

Source: Draft Second Five Year Plan (1980-85), Govt. of Bangladesh, Dhaka.

The present educational system in Bangladesh

In essentials the present educational structure follows the pattern established under British rule and no fundamental reconstruction in it has been attempted. The structure consists of five tiers which are follows :

I Primary School - 5 years.

II Junior Secondary School - 3 years.

III (1) Secondary School (High School) - 2 years leading to SSC Examination.

(2)a. Vocational Training Institute - 2 years leading to VTI Certificate Examination.

b. Technical Training Centre - 2 years leading to TTC Certificate Examination.

IV (1)a. Higher Secondary School - 2 years HSC Examination.

b. Intermediate College - 2 years leading to HSC Examination.

(2) Primary Teacher Training Institute - 1 year (Primary Teacher Certificate)

(3) Junior Teacher Training College - 2 years (Junior Teacher Certificate).

(4) Commercial Institute - 2 years (Diploma Examination).

(5) Agricultural Training Institute - 2 years (Diploma Examination).

(6) Polytechnic Institute - 3 years.

- (7) Nursing or Medical Institute - 1-3 years.
- V:A
- (1) Degree College - 2-3 years for basic degree.
 - (2) Engineering College - 4 years for basic degree.
 - (3) Agricultural College - 4 years for basic degree.
 - (4) Medical College - 5 years for basic degree.
 - (5) Fine Arts College - 5 years for basic degree.
 - (6) Teacher's Training College-2 years after Bachelor's degree
- V:B
- (1) General Universities-3 years for Bachelor's (Honours) and 1-2 years for Master's degree.
 - (2) Engineering University - 4 years for Bachelor's and 1 year for Master's degree.
 - (3) Agricultural University - 4 years for Bachelor's and 1 year for Master's degree.
- V:C
- Research Institutes in various disciplines.

Besides the general school system there are also the Madrasahs i.e. Muslim religious schools at various levels. Further, there are non-formal education programmes which are gaining more and more importance, especially for adults who have never had any opportunity to enter the regular school system. Literacy campaign (organized both by government and voluntary organizations), family planning courses, agricultural courses and vocational training programmes are expanding parts of the non-formal education sector.

It is worth mentioning that about 90% of the primary schools are government institutions and the rest being run as private schools, while on the other hand about 98% of junior secondary and secondary schools and 93% of the intermediate and general degree colleges are privately administered (BANBEIS: 1990).

The different levels of education and training is indicated below.

Pre-Primary Education

The first five years in a child's life are of special importance. The child psychologists define this period as the formulation of the structure of human life. In Bangladesh, there is no public education system of this type. Few primary schools have arrangements of giving pre-primary education at baby classes. Specially in the context of socio-economic condition there has been a good number of privately managed Nursery and Kindergarten schools in the urban areas. Like general education in primary schools there are other informal pre-primary institutions for example, madrasah education run by the local communities. These are known as 'Maktab', 'Forkania', 'Quarania', etc., where informal pre-primary education is offered alongwith religious education numbering about 60 thousands. These facilities are scattered throughout rural areas of Bangladesh.

Prior to 1952 primary stage of education comprised a 4-years course (class I-IV). In 1952 the duration has been extended by one year so as to include a 5-years course (class I-V) and the same duration is retained till today. Primary education begins at the age of 6. generally, children between 6-10 years are enrolled in primary education. Promotion to the next higher grade at the primary level is given on the basis of satisfactory results of the annual examination held at the end of each calender year. However, Class-I and Class-II are treated as one unified ungraded class. Primary school curriculum for class I and II consists of Bengali, Arithmetic and Enviornmental Science/Science and Social Studies. From Class III onward the students have to read physical education, art & crafts, music and religion in addition. English is also taught as the second language. There is no system of public examination at the end of class V. The head teacher of the respective institution issues school leaving certificates to the successful students. There is also a system of conducting scholarship examination at the end of class V. Each institution selects its best students to appear in this examination which is conducted by the Thana Teachers Association. Merit Scholarships are awarded by the Government to the successful students.

There is a Directorate for the administration of Primary Education, which is responsible for the implementation of all

decisions and plans made by the Ministry of Education. In each of the 4 administrative divisional headquarters, there is a Deputy Director of Public Instruction. At present there are 68 District Education Officers and there are 486 Thana Education Officers. Recently due to the decentralisation of administration, all administration, supervision, management and control of primary education is vested at the Thana Education Office, which is an education office under the Thana Parishad headed by the Chairman and the Thana Education Officer of respective Thana acts as the member of the Parishad. Primary education in Government Primary Schools is free. And the Government has been giving greater emphasis in the universalisation of primary education at the primary level in Bangladesh.

Junior Secondary

Junior Secondary Schools offer teaching facilities upto class VIII. Generally, this stage comprises grades from class VI to class VIII. There are so many high schools and intermediate colleges in Bangladesh which combine the junior secondary stage (Class VI-VIII) and offer teaching. There are 2,267 junior high schools in Bangladesh which are all privately managed.

The curriculum structure is uniform at this stage where the basic programme is of general education. There is a board named National Curriculum and Text Book Board (NCTBB) responsible for preparing curriculum and Text Books. No public examination is conducted at this stage. Each institution conducts its own examination. Classwise annual examination is held and promotion to next higher class is given only if a student gets a minimum prescribed marks. A countrywide scholarship examination is held every year which is conducted by the Deputy Director of Secondary and Higher Education of each of the four administrative divisions. Merit scholarships are given to the successful candidate only.

Secondary Education(Class VI-X)

Secondary education is of five years duration followed by two years of higher secondary education. Students of the age group 11-16 years fall under this group. Though the medium of education is Bangla, English is a compulsory subject of study. At the end of class X, Secondary School Certificate examination is conducted by the four Boards of Intermediate and Higher Secondary Education at Dhaka, Comilla, Jessore and Rajshahi. In 1973 the number of high schools was roughly 6,000 which increased to 8,327 in 1980 (Bangladesh Education Statistics : 1987). There are at

present 8983 high schools in Bangladesh (Statistical Pocket Book Bangladesh: 1991). The schools which cater to the needs of the students of only Classes VI to VIII are known as junior high schools. The primary function of these schools is to prepare pupils for admission into class IX or vocational institutions. In 1975-76 there were 2,562 junior high schools.

The stage of education after primary education and immediately preceding college education is known as Secondary education. Secondary education is the second stage in our educational structure, which mainly caters for adolescents.

Secondary education in Bangladesh may be divided into three stages, viz., Junior Secondary, Secondary and Higher Secondary. In other words, it may be stated as follows: 3 years Junior Secondary, 2 years Secondary and 2 years Higher Secondary (i.e. $3+2+2=7$). This structure had been formulated with the recommendation of Calcutta University Commission (Sadlar Commission) since 1917. Secondary education may be divided into general, technical, vocational etc.

There are many intermediate colleges which combine grades (I-X). The total number of high schools is 7,890 out of which 262 are directly managed by the Government of Bangladesh (Educational Statistics: 1987).

Class-wise annual examination is held and promotion to next higher class is given if a student gets a minimum prescribed marks. Diversification of curriculum has been introduced at class IX, where the students separate into two streams of courses, viz., Science and Humanities. The academic programme is intended to be terminal at the end of class X where the students appear at a public examination called Secondary School Certificate which is directed to the preparation of the students for entrance in the higher secondary stage. The examination is conducted by the Boards of Intermediate and Secondary Education.

Higher Secondary Education

Education at the higher secondary stage is imparted in classes XI and XII of the intermediate colleges and intermediate sections of degree colleges. This stage is treated as a part of secondary education and its control is entrusted with the four Boards of Secondary Education mentioned previously. In 1978 there were 277 intermediate colleges. In the same year 315 degree colleges had intermediate sections. Presently there are 833 colleges in Bangladesh (Statistical Pocket Book of Bangladesh: 1989)

After passing Higher Secondary Certificate (HSC) examination at the end of class XII one group of student enters the general

universities and the other group enters technical and professional colleges and technical universities.

At the higher secondary stage the academic programme for general education is of two years duration (class XI to XII) with a public examination called Higher Secondary Certificate (HSC) examination at the end of class XII. Generally, intermediate colleges in Bangladesh offer courses of higher secondary level. There are many degree colleges which combine grades XI - XII.

This system of higher secondary education was introduced with the recommendation of the Education Commission Report (Sadlar Commission: 1917) that the better quality of University education can sustain depending upon the qualitative values of the secondary education. One of the main objectives of this course is to select students qualified for entering into the higher education on the basis of merit. And this may be equivalent to the level 'A' of England and Wales. Courses are diversified into Science, Humanities, Homeeconomics, Agriculture and Music.

Intermediate colleges and intermediate sections of degree colleges offering general education require affiliation of the regional Boards of Intermediate and Secondary Education (BISE) for academic and examination purposes. All the institutions are

bound to follow the curriculum and syllabus prescribed by the respective Board and entire candidates for examination of H.S.C arranged by the Boards . Although these Boards are completely separate in their academic and administrative affairs, their general scheme for the student are uniform, Academically, all the higher secondary institutions are under the control of the Boards which grants the affiliation without which institutions can not admit candidate for public examination nor they can arrange any such examinations for the HSC level. The method of examinations is mostly written in nature and practical examinations are taken in science subjects and in other subject where necessary. For the purpose of grading 100 marks are allotted for each paper. Minimum marks for First Division, Second Division and pass are 60%, 45% and 33% respectively in both the SSC and HSC examinations. A student who secures at least 75% marks in aggregate is awarded a 'star'. The pass mark for individual paper is 33%. The successful candidates are awarded certificates by the Boards concerned . To qualify for a certificate a candidate must pass in all subjects (for those requiring practical examinations, it is necessary to pass in theory and practical separately).

Secondary and Higher Secondary Education is administered by the Directorate of Secondary and Higher Education headed by a Director General which has field offices (8 zonal offices headed

by Deputy Directors and District offices headed by District Education officer at every districts) . Recently, the management, recruitment, administrative and inspection of the secondary institutons have been practically entrusted to the Thana Parishad.

Vocational and Technical Education

Since the mid-sixties a regular system of vocational training at certificate level has been operative in Bangladesh. The aims are to fill the need of skilled workers in various technical trades. At present there are 51 VTIs (Vicational Training Institutes) in function. There are also 5 (five) TTCs (Technical Training Centres) functioning, and 7 (seven) more such centres are planned. VTIs and TTCs are equivalent types of schools. The minimum entrance qualification is eight years of general schooling. Administratively the TTCs are under the Ministry of Manpower, while the VTIs are subordinated to the Ministry of Education.

Complementary to the VTIs, the Ministry of Education is also running a vocational training scheme as second shift courses at 13 Polytechnic Institues. Furthermore, the Ministry of Manpower organizes apperentices training in three years course crash

training for 3-6 months in the industries, and a small self-employment scheme assisting former students with loans or gifts to help them buy a workshop, equipment etc. Finally, the Ministry of Industries operates training programmes at the Industrial Technical Assistance Centre, the Textile Institute and short courses within some of the state corporations.

Technical education in Bangladesh is organised in three phases, viz, certificates, diploma and degree. The certificate courses which prepare skilled workers in different vocations after 1-2 years duration after 8 years of schooling (class-VIII) and the Diploma courses prepare Diploma engineers imparted in the polytechnic institutes.

Certificate courses :

Vocational Training institutes offer trade, Courses of two years duration in the following trades:

- a. Farm Machine Trade.
- b. Auto Machine Trade
- c. Electrical Trade.
- d. Radio and TV Trade.
- e. Machinist Trade.
- f. Welding Trade.

- g. Refrigeration and Air-condition.
- h. Wood Working Trade.
- i. Massonsry and Plumbing Trade.

Besides they also offer various types of non-formal trades of shorter duration.

Diploma courses :

Diploma level courses in 18 " Polytechnic and 3 Monotechnic Institues offer 3 years Diploma course after S.S.C. The technologies offered are :

- a. Civil Technology.
- b. Mechanical "
- c. Electrical "
- d. Power "
- e. Electronics "
- f. Architechture "
- g. Checnical & Food "
- h. Printing "
- i. Ceramic "
- j. Survey "

Public examination is held for every type of course under the auspices of the Bangladesh Technical Education Board and all diplomas and certificates are awarded by it. The Board has full academic control over technical and vocational institutions. Private institutions like Shatlipi Academy, Dhaka. Baderpur Akbar Ali Khan Commercial Institute, Comilla and two institutes offering sub-overseer courses one at Comilla and the other at Rajshahi managed by respective District Council and similar other private vocational and trade institutions numbering 125 are registered with the Technical Education Directorate and affiliated to the Board.

Religious Education

There are Sanskrit and Pali institutions in Bangladesh about 219 in number which offer traditional religious education to the minority communities mostly Hindus and Buddhists (BANBEIS, 1992:27). It has two separate department Sanskrit and Pali. The former focuses on Sanskrit and Hindu religious teaching and scriptures and later focuses on Buddhists religious teaching and scriptures. Courses are offered into three grades of studies of one year known as 'Adya' (basic)', 'Madhya' (middle) and 'Upadhi' (title) and the institutions are also classified accordingly as

Tol, College and 'Chatushpathi' respectively. In the Pali department if a student attend 3 years course in each of the above mentioned grades making a total of 9 years for all the grades of studies, he gets the degree of 'Tripitak Visharad (Master of Tripitak).

There is a government recognised board named Bangladesh Sanskrit and Pali Education Board which co-ordinates the academic and administrative functions of the institutes. The Board receives substantial assistance for running these institutes. The Directorate of Secondary and Higher Education looks after their activities.

Unani And Ayurvedic System of Medicine

The Century old Unani and Ayurvedic System of medicine are very popular in Bangladesh. The former system is based on the medical system of the Ancient Greece and the Muslims of Arab and other countries of the World and the later originated from the Ayurvedic system of medicine of the old India. Generally, these two systems are known as 'Hakimi' and Kabiraj'.

Unani system of medicine was innovated at a place called UNAN in Greece and subsequently developed in India. Innovated and developed in Bangladesh, Ayurvedic system of medicine mostly deals with herbal medicine and treatment.

There are as many as 13 Unani and Ayurvedic teaching institutions in the country among which 8 are Unani and the rests are Ayurvedic. All these are recognised by the Govt. and offer 4 years Diploma courses after SSC/Alim/Quami certificates for Unani system of medicine and after SSC or equivalent certificate in Sanskrit for Ayurvedic system of medicine respectively.

There is a Government recognised Board of Unani and Ayurvedic system of medicine in Bangladesh. This Board prescribes syllabuses and curricula, conducts examinations and awards Diploma certificates. After completion of 4 years Diploma courses viz., D.U.M.S. (Diploma of Unani in Medicine and Surgery) and one year internship training, certificates of registration are awarded to the successful candidates. The annual intake capacity of these institutions is nearly 350.

In addition to the above, institutional diploma courses, a 2 (two) months training course has been arranged to train up 2000 untrained Unani and Ayurvedic practitioners of the country.

A government Unani and Ayurvedic Degree College has been established in Dhaka during Third Five Year Plan to offer a 5 (five) years degree course plus 1 (one) year interneship training on the completion of which a degree on Bachelor of Unani/Ayurvedic Medicine and Surgery will be awarded under the faculty of Medicine of the University of Dhaka. The College will have an attached 100 bedded Hospital with facilities of research work.

Mass Education : Adult/Non-formal Education

With the introduction of Universal Primary Education, government of Bangladesh has given more emphasis on adult and non-formal education for the avowed objectives of eradicating illiteracy from the society and that is why, the Mass Education Project under the direct supervision of the Ministry of Education has been adopted in the fiscal year 1987-88 during the TFYP (Third Five Year Plan, 1985-90). The main objectives of the project is to impart job-oriented literacy to the illitearate population of age 11-45 years.

In the light of experience gained during the TFYP period the target has been fixed to raise adult literacy rate to 60% keeping the adult literacy programme effective during the fourth and fifth Five Year Plan.

The aims and objective of this project are :

- a. To enhance existing adult literacy rate from 30% to 60% by the year 2000 A.D.
- b. To establish an organisational structure for keeping up the Mass Education Programme effective and fruitful during the present and future plan periods.

Under this project sixty mass education centre were be organised in each Thana. Out of sixty centres, ten centres were reserved for female. An arrangement was made to enroll forty illiterates at a time in each centre.

For proper implementation of the mass education programme, an implementation and monitoring unit was set up. The constitution of the committee is as follows :

- | | |
|--|------------------|
| 1. Chairman Thana Parishad | President |
| 2. Thana Nirbahi Officer | Vice-President |
| 3. Thana Education Officer | Member-Secretary |
| 4. Charman Concerned Union Parishad | Member |
| 5. Officer from different nation
building department at Thana Level | Member |

Office of the Thana Education Officer serves as the Secretariate of the implementation and monitoring unit.

Mass Education Programme has been going on effectively with the direct control of the Ministry of Education. A steering committee has also been set up comprising the officials from different departments engaged in field level development activities under the chairmanship of the Secretary of the Ministry of Education.

There is also a supervision committee under the leadership of the Secretary of the Ministry of Education for analysing the activities of the Non-Government Organisation (NGO) engaged for the purpose. This committee also gives allocation for implementation of this programme to the NGOs. A committee at the National level has been working for the development of the Text-books and educational equipments under the chairmanship of the Chairman, National Curriculum and Text Book Board, Dhaka.

Physical Education for Handicaped and Mentally Retarded

A baby is found to be physically handicaped and mentally retarded amongst every ten newly born babies in the whole world now a days. Either the baby is blind, or deaf and dumb or, mentally physically retarded. Everybody needs medical facilities,

education, training and rehabilitation. For the welfare of the children and people of this group there are few programmes taken by the government and non-government organisations in Bangladesh. The programmes of present system of education and training for different types of retarded children and people are as follows :

Education and Training System for the Blind:

Government Programmes

Blind Schools : The Social Welfare directorate of the Government of Bangladesh runs 5 (five) Blind Schools for the education of blind children of the country located in the district of Dhaka, Chittagong, Rajshahi and Khulna. These schools offer education for the blind children at primary level upto class V by Brail system. Besides, students can have different vocational training and studies in music.

Integrated Education system for the Blind:

Government of Bangladesh has started a programme called Integrated Education System for the Blind under the Social Welfare department so that the blind children may have the opportunity of getting education simulteneously with the children of having normal eye-sight of their age. With a view to this objective recently a Brail Press has been established in Dhaka with the Foreign Aids.

Adult Blind Training and Rehabilitation Programme :

4 (four) training centres has been started at the divisional headquarters of Bangladesh for vocational training of the adult blind people of Bangladesh. After completion of the training, they may be employed in the nearest industry with the help of the Placement Services Branch of the Training Centre.

Non-Government Programmes

Bangladesh National Society for the Blind (BNSB) established a vocational training centre at Mirpur with the assistance of a General Institute for the blind. 110 male and 47 female can have training on weaving, wood Work, book binding.

Education and Training System for the Deaf and Dumb

Government Programmes

Deaf and Dumb Schools : The social welfare department of the Government of Bangladesh established Deaf and Dumb Schools in each of the district town of Dhaka, Chittagong, Rajshahi and Khulna. The other three schools are at Chandpur, Faridpur and Sylhet. In these schools primary teaching, drawing and vocational training are offered for the deaf and dumb children.

Adult Training and Rehabilitation : In the above schools there is a separate system of different vocational training for the deaf and dumb. All centres are known as Training and Rehabilitation Centre for the physically handicapped.

Employment Rehabilitation Centre : Situated at Tongi, near Dhaka a vocational training centre for the blind has created an opportunity of learning works of different vocations. Besides this, determination of intensity of deafness in the hearing centre, proper treatment, manufacture of listening instruments etc. are done here.

Non-Govt. Programmes

Various voluntary organisation of the country established four schools for the deaf children at Brahminabaria, Dhaka, Bogra and Mymensingh at their own costs. These type of schools generally offer vocational training.

Education and Training for the Mentally retarded Children

At present, there is no special schools and Training Centre for the mentally retarded children run by the Government in Bangladesh. But few voluntary organisations have taken training programmes for the children of the country. The 'Society for the

Care and Education of Mentally Retarded Children' (SCEMRC) started a 6-special education class for the 5-15 years children in a regular school. The school also looks after training of technique of exchanging social feelings and views of the children. This organisation has been working in this field since 1982. Bangladesh Retarded Foundation established a special school for the retarded in the city of Dhaka which is known as 'Kalyani'.

Teacher Training

Teachers are the largest and the most important factor of an education system after the students. Well educated and trained teachers are the pre-requisites of education extension and qualitative improvement of education. And everybody should agree that teachers are located at the nucleus of education system. That is why, the preparation of teaching professionals i.e, training has been considered an important matter at the national level. At all levels of education a nation must have a society of well education and professionally well prepared teachers to increase the working ability and to improve the quality of education.

In Bangladesh there are 3 (three) systems of teacher training viz., Primary, Vocational and Physical education at the secondary level.

Primary : At the beginning of the 5th decade of this century teacher training at the primary level has been given special importance. With the abolition of the old system of Guru Training (GT) Schools/Primary Training Centres/Moallem Training Schools, Primary Training Institutes (PTI) have been established. Now there are 52 Govt. PTIs and 1 (one) privately managed PTI in Bangladesh which offer certificate in Education (C-in-Ed) course for one year duration for preparing teachers for primary schools. The minimum qualification of this course are : (i) SSC for Primary School teachers those who are already in the service, (ii) SSC 2nd Division for external female candidates and (iii) HSC/Fazil (SSC/Alim and HSC/2nd Division at any examination of the Fazil group) for external male candidate. The National Academy for Primary Education (NAPE) located at Mymensingh is also responsible for conducting examinations after one year training in Primary teaching and offering certificates of education (C-in-Ed).

Vocational : The Vocational Teachers Training Institute (VTTI) situated at Bogra is responsible for teacher training for vocational institutions of Bangladesh. This institute offers two years training course for the teachers of 51 vocational training institutes of the country. The Technical Teachers Training College (TTTC) situated at Dhaka also offers short training course (not above 4 weeks) for the teachers of VTIs.

Physical education : At present two physical education colleges situated at Dhaka and Rajshahi of Bangladesh offer one year certificate course called Junior Diploma in Physical Education (JDP) certificate after H.S.C. Both the colleges were under the Ministry of Education, but in 1977 all these were taken under the Ministry of Sports and Cultural Affairs.

Professional Education

Besides these, so many other training institutes/Schools are in the country managed publicly or privately offer certificate and Diploma course at secondary level in the field of Agriculture, Medical, Nursing, Commerce etc.

The National Training and Research Academy for Multilingual Shortand (NTRAMS) located at Bogra run by the Ministry of Education is responsible for a two years course. This academy also conducts a 6-months Certificate course on Secretarial Science. After 12 years of schooling i.e., after HSC a student can get admission for this course. They also conduct 3 months in service Training Course in Secretarial Course for the concerned Government and Non-Government employes and 1 month Teachers Training Course in Secretarial Science of the Government and Non-Government institutes.

The Ministry of Agriculture operates 11 Agricultural Training Institutes (ATI) where a 3 years Diploma Course in Agriculture is run with affiliation of the Technical Education Board. The minimum educational qualification for the entrance into the Diploma course is the S.S.C.

Under the Directorate of Nursing Services there are 42 schools of Nursing which offer 4 years course (3 years Nursing and 1 year midwifery). Among these only 38 are publicly managed and the rests are privately managed (Bangladesh Educational Statistics :1987). At the end of the course a certificate is awarded by the Bangladesh Nursing Council (BNC). Simultaneously, there are 8 Medical Assistant Training Schools (MATS) run by the Government under the Directorate of Health which offer 3 years training certificate course after S.S.C. There are two paramedical institutions in Bangladesh which offer 3 years Diploma course in Health Technology, Laboratory Technicians, Radiography, Sanitary Inspection, Pharmacy and Dentistry after S.S.C. The technicians of Government Hospitals can also participate in these courses. These institutions are not yet affiliated to the University.

Ministry of industry operates 33 Monotextile institutions under the Directorate of Textile which offer 2 years course after S.S.C.

The objectives of all these courses are to develop the technical manpower at different levels to meet the technical need of the country with special reference to industry, private entrepreneur and service organizations. The training will also help to generate self employment of the trainees.

Institutions of Higher Education

The stage of higher education starts after passing the HSC examination. Higher education is offered in both general and technical universities as well as in the general, technical and professional degree colleges. For Bachelor's degree stage, there are two courses viz. Pass and Honours. Pass courses are offered in general degree colleges (both government and non-government). At the end of two years study an examination is held by the university concerned and the successful students get the Bachelor's pass degree from the corresponding Universities.

Honours courses are generally offered in four general Universities and also in some selected degree colleges. Honours courses are of three years duration after which a final examination is held by the Universities and the successful students obtain certificates in Bachelor's degree (Honours) in

Arts, Science or Commerce. Honours degree holders are eligible for admission into Master's degree course in the final year and after one year they get the Master's degree in the relevant subject.

The pass Bachelor's degree holders may get themselves admitted in the first year Master's degree course and after two years, successful students obtain the Master's degree from the University.

Degree Colleges

It will be seen from table 3.1 that during the period 1960-61 to 1979-80 the general degree colleges grew in number from 81 to 348 i.e. the increase was more than four-fold. Presently 454 Degree College of the country out of which only 175 are managed by the Government teaching is offered at graduate levels. Among these 43 Colleges offer courses at Honours and 12 University Colleges at post-graduate level respectively. An interesting feature over the last five years is the decrease in the number of non-government colleges and increase in the number of government colleges, as a number of the former were taken over by the Government.

Table 3.1

Growth in the number of general Degree colleges

Year	Total	Male	Female	Government	Non-Government
1960-61	81	74	7	N.A.	N.A.
1965-66	94	80	14	10	84
1970-71	188	163	25	26	162
1973-74	288	258	30	N.A.	N.A.
1975-76	338	303	35	31	307
1979-80	348	-	-	59	289

Source : (i) DPI, Annual reports and "Statistical Profile of Education in Bangladesh" (for the figure upto 1975-76).

(ii) Planning Commission, Draft Second Five Year Plan .

General Universities

Presently there are seven general universities for imparting general education; namely Dhaka University, Rajshahi University, Chittagong University, Jahangirnagar University, Khulna University, Islamic University and Shahjalal University. Besides, there is one Government managed Open University and privately managed North-South University. Out of the above Universities,

Dhaka University, Rajshahi University, Chittagong University, Jahangirnagar University and Islamic University are awarding general degrees and the rests are recently established.

The University of Dhaka was established in 1921 under the Government of India Act XVIII of 1920 as a unitary teaching and residential university with constitution similar in many respects to those of the then contemporary English universities. The University is situated in Dhaka, the capital and metropolitan city of Bangladesh. At present Dhaka University is also an affiliating authority for degree colleges under its jurisdiction.

Rajshahi University, a teaching and an affiliating university, was founded on July 1, 1953. The University of Chittagong is also a teaching and an affiliating university, which was established in 1966.

Jahangirnagar University, was established in 1970, mainly as a residential university. The University is located at Savar which is at a distance of about 18 miles from Dhaka.

Technical Universities

There are two technical universities in Bangladesh viz. the University of Engineering and Technology and the Agricultural University. The University of Engineering and Technology established in Dhaka began to function in June 1962. Its purpose is to provide facilities for higher education and research in engineering and technology in nine branches namely Civil, Mechanical, Electrical, Chemical, Metallurgical, Naval Architecture, Water Resources, Architecture and Physical Planning.

The Agricultural University was established in 1961 at Mymensingh. Its main purpose is to provide facilities for higher education and research in agriculture and allied fields. There are as many as 40 departments under six faculties and a Division of Basic Science and Literature.

Higher Technical and Professional Colleges

There are at present four Engineering Colleges one each in Gazipur, Rajshahi, Chittagong and Khulna. These are now known as Bangladesh Institute of Technology (BIT). After successful study of four years, students get the B.Sc. Engineering degree.

There are thirteen Medical Colleges. The colleges offer the graduation degree (MBBS) in different branches of Medical Science. The duration of the course is five years. Thirteen Medical Colleges are located in the districts of Rangpur, Rajshahi, Barisal, Dhaka (Dhaka Medical College and Salimullah), Mymensingh, Chittagong, Bogra, Dinajpur, Comilla, Faridpur, Khulna and Sylhet. In addition, there are three private Medical Colleges, affiliated to the University of Dhaka. There is also one Dental College in Dhaka. Besides these, there is one Institute of Post Graduate Medicine and Research located in Dhaka.

There is one Arts and Crafts College in Dhaka. The duration of its course is four years. After four years, the successful students obtain the Bachelor's degree from the college.

There is an Agricultural Institute, located at Sher-e-Bangla Nagar Dhaka. It is affiliated to the Agricultural University. The Institute offers Bachelor's degree course in Agriculture extending over four years.

There are ten Teacher's Training Colleges and one College of Education which offer the B.Ed. Degree course extending over two years. One of the two Training Colleges located in Mymensingh is exclusively for women. The other Training College in Mymensingh

offers B.A. and M.A. degree courses in Education. There is a separate Technical Teacher's Training College which offers one year diploma course and two years degree course in Technical Education.

There is an Academy for Fundamental Education in Mymensingh which offers in-service training facilities for teachers of Primary Training Institutes.

Besides, there is an Institute for Education and Research in Dhaka. It is a part of Dhaka University. The Institute offers both the Bachelor's and Master's Degree in Education.

There are two Commerce Colleges located in Chittagong and Khulna. The Khulna Commerce College offers both Bachelor's and Master's degree Course and the Chittagong Commerce College offers Pass and Honours degree courses. The duration of the pass course is two years and that of honours course is three years.

There is an Institute of Business Administration which is a part of the University of Dhaka. It offers a two years Master's degree course in Business Administration on the pattern of business Schools in American universities. It also offers higher degree and organizes special course in business management.

Higher Education

The level of education given just after secondary level in Bangladesh is called Higher Education. The present system of higher education in Bangladesh had been introduced by the British rulers. Calcutta University was one of the three universities established in the Asian Sub-continent in 1857. All higher educational institutions of Bangladesh were under the University of Calcutta. But with the establishment of the University of Dhaka in 1921 all institutions of the country except the city of Dhaka remained under Calcutta University.

After the divisions of this sub-continent in 1947 all institutions of the then East Pakistan were under Dhaka University. After that, all institutions except Barisal District (later Patuakhali District) and Chittagong Division were taken under the University of Rajshahi and Chittagong respectively with their establishment. Later on, other Universities, as mentioned above have been established to facilitate higher education.

After passing Higher Secondary Certificate (H.S.C.) examination students can pursue, in accordance with their ability

and aptitude, higher education in Pass/Honours Bachelor's Degree course (duration 2 years/3 years) in Degree colleges and the Universities, which are followed by the Master's Degree courses of one year duration for holders of an Honours Bachelor's degree and 2 years duration for holders of Bachelor's Pass degree.

M.Phil and Ph.D courses in selected subjects are also offered in the universities. The duration for the studies for M.Phil degree is 2 years and that of Ph.D minimum 3 years after Masters Degree.

Medical and Health

After passing Higher Secondary Certificate (HSC, Science : Pre-medical) examination a student can get admission into the 5 Years MBBS course offered by 13 Medical Colleges in Bangladesh. The appropriation of money, the selection of teachers, the admission of students and general management are under the control of Ministry of Health. The University of Dhaka, Rajshahi and Chittagong are responsible for the academic activities of these colleges. And the Bangladesh Medical Council

gives Registration Certificates to the candidates who have passed the M B B S Course and completed one year internship training. There is an Inter-Medical College Board for the purpose of co-ordinating the academic activities of all medical colleges in the country. The headquarters of this board is in Dhaka.

Anatomy, Physiology, Bio-chemistry, Psychology, elements of Bio-statistics, Pharmacology, Micro-biology, Pathology, Preventive Medicine and community medicine, Toxicology and forensic medicine, Medicine, Surgery etc. are taught in the M B B S course in Bangladesh.

Besides these colleges, there are ten institutes in the country which offer different post-graduate courses viz., Diploma/ Master of Science/M.Phil./F.C.P.S./M.C.P.S./M.PH.E./M.D. degree in different subjects of Medical Sciences. The institutes are as follows :

- (i) Institute of Post Graduate Medicine and Research (IPGMR), Dhaka.
- (ii) Institute of Cardio-Vascular Diseases, Dhaka.
- (iii) Institute of Diseases of Chest and Hospital.
- (iv) National Institute of Preventive and Social Medicine.
- (v) Institute for of Ophthalmology.

- (vi) Institute for Rehabilitation of the Disabled.
- (vii) Institute of Public Health and Nutrition.
- (viii) Bangladesh Institute of Research and Rehabilitation in Diabetics Endocrine and Metabolic Disorders.
- (ix) Institute of Child Health.
- (x) Institute of Epidemiology Disease Control and Research.

All these institutes are affiliated to the University of Dhaka.

Dental College situated at Dhaka which offers 4 years in BDS (Bachelor's of Dental Surgery) course after H.S.C which is affiliated to the University of Dhaka. And there is also a Nursing College at Dhaka which offers a 4 years B N Sc (Bachelor's of Nursing Science) course after H S C which is affiliated to the University of Dhaka.

Homeopathic system of Medicine

Though the Homoeopathic system of Medicine had been running in this country since long, the institutional management of this system has been developed in the recent days. For controlling this system a Homoeopathic practitioner ordinance was served. According to the ordinance, structures and functions of

Homoeopathy Board have been reformed and redetermined. The Board has the following jobs :

- a. To give recognition of all Homeopathic medical colleges of the country.
- b. To confirm the status/ standard of the institutions
- c. To conduct Certificate, Diploma and Degree examinations
- d. To develop this system of education and research works
5. To make arrangement of conducting various symposiums, seminars/workshops, publishing improved and qualitative text books and journals etc.

At present , there are 38 Homoeopathic Medical colleges in Bangladesh among which 32 have recognition of the Homeopathic Board and the remaining 6 are unregistered. (Statistical Pocket Book : 1989). Most of these colleges offer night shift courses. There are a few colleges which have dayshift along with nightshift course. 513 teachers have been working in these institutions. Most of them are part timers. Basic medical subjects are taught by M B B S and M. Sc. degree holders and the courses on Homoeopathic Medicine by the Homoeopathic doctors/physicians.

At present in these colleges two courses offered are:

Diploma course : It is a four years course in Homoeo Medicine after S S C. The degree is called D H M S (Diploma in Homoeo Medicine and Surgery). Subjects taught in these institutions focus mainly on the study of Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Anatomy, Physiology, Surgery, Gynaecology, Midwifery, Medical law, Meteria medica, Medicine Homeo philosophy, Organon of Medicine, Public Health and Family Planning etc. One must complete a 6 months internship course and have registration certificate.

Degree course : After D H M S a student can join a 2 (two) years condensed course in Homoeo Medicine and Surgery. After successful completion of this condensed course, he will be awarded the Degree of B H M S (Bachelor of Homeo Medicine and Surgery), affilisted under the Faculty of Medicine, University of Dhaka.

A student can also join the 5 years BHMS course after passing H S C examination in Science securing at least 2nd Division. In the Degree level a few additional subjects alongwith Psychology are taught. A student must complete a 1(one) year internship course after BHMS degree and has the registration certificate .

Engineering and Technology

With the establishment of Ahsanullah Engineering college, Dhaka engineering education at degree level started in this country. Now Bangladesh University of Engineering and Technology (BUET), Dhaka and Bangladesh Agricultural University (BAU) Mymensingh offer courses at graduate/post-graduate level in all subjects of engineering and agricultural engineering respectively. As mentioned earlier, there are 4 divisional Institutes of Technology located at the 4 divisional headquarters of the country which offer engineering courses at graduate level (B.Sc.Engineering) in Civil, Electrical and Mechanical Engineering after 12 years of schooling (H S C) and with a duration of 4 years study. Public examination is held for the courses under the auspices of the Council of Bangladesh Institute of Technology.

Under the Directorate of Technical Education college of Textile Technology and college of Leather Technology located at Dhaka also offer 4 years degree courses in Textile Technology and Leather Technology respectively after H S C (Science).

Bangladesh University of Engineering and Technology (BUET) offers a five years degree course (Bachelor of Architecture after H.S.C. (pre-engineering) followed by a one year Master of

Architecture. There is also a two years M U R P (Master of Urban and Rural Planning) course after B.Sc.(Engineering) or Master degree holders of some selected subjects viz. Economics, Geography, Statistics, Mathematics etc.

Doctor of philosophy (Ph.D) degrees are also awarded by the BUET after two / three years course work / thesis work after M.Sc.(Engineering/computer Engineering).

The Universities are fully autonomous in character. There exists a University Grants Commission (UGC) which is an autonomous organisation established for co-ordinating the academic programme of the universities as well as promoting research activities and coordinating development activities of the universities with the government. The Institute of Scientific Instrumentation under the UGC offers training to technicians for maintenance, repair and development of expensive and sophisticated scientific instrument and equipment used for teaching and research purpose in the universities and colleges.

Besides, there is an International organisation called Islamic Centre for Technical and Vocational Training and Research (ICTVTR) situated at Tongi in the District of Gazipur and

funded by Organization of Islamic Countries (OIC), which is responsible for the preparation of skilled and efficient technical professionals of different Islamic Countries of the world. This institute offers certificates in different technologies at the Higher level of education.

Agriculture

Agricultural Education in Bangladesh means the education which deals with production, preservation, processing and marketing system of all agricultural produce, Animal-husbandry, Poultry farming, Livestocks, Fisheries, Pisciculture, Agricultural Engineering, Agricultural Economics and Forestry.

Agricultural University situated at Mymensingh which offers 4 years honours (Bachelors of Science Honours) course in Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, fisheries, Veterinary Science, Agricultural Engineering and Agricultural Economics followed by one year Master's degree courses. This University also offers Ph.D. (Doctor of Philosophy) courses of two/three years duration after M.Sc. in the relevant fields.

Three agricultural colleges located at Dhaka, Patuakhali and Dinajpur offer honours course in agriculture. Only the agricultural college of Dhaka offer. M.Sc. course in agriculture.

Recently, Government has established Post-Graduate Institute for Agricultural Education at the Post-Graduate level called Institute of Post Graduate studies in Agriculture (IPSA) at Gazipur. The present system of forestry science in the University of Chittagong and in an affiliated Government institute of the same University has the scope of offering courses of Honours and Masters level. Besides these, there is also an Institute under the University Of Chittagong which offer courses in Marine Science in the same level.

Legal Education

Legal education plays a crucial role in maintaining the rule of law in the country. The system of legal education now prevalent in Dhaka and Rajshahi Universities and 22 law colleges approved by the universities have the facilities at the degree and post-graduate levels. At Dhaka University the duration of L.L.B. honours course is three years after H.S.C. and the duration of the L.L.M. course is one year after L.L.B. honours course. The Rajshahi University has B.Jur. (Bachelor of Jurisprudence) honours course of three years duration after H.S.C. and M.Jur. (Master's of Jurisprudence) course of one year duration after B.Jur. honours. This University also has L.L.M.

course of two years duration after M.Jur. There is a provision of two years law course after the first university degree offered by different affiliated law colleges of the universities in different parts of the country. Two general universities of the country --Chittagong and Jahangirnagar have no facilities of this system of education.

Most of the teachers at the law colleges are part-timers. Famous legal practitioners are associated in the satisfactory management of higher teaching and research in law colleges so that the pupils can get the advantage of their long experiences in the legal profession.

Facilities for Foreign Students

Students from the abroad can also pursue studies in the Universities of Bangladesh. Especially in the field of Agriculture, Medical and language studies, a good number of foreign students get admission into various courses of the universities. Most of the students are from the developing countries of the Middle-East.

(a) Bangladesh Agricultural University:

Students from the abroad must have qualifications equivalent to S.S.C and H.S.C in at least 2nd division on Bangladesh Intermediate & Secondary Education Boards. They may be exempted from admission test on specific grounds. Foreign students may apply to appropriate Ministry in their own country to obtain clearance from Government of Bangladesh. Closing date is determined by the admission Committee of the university but the applications from the foreign students must reach the appropriate Ministry in Bangladesh in May or June. They can write or communicate to the registrar of the University for other enquiries. Hostel facilities are also available in the university.

(b) Bangladesh University of Engineering and Technology (BUET):

General requirement for entry to first year of a degree course is a pass at least in 2nd division in both the S.S.C and H.S.C conducted by the Board of Intermediate & Secondary Education of Bangladesh or equivalent examinations. Students from abroad and other Commonwealth countries must have a General Certificate of Education with passes at advanced 'A' level in

chemistry, mathematics and physics. Application must be sent to the university through government channels along with certified transcripts of academic records. Admission is done during the month of June - September. For other enquiries one may write to registrar. Hostel accommodations are also available for the foreign students.

(c) General Universities:

Students from abroad are considered on their merits. They must have passed examinations recognised by the university and must also take an admission test (written and oral).

Arts : (i) 2nd division in either S.S.C or H.S.C with 45% in subject offered for the study at degree level, or

(ii) 2nd division in both S.S.C and H.S.C with 40% in relevant subject at H.S.C

Commerce : (i) 2nd division in either S.S.C or H.S.C with 45% in 3 commercial subjects, or

(ii) For candidates from group other than H.S.C (Commerce) 2nd division in both S.S.C and H.S.C

- Law** : 2nd division in either S.S.C or H.S.C with at least 45% in the other examination.
- B.Sc. Engg.** : 2nd division in either S.S.C or H.S.C with at least 45% in Mathematics.
- M.B.B.S.** : 2nd division in either S.S.C or H.S.C with at least 45% in Biology.

Expansion of enrolment at different levels

The literacy rate in Bangladesh according to the 1974 census is only 20.2 percent (in respect of total population), which rose to 23.8 percent in 1981 census and 24.8 percent in 1991 census. There is a great difference between the literacy rates for males and females, the rates being 27.6 and 12.2 percent respectively in 1974 (A K M G Rabbani : 1974), which is now 31.0 and 16.0 percent respectively. Over the last three decades improvement of literacy in the country has been quite modest.

One of the main reasons for the slow progress of literacy in the country is to be found in the slow growth of enrolment at the primary stage. On the basis of official statistics enrolment at the primary stage from 1974 till the independence of Bangladesh grew at a compound rate of little over 4 percent per annum. Enrolment between 1965-66 and 1979-80 grew at a compound rate of

only 3.6 percent per annum (Table 3.2). As against this enrolment at the secondary stage grew at a compound rate of 6.8 percent per annum. On the basis of planning Commission data, the projected enrolment at the primary stage in 1981 is only 63.84 percent of the relevant age group (6 to 10), the enrolment for boys and girls as proportions of the relevant age groups being 76.72 percent and 5.53 percent respectively (Planning Commission, Second Five year plan ch. XVI). It has also been established that the rate of dropout at the primary stage is particularly high. About 50 percent of children who are enrolled in the primary schools dropout during the first year and only 20 percent of those who are enrolled in the first year proceed to the fifth year (S A Kadir & K S Ahmed : 1980).

Enrolment in higher levels of education

It may be interesting to analyse the rates of growth of enrolment in higher levels of education. The Table 3.3 provides the data.

It may be seen that the combined enrolment at the higher secondary stage and the general colleges show a compound rate of growth of 8.4 percent per annum between 1965-66 and 1979-80 which is substantially higher than those at the primary and the secondary stages.

Table 3.2

Enrolment at Different Levels of Education in Bangladesh
(Primary and Secondary Education)

(Figures in thousand)

	1965-66	1972-73	1977-78	1979-80
PRIMARY (Class I-V)				
Boys	2,975	4,000	--	4,760
Girls	1,309	2,000	--	2,240
Total	4,284	6,000	6,800	7,000
SECONDARY (Class VI-X)				
Boys	739	1,428	--	1,460
Girls	108	272	--	520
Total	847	1,700	1,943	2,000

Source : (i) For enrolments in 1965-66, "Statistical Information of Education in East Pakistan", The East Pakistan Education Week, 1970, published by DPI, Government of former East Pakistan.

(ii) For enrolments in 1973, 1978 and 1980, Planning Commission, Government of Bangladesh, Second Five Year Plan. Planning Commission estimates are significantly lower than those of the Ministry of Education, which are generally regarded as inflated at any rate for the primary stage.

Enrolment in the general universities grew at a compound rate of 10.3 percent per annum between 1965-66 and 1979-80, although if we consider a more recent period viz. 1972-73 to 1979-80 the compound rate of growth is only 4 percent per annum. It should however, be noted that in 1972-73, the first year of independence there was a phenomenal expansion of enrollment in the general universities which was sharply reduced in the following year (Ibid).

Enrolment in the Engineering University grew at a compound rate of 3.3 percent per annum during 1965-66 to 1979-80. Enrolment grew in the rate of 9.8 percent per annum over the same period.

As the Engineering and the Agricultural Colleges offer the same basic degrees as the Engineering and the Agricultural Universities respectively, it might be useful to examine the growth of enrolments in these disciplines by considering the relevant University and College enrolments together. Thus enrolment in the Engineering University and the Engineering Colleges taken together grew at a compound rate of 7.2 percent per annum over the twelve years 1965-66 to 1977-78. Over the same period enrolment in the Agricultural University and the Agricultural College taken together grew at a compound rate of 8.2 percent per annum.

Table 3.3

Enrolment at Different Levels of Education (Higher Level of Education)

	1965-66	1972-73	1977-78	1979-80
Higher Secondary				
General College	124,657	329,000	381,000	386,000
University				
A. General	7,853	25,227	24,930	31,061
B. Professional				
i) Engineering	1,509	1,726	1,890	2,383
ii) Agricultural	823	2,581	2,408	3,046
Technical and Professional (College Level)				
Engineering	216	1,293	2,080	--
Agriculture	212	456	248	--
Medical	1,920	3,304	8,137	--
Teacher Education	1,130	2,223	3,268	--
Polytechnic	2,534	9,877	13,588	--

Source : For data relating to 1965-66, "Statistical Information on Education in East Pakistan", the East Pakistan Education Week, 1970 published by DPI Government of former East Pakistan. For data relating to 1972-73, except for universities, Planning Commission, The First Five Plan (1973-78), Dhaka, 1973. For data relating to universities except 1965-66, and 1979-80, Reports of the University Grants Commission; for 1979-80 estimates of the University Grants Commission.

For data relating to 1977-78, 1978-80 for higher secondary and general colleges, Planning Commission. Draft Second Five Year Plan, Dhaka, 1980; for technical and professional education, "Statistical Profile of Education in Bangladesh", Bangladesh Bureau of Educational Information and Statistics, April 1978 and "Educational Statistics of Bangladesh", Bangladesh Bureau of Educational Information and Statistics, December 1978.

Impressive rates of growth were also shown in several other branches of technical and professional education. Thus enrolment in the Medical Colleges increased at a compound rate of 13 percent per annum over the twelve years 1965-66 to 1977-78. During the same period the Polytechnics increased their enrolment in college level and teacher education expanded by 9.3 percent per annum.

Objectives of Educational Development

There has been a considerable discussion on the goals of educational development in Bangladesh since independence. The constitution of Bangladesh which was framed in 1972 provides some

broad guidelines for educational development in the country. Under the "Fundamental Principles of State Policy" in the Constitution, it is laid down that "the State shall adopt effective measures for the purpose of: a) establishing a uniform, mass-oriented and universal system of education to all children to such stages as may be determined by law;

- (a) relating education to the needs of society and producing properly trained and motivated citizens to serve those needs;
- (b) removing illiteracy within such time as may be determined by law (Constitution of the Peoples Republic of Bangladesh : 1972).

Other provisions in the "Fundamental Principles" which have a bearing on educational development and policy emphasize that "the State shall endeavor to ensure equality of opportunity to all citizens" and "the State shall adopt effective measures to remove social and economic inequality between man and man, and to ensure the equitable distribution of wealth among citizens, and of opportunities in order to attain an uniform level of economic development throughout the Republic (Ibid: 19).

The Bangladesh Education Commission which was set up in 1972 and submitted its report in May 1974 attempted to elaborate the basic objectives of educational development and work out a strategy for attaining the goals.

According to the Report of the Qudrat-e-Khuda Education commission, one of the basic goals of educational development is to promote "love of country, national solidarity and responsible citizenship". The report further states that the education system must provide support for the realization of the four fundamental principles underlying the constitution, viz. nationalism, socialism, democracy and secularism. It was also expected that the education system must promote moral values and serve as an instrument of social change. In order to promote the objectives of egalitarianism and democracy, the report emphasized that education must be provided to all citizens according to their ability and aptitudes on the basis of equality of opportunity. Every citizen must be guaranteed a minimum standard of education. According to the Commission the education system must promote attitudes and values of the people which were conducive to sustained progress and to the removal of superstition, mismanagement and corruption from the social and economic system. The Commission observes that a major responsibility of the system is to increase the skill and capability of the people so that

they can contribute to the social and economic advancement of the country. The Commission also considers it to be of utmost importance that the education system must foster independent thinking creativity, managerial ability and qualities of leadership (Ibid P. 2-3).

Educational Planning in Pakistan period

Systematic work on educational planning relating to former East Pakistan started with the First Five Year Plan of Pakistan (1955-60). Between 1955 and 1970 three Five Year Plans had been prepared and launched in which education formed an important component. A fourth Five Year Plan which was prepared for 1970-75 hardly got off the ground, when the country was plunged into liberation war strife culminating in the independence of Bangladesh in 1971.

Although the importance of education for overall development was often reiterated by national leaders and top planners, education was a neglected sector in Pakistan. Over the three Plans, the share of education in the public sector development expenditure for Pakistan as whole remained only 5 percent or so (Planning Commission, Fourth five year plan, government of

Pakistan: 37). The priority accorded to education in drafting of plans were not usually reflected in the implementation of plans. Required funds were denied to the education and training sector because of pressure for resource in other economic sectors. The Fourth Plans document of Pakistan points out that as a result "the country found itself faced with a serious imbalance between manpower needs and education output". The Plan document expressed the view that notwithstanding large scale unemployment, there were shortages of skilled manpower in fields that were critical for development (Ibid : 143).

Nevertheless, experience of educational planning in Pakistan was useful. It enabled the planners and educational administrators to gain deeper insight into problems of educational development and highlight areas of concern. Through successive plan periods machinery of planning and educational administration were improved. It also led to better collection and compilation of educational data and some research on educational problems although at the time of independence of Bangladesh the quality and coverage of education data left much to be desired.

First Five Year Plan of Bangladesh

A comprehensive exercise in educational planning in Bangladesh was made by the Planning Commission of the Government of Bangladesh in the First Five Year Plan (1973-78) published in 1973. It was mainly the work of professionals in consultation with the relevant Ministries of the Government under the direction of the Deputy Chairman and members of the Planning Commission. Although the Government set up a Commission on Education in 1972 which was expected to examine the education system in detail and make recommendations for the future structure and development of the system and the preparation of a comprehensive educational Plan, the report of the Commission was available well after the plan had been actually prepared. A serious lapse of the plan was that there had been no popular participation in its preparation. Although the plan was approved by the Cabinet with some modifications, it was never debated in the Parliament. The rank and file of the politicians as well as the ministers had probably no deep commitment towards the plan (N Islam : 1977).

The objectives of educational development started in the First Five Year Plan, more or less the Constitutional principles to which we have referred. Although these could have been further

elaborated. The strategies to achieve the objectives include improving the quality of education by making an optimum use of the available facilities and increasing the number of trained teachers; strengthening science education in schools and colleges; putting greater emphasis on vocational and technical training at different levels; provision of central laboratories and community workshops; spreading effective adult literacy; encouraging sports and cultural activities, giving special attention to female education.

The methodology followed in the preparation of the education sector plan in the First Five Year Plan is one of trend analysis. Past trends were examined and targets of expansion were set on the basis of desirability in the light of overall objectives which themselves were somewhat vague e.g., feasibility and the so-called "social demand for education". Thus over the Five Year period (1973-78) the Plan envisaged an expansion of enrolment at the primary stage (Class I-V) by 43 percent, at the secondary stage (Class VI to X) by 57 percent, at the college level (Classes XI to XIV) by 52 percent and at the university level (Classes XIII to XVI) by 63 percent. Teacher education was to be expanded by 150 percent and technical education by 172 percent over the plan period (First five year plan GOB : 1972). A major expansion was envisaged in the enrolment of girls at all levels,

particularly at the primary and secondary stages viz. by 59 percent and 105 percent respectively.

The Plan envisaged a substantial diversification of courses at the general secondary stage and put substantially greater emphasis on science and vocationally oriented courses. Growth of enrolment in the "humanities" was to be kept modest while promoting a very large expansion of enrolment in science, agriculture, commerce, home management and nursing. At the university stage also enrolment in 'science' was to increase at substantially higher rate than in humanities.

No clear justification of the targets of expansion is provided, particularly of the relatively moderate expansion at the primary stage as compared with that at the higher levels. It is clear from the observations of the former Deputy Chairman of the Bangladesh Planning Commission that political pressures and political commitment played an important part in the determination of the various targets of educational expansion which were not necessarily aimed at providing support to the overall development efforts (N Islam op. cit 131-2).

The First Plan document contains recommendations for a number of innovative measures. These are intensive use of

physical facilities, in particular the introduction of double shifts in primary and secondary schools and teacher training institutions; provision of central laboratories and community workshops in schools and vocational training institutions which would be accessible to various non-formal training programmes also, large scale recruitment of female teachers for primary schools and the induction of educated housewives as part-time teachers. Programmes of non-formal education which were meant to be part of a major strategy for achieving mass education are discussed only in general terms. The planning Commission, however, did highlight the importance of non-formal education by setting up an expert committee on the subject which would suggest guidelines for developing the necessary programmes.

Investment in education as in the other social sectors in the First Five Year Plan of Bangladesh was decided "exogeneously" largely on socio-political considerations (N Islam op. cit: 86). As it turned out, education in the Bangladesh Plan received somewhat higher priority than in the Pakistan plans inspite of the manifold demands placed on the resources of the country by the "directly productive" sectors. While in the third Five Year Plan of Pakistan (1965-70), the actual public sector development expenditure on education in former East Pakistan is estimated to be about 6.58 percent of its total development expenditure, in

the First Five Year Plan of Bangladesh, education accounted for 8 percent of the total allocations.

The allocations for different levels and types of education within the sector reflect the targets of expansion proposed. Thus development expenditure for primary education proposed in the Plan was 18.78 percent of the total as against 19.49 percent for secondary education, 5.21 percent for teacher education (government of Pakistan Fourth five year plan). It is somewhat strange that college and university level education taken together was allocated significantly more than the development expenditure on primary education in the Plan inspite of the fact that in the Bangladesh Plan document educational plans in the Pakistan period have been criticized for emphasizing higher education at the expense of primary education. One mitigating factor was the large allocation amounting to 11.4 percent of the total proposed for non-formal education which was expected to support literacy efforts outside the school system and provide vocational education for out-of-school youth. However, it was obvious that there were serious limitations in developing mass education programmes on a considerable scale over the course of the plan, when very little of actual experience in the field existed.

Due to unsatisfactory economic progress and unexpected increase in current expenditure, shortfall in resources developed quite early in the plan which was aggravated by a sharp deterioration of the country's international terms of trade and a reduction in the flow of external assistance below projected levels. As a result sharp cutbacks were made all round in the development expenditure, which were particularly severe for the social sectors. Actual development expenditures on education in the First Plan was 73 percent of the original allocation in current prices and formed 5.39 percent of the reduced total development expenditure (Planning Commission, Draft Second Five Year Plan ch. 1 Appendix 1).

The actual achievement of enrolment in the First Plan period fell far short of the targets at all levels. The mass education programme hardly got off the ground. Although there was an increase in the rate of growth of female enrollment at the primary and secondary stages, little progress was made in increasing the ratio of female teachers of in primary schools. Providing a scientific and vocational bias to college level of education and stepping up enrolment in science subjects in the general universities while slowing down enrolment in the humanities, were largely unrealized and the ratio of enrolment actually increased in favour of humanities.

On the termination of the First Five Year Plan in 1978 a Two Year Plan was prepared which aimed at meeting the shortfalls in the First Plan and providing the time for carrying out necessary studies for the preparation of a Five Year Plan. It might be useful to consider the First Five Year Plan and the Two Year Plan together and compare the allocations with the actual expenditures. It appears that the education sector did not do better than before in the Two Year Plan accounting for only 3.54 percent of the total development expenditure. Thus the estimated expenditure in the education sector over the First Five Year and Two Year Plans together amounted to about 4.49 percent of the total (Ibid: 19).

Table 3.4 indicates that in the First and Two Year Plans while the allocation on primary education was 17.63 percent of total; actual expenditure on primary education was only 13.18 percent. Similarly, actual expenditure on college education was 11.63 percent of the total as against the plan allocation of 19.53 percent. Expenditure on college education was 5.7 percent as against the plan allocation of 8.49 percent of the total. The expenditure on teacher education was only 3.06 percent of the total, which was less than half of what had been the allocation. There was a slight reduction in the proportion of expenditure on technical education as against the 19.52 percent of the total

allocated for this type of education. The lion share of the actual development expenditure went to the universities which received 26.39 percent of the total as against allocation of only 12.59 percent. The gross distortion in educational expenditure in favour of the universities can be explained only in terms of social and political factors. It appears that irrespective of what the plans recommended, the power elite succeeded in pre-empting resources for higher level education at the expense of lower level education.

Second Five Year Plan (SFYP)

A draft Second Five Year Plan was issued in 1980. The objectives of educational development in the Second Plan are more or less similar to those stated in the First Plan and in the report of the Education Commission of 1974. However, there are several distinguishing features in the Second Plan, e.g. introduction of universal primary education, launching of a national mass education programme, introduction of vocational course in secondary schools and decentralization and reorganization of educational administration. Among other objectives which have been reiterated are the accelerated expansion of facilities for women's education, removal of the existing imbalance in various levels of education and introduction of selectivity in higher education (Draft Second Five Year Plan, ch. XVI: 17).

Table 3.4
Allocation and Expenditure during the First Five Year Plan and Two Year Plan (1973-80)

Levels of Education	Plan Allocation and percentage											
	FFYP	%	TYP	%	Total	%	Actual allocation	%	Actual expenditure	%	Col. 9 as % of Col. 6	Col. 9 as % of Col. 8
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
Primary Education	577.22	18.78	223.16	15.28	800.38	17.63	368.05	341.14	13.18	42.62	92.69	
Secondary Education	598.80	19.49	287.69	19.61	886.49	19.53	350.53	301.11	11.63	33.97	85.90	
College Education	247.00	8.04	138.49	9.44	385.49	8.49	171.79	147.54	5.70	38.27	85.88	
Teacher Education	160.00	5.21	122.35	8.34	282.35	6.22	101.61	79.21	3.06	28.05	77.80	
Other Educational activities (DPI)	146.00	4.75	39.46	2.69	185.46	4.08	493.84	479.94	18.54	258.78	97.19	
Technical Education	500.00	16.27	386.33	26.33	886.33	19.52	595.06	470.73	18.18	53.11	79.11	
University Education	350.00	11.39	221.57	15.10	571.57	12.59	691.09	683.04	26.39	119.50	98.84	
Ministry of Education's own schemes	494.00	16.07	47.96	3.28	541.96	11.94	123.08	85.85	3.32	15.84	69.75	
Total	3073.02	100.00	1467.01	100.00	4540.05	100.00	2695.25	2388.53	100.00	57.20	89.41	

Source : Planning Commission, Draft Second Five Year Plan, Ch. XVI.

In consequence with these objectives ambitious targets were set for educational expansion at different levels. Enrolment at the primary stage was to increase by 86 percent by 1985 so as to cover 91.47 percent of the age group population. Enrolment in secondary schools (Class VI to X) is to increase by 25 percent by 1985, in the colleges (Class XI to XIV) by 32 percent, in the general universities including university colleges by 38.51 percent, in the technical universities by 16 percent, in the technical colleges by 61 percent and in the polytechnics by more than 300 percent (Ibid: ch XVI: 20-32).

The public sector allocation for education in the Second Plan was Tk. 10,150 million which amounted to only 3.97 percent of the proposed total development outlay of Tk. 255,950 million. The detailed allocations proposed reflect the priorities between different levels and types of education. Thus primary education received an allocation of 41 percent of the total and mass literacy 9.44 percent of the total. The proposed allocations for secondary education and college education were 18.53 percent and 5.31 percent of the total respectively. While university education accounted for a modest allocation of 5.90 percent of

the total, technical and teacher education will receive allocations amounting to 7.37 percent and 2.85 percent respectively of the total (Table 3.5).

After careful consideration of the history of educational development in a number of currently developed countries, in particular Japan, the Bangladesh Education Commission (1974) recommended that public educational expenditure in Bangladesh should be so allocated that primary education (including adult and non-formal education) receives 60 percent of the total, secondary, vocational and teacher training receives 25 percent and university education receives 15 percent (Education Commission Report : 1974). These figures are not comparable with those proposed by the Planning Commission for the Second Five Year Plan. Primary stage is defined by the Education Commission to cover class I to VIII. Secondary stage to cover class IX-XII and university stage to cover classes XIII-XVI. Further, the Planning Commission figures for the Second Five Year Plan refer

Table 3.5

Second Five Year (1980-85) Plan Allocation

Education Sector

Sub-Sector	Total Allocation (in Million Taka)	% of allocation
1. Primary Education	4150.00	41.00
2. Mass Literacy	960.00	9.44
3. Secondary Education	1885.00	18.53
4. Teacher Education	290.00	2.85
5. madrasah Education	150.00	1.47
6. College Education	540.00	5.31
7. Technical Education	750.00	7.37
8. University Education	600.00	5.90
9. Scholarship	465.00	4.57
10. Education Technology	30.00	0.30
11. Curricular Development	10.00	0.10
12. Text Books	20.00	0.20
13. Educational Planning and Administration	30.00	0.30
14. Educational Statistics, Evaluation and Research	20.00	0.20
15. National Cadet Crops and Cadet Colleges	250.00	2.46
Total :	10,150.00	100.00

Source: Draft Second Five-Year Plan, OP. cit., ch. 16.

to development expenditures. It has been estimated that considering total public expenditure by levels of education (developmental and recurring) and leaving out non-allocatable primary education (Classes I-V) received an allocation in the 1976-77 budget of 48.6 percent of the total, adult and non-formal education received 0.3 percent, while secondary education (classes XI-XIV) including general as well as technical accounted for 8.6 percent of budget, while university education (classes XIII-XVI) general as well as technical, accounted for 18 percent of the budget (AFA Hossain: 1980).

The development allocations proposed in the Second Five Year Plan for the different levels of education as compared with the actual expenditures in the First Five Year and Two Year Plans do mark as significant improvement and certainly a move in the right direction, except for the reduced proportional allocation for teacher education when the quality of education is being so much emphasized at present. However, proportional allocation to the education sector as a whole was reduced in the Second Plan (4 percent) as compared with the estimated expenditure in the First Five Year Plans (4.49 percent). In view of the ambitious targets of educational expansion envisaged in the Plan, one could seriously doubt the adequacy of financial allocations proposed, even if the educational administrators are able to introduce such desirable measures as maximum utilization of capacity in the

various institutions and mobilization of educated youth for such programmes as mass literary and non-formal education, as was proposed. It may be of interest to mention that in the light of the recommendations of the Tokyo Conference of Education Ministers, the Bangladesh Education Commission (1974) suggested that the total expenditure for education in Bangladesh should immediately be raised to 5 percent of the GDP and a goal of raising it to 7 percent of the GDP in the shortest possible time should be set (Education Commission Report, 1974: 290). It has been estimated that the proportion of GDP devoted to education in the 1977-78 budget of Bangladesh was 1.72 percent, as against 1.19 percent in 1968-69 and 1.57 in 1972-73.

The Second Plan reiterates the principle of selectivity in higher education which was also stated as an objective in the First Plan but could not be actually implemented. For implementing this principle, the Draft Second Plan proposed a relatively smaller increase of the budget devoted to higher education, increasing the private cost of higher education by reducing subsidies and the acceptance of H S C as the basic academic qualification for entry into public sector employment. It is not, however, clear how a proposed expansion of enrolment in the general universities by 38.5 percent is compatible with the principle of selectivity in enrolment. Further, in view of past experience and the realities of the political power

structure one could be sceptical about the feasibility of limiting allocations to the universities to the modest amounts proposed.

Third Five Year Plan (TFYP)

The implementation of SFYP education programmes had a late start due to delay in resource mobilisation and delay in project preparation resulting from shortage of trained personnel at the implementation level. As the SFYP was drawing to a close, three major events featured prominently. Firstly, the World Bank showed interest to finance the earlier commitment for financing Universal Primary Education (UPE) programmes in 44 Thanas. Secondly, the Asian Development Bank came forward with a proposal to finance secondary schools development project with emphasis on science education. Lastly, an agreement was signed with the World Bank for financing a comprehensive programme for consolidation of built-in facilities of technical education institution. These three major programmes initiated during the SFYP period virtually formed the core of the TFYP programmes.

The objectives of the education sector in the TFYP were be as follows:

- (i) to enrol 70% of the primary age-group children by 1990 and ensure their retention for completion of primary school cycle in order that UPE might be achieved by the end of the century;

- (ii) to reduce the rural-urban gap in educational facilities;
- (iii) to provide in-service training to primary, secondary and technical education teachers;
- (iv) to give emphasis on science, technical and vocational education;
- (v) to reduce illiteracy among the adults;
- (vi) to rationalise enrolment among various disciplines at the college and university levels; and
- (vii) to reduce the gap in educational opportunities between sexes.

Table 3.6 shows the total expenditure incurred during the Third Five Year Plan.

Fourth Five Year Plan (FFYP)

The objectives of the FFYP pertaining to education are as follows:

- (i) to introduce compulsory primary education;
- (ii) to reduce mass illiteracy;
- (iii) to enlarge and upgrade the base of science education at all levels;

Table 3.6

Total Expenditure incurred under the Third Five Year Plan 1985-90

Sl. No.	Name of the Sub-Sector	PA			Total
		GOB	RPA	F.E	
1.	Primary Education	122.83	354.80	49.28	526.91
2.	Secondary Education	17.28	66.58	14.69	98.55
3.	Cadet Colleges	6.13	---	---	6.13
4.	College Education	32.15	---	---	32.15
5.	University Education (General)	56.51	---	---	56.51
6.	University Education (Agricultural)	3.93	---	---	3.93
7.	Engineering Education	8.07	8.90	11.94	28.91
8.	Polytechnic Education	36.77	30.19	28.18	95.14
9.	Vocational Training	4.20	1.50	2.00	7.70
10.	Teacher Training (General)	8.39	21.28	9.97	39.64
11.	Teacher Training	0.73	2.34	6.26	9.33
12.	Commercial Education	0.68	---	---	0.68
13.	Scholarships	41.47	---	---	41.47
14.	Mass Education	1.82	2.05	0.32	4.19
15.	Special Projects of the Ministry of Education	5.43	2.08	4.95	12.46
16.	Extra Curricular Activities	8.65	---	---	8.65
17.	Religious Affairs	25.46	---	---	25.46
Total		380.50	489.72	127.59	997.81

Source: The Fourth Five Year Plan issued by Planning commission, Government of Bangladesh Chapter XV-P 31.

- (iv) to enhance the functional character of technical education and vocational training by making them more job-oriented through constant and appropriate links with the employment market;
- (v) to extend support to the universities to maintain an optimum size as warranted by manpower planning;
- (vi) to develop the higher institutions of learning namely, the general and professional universities and the Bangladesh institutes of technology as 'centres of excellence';
- (vii) to ensure optimum use of existing facilities at all levels and to introduce a process of accountability in the educational system;
- (viii) to utilise the multi-sectoral potentials of education with respect to other objectives: awareness, population planning, extensive services etc.
- (ix) to maintain regional balance in respect of the growth of educational facilities;
- (x) to ensure enhanced participation of women in every possible sphere of education; and
- (xi) to inculcate moral values in society.

Fourth Five Year Plan allocation 1990-95 is shown in Tabel 3.7

Table 3.7
Allocation in the Fourth Five Year Plan 1990-95

		Taka in Crore (in 1989-90 prices)
A. EDUCATION		
1. Primary Education		
	Spill-over projects	897.10
	New projects	316.97
	Sub-total:	1213.89
2. Mass Education		
	Spill-over projects	22.05
	Sub-total:	22.05
3. Secondary Education		
	Spill-over projects	15.75
	New projects	430.60
	Sub-total:	446.35
4. Madrasah Education		
	Spill-over projects	9.75
	Sub-total:	9.75
5. College Education		
	Spill-over projects	11.42
	New projects	118.00
	Sub-total:	129.42
6. University Education		
	Spill-over projects	78.97
	New projects	177.00
	Sub-total:	255.97
7. Technical Education		
	Spill-over projects	67.74
	New projects	120.00
	Sub-total:	187.74
8. Teacher Training		
	New projects	10.50
	Sub-total:	10.50
9. Commercial Education		
	New projects	9.00
	Sub-total:	9.00
10. Cadet Colleges		
	New projects	20.00
	Sub-total:	20.00
11. Other Programmes		
	Spill-over projects	34.06
	New projects	24.00
	Sub-total:	58.06

Education:	Sub-Grand Total:	2362.73

B. Religious affairs		38.27

Total: Education and Religious Affairs (A+B)		: Tk. 2401.00

Although large allocation of funds were made in the Third and Fourth Five Year Plan, the result is somewhat similar to that of Second Five Year Plan. Nothing significant improvement is visible in increasing literacy rates, developing women education and removing rural urban disparity in education.

As in the previous plans, priority will be assigned to the programme of vocational skill development. Emphasis, in this respect, will be given on planning and organising training activities within the framework of a comprehensive skill development policy which is to be formulated on the basis of assesment of skill needs in various sectors of the economy. Necessary attention will also be given to the issue of coordination since skill development training will be a multi sectoral activity involving a large number of organisations encompassing also the private sector. Diversification of the nature, content, duration, clientele as well as modality of provision of training will be an important aspect of such training programme in order to take care of the training needs of different disadvantaged groups including women skill development for activities in the rural and urban informal sectors, skill needs for manpower export and self-employment. The policy of laying emphasis on consolidation including improvement of the management and supervision of the existing skill training system

to ensure maximum utilisation and quality of training will be pursued as against creation of new facilities. Efforts will be made for establishing greater linkages with the industries as well as the private sector and the Non Government Organisations (NGO) in respect of both development and utilisation of skills. We are in the midway of the Fourth Five Year Plan. Although ambitious strategy has been drawn, the overall success will be evaluated at the end of the plan period while formulating Fifth Five Year Plan.

A Critical Review

It is evident from the above that the present education system of Bangladesh is urban bias and lion share of the budgetary allocation has been made for improvement of higher education rather than in universal primary education or adult and mass literacy programme. Although there exist no primary schools in nearly 36000 villages out of 68000 villages of Bangladesh, the government established more universities : Khulna University, Shahjalal University, Sylhet, Islamic University, Kushtia and Open University and promised to establish more medical colleges in the country. This higher education bias education system

promotes educated unemployment problem as the skills produced by these universities do not match with the skills required by the society creating serious imbalance.

Until now Bangladesh has maintained its inherited education system in which few are highly educated with the vast majority outside the system locked into the closed world of the illiterate.

Differences in expenditures between educational levels show distortion between them and the real commitment of the Government to the people. Throughout the Pakistan era, primary education has received least money and the colleges and universities have taken the major allocation of funds. This continued throughout all Five Year Plan upto 1990. Additionally elite secondary boarding schools, the Cadet colleges received massive infusions of money which benefit the professional classes and a marginal section of male poor scholars.

Only during the last two years has a new trend been observable to give priority to the majority of the children through universal primary education. Alongwith this, a massive

adult literacy programme was launched with the aim of turning millions of illiterate adults into literate persons. For the first time a sizeable foreign aid component was invested into the primary education sector for 40 Thana project. For the first time also the allocation of funds during a Five Year Plan period to the primary education sector exceeds that to the colleges and universities. Thus the 1990s mark a new trend in education.

The need to reduce inequities in order to improve the overall literacy rate in the country is also imperative. Table 3.8 below shows the literacy rate for the population 5 years and above, as a percentage, for 1961, 1974 and 1981. It can be seen how in both census, the urban areas had a disproportionately higher percentage of literate persons. This is partly because of the concentrations of administration and industry in the cities, and partly because the urban educational facilities have always been better and remain so today. The disadvantageous position of females in both urban and rural areas is marked, especially for the rural.

Table 3.8

Literacy rates of Bangladesh by sex, 1961, 1974 and 1981

Sex	Literacy rates		
	1981	1961	1974
Urban Male	57.8	46.4	45.3
Female	33.1	24.8	27.9
Rural Male	34.6	22.5	25.7
Female	11.6	7.0	10.5
Bangladesh Male	31.0	24.2	29.8
Female	16.0	7.8	13.7
Both sexes	23.8	16.3	22.2

Source: 1974, and 1981 population Census of Bangladesh.

In the rural areas in 1974 women have a literacy rate of 10.5 only compared with a rate of 25.7 for rural men. Although both these rates are much improved for urban residents 27.9 and 45.3 respectively. These higher rates had little impact on the national average as less than 10 percent of the people resided in the urban areas.

Further examination of the distribution of literacy shows that southern Bangladesh is favoured over northern and that lowest literacy rates are in the least advantaged areas in the far north or on the country's borders far from the major cities and industrial centres. The one central area, Pabna, is a backward agricultural area subject to floods. The literacy rate does seem related to the general economic situation and the five most favoured areas, Khulna, Dhaka, Chittagong, Barisal and Patuakhali contain the larger cities and inland and sea ports of the country as well as being favoured by good agricultural crops.

The obvious urban: rural inequalities in literacy levels are part of a greater picture. Just as all urban facilities are superior to rural ones, so in education also urban schools are better. The main urban centres and the smaller towns of Bangladesh have better schools than those in the villages. The urban educational institutions have better buildings, equipment and staff.

Many urban primary schools are staffed by well qualified teachers, supported by high tuition fees and draw their students from the elite section of society. These inequalities are enmeshed with the social structure and cannot be easily remedied. They will remain same as long as the socio-economic structure do

not change. What can be done is to pay greater attention to rural primary schools and try to improve their facilities and standards so that their students become as well educated as their urban counterparts. The government intervention and greater resource allocation are required to improve the situation. At present also the numbers of schools available are few to accommodate all the pupils. Table 3.9 shows the numbers for 1981. In 1981 there were 43,936 primary schools. About 200 were classified as girls' school, apart from those primary schools which are co-educational. The special girls' schools are mainly primary sections attached to girls' high schools.

Table 3.9

	No. of schools	Enrolment
Govt. and recognised	36,665	6,964,985
Non-recognised	7,271	1,271,541
Total	43,936	8,236,526
Non-recognised	16.5%	15.4%

There are several kinds of primary schools in Bangladesh. The majority are the government primary schools which are free, that is, they do not charge tuition fees. Their teachers are

government servants with salary, pension and all other privileges of that status. Another type is the recognised private school which, although recognised as being upto a certain standard by the government inspectors, takes no grants from the government. They charge fees and are managed by Governing Bodies who pay the salary of the teachers. Most recognised private schools are found in urban areas. Although small in number they are usually centre of educational excellence.

The third type of school is the non-recognised primary school. These are found all over the country and are wholly private schools run by Governing Bodies or Management Committees. These constituted 16.5 percent of all primary schools in 1981. Usually they are not in good condition. Nevertheless they represent the measure of the people's demand for primary educational facilities. Eventually many of them may be recognised and perhaps become government primary school. The number of non-recognised schools has fluctuated considerably over the past three decades over 8,000 during in 1949-80

Apart from these schools are the religious schools both recognised and private whose primary sections play a significant role in the education of primary school age children.

Reliable estimates make the number of primary school children at about 400,000 half in recognised madrasahs and the rest in private madrasahs: 95 percent of the students are male. The Ebtedayee (lower primary) stage is four years followed by the Dakhil stage of six years. These may be compared with primary and lower secondary stage of general education. The curriculum is a combination of religious and secular subjects. Formerly the main emphasis of these schools was wholly religious but now they are required to teach the general subject also and there is presently a strong trend to widen their curriculum further, especially at the higher stages of Alim (higher secondary) and Fazil (college level).

This religious school system forms a parallel education system in the country. It is strong and expanding with the aim to make a drive for universalization of primary education. Though it is doubtful as to how far these schools could become valuable aids in universalizing primary education, many parents desire a religious schooling for their children.

As there are around 68,000 villages in Bangladesh there is not even one primary school in each village. In areas of dense population and thick settlement it is physically impossible for the existing schools to accommodate all the school age children.

Large villages with populations of 2,000 or more need either more than one primary school or the existing one needs to create an efficient double shift system.

Most of the schools are not soundly built. There are three types of structure: Pucca which is bricks and cement, Kacha which has bamboo wall and C.I. sheet roof with an earth floor, and semi-pucca which may have C.I. sheet/pucca walls, C.I. sheet roof or even a cement floor. Only 26 percent of all primary schools are pucca, 44 percent are kacha and the remaining semi-pucca.

Many of the semi-pucca schools have earth floors, lack doors or windows making them totally insecure. Many rural schools are in a deplorable condition, the walls are full of holes, cattle and goats wander in and out, there is no electricity and in rainy weather the rains sweep into the schools. The kacha constructions need constant repair if they are not to deteriorate due to the tropical weather conditions. The severe storms experienced in the coastal areas and the tornado type winds which sometimes accompany the spring rains often reduce all pucca building to ruin. Forty schools-cum-cyclone shelters have been built in the southern coastal areas and another 23 schools have been provided with special storm resistant roofs. The majority of schools do

not have separate class rooms. A few woven bamboo screens are used as partitions. It makes the average classroom a noisy and difficult place to concentrate.

The best schools in the rural areas are located along the main roads. A typical good pucca school situated by a main highway will have concrete floors, window shutters, doors, verandah and separate rooms for each class. Such a school will have enough furniture for all the staff and student and a small room for the Headmaster. As distance from the main road increases, the conditions of the school usually deteriorate.

Primary schools are supposed to accommodate 200 pupils each. Most of them do not have necessary requirements for a minimum level of education. It is estimated that only 50 percent of all students who go to primary school can be given seating accommodation. In the rural areas the student sit on of low benches, 5 or 6 children squashing together on it. Their desk is a high bench.

Inadequate size, construction and seating capacity are not the only deficiencies. A recent survey found the following : basic furniture such as desks and cupboards are unknown in 50 percent and 73 percent respectively of all rural schools,

playgrounds average 0.28 acres in the rural areas, 0.15 in the urban, moreover 42 percent of all urban schools have no playground, twenty five percent of all schools have no blackboard, 77 percent have no latrines and 7 percent have no water supply (Planning Commission Report, 1988; 193).

In the large urban areas primary schools are usually better than those of the rural areas. They are more likely to be pucca and secure but lack of playground facilities is a disadvantage for the urban children whose living condition will be cramped and lacking in garden or play space.

Thus the majority of rural institutions lack even the most basic amenity necessary for imparting education. The overcrowded, noisy, dirty conditions must be as disheartening to the young children as to their teacher. No wonder that 50 percent of them drop out by the end of the first year.

Apart from other inadequacies, the single most distressing fact is that the schools have such a poor accommodation capacity with 87 percent unable to accommodate more than 150 students. The large drop out by the end of class 1 probably contributes to making the seating capacity bearable for the rest of the students.

Another inequality difficult to remedy is that of the ratio between the sexes. Boys out-number girls at all levels of education. This was true in the past also. At the university women are 10 percent of the total enrollment, at the secondary level they are 23 percent and at the primary level 37 percent. In 1980 only 3 million girls were enrolled in primary school compared with 5 million boys. Improving slowly girls enrolment has increased over the decade 1971-1981. There is a great deal of hope in the situation and although it is realized that girls enrolment cannot increase as that of boys.

The ratio between the sexes has been improving steadily over the past 30 years. From a boy: girl ratio of 80:20 in 1950 it has altered to 63:37 in 1980 which may be considered as a positive change.

Sex ratio for teachers are worse than the enrolment ratios in the schools. At the primary level only 7 percent of teachers are women. Many educational administration and head teachers believe that the presence of a woman teacher leads to enhanced enrolment of both boys and girls. Women teachers are said to be more punctual, more conscientious and less harsh on the young students than their male colleagues. Improvement of the ratio of female teachers should be made as education is one of the few professions women may enter without endangering their image.

In Bangladesh as in all societies there is a marked influence of social class upon education. The rich and educated people make sure that their children are educated also. The poor and illiterate are hardly able to care for their children's education. Of the poorer children who go to schools, it is they who drop out first and whose families find the burden of education too much to bear. This is particularly true in rural areas. A landless labourer will have no surplus income to invest in the education of child. Even in those pilot projects where there is no financial burden on the parents, drop out of the poorest occurs anyway.

In simple terms, the rich child goes to school, the poor child works. This is not a situation which is going to be changed by any attempt to universalize primary education. The rich will continue to attend better schools in the urban areas. The wealthy persons do not need the child's labour but the poor have difficulties even when boys are free and the school day consists of a two or three hour shift. These inequalities may persist but at least the greater attention paid to education is going to lay the foundation of a future of less inequality for the majority. Attempting to universalize the formal primary education is one step in the right direction but without other efforts outside that system, universalisation will not be gained easily. Even in

villages where the literacy rates are over 50 percent such educational attainment is restricted to the rich. The poorer people and their children remain uneducated with literacy levels worse than the national average.

Girls bear an additional social burden. In the Islamic tradition seclusion of women is a sign of purity. Women and girls when they reach puberty, are not allowed to move around free. It is not considered proper to do so, a family that allows it, is not respectable. However, daughters of a wealthy and respectable family are allowed more freedom of movement, protected by the high status of the family, poorer families who have no status can not afford their daughters to have this freedom and are more likely to restrict enrolment in primary school.

This taboo is breaking down in some experimental areas, but in the country as a whole such attitudes hinder girls enrolment. If a poor family can manage to send a child to school, it will rarely be a daughter, usually it is a son. It is generally believed that girls will eventually leave the family after marriage. To invest in a daughter is a waste of money for she will never be expected to contribute to the family. With respect to education, sometimes a son will be educated in anticipation that he will go to the city and get a job, but for a girl that is

a rare possibility. Caring for a daughter is like watering a neighbour's tree, is an old Bangali saying. Although attitudes are changing rapidly, it will be a long time before every girl is enrolled in primary school and is allowed to complete the five year course.

The child from an illiterate family has an added disadvantage leading to early drop out. As his home is not a literate one, there will be no books or other reading materials and he will not be used to hearing or using language in the same way as the middle or upper class child and will enter school with a disadvantage compared with his classmates. This socially determined disadvantage may act against his efforts leading to easy discouragement and frustration.

Conclusion

It is needless to mention that the existing education system of Bangladesh, being legacy of British rule, is defective in many respects. The present educational system is the principal cause of unemployment problem of the educated. Universal primary education, job oriented non normal/vocational education, adult literacy campaign and an educational system which should inspire students for self-employment, are of immense importance. The national budgetary allocation for the purpose should be gradually

shifted from higher education to primary, vocational and other types of education.

There exists wide disparity between the rich and poor due to effect of social structure and stratification in Bangladesh and perhaps it is not easy to remove the disparity in respect of education between the urban people and their rural counterpart.

Rapid population growth, political instability and the inability to marshal enough funds and expertise are the main reasons why the plan for universalization of primary education never materialised.

In the mid 80s universal primary education once again came into focus with Programme of Education for All. With the Compulsory Primary Education Bill 1990 passed unanimously by the Parliament on 6th February 1990, Bangladesh has strengthened the national strategy to reach basic education to the majority of the population by the end of the century. The right to primary education is one of the fundamental state principles guaranteed by the Constitution. Our leaders have been highlighting its importance for over half a century. And in the recent decades, we have been repeating that an effective basic education system is vital for the advancement of the nation. But little has been done to bridge the gap between the theories and the reality of the situation.

CHAPTER FOUR

EMPLOYMENT SITUATION IN BANGLADESH

Introduction

In the last two chapters we have described the social structure and stratification of Bangladesh and made a critical analysis of the present education system. It is now necessary to provide an overview of the employment situation, keeping in view the problem of employment, unemployment and under employment of the educated.

With this end in view, this chapter first describes the characteristics of the existing labour force. In doing this, we analyse the structure of the labour force, participation rates and the wage structure of the labour force. We also attempt to focus on the strategy of education sector in Bangladesh.

Characteristics of the Labour Force

It is difficult to define labour force in a country like Bangladesh. Although the economically active population within the age group 15-64 years is usually defined as labour force, a 10 year old boy in a Bangladesh village working in his family

farm and not going to school is very much a part of the economically active population. In Bangladesh, 64.8 percent of the total population in 1974 was aged 10 years or more; but only 28.7 percent was included in the civilian labour force (CLF) while the other 36 percent was recorded as house-wives and inactive¹ (Table 4.1). In 1981 total civilian labour force (million) in Bangladesh was male 24.4, female 1.5 and both sexes 25.5. In 1986 these figures rose to male 27.7, female 3.2 and both sexes 30.9 (Statistical Pocket Book of Bangladesh 1991: 103). The proportion of population classified as CLF is higher (32.2 percent) in the urban areas compared to that (28.4 percent) in the rural areas. It may be noted that the proportion of population aged 10 years and above is also higher in the urban areas.

1. This is due to rigorous definition of the labour force adopted by the census which resulted in decline in the women's participation rate. The daily works done by the housewives have not been considered as economic activities. However this is an underestimate and in fact female participation is not as low as the census reveals.

Table 4.1

Percentage Distribution of the Population of Bangladesh by Economic Category, 1974

Economic Category	All areas	Urban	Rural
Total Population	100.00	100.00	100.00
1. Population below 10 years	35.20	29.70	35.80
2. Population 10 years and above	64.80	70.30	64.20
2.1 Civilian Labour Force	28.70	32.20	28.40
(a) Employed	28.00	30.40	27.80
(b) Unemployed	0.70	1.80	0.60
2.2 Not in Civilian Labour Force	36.00	38.10	35.80
(a) Housewives	23.30	19.00	23.70
(b) Inactive	12.70	19.10	12.10

Source: Population Census Report, 1974.

Looking at the sex distribution of the CLF we see that 53.00 percent of the total male population is included in this category compared to only 2.5 percent in the case of female population (Planning Commission Report, 1974: 80). This is because a large percentage of females within the age-group 10 years and above is classified as housewives.

Coming to the occupational structure of the economically active population, we see that agriculture, accounting for over 77 percent of this population, is the most important activity. The next important activities are production, transport and sales. For females, service is a major occupation and accounts for over 10 percent of the population aged 10 years and above. The occupational distribution² of the economically active population is shown in Table 4.2.

Participation rates

The participation for population aged 10 years and above was 44.3 percent in 1974. For males, it was over 80 percent compared to only 4.0 percent for females. A comparison between 1961 and 1974 shows that the overall participation rate has fallen from 54.4 percent to 44.3 percent. This fall is mainly due to a drastic reduction in the female participation rate from 17.4 percent to 4.0 percent during the intercensal period.

2. According to labour force survey carried out by Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics in 1989, labour force participation rates in Bangladesh is male 89.9% and female 9.6% (age group 15-64). (Statistical Pocket Book of Bangladesh: 108)

Table 4.2

Percentage Distribution of Economically Active Population (10 years and over) by Major Occupation Groups and Sex in Bangladesh, 1989

Major Occupation	Both sexes	Male	Female
Professional and Technical	3.4	4.3	2.1
Administration and Management	0.5	0.9	0.1
Clerical	3.0	4.6	0.8
Sales	9.4	14.8	0.7
Services	4.2	3.5	4.8
Agriculture, forestry, fishery	65.8	57.4	87.0
Production and transport	13.6	14.4	4.5
Not adequately defined	0.1	0.1	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Labour force survey, 1989, Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 1989.

A comparison with international data shows that the participation rate in Bangladesh is lower compared to both developed and less developed countries. This is entirely due to the very low rate of participation among female population in Bangladesh. On the other hand, male participation rate in Bangladesh is higher compared to both developed and less developed regions.

Wage Structure of the Labour Force

An examination of the wage structure reveals differences in wages between grades of workers (e.g., skilled, unskilled), between types of activities (e.g., agricultural, non-agricultural), and between districts. Higher wages for skilled labourers compared to unskilled ones are of course quite expected. The difference, however, varies between sectors and also between districts (Table 4.3).

In general, wages for both skilled and unskilled workers are higher in the non-agricultural sectors compared to corresponding grades of workers in the agricultural sector. One exception is Chittagong district where agricultural wages (for both skilled

and unskilled) are higher than those in most manufacturing activities.

A comparison between individual economic sectors shows that wages are highest for engineering fitters and turners; and this is true for skilled and unskilled workers. The wage rate is lowest in the case of fishing.

If we look at the inter-district variation, we see that in agriculture as well as important industries like jute and cotton textiles, wage rates are lowest in Khulna and Rangpur. Highest wages for skilled worker have been paid for turners in Sylhet district. For unskilled workers, the highest wage rate has been in Rajshahi district for the engineering fitters.

The growth of enrolment in Higher Education

The phenomenal increase in the growth in enrolment in higher education has been out of line with the expansion of economic activities and hence the increase in absorptive capacity for educated manpower in the economy becomes clear from various indicators of economic growth. For example, it may be mentioned

Table 4.3

Average Daily Wage Rates by Economic Activity, District and Grade of Worker, 1973-74

District	Grade of worker	Economic Activity									
		Agriculture	Fishing	Cotton textiles	Jute textiles	Matches	Engineering fitters	Turners	Mustard oil production		
1. Dhaka	Skilled	7.51	7.77	7.74	7.93	10.54	11.73	12.46	9.37		
	Unskilled	6.26	6.25	6.29	6.30	7.69	8.10	8.59	7.10		
2. Chittagong	Skilled	9.10	7.23	6.95	6.25	6.00	9.43	10.57	7.71		
	Unskilled	8.14	5.80	5.80	5.80	5.80	6.82	6.82	7.01		
3. Rajshahi	Skilled	5.49	5.26	--	--	7.65	11.78	12.23	5.30		
	Unskilled	4.84	4.83	--	--	7.06	11.66	5.20	3.88		
4. Khulna	Skilled	5.06	4.87	5.81	5.81	6.43	7.69	9.14	5.50		
	Unskilled	3.79	3.77	5.01	5.01	4.99	3.75	3.94	4.81		
5. Rangpur	Skilled	5.08	7.08	--	--	--	10.53	8.53	7.75		
	Unskilled	3.73	6.08	--	--	--	7.03	6.53	5.75		
6. Sylhet	Skilled	6.69	6.44	--	--	--	13.00	15.00	7.00		
	Unskilled	5.69	5.35	--	--	--	7.06	11.00	5.38		
Average	Skilled	6.49	6.44	6.83	7.66	7.66	11.53	11.16	7.11		
	Unskilled	5.41	5.35	5.70	6.39	6.39	7.40	7.01	5.64		

Notes: (i) The daily wage rates are collected weekly and these have been averaged for the year 1973-74.

(ii) The averages shown in the last two rows are the unweighted arithmetic means of the appropriate figures for six districts.

Source: Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, Government of Bangladesh, Statistical Year Book of Bangladesh, 1975.

that during the fifties, annual compound rate of growth of GDP was only a little over 2 percent. Although the growth rate increased to slightly more than 4 percent during the sixties, it came down to 4 percent during the seventies. Per capita income, on the other hand, declined in the fifties, increased by nearly 2.5 percent per annum during the sixties and 1 percent per annum during the seventies (Planning Commission: 1982).

The rapid increase of enrolment in higher education in the face of sluggish growth of economic activities only meant that the education system kept on producing graduates irrespective of their employability in the economy. Consequently, there has been an increase in the number of inappropriately placed or openly unemployed graduates.

Employment situation of the general graduates

It may be useful to analyse the employment situation regarding different categories of graduates.

In 1973 the total number of posts demanding Arts graduates was 33,913 but the available number of such degree holders in job market was 88,631. Thus about 62 percent of the total output of

General Arts graduates were either unemployed or inappropriately placed. The situation seems to have improved somewhat in 1978, when the percentage of such unemployed or inappropriately placed graduates went down to 55 percent (Planning Commission : 1982).

The estimated total number of posts for Commerce graduates in 1974 was 13,388 whereas the available number of such degree holders in the job market was 51,434 i.c, about 74 percent of the total output of Bachelor of commerce, were either unemployed or inappropriately placed (Ibid).

As at June, 1978 the largest number of posts for B.A. (Pass) graduates representing 19.37 percent exists in administration followed by finance, economic overheads and social infrastructure.

The number of posts for B.Com, representing 29.68 percent exists in private business followed by economic overheads and industries other than jute. The largest number of posts for B.Sc. (Pass) representing 38.26 percent exists in manufacturing other than jute followed by social infrastructure, research and economic overheads (Table 4.4).

Employment situation of the Engineering Graduates

Table 4.5 shows the employment market for each category of Engineering graduates as at June 1973 and June 1978. Both requirement and availability of engineering graduates appear to have increased substantially in 1978 over 1973. However, the overall deficit in 431 have been indicated in 1973 (Planning Commission: 1982).

The estimated number of posts demanding B.Sc. (Civil Engineering) as the minimum qualification in 1978 was 3,228 against which the available number of such degree holders in market was 3,259. The largest number of posts for B.Sc. (Civil Engineering) representing 75.74 percent existed in economic overheads followed by social infrastructure, administration, primary sector and manufacturing other than jute (Ibid).

The total number of posts demanding B.Sc. (Electrical Engineering) in 1978 was 2,128 against which the available number of such degree holders in the job market was 1510. The highest number of posts for this category existed in economic overheads

followed by manufacturing and social infrastructure. Over 29 percent of the posts were filled by under-qualified persons (Ibid).

The total number of posts demanding B.Sc. (Mechanical Engineering) in 1978 was 1,656 against which the available number of such degree holders in the job market was 1,636. Therefore, about 7.25 percent of the posts were filled up by under-qualified persons (Ibid).

The number of posts demanding B.Sc. (Chemical Engineering) in 1978 was 729 against which the available number of such degree holders in the job market was 312. So, about 42.80 percent of the posts were filled up by under qualified persons³. But the situation has changed since then leaving many engineering graduates unemployed in the present days.

3. The data presented have been taken from Planning Commission documents 1982. No information about employment situation of the general, engineering, agricultural and medical graduates were available after 1982.

Table 4.4
Employment Market for Pass Graduates in Bangladesh, June 1973 & 1978

Qualification	Year	No. of job as of piring degree holders	Total no. of posts demanded this qualification	Number of Posts							Private business unemployment of inappropriate placement	The balance 12 as % of 1		
				Primary Economic sectors overheads infrastructure	Social	Jute	Mfi. other than Jute	Finance	Adminis- tration	Research				
B.A. (Pass)	1974	88531	33513	1056	3874	3051	1643	2950	6681	11297	1254	2097	54718	62 P.C.
	1978	92032	40667	1432	4797	4061	2283	3641	8133	11950	1619	2771	51345	55 P.C.
B.Com (Pass)	1974	51434	13388	890	3041	1195	1236	1595	381	523	83	4444	38046	74 P.C.
	1978	53080	16048	1077	3688	1530	1544	1985	554	738	169	4763	37032	70 P.C.
B.Sc. (Pass)	1974	31694	3574	101	602	709	26	1411	--	90	635	--	28120	89 P.C.
	1978	34482	4313	131	733	865	45	1650	--	113	776	--	30169	87 P.C.
Total	1974	171759	50875	2057	7517	4955	2905	5956	7062	11910	1972	2541	120884	70 P.C.
	1978	179594	61048	2840	9218	6456	3872	7276	6687	12601	2564	7534	118546	66 P.C.

Source : (i) Employment Market for the Educated in Bangladesh, Manpower Section, Planning Commission, June 1974

(ii) Employment performance of the Bangladesh Economy with respect to Educated Manpower during the First Five Year Plan period (1973-78), Manpower Section, Planning Commission, June, 1978

Table 4.5

Employment Market for Engineering Graduate in Bangladesh, June 1973 and June 1978

Qualification	No. of job as piring degree holders	Total no. of posts demanded this qualification	Number of Posts									
			Primary sectors	Economic overheads	Social infra-structure	Jute	Mfi. other than Jute	Finance	Adminis- tration	Research	Private business	The balance unemployment inappropriate placement
1. B.Sc. in Civil Engineering	1899 (3259)	1976 (3228)	63 (122)	1588 (2445)	119 (226)	39 (73)	56 (110)	2 (6)	89 (182)	20 (64)	-- --	-77 (31)
2. B.Sc. in Mechanical Engineering	849 (1536)	998 (1536)	60 (112)	424 (603)	89 (164)	--	303 (537)	--	63 (124)	59 (116)	--	-149 (-120)
3. B.Sc. in Electrical Engineering	913 (1510)	1305 (2128)	19 (42)	865 (1263)	73 (144)	62 (126)	186 (322)	--	51 (102)	49 (105)	1 (24)	-134 (-618)
4. M.Sc. in Applied Physics	275 (429)	18 (29)	--	--	18 (29)	--	--	--	--	--	--	275 (400)
5. B.Sc. in Chemical Engineering	190 (312)	446 (729)	11 (26)	--	20 (40)	--	409 (645)	--	--	6 (18)	--	-256 (-417)
6. M.Sc. in Applied Chemistry	209 (480)	14 (22)	--	--	14 (22)	--	--	--	--	--	--	195
7. B.Sc. in Metallurgy	39 (66)	31 (52)	--	--	11 (17)	--	17 (30)	--	--	3 (5)	--	8 (14)
8. B.Sc. in Architecture	83 (171)	86 (140)	--	52 (88)	32 (49)	--	--	--	--	2 (3)	--	-3 (31)
9. Degree in Marine Engineering	--	2 (NA)	--	--	--	--	2 (NA)	--	--	--	--	-2 (NA)
10. Degree in Mining	--	13 (NA)	--	--	--	--	13 (NA)	--	--	--	--	-13 (NA)
Total	4456 (7763)	4887 (7984)	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	-431 (-221)

Note: Figures within brackets refer to June 1978.

Primary Sector includes Agriculture, Forestry, Fisheries and rive stocks, Social Infrastructure includes

Primary Education, Secondary Education, Higher Education, Engineering Education, Agriculture Education, Health and Social Welfare.

Source: Manpower Section, Planning Commission, June 1974, Op. cit. & Manpower Section, Planning Commission June'80, op. cit.

The estimated number of posts demanding graduation in metallurgy as the qualification in 1978 was 52 against which the available number of such degree holders in the job market was 66. Thus about 21 percent of this type of graduates were unemployed or employed in posts where this qualification was not necessary.

The total number of posts demanding B.Sc. (Architecture) in 1978 was 140 against which the available number of such degree holders in the job market was 171. Therefore, about 18 percent of this type of graduates were unemployed or inappropriately placed.

Large surpluses were also indicated for M.Sc. degree holders in applied physics and applied chemistry in 1978, the percentage of unemployed or inappropriately placed persons in these categories being 93.25 percent and 95.42 percent respectively.

Employment situation of the Agricultural Professionals

Over the five years both requirement and availability of agricultural professionals seem to have increased significantly. The net deficit of graduates seem to have decreased from 607 to 574 in this period, while that of diploma level personnel has increased from 721 to 755.

It is seen that the estimated number of posts demanding M.Ag. as the qualification in 1978 was 767 against which the available number of such degree holders in the job market was 614. So, about 20 percent of the posts of M.Agri. were filled by under-qualified persons⁴.

The largest number of posts for M.Agri. exists in research followed by economic overheads, social infrastructure and primary sector.

The total number of posts demanding M.Sc. (Agri. Economics) in 1978 was 101 against the available number of 125 indicating a surplus of about 19 percent, thus reversing the situation in 1973. The largest number of posts for M.Sc. (Agri. Econ.) representing 87.13 percent in 1978 existed in primary sector followed by research.

4. Presently no unqualified persons are working in the post of M.Sc (Ag) and the persons holding M.Sc (Ag) degree are surplus as compared to 1978.

The total number of posts offered for B.Sc. Agri. in 1978 was 1178 against which the available number of such degree holders in the job market was 1306, indicating a surplus of about 10 percent as against a deficit of 20 percent in 1973.

The total number of posts offered for B.Sc. (Agri. Engg.) in the job market in 1978 was 65 against the available number of 221, thus turning a deficit of about 33.33 percent into a surplus of 70 percent over the five year period.

The total number of posts offered for M.Sc. (Animal Husbandry) in 1978 was 73 against which the available number of such degree holders in the job market was 82. Thus about 11 percent of the total output of this type of graduates were unemployed or employed in posts where this qualification is not necessary.

The total number of posts offered for M.Sc. (Vet. Sc.) in 1978 was 98 against the available number of 78. So, about 20 percent of the posts requiring this qualification were filled by under-qualified persons.

The estimated number of posts demanding B.Sc. (Animal Husbandry) and B.Sc. (Vet. Sc.) as the minimum qualification totals to 1280 in 1978 against which the available number of such degree holders in the job market was 700. Therefore, about 54.69 percent of the posts were filled by underqualified persons.

The total number of posts demanding Diploma in Agriculture as the qualification was, 5,017 in 1978, against which the available number of such Diploma holders in the job market was 4,262. Thus a deficit of 25.58 percent of this type of personnel in 1973 seems to have been reduced to about 15 percent in 1978. But present situation is exactly opposite. It is reasonable to think that a clear unemployment situation exists today in case of agricultural graduates.

Employment situation of the Medical graduates

The total number of posts demanding M B B S as the minimum qualification in 1973 was 4840 against which the available number of such degree holders was 4559, thus indicating a deficit of such personnel of about 5 percent. However, by 1978 as the requirements and availabilities of graduate doctors have increased substantially, the deficit has been turned into a surplus of 7.73 percent.

Table 4.6
Employment Market for Master's Degree holders, at June 1973 and June 1978.

Qualification	No. of Total no. job as of posts piring demanded degree this quaholders lification	Number of Posts							Private business unemployment inappropriate placement			
		Primary sectors	Economic overheads	Social infra-structure	June other than Jute	Mfi. other than Jute	Finance Adminis-tration	Research				
1. Master's degree in Humanities	6441 (10427)	3919 (5502)	--	3818 (5346)	--	--	101 (216)	--	2522 (4665)			
2. Master's degree in social science	7703 (14086)	3145 (5128)	5 (5)	2 (2)	3131 (5104)	--	5 (5)	2 (12)	4558 (8958)			
3. Master's degree in Economic Science	6360 (11855)	4459 (7079)	199 (378)	206 (384)	2477 (33760)	130 (255)	423 (713)	260 (738)	193 (348)	557 (859)	14 (28)	1901 (4776)
4. Post Graduate Medical specialists	251 (NA)	304 (NA)	--	--	304 (NA)	--	--	--	--	--	--	-53 (NA)
5. Master's degree in Natural Science	6492 (10232)	6096 (8857)	195 (387)	182 (391)	3529 (4372)	14 (40)	990 (1530)	--	45 (80)	1141 (2062)	--	396 (1375)

Note : Figures within Brackets refer to June, 1978.

Source : (i) Manpower Section, Planning Commission, June, 1974, op. cit.
(ii) Manpower Section, Planning Commission, June, 1978, op. cit.

The largest number of M B B S degree holders representing 81.62 percent was employed in social infra-structure followed by primary sector and the jute industry.

In the case of B D S degree holders the surplus of availability over requirements seems to have increased from 49 percent to 62.30 percent between 1973 and 1978. But today even the medical graduates are finding it hard to get employment.

Employment situation of Master's degree holders

The employment situation of Master's degree in Humanities in 1978 was 5562 against which the available number of such degree holders in the job market was 10427. So about 4865 persons (46.66) were unemployed or inappropriately placed. Thus the imbalance which was 39.15 percent in 1973 seems to have grown significantly since that date.

The largest number of posts requiring this qualification existed in social infrastructure followed by research.

The total number of posts offered for master's degree in Social Sciences in 1978 was 5128 against which the number of job aspirants was 14,086. So, 8,958 (68.60 percent) were unemployed or employed in places where this qualification was not necessary, indicating a significant deterioration over the situation in 1973.

The total number of posts offered for Master's degree in 1978 in Economic Science was 7079 against which 11,855 such degree holders were available. Therefore, about 4776 (40.29 percent) were unemployed or inappropriately placed, indicating a substantial deterioration over the situation in 1973.

The total number of posts demanding Master's degree in Natural Sciences in 1978 was 8857 against which 10232 such degree holders were available. Therefore, about 1375 (13.44 percent) were unemployed or inappropriately placed, indicating a significant deterioration over the situation in 1973. There exists widespread unemployment situation today in respect of this category.

Higher education and overseas employment

International migration in search of better employment and income earning activities has been an important feature of all the countries of the world during last few decades. A substantial amount of migration has taken place from the developing countries to industrialised market economy and oil-rich Middle Eastern countries. The process of migration from Bangladesh to the Middle Eastern countries has influenced the social and economic lives of the people of Bangladesh. The improvement in the welfare of migrant themselves and their dependents can be termed as the key benefit from the process of international migration. However, two further potentially significant short-term benefits can be derived by Bangladesh from migration of unskilled workers are (i) reduction of unemployment and underemployment and of income inequality (which implies improvement in the job-finding and income-earning prospects) and (ii) improvement in the balance of payments.

The extent to which these two benefits are in fact attained depends on a number of intervening factors. Moreover, these benefits should be evaluated with reference to the adverse

effects on the national economy that may cause due to emigration of skilled manpower from Bangladesh.

An analysis may be presented here about the labour movement to the Middle East and some African countries in relation to the educational background of the migrants. Migrant workers from Bangladesh to the other regions of the world are not significant; moreover, the government's policy of manpower export is mainly concerned with Middle East and some African countries. We will therefore, concentrate on the employment aspects in the Middle East and African countries.

In the perspective plan currently being developed for 1980-2000, Bangladesh has planned five-yearly targets for sending workers to the Middle East. These workers are seen as recruits for Middle East employers and third-country contractors in the Middle East.

In the draft Second Five Year Plan (SFYP) of Bangladesh, some measures have been suggested to enhance overseas employment. It has been emphasized that a national manpower export policy has to be formulated with due considerations for overseas employment

which should essentially be based on the costs and benefits of emigration of skilled manpower from the country. The export of unskilled labour, semi-skilled labour and types of educated manpower (which are surplus) may be incorporated with the process of recruitment, training and development of the market for further export of manpower.

It is pertinent to see the relationship between higher education in Bangladesh and employment prospects of the educated abroad, especially in the Middle East and some African countries. If we look into the background of the migrants and people willing to migrate, especially with respect to their occupational and educational background a clear picture may then be drawn up for objective at hand.

At the very outset, let us examine the structure of demand in the labour markets of the Middle East and some African countries. The tremendous increase in the revenues from oil has led to various economic activities in the oil-rich countries of these areas.

The data available for the total number of Bangladesh is abroad from different sources differ as to their coverage, number and classification. In Bangladesh, the Bureau of Manpower, Employment and Training (BMET) was established in 1976 under Ministry of Manpower Development, Labour and Social Welfare. A substantial portion of overseas employment (about 57%) was arranged by the BMET in 1977. Private recruiting agents were responsible for 10% of employment, another 10% was employed by a Bangladesh firm in the United Arab Emirate and the remainder were through individual initiatives.

From one estimate provided by the draft SFYP, about 69,317 persons have been employed in the Middle East and some African countries upto December 1979. The receiving countries include UAE, Saudi Arabia, Oman Kuwait, Qatar, Iraq, Libya, Bahrain, Iran, Nigeria and Uganda. (Source : Draft Second Five Year Plan).

There are some other countries in Asia and Africa where Bangladesh has exported a small amount of her manpower.

It is evident from the various figures given about that most of the workers having employment abroad fall in skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled categories, who derive their training and

education from various technical and non-technical institutions at the lower level of our educational system. The number of professionals who are usually trained and educated in the various levels of our higher education system, constitute only a minor portion of the total employment abroad. There is little demand for the educated generalists for whom it is very difficult to get gainful employment either at home or abroad.

At the initial stage of modernization the oil-rich manpower importing countries have devoted their resources mainly on social infrastructures and economic overheads. Because of this and due to slow development of agriculture and industries, the demand for labour has been confined to few categories such as construction workers, semi-skilled technicians and some specialized skills. With the development of various sectors over time, demand for diversified specialized skills will also increase. Table 4.7 gives the picture of employment abroad and remittance of foreign exchange during the period 1976-92.

Table 4.7

OVERSEAS EMPLOYMENT STATISTICS

Year	Professional Worker	Skilled Worker	Semi-Skilled Worker	Un-Skilled Worker	Total	BNET	BOESL	Recruiting Agent	Individual	Remittance earned (in crore Tk.)
1976	568	1775	543	3201	6087	5279	0	284	524	35.85
1977	1766	6447	490	7022	15725	5729	0	1171	8825	125.16
1978	3455	8190	1050	10114	22809	6160	0	1994	14655	165.59
1979	3494	7005	1685	1230	24495	6957	0	2966	14562	266.95
1980	1983	12209	2343	14038	30073	5715	0	7773	17085	492.95
1981	3892	22432	2449	27015	55787	6074	0	22218	27495	620.77
1982	3898	20611	3272	34981	62762	4483	0	24939	33340	1176.84
1983	1822	18939	5098	33361	59220	730	0	26320	32170	1568.76
1984	2642	17183	5484	31445	56714	0	157	32460	24137	1255.21
1985	2568	28225	7823	39078	77694	0	1221	39397	37076	1416.70
1986	2210	26294	9265	30889	68658	0	1895	27859	38904	1752.85
1987	2223	23839	9619	38336	74017	0	340	33818	39859	2313.69
1988	2670	25286	10809	29356	68121	0	476	34117	33528	2423.69
1989	5325	38820	17659	39914	101724	0	707	36508	64503	2445.99
1990	6004	35613	20792	41345	103814	0	435	40258	63121	1669.08
1991	9024	46887	32605	58615	147131	0	140	64889	82102	2834.77
1992	2064	10853	4533	125544	30044		29	8134	21881	550.41
	55603	350608	135569	453484	1004875		5400	405105	554767	22115.26

Source : Bureau of Manpower, Employment and Training (1992)

Development of proper skill and manpower export

The various policy measures which may be taken up by the government will be influenced by the orientation of the manpower export. In view of the vast unemployment in the country, manpower export can reduce the extent of unemployment by exporting manpower which is in abundant supply. Taking a short policy, a portion of the unemployed educated generalists, high school drop outs can be put to some gainful employment through retraining programmes to turn them into typists, stenographers, drivers, welders, electricians etc. This task may be performed by the BMET and other technical training institutions such as Polytechnic Institutes, Vocational Training Institutes etc.

The system of formal and non-formal education should be fully exploited to develop diversified skilled manpower to increase manpower export. It may be pointed out that it will be difficult to send additional manpower from Bangladesh with higher education for employment abroad, mainly because of competition from other countries. Increasing volume of manpower from this country can however be exported in the skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled categories of workers. India, for example, sends a

substantial amount of these types of manpower to the Middle Eastern countries. Within some broad guidelines, there is a wide range of practical actions which may be taken up to enhance benefits from manpower export. Further, manpower export policy should be carefully integrated into the overall manpower development policy for the country so as to maximize social and economic development.

In this context, professionals and highly skilled persons, who are needed for domestic development efforts may be excluded from any publicly assisted migration programme. Proper domestic employment with good incentives should be provided to these types of prospective migrants.

Secondly, in order that the country can derive maximum benefit from the remittances of the migrants, proper government policies should be taken up to establish cooperatives and agro-industrial projects to encourage the productive use of money remitted by the migrants.

Thirdly, suitably skilled Bangladeshi personnel working abroad should be given proper incentives in the form of housing,

job security to take up employment in Bangladesh and make use of their skills for overall development of the country. This kind of "Brain Drain Reversal" programme has been successfully carried out in Turkey.

The recently established Manpower Planning Centre in the Manpower Ministry will be concerned among other things, with some of these issues, including those of continuous review of the education and training system to adjust its turn over with the change in the labour demand abroad and review the performances of the manpower exporting agencies in order to control the volume of manpower export in case of anticipated dislocation created in the economy of Bangladesh by such export.

Strategy for the education system

The preceding analysis points out the importance of formulating some strategies for utilization of human resource through proper training and education. The amount of enrolment at various types and levels of education will be an important aspect of such planning. The demand for particular types of skilled manpower in the labour markets abroad might imply emphasis on

particular educational training and institutions to increase the output of such manpower to meet the demand.

The fact should be borne in mind that society incurs considerable cost in training and educating a person willing to migrate abroad. Whether remittance sent by the migrants are sufficient as compared to this cost, as well as the cost in terms of strains which might be generated by migration in the national economy, are not known. According to figures given by the Draft Second Five Year Plan of Bangladesh, out of total capital inflow in 1978-79 the share of remittance from abroad was Tk. 244 crore, about 16.29% of total capital inflow of that year. It is difficult to breakdown the remittance money as to the categories of people sending the money from abroad. Often the gain in the form of private benefit accrue to the migrant himself, whereas the cost involved is a social cost thrown on the shoulder of the national economy. A substantial portion of government revenue is devoted to higher education and the rationale for such huge expenditures must be made out. It will be of course misleading to assess desirability of higher education on the basis of employment only, whether at home or abroad. Education, at all levels has got its own intrinsic value; learning is a basic urge and need of human mind. Thus the strategy for the education

system, specially for the higher level, involves some amount of value judgment by the policy makers.

From the analysis, it appears that the role of higher education particularly of the general type in promoting export of manpower is rather limited. However, considerable possibility exists for manpower exports so far as the products of technical education at different levels are concerned. This is reflected particularly in the demand for lower level skilled manpower in the Middle East and some African countries. The school dropouts and primary educated persons will be the major inputs for such technical institutions. This will imply emphasis on primary education and linking up of vocational and technical education with the primary education. The need for some high level skilled and professional individuals will require some emphasis (though on a lesser degree) on Secondary, Higher Secondary and Higher Education. However, before increasing the enrolment (or even continuing the present emphasis) in general Higher Education, serious thought should be given to the costs and returns involved in this level of education in Bangladesh. This realization will definitely lead to a re-examination of the allocation strategy for various levels of education and the introduction of policy measures for the maximum utilization of capacity in the existing institutions.

To summarize, it is observed that as of 1980 total civilian labour force in Bangladesh is estimated at 31.5 percent of the total population with nearly 65 percent of the total population with age ten years or more. The female labour force is a meagre 5.9 percent of the total female population, according to the Planning Commission estimate. Agriculture as an occupation caters for nearly 77 percent of the economically active population; 70 percent are women according to the population census report. Professional, technical and managers consist of 2 percent of this population, with females sharing a higher proportion than males with 2.6 percent. In respect of labour participation rate, Bangladesh has the unusual phenomenon of having highest participation rate in the age group 65 and over, according to the 1991 census. Female participation rate is highest in the age group 10-14 years.

In respect of wages, workers in the non-agricultural sectors earn more than those in the agricultural sector. Unemployment rate among economically active persons with school certificate and higher degrees has increased from 4 percent in 1973 to 48 percent in 1978. In addition the extent of inappropriate placement is also increasing over time. However, although there is an overall surplus of educated manpower in the country, there

is a shortage of technical manpower in the fields of teaching, engineering and technical professions, medical professionals and technicians, and agricultural professions. When considered separately, the problem of unemployment of arts graduates seems to have increased since the period 1973-78. A similar phenomenon is observed for commerce graduates. The shortage of engineering and veterinary graduates has become surplus at present. However, the output of metallurgists, architects and agriculturists surpassed the demand. In the case of post-graduate studies in arts, social sciences and natural sciences, the surplus has increased.

Four quantifiable factors have been identified as the reasons for unemployment and underemployment. These are economic stagnation, rapid growth of population and labour forces and investment policy, which has been biased towards non-agricultural sectors although agriculture is the major sector of the economy and the choice of inappropriate technology.

One way out of the problem of unemployment has been the promotion of overseas employment, which has been an important

factor in reducing the foreign exchange deficit. The Second and subsequent Five Year Plans duly give importance to this aspect. Although the largest proportion of overseas employment consists of unskilled workers followed by skilled workers; professionals and semi-professionals comprise nearly 10 percent of the total overseas employment as of 1979. Most of them go to the oil-rich Arab countries. It is estimated that during the period 1980-85, approximately 14,000 professionals and semi-professionals will be employed overseas. The proportion of job-seekers in foreign countries with higher education comprised 5 percent of the total job-seekers of this type. The Bureau of Manpower, Employment and Training has started to collect statistics on overseas labour market for Bangladeshi workers. The establishment of an overseas Employment Development Authority as envisaged in the Second Plan could help increase employment in order to reduce the domestic unemployment in the short run. However, in the long run, Bangladesh itself will have to find employment for its citizens within the country.

The new circumstances of the 1970s have produced new priorities of educational attainment. There is a growing interest in reforming the examination system so as to minimise the testing

of academic achievement and to maximise the testing of natural aptitude. In the 1960s, the slogans were for "Universal primary education", "manpower planning" and "investment in human capital. The slogans of 1970s are for basic education, earning while learning, life-long education and aptitude test instead of examinations (R.Dore, the diploma disease ; 1976). Evidence suggests that the third world countries are increasingly producing middle level and higher level manpower resulting in growing open unemployment and that the social rate of return on investment in education is always lower in secondary and higher secondary than in primary education.

In presenting the desirable educational targets, the matter of educational priorities is of vital importance. Developing countries with limited scarce resources cannot be expected to do everything at once. They must therefore fix priorities in terms of both quality and quantity. It must however be remembered that priorities within the educational system again depend on the amount of resources available and on the overall national development programme adopted by the developing country concerned. It is therefore not only a question of ascertaining the appropriate levels of educational expenditure in the light

of economic and social objectives, but also of establishing the optimal distribution of expenditure of any given amount among the various levels and categories of education. Each country may have different scale of priorities. The stage of development, the economic resources, the social and cultural values and the national goals determine these scales of priorities.

W.A. Lewis (1980) stated : "The requirement of economic development help in setting priorities, but they are not overriding. Education was not invented in order to enable men to produce more goods and services. The purpose of education is to enable men to understand better the world in which they live so that they may more fully express their political capacities, whether spiritual, intellectual or material".

Priorities in educational planning should be defined within a provision for its accomplishment both in terms of resources (human and economic) and in terms of its implications and of the time scale to be achieved. We do not, however, propose to set any definite methodology for any such effort. But as a guideline to the educational planner in developing countries, we would like to summarize the conclusions of two different but very important studies one made by Harbison and Myers and the other by Psacharopoulos.

Harbison and Myers (1964) suggested that while all branches of formal education are in need of urgent development, absolute priority should be given to second level education. Secondary education should be provided free for outstanding students and should prepare for Higher secondary and tertiary level. He suggests that expansion of primary education, should be made with possible speed, but definitely not at the cost of quality. General secondary education should be reoriented to more fundamental subjects with emphasis on multi-purpose secondary school. According to him expansion of secondary education should be considered as a top priority need.

By using different index of educational development based on costs, George Psacharopoulos (1986) made the following conclusions concerning the developing countries:

(a) The most profitable educational level in most countries is the primary one, which suggests that arguments for universal primary education based on human rights are also supported by good economic sense.

(b) In the developing countries returns to investment in human capital are well above the returns to physical capital which suggests that developing countries should give greater emphasis to investing in human as against physical capital.

(c) Investment in education contributes substantially to the rate of growth of output.

(d) Labour with secondary educational qualifications seems to contribute in effect more to output than it is paid for.

(e) Higher education is very expensive in relation to the other levels of education. This suggests that planners should be particularly careful to assess the benefits from this level of education before proposing expansion.

(f) There is a high degree of substitution in production between different types of educated labour. This suggests that future expansion of the educational system should also be based on relative costs benefits rather solely on manpower needs.

Conclusion

In the light of the above discussions, we may conclude that there are some factors which can explain the slow growth of employment and hence the unemployment of a large part of the labour force. The modern wage earning sector has limited capacity to absorb all the educated persons of the society which creates widespread unemployment of the educated in Bangladesh.

Employment situation confronting educated youth of all categories University graduates and Master degree holders, engineering, agricultural and medical graduates potrays a gloomy picture, but the prospect of employment for engineering, agricultural and medical graduates are better than general degree holders. This warrents for gradual shift from formal education to nonformal education and setting priorties from higher education to primary education. Education and training system should be so formulated as to create right skills for the right jobs, which calls for a new strategy for the education system.

The economy of Bangladesh has suffered from stagnation during the last three decades. Low growth rate of the economy reveals that there has been little growth in the economy either during the British colonial rule or during Pakistan period. Development of the economy has been deliberately neglected and the surplus capital has been shifted to the 'mother country' during this period. This factor is largely responsible for the lower growth of production and hence employment of the economy. Coupled with the slow growth of production and employment in the economy, there exists rapid growth of population and labour froce. The rapid growth in production is closely related with a rapid increase in the labour froce. The rapid population growth

and the resultant labour force growth in the face of a chronic stagnation of the economy are responsible to a considerable degree for the rising unemployment of the educated.

The choice of inappropriate technology and a low utilization of capital are primarily responsible for the low elasticity of employment in the manufacturing sector. Suitable investment policy is also of permanent importance. Import of technology through tied loans entrepreneurial and engineering bias is in favour of the automated and sophisticated technology are responsible for the choice of inappropriate techniques.

Manpower export and international emigration is also an important feature. The huge remittance of the foreign exchange by the migrants enriches our economy and influences the socio-economic lives of the people of the country. The prospect of migration, manpower export and employment abroad should encouraged as far as possible. For this purpose, development of proper skills to enhance manpower export should be a matter of priority for Bangladesh.

There should also be wider scope for self-employment, small scale trade and industries. All out efforts should be made for creating employment opportunities.

CHAPTER FIVE

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITION AND EDUCATED UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM IN THE STUDY AREA

Physical setting and Geographical location of the Study Area

I have conducted field work in 12 villages of Durgapur North Union under Sadar Thana of Comilla District. I have also conducted a sample survey in these villages for the purpose of present study. The area is situated in the southern part of Bangladesh. Both economically and socially, this area has immense importance. The Dhaka - Chittagong metalled road (highway) goes through this district. Many important government and non government offices and activities are available here. All the sample villages are situated within 5 miles of Comilla sadar Thana. People generally move from here on foot and sometimes on rickshaw. The job holders and some students move by bicycles too. Most of the facilities of city life are available in these villages. The impact of BARD¹ activities upon these villages is

1. Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development (BARD), Comilla began its experiments on rural development in the early sixties. It evolved a new system of village cooperatives which is known as Comilla model of cooperatives. The integrated rural development programmes (IRDP) are now considered as a major institution of rural development in Bangladesh.

very prominent. It leads these villages to improve their communication system and economic condition through family welfare and cooperative activities. The overall standard of living of the villagers under study has improved through the opening of various employment opportunities and income generation activities. The relative proximity of the study area to the town, especially to Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development (BARD), affects the economic life of the people in several ways. The middle and large farmers diversified their economic activities. They became more interested to receive education and other facilities of modern life in this way. The traditional peasant culture and the rural society is undergoing changes as a result of the introduction of modern technology and western culture. The urban influence on the villagers under study is very much noticed. Young people of the upper and middle strata move to the town for jobs and education. A small part of the middle and upper class family started business in urban area. Some of their family members are also employed in minor government offices as clerks, typists etc. A minor percentage of small farmers also started small trades in Comilla town.

**The Socio-economic condition and Cultural situation of
Durgapur North Union**

The present study area, being integral part of the country, have socio-economic and cultural features similar to the rest of the country. The nature of economy, politics, culture, mode of production, pattern of landownership and wealth etc. indicate that there exists wide disparity between rich and the poor. Land is the principal source of income of the people of the study area. However, there are some people, who are parallally engaged in both agricultural and non-agricultural activities.

The rich farmers are also engaged in trades due to more income in addition to agriculture. The small farmers can not afford to earn their livelihood from their land only. They have to supplement their income by offering wage labours to the land of the rich farmers. Some medium and small farmers are also engaged in share-cropping. Extreme property persists amongst the landless people who work as wage labour in others land. In addition there are some small traders, vegetable sellers in the study area. A significant number of families have their members working in various govt. and non-govt organization.

Pattern of Landownership and Social Stratification

Land is an important source of power in rural Bangladesh. The concentration of land among the rural people has been changing during the last few decades. On basis of ownership and non-ownership of land, the people of the study area can be stratified in the following manners: (1) Rich Farmer (2) Middle Farmer (3) Small Farmer and (4) Landless.

Agriculture is the main occupation of the people under study. Some are directly involved with agriculture, some are indirectly engaged in agricultural works. Many are engaged in non-farming occupations like business, small trade, service etc.

In the study area, there were many rich hindu farmers, hindu Jaminders and hindu educated people. They however left their village home and settled down in Calcutta after the partition of 1947. At the time of partition, they sold their land at a very cheap rate on nominal price to the Muslims of the locality.

The Muslim landowning class who were mostly uneducated paid attention to education and felt necessity of educating their children, when they were deprived of their rent collection rights

by the Zamindari Abolition Act of 1950. They began to send their sons and daughters to schools and colleges for education. This exerted extra economic burden on them. They had to sell their land for bearing educational expenses and in the process they became totally landless. The consequence of rapid population growth made the situation worst. In accordance with the Muslim law of inheritance, the land owned by a person got sub-divided among the children and grand children.

The study area is inhabited by two major religious groups: Muslims and Hindus. The Muslims of the area are stratified as high and low status and the Hindus are ranked as high, low and scheduled castes. Those who do not do manual work are known as people with prestige and as a matter of heredity these rich rural elites use patronymics after or before their names i.e. Kazi, Khan, Chowdhury etc. On the other hand, people who do manual work and contribute directly in agricultural work (whether owner cultivator or share-croppers) are considered as people enjoying low status.

In the study area Hindus are broadly divided into three categories; namely, upper Caste Hindus, the lower caste Hindus and the scheduled caste Hindus. The division is hierarchial, based on the concept of purity and pollution as sanctioned by

Hindu religion. The lower caste Hindus are again divided into many caste sub-divisions. The scheduled caste Hindus are also divided into a number of caste sub-divisions on the basis of superiority and inferiority.

Power is unequally distributed among the various groups of people in the villages under study. This inequality in the distribution of power is, to a large extent, related to the inequality of ownership and control of land and to the inequality of status. The distribution of power again influences the ownership and control of land and the status system.

The sources of power in the villages of Durgapur North Union are two fold: internal and external. The politics in the villages is influenced by both internal and external forces. The internal sources of power are the ownership and control of the means of production, high status and control in the union Parishad. Physical and intellectual capabilities of the individuals, social service, tact and use of force help one to accumulate political power. External sources of power emanates from political parties, especially political party in power, the influence of political personalities, control over the agencies of the distribution of relief, contact with high administrative and police officials and

such other factors which are responsible for giving one political power from outside the village.

In the study area there are various social groups and sub-groups. The social groups in the area represents a structure of class domination which is found within each village. Patriarchal heads of the family and the village heads are integrated into a political structure for the village as a whole. In addition rural political touts or mastans also enjoy good amount of power in the area.

There are two kinds of landowners in the study area. The first group of landowners may be called rentiers as they live on the rents coming from land, without contributing any labour in the agricultural process. They lease out their land to the share croppers and share half the crops produced. Though there exists govt. instruction to obtain one third of the produced goods, yet this instruction is not followed strictly in rural areas. This group of landowners does not invest any capital, nor they supervise agricultural work. Most of the land owners of this group live in the city areas. The other group invests the capital, work physically in the field and produce crops. This group of landowners is called owner cultivators. The owner cultivators work on their land for production by contributing

both capital and labour. They directly participate in the production process.

The middle and small farmers work as share-croppers. The share-croppers are responsible for supplying all inputs necessary for production such as labour, seeds, fertilizers etc. The terms of lease are very simple as done on verbal agreements usually for one year but may be extended beyond that period. As a consequence, the tenancy is changed almost every year but may continue for years together.

The landless labourer are hired on daily basis. Their employment is purely temporary and subject to opportunity of work dependent upon the seasonal variation in agriculture. They do not own any land. But many landless people of to-day were the landowners in the past. They sold their land to the rich farmers due to extreme poverty and in the process (as time passed), they became landless. Similarly many land owners were landless people in the past. They again gradually became landowners but their percentage is very low.

The present study reveals that among the total respondents 70 (30.56%) are landless who own land upto 0.5 acre, 132 (57.64%) own land upto 2 acres each, 17 (7.42%) own land from 2-5 acres

and 10 (4.36%) own land above 5 acres (Table - 5.1). On the basis of ownership and non-ownership of land, the people of the study area can be stratified in the following manners: (1) Rich farmers (2) Middle Farmers (3) Small farmers (4) Landless.

Demographic profile of the Study Area and major characteristics of the sample population

As mentioned earlier, the population under this study is the inhabitant of twelve villages of Durgapur North Union under Sadar Thana of Comilla district.

For the purpose of our present study, the persons with educational qualifications of class VIII (who are considered to be eligible for obtaining a job in the modern wage earning sector in Bangladesh) have been considered as educated persons². The educational qualifications of the persons however vary from class VIII to Master's degree. Out of these educated persons, those who

2. However, according to 1981 and 1991 census people with minimum SSC qualification are considered as educated.

Table - 5.1

Distribution of respondents on the basis of landholding

Name of the village	Landless Upto 0.5 acre	Small farmers Upto 2 acres	Middle farmers From 2-5 acres	Large farmers Above 5 acres
1. Alekharchar	11	19	2	1
2. Araiura	5	17	1	--
3. Badarpur	9	8	4	1
4. Bardail	10	16	1	--
5. Durgapur	6	12	1	3
6. Kachiatali	5	12	1	--
7. Krishnanagar	1	9	--	1
8. Nishchintapur	2	6	1	--
9. Shahebnagar	3	12	--	2
10. Shankarpur	4	8	--	--
11. Shasongacha	14	7	3	2
12. Amtali	--	6	3	--
Total	70	132	17	10

Source: Field work in 12 villages of Durgapur North union under Comilla District.

are seeking gainful employment in the modern sector and not getting suitable one, have been considered as educated unemployed. At present a large number of educated persons are unemployed, but the employment opportunities are still very skewed.

The present study reveals that there are 2110 educated persons in the twelve villages of the study area out of which 1859 (88.10%) are males and 251 (11.90%) are females. But all of them are not unemployed. Out of these educated persons 229 unemployed persons (15%) were selected as the respondents for the purpose of this study. We have tried to give a description of the population and the study area with their age group distribution, level of education and the patterns of their occupations in the following sections.

Table - 5.2

Marital status

Name of the village	Married		Unmarried	
		%		%
1. Alekharchar	4	1.75	27	11.79
2. Araiura	5	2.18	19	8.29
3. Shasongacha	4	1.75	21	9.17
4. Bardail	11	4.80	29	12.66
5. Durgapur	12	5.24	12	5.24
6. Shahebnagar	7	3.05	9	3.93
7. Badarpur	6	2.63	9	3.93
8. Nishchintapur	3	1.31	6	2.63
9. Kachiatali	4	1.75	8	3.49
10. Krishnanagar	5	2.18	8	3.49
11. Amtali	3	1.31	3	1.31
12. Shankarpur	8	3.49	6	2.63
Total	72	31.44	157	68.56

Source: Field work in 12 village of Durgapur North union under Comilla district

It may be seen from the Table 5.2 that out of total respondents (educated unemployed) 72 (31.44%) are married and 157 (68.56%) are unmarried.

The respondents belong to the age groups as shown in the following table:

Table - 5.3

Age	Nos	%
18-21	83	36.25
22-25	88	38.43
26-29	32	13.97
30-33	26	11.35
Total	229	100.00

Source: Field work in the 12 villages of Durgapur North Union under Comilla District.

The respondents were chosen from various age groups. Table 5.3 shows that out of total 229 respondents, 83 (36.25%) belong to (18-21) age group, 88 (38.43%) belongs to (22-25) age group, 32 (13.97%) belong to (26-29) age group, and 26 (11.35%) belongs to (30-33) age group. Highest percentage to the sample population belong to (22-25) age group.

Table - 5.4

Educated persons in twelve villages of Durgapur North Union under Comilla District:

Male and Female Distribution of the educated persons				
Name of the village	Male No.	Male %	Female No.	Female %
1. Shasongacha	198	9.39	49	2.33
2. Alekharchar	260	12.33	36	1.70
3. Bardail	139	6.59	27	1.28
4. Durgapur	287	13.60	13	0.61
5. Shahebnagar	177	8.38	15	0.71
6. Badarpur	48	2.27	16	0.77
7. Nishchintapur	145	6.88	9	0.43
8. Kachiatali	91	4.31	9	0.43
9. Amtali	148	7.01	11	0.52
10. Krishnanagor	89	4.21	3	0.14
11. Shankarpur	79	3.74	3	0.14
12. Araiura	198	9.39	60	2.84
Total	1859	88.10	251	11.90

Source: Field work in 12 villages of Durgapur North Union under Comilla district.

Among the total respondents of the study area 88.10% are male and the rest 11.90% are female. The number of female unemployed are much more in Shasongacha, Alekharchar, Bardail, Kachiatali and Araiura (Table - 5.4) villages³.

The male and female ratio of the educated in the study area is 7:1 as shown in Table - 5.4. Like other areas of Bangladesh, the rate of female educated persons is fewer than the male in the villages under study. Most of the male and female educated unemployed are still unmarried due to the impact of education and high literacy rate. The marital status of the respondents has been shown in Table 5.4.

3. Low literacy rate of the female is due to socio-cultural reasons. The girls are not allowed to go to the school and proceed for higher education due to early marriage and 'parda' system. The parents encourage the boys to acquire high educational degree by do not encourage the girls in the same way.

Educational Background of the respondents (Educated unemployed)

We have mentioned that the villages under study are located in the Sadar Thana of Comilla District. These villages are not very far from the district headquarters. The people of these villages can easily avail the opportunities of education at the district headquarters. Most of these educated unemployed received their education in this decade. A number of respondent however (57.20%) received education during the period of 1986-1990 (Table -5.5). Early educated youths have been employed gradually but recently educated people are yet to be employed.

Table - 5.5**Period in which the respondents were educated**

Year	Nos.	%
1964-75	21	9.17
1976-80	16	6.99
1981-85	61	26.64
1986-90	131	57.20
Total	229	100.00

Source: Field work in the study area.

The Table 5.5 indicates that due to high rates of enrolment, the number of persons receiving education is increasing. With the rapid population growth and high enrolment rates more educated persons are entering in the labour market and looking for suitable jobs. The labour market, being limited in size, many educated persons are not getting gainful employment.

A significant number (30.57) of the total respondents read upto class VIII. Other groups include class X level (18.35%), S.S.C. level (17.90%) and H.S.C level (14.42%). A small percentage (BA + MA + other) (5.67%) are highly educated (Table - 5.6).

Table -5.6

Distribution of respondents by their educational qualification

Class	Nos.	%
VIII	70	30.57
IX	26	11.35
X	42	18.35
S.S.C	41	17.90
XI	3	1.31
X	1	0.43
H.S.C	33	14.42
B.A.	6	2.62
M.A.	2	0.87
Other	5	2.18
Total	229	100

Source: Field work in the study area.

It may be seen from Table 5.6 that the most number belong to class VIII to S.S.C level. These persons could not proceed for higher education due mainly to unfavourable economic condition.

Table -5.7

Village-wise distribution of educated persons

Name of the village	Nos. of educated persons	% of total population
1. Shasongacha	247	11.71
2. Alekharchar	296	14.03
3. Bardail	166	7.87
4. Durgapur	300	14.22
5. Shahebnagar	192	9.09
6. Badarpur	64	3.04
7. Nishchintapur	154	7.29
8. Kachiatali	100	4.74
9. Amtali	159	7.54
10. Krishranagar	92	4.37
11. Shankarpur	82	3.88
12. Araiura	258	12.22
Grand Total	2110	100.00

Source: Field work in Durgapur North Union.

Table - 5.8

Name of the village	Place	Rural Institutions		Urban Institutions	
		Nos. of Res.	%	Nos. of Res.	%
1. Alekharchar	26	11.35	3	1.31	
2. Araiura	18	7.86	5	2.18	
3. Badarpur	9	3.93	3	1.31	
4. Bardail	32	13.98	3	1.31	
5. Durgapur	17	7.42	11	4.80	
6. Kachiatali	12	6.24	3	1.31	
7. Krishraragar	12	5.24	3	1.31	
8. Nischintapur	9	3.93	--	--	
9. Shahebnagar	5	2.18	11	4.80	
10. Shankarpur	6	2.63	8	3.49	
11. Shasongacha	5	2.18	22	9.61	
12. Amatali	6	2.63	--	--	
Total	157	68.57	72	31.43	

Source: Field work in the study area

From the Table 5.8, it appears that the respondents who are educated but unemployed have mostly received education from the rural level institutions. For example, 72 (31.43%) respondents

received education in town whereas the bulk of the respondents 157 (68.57%) received education from educational institutions of the villages under study. It is important to note here that the respondent's educational level is closely related to the educational level of their father. Educated men have educated children. To find out the educational background of the present educated unemployed person, we tried to find out their family background. It has been found that most of the father's educational qualification of the respondents is below class VIII. Fathers of 56 respondents are totally illiterate. Fathers of 8 (3.49%) respondents have read upto class IV. Fathers of 69 (30.15%) respondents have educational attainment within V-VIII and fathers of 57 (24.89%) are within VIII-X level. Fathers of 24 (10.48%) respondents have educational qualification of SSC and that of 7 (3.05%) HSC level. Fathers of 8 (3.48%) respondents have Bachelor's degree and high educational qualification (BA + other). It is clear from the above finding that the large number of the respondent's father is literate, which has an impact on the educational attainment of their children (Table - 5.9).

Table - 5.9

Class	Nos.	%
0	56	24.46
0-IV	8	3.49
V-VII	69	30.15
VIII-X	57	24.89
S.S.C.	24	10.48
H.S.C.	7	3.05
B.A.	4	1.74
Other	4	1.74
Total	229	100

Source: Field work in the study area

Family Background, educational qualifications, social status and job positions of the parents have important bearing on the educational level of the children. Economic and political access of the parents, high yield variety (HYV) innovation and introduction of co-operatives play a vital role in the economic life of the people of the study area.

Employment situation of the population in the study area

In the twelve villages of Durgapur North Union, we have found 2110 educated persons whose educational level vary from class VIII to masters degree. Among them, only 229 educated unemployed people were interviewed. These (229) respondents were randomly selected for the purpose of our study.

Their educational levels also include technical studies, agriculture engineering and medical science. The distributions of all educated persons by occupation have been shown in the Table 5.10.

Table - 5.10

Distribution of sample population by occupation.

Name of the Village	Employed in (Agriculture)	Service	Trade	Student	Others	Unemployed
1. Shasongacha	1	45	35	20	—	146
2. Alekharchar	8	17	28	75	2	166
3. Bardail	5	17	35	33	11	65
4. Durgapur	10	39	44	75	2	130
5. Shahebnagar	3	15	9	45	2	118
6. Badarpur	3	16	7	18	—	20
7. Nishchintapur	6	12	3	18	—	115
8. Kachiatali	7	28	9	35	—	21
9. Amtali	2	19	7	19	—	112
10. Krishnanagar	3	21	14	39	—	15
11. Shankarpur	8	21	12	16	—	25
12. Araiura	21	16	60	59	6	96
Total	77	266	263	452	23	1029

Source: Field work in the study area

Their main occupations are agriculture, services, and trade etc. Table 5.10 shows that among the educated persons of the study area 3.65% are engaged in agriculture, 12.60% are engaged in services, 12.46% are involved in trade, and 21.42% are students and 48.76% are unemployed. This clearly indicates that the percentage of educated unemployed in the study area is very high.

Power structure and Politics

The study area is very close to the town. The politics and other socio-cultural activities of the city area have a great impact upon its periphery. The rural people generally exercise their power both by their traditional and hereditary position, lineage or kinship. Some people also hold power by their economic stability having money from big business and trades. In some cases, power is also manipulated in terms of religion. In Muslim family Talukder, Chowdhury, Bhuiya etc. generally hold more power than the others. There are two major status groups named Uchcha

bangshio and Nimno bangshio among the Muslims⁴ In Hindu society, same ranking system also exist. The Muslims of the study area are mainly classified as higher and lower status and the Hindus are ranked as higher, lower and scheduled castes, on the basis of the concept of purity and pollution. The lower caste Hindus are again divided into many caste sub-division. The scheduled caste Hindus are also divided into a number of caste sub-division on the basis of superiority and inferiority. In choosing the professions, some superstitions and beliefs also act as barriers in Hindu families.

The power and politics of these villages is closely and clearly related with nature of rural economy, the nature of landownership and means of production. People of various status and social group are different in the nature of their politics and power relations.

4. There exist two major status groups among the muslims; uchcha bangshio i.e. high status muslims are called Ashraf and nimno bangshio i.e. low status muslims are called Atraf. The people from chowdhury, Kazi, Bhuiyan etc. families are considered Ashraf i.e. high status and the people with occupation of low esteem i.e. washermen, cultivators, fishermen etc. are called Atraf i.e. low status muslims (Karim: 1976).

Besides the political activities in the villages, there are also some institutional and local level organizational activities through which people exercise power. *Samaj* and *Gushti* also work as the traditional power yielding forces in the study area. There are various groupings in the area representing social structure of the study area. The village heads are integrated into a political structure for the village as a whole.

Effects of modernisation and co-operatives in the study area

The Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development (BARD) started its research and experiments on rural development from 1960. The pilot co-operative programme was also started in 1960. Its major objective was to get acquainted with rural problems and find out ways and means for solutions. Sadar thana including the study area was used as a laboratory area from its very inception. The main purpose of co-ordinating the experiments in the Sadar Thana was to develop viable models of rural development programmes that could be replicated in other parts of the country. The BARD considered village level co-operative societies as the nerve centre of socio-economic development and participation of the local people in the development process. A two-tier co-operative system was evolved out of the experiments which became one of the main feature of the Comilla Model for rural development. At the

Inspite of the rural development programmes undertaken by the BARD, poverty still persists in the study area. The rural poor is trapped within vicious circle from which it is difficult for them to come out. Social inequalities, exploitation of the poor and landless by the rich farmers and elites, severe educated unemployment problem, disparity of educational facilities between urban and rural areas, scarcity of capital investment and malpractices and abuse of power by the political touts and mastans are all apparent in the area under study.

Main economic activities of the people of the study area

We have identified from our survey that main source of income of the inhabitants of the study area is cultivation. But some people also derives part of their income from other sources in addition to cultivation. Some rich farmers and medium farmers are found obtaining their income from a verity of sources. But the small farmers and landless are entirely dependent on the mercy of the rich farmers. Generally the landless and the poor have no alternative means of survival, but to seek employment and help from the rich farmers. Some landless and poor people are also engaged in informal sector or petty trading. The rich farmers are capable to diversify into other sources of non-

agricultural activities i.e. small scale trade, ration dealer, barbar, fertilizer dealer, service in both government and non government organisation as clerks, officials, electricians, gamblers, milkmen, cloth businessmen and rickshaw pullers.

It may be mentioned that due to the existence of Bangladesh Rural Development Academy, Comilla and its pilot projects in the Kotwali Thana, some people are working in the project. Since the study area is located at the suburbs of Comilla town, people have easy access and more possibility of obtaining job as clerk or lower class employees in the Deputy Commissioner's office and other government offices.

Population and literacy rate

The population census conducted in 1991 indicates that only 24.8% (both sexes) of the total population of Bangladesh are literate, leaving the vast majority of our people being illiterate. The national literacy rate for population of all ages has been defined as the ratio of literate persons of age 5 years and above to total population multiplied by 100 and a person was treated literate if he/she could write a letter in any language. The literacy rate of comilla district is 25.28% which is 1.20% higher than the national literacy rate.

It was assumed that more is the number of educated persons, more will be the number of educated unemployed. Since the literacy rate in Comilla district is higher than other districts, it was assumed that unemployment among the educated will also be higher. Basing on this initial hypothesis, 12 villages of Durgapur North Union of Sadar Thana of Comilla district were selected as the study area for the present work. It is evident from the sample survey of the study area that this hypothesis is correct.

Case Studies

A total of twelve respondents of various categories were selected at random for case studies. Social Position, family status, educational background, political power yielded by the family, landholding including economic condition of each respondent were ascertained.

Case - I

Mr. Shariful Islam, aged 30, is an inhabitant of village Shasongacha. He is still unmarried. His house is known as 'Mahajanbari' as since his grandfather's time, his family is

known as business family. They have about 4 acres of agricultural land. He could not continue his studies due to unfavourable financial condition. Since then he is unemployed. He has tried to get a suitable job but failed.

Mr. Sharif's father read upto Class IX. He is serving as a Cashier in Comilla Agriculture Office. His mother is an illiterate rural woman. He has two more brothers and one sisters. His elder brother has passed B.A. who is also involved in business. His younger brother is studying in local Railway High School and sister has passed Secondary School Certificate in 1990.

His grand father was matriculate. There are twenty educated people in his family, amongst which some managed to get employment.

When asked about the ways and means of alleviating educated unemployment problem, he replied that employment opportunity should be created by wide scale industrialisation. There are large number of vacant post in all government/autonomous bodies but recruitment is being carried out due to restrictions imposed by the government. On the other hand officers/employees are getting extension of their services. In his opinion, recruitment

should be made to fill up the vacant posts and no extention should be allowed to retired officers/employees. He also pointed out that officers responsible for recruitment often takes bribe for providing job. This is a serious type of corruption and government should take necessary step to eradicate corruption and dishonesty from the society. Mr. Sharif's political alignment is with Awami League and once he was very active in students politics as a member of students League.

Case - 2:

Mr. Hafizullah, aged 33, is father of two sons. He also lives in village Shasongacha. Mr. Hafiz passed Secondary School certificate from Railway High School and B.A. from Comilla Victoria College. Since then he is unemployed. He tried for a suitable job but failed.

There are eight members in his family. His father only knows how to read and write and was serving in earstwhile WAPDA as work assistant. In 1972 he retired and remained unemployed since 1985

when he died. He has three more brothers and three sisters. Mr. Hafiz is the eldest and only educated member in his family.

He has 3.5 acres agricultural land. His younger brother is working in a local garments factory.

There are three educated persons who are his relatives but not very well placed. His brother-in-law (younger brother of his wife) is serving in Police department.

When asked as to how to solve unemployment problem, Mr. Hafiz replied that industrialisation is the only way to create employment opportunities. Government should encourage the people who are interested to establish Small and Cottage industries by providing loans. This may help reduce unemployment problem, he said.

Case - 3:

Mr. Riajuddin, aged 23, is an inhabitant of village Araiura. His house is known as 'Sardarbari'. They belong to Bhuiya family. His grand father read upto Class V who used to work as a mason.

Mr. Riaj passed Secondary School Certificate from Panchura High School in 1988 and since then he is unemployed. He was quite a brilliant student who obtained first division in Secondary School Certificate but could not proceed with his education due to financial reasons.

He made efforts to get job in the modern sector but failed. He agreed that he can not get a good job with his educational qualification. He is now interested to join any business firm as a salesman or sales representative. If he fails to get this type of job, then he plans for self-style business by opening small shop.

His father, a matriculate, is working in Public Works Department as Work-assistant. About 20 educated people are his relatives. Most of them are serving but nobody is highly placed.

His family is landless. They are dependent on the salary of his father.

He does not want to continue his studies but he is keen to get a suitable job. He is a supporter of Bangladesh Nationalist Party. He thinks that more effective measures should be taken to control rapid population growth. He also said that unemployment problem can be solved, to some extent, by establishing big or small industries.

Case - 4

Mr. Moshtaq Ahmed, aged 21, unmarried, is an inhabitant of village Araiura. He has read upto Class X. He appeared at S.S.C. examination thrice but could not pass and finally he discontinued his studies in 1987. Since then he is unemployed.

He made attempts to obtain suitable job in various organization. He tried to get a job in a Pharmaceutical Company. The Company demanded Taka 5,000.00 as security deposit. He could not pay this money and therefore, could not join the Company. He applied to Public Works Department for the post of peon but did not even get the interview card. At present he is in search of a suitable job.

He is the only educated person in his family. His father was a small contractor and his grand father was a muhuri in the district court. His father and grand father both read upto Class X.

He has 12 relatives who are educated. His uncle is serving as controller in Public Works Department.

They have 2 (two) acres of land, which are cultivated by themselves. They earn their livelihood by selling milk and cultivating land. He is personally a supporter of Bangladesh Nationalist Party. He spends his time by teaching children of his cousin and gossiping with his friends.

Case - 5

Mr. Sadhan Chandra Datta, aged 24, passed B.A. from Ajit Guha High School. He is presently studying law in Comilla Law College. He is still a bachelor. He sometimes assists his father, who is a village medical practitioner.

He made efforts for a suitable job but failed. He applied for the post of secretary in the local Union Parishad but could not be selected.

He has four more brothers and one sister. He is the fifth amongst his brothers. All his brothers are educated. Three of his brothers have been living separately after marriage. Sister is also married and now living with her husband. Mr. Sadhan Chandra and his one brother are living together with their parents.

His grand father had nearly 8 acres of land. But now they have no landed property because all the lands were sold to manage dowary for the marriage of grand father's seven daughters.

His father earns approximately Taka. 1200.00 per month. All the money earned by his father is being spent for livelihood of the family.

Mr. Sadhan Chandra is unemployed. He advocated for technical education in the country to solve unemployment problem. He was highly critical about dowry system prevailing especially in the rural areas. He is not involved in politics.

Case - 6

Mr. Shariful Islam, aged 26, still unmarried is an inhabitant of village Durgapur. He has passed Higher Secondary Examination from Companygonj College in 1985. He left no stone unturned to get a suitable job in the country.

He then tried to go to Singapore for a job. His father gave him Taka. 40,000.00 by selling land for this purpose. But he finally could not manage to go as the whole money was cheated by the broker. He is still trying for a job in the country.

His father is a primary school teacher. His grand father was a businessman. They have got 12 acres of land which is cultivated by a tractor. He has 14 educated relatives. Amongst seven brothers and one sister, he is the eldest.

Case - 7

Mr. Harun-Ar-Rashid, aged 26, is an inhabitant of village Durgapur. He is still unmarried. He passed Secondary School Certificate examination in 1987. He was compelled to discontinue his studies due to unfavourable financial condition.

He was working in Kuwait as a driver since August, 1990. He earned sufficient money during two years but he has been rendered unemployed due to Iraq-Kuwait War.

He has five more brothers and parents. They live in a joint family. His all other brothers are educated. His father is also a literate person. They has 12 acres of land.

He is trying his best for a job in the country but not getting one.

Case - 8

Mr. Kamal Majumdar, aged 24, still unmarried, is an inhabitant of village Sankarpur. He has read upto Class X. He discontinued his studies in 1983 and since then he has started a grocier's shop. He seriously tried for a job but failed. When asked about probable reasons for not getting a job, he replied: firstly, he has got no influential relatives, secondly he do not have sufficient money to bribe and thirdly, his educational background is poor.

He earns Taka. 1,000.00 per month through grocier's shop. His father serves in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. He regularly sends money for maintenance of the family. He has two brothers and three sisters. His younger brothers are studying in Schools. All the three sisters are married and living with their husbands.

He has got no politically powerful or highly placed relative.

Case - 9

Mr. Mamunur Rashid, aged 22, still unmarried, is an inhabitant of village Alekharchar. He passed Secondary School Certificate in 1989 from Barura High School. He then discontinued his studies due to bad financial condition.

He tried his best to get a suitable job but failed. His father read upto Class X, who was serving in Haqson's Laboratory. His grand father was an illiterate. They have 5 (five) acres of land which is cultivated by hired labourers. He has got eight educated relatives, three brothers and three sisters. He is a strong supporter of Awami League.

Case - 10

Miss Shahina Aktar is living with her parents in the village Alekarchar. She is the eldest amongst five brothers and two sisters. All are school going.

She has passed Higher Secondary Certificate from Nimser Junab Ali College in 1989. Since then she is unemployed. She prefers to become a primary School teacher. She said that her parents will perhaps not allow her to work in any other institutions. Her father passed Secondary School Certificate, who is presently working in Chandpur Zill Parishad as a Surveyer.

She has two maternal uncles who are educated and serving in Dhaka. There is none in her family who is influential, highly placed government officer or politically powerful. Her father is the owner of .5 acres of land. She is supporter of Bangladesh Nationalist Party.

Case - 11

Mr. Ruhul Amin, aged 22, still unmarried, is an inhabitant of village Alekharchar. He has passed Secondary School Certificate in 1986 and since then he is unemployed. He appeared at Higher Secondary Certificate Examination but could not pass. He tried to get a job in the Armed Forces also but to no avail. His father is an illiterate who cultivate land. One of his maternal uncle is serving as resident engineer in the Power Development Board. They have got 40 decimals of land. They cultivate land themselves. Monthly income of the family is nearly

Taka 1200.00 but monthly expenditure is more than the income. He is keen to get a job. He is a strong supporter Bangladesh Nationalist Party.

Case - 12

Miss Shameem Ara Begum, aged 18, lives with her parents in village Alekharchar. She passed Higher Secondary Certificate examination in 1989. She has discontinued her studies due to financial reasons. She is eager to get a job as Primary School teacher or in some government organisation. She tried to get admission into Nursing Cadet Course but did not get the opportunity. She is unemployed.

She has three brothers and four sisters. Her elder brother is serving in Coco-Cola Company. Her father is an illiterate who is engaged in cultivating other's land. She belongs to a landless family.

Causes of Educated Unemployment in the Study Area

In the light of the above, it may be stated that the educated unemployment problem is quite severe in the study area.

The causes of such widespread unemployment of the educated in the study area are enumerated below:

Rapid population growth: In Bangladesh, according to 1991 population census, the population growth rate is 2.17 percent. This has tremendous impact on the study area as the study area is the integral part of the country. Total population of Comilla district is 3,35,000 having approximately 2548 square miles area. The study area i.e. Durgapur North Union has an approximate area of 7.14 square miles with an approximate population of 9403 persons. The study area has therefore a population density of 1318 persons per square mile. This high density of population is one of the major reasons for the problem of unemployment in general and that of the educated in particular. Rapid labour force growth is the consequence of rapid population growth. This rapid growth in the labour force and the consequent age structure eventually increases the working age and school age population. This exerts high social demand for education and existing labour market. The effects of this increase may be witnessed in the form of increase in the school enrolments and severe unemployment and underemployment. Education is regarded by the parents as the primary instrument to have social mobility. Thus the population explosion in the study area has multiplied social demand for

education, which is in other words the principal source of educated unemployed.

Inappropriate Education System: The mounting aspirations of the parents and increased social demand for education as explained above acted as a catalyst for rapid expansion of formal education system. But this expansion of formal education could not derive benefits, rather created serious imbalances between the skills generated by the existing education system and the actual skill need of the society. Lack of non formal and vocational educational facilities in the study area have made many young educated people unemployed. If the education system develops the skills in accordance with the need of the society and responds to the specific and urgent need by training the right people for right jobs, then many people will be able to find gainful employment.

Increased demand for education results in enormous supply of educated people and unemployment tends to be always greater among the people with more education. This is particularly applicable for the study area. The literacy rate of the study area is higher than the national literacy rate. The number of educated unemployment is more in the study area because of the fact that the number of educated persons is higher.

Unfavourable Economic condition: It has been seen that the primary and secondary school leavers have formed the bulk of the unemployed in the study area. Socio-economic background of the parents is largely responsible for this. The poor students are compelled to discontinue studies because of unfavourable economic condition of their parents. The parents utilize their children as helping hand in agricultural work. This is due to prevailing social structure and exploitation of the poor by the rich in the study area.

Limited Scope for Employment: The study area and the country is general has very limited scope for employment. The imbalance between the output of the education system and the corresponding job opportunities in the labour market is a major reason for unemployment of the educated in the study area. The prevailing labour market is limited in size to absorb all the educated people of the study area. There exists no scope for employment generation in the study area. There is not much scope for getting employment in rural works and public works programmes. Thus in the absence of employment opportunities, the educated people in the study area often remain unemployed for a very long time.

Lack of Self-employment opportunities: The study area does not have any facilities for promotion of self employment. The educated youth considers agricultural and other works as low esteem jobs. This is due to the false hopes and aspiration created by the traditional education system. In some cases however, the sons of the wealthy persons in the study area have started small scale trade or transport business for earning money. But the poor people are unable to take up self-employment due to lack of capital. Thus they do not have any other option but to remain unemployed. If the provision is made to ensure capital flow at low interest rate, it is possible to infuse the educated unemployed people in the study area to have self-employment.

Social structure of the Study Area: The study of the social structure reveals the fact that there exist different classes having unequal relations in the society. The poor are exploited by the rich in such a way that the poor ultimately joins the rank of landless. The rich ensures that their children obtain high educational degree and earn high income and status. It is the rich elites of the society who yields maximum power to dominate and control other weaker classes of the society. It is generally the children of the poor who become unable to continue education and ultimately drop out from the education system. In the

existing social structure, ensuring equal benefit to the rich and poor is almost an impossible phenomenon.

Effects of Urbanization: The study area is located at the periphery of urban area i.e. Comilla city. The city life attracts the young educated people because of the availability of all amenities of life. Thus they ignore the rural life and tends to live in the urban area instead of engaging themselves in the rural area in some sort of economic activity.

Conclusion

The people of the study area can be stratified on the basis of ownership and non ownership of land. The land is the principal source of power, income and status in the study area. It is the rich elites of the society who yield power to dominate and exploit the poor.

This existing social structure stands as an obstacle to ensure equal benefits to the poor and rich. There exist wide disparity and social inequality among the rich and poor. There is no scope for promotion of self-employment and informal economic activities of the educated unemployed and under-privileged class

of the society. Women education is also a neglected phenomenon in the study area. Severe povety persists among the landless and small farmers.

The study area being integral part of the country, its socio-economic characteristics are similar to the other parts of the country. The number of educated people is higher in the study area due to which the number of educated unemployed is also higher. Village level Cooperative Societies and improved agricultural facilities have enhanced socio-economic condition of the people of the area.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS

The main findings of the study have been summarised in the respective chapters. A number of drawbacks and inconsistencies in the present system of higher education in relation to the overall development objectives and in particular to the objectives of educational development in the country have been pointed out. In the light of these findings and the analyses presented, an attempt will be made here to suggest measures to eradicate educated unemployment problem in Bangladesh. The study of social structure and stratification of Bangladesh reveals that it is the rich and elite group who yield power to control and dominate weaker classes of the society. The benefits of the existing education system largely accrue to the rich. The people are divided into classes having unequal relationship among them. The rich acquire political power because of their influence and contact with the ruling political party. Traditionally in the rural areas, it is the rich who hold important post in the local government bodies. Thus the rich elites of the rural area exercises class dominance over other classes of the society.

The existing education system of Bangladesh is faulty, defective and discriminatory. During the sixties, rapid expansion of formal education took place as a consequence of increased

social and private demand for education. It became a political issue of many successive governments and continues to remain so until now, although the rapid expansion of formal education is the principal source of large number of educated unemployed in the society. Apart from the fact that the rich elites obtain maximum benefits from the education system and condition of the children of the poor remain unchanged, there exists wide disparity between rural and urban counterpart, though the education is highly subsidised. Universal primary education and adult literacy programme became the political slogans only and failed to impart education for all. The present education system lacks the facilities for non-formal and vocational education.

The morden sector of Bangladesh, being limited in size, is unable to absorb all the educated persons of the society resulting in widespread unemployment of the educated. The education system does not produce right skills taking into consideration the corresponding skill need of the society. This creates skill mismatch and thus aggravates educated unemployment situation. Large allocation of fund is made for higher education rather than for primary education, non-formal, vocational and other technical education.

Experience reveals that the promotion of economic, social, spiritual and political well-being of developing countries lies in the power of knowledge and skills which can only be achieved through effective education. As a colonial legacy, Bangladesh inherited present education system characterized by a number of inadequacies and failures as a consequence of which proper education to develop and sustain the community development efforts remained neglected. Occupational education to develop knowledge and skills associated with rural occupations did not get much attention. Education for women remained also unattended. The literacy rate therefore remained very low, that is, 24.8 percent according to the census report of 1991 and since then almost static as the system failed to impart education to all.

It may be stated that the primary education in Bangladesh does not help the child to affirm his relations with nature and other productive forces and as such does not impart receptiveness to change. The secondary education alienates an individual from the traditional society but does not reintegrate him with the modern sector. The institutions of higher education have become the constitutional refuge of the disguised unemployment of the educated.

However, much of the explanation of today's problem relating to education and employment may be attributed to the social structure standing as it is in the historically determined configuration. The values and relations of the structure are considered to have been carrying the modes of semi-feudal semi-colonial order. The so called reforms enacted and carried out since independence in the structures of administration, law, land, education etc. have not been able to strike the roots and bring about the needed fundamental change in these mutually reinforcing structures. The development inputs over the recent past in this inequitable and structural base have only accelerated the polarization process marked by widespread and increasing destitution, unemployment and illiteracy.

Measures suggested to eradicate educated unemployment problem

In the study area, we found that the unemployment situation of the educated is severe due to the effects of prevailing social structure, education system and lack of employment opportunities. Rapid population growth, increase in the labour force growth and school age population have aggravated the situation. There exists no further scope for employment opportunities, as the society and economy is unplanned.

In the background of such a prevailing situation, we may suggest the following measures to face the unemployment of the educated :

a. It is doubtful whether any substantial improvement of the unemployment situation of the educated can be affected unless the prevailing social structure is changed. Maximum efforts should therefore be made to bring about change in the social structure in order to remove inequality, rural urban disparity and exploitation.

b. The present education system should be reformed so as to ensure equal benefits of education to the rich and poor. The contents and curricula should be modified to infuse the students with the spirit of self employment and love for rural areas and to include nonformal and vocational education.

c. The policy of re-allocating resources from the upper to the lower end of the educational system as a method of attacking the phenomenon of educated unemployment should be given due consideration. Maximum importance should be stressed on universal primary education, non-formal and vocational education.

d. The unplanned and uncontrolled expansion of general secondary and higher education should be restricted if massive educated unemployment is to be avoided. It is necessary to make special and intensive efforts to vocationalize secondary education and to develop professional education at the university stage.

e. One way of dealing with educated unemployment is to restrict the expansion of education by imposing ceilings on the number of places. This can be done by imposing quantitative controls on enrolments and then selecting among potential entrants by examinations and second offering places to all qualified persons and then raising standard of the entrance examination where a fraction will succeed in obtaining a place. It sounds to be fair as it is based on merit but it is argued that it is suicidal for a political party in power to impose quantitative restrictions on higher education.

f. The issue of "vocationalization" takes on special force when considered in the light of the needs of the rural sector. In the schools curriculum should include the teaching of partical farming in order to instill an agricultural and self employment education.

g. The purpose of "vocationalizing" or "ruralizing" the secondary school curriculum is to make middle level education increasingly terminal for a growing proportion of students and thus to undermine the relentless pressure for higher education. The policy of vocationalization of the curricula and vocational education have never been vigorously pursued in Bangladesh. The notion of making secondary education terminal has in any case been opposed by both parents and teachers: by parents because of career aspirations on behalf of their children, and by teachers because of their concern with the full development of children's talents and interests. Accepting these views at face value, the ILO Employment Mission Report on Sri Lanka has come up with a radically new proposal for "terminalization", which does not depend on far-reaching curriculum reform or dramatic changes in teacher training. The idea is simply to replace achievement testing in secondary schools to some extent by aptitude testing. For example, the Ministry of Education might offer a one-week radio and correspondence course on an announced subject towards the close of the academic year; all students in secondary schools would devote that week to studying the

subject and they would then be examined at the end to see how much of it they had mastered. Their mark on this test would then be entered on their record card as a supplement to their standard examination score and selection for higher education would depend on both marks; similarly, private and public employers would have access to both marks.

h. The proposal has been produced by the ILO Employment Missions to promote the "terminalization" of secondary education. In both the Sri Lanka and Kenya Reports, achievement testing is linked up with selection by quotas and with postponed or recurrent education. Selection by quotas involves selecting students into upper secondary education by school quotas within each school district; selection within each school quota is then by a mixture of achievement tests. The purpose of selection by quotas is that of equalizing educational opportunities between poor and rich and between rural and urban districts; in effect, therefore, the quotas will be as geographical as social quotas and are designed to further strengthen the selection of students for further education by factors other than their examination results. Similarly, both the Sri Lanka and Kenya Reports recommended postponement of entry into university courses by two or three years, with eventual

admission being conditioned on evidence of work experience or community service. The universities themselves would make the selection as in the past, but they would now do so on the basis of examination results, aptitude tests, employer's reports and teacher's reports and full credit would be given for part-time courses attended while working. Postponed entry, the reports suggest, would help to cut down on college enrolments and would, in addition, strengthen student's motivation and improve their career choices. It is apparent that this proposal to postpone entry into higher education by a few years in one version of the general concept of recurrent education, which is now under heated discussion in most European countries. In other versions, higher education is taken on a part-time basis concurrently with employment; it is never completed in one sequence but recurs at interval throughout a person's working life. The ILO proposal is a relatively modest interpretation of the concept of recurrent education, which would minimize the reorganizationn of the labour market and the education system that would be required to put into practice the more ambitious lifelong versions of recurrent educaion. Stress may be made on greater flexibility on the part of employers in offering part time work to youngsters and some increased sophistication in the admission procedures of universities.

i. Non-formal learning-by-doing takes place in any human activity. In discussing informal education, consideration is made of only deliberate learning activities that take place outside formal educational institutions, such as schools and colleges. It already exists in abundance in most countries in Asia as a component of agricultural extension, family planning programme, community development projects and public health services. Certain vocational courses offered on a part-time basis in the evenings or at youth clubs during the day, and such things as adult literacy campaigns form a hybrid of formal and non-formal education, as they make use of school building but are not always carried out by ministries of education. A typical example is the Indian Crash Programme for Out-of-school youth in the Age Group 14-21, which utilizes the existing resources of the formal educational system for part-time classroom instruction as well as laboratory and workshop practice, correspondence education supplemented through mass media and full-time intensive instruction organized through residential camps. There is an inherent difficulty in even listing the forms of non-formal education in most countries because it is , by its very nature, administered everywhere by a variety of ministries and voluntary organizations and no adequate financial accounts for expenditure on non-formal education

are available for any country in the Asian continent. More is known about agricultural extension, family planning programmes and adult literacy campaigns than about all the component of non-formal education. The UNESCO-FAO-assisted projects in functional literacy (in Iran and India, for example) attempt to impart literacy as a means of promoting the continuous development of skills, not only for those who have never had any schooling but also for those who have lapse into illiteracy due to inadequate schooling. The bulk of the clientele of these projects comprise farmers and farm-hands in rural areas for whom skill development entail introduction to new method of cultivation; new crops, modern machinery and equipment, chemical aids, in the form of fertilizers and pesticides, and various aspects of marketing and financial management. The urban counterpart of these programmes is directed at the indentification and development of suitable skills. Besides contributing to the skill development of workers who are already employed in commercial and industrial enterprises, functional literacy in towns directly attacks the employment problems of the so-called "urban" population, that is, those in the boundary a zone between villages and towns as well as those migrating between them. In most countries in Asia, this element constitutes the major segment of both the employed and the

unemployed. There has already been occasion to mention national service schemes, which provide yet another example of formal education. In some cases, non-formal education is designed to serve as a substitute for missed formal education; in other cases, it serves to complement inadequate formal education; and elsewhere, it provides something like on-the-job training in a rural setting. It is clear, however, that non-formal education in most countries caters for a much larger clientele than does formal education. Furthermore, non-formal education has all the feature of flexibility, responsiveness to community pressure and relevance to individual needs, which are lacking in formal education. There is good reason to think, therefore, that resources invested in non-formal education are likely to make a desirable impact on the employment problem. Unfortunately, ignorance in the area of non-formal education is almost total: there is hardly a single Asian country for which one can obtain a comprehensive description of non-formal education much less an attempt to evaluate particular projects and programmes, or even to cost them. A detailed accounting and assessment of out-of-school education is, therefore, a principal research priority in the Asian region, the more so as current enthusiasm for non-formal

education among international donors and agencies is likely to lead to considerable expansion of these activities in the near future. Bangladesh should make concerted efforts in the same direction.

j. Rapid population growth is the principal source of rapid increase in the working age population. The effects of rapid population is very much visible in Bangladesh. Underemployment and unemployment in general and educated unemployment in particular are the consequence of rapid population growth. It is imperative therefore that the efforts should be made to control population explosion.

k. Effective manpower studies should be carried out by the Planning Commission on a continuing basis to estimate the present and future requirements of the educated manpower of various skills according to the skill need of the country and demand for manpower from abroad.

l. Employment generation should be treated as a major objective in the economic planning of Bangladesh. It is suggested that the employment creation be the starting point in future plan. The government must take adequate initiative to raise productivity and create employment in both urban and rural areas by promotion of employment opportunities and

provision of the financial assistance. Enormous emphasis on agricultural growth by introducing new technologies based on new seeds, irrigation and fertilizers has to be made to intensify agricultural works. This will eventually lead to increase in employment opportunities. Simultaneously equal emphasis should be stressed on both urban and rural industrialization, especially non-oil based industries. This two prong approach with dual emphasis on both agriculture and industrialization will increase the strength of agriculture and industry leading to substantial increase in income which will in turn ensure growth in non-farming activities in rural areas. People will have more money and thus their high purchasing power will create conditions for the growth of rural industries, which will create employment opportunities in the rural areas. In this respect labour intensive technology should be adopted for utilizing unemployed manpower in Bangladesh.

m. Self employment should be encouraged by the government policies. The self employment projects should be undertaken as a strategy of employment generation. Instead of exerting pressure on modern sector, if the policies and environment are made conducive to promotion of self employment and informal sector activities, then unemployment problem of the

educated will not remain as severe as prevailing at present. Long term self employment programmes are essential for this purpose. Necessary provision of capital through Gramin Bank (which already exists in Bangladesh) to all unions should be made for organizing self employment and informal economic activities. Similarly provision for agricultural credit to the small and marginal farmers and the landless and credit for rural agro-based and cottage industries are also necessary to increase employment opportunities. Food for works programme, rural works programme and public works programme are to be intensified in the rural areas for employment generation. Adequate attention should also be paid for making work opportunities for women and destitute female group.

n. Export of manpower from Bangladesh may be encouraged for certain categories of highly trained personnel viz, doctors, engineers etc, but this should be so regulated that there is no adverse impact on development of the country. Export of other skilled and unskilled manpower will ease unemployment problem and ensure remittance of huge amount of foreign exchange. Overseas demand for lower and middle level technical personnel may be increased through a better utilization of capacity of existing training institutions.

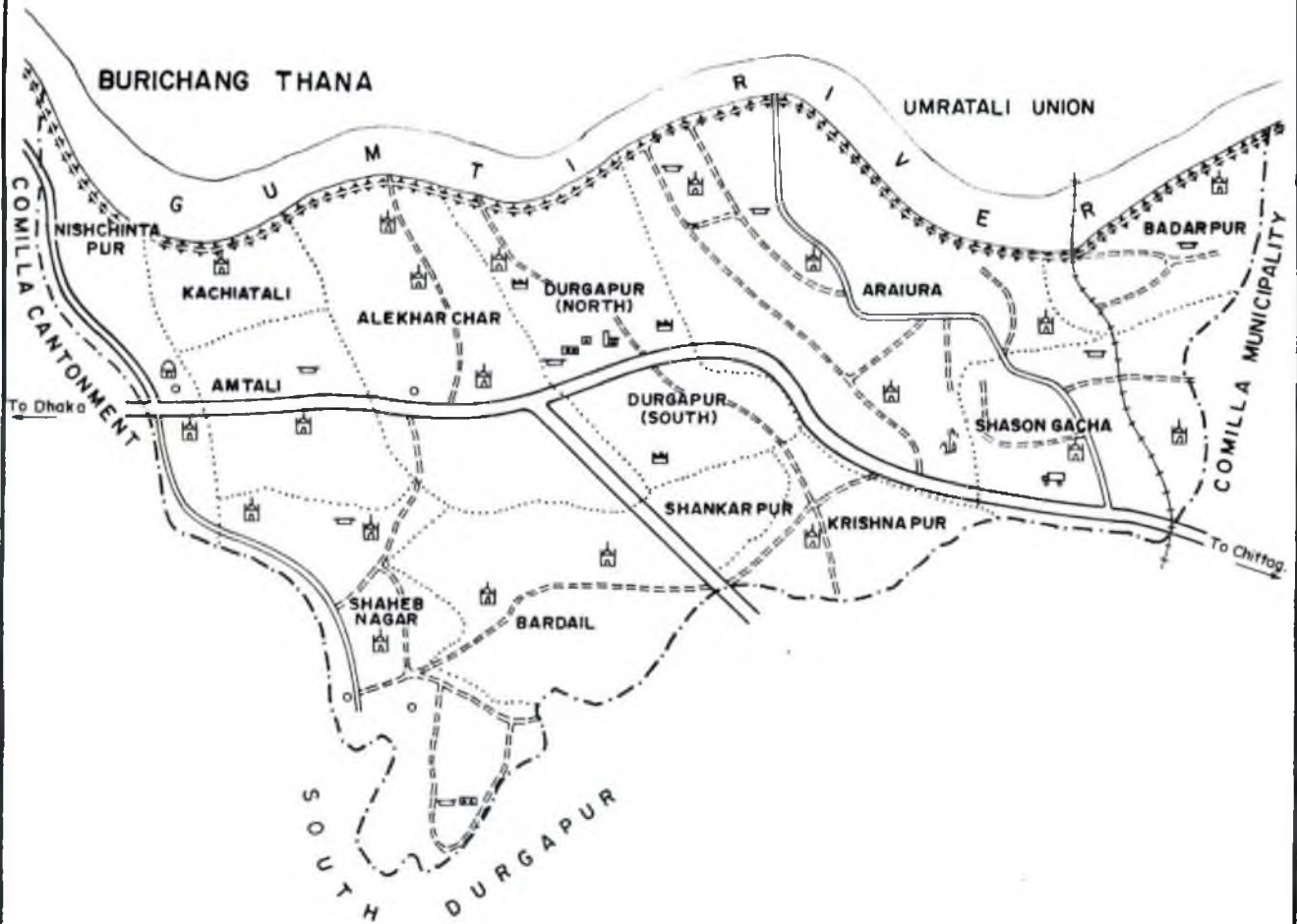
The greatest educational need for Bangladesh is universal primary education. The large numbers of children who are not in school, either because they never joined one or because they have dropped out of school too early, as well as the host of semi-literates and illiterates among adults have to be given the benefit of a minimum quantum of education. This 'basic education', as UNESCO likes to call it, besides achieving such objectives as character-building and citizenship-training, and such economic objectives should also aim at the function of making each person capable of seeking a suitably adequate means of livelihood. A system of "basic education", so conceived and imparted through a more realistic and efficient institutional arrangement than is currently prevalent, should be both free and compulsory. The period of such compulsory basic education should be, in practice, as long as the country can afford. At present, the length of compulsory education ranges from three years (Nepal) and five years (India and Pakistan) to nine years (Japan, Sri Lanka), while most countries offer eight years. This situation implies that the accent on quantitative expansion of the system of "basic education" should go on unabated. Universal "basic education" followed by selective education to satisfy identified manpower needs in modern sector employment, is not a new policy in the Asian region. But, hitherto, where it has been operative, the tendency has been to select students only in respect of certain high-level professions, allowing the rest

either to drop out of the system, or to be relegated to less expensive and unfocussed courses of study.

The contents of education should move gradually towards the comprehensive ideal with common schooling for everyone that will include universal Primary education, recurrent education, non-formal education, agricultural education and vocational educational that introduces children to manual work without preparation for a specific job, or even a range of specific jobs. Examinations ought to contain an increasing number of objective questions unrelated to the previous syllabus, and aptitude tests may be gradually introduced alongwith standard examinations of the old type. A period of work experience as an essential prerequisite to admission in higher education ought to become universal in Bangladesh. And the role of relating education to the manpower requirements of a growing economy will fall increasingly on informal education and training schemes offered on a part-time or short-time basis. In general, new attention ought to be given to the location of educational institutions in both urban and rural areas. Future economic planning will, in any case, be focussed on the rural sector and it is rural education, universal primary education, adult literacy campaign, vocational education and nonformal education that should become the focal points of educational policy of Bangladesh. Maximum efforts for employment generation should also be simultaneously pursued.

Fig. 1

UNION : DURGAPUR(NORTH)
 THANA : COMILLA SADAR
 DISTRICT : COMILLA



LEGEND

- Union Boundary
- Village Boundary
- Metalled Road (highway)
- Metalled Road
- Unmetalled Road
- Railway
- Embankment
- River
- Bazar
- Mosque
- Union Parishad Bhaban
- Primary School
- High School
- Textile Mill
- Cinema Hall
- Air - Conditioned Hotel
- Central Bus Terminal
- Rice Research Institute

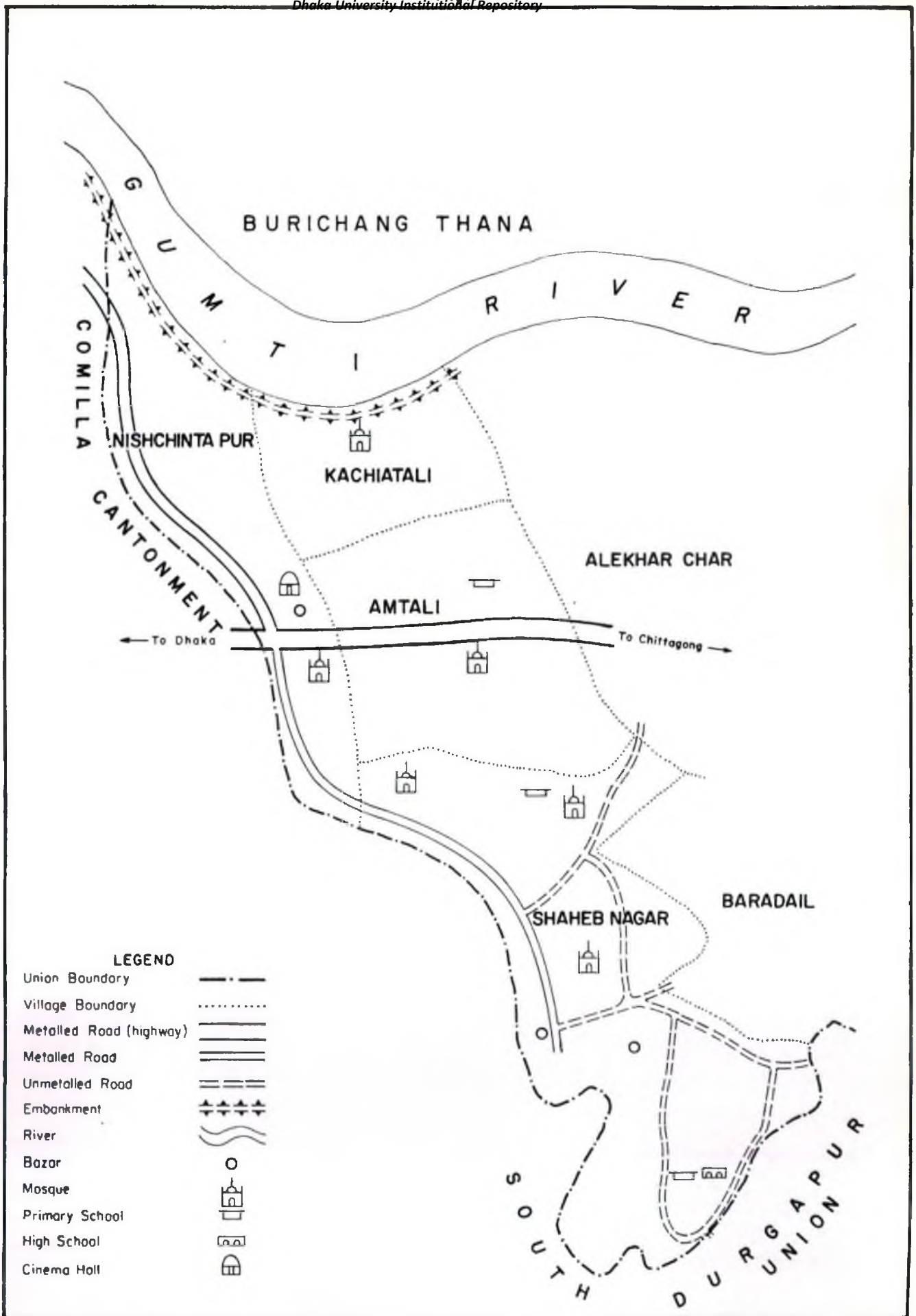
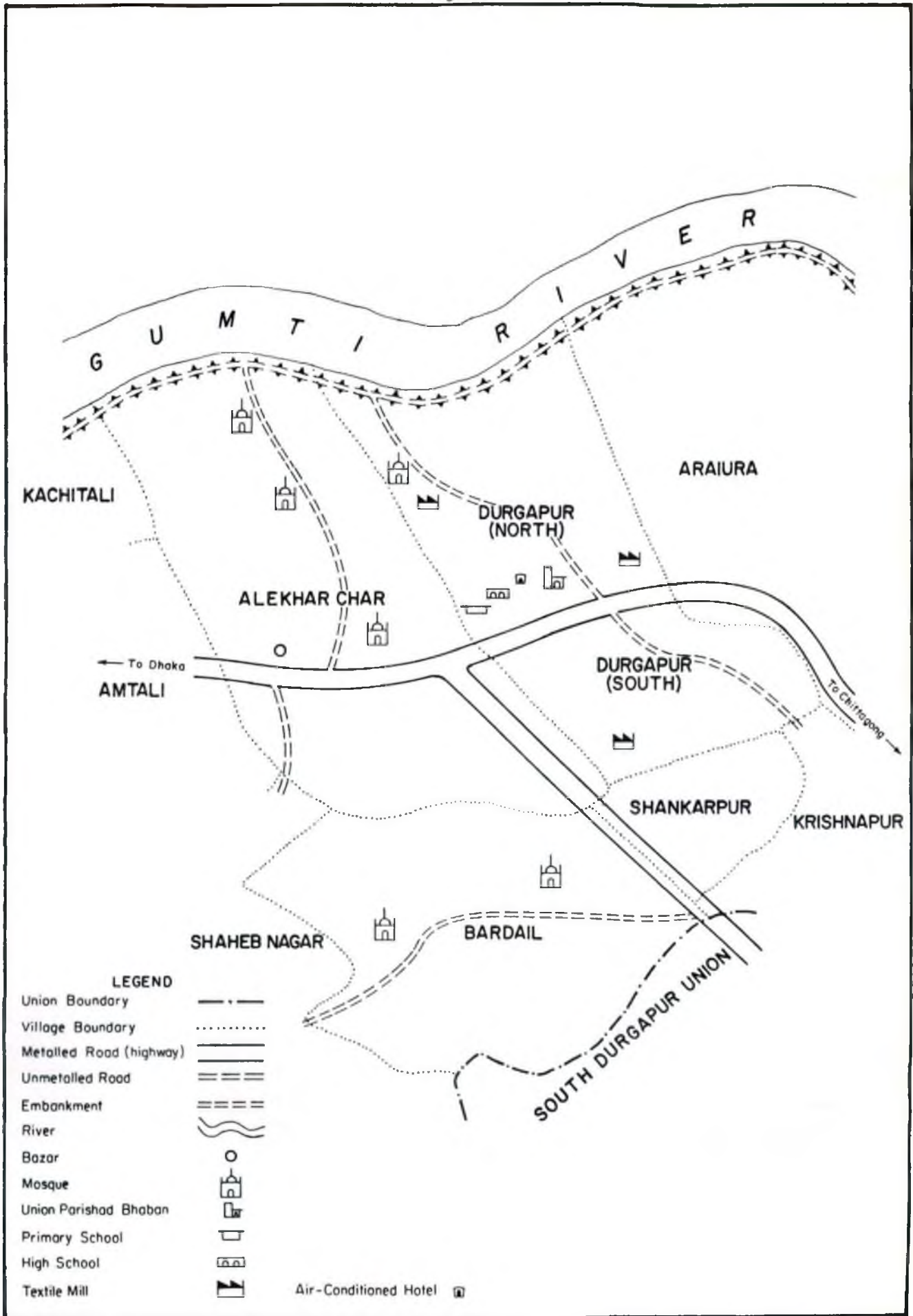
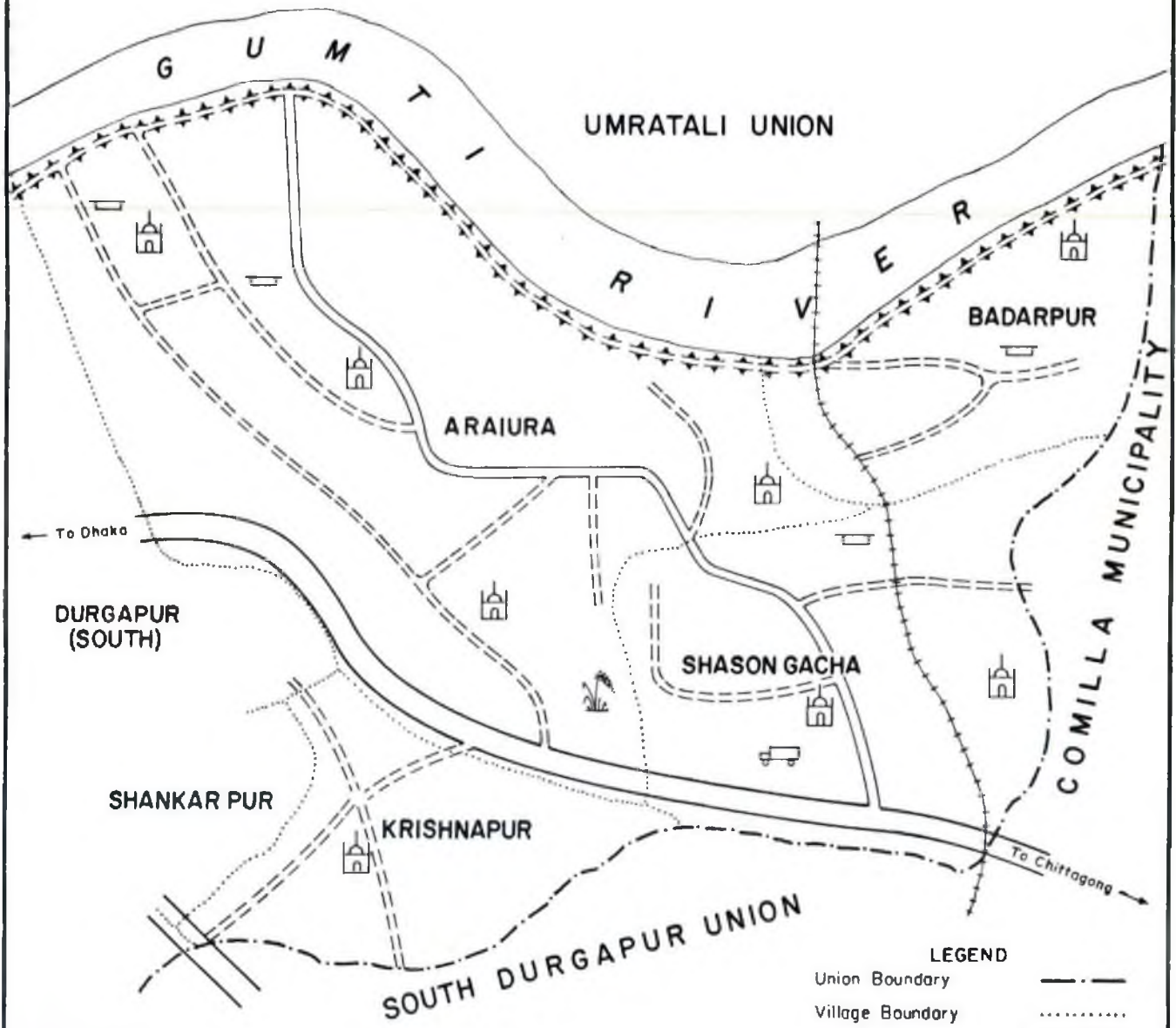















Fig. 8



UMRATALI UNION



LEGEND

- Union Boundary 
- Village Boundary 
- Metalled Road (highway) 
- Metalled Road 
- Unmetalled Road 
- Embankment 
- River 
- Bazar 
- Mosque 
- Primary School 
- Central Bus Terminal 
- Rice Research Institute 
- Railway 



A self-employed educated unemployed of village Alekharchar under study area.



A marginal farmer is cultivating land of village Shankarpur of the study area.



**A landless farmer is cultivating land at village
Nishchintapur of the study area.**



A rural woman is making fishing net for some extra income in village Araiura of the study area.



A self-employed woman of village Amtali of the study area.



A family engaged in making crafts for livelihood at village Durgapur of the study area.



Boys and Girls are entering in the school at village
Kishnanagar of the study area.



School Boys and Girls are singing National Anthem before beginning the classes.



A mother and her two educated unemployed daughters are working at home for some extra income in village Alekharchar of the study area.



Dropout school boys are working on land at village
Durgapur of the study area.

ANNEXURE - A

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR SURVEY WORK ON EDUCATED UNEMPLOYMENT OF DURGAPUR
NORTH UNION OF SADAR THANA OF COMILLA DISTRICT

1. **Name of the respondent**
 - a. Occupation
 - b. Income
 - c. Family status
 - d. Male
 - e. Female

2. **Permanent address:**

3. **Educational qualification:**

Class VII	S.S.C.	H.S.C.	B.A/B.Com/B.Sc.
M.A./M.Com./M.Sc.	Technical/Vocational	Engineer	
Doctor	Agriculture	Miscellaneous	To be specified

4. **Year of passing:**

5. **Service :** Govt. Private

6. **Unemployment:** Open unemployment
Underemployment
Disguised Unemployment

ANNEXURE - B

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR FIELD WORK ON EDUCATED UNEMPLOYED
PERSONS IN THE STUDY AREA

1. a. Name: b. Age:
2. a. Gender: Male/Female b. Marital Status:
3. a. Religion: b. Caste:
4. Educational qualification:
5. Educational Institutions:
6. Address: Rural / Urban
7. Year of passing:
8. Unemployed since when?
9. Have you tried for employment?
10. How you have tried?
11. If not, then why?
12. What type of job, you think suitable for you?
13. What are the reasons for not getting any job?

14. Family members:

Educated / Uneducated.

15. How many persons of your family are employed?

16. Any person in your family is in big post?

17. Is there any influential person in your family?

18. Educational qualifications of the parents:

Rural / Urban

19. Educational qualifications of grand father:

20. Land holdings:

Yes No Quantity

21. Landholdings of other family members:

22. How do you cultivate your land?

Self Share-cropping

23. Social Status of your family:

24. Anybody of your family is involved with village/national politics?

25. Will your get a job, if you are more educated?

26. What steps should be taken to solve Unemployment Problem?

ANNEXURE - C

QUESTIONNAIRE ADMINISTERED FOR CASE STUDIES

1. a. Name:
b. Age:
c. Male/Female:
2. Marital Status:
3. Religion / Caste:
4. Address:
5. Social position:
7. Educational qualifications:
8. Location of Institutions:
Rural / Urban
9. Year of passing:
10. Unemployed since when?
11. Reasons for not continuing studies:
12. Have you made efforts for any job?
13. If yes, then explain how?
14. If not, then why?

15. Have you tried for self employment?
16. If not, then why?
17. What are the reasons for not getting any job?
18. What jobs do you think suitable for you?
19. Do you like to serve in rural / urban area?
20. Are you interested for business?
21. Are you engaged in any part time job?
22. How do you spend your time?
23. Do you have any technical education?
24. Have you served abroad?
25. If yes, then for how long?
26. Who financed you for going abroad?
27. How many of your family educated?
28. Any persons of your family employed in big post/influential/politically powerful?
29. Relationship with you:
30. Educational qualification/occupation of the parents/grand father:

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