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Bangladesh Economic Association

# বংলাদেশ জাৰ্ণাল অব পলিটিকাল ইকনমি

‘বংলাদেশের উন্নয়ন পরিকল্পনায় শিক্ষা, স্বাস্থ্য ও জনশক্তি’  
এবং ‘বংলাদেশের শিল্পখাতের উন্নয়ন’ শীৰ্বক  
সেমিনারদ্বয়ে উপস্থাপিত প্রবন্ধাবলী

বংলাদেশ অর্থনীতি সমিতি  
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# BANGLADESH JOURNAL OF POLITICAL ECONOMY

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# HIGHER EDUCATION IN BANGLADESH

MUZAFFER AHMAD\*

## 1. HIGHER EDUCATION AND SOCIETY

### 1.1 Introduction

Education opportunities have always been meagre and the principle that education is a constituent part of basic human needs and fundamental to social and economic development was never recognized by any ruling government in the recorded history of the country. The British rule brought with it modern education through the early effort of Christian missionaries. The tradition of modern secular education came soon after to meet the needs of colonial rule. Education historically became centrally directed, structurally organized, elitist in orientation and non-responsive to the needs of the society at large. Establishment of Pakistan or later liberation of Bangladesh has made no qualitative change in higher education system of the country. The education system carries the stamp of diverse heritage, the modern secular and the Muslim educational (madrashas) traditions are predominant. The discussion in this essay would primarily concentrate on the first.

### 1.2 Geographical Context

Over the centuries, the history of the land which constitutes Bangladesh has changed its boundaries with the change of rulers. At the time of the second world war, Bengal presidency included what is now West Bengal state of India and present Bangladesh excluding the erstwhile district of Sylhet which was in Assam.

In 1947, when Britain granted dominion status to India and Pakistan, the present Bangladesh, consisting of major part of Northern and South-eastern Bengal and Sylhet of Assam emerged as part of Pakistan being part of the contiguous Muslim majority area. However, the political, cultural and economic differentiation between two parts of Pakistan led to an armed conflict, as a result of which independent Bangladesh emerged as a new nation with old heritage on 16 December 1971.

### 1.3 Size And Rate of Growth of Population

Bangladesh with 143,988 sq. km area has a population of 100.6 million as per 1981 census and 114.0 million in 1990 as per World Bank

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projection. The interenal growth rate of population for 1974/81 was 2.9, currently the Population growth rate is estimated at 2.5. The urban population is currently estimated at about 20.3% in 1985, while in 1951, it was only about 4.5%. The growth rate of household is estimated at 8.9 for urban areas and 1.3 for rural areas for 1974/81. The male-female ratio is 105 which is lower than what it was in 1951 (110). The regional distribution has remained generally stable though certain erstwhile districts show higher rate of growth of population notably Chittagong Hill Tracts (due to the settlement of population from the plains, Dhaka, and Chittagong (due to pull of the metropolis), and Dinajpur, Patuakhali and Rajshahi (due to internal migration). The majority of the population is Muslim and their proportion has increased overtime. There is a small tribal population. The mother tongue of the people is Bengali which manifests dialectical variation over the region.

#### *1.4 Occupational And Social Class Structure*

Civilian labour force was enumerated by 1961, 1974 and 1981 censuses at 16.9 million, 21.9 million, and 25.9 million respectively. The labour force survey (1985-88) has recorded it at 28.5 million; by 1989-90 it is likely to rise above 35 million. The Refined Activity Rate (RAR) was estimated to be 43.2 for urban and 40.2 for rural areas as per 1981 census, while it was 50.0 for urban and 54.6 for rural in 1961. The female RAR was found to be 7.5 for urban and 4.2. for rural areas according to 1981 census, while it was 14.3 for urban and 17.9 for rural areas as per, 1961 census. The rate for male were 69.1 and 75 for 1981 and 75.0 and 88.0 for 1961. The RAR has declined over the years but for the male and female it has reversed for urban-rural areas due to migration and decreased employment opportunity in rural areas. There are also wide regional variation in activity rates, as well as specific activity rates.

Agriculture is still the source of main employment, however its relative importance has been declining over the years from 84.5% in 1961 to 57.2% in 1985-86. In absolute terms, the employment level peaked in 1974 and has since declined a little bit. There has been a significant growth in services and in administrative positions followed by clerical and sales workers. However, relatively the professional and technical personnel as well as production and transport workers have edged ahead of all these except the clerical group.

Social class structure, is not adequately defined by occupation. We need to look into income distribution and family lineage. However, adequate data is not available for such categories. The income distribution for three years (1963-64, 1973-74 and 1981-82) shows that successive 10 per cent of households have greater and greater share of income. Two-fifths of households received about one-fifth of total income while top 5%

of households received one-fifth of total income. The gini coefficient indicate increasing income inequality. It would be seen from monthly income statistics that 93% in 1973-74 and 55.5% in 1981-82 were in the low income category and 6.2% in 1973-74 and 31.7% in 1981-82 were in middle income category and 0.8% in 1973-74 and 12.8% in 1983-84 were in higher income category by Bangladesh standards.

The development plan recognized unemployment and underemployment as chronic. The pressure of increasing population on scarce land resources has increased landlessness. The limited capacity of traditional technology employed in agriculture restricted absorptive capacity in that sector, while non-agricultural employment did not expand enough. The need for subsistence level work has led to expansion of informal employment, depressed agricultural wage and desertion of occupation by artisans and craftsman. The employment opportunities did not expand as planned and poverty alleviation programmes became vital for subsistence. This was accompanied by urban in migration creating slums. The human resource development efforts were inadequate and inappropriate in the absence of proper manpower planning.

#### *1.5 Structure Of The Economy*

The economy of Bangladesh is pre-dominantly agricultural. The share of agriculture in the GDP is about half; it has dwindled from two-thirds in early sixties. The next in importance is the service sector which has been expanding. It now accounts for more than one-third. Secondary sector (industry) has grown rapidly due to rapid expansion of construction and utilities, while the manufacturing sector has shown a slow rate of growth. With 72-73 as base year, agricultural production expanded by about 50 per cent and manufacturing production by about 56 per cent.

#### *1.6 Structure of Government And Main Political Goals.*

Bangladesh (East Pakistan) inherited a federal structure of government as part of Pakistan upon partition of India in 1947 with an elected parliament at the centre and provincial legislature at the province. However, democratic norms were over-ridden by a military-bureaucratic coalition after the death of the founder of the state. Since 1954, particularly since 1958, non-democratic forms of government at times with indirectly elected central legislature stunted the growth of democratic institutions and popular participation in policy-making administration and resulting in inequitable distribution of economic resources within the framework of united Pakistan. The first free election in 1970 under a military regime brought a resounding victory for a regional party of the then East Pakistan which was hard to accept for the Pakistan military and bureaucratic machine. This led to liberation movement after a military crackdown and genocide committed on the people of Bangladesh in 1971.

After liberation, Bangladesh quickly adopted a constitution providing for unitary democratic government with multiple party system (communal parties were banned) with Democracy, Secularism, Nationalism and Socialism as guiding principles for the state. The constitution itself defined certain socio-politico-economic goals viz (a) conditions are to be created to emancipate the toiling masses from all forces of exploitation (b) every citizen are to enjoy right to work; (c) all citizens are to be assured equal opportunity so that an egalitarian society can be established; (d) enjoyment of unearned income is to be discouraged and (e) there will be limits to private ownership of means of production as prescribed by law.

The picture soon changed after general election of 1973 and in January 1975 the founding father of Bangladesh proclaimed through constitutional reform formation of presidential government and formation of an one-party state. He also proceeded to make amends to initial enthusiasm about socialism; even secularism. The assassination of the founding father and ascent of the military-bureaucratic regime through a series of coup led to disintegration of the democratic political system. In search of legitimacy, elections to a sub-serviant national assembly was held in which a party launched from the top, formed out of disintegrating left and right political parties and won. The government spent much effort and energy to strengthen and build institutions for local level mobilisation of resources, even though all powers remained in the hands of the President. He too was assassinated as he consistently refused to politicize the professional armed forces. A weak government followed before another stage-managed military-bureaucratic regime was instituted. This government has proceeded to make all systems dysfunctional in the name of reform and autocracy with parliament and controlled local governments at various levels currently run the country.

The pronounced socio-economic goals are best expressed in the development plans. Even though planning machinery has been weakened by out-of-plan activities and intervention from the top. The first five year plan prepared under a democratically elected government was more sensitive to basic needs of population and needs for restructuring the economy. The second and third plan prepared under military bureaucratic regime were more technically oriented toward augmentation of output and control of demand.

First plan (73-78) recognized the basic right to primary education of a minimum standard, the need to enlarge enrolment at all levels and improve quality of education, the necessity to expand science and technology education and to make the higher education selective based on merit. The second plan (80-85) placed emphasis on mass literacy, expansion of educational opportunities for disadvantaged groups including women and

people in rural areas, improvement of science and technology education and increase of teacher training facilities. The plan was silent about objectives vis-a-vis higher education as such. The third plan (85-90) advocated universal primary education as an objective and made expansion of enrolment at all levels, excepting universities, its primary objective with recognition of the need to improve quality, reduce urban-rural gap and to prove emphasis on vocational and technical education.

### 1.7. Relationship With Religious Bodies

Education in Bangladesh like in all ancient religious traditions, had a close relationship with religious bodies. Traditional Hindu scriptural education based on Sanskrit was the preserve of schools run by Brahmins. These are now almost extinct in Bangladesh. Similarly the Buddhist education in Pali is the preserve of their monastic order. The contribution of Christian missionaries in introducing European and English education along with religious instruction particularly during the East India Company rule is notable. Even today some of the missionary schools exist. The most notable religious education system is provided through the Madrasha system for Muslims. Link with religious order is not important as theological divergence is not that dominant in this part of the world, majority being Hanafi Sunni Mussalman. There has been attempts at various times to integrate this religious system of schools with the secular modern education which has not succeeded as yet. In terms of number and enrolment and partly due to government financial assistance, this parallel system has assumed a size comparable to the secular stream of modern education. Government has recently appointed a committee to look into the possibilities of modernisation of the curricula of the madrashas in Bangladesh. The number of maktab (primary) was reported to be over 58 thousand with more than 74 thousand teachers and about 4 million students in 1983. The number of Madrashas (secondary level and above) in that year was 2864 with about 29 thousand teachers and half-a-million students.

## 2. INSTITUTIONAL FABRIC OF THE HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM

### 2.1 Introduction

The education system in Bangladesh is complex; but generally speaking it consists of 5 years of primary school followed by 5 years of secondary school, 2 years of intermediate college and 2, 3, 4 or 5 years of Bachelor's levels of education followed by 1 or 2 years of Master's level programme and/or post-graduate diploma programme. M. Phil/Doctoral level education does not yet have a formal structure. In our discussion of higher education system, we shall primarily discuss the university and degree college level education.

At the university level there are no private institution as yet; all these universities were established by the government (with or without foreign assistance) through promulgation of an ordinance or an act of the national assembly. The funds are provided mostly by the government. The oldest univiersity was established in 1921 at Dhaka and the new ones (2 general and 2 affiliatory) are being established. The oldest college was established in 1857.

## *2.2 Organization Structure And Level Of High Education*

The higher education system in Bangladesh currently comprises of 3 teaching and affiliatory general universities at Dhaka (1921), Rajshahi (1953) and Chittagong (1965), one residential teaching university of Agriculture at Mymensingh (1960), one residential teaching university of Engineering and Technology at Dhaka (1960), one residential teaching university at Savar (1970) near Dhaka and one residential Islamic University at Santidaga near Kushtia. University of Dhaka includes five constituent colleges of Education, 5 constituent colleges of Medicines, 8 constituent institutes of post-graduate medicine, one constituent college of Nursing, two constituent college of Teachnology, one constituent college of Homeopathy and one constituent college of Home Economics. The university has 6 faculties, 36 departments on campus and seven institutes and three research centres. The university proper offers three year Bachelor degree and 1 or 2 year Master's degree and M. Phil/Ph. D degrees for research work done under supervision of a faculty.

There are 198 affiliated colleges under Dhaka University of which 21 offers two-year bachelor level law courses (L.L.B.), 177 other offer two-year degree courses in Humanities and Social Sciences (B.A.) of which 141 also offer two-year degree courses in Commerce (B. Com), 13 offers two-years courses in Science (B.Sc.), 13 offers inree-year degree courses in Humanities and/or Social Sciences (B.A. Hons./B.S.S. Hons.), 6 offer three-year courses in Commerce (B.Com. Hons.), 8 in Science (B. Sc. Hons.). 8 offer 1-2 years master's level courses in Humanities or Social Science (M.A., M.S.S.), 3 offer such courses in Commerce (M. Com.) and two in Science (M. Sc.) in selected subjects. There are in addition a college of music.

University of Rajshahi has 6 faculties covering 28 departments and one Institute. The unversity proper offers 3 years bachelor's and 1-2 years Master degree courses programme in addition to M. Phil and Ph. D degree programme. Further it has 12 affiliated law colleges offering two-year bachelor's level studies (L.L.B.), 2 medical colleges offering 4 year degree programme (MBBS), five teachers training colleges offering 2 year B.Ed., B.P. Ed. courses, and 171 affiliated colleges of which 169 affiliated

colleges offer 2 year bachelor degree courses in arts and humanities, 165 offer in Social Sciences, 158 in Commerce and 58 in Science. In addition 12 affiliated college offer 3 years bachelor degree courses in science, 3 in social science, one in commerce and none in arts and humanities. 2 of the affiliated colleges offer 1-2 years master's level courses in science and 1 in commerce. There is a military academy affiliated to it. The college offer similar programme as indicated earlier.

University of Chittagong has four faculties covering 21 departments and two institutes on campus. It offers three-year bachelor level degree programmes in arts, humanities, social sciences, physical and biological sciences and 1-2 year master's level programme in these areas. It has under its academic supervision 88 affiliated colleges of which 87 offer two year degree programmes in arts and social sciences, 75 in commerce and 14 in science. In addition 4 of them offer three years bachelor level courses in Humanities and social science, two in commerce and two in sciences. Only one of the affiliated college offers master's level course in Humanities. In addition it has four colleges offering two year bachelor level course in law, 2 medical colleges offering four year bachelor level courses, four teachers training colleges. One college of fine arts, one college of forestry, and two military academies are affiliated to it. The college offer similar programmes as indicated earlier.

Jahangirnagar University has three faculties covering twelve departments in the areas of Arts and Humanities, Social Sciences, Mathematical and Physical Sciences and two Institutes. They offer three-year bachelor degree and one-year master level programmes.

Islamic University has two faculties (Shariah, Humanities and Social Science) covering eight departments. They currently offer three-year bachelor level programme in Sharia and Commerce.

Bangladesh University of Engineering and Technology has four faculties and two Institutes. They offer four bachelor level courses and one year course at masters level, four-year engineering and five-year bachelor level courses in Architecture and one year master level course in urban and regional planning.

Bangladesh Agricultural University has 6 faculties and one Institute. They offer four/five year courses at Bachelor level and one to two-year course at master's level. In addition there is Bangladesh Institute of Technology with four engineering colleges under it and they offer four year bachelor level degree programmes.

The universities are all sponsored and funded by the government. The same is true of teachers training, medical, engineering, forestry, military

academies and colleges of technology. Law colleges are privately sponsored and funded. So are the fine art colleges; of the general colleges, 129 are government funded though many of them were established through private initiative. Others are government aided, though sponsored through private efforts.

### *2.3 Admission Policies And Selection*

Admission policies are determined by each institution. For admission to medical colleges (including dental college) requires very high grades in SSC and HCS examinations; admission tests and interview are required. Only science group students with biology as a subject are eligible. For all medical colleges, one examination is held and certain amount of government control is visible. For currently operating private medical college, lump sum capitation fee is a requirement. Admission to post-graduate institutes (medical) require a number of years of service and this is largely controlled by the government.

Admission to Bangladesh University of Engineering and Technology (BUET) is based on high academic performance in SSC & HSC examinations, achievement in admission test and interview. Only students of science group are eligible for admission. Admission to engineering colleges under Bangladesh Institute of Technology is based on academic performance at SSC and HSC examinations. A stream of students also come from polytechnics. Admission to Technology Institutes (Textile and Leather) are more liberal.

Admission to Bangladesh Agricultural University (BAU) is generally based on academic performance in SSC & HSC examinations though demanded in terms of academic achievement is not as high as in the case of medicine or engineering. Admission to Agricultural colleges are less restrictive.

Dhaka University administers admission test faculty-wise and requirement in terms of performance in SSC & HSC examinations varies by faculty and departments. One student of science stream in SSC & HSC have limited opportunity to move to other faculties and students of humanities and social science to commerce and law. Dhaka being the oldest and premier university, admission to this university defacto is more restrictive compared to other universities at it pulls students from all regions of the country.

For admission to Jahangirnagar University, being residential in nature, offering financial assistance to larger proportion of students and with limited number of departments in addition to being close to Dhaka, students face stiff competition, though admission requirement postfacto seem to be more liberal than Dhaka.

Rajshahi University draws students mostly from the north and western part of the country though some who fails to get admission into departments of their choice at Dhaka or BUET or BAU may also try for admission there. The admission policy, requirements, and process are similar to those at Dhaka but defacto it appears to be comparatively liberal as students with lower attainments get admission to this university. Similar is the case with Chittagong University which draws students primarily from eastern region of the country. Admission to Islamic university is through a similar process, but more liberal. The students from madrasha education system get admission here. They have limited opportunities in others.

All the universities and technical educational institutes can absorb only a small proportion (less than 10%) of HSC graduates. The degree colleges accommodate most of the remaining students. Admission to government colleges are more restrictive compared to non-government colleges. Similarly urban colleges follow a more restrictive policy compared to non-urban colleges and all female colleges follow a liberal admission policy.

#### *2.4 Research System*

At master's level in all universities some departments allow completion of the degree through research in lieu of an elective course. M. Phil, Ph. D programmes are available in most departments of all the faculties. In Dhaka university alone, between 1921-47, 31 scholars were awarded Ph. D degree, between 47-71, number of scholars who obtained research degree were 44 and between 72-80 such degrees were awarded to 31 scholars. In the next seven years about 86 were so honoured. In Rajshahi University it is organized through an Institute for social sciences. Rajshahi University since its inception has awarded 24 research degrees at Ph. D level. Chittagong University awarded only a few so far. There are research bureaus in selected areas of social sciences (economics), philosophy, commerce, geography, physics, biological science, and appropriate technology at Dhaka University. Dhaka University has officially organised research forum in humanities, and social sciences. In other universities such institutionalisation has not taken roots. Teachers can undertake research individually with financial assistance from University Grants Commission (UGC). Teachers for undertaking research have sought assistance also from donor agencies as well. There has been few collaborative research arrangement, particularly in the Engineering University and in Physics Department of Dhaka University with Institutions abroad. Outside the University system there are government funded research organizations in sciences, atomic energy and foreign policy, etc. Government has commissioned research studies sparingly with the exception of Planning Commission which needed inputs for Planning.

Some donor agencies have similarly used the professional expertise of teachers particularly in social sciences.

### *2.5 Quantitative Development In Higher Education*

Accurate statistics for all institutions are not available and had to be calculated indirectly and the 20-24 group estimates for intercensal years were extrapolated. Admissions to general universities between 1965 and 1970 doubled due to expansion of university capacity while the expansion in previous five years was only 24%. In the next five years total enrolment also increased rapidly. In the following five-year period due to non-expansion of university capacity, the rate of increase decelerated in the face of unemployment, inflation and slow rate of growth of the economy.

In BUET the rates of growth of admissions for the successive five-year periods from 1965-onwards have been 9.9%, 18.9%, 29.9% and 25.2% respectively. In the case of BAU the rate of increase during 65-70 was more than 100% and for the following successive half-decades this was 32.3%, 28.5% and 6.0% respectively. In the medical colleges (excluding post graduate) the rates of expansion of students enrolment were 43%, 63.7%, 114.2%, 17.5% and 6.8%. In the case of engineering colleges these rates were 60.2%, 329.1%, 38.8%, 26.5% for five-year periods since 1965 respectively. With respect to polytechnics the enrolment expansion rates were 153.7%, 16.6%, 20.8% and 9.5%. In teacher training (excluding primary teacher training which is not a graduate level programme) these rates are 45.0%, 71.0%, 47.5%, 0.1% and 4.9% respectively. In case of degree level law education at colleges, the enrolment expansion rates was 92.0%, 119.9%, 69.5%, 14.4% and 7.3% respectively. With respect to post-HSC level education in general colleges covering arts, humanities, social sciences, commerce, science, the rates of expansion were 19.9%, 28.0%, 21.3%, 41.4% and 6.8% respectively. The participation rate, calculated on the basis of total enrolment in higher education over the estimated population for 20-24 age group increased from 1.5% in 1960 to 2.5% in 1980. The rate remained static at that level in 1985. However, total participation of that age group in tertiary education is higher (around 3%).

### *2.6 Structure Of Qualifications And Graduate Programmes*

Undergraduate study for a degree starts after completion of 12 years of schooling covering 2-year pre-university college. The length of study for a bachelor (pass) degree is 2 years for honours degree, 3 years and 4 years for professional/technical degree. The graduate level study at a master's level programme starts after completion of bachelor's degree and its length is 1-2 years both for general and technical studies. The teacher training education, however requires a bachelors level proficiency for another bachelor level study. The programme for M. Phil, Ph. D and D. Sc level

studies have generally no defined duration and it requires completion of master's programme as a pre-requisite.

### 3. GOVERNANCE ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCE

#### 3.1 Introduction

As stated earlier, we need to differentiate between universities and colleges. Universities are established under an ordinance issued by the Government or an Act of the parliament. Thus its general legal frame is rigid, while the colleges are established under executive order of the ministries with approval of the higher executive authority, the legal frame is absent and direction from the government is regular and fundamental. It need further be noted that all educational institutions are/were not under the administrative control of Ministry of Education e.g. medicine.

#### 3.2 Relationship With The State

Bangladesh is a unitary state with presidential system of government where ministers hold offices at the pleasure of the president and they usually are but need not be elected members of parliament. President is ex-officio chancellor of all the universities in the country. The chancellor's secretariat is the Ministry of Education (MOE) and Secretary of MOE functions as Secretary to the Chancellor. This was designed to eliminate intervention by the Ministry and assure autonomy of the universities. However, since liberation of Bangladesh, particularly since the perpetuation of military rule, this has not worked. President maintains a large secretariat with Director Generals in charge of various ministries and thus they effectively intermediate in the matters referred to the chancellor.

The chancellor appoints vice-chancellors of the universities from a panel of three elected by the senate in case of four general universities and in all other cases on the basis of recommendation by the Ministry of Education. He can appoint any person in case a vacancy occurs due to resignation, death, etc. The chancellor also appoints pro-vice chancellor in consultation with vice-chancellor and MOE for three general universities where such provisions have been made in the Act. He also appoints Treasurer for five universities. Chancellor also nominates experts on various selection committees for appointment of teachers. He also nominates few (usually five) members to the senate of the four general universities, besides nomination of few (usually five) government officials; further he approves appointment of government representatives on the highest governing body of the universities (i.e. syndicate). Further he is the appellate authority against any decision of the university. The chancellor's permission is said to be required for senior teachers for visits abroad even on academic purposes.

The Ministry of Education normally plays a subsidiary role in so far as the administration of general universities. For the technical universities their role is more important as they virtually substitute the function of the senate. They at times regulate the visits for academic purposes of teachers of universities and control the award of scholarship and technical assistance to universities.

The University Grants Commission (UGC) is supposed to function as the coordinator, inspector, supervisor and advisor particularly with respect to allocation and use of finance and development projects including creation of new posts. However, UGC have not been very effective. They seem to be ignored by MOE and the universities. The co-ordination function is done primarily through budgetary allocation for recurring and development purposes. For development allocation, however, the Planning Commission, Ministry of Planning, External Resource Division of that Ministry as well as Ministry of Finance play significant role.

The presence of the state in the case of government colleges is more direct. MOE and Director General, Secondary and Higher Education (DGSHE) play a direct role controlling finance, appointment, promotions, transfers etc. In case of non-government but aided degree colleges the control is through fund allocation and management committee where government representation is decisive. In case of wholly private college (non-aided), such control is absent.

### *3.3 Planning, Implementation And Evaluation*

Higher education has featured in all the development plans of the country. Since these plans are basically agglomeration of projects, it is difficult to put ones finger on goals and objectives as such. The two education commission had also identified goals and objectives of education sector including higher education.

The goals and objectives, as recognized by the commissions on education are development of knowledgeable cultured, enquiring socially committed, individuals with powers of analysis, independence of thought, sense of justice imbued with humanistic values so that such persons can contribute to the development of manpower for social, economic and technological development of the country and are able to push the current frontiers of knowledge. Such goals are non-difinitive for purposes of planning and serves as a distant ideal.

The goals so defined in the first five year plan ((1973-78) was to make higher education selective, even though quantitative expansion was to be accommodated the emphasis was to be on qualitative improvement for producing trained manpower for different sectors of the economy. A shift of emphasis in favour of science and technical education was also envisaged.

Importance of teacher education was duly recognised. The need to make higher education accessible to women was also mentioned. These goals were transmitted with partial success, through allocation of development of funds to old and new institutions of higher education. In the government colleges staff resources were allocated centrally, student places were determined on the basis of capacity determined by physical facility, faculty and 8-hour working time. At times hostel accommodation and laboratory facility became critical constraints.

During the first plan period quantitative expansion at all levels of higher education and for all types was underachieved due to non-availability of resources and possible overestimation of social response to such opportunities. In fact there was a decline in intake in the teacher education stream.

The two year plan (1978-80) that followed was to consolidate existing facilities in the higher education sector for more productive use even though it took into cognizance the pressure on enrolment. The expansion in enrolment capacity was planned for technology sector and teacher education only. However, qualitative development of colleges with respect to library and laboratory and development assistance to non-government colleges were planned.

The second five year plan (1980-85) document recognized that educational development, even in higher education sector, has been largely quantitative expansion to meet exigencies and innovative policies and programmes could not be implemented due to resource constraint coupled with lack of adequate preparation. Thus the underachievement persisted both for quality and quantity. The second plan reemphasised principle of selectivity in higher education, promotion of science and technology education and encouragement for female and teacher education. The plan reiterated need for improving facilities at college level and consolidation of facilities in technical education and universities along with rationalisation of enrolment.

These qualitative objectives were however not achieved and hence the Third Five Year Plan (1985-90) reemphasized the need to consolidate facilities and rationalize enrolment in the institutions of higher education to provide emphasis on science, technology, teacher and female education. The annual reviews of the development plan do not see any reversal of trend and better achievement of qualitative objectives. These indicate non-success of educational planning and inadequate response of educational institutions and educational administration to planned goals and objective. The education system as a whole has failed to respond to the changing needs for social and economic development.

The national plan is prepared at the level of national planning commission, but the education sector plan is prepared on the basis of basic units which obey the directives of the MOE. In respect of higher education, college education development plan as well teacher education is done by DGSHE, technical education development plans by DGDTE and university education by UGC in consultation with consistent units wherever necessary. Project preparation is similarly done at times with technical assistance from donor agency project formulation is the responsibility of the basic unit and it processed through MOE for approval by National Economic Council (UGC). The implementation is done by the sponsoring unit and monitoring is done by MOE and IMED and as well planning commission. Even with such elaborate mechanism, the system appear to lack efficiency.

### *3.4 Finance*

According to the Report of Bangladesh National Education Commission in the sixties, the proportion of GDP spent on education sector as a whole inclusive of government and private, recurring and development expenditure, was around one per cent. It was less than 1% in early years and slightly more than 1% in later years. In 1972-73, this increased to 1.8%. During the decade of seventies it remained around that level declining towards the later years. In 1985-86, it is estimated to be 1.6% only. The share of higher education is estimated roughly at one-fifth of this expenditure. Thus the proportion of GDP spent on higher education increased from 0.2% to 0.3% in quarter of a century.

As a proportion of total government expenditure the share of education came down from around 15% in the sixties to around 10% in the eighties. In the first five year development plan 7.1% of total public sector outlay was earmarked for education, while actual outlay was about 5.3%. In the two year plan, this share was reduced to 5.1%. In the second five year plan it was further reduced to 4.3% while the realised share was about 3%. In the third five year plan share of planned outlay has been kept at around 3% and the realised share would be below that amount.

Within the education sector nearly 25% was allocated for the total higher education sector including 11% for university education. During the two-year plan the share of allocation increased to about 30% including 13.5% for university education. But the share of actual development expenditure for those years was about 40% including 26.4% for universities.

In the second plan, the allocation for higher education sector was drastically reduced to about 13.5% including 7.25% for universities. But the actual share of higher education was about 17.7% including 10.6% for universities. The third plan allocation for higher education was about 18.8%

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of education sector outlay with 8.5% earmarked for university. In reality, it is likely to be of the order of 25% and 15% respectively.

The prime source of finance for the universities is the government which provides between 90% to 98% of recurring expenditures and nearly 100% of all capital expenditures. Amongst the universities, Dhaka receives the highest amount (35.8%), followed by Rajshahi (16.0%), Chittagong (13.6%), Agriculture (13.4%), Engineering (10.1%), Jahangirnagar (8.2%) and Islamic University (1.9%). However, on per student basis, the recurring expenditure is highest for Agricultural University, followed by Chittagong, Jahangirnagar, Engineering, Dhaka and Rajshahi. Of the recurring budget salary of teachers, officers and staff account for more than half to two thirds. Expenditure on library, laboratory and examinations account for about 10%. Per student expenses in colleges are much lower so is the expenses on education support and supplies.

#### *3.5 Modes Of Governance And Academic Organisation*

Vice-Chancellor is the chief executive of the universities. They administer the universities with the advice and consent of various statutory bodies. For framing or amending statutes, the concerned body is the Senate which exists only in the general universities. The senate of which vice-chancellor is the chairperson, has representation of teachers, students, registered graduates (alumni community), government, parliament and constituent/affiliated colleges. The senate normally sits once a year to consider annual report and the budget. This serves also as a forum to discuss all issues related to the administration of the university.

In the academic matters, in all universities, the apex body is the Academic Council whose meeting is presided over by the vice-chancellor. Its membership includes all professors, deans of faculties, chairpersons of the departments, directors of institutes and representatives of constituent/affiliated colleges. It takes decision in all matters related to academic function of the university i.e. approval of syllabus of existing or new programme, setting admission criterion, fixing dates of examinations and approving panel of examiners, creating new academic posts, departments or setting academic standards, approval of affiliation/disaffiliation of constituent/affiliating colleges, approval of admission to and award of advanced degrees including honorary degrees, approval of punishment for violation of academic norms and regulations, approval of composition of faculty, etc. In case of post-master's programme academic council works on the recommendation of Board of Advanced Studies of which vice-chancellor is the chairperson and all professors of the faculties are members. It normally meets once a quarter but can meet as and when necessary.

In all administrative and policy matters vice-chancellor works on a regular basis in conjunction with the syndicate which has representation of teachers, university administration, government and the senate. It initiates addition and alterations to statutes, approves budget, applies financial control and administers discipline besides appointing teaching and administrative personnel. In matters of finance it is assisted by a finance committee in all universities and in matters of real estate and construction management by a planning and development committee in some of the universities.

Financial matters are overseen by the treasurer and pro-vice-chancellor, where they appointed, look after delegated administrative matters. Registrar is in charge of the registry and general administration, controller of examinations administers examinations and publication of results, inspector of college reports about the affiliation of constituent colleges, comptroller of accounts look after accounts and audit, chief engineer supervises construction and maintenance, planning and development officer initiates development projects for approval and funding by the government.

For academic administration, the basic unit is a department which is headed by a chairman for a term of three years and appointment is on the basis of seniority. In some universities the rotation is limited amongst the professors and associate professors. In some universities the rotation system is absent. All academic matters are decided in the academic committee consisting of all faculty teachers and all developmental matters including recruitment, promotion, creation of post, etc. are decided in the planning and development (P & D) committee where it exists. The next tier of administration is the faculty which is chaired by a Dean elected by faculty teachers or appointed by vice-chancellor for a two-year term. The faculty also includes nominees of the academic council and outside experts in limited number. All decisions of departmental academic committee and P & D committee wherever necessary, are processed through the faculty for consideration of higher statutory bodies.

The other units i.e. institutes meant primarily for post-bachelor level education have a Board of Governors with representatives from syndicate related faculties, academic council outside experts and teacher representative. Such boards exercise all powers delegated to it by the syndicate. The institutes also have the academic committee consisting of all faculty members and an academic board similar to faculty. It also has planning and development committee.

The library is administered by a librarian and overseen by a committee in some universities.

The student administration are normally the responsibility of provosts of residential halls who are appointed by the vice-chancellor. He manages these halls and processes admissions to the university with the help of tutors who are members of faculty. The Director of guidance and counselling, wherever it exists, is not effective,

The colleges are governed by a managing committee appointed by the Govt. The government colleges do not have such committees at all.

### *3.6 Patterns Of Authority And Participation*

Vice-Chancellor wields extensive authority and in practice, there is a very little check on it. The other functionaries i.e. pro-vice-chancellor and treasurer seem to have failed to act independently. They exercise delegated powers and can only perform as assistants and not as equals as per top management conception. The syndicate though comparable to a board of trustees/directors, seem to be less so than designed. The academic council though designed to be supreme in academic matters, has failed to meet such expectations. The senate is not effective at all.

The diffusion of departmental leadership through mechanistic rotation and election process for selecting deans have adversely affected efficiency of such offices. The same is true of directorship of the institutes, though it could have been otherwise.

The teachers participation at basic and higher levels has been assured, students participation is limited, employees do not participate at all while the community is kept at a distance. Participation of government in syndicate is significant.

## **4. FACULTY AND STUDENTS: TEACHING, LEARNING AND RESEARCH**

### *4.1 Development Of Teaching Body*

The number of teachers employed in higher education institutions increased from a total of 2312 in 1960 to 12088 which is a five-fold increase. In the universities the increase was from 679 in 1960 to 2691 in 1985 which is a four-fold increase. Increase in teaching faculty in government degree colleges (calculated on the basis of average additional appointments) increased from 216 in 1960 to 5280 which is twenty-four times increase. For non-government degree colleges the increase was from 657 in 1960 to 2592, a four-fold increase. In the professional degree level institution this increase from a base of 760 to 1525 was two-fold increase. This increase was due to pressure from feeder streams and quantitative expansion of institutions and departments within institutions.

In this context it may be noted that teachers with higher academic qualification also increased over the years. In 1960, the proportion was about 17 per cent, in 1965 it was about 22 per cent, in 1970 it was 27 per

cent; in 1975 it was 38 per cent, in 1980 it was about 45% and in 1985 it was about 59%. Much of these foreign trained teachers are in the universities, engineering colleges, medical colleges and teacher training colleges. In the non-government colleges it is almost nil and in the government degree colleges the number is limited.

In 1985, 11% of teaching faculty held the post of professors; in 1960 it was less than 5%; 20% held the post of Associate Professor while it was about 11% in 1960, 45% held the post of assistant professor while in 1960 equivalent posts was held by about 40% of teaching faculty and 24% in 1985 held the post of lecturer while in 1960 it was about 44%. The structure of teaching faculty has changed significantly. Similar magnitude of changes has not taken place in government degree colleges, and much less so in non-government degree colleges. The professional colleges have shown upward adjustment of posts but not to the extent seen for the universities.

In 1983-84 within the university system, over 56% of teachers were engaged in teaching physical, biological, medical, engineering and agricultural sciences; social sciences all together claimed about 16% of faculties while humanities had a share of 19%. The commerce faculty had a share of 7% of faculty. The rest were in law, education, and post-graduate schools. In 1960, the distribution were about 30% for humanities, 19% for social sciences 1% for commerce, 1% for law and 49% for sciences. The relative expansion of faculty has been largely due to addition of technical universities into the system.

Part-time teaching staff are employed in law, commerce and engineering university for teaching humanities and social sciences and some in non-govt. colleges. In 1960, it is estimated there were no more than 150 part-time teachers of which more than 100 were in non-govt. colleges. In 1985, the estimated number of such teachers in the university system is 57, in law colleges 250, and in other institutions about 20. The number for non-govt. degree colleges was however not available.

#### *4.2 Career Paths*

The lowest position in the faculty structure in all university is lectureship. The entry qualification varies. Normally a first at master's or bechelor (Hons) level is the minimum requirement with no third in any of the preceding two public examinations (HSC & SSC). No teaching or research experience or publication is required. However, a degree from abroad (generally a master or Ph.D) helps to cover any deficiency mentioned earlier (i.e. no first at MA or BA level or a third in earlier examination). The engineering university insist in three first upto B. Sc (Engg) level with a commitment to persue MS after appointment. The Agricultural University has not insisted on a first in the past.

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A lecturer with three years of teaching experience and one publication is eligible for selection through press advertisement or through promotion or internal restructuring process for the post of assistant professor. A higher degree, generally from abroad, allow the authority to relax the requirement of publication and experience.

An assistant professor with five years teaching experience at that level and three publications becomes eligible for consideration for promotion or appointment through open advertisement to the post of associate professorship.

An associate professor with seven years of service at that level and five publications is similarly eligible for appointment to the post of a professor.

The general universities and the agricultural university have often compromised on the qualification while the engineering university have jealously guarded it. In the case of general universities, teachers are employees of the university and after a period on probation at each level they hold a tenured position.

The recruitment/ promotion is initiated by the department/institute and with the approval of the vice-chancellor it is advertised and application processed through the departmental committee for consideration of a selection committee whose recommendation is placed before the syndicate/board of governors for approval. In the case of agricultural, engineering and Islamic university the departmental committee dose not exist.

So far as the government colleges are concerned, their recruitment/ promotion is done through the public service commission on recommendation by MOE. Earlier DPI (now DGHSE/DGTVE) could give adhoc appointments at the entry level. The qualifications for various ranks are similar but a little liberal. (Those with seconds at BA/MA level in place of firsts can apply). They are civil servants.

The non-govt. colleges have very relaxed appointment system and little meaning except seniority is attached to ranks.

In the university sector, in recent years, upward mobility in career has been noticeable while this is not so in case of government colleges except that when a private institution has been taken over finding equivalence on the basis of service with same consideration to qualification has given many good advantages and benefits and others with less qualification demotion. Some anomalies are alleged to exist.

#### *4.3 Representation Of Faculty Interest*

Dhaka University teachers association was formed in October 1922 and the then executive council accorded formal recognition to it in November of

that year. All the universities have teachers association and they are federated into a body. They are traditionally anti-establishment by nature.

They are non-government college teachers association which grew in the seventies. The government colleges teachers association is a docile body of civil servants. There is also a federation of college and university teachers association.

The university teachers association have been every vigilant in promotion and protecting university autonomy, it has also represented to university authorities against injustices done to teacher (s) by university administration and finally, it has demanded better material and finance amenities for teachers with some success. However, it has rarely taken initiative to further the academic advancement of the university as a whole. University teachers enjoy representation in all statutory bodies for governance of the institutions and teachers association or its sub-groups influence decision-making through such bodies.

Non-government college teachers association has behaved more like a trade union and demanded financial benefits for its members and often enjoyed patronage of the government in recent years.

Government college teachers association have been concerned with parity with other cadre services under the government in matters of opportunities for advancement in career and less concerned with facilities for academic work.

#### *4.4 Academic Work*

In the universities, the syndicate had fixed hours of teaching by ranks of teachers long ago. It is the function of a departmental academic committee to allocate course (s) in particular term/semester to teachers. As per norm a lecturer is supposed to devote 19 hours a week for lecturing and tutorials/laboratory supervision in which ideally the lecturers are not to exceed 6 hours a week; (two courses of three hours duration); an assistant professor is similarly required to lecture for 6 hrs and take tutorials/laboratory work supervision for 9 hrs; an associate professor's load is 6 hrs of teaching and six hrs of tutorials, laboratory work while a professor is supposed to lecture for six hrs and take tutorials for two/three hrs. However, tutorials have fallen into general disuse through abolition of registers and recordkeeping for attendance. There are allegations of non-regular lecturing by teachers. This is generally not true in science faculty and technical universities/institutions.

In the colleges the work-load is said to be more irrespective of ranks and it is allocated by institutional head in consultation with the departmental

head. The emphasis has been on lectures and the tutorial system is generally absent. In recent years there has been reports of private tutoring and negligence of class-duties by teachers of colleges.

Neither the universities nor the colleges call for any research-work plan to determine time use. It is basically done by the teachers, at times by departments. However, only few teachers are engaged in research. The attachment of university teachers for M. Phil/Ph. D. student supervision largely depends on teachers accessibility and area of specialisations. Administrative work is largely done by teachers holding administrative posts which except for statutory or elective position is given by the chief executive of the institution except where it is provided by designation (e.g vice-principal of a college).

#### 4.5 Development Of The Student Body

Growth in the number of students have been discussed in an earlier section. Between 1960 and 1965, number of students in institutions of higher education pursuing a degree programme increased from a total of 55075 to 184,854 which indicates a simple average annual rate of growth of 13% in 25 years. In the universities for the same period the number increased from 6305 to 39043 which show a 25% per cent annual growth rate for the same period.

In the university sector there has been a dominant presence of science although including engineering and agriculture. The commerce education in the universities has enjoyed a rapid growth over the twenty five years. Arts and humanities have lost relatively in recent years, though absolutely it is still significant in size. The social sciences gained in the decade of sixties, remained stable in the seventies and in the eighties it is losing relatively in terms of the student proportion.

In the non-university sector, science, commerce as well as humanities and social science have shown persistent increase in number of graduates. Between 1969 and 1986 there has been a nearly six and a half times increase in social sciences, three and a half times in sciences and two and a half times increase in commerce. There has been nearly four-fold increase in medicine and engineering. The net increase in the university sector has been of similar magnitude i.e. in science more than four-fold, in commerce nearly thirteen times and in arts , humanities and social sciences about 2.78 times.

#### 4.6 Social Class Origin

No data on social class-origin are available for any of the universities. Hence we have to depend on some surveys done in various universities. In 1955 of the Dhaka University students 85.7% had rural background or linkages and 14.3% of had no such claim. In 1985 it has reversed; 71.3%

came from urban areas and only 18.7% had rural background. In Rajshahi University 89.3% the students came from rural origin in 1965 and in 1987 this percentage dwindled to 77.7 per cent. In Chittagong University in 1974, 80.3% came from rural areas while in 1986 the percentage was 76.4%. In Agricultural University in 1968, pupils coming from rural areas and/or with rural background constituted about 96.2% of the student population. This seems to have decreased to 87.7% in 1987. In the Engineering University in 1986, urban area student population accounted for 91.7% while this was 47.4% in 1962.

In 1965 in terms of parental profession, 33.7% of Dhaka University students came from families with father in government service, 15.5% from families with father in professions (law, medicine, banking, cons. enggr, architect, teacher, journalists, etc.) 23% from families with father engaged in business, and 21% from farming families. In 1985 corresponding percentages were 47, 81, 10 and 32. In 1985, about 4% of students came from families whose father serves/served in armed forces but in 1965 there was none. On the basis of similar classification 1987 49% of students reported farming as parental profession, 13% reported government service, 18% profession and 16% business. In 1965 corresponding percentages were 57, 12, 15 and 9. For Chittagong University in 1986, 31% of students reported business to be parental profession, 29% reported farming, 19% government service and 15% profession. In 1975 corresponding percentages were 23, 37, 22 and 11. In Agricultural University, 1968 survey reported 57% of students having parents with farming as profession, 18% reported business, 11% service and 7% profession. In 1987 survey corresponding percentages are 43, 20, 17 and 13. For the Engineering University 1962 data shows 47% of students had father in government service, 22% reported profession as parental occupation, 12% reported business and 11% reported farming. The corresponding figure for 1986 are 27, 36, 21 and 6.

In terms of total household income, in recent years for all these universities taken together 5% came from bottom 20% income earning families, 26% came from next quintiles, 39% from the next, 23% from the next quintile, and 7% from the top 20% of income earning families. The percentages vary amongst the universities, Rajshahi and Agricultural universities have higher representation from bottom two quintiles while Dhaka and Engg. universities have higher representation of top two quintiles. Chittagong has higher representation in middle three quintile.

In percentage terms minority students are represented more than their percentage in population. Chittagong has higher representation of Hindus and Buddhists than Rajshahi, Dhaka and Agricultural universities have high representation of Hindus.

Finally, 100% of female students in Engg. and Agri. universities more than 90% in Dhaka, more than 80% in Chittagong and Rajshahi came from urban background. Their parents are in service, profession or business.

#### *4.7 Representation Of Student Interest*

From the very beginning student residential halls were made an essential part of the university. A student is a resident of or is attached to a hall or residence. Teachers are similarly made resident tutors or attached tutors. Each hall has a student union which conducts all extra-mural activities and represents to provosts on matters of interest of the student community. The membership is co-existent with the student population of the hall, attached or resident.

In addition to promote corporate life and to foster extra-curricular activities, a central students union exists in all the universities. Being the central body it has gained in importance relative to the hall unions. The membership is co-extensive with the students currently admitted to the university.

Further, there are departmental student organizations performing similar activities. The membership is co-existent with the number of currently admitted students.

In recent years, student groups of political nature have surfaced strongly in all the universities and they seem to enjoy predominance over the academic student organization. The membership would not exceed 10% of the student body. Dhaka University has organized an academic environment committee to promote and protect academic environment with representation from student political groups. Similarly there are student cultural organizations whose membership is again limited.

However, statutorily, student representation (five) from university central students union in the senate of three general universities exist.

#### *4.8 Learning And Examination*

The structure of degree programmes are defined and approved by the academic committee of the department where such committee exists or by the department head in consultation with faculty where no such committee exists. This is then presented to the faculty which rarely disputes the wisdom of the department and normally processes it for consideration of the Academic Council of the university of which is the final authority in this matter. The non-university sector, affiliated to the university has to follow the decisions.

New study programme may be proposed by a faculty member or a department but has to be approved finally by the Academic Council

normally after obtaining opinion of concerned faculty and departments. Government, even donor agencies may suggest development of new departments or programmes but these require approval of the Academic Council.

In the country there is no central or external accreditation body. However recognition of standards by some external agency for certain areas have been helpful (i.e. medicine).

#### *4.9 Models Of Under-graduate Course*

The under-graduate courses are generally organised on the basis of broad areas. The student admitted to non-university two year under-graduate programme in arts and humanities study three subjects in that areas in addition to a course in Bengali. He has no option to take a course in social science or commerce, not to speak of science or law. The same compartmentalisation persists for specialised programmes in engineering, medicine or agriculture who study some course in humanities, social science and/or management without due emphasis.

The university programme has become similarly compartmentalised by faculty where the major subject department dictates limited option in terms of minor subjects within the faculty. Broad under-graduate education balancing special area with general studies in other broad areas of discipline has not been built into the programme due to historic reasons and over the years this has become more rigid as flexibility of taking subsidiary subjects in other faculties have been withdrawn.

#### *4.10 Student Assessment*

The system varies from university to university and even within the same university from faculty to faculty and department to department. For the non-university sector, particularly two-year under-graduate programme, the assessment is done annually through a three-hour examination per course. Before the students are allowed to sit for the examination conducted by the university they are required to qualify in a test examination which replicates in examination to be taken. To secure first division one has to score sixty per cent or more, for second division forty-five per cent or more for third division thirty-six per cent or more. One has to pass in all subjects. Examiners are appointed centrally and are from other institutions. For the universities in Rajshahi, Chittagong, Jahangirnagar and Islamic University the annual examination for promotion to the next year and at the end of the second year examination in subsidiary subjects are held. Final examination is held at the end of third year. Normally there are eight papers for major and three papers each for the two subsidiaries. Evaluation through tutorials are programmed but has fallen in disuse. In the science subjects, one-fourth of the total marks are kept for laboratory based examination.

Engg. university started with courses defined in sequence and one had to maintain a minimum level in each course or would be required to repeat. In case of failure to maintain a minimum level of score in annual examination the student could be retained in the same year and even could face automatic exclusion. The system has been eased. The annual evaluation has gained in importance and automatic exclusion is now rarely practiced.

The Agricultural University also started with course system and passing in each course at the annual examination level conducted by the central examination authority was required. This has been relaxed.

In the medical and dental colleges, passing in each course on a structure basis and finally the university conducted examinations are required. They have an internship requirement.

In Dhaka University, the system is varied. The reason being an attempt to introduce course system which was not properly conceived. As a result some of the faculties follow a semester based system. However, all departments have a system of weightage for in-course examination and there is also an annual examination. At the end of second year the students take university conducted examination in subsidiary subjects. At the end of third year the examination in major area is held. In examination, like all general universities, each paper is evaluated by an internal and an external examiner, appointed from a panel proposed by departmental academic committee and approved by university academic council.

## 5.0 CONCLUSION

Higher education system has grown quantitatively at a slow pace generally preserving the traditional system. The transition to modernity has been marginal. The system suffers from a crisis of lack of direction and objectivity in the absence of a stable enlightened democratic government. This has in turn created problems with respect to equity and access, excellence and relevance as well as efficiency, autonomy and accountability. Despite all these limitations the system seem to have helped growth of very qualified personnel however few. Financial inadequacy compounded by dependence on government funding provide limited opportunities and initiatives for change. As the feeder system is almost wholly based on vernacular education and as relevant standard text books in vernacular are not generally available, the standard of higher education for average student has been adversely affected.

As investment in quality education provides wider opportunity and better returns large number of students from middle and upper class are going abroad causing a kind of brain-drain that is harmful to the society. Salary and benefits as well opportunities for self-development and self-

actualisation of the teachers being non-competitive and limited there has also been brain-drain of competent scholars particularly in science and technology.

The higher education administration seem to have failed to create an environment for better scholarship, inter-disciplinary research and experimentation in teaching that once was the characteristics of Dhaka University. This is eating into the vitals of the higher education system as it is eroding academic commitment, meaningful teacher-student relation and discipline.

The social instability in the face of widening social distance between social classes as well as limited employment opportunity in a stagnant economy have affected the student community and this would remain a problem until and unless powers that be take effective steps to ameliorate the basic social malice.

In sum, the coming decade is likely to experience intensification of academic and administrative problems due to short-sighted education policy based on political opportunism and not on consideration of a perspective of a rapidly changing world socially, economically and technologically.

## EDUCATIONAL PLANNING IN BANGLADESH: A CASE OF PERFUNCTORY EXERCISE OR POLITICAL PERFIDY ?

HARENDRA K. DEY\*

There is hardly any coherent education policy for Bangladesh (and indeed for many third world countries). What passes for educational policy is in fact an amalgam of quickly conceived, dejoined projects and programmes, sometimes pulling in different directions, and crying for a definition of aims. The various regimes since independence have talked eloquently of the need for reorienting and restructuring the old system of education to meet the challenges of social and economic development with justice, but largely failed not only to reshape it, but also to give it a definite direction. As a result, the system, at least a large part of it, drifted aimlessly and now has evolved into something which is hard to evaluate in the absence of well-defined objectives and agreed upon standards.

### WHAT IS EXPECTED OF A SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

Without being too much philosophical about it, one can perhaps say that in a democratic society which does not unduly restrict the freedom of choice, the system of education is expected to meet the needs of the individual and those of the society. The individual wants to acquire qualities, attributes and skills that can be productively used for self-employment or sold to others for productive purposes. The level and the type of education demanded will be determined by his preferences and his capacity (including his cognitive and intellectual ability), the individual may also like to have education because it might help sharpen, elevate and humanize his intellect, develop his capacity to appreciate literature, music, works of art, and thus improve his quality of life (and, of course, that of his friends, neighbours and contemporaries). This aspect of education is seen not as an input into the production process, but as a flow of consumption to be derived during his life time, much like the flow of services from a consumer durable. This conceptual distinction may not be so clear-cut in real-work cases, though analytically useful. For example, if you are a professional singer, singing is what you sell as well as consume. On the other hand, if I am a professional butcher the skill that I have acquired is

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perhaps basically for selling and not for the pleasure of slaughtering animals, though it could be. The point is that whatever be the type of education the individual chooses, one component or the other would appear to be prominent in his eyes.

On the other hand, the needs of society are met if the educational system turns out persons with requisite skills in right numbers, desired mixes and time sequences.

#### PROVISION OF EDUCATION: MARKET VS. GOVERNMENT

In a world of perfect competition, other considerations apart, the needs of the individual and of the society could conceivably be met by the market and there is no role for the government to play, except to see that market imperfections do not creep in. There are at least three reasons why the market solution is either impossible or undesirable or both, and why the government may have to step in as a market substitute or supplement. First, there are significant externalities both on the production and the consumption side of the market for education. So for some types of education the market may not emerge for some time, or if it does, it may fail to function efficiently without external (governmental) assistance. Secondly, education, especially basic education, has been recognized as a human right to which all citizens are entitled, though the time horizon over which the objective is to be attempted may vary. Thirdly, and this is not completely unrelated to the first and is complementary to the second, basic education has merit-goods<sup>1</sup> characteristics, requiring governmental intervention in its provision.

The government, has a role to play in the supply of education (and sometimes on the demand side too) which requires that it needs a coherent educational policy objectives defined in general, but not highly philosophical, terms and a set of strategies and instruments for their achievement.

#### ACHIEVEMENT IN PRIMARY EDUCATION

Whether viewed as a basic human right or a prerequisite of development, primary education should receive high priority. In terms of promise it did—universal primary education has been a declared goal of development plans for a long time. But with 40 per cent of the children in the age group of 5-9 years in 1985 out of school, the goal of universal primary education appears to be a distant ideal (Table 1). What is all the more disappointing is that the slow growth of enrolment rate has been accompanied or achieved by a marked fall in the quality of instruction and

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1. Goods provided by the state on the paternalistic ground that individuals ought to consume them, but would not act in their own self-interest and purchase them without substantial subsidy.

### *Dey : Educational Planning*

learning, and that the non-schooling gap<sup>2</sup> is perhaps widening. No doubt population growth must have been an obstacle to the achievement of the goal of universal primary education. However, from Table 1 we see that only 31 lakh children in the 5-9 year age group were added between 1974 and 1985, which implies that increase in the number of school and children cannot be entirely blamed for the slow growth of enrolment rate and fall in the quality of education.

From reports of a survey conducted by the Institute of Education and Research, University of Dhaka published in 1987 we know that out of those who enrol in primary schools, 31 per cent drop out by Grade 2 and 70 per cent by Grade 5.

In respect of adult literacy too, the situation is quite unsatisfactory. According to the 1981 Census, nearly 70 per cent of the adult population never attended schools, while another 17 per cent received only primary level education.

It is important to look for some of the reasons for this persistent failure to attain higher rates of enrolment and retention of those who were enrolled in primary schools.

Table 1: Enrolment Rate at the Primary Level

| Year | Population (000's) |         | No. of students (000's) | Enrolment Rate (%) |          |
|------|--------------------|---------|-------------------------|--------------------|----------|
|      | 5-9 yrs.           | 5-11yrs |                         | 5-9 yrs            | 5-11 yrs |
| 1951 | 6,241              | —       | 2,323                   | 37                 | -        |
| 1961 | 9,529              | 11,410  | 3,331                   | 35                 | 29       |
| 1974 | 13,118             | 17,263  | 7,848                   | 60                 | 45       |
| 1981 | 14,158             | 19,230  | 8,260                   | 58                 | 43       |
| 1985 | —                  | —       | —                       | —                  | 62       |

Source: Bangladesh Education in Statistics, Sept. 1985, BBS, Statistical Year Book of Bangladesh, 1989.

### GOVERNMENT AS SUPPLIER AND PROMOTER OF PRIMARY EDUCATION

The decision to have education at the elementary level is taken on behalf of the children by their parents. The same is true for secondary and higher education too, because a student in Bangladesh can hardly self-finance his education. But at a later stage, a student can at least communicate his preferences and have then respected much more effectively than does a child of five years or so.

2. This is defined as the number of children between ages 6 and 11 not enrolled in schools.

The fact that the desire for child's education springs almost solely from its parents a large majority of whom are poor, illiterate and ill-nourished is of some significance for the spread of primary education. It underscores the need for coordinating nutrition and public health policies with educational programmes, because they are all complementary. But more important for us here is the fact that the government needs to make efforts to stimulate demand for primary education and that these efforts have to be directed at parents of the children.

The society might feel that a child should receive a certain minimum of basic education, but the child's parents may not feel the same way, because the same set of considerations may not apply to the society and the parents. This is a problem that education considered as a 'merit good' shares with such other goods (e. g., safe drinking water, public health). The significance of this potential divergence of perceptions lies in the fact that society's responsibility does not end with creating educational facilities, it has to create demand for it. This role of the society is somewhat similar<sup>3</sup> to that a big manufacturing firm plays when it introduces a new product. The firm conducts market surveys and arranges massive advertising campaign to sell its product.

If the demand for education by parents/guardians of the children is conceptually taken as a schedule describing different amounts demanded at different prices, one can immediately think of certain factors which define the 'position' of that schedule. Demand stimulation policies would then consist of shifting the entire schedule forward. The position of the schedule is determined by two sets of variables known as out-of-school variables and school variables. The out-of-school variables include levels of education of parents, their nutritional status of socio-economic background, standards of health care, and more notably, the pre-school education of the children, while among the school-variables are the quality of teaching, the level of instruction and so on.

For the rapid spread of primary education the consumption and/or production of education may have to be heavily subsidized. For a given demand schedule, demand can in principle fall short of the target rate of enrolment even at a zero price, involving a large amount of subsidy. Therefore, the building of capacity through subsidy and the stimulation of demand need to be carefully planned, coordinated and executed. If capacity is built up ahead of demand stimulating measures, some resources will be wasted. On the other hand, if demand stimulation is not matched by provision of facilities, resources spent for demand stimulation will be wasted.

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3. The firm can carry forward as inventory and unsold stock and possibly cut back production in the next period. This is not relevant for the kind of intangible the society is dealing with.

#### CAREFUL RESEARCH NEEDED

All this requires careful quantitative and analytical research which is sorely lacking in this country. Research on economics of education is in a very rudimentary stage here. It does not enjoy the prestige that researches in other areas do, nor can it attract research funds. To my knowledge, economics of education has not found a place in the curriculum of any Economics Department of our universities. The types of statistics thrown up by population censuses, occasional labour force surveys and routine data collection efforts with the respect to the number of students, teachers, schools, rates of literacy, participation rate and so on are mainly of descriptive value. New kind of additional data need to be collected and analyzed in order to clarify issues, defining objectives and evaluate performance.

#### POST-PRIMARY EDUCATION

In the post-primary stage the role of government changes significantly, both as the direct supplier of education service and as the promoter of demand. Students coming out of primary schools are potential entrants into secondary schools, and from then on the consumption component of education tends to become increasingly important. The government no longer has to play as dominant a role in the stimulation of demand as in the primary stage. But on the supply side it still plays an important role on equity grounds.

The argument is that if full-cost fees are charged, many potential entrants from low income families and backward areas will be denied access to post-primary education. In this country, the authority tries to accomplish this in primarily two ways: by keeping the tuition fees low for all students (which requires across the-board production subsidy) and by giving scholarships and stipends to students (which involves selective consumption subsidy). The first mode of intervention is much more important (though in conventional sense less efficient) than the second both with respect to coverage and costs involved.

In government-run secondary schools, colleges and universities (no private university in our country) tuition fees are much less than would full-cost principle imply. In non-government institutions, a significant part of the salary of teachers and employees is now paid out of the exchequer. The government also shares in capital expenditures through grants-in-aid.

From Tables 2 and 3, we see that during the five year period between 1982 and 1987 enrolment in all types of institutions increased<sup>4</sup>, which is

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4. Something appears to be wrong with reported data for university enrolment. It is unlikely that it has declined.

quite natural in view of the increase in the number of younger people in the population. But the enrolment in colleges and Madrashas rose quite dramatically over the period (68% and 88% respectively). Since the data on the number of students are compiled by the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics from reports submitted by head of each institution, the numbers may be inflated for one reason or the other. Even allowing for this, one would like to believe that enrolment in secondary schools, colleges and Madrashas has increased significantly during the period. This observation is also consistent with findings for other developing countries.

Table 2: Growth of Student Population in by Types of Educational Institutions.

| Types of Institution    | No. of Students<br>(000's) |         | Percentage Increase |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|---------|---------------------|
|                         | 1982                       | 1987    |                     |
|                         | Primary                    | 86558.8 |                     |
| Secondary               | 2458.0                     | 2,962.0 | 21                  |
| College <sup>1</sup>    | 398.1                      | 668.0   | 68                  |
| Madrasha <sup>2</sup>   | 388.1                      | 731.0   | 88                  |
| University <sup>3</sup> | 33.335                     | 23.337  | -30                 |

- Notes: 1. Intermediate and Degree (Pass) Course Colleges.  
 2. All types of Madrashas : Dakhil, Alim, Fazil, Kamil  
 3. General Universities only (Dhaka, Jahangirnagar, Chittagong, Rajshahi)

Source: Various Year Books, BBS.

Table 3: Flow of Students between Types of Educational Institutions 1982-87

| Flow      |            | Percentage of Students |      |
|-----------|------------|------------------------|------|
| From      | To         | 1982                   | 1987 |
| Primary   | Secondary  | 28.0                   | 26.0 |
| Secondary | College    | 16.0                   | 23.0 |
| College   | University | 8.6                    | 3.5  |

Notes: As in Table 2.

Source: Year Books, BBS.

### CREDENTIALISM<sup>5</sup> AND QUALIFICATION SYNDROME

Rapid expansion of secondary and higher education is a feature that Bangladesh shares with many other developing countries. This contrasts sharply with the sluggish growth of demand for primary education in rural areas. As a cohort moves up the educational ladder, many students drop out for various reasons (as Table 3 shows), but others who continue do so in the expectation that higher education would raise the probability of their finding high-paying jobs in the public or the private sector than otherwise. And this is despite the knowledge that there would not be enough such jobs for all. In these circumstances, lower level education becomes largely a matter of preparation for the next higher level rather than terminal education for skill acquisition. Demand for higher education steadily grows, and since the unit cost of higher education goes up with the level, the fiscal burden of subsidy also grows. In fact, subsidy re-inforces the need for further subsidy. Rapid rural-urban migration takes place, and unemployment of the education grows. Labour market adjustment takes place very slowly, mainly in the private sector, as job expectation is revised and wage differentials shrink; but public sector salaries are scarcely affected by developments in the labour market.

An additional complicating factor is that surplus education (in the sense of number of years of schooling), though remotely related to job or earnings prospects, may be valued for itself i. e., as a consumption good. Ironically substantial quality deterioration has failed to detract from the consumption value of higher education (e. g., as a symbol of social status in a country where 70% of the adults are illiterate). Though in terms of an individual's capacity to appreciate and cultivate finer values deteriorates with deterioration in the quality of education, a somewhat perverse kind of consumption value tends to compensate for that.

Should this situation of excess demand for places in institutions of higher education and excess supply of the educated (more appropriately, degree-holders) be allowed to continue or worsen? Of the many issues, this question gives rise to, we shall discuss two which seem to be particularly relevant.

The first relates to the question of redirecting in part or whole resources to be spent on higher education in the form of direct and indirect subsidy to primary education, particularly in poor and backward regions. Resource cost figures for Bangladesh comparable with those presented in Table 4 are not available. It is, however, plausible that on the average, resources

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5. Credentialism is a situation in which employers select over-qualified applicants not because they are thought to be more productive, but because it is a more convenient device for rationing the vacancies.

necessary to provide higher education to a student will be able to provide primary education to four or five children. To justify any transfer of resources not only costs but benefits too must be taken into account. Data compiled by UNESCO and analyzes carried out by the World Bank and other scholars have consistently shown (see Table 5, for illustration) that social benefit/cost ratios are much higher for primary than for secondary and higher education. For this and other reasons, it is often argued that primary education should be expanded in relation to second any and higher education [2]. However, two things must be noted with regard to this recommendation. There is no guarantee that the rate of return calculations based on past data would be appropriate indicators of social profitability in the future. Besides, these estimates can tell us very little about the growth maximizing allocation of resources in education.

Table 4: Resource Input per Student Year at Various Levels of Schooling: Ratios of Direct Social Costs of Secondary and Higher Education to those of Primary Education.

| Country            | Secondary | Higher |
|--------------------|-----------|--------|
| Puerto Rico        | 1.5       | 11.6   |
| Mexico             | 5.0       | 9.0    |
| Venezuela          | 3.0       | 12.5   |
| Colombia           | 2.7       | 17.9   |
| Chile              | 1.5       | 8.0    |
| Brazil             | 2.9       | 18.0   |
| Israel             | 2.7       | 16.8   |
| India              | 5.1       | 17.6   |
| Malaysia           | 1.9       | 13.0   |
| S.Korea            | 2.4       | 5.5    |
| Nigeria            | 7.2       | 100.0  |
| Ghana              | 6.2       | 118.7  |
| Kenya              | 11.8      | 160.4  |
| Uganda             | 14.5      | 117.6  |
| Unweighted Average | 4.9       | 44.4   |

Source: Bowles, 1978

Table 5 : Relative Underinvestment in Primary Schooling : Average Social Profitability of Various Levels of Schooling in Poor and Middle Income Countries.

| Levels of Schooling | Internal Rate of Return (per cent) | Social Benefit/Cost Ratio <sup>2</sup> |
|---------------------|------------------------------------|--|
| Primary             | 26                                 | 9.50                                   |
| Secondary           | 17                                 | 2.37                                   |
| Higher              | 13                                 | 2.00                                   |

Notes: 1. Countries in the sample are those in Table 4 plus Singapore, the Philippines and Thailand.

2. Calculated with 10% discount rate.

Source : Bowles (1978)

It appears that no switching of expenditures from secondary to primary education is desirable at this juncture in view of the sharp fall in the general standard of primary education. Secondary education partly compensates for the deficiency in primary education. Granting across-the-board production subsidy to reach consumption targets is, by conventional economic analysis, inefficient. In this sense, reduction of subsidy for college, senior Madrasa and University education may will be justified. The argument is that since the per unit cost of higher education is many times higher than that of primary education, the potential beneficiary of higher education should be made to bear a larger proportion of the cost than hitherto. Logical extension of this line of argument is complete private provision of higher education. The question of private higher education vs. free primary education has more dimensions than can be adequately treated here. If the choice has to be so stark, my value judgements will give higher marks to the need for the spread of primary education and removal of illiteracy than to the need for some forms of useless higher education, meaning a few more years of schooling. But the choice need not be between primary and higher education, and could will be between primary education (for that matter, education in general) and other activities competing for resources. It will be costly to forget that education is a generic input into all productive activities. Our planners too apparently has no well defined guidelines of this question too. This is perhaps why we find that each plan offers something for all, perhaps by a rule of thumb.

Secondly, should our future plans put more emphasis on the improvement of quality of higher education, consolidating reorganizing the existing facilities, and thus resist the pressure for quantitative expansion?

On either issue, we do not seem to have a clear-cut guiding principle. The first Five Year Plan of Bangladesh (1973-78) speaks of making higher education selective, but at the same time makes provision for quantitative expansion. The Second Plan (1985-90) too emphasizes selectivity in higher education, and again it is not clear what it really means or what it intends to achieve.

Presumably selectivity is suggested for improving the quality of education. But with the existing capacity in place, and non-price rationing being important features of higher education, some sort of selectivity in education is already being practised.

The problem of raising the quality of education is much more complex than could be tackled by simple means of restricting admission, tougher entry requirements, or examination standards. On the supply side, other

complementary steps, including improvement in the quality of teaching, enforcement of academic disciplines for teachers and pupils, improved availability and accessibility of instructional materials must be simultaneously taken. With due allocation of funds and sincere efforts, the supply side problems can perhaps be solved more easily than those of the demand side. The most intractable problem on the demand side is the question of motivation of students to cooperate with quality-improving supply-side measures. In any scheme of improving the quality, the planners cannot be indifferent to development in the labour markets where credentialism is rampant because of excess supply, and corruption pervasive, especially in public sector recruitment, partly because of the failure of merit consideration to hold. Both are again reflections, the first more than the second, of a large gap between what is required for the job and what the applicant has learnt from formal schooling.

If measures are proposed without careful consideration of these issues, the result is likely to be perverse, that of reinforcing the already existing dual and elitist structure of education of which the Third Five Plan is so critical. In the words of Samuel Bowles, the dual structure is characterized by a "brief and second rate education for many and a relatively costly education for just enough to promote productivity and prevent significant labour scarcity in the capitalist mode" [5; 790]. He goes on to add that in this dual structure, "a relatively small group of future technical and managerial personnel develop the capacity to calculate, decide and rule, while a much larger group 'learns' to follow instructions accurately. This stratification of future labour force is partly accomplished by making different amounts and types of schooling available to different children" [5].

#### PROBLEM OF SINCERITY, COMMITMENT AND COMPETENCE

Reviews of Development planstry to explain the failure to reach planned targets in terms of inadequate response from educational institutions and deficient administrative capability. Even if one does not question the wisdom of sectoral priority given to education, especially primary education, one cannot but be struck by repeated failures to reach planned targets so common to all plans. Several plans including the Third Five Year Plan speak of resource constraints, shortage of teachers, administrative weaknesses, lack of proper attitudes to account for the failure to reach planned targets of primary school enrolment. And what is offered for the future is a promise of better performance, but the proposed ways of doing it hardly convince anyone. Later plan performance reinforces the pessimism, and the next plan routinely promises to do better.

In principle, there are several possible ways in which the failure can be explained. First, in spite of the best efforts and no lack of sincerity of purpose, the planned targets cannot be reached. This would imply that the

planners could have set a much lower target, and perhaps can achieve them with the resources (broadly defined) committed and mobilized. Why is this not done? Perhaps because at the stage of formulation, the targets seem quite feasible, but later can not be achieved because of unforeseen circumstances (e.g., problems at the implementation level) which are beyond the control of the planners. Secondly, the targets were perhaps set for propaganda reasons : to please the public, silence the critics and opponents, levy regressive taxes in the pretext of attaining important development goals.

If the last explanation were true, enough resources would not be made available to match the magnitude and complexity of the task, necessary institutional reforms will not be made, administrative and logistics capabilities will not be improved. The outcome of this policy would be similar to that of a policy where lower targets are achieved with lower allocation and mobilization of resources, except for the perfidy and hypocrisy involved in the former. So if one accuses the authority (not necessarily the planners) of insincerity and incompetence, the onus of proofing that it is otherwise squarely rests on it.

How can successive regimes and plans go on feeding people with promises. Pursuing this line of thought at a very general level one is inevitable led to think of the nature of the state and of the government, because the planner is a part of the political machinery which largely determines his choice of objective functions as well as constrains [9]. Where the government is not accountable to the citizens, the public servants to people or the government, the interest of the individually powerless multitude can be ignored with impunity, and resources and efforts diverted to satisfy even the most trivial whims of those who hold keys to power. It is much easier (and safer) to do good to a few and build monuments of success rather than to do good to many who are too many for the good done to them to be visible enough.

#### CONCLUSION

Education is far too important a sector to be passed off lightly and perfunctorily as appears to have been the case under the various regimes in Bangladesh. No one would dispute the constraints on choices imposed by a general lack of resources to be devoted to education and other social sectors like health and nutrition. The government allocates about 8% (including allocation for development) of public expenditures to education which accounts for about 1.5% of the GDP. Both the percentages are lower than the respective averages computed for a number of developing countries. For instance, in 1974 the education sector of these countries receive on the average 3.9% of the GNP and 15.1% of the national budget. Even without quarelling about sectoral allocation, one can genuinely raise

the question of efficiency with which the resources have been used within the sub-sectors of education

We have long been hearing that the planning exercise is good, but implementation capacity is deficient. With respect to the private sector this is more understandable where the agents may fail to respond adequately to the structure of incentives and constraints. But the standard of efficiency of the sectoral ministry/ministries responsible for individual projects leaves much to be desired.

An even handed policy towards education with strong emphasis on the removal of illiteracy and universal primary education can only come out of a determined pro-people government which this country can hardly be proud of having. In its absence, the neglect and drift will continue and the guided market mechanism will impersonally, distribute the benefits of available educational facilities to those who can play the game according to its rules.

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## UNIVERSAL PRIMARY EDUCATION IN BANGLADESH : A NOTE ON OUR ACHIEVEMENT SO FAR

NITAI C. NAG

### INTRODUCTION

Centuries ago education would only quench man's spiritual or moral thirst. That role of education continued to be the norm throughout the entire range of human civilisation up to the end of the medieval era. Greek philosophers like Socrates (469-369 B.C) and Aristotle (384-322 B.C) devoted to teach that reason should guide man, but their prophesy had remained almost unheeded until the sixteenth century when the Renaissance was spreading in Europe. Renaissance taught man to take as much interest to know more about the earth and about man's place in it as he had been accustomed to take through centuries to satisfy his curiosity about the heavens. Until today one can find in India gurus imparting spiritual knowledge to followers who in turn accept such knowledge as ways of life.

Because mankind swelled in size unprecedentedly fast in this century, especially, since the end of the second world war, world's resources necessary for its sustenance has been remarkably strained. Man everywhere now has become accustomed to exhaust his whole might in procuring additional material wellbeing. So education is mostly regarded as a producer good. A student can be naturally found to choose that discipline which helps him most earn a living. Moreover, public policy now favours that education which is connected with higher material productivity. So, both demand and supply side in our time are after promoting productive education. What is education's score with regard to its present job?

### EDUCATION AND PRODUCTIVITY

There is vast literature on the subject for whose detailed review the present paper is not an appropriate place. Huq (1975) shows the effect of education on productivity to be positive using micro level USSR data [8]. Bowles on the other hand found for Greece that increasing educational level of labour force did not contribute significantly to the rate of output growth [2]. Shing concludes that elasticity of output with respect to education is very high in the case of developed countries [9]. Denison

suggested that education should be incorporated in the production function as a separate factor [4]. Harbison and Meyers [5] built index of education for cross country analysis for the kind of production function suggested by Denison [4]. Elsewhere, Denison's investigation revealed that between 1929 and 1957 investment in education in the United States contributed 23 per cent of the growth of the total real income and 42 per cent of the growth of real national income per person employed [3].

Of late, However, general education has been looked at skeptically even the developed countries. In the face of ultra-modern technology where computers dominate decisions even over those of day to day business graduates with higher general education are finding themselves increasingly helpless to cope.

The necessity of universal primary education however has not been questioned anywhere. Apart from being the foundation of higher education, primary education has also been found to add to national income [10].

#### WHAT HAVE WE DONE ABOUT OUR PRIMARY EDUCATION?

Analytical convenience induced the present author to break the post 1947 period into three subperiods namely the Pakistan period, the period between 1972 and 1975, and the period after 1975.

##### *PAKISTAN PERIOD (1947-1971)*

Between 1947 and 1961 the number of primary schools decreased from 29, 633 to 26,665. The percentage of illiteracy increased from 79 per cent to 83 per cent. There was an education commission in 1959 which proposed to impart primary education to each and every child of the age group of 5-9 in 15 years. Accordingly new schools began to be set up. But in 1971 the number of primary schools became 30,446 just 813 more than the 1951 number. But since population exploded to become 75 million in 1971, against 45 million of 1947 the estimated school age children numbered 12 million as against 7 million of 1947. In 13 years only four per cent of the 1959 promise was satisfied. 813 additional schools could accept just over two lakh of the estimated additional 50 lakh children. The reader may note the promise because we might encounter comparable promise soon.

##### *THE PERIOD BETWEEN 1972-75*

Table I shows actual data on the numbers of primary schools, teachers, and students for the years between 1972 and 1987. Average growth rates

*Nag : Primary Education*

have been used to estimate the figures beyond 1987.

| Year | Nos. of Pr. School | Nos. of Students<br>in thousands | Nos. of Teachers |
|------|--------------------|----------------------------------|------------------|
| 1972 | na                 | 6417                             | 136508           |
| 1973 | 30,446             | na                               | na               |
| 1974 | 36,633             | 7848                             | 150267           |
| 1975 | 39,914             | 8350                             | 164617           |
| 1976 | 40,313             | 8289                             | 172448           |
| 1977 | 41,129             | 8418                             | 174384           |
| 1978 | 41,787             | 7557                             | 171024           |
| 1979 | 42,443             | 7733                             | 172781           |
| 1980 | 42,588             | 8027                             | 174161           |
| 1981 | 42,447             | 8260                             | 174447           |
| 1982 | 42,683             | 8656                             | 175877           |
| 1983 | 43,219             | 8955                             | 178589           |
| 1984 | 43,465             | 9643                             | 183173           |
| 1985 | 43,588             | 10082                            | 183638           |
| 1986 | 43,712             | 10776                            | 184668           |
| 1987 | 43,992             | 11263                            | 188369           |
| 1988 | na                 | 11860(e)                         | 191269(e)        |
| 1989 | na                 | 12488(e)                         | 194209(e)        |
| 1990 | na                 | 13150(e)                         | 197200(e)        |

Source: Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics

Figures with (e) are estimated using 5 years' average growth rate.

The first five years plan covered the period between 1973 and 1978. Of the five years the initial three years show remarkable progress in terms of enrolment, number of schools, number of teachers etc. Number of schools increased from 30446 in 1973 to 39914, which is an increase of 9464 which amounts to 31% over the baseline. In the next 12 years number of schools increased, in contrast, by 4078, which is just 10 per cent of the base year number. In those three years enrollees increased by 30% to become 8350,000 which represented an increase in absolute number of 193,300. In contrast in the past it took 23 years to make room for about the same number, and again, in the latter 12 years up to 1987 there took place an additional enrolment of 291,131. In the front of teachers the number increased from 136,508 in 1973 to 164,617 in 1975 which is an increase of 28,109 in absolute number and in percentage terms 20%. In contrast,

between 1975 and 1987 number of teachers increased only by 19958 or an equivalent of just 12% over baseline. It should be mentioned here that it was during the early part of the first five-year plan period that primary education was nationalised.

The expansionary trend of enrolment rose to its peak by 1975. Thereafter there began setbacks. In 1978, the final year of the plan, for example both number of teachers and students decreased in absolute terms.

Then came the two-year plan which covered 1979 and 1980. The two years plan. This plan took up funny measures. It used the rhetoric of universal primary education by the soonest possible time. But in practice it did the opposite. It allocated 13 per cent of the total proposed outlay on education against the first plan's 18 per cent. On the other hand it raised the share of sports and culture to 13 per cent against the first plan's 4.6 per cent.

The second five year plan wanted play a miracle. It promised to make everybody happy within an incredibly short period of five years by realising universal primary education. It targeted for an enrolment level of 129.9 lakh children against an actual enrolment of 70 lakh in 1980. In percentage terms the proposed increase represented 85%. Actually at the end of the second plan enrolment increased by just over 6 lakh. What is the success rate? Answer: Seven per cent. The reader would probably not be disappointed, rather consoled (i), for, he has still in memory 1959's education commission's success rate of four per cent. What particularly went wrong here? Answer: what not. The plan earmarked Tk. 707 crores for universal primary education but actually had the heart to spend Tk. 211 crores i. e., 59 per cent less than what was promised. Moreover in the planning authority's consideration primary education was inadequately supervised. On that ground it created a number of administrators in the thana level thus squeezing even what could actually be spent for the relevant wares.

The Third five year plan apparently wanted to take lessons from the past and accordingly pushed forward the possible achievement of universal primary education to the year 2000. The third plan's tenure will go soon. We do not have published data to evaluate its achievement. It set target for bringing into school 70 per cent of the school age children by 1990. Alas, the figure is even lower than the actual rate of 76 per cent recorded by Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics.

What explains our actual achievement. We tried here only in terms of supply side indicators which are shown in the next page to explain the achievement. We assume every one per cent increase in the number of

*Nag: Primary Education*

school to have a weight of one and also every one per cent increase in the number of teachers to have a weight of one. Column 3 shows the sum of the supply of education facilities. Column 4 makes two cumulative sums of the supply index, one ending in 1975 and another beginning in 1976 and ending in 1987. The table shows that while the cumulative supply index rose to 48.5 in 1975, it achieve less than one half of that value in the following 12 years. Thus supply of educational facilities can explain quite well the results actually obtained.

| Year | % Increase in school | % Increase in teacher | Total | Cumulative increase |
|------|----------------------|-----------------------|-------|---------------------|
| 1974 | 20                   | 10                    | 30    |                     |
| 1975 | 9                    | 9.5                   | 18.5  | 48.5                |
| 1976 | 1                    | 4.7                   | 5.7   | 5.7                 |
| 1977 | 2                    | 1.1                   | 3.1   | 8.8                 |
| 1978 | 1.6                  | -1.9                  | -0.3  | 8.5                 |
| 1979 | 1.6                  | 1.0                   | 2.6   | 11.1                |
| 1980 | 0.34                 | 0.8                   | 1.1   | 12.2                |
| 1981 | 0.33                 | 0.02                  | 0.35  | 12.55               |
| 1982 | 0.56                 | 0.08                  | 0.44  | 13.19               |
| 1983 | 0.83                 | 1.5                   | 2.33  | 15.52               |
| 1984 | 1.9                  | 2.3                   | 3.20  | 18.72               |
| 1985 | 0.28                 | 0.25                  | 0.53  | 19.25               |
| 1986 | 0.28                 | 0.57                  | 0.85  | 20.10               |
| 1987 | 0.64                 | 2.0                   | 2.64  | 22.74               |

Source: Compiled from Bangladesh Statistical Yearbooks.

Now, can the fourth and fifth five year plans bring about for us that we really will be able to enter the next century with all of us literate. Yes, if those will have the heart. According to estimates using projected population for the decade of 1990s by the year 2000 we will need an additional 66067 teachers to teach the additional school age children then.

This represents an increase over the baseline figure for 1990, which is 197200 (estimated), of 34%. Thus the annual average increase will have to be 2.8%. But if we apply pre-liberation or post 1976 spirit we cannot because, the actual average percentage increase for the period after 1976 in only 1.1%.

Danger Ahead? The author is not sure if this nation really had "good old days". At least educational feat does not tell that. Now that things have changed for the worse for the whole set of least developed countries over the world, that Bangladesh every now and then develops crises over its external account and to meet those has to undergo drastic austerity

measures on expenditure can the present generation really shoulder the job effectively. We must not forget that it is disgraceful to be certified incompetent by the younger generations. Also it is equally disgraceful to bear a stand of ninety first or so in the list of literacy rate of nations in the world. At some point, being not content with the realised reduction of the absolute number of both teachers and students at our primary schools we wanted to go as far as to denationalise the primary schools sometime in 1979 (?). While the big poor nation was playing just a spectator's role, it was only the organised movement of the primary teachers themselves, ironically to their own interest, that finally halted that move. Let all of us in the seminar hope that we as a people will always have both head and heart to accord highest consideration only to that problem which has highest national priority.

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# বাংলাদেশের স্বাস্থ্য খাতের রাজনৈতিক অর্থনীতি

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## ১. ভূমিকা

স্বাস্থ্য ও শিক্ষাকে অন্ন বস্ত্র বাসস্থানের মতই মানুষের মৌলিক অধিকার বলে স্বীকার করে নেয়া হয়েছে। সবার জন্য স্বাস্থ্য ও সবার জন্য প্রাথমিক শিক্ষার সরকারী ঘোষণাও আমরা শুনেছি। কিন্তু স্বাস্থ্য ও শিক্ষা সম্পর্কে সার্বিক চিত্র খুঁজে পাওয়া দুষ্কর। এদেশে লোক গণনা হয়, তার ভিত্তিতে কিছু তথ্য পাওয়া যায়, কৃষি শুমারীও চালু আছে, আইনতঃ সমস্ত আধুনিক শিল্প সম্পর্কে বার্ষিক তথ্যও সংগৃহীত হবার বিধান রয়েছে। কিন্তু Banbais এবং Health Information Unit থাকা সত্ত্বেও শিক্ষা বা স্বাস্থ্য সম্পর্কে কোন সার্বিক তথ্য সংগ্রহ ও উপস্থাপনা হয়নি। এটি যারা ক্ষমতায় আছেন তাদের জনসাধারণ সম্পর্কে মন-মানসিকতার একটি পরিচয়। যখন Health Status সম্পর্কে পূর্ণ তথ্য নেই, Morbidity সম্পর্কে পরিসংখ্যান নেই, স্বাস্থ্য পরিচর্যা সম্পর্কে কোন বৈজ্ঞানিক অনুসন্ধান করা হয়নি তখন সবার জন্য স্বাস্থ্য সম্পর্কে ঘোষণা হাস্যকর। শিক্ষাক্ষেত্র তথ্য কিছুটা বিস্তৃত হলেও যথেষ্ট নয়, যথার্থও নয়। সুতরাং আমাদের আলোচনা তাত্ত্বিক এবং সীমিত পরিসংখ্যানের ভিত্তিতেই হতে হবে।

## ২. কিছু প্রাথমিক তথ্য

আমরা সরকারী সংস্থা পরিচালিত সমীক্ষা থেকে জানতে পারি যে, নীচের চল্লিশ শতাংশ পরিবার মোট আয়ের মাত্র ১৯ শতাংশ আয় করে এবং উপরের ১০ শতাংশ পরিবার ৩১ শতাংশ আয়ের ভাগীদার। আয় বৈষম্যের পরিমাপ ০.৩৭ [১]। বাংলাদেশের প্রায় ১৫.৭৮ মিলিয়ন পরিবার (খানা) রয়েছে যার মোট সদস্য সংখ্যা ৬.৮ [২]। সারণী-১ মাসিক আয় হিসাবে পরিবারগুলোর বিভাজন নির্দেশ করেছে। সারণী-২ থেকে প্রতীয়মান হয় যে, আয় বাড়বার সাথে সাথে চিকিৎসার গড় মাসিক ব্যয়ও মাথাপিছু চিকিৎসার জন্য ব্যয় বাড়ছে। যদি আমরা ধরে নেই যে যেহেতু নিম্ন আয়ের লোকদের খাবার তুলনামূলকভাবে নিম্নমানের এবং অসুস্থতার সাথে আহার ও বাসস্থানের প্রকৃতি, স্বাস্থ্যসম্মত জীবনের সম্পর্ক নিবিড়, তাহলে যে Hypothesis বেড়িয়ে আসে তা হল নিম্ন আয়ের লোকদের চিকিৎসা করবার মত যথেষ্ট আয় নেই। আমরা ল্যাটিন আমেরিকার বিভিন্ন দেশের তথ্য থেকে জানি যে, Distribution of Health Resources এবং Health Services বিষমভাবে বন্টিত এবং সে বৈষম্যের সাথে আয় ও সম্পদ বন্টনের বৈষম্যের একটি নিকট সম্পর্ক বিদ্যমান [৩]। অর্থাৎ এ কথা বলা চলে যে Underdevelopment of Health and Health Service এর

\* অধ্যাপক, ব্যবসায় প্রশাসন ইনস্টিটিউট, ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়

সাথে আর্থ-সামাজিক ও আর্থ-রাজনৈতিক প্রকৃতি ও অবস্থার সম্পর্ক অত্যন্ত ঘনিষ্ঠ এবং অর্থনৈতিক, রাজনৈতিক ও সামাজিক ক্ষমতা ও সুযোগ কাঠামো স্বাস্থ্য পরিচর্যার প্রকৃতি ও সুযোগের বন্টনকে নির্ণয় করে। বলাবাহুল্য, আমাদের দেশে আর্থ-সামাজিক ও রাজনৈতিক কাঠামোর সাথে অস্বাস্থ্য ও স্বাস্থ্য পরিচর্যার মান নির্ণয়ের কোন সামগ্রিক ও বৈজ্ঞানিক প্রচেষ্টা এ পর্যন্ত হয়েছে বলে আমার জানা নেই।

### ২.১ বিশ্লেষণের দুর্বলতার কারণ

বাংলাদেশে আর্থ-সামাজিক ও আর্থ-রাজনৈতিক গবেষণা মূলতঃ তথাকথিত প্রশ্নমালা ও উত্তর নির্ভর। প্রশ্নমালা তৈরীর পেছনে তাত্ত্বিক বিচিন্তা প্রায়শঃই অনুপস্থিত। সে কারণে অনেক ক্ষেত্রেই প্রখ্যাত থেকে অখ্যাত প্রতিষ্ঠানও গবেষকদের প্রতিবেদন বেদনাদায়কভাবে অসম্পূর্ণ ও অগ্রহণযোগ্য। তাছাড়া এ সমস্ত প্রতিবেদনে যেটুকু তাত্ত্বিক পটভূমি থাকে তাও প্রায়শঃই নিও-ক্লাসিকেল বা নিও-মার্কিসিয়ান তত্ত্ব। কিন্তু সে তত্ত্বের আলোচনা ও তার প্রাসঙ্গিকতা মূলতঃ আলোচিত হয় না। আমি প্রচলিত সমাজবিজ্ঞানের তাত্ত্বিক ভিত্তিকেও প্রশ্রাতিত নয় বলেও মনে করি। এ প্রবন্ধের মূল লক্ষ্য হল ঔষধ ও স্বাস্থ্য পরিচর্যা সম্পর্কে প্রচলিত তাত্ত্বিক ও প্রাতিষ্ঠানিক ধারণাকে বিশ্লেষণের সম্মুখীন করা।

সমাজবিজ্ঞানের যে ধারা আমাদের দেশে মূলতঃ প্রবাহমান সেটি হল উদ্দেশ্যকে কেন্দ্র করে কর্মকাণ্ড বা যুক্তির কাঠামোকে দাঁড় করানো, দর্শনের ভাষায় যাকে functionalism বলা চলে। Form (কাঠামো) ও Purpose (উদ্দেশ্য) এর ঐক্যের ভিত্তি হল Utilitarian দর্শন। উদ্দেশ্য সামনে যে কাঠামো বা প্রক্রিয়া সহায়ক সেটিই সর্বোত্তম। এই উদ্দেশ্য নির্ণয় কিভাবে করা করছেন সেটি এ জাতীয় আলোচনার বাইরে থেকে যায়। ফলে বিশ্লেষণ সীমিত হয়। যেমন সমাজ বিজ্ঞানের এই প্রচলিত ধারায় সমগ্র সমাজের প্রেক্ষিতে বিবেচনা না করেই একটি আংশিক বিষয়ের বিবেচনাও মূল্যায়ন করা হয়। স্বাস্থ্য ও পরিবার পরিকল্পনার ক্ষেত্রে বাংলাদেশের যে গবেষণা ও মূল্যায়নের রীতি প্রচলিত রয়েছে তার প্রায় সমস্তটিই এই দোষে দুষ্ট। মনে রাখা প্রয়োজন সমাজের কতগুলো অন্তর্নিহিত শক্তি ও প্রক্রিয়া রয়েছে যেগুলো স্বাস্থ্য, স্বাস্থ্য প্রক্রিয়া ও পরিবেশের উন্নয়ন বা পরিবর্তনকে নির্ণয় করে এবং এগুলো সমাজকর্মীরা সরকারী/বেসরকারী স্বাস্থ্য ব্যবস্থার উদ্দেশ্যে ও সম্পর্কবিরোধী প্রক্রিয়া থেকে সাধারণভাবে বিযুক্ত। এ শক্তি ও প্রক্রিয়ার মূল রয়েছে সামাজিক অর্থনৈতিক ও রাজনৈতিক পরিবর্তন ও প্রক্রিয়া বা আর্থ-সামাজিক শক্তিসমূহের যৌগিক মিশ্রক্রিয়ায় সৃষ্টি হয়। স্বাস্থ্য সংক্রান্ত ব্যবস্থা ও প্রক্রিয়ার বিচারে তাই সমাজবিদ্যা, মনোবিদ্যা, রাষ্ট্রনীতি ও অর্থনীতির মত সমাজ বিজ্ঞানের বিভিন্ন বিবেচনার সমন্বয় প্রয়োজন। স্বাস্থ্য ব্যবস্থা Promotive, Preventive (প্রতিষেধক), Curative বা Rehabilitative যে কোন না কোন তার দিক নির্দেশ ও সাফল্য নির্দিষ্ট হয় আর্থ-সামাজিক ও আর্থ-রাজনৈতিক সম্পর্কের দ্বারা যে সম্পর্ক জনসাধারণের অর্থনৈতিক অবস্থা ও বিন্যাস, পুষ্টিগত অবস্থা ও বিন্যাস, পরিবেশগত অবস্থা ও বিন্যাস, শিক্ষাগত অবস্থা ও বিন্যাসকে নির্ণয় করে এবং এ অবস্থা ও বিন্যাস স্বাস্থ্য ব্যবস্থার প্রকৃতিকে নির্দিষ্ট করে দেয়। সে কারণেই সমাজের অন্তর্নিহিত dynamics এর বিবেচনা ছাড়া

আহমদ : স্বাস্থ্য খাত

স্বাস্থ্য ব্যবস্থা ও জনগণের স্বাস্থ্য সম্পর্কে কোন বৈজ্ঞানিক বিবেচনা সম্ভব নয় [৪]। একই কারণে মালিনোস্কী (Malinowski), র্যাডক্লিফ ব্রাউন (Radcliff Brown), প্রিচার্ড (Pritchard), সিঙ্গার (Singer) বা ডুমো (Dumont) যে আর্থ-সামাজিক বিশ্লেষণের কাঠামো দিয়েছেন সেগুলো প্রশ্নাতীতভাবে গ্রহণযোগ্যও নয়। কারণ এ সমস্ত লেখায় দক্ষিণ এশীয় বা সমপর্যায়ের সমাজকে Primitive ধরে নিয়ে চিকিৎসক বা প্রকৌশলী আধুনিকায়নের দূত হিসাবে বিবেচনা করা হয়েছে। কিন্তু মূল সত্য হল এ ধারণা Prejudice মুক্ত নয় কারণ এখানে কর্ম ও উদ্দেশ্য সম্পাদন না হলে তার দোষ মূলতঃ অশিক্ষিত/অল্পশিক্ষিত দরিদ্র জনগণের উপরে দিয়ে দেয়া হয় কিন্তু জনগণের প্রয়োজন ও অভিজ্ঞতার নিরিখে নির্মিত নয় এমন সংগঠন (Organisation) ও প্রকৌশল (Technology) যে অসাফল্যের কারণ হতে পারে তার বিবেচনা থাকে অনুপস্থিত। সে কারণে কুসংস্কারের দোহাই শোনা যায়, অবৈজ্ঞানিক স্বাস্থ্য পরিচর্যার কথাও বলা হয়। অর্থাৎ সমস্ত দোষ হল মানুষ ও তার প্রবাহমান সংস্কৃতির আর সমস্ত গুণ হল বিদেশ থেকে নিয়ে আসা জ্ঞান ও প্রকৌশলের। সমাজতন্ত্র কি ধনতন্ত্র বিদেশের বর্তমান সংস্কৃতিতে Technology and Technological Institution এর প্রতি এমন অন্ধ ভক্তি যে প্রগতিবাদী সমাজ বিজ্ঞানীরাও (যেমন Djurfeldt Lindberg) জীবন ধর্মের প্রেক্ষিতে চিকিৎসা বিজ্ঞানের বিচারে ব্যর্থ হয়েছেন। অর্থাৎ চিকিৎসা বিজ্ঞানকে তারা প্রবাহমান জীবন সংস্কৃতির বাইরে এনে সাধারণ মানুষের বোধী ও সমর্থের বাইরে তাকে স্থাপন করেন। কিন্তু চিকিৎসা ব্যবস্থা ও তার ব্যবহারকে সমাজ সম্পর্ক ও ব্যক্তির আর্থ-সামাজিক অবস্থানের বিবেচনা না করলে এ সম্পর্কে কোন আলোচনাই অর্থবহ হতে পারে না [৫]।

## ২.২ উন্নয়ন তত্ত্ব ও স্বাস্থ্য খাতের পরিকল্পনা

আমাদের দেশে আধুনিক শিক্ষা সাম্রাজ্যবাদের দান। আধুনিক শিক্ষাও গড়ে উঠেছে তাদের প্রত্যক্ষ প্রভাবে। আমাদের উচ্চশিক্ষার খাত ও ধারা তারই স্বাস্থ্য বহন করছে। এদেশে অর্থনীতি শিক্ষা ও অর্থনৈতিক উন্নয়ন সম্পর্কিত ধ্যান-ধারণা সে কারণে বটেই উপরন্তু দাতা দেশ ও সংস্থার দ্বারা প্রত্যক্ষভাবে প্রভাবিত। যে কারণে উন্নয়নের বিশ্লেষণ মূলতঃ 'অনুন্নত' দেশসমূহের উন্নত দেশের প্রকৃতিতে রূপান্তরকেই বুজিয়ে থাকে। বিশ্ব ব্যাংকের World Development Report এর পরিসংখ্যান অংশ এ ধারণাকে আরও বদ্ধমূল করে দেয়। সেখানে তথাকথিত উন্নত দেশের কতগুলো বিশেষত্বকে সংখ্যার পরিমাপে উপস্থাপন করা হয়েছে এবং উন্নত দেশের সে অবস্থানকে কাম্য ধরে নিয়ে দরিদ্র বা অনুন্নত দেশের চিত্র তুলে ধরা হয়ে থাকে। অর্থাৎ উন্নয়ন বলতে বোঝান হয়েছে এমন এক প্রক্রিয়া যার ফলে উন্নত দেশের চরিত্রকে আত্মস্থ করা যায়। পার্সন, হোজলিটজ, কান ও ওয়াইনার এ বিষয়ে বিস্তারিত আলোচনা করেছেন [৬, ৭, ৮] যেমন- স্বাস্থ্য ব্যবস্থার পরিমাণ হিসেবে হাসপাতাল শয্যা জনসংখ্যার অনুপাত এ একটি সর্বত্র গ্রাহ্য মাত্রায় পরিণত হয়েছে এদেরই প্রভাবে।

এমনি প্রভাব অর্থনীতি ক্ষেত্রেও দৃষ্টিগোচর হয়। হ্যারড-ডোমার প্রবর্তিত উন্নয়ন প্রক্রিয়া একটি প্রকৃষ্ট উদাহরণ। তেমনিভাবে রাষ্ট্রের উন্নয়নের স্তরবিন্যাস মার্কসীয় তত্ত্বের সর্বোৎকৃষ্ট

ধনতান্ত্রিক মতবাদের প্রতিবাদ বলে বিবেচনা করা হয়। রাষ্ট্রীয় উন্নয়ন দেশে অন্তর প্রেরণীয় মূল্যবোধের বিস্তার প্রথমতঃ সেদেশের বড় শহর ও নগরে এবং পরবর্তীতে ছোট শহর ও নগরায়নের মাধ্যমে সর্বত্র ঘটে। অর্থাৎ উন্নয়নের জন্য প্রাথমিক প্রয়োজন হল "Acculturation and Diffusion of Institutional and Organisational Values" এটি ঘটলেই উন্নত দেশ থেকে জ্ঞান, উৎপাদন কৌশল ও উৎপাদন দক্ষতা সহজেই অনন্নত দেশে প্রসার লাভ করবে।

রাষ্ট্রীয় তত্ত্বের নিরিখে উন্নয়নের দ্বিতীয় শর্ত হল Accumulation and Diffusion of Capital. তাদের মতে অনুন্নয়নের মূল কারণ হল দরিদ্র দেশে পুঞ্জির অভাব এবং সে কারণে উন্নত দেশ থেকে দরিদ্র দেশে পুঞ্জি বিনিয়োগ প্রয়োজন। রাষ্ট্রের মতে এই দুই শর্ত পূরণের মাধ্যমে বাজার নির্ভর আন্তর প্রেরণীয় অর্থনীতি গড়ে উঠে যার ফলে উন্নয়ন সম্ভব হয়। সুতরাং দরিদ্র দেশের উন্নয়নের প্রকৃত শর্ত হল উন্নত দেশের Enclave এ পরিণত হওয়া।

এই উন্নয়নতত্ত্ব স্বাস্থ্য ব্যবস্থা পরিকল্পনায়ও স্বাভাবিকভাবে প্রভাব বিস্তার করে। সে কারণে আধুনিক চিকিৎসা শাস্ত্র ও ব্যবস্থা পাশ্চাত্যের শিক্ষা ও চিকিৎসা ব্যবস্থার অনুকরণেই গড়ে উঠেছে এবং পশ্চিমের যে কোন পরিবর্তন শিক্ষাগত প্রভাবের মাধ্যমে এদেশে অনুকরণ ভিত্তিক এক জাতীয় চিকিৎসা পদ্ধতির জন্ম দেয় যার সাথে এদেশের স্বাস্থ্য সমস্যা, স্বাস্থ্য চর্চা, স্বাস্থ্য শিক্ষার কোন যোগসূত্র নেই। শুধু তাই নয়, পশ্চিমা শিক্ষার ফলে যে স্বাস্থ্য, প্রকৌশল এদেশে আমদানী হয় এবং অসুস্থতা নির্ণয় ও চিকিৎসার যে ব্যয়ভারে নির্দিষ্ট হয় তা থাকে দরিদ্র দেশের মানুষের ধরা হোঁয়ার বাইরে। আধুনিক চিকিৎসা বিদ্যা তাই স্বাস্থ্য ক্ষেত্রেও একটি Enclave এর সৃষ্টি করে যা থেকে উপকৃত হয় অল্প কিছু মানুষ। অর্থাৎ Dual Economy এর সমান্তরাল Dual Health System চালু হয়। একটিতে আধুনিক ব্যবস্থার প্রতুলতা অন্যটিতে লোক দেখানো ছেলে ভুলানো চিকিৎসা ব্যবস্থার বিস্তার প্রত্যক্ষ করা যায়।

## ২.৩ অনুন্নত তত্ত্বের অসারতা ও ফলশ্রুতি

দরিদ্র দেশসমূহে উন্নত দেশ সমাদৃত যে অনুন্নয়ন তত্ত্ব আমাদের দৃষ্টিকে আচ্ছন্ন করে রেখেছে তার বিচার-বিবেচনার প্রয়োজন রয়েছে। ফ্রাংক, ব্যরন ও কিথ গ্রিফিন এ বিষয়ে কিছু তত্ত্ব ও তথ্য তুলে ধরেছেন [৯, ১০, ১১]। তারা বলতে চেয়েছেন যে, রাষ্ট্রীয় মডেল ও তার থেকে আহৃত ধারণাগুলো তত্ত্বগতভাবে অসম্পূর্ণ কারণ উন্নয়ন প্রক্রিয়া ও সম্পদের বিতরণকে রাষ্ট্রীয় তত্ত্ব যথার্থভাবে বিশ্লেষণ করতে পারে না।

রাষ্ট্রীয় তত্ত্বের যে Cultural Values সম্পর্কে উপস্থাপনা, সেটি অসার প্রমাণিত হয় যদি আমরা সাম্প্রতিককালে UNESCO'র তত্ত্বাবধানে দরিদ্র দেশের শিক্ষা ব্যবস্থা ও শিক্ষার মাধ্যমে যে মূল্যবোধ সৃষ্টি করবার প্রয়াস চলছে সেদিকে দৃষ্টিপাত করি। ঐ রিপোর্টে বলা হয়েছে যে প্রাথমিক ও মাধ্যমিক স্কুলে যে সমস্ত পাঠ্য বই ব্যবহার করা হয় সেগুলো পশ্চিমের ধাচে রচিত ও পশ্চিমের শিক্ষা তত্ত্ব তার ভিত্তি আর সেগুলোর মাধ্যমে "Urban Bias, Individuality Based, Entrepreneurial Values" বেশ স্পষ্টভাবে তুলে

আহমদ : স্বাস্থ্য খাত

ধরা হয়েছে। উপরন্তু Television এর মত গণমাধ্যমে পশ্চিমের Cultural Values ও যথেষ্ট বিস্তার লাভ করেছে। উচ্চশিক্ষার স্তরে পশ্চিমের মূল্যবোধ অত্যন্ত প্রকটভাবে উপস্থিত। এই প্রবন্ধের অন্য একটি সমীক্ষায় তুলে ধরা হয়েছে যে, আমাদের মেডিকেল কলেজের পাঠক্রম ও পাঠ্যপুস্তক মূলতঃ বৃটিশ মেডিকেল শিক্ষার ধাচের। ল্যাটিন আমেরিকায়, জার্মান, স্প্যানিশ মেডিকেল শিক্ষা প্রাধান্য লাভ করে আছে। এই মেডিকেল শিক্ষা মূলতঃ যান্ত্রিক। এই শিক্ষা শরীর বিদ্যা ও রোগ সম্পর্কেই জ্ঞানদান করে, আর্থ-সামাজিক পরিবেশের সাথে মেডিকেল শিক্ষার সংযুক্তি নাই বললেই চলে। হাসপাতাল কেন্দ্রীক কৌশলভিত্তিক চিকিৎসা শাস্ত্রই আমাদের দেশে প্রাধান্য পায়। কিন্তু "Rural, Anabulatory, Social and Continuous Care" এ চিকিৎসা বিদ্যার অঙ্গ নয় কারণ পশ্চিমে Individual Acute-episodic Care"-ই মেডিকেল শিক্ষার ভিত্তি আর আমরা তার অনুকরণ করি মাত্র। অর্থাৎ একথা বলা চলে যে, আমাদের মেডিকেল শিক্ষায় ও চিকিৎসা ব্যবস্থার Diffusion of Western Culture ও Values অত্যন্ত প্রকট। WHO এর প্রাক্তন Director General চিকিৎসা ক্ষেত্রে চিকিৎসা শিক্ষায় পশ্চিমা "Cultural Imperialism" সম্পর্কে সতর্ক হতে বলেছিলেন।

শিক্ষার মাধ্যমে পশ্চিম থেকে যে Cultural Values আমরা পেয়েছি তা ব্যক্তি স্বার্থকেন্দ্রীক এবং সে কারণে Institutional and Organisational Values ও ব্যক্তিস্বার্থের সমষ্টিগত রূপ নেয় মাত্র, যার সর্বোত্তম প্রকাশ হল পশ্চিমের Corporations ও Conglomerates গুলো। এই প্রেক্ষিতে "Technological Diffusion" কে, বিচার করলে তাকে Value-laden বলতেই হবে কারণ ঐ কৌশল ঐ Cultural Values কে আত্মস্থ করেই গড়ে উঠে সে কারণে ঐ সমস্ত প্রকৌশলের Parameters যেহেতু দরিদ্র ও অনুরূপ দেশের সাথে সামঞ্জস্যপূর্ণ নয় সেহেতু মাত্রাহীন Technological Diffusion উন্নয়নের ধারাকে সাহায্য করে না। এর প্রমাণও গবেষণার মাধ্যমে পাওয়া গেছে।

Scarcity of Capital Resource তত্ত্বও যথার্থ নয় এ কারণে যে আয়ের বন্টন কেবলমাত্র সঞ্চয়কেই নির্ধারণ করে না উপরন্তু সঞ্চয়ের ব্যবহার, উৎপাদন ও ভোগকেও প্রভাবিত করে। যে দেশে আয়ের বন্টন অতি-বিষম, সেখানে উন্নয়নের সহায়ক বাজার ব্যবস্থা সৃষ্টি হওয়া দুষ্কর, ফলে দারিদ্রের পাশাপাশি চরম বিলাসিতা চোখে পড়ে, অসংখ্য গৃহহীনের পাশাপাশি তিলোত্তমা নগরী ও অটালিকার সৃষ্টি হয় আর উৎপাদন ক্ষমতার যথার্থ ব্যবহার নিশ্চিত করা সম্ভব হয় না।

এ প্রেক্ষিতে অনুরূপ দেশ থেকে শিক্ষিত জনশক্তির বহিরাগমনের বিষয়টি বিবেচ্য। আমরা পশ্চিমের ধাচে যে চিকিৎসা শাস্ত্র শিক্ষা দেই এবং আমাদের অধিকাংশ জনগোষ্ঠী যখন আয় ও অর্থাভাবে সে শিক্ষা ব্যবহারের উপযোগী চাহিদা সৃষ্টি করতে অপারগ হয় তখন উচ্চশিক্ষিত চিকিৎসা ক্ষেত্রের জনশক্তি বিদেশে তাদের আয়ের সংস্থান করে অতি সহজেই। এক হিসাব অনুযায়ী দক্ষিণ এশিয়া থেকে বৃটেন ও যুক্তরাষ্ট্রে যে চিকিৎসক ও সম্পৃক্ত জনশক্তি কাজ করে

তার বার্ষিক মূল্য প্রায় ৫০০ মিলিয়ন ডলার। সুতরাং যখন সাহায্যের মাধ্যমে যন্ত্র আসে, উচ্চ শিক্ষার সুযোগ আসে, শিক্ষা হাসপাতাল সৃষ্টি হয় তখন তার ফল অনুন্নত দেশ ভোগ করতে পারে না, বরঞ্চ পরোক্ষভাবে এ থেকে সৃষ্টি হয় Lumpen Bourgeoisie যাদের দৃষ্টিভঙ্গি পশ্চিমের অনূগত এবং যাদের আনুগত্য এদেশের সাধারণ মানুষের প্রতি কি না সেটিও বিবেচ্য।

#### ২.৪ আমাদের পঞ্চ বার্ষিক পরিকল্পনায় স্বাস্থ্য খাত

প্রথম পঞ্চ বার্ষিক পরিকল্পনায় স্বীকৃত হয়েছিল যে বাংলাদেশে স্বাস্থ্য ব্যবস্থার উপকরণ, মান ও সংখ্যার দিক থেকে অপ্রতুল এবং এর বিন্যাস ও বিস্তার এখন যে সাধারণ মানুষ স্বাস্থ্য ব্যবস্থা থেকে উপকার পায় না সে জন্য সামাজিক ন্যায়বিচারের মাপকাঠিতে গ্রহণযোগ্য নয়। সে বিবেচনায় মূলতঃ গ্রাম পর্যায়ে স্বাস্থ্য ব্যবস্থাকে পৌঁছে দেবার দিকটাই প্রাধান্য পায়। অন্য যে দিকটিতে দৃষ্টি হয় সেটি হল স্বাস্থ্য ব্যবস্থা বিস্তারে উচ্চ শিক্ষিত চিকিৎসা কর্মীর উপর নির্ভরতা কমিয়ে আনা। উদ্দেশ্য হিসেবে বলা হয়েছিল যে, Preventable Morbidity-কে কমিয়ে আনা এবং সাধারণভাবে গ্রহণযোগ্য Curative পরিচর্যার ব্যবস্থা প্রবর্তন করা। পরিকল্পনার দলিলে এটাও বলা হয়েছিল স্বাস্থ্য ব্যবস্থা কেবলমাত্র চিকিৎসার ব্যবস্থা নয় সে জন্য শিক্ষা, সমাজকল্যাণ, পরিবহন, খাদ্য ও পুষ্টি, পানীয় ও পয়ঃপ্রণালী ইত্যাদির সাথে সামঞ্জস্য বিধান করতে হবে।

প্রথম পঞ্চ বার্ষিক পরিকল্পনার দলিলে গ্রাম-শহরের চিকিৎসা ব্যবস্থার বৈষম্য বিদূরণের জন্য গ্রামীণ স্বাস্থ্য কেন্দ্র ও গ্রামীণ স্বাস্থ্য কর্মীর সৃষ্টি প্রস্তাবনা করা হয়েছিল। কিন্তু অর্থ বন্টনে Construction of Specialised Medical Institutions-এর প্রতি পক্ষপাতিত্ব উপস্থিত ছিল। মেডিকেল এসিস্ট্যান্ট, নার্স ও প্যারামেডিকেল চাইতে মেডিকেল কলেজের জন্য অধিক অর্থ বন্টন করা হয়েছিল। শিক্ষা প্রতিষ্ঠানে স্বাস্থ্য ব্যবস্থা, কারখানায় স্বাস্থ্য ব্যবস্থা, স্বাস্থ্য বীমা ইত্যাদি সম্পর্কে প্রস্তাবনা থাকলেও সে সম্পর্কে পূর্ণাঙ্গ ও Integrated চিন্তা পরিকল্পনার দলিলে স্পষ্ট হয়ে ফুটে উঠে নাই। প্রথম পঞ্চ বার্ষিক পরিকল্পনায় সমাজতান্ত্রিক চিন্তার প্রতিফলন ঘটেছিল রাষ্ট্র নির্মিত ও রাষ্ট্র-নিয়ন্ত্রিত ক্লিনিকে বিত্তশালীদের জন্য Paid Service-এর প্রস্তাবনায় যাতে Rent Seeking Interest গড়ে না উঠে এবং Health Care এর প্রাথমিক দায়িত্বে ব্যক্তি, পরিবার এর সাথে Community কে সম্পৃক্ত করার প্রস্তাবে।

দ্বিতীয় পঞ্চ বার্ষিক পরিকল্পনায়ও স্বাস্থ্য ব্যবস্থার যে অপূর্ণতা চিহ্নিত হয়েছিল সেগুলো প্রথম পঞ্চ বার্ষিক পরিকল্পনা থেকে ভিন্ন নয় যেমন- অদক্ষ স্বাস্থ্য সেবার উপস্থিতি, প্রয়োজনীয় ঔষধের অভাব, মধ্য ও নিম্নস্তরের স্বাস্থ্যকর্মীর অপ্রতুলতা, স্বাস্থ্য প্রশাসনে অদক্ষতা এবং গ্রাম শহরের বৈষম্য। এবং এই সমস্ত সমস্যা সমাধানে নতুন নাম সংযোজিত হলেও মূল approach এ কোন পরিবর্তন হয় নাই। Rural Health Centre-এর নাম Family Welfare Centre করা হয়েছে। মানব সম্পদ উন্নয়নে Village Health Worker-এর স্থানে পল্লী চিকিৎসকের আবির্ভাব ঘটেছে। নার্স, প্যারামেডিক ও মেডিক্যাল এসিস্টেন্টদের কথা

আহমদ : স্বাস্থ্য খাত

বলা হলেও Medical Graduates, Specialised Hospital-এর প্রধান্য পেয়েছে। তত্ত্ব হিসাবে Systematic Referral System এসেছে স্বাস্থ্য ব্যবস্থার দক্ষতা বাড়াতে। এই প্রক্রিয়ার Super Specialised Health Care Centre এর প্রস্তাবনা উল্লেখযোগ্য।

তৃতীয় পঞ্চ বার্ষিক পরিকল্পনায় স্পষ্ট ভাষায় বলা হয়েছে উপজেলা স্বাস্থ্য কমপ্লেক্স ও মেডিকেল গ্রাজুয়েটদের আশানুরূপ সংখ্যা বাড়লেও জনসাধারণের জন্য সার্বিক স্বাস্থ্য ব্যবস্থা করা হয় নাই। তৃতীয় পঞ্চ বার্ষিক পরিকল্পনার হিসাবে কেবলমাত্র তিরিশ শতাংশ লোক স্বাস্থ্য পরিচর্যা পেয়ে থাকে। বলা হয়েছে যে, উপজেলা ও পল্লী অঞ্চলে স্বাস্থ্য ব্যবস্থার যথার্থ ব্যবহার হয় না ও সেখানে স্বাস্থ্য পরিচর্যা অত্যন্ত নিম্নমানের। উপজেলা পর্যায়ে Physical ও Functional Facilities নেই, Referral System যথাযথভাবে চালু হয়নি। শিক্ষা ও শিল্প প্রতিষ্ঠানে স্বাস্থ্য, ঔষধের মান নিয়ন্ত্রণ Epidemiological Surveillance and Public Health Legislation যথার্থ নয়। এই পরিকল্পনায় Private Sector-কে উৎসাহদানের কথা বলা হয় এবং পাশাপাশি Cost-sharing ও Health Co-operations এর বিষয়ও তুলে ধরা হয়।

অর্থাৎ তৃতীয় পঞ্চ বার্ষিক পরিকল্পনায়ও আমরা গ্রাম-শহরের বৈষম্য, উচ্চশিক্ষিত নিম্নস্তরের মেডিক্যাল কর্মীর অনুপাতের বৈষম্য, এ জাতীয় কোন সমস্যার সমাধান খুঁজে পাব না। প্রশ্ন হল কেন এমন হয়?

৩. স্বাস্থ্য খাতের রাজনৈতিক অর্থনীতি

প্রত্যক্ষ বা পরোক্ষ সামরিক শাসন আমাদের অর্থনৈতিক, রাজনৈতিক, সামাজিক ও প্রশাসনিক ক্ষেত্রে একটি বাস্তবতা। পাকিস্তান ও বাংলাদেশ আমলে সামরিক ও আমলাতান্ত্রিক জোট এদেশের সিদ্ধান্ত গ্রহণ প্রক্রিয়ায় একচেটিয়া অধিকার প্রয়োগ ও সংরক্ষণ করেছে যার সাথে দাতা দেশ ও প্রতিষ্ঠানের সংযোগ ছিল স্পষ্ট ও দ্বিধাহীন [১২]। বাংলাদেশে আজ সিদ্ধান্ত গ্রহণ প্রক্রিয়া যে সামরিক আমলাতান্ত্রিক পদ্ধতির মাঝে এক ব্যক্তির কাছে কেন্দ্রীভূত তার প্রমাণ প্রতিদিনের সংবাদপত্রের ও সরকারী প্রচার মাধ্যমেই মিলছে। এটি এমন একটি সময় ঘটেছে যখন বিদেশের উপর আমাদের নির্ভরতা বেড়েছে এবং রাজনৈতিক ভিত্তির স্থিতিশীলতা নির্মিত হয়নি, এবং অর্থনৈতিক উন্নয়নে নীতিমালা সুনির্দিষ্ট হয়নি কেননা জাতীয় ঐকমত্য সৃষ্টির জন্য যে সূষ্ঠ প্রক্রিয়ার প্রয়োজন তাকে সামরিক আমলাতান্ত্রিক জোট সর্বদা ব্যাহত করেছে।

দাতা সংস্থা ও দেশের সহায়তায় সামরিক আমলাতান্ত্রিক নিয়ন্ত্রণ এদেশে যে নব্য ধনী শ্রেণীর সৃষ্টি করেছে অর্থ ও উৎপাদন সংস্থার বিরাষ্ট্রীয়করণ, কন্ট্রাষ্ট, বিপণন, আমদানী-রফতানী ইত্যাদির মাধ্যমে সুযোগের সুবিধাবাদী নিয়ন্ত্রণ আমাদের দেশে ধনের বন্টন ও আহরণকে ক্রমাগত বিষম করে তুলেছে। মিশ্র অর্থনীতির মধ্যে ধনতান্ত্রিক প্রক্রিয়া আজ স্পষ্ট। স্বাস্থ্য খাতেও এর প্রভাব প্রত্যক্ষ হয়ে উঠেছে, সে কারণে ধানমন্ডিতে আজ ৩০টির মত ক্লিনিক রয়েছে, সাধারণ হাসপাতালের মান কমছে, গ্রামীণ স্বাস্থ্য কমপ্লেক্সে ডাক্তার ও ঔষধ

নেই, একটি সমৃদ্ধ উপজেলায়ও ৩০টি ডিসপেন্সারি পর্যন্ত নেই। সমাজ নিয়ন্ত্রিত অর্থনীতির পরিবর্তে বাজার নিয়ন্ত্রিত অর্থনীতি ও তার প্রেক্ষিতে রাজনীতি এমন অবস্থারই সৃষ্টি করে। মনে রাখা প্রয়োজন যে, জনসাধারণের অর্থে নির্মিত হাসপাতাল ও অন্যবিধ ব্যবস্থার আড়ালে এবং অন্যত্র মেডিকেল কর্মী সবাই আজ উচ্চতর আয়ের জন্য বাজার অর্থনীতির অনুসারী। পেশাগতভাবে কয়েকজন ধনী ব্যবসায়ী ও অসদুপায়ে অর্থ উপার্জনকারী বাদে ডাক্তারেরাই বাংলাদেশে সর্বাধিক আয় করে থাকেন।

পশ্চিমের আর্থ-সামাজিক তাত্ত্বিকেরা মনে করেন যে, প্রথম মহাযুদ্ধ, মহামন্দা ও দ্বিতীয় মহাযুদ্ধ যে Welfare State Policy চালু করতে বাধ্য করেছিল, শিক্ষার প্রসারে যে Social Mobility সৃষ্টি হয়েছে এবং উন্মুক্ত বাজার যে অর্থনৈতিক উন্নয়নের সুযোগ সৃষ্টি করেছে তার ফলে পশ্চিমের দেশগুলোতে এক বিশাল মধ্যবিত্ত শ্রেণীর সৃষ্টি হয়েছে ফলে মার্কসীয় পদ্ধতিতে শ্রেণীদ্বন্দ্ব আজ আর প্রাসঙ্গিক নয়। এই তত্ত্বকে তুলে ধরতে Cochrane কিছু তথ্য তুলে ধরে বলেছেন যে, বৃটেনে আর্থ-সামাজিক শ্রেণীগুলোর মধ্যে স্বাস্থ্য সম্পৃক্ত সুযোগ-সুবিধা ও ভোগে তেমন কোন তারতম্য নেই, এ জন্য National Health Service-ই মূলতঃ মুখ্য ভূমিকা রেখেছে। Bice তেমনভাবে যুক্তি দেখিয়েছেন যে, Medicaid 3 Anti Poverty Program এর কারণে যুক্তরাষ্ট্রে স্বাস্থ্য ক্ষেত্রে বৈষম্য কমেছে। সুতরাং বলা হয় যে, মধ্যবিত্ত শ্রেণীর ক্ষীতিই স্বাস্থ্য ব্যবস্থার ক্ষেত্রে যে বৈষম্য রয়েছে তা দূর করতে সমর্থ। যদিও Titmus & Tuder Hart এর বিপক্ষে তাদের যুক্তি তুলে ধরেছেন এবং খ্যাচার ও রেগানের শাসনামলে স্বাস্থ্য সেবার ক্ষেত্রে বৈষম্য বেড়েছে বলে পরিসংখ্যান থেকে দেখা যায়। তা যাই হোক, আমাদের পরিকল্পনাবিদদের মনে সাধারণভাবে National Health Service জাতীয় একটি ধারণা কার্যকর ছিল বলে মনে হয়। আমি বলতে প্রয়াসী হব প্রথমতঃ একটি সমাজে মধ্যবিত্ত শ্রেণীর বিস্তৃতি সাধারণভাবে Homogenization of consumption সৃষ্টি করে না, দ্বিতীয়তঃ Homogenization এর প্রক্রিয়া Automatically শ্রেণী ব্যবস্থার নিরূপন করে না বলেই Culture and Technology মূল্যবোধের তারতম্য বিরাজমান থাকে।

যারা মনে করেন যে, উন্নয়নের মাধ্যমে মধ্যশ্রেণীর সৃষ্টি সামাজিক সংঘাতকে যথেষ্ট পরিমাণে দূর করে তাদের যুক্তি হল এ প্রক্রিয়ায় মধ্যশ্রেণীর মধ্যে Pluralistic Counterveiling Power এর সৃষ্টি হয় এবং শ্রেণীদ্বন্দ্ব নিরর্থক হয়ে পড়ে। এই মতবাদে বিশ্বাসীরা বলেন যে নতুন উন্নত সমাজে Dominant ও Dominated group নেই আছে বিভিন্ন "Competing blocks of Interest" যারা গণতান্ত্রিক প্রক্রিয়ায় রাষ্ট্র নিয়ন্ত্রণ ক্ষমতা পেতে চায়। ফলে বেশী দিনের জন্য ক্ষমতায় থাকতে পারে না এবং বিভিন্ন Interest Group রাষ্ট্রীয় কোন গ্রুপের গণতান্ত্রিকভাবে এক ভারসাম্য পৌছায়। অর্থাৎ বিভিন্ন গ্রুপের মধ্যে প্রতিযোগিতা রাষ্ট্রীয় মধ্যস্থতায় তাদের সহ-অবস্থান নির্ণয় করে নেয়। এই তত্ত্বের মূল দুর্বলতা হল যে Interesting Group গুলোর শক্তি অসম সে জন্য প্রতিযোগিতাও অসম হয়

আহমদ : স্বাস্থ্য খাত

ফলে প্রতিনিয়ত রাষ্ট্রীয় ক্ষমতা একটি শক্তিশালী Interest Group দ্বারা নিয়ন্ত্রিত হয়। যেমন যে কোন রাজনৈতিক দল আজ আমেরিকায় রাষ্ট্র ক্ষমতায় আসুক না কেন, আমেরিকা রাষ্ট্র শক্তি Major Corporation ও Big Business দ্বারা নিয়ন্ত্রিত থাকবে।

এই তত্ত্বের সহযোগী হল Power Elite Theory। এই তত্ত্ব হিসাবে Pluralism কেবল কতিপয় ক্ষেত্রেই প্রযোজ্য। রাষ্ট্রের প্রধান ক্ষেত্রে একটি ক্ষুদ্র Elite Group প্রাধান্য বিস্তার করে থাকে। Power Elite Theory-এর বিভিন্ন ভাষা আছে তবে তারা তিনটি বিষয়ে দৃষ্টিপাত করেছে। প্রথমতঃ কোন Elite Group প্রাধান্য বিস্তারে সক্ষম, দ্বিতীয়তঃ Elite Group কিভাবে তারই ক্ষমতা বিস্তার করে এবং তৃতীয়তঃ তারা কিভাবে উপকৃত হয়। এই Elite Group Theory-ই স্বাস্থ্য ব্যবস্থার ক্ষেত্রে সাধারণভাবে ব্যবহার করা হয়ে থাকে [১৩, ১৪]। এই অনুশীলনে হাসপাতাল, শিক্ষা প্রতিষ্ঠান, ডাক্তার, ইনসিওরেন্স কোঃ ইত্যাদিকে বিভিন্ন Pressure Group হিসাবে গণ্য করা হয়। এবং এ সমস্ত Group-এর লক্ষ্য হল Knowledge License Instrument Funds ইত্যাদি নিয়ন্ত্রণ করা। এই জাতীয় বিশ্লেষণ আমাদের স্বাস্থ্য খাতের পরিবর্তন বুঝতে সাহায্য করে কিন্তু এ সমস্ত Pressure Group-এর আর্থ-সামাজিক অবস্থান বিশ্লেষণ না করে স্বাস্থ্য খাতের রাজনৈতিক অর্থনীতি বোঝা যায় না। যেমন- আমাদের দেশে বিভিন্ন গ্রুপের অবস্থান এদিক থেকে ভিন্ন নয় কেননা Knowledge, License, Instrument মূলতঃ Donor Dominated. সে জন্য হাসপাতাল, শিক্ষা প্রতিষ্ঠান ও ডাক্তারদের একটি একাত্মতা গড়ে উঠেছে, Privatisation সত্ত্বেও। সুতরাং আমাদের দেশে Interest Group-এর Theory Dominant গ্রুপের থিওরীর সাথে একাত্ম হয়ে যায়।

এই মতবাদের বিপরীতে মার্কসীয় চিন্তাবিদেদেরা যে সমস্ত তত্ত্বের অবতারণা করেছেন সেগুলোকে মোটামুটি তিন ভাগে ভাগ করা যায় : (1) Economic Determinist, (2) Structural Determinist, ও (3) Corporate Statist.

প্রথম গ্রুপের প্রবক্তারা (যেমন Poulatzas) মনে করেন যে স্বাস্থ্য খাত যা ঘটে বা ঘটে না তা মূলতঃ সমাজের অর্থনৈতিক পর্যায়ে যা ঘটেছে তারই প্রতিবিম্ব। অর্থাৎ অর্থনৈতিক উন্নয়নের প্রতিবিম্ব পড়ে সামাজিক ও অর্থনৈতিক উন্নয়নে যার প্রতিফলন ঘটে স্বাস্থ্য ও শিক্ষা ইত্যাকার খাতে। এই মতানুযায়ী ধনতন্ত্রে রাষ্ট্র তখনই কার্যকর হতে চেষ্টা করে যখন সাধারণ Contradiction ও Bottlenecks দেখা দেয়। এই তত্ত্ব অনুযায়ী স্বাস্থ্য খাতে সম্পদ পরিসম্পদের বটন ও বিনিয়োগ ধনতান্ত্রিক পদ্ধতি ও প্রক্রিয়া দ্বারা নির্ণীত। এই মতানুযায়ী ধনতন্ত্রে Mode of Production যখন পরিবর্তিত হয় (Petty Commodity Production থেকে Large Scale Commodity Production) তখনই স্বাস্থ্য খাতের Mode of Production পরিবর্তিত হবে। অর্থাৎ Organization of Health Care কেবলমাত্র Mode of Production-এর পরিবর্তন দিয়ে নির্ণীত। এই তত্ত্ব মেনে নিলে বাংলাদেশে স্বাস্থ্য খাতে যে ভারসাম্যহীনতা রয়েছে সেটি আমাদের Mode of Production-এর ভারসাম্যহীনতার প্রতিচ্ছবি। সুতরাং Social ও Economic Structure এর পরিবর্তন এনে Mode of Production পরিবর্তিত করলেই মাত্র

Organization of Health Care পরিবর্তন করা সম্ভব। সমাজে মেরুকরণ ঘটলে স্বাস্থ্য খাতে বৈষম্য দূর করা সম্ভব নয়।

Structural Determinist হলেন তারাই যারা মনে করেন ধনতন্ত্রে এমন কিছু Objective Laws of Motion রয়েছে যেগুলো শ্রেণী ও তার Substrate-র ব্যবহারিক দিক নিয়ন্ত্রণ করে। এরা সরকার কে নিয়ন্ত্রণ করছে সেদিকে নজর দেন না অর্থাৎ এরা Power Elite Theory কে সম্পূর্ণ উপেক্ষা করেন কেননা তারা Structure of Capitalism কে কোন গুরুত্ব দেননি। এরা মনে করেন ধনতন্ত্রের কাঠামোই স্বাস্থ্য ক্ষেত্রে সমস্ত সমস্যার মূল। কিন্তু যদি না Structure, Categories, Relation কে বিভাজন না করা হয় এবং এদের আর্থ-রাজনৈতিক Role বিশ্লেষণ না করা হয় তাহলে কেবলমাত্র Structure থেকে বিশেষ কিছু পাওয়া যায় না, কারণ ধনতান্ত্রিক শ্রেণী ছাড়া ধনতন্ত্র গড়ে উঠে না আর ধনতান্ত্রিক শ্রেণীর মধ্যেও Structural Groups রয়েছে।

Corporate Statist মতবাদীরা রাষ্ট্রকে ধনতান্ত্রিক শ্রেণীর যন্ত্র বলে মনে করে। এর মূল সূত্র হল মার্কস ও এঞ্জেলসের সেই উক্তি যেটি হল "The Modern State is but a Committee for Managing the Common Affairs of the Whole Bourgeoisie". এটি থেকে ধরে নেয়া হয় যে রাষ্ট্র কেবলমাত্র বুর্জোয়াদের স্বার্থেই কাজ করে না উপরন্তু তাদের dictates এ কাজ করে। অর্থাৎ রাষ্ট্র কেবলমাত্র Corporate Class এর রাজনৈতিক রূপ। এই অর্থে স্বাস্থ্য খাতের বিবর্তন নিয়ন্ত্রিত হয় Corporate Class; Business Middle Class এবং Professional Middle Class দ্বারা। Gough-এর মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্রে স্বাস্থ্য খাতে যা ঘটছে তার একটি সুন্দর বিশ্লেষণ এ মতবাদকে সমধিক সমর্থন যোগায়।

### ৩.১. স্বাস্থ্য খাত ও রাষ্ট্র

রাষ্ট্র কিভাবে স্বাস্থ্য খাতে তার প্রভাব রাখে। রাষ্ট্রীয় খাত কতগুলো প্রতিষ্ঠানের সমষ্টি এবং এই প্রতিষ্ঠানগুলোর পারস্পরিক সম্পর্কের মূল কাজ হল Reproduction of the economic system অর্থাৎ রাষ্ট্রীয় প্রতিষ্ঠানগুলো রাষ্ট্রযন্ত্র যাদের নিয়ন্ত্রণে তাদের স্বার্থ রক্ষায় যে অর্থনৈতিক পদ্ধতি ও প্রক্রিয়ার প্রয়োজন তা প্রবর্তন ও প্রসার ঘটায়। কিভাবে তা ঘটে?

- (১) প্রথমতঃ ভৌত অবকাঠামো গড়ে তুলে যা Technical Precondition for Actual Process of Production কে নির্দিষ্ট করে;
- (২) দ্বিতীয়তঃ সামাজিক ব্যবস্থা আইনের মাধ্যমে নিয়ন্ত্রণ করে;
- (৩) তৃতীয়তঃ Reproduction of Labour নিশ্চিত করে, এখানেই শিক্ষা খাতের ভূমিকা;
- (৪) চতুর্থতঃ শ্রেণীদ্বন্দ্বকে নিয়ন্ত্রিত করে উৎপাদনের উপকরণের সরবরাহ নিশ্চিত করে।
- (৫) পঞ্চমতঃ সে সমস্ত প্রতিষ্ঠান উন্নত করে যার মাধ্যমে Supportive মূল্যবোধ চালু রাখা যায়।

আহমদ : স্বাস্থ্য খাত

(৬) ষষ্ঠতঃ আভ্যন্তরীণ আন্দোলন ও বহিঃআক্রমণকে প্রশমিত করতে প্রস্তুত থাকা যেন উৎপাদন ও মুনাফা ব্যহত না হয়।

এখানে মনে রাখা প্রয়োজন যে ধনতান্ত্রিক রাষ্ট্রের প্রকৃতি নির্মিত হয় কেবল মাত্র রাষ্ট্রের ঘোষিত আদর্শ দিয়ে নয় উপরন্তু নীতি ও কাঠামো নির্ধারণে যারা নিয়ন্ত্রক শ্রেণী আদর্শে থাকে। বাংলাদেশে তৃতীয় পঞ্চবার্ষিক পরিকল্পনায় বিশেষতঃ যে আদর্শ স্পষ্ট হয়ে উঠেছে তা হল ধনতান্ত্রিক অর্থনীতি নির্মাণ। রাষ্ট্র ক্ষমতায় অধিষ্ঠিত হয়েছেন নব্য ধনী শ্রেণীর প্রতিনিধিরা এবং রাষ্ট্র নীতি নির্ধারণ কেন্দ্রীভূত হয়েছে একজনের হাতে। এ থেকে প্রতীয়মান হয় শ্রেণী স্বার্থেই এদের Class Structure কে মজবুত করতে হবে। Bourgeois Ideology কে লালন করতে হবে এবং জনগণকে ক্ষমতার কেন্দ্র থেকে প্রকৃত অর্থে দূরে রাখতে হবে (তোট ডাকাতি যার একটি প্রকৃষ্ট উদাহরণ)।

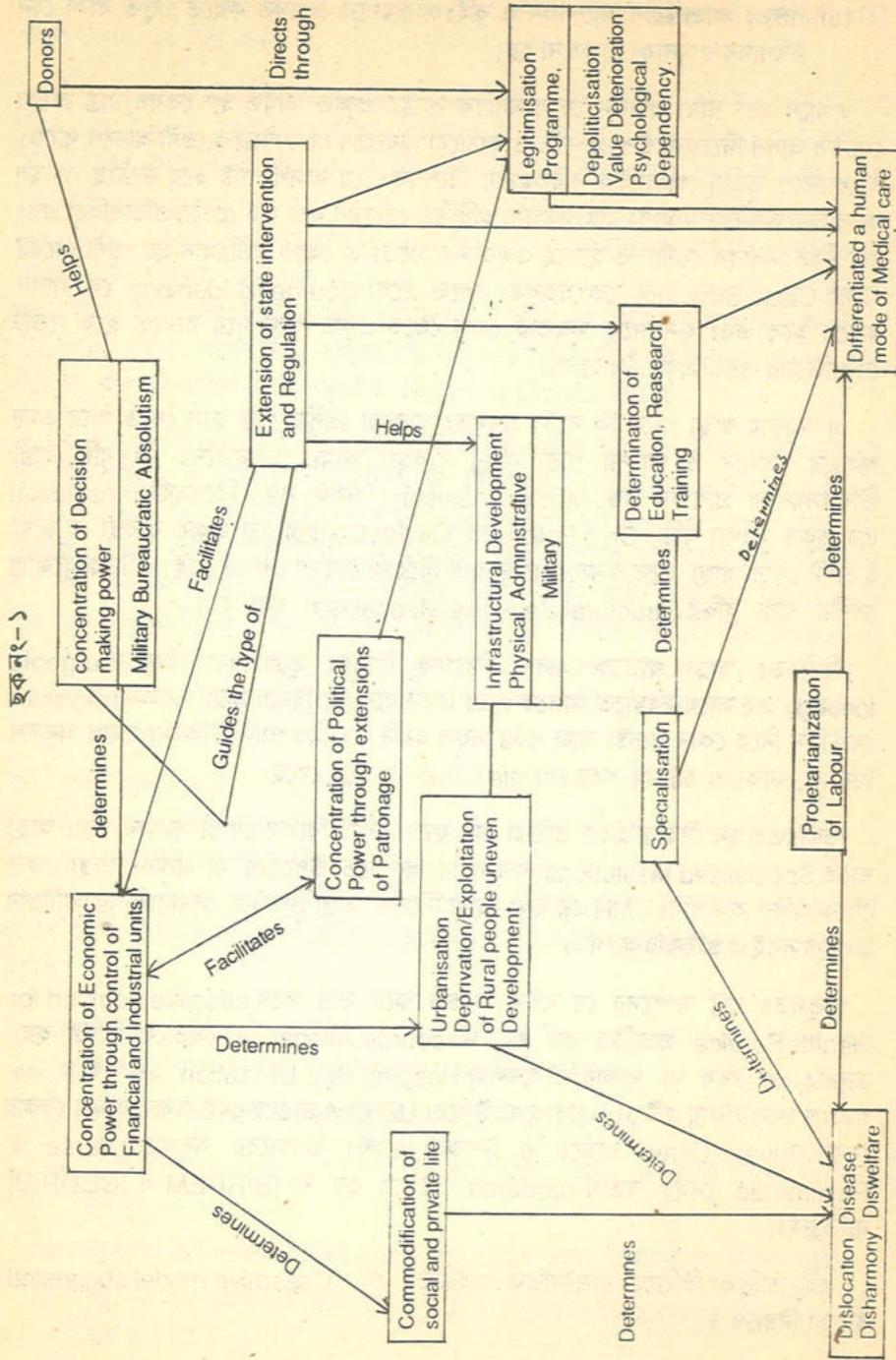
এ অবস্থায় স্বাস্থ্য খাতে কি ঘটে? প্রথমতঃ বুর্জোয়া শ্রেণীর শক্তি হ্রাস পেতে পারে এমন অবস্থার অবসান ও তাদের শক্তি বৃদ্ধির ব্যবস্থা। আমরা ডাক্তারদের ফি বৃদ্ধি, পল্লী চিকিৎসকদের প্রশিক্ষণ বন্ধ, Medical Assistant প্রকল্প বন্ধ, বিশেষায়িত Institution এর প্রকৃত সংখ্যা বৃদ্ধি, Drug Policy তে Quality Control এর প্রকৃত ব্যবস্থা না রাখা ইত্যাদি থেকে স্বাস্থ্য খাতে জনসাধারণের স্বার্থ বিরোধী চেহারা দেখতে পাই। এটাকে বুর্জোয়া শ্রেণীর শক্তি বৃদ্ধির Structural Selective Mechanism বলা হয়।

দ্বিতীয়তঃ স্বাস্থ্য খাতকে আদর্শ নিরপেক্ষ হিসাবে তুলে ধরা কিন্তু Bourgeois Ideology এর সাথে সংঘাতে আসতে পারে এমন ব্যবস্থার বিনাশ করা। যেমন Indigenious মেডিসিন নিয়ে কোন প্রচেষ্টা আজ পর্যন্ত সফল হয়নি, হোমিওপ্যাথি চিকিৎসা যথার্থ অনুদান পায় না, ঢাকা ও চট্টগ্রাম শহর Private Clinic-এ ভরে গেছে।

তৃতীয়তঃ হল সিদ্ধান্ত গ্রহণ প্রক্রিয়া যার ফলে একটি বিশেষ গোষ্ঠী সমাদর পায়। স্বাস্থ্য খাতে Specialised Institutions জনসংখ্যা অনুপাতে উপজেলা বা গ্রামীণ স্বাস্থ্য কেন্দ্র থেকে অধিক অর্থ পায়। CMH এর কথা ছেড়ে দিলেও স্বাস্থ্য প্রশাসনে সেনাবাহিনীর আবির্ভাব এগুলো সবই এ প্রক্রিয়ার অন্তর্গত।

চতুর্থতঃ রাষ্ট্র সম্পদের যে বন্টন নিশ্চিত করে তার ফলে effective demand for Health Service প্রভাবিত হয় এবং Resource Allocation সেভাবে নির্দিষ্ট হয়। ডাক্তার ও ঔষধ না থাকায় উপজেলায় Hospital Bed Utilization ২০ থেকে ৩০ শতাংশ যখন ঢাকায় এটি ১০০ শতাংশের উপরে। UZHC এ ডাক্তার নেই অথচ ডাক্তার বেকার (ফলে Private Clinic বাড়ছে ও উপকৃত হচ্ছে)। ডাক্তারের অনুপাতে Nurse ও Paramedic নেই। যথার্থ research এদেশে হয় না (BIRDEM ও ICDDR,B) ব্যতিক্রম)।

এই তাত্ত্বিক ভিত্তিতে রাজনৈতিক অর্থনীতির যে Causative model suggested হয় তা নিম্নরূপ :



আহমদ : স্বাস্থ্য খাত

সারণী-১ : মাসিক আয় হিসাবে বাংলাদেশের পরিবার সমূহের বিভাজন

(শতাংশ)

| ক্রঃ নং | গড় মাসিক আয়          | পরিবারের শতাংশ | ক্রম সঞ্চিত শতাংশ |
|---------|------------------------|----------------|-------------------|
| ১.      | - ৫০০                  | ০.৭০           | ০.৭০              |
| ২.      | ৫০০-৭৪৯                | ৩.৮৮           | ৪.৫৮              |
| ৩.      | ৭৫০-৯৯৯                | ৭.৩১           | ১১.৮৯             |
| ৪.      | ১০০০-১২৪৯              | ৮.৮৩           | ২০.৭২             |
| ৫.      | ১২৫০-১৪৯৯              | ১১.৮১          | ৩২.৫৩             |
| ৬.      | ১৫০০-১৯৯৯              | ১৯.৯১          | ৫২.৪৪             |
| ৭.      | ২০০০-২৪৯৯              | ১৪.১৯          | ৬৬.৬৩             |
| ৮.      | ২৫০০-২৯৯৯              | ১০.২৩          | ৭৬.৮৬             |
| ৯.      | ৩০০০-৩৯৯৯              | ১০.৩২          | ৮৭.১৮             |
| ১০.     | ৪০০০-৪৯৯৯              | ৪.৬৫           | ৯১.৮৩             |
| ১১.     | ৫০০০-৫৯৯৯              | ২.৫৯           | ৯৪.৪২             |
| ১২.     | ৬০০০-৬৯৯৯              | ১.৯৬           | ৯৬.৩৮             |
| ১৩.     | ৭০০০-৭৯৯৯              | ০.৭৭           | ৯৭.১৫             |
| ১৪.     | ৮০০০-                  | ২.৮৪           | ৯৯.৯৯             |
| ১৫.     | সর্বমোট গড়<br>২৩৪৪.৮৮ |                | ১০০.০০            |

সূত্র : BBS : BHES 1985-86.

সারণী-২ : চিকিৎসার জন্য মাথাপিছু ব্যয়

| গড় মাসিক আয় হিসাবে<br>ক্রঃ নং (সারণী-১ থেকে) | চিকিৎসার জন্য গড়<br>মাসিক ব্যয় (টাকা) | আয়ের<br>শতাংশ | মাথাপিছু<br>ব্যয় (টাকা) |
|--|---|----------------|--------------------------|
| ১  | ৪.১১                                    | ১.০৫           | ১.৯৫                     |
| ২  | ৯.২২                                    | ১.৪৬           | ২.৯৭                     |
| ৩  | ৬১.২৪                                   | ১.৩১           | ৩.২২                     |
| ৪  | ১৪.১৯                                   | ১.৩০           | ৩.২৭                     |
| ৫  | ১৭.৫৮                                   | ১.৩০           | ৩.৮৩                     |
| ৬  | ২২.৯২                                   | ১.৩৪           | ৪.১৪                     |
| ৭  | ৩১.৮৯                                   | ১.৪৬           | ৫.২১                     |
| ৮  | ৩৭.১১                                   | ১.৪৩           | ৫.৬০                     |
| ৯  | ৪৪.২৬                                   | ১.৩৯           | ৫.৮৩                     |
| ১০.  | ৬৮.২৯                                   | ১.৬৪           | ৮.৩৪                     |
| ১১   | ৬৪.৪২                                   | ১.৩৪           | ৭.৩৬                     |
| ১২   | ৯১.১২                                   | ১.৫৪           | ১০.৭২                    |
| ১৩   | ৭৫.৪৮                                   | ১.২০           | ৮.৬৭                     |
| ১৪   | ২১০.৬৪                                  | ২.৪৩           | ২২.৩৭                    |
| ১৫   | ৩৫.২৫                                   | ১.৫২           | ৬.০১                     |

সূত্র : BBS : BHES 1985-86 বিভিন্ন সারণী থেকে আহরিত।

সারণী-৩ : চিকিৎসা ব্যয়ের খাত শতাংশ হিসাবে

| মাসিক আয় | ডাক্তার | বিভিন্ন পরীক্ষা | হাসপাতাল | ঔষধ  | অন্যান্য |
|-----------|---------|-----------------|----------|------|----------|
| ৫০০       | ৪.৯৬    | -               | ৮৬.৩৪    | -    | ৮.৭০     |
| -৭৪৯      | ৪.৭১    | ১.৩৬            | ৭১.৩২    | ০.১৯ | ২২.৪২    |
| -৯৯৯      | ৯.১২    | -               | ৭৫.৫৪    | ১.৪০ | ১৩.৯৪    |
| -১২৪৯     | ৯.৯৩    | ২.১৩            | ৭৬.৬৭    | ০.২৫ | ১০.৯৯    |
| -১৪৪৯     | ১৪.৬৩   | ১.৬৪            | ৭৩.১৮    | ০.৪৬ | ১০.০৯    |
| -১৯৯৯     | ১২.৯১   | ০.৯৯            | ৭০.০৮    | ০.৫২ | ১৫.৫০    |
| -২৪৯৯     | ১৩.৭৪   | ১.৫৮            | ৭৫.৮৪    | ০.৭৩ | ৮.১১     |
| -২৯৯৯     | ৯.৪২    | ০.৩৯            | ৭৬.৪৯    | ২.২৭ | ১১.৪৩    |
| -৩৯৯৯     | ১২.৪৫   | ০.০৫            | ৭৪.৩১    | ২.৩২ | ১০.৪১    |
| -৪৯৯৯     | ১০.৯৬   | ১.০৬            | ৭৫.৫৩    | ২.৮৬ | ৯.৫৯     |
| -৫৯৯৯     | ১৩.৩৮   | ৫.০৪            | ৭২.৯৮    | ২.২৭ | ৬.২৮     |
| -৬৯৯৯     | ১১.৩৩   | ১.৪৯            | ৭৮.৮২    | ১.১৪ | ৭.২৩     |
| -৭৯৯৯     | ২০.৮৯   | ০.৭৫            | ৬১.৩৭    | ১.৮৮ | ১৫.১৩    |
| ৮০০০+     | ৭.৭৬    | ২.৯৪            | ৮৪.১৭    | ০.৮৯ | ৪.২৩     |
| সর্বমোট   | ১১.৪১   | ১.৫৬            | ৭৫.৯৮    | ১.৩৯ | ৯.৬৭     |

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## HEALTH CARE PLANNING IN BANGLAESH

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Access to medical service is considered a right and cannot be left to market. The economic criterion for evaluating Health and Medical care system should, therefore, be the criterion of efficiency of production rather than that of satisfying consumer preferences. Here the approach is a needs approach where the value placed on services and the resources needed to satisfy those needs are centrally determined [1;10-14]. As essential services Health and sanitation came to be included in the list of Basic needs in as early as 1976. Defining health needs in terms of doctors, hospital beds, nurses etc. is not considered adequate any longer although these are still some of the standard indicators [2;78]. Nutrition, sanitation, health education and environment are recognised as factors having intricate relationship with physical health of people. All these factors have their influence on health status of a nation as they contribute to control of diseases through prevention of their occurrence.

### HEALTH IN FIVE-YEAR PLANS OF BANGLADESH

The Third Five Year Plan states that since independence the government has been consistently pursuing a policy for providing essential/minimum health care to all, particularly to the undeserved. In pursuance of such a policy successive health plans in Bangladesh have emphasised Primary Health Care (PHC) as the key approach to the improvement of health status of the people. Performance since independence in this sector deserves analysis for an understanding of the situation over the years to this date. This may be attempted by examining allocations of financial resources, improvement attained in physical terms and the strategy adopted during this period.

Table 1: Financial Allocation in Different Plans

| First Plan  | Second Plan  | Third Plan  |
|-------------|--------------|-------------|
| Tk.220(4.7) | Tk. 413(2.6) | Tk.550(2.2) |

Source: First Second and Third Five Year Plan.

Note Figures in parenthesis shows percentage of total outlay.

The allocations quoted above show a declining trend throughout. It may be mentioned that the decline has occurred both in relative and in absolute terms. Such a decline has occurred despite the emphasis attached to this sector in successive plans. It has to be pointed out that this has not been

warranted by a reduced requirement for the provisions of health care facilities. Over years these facilities have increased but only at a much slower rate than envisaged in the plans. The following table will illustrate the performance in one of the major fields.

Table 2 : Beds in Hospitals: Targets and Achievements

| Sl. No. | Types of hospital        | First Plan |             | Second Plan |             |
|---------|--------------------------|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
|         |                          | Target     | Achievement | Target      | Achievement |
| 1.      | UHC                      | 11,036     | 2,400       |             |             |
| 2.      | Sub-Divisional Hospitals | 5,265      | 3,053       |             |             |
|         | District Hospitals       |            |             |             |             |
| 3.      | Teaching Hospitals       | 5,000      | 5,015       |             |             |
| 4.      | Specialised Hospitals    | 2,970      | 2,465       |             |             |
| 5.      | Total                    | 24,271     | 12,933      | 25,382      | 19,662      |

Source: Second and Third Five Year Plans

It is clear that the First Plan target could not be achieved even by the end of the Second Plan. By 1985 although the cumulative number of medical graduates rose to 16,000 as against the target of 17,000 that of trained nurses rose only to 6,500 as against the target of 9,465. The achievements fell short of the target in UHC by 52% and the UHWFC by about 79%.

Thus, achievement of targets set in the Second Five-Year Plan remained a remote possibility. By comparing targets set and the performance achieved M.R Khan shows that in respect of almost all major health indicators the Second Plan failed miserably [3:161-163]. The health status of the population failed to show desired improvement by any standard. Health care delivery system except in case of establishment of Upazila Health Complex did not practically make much headway. Similar is the case with supportive services. Health manpower development did not proceed at the expected rate except in respect of Health Assistants where the target was more than achieved.

#### HEALTH PLAN STRATEGIES

If one takes into account the strategy adopted in the Health sector it becomes evident that the plan documents proposed to give adequate emphasis to preventive aspect of health care facilities. The First plan pointed out that curative based health care is not suitable for Bangladesh where the major health problem is nutritional and communicable diseases [4:505]. The emphasis in delivery system of health care was proposed to be shifted from individual to community with family as the basic unit. This would require an understanding of the total ecology and development

process as affecting education, agriculture and economic progress. The strategy would include development and utilization of vital statistics, epidemiological service and public Health Laboratory for planning meaningful public health action. A comprehensive and integrated health care was to be delivered to the people at village level. In conformity with this for manpower development the plan strategy advocated for a new pattern of education for medical and auxiliary personnel with orientation towards community medicine and comprehensive health care. To meet shortage of doctors para-medical personnel and health auxiliary were to be raised for both preventive and curative work. The new cadre of medical assistants would be utilized to screen out patients requiring doctor's attention.

The successive plan documents reiterated the above strategies and also added new points to the same. Thus the Second Plan adds participation of people and local authorities in the management of Health Care institutions [5:VIII-90]. It proposed to extend Health services to Thana and even lower levels so as to reach the rural families more readily with health care facilities including nutrition curative and preventive services. The health infrastructure to be developed would give adequate importance to referral laboratory and epidemiological services. It made explicit recommendation for development of and elaborate health manpower from the top down to rural level working personnels with spcitic responsibilities at their respective levels. Regarding arrangement for supplies it proposed that availability of essential drugs, vaccine, serum and ORS was to be ensured by decentralisation of stores. Methods of Homeopathic Ayurvedic practices were to be developed. Reformulation of health services for better delivery of health care was recommended. The Third Five-Year plan made more specific recommendations regarding the strategies for achievement of its objectives.

By this time Bangladesh has accepted the global strategy of "Health for all by the year 2000" as the national objective and the Third plan designed its objectives in Health sector along this line. The strategies included provision for Primary Health Care through a three tier system of consultation and referral from village to intermediate (Ward) to Union levels. Programmes for control of communicable diseases were to be speeded up. Similar programmes for development of health manpower, building of infrastructure, supply of drugs were incorporated in the strategy.

A new feature added in the Third plan strategy was that of generating resources by adopting various methods of cost sharing, health insurance and cooperatives keeping in view the question of equity among various socio-economic classes [6:365-66]. This plan document has also adopted a new strategy of encouraging private bodies to undertake programmes in the field of training.

## A CRITIQUE

As summarised above the strategies of the different plans read alike. The objectives of these plans have increasingly reflected the intention of raising health care facilities and improving the health status. The present status of health care in Bangladesh however contrasts with the avowed objectives of the plans. As a result communicable diseases like diarrhoea, tetanus etc, still remain the chief killer disease [7;23]. Twenty five per cent of the population die without receiving any medical care. Only twenty one per cent receive care provided by the government. Only three per cent receive advantage of sewerage system and twenty five per cent receive safe drinking water.

The shortfall in achieving the target was painfully large in case of provisions important for covering the section of population most underprivileged. Allocation for building physical facilities seemed quite high in all the plans. It was however not realised that creation of such facilities does not automatically lead to ensuring delivery of health care as envisaged under PHC [3:158]. Although as a strategy preventive-biased health programmes were to receive emphasized in actual practice whatever improvement occurred remained mostly confined to curative services. UHC buildings were ready but facilities to make them operative were lacking. The provisions for manpower development did not turn out intermediate level health workers in adequate number. Graduate doctors were reluctant to go to UHC or UHFWGs.

Thus, the state of affairs that prevails in the health sector has given cause for worry. By 1987 construction of only about two-thirds completed of the 397 UHCs could be completed. Number of trained nurses to total requirement of nurse also reached about the same proportion. Availability of Medical Assistants were far below the expected number. On other factors like public health service programme where only qualitative assessment is possible the picture remains a dismal one. In the year 1986/87 only about 60% of the financial target could be achieved.

A committee for Health Care Development System was formed in 1987 with a view to breaking the existing inertia and solving the problems in conformity with this government's commitment to the global strategy of "Health For All by the Year 2000". The Committee gave its report about a year back. It has made recommendations for bringing down infant mortality from 125 per thousand in 1985 to 45 per thousand in 2000, mortality at the time of delivery from 6 to 1 death rate from 1.5% to 0.8%, birth rate from 3.9% to 2.4%. It has also recommended to increase availability of PHC facilities to 65% from the present 30% of the population, to bring 90% of the population under immunisation programme and 90% of mothers under

ante-natal care before deliveries. These targets, it may be pointed out, are very high considering our situation although some neighbouring countries have almost reached such targets already [7;29-32].

UHC authorities have been granted a wide range of power and responsibilities. These are described in twelve different sections and range from administrative, financial issues to issues of training the technicians, programmes to educate people about health hazards, encouragement to the people to adopt measures for better health and to involve them in the programmes to giving incentive to MOs and others to create enthusiasm in them to work in under developed areas. The report included suggestions for restructuring and decentralisation and a national reference system. This system interlinked UHFWC, UHC, district and regional hospitals and Graduate and Post-graduate teaching and specialised hospitals.

This latest report, like the plan documents, identifies the areas for action and sets targets outlining strategies to achieve the same. It will be hard to find any lack of conformity in the goals and strategies. But yet one is not certain that their wishes will come true. There is no reason why, like achievements till this date, achievements over the future years will not fall for short of the targets. To highlight the root causes for such an apprehension it is important to analyse the problems in the health sector.

Health care facilities have so far remained confined to urban centres. For a wider distribution of health facilities the plans envisaged to establish UHCs and UHFCs. It is important to note that to reach people in the villages the establishment of UHCs and UHFWCs is highly desirable. The mere completion of buildings, however, is not sufficient to ensure delivery of medical care to the people. All the UHCs are supposed to provide 31 beds each. But the provision of doctors and nurses like necessary equipments and medicine supplies remain inadequate to make the other facilities meaningful. MOs and specialists do not feel attracted to stay in rural areas. Equipment supplies are meagre. No wonder reports of use of such buildings for other purposes appear in the news media from time to time.

The provision of PHC requires active involvement of the people. This can be achieved only by educating the population in health care, general hygiene, nutrition and making them conscious about the necessity of immunisation and general sanitation. It is difficult to raise the consciousness of the people which is a prerequisite for the success of the preventive health care. The provision for achieving such a goal requires more than what the plans wished to provide through making the UHCs and UHFWCs responsible.

The manpower development programme is still biased towards development of highly qualified doctors. Training of assistants and mid

level health workers should have received greater emphasis. The curriculum for preventive and community medicine may equip the MOs in these fields. But to reap the fruits of such training measures for getting doctors to accept positions in rural areas are needed. In this regard the plans do not specifically recommend any incentive programme. What as a result has actually occurred is that MOs do not stay in the areas in many cases and where they are available they only keep them busy with curative medical care. It is not likely either that they will involve themselves in the more hazardous community and preventive care services in the absence of any existing organisation for making them undertake such services through community participation. Such community level organisation has no alternative for the success of extended immunisation programme and control of communicable diseases.

The physical facilities created in some cases remain unused. Whereas the district and MC hospitals overflow with patients those in the UHCs remained vacant. In the same way machines have gone out of order from long non-use. Thus, while in some cases there was dearth of facilities in others facilities/resources are wasted. Proper coordination would have saved such wastes.

#### CONCLUSION

In the public sector health care services are made available by the government on the basis of estimated needs. To ask for supply of services require awareness among the cliental, the general mass of which live in villages. Thus, to make arrangement for a market ready to demand these facilities is equally important. For the success of PHC programme which is the major component of our health plans a reciprocal response from the people who need health care most is a precondition. Whatever efforts are made seem to remain confined only to making the facilities available. An even greater effort was needed for creating demand for them. Thus, in same areas at least the supplies were much larger than demand. Again, some of the facilities could not be made use of in the absence of complementary inputs to make existing facilities useful. One may point out that in planning for supplying basic needs the authorities must also estimate their demand. Otherwise resources are wasted. If utilization in one plan is less than the need then by identifying the factors which affect the demand measures could be taken to affect these factors in the required amount and direction. But successive plans in Bangladesh reiterated similar strategies without identifying the factors and quantifying the amount of changes needed in them to bring an equality between need and supply. As is common in case of all basic needs sectors concrete measures were proposed for raising supply and wishes were expressed for needs to evolve.

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## HEALTH MANPOWER POLICY : A CASE STUDY FOR UNQUALIFIED / UNTRAINED HEALTH SERVICE PROVIDERS IN BANGLADESH

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The purpose of this paper is to review the role and functions of unqualified/untrained health service providers in Bangladesh and make out a case for upgrading their skills in the context of primary health care. Relevant policy issues for health manpower development will also be discussed. The paper utilizes the findings of a national study on Bangladesh health finance and expenditure which is based on a stratified random sample of households in rural and urban areas drawn from 48 villages in 24 upazilas and five urban centres.<sup>1</sup>

Unqualified health service providers in this study include pallichikitshaks (trained village practitioners in allopathy), medical assistants, compounders and nationals. Untrained health service providers are village quacks, i.e., village practitioners in allopathy without any formal training.

Allopathy—the modern western medicine—is the official medication system in Bangladesh. It is delivered through the government and non-government health care facilities/health service providers including qualified doctors who would have the basic qualification of MBBS/LMF, and the unqualified/untrained doctors as described. Other types of treatment currently practised in Bangladesh include Homeopathy—a system of medicine first introduced by Samuel Hahnemann. There are also ayurvedic and unani systems of medicine, the practitioners of which are called Kabiraj and Hekim, respectively. Both are herbalists and based on traditional medical system. And there are also spiritual healers called Pir, Fakir or Guru who use incantations, write amulets or prescribe other devices for healing spiritually. Non-government clinics are usually high cost private clinics in urban areas. They also include in this study charitable hospitals/clinics, as well as drug stores, which both prescribe and dispenses medicine to the poor both in rural and urban areas.

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1. For a detailed methodology of the study see BIDS, Bangladesh Health Finance and Expenditure Study: Final Report of a study conducted for the Director General of Health Services, Government of Bangladesh, Dhaka, July 1988, Mimeographed, 389 Pages.

As can be seen from Table 1, in Bangladesh the highest proportion of sicknesses (30.2%) is treated by qualified doctors, the next largest health service provider is unqualified/untrained doctors treating 25.8% of sickness. Government medical centres treat 12.5% of the cases, homeopaths 8.6%, Kabiraj/Hekim 3.8% and all others together treat 6.1% of sicknesses; while 13.1% of the sicknesses are not treated at all. The pattern of treatment between rural and urban areas is however substantially different in certain respects. With regard to type of treatment, several points are worth noting:

- 1) Allopathic types of treatment, i.e., treatments provided by qualified doctors, unqualified/untrained doctors and government medical centres together assume predominant form of treatment treating more than 2/3rds of the sickness (68.5%) in all areas. A much higher proportion is treated by allopathic system of treatment in urban areas (77.3%) than in rural areas (66.9%). The most remarkable feature of the allopathic systems of treatment between rural and urban areas is the preponderance of qualified doctors in urban areas (54.5% in urban areas as against 25.8% in rural areas) and of unqualified/untrained doctors in rural areas (29.1% in rural areas as against only 7.6% in urban areas). While the qualified doctors treat majority of sicknesses (54.5%) in urban areas, they treat only a quarter of the sicknesses (25.8%) in rural areas. In rural areas, the unqualified/untrained doctors assume the single most form of health service providers treating 29.1% of the sickness.
- 2) The proportion of sicknesses treated by government medical centres is pretty low—only 12.5% in all areas, 12.0% in rural areas and 15.2% in urban areas.
- 3) Next in order of importance is the homeopathic system of treatment accounting for 8.6% of all treatments (9.0% in rural areas and 6.1% in urban areas).
- 4) Treatments by spiritual healers (Pir, Fakir & Guru) are practically nil and those by traditional system of medicine (Kabiraj/Hekim) constitute a very small proportion (only 3.8% in all areas, 4.0% in rural areas and 2.6% in urban areas).
- 5) A significant proportion of the sicknesses (accounting for 13.1% in all areas, 14.4% in rural areas and 6.0% in urban areas) remain out of any treatment primarily due to inability of the patients to bear the cost of treatment.
- 6) The coverage and quality of treatments are much higher in urban areas than in rural areas.

From Table 2 it can be seen that although there is some difference in the sickness pattern between rural and urban areas, in Bangladesh as a whole, the most common diseases are diarrhoea and dysentery (accounting for 19.8% of all sicknesses), cold, pneumonia (11.8%), malaria, typhoid and other fever (12.0%), ulcer (6.1%), jaundice/asthma (3.8%), skin diseases (3.2%) and malnutrition (2.8%). Together they account for more than 2/3rds of all sicknesses.

Other important diseases that account for a relatively lower proportion of sicknesses are blood pressure (3.2%), heart diseases and paralysis (2.0%), rheumatism (3.7%), old age problems (2.5%), eye diseases (2.3%), another 1/6th of the total sicknesses. The remaining 1/6th of the total sicknesses is caused by a host of other diseases.

Another classification of the diseases indicate that the diseases that can be controlled through public health measures (such as diphtheria, whooping cough, tetanus, polio, measles, malaria, typhoid, TB) and diseases that can be cured with inexpensive therapy or controlled through health education (such as diarrhoea and dysentery, worms, night blindness, malnutrition and skin disease) contribute to more than 1/3rd of total sicknesses.

The disease pattern in Bangladesh is such that most of the diseases can be treated by health practitioners without acquiring sophisticated and specialized medical training.

It has been noted that unqualified/untrained doctors treat over a quarter of sickness in all Bangladesh (25.8%) and nearly 30% of the sicknesses in rural areas (exactly 29.1%). As compared to the services of government medical centres, the services of the unqualified/untrained doctors are demanded at a rate of over 200% in all areas and nearly 250% in rural areas.

The unqualified/untrained doctors treat a proportion higher than that by all other health services providers such diseases as diarrhoea, dysentery, worms, cold/pneumonia, simple fever, malaria, skin diseases and rheumatism. They also treat ulcer, old age problems, jaundice/asthma, typhoid, female disease, accident and malnutrition.

The high demand of the unqualified/untrained doctors in Bangladesh is not only because they provide satisfactory services but also because they are available nearer at hand and at a cost the people can afford. The average distance of health service providers (see Table 4), average travel time for health service providers (see Table 5), average waiting time at the health service providers (see Table 6) and average cost of treatment per case (see Table 3) compare very favourable with unqualified/untrained doctors in relation to those for other types of health service providers in Bangladesh.

### *Khan : Health Manpower Policy*

The primary health care envisages a health care system for all people of a country that the country can afford at each stage of its development. From this point of view it is of utmost importance that the services of a vast number of unqualified/untrained health service providers available throughout the country is recognized and their quality improved both for curative and promotive health care of the people.

The unqualified/untrained health service providers are already living with and providing curative health care services to rural population and urban poor. What is necessary is to capitalize this resource through adequate training and other incentives under a suitable health manpower development programme. Under the plan, they can and should also be utilized as an agent for community involvement in provision of health care including preventive, educative and promotive health care services to the masses.

In this context it also appears that the government is pursuing a wrong policy in appointing Medical Officers (MOs) for the Union Health and Family Welfare Centres (UHFWCs). At this stage of development, there is a clear mismatch between the hopes and aspirations of the MOs both in social and economic terms, and their posting in the UHFWC. The inability of the government to recognize this anomaly in health manpower planning is responsible for a abominably high rate of absentism of the government employed MOs from their work place in UHFWCs and also in certain measure from UHCs.

At this stage of economic and social development when UHFWCs are unable to provide adequate incentives for MOs to stay and work at the union level, there is no point at all in appointing MOs for UHFWC and insisting that they should be available in their place of work (in order to discharge their functions adequately). It is not also necessary to do it. The Medical Assistants (MAs) and Family Welfare Visitors (FWVs) are adequate enough for the kind of services required at the level. The skills of the MAs and FWVs may, however, be upgraded through adequate training programmes; their career development may be adequately planned and the monitoring and supervising system improved in order to ensure best services from them.

In this context mention may also be made of the inconsistent policy of the government with respect to health manpower development. Considering a critical shortage of health manpower available in the country, health practitioners, with three years of basic medical education after Matriculation, called Nationals, first developed in private sector, were recognized by the government as medical practitioners and later disbanded. In the same vain health practitioners called LMFs with four years of basic medical education after Matriculation were trained and later

disbanded by the government on the plea of quality service. In recent years initiation and subsequent disbanding of Pallichikitshaks is another example of shifts in the health manpower development planning. Similarly government established 18 Medical Assistant Training Schools (MAT's) to produce Medical Assistants (MAs) with three years of basic medical education after SSC but subsequently closed 10 of them on the plea that MAs are already over produced. Nursing and paramedic institutes have a history of nothing but neglect and apathy.

In view of critical shortage of nurses and paramedics, and a country where the ratio of doctors (including nurses and paramedics) to population is appallingly low, government policies with respect to health manpower development appear to be grossly inconsistent in its own right and specially in view of the changed philosophy of Primary Health Care.

Government's justification of quality service or over production of MAs are self defeating. In view of the realities obtaining in Bangladesh, quality services implies no service at all for the vast million of rural population and urban poor. Only choice left for them is then either some service at a cost they can bear or no service at all! Should the government therefore abandon its parochial policy and widen its vision for the health care and welfare of the millions of the masses?

The argument of over production of MAs or MOs is based on the notion that government must provide them with employment on completion of their studies. Why should it be so? The function of educational institutions, technical or otherwise, is to impart education. As in other fields, the onus for finding gainful employment must lie with the graduates themselves. Expanding private sector including NGOs now provide increasing opportunity for absorption of all types of medical graduates including MAs and MOs. Why should this not be tapped and encouraged?

Table-1: Types of Treatment by Rural/Urban Residence of the Sick Persons

| Type of treatment                | All areas    | Rural        | Urban       |
|----------------------------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|
| 1. Qualified doctors             | 1216 (30.2)  | 879 (25.8)   | 337 (54.5)  |
| 2. Unqualified/untrained doctors | 997 (25.8)   | 920 (29.1)   | 47 (7.6)    |
| Unqualified                      | 547 (14.6)   | 575 (16.9)   | 12 (1.9)    |
| Untrained                        | 450 (11.2)   | 415 (12.2)   | 35 (5.7)    |
| 3. Government medical centres    | 504 (12.5)   | 410 (12.0)   | 94 (15.2)   |
| 4. Homeopaths                    | 346 (8.6)    | 308 (9.0)    | 38 (6.1)    |
| 5. Kabiraj/Hekim                 | 154 (3.8)    | 138 (4.0)    | 16 (2.6)    |
| 6. Non-government clinics        | 63 (1.6)     | 40 (1.2)     | 23 (3.7)    |
| 7. Pir, Fakir & Guru             | 23 (0.6)     | 21 (0.6)     | 2 (0.3)     |
| 8. Home treatment                | 51 (1.3)     | 30 (0.9)     | 21 (3.4)    |
| 9. Ordinary village Da           | 1 (...)      | 1 (...)      | -           |
| 10. Others                       | 105 (2.6)    | 102 (3.0)    | 3 (0.5)     |
| 11. No treatment                 | 527 (13.1)   | 490 (14.4)   | 37 (6.0)    |
| All                              | 4027 (100.0) | 3409 (100.0) | 618 (100.0) |

Note: Figures in parenthesis are column percentages.

Table 2: Currently Sick Persons by Rural/Urban Residence of the Sick Persons

| Disease               | All areas    | Rural        | Urban       |
|-----------------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|
| 1. Diphtheria         | 2 (0.1)      | 1 (0.1)      | 1 (0.3)     |
| 2. Whooping cough     | 19 (1.0)     | 15 (0.9)     | 4 (1.3)     |
| 3. Tetanus            | 1 (0.1)      | 1 (0.1)      | -           |
| 4. Polio              | 2 (0.1)      | 1 (0.1)      | 1 (0.3)     |
| 5. TB                 | 9 (0.5)      | 8 (0.5)      | 1 (0.3)     |
| 6. Measles            | 16 (0.8)     | 12 (0.7)     | 4 (1.3)     |
| 7. Ear sickness       | 25 (1.3)     | 21 (1.3)     | 4 (1.3)     |
| 8. Night blindness    | 8 (0.4)      | 6 (0.4)      | 2 (0.6)     |
| 9. Eye sickness       | 56 (2.9)     | 49 (3.0)     | 7 (2.3)     |
| 10. Diarrhoea etc.    | 124 (6.4)    | 119 (7.4)    | 5 (1.6)     |
| 11. Dysentery         | 258 (13.4)   | 221 (13.7)   | 37 (11.9)   |
| 12. Meningitis        | 2 (0.1)      | 1 (0.1)      | 1 (0.3)     |
| 13. Worms             | 22 (1.1)     | 20 (1.2)     | 2 (0.6)     |
| 14. Chicken pox       | 4 (0.2)      | 3 (0.2)      | 1 (0.3)     |
| 15. Cold, pneumonia   | 228 (11.8)   | 207 (12.8)   | 21 (6.8)    |
| 16. Jaundice/Asthma   | 74 (3.8)     | 64 (4.0)     | 10 (3.2)    |
| 17. Malaria           | 38 (2.0)     | 37 (2.3)     | 1 (0.3)     |
| 18. Typhoid           | 14 (0.7)     | 12 (0.7)     | 2 (0.6)     |
| 19. Other fever       | 352 (18.3)   | 295 (18.2)   | 57 (18.4)   |
| 20. Epilepsy          | 6 (0.3)      | 5 (0.3)      | 1 (0.3)     |
| 21. Skin disease      | 62 (3.2)     | 55 (3.4)     | 7 (2.3)     |
| 22. Ulcer etc.        | 117 (6.1)    | 2 (5.7)      | 25 (8.1)    |
| 23. Kidney stone      | 4 (0.2)      | 1 (0.1)      | 3 (1.0)     |
| 24. Urinal trouble    | 5 (0.3)      | 2 (0.1)      | 3 (1.0)     |
| 25. Blood pressure    | 61 (3.2)     | 31 (1.9)     | 30 (9.7)    |
| 26. Heart disease     | 30 (1.6)     | 17 (1.1)     | 13 (4.2)    |
| 27. Paralysis         | 8 (0.4)      | 8 (0.5)      | -           |
| 28. Diabetes          | 25 (1.3)     | 8 (0.5)      | 17 (5.5)    |
| 29. Cancer            | 2 (0.1)      | 2 (0.1)      | -           |
| 30. Tumour            | 7 (0.4)      | 4 (0.2)      | 3 (9.7)     |
| 31. Malnutrition      | 54 (2.8)     | 44 (2.7)     | 10 (3.2)    |
| 32. Pregnancy disease | 9 (0.5)      | 8 (0.5)      | 1 (0.3)     |
| 33. Female disease    | 31 (1.6)     | 24 (1.5)     | 7 (2.3)     |
| 34. Sex disease       | 2 (0.1)      | 1 (0.1)      | 1 (0.3)     |
| 35. Birth disease     | 1 (0.1)      | 1 (0.1)      | -           |
| 36. Leprosy           | 1 (0.1)      | 1 (0.1)      | -           |
| 37. Mental disease    | 7 (0.4)      | 6 (0.4)      | 1 (0.3)     |
| 38. Accident          | 13 (0.7)     | 9 (0.6)      | 4 (1.3)     |
| 39. Opium, drinking   | 1 (0.1)      | 1 (0.1)      | -           |
| 40. Rheumatism        | 72 (3.7)     | 63 (3.9)     | 9 (2.9)     |
| 41. Old age problem   | 48 (2.5)     | 44 (2.7)     | 4 (1.3)     |
| 42. Dental problem    | 9 (0.5)      | 7 (0.4)      | 2 (0.6)     |
| 43. Sudden disease    | 7 (0.4)      | 3 (0.2)      | 4 (1.3)     |
| 44. Unknown           | 1 (0.1)      | 1 (0.1)      | -           |
| 45. Others            | 91 (4.7)     | 87 (5.4)     | 4 (1.3)     |
| All                   | 1928 (100.0) | 1618 (100.0) | 310 (100.0) |
| Memorandum            |              |              |             |
| All persons (in '000) | 16.43        | 13.39        | 3.34        |
| Morbidity rate (%)    | 11.7         | 12.1         | 9.3         |

Note: Figures in parenthesis are column percentages.

Table-3: Average cost of treatment per case during the last three months by type of treatment for current sicknesses and sicknesses that have been cured during the last three months

| Type of treatment                | Costs are in Taka |
|----------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Qualified doctors             | 295.8 (N=1216)    |
| 2. Unqualified/untrained doctors | 86.1 (N=1037)     |
| Unqualified                      | 102.6 (N=587)     |
| Untrained                        | 64.5 (N=450)      |
| 3. Government medical centres    | 119.4 (N=504)     |
| 4. Homeopaths                    | 51.4 (N=346)      |
| 5. Kabiraj/Hekim                 | 131.9 (N=23)      |
| 6. Non-government clinics        | 256.8 (N=63)      |
| 7. Pir, Fakir & Guru             | 40.1 (N=23)       |
| 8. Home treatment                | 10.7 (N=51)       |
| 9. Ordinary village Dai          | 0.0 (N=1)         |
| 10. Others                       | 115.6 (N=105)     |
| 11. No treatment                 | 1.3 (N=527)       |
| All                              | 143.4 (N=4027)    |

Notes: (1) Figures in parenthesis are number of cases.

(2) Costs of treatment include consultation fees and costs of medicine, transport, pathology/x-ray and other costs.

Table-4: Average distance of health service providers/treatment centres by type of treatment.

| Type of treatment                | Distance in mile |
|----------------------------------|------------------|
| 1. Qualified doctors             | 2.71 (N=352)     |
| 2. Unqualified/untrained doctors | 1.93 (N=326)     |
| Unqualified                      | 2.09 (N=225)     |
| Untrained                        | 1.58 (N=101)     |
| 3. Government medical centres    | 2.31 (N=196)     |
| 4. Homeopaths                    | 1.43 (N=121)     |
| 5. Kabiraj/Hekim                 | 1.87 (N=39)      |
| 6. Non-government clinics        | 2.27 (N=26)      |
| 7. Pir, Fakir & Guru             | 1.50 (N=2)       |
| All                              | 2.21 (N=1062)    |

Note: Figures in parenthesis are number of cases excluding distance equal to zero mile.

Table-5: Average travel time for health service providers/treatment centres by type of treatment.

| Type of treatment                | Travel time in minutes |
|----------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Qualified doctors             | 31.3 (N=880)           |
| 2. Unqualified/untrained doctors | 23.5 (N=663)           |
| Unqualified                      | 24.0 (N=384)           |
| Untrained                        | 22.8(N=279)            |
| 3. Government medical centres    | 35.8 (N=454)           |
| 4. Homeopaths                    | 24.6 (N=244)           |
| 5. Kabiraj/Hekim                 | 21.2 (N=98)            |
| 6. Non-government clinics        | 23.3 (N=55)            |
| 7. Pir, Fakir & Guru             | 20.0 (N=6)             |
| All                              | 28.5 (N=2400)          |

Note: Figures in parenthesis are number of cases excluding travel time equal to zero minute.

Table-6: Average waiting time at health service providers/treatment centres by type of treatment

| Type of treatment                | Waiting time in minutes |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Qualified doctors             | 23.5 (N=697)            |
| 2. Unqualified/untrained doctors | 12.2 (N=449)            |
| Unqualified                      | 12.2 (N=276)            |
| Untrained                        | 12.3 (N=173)            |
| 3. Government medical centres    | 29.9 (N=410)            |
| 4. Homeopaths                    | 13.0 (N=173)            |
| 5. Kabiraj/Hekim                 | 16.8 (N=60)             |
| 6. Non-government clinics        | 14.5 (N=38)             |
| 7. Pir, Fakir & Guru             | 8.6 (N=5)               |
| All                              | 20.9 (N=1832)           |

Note: Figures in parenthesis are number of cases excluding waiting time equal to zero minute.

## বাংলাদেশে গ্রামীণ স্বাস্থ্য অবস্থা এবং স্বাস্থ্য সেবা ব্যবস্থাঃ একটি পর্যালোচনা

কাজি জাহিদ হোসেন\*

ভূমিকা

‘স্বাস্থ্য বলতে শুধু রোগমুক্ত দেহ বুঝায় না, স্বাস্থ্য বলতে বুঝায় শারিরীক, মানসিক এবং সামাজিক সুস্থতা।

১৯৭৮ সালে সোভিয়েত রাশিয়ার আলমা-আটাতে (Alma-Ata) বিশ্বস্বাস্থ্য এবং ইউনেস্কোর যৌথ উদ্যোগে অনুষ্ঠিত আন্তর্জাতিক প্রাথমিক স্বাস্থ্য পরিচর্যা সম্মেলনে বিশ্বের ১৩৪ টি দেশ সমবেত হয়ে ‘আলমা-আটা’ ঘোষণাপত্র ঘোষণা করে এবং এতে বলা হয় ‘প্রাথমিক স্বাস্থ্য সেবা’ সবার স্বাস্থ্য অর্জনের মূল কাঠি [১;১৫]।

১৯৭৯ সালে জাতিসংঘ সাধারণ পরিষদ কর্তৃক ‘আলমা-আটা’ ঘোষণাপত্র অনুমোদিত হয়। বিশ্বস্বাস্থ্য সংস্থার একটি সদস্য রাষ্ট্র হিসাবে বাংলাদেশ উক্ত ঘোষণাপত্রের একজন সাক্ষরদাতা। বাংলাদেশের জনগণের এক বিরাট অংশ (৮২%) পল্লী অঞ্চলে বাস করে। তাদের স্বাস্থ্য অবস্থা উন্নয়নের উপর গোটা দেশের ভাল স্বাস্থ্য অনেকাংশে নির্ভরশীল। সুতরাং পল্লী অঞ্চলে জনগণের স্বাস্থ্যমান বৃদ্ধি করতে হলে সেখানে প্রাথমিক স্বাস্থ্য সুযোগ-সুবিধা প্রদানের উপর যথেষ্ট গুরুত্ব আরোপ করতে হবে।

প্রাথমিক স্বাস্থ্য পরিচর্যা বলতে আমরা বুঝি, বৈজ্ঞানিকভাবে সৃষ্ট ও বাস্তব সম্মত এবং সামাজিকভাবে গ্রহণযোগ্য এমন (একটি) অত্যাবশ্যিক স্বাস্থ্য ব্যবস্থা এবং প্রযুক্তি যা কমিউনিটির প্রতিটি ব্যক্তি এবং পরিবারের নিকট (তাদের পূর্ণ অংশ মাধ্যমে) অতি সহজে পৌছে দেওয়া যায় এবং এমন (সুলভ) খরচে যা দেশ এবং কমিউনিটি দৃঢ় প্রত্যয় নিয়ে তাদের আর্থ-সামাজিক উন্নয়নের প্রতিটি ধাপে বহন করতে সক্ষম হয় [১]।

সুতরাং, প্রাথমিক পরিচর্যাভিত্তিক একটি সৃষ্ট স্বাস্থ্য ‘সেবা ব্যবস্থা’ গ্রামীণ স্বাস্থ্য সমস্যা প্রতিরোধে যথেষ্ট কার্যকর ভূমিকা পালন করতে পারে।

বক্ষমান প্রবন্ধে আমরা আলোচনা করবোঃ বাংলাদেশ বিশেষতঃ গ্রামাঞ্চলে (১) স্বাস্থ্য অবস্থা এবং (২) স্বাস্থ্য সেবা ব্যবস্থা (৩) সুপারিশ।

\* রিসার্চ ফেলো, বাংলাদেশ উন্নয়ন গবেষণা প্রতিষ্ঠান।

## হোসেন : গ্রামীণ স্বাস্থ্য অবস্থা

### ১। জন স্বাস্থ্য অবস্থা

#### ১.১ মৃত্যুহার, পুষ্টিহীনতা এবং রোগ

বাংলাদেশে জনগণের স্বাস্থ্যমান খুব খারাপ। স্বাস্থ্যসূচক, - যথা জীবন আয়ু, মৃত্যুর হার এবং অসুস্থতার (morbidity) হার, একটি দেশের জনস্বাস্থ্য অবস্থা পরিমাপের জন্য অপরিহার্য। শিশু মৃত্যুর হার জনস্বাস্থ্য অবস্থা নির্ণয়ের একটি শক্তিশালী মাপকাঠি। বাংলাদেশে শিশু (১ বৎসরের নীচে) মৃত্যুহার খুব বেশী, প্রতি হাজার জন্মে ১১৭, এ হার শহরের (১০৭) তুলনায় পল্লী এলাকায় কিছুটা বেশী (অর্থাৎ ১১৮) [২]। প্রতিবেশী উন্নয়নশীল দেশগুলোর তুলনায় বাংলাদেশে শিশুমৃত্যুর হার ভয়াবহ, শ্রীলংকায় ৩৩.৪ বার্মায় ৩৬.২, থাইল্যান্ডে ৪৫.৩, ইন্দোনেশিয়ায় ৯০.৩, ভারতে ৯৩ এবং চীনে ২২.২) [৩;৬১]।

বাংলাদেশে স্থূল মৃত্যু হার এবং স্থূল জন্ম হার প্রতি হাজারে ১২.৩ এবং ৩৫.৪, যা এশিয়ার উন্নয়নশীল অন্যান্য দেশগুলোর তুলনায় অত্যধিক, উদাহরণস্বরূপ বলা যেতে পারে, শ্রীলংকায় (৬.১ এবং ২৬.২), থাইল্যান্ডে (৫.১ এবং ২১.৩), ইন্দোনেশিয়ায় (৫.১ এবং ২১.৩) চীনে (৬.৬ এবং ২১) [৩]। বাংলাদেশে অধিক জন্ম বেশী মৃত্যুর জন্য দায়ী এবং শহরাঞ্চল থেকে গ্রামাঞ্চলে স্থূল মৃত্যুর হার ৫০% বেশী।

বাংলাদেশের গড় আয়ু ৫৪.৮ বৎসর [২]। চীনে ১৯৪৯ সালে গড় আয়ু ছিলো ৩৫ বৎসর এবং বিপ্লবের পর দ্রুত গতিতে বৃদ্ধি পেয়ে ১৯৮০ সালে দাঁড়ায় ৩৯ বৎসর অর্থাৎ প্রায় দ্বিগুণ। শ্রীলংকায় গড় আয়ু ৬৯ বৎসর [৪]। প্রতিবেশী দেশগুলোর মধ্যে চীন এবং শ্রীলংকার স্বাস্থ্য অবস্থা আমাদের থেকে অনেক উন্নত।

#### ১.২ মা ও শিশু স্বাস্থ্য

মা ও শিশু স্বাস্থ্য পরস্পর সম্পর্কযুক্ত। একজনের স্বাস্থ্য অবস্থার উপর অন্যজনের স্বাস্থ্য নির্ভর করে এবং এই প্রক্রিয়া চক্রাকারে চলে। বাংলাদেশে মোট জনসংখ্যার এক তৃতীয়াংশ (৩৫%) শিশু ও মা।

গ্রামীণ এলাকায় মা ও শিশুর স্বাস্থ্য সার্বিক স্বাস্থ্য অবস্থার তুলনায় নৈরাশ্যজনক। বাংলাদেশে প্রসূতি (meternal) মৃত্যু হার অনেক উন্নয়নশীল দেশের তুলনায় খুব বেশী। এক জরীপে দেখা যায় আমাদের দেশে মাতৃমৃত্যুর হার প্রতি ১০,০০০ জন্মে ৬২ [৫], অপরদিকে থাইল্যান্ডে ৭, শ্রীলংকায় ৮, চীনে ৫ এবং ভারতে ৪৮ [৬;১৩২]।

অস্বাস্থ্যকর উপায়ে সন্তান ভূমিষ্ঠ হওয়া মাতৃমৃত্যুর একটি অন্যতম কারণ। প্রতি বৎসর বিশেষ প্রসবজনিত কারণে ৫০০,০০০ মা মারা যায়, এর মধ্যে ৯৯% উপরে মারা যায় উন্নয়নশীল দেশসমূহে। উন্নত দেশের তুলনায় উন্নয়নশীল দেশে একটি শিশু মৃত্যু ঝুঁকি প্রায় ৪ থেকে ১০ গুণ বেশী [৭;১৯৯]।

গ্রামাঞ্চলে বিপুলসংখ্যক সন্তান প্রসব (৮৫%) গ্রামীণ দাইদের হাত দিয়ে হয়ে থাকে। প্রায় ক্ষেত্রে স্বাস্থ্যসম্মত উপায়ে সন্তান ভূমিষ্ঠ হয় না, কারণ অধিকাংশ দাইদের প্রশিক্ষণ নেই।

প্রতিষ্ঠানিত সন্তান প্রসবের সংখ্যা খুবই সীমিত। বিআইডিএস এক সমীক্ষায় (১৯৮৪-৮৫) দেখা যায়, উপজেলা স্বাস্থ্য কমপ্লেক্সের প্রতিটি স্বাস্থ্য কমপ্লেক্সে প্রতিমাসে গড়ে সন্তান প্রসবের সংখ্যা একজনেরও কম [৮]। সুষ্ঠুভাবে সন্তান প্রসবের জন্য গর্ভবর্তী মা'দের গর্ভকালীন অবস্থায় প্রাকস্বাস্থ্য পরিচর্যা (prenatal care) নেওয়া অতীব অপরিহার্য। কিন্তু বাংলাদেশে বিশেষতঃ গ্রামীণ এলাকায় বিপুলসংখ্যক মা গর্ভকালীন অবস্থায় প্রয়োজনীয় স্বাস্থ্য যত্ন পায় না। বিআইডিএস এক জরীপে (১৯৮৭-৮৮) দেখা যায়, পল্লী অঞ্চলে শতকরা ৮৪ জন গর্ভবর্তী মহিলা তাদের গর্ভ (pregnancy) পরীক্ষার জন্য কোন ধরনের চিকিৎসকের কাছে যায় নাই। শহরাঞ্চলের অবস্থা তুলনামূলকভাবে উন্নত অর্থাৎ দুই তৃতীয়াংশ গর্ভবর্তী মহিলা চিকিৎসক এর পরামর্শ নিয়েছে [৯;১৮৩]।

প্রতিবেশী উন্নয়নশীল দেশসমূহে প্রাক গর্ভযত্ন (prenatal care) গ্রহণকারী মা'দের অবস্থা আমাদের চেয়ে অনেক ভাল। ১৯৮০ সালের দিকে বিভিন্ন প্রতিবেশী দেশসমূহের প্রার গর্ভ গ্রহণকারী গর্ভবর্তী মহিলাদের শতকরা হার ছিলো থাইল্যান্ড ৩৩, ইন্দোনেশিয়া ৩৫, ভারত ৪৫, মালয়েশিয়া ৮০, ফিলিপাইন ৮৩ এবং চীনে ৯৮ [১০;২৭২]। সুতরাং অধিক প্রসূতি মৃত্যু এবং শিশু মৃত্যু রোধে প্রাক গর্ভযত্ন গ্রহণের প্রয়োজনীয়তা অনস্বীকার্য।

### ১.৩ পুষ্টিহীনতা

পুষ্টিহীনতা আমাদের স্বাস্থ্য খাতে এক বিরাট সমস্যা। বিভিন্ন পুষ্টি জরিপে দেখা যায় (১৯৬২-৬৪, ১৯৭৫-৭৬ এবং ১৯৮১-৮২ সন) মাথাপিছু খাদ্য ক্যালরী গ্রহণ ক্রমাগত হ্রাস পেয়েছে। ১৯৭৫ সনে মাথাপিছু পুষ্টি গ্রহণ ২০৯৪ ক্যালরি থেকে ১৯৪৩ ক্যালরিতে (১৯৮২ সনে) নেমে এসেছে [১১;৩৫৯]।

১৯৮৩-৮৪ সনে সম্পাদিত 'জাতীয়ভিত্তিক গৃহস্থালী ব্যয় জরিপে দেখা যায়, বাংলাদেশে অনুমোদিত গড় দৈনিক খাদ্য ক্যালরী গ্রহণে অক্ষম জনসংখ্যার পরিমাণ গ্রামাঞ্চলে ৪০% এবং শহরাঞ্চলে ৩০%। এবং নূন্যতম খাদ্যক্যালরী গ্রহণের নীচে (অর্থাৎ ১৬০০ ক্যালরীর কম) অবস্থানরত লোকসংখ্যা গ্রামাঞ্চলে ১০% এবং শহরাঞ্চলে ৮% [১২]। গ্রামীণ এলাকায় অপুষ্টি সমস্যা ব্যাপক, বিশেষতঃ শিশু গর্ভবর্তী এবং স্তন্যদায়ী মা'রা অপুষ্টির বড় শিকার। অপুষ্টির মরণ রোগ জীবাণু প্রতিরোধের শক্তি লোপ পায়। অপুষ্টি মা'দের ভূমিষ্ট সন্তানের ওজন স্বাস্থ্যবান মা'দের তুলনায় অনেক কম হয় এবং নানা রকম রোগে ভোগে।

গ্রামীণ এলাকায় বিপুলসংখ্যক শিশু জটিল অপুষ্টিতে ভুগছে। এদের শতকরা ৬১ জনের বয়স ২ বৎসরের নীচে এবং ৭৫ জনের বয়স ৫ বৎসরের নীচে (অর্থাৎ ৪৮-৪৯ মাস) [১৩;৩৪]।

### ১.৪ মৃত্যু ও রোগের ধরন

বাংলাদেশে বিশেষতঃ গ্রামীণ এলাকায় বেশীর ভাগ মৃত্যু ঘটে সংক্রামক রোগে। সংক্রামক ব্যাধির কারণে মৃত্যু ও অসুস্থতার (morbidity) হার অধিক। এর মূলে রয়েছে অস্বাস্থ্যকর

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পরিবেশ, স্বাস্থ্য জ্ঞানের অভাব, বিশুদ্ধ পানি সরবরাহ ও সেনিটারী শৌচাগারের অপ্রতুলতা ইত্যাদি।

গ্রামীণ এলাকায় রোগের গুরুত্ব অনুসারে মৃত্যু হার বেশী লক্ষ্য করা যায় যথাক্রমে উদরাময় রোগে (১৪.৮%), প্রতিষেধক টিকার নিয়ন্ত্রণাধীন রোগে (১৩% যথা ডিপাথেরিয়া, ধনুষ্ঠংকার, পোলিও এবং হাম), পক্ষাঘাত, রক্তচাপ ও হৃদরোগে (৯.১%), বিভিন্ন ধরনের জ্বরে (৬.২%), শ্বাসপ্রশ্বাস জনিত রোগে, (৬.২%) জন্ডিস রোগে (৪%) এবং ক্যালসারে (২.৮%) বার্ষিকজনিত বিভিন্ন রোগে (১৭%) এবং অন্যান্য ও অসনাক্তরোগে (২৬. ৯%) (সারণী-১) [৯;১১৪]। শিশুদের (১-৪ বৎসরে) মধ্যে বেশী মারা যায় উদরাময় রোগে অর্থাৎ ৩৭.৮%। বাংলাদেশে প্রতি বৎসর ৮৫০,০০০ শিশু (৫ বৎসর) মারা যায়। এর মধ্যে প্রায় ৩০% মারা যায় ৬টি জটিল সংক্রামক রোগ (যথা ধনুষ্ঠংকারে, ডিপাথেরিয়া, হপিংকপ, পোলিও, হাম ও যক্ষ্মা) এবং শুধু মাত্র ধনুষ্ঠংকারে মারা যায় ২৫.৯% [১৪;৩]। বাংলাদেশে অসুস্থতার হার (morbidity) ১১%। পল্লী অঞ্চলে অসুস্থতার হার শহরাঞ্চলের (৯.০৭%) তুলনায় কিছুটা বেশী (অর্থাৎ) (১১.৫%)। গ্রামাঞ্চলে বর্তমানে অসুস্থ ব্যক্তিদের রোগের ধরন অনুযায়ী অবস্থান নিম্নরূপঃ

গুরুত্বের অনুপাতে উদরাময় রোগে ২১%, ম্যালেরিয়া, টাইফয়েড এবং অন্যান্য জ্বরে ২১.৫%, শ্বাস-প্রশ্বাস জনিত রোগে ১২.৮%, জন্ডিসে, ৪%, আলসারে ৫.৭%, বাতজ্বরে ৩.৯%, চর্মরোগে ৩.৪% এবং অপুষ্টিতে ২.৭%। মোট অসুস্থতার তিন-চতুর্থাংশ উপরোক্ত রোগের আওতায় পড়ে। অন্যান্য জটিল রোগের মধ্যে রয়েছে চক্ষুপীড়া ৩%, রক্তপাচ, পক্ষাঘাত এবং হৃদক্রিয়া ৩.৫%, আলসার ৫.৭%, বার্ষিকজনিত রোগে ২.৭% এবং অন্যান্য অসনাক্ত রোগে ১০.১%(সারণী-২)[৯]।

## ২। গ্রামীণ এলাকায় স্বাস্থ্য সুযোগসুবিধা

স্বাস্থ্য সম্মত পরিবেশ, যথা-পরিষ্কার পরিচ্ছন্নতা, উন্নত পানি সরবরাহ, বিশুদ্ধ পানি, পাকা শৌচাগার এবং ময়লা-আবর্জনা নিষ্কাশনের জন্য সূষ্ঠ ব্যবস্থা ইত্যাদি সংক্রামক ব্যাধি নিরোধের জন্য খুবই সহায়ক।

গ্রামাঞ্চলে শকতরা ৮৬.২ জন লোক বিশুদ্ধ খাবার পানি হিসাবে নলকূপের পানি ব্যবহার করে থাকে এবং অবশিষ্ট (১৮.৭%) নদী, খালবিল, পুকুর এবং কুয়ার পানি পান করে থাকে। যদিও গ্রামাঞ্চলে খাবার পানির প্রধান উৎস নলকূপ কিন্তু অন্যান্য গৃহস্থালী কাজে, যেমন-রান্না, হাড়ি-পাতিল-বাসন-কোসন ধৌত কাজে, পোষাক-পরিচ্ছদ পরিষ্কার এবং গৃহপালিত পশুর গোসলসহ ইত্যাদি কাজে গ্রামাঞ্চলের সংখ্যাগরিষ্ঠ লোক প্রধানতঃ নদী/পুকুর/খাল বিলের অপরিষ্কার দূষিত পানি ব্যবহার করে থাকে। রান্না এবং হাড়ি-পাতিল ধৌত কাজে গ্রামাঞ্চলে প্রায় দুই-তৃতীয়াংশ খানা (৬৩.২%) পুকুর, নদী, কুয়া এবং এক তৃতীয়াংশ খানা

(৩৪.৬%) নলকূপের পানি ব্যবহার করে থাকে। শহরাঞ্চলে ৯৬% খানা খাবার পানির জন্য টেপ এবং নলকূপের পানি ব্যবহার করে। এবং হাড়ি পাতিল পরিষ্কার কাজে ৭০% খানা টেপ এবং নলকূপ এবং ২৭% খানা পুকুরের পানির উপর নির্ভরশীল।

গ্রামীণ এলাকায় মল ত্যাগের প্রধান উৎস কাঁচা শৌচাগার (৪৫%) এবং ঝোপ-জঙ্গল, উন্মুক্ত মাঠ (৪৪%)। মাত্র ১.৩% এবং ৮.৫% খানা সেনিটারী এবং পাকা শৌচাগার ব্যবহার করে। শহরাঞ্চলে দুই তৃতীয়াংশের উপরে (৭১.৬%) সেনিটারী এবং পাকা শৌচাগার ব্যবহার করে এবং ২২.৬% কাঁচা শৌচাগার ব্যবহার করে।

সুতরাং দেখা যাচ্ছে গ্রামীণ জনগণের এক বৃহত্তম অংশ মল ত্যাগের জন্য কাঁচা শৌচাগার এবং ঝোপ-জঙ্গলের উপর নির্ভরশীল [৯; ১৭৪-৭]। স্বাস্থ্য বিষয়ক মামুলি অভ্যাসগুলো যেমন-খাবার আগে হাত-মুখ ধোয়া, নিয়মিত দন্ত পরিষ্কার করা, বিস্কদ্ধ পানি ব্যবহার, স্বাস্থ্য সম্মতভাবে রান্না করা এবং পরিমিত খাবার গ্রহণ ইত্যাদি সংক্রামক রোগের প্রকোপ বহুলাংশে হ্রাস করে। কিন্তু গ্রামীণ জনগণের বিপুল গোষ্ঠীর স্বাস্থ্যজ্ঞানই নাই, এর মূলে রয়েছে ব্যাপক নিরক্ষতা।

গ্রামাঞ্চলে ময়লা-আবর্জনা নিক্ষেপনের কোন ব্যবস্থা নেই। এতে মশা-মাছি এবং কীট-পতংগের বংশ বৃদ্ধি পায় এবং বিভিন্ন রোগ বিস্তারে সাহায্য করে।

### ৩। স্বাস্থ্য খাতে ব্যয়

বাংলাদেশের প্রথম, দ্বিতীয় এবং তৃতীয় পঞ্চ বার্ষিক পরিকল্পনাগুলোতে মোট বরাদ্দের তুলনায় স্বাস্থ্য খাতে প্রকৃত ব্যয় বরাদ্দের একটা ক্রমহ্রাসমান প্রবণতা লক্ষ্য করা যায় অর্থাৎ ৩.৪%, ২.৬% এবং ২.২% (সারণী ৩ এবং ৪)।

তৃতীয় পঞ্চ বার্ষিক পরিকল্পনায় বরাদ্দ করা হয়েছে ৫০০ কোটি টাকা কিন্তু গত তিন বছরে (১৯৮৫-৮৮) প্রকৃত ব্যয় হয়েছে ২৩৮.১১ কোটি টাকা (অর্থাৎ ৪৩.৩%)। সুতরাং পূর্ব অভিজ্ঞতা থেকে সহজেই আচ করা যায় পরিকল্পনা শেষ নাগাদ মোট বরাদ্দের আরো কাট-ছাট হবে।

### ৪। গ্রামীণ স্বাস্থ্য সেবা ব্যবস্থা

পল্লীর বিপুল জনগোষ্ঠী তাদের অসুখ-বিসুখে প্রধানতঃ 'সনাতন' চিকিৎসকদের উপর নির্ভর করে (যথা-পল্লী চিকিৎসক/হাতুড়ে ডাক্তার, হোমিওপ্যাথ, কবিরাজ/হেকিম ইত্যাদি)। পল্লী অঞ্চলে সনাতন চিকিৎসকরা চিকিৎসা খাতের প্রধান উৎস। গ্রামাঞ্চলে এম,বি,বি, এস ডাক্তারের সংখ্যা খুব কম। বাংলাদেশে রেজিস্টার্ড ডাক্তারের সংখ্যা ১৬,০৯০ এবং ৬,৩২১ জনের জন্য একজন ডাক্তার রয়েছে [১৫]। কিন্তু গ্রামীণ এলাকায় ডাক্তার প্রতি জনসংখ্যার অনুপাত কয়েক গুণ বেশী। পল্লীবাসীদের প্রায় ক্ষেত্রে উন্নত চিকিৎসার জন্য উপজেলা স্বাস্থ্য কমপ্লেক্স ডাক্তারের উপর নির্ভর করতে হয়। সুতরাং গ্রামীণ স্বাস্থ্য খাতে

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‘সনাতন’ চিকিৎসকরা এক বিরাট ভূমিকা পালন করছে।

গ্রাম প্রতি ‘সনাতন’ চিকিৎসকদের সংখ্যা গড়ে ২.১ জন, এর মধ্যে পল্লী চিকিৎসক/হাতুড়ে ডাক্তার (১.২), হোমিওপ্যাথ (০.৪), এবং কবিরাজ/হেকিম (০.৫)। এ থেকে দেখা যায় গ্রামীণ স্বাস্থ্য খাতের এরা এক বিরাট অংশ জুড়ে আছে [৯]। স্বাস্থ্য পেশাজীবীদের মধ্যে গ্রাম্য দাইদের প্রশিক্ষণ নেই। কিন্তু গ্রামাঞ্চলে বিপুলসংখ্যক শিশু এদের হাতে অস্বাস্থ্যসম্মত উপায়ে ভূমিষ্ট হয়। ফলে মা ও শিশুর মৃত্যুর খুব ঝুঁকি থাকে।

সরকারী স্বাস্থ্য সেবা বা ব্যবস্থার আওতায় গ্রামীণ জনগণের জন্য উপজেলা এবং ইউনিয়ন পর্যায়ে রয়েছে উপজেলা স্বাস্থ্য কমপ্লেক্স এবং ইউনিয়ন স্বাস্থ্য ও পরিবার পরিকল্পনা কেন্দ্র (সংক্ষেপে ইউনিয়ন উপ-কেন্দ্র)। মোট ৩৯৭টি গ্রামীণ উপজেলার মধ্যে বর্তমানে ৩৫১টি উপজেলায় স্বাস্থ্য কমপ্লেক্স চালু আছে এবং ৪৬টি উপজেলাতে (অর্থাৎ ১১.৬%) এখানো পর্যন্ত স্বাস্থ্য কমপ্লেক্সের অবকাঠামো স্থাপন করা হয় নাই। বর্তমানে ৪৫০০ ইউনিয়নের মধ্যে ২৪০০ ইউনিয়নে (অর্থাৎ ৫৩.৩%) স্বাস্থ্য উপকেন্দ্র চালু আছে। এর মধ্যে ১২৭৫টি স্বাস্থ্য দপ্তর এবং অবিশিষ্টগুলো জনসংখ্যা নিয়ন্ত্রণ পরিদপ্তর কর্তৃক পরিচালিত।

নিম্নপর্যায়ে স্বাস্থ্য ও জনসংখ্যা অধিদপ্তরের নিয়ন্ত্রণাধীন ৪০,০০০ পুরুষ ও মহিলা মাঠ কর্মী নিয়োজিত রয়েছে। বিভিন্ন সমীক্ষায় দেখা গেছে জনগণের সাথে মাঠ কর্মীদের প্রত্যক্ষ সম্পর্ক কম। এর ফলে গ্রাম পর্যায়ে এক বিরাট মাঠ কর্মীবাহিনী নিয়োজিত থাকা সত্ত্বেও জনগণের কাছে স্বাস্থ্য ও জন্ম নিয়ন্ত্রণের মাঠ সেবা যথাযথভাবে পৌঁছতে পারছে না।

গ্রামাঞ্চলে সরকারী উপজেলা স্বাস্থ্য কেন্দ্রগুলো নানা সমস্যা জর্জড়িত, যথা ডাক্তার (বিশেষতঃ গাইনী এবং দস্ত), নার্স, টেকনিসিয়ান এবং প্রয়োজনীয় যন্ত্রপাতিসহ ওষুধের অপ্রতুলতা ইত্যাদি। একটি উপজেলা স্বাস্থ্য কমপ্লেক্সের জন্য বার্ষিক ওষুধ বরাদ্দ মাত্র ২৫০,০০০ টাকা। একটি উপজেলায় গড়ে দুই লক্ষ লোকের প্রয়োজনের তুলনায় ইহা খুবই কম। তাছাড়া অনুরূত যানবাহনের জন্য উপজেলা স্বাস্থ্য কমপ্লেক্সগুলো দূরত্বের দিক দিয়ে বেশীর ভাগ জনগণের নাগালের বাইরে। বিআইডিএস সমীক্ষায় দেখা যায় দুই তৃতীয়াংশ থানা প্রধান বলেছে, বাড়ী থেকে কমপ্লেক্সের দূরত্ব ৩০ মিনিটের উপর এবং এর মধ্যে ৩৬% বলেছেন ১ ঘণ্টার উপর [৯]। চিকিৎসা ব্যবহার ধরন অনুযায়ী উক্ত জরীপে দেখা যায়, গ্রামাঞ্চলে রোগীদের দুই তৃতীয়াংশ সনাতন চিকিৎসক এবং এক তৃতীয়াংশ এম, বি, বি, এস / এল, এম, এফ ডাক্তারদের কাছ থেকে চিকিৎসা গ্রহণ করছে। সনাতন ডাক্তারদের মধ্যে রয়েছে পল্লী চিকিৎসক/হাতুড়ে ডাক্তার (৪৫%), হোমিওপ্যাথ (১৫%) এবং কবিরাজ/হেকিম (৫%)। তাছাড়া চিকিৎসা ক্ষেত্রে পীরফকিরের ফু-ঝাড়, টোটকা, তাবিজ ইত্যাদিরও ভূমিকা অকিঞ্চিৎকর নয়। দেখা গেছে মৃত ব্যক্তিদের ১৪% এদের কাছে থেকে অসুস্থ অবস্থায় চিকিৎসা নিয়েছে।

### ৫ সুপারিশ

১। প্রাথমিক স্বাস্থ্য কর্মসূচী সূষ্ঠ বাস্তবায়নের জন্য জনগণের সক্রিয় অংশগ্রহণ অত্যন্ত অপরিহার্য। জনগণের স্বাস্থ্য জনগণের হাতে এ বোধ জনগণকে উদ্বুদ্ধ করতে হবে। এ জন্য স্বাস্থ্য জ্ঞান প্রদানের মাধ্যমে জনগণের স্বাস্থ্য সচেতনতা বৃদ্ধি করা দরকার।

২। রোগ নিরাময়ের চেয়ে রোগ প্রতিরোধের উপর বিশেষ গুরুত্ব আরোপ করতে হবে। ছয়টি জটিল সংক্রামক রোগে প্রতি বৎসর ৮.৫ লক্ষ শিশু আমাদের দেশে মারা যায়, এর বেশীর ভাগই মারা যায় পল্লী এলাকায়। সমন্বিত প্রতিবেধক টিকাদান কর্মসূচী জোরদার করার মাধ্যমে শিশু মৃত্যু বহুলাংশে হ্রাস করা যায়। প্রতিবেধক টিকাদান কার্যাবলীর অগ্রগতি নৈরাশ্যজনক।

বিআইডিএস সম্পাদিত এক সমীক্ষায় (১৯৮৪-৮৫) দেখা যায়, ১৯৮৫ সনে শিশুদের অনূর্ধ্ব ১৫ বছর সম্প্রসারিত টিকাদান কর্মসূচীর আওতায় এর লক্ষ্যমাত্রা (হাম বাদে) অর্জনে ব্যর্থ হয়। বিসিজি, ডিপিটি এবং পোলিও টিকাদান-এর লক্ষ্যমাত্রা ২১%, ১.৪% এবং ০.৫% অর্জিত হয়।

সার্বিকভাবে রোগের প্রকোপ রোধে পল্লী এলাকায় অস্বাস্থ্যকর পরিবেশ উন্নয়নের লক্ষ্যে বিশুদ্ধ পানি সরবরাহ, পয়ঃনিষ্কাশন এবং ময়লা-আবর্জনা ফেলার সূষ্ঠ ব্যবস্থাসহ স্বাস্থ্যসহ স্বাস্থ্য পরিচর্যার একটি সমন্বিত কর্মসূচী গ্রহণ করা দরকার। বিশুদ্ধ পানি সম্পর্কে জনগণকে গ্রীহস্থালীসহ অন্যান্য কাজে বিশুদ্ধ পানি ব্যবহারের উপকারিতা বুঝাতে হবে, কারণ গ্রামাঞ্চলে বেশীর ভাগ কাজে যেথা, রান্না, কাপড় ধোয়া ইত্যাদি পুকুর/নদী/খাল/বিলের অবিশুদ্ধ পানি ব্যবহার করা হয়। বেশীর ভাগ রোগ হওয়ার মূলে রয়েছে জীবাণু-বাহিত পানি ব্যবহার।

৩। 'গণ স্বাস্থ্য অভিযানের' মাধ্যমে পল্লীর জনগণ নিজ এলাকার আবর্জনা, ময়লা এবং ঝোপ-ঝাড়-জংল পরিষ্কারসহ গর্ত ভরাট, জলাশয় সংস্কার ইত্যাদি কাজে অংশগ্রহণ করে স্বাস্থ্য পরিবেশ উন্নয়নে যথেষ্ট সাহায্য করতে পারে। এখানে উল্লেখ করা যেতে পারে, অনুরূপ অভিযানের মাধ্যমে চীনের জনগণ ১৯৫২ সনের প্রথম ছয়মাসে ৩.৫ মিলিয়ন টন ময়লা আবর্জনা, ২৮০,০০০ কিলোমিটার গর্ত খনন এবং ১.৩ মিলিয়ন কুয়া সংস্কার করে, তাছাড়া মশা, মাছি এবং ইঁদুর নিধনে অংশ নেয়। ১৯৮২ সনে ২২টি প্রদেশের ২২ মিলিয়ন লোক ২৪ মিলিয়ন ময়লা-আবর্জনা এবং ১.৩ মিলিয়ন নোংরা জায়গা (spot) পরিষ্কার করে। ১৯৪৯ সন থেকে জাতীয় পর্যায়ে বিভিন্ন স্তরে গঠিত গণ-কমিটির মাধ্যমে 'গণস্বাস্থ্য অভিযানের' কাজ পরিচালিত হয়ে আসছে। এর ফলে চীনে সংক্রামক রোগ দারুণভাবে হ্রাস পায় এবং কতক রোগ চীরতরে নির্মূল হয় [৪;৩৫]।

### হোসেন : গ্রামীণ স্বাস্থ্য অবস্থা

৪। গ্রামাঞ্চলে জনগণের অসুখ-বিসুখে সহজলভ্য এবং সুলভ মূল্য চিকিৎসক হিসাবে 'গ্রাম্য ডাক্তাররা এক বিরাট অংশ জুড়ে আছে। গ্রামীণ স্বাস্থ্য ব্যবস্থায় এদের মূখ্য ভূমিকা বিবেচনা করে পেশাগত মনোন্নয়নের জন্য প্রশিক্ষণ দেওয়া দরকার। এ লক্ষ্য অর্জনে 'পল্লী চিকিৎসক কোর্স পুনঃ প্রবর্তন করা দরকার। তাছাড়া তাদের সেবাকে জাতীয় স্বাস্থ্য সেবা ব্যবস্থার আওতাধীনে আনা দরকার। ১৯৫৪ সনে চীন নিয়মতান্ত্রিক ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণের মাধ্যমে 'সনাতন' চিকিৎসকদের রাষ্ট্রীয় চিকিৎসা ব্যবস্থার সাথে একত্রীভূত করে। চীনে নিম্ন পর্যায়ে এক বিরাট সংখ্যক নগ্নপদ ডাক্তার এবং খন্ডকালীন স্বাস্থ্যকর্মীসহ দাইরা প্রাথমিক স্বাস্থ্য ব্যবস্থার অবিচ্ছেদ্য অংশ হিসাবে কাজ করছে। ১৯৮১ সনে চীনে নগ্নপদ ডাক্তারের সংখ্যা ছিলো ১৩৯৬০০০ এবং স্বাস্থ্যকর্মীসহ ধাত্রী ছিলো ২৫৯১০০০ [৪; ১৮-৯]।

৫। যে সব উপজেলা এবং ইউনিয়নে এখনো সরকারী স্বাস্থ্য কেন্দ্র নির্মাণ করা হয়নি, সেখানে পশ্চাদপদ উপজেলা এবং দূরবর্তী ইউনিয়নগুলোকে অগ্রাধিকার দিতে হবে। ধনী ব্যক্তিদের দান করা জমিতে অনুরূপ এলাকায় ইউনিয়ন উপকেন্দ্র নির্মাণের কাজ ত্বরান্বিত করা যেতে পারে। এ জন্য স্বাস্থ্যকর্মে কমিউনিটি অংশগ্রহণকে উৎসাহিত করতে হবে।

৬। পল্লী অঞ্চলে মাঝ ধাপের চিকিৎক (যেমন-মেডিকেল এ্যাসিস্ট্যান্ট) বেশী পরিমাণে নিয়োগ করা যেতে পারে কারণ তারা অতি সহজে গ্রামীণ পরিবেশের সাথে একাত্ম হয়ে বাস করে। সাধারণ রোগের চিকিৎসার জন্য এরা সহায়ক।

৭। গ্রামাঞ্চলে সন্তান প্রসবে গ্রাম্য দাইদের গুরুত্ব অনস্বীকার্য। সুতরাং তাদের উপযুক্ত প্রশিক্ষণ দিতে হবে। বর্তমানে ২৪০০০ প্রশিক্ষণ প্রাপ্ত দাই আছে।

### ৮। উপসংহার

শুধু স্বাস্থ্য খাত দিয়ে সুস্বাস্থ্য পাওয়া সম্ভব নয়। বাংলাদেশের মত একটি উন্নয়নশীল দেশে ভাল স্বাস্থ্য অর্জনের জন্য প্রয়োজন অর্থনৈতিক উন্নয়ন, দারিদ্র মোচন কর্মসূচী, খাদ্য উৎপাদন, গৃহসংস্থান, বিশুদ্ধ পানি, পরিবেশ রক্ষা এবং সর্বোপরি শিক্ষা।

সুতরাং স্বাস্থ্যমান উন্নয়নের জন্য সংশ্লিষ্ট বিভিন্ন খাত (Sectors) গুলোর মধ্যে সমন্বয় ও সহযোগিতা বৃদ্ধির লক্ষ্যে একটি বহুমুখী কৌশল প্রণয়ন এবং বাস্তবায়ন করা দরকার (যথা- কৃষি, পশু পালন, খাদ্য, শিল্প, পুষ্টি, কর্মসংস্থান এবং যোগাযোগ ও যানবাহন ব্যবস্থা ইত্যাদি)। এটা একটি দীর্ঘ মেয়াদী কর্মসূচী হতে পারে কিন্তু বর্তমান স্বাস্থ্যের মান উন্নয়নের ইতিবাচক গুরুত্ব অনস্বীকার্য।

সারণী-১ঃ রোগের ধরণ অনুযায়ী পুরুষ ও মহিলা মৃত্যুর বন্টন (পল্লী এলাকা)

(শতকরা)

| অসুখের নাম                    | পুরুষ     | মহিলা     | উভয়েই     |
|-------------------------------|-----------|-----------|------------|
| (১)                           | (২)       | (৩)       | (৪)        |
| ডিপথিরিয়া                    |           | ১.২(১)    | ০.৬(১)     |
| ধনষ্টংকার                     | ৯.৪(৯)    | ৮.৭(৭)    | ৯.১(১৬)    |
| পলিও                          | ১.০(১)    | -         | ০.৬(১)     |
| হাম                           | ৩.১(৩)    | ২.৫(২)    | ২.৮(৫)     |
| ডাইরিয়া                      | ১২.৫(১২)  | ১৭.৫(১৪)  | ১৪.৮(২৬)   |
| জন্ডিস                        | ৪.২(৪)    | ৩.৭(৩)    | ৪.০(৭)     |
| ম্যালেরিয়া                   | -         | ৩.৭(৩)    | ১.৭(৩)     |
| অন্যান্য জ্বর ও টাইফয়েড      | ১.০(১)    | ৮.৭(৭)    | ৪.৫(৮)     |
| শ্বাস প্রশ্বাসজনিত অংশ        | ৪.২(৪)    | ৮.৭(৭)    | ৬.২(১১)    |
| কুমি                          | ১.০(১)    | ১.২(১)    | ১.১(২)     |
| আলসার/গ্যাসট্রিক              | ১.০(১)    | -         | ০.৬(১)     |
| কর্ডোভাস কেলিউর অসুখ          | ৮.৩(৮)    | ১০.০(৮)   | ৯.১(১৬)    |
| বহুমূত্র                      | ১.০(১)    | -         | ০.৬(১)     |
| ক্যানসার/টিউমার               | ৩.১(৩)    | ২.৫(২)    | ২.৮(৫)     |
| গর্ভ ও সন্তান প্রসব সংক্রান্ত | ২.১(২)    | ১.২(১)    | ১.৭(৩)     |
| অপুষ্টি                       | ২.১(২)    | -         | ১.১(২)     |
| কিডনী/পিত্তথলী সমস্যা         | ১.০(১)    | -         | ০.৬(১)     |
| দুর্ঘটনা                      | ১.০(১)    | -         | ০.৬(১)     |
| বাতজ্বর                       | ১.০(১)    | ১.২(১)    | ১.১(২)     |
| বার্ধক্যজনিত রোগ              | ২১.৯(২১)  | ১১.২(৯)   | ১৭.০(৩০)   |
| হঠাৎ মৃত্যু                   | ৫.২(৫)    | ২.৫(২)    | ৪.০(৭)     |
| অন্যান্য এরং জানিনা           | ১৫.৬(১৬)  | ১৫.০(১২)  | ১৫.৩(২৭)   |
| মোট                           | ১০০.০(৯৭) | ১০০.০(৮০) | ১০০.০(১৭৭) |

সূত্রঃ বিআইডিএস জরীপ (১৯৮৭)

হোসেন : গ্রামীণ স্বাস্থ্য অবস্থা

সারণী-২ঃ অসুস্থ ব্যক্তিদের বাসস্থান ভিত্তিক রোগের ধরণ

| অসুখের নাম                    | পল্লী এলাকা | শহর এলাকা  | উভয় এলাকা  |
|-------------------------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| (১)                           | (২)         | (৩)        | (৪)         |
| ডিপথিরিয়া                    | ০.১(১)      | ০.৩(১)     | ০.১(২)      |
| হুপিং কাশি                    | ০.৯(১৫)     | ১.৩(৪)     | ১.০(১৯)     |
| ধনুষ্টিংকার                   | ০.১(১)      | -          | ০.১(১)      |
| পলিও                          | ০.১(১)      | ০.৩(১)     | ০.১(২)      |
| যক্ষ্মা                       | ০.৫(৮)      | ০.৩(১)     | ০.৫(৯)      |
| হাম                           | ০.৭(১২)     | ১.৩(৪)     | ০.৪(৮)      |
| রাতকানা                       | ০.৪(৬)      | ০.৫(২)     | ০.৮(১৬)     |
| চোখের অসুখ                    | ৩.০(৪৯)     | ২.৩(৭)     | ২.৯(৫৬)     |
| ডাইরিয়া                      | ২১.০(৩৪০)   | ১৩.৭(৪২)   | ১৯.৯(৩৮২)   |
| কুমি                          | ১.২(২০)     | ০.৭(২)     | ১.১(২২)     |
| শ্বাস প্রশ্বাস জনিত অসুখ      | ১২.৮(২০৭)   | ৬.৯(২১)    | ১১.৯(২২৮)   |
| জন্ডিস                        | ৪.০(৬৪)     | ৩.৩(১০)    | ৩.৯(৭৪)     |
| ম্যালেরিয়া                   | ৩.২(৩৭)     | ০.৩(১)     | ২.০(৩৮)     |
| অন্যান্য জ্বর                 | ১৯.৩(৩০৭)   | ১৯.৩(৫৯)   | ১৯.৩(৩৬৬)   |
| চর্ম রোগ                      | ৩.৪(৫৫)     | ২.৩(৭)     | ৩.২(৬২)     |
| কিডনী/পিত্তথলি সমস্যা         | ০.২(৩)      | ২.০(৬)     | ০.৫(৯)      |
| বহু মূত্র                     | ০.৫(৮)      | ১৪.১(৪৩)   | ৫.২(৯৯)     |
| টিউমার/ক্যানসার               | ০.৫(৮)      | ৫.৬(১৭)    | ১.৩(২৫)     |
| গর্ভ ও সন্তান প্রসব সংক্রান্ত | ০.৬(৯)      | ১.০(৩)     | ০.৫(১০)     |
| স্ত্রীরোগ                     | ১.৫(২৪)     | ০.৩(১)     | ০.৫(১০)     |
| গ্যাসট্রিক/আলসার              | ৫.৭(৯২)     | ২.৩(৭)     | ১.৬(৩১)     |
| মানসিক রোগ                    | ৫.৭(৯২)     | ৮.২(২৫)    | ৬.১(১১৭)    |
| দুর্ঘটনা                      | ০.৪(৬)      | ০.৩(১)     | ০.৪(৭)      |
| নেশার কারণ                    | ০.৬(৯)      | ১.৩(৪)     | ০.৭(১৩)     |
| বাতজ্বর                       | ০.১(১)      | -          | ০.১(১)      |
| বার্ধক্যজনিত রোগ              | ৩.৯(৬০)     | ২.৯(৯)     | ৩.১(৭২)     |
| অপুষ্টি                       | ২.৭(৪৪)     | ১.৩(৪)     | ২.৫(৪৮)     |
| অন্যান্য এবং জানিনা           | ২.৭(৪৪)     | ৩.৩(১০)    | ২.৮(৫৪)     |
| মোট                           | ১০০.০(১৬১৪) | ১০০.০(৩০৬) | ১০০.০(১৯২০) |

সূত্রঃ বি আই ডি এস জরীপ (১৯৮৭)

সারণী-৩: বিভিন্ন পরিকল্পনায় ব্যয় বরাদ্দে স্বাস্থ্যের অবস্থান

| পরিকল্পনা                                 | মোট বরাদ্দ<br>(কোটি টাকা) | স্বাস্থ্য<br>(কোটি টাকা) | অনুপাত(%) |
|---|---------------------------|--------------------------|-----------|
| প্রথম পঞ্চ বার্ষিক পরিকল্পনা (১৯৭৩-৭৮)    | ৩৯৫২                      | ২০০                      | ৫.০৬      |
| দ্বিতীয় পঞ্চ বার্ষিক পরিকল্পনা (১৯৮০-৮৫) | ১৬০৬০                     | ৪১৩                      | ২.৫৭      |
| তৃতীয় পঞ্চ বার্ষিক পরিকল্পনা (১৯৮৫-৯০)   | ২৫০০০                     | ৫৫০                      | ২.২০      |

সূত্র: বাংলাদেশ পরিকল্পনা কমিশনের পঞ্চম বার্ষিক দলিল সমূহ

সারণী-৪: বিভিন্ন পরিকল্পনায় স্বাস্থ্য খাতে সংশোধিত বরাদ্দ ও প্রকৃত ব্যয়

| পরিকল্পনা                                | সংশোধিত বরাদ্দ<br>(কোটি টাকা) | ব্যয়<br>(কোটি টাকা) | ব্যয়/বরাদ্দ<br>অনুপাত(%) |
|--|-------------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|
| প্রথম পঞ্চ বার্ষিক পরিকল্পনা (১৯৭৩-৭৮)   | ১৪৭.৭৮                        | ১৩৩.১৮               | ৯০.১২                     |
| দ্বিতীয় পঞ্চবার্ষিক পরিকল্পনা (১৯৮০-৮৫) | ৪০৩.০                         | ৩৭০.৭৯               | ৯২.০                      |
| তৃতীয় পঞ্চবার্ষিক পরিকল্পনা (১৯৮৫-৮৮)   | ২৫৩.৬২                        | ২৩৮.১১               | ৯৩.৮৮                     |

সূত্র: দ্বিতীয় ও তৃতীয় পঞ্চ বার্ষিক পরিকল্পনা থেকে তৈরী।

বাংলাদেশ অর্থনৈতিক জরিপ ১৯৮৭/৮৮

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## GOVERNMENT POPULATION POLICIES : TARGETS AND ACHIEVEMENT

S. AHMAD\*

### 1. INTRODUCTION

The Government of Bangladesh (GOB) also currently maintains that high population growth is the "number one problem". Bangladesh today has a population of about 107 million people and the present annual growth rate of population is about 2.20 per cent. Such a rate if continued would lead to doubling of population in less than 30 years with several consequences. Firstly, the land-man ratio, would be roughly halved from its present low level of about 0.30 acres. Secondly, a high proportion of dependent population calls for higher amounts of investment in education and health than the country can afford. Thirdly, the extent of unemployment and underemployment would further worsen from its current estimated level of around 30 per cent. Finally, it is likely to push an increasing number of people from rural areas into urban settlements and consequently, add to various socio-economic problems already exist in the urban areas. All these call for an urgent need to halt the rate of population growth at the national level.

The main objective of the paper is to review the performance of Bangladesh family planning programme so as to provide guidance for fixing demographic targets in the Fourth Five Year Plan. With this end in view, GOB population policies and targets are reviewed in Section 2, facilities created to achieve these targets are presented in Section 3, performance of the family planning programme is discussed in Section 4 and finally some suggestions are put forward in fixing the targets in the Fourth Five Year Plan (FFYP) in Bangladesh.

### 2. POPULATION POLICIES AND TARGETS

The Government of Bangladesh has adopted policies and programmes to reduce fertility, and in its First Five Year Plan (1973-1978) emphasized the need "to keep the population of Bangladesh on the smaller size of 15

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crores". In the early years after the liberation war the family planning programme underwent many changes, but failed to fulfil the highly ambitious targets. Health and family planning were officially integrated in January 1974 but this did not work out well [5].

In 1976 the importance of population growth was re-emphasized by the government and a national population policy was announced. This policy stressed the need for intensive educational efforts through use of mass-media, indigenous media and face to face communication; enlisting the involvement of women, youth, religious groups, voluntary organizations, and communities, integration of material and child health and family planning, the introduction of system of incentives, etc.

In the reorganization of the family planning programme the Family Planning Board, the Inspection Directorate, and the Training Research and the Evaluation Centre were amalgamated into a new Directorate. Five units were established for (i) Information, Education and Motivation (IEM), (ii) Training, (iii) Research and Evaluation, (iv) Service Delivery, and (v) Administration. One of the most important changes was the recruitment and training of Family Planning Assistants (FPAs) and Family Welfare Assistants (FWAs) as grass root workers, by 1980 there were 781 Medical Assistants (MAs), 12,000 FWAs, and 4,100 FAAs. A Family Planning Council of Voluntary Organization was created to encourage voluntary organizations and social groups to support family planning activities.

### *2.1 Five Year Plans*

The First Five Year Plan (1973-1978) had the objective to reduce the annual rate of population growth from 3 per cent in 1973 to at least 2 per cent in 1978 and the crude birth rate from 47 per 1000 to 43 at the end of the plan period. As the performance during the first two years of the First Five Year Plan in the Family Planning Programme fell short of expectations. Its objectives in population growth was re-adjusted from 2 per cent in 1978 to 2.53 per cent in 1978 and 2 per cent in 1980 and replacement level in fertility level in 1985. These targets were not fulfilled by 1980. For instance, the contraceptive prevalence rate increased from about 9.6 per cent to 14 per cent from 1975 to 1980, well short of the target of 21.6 per cent. The main reasons for non-fulfilment of the targets, according to the Planning Commission, included lack of co-operation between the health and family planning workers, inadequate training and supervision of field workers, lack of proper reporting and monitoring, too few workers, inadequate service and follow-up care for sterilization, and various administrative problems.

The Second Five Year Plan (1980-1985) envisaged even more ambitious accomplishments, a reduction of the crude birth rate from just above 43 to 31.6, a decrease of 2.3 points per year, and an increase in contraceptive prevalence from 14 per cent to 37.5 per cent, an average increase of 4.7 points per year. Mechanism for achieving these goals included integration of maternal and child health with family planning, of population control activities with other development programmes, broad-based programme to enlist community participation, increased emphasis on voluntary sterilization including better clinical services and follow-up care, strengthening training, increased attention to monitoring and feed-back of performance, and improved evaluation.

Reviews of programme performance in the early half of the Second Five Year Plan led to a "Two Year Emergency Population Control Programme" which began in December 1982. These included a number of administrative changes designed to achieve better integration of health and family planning. Medical Officers (MOs) were given family planning duties, as also were Health Assistants (HAs); training was strengthened and there were sizeable increases in the number of Deputy Directors at the district level, 464 posts of Family Planning Officers (FPOs) were created, and posts of 401 Medical Officers (MCH and FP). 63 Medical Officer (clinic) and 64 Medical Officer (MST) were filled by placing doctors and deputation from the Health Services. Of the 13,500 posts of FWAs, 13,210 had been filled.

The Third Five Year Plan (1985-1990) envisages both a rapid increase in the contraceptive use from 25 to 40 per cent, and also a shift in the mix of contraceptive use from 37.5 to 43 per cent users of sterilization, a decrease in the proportion of oral pill users from the reported figure to 20 to 17.5 per cent. The plan also aims for an increase in the proportion of IUD users from 6 per cent reported in the 1985 CPS to 14 per cent in 1990, and a corresponding rise in condom users from 7 to 13 per cent. Traditional methods are assumed to decrease from the 27 per cent reported in the 1985 CPS to 10 per cent in 1990.

The policy approaches to meet these goals are to strengthen contraceptive services, and create further demand through health, social, economic and legal measures. Also, a staff incentive scheme announced, but not implemented in 1983, was again planned. This scheme would provide bonuses to field workers for exceeding their targets and a variety of award would be provided to unions, opazilas and Non-Government

Organizations (NGOs) for outstanding performance. National awards were also to be introduced for field workers, clinical staff, medical practitioners, programme managers and NGOs.

However, a series of targets has been announced by the Government of Bangladesh (GOB) in different plan periods. They are more ambitious than as yet achieved and perhaps more ambitious than can reasonably be expected (Table 1). For example, a target of 2 per cent for the population growth rate was established in 1973 to be achieved by 1978, again in 1976 to be achieved by 1980, and again in 1985 to be achieved by 1981<sup>1</sup>.

Similarly, crude birth rate declines of 11.7 points in five years were postulated in 1980, and of 8 points in five years in 1985. Declines of these magnitudes in CBR, although not unknown, are very rare indeed. Both Japan and China have slightly exceeded the average of 1.6 points decline per year in CBR, an average of 8 points decline in five years but have not managed a decline as rapid as that proposed for 1980-1985 in Bangladesh. It is, of course, a matter of judgement as to whether workers are more stimulated by goals that exceed their grasp or goals that are achieved with considerable effort.

Table 1: Targets in Different Plan Periods

| (a) Rate of Population Growth (%)     | Target | Date |      |       | Established |
|---------------------------------------|--------|------|------|-------|-------------|
|                                       | date   | 1973 | 1976 | 1980  | 1985        |
|                                       | 1973   | 3.0  |      |       |             |
|                                       | 1978   | 2.0  | 2.53 |       |             |
|                                       | 1980   |      | 2.00 |       |             |
|                                       | 1985   |      | 1.00 |       | 2.4         |
|                                       | 1990   |      |      | 1.00  | 1.8         |
|                                       | 2000   |      |      |       | 1.0         |
| (b) Crude Birth Rate (Per 1000)       | 1973   | 47   |      |       |             |
|                                       | 1978   | 48   |      |       |             |
|                                       | 1980   |      |      | 43.25 |             |
|                                       | 1985   |      |      | 31.56 | 39.0        |
|                                       | 1990   |      |      |       | 31.0        |
| (c) Contraceptive Prevalence Rate (%) | 1973   |      |      |       |             |
|                                       | 1978   |      |      |       |             |
|                                       | 1980   |      |      |       |             |
|                                       | 1985   |      |      |       |             |
|                                       | 1990   |      |      |       | 40.0        |

Source: Cleland and Mauldin (1987:0.20).

To achieve the demographic targets, workers were assigned monthly

1. Interpolated from the estimated population growth rate of 2.4 per cent in 1985 and target of 1.8 per cent in 1990.

targets for recruitment of family planning users in 1983, with particular attention being paid to the number of sterilization acceptors. The targets for FWAs were one IUD and two sterilization clients per month. In principle and sometimes in fact, workers were reprimanded for failure to achieve their targets. Some workers believe that their salaries have been delayed because of not achieving their targets but knowledgeable persons say that the delays probably were unrelated to programme performance. However, a sizeable proportion of workers say that at times their salaries have been withheld because of failure to achieve their targets. The target system for workers was abandoned in July 1987.

### 3. FACILITIES CREATED/PROVIDED FOR FAMILY PLANNING

To achieve demographic target in different plans, GOB has created infrastructural facilities for implementation of the family planning programme. In addition, GOB has also made provision for supplying family planning services to the eligible couples at free of cost and sometimes at subsidised prices.

#### *3.1. Organizational Structure at the Upazila Level*

There is an extensive network of facilities and personnel for health and family planning programmes. The institutional facilities available as of June 1986 for providing clinical and non-clinical contraceptive services as well as health services including MCH activities 477 Upazila Health Complexes, 1220 Health and Family Welfare Centres, 91 MCH clinics, 58 district (earlier Sub-Divisional) hospitals, 33 BAVS clinics, 18 BFPA clinics, 40 community-based distributional (CBD) centres under BFPA, and about 13,000 Social Marketing Project (SMP) distributional outlets. There are 19 Regional Training Centres (earlier District Training Centres), 12 FWV Training Centres, 12 Medical Assistant Training Schools, 12 Model Clinics and 8 Medical Colleges to train health and family planning personnels.

The number of workers has been increased several times during the period since independence. The worker/population ratio was 1:110,000 in 1976 but it was greatly improved to 1:20,000 in 1980. Plans are currently underway to recruit an additional 10,000 FWAs so that the ratio of FWAs to the population will be 1:5,000. As of June 1986, about 1500 MAS, 3958 Family Welfare Visitors (FWVs), 474 Pharmacists, 5588 Family Planning Assistants (FPAs), and 13236 Family Welfare Assistants (FWAs) were engaged in the Government family planning and MCH programmes. The workers of Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) covered about 15 per cent of population to deliver contraceptive services.

In the organizational structure in the Upazila Health Complex, at the Upazila level there is a Family Planning Officer (FPO) who supervises FAs at the Union level and they in turn supervises the FWAs at the Ward level. There is a particular need for a large number of FWAs because of the cultural restrictions on village women from travelling along outside their family compounds. Male workers are not welcome to talk with women, and this highlights the need for FWAs to visit the home of clients and potential clients. The organizational structure of health workers replicates that of the family planning workers and in principle Health Assistants (HAs) do some family planning work and FWAs do some health work. As will be noted later, each type of worker performs the type of work described by her title, but very little of other kinds of work.

### *3.2 Sterilization Facilities and Quality of Care*

Bangladesh has a very extensive network of sterilization clinics and clients do not have to travel very far in order to be sterilized. As of March 1986, facilities for sterilization were available in 477 Upazila Health Complexes. 71 Mother and Child Welfare Centres (MCWCs), all Sub-Divisional and District Medical College Hospitals, 33 Bangladesh Association of Voluntary Sterilization (BAVS) clinics, 18 Bangladesh Family Planning Association (BFPA) clinics and about 42 clinical hospitals of other agencies. In addition, 20 Mobile Sterilization Teams (MST) at district level provides sterilization services in areas where these facilities are not available. Upazila Health Complexes also extend services to the Union levels through camps which are organized at fortnightly or monthly intervals at 100 Family Welfare Centres (FWCs).

During 1979 and 1980 there were some sterilization related deaths, a large proportion of which were the results of inappropriate anaesthetic practices and inadequate care. The GOB undertook a number of measures to maintain and improve the quality of sterilization services including (a) the introduction of a new regiment of anaesthesia and management of sterilization cases, (b) training of medical personal in view techniques of anaesthesia and case management; (c) upgrading the physical facilities at sterilization centres; (d) improving the manual for sterilization procedures; and (e) institution of a system of surveillance of sterilization centres by a combined team of expatriate and local consultants.

A midterm evaluation of sterilization procedures carried out in 1984 noted an improvement in the sterilization programme with reported death per 100,000 tubectomies declining from 19 in 1979 to 12 in 1981 and 4.5

in 1983. Deaths from vasectomy were at much lower level—2 per 100,000 in 1979 and 1.7 in 1983. It is also worth noting that women choosing tubectomy do not want more children, and sterilization permits them to avoid the risks of maternal death which is very high in Bangladesh—between 600 and 700 per 100,000 births.

### 3.3 Compensation Payments in Bangladesh

The amount of compensation payments to sterilization clients, and payments to service providers/personnel and "referrers"—those who accompany sterilization clients to clinics/hospitals and are credited with having recruited them—has varied over time (Table-2).

In 1976 compensation payments of Taka 96 were offered to a man who had a vasectomy operation and Taka 108 to a woman who had a tubectomy operation. The rural cost of living index, averaged across all regions, has increased 11 per cent per year, on average, from 1976 to 1985-86. As a consequence, in constant prices of 1976/77, Taka 96 offered for a vasectomy in 1976 declined to Taka 49 in 1982/83. In 1983 compensation payments to sterilization client increased to Taka 175, but because of inflation, this amount was the equivalent of only Taka 80 in constant prices of 1976/77. By 1985/86 Taka 175 paid to a sterilization client was the equivalent of Taka 67 in 1976/77 prices. The declines in real value of compensation paid to clients are shown in Table 3. Similarly, 175 in 1983/84 have decreased in value to Taka 150 and to Taka 148 in 1985/86 because inflation, using the cost of living index of 1983/84 =100.

Table 2: Compensation Payments in Bangladesh: 1965-1987 (Tk. per client)

| RECIPIENT          | 1965-70 | 1976-83 | 1983-87 |
|--------------------|---------|---------|---------|
| CLIENT             |         |         |         |
| Tubectomy          | -       | 108     | 175b    |
| + Saree            | -       | 60      | 90      |
| Vasectomy          | 25      | 96      | 175b    |
| + Lungi            | -       | 33      | 50      |
| REFERRER ++        |         |         |         |
| Tubectomy          | -       |         |         |
| F. P. Worker       | -       | 15      | 45a     |
| Dai                | -       | 45      | 45      |
| Other              | -       | 35      | 45a     |
| Vasectomy          | -       |         |         |
| F. P. Worker       | -       | 15      | 45a     |
| Dai                | 2.50    | 45      | 45      |
| Other              | 2.00    | 35      | 45a     |
| DOCTOR             |         |         |         |
| Tubectomy          | -       | 18      | 20      |
| Vasectomy          | 25      | 18      | 20      |
| CLINICAL ASSISTANT |         |         |         |
| Tubectomy          | -       | 10      | 15      |
| Vasectomy          | -       | 8       | 12      |
| TOTAL              |         |         |         |
| Tubectomy          | -       | 241     | 345     |
| Vasectomy          | 52.50   | 200     | 302     |

Note: a. Effective as of March 1985. b. Effective as of March, 1983 ++ Referrer payments were abolished since July 1988.

Table-3 : Compensation Payments to Sterilization Clients (Tk./per client, in constant prices of 1976/77)

| Year    | Consumer Price index <sup>2</sup> | Vasectomy | Tubectomy |
|---------|-----------------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| 1976/77 | 100                               | 96        | 108       |
| 1977/78 | 110                               | 87        | 98        |
| 1978/79 | 120                               | 80        | 90        |
| 1979/80 | 142                               | 68        | 76        |
| 1980/81 | 151                               | 64        | 72        |
| 1981/82 | 185                               | 52        | 59        |
| 1982/83 | 196                               | 49        | 55        |
| 1983/84 | 220                               | 80        | 80        |
| 1984/85 | 249                               | 70        | 70        |
| 1985/86 | 260                               | 67        | 67        |

Source: Cleland and Mauldin (1987, p.19).

Note: Rural consumer price index (CPI) are reported for 1978/79 and afterwards in terms of 1973/74 constant prices. Values for years between 1973/74 and 1978/79 are interpolated, and CPI are recalculated using 1976/77 as the base year.

Table 4: Estimated Number of Acceptors of contraception by Methods: 1975-76—1986-87 (in thousands)

| Year    | Sterilization & Modern Reversible Methods <sup>3</sup> | Sterilization Total | Vasec. | Tubec. | Pills & Injection <sup>4</sup> | IUDs | Condoms <sup>5</sup> |
|---------|--|---------------------|--------|--------|--------------------------------|------|----------------------|
| 1975/76 | -  | 84                  | 35     | 49     | -                              | 78   | 380                  |
| 1976/77 | 777  | 116                 | 69     | 47     | 357                            | 59   | 245                  |
| 1977/78 | 1148   | 77                  | 24     | 53     | 576                            | 41   | 445                  |
| 1978/79 | 1078   | 107                 | 20     | 87     | 548                            | 23   | 400                  |
| 1979/80 | 1113   | 199                 | 28     | 171    | 486                            | 22   | 406                  |
| 1980/81 | 1414   | 252                 | 27     | 225    | 526                            | 38   | 598                  |
| 1981/82 | 1687   | 302                 | 69     | 223    | 615                            | 83   | 644                  |
| 1982/83 | 1921   | 363                 | 88     | 275    | 658                            | 118  | 728                  |
| 1983/84 | 2493   | 548                 | 214    | 334    | 776                            | 301  | 824                  |
| 1984/85 | 2753   | 480                 | 258    | 222    | 889                            | 431  | 921                  |
| 1985/86 | 2603   | 268                 | 151    | 117    | 991                            | 369  | 944                  |
| 1986/87 | 3007   | 351                 | 210    | 141    | 1165                           | 420  | 1036                 |

Source: Cleland and Mauldin (1987, p.12)

Notes: 3. Vaginal Methods are included in totals but are not shown separately.

4. Thousands of cycles of Pills divided by 13 plus thousands of injections divided by 4.

5. Thousands of condoms divided by 144.

#### 4. PERFORMANCE OF THE FAMILY PLANNING PROGRAMME

In discussing the performance of the family planning programme in Bangladesh, the trends of the acceptors of contraception and prevalence of contraceptive use by methods has been analysed.

##### *4.1 Annual Number of Acceptors of Contraception*

There have been very substantial increases in the annual number of acceptors of sterilization and "modern" reversible methods (pills, injections, IUDs, and condoms) since 1975 (Table-4).

The number of sterilization increased from 84 thousand in 1975/76 to 363 thousand in 1982/83 and to 351 thousand in 1986/87. During the period 1975/76-1982/83, modest compensation of Tk. 96 for vasectomy and Tk. 108 for tubectomy did not appear to have much effect on the number of vasectomies or tubectomies, with the possible exception of 1976/77 when there was an increase in number of vasectomies from 35 thousand in 1975/76 to 69 thousand in 1976/77 due to the special sterilization programme conducted nationwide by the GOB. There was also a sharp spike of 548 thousand in 1983/84 following incentives promised by the GOB, setting of sterilization targets for family planning workers and an increase in compensation in October 1983 to clients from about Tk. 100 (Tk. 96 for a vasectomy and Tk. 108 for a tubectomy) to Tk. 175, and special sterilization activities of mobile district sterilization teams. During the period 1975/76-1982/83, the number of vasectomies was quite modest numbering fewer than 50 thousand in most years whereas tubectomies increased from 49 thousands to 275 thousands. With the increase in compensation payments in October 1983, decrease of sterilization related deaths, and increase of quality of services, the number of vasectomies rose sharply in 1983/84 and thereafter there have been more vasectomies than tubectomies. However, it is evident that compensation payments to clients are not a primary determinant of overall sterilization incidence; and that any causal connection between level of compensation payments and level of sterilization incidence is difficult to make; and that incidence pattern has persisted despite the type or amount of compensation paid.

The number of pill users has tripled during the past 10 years and the number of IUD insertions has also risen quite rapidly, even though their number is one-half to one-third that of pill users. There have also been major increases in the number of condoms distributed, but it is difficult to estimate the number of condom users on the basis of distribution figures. Data collected from sample surveys estimate a much smaller number of

condom users than the number derived by dividing the number of condoms distributed by the estimated number of condoms used per person per year i.e. 100 or 144. Indeed, data collected in the research projects on which this report is based suggest that a more accurate estimate of number of condoms per user per year is 75. The use of this estimate, however, would further widen the gap between the users estimated for the survey and distribution figure.

There has been a marked decrease in the number of acceptors of sterilization since 1983/84. The reason for this decline is not fully known although knowledgeable observers think that this is largely caused by low morale among family planning workers who realized that the promised incentives are not being implemented. Also it is said that FPOs at Upazila have an "undeclared strike" directed mainly at the sterilization programme. Decentralization of administration to the Upazila level, and functional integration of health and family planning at the Upazila level and below caused the FPOs to lose status and financial control over the programme, according to this line of reasoning. Also any person qualifies as a referrer and payment for bringing in a sterilization client except the upazila FPOs. There is, of course, a counter hypothesis that the demand for sterilization has been effectively met, and that it will be difficult to increase the annual number of acceptors except through special programmes. Some other hypothesizes that sterilization programme component is de-emphasized in response to donors' allegation that contraceptive method mix has been getting skewed in favour of sterilization. In other words, toning-down sterilization visibility, the GOB programme gives relatively more emphasis on non-permanent clinical contraceptive methods like IUD and injections, and as a consequence of such programmatic shift in emphasis, couples who do not want more children have been using those methods as substitutes for sterilization.

Table 4 shows method-wise acceptors by months calculated as a percentage of the annual total, and averaged over the five year period 1982/83-1986/87. There is a striking seasonal variation in the number of acceptors of sterilization, and some variation, much less marked, in other methods of contraception. There is a sharp rise in the number of sterilization in September and October, followed by a drop to the level usually experienced in January through March, followed by a drop in April and May. Thus the annual peaks in the number of acceptors of sterilization coincides with inter-harvest periods in the country's agricultural crop cycles

To explain such coincidence, one hypothesis is that sterilization, being an effective procedure which requires at least one week to use, tends to be scheduled by clients in a way which will minimize income loss. Therefore, those who are planning to be sterilized, schedule the operation for the inter-harvest period when time is abundant, and employment and income opportunities are most scarce.

#### *4.2 Prevalence of Contraceptive Use by Methods*

The proportion of couples in the reproductive years using contraception has increased from less than 8 per cent in 1975 to 25 per cent in 1985. The increase in contraceptive prevalence rate was relatively slow during the 1970s but has been rapid in 1980s. Most of the increase in the contraceptive use has been in "modern" methods rather than in traditional methods. Sterilization increased from less than 1 per cent in 1975 to a little more than 9 per cent in 1985. Reversible modern methods increased from about 4 per cent in 1975 to 9 per cent in 1985. There were increases in the proportions of women in the reproductive ages (or their husbands) using each of the modern methods of contraception. The use of pills almost double from 1975 to 1985 from 2.7 per cent to 5.1 per cent. The proportionate increase in IUDs was larger from 0.5 per cent in 1975 to 1.4 per cent in 1985 but the level of use was quite low. The use of condoms also rose slightly from 0.7 per cent to 1.8 per cent. Vaginal methods have been but little used by women of Bangladesh, fluctuating around 0.2-0.3 per cent. Traditional methods increased from 3.0 per cent in 1975 to just under 7.0 per cent in 1985 (Table-5).

The adoption of sterilization at a more rapid rate than that of other contraceptive methods naturally led to an increase in the proportion of sterilization among users. In 1975 about 10 per cent of users had been sterilized whereas in 1985 the proportion had increased to 37 per cent. Most of this increase was among women who had a tubectomy, the proportion of users increasing from 4 per cent to 31 per cent. The proportion of users of pills dropped from 35 per cent of all users in 1975 to 20 per cent in 1985. Similarly, the proportion of users of traditional methods decreased from 39 per cent in 1975 to 27 per cent in 1985. The proportion of users of condoms decreased from 9 per cent to 7 per cent during this period. However the increase in the proportion of users of sterilization was not at the expense of users of modern reversible and traditional methods, because there was an increase in the number and proportion of women (couples) in the reproductive years using these methods. In other words,

there is little evidence that sterilization has been promoted in the overall family planning programme at the expense of other contraceptive methods.

Table-5: Contraceptive User by Methods: 1975-1989

| Contraceptive Method (s) | Percentage of Married Women 15-49 Years Age |      |                  |      |      |      |      | Percentage of Users |      |      |      |      |  |
|--------------------------|---|------|------------------|------|------|------|------|---------------------|------|------|------|------|--|
|                          | BFS <sup>6</sup>                            |      | CPS <sup>7</sup> |      |      |      |      | BFS                 |      |      | CPS  |      |  |
|                          | 1975  | 1979 | 1981             | 1983 | 1985 | 1989 | 1875 | 1979                | 1981 | 1983 | 1985 | 1989 |  |
| Sterilization            | 0.8   | 3.3  | 4.8              | 7.4  | 9.4  | 9.8  | 10   | 26                  | 26   | 39   | 37   | 32.5 |  |
| Tubectomy                | 0.3   | 2.4  | 4.0              | 6.2  | 7.9  | 8.6  | 4    | 19                  | 22   | 32   | 31   | 27.5 |  |
| Vasectomy                | 0.5   | 0.9  | 0.8              | 1.2  | 1.5  | 1.2  | 6    | 7                   | 4    | 6    | 6    | 5.0  |  |
| Modern Reversible        | 3.9   | 5.6  | 6.2              | 6.4  | 9.0  | 15.2 | 51   | 44                  | 33   | 33   | 36   | 46.7 |  |
| Pills                    | 2.7   | 3.6  | 3.5              | 3.3  | 5.1  | 9.1  | 35   | 28                  | 19   | 17   | 20   | 28.0 |  |
| Injections               | -   | 0.2  | 0.4              | 0.2  | 0.5  | 1.1  | -    | 2                   | 2    | 1    | 2    | 3.5  |  |
| IUDs                     | 0.5   | 0.2  | 0.4              | 1.0  | 1.4  | 1.7  | 6    | 2                   | 2    | 5    | 6    | 5.2  |  |
| Condoms                  | 0.7   | 1.5  | 1.6              | 1.5  | 1.8  | 3.1  | 9    | 12                  | 9    | 8    | 7    | 8.5  |  |
| Vaginal                  | -   | 0.1  | 0.3              | 0.3  | 0.3  | 0.2  | -    | 1                   | 2    | 2    | 1    | 0.5  |  |
| Traditional              | 3.0   | 3.8  | 7.6              | 5.4  | 6.9  | 7.8  | 39   | 30                  | 41   | 28   | 27   | 20.8 |  |
| Total                    | 7.7   | 12.7 | 18.6             | 19.1 | 25.3 | 32.8 | 100  | 100                 | 100  | 100  | 100  | 100  |  |

Source: Cleland and Mauldin (1987, p. 17) and CPS 1989.

Note : 6. BFS stands for Bangladesh Fertility Survey

7. CPS stands for Contraceptive Prevalence Survey

The comparison of method-mix in 1989 with that in 1985 reveals that temporary methods account for over a half of total modern method users in 1989 for the first time in the history of Bangladesh family planning programme. For instance, in 1985 about 37 per cent of eligible couples used sterilization while in 1989 the proportion using it has reduced to 33 per cent on the other hand, the proportion of eligible couples using modern reversible methods has increased to 47 per cent in 1989 from 36 per cent in 1985. Among the modern reversible methods, there has been a marked shift in favour of pills, injectables and condoms in 1989 compared to 1985. However, such a marked shift calls for reformulating the contraceptive method-mix for the Fourth Five Year Plan of Bangladesh.

##### 5. TARGETS IN THE FOURTH FIVE YEAR PLAN

To reduce the population growth rate, the CPR has to be increased, because an inverse relationship between total fertility rate (TFR) and CPR

has been empirically established by Mauldin and Segal (1988) on the basis of cross-section data from less developed countries (IDCs).

Although eligible couples in Bangladesh have universal knowledge about family planning methods and have favourable attitude towards family planning, still the contraceptive prevalence rate (CPR) appears to be low (Table 5). For instance, CPR was 8 per cent in 1975 and then increased to 19 per cent in 1981 and to 33 per cent in 1989. Thus during the past decade, the CPR has been increasing slowly but steadily approximately at two percentage points a year. If this CPR growth rate can be sustained, by 1995 the CPR will be 45 per cent. However, it is important to recognize that this will require a huge additional programme effort because during those six years the target population of eligible couples will increase from 20.4 million in 1989 to 24.8 million in 1995.

CPR target by 1990 as given in the Third Five Year Plan is 40 per cent but evidently it would remain unfulfilled. If GOB fix the target CPR at 40 per cent in 1995, this would mean that in the intervening years extra 3.2 million users would have to be recruited and served in addition to the 6.7 million couples currently using family planning. While achieve the goal of 40 per cent may not be easy, the increasing the target to a GPR of 45 per cent by 1995 will be even more difficult. Such a target implies that 11.2 million contracepting couples—67 per cent more couple than the family planning programme reaches at present—have to be reached by the family planning field workers. Reaching these addition couples in need of personal contact certainly is a high hill task, as less and less proportion of eligible couples were visited by field workers despite a 50 per cent increase in the number of field workers from approximately 13,500 in 1986 to 18,500 in 1989. For instance, the proportion of eligible couples visited by field workers during the previous six months were 25 per cent while it was 30 per cent in 1983 and 27 per cent in 1986. However, fixing of CPR target at 45 may be more than a programme can reasonably expect to achieve only in six years.

In fine whatever target is set for CPR, it should be ambitious but achievable and the steadily increasing number of eligible couples will be a significant challenge to face in recruiting and motivating them for family planning and providing them with family planning services.

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## POPULATION AND BANGLADESH : IN SEARCH OF THE REAL PROBLEM

MUINUL ISLAM\*

### INTRODUCTION: POPULATION AS THE NUMBER ONE PROBLEM VERSUS POPULATION AS THE RESERVOIR OF POTENTIAL NUMBER ONE RESOURCE

To the population alarmists, Bangladesh is the oft-quoted hapless place where the population boom will explode with all its tragic consequences. Tons of figures and heaps of quantitative and qualitative evidences and symptoms are presented by national and international academics and/or 'not so academic' policy-makers and advisors as well as donor-big brothers to bring out the obvious warning: Bangladesh has to check population growth drastically, and quickly, to survive as a nation and as a people. Bangladesh's response, in terms of declared policy and propaganda rhetorics, is inevitably befitting to the call: population has been declared as the number one national problem of Bangladesh in 1976. Notwithstanding the politics of such a move, there is no denying the fact that Bangladesh's population figures along with its characteristic features of structure and growth may very well present on abysmal prospect of the future viability of the society, economically, socially and ecologically. And, I should stress in the very beginning that in this paper I do not minimize the gravity of a real problem. But, I have genuine doubts about prospects of any noticeable success of a policy, and the programme that has been adopted for population control, which start with a very wrong premise that population is the number one problem for a nation. This negative attitude reflects a tendency where by the burden of guilt for all the major ills that Bangladesh has been afflicted with is shifted on from the shoulders of the ruling class and/or groups who are mainly responsible for the present plight of Bangladesh. Bangladesh's mass poverty, underdevelopment, hunger, malnutrition, illiteracy, increasing inequality of income and wealth, wasteful and unproductive government expenditure, all-pervading corruption, inefficiency and negligence in the public sector, increasing dependence on foreign aid, neo-colonial and bureaucratic state machinery, etc.--- to cite the major real problems of Bangladesh, need to be explained by properly analyzing the social structure, existing mode (s) of production as well as the superstructure. Certainly, population cannot be made the scapegoat by

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putting the blame mainly on its size and growth, as is conveniently done as a political routine under the aegis of the declared number one national problem. Therefore, my serious objection.

On the other hand, I like to focus in this paper on (the absence of) the real claimant to the number one place of national priority as a national policy the human resource development programme of Bangladesh. Again, this requires a change of attitude of the national policy-makers which necessitates a change in the social structure-- both the basic structure and the superstructure. This changed attitude will help consider population as a reservoir of the potential number one resource of Bangladesh, and will adopt appropriate policies and programmes, and will implement the programmes on a war footing to transform this huge population as properly educated, skilled and productively employed human capital. History stands witness that this transformation lies at the root of present-day success stories of Japan, Taiwan, Israel, Korea or even China, Srilanka and Kerala.

Section A presents an overview of the population problem of Bangladesh with the help of traditional empirical evidences. Section B outlines the major determinants of population growth and high fertility in the context of socio-economic and political reality of Bangladesh. Section C continues the search for the real problem vis-a-vis adopted policies of Bangladesh.

#### SECTION A: AN OVERVIEW OF THE POPULATION PROBLEM OF BANGLADESH

Historical records suggest that the land area comprising the present Bangladesh had a population of around 10 million in 1650 A.D. [17]. Prevalence of high birth and death rates, and occasional famines, epidemics and natural disasters contributed to a relatively slow growth of population, which is reflected in the fact that it took three centuries for the population figure of Bangladesh (the then East Pakistan) to reach 42 million in 1951, whereas the population of England increased more than ten times during these years, for instance [24:65]. But it took only 38 years to reach an estimated figure around 110 million in 1989. Malthus and his geometric progression of population growth seem to have been reincarnated in Bangladesh in the guise of neo-Malthusian doomsday forecasters who have generated all kinds of evidences to warn of the impending disaster. But the theory of new demographic transition, where by Bangladesh is placed among the developing countries passing through a demographic transition phase of rapidly declining death rate coupled with a high but slowly declining birth rate, gives a much more plausible explanation of this population boom in Bangladesh. Countries like Bangladesh have experienced this boom, because, the decline in mortality beginning in the

thirties and forties was accelerated by path-breaking medical and health science developments which eradicated killer epidemics and diseases like Malaria, Cholera, Typhoid, Small-pox, Yellow fever and Diarrhoea. Whereas developed nations of Europe and North America reached the present stage of stable and low population growth in three hundred and fifty years through economic, social, cultural and political development process, Bangladesh and similarly placed densely populated countries are faced with a real problem--- the problem of completing the demographic transition within a generation or two. This process will involve a drastic policy induced reduction in fertility level to bring it down at par with or near the fertility levels of the developed countries, because, the mortality levels of these developing countries have nearly reached a stable level very near to the mortality rates of the developed countries. Despite the much despised unreliability of population statistics of Bangladesh, the time trends of a few such statistics and vital rates presented in Table I will help to bring out the magnitude and dimensions of this problem. (The dubious nature of some of the statistics are obvious even in Table 1. for example, the crude birth rate and crude death rate figures imply a crude rate of natural increase of population of 1.73 per cent in 1961 and 1.85 per cent in 1965, which are simply unbelievable. Such examples abound in all government published population data. This has created a common suspicion and a popular notion that such statistics are 'conveniently doctored' to suit the purposive 'targets' of the policy-makers).

The exponential population growth rates given in Table I are widely believed to be understated, but even these magnitudes of growth, with the built--- in momentum represented by a relatively 'young population' as shown by the proportions of population below 15 years of age for different years (item 2), implies that in the light of a realistic projection based on existing fertility and mortality trends, Bangladesh will reach a population of at least 240 million by the year 2000, before births reach equilibrium with deaths [16; 546-66]. This population momentum continues even after the level of fertility reaches a replacement level represented by the 'Net Rate of Reproduction (NRR) equal to unity'<sup>1</sup>. Due to higher fertility in the past, there is a high concentration of women in Bangladesh in the child-bearing ages, and given the almost universal prevalence of marriage among such women, total births will continue to exceed total deaths by a significant margin for two or three generations after reaching the replacement NRR of 1. "It is this hard mathematics of momentum from which 'population alarmists' and 'crisis environmentalists' draw their argument..... From this

1. NRR is the average number of daughter that would be born to a woman (or group of women) if she passed through her life time conforming to the age-specific fertility and mortality rates of a given year. NRR of 1 implies average of 2.1 to 2.5 children per woman, depending on mortality conditions.

perspective, the population boom is far from being defused" [25:552]. For Bangladesh, even this replacement NRR of 1 is a far cry, as we find in Item 8 of Table 1. The total fertility rate of 4.41 also indicates the same predicament. Although the time trend of all such growth indicators shows a decline, the hard fact remains that the decline is not rapid enough to achieve the much talked--about zero population growth even within the year 2020. This is a crucial dimension of the population dynamics, which makes the issue of policy induced drastic reduction of fertility so much a priority to the existing stage machinery and their foreign mentors who want to achieve this goal of fertility reduction without changing the status quo in the social structure. And, here lies the real problem, I think.

Table 1: Time Trend of some Major Statistics and 'Vital Rates' Important for Population Growth Estimation.

| Item   | 1951 | 1961 | 1965 | 1974 | 1981  | 1987  |
|--|------|------|------|------|-------|-------|
| 1. Inter-censal population growth rate(exponential) (per cent) | 0.50 | 2.26 | -    | 2.48 | 2.32  | -     |
| 2. Population below 15 years of age (per cent)                 | 42.1 | 46.1 | -    | 48.0 | 46.7  | -     |
| 3. Crude birth rate (per 1000)                                 | -    | 47.0 | 37.0 | -    | 34.6  | 33.3  |
| 4. Crude death rate (per 1000)                                 | -    | 29.7 | 18.5 | -    | 11.5  | 11.5  |
| 5. Crude rate of natural increase (per cent)                   | -    | 1.73 | 1.85 | -    | 2.31  | 2.18  |
| 6. Total fertility rate  | -    | 6.78 | 5.79 | -    | 5.04  | 4.41  |
| 7. Gross rate of reproduction                                  | -    | -    | -    | -    | 2.45  | 2.14  |
| 8. Net rate of reproduction                                    | -    | -    | -    | -    | 1.89  | 1.69  |
| 9. Infant mortality (per 1000)                                 | -    | -    | -    | -    | 121.9 | 111.0 |
| 10. Child death rate 1-4 years (per 1000)                      | -    | -    | -    | -    | 23.8  | 12.5  |
| 11. Life expectancy at birth (years)                           | -    | -    | -    | 50.7 | 54.8  | 55.3  |

Source: Compiled from Tables 2.05, 2.07, 2.23, 2.24, 2.27, 2.31, 2.33, 2.34 and 2.35 of Statistical Year Book of Bangladesh, 1989 Published by Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, Dhaka, Bangladesh.

## SECTION B: AN OUTLINE OF THE MAJOR DETERMINANTS OF FERTILITY

Marx's famous polemical diatribe against vulgar Malthusianism has sidelined the population issue from the writings of Marxist thinkers. Even, complaints have been raised that 'women's first production has been

consistently excluded from the conceptual field of Marxism's central theoretical category' [22;28-9]. But, there is a rethinking among Marxist writers who see proletarianization as a demographic revolution as well as a revolution in the prevailing social relations of production. They hypothesize that 1) the principal determinations of population dynamics are endogenous to each mode of production and we should seek to locate them there, in its inner-workings, and that 2) population forces will periodically come into contradiction with themselves and with other elements of any given socio-economic system, and will tend to make their own contribution to developmental propulsion of particular modes through time and space, and ultimately to their revolutionary transformation [22;33].

This rethinking has also been evidenced in Mao's China where smaller families have been actively encouraged through zealous urgings and both material and ideological persuasions during the later years of Mao, which has started to bear fruit in terms of drastic cut in the fertility levels of the Chinese. The reality of the twentieth century has contributed to a narrowing down of the theoretical viewpoints of social scientists of Marxist persuasions writing on population growth and fertility and the neo-Malthusian population alarmists. But this narrowing down primarily centres around the determinants of fertility rather than national policies regarding population<sup>2</sup>.

Writers on demographic transition such as Thompson Blacker, Notestein or Caldwell have long mentioned religious doctrines, moral codes, laws, education, community customs, marriage habits and family organizations as crucial determinants of fertility behaviour. More recent writings of Kingsley Davis, George Stolnitz, Eva Mueller, William Rich, Stephen Enke, Michael Endres, Paul Demeny, Coale and Hoover - to name a few noted writers on population and development, talk of attitudes, beliefs, traditions and economic rationales of having children in different societies. For example, Caldwell in his model of intergenerational wealth flow summarizes, "In general, in societies of every type and stage of development, fertility behaviour is rational and fertility is high or low as a result of economic benefit to individuals, couples, or families in its being so. Whether high or low fertility is economically rational is determined by social conditions, primarily by the intergenerational wealth flow" [7;321-366].

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2. Marx's dictum that 'every special historic mode of production has its own special laws of population' (Marx, Capital vol. (1) or that 'population is an abstraction if I leave out, for example, the classes of which it is composed ..... [population, in abstraction] is a chaotic conception of the whole' (Marx, Grundrisse) remain the guiding principles when Marxist writers still despise the concepts of over-population or surplus -population'. This concept of 'surplus' is the creation of the capitalist mode, and such conceptualization is responsible for negative premises which view population as the number one problem, and obviously leads to wrong and ineffectual policies to eliminate 'over-population.'

Such benefit-cost approaches see children as source of labour, an investment for support in old age, an insurance against risk in a hazardous environment, and a factor that enhances physical security and political influence of the family unit. These demand theories of fertility see fertility decline as a 'rational, though perhaps lagged, accommodation to changes in objective economic circumstances' [9;7]. Leibenstein and Easterlin's contributions combine the economic decision making process with the social and biological constraints to which it is subject.

Bongaarts gives a formal model of the determinants of fertility [5,6]. In his model the socio-economic structure and its development acts through the 'proximate determinants of fertility' such as age at first marriage, proportion of currently married women, post-partum amenorrhoea, breast feeding, induced abortion, and contraceptive use. Bongaarts even suggests a formula for estimating the impact of such proximate determinants on total fertility rate:

$$TFR = C_c \times C_m \times C_a \times C_i \times TF$$

where, TFR = Total fertility rate,

$C_c$  = index of contaception.

$C_m$  = index of marriage.

$C_a$  = index of induced abortion:

$C_i$  = index of post - partum infecundability;

and, TF = Total Fecundity rate;

The value of each index is between zero and one.

Seccomber writes of 'the incentive structure for having children' with positive incentives such as the demand and utility of child labour as a potential contribution to the household, more than offsetting the additional upkeep costs of an extra member; the need, or the cultural desire, to perpetuate the family line beyond death through inheritance; the utility of children as a "pension fund"- a form of old age security [22;22-47]. The disincentives are the cost of bearing additional members and feeding them and the hazards and hardships to mothers from further childbearing. Also for women, there are alternative uses of their time and labour capacities which weigh against childbearing. But, this will depend on the form and degree of patriachal dominance. He also talks about the cultural conditions shaping the relation of marital sex to procreation, and the means given the will to do so, to limit and shape fertility according to the couples or the wife's desires. He contends that the total number of conceptions in a population will tend to exceed those desired within a given incentive structure, and the unintended surplus will be greater, the more imperfect are the means at hand. Mannan brings the theoretical analysis close to fertility situation

pertaining in Bangladesh [18;67-100]. Writing from Mode of Production perspectives, he contents that the need for children is just another socially determined and socially regulated need and there are fairly rigid limits for socially approved family size. In a society like Bangladesh, children are regarded as a good for which there is no substitute, because, here number of children means safety and security. He writes, fertility involves both biology and individual choice, the former modified by cultural patterns, and the latter strongly influenced by economic and social conditions. He emphasizes the role of the family as both a reproductive unit and an economic unit- the memberships of the productive, residential and economic units coincide and this in turn encourages families to have a larger number of children. He mentions the inferior status of women as dependents, sex preference of parents where there is an almost universal urge for two living sons, and daughters are regarded as an expense of this urge. This is very rational because of the agricultural nature of the economy and the familiar nature of production. In this environment, children have 1) consumption utility, 2) income utility and 3) status, security and insurance utility.

In the light of the above theoretical discussion, the broad consensus regarding the multi-dimensional nature of fertility and its determinants should be sufficiently clear. In this scenario, family planning may be regarded as an important, but not the only, feasible policy measure. Reduction of infant mortality, female education and employment, increase in the percentage of the non-agricultural labour force, equitable distribution of income, and increased access to the services in health and education are all important variables for fertility reduction [16;553]. Even, Berelson speaks of a threshold level of such variables at which they contribute sufficiently to fertility decline. Table 2 gives some approximate thresholds:

Table-2: Approximate Thresholds for Fertility Decline

| Variables  | Threshold range |
|--|-----------------|
| 1) Non-agricultural labour force<br>(as percentage of total) | 50-65%          |
| 2) Life expectancy at birth                                  | 60-70 years     |
| 3) Female marriage before age-20                             | 10-20%          |
| 4) Newspaper circulation per 1000 population                 | 70-100          |
| 5) Population in cities of 20,000 +                          | 16-50%          |
| 6) Hospital beds per 1000 population                         | 5               |

Source : [16; 553]

### *Islam : Population and Bangladesh*

Gandotra et al. empirically studies the interrelationship among different dimensions of development and fertility in India [14;19-28]. He considered the following factors under the major dimensions of:

| Dimension                        | Factor   |
|----------------------------------|--|
| I Physical facilities            | 1) Electricity, 2) Tap water, 3) Health facility, 4) Pucca Road, 5) Post office, 6) Distance from the nearest town,                  |
| II Social facilities             | 7) Secondary and higher education. 8) Literacy, 9) Scheduled caste and scheduled tribe population.                                   |
| III Agricultural facilities      | 10) Irrigated land, 11) Electric motors/diesel pumps used for irrigation, 12) Tractors, 13) Threshers, 14) Price of cultivated land, |
| iv) Non-agricultural facilities. | 15) Industrial units, 16) Workers in non-agricultural works.   |
| V) Population pressure           | 17) Dependency ratio, 18) Population density in cultivated land.   |

His conclusion also speaks of a threshold. He writes, "unless the inequalities in the socio-economic development of the developing villages are reduced and the level of development of a village reaches a certain threshold, the fruits of development are not likely to effect a substantial decline in fertility."

In spite of Cleland and Wilson's counter-arguments regarding the "importance of ideational rather than structural change' whereby 'massive scale and force of the flow of new knowledges and values from the industrialized to the developing world, which impinge upon political economic and social life alike [9;28], may change the attitude towards birth control, theory and empirical evidences overwhelmingly support the view that reduction of fertility is still very much intertwined with sufficiently perceptible changes in the social structure--both the mode of production and the superstructure. And this is the real problem of Bangladesh regarding population.

#### SECTION C: SOCIO-ECONOMIC REALITY OF BANGLADESH AND POPULATION POLICY

The discussion in Section B brings out the crucial variables determining fertility. In the context of Bangladesh, the socio-economic and political

reality depicted below with appropriate empirical evidences will stand up as a formidable adversary for the population policy targeting a drastic cut in the level of fertility.

- 1) The infant mortality rate in Bangladesh is estimated to be 111.0 in 1986-87 [1;65]. This is a crucial variable for a society where parents are believed to target at least two living male children in the family.
- 2) The mean age at marriage for females is still 17.9 years in 1987 [1;53]. That gives an average of about 27 years of marital fertility for each women. taking 45 years as the age of menopause.
- 3) The percentage of female participation in the labour force is 10.4% in 1986 [1;97], which reflects that the overwhelming proportion of females still work within the confines of the family and household. This factor reduces the opportunity cost of having children and facilitates the upbringing of children. Both these factors are pronatalist, needless to say.
- 4) The proportion of children in the labour force was estimated to be 9% in 1986 [1;97], though this figure may be grossly underestimated. The prevalence of child labour acts as a strong incentive for demanding male children.
- 5) An estimated 45.5% of the families in Bangladesh was non-nuclear type in 1982 [1;91] which is believed to be a pro-natalist factor.
- 6) The estimated literacy rate of Bangladesh was 23.8% in 1986-87 [1;489], and the female literacy rate is even less than half of this figure. Studies consistently report a negative correlation between literacy and fertility. Education, especially female education is almost universally regarded as an anti-natalist factor.
- 7) The prevalence of family labour in Bangladesh agriculture is another pro-natalist factor. An estimated 18.6% of the total labour force of Bangladesh were categorized as unpaid family workers in 1985-86 [1;97].
- 8) Empirical studies also found that the middle and big landowners in rural Bangladesh had larger families than the small and marginal farmers and the landless agricultural workers. This picture does not provide special virtues or economic advantages for having smaller families. A society, where more male children often means status, security, and political and economic power, can hardly hope for a quick success of any population control policy, which does not want to disturb the socio-economic status quo.

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- 9) The influence of religion, customs, taboos and cultural traditions in Bangladesh is believed to be strongly pro-natalist in a society, where the family is the main nucleus of productive and consumptive activity. Even, the rapid growth of urbanization in Bangladesh cannot be termed anti-natalist development, because, here urbanization is a symptom of widespread unemployment, underemployment, marginalization and/or landlessness in the rural areas driving out people from their homes. Such urbanization is not the result of modernization, which could act as a counter force against the influence of religion, superstition and customs.
- 10) The percentage of non-agricultural labour force is increasing in Bangladesh, but this increase is not due to a rise in industrial employment. The proportion of industrial labour in the total labour force is still hovering around 10%, which means that more than 20% of labour are absorbed in the tertiary activities like trading, transport and service activities in the informal sector. So, this reduction in agricultural labour cannot be depended on as an anti-natalist phenomenon. Rather, this indicates the growth of urban poverty slums and a downward social mobility of the poorer sections of the labour force.
- 11) Widespread hunger, malnutrition, disease and ill-health among the mothers and the children of the poorer sections of the society are also acting behind the desire for a larger family. The spectre of death of the children is a strong fear generating the desire for more children.
- 12) The inferior status of women, and the deteriorating status of daughters in the family, wherein a daughter is increasingly considered as a life-long burden for the parents, is another reality of life in Bangladesh which tends to encourage parents for desiring male children in larger numbers. Daughters are an expense for such desire, hence families get large in the process. The total fertility rate of 4.41 in 1987 [1;58] speaks of such a process.
- 13) The increasing concentration of landownership, both rural and urban, increasing inequality of income and wealth distribution reflected by declining gini coefficient, increasingly skewed size-distribution of cultivated landownership or by increasing rural landlessness speak of an acceleration of the process of societal differentiation whereby a small proportion of the population are reaping the economic benefits at the expense of a vast, and increasing multitude of population. Studies in India, Srilanka and similar other developing countries of Asia show that such increase in economic and social inequalities acts as a powerful factor against fertility reduction [14, 18, 2].

- 14) The absence of a state-sponsored old-age social security system in Bangladesh is also a crucial factor encouraging the demand for more children, especially male children. All macro-level policy persuasions will be ineffective as long as such social security support cannot be introduced.

#### POPULATION IN THE CONTEXT OF GOVERNMENT POLICIES: WORDS VS. ACTIONS

The declared number one national problem does not carry the weight of government efforts needed to achieve any reasonable success of the population planning targets often pronounced as a government propaganda routine. A bureaucratic and neo-colonial state is actively perpetrating a ruthless looting and rampage of the government machinery to further the class interests and rampant greed of the ruling clique. All these tall talks of giving number one priority to population control is a big hoax and a cruel joke with the nation. Table 3 presents the devastating evidence of such fraudulent behaviours of the government with the people of Bangladesh through a compilation of government's real efforts as evidenced in actual expenditures for crucial sectors like education and training, health, population control & family planning and agriculture and rural development vis-a-vis government expenditure on unproductive sectors like public administration and defence. The data bring out the glaring political reality of Bangladesh.

- 1) Expenditure on unproductive sectors like public administration and defence is increasing by leaps and bounds, and such expenditures have already reached a staggering 54.62% of the current expenditures of the government. They have reached 35.76% of the total government expenditure in 1987-88.
- 2) Government expenditure on education & training is barely rising. The budget-estimated expenditure in this sector is never actually incurred. Even, the current expenditure in this sector has gone down in 1987-88, compared to 1986-87. The target of achieving universal primary education in Bangladesh by 2000 with this budget is simply absurd.
- 3) Only a paltry 3.71% of the total government expenditure is spent on health. This is a cruel joke with the 110 million people of Bangladesh telling them that health for all will be achieved by the year 2000.

Table 3: Trend of Government Expenditures on Some Crucial Heads A Testimony to the Divergence of Actions from Words

| Item of expenditure                        | Percentage of government expenditure |                     |                        |
|--|--------------------------------------|---------------------|------------------------|
|  | 1981-82<br>(Actual)                  | 1986-87<br>(Actual) | 1987-88<br>(Estimated) |
| 1. Public Administration and Defence:      |                                      |                     |                        |
| Current expenditure                        | 45.64                                | 54.25               | 54.62                  |
| Capital "                                  | 5.02                                 | 3.26                | 4.62                   |
| Total "                                    | 26.31                                | 31.73               | 35.76                  |
| 2. Education and training:                 |                                      |                     |                        |
| Current expenditure                        | 11.92                                | 18.54               | 16.67                  |
| Capital "                                  | 2.47                                 | 3.96                | 5.63                   |
| Total "                                    | 7.42                                 | 12.10               | 12.51                  |
| 3. Health:                                 |                                      |                     |                        |
| Current expenditure                        | 3.40                                 | 4.34                | 4.35                   |
| Capital "                                  | 3.27                                 | 2.09                | 2.66                   |
| Total "                                    | 3.35                                 | 3.35                | 3.71                   |
| 4. Population control and Family planning: |                                      |                     |                        |
| Current expenditure                        | 1.84                                 | 2.58                | 2.40                   |
| Capital "                                  | 0.52                                 | 0.40                | 0.31                   |
| Total "                                    | 1.21                                 | 1.62                | 1.51                   |
| 5. Agricultural & rural development:       |                                      |                     |                        |
| Current expenditure                        | 13.41                                | 5.59                | 6.03                   |
| Capital "                                  | 21.49                                | 5.11                | 6.14                   |
| Total "                                    | 17.26                                | 5.38                | 6.07                   |

Source: Compiled from Tables 9.07, 9. 12 and 9. 13, P. 357, 359, 360 of BBS, Statistical Year Book of Bangladesh, 1989, Dhaka, 1989.

- 4) Population and family planning gets only 1.51% of the government expenditure in 1987-88. Again, much of this is wasted through rampant corruption in this sector and widespread smuggling of contraceptive items. The target of achieving NRR of 1 by 2000 should be considered in this light.
- 5) Agriculture and rural development gets a paltry 6.07% of the Government expenditure in 1987-88. This has come down from a height of 17.26% in 1981-82. The lack of sincerity of the rulers and policy-makers regarding amelioration of rural poverty needs no further testimony.

The above sectors have been chosen for scrutiny, because, all the major determinates of fertility decline are greatly affected by development in these sectors. And, what a sham we evidence! To me, this is the crux of the problem for the immediate future.

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# INDUSTRIAL POLICY AND ECONOMIC STAGNATION IN BANGLADESH

REHMAN SOBHAN

## INTRODUCTION

### *The Theme of the Paper*

The economy of Bangladesh has been stagnating throughout the 1980s. If we look at indicators for aggregate and sector GDP growth for fixed investment and for structural change the available data shows very limited progress and even some recession. It is possible that the figures made available from official statistics, ongoing research projects and from data presented in the reports of multilateral aid institutions does not capture all that is happening in the economy. But researchers and policy makers, unless they can provide data or evidence to the contrary must and indeed do draw upon available data to analyse the economy and such evidence at hand indicates a far from encouraging picture about the state of the Bangladesh economy as we enter the 1990's.

This trend in the economy is occasion for concern since the 1980's were intended to be the period when significant structural changes should have been realised in the Bangladesh economy to equip us to cope with the future. We may reckon that the first half of the 1970's was the period where the economy rehabilitated itself from the effects of the war of liberation and the disruption to the economy arising out of the withdrawal of Pakistani rule and entrepreneurial domination. The second half of the 1970's would have been the time when, following the recovery of the destabilised economy, existing capacity was made more productive and expanded. This historical process should have set the stage for major investments in the economy during the 1980's designed to realise structural changes which would have diversified the economy, improved its outward orientation and put us on the way to self-reliant development.

This paper indicates that little headway has been made to keep Bangladesh's development on its scheduled evolution. The paper suggests that the stagnation experienced by the economy in the 1980's may derive from inappropriate policy choices induced by undue

dependence on the direction of our development strategies by our principal external donors.

Whilst it is appropriate to look at the whole range of policies governing the economy this paper focuses on industrial policy. The paper goes on to suggest that the strategies chosen to promote industrial development have achieved little in the way of accelerated investment, sustained growth or diversification of the economy and may even have retarded this process. This paper concludes by looking at some of the features of a revised industrial strategy for the 1990's which may promote a more viable industrialisation process leading to greater self-reliance for the national economy.

### STAGNATION OF THE BANGLADESH ECONOMY

#### *Weak economic growth*

The Bangladesh economy in the 1980's has been in state of stagnation. This is measured in terms of the known parameters of economic performance namely growth, investment and structural change. If we look at the rate of change in the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), the standard measure of economy performance, we find that average growth rates have declined from 6% in 1973/74 to 1974/75, to 4.4% between 1975/76 and 1980/81 and 3.16% in the period 1981/82 to 1987/88 [1]. Of more immediate concern is the fact that growth rates have in these last eight years declined or remained stagnant in four years, 1984/85, 1986/87, 1987/88 and 1988/89. This decleration in aggregate GDP growth has meant that per capita income between 1982/83 and 1988/89 remained virtually unchanged at around U.S. \$ 164 [1].

The stagnation in aggregate GDP growth rate has derived from the fact that both agriculture and industry have performed poorly. In the 1980's agricultural growth has been negligible and highly uneven. It fell from 3.5% in the period 1972/73 to 1979/80 to 2.9% in the period 1980/81 to 1985/86 (World Bank, 1989a). However, in the 1980's in 9 years between 1980/81 and 1988/89 agricultural value added fell in 6 years compared to the previous year and has been negative in the years 1987/88 and 1988/89 [1].

Trends in manufacturing growth have been no less depressed. Growth rates on average fell from 13.9% in 1973/80 to 2.4% in the period 1981/82 to 1985/86 [1]. Even if we take out the high growth period of 1973/74 and 1974/75 when during the period of post-war recovery manufacturing growth rates were 17.5% and 61% respectively, the period 1975/80

registered growth of 5.6%. More serious is the fact that in the 9 years, 1980/81 and 1988/89, growth rates declined in 5 years over the previous year and were negative or stagnant in 3 years, 1982/83, 1987/88 and 1988/89 [1].

This aggregate trend in the national economy has been countered by high rates of growth in construction, in utilities and in the sector. This has provided some sources of employment and income growth in the short run. But these trends are rather ephemeral and derive from injections of aid bank credit and high levels current of consumption. None of these sectors, with the exception of growth in utilities such as power and gas, enhance the reproductive growth sustaining capacity of the economy, which for country's at the level of development of Bangladesh are essential for establishing a capacity for autonomous development.

*Lack of structural change in the economy*

It is thus not surprising that the economy in the 1980's has registered little structural change. The share of manufacturing output to GDP, a standard measure of structural change, has remained virtually unchanged in over two decades. It was 7.8% in 1960/70 [2a], and 8.4% in 1988/89 [1]. It is here worth noting that in 1979/80 the share of manufactures in GDP had risen slightly to 9.9%. But by 1987/88 it had again declined to 8.4%. There is therefore some indication that the 1980's may have been a decade of deindustrialisation for Bangladesh [1].

This indicates that the Bangladesh economy in the 1980's has remained in a state of structural atrophy and has thus demonstrated little capacity for internal resource mobilisation so that the economy remains as dependent as ever before on external resource flows. The share of exports to GDP has remained virtually unchanged. It was 6.13% in 1972/73 compared to 6.98% in 1987/88 [1]. This suggests that the impressive rise in such exports as garments and shrimps in recent years has done little more than compensate for the decline of jute as a major export and has, in spite of absolute growth in the value of our exports, not realised any structural change in the economy by raising the share of tradeables relative to non-tradeable goods in the production structure.

In contrast to the structural stagnation of exports the share of imports to GDP has rise from 8.4% in 1972/73 to 15.5% in 1987/88 [1]. This rise in the share of imports might under certain circumstances have contributed to the acceleration of economic activities through higher levels of investment. Unfortunately the 1980's has witnessed a decline in the rate of investment

to GDP in the national economy. Gross investment has declined from 15.9% in 1980/81 to 11.8% in 1987/88 [2d]. This decline in investment has reflected the decline in the share of external resource inflows to GDP which fell from a peak of 12% in 1981/82 to 5.7% in 1987/88 [2d]. This indicates the symbolic link between investment and development in the Bangladesh economy and the level and importance of aid coming in to the country. The decline in the share of aid to GDP is thus related to the decline in investment activity in Bangladesh which in turn reflects the stagnation in the national economy in the 1980's.

#### *Slow down in aid disbursements*

Aid commitments to Bangladesh have been declining steadily in absolute terms from a peak of \$ 1.98 billion in 1984/85 to \$ 1.53 billion in 1987/88 [2d]. High absolute levels of aid commitments have unfortunately been matched by poor aid utilisation so that the disbursement to pipeline ratio, the rule of thumb measure for estimating aid utilisation has fallen from 117.5% in 1974/75 [2b] to 115.7% in 1980/81 and finally to 87.4% in 1987/88 [2b]. The latest figure is itself a slight improvement compared to the 80% registered in 1984/85 when aid commitments to Bangladesh were at an all time record.

These trends in aid flows suggest that high levels of aid to Bangladesh have not been as effectively utilised as they might have been. The aid in the pipeline has now swollen to an estimated \$ 5.9 billion by mid-1989 compared to \$ 2.45 billion in mid-1980 [2d]. Donors have in fact been cutting back on aid commitments to Bangladesh in recent years both on account of the high volume of unutilised aid in the pipeline and the much tighter global situation in the developed world governing aid transfers to developing countries.

#### *Declining investment and savings rates*

This cut back in aid flows has both contributed to and resulted in reduced levels of investment in the Bangladesh economy in the 1980's and particularly in the last 4/5 years. During this period total fixed investment has been virtually stagnant in the productive sectors of the economy. Between 1982/83 and 1986/87 the real value of fixed investment in acquisition of capital goods has declined in absolute terms from Tk. 12.9 billion to Tk. 11.7 billion [9]. Increase in investment has in this period been accounted for entirely by the increase in construction of pucca houses which rose from Tk. 12.7 billion in 1982/83 to Tk. 23.5 billion in 1986/87 [9].

Low levels of investment activity have reflected the declining trend in the rate of both public and private domestic savings. In 1987/88 Bangladesh's total savings/GDP ratio was 2.28%. This low rate of savings is one of the lowest in the developing world. Only a few heavily externally dependent economies such as Burkina Faso, Mozambique, Somalia and Lesotho in Africa and the Yemen Arab Republic and Jordan in the Arab World, who have high aid flows and migrant remittances, have in recent years registered negative savings. Bangladesh's savings record is thus one of the poorest in the world [2].

Low rates of domestic savings reflect both high levels of public and private consumption to GDP as well as a weak tax effort. Thus the share of tax to GDP has remained virtually unchanged at 7% as between 1975/80 and 1983/84 to 1987/88 Bangladesh's tax/GDP ratio again remains one of the lowest in the developing world. For all developing countries for which data is available only Uganda, Sierra Leone and Bolivia had lower tax/GDP ratios than Bangladesh.

Whilst the tax effort remains weak current public expenditures on revenue account have gone on increasing at a faster rate than ADP expenditures. As between 1980/81 low domestic savings have to some extent been compensated by migrant remittances. But these inflows have largely been directed to sustaining higher levels of current consumption and investment in real estate rather than underwriting new investments.

#### *Extent of aid dependence*

Low levels of domestic savings have meant that development activity has remained massively dependent on aid inflows. As between 1982/83 to 1988/89 aid has financed virtually 100% of the ADP and in 1987/88 financed 108% of the development budget [2e]. This figure would be higher if a number of items normally included in the recurring revenue budget had not been transferred to the ADP. This suggests that in real terms the annual revenue budget has for several years been generating no surplus so that our development programmes, have remained in fact completely underwritten by aid even when we show a revenue surplus. Between 1984/85 and 1987/88 the share of recurring to total public expenditure increased from 35% to 47%, whilst that on capital expenditure fell from 52% to 46% [2e]. The incapacity to curb the rise in recurring expenditures or to stimulate increases in public revenues has meant that pressure on the public budget has been becoming more severe every year.

The continuing incapacity of the economy to generate a surplus on the revenue account of the government means that in spite of the stagnation in public expenditures, the entire ADP continues to be underwritten by foreign aid. The ADP for Bangladesh cannot be framed in any year without reference to the aid commitments made in the donors' consortium meeting in Paris in April every year. This is not a new phenomenon but shows that over the years there has been no decline in our levels of external dependency to sustain our development effort. This leaves us more vulnerable than ever on donor pressures to direct our economic policies in keeping with the ideological and political orientation of our principal donors.

#### INDUSTRIAL POLICY

##### *Donor influence on economic policy*

Bangladesh's heavy and unrelieved aid dependence has meant that in critical areas of policy we have surrendered our initiative in policy making to our principal donors. This is not to say that the policy orientation of the government of Bangladesh (GOB) may not be congruent with the views of the donors or that policies emanating from donors may not be perfectly sensible. There is no denying that in a number of areas donors have given quite sound advice designed to persuade the GOB to improve its economic management and reorient some of its policies. What is however more questionable is the fact that most such policy initiatives originate with the donors when in fact the GOB itself should be taking the lead in redirecting its development strategies and improving the performance of the economy. In the last decade virtually all the documentation relating to changes in policy with regard to privatisation, public sector reforms, pricing and subsidy policies, public expenditure and resource management, anti-poverty policies, monetary reforms and realisation of structural adjustment policies as well as innumerable sector level policy and institutional changes have originated from the principal donors. The World Bank, IMF, USAID in particular but also the Asian Development Bank, the UNDP and to a lesser the Scandinavians, Canada and Netherlands, known as the 'like minded group' (LMG) have in varying degrees been the prime movers in giving direction to economic policy in Bangladesh. Donors are tending to become progressively disenchanted with our capacity to effectively utilise aid and our capacity to manage the economy and are becoming more aggressive in imposing policy conditionalities as the price of continuing aid [6].

More research and public debate both on the principle of leaving the direction of our economy to the donors and on the actual merits of the

various policies originating from particular donors remains an important part of the country's agenda. It is arguable that donors, whose experience derives from a global perspective are not always sensitive to the political compulsions and social conditions of particular countries so that their policy prescriptions are not always the most appropriate for the circumstances of a country. But unless a country can identify its own priorities to put its house in order, can generate domestic resources and can mobilise public backing for its policy initiatives, donors will continue to fill the vacuum left by the incapacity for a country's own policy makers to assert its own sovereignty.

Bangladesh's dependence on donors has meant that the ideological compulsion of particular donors has become an important variable in critical areas of domestic policy. In the remainder of this paper we will briefly look at the particular direction given to Bangladesh's industrial policy and will argue that this policy orientation has delivered few goods and may well be at the root of the malaise which has constrained the performance of the industrial sector in the 1980's.

#### *Donor directed industrial policy*

Since the 1970's the donors have been pressurising Bangladesh to restructure their industrial policies. The principal recommendations of the donors which incorporate the standard structural adjustment policy package prescribed by the World Bank and IMF for most Third World countries, may be summarised as follows :

- (i) Privatisation of the economy. This has meant the disinvestment of public enterprises under the control of the public corporations, denationalisation of enterprises taken over in 1972 and privatisation of the distribution of public goods such as fertiliser.
- (ii) Import liberalisation of the economy by reducing quantitative restrictions on imports and the level of tariff protection for domestic economic activities.
- (iii) Greater exposure of the economy to market forces as a basis for allocation of resources, in price determination and distribution of public goods.
- (iv) Privatisation and deregulation of financial markets.
- (v) Elimination of subsidies on public goods.
- (vi) Exchange rate adjustments designed to keep Bangladesh's exports globally competitive.

*Industrial policy redirection*

Most of these reforms have in varying degrees been put into effect since the mid 1970's. In the industrial sector, the process of privatisation of economic activity has been one of the most extensive in the world, matched only by the programme pursued by Chile under the military regime of General Pinochet. To date in Bangladesh 640 enterprises have been divested/denationalisation since 1972 [2g]. This process of disinvestment was begun in 1972, accelerated since 1975 but reached its peak after 1982 when under the New Industrial Policy (NIP) 1982 and the Revised Industrial Policy (RIP) of 1986 privatisation process was quite dramatically escalated.

The promotion of private enterprise of course does not begin or end with privatisation of public enterprise but includes opening up areas hitherto reserved for the state to private enterprise and channelling public resource to promote private economic activity. Since 1977 over Tk. 1000 crores in loans and equity support from public development finance institutions have gone to private entrepreneurs to finance industrial investment. The opening up of private participation in foreign trade, banking and insurance has furthered the process of privatisation.

Policy interventions to encourage both foreign and domestic investment have accompanied the institutional reforms and financial support invested in promoting private economic activity. A variety of measures from tax holidays, fiscal incentives of a general, sectoral and regional nature and liberal provisions for encouraging foreign investment have been enacted. The NIP and the RIP are in that respect unusually generous in measures to lower the costs of investment, to encourage profit making and to promote new investment or reinvestment.

Complaints about bureaucratic impediments to investment have been progressively tackled. Inordinate delays in loan sanction, in permission to set up industries, in obtaining the benefits of fiscal concessions or in accessing infrastructure services such as power, gas, water and telecommunications connections have been improved. The recent introduction of a one stop service in the Board of Investment (BOI) is meant to be the ultimate institutional effort to resolve all constraints to private investment. Whilst private entrepreneurs continue to complain about the inadequacies of government in supporting economic activity there is little doubt that in the 1980's the policy regime to support private economic activity has been most favourable [1].

*Weakness in policy design and implementation*

Few of these policy initiative under the NIP and RIP represent a qualitative break through in promoting industry. They are in varying degrees to be found in the policy packages introduced by the Ayub regime in Pakistan in the 1960's and in varying degrees by successive regimes in Bangladesh and in most other countries in Asia. Recent changes in industrial policy have thus been in degree rather than kind. These policies however retain the deficiencies experienced in the past in Bangladesh, Pakistan and other Asian countries. Many measures overlap and cancel each other out whilst the policies are meant to signal clear priorities they do not clearly do so. The policy regime pursued by the government in the Republic of Korea, Taiwan, India, Brazil, China, Mexico and even Pakistan, the leading newly industrialised countries (NICs), intervened much more purposefully to both influence the volume and direction of industrial investment. They all had clearly identified industrial strategies, backed up by resource commitments, direct controls on investment and public enterprise investments on a large scale to realise investment goals in the industrial sector. Variations in the results of such interventions reflected the quality of state intervention rather than its direction and orientation.

*Impact of industrial policy reforms on private industrial investment*

In Bangladesh there is obviously a big gap between policy intent and bureaucratic performance. But allowing for this the enabling conditions for investment in industry in the last 12 years or so have been no different than that which prevailed in Pakistan in the 1960's or in India over the last 30 years. Whilst we may hope that the BOI will improve clearance procedures somewhat there is no reason to believe that a great deal more can be done than has indeed been realised through the NIP and RIP in policy measures to promote industrial investment. The problem that we however face today is that in spite of the variety of concessions on offer, the liberalisation of the economy and indeed ready access to term loans and cash foreign exchange through the secondary exchange market, the outcome of a decade of industrial policy has been far from encouraging.

If we look at industrial investment, we see that in the private sector there has been an absolute decline in real terms in fixed investment in manufacturing from Tk. 43.65 billion in the five years 1976-81 to Tk. 35 billion in the period 1981-82 to 1985-86 [1]. If we look at more recent trends reported by the Planning Commission, nominal private investment in manufactures declined from Tk. 4.57 billion in 1983-84 to Tk. 2.67 billion in

1987/88 [1]. We may put these figures in some global perspective when we realise that in a single town in India, Ludhiana, in the heart of strife torn Punjab, in 1988 Rs. 5.34 billion was invested in private industry [10]. In Bangladesh taka this comes to Tk. 10.68 billion, compared to private industrial investment of Tk. 2.67 billion for the whole of Bangladesh in the same period.

*Stagnation in public industrial investment*

The stagnation in private manufacturing investment has not been compensated by increase in public industrial investment. Apart from investment in the fertiliser industry very little new public sector investment in industry is underway [2g]. In other public sector Corporations most of the investment is for balancing and modernisation. This virtual sensation of public sector investment in manufacturing is in marked contrast to the pre-liberation trend in industrial policy where the public sector pioneered the industrialisation of Bangladesh both through direct investment and through support to private enterprise in the jute industry first in the 1950's and then in the 1960's [3]. Between 1962-70 PIDC/EPIDC set up or helped to set up 76 modern industrial enterprises. At liberation EPIDC controlled 53 public enterprises with assets valued at Tk. 2.1 billion in 1969/70 values which amounted to 34% of fixed assets in the manufacturing sector compared to 18% held by Bengali private enterprises. Virtually the entire base for an intermediate and capital goods sector in Bangladesh was set up by EPIDC. The manufacture of steel, fertiliser, heavy engineering, ships, heavy vehicles, electrical goods, paper and newsprint, chemicals all of which helped to sustain a programme of industrialisation were set up in the 1950s and 1960's. It is precisely in these sectors where investment has been negligible since liberation. The contraction of investment in the public sector has not been compensated by corresponding private sector investments in most of those investment areas associated with EPIDC.

*Stagnation in industrial production in the 1980's*

The stagnation in industrial investment has been matched by stagnation in industrial production. Available evidence shows that if we use the disturbed period of 1973-74 as our base year, by 1987/88 the index of manufactured output had risen only by 51% [2d]. Indeed between 1981/82 and 1987/88 manufacturing production has increased by only 8 points. Out of 38 major industries production as between 1981/82 and 1987/88 fell in 15 industries. Among the 23 other industries which registered growth only 5 industries, flour milling, lamps and bulbs, rubber products and two public sector industries, newsprint and fertiliser,

registered sustained growth. All other sectors registered quite unstable growth.

About the only new sector to register substantial growth was garments, where both investment and output growth has been most promising and the industry has now emerged as the principal commodity exporter of Bangladesh. However value added from this sector is in the range of 25.30% and the domestic linkage is negligible so that about 70% of export earnings go out of the country to finance intermediate imports. If indeed we allow for leakages of imports of cloth into the domestic retail market net foreign exchange earnings from garment exports could be as low as 10-15% of gross exports. This fact does not detract from the employment generating role of the industry or of its value as a nursery for private entrepreneurial development.

There is obviously some unenumerated economic activity in terms of both investment and output in the small scale and rural industries sector, which is not fully captured in the data provided in the BBS, in the Census of Manufacturing Industries or from the office of the Director General of Industries, though the HIID study does as far as possible take this sector into account in its investment estimates. More research needs to be done here. Limited evidence based on research on the handloom industry [8], and the engineering industry [7] indicates that in such areas as Dolai Khal and in the rural areas manufacturing activity based on internal surplus generation, informal credit markets and self reliant technological innovation has led to growth and investment.

The modest performance in the manufacturing sector in terms of investment and output cuts across both the public and private sector. The available evidence shows that private industrial output has stagnated. The HIID study shows that for a common set of industries examined during the period 1975/76 to 1983/84, production barely increased from Tk. 6.73 billion to Tk. 6.94 billion whilst employment increased from 163,306 workers to 163,664 workers. This does not suggest a very dynamic rate of growth in these enterprises. In these same establishments, reviewed over the same period, value added fell from Tk. 3.16 billion to Tk. 2.52 billion but value added per worker fell from Tk. 19,355 to Tk. 15,370. The emergence of new establishments during the 1975-84 period might have contributed at the margin to some increase in output employment but there is no evidence that this has significantly compensated for the sluggish performance of units operating over a 10 years period.

*Poor debt servicing trends in private industry*

The poor performance of private industry is further reflected in the poor debt servicing performance of those enterprises which borrowed from the DFIs to set up their industries. As between 1977-78 and 1986-87, the loan recovery rate in the DFIs, measured as cash recovery to Total Recoverable Amount (TRA) fell from an already low figure of 14.6% to 7.5% in 1984/85 [5]. After an aggressive drive to recover loans there was a modest gain in TRA in 1986/87 and 1987/88 but this still remains below 10%. About 90% of all borrowers remain in default to the DFIs. The crisis in the DFIs has led to a suspension of loan commitments and disbursements by the principal external sponsors of the DFIs, the World Bank, ADB and KfW Bank in FRG. As a result DFI loan sanctions have fallen from a level of Tk. 6.88 billion in 1977/78-1981/82 to Tk. 4.10 billion in the period 1982/83 to 1982/83-1987/88 [2a].

This recession in loan sanctions reflects the impact of the funding freeze by the principal donors to the DFIs and the inadequacy of the loan recovery performance and institutional reforms in the DFIs to warrant resumption of new lending by the donors. The decline in DFI lending may be seen as one of the principal reasons for the slow down in private manufacturing investment in the 1980's. The decline in investment and the default to the DFIs derive from the failure of the private entrepreneurs to generate enough profits from their investments.

The crisis of repayment reflects the poor trends in output, employment and investment growth afflicting private industry in the 1980s. Whilst some DFI borrowers may be classified as deliberate defaulters, who have been encouraged in their default by the lax approach to debt recovery by the GOB, most defaults tend to originate in the weak operating performance of most borrowers. This weakness stems from the lack of entrepreneurial background which has meant both inefficient choice of projects and poor management [5]. However such weakness is compounded by poor project appraisal, political interference in loan approval decisions, weak loan supervision and some malfeasance in collusion between borrowers and officers of the DFIs, which have constrained effective portfolio management. An adverse market environment originating in demand deficiency, market imperfections, whereby competition from both officially liberalised imports and illicit imports tends to constrain entrepreneurial performance. Whilst there has undoubtedly been some investment and employment generation in private manufacturing and some definite

success stories as in garments or in some Dolai Khal type activities, the general record of performance in the private sector has not been very distinguished.

*Performance in public sector industry : the 1972-75 period*

The record in the public sector manufacturing enterprises has been no better than in the private sector. Apart from the fertiliser industry where output has grown quite significantly due to both capacity expansion and high rates of capacity utilisation, performance in most other public sector corporations remains poor. In the really difficult days of 1972-75 when the nationalised industries were having to recover from the trauma caused by the withdrawal of the Pakistani entrepreneurs with the sudden increase in the managerial responsibilities of the public sector whose management share grew from 53 units to 392 enterprises in one year, 9 out of 11 public sector corporations registered sustained and in some cases quite significant increases in production over three years as between 1972/73 to 1974/75 [3]. Two corporations, Jute and Fertiliser, Chemical and Pharmaceutical (BFCPC), which had significantly increased output in 1973/74 faced a down turn in 1974/75 due in the case of jute to adverse global market conditions and in the case of BFCPC, due to the shut down

Contrary to popular mythology, most public corporations in the 1972/75 period had managed to realise some profits. The Textile Mills Corporation, the Shipbuilding and Engineering Corporation, the Food and Allied Industries Corporation and the Forest Industries Corporation all registered profits in all three years. The Sugar Mills Corporation and Steel Mills Corporation turned losses in 1972/73 into profits in 1973/74 and 1974/75, whilst the BFCPC which had registered profits in 1972/73 and increased this four fold in 1973/74 reported an aggregate loss in 1974/75 due to the closure of the Ghorasal plant. The only two corporations which actually registered continuous losses were Jute and the Paper and Board Corporation. In the case of the former the problem lay both in the management gap and the adverse global market circumstances whilst in the case of BPBC the problems lay in the poor performance of the Khulna Newsprint Factory, which had not only lost its principal market in West Pakistan but also needed a complete overhaul of its 15 year old plant.

It is now-a-days fashionable to talk about how the nationalised sector was in a state of total collapse in the 1972/75 period. But the record speaks quite differently. On aggregate as between 1972/75 there was sustained growth in the output of the nationalised sector and in 1974/75 the index of production had surpassed the 1969/70 figure [3]. Most corporations in the

initial period were headed by dedicated professionals who had been brought in from the private sector or had distinguished backgrounds in public sector management. They built up a management structure, established some discipline and organisation, began to overhaul long neglected plants inherited from the private sector. These developments were all accomplished under quite adverse circumstances, where top and middle management and even shopfloor expertise occupied by the departing Palestinians had to be rebuilt, war damage had to be repaired, lost markets in Pakistan had to be recovered elsewhere. The global economic crisis disturbed Bangladesh's markets, led to quite severe adverse movements in the terms of trade which contributed to severe foreign exchange shortages which in turn made it difficult to operate plants at full capacity or to carry out plans for modernisation.

The operating environment for public enterprise in the 1972/75 period was far from favourable. The debate on autonomy for the nationalised sector, unresolved issues over how to distribute the surplus of the sector, the unsettled labour situation and many other problems faced by a newly emerged nation in transition make it something of a miracle that this much progress was achieved. If indeed one compares the performance in Bangladesh to other post-war, post-revolutionary societies, the recovery in the state controlled industrial sector was indeed quite creditable. This is not to say that significant deficiencies in the nationalised sector did not exist or that much more could not have been accomplished had many of the recommendations put forward at that time by the Planning Commission and the Corporations been accepted and implemented [3].

#### *Trends in the public sector after 1975*

If we however look back to the 1972-75 period this really set the stage for a significant regeneration of the industrial sector in the second half of the 1970's. Unfortunately since 1975 public policy remained uncertain about the very future of the public sector and until 1982 vacillated between the idea of disinvestment and denationalisation. This is not the place to go into development of the nationalised sector in this period. Suffice it is say that some improvements took place as plants were modernised and the environment became more settled. Indeed by 1979/80 and 1980/81 the chronically ill Jute Mills Corporation turned in significant profits so that a move to denationalise the jute mills in 1979/80 had to be put on hold. On average in the period 1975-80, Sugar and Food, now merged, and Steel and Engineering now merged, registered some profits [2g]. In the 1980/85 period, Sugar and Food, Chemicals (now backed up by new plants in

commission), FIDC and the Petroleum Corporation registered some profits. But jute continued to lose money and textiles, which had once been a profitable sector up to 1975, became a chronic loss maker.

The 1980's have in general not been a very satisfactory period for the nationalised sector. The move towards disinvestment and denationalisation in 1982 gave the sector a sense of impermanence which has severely affected morale and led to a gradual loss of managerial expertise to the private sector. In the most recent period, 1985-89 only the fertiliser industry has registered steady growth because of capacity expansion and the BCIC has registered profits every year between 1980/81 and 1987/88 except in 1986/87 [2g]. However this conceals the fact that the paper and board component of the BCIC has registered significant losses in recent years. BFIDC which had been quite profitable in the 1972-75 period has in the 1980's registered steady if modest profits. However BSFIC which had until 1983-84 been a quite profitable corporation has since been steadily losing money and sugar production which had fallen to only 83,000 tons registered in 1980/81. BSEC which had again shown some profitability in the 1970's has since 1981/82 been a chronic loser. The GEM plant, the Machine Tool Factory, the cycle factory, the three boat building/repairing facilities have been chronic losers whilst the once profitable Diesel plant has shown losses in recent years. However the Chittagong Steel Mill, Eastern Cables, Progoti and National Tubes remain profitable [2g]. Regretably the jute and textile mills remain big losers. The BTMC went through a prolonged decline in its performance since 1975. It had registered some profits in the post-denationalisation period 1982/83 to 1984/85 only to see this replaced by rising losses in recent years.

*Comparing performance in nationalised and denationalised enterprises*

Significantly enough the much weakened BTMC mills remain more profitable than the denationalised textile mills which have on aggregate registered losses in every year since 1983/84, the year after denationalisation. In only one year, 1985/86, were losses per operating spindle incurred by denationalised textile mills less than those incurred by BTMC which indeed made a profit between 1983-85. This observation on profits is evident from the fact that both output per loom and output per spindle has in the five years 1982/83 to 1987/88 been higher in the mills under BTMC compared to the denationalised textile mills. This does not mean that individual denationalised mills have not registered significant improvements in performance. But the evidence on aggregate remains noticeable poor in the private mills which is somewhat surprising given the

deteriorating circumstances of the BTMC.

The performance in the BJMC continues to deteriorate. Annual average losses registered in 1985-89 were Tk. 1.1 billion. It is however significant that as in the case of textiles the denationalised jute mills have also made chronic losses. Indeed as between 1983-84 to 1987-88 the operating loss per ton of output was consistently higher in the denationalised mills compared to those under the BJMC.

The evidence suggests that in the 1980's the accelerated denationalisation of industries has provided no panacea to the problems of the manufacturing sector of Bangladesh. Where comparable evidence exists, with few distinguished exceptions, there has been no evidence that privatised enterprises have improved their performance since disinvestment/denationalisation or as in the case of jute and textiles, have performed better than the nationalised sector. The overall stagnation in output and investment in the manufacturing sector in the 1980's suggests that the industrial sector has remained captive to deep seated problems which were not curable by privatisation which may have to some extent aggravated the problems in some of the industrial sectors.

*The impact of industrial policy reforms on industrial sector performance*

The stagnation in the industrial sector in the 1980s appears surprising in view of the wide range of policy interventions associated with the introduction of the NIP in 1982 and the RIP in 1986. Such measures were designed to stimulate private investment and provide incentives for efficient production and reinvestment of profits. The investments of the 1976-81 period should have been in place to benefit from these measures. An attempt has been made in the HIID study to quantify the impact of policy measures designed to support industrial development [1]. This measure, termed the Effective Rate of Assistance (ERA) incorporates not just the effects of protectionist trade measures but also the effects of fiscal concessions and subsidies in the costs of capital and other resources. The HIID study indicates that an improvement by one third in ERA took place between 1983-86, a period which coincides with the NIP. But in 1987 and 1988 the period of the PIP there was some contraction in ERA which coincides with the introduction of measures of import liberalisation after 1986 as part of the package of structural adjustment support negotiated with the World Bank. The Effective Rates of Protection (ERP) fell between 1987 and 1988 compared to the 1985/86 period. The quantitative analysis in the HIID study however establishes that neither the NIP or the RIP in any

noticeable way impacted on either manufacturing investment or efficiency [1]. The conclusions from the study indeed suggest that such extensive assistance to industry may have negative effects because they protect enterprises from competitive pressures. The persistence of a social environment where it is more profitable to trade than to invest in industry, the persistence of various controls and the constant use of public policy and resources as instruments of patronage rather than as stimulants to economic efficiency, are seen to be conducive to rent seeking behaviour on the part of industrialists [1].

*Import liberalisation and industrial performance*

It is open to question how far such protective interventions have inhibited entrepreneurs from becoming more efficient. It could be argued that the liberalisation of the economy at period where industrialisation was expected to taken root would have a negative effect on performance. Prospective investors tend to hesitate to enter industries where exposure to external competition is likely to persist. Most entrepreneurs, public or private, crave protection. Once they set up capacity they are reluctant to face competition particularly from imports. In contrast they want ready access to foreign exchange for their intermediate imports which is now provided by the widening secondary foreign exchange market. Access to imports of capital goods is also demanded though credit provided either by the DFIs or now by commercial banks. In the last year 1988/89 it was recently reported by the Finance Minister to Parliament that nationalised Commercial Banks (NCB) provided Tk. 138 crores in term loans to the industrial sector.

It is significant that ERA's are biased towards import substitution and low to negative for export oriented industries and low for non traded sectors such as agriculture, livestock, construction, power and services [1]. There is obviously little rationality in our policy interventions which appear to derive from ad hoc initiatives rather than a clearly thought out strategy of industrialisation.

High rates of ERA to import substituting industry can be neutralised by smuggling. However the incentive to smuggle all varieties of goods varies, so that some products such as textiles or other more portable consumer and intermediate goods come in more readily than machinery or others capital goods. Transport vehicles carry large duties in many countries but we do not see the streets overrun by smuggled cars. The argument therefore that high ERAs will inevitably be neutralised by smuggling is a

fallacy. In such circumstances it makes sense to protect industries to build up some management capability as well as capital.

South Korea, Taiwan and other NICs could not have built up their initial industrial base without resort to protection. The period of rapid industrialisation when an essentially non-industrial economy lays the base for industrialisation by raising its share in GDP from under 5% to 15% should be a phase where imports of directly competitive goods are discouraged as a measure to conserve foreign exchange, to internalise the linkage effects of economic development and to build up investible surpluses in the industrial sector. The transition to export of manufactures derives from an established industrial base built around import substitution when the share of manufactures to GDP can rise from 15% to 30% or more.

#### REDESIGNING INDUSTRIAL POLICY IN BANGLADESH

##### *Lessons from the NICs*

The problem with our industrial policy is that it has provided a variety of incentives to promote industrialisation without a strategic vision to underlie the direction of our industrialisation. There is an implicit belief that the market will provide the correct signals to any prospective industrialist who simply needs to be provided with loans and fiscal concessions to react to market forces. It is worth pointing out that ROK, India, China, Brazil all had a clear vision of the direction of industrialisation. India and China took clear decisions in the 1950's to build a capital and intermediate goods sector to sustain future industrialisation.

ROK took a clear decision in the 1960's to encourage labour intensive manufacturing exports. It took another decision in the 1970's to build up a capital and intermediate goods sector for diversification of its export base. It used fiscal incentives, credit controls and direct public enterprise investment, as well as ordering the rationalisation of some industries with excess capacity. Even Singapore took a positive decision in the 1970's to move out of labour intensive industry to capital and skill intensive industries. In most of the NICs the phase of export promotion coincided with a protectionist regime for goods serving the domestic market. Even today you will find, in a relative sense, few imported cars on the streets of Seoul compared to Dhaka, Manila or Jakarta. This has meant that the Koreans built up their automobile industry in a protected market and then positioned it for entry into the export market where it is today emerging as one of the most dynamic exporters. But they still managed to keep the automobile industry reasonably competitive during the period when they served the domestic market.

*Redirecting industrial policy in Bangladesh*

In Bangladesh we enjoy the worst of all worlds. We discriminate against exporters but do not create a sufficiently dynamic or protected domestic market to promote import substituting industrialisation. As a result surplus capacity accumulates and imports flood the market. To this extent the donor sponsored adjustment policies designed to liberalise our imports may have quite the opposite effect by arresting the process of industrialisation before it has realised its full potential for import substitution. This process may not be compensated by export oriented industrialisation since the global market for manufacturing exports from newcomers such as Bangladesh is much more constrained than it was for the East Asian NICs when they entered the market in the 1960's.

In any case the dichotomy between import substituting and export oriented industrialisation is quite false. Bangladesh will need to go through a phase where it services a large part of its domestic market needs both current and projected. We can meet this need whilst giving incentives for export. But as in the case of Korea, if we want to make headway we will have to develop an export strategy where we will have to develop specific industries for this purpose and will have to target them to specific export markets. This will demand a much more purposeful and interventionist role for the government than has been the case so far. Such a strategy will have to learn how we can promote exports concurrently with guaranteeing markets for domestic manufactures. We will have to recognise that the domestic market is itself limited by the poverty of the population and the inequitable development strategies we follow. Available research evidence indicates that a dynamic rural economy wherein, reside the majority of our population can sustain a major industrialisation programme. One study indicates that a 3.5% growth rate in the rural economy could sustain an industrial growth rate of 9%. That this has not happened in Bangladesh indicates that the impact of higher rural economic activity is being leaked out abroad, is being diverted to nonindustrial uses or is simply not being met by domestic industry and thus remains unsatisfied.

*Lessons from Chinese experience with rural industrialisation*

Here the Chinese model is worth bearing in mind. China is today the most industrialised developing country and is the seventh largest industrial power in the world. Its manufacturing sector grew at 9.5% per year between 1965-80 and 12.6% between 1980-86 [2c]. Only ROK has sustained as high a growth rate for so long and in the 1980's China grew at an even faster rate than Korea. This extraordinary growth has been sustained by

the dynamism of the rural economy and market in China and a strategy which internalises all the growth impulses from high rural and industrial growth not just through domestic manufacturing growth but through rural industry which has grown at an even faster rate than urban industry.

*The design for new industrial policy for the 1990s*

What conclusions does this leave for reformulating industrial policy in Bangladesh, we may summarise below the main features of such a policy design.

- i. We need to pursue a rural oriented development strategy which enhances employment and purchasing power for the poorest segments of the population. This will not only expand the market for domestic industry but since the demand structure of the poor is more oriented to local products it will internalise the spread effects of growth.
- ii. We need to design an industrial strategy for the 1990's which clearly identifies industries to be developed to serve the domestic market and those to serve the external market.
- iii. For export oriented industries such as garments we should focus on investments in promoting backward linkages so that within the next 5 years around 80% of the foreign exchange lost in importing fabrics and other inputs for garment exports is domestically manufactured. This should include a definite programme to both modernise and organise the handloom sector to service the garment exporters.  
In the next 10 years we should be manufacturing the spinning machines and other equipment which provide the base for the garment sector. To the extent that we can diversify our garment exports a target of \$ 2 to 3 billion is quite feasible and to the extent that we can develop backward linkages much of these earnings can be retained within the country to sustain a dynamic textile and machine building industry.
- iv. To sustain a process of backward and forward linkages we must strength our engineering industry. This must initially be directed to ensuring full capacity utilisation of the existing enterprises by curbing indiscriminate aid financed imports. The entire rural electrification programme should be built around the manufacturing capacity of the GEM plant. The irrigation programme should be built around the provision of a standardised set of engines provided in the Diesel Plant and one or two other plants to ensure some diversity and competition. But these should cater to the entire market and should be able to build

up service facilities throughout the rural areas. Our engineering industries, both the large scale and small scale units, should be fabricating all irrigation pumps. The pipe mills should be meeting all requirements for irrigation and the power sector. The cable plants should be meeting all our wiring needs. The shipyards and dock repairs facilities in the private and public sector should meet our entire need for inland water craft and should be targeting to build some sea going vessels.

A variety of other industries in the chemical and steel producing sector, which are already in operation or are needed for meeting local requirements for capital and intermediate goods should be identified. The modernisation and growth of these sectors, measures to exclude imports, to promote competition and to keep domestic monopoly suppliers competitive should be part of such a development strategy for industry.

- v. Special emphasis must be placed on developing and modernising rural industry. Here much can be learnt from the Chinese experience. We must develop an industrial culture in the rural economy. Machine shops to manufacture and service farm equipment, mini-cement plants to meet building needs, forges and foundaries for metal work, should be identified for development and located throughout the rural areas. More important, policies to promote and protect such industries so that their use within the local economy is guaranteed must be designed.
- vi. Export oriented industries must be promoted. We should for this develop a medium term (10 year) and long term (25 year) strategy to see which industries will enjoy a global comparative advantage, the market trends and sources of competition in these sectors and the backward linkage potential of the industries. The GOB must then ensure that such industries come up. Whether by credit targeting to promote private enterprise, or direct investment in the public sector the GOB must ensure through its commercial and political diplomacy that markets for such products remain open or are vacated, by agreement with our current competitors or that markets can be shared. It must identify prospective foreign collaborators and sources of financing and must intervene where needed to see that such collaborative arrangements fructify. Today most of our attempts at attracting foreign collaboration remain on paper. Very few of the

- innumerable memorandums of agreement with foreign investors end up in a working venture. This requires a much more active role by the government.
- vii. The state most once again assume the lead role in directing the industrialisation of Bangladesh. Under pressure from our donors the state has been progressively withdrawing from the industrialisation process. This is quite in contrast to the experience of the successful NICs where at the outset the state was the prime mover of the industrialisation process and even today remains the strategic planner and supervisor of the industrialisation process. The prevailing policy of just tinkering around with incentives, providing indiscriminate access to public funds for private borrowers and letting both formal and informal liberalisation undermine our industries is a recipe for the deindustrialisation of Bangladesh.
  - viii. The state should carefully review the privatisation programme. All industries which have been disinvested or set up with public funds should be kept under close scrutiny to monitor annually their production capacity utilisation, sales, profitability, exports, debt servicing and payment of taxes. Each of these industries should be incorporated into the annual industrial plan along with public enterprises, where each enterprise should be given targets developed through mutual consultation and performance at years and measured against such targets. Industries set up with public resources which default on debt or continuously make losses should be disinvested to other private entrepreneurs, to workers, to community organisations or even put back with the public sector.
  - ix. Commitment of public resources to finance private investment must be carefully calibrated to the industrial strategy of the country. Credit rationing remains the most powerful weapon to purposefully direct investment. Credit should be focused to promote small and rural industry where owners equity and management are within their capability and some risk is involved project appraisal by DFIs must be both quick and effective to ensure the viability of the project and must not be vitiated by consideration of political patronage. Repayment must be enforced and bankruptcy laws redesigned to ensure severe sanctions against default. This will restore faith in efficiency and competitive behaviour as the dynamic of private entrepreneurship.
  - x. The policy of indiscriminately winding down of the public sector must

be reviewed. A commission should be set up to review why public enterprises have not performed as well as they might and should identify remedial steps to improve performance and to ensure that they operate as commercially viable units totally free of bureaucratic controls. The commission should look at the fate of all disinvested, denationalised enterprises to see how they have performed under private ownership. On the basis of this review and measures recommended to improve public enterprise performance, the commission should spell out a strategy for future growth of the public sector. This should specially focus on the role of the public sector in developing capital and intermediate goods industries with high forward and backward linkages and industries targeted for a breakthrough in the export market.

*Conclusion: The environment for change*

We need to develop an industrial culture, where efficiency and innovation are rewarded, where markets function, effectively but do not substitute for a sense of strategic vision to underwrite the goals of industrialisation. We need to ensure that entrepreneurs who invest their own funds and demonstrate initiative are not hindered in their enterprise and are aided by public resources. In contrast rent seeking operators who seek to appropriate public funds but do not repay it are made accountable to the people. We need to ensure that the state as entrepreneur and policy planners becomes more purposeful, efficient and accountable to the people. In this way we may hope to move Bangladesh on the path to industrialisation by the 21st century.

To develop such a culture demands not just a redirection of industrial policy but the reconstruction of a polity committed to preserving state sovereignty, based on authentically representative institutions where work rather than access governs the distribution of material benefits. This should be the enduring lesson to us from developments in the world around us today.

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## POLITICAL ECONOMY OF SMI DEVELOPMENT POLICIES IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

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Policies are merely expressions of the basic nature of the state. In order to understand the rationale of the policies actually implemented it is necessary to examine the nature of the state. On the economic aspect we consider three basic types: free enterprise economy, mixed economy and planned economy. Within these types we differentiate between economies with large domestic market and those with small domestic market and further differentiate as to their external dependence in terms of aid and trade. On the socio-political plane we initially classify them in terms of the dominant group in the management of state, i.e, bourgeois dominant, intermediate regime (coalition of small middle class interest) and mass-based populist coalition. In the bourgeois group we differentiate between those whose linkages with international capital and finance market have made them less committed to national interest and those where such a phenomenon is not present. In the second group, which is basically transitional in nature, we differentiate between those with growth-first orientation and those with equity-first pre-occupation. In the third group we differentiate between dictatorial and democratic types and further differentiate them into stable and unstable regimes. Such a matrix provide us with 96 topologies. We have to limit our focus on very large, medium, small and household enterprises in the context of promotive and protective policies of various types affecting the manufacturing sector.

In the bourgeois dominant policy and free enterprise economy where domestic market is large (due to population and/or income level) and international linkages (financial and commercial) of ruling class is pronounced and external dependence is high, one would expect to see the following: (1) liberal direct foreign investment (DFI) would be encouraged unconditionally and through concessions for export and import-substitution sectors and such enterprises would be large and/or very large, (2) local private investment (LPI) in large and very large industries

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in and around metropolis would be promoted through concessions and protections, (3) public sector, however, may remain responsible for initial development of transport and communication infrastructure, limited human resources and skill development infrastructure and facilitatory services to help DFI and LPI, (4) no firm and systematic policy in respect of R & D infrastructure, technology transfer, market development and financial infrastructure may emerge, (5) SMIs, in the laissez-faire context, basically work to meet local needs of consumer goods and repair services with largely scale-neutral low-investment technology and at times benefit from trickle down and spread effect of growing VLI/LI sector whose economy dictates firming out some production/service activities, (6) the bureaucratic assistance schemes for SMI in the interest of dispersal and/or rural employment creation is likely to be less specific and insufficient in terms of assistance needed. In summary, in such a situation the SMI would be a residual sector and is unlikely to be guided by a defined policy which may be called assistance by objective. It is more likely to be a policy in crisis or for *bonhomie* in a patron-client environment or at best an assistance policy for exception. In such a situation the dualistic structure of the manufacturing sector will be strengthened and SMI share will decline and their relative efficiency suffer increasing low entry and high failure rate.

A variant of the former is the case when the external dependence is low. In this case, the dominant bourgeoisie, would prefer a kind of linkage with international capital and finance that furthers their economic and political power within and outside the national boundary. The invitation to direct foreign investment is likely to be selective, on a partnership basis, seeking access to management and technology on mutually beneficial terms. The state will remain a bystander without a defined policy but centralization of decision making in a manner that leaves DFI no other option but cooperation on agreed terms. In order to cultivate mutual trust, as external dependence is low and because of better control on home territory such a cooperation is likely to start in import-substitution areas with prospects of overseas extension. In order to make it costless, concessions and protection for DFI and local investment would be defined in general terms in the policy instrument and financial assistance would also be available. This promotion and protection policy would be extended to private sector investments, particularly in large sectors which generally enjoys favour of institutionalized bureaucracy. Public sector would remain the primary vehicle for development of infrastructural facilities and public enterprise may also be promoted as risk-takers (sharers) and providers of subsidized

inputs. In such circumstances SMIs are likely to be in the low-technology consumer and service sector catering to local needs and policies and institutions for their growth would continue to be generalistic and ineffective except in those areas where LI in private or joint-venture sectors need development of ancillaries, and sub-contracts out for improving their own economic prospect. Thus SMIs are not likely to enjoy any extra assistance and their entry and failure rate would be determined almost entirely by local market conditions including those of LI in private and joint ventures.

In case where dominant bourgeois with international and financial linkages faces a small domestic market with high external dependence, the circumstances are likely to favour promotion of DFI for export purposes, independently or as partners and promotional and protective concessions are likely to be made available. In the private sector, export industries as well as import-substitution industries would receive protection and concessions, though they are likely to favour initially the home market and graduate through assistance and cooperation of DFIs into the export market. However, if the small domestic market implies a comparative advantage for a modern SMI, the private investment is likely to gravitate in that direction. A small market due to low purchasing power but large and dispersed population is likely to promote public sector programme and assistance for development of SMI. Protection and promotion policies, even if neutral, or nominal, would see a higher rate of entry, growth and success rates for SMIs. Public sector would continue to build limited infrastructure facilities and there is likely to be no defined and effective policy for R & D and technology transfer. LIs, though few in numbers, is likely to maintain their economic dominance if export-promotion and/or import-substitution policies work to favour them which in this context seem to be likely.

A variant of the former is the case where external dependence is limited. In such a case the compulsion for DFI is much less apparent and the only rationale would be the desire for national bourgeois to reach out to them for meeting their own economic needs and in exchange make concessions for them in the domestic economy and rationalize them in terms of upgradation of technology, management and the like. Thus DFI would be encouraged on selective basis while LPI would be for import-substitution in medium or even modern small scale industries for producing consumer, light engineering and service-related products. PS would be confined to building infrastructure and provide assistance and role of PE would remain

limited to supportive and promotive sectors. However, in case of large unemployed population, a PS programme for development of small and rural industries in general terms would be in order.

The above discussion basically reiterates the well-known positions of the free market economy, i.e. small market promotes small enterprises and large markets promote large enterprises and the domestic market barrier can be broken through export promotion which may be assisted by foreign collaboration. The domestic population size and unemployment situation would, however, promote a situation to help promote local (modern but mostly traditional) small and rural industries.

We intend to examine the same four cases with the change that we replace internationally linked bourgeoisie by a nationally committed bourgeois as the ruling class. This is likely to be the case in decolonized countries which gained independence through negotiation led by national bourgeois without lasting and effective mobilization but with a determination of developing capabilities to replace old multinationals effectively necessary for a regional and international role.

The characteristic of a national bourgeois is that they place their own prosperity in the broader context of national development and not outside instead of such a possibility. Hence the interaction with DFI is within the defined context of national development and thus with a requirement for augmenting growth potential of the country which, however, retains their dominance as the vanguard class. The policy is oriented towards building national capabilities in technology, entrepreneurship, management, marketing and such other related areas. This programme to build national capability through education at home and abroad though preferentially restricted to dominant social class, has its spillovers through educational programmes and production relations. In the quest for rapid development at a minimum cost, the expansion of LI through protection and promotion has to touch the SMIs in a planned interventionist manner or through the market mechanism or both.

High external dependence with large domestic market for aid and trade opens the interactive opportunity with MNC/TNCs for selective cooperation with a conscious and clear policy of sharing management and technology. The development of LI and modern SMI are encouraged as a process of national development for creating broad industrial, and wherever possible, technological base. It is supplemented by traditional and rural industries to meet local needs. PS is effectively engaged in infrastructure building and

PE plays a supportive role to LI. The promotive and protective policies in terms of tax rebate, subsidy, concessional terms of loans and imports, etc. are visible and vigorously pursued.

Low external dependence however allows for greater selectivity of relations with MNC/TNC initially for effective import-substitution and modernization of existing channels of production, though overtime export requirement tend to assert its demand for collaboration. The basic policy is oriented towards self-reliance in technical and technological capability and foreign collaboration in technological and physical infrastructure tend to take precedence over production facilities. Modern SMI are encouraged for growth needs in general, but also as a coherent part of the externalities of technological development. Large domestic market, particularly if associated with large domestic population widely dispersed, allow for development of dualistic industrial structure—traditional and modern—in the SMI and rural industries sectors. This helps regional dispersal and employment creation.

Smallness of domestic market with high external dependence requires augmentation of international competitive capability through linkages of which partnership with DFIs as per acceptable (but liberal) terms is a necessity as it helps promotion of management and marketing capability along with access to technology. The policies tend to favour such possibilities. However, the need for expanding domestic market as a fall back position requires augmentation of domestic production opportunities through complementary and supportive role that LIs can play in industry and related sectors. Unless the domestic market expands, high external dependence is likely to create relatively unfavourable climate for TNC cooperation except in primary and processing sectors which might under unfavourable conditions create negative inflow of foreign resources. A nationally committed bourgeois therefore finds it imperative to promote local SMIs in an effort to broaden the domestic market which improves their negotiation capability, independence and also create the broader technological base.

Smallness of domestic market along with low external dependence on the one hand create the need for outward expansion, on the other hand allows for greater selectivity of collaboration with TNCs, but bargaining power and capability remains limited. The outcome of these pushes and pulls are dictated by the orientation of national bourgeoisie. An outward looking group would opt for liberal DFI collaboration for export promotion

with creation of backward and forward linkages wherever possible. An inward looking group would put greater priority on domestic market expansion through investment in production facilities in the case of private and infrastructural and supportive facilities in the case of public. The approach would be better coordination of efforts and SMIs would certainly get preferential treatment for low investment risk, relatively simple technological process, uncomplicated management and direct market promotion possibility. The policies would cover both protective and promotive approaches.

The reality of most economies is a mixed structure of public and private ownership of productive resources and facilities determined by accidents of history or by conscious policy decisions in the context of growth and development needs dictated by social engineering process opted for or selected by the dominant group. The economic rationale for public sector intervention in production sector are market failures or entrepreneurial deficiency and the justification for public sector operation has been evaluated in terms of social costs and benefits. We are mostly concerned with developing economies where the role of public sector has been expanded either-through takeover of entrepreneurial compulsions depending on the socio-political and socio-economic conditions. However, the role of public sector vis-a-vis private sector could be supplantive (primary), supportive (complementary), or complementary and non-competitive in nature. In the bourgeois dominant mixed economies, the public sector basically plays supportive-complementary role as suppliers of subsidized inputs and/or buyers of outputs of private sector on a preferential basis in addition to complementary activities in high-risk, long-gestation, complicated technology sectors or nurture the sick industries of private sector which suffered from non-maintenance or obsolescence.

When the domestic market is large, external dependence is high and national bourgeois with significant international linkages are in control of state apparatus, the public sector large enterprises appear through aid-dialectics in high-risk areas without constraining profitable areas for DFI and LPI in profitable import-substitution or export-promotion sector. In the context of mixed economy, public enterprises and public sector adopt policies and programmes for creating technological base through upgradation of educational and training infrastructure from which DFI and LPI benefit through mobility of skilled executives and workers involving a subsidy for learning. The public sector programme also help promotion of modern SMIs as suppliers or users of intermediate product. However, SMIs

relatively enjoy less preference compared to LI and FEs, because of relatively less access to finance and appropriate technology.

When the external dependence is less and domestic market is large in a mixed economy, dominant internationally-linked bourgeois would tend to create oligopoly in important profitable import-substitution sectors with growth potentials by themselves or if necessary in collaboration of FEs. Public sector enterprises would be given the role in high-risk, high-investment, complicated technology areas for creation of its viability and development of external linkages. SMIs would be mostly on their own and survive competition in protected local niche or in areas of supportive linkages with LI. The entry and survival rate would be low unless supportive action to reduce unemployment and decelerate deteriorating social condition are undertaken.

When the domestic market is small and external dependence high, the internationally linked bourgeois is likely to opt for vigorous export promotion sector with the help of DFI (or even look for opportunities to invest abroad). In the private sector, SMIs are likely to be dominant and enjoy promotive and protective support. The public enterprises would be entrusted with the task of investing in high-risk, high-investment enterprises, as well as creating linkages with SMIs through linkages and technology transfer. Public sector social, physical and educational infrastructure would be complementing such an effort. This would be more so if regional dispersal and poverty alleviation assume importance in the public policy orientation.

When external dependence is low and domestic market small, the compulsion for DFI is reduced but the dominant bourgeois with international linkages would endeavour to create or strengthen their position through oligopolistic exploitation of import-substitution opportunities, if necessary with licence and similar arrangements with FIs. Small domestic market tend to favour SMIs with low technology content in areas where oligopolistic exploitation by dominant bourgeois remains difficult. SMIs survive and grow in complementary areas or in local-need areas where completion is restricted by the size of market. Promotional and protective assistance for SMI is likely to be limited.

In a mixed economy with large domestic market and high export dependence, a dominant nationalist bourgeois would promote policies for creation and expansion of LIs preferably through limited collaboration of FI except for licensing and technology know-how and effectuate oligarchical

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import substitution possibilities. The public enterprises would be in high-risk, high-investment areas not competing with SMI. The public sector would provide for expansion of infrastructure and development of technological capabilities. The SMIs would grow through subcontract and in sectors requiring low-technology to meet local demands or for indirect export. The policies and programmes would provide assistance in a limited way for their growth.

Where external dependence is low and domestic market is large it would create conditions for selective cooperation with FI and local LI would predominate in the local consumer and capital goods sector because of the bias in promotion and assistance policies. The imperatives of self-reliance in technology would require foreign collaboration in industry and human resource development and public sector programmes would play an increasing role in creating R & D infrastructure, technology capabilities, HR development and such programmes through its externalities and native entrepreneurial capability with or without financial assistance would help SMIs to be created or expand particularly in areas where LI linkage is apparent, or where small operation is adequate to meet local needs. In the residual sector SMIs showing dualistic characteristics would persist.

In planned economies an elite class emerges through party hierarchy by whatever name they may be called. In such economies, the role of private sector under conditions of social ownership of means of production has remained very restricted till recently. The external economic relation was generally determined more on political basis than on pure economic criteria. However, one should differentiate between the external economic relation amongst the socialist countries themselves and those with other countries. Recently, the picture has also changed through the recognition of the need to incorporate market signals in planning process, promotion of small enterprises under private ownership, encouragement of foreign investment and search for improved technology beyond national frontiers. These are yet to be stabilized and expanded into the national system. By assumption, lumpen bourgeois is absent in these economies.

Large domestic market needs large supplies and high external dependence requires programmed procurement of inputs or final goods as well as programmed supply in exchange. The exercise is done through an elaborate planning machinery and SOIs are provided necessary orders, assistance (and new incentives) to meet the targets of production and supply. These SOIs are large, sometimes very large. Small enterprises in

the cooperative sector or in private sector still operate to meet local needs with low capital intensity and are not significant in non-agricultural sector. Protection and assistance to this sector is largely absent.

If the external dependence is low for input procurement or output supply the planning effort to that extent becomes simpler; but the dominance of large SOI created by dominant ruling class under classical socialist planning emphasizing the capital goods sector persists. Under the circumstances, SMIs in public cooperative, collective enterprises receive the required attention and assistance to meet local needs. These are planned to be self-reliant and assistance is procured through cooperative activities.

Small domestic markets create problem for creating VLI for capital goods except when centrally planned economies are importers of the output. In such economies, the programmed linkages of exports to other CPEs and the need to substitute imports in consumption sector promotes large and medium SOIs. In some economies tolerance and acceptance of SMI for meeting local needs become part of the policy. These are expected to be self-reliant and assistance in terms of social development in a limited way is made available.

When external dependence is limited, the attention is diverted to create LI and SMI in public sector to meet basic need goods and to create capital goods for reproduction and augmentation of production capacities as per plan. The role of SMI is prescribed by the planning effort and the residual SMI and home industries persist to meet local needs.

Intermediate regime, a concept introduced by Keleski and later popularized by neo-marxian analysts basically connetes that the ruling group is a coalition of petit bourgeois and they enjoy support of the masses in a general sense; however, the progress towards social ownership of the means of production is limited and growth of capitalist enterprises are restricted by environmental and policy considerations. Since the intermediate regimes in the developing countries tend to be unstable for socio-political and economic reasons and tend to move towards dominant social or private ownership due to the emergence of a ruling group that favours either one or the other position on the basis of ideological or pragmatic considerations. However, we would ignore that kind of dynamic shift in ideology and consider two alternative policy positions, i.e., predominantly growth-orientation and predominantly equity orientation without getting into the debate whether growth and equity are

simultaneously attainable. In the developing countries in general those which pursued growth-oriented policies have experienced widening income and opportunity gaps and those which pursued equity-oriented policy have experienced slower growth. The reason for this trade-off could be multifarious and this is not the place to discuss the issues. Growth orientation would mean encouragement of savings and investment over consumption, creation of condition for acceleration of investment irrespective of sources, cheapening of capital and holding the wage level, investment in development of skills, liberalization of restrictions and regulations, etc. Equity orientation would consider investment in social sectors to be more important and thus health, education and poverty alleviation would be priority consideration along with public sector intervention for employment creation, rural development, promotion of non-farm opportunities in rural and small industries, creation of liberal conditionalities for flow of funds to small man and non-metropolis areas, etc. In sum, it may be said that equity consideration promotes more governmental intervention for promotion of small opportunities and his protection which growth orientation is likely to encourage more facilities and opportunities which are capable of moving ahead in self-interest and thus create multiplier effect for accelerated investment in the comparatively advantageous sectors with defined promotional and incentive policies with respect to tax, trade, finance, reinvestment and so on.

Intermediate regime in a country with large domestic market and high external dependence is more likely to proceed to reduce the dependence in the interest of stability and thus follow a policy of import-substitution vigorously. In the free enterprise economy, the advantage of protective tariff would go to the large enterprises in the private sector mostly producing consumer goods till they gather enough strength and confidence to move into capital goods sector. In order to make it happen liberal finance for investment, protection against imports, low tariff on machinery and components would be made available. The entrepreneurial group is likely to emerge from the small businessmen and professionals. However, the dependence in terms of aid and technology would remain. At the early stage, the export industries would not be developed as the ROI in import-substitution industries would be high. The government, because of its very nature, till the capitalist growth is reasonably strengthened, would follow a policy of promotion and protection of SMIs trough public sector intervention but this is likely to be limited in vigour and effectiveness. However effective growth orientation would necessitate development of

physical, financial, educational and technological infrastructure. The spread effect of such a policy may in the second round go beyond the LIs and have a favourable influence on the growth of SMI when the LIs have effectively defined their sphere of operation. Growth through export oriented approach for a developing economy would much sooner put the SMIs in relative disadvantage unless a symbiotic relationship is created through policy intervention and cultural tradition, otherwise scale efficiency would remain unexplored. In such a condition, share of SMIs in value added, employment and even in number decline while the entry, survival and growth becomes restricted and exit is facilitated unless a policy intervention for specific intervention for socio-political reason is promoted and adopted.

If the external dependence is low, it becomes all the more relevant to promote investment in import substitution through direct and indirect assistance to investors irrespective of size. Only the market condition and political pragmatism may lead to reservation of sectors for SMI as a matter of policy. In conditions of limited external dependence, such a policy becomes more acceptable than when the dependence is high. However, limited external dependence does not preclude export-oriented industries with foreign collaboration of skill and resources exist and public assistance to LIs in this respect is to be expected.

With a small domestic market and high external dependence, export promotion through active assistance is likely to be the primary choice of the regime and this is helped by cultivated international linkages for technology, market and investment. Such conditionalities seem to favour LIs and their growth potential depends on technical and managerial efficiency which may have to be acquired through the same kind of linkages. The free market would indeed encourage private investments under promotional and protective assistance from the government. If the LIs are encouraged to focus on the export sector, SMIs can be helped to cater to the domestic market which is small and whose growth in initial phase can only be slow because of policy encouragement for saving, investment and reinvestment of surplus or retained earnings. However, success in export promotion and increase in employment would create conditions for domestic market expansion which may promote SMIs to graduate into LIs and/or attract more SMIs depending on the nature of technology used.

If the external dependence is low and the domestic market is small, the

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emergence of LIs in domestic sectors would adversely affect the SMIs unless the market expands simultaneously and more than proportionately. Thus an imposed substitution strategy to be successful without harming SMIs would need to restrict LIs in sectors where growth elasticity of demand is high, indeed very high and reserve for SMIs the sectors where it is low and not so high. However, in the export sector, such a differentiation would not be necessary but efficiency in certain types of export industry might dictate growth of small scale ancillary industry. The policy enunciation need to keep these orientation clear. The promotion and protection policies in these respects would need to be clearly demarcated with size differentials for different technology and market conditions.

An intermediate regime with stronger coalition with the lower income group would prefer to put emphasis on equity considerations and trade-off growth to an acceptable level. With large domestic market, considerations of regional dispersal and appropriate technology would receive due consideration. Public policy and institutional support for growth of SMIs particularly in the import substitution sectors, producing basic need products would be supported. Subsidy on loan, industrial land development and utilities would be part of such an approach. In addition, a minimum wage law could be enforced. Augmentation of vocational and entrepreneurial training would also be aimed at. Promotion of non-traditional exports through public sector assistance would also be mounted. However, large external dependence would also require a dualistic structure where LI and FI in the export sector or where indivisibilities are significant would emerge with similar assistance and support. Public sector would play a supportive role and public enterprises would remain confined to high risk large investment sectors preferably as joint venture with equity share or without it as a measure for entrepreneurial assistance and development with the ultimate goal of divestiture in addition to create capability to intervene in market for essentials should the necessity arise.

When the external dependence is minimal, the change that would appear is laxity in promotion of non-traditional exports and leave the export initiative to the big entrepreneurs who could function under such incentive system as tax concessions, favourable foreign exchange allocation and low interest rates. SMIs would basically function as individual units to meet demands in domestic market and grow under promotive and protective intervention by the government. The public policy and institutions would continue to play a supportive and promotive role from which LI and SMI

entrepreneurs with growth initiative would benefit most.

With market constraint in the domestic front, equity considerations in conditions of high external dependence in the free enterprise economy would be promoted to provide more public sector support to SMIs for production and market creation at home and abroad. Such public sector support would be promotive in that assistance of such nature as liberal credit allocation, feasibility studies, technical assistance for selection of technology (and even installation), preferential purchases and protection against competition or excessive capacity creation would be provided. In a constrained domestic market, the LIs would be encouraged in export sector with similar assistance for promotion and protection. Foreign technical collaboration would be screened for appropriateness, non-encroachment in the reserved sector for SMIs and possible externalities in favour of SMIs.

With low external dependence and limited export market, the industrial promotion measures need to be vigorous, programmed and effective both in the domestic market and export-market areas. The low external dependence provides opportunity for making appropriate choice of sectors, terms and conditions, while the limited domestic market necessitates integrated growth with primary and tertiary sectors so as to be supportive of each other. This requires considerable planning effort and bureaucratic efficiency and commitment in view of the policy orientation in favour of equity between classes, regions and groups. This augments the role of public sector and even public enterprises as market restriction and imperfection is likely to promote inequity and/or slow growth left to itself.

In an intermediate regime with mixed economy, the role of public sector is extended beyond policy and institutional support to the realm of direct productive activities not necessarily in supplementary and supportive role but, should such need arise, in areas of direct competition, take-over or supplantation. The eventuality is guided not merely by economic consideration but also by social, political and ideological imperatives like prevention of concentration of economic power or limitation of capitalistic growth.

Large domestic market creates opportunities for all types—FI, PE private investment in VLI, LI, SMI, VSMI and so on. High external dependence underscores the need to limit import-dependence and augment competitiveness in export markets. The role of public sector remains one of promotion and protection in addition to the augmented role of public

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enterprises in direct production. The large public sector enterprises emerge in commanding light areas to facilitate industrialization through such externalities as R & D development, creation of a managerial class, augmentation of technological capability and promotion of linkages with domestic industries. It helps unpacking the imported technology and apply modification to suit local conditions. In addition, growth orientation also promotes the public enterprises in basic industries (e.g., iron and steel, cement, chemicals, fertilizers, etc.) in order to create the industrial infrastructure. Further, public enterprises play the role of rehabilitating sick and/or abandoned private enterprises. Thus, in an intermediate regime with growth orientation, public enterprises generally tend to be concentrated in VLI and LI, possibly because of the existence of large domestic market. In the private sector, large enterprises emerge for import-substitution and export, initially in processing primary products. Such industries have preference to do many of the subsidiary work under one roof and the economies of subcontractor or of diversification do not tend to appear at initial stages. They seek security over any other consideration under conditions of intermediate regime. This means SMIs normally appear as residual sector operation for the local needs producing basic need goods and services. Entry remains at low level unless promoted by public sector policy of support, survival rate generally is high unless challenged by expanding LIs or shrinkage of market due to shift in consumer preference or management failure under generational change. Growth in LI is also dependent on support from PE through linkage or entrepreneurial initiative taking advantage of opportunities created by growth policies and protection and promotion policies for this sector.

Low external dependence create opportunities for PE to be more selective and have better bargaining power in securing foreign technical collaboration in the areas selected or reserved for them as a matter of policy by the government. On the other hand, the private investments are not constrained additionally and their initiative in the import-substitution and export promotion sector also enjoys similar advantage even though they tend to opt for low investment high profit sectors. Growth oriented policy encourage reinvestment of surplus and thus promotes expansion and/or diversification at the next round. However, in the intermediate regimes, there are limitations on entrepreneurial ability of dominant, petty bourgeois coalition and hence their initiatives remain restricted to secured sectors even under condition of promotion and protection. Hence, public enterprises have to subsume the responsibility of growth sectors where

risk and opportunity balance does not appear attractive or the public sector has to provide for insurance against loss as an incentive for private sector to emerge more significantly. The SMIs remain a residual sector and possibly the threat of competition and substitution increases if the LIs intrude and expand in their areas. Here the public sector policy, despite growth orientation, instead of adopting the dictum that growth is the only proof of efficiency, under conditions of intermediate regime come to the help of SMIs through differential protection and promotion policies in their favour.

If the domestic market is small and external dependence high, then the implicit or explicit policy agreement on nature and areas of operation among PE, private LI and SMI (even VSMI) becomes vital in the case of intermediate regime. The growth-oriented regime would be willing to restrict PE operations in relevant commanding light and high-risk areas import-substitution, new market creation and export promotion areas. The large private enterprises, under appropriate policy and promotional support, would be inclined to venture out into export market while creating an expansion of domestic market for their product. This would be consistent with high external dependence and such policies as differential foreign exchange rate regimes for export, real wage freeze, subsidies for investment and importation/adoption of better technology, etc., would be relevant. The SMIs, unless organized as a group, would not be able to take advantage of export assistance policies. The small domestic market, for their survival and growth would prompt policies for such cooperation and coordination through trade association or the like. Such a group-based support policy would be consistent with growth orientation. However, SMIs would be more predominant in areas where local needs, are to be met or as suppliers to LI of services and intermediaries.

When the external dependence is low and the compulsion of export growth is relaxed, with small domestic market in an intermediate regime, policies tend to favour a package for integrated development in order to create conditions which help income and market expansion starting with the primary sector and industries as processors of primary products appear in PE, LI and SMI sectors, even though growth compulsion would necessitate PEs to be concerned with diversification, technological improvement, exploration in new technology and the like. Private sector would continue to seek security and pushing them into new ventures would require considerable assistance and promotional effort including those which subsume risk of failure. The similar would be the position of SMIs with less bargaining power unless they are organized. Hence,

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promotional effort to organize them in industrial estates and/or industrial cooperatives with provision for common service facilities would be required for their growth.

When equity takes precedence over growth, promotional and protection approach has to provide greater consideration to SMIs which can meet the requirements for regional dispersal, simple technology, high employment potential and possible linkages. In a large domestic market with high external dependence, it is possible to delegate relatively greater emphasis on growth and export to large private enterprises allowing for meaningful foreign collaboration whenever necessary with appropriate policy support and allow SMIs to meet the local needs of goods and services, provide subcontracting services to LIs and / of organize themselves to take advantage of export and large domestic market. In most cases, policies and support by the public sector tend to have succeeded more in the first option than in the later ones. The role of public enterprise remains confined to nurturing technological improvement, high-risk, high-investment areas, providing support to private enterprises, particularly SMIs and VSMIs and for equity reasons create capabilities to cater to basic needs, goods and services.

With lower external dependence, selectivity in foreign collaboration is augmented. The public enterprise also gathers strength to assert itself in respect of promotional and protective assistance. The private sector LI is nonetheless constrained and with required entrepreneurial ability can venture into import substitution, export-promotion as well as new product or new market development provided public sector policies provide adequate support and insurance. Private enterprise, though more venturesome tend to be more conservative in the developing countries. The SMIs remain a residual sector unless promoted and organized through policy and programme intervention as a component of the equity oriented policy. This requires preferential treatment of SMIs in raw material procurement, finance, land allocation and purchase by PEs, as well as provision for technology maintenance and upgradation, training in production and management skills and market promotion.

When domestic market is small, equity consideration would require a preferential treatment for the SMIs for domestic and export markets. However, promotion of LIs in the context of high external dependence, particularly in the export sector which augments net foreign exchange earned should not be lost sight of. The PE in the intermediate regime

performs supportive services as well as independent productive services. In the context of equity and small domestic market, PEs support orientation should tilt in favour of SMIs with high growth elasticity and to LIs with high export potentialities.

With low external dependence, equity consideration in the context of an intermediate regime strengthens the protection and promotional policies in favour of SMIs at times with reservation of sectors, dispersal of support facilities, earmarking of loans for target groups and provision of technical assistance. Public sector has to gear up to provide such support and public enterprises develop a promotional role through provision of intermediates (e.g., yarn) and/or purchase of outputs (e. g., parts and components). However, the role of LI in the private sector does not remain wholly constrained but their export breakthrough with public sector support is a preferred way for growth as they face differential tax and subsidy in the domestic market.

In a centrally-planned economy with large domestic market with high external dependence, public enterprises are generally capital-intensive, very large and concentrated in producer goods area. SMIs appear to meet local needs of consumer goods and services as a collective of a cooperative. They depend on LIs for intermediates and machinery. Except for segmented/protected markets and non-intervention of goods and services from elsewhere they do not seem to enjoy much of promotional assistance, though in theory that could have been in order. Growth is the primary concern while meeting the basic needs is considered to be the responsibility of the community and the state.

Low external dependence orients the role of public enterprises more towards domestic market for production of capital goods, intermediate and consumer item, while that of SMIs in the context of local community remains unaltered. The growth orientation continues to constrain consumption and keep wage level low and tax the community for greater investment on technological development. The equity is generally programmed in terms of meeting basic needs at planned levels:

Small domestic market promotes the importance of SMIs to meet local needs as well as for import substitution of producer and consumer goods, however, smallness is determined by planned capacity and available technology from other CPEs. The assistance in terms of investment and skill development is programmed through planning effort. However, heavy external dependence require development of export sector based

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generally on available local resources but the scale is determined by available technology which generally tend to favour LIs. Growth orientation promotes relatively more capital intensity and equity is defined in terms of planned supply of basic need goods and services generally from local SMIs.

Lower external dependence with smaller domestic market and subject to growth policies and available technology SMIs seem to get a natural preference especially in the consumer goods sector within the limits of planned basic need supply which is the basic trend of equity.

Populist mass-based coalition indicates control of state apparatus by people committed to the welfare of the bottom half/bottom quarter of the population. Such a regime could come to power through liberation struggle which gave birth to such a coalition in the process or more rarely through a democratic process of free and fair election as a protest against an elite-biased, urban-biased policies. Further, such a regime runs a risk of becoming dictatorial in nature if ideological prediction of the dominant group is strong; very few survive as democracy and even when they survive factional interest often make such populist mass based coalist weak and ineffective.

If the domestic market is large, a populist mass-based coalition would tend to reverse or at least stem the urban-biased and elite-biased policies. One of the options is to expand the reserved area for SMIs allowing for wide dispersal and supporting this with public sector assistance in terms of liberal loan, vocational training, common facility development, provision of subsidized utilities, improvement of management through standardization and design change, ect. The large external dependence would require creating effective backward and forward linkages through disaggregate stages of production process, institution of effective quality control as well as market promotion. These policies however restrict operation of free market through elaborate intervention but the ownership remains with the private entrepreneurs severally or jointly. However, one should note that extent of disaggregation is dictated by the nature of technology. Thus, such a regime requires an effective expansion of public sector assistance in all spheres in favour of SMIs to preserve the democratic base of a mass-based populist coalition.

With lower external dependence, the risk of foreign intervention in favour of generalising assistance programme is reduced. The other observations made in the foreign section however still holds.

The small domestic market caused by low purchasing power of a large section of population and high concentration of income and wealth would necessitate a policy in favour of SMI and VSMI of the nature elaborated earlier with added vigor. The external dependence, which might mean intervention through aid conditionalities, can only be countered if the unity of coalition is strong and mobilization of financial and human resources for alternate strategy is available.

Lower external dependence with small domestic market caused by low purchasing power and inequitable income distribution which brought the mass-based populist coalition to power would make SMI-oriented policy feasible, however, with transition through SMIs would tend to grow at different rates causing differentiation in size.

Mass-based populist coalition can turn into a dictatorship of a strong man who survives with the support of the armed forces and foreign power. Such a change also changes the original orientation of the populist coalition. Alternately, it may become a dictatorship of a party with ideological prediction with or without retaining the basic support of the mass.

If the populist coalition turns into a dictatorship, particularly with foreign MNC linkages then the private sector oriented towards VLI and LI grows and depending on the strength of social protest against such a development SMIs maintain their position or even decline despite programmes for their development due to centralization and concentration of economic power which exploits import substitution opportunities funded by high export dependence. Continuity and stability of such a regime makes room for inroads by MNCs and local VLI. The policy in respect of SMI is needed for holding operation to diffuse the strength of social protest. Even though it may have all the trappings of promotion and protection, the relative advantage of SMI remains small and may even be negative in certain sectors.

If the external dependence is low, the change in the basic nature of the policy orientation of the coalition would promote VLI, LI helping concentration of economic power through liberalization and privatization whenever necessary and the role of SMI would become secondary and subsidiary and the promotion and protection policy would be more selective and less effective.

In case of a small domestic market and high external dependence, the reversal of policy of populist coalition would promote LI with greater

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emphasis both for import-substitution and export promotion purposes. SMIs would be peripheral and exist primarily due to the inherent comparative strength in certain regions to meet local needs or as essential subsidiary to the growing LIs. The policies of protection and promotion would favour LIs more than the SMIs.

The observations made above essentially remain true in condition where domestic market is small even though external dependence is low with the added disadvantage that the LIs would appear in the import-substitution sector with greater emphasis and thus creating higher barriers to entry and survival for SMIs.

In the mixed economy when the mass-based coalition works in the context of large domestic market and high external dependence. The public enterprises would be given the role of promoting the opportunities for the disadvantaged. This would mean creating critical core basic industries in the public sector with regional dispersal as and where possible. Such a sector would create and provide employment to the disadvantaged group through vocational training and apprenticeship in the plant. Further, preferential purchases of inputs from SMIs and preferential sales of outputs to them would be effected through system of symbiotic relationship involving technical assistance and guidance. Such a process would be visible both in import substitution and export sectors. However, care would be taken to see that ownership of SMIs and expansion through such relationships does not create any preferential pressure groups or concentration of privileges. Thus, the policies of protection and promotion of SMIs would be selective in the context of the orientation of mass-based coalition and certain restrictions on ownership pattern, investment ceiling, foreign collaboration, etc. may exist.

The observation of the foregoing para would hold true even when external dependence is limited. The private sector LI is to be limited and thus in the private sector emphasis shifts to SMIs. For the SMIs to be regulated and controlled a systematic relationship with PEs will be designed as a matter of policy. The only difference in this case is the urgency of export sector is to a certain extent minimized.

If the domestic market is small and external dependence high under a democratic mass-based coalition, the urgency to promote export in a mixed economy would create priority for public enterprises in this respect and if the public enterprise feels constrained to perform the task the private LIs would emerge but public regulation is likely to be extensive. SMIs as

localized enterprises and as import substitution venture independently or with assistance from or for assistance to public enterprises would emerge. This might also happen in the export sector. The promotional and protection policy in respect of SMI would be so directed through technical, financial and managerial assistance.

The observation made in the foregoing paragraph would hold except that the compulsion for export promotion or import substitution would be less and thus the efforts are likely to be directed towards an integrated growth of all sectors for generation of income and employment which creates conditions for domestic market expansion and this is likely to be done through public sector intervention wherein the role of SMIs would be defined as a vehicle for benefiting the bottom half of the income situation in terms of production and consumption opportunities.

When the populist mass-based coalition changes its texture and turns into dictatorial form the private sector VLI and LI gain predominance and public sector plays a supportive role. In the context of large domestic market, SMIs perform residual and localized roles and policies for assistance in that respect in the name of appropriate technology or rural industry may be formulated. The role of SMI becomes constrained and promotional policies circumscribed. However, the private enterprise finds it profitable to enter into collaboration with foreign enterprises for technology, marketing and management development in the export as well as import-substitution sectors.

The observation made in the foregoing paragraph holds except that compulsion for development of export industry is lessened and to that extent even the subsidiary role of SMIs become constrained. The entry, survival and growth of SMIs become less noticeable.

With a small domestic market, the residual role of SMIs becomes directed to localized needs and subsidiary operations as the private LI either independently or in collaboration of FI would take lead in import-substitution and export sectors under a dictatorial regime which has lost and/or no longer needs the support of a mass coalition. The only compulsion is to hold the mass at bay through same premises or certain programmes which are adequate for holding operation, e.g. VSMI in rural areas. Hence, the policy in respect of protection and promotion of SMI is basically one of indifference or neglect.

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The observations made in the above paragraph holds true with added emphasis when external dependence is low and the growth policies favour private enterprise and concentration of social, economic and political power and thus programmes oriented for upliftment of masses through creation of socio-economic opportunity including SMIs loss emphasis in formulation and implementation. The peripheral programmes are oriented towards containment of the intense sense of deprivation through token programmes of social upliftment.

Centrally planned economies under a mass-based regime generally takes the form of party dictatorship in the name of the workers. There are many variations ranging from self-management to directive absolutism. We shall generally ignore such a variation in this context as none of the countries would qualify for being classified as such.

Large domestic market would enhance the role of public enterprises and constrain the role of SMIs to meet local needs or to be ancillary of large PE in the domestic and export sector.

The observation made above would be true except that emphasis on export sector would be lessened.

With small domestic market, growth orientation would require linkages with other PEs and these export industries is likely to acquire technology, technical collaboration, training and assistance. The size would be determined by the external market and the technology made available. For domestic market public sector LIs would emerge and SMIs as collectives or cooperatives would meet localized needs of goods and services and work as satellites /subsidiary /ancillary of the public sector LIs.

The observation made above holds true except that growth dictated linkages with CPEs would create the external linkages and the domestic market orientation would still remain.

Annexed Chart summarizes the political economy of SMIs.

Chart: POLITICAL ECONOMY OF SMI POLICY

|                                | FREE MARKET ECONOMY   |                     |                       |                     | MIXED ECONOMY         |                     |                       |                     |  |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|--|
|                                | Large Domestic Market |                     | Small Domestic Market |                     | Large Domestic Market |                     | Small Domestic Market |                     |  |
|                                | High Ext. Dependence  | Low Ext. Dependence |  |
| Socio-Political Dominant Group |                       |                     |                       |                     |                       |                     |                       |                     |  |
| Bourgeois Dominant             |                       |                     |                       |                     |                       |                     |                       |                     |  |
| Low National Commitment        |                       |                     |                       |                     |                       |                     |                       |                     |  |
| High National Commitment       |                       |                     |                       |                     |                       |                     |                       |                     |  |
| Intermediate Regime            |                       |                     |                       |                     |                       |                     |                       |                     |  |
| High Growth Orientation        |                       |                     |                       |                     |                       |                     |                       |                     |  |
| High Equity Orientation        |                       |                     |                       |                     |                       |                     |                       |                     |  |
| Mass based Coalition           |                       |                     |                       |                     |                       |                     |                       |                     |  |
| Democratic Dictatorial         |                       |                     |                       |                     |                       |                     |                       |                     |  |

Continued

| Socio-Political Dominant Group | CENTRALLY PLANNED ECONOMY                     |  |   |  |
|--------------------------------|---|--|---|--|
|                                | Large Domestic Market<br>High Ext. Dependence | Large Domestic Market<br>Low Ext. Dependence | Small Domestic Market<br>High Ext. Dependence | Small Domestic Market<br>Low Ext. Dependence |
| Party-Bourgeois Dominant       |   |  |   |  |
| Low Social Commitment          |   |  |   |  |
| High Social Commitment         |   |  |   |  |
| Intermediate Regime            |   |  |   |  |
| High Growth Orientation        |   |  |   |  |
| High Equity Orientation        |   |  |   |  |
| Mass based Coalition           |   |  |   |  |
| Democratic Dictatorial         |   |  |   |  |

## RURAL WOMEN AND NON-FARM EMPLOYMENT IN BANGLADESH: SOME ISSUES

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### 1. INTRODUCTION

It is well recognized that economic growth by itself without specific orientation to poverty alleviation through overall economic development may not improve the socio-economic conditions of all the poor. Further efforts should be made by government and non-government organizations (NGOs) to provide opportunities where by the poor can engage in a wide variety of productive activities. The countries of the Asia-Pacific region, including Bangladesh, are going through a transition, in which the rural economies are undergoing changes in terms of their production and employment structure. In most of these countries while agriculture still remains to be the single most dominant sector of the economy, the relative importance of agriculture in terms of its share in GDP is declining over time and that of non-farm activities is increasing [9]. Share of agriculture in GDP has declined in Bangladesh from 46.7% in 1981 to 40.9% in 1987. Similar experience is found to be true for countries like India, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Malaysia and the Philippines.

In a country like Bangladesh which is heavily dependent on agriculture, the creation of a domestic industrial base (both rural and urban) for diversification of the economy is important. The initial emphasis on industrialization in pre-independent Bangladesh era led to some development in urban areas, based on various support and subsidy mechanism of the government, often resulting in stagnation in agriculture. Later, realization of the loopholes of large scale industrialization led to a renewed interest in agricultural development through seed-fertilizer technology. However, the benefits of agricultural development accrued mainly to the land owning classes while poverty and landlessness increased in the rural areas. The agricultural sector could not generate

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sufficient employment to absorb the increasing amount of rural labour resulting in huge unemployment and underemployment. This situation led policy makers and planners to give increasing importance to the development of rural non-farm activities specially rural industries.

Women account for about 48.4 per cent of the total population of Bangladesh, of whom 86 per cent live in rural areas [3]. The Socio-economic background of the country is such that women's contributions in GDP as well as their needs are largely ignored. Three major biases: conceptual definitional and methodological<sup>1</sup>, undermine women's participation in the labour force and their contributions in the economy. Because of these, macro studies often tend to undermine women's contributions in agriculture contrary to several micro studies where women's role can be seen as quite significant. This is also true for women's role in rural industries. Micro studies reveal that large number of women in Bangladesh work in home based industries [10]. The underestimation of women's role in macro studies may influence the policy and planning at the macro level and may result in less emphasis on women's role in economic development of the country. Over the last decade, traditional segregation of roles of men and women has been giving way to a process of capitalist development in Bangladesh which has resulted in the decline of the influence of 'purdah' (Veil for muslim women) system and other socio-cultural barriers on women<sup>2</sup> and increasing the participation of women in a host of rural non-farm activities including rural industries outside the boundary of the household [1]. The authors are aware of caveats in analyzing a complex subject like women in non-farm employment within a limited scope of a paper like this. This paper, therefore may be termed as an issue paper rather than an analytical paper.

## 2. TYPOLOGY OF INDUSTRIES HAVING POTENTIAL FOR PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN.

Women's participation in rural non-farm activities resulted mainly from distress adaptations due to poverty situation rather than dynamic growth of the Bangladesh economy. Women's participation should go beyond certain types of industries which are mainly traditional and home based

1. Conceptual bias results from the fact that works performed by women sometimes are not on wage basis. The definitional bias results when women's household chores etc. are not termed as productive. Methodological bias emanates from statistical estimation, enumerators bias and lack of response from women.
2. These socio-cultural barriers have really inhibited the rural women majority of whom are Muslim, to come out of the confine of their households and have kept them in a miserable situation. Some writers termed women as 'Birds in a Cage' [1].

ones (and which provide only activities of the last resort) in order to broaden their participation and offer better opportunities for increased income.

Therefore, women must be integrated into the mainstream of industrial development of the country. However, for a more pragmatic approach, at the initial phase, certain types of industries are suggested which may be considered to have potential for enhancing the participation of women. After the tasks of initial phase are completed, women will achieve competitiveness to enter other types of industries.

i) The industries should generally be located in the rural areas and be characterized by a production process which is essentially rural i.e. initially traditional or at least intermediate in character. This would make it easier to facilitate women's participation / orientation in industrial activities. But these may be gradually upgraded in terms of size, technology, skill and management. In order that rural industrialization proceeds on a sustainable basis, systems of procurement of inputs and marketing of produce should gradually be streamlined. While homebased industries may have a crucial role to play at any point in time, the ultimate goal should be to emphasize on industries with potential of higher women labour absorption and higher income through enhanced productivity [3].

ii) Agro-industries in rural areas should be localized near the source of raw materials. This will ensure a regular flow of input into the industries and also help in boosting up agricultural production. Therefore, these industries should be developed through an integrated framework considering labour and input availability and access to markets. These agro-industries will have a comparative advantage to absorb women because of the locational facilities it offers to them

iii) Economic compulsions have led women to migrate to industrial centres seeking employment in both the large and medium scale industries. These industries, while taking care of women's concerns have scope for creating sufficient demand on a continuous basis for absorbing rural women workers. However, if these industrial enterprises are located in the urban areas only, then benefits to the rural women will not be significant. Therefore, decentralized bases for large industries to be set up in around the growth centres of the rural areas.

iv) Rural women in Bangladesh have always been participating actively in the informal sector (enterprises on small scale and not formally recognised as industrial or business units) and in non-industrial activities for e.g., muri

making, mat weaving as well as in traditional crafts in making jute materials, kantha stitching and so on. Besides, women's participation in rural housing and rural works programmes should be included in planning for enhancing their participation in the informal and small scale/craft enterprises.

v) The traditional supply constraints to the participation of women in the labour market (due to the limited mobility of women which had its roots in the 'purda' system) is weakening [1]. In order to absorb the increasing supply of women labour, the export oriented industries, e.g., garment industries which offers a viable sources of income for women can further be expanded. However, these types of industries depend on the vagaries of the world market and international capital making women's employment in these industries rather unstable. The benefits of such industries to the rural women will not be significant if these are localized in big cities. Attempts should be made to encourage entrepreneurs to set up these industries in rural 'growth centres.' Entrepreneurs may even be encouraged to turn over (in phases), management of these enterprises to women workers.

Development of the above five types of economic activities will result in the transition of rural women from the 'odd job' regime to a regime of more productive employment [6].

### 3. TECHNOLOGY AND RURAL WOMEN

Technological change in rural areas is not indifferent to gender any more than it is indifferent to class [2]. In the adaptation and diffusion of technology for rural industries women's issues should be specifically addressed. The impact of technology on women should be evaluated with respect to:

- a) Whether technology improves productivity, skill and efficiency of women;
- b) Whether technologies alleviates the work load and the physical and health hazards of women;
- c) Whether it is acceptable to women;
- d) Whether it displaces women from employment.

However, considering the agrarian structure of a country like Bangladesh, women cannot be treated as a single homogenous group for purposes of analysing the impact of technology on them. The effect of technological change on a women will differ according to whether she belongs to a landless household, small-cultivator household, large cultivator household, tenant household or female headed household. While women of these different categories may perform the common roles

of reproduction, child rearing and household chores, the impact of technological change (on both unpaid and remunerative activities) varies between these groups, requiring different levels of analysis for policy solutions [2].

#### 4. RURAL EMPLOYMENT STRATEGY FOR INCORPORATING WOMEN IN THE NON-FARM SECTOR

- a) The issue of incorporating women in non-farm activities as part of the strategy for alleviating rural poverty needs to be addressed from a multi-sector perspective. Without going into the debate whether agricultural transformation is a precondition for sustained industrial development or not, the experiences in the Asian countries seem to suggest that non-farm activities and agricultural development should grow in an interactive manner reinforcing each other [4]. A multi-sectoral approach is necessary from a macro-economic point of view while at a micro level emphasis on forward and backward linkages must be given in considering rural industries for women.
- b) Demand for women labour is insufficient relative to supply of women labour. Therefore, policies to boost demand for labour should be emphasized. Adopting demand led strategies will have to depend on the type of rural industry being promoted. For instance traditional rural industries based on intermediate technology may evolve out of attempts to overcome supply side constraints which is manifested in limited mobility of women outside their locality, but who may want to participate in rural industries as part of their survival strategy. Demand led strategies may give rise to agro-industries localised near sources of raw materials.

Once supply side constraints are overcome by the gradual weakening of the 'purda' system and other socio-cultural barriers, formal industries may be promoted in and around the rural areas ('growth centres') for absorbing the increasing rural women labour supply.

Thus alternative strategies should be formulated depending upon the region and stage of development or social transformation of the community.

- c) In planning for promoting women's participation in rural industries the interaction between different sub-sectors of the rural economy should be considered. The activities of the rural sector may be broadly

visualized through four sub-sectors; food crop agriculture, non-food crop agriculture, non-crop farming (livestock, fishery, poultry) and non-farm sector. Households and production units enter into transactions among their counterparts in each sector. At the heart of any proposed strategy to promote rural industries is the interactive process involving, all four sub-sectors. Linkages between sub-sectors that are weak should be strengthened and reinforced. Linkages that are strong should be exploited to obtain in maximum power from them for the interactive process. These linkages, it is envisaged, will then actuate the employment/income multiplier and induce mutually reinforcing growth for the sub-sectors.

Since agriculture is the dominant activity in the rural areas, the principal driving force behind the interactive process should be increased in productivity and production in agriculture. In this process a stimulation of income and employment would lead to diversification in the range and structure of demand which, consequently would lead to diversification in rural occupational patterns. To enhance women's participation in all the spheres of economic activities including the non-farm sector a consideration of such and inter-active process may be necessary [7].

Under the umbrella of a broad national policy guidelines, actual operationalisation of the industrialization process would require decentralised decision making and implementation process. A set of Women In Development (WID) guidelines and checklists at national level (consisting of various regions, districts etc.) and a similar set at project level may facilitate women's participation in all the sectors of the economy including rural non-farm sector [5].

Guidelines at national (including sub-regional levels) level may consist of:—a) statistical system for measuring the economic contribution of women in farm and non-farm activities (b) involvement of women in national, regional and local level planning process for policy making and programme formulation (c) ensuring women's access to production inputs and services and membership in cooperatives and worker's groups.

At project levels the guidelines and checklists may include:

- a) Establishment of priorities through analysis of the local situation, analysis of vertical and horizontal linkages of particular activities in which women participate.

- b) Programmes set up to enhance the skills of women.
- c) Increased access of women to agricultural credit and banking facilities through special projects like Grameen Bank, Mahila Samabaya Samity.

The purpose of these types of guidelines and checklists is to ensure women's participation in all types of economic activities and in various other spheres (socio-political) of the country.

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

Women in the rural areas of Bangladesh are already in a transitory stage. They have overcome the traditional taboos which confined their activities in the traditional, informal and non-monetised sectors. But they are yet to be integrated in the mainstream of development. This issue raised in this paper. It may be argued, are relevant for urban women and even men as well. But the issue may be tackled in, such a way, depending on one's inclinations, to support or subvert women's concern. Our attempt in this paper was to sharpen the particular focus of policy makers and planners to address women's concerns in all spheres of the country. Growth in the non-farm sector will, through externalities like improvement in communications and infrastructure in the rural areas raise productivity in industries and vice-versa. Rural women have the potential to be employed in these emerging industries whether they are petty production units or large scale export-oriented industries.

The Nairobi Forward-Looking strategies in paragraph 102 stated that "Insufficient awareness and understanding of the complex and multifaceted relationship between development and the advancement of women have continued to make policy, programme and project formulation difficult." [8]. Therefore, women's participation in decision making bodies must be ensured and a participatory approach to formulation, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of all development programme should be adopted.

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# INDUSTRIAL LOCATION IN BANGLADESH : IT'S TREND, CAUSES AND IMPACT ON ECONOMIC GROWTH

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

The most pressing problem in Bangladesh today is that of burgeoning unemployment on both urban and rural areas. Industrialization is the most important effort in which the country could place a hope of finding solution of this problem.

In the post independence period, three Five Year Plans have been launched. Each Five Year Plan stressed the need of generating employment opportunities through the expansion of industrial activities. But there is no sign of declining trends in the unemployment market. Agriculture is still regarded as the dominant economic sector and main and elastic source of labour force and is considered the key sources of industrial inputs. However, the pressure of population has been felt on agriculture, and its absorption capacity is declining. Lack of non-agricultural activities in the rural areas, the people are migrating to the few already overcrowded urban-industrial centres.

Industries always concentrate in areas where there exists sort of a localization of industries. Once the industries start clustering around this location, it favours the growth of other sectors. As a result, the centre grows rapidly than the other areas. Lack of entrepreneurial activities in the backward region, the resources flow to the rapid growing area. The backward areas lose their competitive advantage. In this way, some regions grow rapidly and act as magnet draining the resources from the less developed areas. If such trend continues, the developed areas will face challenge of huge migration. The few urban areas will fail to absorb the migrated people and provide them with other facilities. Such situation will no doubt limit the growth of the national economy.

So in order diversify the industrial activities, the factors that determine the location of industries should be identified. New location should be created in the less developed areas to promote the generation of industries.

Given this background, the paper will show the level of concentration

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among the districts; chapter two will focus on the factors that determine location of industries, and chapter three examine possible consequences of unequal concentration in the future development process on the country.

## II. THE LEVEL OF INDUSTRIAL CONCENTRATION BY DISTRICTS

Industrially, Bangladesh remains at a primary stage of development. The contribution of industries to the G.D.P. is about 12%. Except the three big urban areas namely Dhaka SMA<sup>1</sup>, Chittagong SMA, and Khulna there are very few industrial concentration in the country. Besides these big cities, the other industrial centres are parasitic in nature and provide very poor linkage effects with the vicinity. Nonetheless, some districts experience a relative better performance in industrial location and absorb a considerable amount labour force. There were very few attempts to measure the level of industrial location in the past. The main constraints here appear to be the lack of relevant data, particularly at the local level. The most available data at the local and district levels are the data on employment. The location quotient is an important technique to analyze the level of industrial concentration of the basis of employment.

Location quotient or LQ measures the ratio of employment of a sector of an economy of an area or centre compared to the ratio of that sector in the national level<sup>2</sup>. The LQ gives the coefficient of concentration among the districts of Bangladesh.

$LQ > 1$  : If the location quotient is greater than 1, the district's level of concentration is higher than the national average in the study period;

1. Statistical Metropolitan Area.
2. LQ shows the ratio of employment of a sector of an economy of a region compare to the ratio of that sector on the national level. Mathematically this can be shown in the following way:

Let  $i$  be industrial sector of region  $j$  and  $P$  is the employment  
 $P_{ij}$  = Employment in sector  $i$  in the region  $j$ .

$\sum_{i=1}^n P_{ij}$  = Total employment in the region as a whole

$\sum_{j=1}^m P_{ij}$  = Total employment in sector  $i$  in the country as a whole

$\sum_{i=1}^n \sum_{j=1}^m P_{ij}$  = Total employment in the country as a whole

$$LQ = \frac{P_{ij}}{\sum_{j=1}^m P_{ij}} : \frac{\sum_{j=1}^m P_{ij}}{\sum_{i=1}^n \sum_{j=1}^m P_{ij}}$$

LQ < 1 : If the location quotient is less than 1, the district's level of concentration is lower than the national average in the study period.

LQ = 1 : If location quotient is equal to 1, the district and the nation developed equally in the study period.

The table in page 3 shows that Dhaka, Chittagong and Khulna<sup>3</sup> are considered to have the highest locational coefficient in the non-agricultural sector; the districts of Chittagong Hill-Tracts, Sylhet, Barisal, Pabna, Kustia and Comilla may be put at the second group of industrial location; and the rest the LQ of the capital city Dhaka and the port city Chittagong enjoy the highest coefficient (1.60 and 1.50) which is much more higher than the national average<sup>4</sup>. These two cities are the centres of industrial agglomeration comprising 80% of the large industries of the country. Favourable locational advantage, developed infrastructure and strong export orientation of the manufacturing industry namely jute and cotton textiles, result in the clustering of mills and factories in these cities. The LQ of Khulna 1.10 shows that this city scored third in industrial location. The Faridpur district and all the districts of Northwest region except Pabna show the lowest locational coefficient. Pabna has the extensive handloom industries which employ a large number of people. These findings show the regional distribution of industries. Except the three industrial cities the disparity in LQ among the other districts are not so remarkable. In other words, the location of industries is taking place in and around the three big metropolises and the spread effects of this growth on the other district centres are not so significant

### III FACTORS FAVOURING THE LOCATION OF INDUSTRIES

The location of industries is determined by a large number of factors, such as the development of technical equipment, proximity to raw

3. Up to 1983 Bangladesh had twenty administrative units known as "district" under four Divisions. Then the number of the districts was raised to sixty four. For the convenience of this research work only the old twenty districts will be considered. The four divisions are Dhaka, Chittagong, Khulna and Rajshahi. In the development planning Bangladesh is often treated as composed of four "regions". The Chittagong or the eastern region comprises same districts and territorial boundary. The Rajshahi division or the Northwest region has similar districts and territory. When "Khulna Division" is considered as "Southwest" region it expands its territorial boundary and includes Faridpur district, which (Faridpur district) belongs to Dhaka division.
4. These data on industrial labour force are not very accurate. The data have been derived from the respective national census and administrative records and compiled in a coordinated manner on the district level. Due to the lack of disaggregation of data at various levels the non-agricultural labour force has been considered as industrial labour force.

*Zaman : Industrial Location*

materials, marketing facilities, locational advantages like easy access to sea port, location above the flood level, all these factors help in promoting industrial concentration. Setting up of any industrial project is determined on the basis of cost benefit criterion. Costs are likely to be high where power supply is poor or absent, depreciation costs are high, infrastructure is poor and taxes are high. These are dominant factors for the location of industries. However, the optimal location of industries is not always cost oriented. Political and administrative considerations, marketing facilities are all important factors for the location of industries. Particularly in the case of Bangladesh where infrastructure is so ill developed, development activities is high centralized, the political and administrative reasons play important role in locating industries.

Table : Share of non-agricultural labour force by district (old 20 districts)

| Districts of Bangladesh | Location Quotient (LQ), 1981 |
|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| Barisal                 | 0.98                         |
| Bogra                   | 0.74                         |
| Chittagong              | 1.50                         |
| Chittagong Hill Tracts  | 1.03                         |
| Comilla                 | 0.93                         |
| Dhaka                   | 1.60                         |
| Dinajpur                | 0.74                         |
| Faridpur                | 0.72                         |
| Jamalpur                | 0.85                         |
| Jessore                 | 0.82                         |
| Khulna                  | 1.10                         |
| Kushtia                 | 0.95                         |
| Mymensingh              | 0.80                         |
| Noakhali                | 0.88                         |
| Pabna                   | 0.96                         |
| Patuakhali              | 0.84                         |
| Rajshahi                | 0.76                         |
| Rangpur                 | 0.69                         |
| Sylhet                  | 1.07                         |
| Tangail                 | 0.78                         |

Source : Calculated from "Labour and Manpower" in : Statistical Yearbook of Bangladesh, 1984-85, Chap. 3.

The factors which determine the location are following :

1) *Natural factors* : In every country, there exists a considerable disparity in the climate as well as other factors governing physical condition of production and distribution. The topographical, climatological advantages, availability of mineral resources are the contributors of industrialization. Suppose for example, the topography of the northwest area of Bangladesh is suitable for the cultivation of sugarcane. Sugarcane is the cheapest raw materials for producing sugar and molasses. These raw materials are bulky in nature. Because of the bulky nature of these raw materials, costs are minimised by locating industry in the sugar producing areas.

Topography and climate also favour the growth of tea plantation in the Sylhet areas. Tea is an important export item. The processing of tea leaves contributes to a great extent in generating employment opportunities in the food processing group. Most of these tea processing industries are located in the tea producing areas. Similarly, the areas of mineral resources have attracted the location of mineral based industries. Such industrial locations are still at a primary stage of development. However, the discover of Titas Gas has generated a manufacturing complex at Titas Gas has been used as an important input in generating large number of industries in the nearby areas. Apart from this, the location of an area above the flood level, availability of water resources, natural vegetation are the index of human adaptation of environment. These factors create atmosphere for infrastructural facilities which encourage the growth of industrial and commercial activities.

*Geographical factors* : Geographical location plays also a vital role for the growth of industries. Normally, a region begins with a competitive advantage which in the case of Calcutta was provided by the fact the British government used it as a sea port. The play of forces has made it the centre of attraction for the concentration of export oriented industries. Jute manufacturing was one of the main industrial groups. Since jute textile was entirely export oriented, it clustered in and around the Calcutta city which was easily accessible to the sea port. Until 1911, Calcutta was the capital of British India and was the most powerful concentration of British economists interests. In Bangladesh, the location of the principal sea port has placed the Chittagong city in a geographically advantageous position. The increase of trade relation with the outside world has made the city nationally significant. After the liberation period the growth of industries has increased the commercial and other service sector activities which have

### *Zaman : Industrial Location*

facilitated the development activities in the neighbouring growth centres. In the past, the rivers were the cheapest means of transportation for internal trade. For that reason, the river ports have been regarded as the development centres clustering commercial, trade and industrial activities. Although with the development of roads and railways most of these river ports have lost their importance, the river ports like Sirajgonj, Chandpur and Goalondo are still remaining important river ports for urban development centres.

*Intra-industrial linkage effect:* The growth of a large industry favours the generation of a number of small-scale industries. Within the large-scale industries different technical equipment is engaged in producing spare parts, and other specialized goods. These machines are so highly specialized that it is not always possible even for the large industries to make full time use of them. These specialized machines, together with their own parts of the process of production could be separated from the main industry and set up outside. Thus, they become an independent complex of industries and create an agglomeration [1; 127-9]. The number of such industries could be expanded through the development of sub-contracting arrangements with the local small industries. The large industries after entering into a sub-contracting agreement may be assured of a speedy supply of their raw materials and semi-finished products. They can also economize in the use of capital and labour, which in turn lowers the costs of production. The small industries on the other hand, may benefit from financial and technical assistances, and particularly from a stable market for their products [2;54]. The small industries can later serve the large industries like an ancillary industry integrating themselves within a single inter-industry linkage. The growth of these small industries with the help of large industry can built an industrial centre. In Bangladesh, since the growth of large industries is not so significant, the location of an industrial centre resulting from some large industries is hardly available. Nonetheless, the Chittagong Steel Mill, Ghorashal Fertilizer Factory and the Chandraghona Paper Mill belong to some extent to such centres.

*Proximity to the market:* It is advantageous for an industry to have a wide market nearby. The industrial area around the capital city development due to the biggest consuming centre of the country. The consumer goods like food products, leather, tobacco, fruits processing, matches, soap etc. are based on domestic raw materials. But resulting from the proximity to the market these industries are located in Dhaka SMA. The other group of industries consists of cotton textile, chemicals, machine tools engineering

workshops, electricals etc. These industries are involved in the working of materials from imported goods and directed principally at local and regional markets. The development of these industries has created atmosphere for the generation of other small and medium industries and also service activities such as banks, commercial training and educational institutions, health service and so on. All these activities have increased income for a large number of people and has expanded the marketing facilities for the concentration of industries [3;19].

*Physical infrastructure factor:* The problem of industrial location appears to resolve itself into a comparative costs analysis. Transportation network, availability of power supply become specialized and adapted to the needs of the industry. Particularly, the transportation system in the recognized means of interdependency among the development centres. The excess production crops and manufacture goods after consumption by the local people, cannot be made economically profitable. Similarly, agricultural inputs must be moved from the producing area to the consuming areas. A centre would expand rapidly when it provides extensive transportation networks. Some railway stations became important clustering points of human trade and commercial activities. These centres have facilitated the growth of industries of different sizes. The establishment of a large railway workshop at Saidpur Railway junction have encouraged the concentration of small industries and other development activities [4;17]. Ishwardi, Bhairab have turned into small development centres resulting from the location of railway stations.

A steady and uninterrupted power supply at a reasonable rate is one of the preconditions of smooth and widespread economic growth of any region. Power is one of the key infrastructural facilities on which the industrialization largely depends. Slow industrial growth in the northwest area has been attributed in the high costs of production. Apart from the poor transportation and communication systems, the shortage and irregularity of electrical power supply and the absence of gas are mainly responsible for high costs of production. On the other hand the supply of gas from the Titas Gas Field and the electricity from the Ashuganj Power Station have promoted the growth of industries in the central region.

*Availability of skilled labour:* Availability of trained labour is regarded as a great facility for the location of industry. Some areas or districts enjoy the distinct advantage of producing specialized goods. The products of these areas has become the tradition of some districts. This tradition has been

### *Zaman : Industrial Location*

developed largely due to the availability of skilled labours. The people of some areas of Pabna and Tangail have engaged from generation to generation in producing textile goods like Sarees and Lungis [5]. These textile goods have high reputation for their fine texture and maintain an absolute monopoly over the similar products of other areas of Bangladesh.

*Political and administrative factors:* Industrialization and urbanization are inter related. In the urban centres, the social and physical infrastructure are better developed and provide improved markets for industrial goods.

During the British period, the districts served administrative purpose of the colonial government. Later, the districts made larger assemblage of the people and provided infrastructural facilities and thus gave rise to the industrial development.

Bangladesh is divided into four "Divisions" on the basis of administrative purposes. Each divisional centre is now regarded as the core of development in the country. Particularly, the Dhaka city is the main urban centre and the capital of Bangladesh. This city provides diversified market, advanced infrastructure, most developed social service activities. All these activities have favoured the largest concentration of industries and related commercial institutions. Similarly, Chittagong and Khulna cities are the divisional headquarters of Chittagong and Khulna Divisions and have placed these cities in advantageous position for the location of industries. The three cities constitute the largest industrial centres comprising over 60% of the total urban population of the country, 90% of the country's large industries, 75% of the total bank credits. Rajshahi city is the fourth biggest city of the country but it remains far below the other three urban centres.

Finally, since economic development is related to the political consideration, the nature of the ruling class is also regarded as an important determinant of the concentration of industrial activities. In Bangladesh, the big share of national income is reserved for a small group of elite people. Although the elite are such tiny group and their role in the national economy is very limited, they exercise a profound influence over the policy makers to concentrate on development programmes in and around the cities where they reside.

#### IV. THE CONSEQUENCES OF UNEQUAL CONCENTRATION OF INDUSTRIES IN THE FUTURE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

In our agriculture dominated commercialized economy, the growth of industries at any favourable location elicits resources like labour, capital and

entrepreneurial talents and inspire them to move from the rural periphery to the centre where economic development tends to be sustained and cumulative. In the beginning, the inflow of human resources may benefit the promotion of industries and urbanization which are the important indicators of development. This was happened in the western industrialized countries where industrialization and urbanization were complementary to each other. It is true that the urbanization in the developing countries is expanding rapidly. But the urbanization in these countries is not taking place through the expansion of the industrial base, as it happened in the European countries, but it is an expression of the severity of the agrarian crisis [6;468]. This more serious in a poor commercialized economy of Bangladesh where growth has been taking place in few urban centres by draining the resources of the rural areas. The situation is exacerbated when only one or two cities dwarf all other urban areas and drain all human and surplus wealth of the country side. The high concentration of the industrial and commercial activities in the big metropolis Dhaka and Chittagong are dividing the country into industrially developed metropolis and backward rural regions. In such situation the backward region would witness a continuous outflow of migration. The resources of the backward region will remain unutilized and lose their economic viability. As a result, the nation will be looser.

Although the country's level industrialization remains very low, the unequal concentration of industries has influenced the region's development. The Central region enjoys the highest per capita income, highest rate of urbanization, highest rate of literacy [7;108]. The Eastern region ranks second in these regards. The location of metropolis has generated the growth of all sectors in the nearby areas of the metropolis. The Khulna city is growing rapidly. But the influence of this city in the region is limited while on the other hand, due to the lack of large industrial cities and urban centres, the level of industrialization is lowered, which in turn, prevents the growth of other sectors in the Northwest region. If such tendencies continue, the Northwest region will experience a continuous outflow of capital and resources to the other regions where the development activities have been concentrating.

#### V. CONCLUSION

Economic development must be considered as a process of national economic, political and social integration, and benefits of development should not be seen just in terms of overall growth rate, but influences on local people resulted from modernization [8;117]. The average rate of

### *Zaman : Industrial Location*

growth does not necessarily mean a reduction in regional disparity, in fact they may tend to increase. Since development is strongly influenced by industrialization, the disproportionate concentration of industries would certainly increase unequal development among the regions, and that is happening in Bangladesh.

Needless to say, a metropole can provide extensive facilities for industrial development which a small centre cannot. In that case, the government provide facilities to make the small urban areas of the backward region more competitive [9;89]. In respect to the mobilization of local resources, some areas such as Northwest region, despite rich indigenous resources remain backward. Due to the lack of initiatives, the untapped resources have been deprived of economic viability. It is through the government initiatives, a more favourable atmosphere could be created to locate the resources and investors in and around one location which could turn into a large industrial centre. This will not only counter the high congestion of the congested metropole but bring the backward region out of the present stagnation and in this way the country will move towards a balanced development. By balanced development it does not mean that each centre or region should be developed equally. By balanced development it means that facilities and opportunities should be created in such a way so that the backward region could maximum utilize its domestic resources, and in this way this region could attain a higher rate of growth. Such strategy would minimize the unequal level of development, would reduce the out migration and expand market in the region as well as in the country.

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# PROSPECTS OF EXPORT INDUSTRIES IN BANGLADESH

S. AHMAD\*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Foreign trade has assumed a central role in the development plans of many developing countries. For many of these countries foreign exchange scarcity constitutes a strategic bottleneck in the development plans, and export trade can assume an important role of bridging the 'foreign exchange gap' which represents a first step in the formulation of development plans. Export growth is seen as a determinant of import capacity which, in turn, is a determinant of the level of domestic economic activity. Some of the least developed countries like Bangladesh with its ever widening 'trade gap' need to take immediate effective steps to explore all the possible avenues of earning foreign exchange and to find all possible ways to reduce the demand for foreign exchange.

Bangladesh has been an agrarian country. Since 1947 industrialization was the main strategy of development. The distinguishing feature of Bangladesh industrialization was import substitution with little emphasis on export promotion [2; 313-5]. Moreover, import substitution was encouraged by protecting the domestic market for manufactured goods through imposition of cascading tariffs and non-tariff barriers on imports. The industrial structure developed in the protected domestic market was also economically inefficient [17; 213-246, 18]. Apart from inefficient industrial structure import substituting industrialization created a bias against exports [2; 333-4]. As a result there was a slow increase in exports and export earnings, and rapid rise in imports and demand for foreign exchange, causing ever increasing balance of trade deficits.

Bangladesh is one of the most populous countries in the world, and has one of the lowest per capita incomes. Its main natural resources are natural gas and fertile soil. The economy is predominantly an agrarian one and the major export commodities are agro-based. But the share of primary commodities in exports has been declining faster since the early 1950s, and the market prospects for them are not bright in general [5; 9]. The major

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primary export products of Bangladesh are (a) raw jute and jute manufactures; (b) tea and (c) hides and skins and leather. Among them, demand prospects for raw jute, jute goods and tea are not very good, and for hides and skins and leather, it is fair [2; 33-111]. However, this is a good reason why we should look for other products in the manufacturing sector having better export demand prospects. We have seen in the post-war economic era the rapid metamorphosis of a few developing countries like Honk Kong, Taiwan, South Korea into newly industrializing countries (NICs) through exports. These countries along with few other developing countries have experienced spectacular growth in the 1960s and 1970s in the exports of manufactured and semi-manufactured items into the Western markets. Before it is too late, Bangladesh, following the example of export-led growth of these countries, still possibly can choose a strategy of economic development utilizing its export potential.

Hence, the purpose of this article is to identify a range of industries in Bangladesh whose products are not currently exported but which may have a good export potential. We like to identify the industries on the basis of some studies on exports from the developing countries. In search of comparative advantage of Bangladesh industries in the production and exports of manufactured and semimanufactured goods a few trade theories are discussed in Section II, general export trade pattern of developing countries in Section III, revealed comparative advantage and developing countries exports in Section IV, general factors affecting the growth of export industries from the developing countries in Section V, existence of such factors in Bangladesh in Section VI and finally conclusions are drawn in Section VII.

## II. TRADE THEORIES

Three trade theories are discussed in this section because discussion of these theories is expected to facilitate the understanding of readers about the general trade patterns of developing countries.

### *2.1 Factor Proportion Theory*

A great deal of discussion has taken place in the international trade literature pertaining to absolute and comparative advantage. A most propounding theory was delivered by Heckscher-Ohlin which simply states that a country should develop those industries which suit its endowments. A labour abundant country like Bangladesh could be said to have a comparative advantage in labour-intensive commodities if the pattern of exports is determined by their labour intensities. In addition to the

### *Ahmad : Export Industries*

Heckscher-Ohlin type stress on the human and physical capital versus labour-intensity or value-added per employee issue, discussions also incorporated other considerations such as, capacity for innovation [25], natural resource intensity [10], economies of scale [15], the share of the home market or firm size, product age, product standardization [10], and multinational corporation influence [20]. However, Heckscher-Ohlin theorem above all provides us with an enduring guide to patterns of specialisation. Although some look at the discovery of 'Leontief paradox' as throwing doubt on the Heckscher-Ohlin theorem, this may also be conceived to explain skilled labour and perhaps technology as being important factors of production.

#### *2.2 Domestic Resource Cost (DRC)*

This is really an applied form of factor proportion/comparative cost theory. Developed first in the 1950s and formalized by Bruno, domestic resource cost measures the cost in terms of the domestic factors of production, of earning or saving a net unit of foreign exchange in a particular project or stage of production [16; 43-68]. This technique has a precise advantage as it provides a rule-of-thumb guideline for the selection of potentially efficient export items. Thus, a cut-off point could be chosen by the planners at the point where the value of the DRC (of earning a net unit of foreign exchange) was exactly matched by the shadow price of foreign currency.

A World Bank study identified three factors in estimating DRC : unskilled labour, skills, and physical capital [27]. Findings of the study indicate that a sector/industry with low DRCs will entail less costs in the production of value-added in that sector/industry than the production of value-added in sectors/industries with higher DRCs. This implies that in a labour abundant economy a relatively labour-intensive commodity will have less DRC and hence less cost in the production of its value-added compared to a relatively capital intensive commodity. In other words, DRC criterion tell us that potential exports from a labour abundant countries are the labour intensive commodities.

#### *2.3 Product Cycle Theory*

Product Cycle Theory has been developed by, amongst others, Vernon [23], Wells [24], Hufbauer [15] and Hirsch [12]. This theory endeavours to show how the location of production sometimes shifts overtime between countries at different stages of a product cycle. A new product is normally first developed in technologically advanced countries. It then moves into a growth phase when capital intensity increases and mass production is often

introduced; in this phase management skill tends to become more important than technical ones, as technology becomes increasingly standardized. Once this has occurred, and if it is a labour-intensive product, then production tends to shift in the mature phase to intermediate countries where cheaper labour can be employed. Thus, the product cycle theorists point to the possibility of low wage countries having a comparative advantage in mature, standardized products when they are labour-intensive and sometimes resource intensive.

The growing internationalization of the production process and the acceleration in the product cycle which has probably taken place in the last fifteen years or so due to factors such as improved international dissemination of know-how, lower real transport costs, the activities of multinationals and government policies seeking consciously to build up export industries in developing countries are trends which seem unlikely to be reversed.

### III. GENERAL EXPORT TRADE PATTERN OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Empirical studies suggest that the bulk of exports of manufactured goods from developing countries to developed countries constitute labour-intensive products. Textiles, clothing, shoes and electronics are among the major labour-intensive products exported by the developing countries. The ranking of the industries is much the same from country to country, even from the most developed to the least developed.

Lary established two criteria to select the labour-intensive manufactures from the less developed countries (LDCs) which are potentially suitable for exports [19]. The first criterion is that "in value added per employee in the United States they do not exceed the national average for all manufactures by more than 10 per cent and the second criterion is that in total imports by developed from less developed countries in 1965, they add up to \$100,000 at the three digit level of the standard Industrial Classification" [19; 86]. Later works by Cable and Weston [6] and Rahman [21] gave persuasive support to Lary's work. Cable and Weston made a brief test taking two countries : the UK and India. Twenty-six categories of industries at the three digit level were selected. Rank correlation analysis showed there was a statistically significant relationship between the rankings of industries of the UK and India, ranked according to the same value-added method ( $R = C. 68$ ). It was clear from their study that the industries such as textiles, clothing, cotton spinning and weaving, leather goods, pottery and chain, are relatively labour-intensive in both countries. Rahman however ranked 26 industries of the US and India according to capital intensity per man. The Spearman rank correlation turned out to be as high as 0.84 and results were almost identical [21]. Helleiner also came out with the similar

*Ahmad : Export Industries*

result that ranking of industries according to factor intensity measures are similar in DCs and LDCs [10].

An Asian Development Bank study [3], on the basis of Lary's criteria has classified the labour-intensive industries into three groups :

- A - the most labour-intensive industries;
- B - moderately labour-intensive industries;
- C - marginally labour-intensive industries.

These broad industry groups are further sub-divided into eight sub-groups, but we will offer here only the sub-groups under A and B since they offer more promise and potentiality for the developing countries.

*A - The most labour-intensive manufactures/industries*

A1 : Local speciality manufactures, such as SITC 551 (essential perfume and oils), 667 (precious stones), 896 (works of art, etc.), and 897 (gold, silver ware, Jewellery).

A2 : Resource oriented manufactures, such as SITC 61 (leather, leather manufactures) 63 (wood and cork manufactures), 512 (organic chemicals), and 531 (synthetic dye-stuffs and natural indigo).

A3 : Textiles and clothing, such as SITC 65 (textile yarn, fabrics, made-up articles) and 84 (clothing).

A4 : Other light manufactures, such as 821 (furniture), 851 (foot-wear), and 899 (other manufactured goods).

*B - Moderately labour-intensive manufactures/industries*

B1 : Resource oriented manufactures, such as, SITC 62 (rubber manufactures), 64 (paper and paper board), and 66 excluding 667 (non-metallic mineral manufactures).

B2 : Footloose manufactures, such as, SITC 831 (travel goods, handbags), 892 (printed matter), 893 (articles of plastic), 894 (toys, sporting goods) and 895 (office supplies).

Labour abundant developing countries tend to have a comparative advantage in labour-intensive products (other things being equal). In other words, the more labour-intensive the commodity is, the stronger tends to be the LDCs' comparative advantage relative to the DCs. But we also must be concerned whether the commodity is skilled-labour-intensive or unskilled-labour-intensive. Lary did not make this point clear. The LDCs are expected to do better initially in the production and export of unskilled-labour-intensive manufactures. With development these countries might develop a comparative advantage even in the skilled labour and technology-intensive commodities as well. This segment of the comparative advantage is better explained by the product cycle concept.

As we mentioned earlier, the developing countries are also expected to have a comparative advantage in mature, standardized products, even when they are capital as well as technology intensive. For example, NICs such as Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan, etc. relied less on labour-intensive products in the 1970s, and their success is more marked in engineering products requiring somewhat higher input of skills and technological sophistication [9]. In that stage the structure of these economies is also sharply different from those of typical LDCs.

#### IV. REVEALED COMPARATIVE ADVANTAGE AND DEVELOPING COUNTRY EXPORTS

It is possible to find some direction in which areas the export promotion and diversification drive should concentrate in LDCs including Bangladesh through the 'revealed' comparative advantage. Following Balassa [4], Donges and Riedel [7] calculated the 'revealed' comparative advantage which calculates the advantage on the basis of actual trade-flows to and from each of the fifteen developing countries<sup>1</sup> in the sample and then aggregated the data. The 'revealed' comparative advantage (RCA) centres around the assumption that a country's imports indicate which of the domestic industries are not competitive and the country's exports point to the industries which show comparative competitiveness. According to this concept of RCA, a coefficient value greater than zero indicates that the industrial activity has comparative advantage, and for values less than zero the opposite holds.<sup>2</sup>

The following tables 1 and 2 show RCA for selected developing country products.

1. Countries consist of Brazil, Colombia, Egypt, Hong Kong, India, Israel, Korea, Malaysia, Mexico, Pakistan, Singapore, Spain, Taiwan, Turkey and Yugoslavia.

2. The statistical formula used by Donges and Riedel (1977) to calculate RCA is as follows :

$$(RCA)_i = \left[ \sum_j \left( \frac{x_{ij} + m_{ij}}{x_{ij} + m_{ij}} : \frac{\sum_i x_{ij} \sum_i m_{ij}}{\sum_i x_{ij} + \sum_i m_{ij}} \right) - 1 \right]$$

$$x \frac{x_{ij} + m_{ij}}{\sum_j (x_{ij} + m_{ij})}$$

$$\begin{matrix} i = 1 \dots 119 \\ j = 1 \dots 15 \end{matrix}$$

with the expression within bracket times

$$+1 \text{ for } \sum_i x_{ij} - \sum m_{ij} > 0$$

$$-1 \text{ for } \sum_i x_{ij} - \sum m_{ij} < 0$$

Where,  $x$  = exports  
 $m$  = imports  
 $i$  = SITC commodity group  
 $j$  = country

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Table-1 : Substantial developing country comparative advantage<sup>3</sup>

|                           |
|---------------------------|
| Footwear                  |
| Cotton fabrics            |
| Clothing                  |
| Tanning and Leather       |
| Wood manufactures ++      |
| Household equipment       |
| Jewellery +               |
| Furniture +               |
| Veneers and plywood ++    |
| Cutlery ++                |
| Floor coverings, carpets. |

Source : [7; 95-6]

Table-2 : Significant developing country comparative advantage<sup>4</sup>

|                                  |
|----------------------------------|
| Toys, Sports goods ++            |
| Made-up textile articles-        |
| Works of art                     |
| Perfumery, cosmetics             |
| Leather manufactures             |
| Domestic electrical equipment ++ |
| Musical instruments              |
| Fur clothing                     |
| Metal containers                 |
| Telecommunication apparatus ++   |
| Railway Vehicles                 |
| Plastic articles                 |
| Office supplies.                 |

Source : [7; 95-6]

From the above empirical investigation it was found that the RCA increased from 36 items in 1962/63 to 53 items in 1972/73, and strongest comparative advantage according to 1972/73 data were in cotton fabrics, textiles, clothing, tanneries, canned fruit, jewellery and wood products. Not surprisingly they are all labour-intensive/or resource-based products.

3. Comparative advantage indices of over +4.0

4. Comparative advantage of indices of + 2.0 to + 4.0

++ : a sharp increase in comparative advantage between 1962/63 to 1972/73.

+ : moderate increase in comparative advantage between 1962/63 to 1972/73.

- : a decline in comparative advantage.

The results of the study make it clear that tremendous expansion in exports during the 1960s was accompanied by a good deal of product diversification. That is, "The experience of these countries does suggest that export promotion does not necessarily imply the preservation of the initial industrial structures. On the contrary, it may well be an important catalyst for structural change in developing countries" [7;72].

Islam has estimated DRC for 62 products which are currently produced in Bangladesh [16]. He has identified using DRC some products which have comparative advantage in both short-run and long-run (Table 3), some products which have comparative advantage in the short-run but not in the long-run (Table 4), some products of which comparative advantage is uncertain (Table 5) and some products which do not possess any comparative advantage (Table 6).

Table-3 : Products Having Comparative Advantage in Bangladesh

- (a) Tea blending
- Footwear except rubber footwear
- Jute Manufactures (including carpets)
- Tanning and leather finishing
- Leather products other than footwear
- Sugar
- (b) Umbrella
- Readymade garments
- Cotton textiles
- Threads
- Bicycles
- (c) Silk and art silk
- Paint and varnishes
- Boot polish
- Disinfectants
- Cement
- Heating equipment (Kerosine cooker)
- Electric fans
- Fire extinguisher
- Textile machinery
- Pumps
- Agricultural machinery (drill machines, diesel pumps)
- Rubber footwear.

Source: [16; 57-62]

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Table-4 : Products Having Comparative Advantage only in the Short-run in Bangladesh.

Textiles NEC  
Articles of pulp and paper  
Acid and alkalides  
Matches  
Iron and steel  
Manufactures of glass (glass sheets)  
Hand and edge tools (shovel, spades, etc.)

Source : [16; 57-62]

Table-5: Products Whose Comparative Advantage is Uncertain in Bangladesh

Cigarettes  
Wood furnitures  
Plastic and synthetic products  
Industrial machinery  
Distillery  
Tobacco manufactures.

Source : [16; 57-62]

Table-6 : Products Without Having Comparative Advantage in Bangladesh

Fruit canning  
Edible oil and fats  
Woollen textiles  
Narrow fabrics  
Knitting hosiery  
Paper and pulp  
Perfumes, cosmetics, soaps  
Glass products  
Metal products  
Stainless steel cutlery, and utensils  
Hardware (tower bolts, door hinges)  
Metals and barrels  
Bolts (rivets, wire nail etc.)  
Communication equipment (radio, refrigerators, etc.)  
Pen and pencils Sewing machines  
Industrial Chemicals  
Coal tar  
Miscellaneous electrical goods (generators, transformers)  
Ship building

Source : [16; 57-62].

The products in Table 3 (a) have comparative advantage because they are based on resources/raw materials available in Bangladesh. The products in Table 3 (b) have comparative advantage because they are labour-intensive products and Bangladesh is a labour abundant country. For the products in Table 4, their production is socially profitable only with the existing capacity and additional capacity in these products should not be created with new investment.

From the available data Islam could not decide whether the products in Table 5 had comparative advantage in Bangladesh [16]. Further research is advised on these products. For the products in Table 6 he suggested to import them as they did not have comparative advantage in Bangladesh.

#### V. GENERAL FACTORS AFFECTING THE GROWTH OF EXPORTS FROM DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

A number of factors could be listed which influence the export industry performance of a developing country. More than one factor was responsible for the NIC's success in their export-led growth strategy. Low wage cost definitely was the dominant factor determining which developing countries had a comparative advantage in the clothing, footwear and electronics industries. For some other industries, low wage cost is only one of the numerous factors. Labour productivity is often an important factor determining the comparative advantage of a country, given the same capital equipment. Other factor such as government incentives, multinational corporations, and political stability may also help to boost the exports of a country. We now examine briefly their possible role in the export promotion of a country.

##### *5.1 Low-wage Cost*

It is usually considered that low-wage cost is central in determining the comparative advantage of countries in certain products. It is however difficult to explain the success of the major developing country exporters by resorting only to this factor alone. Clearly multifarious forces are at work. Still there is no denial of the fact that wage-cost differential between developed and developing countries is an important source of comparative advantage for the latter. The following table presents wage-differentials between the U.S. and LDCs as a whole for a few selected products in 1969.

Table-7 : Average Hourly Earnings in LDC Establishments Processing or Assembling U.S. Materials and Estimated Earnings for Comparable Jobs in the U.S. by Product Group, 1969.

| Items                  | US \$ per Hour |      | Ratio of U.S. to LDC Wages |
|------------------------|----------------|------|----------------------------|
|                        | LDCs           | U.S. |                            |
| Clothing               | 0.31           | 2.66 | 8.9                        |
| Consumer electronics   | 0.31           | 2.66 | 8.9                        |
| Office Machinery       | 0.35           | 3.07 | 8.7                        |
| Semi-conductors        | 0.42           | 2.91 | 6.9                        |
| Toys, dolls and models | 0.38           | 2.59 | 6.8                        |

Source : Compiled from data submitted by U.S. firms to the U.S. Tariff Commission, reported in U.S. Tariff Commission, Economic Factors, TC Publication, 339 Washington, D.C., 1970.

As cited in [7; 84]

From the above table it can be seen that wage-differentials between LDCs and the U.S. in producing labour-intensive manufactures amount to an average factor of 8. Under such circumstances existing tariff barriers may be outweighed by this wage advantage and should not be an insurmountable obstacle for LDCs to expand their export of manufactures.

### 5.2 Labour Productivity

Labour productivity is often an important factor. It can be as high and sometimes higher in the NICs than in the Western countries. There are two main reasons for this :

(i) Some of the large modern factories established in recent years in the NICs are as well equipped as all but the best Western plants.

(ii) Weak or non-existent unions and threat of starvation in the absence of social security measures arouse strong motivation among workers towards their duties. Other factors which contribute to labour productivity are the emphasis given to labour-training and staff development at all levels and good management and supervision of factory operations.

### 5.3 Government Incentives

Government incentives can play a vital role in promoting and developing export-oriented industries in a country. Most of the NICs attached utmost importance and put a high priority on stimulating the export-oriented industries. The policy ambience has also been appreciably more favourable than in most Western industrial countries encouraging shifts in investment spending. The government incentives may take the following forms :

- (i) relatively liberal import and export and payments regime (including free-trade in inputs for export industries);
- (ii) a competitive exchange rate policy;
- (iii) the absence of excessive protection to local import-substituting industries;
- (iv) fiscal incentives for production of export products (such as, tax-holiday, accelerated depreciation allowance, etc.);
- (v) demand management policies.

Empirical work in this connection also suggests that there exists a very strong and positive correlation between policy orientation and improved export performance, and that the government has leverage. Analyzing the past data for a few developing countries, Donges Riedel concluded the rate of growth of exports is spectacular in those countries where the government made the greatest efforts to promote export activities [7].

#### *5.4 Multinational Corporations*

Multinational corporations can help to overcome some of the initial problems of a developing country very eager to promote its exports. When a product is at the development or growth phase of the cycle, usually it is only with the help of a multinational parent corporation that a developing country can be in a position to produce and trade that product. Direct investments, contract assembly arrangements (for example electronic assemblies for TV sets, or making up cloth from cut-outs), royalty arrangements (for both technology and trademark use) and technical support arrangements are some of the forms of collaboration that can take place between developing countries and multinational corporations (MNCs). Direct foreign investment through the MNCs can act as sources of capital, technology and market outlets for the LDCs [10; 21].

#### *5.5 Retail Organizations*

Retail organizations in developed countries can also play a vital role by providing the marketing outlets for products from the LDCs under appropriate contractual arrangements. These large chain retailers can also help the existing firms of the LDCs to identify the sources of production, and supply R and D inputs by providing product specifications enabling them to keep abreast of changing tastes in the market countries. Given the increasing popularity of low-cost retailing in the industrial countries, and the evident profitability of such ventures, one would expect this kind of activity to spread in the future [13; 145].

### 5.6 Political Stability

Probably the most common thing shared by the successful exporting countries of Asia is a record of political stability and the pursuit of a free-enterprise system. In some of them, state planning and intervention are not absent altogether. Because government and business are so interwoven such intervention and control may well facilitate rather than hamper company business interests.

Instability in the government makes it difficult to continue a coherent and long-term export policy. Each government may have its own philosophy which may not necessarily be favourable towards export promotion when there are frequent changes in the government. 'Better' and long-term policies for promotion of exports can affect the export growth tremendously. Projections made by the World Bank show that South Asian countries could double their manufactured exports in 1985 above the level expected on a trend basis if they adopted consistently more helpful export policies (Table 8).

Table-8 : Alternative Projections of LDC Manufactured Exports : Existing Policies Case (A) Versus 'Better Policies' Case (B) (\$m).

|            | 1975<br>Actual | Annual growth rate<br>(per cent) |         |      |      |
|------------|----------------|----------------------------------|---------|------|------|
|            |                | 1985                             |         |      |      |
|            |                | A                                | B       | A    | B    |
| South Asia | 2,900          | 6,250                            | 11,800  | 8.0  | 15.0 |
| India      | 2,080          | 4,490                            | 8,430   | 8.0  | 15.0 |
| Pakistan   | 590            | 1,210                            | 2,180   | 7.5  | 14.0 |
| Bangladesh | 180            | 430                              | 620     | 9.0  | 13.0 |
| Sri Lanka  | 35             | 90                               | 480     | 10.0 | 30.0 |
| All LDCs   | 32,700         | 94,000                           | 115,000 | 11.1 | 13.4 |

Source: World Bank Staff Study, Prospects for Developing Countries : 1977-85, The World Bank, Washington, D.C., 1976.

### VI. EXISTENCE OF THESE GENERAL FACTORS IN BANGLADESH

Average hourly wages in the cotton textiles industry of Bangladesh were \$ 0.21 for skilled labour and \$ 0.11 for unskilled labour. They were still lower in jute textiles and matches industries (Table 9). If they were compared with average hourly wages of LDCs in 1969 and of USA in 1976/77, they were found much lower than those of LDCs and USA (Tables 9 and 7). Thus wage differentials between Bangladesh and USA were much higher than those between LDCs and USA.

Table-9 : Average Hourly Wages For Some Jobs in The Manufacturing Sector of Bangladesh and USA (US \$).

| Items           | Wages Per Hour |                  | USA  |
|-----------------|----------------|------------------|------|
|                 | Bangladesh     |                  |      |
|                 | Skilled labour | Unskilled labour |      |
| Cotton textiles | 0.21           | 0.11             | 4.40 |
| Jute Textiles   | 0.13           | 0.10             | —    |
| Matches         | 0.13           | 0.10             | —    |
| Engineering     | 0.18           | 0.17             | —    |

Sources: (i) Hourly wages for Bangladesh are estimated from daily wage figures obtained from [22; 661]. They are converted into US dollar assuming Tk 27 = US \$ 1.00.

(ii) Hourly wage figure for USA are taken from [8; 37].

Enterprises in the manufacturing sectors of Bangladesh are usually set up with machineries imported from abroad. The machineries of the enterprises established earlier are overhauled under the balancing, modernizing and replacement (BMR) programme. These factors are expected to contribute to higher labour productivity in the manufacturing sector of Bangladesh. But there are problems in the manufacturing sector such as workers' absentism, labour unrest, frequent power failure, shortage of complementary inputs due to shortage of foreign exchange, etc. which indirectly negatively affect the labour productivity. On balance, we cannot say whether labour productivity in the manufacturing sector is high or low, as we do not have data on absolute level of labour productivity. However, the available productivity index reveals that labour productivity in the manufacturing sector has been increasing over time with 1976/77 = 100 as the base year (1984/85 Statistical Yearbook of Bangladesh, 1985).

Various attempts were made to provide incentives to exporters. Immediately after liberation in December, 1971, export industries such as fisheries, leather, carpets, readymade garments, etc. were granted licences to import parts and machineries required for their BMR programmes, Import duties on machineries for export industries were reduced compared to domestic market oriented industries. The Export Performance Licence (XPL) was introduced in 1974. Exporters of commodities in the XPL list were granted import licences on the basis of their export earnings. A higher percentage of export earnings was allocated to an individual exporter of slow moving/new non-traditional XPL exports for importing raw materials, spares and machinery. A direct subsidy was given to jute manufactures and slow moving exportable commodities. Income-tax rebates were granted to

*Ahmad : Export Industries*

exporters of goods except raw jute, jute manufactures, and tea. Duty free raw materials were allowed for all export oriented industries. Manufactured exports were also exempted from the domestic sales and excise taxes. Export credit was provided to exporters of non-traditional<sup>5</sup> export items for pre-shipment and packaging at concessional rates. The Export Credit Guarantee Scheme was also introduced to cover political risks for exports and served as a guarantee for bank credit. The taka was devalued first time in 1972 and second time in 1975. After 1975 exchange rates, in addition, were adjusted in response to changing circumstances. A provision of state recognition was introduced in the form of awards and trophies for best export performers in every year. However, except devaluation almost all the export promotional measures were geared to boost up exports of non-traditional commodities [2; 337].

Immediately after liberation, the government of Bangladesh was constitutionally committed to establish a socialist economy, for which it put a limit to expansion of the private industrial sector. As a result, foreign private investors felt threatened<sup>6</sup> even though the government did not nationalize any enterprise involving foreign private investment and declared that no nationalization of industrial enterprises established with any amount of foreign private investment within 10 years of their establishment and that fair and equitable compensation would be given in case of nationalization.

The military government took power in November 1975. The revised industrial policy announced in December 1975 welcomed foreign private investment mainly in export-oriented industries. Incentives provided towards foreign private investment were granting of tax-holidays for 4-8 years to industrial enterprises depending on their location in different regions, liberal depreciation allowances on expiry of tax-holidays, exemption of foreign technicians from income tax, relief from double taxation for investors from some specific countries, differential tariff structures, restrictions on remittances of profits, royalties and fees, access to equity capital/loan from the specialized credit institutions, entitlement to benefits from various export promotional measures, compensation in case of nationalization, etc. A foreigner employed in industrial enterprises located in Bangladesh was allowed to repatriate as family remittance 50 per cent of his salary income subject to maximum of £200 per month. The

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5. The traditional export items include mainly raw jute, raw hides and skins, tea and jute manufactures.

6. To get some idea about the attitude of foreign private investors towards the industrial policies of 1972 and 1974, see [1]

parliament of Bangladesh passed "The Foreign Investment and Promotion Act" in order to constitutionally promote inflow of foreign private capital in Bangladesh. All such measures provided confidence among the potential foreign investors and also removed apprehensions to some extent, about non-business risks. In response to these incentives, there was inflow of foreign private capital, mostly in the export-oriented industries, which acted as a source of technology to and market outlets of exports from Bangladesh.

The Bangladesh government opened trade centres in different countries and participated in trade fairs organized abroad. It also entered into bilateral agreements with a number of socialist countries. Furthermore, private trade delegates frequently visited foreign countries to survey the demand for export products from Bangladesh and to study the probable changes in taste of foreign consumers. Embassies/High Commissioner offices of Bangladesh located abroad also played the role in acquainting our exporters to foreign buyers. All these efforts are expected to diversify the market outlets for exports from Bangladesh.

There is no reason to deny the fact that there exists political instability in Bangladesh. Political instability might have affected the investment climate. But the Bangladesh governments either political or military, were determined to bring about structural transformation of the export sector which is reflected in the consistent efforts to expand and diversify exports through the provision of a package of incentives, a clearly defined export policy and relatively stable exchange rate policy.

## VII. CONCLUSIONS

Looking into the tables 1,2,3,4,5 and 6 one can identify some industries whose products are not currently produced in and/or exported from Bangladesh but may have comparative advantage. These industries are mentioned in Table 10. Bangladesh may have comparative advantage in their production because of the reasons stated below.

Firstly, these are labour-intensive and/or resource-based industries. Since the ranking of products with respect to factor intensities are similar in developed and developing countries, they are also expected to be labour intensive industries in Bangladesh.

Secondly, Bangladesh is a labour abundant country. Labourers are both skilled and unskilled. Some of these industries use skilled labour and some other industries use unskilled labour. Furthermore, wages are very low compared to those in developed and other developing countries. In

accordance with the Factor Proportion Theory and the Domestic Resource Cost Theory, these industries may have comparative cost advantage in their production in Bangladesh.

Table-10 : Products which are Not Produced/Exported from Bangladesh

|                       |                               |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| Wood manufactures     | Made up textiles              |
| Household equipment   | Works of art                  |
| Jewellery             | Domestic electrical equipment |
| Furniture             | Musical instruments           |
| Veneers and plywood   | Telecommunication apparatus   |
| Floor coverings,      | Railway vehicles              |
| Toys and sports goods | Office supplies               |

Thirdly, production process in these industries are well-known and stable. Their chain operations are strictly specified, leaving comparatively no room for mistakes. Machineries for plants of these products are standardised, easily obtainable and maintainable.

Accordingly as the product cycle theory suggests their production locations can be shifted from developed countries to developing countries like Bangladesh.

Finally, most of the factors favourably affecting the growth of exports from developing countries appears to be present in Bangladesh. These factors are expected to facilitate the development of these products as well as products of other export industries.

Thus the whole range of products in Tables 3, 4, 5 and 10 from the potential exports and exportables for Bangladesh except jute manufactures (including carpets), footwear except rubber footwear, tanning and leather finishing and leather products other than footwear, which are currently exported by Bangladesh. Industries producing these products currently or in future are expected to have bright prospect.

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## AN EVALUATION OF IMPORT SUBSTITUTION AND EXPORT ORIENTED INDUSTRIALIZATION IN BANGLADESH

ABDUL BAYES\*

### 1. INTRODUCTION

The importance of industrialization as the linchpin of sustained economic development is well recognized. In Bangladesh, the share of the manufacturing sector in GDP, in the absence of extended coverage, continues to remain at around 10% and the industrial sector accounts for 8% of total employment [10]. Besides, the sector contributes the lion share to the total foreign exchange earnings and supplies basic necessities to people and essential inputs to other sectors of the economy. The nobility of the industrial sector in generating employment is further enhanced by the growing limitations of the agricultural sector in providing increased employment. Serious efforts at industrialization are, ifso facto, being made to promote economic growth in Bangladesh.

Management of the industrial sector always involves consideration of trade-offs among multiple and conflicting objectives. One such trade-off is between Import Substitution (IS) and Export Oriented (EO) policies. On the one hand, it needs to be ensured that shortage of technical know-how and foreign exchange do not militate against rapid economic growth. This concern inevitably makes the expansion and promotion of the export sector an imperative one. But strengthening of national self-reliance and saving of scarce foreign exchange, on the other hand, call for top most priority on an efficient import substitution strategy. In development economics, the former is called an "outward looking" and the latter, an "inward looking" strategy. Due to their competing claims on incentive schemes and resources, they tend to appear as Siamese Twin ; growing one implies retarding the other. In fact however, an optimal mix of the two

Early industrialization efforts in Bangladesh, as in many other developing countries, focused mainly on promoting IS industries with little attention initially being paid to the expansion and diversification of the export sector.

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A low elasticity of foreign demand for the major exports, inter alia, provided a further justification to the biased emphasis. The problems of the export sector were unwisely over-emphasised and no sincere efforts were made to overcome them [12]. Excepting the last few years when the export sector has been receiving some kind of a boost from the government, the universal trend of over-emphasising IS continued unabated in the post-independence era.

The experiences of countries which opted for an unduly emphasised inward looking strategy, however, testimonies that trade and industry policies towards such strategy not only fail to build a dynamic industrial sector but also contribute little to bridging the balance of payment gap. It is now being argued that the strategy provides a spectacular growth at the beginning but later falls on its face and further expansion is contained by the built-in bottlenecks. The situation is commonly referred to as the "exhaustion of easy import substituting opportunities".[19].

Although grandiose generalization is difficult to make on the basis of the experiences of other countries, it may, nevertheless, be useful to consider the relevance for Bangladesh of some of the reasons as to why heavy reliance on an inward looking trade and industrial policies result in limited success. The enquiry into the industrial policies of Bangladesh and the subsequent industrial structure so created, is expected to shed some light on whether the strategy of industrialization in Bangladesh should be looking inward or outward or inward and outward.

## OBJECTIVES AND HYPOTHESES

### OBJECTIVES

The following are the main objectives in this paper:

- (a) to give a brief outline of the policy changes by successive regimes that affected the nature and pace of industrialization in Bangladesh;
- (b) to discuss the different aspects of IS and EO policies and their impact on industrial growth ; and
- (c) to suggest some policy prescriptions.

### HYPOTHESIS

It is being hypothesised that the existing industrial structure promoted by the industry and trade policies is not conducive to the long-run development of the country through industrialization.

### ORGANIZATION OF THE PAPER

The paper is organized as follows: Issues relating to the strategy of IS

are discussed in part 2 while those relating to EO strategy are presented in part 3. Some concluding observations are made in part 4.

## 2. AN EVALUATION OF IS STRATEGY

### *Macro-Economic Shocks, Policy Shift and Industrialization.*

Since the independence in 1971, the industrial sector of Bangladesh experienced a series of major economic convulsions. The first one was generated by the war of independence that shattered the infrastructure and demolished the economic base. The regimen of the industrial structure was further affected by the quick switchover of policies pursued by the successive governments. For example, as compared to a dominant private sector economy of the pre-independence period, the economic policies adopted by the Awami League government adhered to a socialist framework where the ownership of industrial assets by the public sector increased from 34% to 92% and the number of enterprises from 53 to 392 [14]. Consequent first industrial policy of 1972 emphasised a robust development of the public sector restricting the private sector to small scale investment. Subsequent relaxations on the ceiling of private investment were made but the thrust remained on state ownership. A major departure as it from the pre-independence period, it constituted a major macro economic shock for the industrial sector.

The experiment however, did not last long. Due to the lack of political commitment the attempts at socializing the means of production failed and the public sector was alleged to be devilled with mismanagement and faltered in delivering goods and services, within a short span of time, the public sector became a de trope to the donors as well as to the local bourgeoisie. A major revision of industrial and other policies was in the offing. The violent overthrow of the Awami League government and the subsequent hasty retreat from the past policies constituted the second convulsion for the industrial sector. The change in 1975 saw the advent of an era with commitment to a private enterprise economy. Privatization in Bangladesh took place with much fervour and in great haste. Not only enterprises were sold out at knock-down prices but also the newly established private interests started to enjoy debt-reliefs and new loans with the help of unproductive rent seeking mandarins and elitist power brokers [15]. The overthrow of the BNP government brought further uncertainties as to the future of industrial policies of the BNP government. The concern fortunately, did not last long when the new regime declared its aim to uphold the premises of a private enterprise economy. With a view to

invigorating the somnolent private sector, the industrial policies of 1982 and 1986 brought fundamental changes in the industrial environment and promotional instruments.

Besides these shocks arising out of changes in political regimes, the industrial sector was also adversely affected by a panoply of natural hazards. Notwithstanding the debate on nationalization Vs privatization and The ultimate adherence to the rectitudes of either, the trade and industry policies pursued by the successive regimes in Bangladesh have in most cases been adhoc and ambivalent. Policies were not well thoughtout and lacked an eclectic approach that is so urgently needed by a country of poor resource base and high population growth.

The government used an arsenal of credit and incentive schemes e.g. exchange rate, tariff and quota, to guide entrepreneurs to different industrial activities, the most important being the maize of protection given to domestic industries.

The notable objectives of the Industrial Policies of 1982 and 1986 are "increased emphasis on private sector participation and promotion of efficient import-substituting, export oriented and export linkage industries ... with comparative advantage through tariff rationalization and appropriate fiscal measures" [9]. As well shall see, all the incentive schemes were more favourable to IS and less to EO growth.

#### *The Extent of IS in Bangladesh*

The measurement of the extent of IS after independence is a difficult task that requires a lot of quantitative exercise. However, a crude measure of the magnitude of IS might be obtained by looking at the percentage of the total supply (domestic plus import) met from domestic production, over different time periods [14]. Thus measured, it can be observed from Table 1 that, over seventies, the country has become more self sufficient in the production of cotton textiles, fertilizer, cement, and drugs and pharmaceuticals. But for the supply of cotton yarn, transport equipment and other goods, the country now depends more on imports for meeting domestic demand.

*Bayes : Industrialization in Bangladesh*

Table- 1: Percentage of total supply met from domestic production for some selected commodities.

| Commodities                    | Year    | % of Supply |
|--------------------------------|---------|-------------|
| 1. Cement                      | 1972/73 | 8.9         |
|                                | 1977/78 | 38.6        |
|                                | 1982/83 | 60.3        |
| 2. Fertilizer                  | 1972/73 | 44.4        |
|                                | 1977/78 | 37.6        |
|                                | 1982/83 | 60.3        |
|                                | 1987/88 | 90.0        |
| 3. Drugs and<br>Pharmaceutical | 1977/78 | 50.5        |
|                                | 1978/79 | 57.4        |
|                                | 1982/83 | 60.5        |
|                                | 1987/88 | 72.0        |
| 4. Oilseeds                    | 1972/73 | 81.2        |
|                                | 1977/78 | 80.6        |
|                                | 1981/82 | 85.1        |
|                                | 1984/85 | 87.0        |
| 5. Foodgrains                  | 1972/73 | 78.0        |
|                                | 1977/78 | 88.6        |
|                                | 1982/83 | 89.5        |
|                                | 1986/87 | 90.0        |
| 6. Yarn                        | 1972/73 | 90.1        |
|                                | 1977/78 | 86.4        |
|                                | 1982/83 | 82.7        |
| 7. Cotton Textiles             | 1972/73 | 90.1        |
|                                | 1977/78 | 87.8        |
|                                | 1982/83 | 74.9        |
| 8. Transport<br>equipment      | 1976/77 | 29.3        |
|                                | 1977/78 | 43.3        |
|                                | 1978/79 | 20.5        |
|                                | 1987/88 | 19.1        |
| 9. Other Capital<br>Goods      | 1976/77 | 23.0        |
|                                | 1977/78 | 13.6        |
|                                | 1978/79 | 14.2        |
|                                | 1986/87 | 15.6        |

Source: Compiled from different volumes of Statistical Year Book.

Figure in parenthesis show percentage of total.

*The Structure of IS Industries By Economic Use*

The long history of the industrialization history of countries now recognized as industrialized market economies bears evidence of a transition of industrial structure sequentially through three stages dominated successively by consumer goods, intermediate goods and capital goods industries [3]. Exception to this, however, has been observed in planned economies where ideology came to dominate history.

The experience of Bangladesh with industrial development seems to be consistent with the pattern of transition mentioned earlier even though the country has been independent for nearly two decades. The structure of IS by economic use is presented in Table 2. Two phases of industrial development are discernible from the table. First prior to independence the share of consumer goods sector has been rising as this was the early phase of industrialization. As against this, the share of intermediate goods sector steadily declined. In the post independence period, the change in the industrial structure confirmed to the universal pattern showing a shift away from consumer goods to intermediate goods, and also slightly to capital goods. Notwithstanding this movement, as of now, more than half of the fixed assets and more than four-fifths of the value added are accounted by the consumer goods sector generating also about two thirds of employment (Table 2).

The growth of industries by economic use can also be judged by the reporting number of establishments presented in Table 3. Of the total large and medium industrial establishment as recorded by CMI, during eighties, more than 70% is accounted by the industries producing consumer goods as compared to little over 60% in the immediate post-independence period. But in case of intermediate and capital goods industries, the opposite holds. The number of reporting establishment of intermediate and capital goods in fact sharply fell as compared to immediate post-independence period (Table 3).

*Reasons for rapid growth of consumer goods sector*

Historically, a policy of IS favoured the rapid growth of consumer goods industries for various reasons. First, the markets in developing countries like Bangladesh are mainly of consumer goods where entrepreneurs need not have to undertake the trouble of looking for new outlets for domestically produced goods. Second, since foreign exchange is scarce, government usually controls the flow of consumer goods (essential and non-essential) into the country through imposition of high import duties. This insulates the domestic producers from the world market and provides

protection to grow into adulthood. Profitability created by such protection obviously attracts private investments into consumer goods. Third, the revenue aspect of the government also contributes to the option for restricted trade that ultimately speed up the growth of these industries.

Table-2 : Structure of large and medium scale manufacturing sector in Bangladesh

|       | % Distribution |              |             |              |              |             |              |              |             |
|-------|----------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|
|       | 1977/78        |              |             | 1981/82      |              |             | 1985/86      |              |             |
|       | Fixed asse ts  | Employ- ment | Value added | Fixed assets | Employ- ment | Value added | Fixed assets | Employ- ment | Value added |
| 1.    | 61.6           | 84.3         | 75.7        | 54.2         | 82.4         | 68.3        | 53.3         | 81.4         | 66.2        |
| 2.    | 33.7           | 12.7         | 17.9        | 27.9         | 13.3         | 27.6        | 29.3         | 14.2         | 28.1        |
| 3.    | 4.6            | 3.0          | 6.3         | 17.9         | 4.3          | 4.1         | 17.4         | 4.4          | 5.7         |
| Total | 100.0          | 100.0        | 100.0       | 100.0        | 100.0        | 100.0       | 100.0        | 100.0        | 100.0       |

- 1. = Consumer goods
- 2. = Intermediate goods
- 3. = Capital goods

Source: Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, Computed from various tables presented in the Statistical Year Book.

Table-3: Number of large and medium industrial establishment reported

| Economic Use               | 1975/76       | 1976/77       | 1977/78       | 1978/79       | 1980/81       | 1981/82       | 1982/83       |
|----------------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| 1. Consumer Goods          | 1509<br>(60)  | 1520<br>(64)  | 1947<br>(72)  | 1864<br>(70)  | 2224<br>(72)  | 2388<br>(73)  | 2587<br>(74)  |
| 2. Interme-<br>diate Goods | 605<br>(25)   | 686<br>(29)   | 580<br>(22)   | 626<br>(24)   | 662<br>(21)   | 678<br>(20)   | 704<br>(20)   |
| 3. Capital<br>Goods        | 347<br>(15)   | 167<br>(7)    | 160<br>(6)    | 167<br>(6)    | 190<br>(6)    | 219<br>(7)    | 226<br>(6)    |
| Total                      | 2461<br>(100) | 2373<br>(100) | 2687<br>(100) | 2657<br>(100) | 3076<br>(100) | 3285<br>(100) | 3517<br>(100) |

Source: Compiled from different volumes of Statistical Year Book. Figures in parenthesis show percentage of total.

Table-4 Value of imported input as percentage of total value of inputs

| Industry /Group       | Survey by the Author<br>(1986) n = 12 |         |                 |         | Reza et-al (1982<br>n=26 |         |                  |         |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------------|---------|-----------------|---------|--------------------------|---------|------------------|---------|
|                       | Export                                |         | Dependency in-  |         | Export Earn-             |         | Dependency       |         |
|                       | Earning                               |         | dex: (Value of  |         | ing as % of              |         | Index: (value of |         |
|                       | as % of                               |         | imported inputs |         | total                    |         | imported         |         |
|                       | total                                 |         | as % of total   |         | Sales                    |         | inputs as %      |         |
|                       | Sales                                 |         | inputs)         |         |                          |         | of total inputs) |         |
|                       | Local                                 | Foreign | Local           | Foreign | Local                    | Foreign | Local            | Foreign |
| 1. Pharmaceuticals    | 0.00                                  | 0.00    | 40              | 30      | 0.00                     | 0.00    | 30               | 25      |
| 2. Other Chemicals    | 0.00                                  | 16.0    | 85              | 30      | 0.00                     | 22.7    | 90               | 21      |
| 3. Garments Readymade | 94.0                                  | 100.0   | 95              | 98      | 96.12                    | 100.0   | 93               | -       |
| 4. Tobacco            | 0.00                                  | 3.0     | 20              | 25      | 0.00                     | 1.0     | 15               | 22      |
| 5. Food processing    | 50.0                                  | 77.0    | 20              | 65      | 61.24                    | 81.93   | 18               | 60      |
| 6. Electrical Goods   | 10.0                                  | 15.0    | 90              | 82      | 00.00                    | 00.00   | 95               | 14      |
| 7. Electronics        | 6.0                                   | 9.0     | 90              | 92      | 00.00                    | 00.00   | 85               | 99      |
| 8. Metal              | 0.00                                  | 0.00    | 85              | 87      | 00.00                    | 00.00   | 83               | 82      |

*Consumer Goods Sector and Economic Development*

Literature, however, repletes with cautions regarding dangers associated with over emphasising consumer goods while adopting IS [11,5]. First, this leads to consumption "Liberalization". With protection, consumption of goods increase whereas in the absence of such protection, shortage of foreign exchange would act as a constraint to increased consumption. Khan observed substantial consumption liberalization in the early phases of IS in Pakistan [5]. The author of this paper is also working on similar line of reasoning for Bangladesh. Preliminary findings show that consumption liberalization has taken place to a greater extent, in case of textiles, sugar, cosmetics, cigarettes and soft drinks. While more work is needed to arrive at a sound judgement, a priori, it can be hypothesised that protection to domestic industries producing consumer goods leads to consumption liberalization. This only exacerbates the problems created by the prevalence of a dismally low private savings.

Second, a high degree of protection that proceeds the process of IS usually allows (and probably induces) an excessive concentration of investment in protected consumer goods industries. Once the capacity is created (export possibility being non-existent or unexplored) the optimal way is to utilize the capacity of inducing domestic production consumption

through sales promotion as well as putting pressures to keep taxes and other constraints lower on the consumption of these goods.

*IS and Capital Goods Sector*

It has been observed that Bangladesh has comparative advantage in the production of capital goods (e.g. engineering and metal). The sector already accounts for 9% of total manufacturing employment in the country and each one million taka of gross output in this sector generates 23.6 jobs compared to only 18 in manufacturing as a whole. Because the sector is responsible for producing goods which contribute to the formation of gross fixed capital in industry, agriculture and service sectors, for both IS and EO, Bangladesh has sound bank on the production of capital goods. Noteworthy, in the absence of the development of a robust engineering sector, few low income countries could have experienced a sustained rapid growth [7;110].

Unfortunately government policies designed to foster industrial development as well as agricultural development through imported machinery have resulted in negative protection for most of the goods which are or can be produced in Bangladesh, thus, attenuating the inherent comparative advantage. Since much of the over-invoicing takes place with the import of machineries, local compradors collude with power structure to keep the process of "commissions and ommissions" alive. On many occasions, in the name of quality differential, machineries have been or are imported which can be produced in Bangladesh.

Since such industries constitute the base on which is raised the edifice of modern industrialization, it could be deduced that the aim of economic policies in Bangladesh was not so much industrialization with lasting effects as to get quick results in the form of increased value of output irrespective of the social cost involved.

*IS And Domestic Resource Cost*

The mis-allocation of resources is another dimension of the existing protection. Johnson argued that IS as far as it departs from the principle of comparative advantage may saddle a country with high cost industries which can only breath behind a tariff wall [4]. In fact these industries may turn out to be so inefficient that the amount of protection that has to be provided to them is greater than their contribution in terms of value-added. These industries, as can be seen from Table 5, are these with negative value -added (e.g. M. S. billets, M. S. plates C. G. I. sheets, Paper and Rubber products, Rayon and Silk yarn). High protective import tariffs, the

import licensing schemes not only brought into existence industries which, on grounds of comparative cost, would never have been started (in efficient use of resources) but also obscured the priorities within the industrial sector.

#### *IS And Elitist Consumption*

Among the consumer goods, effective protection afforded to "nonessentials" was higher than essentials e.g., handloom vs power loom, sugar vs gur, edible oils vs other essential agricultural commodities. It may be mentioned here that the income elasticity of demand for these goods is greater than one and hence can be treated as "luxuries". The strategy of IS thus appears to have promoted "elitist" consumption. Since these commodities are generally consumed by the richer section of the society, for the system to continue, the present style of development requires that income and expenditure are concentrated in the wealthiest strata.

#### *IS And Import Dependence*

As a result of IS backed by the erection of high tariff wall helped the growth of domestic industries which depend more on imported inputs. An attempt has been made by the author to look into the structure of exports and imports by the industries to arrive at a dependency index. Similar exercise was also carried out by Reza et-al. As can be gleaned from Table, a number of industries have negative balance of payments effects. They export less but the import content is as high as 90% for some while about two thirds for others. This implies that these industries have less backward integration, spread effects are few, and capacity utilization is also low.

To assess the impact of imported inputs on capacity utilization the ratio of actual production to full capacity production (capacity utilization) was regressed on ratios of import requirement of raw materials (R) and spare parts (S) to their total requirements.

$$U = 0.6451 - 0.1850 R - 0.1560 S$$

(0.0275) (0.0623) (0.0432)

$$R^2 = 0.4016 \quad DF = 10$$

Where U = Ratio of actual production to full capacity production  
R = Ratio of imported raw materials to total  
S = Ratio of imported spare parts to total.

Industries relying heavily upon imported supplies of raw materials and spare parts utilized poorly the installed capacity e. g. chemical products, medical and pharmaceutical preparation, basic metals, etc. Shahadat Ullah observed that the sectors heavily dependent on imported raw materials e.g.

chemicals, heavy chemicals, textiles (excluding handlooms), showed significant drop in efficiency while those using local raw materials e.g. food drink and tobacco, wood products and in paper and printing the efficiency ratio (ratio of value added to Gross Value ) improved [18].

In conclusion, the observations can be made that the strategy of IS itself invited import dependence and heavy import dependence on raw materials is causing low capacity utilization and lower efficiency. The avalanche of industrial incentive schemes especially, the tariff structure, distorted the domestic relative prices which robbed market of its effectiveness to signal the line of comparative advantage. IS thus became more lucrative than EO strategies, consumer goods industries more attractive to capital goods industries.

Liberalization, an euphemism for an open trading regime is not a solution to the problems mentioned above. To develop a significant manufacturing base, a rational tariff structure has to continue with more emphasis on IS in capital goods and expansion and diversification of the export sector. A sudden liberalization of domestic or external market could result in serious consequences. And lastly, high economic growth is correlated with better governance rather than with economic openness [8]. And superior governance is a function of a proper blend of policies with institutions.

### 3. AN EVALUATION OF EO STRATEGY

As mentioned in the introductory part, less enthusiasm, until the recent past, was shown for the growth and development of the export sector. The productive role of the exports in Bangladesh's future development was shrouded in a high degree of pessimism[6]. The basis of the anti-export bias are (a) high concentration of the exports in few commodities; (b) structural rigidities in production causing lower elasticity in the supply of major exports; (c) low income elasticity of demand for Bangladesh's major exports and so on (Rahman Akhlaqur, 1984). In the absence of vigorous economic and diplomatic drives the export market remained narrow and historically few traditional items dominated the composition of exports[2].

However, since 1978/79, there has been an increase in the share of non-traditional exports and all of these exports legitimately be considered manufactures, the major share being accounted by readymade garments and processed food. For example, during the last seven years, 1977/78-1984/85 while total and traditional exports measured in 1983 constant dollars grew at annual average rates of 7.6% and 4.3% respectively. the

growth in the non-traditional exports in the same real term was a remarkable 25.1%. The growth of non-traditional exports, during the last few years, was astoundingly high at 33.3% (Table-6).

A number of policies contributed to such a shift. The current incentive schemes are aimed at increasing, especially, the exports of the non traditional items. The schemes include, besides XPB, other important measures such as (a) access to tax-free imports of intermediate inputs used in export production by a variety of measures; (b) an easy access to imported inputs for some special products; (c) a more liberal and subsidized access to credit; (d) reduced taxes on machinery imports and (e) special income tax concession. At the helm of all, a somewhat flexible exchange rate is followed.

However, the current policy prescriptions relating to the export sector are neither sufficient nor are immune from deficiencies. First, the overall effective assistance provided to the EO industries is much lower than the IS industries. The average effective assistance for EO industries range from 73% to 2% while that for IS industries range from 200% to 400% (Table 5).

An estimation of the effective Exchange Rates suggest that an anti-export bias of some 30% when all exports are considered against dutiable imports and one of over 30% when non-traditional exports are compared with dutiable imports (Table-7). Even non-traditional exports do not seem to be specially favoured against traditional jute and jute goods which are getting a larger level of assistance in terms of higher interest subsidy [13]. Second, these incentives confer sizeable benefits on only a few industrial activities such as readymade garments, finished leather and leather products, some specialized textiles etc. While most other activities starved of such incentives. Third, export promotion policies bias exporters against using domestically produced tradeable inputs. Since XPL/KPB is given on gross export receipts, it provides no incentive to reduce the import content of such export. Likewise, the access to bonded ware house facilities or to duty draw backs, are an incentive only to the extent that the exporter uses imported inputs. Thus an exporter who purchases domestically produced intermediate inputs which embody dutiable imports is discriminated against as compared to the exporter enjoying bonded ware house facility with no dutiable intermediate inputs.

The obvious conclusion that emerges is that the prevalent incentives are not adequate for exporting on the one hand and fail to encourage

structural change and development of industrial linkage on the other. This call for the creation of policy instruments that provide a positive incentive for export activities and for backward integration.

Table-5: Effective Assistance received by selected import-substitution and export industries (%)

| Industry                     | Effective Assistance | Industry             | Effective Assistance |
|------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| A. Import-substitution       |                      | B. Export Group:     |                      |
| Group:                       |                      | Readymade garments   | 25                   |
| Steel and engineering;       |                      | Finished leather     | 73                   |
| M.S. billets, M.S.           | Infinite (NVA)       | Frozen fish          | -16                  |
| plates (heavy) and           |                      | Glycerine            | 9                    |
| C.G.I. sheets                |                      | Ceramic tableware    | 7                    |
| M.S. rods, G.I.pipes         | 260-411              | PVC pipes            | 8                    |
| Copper wire                  |                      | PVC cables and wires | Negative             |
| Television (black &          | 290                  | Textile fabric       | 7                    |
| white)                       |                      | and house linen      |                      |
| Electric motors,             | 31-33                | Jelly, ketchup and   |                      |
| diesel engines and           |                      | Pineapple Juice      | -2 to 4              |
| electric components          |                      |                      |                      |
| Electric transformers        | 7                    | Silk fabric          | 16                   |
| chemical and allied          |                      | Cotton vests         | 19                   |
| Products:                    |                      | Nylon socks          | 11                   |
| Sulphuric acid, hydro        | 142-366              | Newsprint            | 35                   |
| Chloric acid, chromium       |                      |                      |                      |
| sulphate Sanitary ware       | 435                  |                      |                      |
| paper and rubber             |                      |                      |                      |
| products                     | infinite             |                      |                      |
| Cement                       | 2                    |                      |                      |
| Fertilizer                   | Negative or low      |                      |                      |
| Agro-based products          |                      |                      |                      |
| Sugar                        | 407                  |                      |                      |
| Edible oils                  | 978                  |                      |                      |
| Cigarettes (intenati-        | -43                  |                      |                      |
| onal brand)                  |                      |                      |                      |
| Footwear (leather Textiless: | -31                  |                      |                      |
| Cotton yarn                  | 113-513              |                      |                      |
| Nylon yarn                   | 181                  |                      |                      |
| Rayon and silk yarn          | Infinite             |                      |                      |
| Woven fabrics                | 115-213              |                      |                      |
| clothing                     | 197-318              |                      |                      |

Source: [13]

Table-6: Exports in Current and Constant US Dollars

| Year    | Exchange Rate |       | Value in Current US \$ million |                 |        | Value in 1983 Constant US \$ million |                 |       | MUV Index |
|---------|---------------|-------|--------------------------------|-----------------|--------|--------------------------------------|-----------------|-------|-----------|
|         | Taka/s        | Total | Traditional                    | Non-traditional | Total  | Traditional                          | Non-traditional |       |           |
| 1977-78 | 15.12         | 474.7 | 429.5                          | 45.2            | 552.0  | 499.4                                | 52.6            | 86.0  |           |
| 1978-79 | 15.22         | 632.9 | 554.9                          | 78.0            | 644.5  | 565.1                                | 79.4            | 98.2  |           |
| 1979-80 | 15.49         | 709.9 | 622.9                          | 87.0            | 659.1  | 578.4                                | 80.7            | 107.7 |           |
| 1980-81 | 16.26         | 706.3 | 608.7                          | 97.6            | 646.8  | 557.4                                | 89.5            | 109.2 |           |
| 1981-82 | 20.07         | 617.2 | 504.7                          | 112.5           | 585.6  | 478.8                                | 106.8           | 105.4 |           |
| 1982-83 | 23.80         | 679.1 | 527.3                          | 151.8           | 664.5  | 515.9                                | 148.5           | 102.2 |           |
| 1983-84 | 24.94         | 807.4 | 625.2                          | 182.2           | 818.9  | 634.1                                | 184.8           | 98.6  |           |
| 1984-85 | 26.10         | 919.5 | 667.6                          | 251.9           | 923.22 | 670.3                                | 262.9           | 99.6  |           |
|         |               |       |                                |                 | 7.6    | 4.3                                  | 25.1            |       |           |

Source: [12]

Table-7: Effective Exchange Rates for Imports and Exports (TK/US\$)

|     |                                | FY 1986 | FY1987 | FY1988 | FY 1989 |
|-----|--------------------------------|---------|--------|--------|---------|
| I   | EER for Imports                | 42.579  | 43.247 | 44.007 | 46.240  |
| II  | EER for all Exports            | 32.290  | 33.225 | 33.786 | 34.477  |
| III | EER for Nontraditional Exports | 81.510  | 32.192 | 32.843 | 33.842  |
| III |                                | 1.319   | 1.302  | 1.303  | 1.341   |
| III |                                | 1.351   | 1.343  | 1.340  | 1.374   |

Source : [13]

#### 4. CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS: NEED FOR A REVISION OF POLICIES

From the discussions so far, it can reasonably be said that the early industrialization process in Bangladesh overemphasised the growth of IS over EO industries. The government enunciated a whole package of policies for the growth of IS industries that produced a lop sided industrial growth. It is only the consumer goods sector that is undergoing an expansion at a faster pace. But for the long run development of the

economy through industrialization, the capital goods and the EO industries need to be promoted.

The recent performance of the industrial sector of Bangladesh is a clear pointer to the earlier hypothesis that the IS strategy offers a rapid growth rate at the beginning but falls on its face at the end. Few observations should be made here. The rate of growth of the industrial production is significantly lower in 1980s (2.5% per annum since 1980-81) than in the 1970s (4.3% per annum during 1975-76 through 1979-80). Industrial sickness continued unabated, and 50% of the industries fell sick-capacity utilization less than 30% (HIID, 1989). One of the reasons for low capacity utilization is over dependence on imported inputs discuss earlier. The other reasons are smuggling, crowd-in effect and lack of technical knowledge on the part of the entrepreneurs who took advantage of the liberal credit policy and highly protected domestic market. Manufacturing thus became detrope and people are investing money in trade lowering manufacturing since the former gives a better return. Needless to mentioned, government policy of creating a class of entrepreneurs through an arsenal of incentives failed to invigorate the simulent private sector.

But export has been performing better than IS and the performance of handloom is superior than powerloom. It thus appears that the lower the effective assistance, the better the performance. A major shift of policy is, therefore, warranted. Rationalization of tariff structure should assume the top priority, for the development of the export sector and the IS capital goods sector. It should be remember that availability of incentive schemes is a necessary condition for industrial growth. The sufficient condition is the percent of an honest and efficient bureaucracy that can take care of the growing intricacies out of such schemes.

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## SICK INDUSTRIES OF BANGLADESH: CAUSES AND SUGGESTED REMEDIES

JAHANARA BEGUM

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Rapid industrialization is an imperative need for sustained growth and development of the economy of Bangladesh. The promotion of industrial growth is an essential factor for employment generation, economic modernization, expansion and broadening the base of our non-traditional exports.

In recent years our development strategy is revealing some bias toward industrialization with increasing emphasis on expansion of private sector. This trend is reflected by some policy changes in major aspects over the years. The New Industrial Policy (NIP) in 1982 has accelerated the pace of change and further strengthen the operational framework for industrial growth following the Revised New Industrial Policy in 1986. Government set up a Board of Investment (BOI) from 1st January 1989, to promote infra-structural facilities for setting up new industries.

Despite all these promotional measures and policy incentives, new industrial investment and production performance showed a sluggish performance and remain much below the projected targets over the past few years. In a mid-term review of the planning commission on the performance of 3rd Five Year Plan it was noticed that investment in the private sector failed to attain the desired result.

While the aim of our NIP has been farther expansion of industrial activities most of operating industrial units are locked up in several problems like low rate of capacity utilization, poor production performance, increasing debt-servicing burden, sordid financial position etc. All these adversities have plunged a large number of industrial units in the country into chronic sickness. The issue of industrial sickness is a much discussed topic in context of existing problems of our industrialization. It has been found in a study by DCCI that more than 50% of our industries are sick. Their number is relatively higher than those of our neighbouring countries. It is therefore highly emphasized to take necessary measures to revive and rehabilitate these sick industries for improving our industrial investment climate.

Present paper is designed firstly to specify some criterias to identify an industry as sick; Secondly it analyses the causes of industrial sickness and finally certain policy measures are suggested to rehabilitate the sick units of our country.

## II. THE CONCEPT OF 'SICK' INDUSTRY

At a time when we have placed a greater emphasis than ever before through policy instruments on the needs for a rapid expansion of our industrial base, it is indeed a matter of great regret that a large number of industrial units in the country are gripped today by sickness. The idea of industrial sickness is relatively new and to some extent confusing in the absence of any well established definition of the term. Even our Ministry of Industry has not been introduced so far any specific criteria for classifying industrial units as sick. This has arose much confusion about the concept of sick industries in the country.

The term is commonly used to focus on the existing problems of our industrialization in a broad sense. A recent study by DCCI has mentioned that the most common feature of sick industries is noticed as very lower rate of installed capacity utilization. Accordingly operating industrial units which are incapable of utilizing their potential productive capacity to its full extent due to variety of reasons are categorized as sick. Again some industries with complete utilization of its capacity but turned to be unprofitable due to frequent financial losses are also identified as sick unit. Most of the sick industries are starved of funds including working capital and thus trapped in an imbalanced financial crises.

Close observation of our sick industries indicates the fact that falling into sickness is not any sudden phenomenon of operating units. Rather most of units gradually move toward sickness over a varying course of time during which they tend to exhibit certain symptoms of sickness. The common sign of falling into sickness has been identified as the deteriorating financial position of respective industrial unit resulting from severe losses due to piling up of stock.

Examining the position of some industries which are locked up in severe problems, we can specify four criteria to identify an industry as sick:

- i) facing net loss during the conjuncture period;
- ii) crippling debt-servicing burden i. e. deteriorating debt-equity ratio overtime.

### *Begum : Sick Industries*

- iii) gradually falling share price; and
- iv) low rate of installed capacity utilization

#### *Which Industries are Sick?*

In accordance with above mentioned criterias a large number of industrial units in our country may be classified as 'sick'. A recent study by DCCI identified that above 1430 industrial units comprising small, medium and large enterprises are gripped by sickness and a huge amount of scarce capital has been blocked into these sick units. Applying above 4 criteria following industries are classified as sick:

- 1) Sugar Industry;
- 2) Jute Manufacturing Industry;
- 3) Engineering and Ship-building Industry;
- 4) Textile Industry;
- 5) Jute Carpet Sector;
- 6) Fish Processing Unit;
- 7) Cold Storage Unit;
- 8) Vegetable Oil Refinery Unit;
- 9) Steel Rerolling Mill;
- 10) Distilleries;
- 11) Aluminium Industry.

#### iii. CAUSES OF INDUSTRIAL SICKNESS

In our previous discussion we have mentioned some criteria to identify an industry as sick. It is plausible to analyse the causes of industrial sickness in terms of these criterias. Because once we can specify the criteria (s) by which a particular unit is diagnosed as sick, it became relatively easier to find out the corresponding reasons for its falling into sickness.

##### *(1) Cases for Net Loss*

An industrial unit facing net loss during operational period, gradually fall into sickness. In economic term such loss is commonly measured by an excess of production cost over revenue earning at a given time period from different studies and surveys on our industrial production performance we can identify following reasons responsible for net loss of relevant industries:-

- a) Lack of effective demand for products and gradually piling up the stock;
- b) Shortage of working capital;

- c) Limited size of market resulting from lower purchasing power of common people due to gradually skewed pattern of income distribution.
- d) Increasing cost of production due to rising price of inputs and of such utility services as electricity, gas, transport and telecommunication;
- e) High import cost of raw materials resulting from continuing exchange rate depreciation;
- f) Lack of proper balancing modernization and expansion (BMRE). Programme of operating units and complexities associated with it;
- g) Deficiency of managerial skills and entrepreneurial talent to profitable run an industrial unit.
- h) Disruption in production due to frequent strike, hartals and labour unrest in recent time.
- i) Recently huge quantities of smuggled finished products into the country has capture large part of domestic market. Many of the industries are sick due to this reason alone;

*(2) Cause for Crippling Debt-servicing burden*

Most of our sick industrial units are loaded with increasing debt-servicing burden from the very beginning of their operation with consequent deteriorating debt-equity ratio overtime. Crippling debt-servicing burden is originated from following reasons:

a) Our commercial banks and the development finance institutions charge a high rate of interest on industrial credit which constitutes more than two per cent of total operating costs. Again this interest is charged on a compound basis putting a heavy financial drag on the operators.

b) Some of the industries are starved of fund immediate after set because of shortage of working capital. It is well-known that after completing all formalities and obligations it usually takes 2 to 3 years for an industrial unit to go into production from the date of its sanction. But lending institutions do not consider this gestation period and interest on credit is started increasing on a compound basis from the very date of sanction under this condition the relevant units gradually loss their potential to repay the loan as per schedule and fall into sickness from its very birth.

c) Debt-burden also results from faults on the part of dishonest operators who intentionally channelized a part or whole of the sanctioned fund to quick yielding trading and business activities. It has been found that

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over the first four years of TFYP actual investment stood at US \$ 328 million as against sanctions of about US\$ 1100 million. This represented a short face of 74% in materializing sanctioned investment into actual investment.

*(3) Causes for Gradually Falling Share Price*

Most of our sick industries are facing gradually falling price of their shares due to still underdeveloped capital market. Mainly the operating units starving of fund are intended to sell its shares for collecting working capital. But our share market is not very well-organized for sale and purchase of shares of different companies. From the recent study on share market in Bangladesh, it is observed that demand for shares is low for the reasons given below. Firstly, large number of savers intend to invest their capital (specially household sector) are not familiar with the process of purchasing/selling of shares. Secondly, also the share-holders are eventually losing their interest and confidence due to a very low rate of dividend (say 10 to 20 per cent) offered by most of companies whereas there is an example in India of announcing nearly 30 per cent dividend per share.

*(4) Causes for Underutilization of Industrial Capacity*

Low rate of capacity utilization has been identified as the most common feature of our existing sick or morbid units. It has been estimated that less than fifty per cent of installed industrial capacity are only utilized by the operation industries. The study of Gul Afroz and Roy noticed that there is considerable underutilization of capacity in various industries of Bangladesh [3]. They found that on an average the rate of capacity utilization in sugar industry to be 58%; in Jute manufacturing industries 70% and in Engineering and Ship-building corporations 59% for the year 1974/75

*The main causes for underutilization of installed capacity are:*

i) Limited demand for some goods both at domestic and foreign market. The bottleneck for domestic demand is created by lack of private and public purchasing power and imports of goods and services despite the existence of adequate indigenous availability.

ii) In case of some industries there exist internal imbalance of capacities among complementary processes of operation thereby leading to overall underutilization of capacity. This was found to be the case for Chittagong Steel Mill.

iii) In recent years frequent power failure and voltage fluctuation results in considerable loss of production.

iv) Existing rigidity of licensing system of imports results low rate of capacity utilization by favouring imports of capital and discouraging import of raw materials and spare parts and thus reducing their availability.

In his study on 'Reasons for Idle Capital' Rezwanaul Islam [8] noticed that policy of import licensing adversely affected the level of capacity utilization both (a) by lowering the availability of imported raw materials and (b) through inducing an expansion of unneeded capacity.

v) An over-valued exchange rate and the existence of a black market for scarce foreign exchange encourage industrialist and businessmen to resort to the practice of over invoicing which had serious impact on the rate of utilization.

vi) Under-cascading tariff structure difference tariff rate and customs duty is applicable to goods imported in finished form and to raw materials required to produce them and thereby make the operating units inefficient in terms of cost of production. There are instances where difference in unit cost of production due to this factor alone is more than the conversion cost of production.

vii) Deficiency of skilled labour for special type of job and inefficient management are also responsible in some cases for rate of capacity utilization.

#### IV) Measures to Rehabilitate the Sick Industries:

The objective of promoting industrial growth and attracting new industrial investment is at a stake due to a large number of existing units facing with the chronic problem of sickness. Effective measures should therefore be taken immediately to revive and rehabilitate these sick industries to create a healthy trade and industrial environment and to accelerate the pace of new industrial investment. In this regard some policy prescriptions can be offered as:-

1) To avoid net loss measures should be—

i) to maintain a balance between total demand and total production of respective product;

ii) to enlarge domestic market by creating employment opportunities and augmenting income generating sources to enhance the purchasing power of our vast population;

iii) to stop frequent load shedding and disturbances in the supply of electricity by removing inefficiencies of Power Development Board.

*Begum : Sick Industries*

- iv) to check labour unrest by formulating a balanced labour policy;
  - v) to develop a qualified and efficient management class by establishing more R & D institutions and extending the organisations like Management Development Centre;
  - vi) to ensure appropriate BMRE of operating units;
  - vii) to resist the smuggling of goods (specially finished products) into our country.
- 2) The crippling debt-servicing burden of sick industrial units can be eased by following ways—
- i) the role of financial institutions should be more liberal in extending sufficient financial support to sick units facing scarcity of working capital;
  - ii) interest on industrial credit has to be adjusted in accordance with gestation period and cost of production of specific unit;
  - iii) small & cottage industries should have easy access to industrial credit at a reduced rate of interest with proper tax exemptions;
  - iv) to avoid misuse of sanctional credit appropriate monitoring system must be ensured and the relevant operator also be honest and sincere in implementing his project.
- 3) To stop gradually falling price of shares it is a prime need to develop a healthy capital market to get back people's confidence. For promoting new industrial investment share market has to be developed in a proper manner by reorganising Dhaka Stock Exchange in more disciplined way and bringing more companies in the list of stock exchange.
- 4) Finally to increase the rate of capacity utilization of our industries some additional policy suggestions can be offered along with those prescribed for recovering net loss of operating units. These are:-
- i) a proper balance has to be maintained between the process of operations of specific industry to ensure its fuller utilization of instable capacity.
  - ii) import policy and licencing system required to be modified to ensure fair allocation and timely availability of imported raw materials and spare parts.
- We cannot expect new investment in industries unless immediate steps are taken to rehabilitate these sick industries along the suggested line. In this context we can take lesson from the measures already taken in some of

our neighbouring countries. For instance, the govt. of India has set up a 'Board for Industrial Reconstruction for rehabilitation of their sick industries and also taken a legislative measure called 'Sick Industrial Companies Act' in 1985. In Pakistan and Sri Lanka similar measures are taken to revive their sick industries.

In Bangladesh, recently Bangladesh Shilpa Bank has taken some steps for rehabilitate their sick units. To tackle the problem in its fullest extent, the organization is placing demand before the government and concerned agencies for setting up a 'Sick Industries Rehabilitation Board' at the national level which can identify the reasons of industrial sickness and formulate effective measures for rehabilitation and revival of our sick industries.

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## বাংলাদেশের শিল্পায়নে অর্থায়নের কার্যকারিতা

খোন্দকার ইব্রাহিম খালেদ\*

- ১। শিল্পায়ন বলতে কি বোঝায়-এই মূল প্রশ্নটি প্রথমেই পরিষ্কার করে নেয়া প্রয়োজন। কারণ অধুনা অনেকেই শিল্প প্রকল্প স্থাপন অর্থাৎ ঘর তৈরী করে তার মধ্যে যন্ত্রপাতি স্থাপন করার প্রক্রিয়ার সম্প্রসারণকে শিল্পায়নের মাপকাঠি হিসাবে চিহ্নিত করেছেন। আবার অনেকের মতে যন্ত্রপাতি আমদানি ও স্থাপন ত্বরান্বিত হলেই শিল্পায়ন হবে, এর কোন নিশ্চয়তা নাই। এদের কাছে শিল্পায়নের মাপকাঠি হল শিল্প-উৎপাদন-কারখানা স্থাপন নয়। এদের মতে বাংলাদেশে শিল্প ইউনিটগুলি গড়ে ৫০% এর নীচে উৎপাদন করছে। এখানে অপরিবর্তিতভাবে নতুন শিল্প স্থাপন একটি 'কাউন্টার প্রোডাক্টিভ' প্রক্রিয়া। বাংলাদেশের মত দরিদ্র দেশে এই প্রক্রিয়া যন্ত্রপাতি আমদানির নামে বৈদেশিক মুদ্রা ব্যয়, উৎপাদনহীন বিনিয়োগে জাতীয় সঞ্চয়ের অবক্ষয় এবং পুরানো শিল্পগুলোকে অধিকতর বিপজ্জনক পর্যায়ে নেবার মত অবস্থা সৃষ্টি করে অর্থনীতিতে যে অপচয়ের দুষ্টচক্রের জন্ম দেয়া হতে পারে তাকে কোন অর্থেই শিল্পায়ন বলা যায় না। এদের মতে অপ্রয়োজনীয় নতুন শিল্প স্থাপন অতি উৎসাহিত না করে, বর্তমান শিল্প ইউনিটগুলোর উৎপাদন বাড়াতে পারলে জাতীয় পুঞ্জির সদব্যবহার হবে এবং শিল্পায়ন প্রক্রিয়া এগিয়ে যাবে। এ প্রক্রিয়া জাতীয় সঞ্চয় বৃদ্ধিতে সহায়ক হবে।
- ২। যারা নির্বিচারে নতুন শিল্প স্থাপনের জন্য উৎসাহী, তাদের মধ্যে দুঃখরনের লোক রয়েছেন। প্রথম শ্রেণীর মতে কারখানা হলে কর্ম সৃষ্টির সুযোগ হবে-এতে করে বেকারত্ব কমবে। এতে প্রচারণারও সুবিধা-কারণ শিল্প ইউনিটের সংখ্যা বৃদ্ধি এবং শিল্পে বিনিয়োগের পরিমাণ বৃদ্ধির পরিসংখ্যানগুলো বেশ মুখরোচক। কাল্পনিক নতুন কর্মসৃষ্টির পরিসংখ্যানও ফলাও করে প্রচার করা যায়। দ্বিতীয় দলে আছেন এমন কিছু লোক যারা শিল্প স্থাপনের নামে ব্যাংকঋণসহ কিছু সরকারী সুবিধার প্রত্যাশা করেন। এরা উৎপাদনেও আগ্রহী নন, কর্ম সংস্থানেও আগ্রহী নন। বরং বর্তমানের শিথিল ব্যাংকঋণ নীতির সুযোগে ঋণের টাকার একাংশ দিয়ে একটা ঘরের মধ্যে কিছু যন্ত্রপাতি বসিয়ে, চলতি মূলধনের নামে আরো কিছু ব্যাংকঋণ হাতিয়ে নিয়ে কারখানায় তালা ঝুলিয়ে দেন, শিল্পকে 'আরো ঋণ' না পাওয়ার কারণে রুগ্ন ঘোষণা করে ঋণ মওকুফের এবং

\* লেখক অগ্রণী ব্যাংকের মহাব্যবস্থাপক। তবে এই প্রবন্ধের মতামত তার সম্পূর্ণ ব্যক্তিগত। এই প্রবন্ধ বা মতামতের সাথে তার অফিশিয়াল অবস্থানের কোন সম্পর্ক নাই।

মণ্ডকুফের এবং রুগ্ন শিল্প পুনরুজ্জীবনের জন্য আরো ঋণ আদায়ের জন্য তদ্বির ও সংগ্রাম করতে থাকেন। এদের লোকসান নেই, কারণ ঋণের যে অংশ গলধকরণ করেছেন-ওটাই তাদের লাভ। চাপটা গিয়ে পড়ে জনসাধারণের আমানত তথা জাতীয় সঞ্চয়ের উপর।

- ৩। বিগত দশকের প্রথম দিকে ১৯৮২ সনে নতুন শিল্পনীতি ঘোষণা করা হল- উদ্দেশ্য ধীরে ধীরে রাষ্ট্রীয় খাতের শিল্পগুলোকে বেসরকারী খাতে হস্তান্তর করা এবং বেসরকারী খাতকে শক্তিশালী করা। ১৯৮৬ সনে শিল্পনীতিকে আরো সংহত করার প্রয়াস লক্ষ্যনীয়। মুক্ত অর্থনীতি দৃঢ়ভাবে স্থাপনের প্রক্রিয়া গতিশীল করাই এ নীতির উদ্দেশ্য। বিশ্ব ব্যাংকের এক পরিসংখ্যান অনুযায়ী ১৯৭২ সনে রাষ্ট্রীয় খাতে ৮৫% শিল্পের অবস্থান ছিল যা ১৯৮৬ সনে মাত্র ৪০%এ নেমে এসেছিল। এ সময়ের মধ্যে ৬৫০টি শিল্প ব্যক্তি মালিকানায হস্তান্তরিত হয়েছিল। এ প্রক্রিয়ায় শিল্পের মালিকানার পরিবর্তন ঘটলেও বিনিয়োগ বাড়েনি, উৎপাদন হ্রাস পেয়েছে এবং অতিরিক্ত শ্রমিক ছাটাই এবং মিল বন্ধের কারণে কর্মসংস্থান বৃদ্ধি পায়নি। তবে মুক্ত অর্থনীতি স্থাপনের লক্ষ্যে বেসরকারী খাতের পরিসর বৃদ্ধির উদ্দেশ্য উল্লেখযোগ্যভাবে সফল হয়েছে।
- ৪। ১৯৮২ সনের পূর্ববর্তী এবং পরবর্তী সময়কে দু'টি ভিন্নধারার অর্থনীতি হিসেবে চিহ্নিত করা যায়। ১৯৮১-৮২ অর্থ বছরের পূর্ববর্তী আট বছরে গড় বার্ষিক জাতীয় আয় প্রবৃদ্ধির হার ছিল ৬%, শিল্পখাতে বার্ষিক গড় প্রবৃদ্ধির হার ছিল ৭.২% এবং জাতীয় আয়ে শিল্পখাতের অবদানের বার্ষিক গড় হার ছিল ৯%। ১৯৮১-৮২ অর্থ বছর থেকে শুরু করে পরবর্তী আট বছরে (১৯৮৮-৮৯ পর্যন্ত) জাতীয় আয় প্রবৃদ্ধি বার্ষিক গড় হার দাড়িয়েছে ৩.২%, শিল্পখাতে বার্ষিক গড় প্রবৃদ্ধির হার দাড়িয়েছে ৪.৪% এবং জাতীয় আয়ে শিল্পখাতের অবদানের বার্ষিক গড় হার ৯% -এ স্থিতিশীল রয়েছে।
- ৫। ১৯৮৬ সনের শিল্পনীতির মূল লক্ষ্য ছিল বেসরকারী খাতে বিনিয়োগ বৃদ্ধি। বিনিয়োগ উদ্যোক্তার নিজস্ব অর্থ থেকেও হতে পারে, ঋণলব্ধ অর্থ থেকেও হতে পারে -আবার উভয়ের মিশ্রণেও হতে পারে। উদ্যোক্তার নিজস্ব অর্থ শিল্প বিনিয়োগে উৎসাহিত করার লক্ষ্যে কালো টাকা শিল্পপুজি হিসেবে ব্যবহারে উদার নীতি ঘোষণা করা হল। কিন্তু এই সুযোগ গ্রহণের পরিমাণ নগণ্য। ফলে শিল্পঋণ সহজলভ্য করার নীতি ঘোষণা করা হল। ব্যাংকগুলোকে ক্ষুদ্র শিল্পে (১.৫ কোটি টাকা পর্যন্ত) বিনিয়োগের লক্ষ্যমাত্রা ধার্য করে দেয়া হল। লক্ষ্যমাত্রা অর্জনের জন্য এবং শিল্পঋণ বৃদ্ধির জন্য রাষ্ট্রায়ত্ত্ব ব্যাংকের পরিচালনা পরিষদে শিল্প মন্ত্রণালয়ের যুগ্মসচিব বা তদোক্কে পদমর্যাদার একজন প্রতিনিধি নিয়োগ করা হল। অন্যদিকে উদ্যোক্তাদের আকৃষ্ট করার জন্য দেড় কোটি টাকা পর্যন্ত মূলধন সম্পন্ন শিল্পের স্থায়ী মূলধন ঋণের সুদের হার মাত্র ১০% ধার্য করা হল যা ব্যাংকের আমানত ব্যয় ও পরিচালনা ব্যয়ের চেয়েও কম। উদ্যোক্তার 'ইকুইটি' হার মোট বিনিয়োগের মাত্র ২০% ধার্য করা হল। ব্যাংকের শিল্পঋণের বিপরীতে সহযোগী

খালেদ : শিল্পায়নে অর্থায়ন

জামানত দাবী করবে না বলে বিধান করা হলো। এগুলোর ফলে 'ফিন্যান্সিয়াল ইন্টারমিডিয়েশন' প্রক্রিয়ায় কি প্রতিক্রিয়া হল-সে প্রসঙ্গে পরে আলোচনা করা যাবে।  
আপত্ততঃ এই সব ব্যবস্থায় শিল্পে ঋণ বিনিয়োগ বৃদ্ধি নিয়ে আলোচনা করা যাক।

- ৬। ১৯৭২-৭৩ অর্থ বৎসরান্তে সব ব্যাংক ও অর্থলগ্নীকারী সংস্থাসমূহ মিলিতভাবে শিল্পখাতে ২১৮ কোটি টাকা ঋণ দিয়েছিল। এই অংক ১৯৭৯-৮০ অর্থ বৎসরান্তে ৭০৯ কোটি টাকা বৃদ্ধি পেয়ে ৯২৭ কোটি টাকায় দাড়ায়। ১৯৮২ সনে শিল্পনীতির পর শিল্পক্ষেত্রে ব্যাংক ঋণের পরিমাণ দ্রুত বেড়ে যায় এবং ১৯৮৫-৮৬ অর্থ বৎসরান্তে এই অংক ২৬৮৯ কোটি টাকায় দাড়ায়। ১৯৮৭-৮৮ অর্থ বৎসরান্তে শিল্পঋণের পরিমাণ ৪০০০ কোটি টাকায় দাড়ায়। দেখা যাচ্ছে আশির দশকে বিশেষ করে '৮৬ সনের শিল্পনীতি ঘোষণার পর শিল্পক্ষেত্রে ব্যাংকঋণ প্রভূত পরিমাণ বেড়ে গেছে।
- ৭। সত্তরের দশকে শুধুমাত্র শিল্প উন্নয়ন ব্যাংকদ্বয় শিল্পঋণ দিত। কিন্তু আশির দশকে বাণিজ্যিক ব্যাংকগুলোকে ক্ষুদ্র শিল্প বিনিয়োগ বাড়ানোর নির্দেশ দেয়া হয়। '৮৬ সন থেকে বাণিজ্যিক ব্যাংকে শিল্পঋণের লক্ষ্যমাত্রা নির্ধারিত করে দেয়া হয়-প্রতিটি বাণিজ্যিক ব্যাংককে তার বিনিয়োগযোগ্য তহবিলের অন্তত ৫% ক্ষুদ্রশিল্পে বিনিয়োগের নির্দেশ দেয়া হয়। কিন্তু বিভিন্ন প্রক্রিয়ায় ব্যাংকগুলোর ওপর এমন প্রভাব বিস্তার করা হয় যে, কোন কোন ব্যাংক বিনিয়োগযোগ্য তহবিলের ১০% থেকে ১৫% পর্যন্ত এই খাতে ঋণ দিয়েছে যদিও এই ঋণ ব্যাংকের জন্য আর্থিক দিক দিয়ে অলাভজনক। ১৯৮৯ সনে শুধুমাত্র ক্ষুদ্রশিল্প খাতে ২০৯ কোটি টাকা লক্ষ্যমাত্রার বিপরীতে ২৩৩ কোটি টাকা ঋণ প্রদত্ত হয়। এ থেকে শিল্পঋণের ব্যাপক সম্প্রসারণ প্রমাণিত হচ্ছে।
- ৮। শিল্পনীতিতে ধারণা করা হয়েছিল যে শিল্পে বিনিয়োগ বাড়লেই শিল্পোন্নয়ন হবে অর্থাৎ শিল্প উৎপাদন বাড়বে। উদ্যোক্তাগণ যখন নিজস্ব বিনিয়োগ নিয়ে এগিয়ে আসতে বিশেষ উৎসাহ দেখালেন না, তখন ব্যাংকগুলোকে ক্ষতি স্বীকার করেও শিল্পঋণ বৃদ্ধি বাধ্যতামূলক করা হল। নীতি নির্ধারকদের প্রতিপাদ্য ছিল, অধিক অর্থায়ন অধিক উৎপাদন নিশ্চিত করবে। এই প্রতিপাদ্য মূল্যায়ন করার লক্ষ্যে নিম্নে সকল ব্যাংকের সম্মিলিত শিল্পঋণের বার্ষিক গড় প্রবৃদ্ধির বিপরীতে শিল্প উৎপাদনের বার্ষিক গড় প্রবৃদ্ধি দেখান হচ্ছেঃ

| সময়কাল                         | শিল্পঋণের বার্ষিক গড় প্রবৃদ্ধি | শিল্প উৎপাদনের বার্ষিক গড় প্রবৃদ্ধি |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| ১৯৭৩-৭৪ থেকে<br>১৯৭৯-৮০ পর্যন্ত | ২৪%                             | ৭%                                   |
| ১৯৮০-৮১ থেকে<br>১৯৮৭-৮৮ পর্যন্ত | ৩০%                             | ৪.৮%                                 |

- ৯। উপরের ছক থেকে দেখা যাচ্ছে যে, শিল্পক্ষেত্রে ব্যাংক ঋণ যত বেড়েছে-শিল্প উৎপাদন তার চেয়েও অধিক হারে হ্রাস পেয়েছে। এই নিগেটিভ কোরিলেশন অবশ্যই উদ্বেগজনক এবং বিশ্লেষণের দাবী রাখে। কারন একদিকে শিল্পবিপ্লবের বিবরণ দিতে গিয়ে শিল্পে বিনিয়োগ বৃদ্ধিকেই শিল্পায়ন বলে চিহ্নিত করা হচ্ছে-অন্যদিকে উৎপাদন উদ্বেগজনকভাবে হ্রাস পেয়ে শিল্প স্থবিরতায় পরিণত হচ্ছে।
- ১০। শিল্পে অনুৎপাদনশীল খাতে জোরপূর্বক বিনিয়োগের ফলে জাতীয় পুঁজি আটকে পড়ছে এবং জাতীয় সঞ্চয় ক্ষয় পাচ্ছে। ১৯৮৬-৮৭ অর্থ বছরে জাতীয় আয়ের প্রায় ৪% ছিল জাতীয় সঞ্চয়। জাতীয় পুঁজি গঠনের লক্ষ্যে ৮৬ সনে শিল্পনীতি ঘোষণার মাত্র ৩ বছরের মধ্যে ১৯৮৯-৯০ অর্থ বছরে জাতীয় সঞ্চয় জিডিপির মাত্র ০.২% এ নেমে যাবে বলে আই,এম,এফ আশংকা প্রকাশ করেছে। আই,এম,এফ রিপোর্টে প্রকাশ, পৃথিবীর আর একটি দেশও নেই যেখানে জাতীয় সঞ্চয়ের হার এত নিম্নে।
- ১১। শিল্প উৎপাদন হ্রাসের পেছনে কি করে ব্যাংক ঋণ কাজ করছে-এটা অর্থনীতিবিদদের কাছে 'রিডল্' মনে হতে পারে। এ প্রশ্নটি সামনে রেখে কতগুলো বাস্তব অবস্থা উল্লেখ করা যেতে পারে।
- ১২। যে লক্ষ্য অর্জন করার জন্য লক্ষ্যমাত্রা নির্দিষ্ট করা হয়, ঐ লক্ষ্যই অর্জন করা সম্ভব হতে পারে। কিন্তু উপাদানকে যদি মূল লক্ষ্য বলে উপাদানের লক্ষ্যমাত্রা নির্ধারণ করা হয়-তাহলে উপাদানের লক্ষ্যমাত্রাই অর্জিত হতে পারে-মূল লক্ষ্য অর্জন সম্ভব নাও হতে পারে। শিল্পনীতির লক্ষ্য উৎপাদন বৃদ্ধি হলেও উৎপাদনের একটিমাত্র উপাদান অর্থাৎ অর্থায়নের জন্যেই সর্বাত্মক প্রচেষ্টা নেয়া হয় এবং একমাত্র শিল্পঋণেরই টার্গেট দেয়া হয়। ফলে অর্থায়নের লক্ষ্যমাত্রা অর্জিত হয়েছে- উৎপাদন উপেক্ষিত হয়েছে- কারণ অর্থায়নের সাথে আরো অনেক উপাদান (চাহিদা, উদ্যোক্তার দক্ষতা, মান, মূল্য ইত্যাদি) যোগ হলেই মাত্র উৎপাদন হতে পারে।
- ১৩। যে প্রতিষ্ঠানের যে কর্মকান্ড, তার জন্য ঐ কর্মকান্ডের উপরই লক্ষ্যমাত্রা নির্দিষ্ট করা যায়। ব্যাংকগুলোকে শিল্পঋণের লক্ষ্যমাত্রা দেয়ার যুক্তি রয়েছে। কিন্তু যাদের কর্মকান্ড অর্থায়ন নয়, এ রকম সংস্থা অর্থাৎ শিল্প ও পাট মন্ত্রণালয় এবং বিসিককেও সর্বশক্তি নিয়োগ করতে দেখা গেছে, ব্যাংকগুলোকে শিল্পঋণ মঞ্জুরীতে উৎসাহিত তথা প্রতাবিত করতে। অর্থায়ন ব্যাংকের উপর ছেড়ে দিয়ে শিল্প মন্ত্রণালয় এবং বিসিক যদি উৎপাদনের অন্যান্য উপাদানের দিকে তাদের কর্মপ্রয়াস সীমাবদ্ধ রাখতো এবং উৎপাদনকে লক্ষ্য হিসাবে চিহ্নিত করতো, তাহলে হয়তো উৎপাদন বৃদ্ধি পেত নতুবা অপ্রয়োজনীয় অর্থায়ন বন্ধ হত এবং জাতীয় সঞ্চয়ের এমন অবক্ষয় হত না। বিশ্ব ব্যাংকের ৬/৫/১৯৮৭ তারিখের দ্বিতীয় ক্ষুদ্র শিল্পঋণ প্রকল্পের উপর রিপোর্ট নং ৬৭৬৬ এ বিসিক সম্পর্কে বলা হয়েছে, "5.8- While BSCIC agreed in principle to the

arrangements where by it was to relinquish its project appraisal role in favour of the banks, and to focus on promotion and extension, in practice, BSCIC tried, right from the start, to reverse this decision and to regain its role in SSI financing. (7.1): The greatest weakness in the institutional set-up was considered to be the overlap of responsibilities for SSI financing between the banks and BSCIC which not only confused responsibilities, and diluted accountability, but also diverted BSCIC from focusing on crucial non-credit assistance for SSI." শিল্প ঋণ কাউন্সিল প্রোডাক্টিভ হবার অন্যতম কারণ হল শিল্প মন্ত্রণালয় এবং বিসিক কর্তৃক ব্যাংকগুলোর ওপর খবরদারী করা। এতে করে প্রকল্প বা উদ্যোক্তা মূল্যায়নে পেশাগত দক্ষতা বা এথিকস্-এর চেয়ে অন্যান্য প্রভাবগুলিই প্রাধান্য পাবার সম্ভাবনা থাকে।

- ১৪। ছিয়াশি সালের শিল্পনীতি প্রণয়নের পরবর্তী সময়ে শিল্প মন্ত্রণালয়ের উদ্যোগে শিল্পনীতিতে যে সব সংযোজন করা হয়েছে সেগুলোকে শিল্পনীতি না বলে ব্যাংক ঋণ নীতি বলাই সংগ, -যদিও সে সব নীতি প্রণয়নে কোন ব্যাংক, বাংলাদেশ ব্যাংক অথবা অর্থ মন্ত্রণালয়ের মুখ্য ভূমিকা ছিল না। এরকম কয়েকটি নীতি এবং উৎপাদন প্রক্রিয়ায় তার প্রতিক্রিয়া নিয়ে কিছু তথ্য এবং বিশ্লেষণ এখানে প্রাসঙ্গিক।
- ১৫। দেড় কোটি টাকা পর্যন্ত মূলধনে শিল্পস্থাপনে উদ্যোক্তার 'ইকুইটি' নির্ধারণ করা হয়। ২০%-এর চেয়ে বড় শিল্পের জন্য ইকুইটি নির্ধারিত হয় ৩০%। কিছুদিন আগে ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের বাণিজ্য অনুসন্ধান আয়োজিত একটি সেমিনারে একজন গবেষক অধ্যাপক প্রকাশ করেন যে, শিল্প খাতে যন্ত্রপাতি আমদানীতে ওভার ইনভয়েসিং হারের রেঞ্জ ২৫% থেকে ৪৭% পর্যন্ত। দু' একটি বিশেষ ক্ষেত্রে এর চেয়ে বেশীও তিনি পর্যবেক্ষণ করেছেন। কিছু নমুনা নিয়ে জরিপ চালানোর পর আমার নিজস্ব পর্যবেক্ষণ হল এই যে, শিল্প যন্ত্রপাতি আমদানীতে গড় ওভার ইনভয়েসিং ৩০% এবং রেঞ্জ মোটামুটি ২০% থেকে ৪৫%। ভারত থেকে আমদানী হলে ওভার ইনভয়েসিং-এর হার গড়ে ৪০%। অন্যদেশ থেকে হলে গড় হার ২০%। এ তথ্য দলিলাদি দিয়ে প্রমাণ করা দুকর, যদিও চিহ্নিত করা দুকর নয়। যাহোক, এ পরিস্থিতিতে ২০% ইকুইটিতে শিল্প ঋণ মঞ্জুর করা হলে, প্রকৃতপক্ষে উদ্যোক্তার নিজস্ব একটি পয়সাও শিল্পে বিনিয়োগ হয় না- উপরন্তু ঋণের অংক থেকে কিছু টাকা উদ্যোক্তা অন্য কাজের জন্য সরিয়ে নিতে পারেন। ফলে এ শিল্প পরিচালনায় উদ্যোক্তার কোন উৎসাহ থাকে না - উৎপাদন ব্যাহত হয়।
- ১৬। ছাব্বিশটি ছোট-বড় শিল্পে জরিপ চালিয়ে 'ইকুইটি' হারের সাথে উৎপাদনের সম্পর্ক নির্ণয়ের একটা প্রচেষ্টা নিয়েছিলাম। এর মধ্যে ৯টি শিল্প উদ্যোক্তা নিজ অর্থে শিল্প স্থাপন করেছেন এবং শুধুমাত্র চলতি মূলধন ব্যাংক থেকে গ্রহণ করেছেন। ৭টি শিল্প ৫০% এর অধিক 'ইকুইটিতে' স্থাপিত হয়েছে। বাকী ১০টি শিল্পে ইকুইটির পরিমাণ ৩০% থেকে ৪০%। নীচের ছকে ইকুইটি উৎপাদন সম্পর্ক দেখান হচ্ছে:

| শিল্পে ইকুইটির হার | উৎপাদন ক্ষমতার ব্যবহার | মন্তব্য                 |
|--------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| ১০০%               | ৬৩%                    | একটিতেও উৎপাদন বন্ধ নাই |
| ৫০%-৯০%            | ৬৮%                    | ঐ                       |
| ৩০%-৪০%            | ৩৯%                    | কয়েকটিতে উৎপাদন বন্ধ   |

- ১৭। উপরের ছক থেকে প্রতীয়মান হচ্ছে যে ৫০% এর উপর ইকুইটি কাগজপত্রে থাকলে প্রকৃত ইকুইটি কিছু টাকা থাকবেই। এবং উদ্যোক্তার কিছু টাকা শিল্পে নিয়োজিত হলে উৎপাদন বজায় থাকে এবং উদ্যোক্তা উৎপাদনে সর্বশক্তি নিয়োগ করে থাকেন। ৩০% থেকে ৪০% ইকুইটির প্রকৃত অর্থ ইকুইটি অতি সামান্য অথবা নাই। তবে ঋণের টাকা সরিয়ে ফেলার সম্ভাবনা কম। এ ক্ষেত্রে উৎপাদন বেশ কম। এ ধরনের কয়েকটি শিল্প বন্ধ হয়ে আছে কারণ উদ্যোক্তার নিজের টাকা না খাটানোর প্রেক্ষিতে তার উৎসাহও নেই। ২০% ইকুইটির নমুনা এই জরীপে নেই। এটা সংগৃহীত হলে ইকুইটি-উৎপাদন সম্পর্ক আরো পরিষ্কার হবে।
- ১৮। শিল্পনীতিতে আরেকটি সংযোজন হল শিল্পঋণের বিপরীতে সহায়ক জামানত না নেয়ার বিধান। এটা ব্যাংকার-গ্রাহক সম্পর্কের প্রেক্ষিতে প্রয়োগ করা হলে আপত্তির কারণ নাই। কিন্তু বাধ্যতামূলক বিধান হলে এটা ঋণ আদায়ে ব্যাংকের ক্ষমতাকে খর্ব করবে এবং ঋণ পরিশোধে উদ্যোক্তাকে নিরুৎসাহিত করবে। কারণ প্রকল্পমূল্য সাধারণতঃ কমতে থাকে-যন্ত্রপাতির মূল্য পাঁচ বছরে ৬০% থেকে ৮০% কমে যাবে। জমির দাম কিছুটা বাড়বে। তবে ঋণের অংক পাঁচ বছরে অন্ততঃ ১৫০% এ দাঁড়াবে। কাজেই আইনানুগ পন্থায় প্রকল্প হস্তান্তর করে অর্থ আদায়ের প্রচেষ্টা নিলে ব্যাংক বিরাট ক্ষতির সম্মুখীন হবে। এই বিধানটি নতুন বলে এর প্রতিক্রিয়ার পরিসংখ্যান সংগ্রহের সময় এখনো আসেনি। তবে একটি ধারণা সৃষ্টির জন্য আমরা দশটি নমুনা সংগ্রহ করেছি যার মধ্যে পাঁচটির বিপরীতে সহায়ক জামানত আছে বাকী পাঁচটির বিপরীতে ব্যাংকের অবহেলা বা অন্য কোন কারণে সহায়ক জামানত রক্ষিত হয়নি। দশটিই পুরাতন অনাদায়ী ঋণ এবং আদায়ের লক্ষ্যে দশটির বিরুদ্ধেই মামলা দায়ের করা হয়েছে। ফলাফল হিসেবে দেখা গেছে, যে পাঁচটির বিপরীতে সহায়ক জামানত রয়েছে তার মধ্যে তিনটি ক্ষেত্রে জামানত হারাবার ভয়ে ঋণগ্রহীতা টাকা আংশিক পরিশোধ করেছেন এবং বাকী টাকা পরিশোধের প্রতিশ্রুতি দিয়েছেন। কিন্তু যে পাঁচটির বিপরীতে সহায়ক জামানত নাই তার মধ্যে মাত্র একটি ক্ষেত্রে অতি নগণ্য অর্থ পরিশোধ করা হয়েছে কিন্তু এর পর কোন ঋণগ্রহীতাই আর অর্থ পরিশোধের জন্য উৎসাহ দেখাচ্ছেন না। শিল্পঋণের ক্ষেত্রে যদি এ ফলাফলই প্রতিফলিত হয় তাহলে ব্যাংকগুলো অপূরণীয় ক্ষতির সম্মুখীন হবে।

খালেদ : শিল্পায়নে অর্থায়ন

- ১৯। ঋণ আদায় উৎসাহিত করার লক্ষ্যে নীতিমালায় একটি বিধান রাখা হয়েছিল, যে এলাকায় আদায়ের হার ৪০%-এর নীচে থাকবে, সে এলাকায় আদায়ের হার ৪০%-এ ওঠা পর্যন্ত আপাততঃ নতুন ঋণ বিতরণ স্থগিত থাকবে। এই হার এখন কমিয়ে ৩০%-এ আনা হয়েছে। বিশ্ব ব্যাংকের 'কারেন্ট রিকভারী রোট' নির্ণয়ের সর্বদেশে গৃহীত ফর্মুলা পরিবর্তন করে গাণিতিকভাবে নির্ভুল নয় এমন একটি ফর্মুলা প্রয়োগ করে এই শর্ত আরো শিথিল করার জন্য প্রচেষ্টা চলছে। 'ফিন্যান্সিয়াল ইন্টারমিডিয়েশন' প্রক্রিয়ায় ঋণ বিতরণ ও আদায়ের মধ্যে একটা সুস্থ সম্পর্ক গড়ে তোলার যে প্রচেষ্টা ব্যাংক নিয়েছিল তা এখন অনুপস্থিত।
- ২০। অপ্রতুল ইকুইটি, সহায়ক জামানত গ্রহণে বাধা এবং নতুন ঋণ গ্রহণযোগ্যতার জন্য ঋণ আদায়ের হারের শিথিলকরণসহ ঋণ প্রদানে ব্যাংকগুলোর উপর বিভিন্ন উপায়ে প্রভাব বিস্তারের ফলে ব্যাংক এখন আর শিল্পঋণের ক্ষেত্রে উদ্যোক্তার উপর কার্যকর নিয়ন্ত্রণ বজায় রাখতে পারছে না এবং পেশাগত দক্ষতা ও প্রয়োগ করতে পারছে না। শিল্পঋণের ব্যাপারে ব্যাংকের সিদ্ধান্তের বিরুদ্ধে উদ্যোক্তাদের বিশটি (২০) আপত্তি অভিযোগ পরীক্ষা করে দেখা গেল এর একটিও বাংলাদেশ ব্যাংক বা অর্থ মন্ত্রণালয়ে উদ্যোক্তারা পাঠাননি। বিশটি দরখাস্তই শিল্প মন্ত্রণালয় বা বিসিকে সরাসরি প্রদান করা হয়েছে। এর একটি ক্ষেত্রেও শিল্প মন্ত্রণালয় ব্যাংকের মতামত জানতে চাননি এবং প্রতিটি ক্ষেত্রেই আবেদনকারীর আবেদন সমর্থন করে ব্যাংকের কাছে সুপারিশ রেখেছেন। অনুসন্ধান করে জানা গেছে যে অর্থ মন্ত্রণালয় এবং বাংলাদেশ ব্যাংক থেকে এ ধরনের একটি সুপারিশও ব্যাংকগুলি গত এক বছরে পাননি-সম্ভবতঃ তারা ব্যাংকের পেশাগত সিদ্ধান্তে প্রভাব বিস্তার না করার নীতিতে বিশ্বাসী। কোন ঋণ প্রস্তাব সুপারিশ করার পরিবর্তে বাংলাদেশ ব্যাংক শিল্পঋণ বিতরণের সার্বিক লক্ষ্যমাত্রা অর্জক করার ব্যাপারে ব্যাংকগুলোর ওপর তদারকী রাখছেন। ঋণ আদায়ের ব্যাপারে অর্থ মন্ত্রণালয় ব্যাংকগুলোর উপর তদারকী বজায় রেখেছেন।
- ২১। শিল্প বিকাশে পুঞ্জির প্রয়োজন অনস্বীকার্য। কিন্তু নিজস্ব পুঞ্জি কম উদ্যোক্তাই ব্যবহার করছেন। পুঞ্জির পাচার সম্বন্ধে এখন আর সন্দেহের অবকাশ নাই। অনেকের মতে পুঞ্জি পাচারের পরিমাণ বিরাট অংকের। সংগতভাবেই প্রশ্ন উঠছে, শিল্পবিকাশের জন্য যেখানে পুঞ্জি আকৃষ্ট করা প্রয়োজন, সেখানে পুঞ্জি পাচার কেন রোধ করা হচ্ছে না। ব্যাংকে গচ্ছিত জনগণের আমানতের উপর শিল্পঋণ ষোগানের চাপ সৃষ্টি না করে, পুঞ্জি পাচার কমিয়ে বিনিয়োগ বৃদ্ধির প্রক্রিয়াকে সংহত করা উচিত। এ উদ্দেশ্যে কৌশল নির্ণয়ের চেষ্টার কথাও শোনা যাচ্ছে না।
- ২২। শিল্প ঋণ বৃদ্ধি উৎপাদন বৃদ্ধি করেনি, 'idle-capacity' বৃদ্ধি করে জাতীয় সঞ্চয়ের অবক্ষয় ঘটিয়েছে একথা বলা চলে। এ অবস্থার পরিবর্তনের জন্য সর্বপ্রথম প্রয়োজন ব্যাংকগুলোকে ব্যাংকিং বহির্ভূত সংস্থা এবং মহলগুলির প্রভাব থেকে মুক্ত করে

পেশাগত সিদ্ধান্ত গ্রহণের উপযোগী করে তোলা। দ্বিতীয়তঃ অর্থায়নের 'টার্গেটের' চেয়ে উৎপাদনের 'টার্গেটের' প্রতি অধিক দৃষ্টি দেয়া প্রয়োজন। উৎপাদনের অন্যান্য উপাদানের উপর বাস্তব দৃষ্টি না দেয়ার ফলে অর্থায়ন তার কার্যকারিতা হারিয়ে ফেলেছে। অনেকের মতে উৎপাদন হ্রাসের মূল কারণ, আত্যন্তরীণ চাহিদার হ্রাসপ্রাপ্তি-যার কারণ জনগণের ক্রয়ক্ষমতার ক্রমাবনতি। ক্রয়ক্ষমতা বাড়লে চাহিদা বাড়বে। চাহিদা বাড়লে নিজস্ব নিয়মেই উৎপাদন বাড়বে। ক্রয়ক্ষমতা বাড়তে হলে কৃষিক্ষেত্রে অধিক মনোযোগ দিতে হবে-সম্ভবত কৃষিতে 'সাবসিডি' বাড়তে হবে। কৃষিকে গুরু করে দিয়ে দেশে শিল্পোন্নয়ন অসম্ভব।

- ২৩। শিল্পে সুষ্ঠু অর্থায়ন নিশ্চিত করতে হলে, ইকুইটি, জামানত তথা শর্তাবলীর শৃংখল খুলে দিতে হবে এবং ব্যাংকার-গ্রাহক সম্পর্কের নিরিখে ঋণশৃংখলা ফিরিয়ে আনতে হবে। মুক্ত অর্থনীতির নিয়মে গ্রাহকের যেমন ব্যাংক পছন্দ করার অধিকার আছে তেমনি ব্যাংকেরও উদ্যোক্তা পছন্দের অধিকার থাকা উচিত। আবার উদ্যোক্তা ভেদে ঋণের শর্তাবলীও ভিন্নতর হতে হবে। এ ব্যাপারে বর্তমানের অভিন্ন শর্তাবলী অর্থায়নকে আমলাতান্ত্রিক এবং ঝুঁকিপূর্ণ করে তুলেছে। ঋণের শর্ত নির্ণয়ে ব্যাংকের পূর্ণ স্বাধীনতা থাকা উচিত এবং তা খর্ব করা মুক্ত অর্থনীতিমালার পরিপন্থী।
- ২৪। সবশেষে তথ্য এবং পরিসংখ্যানগুলোকে সংক্ষেপিত করলে দাঁড়ায় যে, (ক) শিল্পনীতি আমলাতান্ত্রিক পদ্ধতিতে রাষ্ট্রায়ত্ত্ব ব্যাংকগুলো অনুসরণ করার ফলে শিল্পে অর্থায়ন প্রচুর বৃদ্ধি পেয়েছে (খ) শিল্পে উৎপাদন প্রবৃদ্ধি কমে গেছে, (গ) 'ওভার ইনভয়েসিং' সহ অন্যান্য উপায়ে পুঁজি বিদেশে পাচার বৃদ্ধি পেয়েছে, (ঘ) ব্যক্তিপুঁজি শিল্পে বিনিয়োগের চেয়ে বিদেশে পাচার অধিক নিরাপদ, লাভজনক ও সহজ বিবেচিত হয়েছে (ঙ) জাতীয় আয়ে জাতীয় সঞ্চয়ের অংশ প্রায় শূন্যের কোঠায় গিয়ে পৌঁছেছে, (চ) শিল্প ঋণ সম্প্রসারণের ফলে কল কারখানার সংখ্যা বৃদ্ধি পেয়েছে, (ছ) শিল্পে 'আইডেল ক্যাপাসিটি' বেড়ে গিয়েছে (জ) কর্মসংস্থান প্রবৃদ্ধি ১৯৭৪-৭৫ সনের ৯০% থেকে হ্রাস পেয়ে ১৯৮৬-৮৭ সনে নিগেটিভ পর্যায়ে (-) ০.৪৩% দাঁড়িয়েছে, (ঝ) শিল্পে ঋণ নীতিমালা অত্যন্ত শিথিল এবং অভিন্ন হওয়ার শিল্প-উদ্যোক্তার সংগে ব্যাংকার-গ্রাহক সম্পর্কের নিরিখে কাজ করার সুযোগ নেই এবং এ কারণে শিল্প উদ্যোক্তাদের উপর ব্যাংকের কার্যকরী নিয়ন্ত্রণ হ্রাস পেয়েছে। ফলে শিল্প ঋণ পরিশোধ হার অসন্তোষজনক পর্যায়ে পৌঁছে গেছে, (ঞ) ঋণ মঞ্জুরীর ব্যাপারে রাষ্ট্রায়ত্ত্ব ব্যাংকের উপর নন-ব্যাংকিং মহলের প্রভাব অনতিক্রম্য প্রমাণিত হচ্ছে যার ফলে ঋণ সিদ্ধান্তগুলোর পেশাগত মান নিয়ে প্রশ্ন উঠেছে, (ট) প্রাইভেট এবং বিদেশী ব্যাংকগুলো শিল্পনীতি তথা ঋণনীতি একেবারেই মেনে চলছেন না এবং তাদের ওপর এ ব্যাপারে সরকারের নিয়ন্ত্রণ প্রতিষ্ঠা এখনো সম্ভব হয়নি, (ঠ) নিজস্ব নিয়মে চলার ফলে প্রাইভেট ব্যাংকের ঋণ আদায় পরিস্থিতি রাষ্ট্রায়ত্ত্ব ব্যাংকের চেয়ে ভাল।

## বাংলাদেশের শিল্প উন্নয়ন ও মহিলা পরিপ্রেক্ষিত

ফাতেমা জোহরা\*

বিগত কয়েক বছর থেকে বাংলাদেশ সরকারের রপ্তানী নীতি, বিনিয়োগ নীতি, শিল্প নীতি এবং পঞ্চবার্ষিক পরিকল্পনার বিশেষ দর্শন হিসাবে বিনিয়োগ ব্যক্তিগত উদ্যোগ এবং বেসরকারী খাতকে অগ্রাধিকার প্রদান, দেশে শিল্পের প্রসারকে বেশ উৎসাহিত করেছে। উৎসাহিত করেছে দেশী বিদেশী এবং বহুজাতিক পুঁজি বিনিয়োগ। নতুন বিনিয়োগ এবং শিল্প নীতির ফলে যে শিল্পগুলো বিশেষ ভাবে প্রসার লাভ করেছে সেগুলোর মধ্যে অন্যতম হচ্ছে:

- রপ্তানিভিত্তিক পোষাক প্রস্তুত শিল্প,
- মৎস প্রক্রিয়াকরণ শিল্প,
- প্রসাধন শিল্প ও
- যন্ত্রাংশ সংযোজন শিল্প।

বর্তমানে শিল্পে মহিলাদের ভূমিকা পর্যালোচনা করিলে দেখা যায়—আর্থ-সামাজিক কারণেই বাংলাদেশে মালিক বা ব্যবস্থাপক হিসাবে শিল্পের সংগে মহিলাদের তেমন সংযোগ নেই। কিছু সংখ্যক মহিলার নাম শিল্পের সংগে সংযুক্ত থাকলেও বেশীর ভাগ ক্ষেত্রেই বাস্তবে তারা কোন কার্যকর ভূমিকায় অংশ নেন না। এদের মধ্যে অনেকে হয়তো জানেনই না যে তিনি কোন শিল্পের মালিক বা ব্যবস্থাপক। বর্তমান শিল্পের সংগে যে সব মহিলারা সরাসরি জড়িত তাদের প্রায় ৯৫ শতাংশই জড়িত উৎপাদন শ্রমিক হিসাবে এবং তারা নিয়োজিত মূলতঃ গৃহভিত্তিক গ্রামীণ শিল্পে। তবে গত কয়েক বছরে আধুনিক বৃহৎ শিল্পে বিশেষ করে পোষাক এবং মৎস প্রক্রিয়াজাতকরণ শিল্পে ব্যাপক সংখ্যক মহিলা শ্রমিক হিসাবে নিয়োগ পেয়েছে। ভবিষ্যতে স্বাভাবিক কারণেই এই নিয়োগ আরও বৃদ্ধি পাবে। কারণ (১) এই দেশে মহিলাদের একটা বিরাট অংশ আত্মতোষণ পর্যায়েরও বহু নীচে জীবন ধারণ করছে। তাদের এবং তাদের পরিবারের সদস্যদের প্রাণ ধারণের জন্য এই মহিলা পরিবার প্রধানদের বা অন্য সদস্যদের দৈহিক শ্রম বিক্রি ছাড়া অন্য কোন পথ নেই। (২) শ্রমের বাজারে এদের সরবরাহ প্রচুর এবং এরা অনভিজ্ঞ ও অসংগঠিত। (৩) সরকারী পরিকল্পনায় মহিলাদের আয় উপার্জন কর্মকাণ্ড ভিত্তিক নিয়োগকে ধর্মীয় এবং সামাজিক মূল্যবোধের দোহাই দিয়ে মূলতঃ অসংগঠিত খাত ভিত্তিক রাখা হয়েছে। ফলে শ্রমিক হিসাবে নিম্নতম মজুরী নির্ধারিত শ্রমঘন্টা বা অন্য শ্রমকল্যাণ জনিত রাষ্ট্রীয় সহায়তা তাদের পাবার কথা তা থেকে তারা বঞ্চিত থাকছে। এসব কারণে তারা নূন্যতম মূল্যে শ্রম বিক্রি করতে বাধ্য। সুতরাং এই বাস্তবতার ভিত্তিতে এই নিবন্ধে দেখাতে প্রচেষ্টা করা হয়েছে। রপ্তানি উন্নয়ন ও বেসরকারী পুঁজি বিনিয়োগ ভিত্তিক নূতন জাতীয় শিল্প নীতির ব্যক্তি মালিকানার দিক নির্দেশনার ফলে, শিল্পের প্রসারের সংগে সংগে

\* রিসার্চ ফেলো, বাংলাদেশ উন্নয়ন পরিষদ।

অকৃষি ভিত্তিক চাকুরীর সম্প্রসারণ এবং কার্যক্রম বৃদ্ধির প্রবণতায় —

- ১। নারী শ্রমের বাস্তব প্রেক্ষিত কি ?
- ২। শিল্পে নিয়োজিত নারী শ্রমের বাস্তব চিত্র কি ?
- ৩। উন্নয়ন কার্যক্রম ও শ্রমিক কল্যাণ কার্যক্রম বাংলাদেশের নারী শ্রমিকের জন্য কতটুকু কার্যকর ভূমিকা পালন করছে।
- ৪। নারী শ্রমিকদের স্বার্থ সংরক্ষনে টেড ইউনিয়নের ভূমিকা ?
- ৫। নব্য উন্নয়ন প্রচেষ্টাতে নারী শ্রমিকের শোষণের স্বরূপ।

উপরোক্ত বিষয়গুলো উদঘাটনের জন্য আলোচ্য নিবন্ধটাকে কয়েকটি ভাগে ভাগ করা হয়েছে। প্রথমতঃ শ্রমের বাজারে মহিলা শ্রমিকের সরবরাহ বৃদ্ধির আর্থ-সামাজিক কারণ। দ্বিতীয়তঃ শিল্পে নিয়োজিত মহিলাদের অভিক্ষেপণ। তৃতীয়তঃ বিভিন্ন শিল্পে নিয়োজিত মহিলাদের বাস্তব অবস্থা। চতুর্থতঃ নারী শ্রমিকরা শোষিত হবার কারণ ও উপসংহার।

শিল্প ও মহিলা এই বিষয়ে বিস্তারিত আলোচনার আগে এটা বলে রাখা প্রয়োজন যে, এই বিষয়ের উপর তথ্য খুবই অপরিপূর্ণ। তবে যে তথ্যগুলো ব্যবহার করা হয়েছে (এক) বাংলাদেশ সরকারের প্রকাশিত তথ্য, (দুই) প্রকাশিত মাইক্রো ও ম্যাক্রো পর্যায়ে গবেষণা এগুলো ব্যবহার করতে গিয়ে দেখা গেছে প্রথমতঃ সংগ্রহের নীতি-নির্ধারকগণ সনাতন এবং সামাজিক বা ধর্মীয় ইমোশান নিরপেক্ষ নন। ফলে তথ্যগুলো অসম্পূর্ণ। অন্যদিকে ক্ষুদ্র গবেষণাগুলোতে নীতি বিষয় মুখিতার চেয়ে মননয়গত বিবেচনাই বেশী কাজ করেছে। ফলে সেগুলোকে সামগ্রিক প্রতিনিধিত্ব বলা যায় না। এসব পতিবন্ধকতা থাকা সত্ত্বেও এ নিবন্ধে শিল্পে নিয়োজিত মহিলাদের সম্পর্কে বিভিন্ন উপাদানগুলোকে উদঘাটনের চেষ্টা করা হয়েছে।

#### ১। শ্রমের বাজারে মহিলা শ্রমিক সরবরাহ বৃদ্ধির আর্থ-সামাজিক কারণ

WID (Women in Development School) এর লোকেরা এস্টার বসেরাপ থেকে শুরু করে সবাই ভালভাবে দেখিয়েছেন যে, তৃতীয় বিধে অর্থনৈতিক আধুনিকীকরণের প্রক্রিয়ার দরুন মহিলারা অর্থনৈতিক এবং সামাজিক দু'ভাবেই প্রান্তিকতায় পৌঁচেছে [১]। বাংলাদেশের মহিলাদের সামাজিক অবস্থা বিবেচনা করলে দেখা যায় এই শতাব্দীর গোড়ার দিক থেকেই মহিলাদের আর্থ-সামাজিক অবস্থানের ক্রম অবনতি ঘটেছে। বিশেষ করে অর্থনৈতিক ভাবে তারা তাদের উৎপাদনশীল পরিমন্ডলে নির্দয়ভাবে নিষ্পেষিত এবং বঞ্চিত। অন্যদিকে বাংলাদেশের কয়েক বছরের আর্থ-সামাজিক অবস্থা পর্যালোচনা করলে দেখা যাবে ধনী থেকে ধনীতর এবং দরিদ্র থেকে দরিদ্রতর হওয়ার যুগপৎ ঘটমান প্রক্রিয়ার সক্রিয়তার মধ্য দিয়ে সম্পদের মেরুকরণ বৃদ্ধি পাচ্ছে। ভূ-সম্পদের বন্টনের ভিত্তিতে বিবেচনা করলে দেখা যায় বাড়ীসহ যদি মোট চাষের জমির পরিমাণ ০.৫১-১.০০ একর পর্যন্ত জমির মালিককে ভূমিহীন ধরা হয় তবে ভূমিহীনের সংখ্যা হচ্ছে ৫৮.৭ শতাংশ [২]। এই পরিবারগুলোর অর্ধেক জনাংশই কেবল মহিলা তাই নয়; প্রতি চারটি ভূমিহীন পরিবারের মধ্যে একটি পরিবার প্রধান মহিলা। সেই সব পরিবারের ভরণ-পোষণের সম্পূর্ণ দায়-দায়িত্বই বহন করতে হয় মহিলা পরিবার প্রধানকেই [৩]। ভূমিহীন কথাটার সংগে দারিদ্র ঋণগ্রস্থতা; বেকারত্ব; এবং

## জোহরা : শিল্প উন্নয়ন ও মহিলা

ক্ষমতাহীনতা ওতপ্রোতভাবে জড়িত। ভূমিহীন মহিলা গৃহ প্রধানদের ক্ষেত্রে এগুলোর প্রকাশ খুবই প্রকট। এরা সাধারণতঃ বিধবা বা পরিত্যক্তা [৪]। এই ভূমিহীন মহিলারা আরও দুই ভাবে প্রতিকূলতার সম্মুখীন (১) ভূমিহীন শ্রেণীর মত তাদের জীবন ধারণের জন্য শ্রম বিক্রি ছাড়া অন্য কোন পথ নেই, (২) সেখানেও তারা জাতিগত (মহিলা/পুরুষ) সমস্যার সম্মুখীন। তারা যদি একই স্থানের বাসিন্দা হয়, তথাপি ভূমিহীন মহিলাদের সমস্যা আর পুরুষদের সমস্যা এক রকম হয় না। পুরুষদের শ্রমের বাজার প্রস্তু। অন্যদিকে সামাজিক কারণে মহিলাদের শ্রমের বাজার খুবই সংকীর্ণ। এখানে আর একটা কথা বলা প্রয়োজন—উপার্জন কার্যক্রম এবং গৃহ উৎপাদন দু'টোর মধ্যে যথেষ্ট পার্থক্য রয়েছে। প্রথমটি হচ্ছে অত্যাবশ্যিক, দ্বিতীয়টি পরিবারের অন্য আয়ের সম্পূরক [৫]। ভূমিহীন পরিবারগুলোর মহিলা সদস্যদের আয় উপার্জন কাজে নিয়োজিত হওয়া একান্ত আবশ্যিক এবং এতে আয় উপার্জনের জন্য একমাত্র পুঁজি তাদের দৈহিক শ্রম। এবং খুবই প্রান্তিক মূল্যে তারা তাদের শ্রম বিক্রি করতে বাধ্য হয়ে থাকে (সারণী-১)। অনেক সময় তাদের শ্রমের বাজার এতই সংকীর্ণ হয়ে পড়ে যে, তাদের শ্রমের কোন চাহিদাই বাজারে থাকে না। ফলে জীবন ধারণের তাগিদে তাদেরকে অনিশ্চিত ভবিষ্যতের আশায় শহরে পাড়ি জমাতে হয়। এবং তারা ছিন্নমূল ভাসমান জনগোষ্ঠী হিসাবে শহরে অবস্থান করতে থাকে। বর্তমানে শহরে ছিন্নমূল ভাসমান যে জনগোষ্ঠী রয়েছে তার ২৬ শতাংশই মহিলা [৬]। সুতরাং এটা বলার অপেক্ষা রাখেনা যে, বাংলাদেশের আর্থ-সামাজিক অবস্থার সর্বনিম্ন পর্যায়ে অবস্থানকারী পরিবারগুলোই শ্রমির বাজারে 'মহিলা শ্রম' সরবরাহকারী। এবং তাদের আর্থ-সামাজিক অবস্থা শ্রমের বাজারে শ্রম সরবরাহে একটি পুস্ ফ্যাক্টর হিসাবে কাজ করছে।

### ২। শিল্পে নিয়োজিত মহিলাদের অভিপেক্ষন

বাংলাদেশের মোট জনসংখ্যা ১৯৮৫-৮৬ সনের হিসাবে ১০.১ কোটি। এর মধ্যে অর্ধেকই মহিলা। সমগ্র মহিলা জনগোষ্ঠীর মাত্র ১০ শতাংশ বেসরকারী শ্রমশক্তির অংশ হিসাবে স্বীকৃত এবং বাকী ৯০ শতাংশ শ্রমশক্তির বাইরে [৭;৮৭] এবং সমগ্র মহিলা জনগোষ্ঠীর মাত্র ৫.১ শতাংশ বিভিন্ন অর্থনৈতিক কাজে নিয়োজিত, বাকী অংশ বেকার। এখানে একটি বিষয় বিশেষভাবে লক্ষ্য করবার মতো; তা হচ্ছে একদিকে শ্রমশক্তি হিসাবে স্বীকৃত মহিলা জনগোষ্ঠী মোট বেসরকারী শ্রমশক্তির মাত্র ১০.৪ শতাংশ অথচ এই বেকার মহিলারা দেশের মোট বেকার জনসংখ্যার এক-তৃতীয়াংশ দখল করে আছে। আজকালের সামগ্রিক অবস্থায়, এবার আসা যাক শিল্পে নিয়োজিত মহিলাদের ক্ষেত্রে।

২ নং সারণীতে বিভিন্ন অর্থনৈতিক খাতে নিয়োজিত মহিলাদের যে হিসাবটি রয়েছে তাতে দেখা যায় বেসরকারী শ্রম শক্তিতে নিয়োজিত মহিলাদের ২৫.৭ শতাংশ শিল্প খাতে নিয়োজিত। তারা শিল্প খাতে নিয়োজিত মোট শ্রমিকের ২৪.৩ শতাংশ। শিল্প খাতে নিয়োজিত মহিলাদের বর্তমান অবস্থান সম্পর্কে বিস্তারিত বিবরণ নিম্নোক্তভাবে দেওয়া যেতে পারে।

### ক) প্রতিষ্ঠিত শিল্প খাতঃ

এই খাতে মহিলাদের নিয়োগ পর্যালোচনা করলে দেখা যায় মোট নিয়োজিত শ্রমিকের ১৩.৬ শতাংশ এবং ব্যবস্থাপকদের ৩.০ শতাংশ মহিলা। সব চেয়ে বেশী মহিলা শ্রমিক

নিয়োজিত রয়েছে পোশাক শিল্পে ৩৮.৬ শতাংশ। বস্ত্র শিল্পে ২৪.৮ শতাংশ এবং খাদ্য শিল্পে ২১.২ শতাংশ। পোশাক শিল্পে মহিলা ব্যবস্থাপকের সংখ্যাও বেশী ১১.৪ শতাংশ। তবে পোশাক শিল্প মূলতঃ মহিলা শ্রমিক নির্ভর। এই শিল্পে নিয়োজিত মোট শ্রমিকের ৬৪.১ শতাংশই মহিলা (সারণী-৩) এবং রপ্তানি ভিত্তিক পোশাক শিল্পে মোট শ্রমিকের ৯০ শতাংশই মহিলা [৮; ১৫]।

প্রতিষ্ঠিত শিল্প খাতের মধ্যে জাতীয়করণকৃত শিল্পগুলো অবশ্যই আসে। জাতীয়করণকৃত শিল্পে মহিলা শ্রমিকের সংখ্যা খুবই নগণ্য, মাত্র ১.৮ শতাংশ। এদের মধ্যে অধিকাংশই বদলী শ্রমিক এবং তাদের অনেকেই পাঁচ বছরের অধিক সময় ধরে বদলী শ্রমিক হিসাবে কাজ করছে। যা একেবারেই শ্রম আইন বিরুদ্ধ। জাতীয়করণকৃত শিল্পে সরকারী নিয়ম অনুসারে ১০ শতাংশ মহিলা কোটা সংরক্ষণের সিদ্ধান্ত রয়েছে। কিন্তু দেখা যায় কোন শিল্প প্রতিষ্ঠানেই এটি কার্যকর নয় [৯]।

খ) গৃহভিত্তিক শিল্প খাতঃ

গৃহভিত্তিক শিল্প বলতে মূলতঃ গ্রামীণ কুটির শিল্পকেই বুঝান হয়ে থাকে। এই গৃহভিত্তিক শিল্পে নিয়োজিত শ্রমিকের ৩০ শতাংশ এবং ব্যবস্থাপকদের ১৬.৭ শতাংশ মহিলা (সারণী-৪)। অবশ্য ১৯৮৯ তে বিআইডিএস কর্তৃক প্রকাশিত গবেষণা রিপোর্টে দেখা গেছে কুটির শিল্পে নিয়োজিত মোট জনসংখ্যার ৩৩ শতাংশই ছিল মহিলা। তবে সেই সমীক্ষায় প্রকাশিত তথ্যে মহিলা ব্যবস্থাপকের অংশ গ্রহণের হার ছিল মাত্র ৩.৩ শতাংশ [১০]। অতি সম্প্রতি প্রকাশিত একটি রিপোর্টে দেখা গেছে গৃহ ভিত্তিক শিল্পে মহিলা ব্যবস্থাপকের অংশ গ্রহণের হার ১৬.৭ শতাংশ [১১]।

৪ নং সারণীতে প্রদত্ত অভিক্ষেপনে আমরা দেখতে পাই গৃহ ভিত্তিক শিল্পে সবচেয়ে বেশী মহিলা শ্রমিক নিয়োজিত রয়েছে তাঁত শিল্পে, ৬০ শতাংশ এবং এটা উক্ত শিল্পে মোট নিয়োজিত শ্রমিকের ৩১.২ শতাংশ। দ্বিতীয়তঃ বাঁশ ও বেত শিল্প, ১৪.৮ শতাংশ, মোট নিয়োজিত শ্রমিকের ৩১.২ শতাংশ। তৃতীয়তঃ অধাতব খনিজ দ্রব্য বিশেষ করে মৃত শিল্পে ১৩.২ শতাংশ এবং এই শিল্পে নিয়োজিত মোট শ্রমিকের ৩৭.১ শতাংশ। চতুর্থতঃ খাদ্য শিল্প। এই শিল্পে মূলতঃ আসছে ঢেকি ও ঘানি শিল্প। এতে মহিলা শ্রমিকদের ৭.১ শতাংশ নিয়োজিত রয়েছে।

৩. বিভিন্ন শিল্পে নিয়োজিত মহিলাদের বাস্তব অবস্থান (শিল্পভিত্তিক বর্ণনা)

সম্পত্তি দক্ষতা পুঁজি বা শিক্ষা না থাকার ফলে মহিলারা সাধারণতঃ যে কোন ধরনের নিম্নমানের কাজ বিশেষ করে ঝি গিড়ি, পতিতা বৃত্তি বা তথাকথিত অপ্রাতিষ্ঠানিক খাতেই বেশী নিয়োজিত থাকতে বাধ্য। এই অবস্থার সংগঠিত প্রতিষ্ঠিত শিল্পে শ্রমিকের কাজ পাওয়া তাদের কাছে বিশেষ সৌভাগ্য স্বরূপ কি ?

এই প্রেক্ষিতে দু'টো শিল্পই আমরা মূলতঃ পর্যালোচনা করব। কারণ মহিলারা এই দু'টো শিল্পেই মূলতঃ সর্বাধিক নিয়োজিত। এবং এই দু'টো শিল্পেই মহিলা শ্রমিক নিয়োগে সবচেয়ে বেশী প্রাধান্য দেওয়া হয়। এটির একটি হচ্ছে রপ্তানি ভিত্তিক পোশাক শিল্প অন্যটি মৎস্য প্রক্রিয়াজাতকরণ শিল্প।

## জোহরা : শিল্প উন্নয়ন ও মহিলা

### ৩.১ পোষাক শিল্প :

এদেশে সত্তর দশকের শেষ দিকে পোষাক শিল্পের সূচনা হয়। গত দশ বছরে এই শিল্প যে ভাবে প্রসার লাভ করেছে অন্য কোন শিল্পে এ ধরনের দৃষ্টান্ত নেই (সারণী-৫) এবং এই শিল্প থেকে দেশের মোট রপ্তানি আয়ের একটা ভাল অংশ অর্জিত হচ্ছে। মালিকদেরও মুনাফার পরিমাণ কম নয়। এ ছাড়া আধুনিক পোশাক শিল্পে শ্রমিক হিসাবে মহিলাদের নিয়োগ-মহিলাদের অর্থনৈতিক নিয়োগের ক্ষেত্রে একটা নতুন অধ্যায়ের সূচনা হয়েছে।

পোশাক শিল্পে নিয়োজিত মহিলাদের মাসে পারিশ্রমিক ৩০০ টাকা থেকে ৫০০ টাকার মধ্যে সীমাবদ্ধ। সপ্তাহে কর্ম দিবস ৬ দিন। প্রতি কর্ম দিবসে সাধারণ কর্ম সময় ৯ ঘণ্টা থেকে ১২ ঘণ্টা। অতিরিক্ত কাজ বাধ্যতামূলক এবং এই অতিরিক্ত কাজে অস্বীকৃতি জানালে চাকুরিচ্যুত হতে হয়। মাসে যাদের একবার বা দুইবার যখন অর্ডারের জিনিস দেবার সময় হয় তখন কারখানার স্বার্থে তালা আটকিয়ে শ্রমিকদেরকে সমস্ত রাত কাজ করতে বাধ্য করা হয় [১২]। এই সব শিল্পে আনুসাংগিক আরও যে সব অব্যবস্থা আছে তার মধ্যে রয়েছে—

১. মহিলা শ্রমিকদের চাকুরির কোন চুক্তিপত্র থাকে না।
২. কাজের স্থান অপ্রসস্থ, আলো বাতাস অপরিষ্কার এবং অত্যন্ত ভিড় যুক্ত।
৩. শৌচাগারের পৃথক ব্যবস্থা মহিলাদের জন্য নেই এবং শৌচাগার সংখ্যা খুবই কম ও অপরিচ্ছন্ন।
৪. শ্রমিকরা টেড ইউনিয়ন করার ক্ষমতা থেকে বঞ্চিত।
৫. মালিক নোটিশ ছাড়া যে কোন সময় যে কোন শ্রমিককে ছাটাই করতে সক্ষম।
৬. মাতৃ মংগল আইনজনিত কোন সুবিধা মহিলা শ্রমিকদের জন্য নেই।
৭. অসুখজনিত কোন ছুটির ব্যবস্থা বা চিকিৎসার ব্যবস্থা নেই [১৩]।
৮. নুন্যতম মজুরী আইন এখানে অচল।

### ৩.২ রপ্তানি ভিত্তিক মৎস্য প্রক্রিয়াজাতকরণ শিল্প :

খাদ্য প্রক্রিয়াজাতকরণ শিল্পের মধ্যে রপ্তানি ভিত্তিক মৎস্য প্রক্রিয়াকরণ শিল্প বেশ প্রসার লাভ করেছে এবং একটি লাভজনক শিল্প। এটি আর একটি শিল্প, মূলতঃ মহিলা শ্রমিক নির্ভর। এবং যেখানে মহিলা শ্রমিকরা মারাত্মকভাবে শোষিত হচ্ছে এবং মানবতের অবস্থায় কাজ করছে [১৪]। এই সব কারখানায়—

- ১। মহিলারা সরাসরি নিযুক্ত হয় না। নিযুক্ত হয় ঠিকাদারের মাধ্যমে। এসব ঠিকাদাররা নির্দিষ্ট মজুরীর রেটে শ্রমিক সরবরাহের চুক্তি নেয়। কিন্তু সেই রেটের চেয়ে কম রেটে মহিলা শ্রমিকদের সাথে চুক্তি করে এবং মুনাফা অর্জন করে।
- ২। মহিলারা গড়ে দিনে ৯ থেকে ১৬ ঘণ্টা কাজ করে। বাড়তি কাজের জন্য কোন বাড়তি পারিশ্রমিক নেই।
- ৩। চিৎড়ি কারখানায় কর্মরত মহিলাদের গড় মাসিক আয় ৩৩৫ টাকা। সর্বনিম্ন ৬০ টাকা, সর্বোচ্চ ৯০০ টাকা।

- ৪। বরফ গলা পানিতে ভেজা মেঝেতে ছোট পিড়িতে বসে প্রায় হিমায়িত চিংড়ি শুধু হাতে খোসা ছাড়াতে হয়। অথবা বরফ ভেজা মেঝেতে একটানা দাড়িয়ে প্যানিং, স্নেডিং বা চিংড়ি ধোয়ার কাজ একটানা দশ-বারো ঘন্টা সাফ করতে হয়। এই সময় কোন শ্রমিককেই ঘরের বাহিরে যাবার অনুমতি দেওয়া হয় না।
- ৫। এইসব কারখানায় নিয়োজিত শ্রমিকদের অনেকেই অসুবিধাজনক অবস্থায় বসে কাজ করবার কারণে পিঠের ব্যাথায় ভুগছে। অনেকেরই হাতে পায়ে ঘাঁ হয়ে যাচ্ছে। এবং এই ঘা হলে তাদেরকে কাজে রাখা হয় না। ফলে শ্রমিকদের স্বল্প উপার্জন থেকে এই ঘায়ের চিকিৎসা করতে হয়। এবং অনেক শ্রমিকই ঠাণ্ডাজনিত ত্রুণিক রোগে আক্রান্ত হয়ে কাজে অক্ষম হতে যাচ্ছে।
- ৬। কারখানাগুলোতে মহিলাদের জন্য আলাদা সৌচাগার, বিশ্রামাগার, ক্যান্টিন বা শিশু যত্ন কেন্দ্র নেই।
- ৭। এবং এই শ্রমিকদের চাকুরী কেবল ঋতু ভিত্তিকই নয় একেবারেই সাময়িক।

এই দু'টো শিল্পের পর্যালোচনায় আমরা দেখতে পাচ্ছি উভয় শিল্পেই মহিলা শ্রমিকরা মারাত্মকভাবে শোষিত হচ্ছে। এই শিল্পে কারখানাগুলোতে মহিলাদের জন্য নতুন আয়ের পথ উন্মোচিত হয়েছে তা যেমন সাত শোষণ প্রক্রিয়াও প্রচন্ড তিব্রতর রূপ ধারণ করেছে, এটা তার চাইতেও বেশী সত্যি। শিল্প শ্রমিক হিসাবে নির্মমভাবে শোষিত মহিলা শ্রমিকরা দিনের পর দিন কাজ করে দেশের রপ্তানি আয় বাড়াইয়া চলেছে। অথচ কারখানাগুলোতে সরকারের দৃষ্টিহীনতার কারণেই নয় কিছুটা সরকারের সমর্থনে এই শোষণ চালিয়ে যাচ্ছে। প্রকৃত অবস্থায় আমরা দেখতে পাই মহিলাদের আর্থসামাজিক অবস্থান কাজে লাগিয়ে রপ্তানি ভিত্তিক উৎপাদন উৎসাহিত করবার জন্য সরকার মুক্ত বাণিজ্য এলাকা, রপ্তানি প্রক্রিয়াকরণ শিল্পঃ কোটা পুটিং আউট সিস্টেম এবং উৎপাদন প্রক্রিয়ার নারীয়ায়ন মহিলা শ্রমিক শ্রেণী ট্রেড ইউনিয়ন তথা মৌলশ্রম অধিকার বা গণতান্ত্রিক অধিকার আদায়ের সুযোগ থেকে সম্পূর্ণ বঞ্চিত থাকছে। সরকার থেকে এই সুবিধাগুলো প্রদানের কারণেই আইনের বাস্তব উপস্থিতি শিল্পকারখানাগুলোতে নেই বললেই চলে।

নিম্নতম মজুরী আইন বা নির্ধারিত শ্রমঘন্টা সেখানে অচল। গড়ে মাত্র ৩৫০ টাকা মাসে রোজগারের জন্য এসব শিল্পে মহিলারা অস্বাস্থ্যকর পরিবেশে, স্বাস্থ্যহানিকর পছা, মাতৃত্ব মঙ্গল ও শিশুকল্যাণ ব্যবস্থার অভাব ইত্যাদি ছাড়াও শ্রমিক কল্যাণ অব্যবস্থাপনার শিকার হচ্ছে। অথচ এই শোষণ নিয়ে মহিলা মন্ত্রণালয়, রপ্তানি উন্নয়ন ব্যুরো, শ্রম মন্ত্রণালয়, মহিলা সংগঠন, সংসদ সদস্য, সংবাদপত্র এমনকি ট্রেড ইউনিয়নগুলোরও কোন প্রতিক্রিয়া নেই। অন্যদিকে গৃহভিত্তিক অকৃষি গ্রামীণ শিল্পে ও পুঁজি এবং বাজারের অভাবে দরিদ্র মহিলারা মধ্যসত্ত্ব ভোগকারীদের শিকারে পরিণত হচ্ছে।

মহিলা শিল্প শ্রমিকদের বর্তমান অবস্থার জন্য পুঁজিপতি, শিল্পপতি বা মধ্যসত্ত্ব ভোগীদেরকে দায়ী করা মোটেই যুক্তিযুক্ত নয়। এর জন্য মূলতঃ দায়ী রাষ্ট্রীয় নীতি। উন্নয়ন মডেলগুলো পর্যালোচনা করলেই দেখা যায় —

জোহরা : শিল্প উন্নয়ন ও মহিলা

উন্নত বিশ্বের বিশেষজ্ঞদের প্রণীত যে সব উন্নয়ন মডেল তৃতীয় বিশ্বের দেশগুলোর উপর চাপিয়ে দেওয়া হয়—তা এই অসম শ্রেণী এবং স্ত্রী পুরুষের বৈষম্যপূর্ণ সম্পর্ক চিন্তা বহির্ভূত ফলে আমাদের মত দেশে এগুলো তেমন ফলপ্রসূ হয় না। এবং সম্পত্তি, দক্ষতা, পুঁজি বা শিক্ষা না থাকার ফলে মহিলারা উন্নয়ন মডেল থেকে কিছুতো পায়ইনা, প্রায় বাইরেই অবস্থান করে।

উন্নয়ন পরিকল্পনাগুলোতেও মহিলাদের দক্ষতা এবং কর্মসংস্থান বৃদ্ধির পরিবর্তে অন্যান্য দিকগুলো অনেক বেশী প্রাধান্য পায়। এর মধ্যে সবচেয়ে বেশী প্রাধান্য পাচ্ছে মহিলারা সন্তান উৎপাদনের মুখ্য ভূমিকা পালন করে। সুতরাং সামাজিক উন্নয়নের উদ্দেশ্যকে সামনে রেখে জন্ম নিয়ন্ত্রণের মাধ্যমে তাদের এই শক্তিকে নিয়ন্ত্রণ করা একান্তই প্রয়োজন। এই খাতে বিনিয়োগ হচ্ছে সর্বাধিক। এবার কেবল মাত্র দৃষ্টি ভংগীর সংকীর্ণতার কারণে কোটি কোটি টাকা উন্নয়ন পরিকল্পনায় উন্নয়নের নামে অনুৎপাদনশীল খাতে বিনিয়োগ হচ্ছে।

বিশেষ করে উন্নয়নের ফল বন্টনের বৈষম্যদ্বয়ের জন্য নয়, যদি দেশের একটা বিরাট জনাংশকে চরম দারিদ্র্য থেকে রক্ষা করতে হয় তা হলেও মহিলাদেরকে উন্নয়ন পরিকল্পনা মেইন স্ট্রিমে রাখা প্রয়োজন। তা না হলে প্রতিষ্ঠিত খাতে অধিকতর অর্থকরী এবং সম্মানজনক কাজে তাদের প্রবেশাধিকার কখনই ঠিক ভাবে ঘটবেনা। অত্যন্ত দুঃখজনক হলেও সত্যি যে উন্নয়ন পরিকল্পনায় মহিলাদের উন্নয়নের জন্য যত কথা বলা হয় বাস্তবে তার জন্য ততটুকু কার্যকরী ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করা হয় না। এর প্রমাণ আমরা পাচ্ছি চতুর্থ পঞ্চবার্ষিক পরিকল্পনাতেও। চতুর্থ-পঞ্চবার্ষিক পরিকল্পনার রূপ রেখায় মহিলাদের সম্পৃক্তকরণের কথা বলা হয়েছে কিন্তু খাত ভিত্তিক পরিকল্পনার সাথে সামাজিক গোষ্ঠী ভিত্তিক পরিকল্পনায় সম্পৃক্তকরণের উদ্দেশ্যে দেশের জনগণকে যে দশটি আর্থ-সামাজিক গোষ্ঠীতে ভাগ করা হয়েছে সেখানে মহিলাদেরকে আলাদা গোষ্ঠী হিসাবে রাখা হয়নি। সব মহিলাদেরকে গোষ্ঠীভুক্ত করার প্রয়োজন নেই তবে ভূমিহীন মহিলাদেরকে একটি পৃথক গোষ্ঠী হিসাবে দেখানো প্রয়োজন। তা না হলে স্বাভাবিক ভাবেই উন্নয়নের ফলাফল পুরুষদের হাতে থেকে যাবে। মহিলারা যতই দুস্থ হউক না কেন তাদের হাতে পৌঁছাবেনা বরং তাদের দুস্থতা দিন দিন বৃদ্ধি পাবে এবং নব শ্রমিক হিসাবে কেবল দেশী শিল্পপতিদের দ্বারাই নয়, বর্তমান বিশ্বের পুঁজিপতিগণও আমাদের দেশের মহিলা শ্রমিকদের অবৈধ শোষণের যে ফল ভোগ করছে তা আরও বৃদ্ধি পাবে।

সারণী-১ঃ কৃষি এবং অকৃষি খাতে নিয়োজিত দিনমজুরদের দৈনিক মজুরী ১৯৮৩-৮৪ (টাকায়)

| শ্রমিক | বাংলাদেশ |       |       | শহর  |       |       | গ্রাম |       |       |
|--------|----------|-------|-------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
|        | মোট      | পুরুষ | মহিলা | মোট  | পুরুষ | মহিলা | মোট   | পুরুষ | মহিলা |
| কৃষি   | ১৪.৫     | ১৪.৭  | ৭.১   | ১৫.৩ | ১৫.৩  | -     | ১৪.৫  | ১৪.৭  | ৭.০০  |
| অকৃষি  | ১৫.৯     | ১৮.১  | ৭.১   | ১৮.৬ | ১৭.৬  | ৯.৬   | ১৫.১  | ১৭.৬  | ৬.৯   |

সারণী ২ঃ বৃহৎ অর্থনৈতিক কার্যক্রম ভিত্তিক পুরুষ/মহিলা নিয়োগ বন্টন ১৯৮৪-৮৫

| বৃহৎ অর্থনৈতিক কার্যক্রম    | নিয়োজিত মহিলা শ্রমিক<br>(উক্ত খাতে নিয়োজিত<br>শ্রমিকের শতাংশ) | খাত ভিত্তিক নিয়োজিত<br>মহিলাদের বন্টন<br>(শতাংশ) |
|-----------------------------|---|---|
| কৃষি, বন মৎস্য              | ১.৫   | ৯.৭   |
| খনিজ                        | -   | -   |
| শিল্প                       | ২৪.৩  | ২৫.৭  |
| বিদ্যুৎ, পানি, গ্যাস        | ১৩.২  | ০.৫   |
| নির্মাণ                     | ৪.২   | ০.৯   |
| ব্যবসা, হোটেল, রেস্তোরাঁ    | ২.৬   | ৩.৭   |
| যানবাহন ও যোগাযোগ           | ০.৬   | ০.৩   |
| অর্থ, ব্যবসা এবং সেবা       | ৭.০   | ০.৬   |
| কমিউনিটি ও পার্সনাল সার্ভিস | ১৫.০  | ১৫.০  |
| গৃহ ভিত্তিক কার্যক্রম       | ৭৯.২  | ৪৩.৬  |
| মোটঃ                        | ৮.৮   | ১০০.০   |

উৎসঃ BBS: Report on Labour Force Survey, 1984-85, February, 1988.

সারণী-৩ঃ শিল্পে নিয়োজিত মহিলাদের বন্টন (প্রতিষ্ঠিত শিল্প খাত)

|                              | মহিলা শ্রমিক<br>(শিল্পে নিয়োজিত<br>মোট শ্রমিকের<br>শতাংশ) | নিয়োজিত মোট<br>মহিলা শ্রমিকের<br>বন্টন (শতাংশ) | মহিলা ব্যবস্থাপক<br>(শিল্পে নিয়োজিত<br>মোট ব্যবস্থাপকের<br>শতাংশ) | নিয়োজিত মোট<br>মহিলা ব্যবস্থা-<br>পকের বন্টন<br>(শতাংশ) |
|------------------------------|--|---|--|--|
| খাদ্য শিল্প                  | ১৫.৮   | ২১.২  | ১.৩  | ২৯.৪   |
| তামাক শিল্প                  | ১৩.১   | ৪.৭   | ৩.৪  | ০.৭  |
| পাট শিল্প                    | ১.৬  | ১.১   | ৮.৩  | ০.১  |
| তুলা, সিল্ক, সিনথেটিক        |  |   |  |  |
| বস্ত্র শিল্প                 | ১৩.৫   | ২৪.৮  | ৪.৯  | ২৪.১   |
| পোষাক শিল্প                  | ৬৪.১   | ৩৮.৬  | ১১.৪   | ৪.৯  |
| কাঠ, বেত, বাঁশের             |  |   |  |  |
| আসবাবপত্র এবং ফিক্চার        | ৩.৮  | ১.৯   | ২.০  | ৮.৮  |
| কাগজ, প্রিন্টিং এবং প্রকাশনা | ২.৫  | ০.৬   | ৩.০  | ৩.১  |
| কেমিক্যাল, রাবার প্রাস্টিক   | ৬.৯  | ১.৭   | ৩.৭  | ২.৩  |
| অধাতব খনিজ দ্রব্য            | ৪.৬  | ২.২   | ৮.৫  | ৭.৬  |
| ধাতব শিল্প                   | ০.৭  | -   | ৪.৮  | ০.৪  |
| ধাতবদ্রব্য শিল্প             | ১.৯  | ০.৭   | ১.৮  | ৬.৭  |
| ধাতব মেশিন ইকুইপমেন্ট        | ২.০  | ১.২   | ১.৯  | ৮.৩  |
| অন্যান্য শিল্প               | ৫.৮  | ১.৩   | ১.১  | ৩.৬  |
| মোটঃ                         | ১৩.৭   | ১০০.০   | ৩.১  | ১০০.০  |

উৎসঃ BBS: কৃষি বহির্ভূত অর্থনৈতিক কার্যাবলী ও অক্ষম ব্যক্তিদের সুমারী, ১৯৮৬, ১নং টেবিল থেকে হিসাব করা হয়েছে।

জোহরা : শিল্প উন্নয়ন ও মহিলা

সরণী-৪: শিল্পে নিয়োজিত মহিলাদের বন্টন (গৃহভিত্তিক শিল্প খাত)

| শিল্প                                     | মহিলা শ্রমিক<br>(শিল্পে নিয়োজিত<br>মোট শ্রমিকের<br>শতাংশ) | নিয়োজিত মোট<br>মহিলা শ্রমিকের<br>বন্টন (শতাংশ) | মহিলা ব্যবস্থাপক<br>(শিল্পে নিয়োজিত<br>মোট ব্যবস্থাপকের<br>শতাংশ) | নিয়োজিত মোট<br>মহিলা ব্যবস্থা-<br>পকের বন্টন<br>(শতাংশ) |
|---|--|---|--|--|
| খাদ্য শিল্প                               | ২৬.৩   | ৭.১   | ১৩.৪   | ৭.৮  |
| তামাক শিল্প                               | ২৪.৭   | ২.২   | ২৯.৮   | ১.১  |
| পাট শিল্প                                 | ৫২.৫   | -   | ৪২.৯   | -  |
| তুলা, সিল্ক, সিনথেটিক<br>বস্ত্র শিল্প     | ৩১.২   | ৬০.০  | ১৬.৪   | ৪৯.৭   |
| পোষাক শিল্প                               | ৫৭.৩   | ০.৩   | ৫৫.২   | ০.৭  |
| কাঠ, বেত, বাঁশের<br>আসবাবপত্র এবং ফিক্চার | ৩১.২   | ১৪.৮  | ১৯.৫   | ২২.৮   |
| কাগজ, প্রিন্টিং এবং প্রকাশনা              | ৩৪.৫   | ০.৫   | ৩২.৫   | ০.৯  |
| কেমিক্যাল, রাবার প্রাটিক                  | ১৬.৫   | ০.৩   | ১৬.৮   | ০.৩  |
| অধাতব খনিজ দ্রব্য                         | ৩৭.১   | ১৩.২  | ২১.০   | ১৪.৫   |
| ধাতব শিল্প                                | -  | -   | -  | -  |
| ধাতব দ্রব্য শিল্প                         | ৪.৭  | ০.৫   | ২.৮  | ০.৬  |
| ধাতব মেশিন ইকুইপমেন্ট                     | ৪.৭  | ০.৫   | ২.৮  | ০.৮  |
| অন্যান্য শিল্প                            | ১৪.২   | ০.৬   | ৮.১  | ০.৮  |
| মোট:                                      | ৩০.০   | ১০০.০   | ১৬.৭   | ১০০.০  |

উৎস: BBS: কৃষি বহির্ভূত অর্থনৈতিক কার্যাবলী ও অক্ষম ব্যক্তিদের সুমারী, ১৯৮৬, ১নং টেবিল থেকে হিসাব করা হয়েছে।

সরণী-৫: পোশাক শিল্পের প্রসার এবং রপ্তানি থেকে প্রাপ্ত আয়

| সন      | শিল্প ইউনিটের<br>সংখ্যা | বছরে রপ্তানী থেকে অর্জিত আয়<br>(কোটি টাকায়) |
|---------|-------------------------|---|
| ১৯৮০-৮১ | ৭৮                      | ৫.৩   |
| ১৯৮১-৮২ | ৮৮                      | ১৪.০  |
| ১৯৮২-৮৩ | ১৪১                     | ২৪.৫  |
| ১৯৮৩-৮৪ | ৫৪৫                     | ৭৭.৪  |
| ১৯৮৪-৮৫ | ৫৮৫                     | ২১০.০   |
| ১৯৮৫-৮৬ | ৭৫১                     | ৩০০.০   |

উৎস: Economic Tribune, Volume-1, No. 1, April 7, 1985, Page 15-16.

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## INVESTMENT CLIMATE AND OPPORTUNITY IN BANGLADESH

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Bangladesh is a country situated on the Indian Ocean with an area of 144,000 square kilometers and a population of 110 million. Per capita income of Bangladesh is about US \$ 170 per head with a GDP of US \$ 20 billion approximately. The country has direct air link with all the important cities of the world with two international sea ports. English is widely spoken having one race and culture. After pursuing a policy of nationalization for the first few years after its independence in 1971, Bangladesh gradually laid greater emphasis on the role of the private sector in its economy since 1975 and particularly since 1982. Bangladesh now offers opportunities for foreign private investment in all areas of its industrial sector.

### PRESENT STATUS OF INDUSTRIES IN BANGLADESH

In a predominantly agrarian economy of Bangladesh industries sector contributes about 10% of GDP and about 14% of total employment. It, however, provides essential consumer goods, such as yarn and cloth and key inputs for agriculture, such as fertilizer and irrigation equipment and accounts for over 75% of foreign exchange earnings.

The manufacturing sector comprises about 13,000 large and medium enterprises, about 32,000 small enterprises, 350,000 cottage industries and large number of handloom units.

The manufacturing sector is dominated by two major product groups; the textile (Jute and Cotton) and leather group which, excluding handloom, account for about one third of the total manufacturing employment and value added. This group comprises very large establishment in the jute and cotton textile industry. The food, beverage and allied products group ranks second providing 28% of the employment and a quarter of value added. The chemical group is third in value added. The larger of the remaining sector is fabricated metal products and machinery group which contributes almost 8% to both employment and value added.

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There are about 100 jute mills in Bangladesh which process locally produced jute fibres into hessian, sacking, carpet backing cloth, jute twine, jute carpets. This sub-sector accounts for about 30% of the total export earning.

Excluding handloom, there are about 2,000 textile units in Bangladesh which mainly cover spinning, weaving, finishing and garments making activities. This along with more than 250 thousand handlooms produce around 65% of the cloth requirement of the country.

There are 5 large fertilizer factories in Bangladesh based on indigenous natural gas. These units have sufficient production capacity to meet fully the local demand of urea fertilizer, Bangladesh has started to export some quantity of the item recently.

At present 18 sugar mills in the country which produce around 200 thousand tons of sugar per year based on locally produced sugarcane.

In the paper and newsprint sub-sector 5 large units after meeting domestic demand a significant quantity of newsprint is exported.

The Pharmaceuticals sub-sector has developed quite rapidly in recent years and we have now 180 units including several multinational companies. These units cater to about 75% of the domestic demand.

In the sub-sector of Electric equipment and appliances has been developed to meet the local demand of items like electric motor (upto 25 H.P.), transformer, switchgear, cables, lamps, dry-cell batteries and accumulators, electric fan, air conditioners etc. 20 units of automotive vehicles progressively manufacture bus, trucks, motor-cycles and three wheelers. The production capacity of these units meet about 50% of the domestic demand. Several large and medium units have been set up in the sub-sector of steel and steel products to produce mild steel billets, special and alloy steel, steel plates, galvanised plain sheet, corrugated iron sheet, mild steel, rods, bars and channels and G.I. pipes. These units meet about 80% of the domestic requirement, except mild steel, rods and bars, of which 100% requirement is met by domestic production.

The Industrialisation Policy of Bangladesh has undergone several changes during the eighteen years of the existence of the country. After the country had achieved independence, a period of followed in which initially little pace was left for private entrepreneurs. Gradually this policy changed. The ceiling on private investment was completely eliminated in

1978. Bangladesh passed a law to promote and protect foreign investment in 1980. Simultaneously, the process of disinvestment was also started and the stock-market was reactivated.

The New Industrial Policy (NIP), put into operation in 1982, brought about many substantial changes, giving emphasis on private enterprises. The Government further liberalized the Industrial policy in 1986. The Industrial Policy of 1986 aimed at effective participation of the people through attaching greater importance on the private sector investment including foreign private investment. According to this policy, the role of the Government is to provide support and assistance to the private sector in industrial development with lesser official interference. It simplified sanctioning and licencing procedure with comprehensive incentive package.

The policy has reserved only the following seven sectors for public sector investment :

- i) arms, ammunition and sensitive defence equipment;
- ii) generation (excluding standby/captive generation);
- iii) forest plantation and machanised extraction with the bounds of reserved forests;
- iv) part of telecommunications (excluding distribution and services);
- v) air transport (excluding cargo) and railways;
- vi) atomic energy; and
- vii) security printing (currency note) and minting.

The policy stipulates that all other sectors not reserved as above for the public sector. will be meant for the private sector. However, in areas and/or sectors where investment is considered desirable, but private investment may not be forthcoming, public sector may set up industries either by itself exclusively or jointly with the private sector which may in due course of time be transferred to the private entrepreneurs.

Since 1986, Industrial policy has gone through further major reform. Policy is now totally liberalised and de-controlled and Government is playing the role of promotion and assistance to industry. To provide a package service under one roof Government has established a Board of Investment from 1st January, 1989. Along with reform in Industrial Policy Government has also carried out major reform in Trade Policy. Import Policy is liberalised and Taxation Policy is rationalised to create congenial atmosphere for

investment. Some of the main features of present Industrial Policy is given below :

No prior approval is required for local investment with own resources provided proposed industry is not in discouraged list. No prior approval for establishing an industry with foreign investment is required if :

- The total project cost does not exceed Tk. 100 million (US \$ 3.3 million approximately);
- The foreign equity does not exceed 49%. and
- The proposed industry does not fall within the purview of discouraged list.

Joint venture projects not falling under the aforesaid conditions require approval of the Board of Investment. In all other cases the industry is to be registered with Board of Investment. There is no fixed ratio of equity between local and foreign investors. Foreign equity to the extent of 100% is also allowed.

#### INVESTMENT GUARANTEE

Foreign Private Investment (Promotion & Protection) Act., 1980 ensures legal protection to foreign investment in Bangladesh against expropriation and nationalisation and to ensure equal treatment. Further bilateral investment protection agreements have been signed by the government with several countries. Bangladesh is also member of Overseas Private Investment Corporation of America (OPIC), Multilateral Investment Guarantee Association (MIGA) and International Centre for Settlement of Industrial Dispute (ICSID).

#### REPATRIATION FACILITIES

- Repatriation of capital invested including capital gains.
- Remittance of all post-tax dividend and foreign capital.
- Remittance of Royalty and Technical Fees.
- Re-investment of repatriation dividend is treated as new foreign investment.

#### FISCAL INCENTIVES

- Tax-holiday for 5 years for developed areas, 7 years for less developed areas, 9 years for least developed areas and 12 years for the special economic zone.
- 15% import duty on capital machinery for industries in developed

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areas, 7.5% duty for less developed areas and 2.5% for least developed areas.

- 2.5% import duty on imported capital machinery for selective industries using 70% or more of indigenous raw materials and for 70% export oriented industry irrespective of their location.
- Accelerated depreciation from 80% to 100% is allowed. Depreciation allowance can be carried forward if the unit sustains loss.
- Exemption of tax on interest on foreign loans.
- Exemption of tax on royalty, technical know-how and technical assistance fees.
- Liberal investment allowance for tax assessment.
- Relief from double taxation for foreign investors.

### OTHER INCENTIVES

- Tariff protection upto 4 years to be deserving industries.
- Supplier's credit under approved terms.
- Availability of long term credit facilities from industrial financing institutions.
- Income tax exemption to foreign technicians employed in approved industries for a period of 3 years.
- Remittance of 50% of the salary of foreign nationals.
- Remittance of saving from earnings, retirement benefits and personal assets of individuals on retirement/termination of service.
- Joint venture companies with capital up to US \$ 1.65 million need not issue public shares. For those above this amount it is also not required at the initial stage.
- In selective cases Government will provide guarantee for foreign loan provided counter-guarantee is given to government from bank.
- Foreign Invested Company can borrow working capital from local bank.

### ADDITIONAL INCENTIVES TO EXPORTERS

- Loan upto 90% value of letter of credit from commercial banks for export-oriented industries.

- Lower interest rate (presently 9% on pre-shipment and packing credit.
- Income tax rebate up to 60% on export of non-traditional items.
- Export Credit Guarantee Scheme.
- Rebate of 25% on excise duty on additional production if such unit produces more than 100% sanctioned capacity.

#### MANPOWER CONDITIONS

Bangladesh offers a substantial manpower reserve—skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled, educated and otherwise. The availability of an inexpensive, trained and easily trainable labour force permit industrial production at a comparatively low cost.

#### PRIVATIZATION PROGRAMME

Government has undertaken a large scale privatization programme. During last few years remarkable progress have been accomplished in this direction. As many as 558 industrial units have been divested to the private sector. To further gear up the privatization process off-loading of shares of public sector enterprises taken up. Public Sector Corporation have been converted into Holding Corporation and industrial enterprises into Public Limited Companies. 49% shares of the industrial enterprises have been offered for public subscription of which 15% reserved for the employees retaining 51% shares by Holding Corporation.

#### EXPORT PROCESSING ZONES

For the last few years Bangladesh also established the Export Processing Zones at Chittagong and very soon going to have another EPZ at Dhaka. The industries in EPZs enjoy special fiscal incentives and other infrastructural facilities. 100% foreign investment is allowed in the EPZ. In EPZ tax free import is permissible and there is tax holiday for 10 years.

#### SMALL & COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

In the Industrial Policy government has laid emphasis on Small & Cottage Industries as a priority sector. Investment up to value of US \$.5 million is considered as Small Industries Sector. For the development of small and cottage industries, Bangladesh Small and Cottage Industries Corporation (BSCIC) provides all assistance to entrepreneurs including training facility, appraisal of projects and marketing.

The following special incentives and facilities is provided to small and cottage industries :

- Financial Institutions and Banks shall have a separate window for financing small and cottage industries;
- The Financial Institutions and Banks should set apart a definite percentage of their resources for the development of SCI;
- Debt-equity ratio for SCI shall be 80:20 in order to provide support to the small entrepreneurs;
- A small entrepreneurs Credit Guarantee Scheme may be introduced under the joint sponsorship of BSCIC and Sadharan Bima Corporation;
- Small and Cottage Industries located in less and least developed areas shall be entitled to income tax rebate on production.

#### BOARD OF INVESTMENT

To facilitate expeditious implementation of private sector industrial projects also to provide assistance and operational services to the private sector industries government have recently established a Board of Investment. The Board of Investment, is a high powered body headed by the President of the country, will provide one step service under one roof, which means the entrepreneurs will not be required to go from one government office to another for various types of facilities.

The functions of the Board of Investment shall be :

- (a) providing of all kinds of facilities in the matter of investment of local and foreign capital for the purpose of rapid industrialization in the private sector;
- (b) Implementation of the Government Policy relating to the investment of capital in industries in the private sector;
- (c) Preparation of investment schedule in relation to industries in the private sector and its implementation;
- (d) Preparation of area-schedule for establishment of industries in the private sector and determination of special facilities for such areas;
- (e) Approval and registration of all industrial projects in the private sector involving local and foreign capital;
- (f) Identification of investment sectors and facilities for investment in industries in the private sector and giving wide publicity thereof abroad;
- (g) Invention of specific devices for the purpose of promotion of investment in industries in the private sector and their implementation;
- (h) Creation of infrastructural facilities for industries in the private sector;

(i) Determination of terms and conditions for employment of foreign officers, experts and other employees necessary for industries in the private sector;

(j) Preparation of policies relating to transfer of technology and phase-wise local production in the private sector and their implementation;

(k) Providing of necessary assistance for rehabilitation of sickly industries in the private sector;

(l) Financing and providing of assistance in the financing of important new industries in the private sector;

(m) Adoption of necessary measures for creation of capital for investment of industries in the private sector;

(n) Collection, compilation, analysis and dissemination of all kinds of industrial data and establishment of data-bank for that purpose;

(o) Doing such other acts and things as may be necessary for the performance of the above functions.

The Board of Investment will directly provide the following services for private sector industries :

- (i) Registration and approval of industrial projects, wherever required;
- ii) Providing import facilities and determination of their import entitlement.
- iii) approval of the terms and conditions of foreign private loan and suppliers' credit;
- iv) providing work permit to expatriate personnel;
- v) providing all services of Controller of Capital Issues for company registered under Companies Act.
- vi) approval or payment of royalty, technical know-how and technical assistance fees;
- vii) allotment of land in the industrial areas.

In addition, the following services are rendered by the Board of Investment by giving a time-limit to the concerned agencies :

- i) Electricity, gas and water supply;
- ii) Swerage connection;
- iii) All kinds of telecommunication
- iv) Customs clearance for imported machinery, spare and raw materials
- v) Clearance regarding environment pollution
- vi) All other facilities and services that may be required for speedy setting up of an industry.

At present Bangladesh offers investment opportunity in the following areas.

- i) Export oriented industry in Textile, Toys, Electronics; Leather goods etc.
- ii) Chemical & Petro-chemical industry based on natural gas;
- iii) Finished leather, leather goods & luggage industry.
- iv) Shrimp cultivation, hatchery;
- v) Agro-based industry, Textile yarn & clothing.

In conclusion, it may be mentioned that at its present stage of economic development, Bangladesh needs and welcomes foreign capital to accelerate the pace of industrial growth. Bangladesh has established an economic and political atmosphere for foreign investment with necessary legal protection, administrative reorganization, simplification of procedures with attractive incentive package. Our developed infrastructure and abundance of adaptable work-force combined with technology and capital from abroad will permit production at low-cost. The country with a population of 110 million people has a vast expanding market. A number of multinational companies have been operating in Bangladesh for many years and as a result of the Bangladesh Government's liberal industrial policies, many foreign entrepreneurs are now investing in Bangladesh. It is hoped that the foreign investors will explore the possibilities of investment in Bangladesh and contribute to its further industrial development.

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বাংলাদেশে অর্থনীতি শিক্ষা, প্রশিক্ষণ ও গবেষণায় গত চার  
যুগ ধরে নিরলস কাজ করে যাচ্ছে

## বাংলাদেশ অর্থনীতি সমিতি

বাংলাদেশ অর্থনীতি নির্মাণে তথা এদেশের আপামর  
জনসাধারণের ভাগ্য উন্নয়নে সদা নিবেদিত

অগ্রণী ব্যাংক

বাংলাদেশ কৃষি ব্যাংক

আমাদের যৌথ প্রচেষ্টায় বাংলাদেশের

অর্থনৈতিক উন্নয়ন ত্বরান্বিত হোক, ভবিষ্যত

হোক সমৃদ্ধিশালী ও গতিশীল

