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Anna "Big Brother" Hazare's Non-Violent Protests And Orwell's "Big Brother" Government

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Abstract: Oligarchies wield a tremendous amount of power and sometimes abuse that power at the expense of the public good. Governments sometimes serve the interests of oligarchies and special interests and not of the people. Non-violent protests methods, in the Gandhian tradition, offer the best chance for people to assert their rights and change their governments when elections and other methods fail. George Orwell in 1984 shows us what the ultimate oligarchy might look like, and what to watch out for. Machiavelli shows us how power works. Anna Hazare proves that Gandhian non-violent protest methods are still relevant and viable. These non-violent protest methods offer the best check against tyranny of oligarchy and governmental abuse of power.

Key Words: Non-Violent, Protest, Anna Hazare, Oligarchy, Orwell, Big Brother.

Introduction

Fictional literature, like Orwell's classic 1984, stands as a warning to all societies of what can happen when the tyranny of totalitarian oligarchy, also known as "Big Brother", rules unchecked (Orwell). Orwell's "Big Brother" has come to symbolize any form of abusive government. Anna Hazare's Gandhian protest against corruption in India stands as proof that people still have the power to peacefully protest and change their government in a meaningful way to achieve a peaceful revolution. The fact that Anna means "big brother" is perfect, as Anna's use of Gandhian protest methods including marches and fasting offer the only real hope to remedy governmental abuse of power when elections don't work or when the government is non-responsive to the people. Peaceful protestor "Big Brother" offers the antidote to Orwell's tyrannical "Big Brother"!

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The article is dedicated by the author to "Number Seven"

In a critique of Charles Dickens' writing, Orwell observed "…every writer, especially every novelist, *has* a 'message,' whether he admits it or not, and the minutest of details of his work are influenced by it. All art is propaganda." (Packer, 2009). 1984 was widely seen at the time it was written, 1948, as a critique of the Soviet Union, but it is a critique of all totalitarian oligarchies and governments that abuse power. Though the fictional resistance fails in 1984 because there was no populist movement against Big Brother, Orwell's message indicting totalitarian oligarchies succeeds in illustrating what oligarchy can look like and what ultimate abuse of power can look like - "If you want a picture of the future, imagine a boot stamping on a human face - forever."(Orwell, 1949). Orwell shows citizens what to watch out for, and Anna Hazare shows us how to effectively and peacefully fight governmental abuse of power with a Gandhian populist movement. People everywhere can draw real comparisons to their particular situation and the fiction described by Orwell, and can work to prevent abuse of power before the Orwellian nightmare of perpetual oligarchy comes true. When a government no longer legitimately serves the interests of the people, the people have the right to alter or abolish the government (Jefferson, 1776). Altering government through Gandhian non-violent populist protests offers the only just and effective means of altering a government. Those using peaceful means of protests take the moral high-road; those in power are not justified in using force against peaceful protesters.

The photograph in this article is of Indian citizens peacefully marching or displaying sign in protest in support of Anna Hazare's protest against corruption in Mumbai, India, in 2011. These protests were going on nation-wide. I was fortunate to be in Mumbai at the time to witness thousands upon thousands of people peacefully protesting. Never in my life have I seen the power of the people in action, or the roots of democracy shaking the tree of government. As an American, I can say never, never have I seen the power of people peacefully protesting in massive numbers. More than 80% of Indians support Anna Hazare's campaign against corruption in government. A key difference between non-violent protest in America and in India, is that Indians kept the flame of the Gandhian legacy of peaceful protest alive on a large scale while Americans let the flame die out.

Americans, and citizens of the world can learn a thing or two from India's Gandhian movement most recently led by Anna Hazare. At the

least Anna Hazare's movement forced the government to consider a Lokpal bill, a bill to curb corruption in government. At the most, Anna Hazare's movement will force a political revolution and change of government. Through peaceful populists protests the people can alter their government and bring about peaceful revolution, just as Anna Hazare's movement is forcing change in India.

Figure-1: This photograph of people protesting non-violently supporting Anna Hazare's Gandhian anti-corruption movement in this article was taken by the author in Mumbai, India, on August 17th 2011, in front of the Ramada Plaza Palm Grove near Juhu Beach; all photographs in this article are copyright, James Headley, 2011.

Machiavelli and Orwell on Abuse of Power

As Anna Hazare shows us the *means with which to challenge corrupt organizations*, Machiavelli, Orwell, and Scott, show us *how governments and oligarchies can abuse power*. Most good fictional literature is grounded in fact or accepted theory, and Orwell's 1984 is no exception. Real Machiavellian tactics are illustrated in Orwell's fictional 1984. Machiavelli and Orwell each observed that the critical thinker is the most dangerous type of mind to those who would abuse power. The critical thinker is the one to be feared by princes and oligarchies bent on abusing human rights. Machiavelli and Orwell realized that "critical thinkers" are the key to holding power accountable for abuse of power. Control or eliminate the critical thinkers and there will be no one to challenge human rights abuses, no one to advocate for justice. When that point is reached in society law becomes irrelevant and oligarchy may be beyond revolution, perpetual.

While Machiavelli wrote The Prince, the how-to guide regarding power, in an effort to win favor with the Medici family in the Middle

Ages, Orwell wrote 1984 as a warning to all as to what to guard against(Machiavelli, Orwell). One has to have an idea of what abuse of power and human rights can look like so that one can be on guard against it, and one can try to prevent such a tyrannical oligarchy from coming into being. Orwell, using fictional literature gives us a tool with which to promote critical thinking and a way to combat Machiavellian tactics. The genius of Orwell is that not only did he recognize the power of Machiavellian tactics, but he saw how those tactics wedded with superior technology could result in a post-revolutionary world.

Please note that I refer to Orwell's "Big Brother" in 1984 as a synonym for the inner party as the rulers, though they are not necessarily the same things. There is no question that the inner party is the ruling oligarchy in 1984. Big Brother is an image presented early in the book; perhaps many believe that the image presented is that of an actual person and actual ruler, Big Brother. May be think of the Ronald McDonald clown as an example! Is that a real person or a front for an organization?! Or could the image be given the appearance of life and provide a front for another organization, kind of a mascot taken to extremes!? The image of Big Brother is exactly that, a front, and the inner party really rules. The front organization offers an air of legitimacy and a layer of insulation from the public.

Perception Control

1984 is often thought of in conjunction with governmental surveillance gone too far. While this is a valid observation, 1984 goes much, much deeper and more broadly. It is as if Orwell read Machiavelli's The Prince, and imagined a totalitarian oligarchy based on Machiavellian principles. The main tactic advocated by Machiavelli and adopted by Big Brother is "perception control". According to Machiavelli, appearance is more important than reality(Machiavelli). Reality is not important, and he does not care about actual justice- just appearance. Machiavelli is fine with using lies, deception, bribery, coercive force, or anything really to advance the rulers' interest and to make the citizen come around to the ruler's point of view. Everything in 1984 is aimed at perception control.

The Spotlight of Transparency as a Weapon

Big Brother's use of surveillance is invasive and total. The oligarchy in 1984 uses technology for surveillance to the point of totally eliminating any privacy. Professor James C. Scott writing about the power of the state discusses the idea of "legibility", the idea that everything and everyone can be tracked and accounted for and this "legibility" or transparency gives the state or some in power particular advantage. The state's power increases with "legibility" or transparency. Professor Scott says of this transparency "…it is likely to create new positional advantages for those at the apex who have the knowledge and access to decipher the new state-created format." (Scott, 1998). Technology is indeed making society more "legible". Iphone users and Ipad users locations are commonly tracked by a hidden file that stores cell phone tower data (The New York Times, 11 April, 2011). Police regularly make use of sophisticated license plate scanning and reading computers to solve a variety of crimes (The New York Times, 12 April, 2011). Through advancing technology society is becoming more legible every day. Who controls this data is important, and in 1984 Big Brother controls everything.

Big Brother is at the apex of power in 1984 and possesses total information awareness and has significant advantages. Some would say that those in power should act openly, in the Sunshine so to speak, so that power cannot hide malfeasance and can be held accountable. Think of a spotlight shining brightly one way. The group in the light can be seen clearly and be held accountable for its actions. The group on the operating side of the spotlight is in control of the light and can act in privacy. Normally the less powerful hold the light on the more powerful to prevent abuse of power- that is the traditional idea of transparency of government. The ruling party should be transparent or "legible" to the people being ruled. However, the spotlight can be taken over by the more powerful oligarchy and trained on the less powerful population. When this happens, the light becomes a weapon of control; the less powerful can be tracked and prevented from conspiring to over-throw the oligarchy, while the powerful hide on the dark side of the spotlight and abuse power with impunity. Democracies can use technology of transparency for oppression too. On this very day, Independence Day in

India, August 15th, 2011, some in India are questioning where their freedoms have gone and comparing their democratic government to Orwells Big Brother!

Cadastral Maps and Governmental Control

Professor Scott, in Seeing Like a State, discusses the history and uses of a "cadastral map". The cadastral map was developed by the early states or governments in an attempt to accurately identify all real estate- and the people that went with the real estate for tax purposes and so that individuals could be conscripted into military service too. Cadastral maps are one basis of power of modern states. Implicitly, Big Brother takes the idea of a cadastral map to another level through the domination of information technology. Big Brother's Orwellian cadastral map identifies everybody. Implicitly, every person is identified and their whereabouts and activities are known at all times. So rebels and dissidents, like Winston, had nowhere to hide. With no where to hide, Winston was easy prey for Big Brother. An oligarchy like Big Brother could use information technology as a weapon system or a super cadastral map to ferret out and eliminate any and all resistance if its technology is good enough. Fortunately, technology is not yet that advanced! May be technology is closer than we would like to think though. Cell phones are widely used around the world, and cell phones provide a wealth of data.

> …Scientists are able to pinpoint 'influencers', the people most likely to make others change their minds. The data can predict with uncanny accuracy where people are likely to be at any given time in the future….The data can reveal subtle symptoms of mental illness, foretell movements in the Dow Jones Industrial Average, and chart the spread of political ideas as they move through a community much like a contagious virus…Another study was able to determine that two people were talking about politics-without the researchers hearing the call…(The Wall Street Journal, 23-24 April, 2011).

Today scientists can figure out who is talking about politics, without hearing the conversation. That is a frightening and sobering reality, and

this technology takes the world one step closer to an Orwellian oligarchy. And there are real world contenders of would-be Orwellian oligarchies.

Existing Oligarchies

The present governments of China and Myanmar offer troublesome examples of authoritarian oligarchies. The Chinese government routinely suppresses human rights and advocates of human rights in an Orwellian fashion. Examples of human rights abuses by the Chinese government are legion, and the following example is typical.

> A human rights advocate in Sichuan has been formally arrested and charged with inciting subversion against the state….Mr. Chen is the third person in recent days to be charged with inciting subversion in an extraordinarily harsh crackdown on progressives in China….The other two,…, like Mr. Chen, [are known] to be promoters of the rule of law and democracy….(The New York Times, 31 March, 2011).

It is no secret that the Chinese government uses every tool it has to suppress those that challenge its oligarchy and those that advocate the rule of law and democracy, just as Big Brother did in 1984.

China holds itself out as a communist country, but in communism there is supposed to be no private property ownership! Private property ownership is a central tenant of capitalism. China, using capitalist methods to develop its economy, recently surpassed Japan in global economic output. So, China claims to be communist and capitalist at the same time- which is impossible. Big Brother in 1984 maintained similar contradictions, and even had a word for the idea- "doublethink". Another word for the concept is fraud. Moreover, dislocating the populations sense of reality was central to Big Brother's success. China appears to be getting away with claiming the intellectual and factual impossibility of claiming to be both communist and capitalist at the same time! China, in a Machiavellian way, is manipulating perception to pass off a false-hood, an impossibility, as reality and successfully dislocating much of the worlds population's sense of reality. The

present Chinese oligarchy is a fine contender indeed as a real-world representative of Orwell's Inner Party. The citizens of China should follow the Gandhian example of Anna Hazare's non-violent populists protests to force change, to achieve a peaceful democratic revolution.

Similarly to China, the government of Myanmar makes a show of civilian government as a front for its oligarchy.

> A nominally civilian government took office in Myanmar, formerly known as Burma. But the change was mostly one of political structure, as the military, which has ruled for half a century, maintained its grip on power….The head of the former junta, Senior Gen. Than Shwe, will remain the power behind the scenes and have the right to override civilian rule by decree (The New York Times, 31 March, 2011).

The government of Myanmar is nothing more than a military dictatorship with a "civilian government" for a front. Both the Chinese government and the government of Myanmar present real world examples of Orwellian like oligarchies, but they may not be the only powerful oligarchies. The present government of North Korea is an Orwellian oligarchy that holds 200,000 political prisoners- potentially 200,000 "Winston Smiths" are being imprisoned (The New York Times, 05 May, 2011). There are other contenders, corporate contenders among them.

Corporate power presents questions of oligarchy. Consider that the largest corporation in the United States, General Electric, made profits of more than 14 billion dollars in 2010 and paid 0 in income taxes (The New York Times, 25 March, 2011). Rather, General Electric claimed a tax credit of more than 3 billion dollars! In effect the United States Government is to a very large degree subsidizing the largest corporation in the country and one of the largest in the world. It sure looks like corporate power, at least in some instances, captains the ship of state. G.E.'s CEO advises the President of the United States on economic policy. As institutions of power, corporations rival and in many cases surpass nation states (Nace, 2003). In 2007 global GDP was estimated to be about 47 trillion dollars, and the top 250 corporations had sales of almost 15 trillion dollars, or about one-third of the entire global GDP! (Rothkopf, 2008-2009). Matt Taibbi makes a great case that major

global banking corporations made out like bandits, at public expense, in the great 2008 financial crises (Taibbi, 2010).

In 1984 Big Brother and the inner party, a "super class", benefit the most from the government's policies. David Rothkopf makes a compelling case there is presently a "super class" of global elites numbering about 6,000 people that wield a hugely disproportionate amount of power, hold a disproportionate amount of the worlds wealth, and essentially sets the agenda for the world (Rothkopf, 2008-2009). This "super class" sure sounds a lot like Orwell's Inner Party and an oligarchy or group of oligarchies! Even a super class is dependant upon the vast majority of people "buying into" the system and going along with it. If a majority of the population of any country does not like how they are being treated, they can employ populists Gandhian non-violent protest methods to assert their power and demand equal rights and justice.

Indian scholars and professionals recommended 10 reforms to curb governmental corruption in line with Anna Hazare's protest movement: 1) election reforms including state funding, 2) a reasonable and transparent tax structure that is enforced, 3) liberal and contemporary laws that citizens can understand and respect, 4) reduce the role of government in peoples lives to the minimum, 5) to curb the discretionary powers of ministers, 6) to give the public sector genuine autonomy, 7) introduce sweeping reforms and stronger judicial accountability, 8) pay police and government employees market indexed salaries commensurate with their responsibility, 9) blacklist corrupt businessmen, and 10) transparency and stricter scrutiny of government orders and sale of publicly owned assets (The Times of India, 19 August, 2011). These ten proposed reforms are great, but two important aspects remain unaddressed. Corruption is presently, prior to any reform, against the law in India. Existing laws, specifically anti-corruption laws must be enforced. Just as importantly, multi-national corporations and oligarchies must be held accountable through adequate laws that are enforced. Abuse of power by governments, and by oligarchies, should be prevented. Due process and justice in every country requires clear laws that are enforced fairly.

Rule of Law and Fear

Early on Orwell establishes that there is no rule of law in the fictional state of Oceania, Big Brother's state in 1984. It is a significant point because if there is no rule of law, no written laws, then all law enforcement is arbitrary and subjective. Big Brother rules through fear and intimidation, force, lies, and misrepresentations. A definition of tyranny may be an arbitrary and subjective, abusive form of government that selectively mistreats its people for no good reason and one that does not follow a rule of law in pursuit of justice. In 1984 there is no written law, so citizens have to guess what is and what is not prohibited, and citizens live in fear of uncertainty. This fear is paralyzing as citizens do not know exactly what is against the law, and they see severe punishments. So citizens are timid and less likely to do anything that could be seen as controversial or provocative. Fear is a powerful weapon. On this point Orwell is clear, and by illustrating the power of fear in 1984 we all can have an idea of what life might look like under an oligarchy that does not follow a rule of law and we can better understand the merits of living under a meaningful rule of law. A just government protects human rights by following clear and just written laws and actually enforcing the laws. Clear and just laws reduce a citizen's fear and apprehension.

Mutability of the Past and Present

The oligarchy in 1984 completely controls the present to the point of controlling history, and the future. "'Who controls the past…controls the future: who controls the present controls the past.'"(Orwell). Big Brother re-wrote history to serve its own ends, regardless of the truth. For example, Big Brother claimed to have invented airplanes! And Big Brother re-wrote history to reflect that made up fact. The Chinese government opened a grand new museum in Bejing to rival or surpass the British Museum and the Louve in size, but the museum tells only the ruling parties' story of "history"(The New York Times, 04 April, 2011). "The museum is less the product of extensive research, discovery or creativity than the most prominent symbol of the Communist Party's efforts to control the narrative history and suppress alternative points of view…"(The New York Times, 04 April, 2011).

Just like Big Brother in 1984, the Chinese government is using its control of the present to control the perception of the past as well as the perception of the future. "'the party wants to determine historical truth'"(The New York Times, 04 April, 2011), again just as Big Brother does in 1984.

Another striking example of writing a fictional history and passing it off as truth involves the story of Comrade Ogilvy. Wintson's job in 1984 went beyond censoring, as he made up stories to serve the oligarchy and passed off the stories as reality. Winston created Comrade Ogilvy out of whole cloth, a made up patriot and war hero. "At the age of three Comrade Ogilvy had refused all toys except a drum, a submachine gun, and a model helicopter."(Orwell). Comrade Ogilvy turned a family member into the thought police at an early age, designed a super hand-grenade at age 19, and died in glorious battle at the age of 23 fighting for Big Brother. A classic war hero, but Comrade Ogilvy's story was entirely made up and passed off as real! Pat Tillman's case should be discussed. A Comrade Ogilvy-like story could never happen in reality, right? Sadly Pat Tillman's story bears a striking resemblance. Soon after the September 11th, 2001 attacks on the United States, Pat Tillman, an American professional football player, decided to leave his lucrative career and join the Army. He was killed in Afghanistan and the United States military claimed at first that Pat Tillman died heroically in battle with the enemy. Later it came out that Pat Tillman was killed by his own troops and at least one general was reprimanded for the falsehood. (The New York Times, 01 August 2007). It sounds a lot like Comrade Ogilvy's story.

Orwell likes to use books within books to make points in 1984. He refers to portions of books within books to make two important points- one about history and perception, and the second about oligarchy. The point about oligarchy is explored later in this paper. Regarding history and perception, Orwell refers to a children's history book that had escaped destruction by Big Brother. From the child's history book, Winston noted "The capitalists owned everything in the world, and everyone else was their slave. They owned all the land, all the houses, all the factories, and all the money. If anyone disobeyed them they could throw him into prison…The chief of all capitalists was called the King…"(Orwell). Winston then goes on to observe that reality had not

changed from what was described in the child's history book, only the description of reality had changed. Big Brother changed the perception of reality for the masses through total control of the present- the past was molded to serve the interests of the ruling party.

Manual on Oligarchy

Some of the most powerful books are short works. Machiavelli's The Prince is a fine example of a powerful short work, in an evil genius kind of way. 1984 contains portions of two books within a book, literally, that are often overlooked. The first portion of a book within a book dealt with history and perception as discussed earlier. Towards the end of the book, there is a second short portion of a book within a book inserted and entitled "THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF OLIGARCHICAL COLLECTIVISM"(Orwell). In this part of a book within a book theory of oligarchy is explained, as are party slogans. "Ignorance is Strength" is a chief party slogan and in reality one can take it to mean that ignorance is strength for the ruler, not the oppressed. "War is Peace" describes the arrangement or collective of the world's oligarchies. The oligarchies are continually at war with one each other, but in reality only in small numbers. The conflicts are never really big, never severe. The wars might even be fictional and used to deceive and manipulate the population. War justifies each oligarchies rule, as the oligarchy argues to its people "we have to keep you safe from the evil other- you need us" and war justifies sacrifices from common people. Each oligarchy can say, look we are at war and the troops are making great sacrifices so you need to too. War preserves the unequal class status by keeping the poor, poor. Constant war becomes the norm. If ones sense of reality is controlled and changed, war can equal peace.

Maslow's hierarchy of needs comes into play here. People cannot think about grand ideas, rights and revolutions, if they are hungry and starving. People have to take care of pressing needs first, and the poor often don't get much beyond looking for their next meal, which is nice for a Machiavellian oligarchy. The poor do not have time to think about equal rights, let alone fight for them. A middle class is best situated to fight for equal rights, and Anna Hazare garnered significant support

from the middle class. Perhaps the decline of peaceful protests in the United States is linked to the decline of the middle class.

Perpetual Oligarchy

Most importantly Orwell describes with Machiavellian insight the rule and the way for an oligarchy to perpetuate itself forever:

> "A ruling group is a ruling group so long as it can nominate it successors...Who wields power is not important, provided that the hierarchical structure remains always the same." [And]... "All past oligarchies have fallen from power either because they ossified or because they grew soft. Either they became stupid and arrogant, failed to adjust themselves to changing circumstances, and were overthrown, or because they became liberal and cowardly, made concessions when they should have used force, and once again were overthrown. They fell, that is to say, either through consciousness or unconsciousness. It is the achievement of the Party to have produced a system of thought in which both conditions can exist simultaneously. And upon no other intellectual basis could the dominion of the Party be made permanent. If one is to rule, and to continue ruling, one must be able to dislocate the sense of reality."(Orwell).

While Orwell's portion of a book within a book, THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF OLLIGARCHICAL COLLECTIVISM, is short it is every bit as powerful as Machiavelli's short masterwork on power, The Prince. Regarding power and oligarchy, Orwell picked up where Machiavelli left off in a sense. A real oligarchy using principles described by Machiavelli and Orwell may indeed establish a post-revolutionary world.

Conclusion- Hope and the Right of Revolution

There is hope for humanity as Orwell's predicted 1984 has not come true yet and people around the world are largely free to think. No society or organization has figured out how to employ a complete Big Brother-like censorship or thought-control regime, though censorship

does occur to varying degrees in many countries and oligarchies do exist. There is hope in art, movies, education, literature fictional and otherwise, and in the internet. Truths can be inspired and expressed in many mediums and spread over the internet. People can use technology to communicate protest, and arrange and coordinate protest. People around the world, again to varying degrees, can access all types of information in various forms, think critically, wake up to their reality, and decide how to proceed. People can work to protect the right of privacy, realizing that if they lose too much privacy to a government or powerful organization, that lost privacy can be turned as a spotlight-like weapon against them. Of rebellion, Orwell said " Until they become conscious they will never rebel, and until after they have rebelled they cannot become conscious." (Orwell). "Consciousness", being aware and thinking critically can be an act of rebellion against injustice. Consciousness is the first step in recognizing injustice (and therefore the first step in revolution), and fictional literature like 1984 can help awaken people to reality, dangers, and what to work for. There is hope for people to become aware, so that Orwell's dystopia does not become reality. And people working together against injustice can defeat oppressors, as Orwell said the people can "…rise up and shake themselves like a horse shaking off flies." (Orwell).

Non-violent revolution offers people the best hope against injustice. Big Brother figured out how to crush the thought and crush the act of revolution in 1984. Some, like Chris Hedges, claim that corporate oligarchies have essentially "won" already. "All resistance must recognize that the corporate coup d'etat is complete. We must not waste our energy trying to reform or appeal to systems of power. This does not mean the end of resistance, but it does mean very different forms of resistance."(Hedges, 2011). Mr. Hedges might be right about the corporate coup d'etat. Different forms of resistance include using literature, like 1984, to point out the injustice of oligarchy. Through the powerful fictional example of 1984 we know what to watch out for, what to work for, and what to guard against- and where to find hope- in revolution. It remains to be seen whether a large scale Gandhian non-violent protest movement could succeed against a ruthless totalitarian regime such as Hilter's regime, or China's regime. We can only speculate about how such methods might have fared against Hitler's

regime, and we will have to see what happens with China and other countries. There is reason for optimisim.

India presents the important example of Anna Hazare's protest against corruption in 2011. India and Gandhian protests stand as a precedent to citizens of the world demonstrating the means a civil society can use non-violent to achieve justice, change, and revolution. When elections fail, or when governments turn a deaf ear, "Big Brother" Anna Hazare's Gandhian protests methods employed by a large percentage of the population offer the best remedy against Orwell's abusive "Big Brother" government or oligarchy.

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Introducing E-learning Programme: A Pragmatic Consideration for Bangladesh

Eman Hossain[1], Md. Maruf Morshed[2] and Mizanur Rahman Jewel[3]

Abstract: E-learning methods are widely used in countries around the world to promote distance education and life long learning. It is an innovative approach for delivering electronically mediated, well-designed, learner-centered and interactive learning environments to anyone, anyplace, anytime by utilizing the internet and digital technologies in line with instructional design principles. Today e-learning resources on the internet provide numerous information that are designed to deliver information about distance learning and educational technology and to support and promote accessible alternative to school education and job training in the Americas, Europe, Asia and throughout the world.

The present paper deals with the recent scenario of e-learning in Bangladesh and proposes the introduction of e-learning programme in the academic disciplines of Bangladesh. The paper also tries to explore the challenges in the way to e-learning in the country. Finally it points out the drawbacks and suggests the recommendation for the introduction of the e-learning-programme in Bangladesh. The research questionnaire method has been used and two questionnaires have been used for the teachers and learners of the different universities of the country to bring into light the recent scenario of the country.

Key-words: E-learning, Virtual and Distance Education, Internet Technology, Class Management, Bangladesh Open University (BOU).

Introduction

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Bangladesh is one of the most densely populated countries in the world with nearly 160 million people within an area of 147,570 square kilometers. The country's vast population could be a major resource of the country. However, in transforming the population into a productive force and ensuring a dynamic environment for social, economic and political development is a big challenge for its government. Though the official literacy rate is said to be 66%, but according to private survey the real rate is only 42%. Education, therefore, has been recognized as a priority sector by all governments since Bangladesh achieved independence in 1971. Distance education is an important alternative for educating mass people in Bangladesh for many socio-economic reasons. More importantly, the opportunity for higher education is extremely limited in Bangladesh, and even students who can afford to finance their studies, find it very difficult to get admission into the universities due to limited capacity (Sadeq, 2003).

Bangladesh first introduced e-learning in 1956 by a radio-broadcasting program, later in 1992 Bangladesh established its first and only distance learning university known as the Bangladesh Open University (BOU). The University's learning technology is mostly traditional one-way media and the students are listeners with test papers. However, the drop out rate in BOU is extremely high.

Definition of e-learning

E-learning (electronic- learning) is a term that encompasses all forms of Technology-Enhanced Learning (TEL) or very specific types of TEL such as online or web-based learning. Nevertheless, the term does not have a universally accepted definition (Sadeq, 2003), and there are divides in the e-learning industry about whether a technology-enhanced system can be called e-learning if there is no set pedagogy as some argue e-learning is: "pedagogy empowered by digital technology". (Source- Internet)

The term e-learning is ambiguous to those outside the e-learning industry, and even within its diverse disciplines it has different meanings to different people (Dublin, 2003). For instance in companies, it often refers to the strategies that use the company network to deliver training courses to employees and lately in most universities, e-learning is used to define a specific mode to attend a course or program of study where the students rarely or never meet face-to-face, nor access on-

campus educational facilities, because they study online. However, generally three forms of e-learning are available and are used in different institutions. These are namely, web-based training, supported online training and informal e-learning (Mason, 2002). The following table summarizes the key characteristics of these approaches:

Table 1: **Three forms of e-learning**

Web-based training	Supported online training	Informal e-learning
Content-focused	Learner-focused	Group-focused
Delivery-driven	Activity-driven	Practice-driven
Individual learning	Small group learning	Organizational learning
Minimal interaction with tutor	Significant interaction with tutor	Participants act as learners and tutors
No collaboration with other learners	Considerable interaction with other learners	Multi-way interactions among participants

Goals and benefits of e-learning

E-learning can provide benefits for the organizations and individuals involved.

- **Improved performance:** A 12-year meta-analysis of research by the U.S, Department of Education found that higher education students in online learning generally performed better than those in face-to-face courses. (Means, et.al, 2009)

- **Increased access:** Instructors of the highest caliber can share their knowledge across borders, allowing students to attend courses across physical, political, and economic boundaries. Recognized experts have the opportunity of making information available internationally, to anyone interested at minimum costs. For example, the 'MIT Open Course Ware' program has made substantial portions university's curriculum and lectures available for free online.

- **Convenience and flexibility to learners:** In many contexts, e-learning is self-paced and the learning sessions are available

24x7. Learners are not bound to a specific day/time to physically attend classes. They can also pause learning sessions at their convenience. The high technology is not necessary for all online courses. Basic internet access, audio, and video capabilities are common requirements (Kerkman, 2004). Depending on the technology used, students can begin their courses while at work and finish them at home on a different computer.

- **Skills and competencies development:** To develop the skills and competencies needed in the 21st century, in particular to ensure that learners have the digital literacy skills required in their discipline, profession or career Bates (2009)(Bates, 2009) on June 24th, 2009 states that a major argument for e-learning is that it enables learners to develop essential skills for knowledge-based workers by embedding the use of information and communication technologies within the curriculum. He also argues that using e-learning in this way has major implications for course design and the assessment of learners.

Additional advantages of computer-based training over traditional classroom training include the ability to:

- Pay less per credit hour

- Reduce overall training time

- Spread out training over extended periods of time (even months)

- Bookmark progress (computer remembers where the student left off so they can resume the courses from there)

- Remain in one location (i.e., home, office, airport, coffee shop, etc.) with no need to travel

- Receive quality training that bolsters job performance

E-learning in Higher Education: By 2006, nearly 3.5 million students were participating in on-line learning at institutions of higher education in the United States. "Sloan Consortium". According to the Sloan Foundation reports, (Allen and Seaman, 2008) (Allen and Seaman, 2003): there has been an increase of around 12-14 percent per year on average in enrollments for fully online learning over the five years 2004-2009 in the US post-secondary system, compared with an average of approximately 2 percent increase per year in overall enrollments.

Allen and Seamen (2009) claim that almost a quarter of all students in post-secondary education were taking fully online courses in 2008, and a report by Ambient Insight Research (2009) suggests that in 2009, 44 percent of post-secondary students in the USA were taking some or all of their courses online, and projected that this figure would rise to 81 percent by 2014. Thus it can be seen that e-learning is moving rapidly from the margins to being a predominant form of post-secondary education, at least in the USA.

Many higher educational institutions now offer on-line classes for profit. By contrast, only about half of private, non-profit schools offer them. The Sloan report, based on a poll of academic leaders, says that students generally appear to be at least as satisfied with their on-line classes as they are with traditional ones. Private institutions may become more involved with on-line presentations as the cost of instituting such a system decreases. Properly trained staff must also be hired to work with students on-line. These staff members need to understand the content area, and also be highly trained in the use of the computer and internet. Online education is rapidly increasing, and online doctoral programs have even developed at leading research universities. (Hebert, 2007)

Contemporary trends in e-learning

The growing interest in e-learning seems to be coming from several directions. These include organizations that have traditionally offered distance education programs either in a single, dual or mixed mode setting. They see the incorporation of online learning in their repertoire as a logical extension of their distance education activities. The corporate sector, on the other hand, is interested in e-learning as a way of rationalizing the costs of their in-house staff training activities. E-learning is of interest to residential campus-based educational organizations as well. They see e-learning as a way of improving access to their programs and also as a way of tapping into growing niche markets. The growth of e-learning is directly related to the increasing access to information and communication technology, as well as its decreasing cost. The capacity of information and communication technology to support multimedia resource-based learning and teaching is also relevant to the growing interest in e-learning. Growing number of teachers are increasingly using information and communication

technology to support their teaching. The contemporary student populations (often called the "Net Generation", or "Millennial") who have grown up using information and communication technology also expect to see it being used in their educational experiences.

Educational organizations also see advantages in making their programs accessible via a range of distributed locations, including on campus, home and other community learning or resource centers. Despite this level of interest in e-learning, it is not free from constraints and limitations. The fundamental obstacle to the growth of e-learning is lack of access to the necessary technology infrastructure, for lack of which there can be no e-learning. Poor or insufficient technology infrastructure is just as bad as it can lead to unsavory experiences that can cause more damage than good to teachers, students and the learning experience. While the costs of the hardware and software are falling, often there are other costs that have often not been factored into the deployment of e-learning ventures. The most important of them include the costs of infrastructure support and its maintenance, and appropriate training of staff to enable them to make the most of the technology.

E-Learning and Challenges for Bangladesh

The common e-learning Technology likely to be used by Bangladeshi entrepreneurs under a "**National E-learning Promotion Package**" is a set of courses consisted of many independent learning objects or lessons, that could be combined, customized, and reused in any course depending on the course requirements. The modularity of this approach eliminated excessive duplication of course content, allowing for highly efficient course creation. This allowed for one topic to be taught in many different courses, regardless of context. The focus on this kind of e-learning initiative is to set the basis for a powerful online training program that would allow all e-learning clients to create customized e-learning programs. In today's e-learning market, there are two distinct systems that may or may not be implemented in conjunction with each other. The most popular solution is a **LMS** (Learning Management System) - a high-level framework used to manage the user's learning curricula. On the other hand, a **LCMS** (Learning Content Management System) is a low-level framework that is responsible for administering, packaging and launching course content on a small-scale level. Located in the middle of this infrastructure is the learning content.

Promoting Technology in Bangladeshi Institutions: In a developing country like Bangladesh, the term "literacy" evokes the concept of reading and writing, but by including "computer literacy" skills, the population can leap forward into the use of new technology. Defining the scope and substance of teacher training is needed to integrate computing into schools, including the training required to make teachers themselves 'computer literate'. Instructional technology and the World Wide Web offer powerful teaching resources that provide educators with a limitless wealth of information and shared professional knowledge. Instead of spending time mastering instructional technology, teacher could simply guide the process by knowing the rules but not necessarily be skilled in the details. Similarly, a teacher can act as the caretakers or moderator of the technology and let students master their subject of interest on their own in their preferred direction relying on the vast online resources available for free. It will take time before teachers could make the needed adjustments and developments to their new teaching philosophy and arrive at a middle ground where they feel comfortable and start applying constructivist teaching philosophy to create meaningful learning experiences for their students.

Although, the digital technology in general (including the Grameen Telecom network of Bangladesh) is brining different part of the country's population together, it is creating at the same time, a divide where huge percentage of the country's population is left without any access to digital world, and it is of little value if a quarter of the population cannot read or write, or if it fails to deal with the life and death questions that affect the society. An obvious solution for that will be for the part of local governments and educational institutions to develop local contents and same time for the part of the central government to put in place the technical requirements in order to facilitate the presence and use of comprehensive text and images on the Internet.

Bangladesh Open University (BOU) has current enrollment of approximately 400 thousand and provides higher education and professional training in wide areas such as agriculture, business, education, arts, and science. However, all the courses are based on traditional one-way media using national TV and radio-broadcasts and far behind to use modern computer based interactive technologies. Promoting new interactive and advanced mode of teaching is very

important for today's distance learning environment. It is also possible to utilize a mixed mode uses of several different media methods or deliveries such as video, CD-ROM and e-mail. "Single mode delivery systems do not provide enough instructional power to ignite the student's interest because they fail to provide student involvement"(Hirschbuhletal.1995).

Management and implementation of e-learning :E-learning, like any organized educational activity is a very complex undertaking. Many organizations seeking to engage in e-learning activities quite often overlook the fact that its successful deployment requires the same level of diligence and rigor in its planning, management and implementation that is necessary in setting up conventional education systems. In fact, e-learning has added elements such as the technology infrastructure that require attention far beyond that is necessary in conventional educational settings. Furthermore, e-learning is neither a cheap nor an easy educational option. It does not offer a quick fix for problems associated with dwindling enrollments, distance education or poor teaching and learning. Lack of careful planning and implementation of e-learning can actually lead to decreasing standards and morale, poor performance in learning and teaching, and wasted resources and loss of revenue. Any effort to embark on e-learning must be preceded by very careful planning. This would necessarily comprise, strategic and operational planning that are consistent with the values, mission and goals of an organization. Educational organizations that have a history of employing alternative approaches to learning and teaching such as distance education will have many of the prerequisites and dispositions for e-learning already in place which they can easily capitalize and build upon. However, conventional campus-based educational organizations that have traditionally relied on residential face-to-face classroom-based learning and teaching activity would need to reconsider their values, mission and goals of educational provision in order to adequately accommodate the adoption of e-learning activities. A critical component of this orienting or reorienting for the successful adoption of e-learning is institutional sponsorship.

Administrative requirements of e-learning: Like any organized educational activity, e-learning needs to be very systemically managed. Foremost this will include attention to the technology and the infrastructure that is necessary to support it. It will include different

approaches to course design and development and strategies for generating and managing subject matter content which is suitable in conventional educational settings (see also Naidu, 1994; 2003). While this is crucial to the success of any e-learning activity, technology is not the driver of the initiative. It is there to serve an educational function; it is a tool for learning and teaching. However, it has to be robust, reliable and affordable. It is critical to ensure that this is so, just as it is important to ensure that in a classroom-based educational setting, the classroom is available and it is comfortable, and it has the necessary equipment such as tables and chairs and other tools for teaching and learning to take place. Most teachers and students in such educational settings would take these facilities for granted and they will be unaware of what goes on behind the scenes to ensure that the classroom setting works in the way in which it is expected to work. Staffs and students alike would be very agitated if the computer, the projector, or the lights in the classroom did not work, as that would be very disruptive to their learning and teaching activities. In the same way e-learning technology needs to work just as transparently and friendly to allow teachers and students to concentrate on learning and teaching and not be distracted by the technology. If teachers and students have to be taught to operate this technology, then there should be processes and programs in place for this training to occur routinely.

Course Design and Development: Like any other organized educational activity, e-learning is a team effort, as a number of people and a range of expertise need to be brought together to make e-learning work. In conventional educational systems, course design and development is the sole responsibility of the subject matter expert who is also the teacher. E-learning will require the delivery of that subject matter content in alternative forms such as online or on a CD-ROM. Some teachers are able to produce their content themselves. However, this might not be the best use of their time and expertise in most educational settings. A more efficient and effective model of course development is the team approach, which brings together people with subject matter knowledge and expertise in the development of technology enhanced learning materials. However, the establishment and nurturing of such a team process is not to be taken lightly as it has implications on where the boundaries lie for various types of expertise and on the costs of supporting it across a large organization .

Major Challenges/ Limitations

- From the observation, it is true to a certain extent that e-learning has not become so popular.
- One of the major drawbacks of e-learning system of Bangladesh is that the teacher and the student do not have transparent idea about the system.
- Though the certificates obtained through e-learning have equal status in comparison with the general education system "e-certificates" are not properly evaluated for job.
- Another important limitation of the system is that students do not have clear concept on e-learning methodology

Limited internet connectivity, inadequate computer and communication infrastructure make it difficult for universities and institutions to access and download full text databases and other key resources. However, the following are the specific areas that stand as obstacles to introduce the system.

Lack of finance: The major challenge in improving e-learning education is the lack of finance. It is not possible to make any resource available without appropriate financial support.

Inadequate Infrastructure: In Bangladesh generally the universities and institutions are conducting the education which is not adequately established with well furnished computer laboratory and library facilities because the administration does not feel any need to provide computer lab facilities, library facilities, communication equipments and other information science components and necessary infrastructures required for LIS departments. E-learning requires a certain investment in hardware, software, and support staff.

Lack of Knowledge and Training: One of the main constraints of e-learning systems is that students do not know how to use the particular information technology. Much more attention will be required in the future web based training that will be delivered over the internet using the non propriety www server and client technology. Despite the increase in number of institutions offering distance programs, little is known about the teaching practices that contribute to effective online course design and delivery.

Insufficient Contact Classes: Being a practical oriented course, LIS education requires computer training and practical classes for

classification and cataloguing with personal contact between teacher and student, but the number of days for contact classes are very limited.

Lack of High Quality Teaching Staff: Most of the LIS institutions have senior teachers of old age and they are not ready to accept the changing nature of the subject. Few departments have skilled fresh faculty but they stand as juniors and work under pressure of seniors. Experienced regular teachers are not much involved in the distance education program.

Lack of Evaluation: There is no mechanism of assessing teaching effectiveness and quality of study materials of distance learning program courses. Students' evaluations of teaching will help to provide instructors and course designers with feedback about the quality of their efforts.

Lack of a Global Perspective: There is a lack of coordinated and effective programs of international studies in Library and Information Science Education in Bangladesh for future programs that are clearly defined in the mission, goals and objectives of e-learning.

Lack of IT Proficiency: In a developing country like Bangladesh, professionals are facing severe shortage of ICT facilities and mentors for education. There are certain specific problems that act as deterrents for the library education of Bangladesh for adopting modernization i.e., low computer literacy among students of LIS; lack of basic knowledge of hardware and software among working professionals; and inadequate funds for purchase, installation and working with computers in school, college, public libraries and universities.

Conclusion

Bangladesh is facing significant challenges in its effort to catch up with the rest of the world in terms of improvement of the living conditions of its general population. The only way the country can do so is by transforming the population into a productive force. The Government of Bangladesh needs to embrace an innovative strategy to address these challenges; central to this strategy is a requirement to improve the education and skill of the people, at all levels. E-learning has the potential to help address these challenges. In Bangladesh, barriers to technological development remained tied to the barriers to any economic developments. In order to carry out a successful e-learning

strategy, the country desperately needs to get rid of these barriers and implement progressive laws that encourage open free markets. Bangladesh should start implementing e-learning solutions through the Ministry of Education. This can be done by creating market-based competition for the e-learning industry, a sensible set of regulations, ensuring respect for private local and foreign investments and the rule of law that would promote confidence in entrepreneurs seeking to employ new ventures relating to e-learning technology.

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Shakespeare's Representation of Women in his Tragedies

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Abstract: Shakespeare's representation of women, and the ways in which his female roles are interpreted and enacted, have become topics of scholarly interest. Shakespeare's heroines encompass a wide range of characterizations and types. Within the gallery of female characters, Shakespeare's women characters display great intelligence, vitality, and a strong sense of personal independence. These qualities have led some critics to consider Shakespeare a champion of womankind and an innovator who departed sharply from flat, stereotyped characterizations of women common to his contemporaries and earlier dramatists. Contrastingly, other commentators note that even Shakespeare's most favorably portrayed women possess characters that are tempered by negative qualities. They suggest that this indicates that Shakespeare was not free of misogynistic tendencies that were deep-seated in the culture of his country and era. William Shakespeare lived during the Elizabethan era and wrote all his works based on the society of that time. The Elizabethan era was a time when women were portrayed to be weaker than men. During that time it was said that "women are to be seen, and not heard." In this article an attempt has been taken to explore Shakespeare's presentation of women in his tragedies demonstrating his feelings about women and their roles in society.

Key Words: Patriarchy, Femininity, Monarch, Masculinity, Stereotypical.

The historical records reveal that the position of women in the society was extremely miserable. Women occupied a very inferior position and were always oppressed. It was a natural phenomenon and practiced in every house-whether rich or poor. Shakespeare, the greatest dramatist,

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has observed it very minutely and represented it carefully in his writings. In Shakespeare's writing, he shows positive attitude towards the female characters especially in his famous tragedies: *Hamlet, Othello, Macbeth, King Lear, Antony and Cleopatra, Romeo and Juliet*. According to Virginia Woolf, Shakespeare is the writer who made his writings transparent and free of any personal vices for delineating the women characters in his tragedies. Shakespeare, with his extraordinary genius for portraying human behaviour, depicts the condition of women in a patriarchal society and his women characters who in their richness, transcend the limitations of time and Shakespearean theme becomes timeless.

Shakespeare's treatment of Ophelia of the tragedy *Hamlet* begins with an exploration of the effects of a patriarchal system upon the character. Ophelia, it would seem, wholly at the mercy of the male figures throughout her life, is certainly a victim figure. Although it has been claimed by critics that Hamlet is unique amongst Shakespeare's tragic heroes, who is not to blame for the tragedy of the play, but if we are to consider the death of the heroine as part of this tragedy then surely we must question Hamlet's innocence. In his treatment of Ophelia, Hamlet oscillates between undying love and cruelty as reflected in his cold and accusing speech in the 'nunnery scene'. In short, Hamlet throughout the play uses Ophelia as a tool in his revenge plan.

To examine this culpability more deeply, however, it could be suggested that it is Queen Gertrude's behaviour that has instigated Hamlet's unforgivable treatment of Ophelia: She transgresses the patriarchal bounds of femininity by marrying so soon after her husband's death and not remaining in passive grief and obedient devotion to his memory. This provides Hamlet with a model of women's inconstancy. His bitterness leads him to believe that all women are untrustworthy - 'Frailty thy name is woman'. Whichever way we view his culpability, Ophelia suffers as a result of Hamlet's patriarchal values of womanhood.

With regard to her father and brother, the two direct ruling male forces in her life, Ophelia is also very much a victim. Unquestioningly obeying their remonstrance against pursuing a relationship with Hamlet, she rejects his advances which of course she believes to be genuine and thus when he pretends to be mad she believes it to be her fault. Her speech reflects her deep and genuine sorrow:

> "And I of ladies, most deject and wretched
> That sucked honey of his music vows
> O woe is me".(III.i.157-62)

Ophelia's feeling of guilt is reinforced by Polonius's insistence on King Claudius:

> "But Yet I do believe
> The origin and commencement of this grief
> Sprung from neglected love" (III.i.177-80)

Polonius's conviction, in which one can't help believing, stems from a mercenary desire to marry his daughter off to such an eligible husband as the prince of Denmark, rather than a genuine belief in his daughter's role in causing Hamlet's madness.

Thus when Hamlet murders her father, Ophelia enters a double realm of guilt, believing herself to be blamed for both Hamlet's madness and her father's death. As a result she becomes mad. Ophelia has been defended by some feminist critics like Elaine Showalter. She thinks that Ophelia is surrounded by powerful men: her father, brother and Hamlet. All these disappear: Laertes leaves, Hamlet abandons her and Polonius dies. Conventional theories had argued that without these three powerful men making decisions for her, Ophelia is driven into madness.

Ophelia, the dominated daughter, is completely dependent. Although a flash of her potential self-will shines through at the beginning of the play, when we learn that Ophelia has entertained Hamlet without paternal consent, this is stifled very quickly by Polonius and Laertes - the double voice of the patriarchy, telling her that she is naive and that her behaviour is unsuitable. Ophelia, daunted by their claims that she has mistaken Hamlet's love, assumes that her father and brother necessarily know best and replies simply 'I will obey'. Shakespeare shows, however, that it is this obedience of Ophelia that leads to her own destruction, and illustrates that when the guiding male is like the cynical Polonius or the unperceptive Laertes, the fate of the subordinate female is considerably threatened.

In the later tragedy, *Othello*, it can also be argued that the tragedy occurs from adherence to patriarchal rules and stereotypes. Gayle Greene summarises this position in her claim that the tragedy of Othello

stems from "men's misunderstandings of women and women's inability to protect themselves from society's conception of them". Certainly Desdemona's very much feminised qualities of passivity, softness and obedience are no match for Othello's masculine qualities of dominance, aggression and authority. After Othello in his jealousy has struck Desdemona and spoken harshly to her, she tells Iago, 'I am a child to chiding'. Protected by a system which makes women the weaker, dependent sex, Desdemona is unequipped to deal with such aggression; she is helpless against Othello. Desdemona thus retreats into childlike behaviour to escape from reality.

At the close of the play Othello attempts to vindicate himself from intentional murder by claiming that he did nothing 'in malice', but is simply a man "that loved not wisely but too well". This speech illustrates the precarious position of love in a society submerged in stereotypes. Othello's excessive, 'unwise' love for Desdemona is tied up with his perception of her as representing perfect womanhood, and his underlying fear of her - endorsed by society - as whore. Like Hamlet, who tells Ophelia 'get thee to a nunnery' in order to protect her chastity and remove his fear of woman's infidelity, Othello too wishes to erase Desdemona's sexuality and potential for infidelity. His decision to kill her, he claims, is to prevent her from a further transgression – "Yet she must die, else she'll betray more men".(V.iii.6) As Iago's insinuations build, the gulf between this perception of Desdemona as angel and the fear of her as whore grows, leaving Othello in a void of confusion and doubt: "By the world,/ I think my wife be honest, and think she is not./I think thou art just, and then think thou art not." (III.iii.388-90) In Othello's refusal to hear Desdemona's own protestations of innocence, *Othello* is very much a tragedy in which the female is subordinated by the male.

While Ophelia silently and obediently accepts the oppression of male power, turning her distress in upon herself in her madness, Desdemona does display some traces of a more Cleopatra-like self-assertion. In her choosing of Othello as her husband, she exercises her own desire, subverting the female role of passivity within the patriarchy, and marries him without parental consent. This is a rather courageous act of will, which could have resulted in much strife. However, she handles the situation with cleverness and a manipulation which outwits the male

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judges who listen to her. When her father questions her about her marriage she answers forcefully, first pacifying him and then justifying her disobedience on the very grounds of patriarchal obedience and duty:

> "My noble father,
>
> I do perceive here a divided duty.
>
> To you I am bound, for life and education;
>
> You are the lord of my duty!
>
> I am hitherto your daughter. But here's my husband,
>
> And so much duty as my mother show'd
>
> To you preferring you before her father,
>
> So much I challenge that I may profess
>
> Due to the Moor, my lord."(I.iii.180-89)

Desdemona by her cleverness thus appears obedient in her disobedience.

Shakespeare shows Desdemona's behaviour in her relationship with Othello before the marriage to be slightly manipulative also. For Desdemona tells Othello in a very suggestive way after she has fallen in love with him, as Othello himself relates –"if I had a friend that loved her/I should but teach him how to tell my story,/And that would woo her" (I.iii.165-67). However, when she is married she slips into the role of the submissive wife. Obedient to Othello's every command, she says to Emilia - after Othello tells her peremptorily 'Get you to bed on th'instant' - 'we must not now displease him'. At this point Desdemona becomes more of a stereotype, her identity disappearing as Othello's jealousy becomes more defined. Her identity diminishes until she fits into the stereotype of the silent woman. Othello denies her right to a voice when he soliloquises:

"Was this fair paper, this most goodly book,/ Made to write 'whore' upon?" (IV.ii.171-72)

Shakespeare shows Desdemona to be the virtuous character who is finally vindicated. Desdemona's goodness furthermore is not simply passive or weak but an act of will. Her refusal to blame Othello for his terrible treatment of her, when he suspects her of betrayal, must not be viewed as simple subservience but as a self-willed refusal to accept a

bad opinion of the husband she has chosen. When he is behaving deplorably towards her she refuses to acknowledge his identity – "My lord is not my lord,' she says 'nor should I know him/Were he in favour as in humour altered."(III.iv.124-25) She stands by her acceptance of her love for him as something sacred, with a martyr-like determination. She tells Emilia "his unkindness may defeat my life, / But never taint my love."(IV.ii.161-62) She thus obeys her own heart rather than patriarchal rules, extending this determination through to death, so that with her last breath - when Emilia asks 'who hath done this deed?' she can reply 'Nobody, I myself'. V.iii.130-31. Othello's conviction that even upon dying she lies by claiming this self-death bears witness to the whole tragedy of the play, Othello's inability to see beneath the surface of stereotypical conceptions of femininity. By claiming this death for herself she re-affirms her self-hood. Metaphorically then she dies for her love which cannot be tainted, not from Othello's hands. In *Hamlet* too, Ophelia's death can perhaps be seen as an act of assertion and escape from the confining patriarchal world.

In *Antony and Cleopatra*, Shakespeare again explores the idea of the victim within a patriarchal society. However, in this play the gender roles are inverted and it is Antony who is the true victim. Stifled by the rules of the patriarchal society of Rome which expects him to retain a masculine side only, and not to adopt the feminine qualities of passion, emotion, and love, Antony's control over his life diminishes. Within such patriarchal confines, the role of lover must be subordinate to the male's political role. After finding an extraordinary and powerful love with Cleopatra - which Shakespeare establishes to perfection - Antony is unable to accept the 'business first' principle of the patriarchal laws. Like the typical female heroine of a tragedy, Antony's plight escalates when he is rushed into an arranged marriage of convenience. He cannot remain away from Cleopatra and faithful to Octavia who symbolises Caesar and the power of Patriarchal Rome. He says 'though I make this marriage for my peace,/ I'th' East my pleasure lies'. (II.iii.50-51) Inevitably he returns to Egypt and Cleopatra, and causes a rift which can never again be cemented between himself and Caesar, which ultimately results in war.

Cleopatra's masculine qualities counterbalance the play, so Shakespeare provides us with a relationship of surprising equality. Neither Cleopatra

nor the relationship can be stifled within the confines of the patriarchy of the seventeenth century. The distinctions between masculine and feminine are blurred - in a sense Antony and Cleopatra swap roles, continually embracing both their masculine and feminine selves and thus experiencing a full bonding of souls. As Woodbridge says, 'Antony and Cleopatra can cross gender boundaries without losing their sex roles as man or woman'. This swapping of gender roles is rather shockingly portrayed in the scene in which Cleopatra puts her 'tires and mantles on him whilst / I wore his sword Phillipan'. (II.v.26-27) Shakespeare evidently recognises the existence of both masculine and feminine qualities within females and males.

Cleopatra, unlike Othello and Ophelia, is the dominating force of the play in terms of theme and also her personal presence. Novy claims that *Antony and Cleopatra* is the only tragedy that 'glorifies woman as actor'. Through his treatment of Cleopatra, Shakespeare provides us with a 'real' woman rather than a stereotype. Velma Richmond claims further that in Cleopatra we can find Shakespeare's 'finest embracing of the feminine'. Cleopatra through the combination of sexual and political power is a force to be reckoned with.

Cleopatra's sexuality, despite condemnation by the patriarchal men - she is referred to as 'strumpet' and 'whore' on various occasions throughout the play - is unhidden and unrestricted. Her sexual power over men is conveyed boldly, for example, in her descriptions of her former conquests 'great Pompey' and 'Broad-fronted Caesar'. Cleopatra's sexuality is not a thing to be locked up, as in *Hamlet* and *Othello*, but is celebrated as a positive force. Surprisingly, even Enobarbus, despite his patriarchal views, does on occasions present her as positively sexual as his unforgettable description of her indicates:

> "Age cannot wither her,
> Nor custom stale her infinite variety. Other women cloy
> The appetites they feed, but she makes hungry
> Where most she satisfies. For vilest things
> Become themselves in her, that the holy priests
> Bless she is riggish." (II.ii.276-82)

Refusing to adhere to the stereotypes of patriarchal society, Cleopatra transforms her natural sexuality into part of her power rather than as a diminishing of her goodness. So too, Cleopatra insists on fulfilling a

political role against the wishes of the patriarchal men. When Enobarbus attempts to prevent her from doing so, she replies in enraged determination:

> "A charge we bear i'th'war,
> And as the president of my kingdom will
> Appear there for a man. Speak not against it.
> I will not stay behind." (III.vii.21-24)

Cleopatra thus forces her access to the male arena, where Ophelia and Desdemona fail to do so. Cleopatra naturally has more freedom. She is not dependent upon anyone financially, as are Ophelia and Desdemona.

Obedience and silence were very much part of the patriarchal conception of femininity which Cleopatra refuses to adhere. When Charmian traditionally suggests that the way to gain and retain Antony's love is to 'In each thing give him way, Cross him in nothing' (I.iii.11). Cleopatra replies, 'Thou teachest like a fool; the way to lose him'(I.iii.12). Far from being the silent woman, Cleopatra makes her voice heard whenever she wishes, challenging and meeting challenges. She mocks Antony and quarrels with him. Challenging him with a masculine aggression when they argue - 'I would I had thine inches; Thou shouldst know/ There were a heart in Egypt' (I.iii.48-49). Spirited and passionate, such displays of assertion as her physical attack on the messenger informing her of Antony's marriage to Octavia, are a far cry from the passive silent role of the feminine in patriarchal society. In passionate disbelief and anger, she draws a knife on the messenger and strikes him with her bare hands. Charmian tries to pacify her by telling her 'Good madam keep yourself within yourself' (II.v.98-99), but Cleopatra escapes the bounds of self-composure and the repression of self-hood. Her reaction when she feels herself wronged is in very stark contrast to the reactions of Ophelia and Desdemona.

Unsurprisingly though, it is through the character of Cleopatra that Shakespeare really depicts death as an assertion of self-hood and an act of defiance to the patriarchal laws. Cleopatra's death becomes an act of triumph over Caesar - the representative of patriarchal Rome. On finding her dead, one of his guards says, 'Caesar's beguiled'. Through death Cleopatra not only transcends the world of oppression and fate, but embraces her death as a positive act rather than as an act of negation:

> "My desolation does begin to make a better life
> And it is great
> To do that thing that ends all other deeds,
> Which shackles accidents and bolts up change." (V.ii.1-6)

Cleopatra combines feminine and masculine qualities through her death. With her resolution to take on the masculine quality of rationality and firmness and courage she wills, 'I have nothing of woman in me / Now from head to foot/ I am marble constant' (V.ii.267-68). She rejects her feminine qualities of water and the changeability of the moon and transforms herself into 'air and fire'. She embraces Antony's masculinity and the world of Rome by dying in 'the true Roman Fashion'. Yet through her death, Shakespeare depicts her as enacting the strength of womanhood by converting death into an image of both sensuality and motherhood. The pain of death is bitter-sweet and sensual 'as a lover's pinch,/ which hurts and is desired' (V.ii.426-27) and the asp, the vehicle of death is a 'baby at my breast,/That sucks the nurse asleep?' (V.ii.445-46).Through death she is reborn and even the stern patriarchal Caesar is forced to admit her bravery, and the undeniable nobility and royalty of the woman who 'Took her own way'. Through his representation of womanhood, especially in the character of Cleopatra, Shakespeare indeed does transcend the stereotypes of his own time.

In *Macbeth*, Lady Macbeth's disruption to the political culture stems from her ambition, and this virulent ambition is made highly unnatural by her gender. When she reads Macbeth's revelation of the witches' predictions, she immediately assumes that only her insistence will lead Macbeth actively to pursue and acquire the desired kingly position of power and authority. She summons the absent Macbeth with chiding words:

> "Hie thee hither,
> That I may pour my spirits in thine ear;
> And chastise with the valour of my tongue
> All that impedes thee from the golden round." (I.v.25-28)

Lady Macbeth claims an ability to wield the character of Macbeth to her purposes and goals. Tennenhouse describes her characterization in influential political terms: "At the outset of *Macbeth*, Shakespeare gives Lady Macbeth the very same elements which other Jacobean playwrights use to display the absolute power of the state. He shows

how these might be used subversively." Certainly Lady Macbeth's suggestions are subversive in that she leads her husband into murdering the rightful, current monarch in their home. With this ploy, she assumes the absolute power of the state by acting as if she were accountable to none and deserves no censure. She rises to the throne only by the virtue or vice of her husband's ascension as king, and yet, her insistence provided the impetus for the power base. Thus, Lady Macbeth exemplifies a negative anode of female ambition and power within a Renaissance context.

In considering Lady Macbeth's characterization, one must remember, first and foremost, that feminine desires for power were seen as unnatural. In fact, Shakespeare couches these desires in emasculating terms to give them increased gravity. Lady Macbeth repudiates her femininity for power:

> "Come you spirits
> That tend on mortal thoughts, unsex me here;
> And fill me, from the crown to the toe, top-full
> Of direst cruelty!" (I.v.40-43)

When Lady Macbeth desires to be "unsexed," her words reveal the assumed discordance between feminine nature and political ambition. By putting these desires in masculine or gender-neutral form, Lady Macbeth explicitly suggests their unnaturalness. Shakespeare's language here induces tension and reflects the political gender tensions already existent in the Elizabethan world. Wallace MacCaffrey comments upon this disparity between femininity and political strength in his biography of Elizabeth I: "For a woman the demands made on the occupant of the throne were supremely difficult to meet, since the characteristic qualities which a monarch was expected to display were largely masculine." While Lady Macbeth wishes to be "unsexed," Elizabeth asserted the title King as frequently as Queen and sought to establish her own power by transcending the gender issue. Nonetheless, as Levin notes, not even Elizabeth could escape her femininity:

"Elizabeth might incorporate both male and female in her sovereignty, but her body was a very human female one and, hence to both Elizabeth herself and to her people, an imperfect one." Just as Elizabeth had difficulty asserting political authority as a woman, and thus adopted male gender characteristics, Shakespeare de-feminizes Lady Macbeth

to give her ambitions credibility. Such unnatural positioning created tension in the play and reflected anxiety in the Elizabethan world.

Shakespeare pushes Lady Macbeth's oddity so far as to reverse Macbeth's gender roles. In the play *Macbeth*, Lady Macbeth is considered nearly sinister in comparison with her husband, Macbeth, a perception that is supported by such assertions as from the lips of her character.

> "How tender 'tis to love the babe that milks me:
> I would, while it was smiling in my face,
> Have plucked my nipple from his boneless gums,
> and dashed the brains out, had I so sworn as you
> have to do this" (I.vii.55-59)

Indeed, Macbeth demonstrates considerably less determination than his wife. Macbeth's self-doubting statement of "Each corporal agent to this terrible feat./Away, and mock the time with fairest show/False face must hide what the false heart doth know:"(I.vii.80-82)

As he is considering the grave deed he and Lady Macbeth have connived to commit, indicating his awareness of the negative consequences he is likely to suffer, even if unspecific.

As a result, Lady Macbeth scorns him for his weakness. In bloodying her hands in the death of the king, she chastises her husband: "My hands are of your colour; but I shame/To wear a heart so white." (II.ii.63-64) Typically, weakness is associated with the female, and man gains integrity through strength and boldness in battle. But Macbeth loses his courage at the decisive moment and Lady Macbeth assumes his bloody obligation. Her husband's weakness is not only shameful in Lady Macbeth's eyes; his weakness is also as unnatural as her strength. Such a reversal carries with it significant social ramifications. Tennenhouse comments upon the gender reversal and its political symbolism:

Most other Jacobean tragedies presuppose this same connection between sexual relations and the condition of the political body. In staging *Macbeth*, Shakespeare simply literalizes the homology which makes unruliness on the part of an aristocratic woman into an assault on the sovereign's power. He allows Lady Macbeth to overrule her husband in order to show that such inversion of sexual relations is also

an inversion of the political order. Her possession of illicit desire in its most masculine form- the twisted ambition of the malcontent, leads directly to regicide.

Positioning woman over man has not just domestic but political connotations as well. Lady Macbeth's dominion over Macbeth reflects the larger issue of female involvement in the political structure and a woman's possible dominion as monarch over man as subject.

Lady Macbeth's strength deteriorates as she falls into periods of lunacy and sleepwalking. Lady Macbeth postulates that "none can call our power to account," (V.i.37) but apparently she mistakes the power of her own conscience. Her manic fixation with bloodied hands and her final act of suicide indicate a personal trial and conviction.

Critics, such as Sarah Siddon, have expressed pardon of Lady Macbeth's words and behavior by emphasizing that it is ambition that drives Lady Macbeth. Siddons believes that Lady Macbeth's mention of a nursing child in the midst of her dreadful language, persuades one unequivocally that she has really felt maternal yearning of a mother towards her babe. Siddons further points out that "it is only in soliloquy that she (Lady Macbeth) invokes the powers of hell to unsex her."

The critic M. Leigh-Noel, in her study of Lady Macbeth, offers further defense by considering Lady Macbeth's circumstance of socio-economic position and history, as well as on her own assertion that lady Macbeth had been a mother. Noel suggests that, in the age that *Macbeth* was written "human life was by no means as sacred as it is now; and that violence was the common resort of both mean and noble in their efforts to gain the desires of their souls." Noel places emphasis on Lady Macbeth being the "solitary inmate" of Macbeth's castle, believing she was "cheered only by occasional and fitful visits from her husband." Noel further suggests that Lady Macbeth had to "live only on the remembrance of the bittersweet joy of maternity, to wake up and miss the magnetic pressure of infant fingers" consequently causing Lady Macbeth to cling "more tenaciously to her husband." (Thompson & Roberts 174). Noel believes that these circumstances support the theory that Lady Macbeth paid "a terrible price . . . to gratify her husband's ambition." That while " Macbeth had the stronger wishes, she (Lady Macbeth) had the stronger will" (Thompson & Roberts 175) and since it is will that prevails over wishes, Lady Macbeth's share of the burden in her conspiracy with her husband outweighed that of Macbeth's.

Noel's arguments validly challenge many common perceptions of Lady Macbeth and rightfully points to isolation and suffering as likely contributors to Lady Macbeth's loss of mental capacity. But it is the shocking threat Lady Macbeth made regarding dashing the brains of her nursing child that the critic France Anne Kemble believes is "no mere figure of speech" continues to cast Lady Macbeth as a character who is much worse that her male counterpart.

The pattern of the male monarch as savior echoes through sixteenth-century England, so that the fears caused by female rule manifested themselves in a longing for the safety and tradition of the king. Shakespeare reflects this cultural anticipation through Lady Macbeth's tragic fall from power. Gertrude is, more than any other character in the play, the antithesis of her son, Hamlet. Hamlet is a scholar and a philosopher, searching for life's most elusive answers. He cares nothing for this "mortal coil" and the vices to which man has become slave. Gertrude is shallow, and thinks only about her body and external pleasures. Like a child she longs to be delighted. We do not see much of her in daily activity, but if we could we would see a woman enraptured by trinkets and fine clothes, soft pillows and warm baths. Gertrude is also a very sexual being, and it is her sexuality that turns Hamlet so violently against her. The Ghost gives Hamlet, who is already disgusted with his mother for marrying his uncle within such a short time after his father's death, even more disturbing information about the Queen:

> "Ay, that incestuous, that adulterate beast,
> With witchcraft of his wit, with traitorous gifts,-
> O wicked wit, and gifts that have the power
> So to seduce!- won to his shameful lust
> The will of my most seeming-virtuous queen." (I.v.42-45)

Many critics misread the line "adulterate beast" as proof that Gertrude had been the lover of Claudius even before Hamlet's father had died. This would make the Queen a far more loathsome character than Shakespeare had intended, and the rest of the play makes no mention of this adultery. Adulterate, by definition, means to change to a worse state by mixing; to contaminate with base matter. And Claudius has indeed, according to the Ghost, contaminated his precious Gertrude, but this does not mean that Claudius did so before Hamlet's father died. If Gertrude were an adulteress, she would have been almost certainly been

involved in Claudius' plot of murder, and therefore she would be the play's villainess and not its child-like victim. Claudius would believe her to be an accomplice and confide in her, but he does not. Moreover, if it were true, it most surely would be foremost on Hamlet's mind, but when Hamlet confronts Gertrude in her closet and announces all her crimes, he does not once even imply that she has committed adultery. Olav Lokse points out in his book *Outrageous Fortune* about the Ghost's complaint that he was "Of life, of crown, of queen at once dispatch'd" (I.v.75), which is echoed by Claudius's "My crown, mine own ambition, and my queen", in (III.iii.55), which may be taken to indicate the sequence in which the pre-play events had occurred.

That Gertrude has an aversion to the truth is not in dispute. She lies to herself about the consequences of her actions, and she lies to those around her. But she lies to protect. Hers are not cruel and wicked falsehoods; hers are white lies that she feels she must tell in order to keep her and those around her safe physically and emotionally. She must tell the King that Hamlet has killed Polonius, but, she does what she can to help Hamlet, telling Claudius that Hamlet "weeps for what is done" when clearly he does not.

On the surface it is hard to comprehend why Hamlet, his father, and Claudius all have such a deep devotion to Gertrude. But the qualities that save her from condemnation along with Claudius are subtly woven into the play. She loves Hamlet, and, underneath her shallow exterior, shows great emotion when he confronts her. Gertrude truly does not know what she has done to make Hamlet so furious, and it is only when he tells her that she understands her actions to be wrong:

> "O Hamlet, speak no more:
> Thou turn'st my very eyes into my soul,
> [...][…][…]
> these words like daggars enter my ears;
> No more, sweet Hamlet! (III.iv.88-96)

There is no reason to believe that Gertrude is lying to appease Hamlet in the above lines. Nowhere else in the play is Gertrude portrayed as cunning or Janus-faced, as is Claudius. Even though Hamlet lashes out at her with all the rage he can muster, Gertrude remains faithful to him, protecting him from the King. And, although her love for Claudius is wrong by moral standards, she is now his queen, and remains loyal to

him. We see she has the potential for great love -- she wants to protect Claudius from the mob, and she cares deeply about Ophelia and Polonius, and is concerned for Hamlet in the duel even though she has no idea that it is a trap. It is Gertrude's underlying propensity for goodness that redeems her. Her men forgive her for her shallow, sensual nature and her addictions to comfort and pleasure because they see that she is innocent of premeditation. It is sad but fitting that Gertrude meets her end drinking from the poisoned goblet, demanding that she tastes what is in the pretty cup, as trusting as a new-born babe.

Nonetheless, the anxieties manifested in *Macbeth* and *Hamlet* suggest that women, perhaps even Elizabeth, cannot acceptably overcome the patriarchal system. The state of women in power is not the way things "ought to be." Scholar James Emerson Phillips emphasizes how Shakespeare advocates a return to unquestionably patriarchal systems to restore harmony: "Although it claims its heroic victim, the evil power is in none of the great Shakespearean tragedies allowed to emerge triumphant at the end of the play. Claudius is killed and Fortinbras restores order to the kingdom of Denmark; Malcolm is restored to his rightful throne and civil peace returns to Scotland at the death of Macbeth." Shakespeare's resolutions do not suggest positive involvement of women within the political structure. In fact, the resolution comes with the ablution of women from the political realm.

Thus, Shakespeare's drama reflects the Elizabethan world. Within the plays *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*, one sees potential conflicts arising from female ambition for sovereign power and corruption of the politic body through corruption of the female sovereign body. In both plays, Shakespeare mirrors anxiety from within the Elizabethan culture relating to the existence of and dependence upon a female monarch. Also, both plays end with the diminution of female sovereign authority and an apparent return to a state of normalcy within a more traditional, patriarchal framework. This return to patriarchy represents both Shakespeare's political resolution and the Elizabethan cultural desire.

In *Romeo and Juliet*, Shakespeare's Juliet is a headstrong and intelligent character in spite of her young age, though she often seems timid to the audience because of her young age. She is considered by many to be the true hero of the play, acting as a sounding board and a balance against the impulsive Romeo. It is Juliet who sets the boundaries of behavior in her relationship with Romeo. She allows him to kiss her,

she pledges her commitment before him, and it is she who suggests their marriage. Juliet's forgiveness of Romeo after he kills Tybalt indicates her mature nature in contrast to his passionate impulsiveness. Furthermore, Juliet lies and clandestinely subverts her family's wishes, a truly rebellious action against traditional Italian society.

When reading *King Lear*, we may ask ourselves: Are female characters stereotyped? Do we have to ascertain Cordelia as the representative of goodness and her sisters as evil women?

At the beginning of the play, Lear's daughters behave in very different ways. King Lear wants to divide his kingdom in three parts. But to decide which part will correspond to each daughter he proposes a love-test. The better part will correspond to the daughter who tells him the most beloved for her. Gonerill and Regan flatter Lear by means of complex, long and exaggerated speeches:

> "Sir, I love you more than words can wield the matter;
>
> Dearer than eyesight, space and liberty;
>
> […][…][…]
>
> And prize me at her worth. In my true heart
>
> I find she names my very deed of love; (I.i.54-70)

In the same way, Cordelia's turn of speaking in the love-test is characterized by its simplicity, sincerity and plainness: "I love your Majesty/According to my bond; nor more nor less." (I.i.91-92) According to feminist critics, Cordelia's negative attitude to flatter Lear can be interpreted as an opposition to Lear's authority. She does not want to be ruled by patriarchy. Her response is a passive one. Silence, the only possible way of subversion for upper-class women of the Middle Ages. However, when Cordelia reappears in the fourth act she is no longer a transgressor, but an obedient daughter to Lear. Cordelia's plainness and sincerity is fully emphasised when she asserts the reason of her being cast away: "And such a tongue/As I am glad I have not, though not to have it/Hath lost me in your liking." (I.i.230-32)

About Cordelia we should notice that she only appears at the beginning and at the end of the play but she is absent in the rest of the play. It is a clear example of the prototypical 'Shakespearean woman': absent, silent or dead. Cordelia is characterised by her silent and obedient

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attitude; her sisters, on the other hand, have a full power of speech. This is seen as a 'fault'. According to feminist critics this is explained in the sense that they are defying male authority. They will no longer be ruled by their father. Lear's Fool will be the reporter to the audience of Lear's being treated badly by his daughters: "The hedge-sparrow fed the cuckoo so long,/That it had its head bit off by its young." (I.iv.213-15)

Lear is puzzled. He has lost power over his kingdom and also over his daughters. He becomes a servant of his daughters, a man without a will. Lear is unable to accept this dependence and he gets mad, he cannot accept that he has lost his "male authority" over them. But Lear's daughters have a cruel and evil side as the martyrdom inflicted on Gloucester demonstrates. In the seventh scene of the third act, Cornwall and Regan pluck out his eyes. Before the martyrdom, Gloucester will qualify the daughters as monsters, evil creatures:

"Because I would not see thy cruel nails/ Pluck out his poor old eyes; nor thy fierce sister/ In his anointed flesh stick boarish fangs." (III.vii.55-57) Albany, Gonerill's husband, will put it clear in his speech:

> "Tigers, not daughters, what have you perform'd?
> A father, and a gracious aged man,
> Whose reverence the head-lugg'd bear would lick,
> Most barbarous, most degenerate! have you madded."
> (IV.ii.40-43)

However, evil will not go unchecked any more, Albany foretells that something will stop the chaos going on, and if that does not happen somebody should stop it by destroying the monsters: 'Regan and Gonerill'

> "If that the heavens do not their visible spirits
> Send quickly down to tame these vile offences,
> It will come,
> Humanity must perforce prey on itself,
> Like monsters of the deep." (IV.ii.46-50)

Thus, according to Shakespeare's text, Gonerill and Regan are clearly represented as demons, monsters, anything but human. They are responsible for the chaos going on and of the disruption of the state.

They are the enemies of the mankind and must be destroyed. Women at power can only bring disgrace, however a saviour will come. And that saviour will be a "sanctified woman": Cordelia. For me, she is a redeeming woman, though for some critics like McLuskie, this is a restoration of patriarchy, but in my opinion Cordelia works as redemption of the feminine, she is a balance between her sisters.

In scene IV Cordelia reappears. She is in the French camp near Dover. She asks her soldiers to search for his father, whose daughters have turned him mad. Despite Lear's attitude towards her, she does not show anger, hate or any other bad feeling for him, but forgiveness and love. "No blown ambition doth our arms incite /But love, dear love, and our aged father's right / Soon may I hear and see him!" (IV.v.27-29)

In her words Cordelia appears a pure, chaste, innocent woman, i.e., a saint or "sanctified woman." In the seventh scene of the fourth act Cordelia and Lear are reunited and reconciled. Cordelia is again contrasted with her sisters:

> "O my dear father! Restoration hang
> Thy medicine on my lips; and let this kiss
> Repair those violent harms that my two sisters
> Have in thy reverence made!" (IV.vii.26-29)

I agree with feminist critics like McLuskie in that Cordelia's return is a restoration of patriarchy, of the old order. But this cannot be wholly reduced to male power. Cordelia has also power, she has a group of soldiers under her command. She is autonomous and does not need the King of France to command her soldiers. Cordelia's sisters' low passions will arrive at their limit in their clash for Edmund, as the following quotes demonstrate:

"I never shall endure her: dear my Lord, / Be not familiar with her." – Regan.(V.i.15-16)

"I had rather lose the battle than that sister/ Should loosen him and me."- Goneril. (V.i.18-19)

The reader notices that these sisters met their end tragically. Their lust for Edmund destroys them. Thus, Cordelia's return brings changes: evil is destroyed; however she has not found a better end. Cordelia is later strangled to death in the jail, and from that shock Lear breathes his last later. Albany and Edgar are horrified, Cordelia was the symbol of a new

future, but now a dark future appears before them. What is the place of women in *King Lear*? All of them die at the end. There is no distinction in that for demonised or sanctified women. Thus, we cannot claim that there is a complete division of women in the play.

According to some critics like Coppelia Kahn women are seen as a positive force. Thus Lear is redeemed by means of a loving non-patriarchal relationship with Cordelia. But McLuskie thinks this is only a restoration of patriarchy. In my opinion, though I agree with McLuskie in considering *King Lear* an anti-feminine play, I do not think that Cordelia's function is a restoration of the "old order." She is a balance against her sisters.

Shakespeare realizes that throughout the history of mankind, women have always been at a disadvantageous position socially, economically and politically. Through strong female characters, Shakespeare has delineated gender issues. He has given a comprehensive view of life with equal emphasis on both male and female characters. His female characters show the social stigmas they have undergone during that time. He has portrayed his personal admiration for intelligent, strong women, using virtues and strength he gives his female characters. So we can say that Shakespeare should be considered one of the pioneers of feminist movement. Actually, through representation of women characters in the tragedies, he wants the elimination of gender discrimination and advocates the true liberation of women in society.

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Counter-discourse in a Polyglossic World: Ngugi's Abrogation and Appropriation of English in the *Petals of Blood*

Tanusri Dutta[2] and Adnan Hossain[3]

Abstract: Language is always a vital element of a society. So the British colonial power violently imposed English in Africa suppressing all the native varieties. However, the postcolonial states in general and the African states in particular have become polyglossic units with a particular lingua franca like English. Thus English is no more a colonial language; rather it is a lingua franca in which the post-colonial writers can challenge the power structure and expose the brutality of the colonial politics. This paper analyzes how Ngugi wa Thiong'o produces an effective counter discourse and takes an active stand in the politics of power in his novel, *Petals of Blood,* by abrogating and appropriating English and thus challenges the power structure imposed by the colonial regime in the polyglossic linguistic context of Kenya.

Keywords: Counter-discourse, Abrogation, Appropriation, Resistance, Decolonization, Polyglossia.

Language is always a vital element in a society. Human beings do not only communicate in language, they express their emotions, their logic as well as their thought through language. Hence language has always been an instrument of control for the colonial powers. In Africa, the colonial authorities tried to impose their own language and establish a power hierarchy based on the linguistic superiority. Thus, colonial languages started to dominate the affairs of Africa and all other native languages became dominated by it. Now, even after the independence, linguistic superiority of the erstwhile colonial languages continued. Thus in most countries like Kenya, English dominated as an official language even after the independence. For the Africans, it

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seems that although the British has gone, they still maintain their hegemony through English.

However, the creative writers of Africa like Ngugi wa Thiong'o has proved that the situation was not so much hopeless. Instead of accepting the static hegemony of the imperial language, they have shown that it is possible to produce an effective counter discourse even in the language of their former colonizers. Through the abrogation and appropriation of English, it is shown that English is no more the so-called King's or Queen's language when the African writers are using it. It is just an African Lingua Franca in the polyglossic linguistic context of the African countries like Kenya. This is done through a good number of strategies. These include abrogation, appropriation, glossing, code switching, code mixing etc. This paper tries to evaluate Ngugi wa Thiong'o's abrogation and appropriation of English language in his novel *Petals of Blood*. The aim of this paper is to analyze how successfully Ngugi has abrogated and appropriated English to produce a successful counter discourse in the polyglossic linguistic context of Kenya.

The author proves in the text that the linguistic scenario is not at all a static one. Rather it is totally dynamic and the writer actively challenges the politics of language established by the British. The writer just turns English in to the lingua franca of an African society. So the English of Ngugi bears the touch of native African soil which actually ends the dominance of English. This is the only weapon that can be used to produce a counter discourse in the polyglossic context of Kenya.

The aim of this paper is to discuss how Ngugi abrogates and appropriates English as well as the western literary genre and makes it an African one and in this way the *Petals of Blood* becomes a counter discourse in a polyglossic African world. Through doing this, Ngugi shows that Africa is not at all a passive entity to tolerate the western onslaught, rather she challenges western power dimension, dismantles it and imposes her own shape upon the western structure. *Petals of Blood* is no longer a novel written in a European language in European form. Rather it is an African novel written in the polyglossic context of Africa. Indeed, English in the *Petals of Blood* is African "english", not a "British or American" English.

In fact, Kenya is a polyglossic country, where people speak in more than two varieties; the Swahili and English are widely spoken as lingua franca, and are the two official languages. However, there is always a high variety of language. Such a variety is used as official language and it acts as a lingua franca. Various languages are taught in the educational institutions, they are also used as medium of instruction. English has such a position in the Kenyan society. After independence, the Ominde Comission gave its report in favour of English instead of Swahili in 1963, as the only other lingua franca in Kenya.

According to *Ethnologue*, there are a total of 69 languages spoken in Kenya. This variety is a reflection of the country's diverse population that includes most major ethnic, racial and linguistic groups found in Africa. The two major language families spoken in Kenya are the Bantu and the Nilotic groups. There is also a Cushitic minority, besides Arab, Indian and British immigrants. Many people think that neither Swahili nor English, both official languages, can be considered a true lingua franca of Kenya. Swahili is also the national language while English is the international language, an otherwise common situation compared to the rest of the world. Moreover, not everyone in Kenya can speak Swahili or English. In everyday communication, most people prefer using their mother tongue. People living along the coast speak better Swahili than people living in central highlands of Kenya. This can be attributed to the fact that some primary schools in Kenya (especially those in very rural Kikuyu land), teach vernacular in lower grades (1, 2, 3) and pupils are tested on it. The reason why they are taught vernacular is that all the pupils come from surrounding regions and speak the same dialect. This is not the case with every school in Kenya. On the other hand, schools in Western, Northern, and South Kenya do not do that normally because there are pupils who have different dialects and therefore not possible to teach the regional dialects. This could be the underlying factor why people in Western and Coastal Kenya speak Swahili more fluently than any other part of the country. There are forty different tribes in Kenya today and approximately the same number of dialects. Most of them are confined to specific regions. e.g., Kikuyu in central Kenya, Luo in western and Nyanza, Kamba in eastern and so on.

Although both English and Swahili are used in Kenya as lingua franca, their background, however, is totally different. While English has arrived in Kenya with the Bible and bayonet of the colonizers, Swahili has been born in Kenya. It originated as a trading language. From the time immemorial, Arab and Indian merchants traded in East African coast. The advent of Islam further accelerated this situation. The Arab traders came, traded and took money as well as goods in the other parts of the world, at the same time they communicated, talked, drank and dined with the people of different African countries. Thus like the pidgins in Caribbean, a new lingua franca developed in the East African coast. It is the Swahili language. Thus, this language is rich in the vocabularies taken from Arabic as well as native language. Thus, there is no question to abrogate Swahili as it is not a foreign language at all. It originated in Africa. The traders from Arabia just accelerated its growth. But it is the indigenous African tribes who nurtured and spread this language. Thus Swahili has become a lingua franca for the East African coast. It has given East Africa a culture, a rich linguistic tradition of thousand years.

On the other hand, English came with the British colonizers who, unlike the Arabs, did not come for trade, rather, they came to colonize the native soil. They needed to establish their linguistic dominance to ensure the hegemonic control on the African mind. They established English schools where the students were compelled to speak in English instead of the native languages. Even they were severely punished if they were found to speak in the native language. This harsh policy to suppress the native languages became stronger after the Second World War. The Beecher Report of the colonial, The Advisory Council of African Education in Kenya recommended the introduction of English as a lingua franca for the Africans replacing Swahili. Thus the colonial authority then took a rigid policy to introduce English in every sphere of life.

The reason behind introducing English as a lingua franca was basically to create new elite who will be anglicanized black. Such figures can be found in *Petals of Blood*. Chui, the former classmate of one of the central characters, Munira is a perfect example of such newly created elite. This violent political background of introduction of English in Kenya makes the native writer think before writing in English. Ngugi

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himself wrote how those boys who used to speak native languages even in private received corporal punishment. Thus English has a brutal history, unlike Swahili. It imposed the hierarchy, hegemony and division in the African society.

For this reason it is essential for the African writers to handle English in such a way that the trace of the colonial identity is replaced by the Africanness of "English". The African writer abrogates and appropriates English. It is no more the imperial language; it is an African lingua franca.

The scope of using English in Africa as a tool for producing counter discourse is great. African societies like Kenya are polyglossic. So what will an African writer do in such a situation? If he has to continue his writing in English, will he accept the age old static pattern left by the colonial writers? If so, then it is not possible to challenge the structure left by the colonizer. So what will the writers do to challenge the politics of language of the British to challenge the hegemony? How can he use the sharpest sword of the colonizer to cut the neck of the colonizer himself? Then the relevance of abrogation and appropriation comes.

Abrogation refers to the refusal of the categories of the imperial culture, its aesthetic, illusory standard of normative or 'correct' usage, and its assumption of a traditional and fixed meaning "inscribed" in the words. It is a vital moment in the decolonization of the language and the writing in English. However, without the process of appropriation the moment of abrogation may not extend beyond a reversal of the assumption of privilege, the normal and correct inscription, all of which can be simply taken over and maintained by the new usage. Appropriation is the process by which the language is taken and made to bear the burden of the native cultural experience. Ngugi does this in *Petals of Blood*. The novel as a genre was generated in Europe. The modern novelists acknowledge their debt to European masters like Daniel Defoe, Charles Dickens and others. Thus novel is a literary form which reminds the postcolonial writer that he is still bearing the legacy of the colonial heritage.

However, Ngugi abrogates the genre itself. The novel starts like a "Who Done It" detective novel. But as the novel progresses, the story

proceeds like an African folk story. The novel presents the background story of many people, Munira, Karega, Abdulla, Wanja, Mukami, who is dead when the story of the novel is told. Even there are many narrators. This type of stories narrated by multiple narrators is a feature of the African traditional stories. Western novels usually have an omnipotent narrator who describes the story from an objective point of view. However, the stories told in *Petals of Blood* have not only multiple narrators but they are also subjective in nature. The objectivity of the western novels is a direct product of the enlightenment. Thus when Ngugi rejects the objective attitude of the western novel and narrates the story from a totally African revolutionary perspective, the genre as it was in the western sense itself is abrogated and thus the novel, although written in English, becomes more familiar to the African or Asian reader. Thus, just by altering the structure of storytelling, Ngugi makes the novel an African story or genre written in English which is more intelligible to the African readers belonging to the polyglossic African community of Kenya whose experience is narrated in the novel in their own style rather than the Anglo-Saxon readers.

The novel started with the murder of three African capitalists. Then one by one the protagonists are arrested. The narration of the story starts with an omnipotent narrator. But as the novel progress the story of several people are narrated. Both Munira and Karega tell their story of participation in the school strike. Munira and Karega's stories show how the past events shape their life and how they are still associated with the past which is not only the part of their own life but also the part of the country's struggle against colonial hegemony. In fact, we can know about Chui, one of the compradors of the novel, from their narration.

Wanja is undoubtedly the most important female character of the novel. How she was compelled to choose the life of a prostitute is narrated by her. Her sufferings show how African women are subjected to multiple oppressions. She suffers being a part of a colonized society and at the same time as a woman in a male chauvinist society. Her story symbolizes a woman's struggle in the postcolonial Kenya where women's body is nothing but a commodity.

Abdulla's story reveals an important part of the colonial struggle. He was a freedom fighter, fought under the leadership of Ole Masai, another unsung hero. Abdulla and Ole Masai's stories show the common people's contribution in the anticolonial struggle. The fight against colonialism succeeds because of the sacrifice of common people and the bravery of the unsung heroes like Abdulla and Ole Masai. In this way the writer reconstructs the history by showing that the root of anticolonial struggle is deep in African society. The Africans are not a passive, ignorant community devoid of any political consciousness as represented in the pro-colonial European texts. Even very common woman like Nyakinyua tells how her husband fought valiantly against colonization. Thus the novel becomes a record of the African's glorious struggle against colonialism.

One of the major characteristics of African storytelling is its strong association with past. However, it is not like the European storytelling or Western consciousness about history. Western model of historical consciousness is fraught with chronological data based on objective historical consciousness. But the history narrated in *Petals of Blood* is not based on chronological information. On the contrary the writer shows that the history preserved in the collective consciousness of the people is equally important to tell about the past of a nation. In Chapter Four of Part One, Ngugi narrates the glorious days of Ilmorog.

> From agu and agu, tene wa tene, from long long before the Manjiri generation, the highway had seen more than its fair share of adventurers from the north and north-west. Solomon's suitors for myrrh and frankincense; Zeu's children in a royal haunt for the sun-god of the Nile,……………They each had come wearing different masks and guises and God's children had, through struggle, survived every onslaught, every land-and-soul-grabbing empire, and continued their eternal wrestling with nature and with their separate gods and mutual selves. (Ngugi, 1978, p. 68).

The above narrated part shows that Ngugi is narrating the story of the historical development of Ilmorog. He reconstructs and redefines history through such passages. But the more important factor is that he uses the genre to tell the story of Africa in African style. Ngugi brings the African storyteller to tell the story of Africa through the novel which is a western literary genre. Ngugi also narrates the stories of folk

heroes who are neglected in the mainstream history like Ole Masai and Abdulla. Thus the world of Africa becomes alive before the eyes of the reader. Another important example of abrogation is the songs. The songs just enrich the African folk style. It really shows that the novel is an African, not a Europen one.

Here the significance of the abrogation of the western genre and language becomes clear in the context of a polyglossic society. The Maasais or the Kimbus who do not speak in Ngugi's mother language can also share this collective consciousness of history of Africa which Ngugi wants to arouse. Thus the abrogation of English creates a new variety of English nurtured by the Africans, which tells the story of the Africans.

On the other hand abrogation can not be successful without appropriation. In other words, without appropriation abrogation can not create any originality. In other words, through appropriation, Ngugi redesigns English and frees it from the so called rigidity of the British Variety. Appropriation just creates another variety of English which is totally African, which bears the signs of Africanness. Any reader studying *Petals of Blood* can understand this fact. Let's discuss some important characteristics of English used in *Petals of Blood*.

One of the very important strategies used in *Petals of Blood* is code mixing which refers to mixing of two or more languages simultaneously to produce one intended effect. Thus it not only establishes the African identity, but also shows that an African language is rich with the vocabularies to express any complex situation or issue.

One of the glittering examples of code-mixing is the above mentioned passage, "Agu and agu,tene wa tene"- these words are incorporated in the novel in such a way that it neither hampers the spirit nor violates the context. Code-mixing also happens in the slogans. The slogan below is such an example:

"Uhuru na kanu

Uhuru na kanu

Down with the enemies of our hard-won freedom!"

(Ngugi, 1978,p. 181)

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However, these prove that African language has the potential to be a rich language of expression. It also gives them the solidarity with the African people. Such code mixing is common in *Petals of Blood*. One of the important words used in the novel is 'Uhuru'; i.e. independence. This word is used throughout the novel without any proper translation. But we understand that it means independence.

The fire imagery is very much powerful in *Petals of Blood*. One of the earliest references of fire is Munira's burnig of the whore Amina and her house. The word "Nyitiria" refers to making fire. This is also an appropriation of English where a very important incident is described through a local word.

One of the major examples of appropriation of English is found in the songs. The insertion of African folk song in the novel is also an important part of the abrogation as it is discussed earlier. However, appropriation is also done in the songs. Let's consider the following:

> Mother ululate for me!
>
> Mothe r ululate for me!
>
> Or do you leave it to strangers and foreigners
>
> To ululate for your son's homecoming?" (Ngugi, 1978, p. 209)

Now, 'ululate' is a Kikuyu word, but we do not fail to understand it. We can guess, we can imagine. This is the relevance of producing a counter discourse in the imperial language in a polyglossic context.

The other songs also give such examples:

> Ngwirwo ni utuku
>
> They say it's dark
>
> Ngwirwo ni utuku
>
> They say it's dark
>
> Ngionaga Irima
>
> But I can still see.
>
> …………………..(Ngugi,1978, p. 150)

The post-colonial writers try to present a transparent window to the reader so that looking through the window the reader can assume the power relation between the producer and the consumer, or writer and

reader. The post colonial writers are doing this through appropriation and abrogation, and thus they are producing a counter discourse through which they can show their resistance and continue the process of decolonization.

This process of decolonization through literary text dismantles the European codes and discourses. The postcolonial writers try to engage themselves in building a dialectical relationship between European ontology and epistemology. Thus they try to recreate an independent identity in a hybridised society. In fact, the position of postcolonial writers is like the position of Caliban in *The Tempest* by William Shakespeare. As Caliban casts back to Prospero-

> "You taught me language; and my profit on't is
>
> I know how to curse" (i,ii: 363-4)

Though the protest can be considered a slave's refusal to remain silent and submissive, this thing actually happens to the post- colonial writers. They are producing a counter discourse to show their resistance.

So the 'English' now has become 'english' through the process of decolonization. Again, the postcolonial counter discourse does not try to subvert English and take its place rather it tries to erode and expose the dominant discourse using the texual strategies. The strategies of post colonial counter discourse are mapping of the dominant discourse. It tries to seek the underlying assumption and dismantles the assumptions from cross- cultural stand point, whereas they were subjectified as local.

As it is mentioned beforehand, the African writers write especially in Swahili, Zulu, Yoruba, Arabic, Amharic, and their hundred languages, the main thing is that they take English as the only means of communication that can weight their African experience. Chinua Achebe wrote in this connection-

> I feel that the English language will be able to carry the weight of my African experience. But it will have to be a new English, still in full communion with its ancestral home but altered to suit new African surroundings. (Achebe, 1975, p. 62)

Gabriel Okara adds new view here in 1963. He says that there are American, Canadian, Newzealand versions of English, so what is the

problem with African English which can be used to reflect the indeginous African culture and philosophy? Language which is considered the "means of spiritual subjugation" can be the only tool to resist colonization. Ngugi says that he writes in Gikyyu language as he wants to use language as a part and parcel of the anti-imperialist struggles of Kenya and African peoples. He wants to use literature as a medium to tell the people about the anti-imperialist struggle of the people of Africa.

Though Africa once lost its total history due to colonization, now its literature can compete with any literature of this world. The colonizers tried to disfigure her, even her geography and demography. The border of the African countries are set up on the basis of administrative convenience of the colonizers, not on the basis of linguistic and cultural homogenity. Thus the Africans inherited a polyglossic linguistic community after their independence. So European languages remain a powerful Lingua Franca even after their independence. African writers do not take it as a constraint, rather they use their European Lingua Franca to dismantle the hegemony of their own colonizers. They have found their taste of joy within the losses. They do not try to forget that they were colonized rather they try to make the state of "being colonized" as their boon. As language is the vital weapon in any society to fight back the oppression, Ngugi in his *Petals of Blood* has done the same. Appropriation and abrogation are the two important tools that Ngugi has applied to dismantle the royality of English. English is now not a language of colonizer's only, it has now become a common Lingua Franca. Ngugi's idea is like Raja Ram Mohun Roy that English in India should adopt Bengali as their language. Thus the colonizers should adopt African language if they really want to pace with this world.

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Prospect of Good Governance in Bangladesh: A Review

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Abstract: The concept of good governance is a concern of aid agencies, governments, researchers, academics in developing countries like Bangladesh. It connects several disciplines such as politics, economics, public administration, law and so on. Good governance is now understood to include a wide range of ways in which the whole structure of a society affects the access of its members to basic opportunities and capabilities. Bangladesh faces virus of poor or mal-governance which affects almost every aspect of public life. This study attempts to evaluate the overall governance system as well as provides suggestions how to ensure good governance.

Keywords: Prospect, Good, Governance, Bangladesh.

Introduction

Good governance is an umbrella concept that covers a set of issues of human life depending on the person's concern and understanding of reality. Good governance means the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resource for the development in an efficient and transparent way. It has now become a fashionable term in the contemporary global politics and economy that ensure goodness and quality in governance and raising its level. In the recent times particularly from the second half of 1980s, the issue of good governance has emerged at the forefront of global agenda for development. Quality of governance is being considered as the principal prerequisite for solving many problems and for the socio-

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economic development in the developing countries. This is due to the fact that in spite of having abundant resource, manpower, institutions etc, the major objective of economic growth and human development is not taking place in some countries to confront problems of poverty, civil strife, community development and above all the provision of basic services essential for the well-being of society. That's why several international organizations like World Bank, UNDP, IMF and a good number of NGO's have started emphasizing good governance as a precondition of delivery of their services and funds. The UNDP has put stress on good governance for human development; the IMF on participatory governance and other organizations have given definitions of their own along with parameters to change the quantity and quality of governance. Bangladesh like other developing countries has been marked by the failure of public sector to meet the demand of its citizens, ineffective public services, and unfavourable environment for the proper growth of private sector, leadership crisis, lack of transparency and accountability in administration, ineffective political institutions and so on. For such poor performance in governance mechanisms, effective democratic governance continued to be the elusive golden deer that the nation doggedly sought but could not find. Against this backdrop, it is essential to examine how far Bangladesh lags behind the good governance. In this context, the focus of the present article is to critically analyze the current state of governance and also to sketch out the impediments on the way of good governance in Bangladesh.

Objectives of the Study

This research has been conducted with the following objectives:

- To develop an understanding on perspectives, issues and concerns connected with good governance.
- To analyze the current state of governance in Bangladesh mainly focusing on its weak sides.
- To diagnose the major obstacles to ensuring good governance in Bangladesh.
- To suggest some policy and institutional measures to be undertaken in an effort to improve governance system of Bangladesh.

Methodology of the study

In this study both primary and secondary data have been collected. Primary data have been collected through an open interview with a standardized and structured questionnaire. Secondary data have been collected from concerned books, journals, periodicals, daily newspapers and other materials.

Origin and Concept of governance

The word *governance* derives from the Greek verb κυβερνάω [*kubernáo*] which means *to steer* and was used for the first time in a metaphorical sense by Plato (Kjaer, A.M. 2005). It then passed on to Latin and then on to many languages. Governance is a multi-faceted concept that encompasses a number of political, economic and social issues concerned with the government and administration. It is an ever-changing issue of which meaning has been changing over time. Since the days of Plato and Aristotle, governance has meant the task of running government and administration. Subsequently, governance took the different meanings and dimensions. Different governance theorists and international organizations have defined the term of governance from different angles. Despite many attempts, there is still no clear-cut unanimity as to its meaning. However, to simply put it, governance means the process of decision making and the process by which decisions are implemented or not implemented. The concept of governance can be applied in different contexts- global, national, institutional community (Dhiraj Kumar Nath, 2004).

Definitions of governance

- The World Bank defines governance as:
  'The exercise of political authority and the use of institutional resources to manage society's problems and affairs' (World Bank, 1991)

- 'Governance presumes a perspective on politics and government, a way of thinking about how things happen in a polity' (March, J.G. and Olsen J.P, 1995, pp. 7)

- "The way … power is exercised through a country's economic, political, and social institutions" (The World Bank's PRSP Handbook., http://web.worldbank.org)
- 'Governance means those measures that involve setting the rules for the exercise of power and settling conflicts over such rules' (Hyden, G., 1999)
- 'Governance means how people are ruled, how the affairs of the state are administered and regulated; it refers to a nation's system of politics and how this functions in relation to public administration and law' (Landell-Mills and Serageldein, 1991)

Good Governance: A Conceptual Voyage

The concept of governance is as old as the concept of governance itself. However, in the recent times particularly during the last decade of the twentieth century widespread poverty, rampant corruption and other socio-economic problems prevailing in the Sub-Saharan African countries and its linkage with the quality of governance has brought about an interest in the discussion of the issue of good governance. Since 1978, due to Un-international standardized management i.e. especially of some countries in Latin America and Africa. The super state World Bank has then proposed the term of good governance. Governance has three major components: that of process, contents and deliverables. The process of governance includes factors such as transparency and accountability. Content includes values such as justice and equality. Governance cannot be all process and values. It must ensure the basic needs and security of its citizens. In this sense, it is only when all these three conditions are fulfilled that governance becomes good governance. Good governance implies an administration that is sensitive and responsive to the needs of the people and effective in coping with emerging problems in society by framing and implementing appropriate laws and policies.

Definitions of Good Governance
- 'Good governance is epitomized by predictable, open and enlightened policy making; a bureaucracy imbued with professional ethos; an executive arm of the government

accountable for its action; and a strong civil society participating in the public affairs; and all behaving under rule of law' (World Bank Report, 1993),

- 'Good governance involves the self-organizing and interorganizational networks characterized by interdependence, resource-exchange, rules of the game and significant autonomy from the state' (Rhodes, R. A. W, 1997)

- Good governance "… among other things participatory, transparent and accountable. It is also effective and equitable. And it promotes the rule of law."

- 'Good governance means the effective management of a country's social and economic resource in a manner that is open, transparent, accountable, equitable' (Bilney, 1994, p-17)

Parameters of Good Governance

Good governance has a number of political, economic and social parameters through which the state of governance of a country can be diagnosed. Different international organizations and good governance theorists have identified different criteria of good governance from different angles.

Dhiraj Kumar Nath has identified eight major parameters of good governance which has been depicted in the following diagram (Nath, Dhiraj Kumar, 2004):
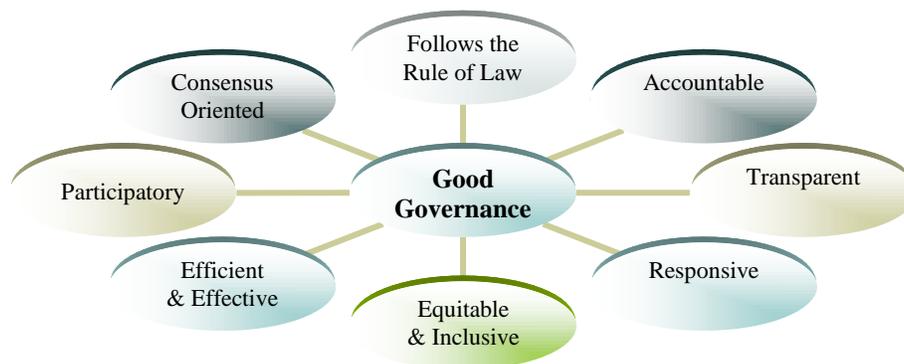
Diagram: Major parameters of good governance.

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The **World Bank** has identified a number of parameters of good governance which have assumed significance for the developed and developing countries (World Bank Report, 1992). These are:

- Legitimacy of political system which can be best achieved through regular elections and political accountability.

- Freedom of association and participation by various socio-economic, religious, cultural and professional groups in the governance.

- An established legal framework based on the rule of law and independence of judiciary to protect human rights, secure social justice.

- Bureaucratic accountability including transparency in administration.

- Freedom of information and expression

- A sound administrative system leading to efficiency and effectiveness.

- Cooperation between the government and civil society organizations.

To sum up, the parameters of good governance can be categorized primarily into two types which are as follows:

(a) Institutional parameters

    i.   Independent Election Commission
    ii.   Effective Parliament
    iii.   Efficient Bureaucracy
    iv.   Independent Judiciary
    v.   Strong and autonomous local government
    vi.   Freedom of press and media
    vii.   Strong and vigorous civil society
    viii. Independent and effective anti-corruption agencies

(b) Non-Institutional parameters

    i.   Legitimacy of political system
    ii.   Mass participation in the polity

iii. Dynamic and efficient leadership

iv. Responsiveness of government

v. Accountability and transparency of government

vi. Efficient administrative system

vii. Respect for rule of law

viii. Decentralization

ix. Equal distribution of state's wealth and resource

x. Respect for human rights

xi. Women empowerment

xii. Sound education system

xiii. Combating corruption.

Current state of Governance in Bangladesh

Bangladesh constitution provides most of the essential elements for good governance though the country is yet to fully develop right policies, environment, institutions, capacity and practice of good governance. Despite return to parliamentary democracy following a mass movement for democracy in 1990, and subsequent free and fair elections under neutral caretaker governments, establishment of democratic norms and practices has not been smooth in the country. Democratic governance which alone can safeguard the constitutional rights and interests of the common citizens and ensure better performance of the state functionaries is still missing.

Governance constitutes a major challenge for Bangladesh now-a-days. Its under performance is evident in many areas of national life. In fact, it is crystal clear from evidence as well as pronouncement of our policy makers and international donors that Bangladesh's improvement in the governance realm is not keeping pace with the progress achieved in some areas of economic and social policies. Such a gap in the country's governance efforts implies that political regime management has become a central constraint to further consolidation of democracy as well as improvement of the quality of governance in Bangladesh

Accountability of the parliament to the people and that of the executive to the parliament could not yet be institutionalized. Evident lack of

institutional capacity and other maladies continue to impede social and economic development, and peaceful democratic process. Weak performance of state institutions resulting in failure to reform state structures makes progressive policy decisions, create enabling environment and provide leadership of different levels of government and society meant that people's desire for democratic governance is far from being fulfilled. Lack of adequate accountability and transparency resulting in widespread corrupt practices, and deteriorating law and other situations have become endemic features of political, social and administrative culture dampening the spirit of development. The maladies thwart justice and fairness, restrict outreach and quality of public service delivery and inhibit vibrancy of market forces. Scope of compromise and consensus on the major national issues is constrained, thereby obstructing democratic process and further escalating confrontational politics manifested in parliamentary boycott, frequent hartal and widespread violence. According to the World Bank estimate, the revenue loss of the government due to corruption and inefficiency exceeds US$500 million; US$1 billion is lost due to poor management, and power sector loss amounts to over US$100 million per year-staggering amounts of losses for a nation gripped by poverty. In addition, lack of human security and social disorder persist due to improper law enforcement, as revealed in a recent UNDP report systematic violation of human rights goes unabated in a growing culture of impunity. Independent watchdog institutions such an ombudsman could not be established yet. There are missing links in the chain of accountability between the public, the legislature, the judiciary and the executive. Despite many well documented reports of waste, fraud, and abuse of public funds, little action has been taken, encouraging further corrupt practices.

Therefore, despite remarkable progress in some areas, there is still a long way to go before the desired momentum in economic growth, poverty reduction, and improvement in quality of life and overall social development is created to realize national aspirations and global commitment like millennium development goals. Problem of leadership in governance loom large in every sector. A substantial gap exists in the nation's ability to generate sound understanding of the situation, to identify problems and constraints and to implement best policy-making, managerial and leadership practices and to measure progress towards

good governance. Bangladesh has the basic infrastructure for good governance, but they are not well utilized.

Zarina R. Khan has marked, 'Effective democratic governance continued to be the elusive golden deer that the nation doggedly sought but could not find (Khan, R. Z, 2002; 107).

The current state of governance in Bangladesh has been demonstrated in the following table which clearly indicates Bangladesh's performance on good governance criteria between 1996 and 2010.

Chart: Ranking of Bangladesh among 213 countries by governance indicators.

BANGLADESH
Comparison between 2010,2006,1996 (top-bottom order)

	90th-100th Percentile		50th-75th Percentile		10th-25th Percentile
	75th-90th Percentile		25th-50th Percentile		0th-10th Percentile

Source: Kaufmann D., A. Kraay, and M. Mastruzzi (2010), The Worldwide Governance Indicators: Methodology and Analytical Issues

Table: Governance score of Bangladesh among 213 countries by governance indicators

Governance Indicator	Year	Governance Score (-2.5 to +2.5)
Voice and Accountability	2010	-0.28
	2006	-0.45
	1996	-0.15
Political Stability	2010	-1.42
	2006	-1.49
	1996	-0.65
Government Effectiveness	2010	-0.84
	2006	-0.78
	1996	-0.73
Regulatory Quality	2010	-0.86
	2006	-0.93
	1996	-1.05
Rule of Law	2010	-0.77
	2006	-0.89
	1996	-0.96
Control of Corruption	2010	-0.99
	2006	-1.41
	1996	-0.74

Source: Kaufmann D., A. Kraay, and M. Mastruzzi (2010), The Worldwide Governance Indicators: Methodology and Analytical Issues

Problems of Establishing Good Governance in Bangladesh

Governance constitutes a major challenge for Bangladesh now-a-days. It's under performance is evident in many areas of national life. In fact,

it is crystal clear from evidence as well as pronouncement of our policy makers and international donors that Bangladesh's improvement in the governance realm is not keeping pace with the progress achieved in some areas of economic and social policies. Such a gap in the country's governance efforts implies that political regime management has become a central constraint to further consolidation of democracy as well as improvement of the quality of governance in Bangladesh. That is why, despite having lapsed forty years of its independence, Bangladesh is still far from the path of good governance.

Hossain Zillur Rahman identifies four major problems on the path of good governance in Bangladesh. These are:

    i.   A tendency towards encyclopaedic wish list in agenda formulation;

    ii.   An insufficient appreciation of the institutional and political realities through which reform initiatives have to be carried forward;

    iii.   Over focusing on what does not work while ignoring which does work; and

    iv.   A lack of clarity as to where the governance agenda best interface with poverty reduction goals.

Now we will mention on which areas Bangladesh has been facing a number of problems in the path of good governance. These are:

- Lack of Free and Fair Election
- Problem of Consensus Building
- Ineffectiveness of Parliament
- Lack of Accountability and Transparency
- Absence of Rule of law
- Absence of real Independence of Judiciary
- Lack of Institutionalization of Political Parties
- Fierce Elite Competition
- Absence of worthy Leadership
- Confrontational Political Culture
- Inefficient Bureaucracy and Public Administration

- Biased Press and Media
- Fragile Local Government System
- Social Inequalities and Cleavages
- Political Violence
- Rampant Corruption

Data and Findings of the Study

Table-1: The socio- economic condition of the respondents

Types of respondents	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Student	10	16.67
Teacher	15	25.00
Civil society member	15	25.00
Civil servants	10	16.67
Politicians	10	16.67
	60	100

The table no. 10.1 shows that 25% of the respondents were drawn from both teacher and civil society members each. Among the respondents more than 16% respondents were drawn from civil servants, politicians and student each.

Table-2: Distribution of the respondents by age

Age	Frequency	Percentage
20-30	10	16.67 %
30-40	15	25.00 %
40-50	15	25.00 %
50-60	10	16.67 %
60-70	10	16.67 %
Total	60	100

The above table no. 10.2 indicates the respondents of different ages drawn for the research study. Among those, 25% has been drawn from both 30-40 and 40-50 years each; and more than 16% drawn from 20-30, 50-60 and 60-70 years each.

Table-3: Distribution of the respondents by sex

Sex	Frequency	Percentage
Male	30	50 %
Female	30	50 %
Total	60	100

The above table 10.3 shows that among the total respondents, 50% has been drawn from the male and 50% has been drawn from female.

Table-4: Respondents' opinion on the basic theme of good governance

Opinion	Frequency	Percentage
Fulfilment of peoples' needs and expectations	12	20%
Efficient management of national resources for development	07	11.67%
Equal distribution of natural resources and wealth	11	18.33%
Enforcement of rule of law, transparency and accountability	16	26.67%
Establishment of participatory political culture	14	23.33%
Total	60	100

The above table no. 10.4 shows that, majority of the respondents (26.67%) seemed that good governance implies the enforcement of rule of law, accountability and transparency at all levels of public life; 20% of them meant good governance as the fulfilment of people's needs and expectation; more than 18% regarded good governance as equal distribution of the state's resource; a few of them (11.67%) supposed that good governance meant the efficient management of national resource towards development; and more than 23% of the respondents answered that good governance subsumes the establishment of participatory political culture.

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Table-5: Respondents' opinion about the nature of political parties in Bangladesh

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Institutionalized	6	10 %
Moderately Institutionalized	12	20%
Less Institutionalized	26	43.33%
Un-institutionalized	16	26.67%
Total	60	100

The table no. 10.5 as seen in the above depicts the opinion of the respondents about the nature of the existing political parties of Bangladesh. In this regard, most of the respondents (43.33%) viewed that almost all the political parties existing in Bangladesh are less institutionalized and a very few of them (10%) considered the political parties are institutionalized; 20% respondents thought the political parties as moderately institutionalized and more than 26% of them opined the parties as uninstitutionalized.

Table-6: Respondents' opinion on the role of political parties in good governance of Bangladesh

Opinion	Frequency	Percentage
Institutionalizing the party	15	28.33%
Practicing democracy within the party	17	25%
Ensuring accountability and transparency	10	16.67%
Avoiding confrontational politics	14	23.33%
Increasing peoples participation	04	6.67%
Total	60	100

The above table no 10.6 indicates the respondents' opinion on the role of political parties in the establishment of good governance. In this regard, a majority of the respondents (28.33%) viewed that political

parties can help establish good governance through institutionalizing the political parties; 25% of them emphasized practicing democracy within parties; more than 16% of the respondents focused on ensuring accountability and transparency at all levels of the state life and a few of them (6.67%) stressed on increasing people's participation.

Table-7: The role of independent and impartial EC to ensure good governance in Bangladesh

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	39	65%
No	21	35%
Total	60	100

The table no 10.7 shows the respondents' view on the role of EC in establishing good governance in Bangladesh. Most of the respondents (65%) answered that if the EC is allowed to discharge its assigned duties freely, it could be able to help establish good governance through arranging free and fair election. And the rest of the respondents (35%) viewed that only an independent EC cannot establish good governance.

Table-8: The way through the independent EC can ensure good governance in Bangladesh

Response	Frequency	Percentage
By ensuring free and fair election	38	63.33%
Making political parties accountable and transparent	16	26.67%
Enhancing mass peoples participation	06	10%
Total	60	100

The table no. 10.8 demonstrates that most of the respondents (63.33%) viewed that the independent EC can ensure good governance in Bangladesh through holding free and fair election and a few of them emphasized on making political parties accountable and transparent.

Table-9: Necessity of political culture for establishing good governance in Bangladesh

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Participatory	42	70%
Subjective	14	23.33%
Parochial	04	6.67%
Confrontational	00	00
Total	60	100

The above table no 10.9 indicates the necessity of political culture for establishing good governance in Bangladesh. A majority of the respondents (70%) answered that participatory political culture is imperative for the establishment of good governance in the country; more than 23% of them emphasized the subjective political culture and a very few of them (6.67%) stressed the need of parochial political culture.

Table-10: The way to ensure participatory political culture for the better practice of good governance in Bangladesh

Opinion	Frequency	Percentage
Practicing democracy within the political party	18	30%
Institutionalizing the political party	17	28.33%
Creating political awareness among mass people	04	6.67%
Ensuring opposition's access to state's policy making process	09	15%
Enhancing mass participation regardless of gender, colour, caste, race and so on.	12	20%
Total	60	100

The above table no.10.10 indicates the way of ensuring participatory political culture for the better practice of good governance in Bangladesh. Among the respondents, 30% answered that through practicing democracy within political parties, participatory political culture can be ensured in the country; more than 28% of them prioritized on institutionalizing the political parties and 20% respondents think that participatory political culture can be ensured through facilitating mass participation at all levels of the public life.

Table-11: Imperativeness of rule of law for establishing good governance in Bangladesh

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Very much	46	76.67%
Much	11	18.33%
Less	03	5.00%
Least	00	00%
Total	60	100

The above table no. 10.11 shows the imperativeness of the rule of law in establishing good governance in Bangladesh. Of the respondents, more than 76% viewed that rule of law is very much essential for the establishment of good governance in Bangladesh

Table-12: Approach of ensuring the rule of Law in the country

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Independence of Judiciary	23	38.33%
Strengthening the law enforcing agencies	6	10.00%
The good willingness of the government	11	18.33%
Elimination of repressive laws	4	6.67%
Separation of Power	14	23.33%
Freedom of press and media	2	3.33%
Total	60	100

The above table 10.12 shows the way of ensuring good governance in Bangladesh. A good many of the respondents (38.33%) answered that the rule of law can be ensured in the country through the independence of judiciary; more than 23% of them emphasized separation of power; more than 18% stressed the need of the good willingness of the government.

Table-13: Role of local self-government in establishing good governance of Bangladesh

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Decentralizing the power	33	55%
Increasing mass participation	13	21.67%
Ensuring women empowerment	10	16.67%
Utilizing the local resources and wealth	04	6.67%
Total	60	100

In the table no. 10.13, it is seen that when the respondents were asked about the role of local self government in establishing good governance in Bangladesh most of them (55%) answered that it can be ensured through decentralization of power. More than 21% respondents emphasized the mass participation; a few of them (6.67%) of course suggested utilizing the local resources and wealth in order to reap the benefit of good governance.

Table-14: Respondents' opinion on the question of having autonomous local government system in Bangladesh

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	07	11.67%
No	53	88.33%
Total	60	100

The table no.10.14 reveals that most of the respondents (88.33%) opined that the local government system existing in Bangladesh is not

autonomous; and a very few of them (11.67%) regarded the present local government system of the country is autonomous.

Table-15: Importance of Qualified and efficient leadership in the establishment of good governance

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Agree	52	86.67%
Disagree	8	13.33%
Total	60	100

The above table 10.15 indicates that more than 86% of the respondents believed that efficient and qualified leadership is imperative for the establishment of good governance in Bangladesh and more than 13% of them are in view that only efficient leadership cannot establish good governance in the country.

Table-16: Role of our political leaders to ensure good governance in Bangladesh

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	12	20%
No	45	75%
Silent	03	05%
Total	60	100

On the reply of the question "Do you think our political leaders play desired role to ensure good governance in Bangladesh?" most of the respondent (75%) answered negatively. 20% was positive and 5% did not want to reply.

Table-17: Respondents' opinion on the main causes of failure of our political leadership in the establishment of good governance

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Inefficiency	23	38.33%
Unwillingness	17	28.33%

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Political instability	12	20.00%
External pressure	06	10.00%
Others	02	3.33%
Total	60	100

On the response of the question, "Why they cannot play the desired role?" the highest respondents (38.33%) blamed the inefficiency of the leaders. The second highest (28.33%) blamed leaders' unwillingness. 20% blamed political instability and 10% blamed the external pressure. 3.33% respondents blamed some other causes.

Table-18: Respondent's opinion on the nature of the parliament in Bangladesh

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Effective	07	11.67%
Ineffective	53	88.33%
Total	60	100

Respondents were asked about the performance of the parliament in Bangladesh. Most of them (88.33%) answered positively that parliament is effective. On the other hand 11.67% respondents viewed it as ineffective.

Table-19: Respondents' opinion on the ineffectiveness of parliament creating obstacles on the way of good governance in Bangladesh

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Dictatorial decision making	19	31.67%
Interrupting participatory political system	11	18.33%
Enhancing political violence	16	26.67%
Ignorance of public opinion	14	23.33%
Total	60	100

At the reply on this open ended question, "How an ineffectiveness of parliament creating obstacles on the way of good governance in Bangladesh?" the respondents almost closely expressed different types of opinions. The highest, 31.67% of respondents have pointed toward the ineffectiveness of parliament that persuades the dictatorial decision making. The second highest respondents (23.33%) have indicated that ineffective parliament ignores the public opinion and the lowest respondent (18.33%) told that it interrupts participatory political system.

Table-20: Respondent's opinion on the impact of corruption in quality of governance of Bangladesh

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Hinders the development process	24	40%
Limits the public access to the state service	17	28.33%
Abuses the government exchequer	7	11.67%
Degradation of social norms and values	12	20%
Total	60	100

In response to the question 'How does corruption affect the quality of governance in Bangladesh?" the highest respondents (40%) articulated that corruption hinders the development processes. The second highest (28.33%) uttered that corruption limits the public access to the state service. Orderly, (20%) articulated degradation of social norms and values and the least (11.67%) expressed corruption degrades the social norms and values.

Table-21: Respondents' view on equitable access to the state services and welfare in Bangladesh

Opinion	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	11	18.33%
No	45	75%
Don't Know	04	6.67%
Total	60	100

In response to the question the majority of respondents (75%) answered negatively, 18.33% positively and 6.67% answered they were not that much aware of this matter.

Table-22: Respondents' opinion on the way of ensuring people's access to the public services and welfare

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Establishment of good governance	39	65%
Ensuring economic development	14	23.33%
Establishing participatory political system	05	08.33%
Others.	02	3.34%
Total	60	100

In reply to the question, "How people's access to the public services and welfare could be ensured?" the highest respondents (65%) suggested 'Establishment of good governance', the second highest respondents (23.33%) suggested 'Ensuring economic development', the third group (08.33%) suggested 'Establishing participatory political system' and the least one (3.34%) suggested other various types of suggestions.

Analysis of Findings of the Study

The study has been conducted to understand the concept of good governance theoretically in general and particularly focusing on the current governance system in Bangladesh. The study also gave much effort to identify the major hindrances in the way of good governance of Bangladesh. The study is a social sample surveys and respondents of this study are chosen from Dhaka city who have been selected purposively from five strata of the society. To make this study in depth, theory and concepts related to the study are analyzed from different angles which made the endeavour more effective as well as practical. The major findings of the study have been summarized below:

The study found that majority of the respondents (26.67%) seemed that good governance means the enforcement of rule of law, accountability

and transparency at all levels of public life; 20% of them meant good governance as the fulfilment of people's needs and expectation; more than 18% regarded good governance as equal distribution of the state's resource; a few of them (11.67%) supposed that good governance means the efficient management of national resource towards development; and more than 23% of the respondents answered that good governance implies the establishment of participatory political culture.

The study reveals that political parties can help to establish good governance in Bangladesh. Most of the respondents(43.33%) viewed that almost all the political parties existing in Bangladesh are less institutionalized and a very few of them (10%) considered the political parties are institutionalized; 20% respondents thought that the political parties as moderate institutionalized and more than 26% of them opined the parties as un-institutionalized. Among them, more than 28.33% viewed that the existing political parties can contribute towards good governance in the country through institutionalizing their parties and 25% emphasized practicing democracy within political parties.

The study also found that most of the respondents (65%) believed that if the Election Commission is allowed to work independently, it would be able to help to establish good governance in Bangladesh through arranging free and fair election both at national and local level although a few of them (35%) supposed that only an independent EC could not establish good governance in the country. According to them, along with the EC, some other factors like efficient leadership, responsive political parties, accountability and transparency, rule of law are equally necessary for the establishment of good governance in the country.

The study also found, a majority of respondents (70%) opined that first of all, participatory political culture is necessary for the practice of good governance in Bangladesh as there has been prevailing the confrontational political culture in the country. Of the respondents, more than 28% seemed this can be ensured through institutionalizing political parties and 30% emphasized the practicing of internal democracy within the parties.

The study also found that more than 76% of the respondents viewed that for having good governance in the country, rule of law must be established at all levels of the state's life.

Among the respondents, 38.33% opined that rule of law can be established through making completely independent judiciary through the separation of power and a few of them (18.33%) emphasized good willingness of the government.

The study also found that most of the respondents (86.67%) opined that quality and efficient leadership is an imperative for the establishment of good governance in a country. A sum of 75% of the respondents seemed that our political leadership could not play desired role in that regard because of their inefficiency and unwillingness.

The study also found that more than 88% respondents viewed that the existing parliament has been ineffective in Bangladesh due to the obstinacy of both government and opposition parties. A great many of them (31.67%) believed that this ineffectiveness of parliament creates obstacles in the quality of governance in the country through making unpopular or dictatorial decisions without accommodating the opposition's views.

The study also found that 40% of the respondents opined that rampant corruption as has been prevailed in the society severely hinders the good governance of the country through posing a great stumbling block on the development process; more than 28% of them emphasized the limiting public access to the state resource.

Conclusion

Good governance is an umbrella and elusive concept. It includes a variety of factors which are inter-related to each other. Of these, political and social factors seem to be the dominant ones behind the process of good governance. On the basis of the above findings, it might be remarked that the current state of governance of Bangladesh is poor as almost all the aspects of good governance are severely absent in the country. At present, Bangladesh has been facing a number of challenges in the path of democratic or good governance like un-institutionalized political parties, lack of accountability and transparency, lack of rule of law, inefficient leadership, ineffective political institutions, rampant corruption, and widespread poverty and so on.

On the basis of the findings of this research study, the following policy and institutional measures have been recommended to be undertaken on urgent basis in an effort to overcome these massive challenges and thereby to establish good governance in Bangladesh.

(a) Policy Measures

1. Responsibility for policy making should entirely be in the hands of political leadership of the ruling party who are elected for this purpose. The ministers should be assisted in this work by a small group of political appointees who will substitute the senior civil servants of the secretariat. This will make the policy makers more responsible and responsive.

2. The system of allowing Ministers to act as Chairmen of Standing Committees of their respective Ministries has to go. Instead, the Standing Committee on each Ministry ought to be comprised of several members drawn from political party in proportion to their respective strength.

3. The Public Accounts Committee and Public Undertaking Committee must always be chaired by senior members of opposition. The proceeding of such committee meetings will be open to public and media unless the committees itself decides to meet in camera on any particular matter.

4. Accountability and transparency should be established at all levels of both administration and elected officials by applying the institutional mechanism.

5. The rule of law should be established within the society for the protection of fundamental human rights and ensuring social justice and equity. To that end, the judiciary should be separated from the executive, and all courts of law, both civil and criminal, under the control and supervision of the Supreme Court.

6. The political will of the government must be demonstrated in a way so that the bureaucrats cannot dare to defy Ministers' order. The constitutional independence and autonomy for CAG must be ensured so that it can independently work in the way to make

bureaucrats accountable in respect of financial matters and monitor their financial responsibilities.

7. The power to issue ordinance under Article 93 of the constitution is being regularly misused. Except in an emergency such as war or total breakdown of law and order which calls for proclamation of emergency, any ordinance of the government intended to make under Article 93 of the constitution must go through the scrutiny of the relevant Standing Committee and obtain its approval before its promulgation.

8. Democratic practice within the parties must be gradually strengthened so that leadership from the grass root level can develop and leaders can gradually gather knowledge over administrative accountability and that they should not depend on bureaucrats.

9. Hereditary nature of leadership should be abolished and the party constitution should be amended to allow change in the leadership after each specific term. The party structure and committees should be filled only by election and this will encourage as well as develop leadership from grass-root level.

10. For the transparency within the government fabrics radio and television should immediately be given autonomy. Operation of private TV channels should be allowed. All restrictive laws concerning press should be allowed to be self regulated by them through a code of ethical practice.

11. Corruption has to be minimized at the tolerable within the society. To that end, the Anti-Corruption Commission and other law enforcing agencies should be strengthened with adequate personnel and finance and should be allowed to discharge their assigned duties freely and fairly.

(b) Institutional Measures

1. The Election Commission should be independent enough so that it can hold the election both at the local and national level freely and fairly without any fear and intimidation.

2. The national parliament has to be made effective with the participation of all political parties and relevant as a forum for political discourse and decision making. The oppositions should be given due opportunity to utter their voice on decision making process at the parliament.

3. The bureaucracy, both civil and military must function under the control of the elected representatives of the people.

4. The judiciary should be made independent and efficient in real sense, by removing all sorts of challenges that still remained on the path of its independence.

5. Local government should be made autonomous with adequate financial power and maximum devolution of power to be made to the local government. Local government has to be made free from government interference.

6. A department of Ombudsman should immediately be created which will work as all time watchdogs against misadministration, red-tapism and inefficiency in the bureaucracy.

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The Need for an Integrated Health and Mental Health Care Policy in Bangladesh: An Explanation

Shirin Sultana[1]

Abstract: The article mainly deals with the conceptualization of health and mental health care systems as well as the integrated health care including primary and mental health care policy in Bangladesh. The paper delineates the nature and the causes of health care problems including lack of sufficient medical infrastructure, skilled professional doctors, nurses and the medical technicians in Bangladesh. Given a short critical review of current health care policy in Bangladesh, this paper concludes with some recommendations such as allocation of more funds, offering a low cost health care support to the citizens, etc. that should be implemented in order to establish a better health care system in Bangladesh.

Key Words: Health and Mental Health, Integrated Health Care Policy.

Introduction

Bangladesh is a South Asian country with a population of 150,448,340 and the seventh most populous country in the world {Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (B.B.S.), 2009}. Bangladesh also ranks 11th in the world in population density, with 881 people per square mile (Population Census Report, 2010). Currently, Bangladesh lacks a national health care policy or strategy for ensuring the health facilities to its citizens. Although the country has a mental health policy, it is an outdated one that was enacted in 1912. Since liberation in 1971, Bangladesh recognizes the need for a health care policy. To formulate this policy, the Bangladeshi Government has attended a number of health related conferences such as International Conference on Population and Development in 1994 (Ministry of Health and Family

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Welfare-MHFW, 2000). The attendance of government officials at such conferences provides them a means to gain knowledge and become signatories to the Agreements. However, upon returning home they have as if neglected to follow through concrete efforts to draft actual policies. In order to provide equal opportunities to have access to quality health care, developing an integrated health policy is a must. Such integrated health policy can be a combined form of a health policy that will focus both on the agenda of primary and mental health issues. The article aims to analyze the current state of health care in Bangladesh and offers recommendations in formulating an integrated health policy that could minimize the existing health problems and provide a better health care system to the people in Bangladesh.

Health Care Scenario in Bangladesh

Bangladesh is a developing country where more than 40 percent of people live below the poverty line and 77 percent of poor people live in rural areas where they have only a minimal chance to have access to health care (World Bank Report, 2010). In Bangladesh, the poverty line is determined by one's monthly income. The common international poverty line has in the past been roughly $1 a day (World Bank, 2005). In 2008, the World Bank came out with a revised figure of $1.25 at 2005 purchasing-power parity (PPP) (Ravallion, 2009). Therefore, we can say that in Bangladesh those people who earn less than $1.25 a day fall under the poverty line. The majority of people struggle to live whereas basic needs like health care remain a dream. Current health care issues in Bangladesh are greatly impacted by the population size, malnutrition, cost, and lack of infrastructure.

One common indicator of a country's state of health is the birth and death rate. Unfortunately, both of these rates are quite high in Bangladesh. For example, the current crude death rate is 6.2 per 1000 population and infant mortality rate is 62 per 1000 live births (DGHS, 2010). Moreover, the country's maternal mortality rate is 350 per 100,000 live births. This rate remains high in comparison to the United States (8 per 100,000 live births) and the United Kingdom (7 per 100,000 live births) (Graham, 2005)**.** Bangladesh's annual population growth rate is 1.40 percent and as the population continues to increase, it creates a greater demand for health care, which exacerbates current problems (BBS, 2009, DGHS, 2010). Approximately, 35.1% of the

population of Bangladesh is under the age of 15, the population at the productive age (15-49 years) is 53% and 6.6% of population is over the age of 60 (DGHS, 2009). The elderly are more vulnerable due to the lack of health care tailored to their needs (DGHS, 2009 & WHO, 2007).

Malnutrition is also a widespread problem. The high incidence of malnutrition among the poor is caused by a lack of income and a shortage of food at the individual household level. Nearly 75% of children in Bangladesh suffer from malnutrition and are also susceptible to infections that deter physical, mental and cognitive development (WHO, 2008). Moreover, in Bangladesh nearly two-third of deaths below the age of five is caused by malnutrition (WHO, 2008). Another factor that affects malnutrition is cultural practices that force low-income families to choose unhealthy and less nutritious foods. Roughly 25% of maternal deaths are connected to anemia and hemorrhage (WHO, 2008).

A lack of sufficient hospitals and clinics is a major concern in Bangladesh. Currently, a total of 16511 hospitals and 9722 clinics are providing health care (MHFW and DGHS, 2010). Among them only 397 hospitals have both in and out-patient facilities with 31 to 50 beds and 80 hospitals have 600 to 750 beds (MHFW, 2007). The country has approximately a total of 55000 beds for 150 million people, the second lowest ratio in the world (DGHS, 2010 and WHO, 2004 & 2008).

Furthermore, the condition of these clinics and hospitals is very poor in quality. Often, hospitals admit more patients than their real capacity. Bangladesh has only one doctor for 2860 patients and one nurse for 5720 patients (DGHS, 2009). In addition, Bangladesh has a total of 645 numbers of registered Homeopath doctors, 158 Unani doctors, 130 Ayurved doctors, 22253 midwives, and 5000 trained and skilled birth attendants (DGHS, 2008). Also, a majority of the hospitals do not have enough medical equipment to diagnose and assess the real medical issues of patients. Some hospitals also lack trained staff to operate medical technology, such as X-ray or Ultra-sonogram (WHO, 2007 & 2008).

The high cost of health care and increasing fees for services also contribute to the health care problem in Bangladesh. The allocated funds for health sector are scarce and also are not utilized and managed

properly. In many places, bureaucratic problems, corruption and mismanagement lead to inadequate public funds at the point of service and the informal charging of patients. The allocated funds are disbursed very slowly and often at a reduced level. The slow disbursement of funds causes delayed completion and ineffective utilization of funds. Only 5.4% of the nation's total annual budget is allotted for health (Bangladesh National Budget 2011-2012). This funding level remains too low to cover all health care needs and supplies and does not develop adequate infrastructure. Government has a limited capacity to provide free support to the large number of low-income families to mitigate their health needs. To cover the costs, people from low-income families usually secure loans from their relatives, sell their house and land, or ignore referrals to specialist's care due to the increased financial burden. A few people who can afford their health care costs do not receive adequate care due to lack of sufficient providers.

The environment also has an impact on health care in Bangladesh. Each year the people of Bangladesh become the victims of natural disasters such as floods and cyclones. Because of these natural disasters, people often become homeless, without shelter, food, emergency health care, pure drinking water or sanitation for extended periods of time. Air pollution is a health concern in Bangladesh. Dhaka, the capital of Bangladesh is one of the most polluted cities in the world, and a large number of people there are at risk because of the exposure to air contaminated with lead (Ratnayke, 2009). Research suggests that approximately 15,000 children die every year by inhaling lead contaminated air (Ratnayke, 2009). In Dhaka, approximately 10,000 children are exposed to lead and the level of lead in their blood is at least eight times higher than WHO recommended levels (Ratnayke, 2009). Because of this alarming presence of lead, children suffer from serious nervous disorders, epilepsy, and mental retardation (Ratnayke, 2009).

Mental Health Status

In addition to urgent health needs, the Bangladeshi people face barriers in accessing to mental health care services. The national budget allocation for mental health care is 0.5 percent of the total health care budget (WHO, 2007). The primary source of mental health financing is from income and property taxes. Patients pay out of pocket if they wish to receive mental health services. Very recently, the Ministry of Health

and Family Welfare began an initiative to train primary medical professions in mental health care so that they can provide mental health care alongside primary care to patients. The country also has a small number of community care facilities for patients with mental disorders. The Institute of Mental Health Research in Dhaka is currently providing mental health services to the country. Overall, Bangladesh has a total of 0.065 psychiatric beds per 100,000 people, with 0.03 psychiatric beds per 100,000 people in mental hospitals and 0.009 psychiatric beds for 100,000 people located in general hospitals (WHO, 2004 & 2007). The ratios of care are 0.05 psychiatrists, 0.002 psychologists and 0.001 social workers per 100,000 people (WHO, 2007).

The number of mental health care providers is also inadequate in Bangladesh. Bangladesh established one mental health hospital in 1957 (WHO, 2007). In 1969, the first outdoor clinic opened at the Dhaka Medical College. Later in 1981, the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) was developed to provide training to primary care physicians and health workers. In addition, a few NGOs are involved in mental health in the country, primarily in treatment and rehabilitation.

The primary behavioral and mental health diagnoses for women are depression and anxiety (Chowdhury et al., 1981). A recent study reports that among 28,998 deaths in women aged 10-50 years, 11.4 percent were attributable to suicide and depression (WHO, 2004). Priest et al. (2008) find high prevalence of antenatal depression among rural women, who rarely treat their depression. Another study revealed 14 percent of women with depression admitted to thoughts of self-harm during their current pregnancy (Gausia et al., 2009). This study found that 33 percent of women suffered from depression, which is higher than the 12 percent prevalence reported in a systematic review of studies undertaken in developed countries (Gausia et al. 2009). Socio-cultural factors and physical violence are also associated with antenatal depression in the study (Naved & Akhtar, 2008). Researchers found that a woman who is being beaten by her husband had the highest association with depression followed by an unhelpful or unsupportive mother-in-law, unhelpful and unsupportive husband, and preference for a male child (Priest et al., 2008).

Behavior disorders are also a common health concern in Bangladesh. A study conducted by Rabbani & Hossain (1999) finds that in Bangladesh, 13.4 percent of children had behavior disorders (males

20.4 percent, females 9.9 percent). A two-phase survey on over 10,000 children aged 2 to 9 revealed that the prevalence rates of severe and mild mental retardation were 0.6 percent and 1.4 percent respectively (Islam et al., 1993). This research also finds that mild mental retardation was strongly and significantly associated with low socioeconomic status (Islam et al., 1993). Durkin et al. (1993, 2000) used a structured measure for assessment of 162 flood affected children who had been diagnosed with behavioral disorders earlier; Durkin (2000) also found that an additional 10 percent had aggressive behavior and 34 percent had enuresis.

There is an increased chance of developing behavioral disorders for those who suffer from chronic illnesses such as diabetes, heart disease and asthma that require timely treatment (Lopez et al., 2008). If people with chronic illnesses ignore their behavioral health problems, they are more likely to face negative health outcomes and spend a large amount of money later for their severe illnesses (Lopez et. al., 2008). Moreover, people with severe mental illness are also less likely to access general health care. A lack of proper diagnosis, laboratory tests, inadequate training of behavioral health specialists, length of time, inadequate space and equipment combined with stigma, fear, and shame hinder people with behavioral disorders from accessing mental health care (Lopez et al., 2008).

Current Health Care Policy and Services in Bangladesh

Bangladesh continues to have a limited health care capacity and infrastructure. Both government and non-government initiatives are operating the following health programs. Primary health care is provided through districts, sub-districts and local level public hospitals. These hospitals and clinics have both in- and out-patient care along with a minimal laboratory facilities. Although the government-run hospitals have a provision for providing low cost health care to patients, the service is not enough to mitigate the country's overwhelming health care needs. At the private level, the country has a limited number of hospitals and other laboratory testing facilities. However, because of the high cost, people from middle and low-income families can not afford to obtain health care from these hospitals.

In the rural areas, a great number of traditional healers (*Kabiraj, totka*), faith healers (*pir and fakirs*), homeopathic practitioners, rural medical

practitioners (*Palli Chikitshoks)*, community health workers (CHWs) and retail drug sellers are providing health care support to the patients and selling medicine according to patients needs and request (WHO 2007). Although they do not have a license or professional certificate to diagnose people's illness, people in the rural areas with low-income and education largely depend on them to receive health care. These practitioners receive cash, in-kind donations or other alternative forms of payment. The country has a small number of semi-qualified community health workers and volunteers who are formally trained by NGOs. Their numbers have been increasing since the 1990's with the expansion of primary health care infrastructure in the country (WHO, 2007).

In 1996, the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare formed a committee to prepare a health policy to the cabinet that was passed in 2000. The health policy (MHFW, 2000) defines health as, "a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity." The policy also states that every citizen has the right to access adequate health care (MHFW, 2000). Under the policy, the government is constitutionally obliged to ensure health care for its citizens. However, by not developing an actual health policy, the Government of Bangladesh continues to deny their citizens to have this basic human right.

The current health policy aims to address the establishment of a primary health care system, reduction of child and maternal mortality; improvement of reproductive health services; recruitment of additional full-time medical staff in every public hospital and provision of services for people with physical and mental disabilities. The health policy is also targeted at improving the overall quality of health care to the people by improving health management and technology (MHFW, 2000). In order to reach these objectives this policy identifies the following goals (MHFW, 2000):

- To provide primary health care facilities that include both physical and mental health to every citizen in Bangladesh
- To decentralize health care so that both rural and urban populations can access equal health care facilities
- To ensure sufficient birth control supplies for controlling population growth

- To improve technology and research activities for further medical improvement

Some of the following salient strategies are also mentioned in the current health care policy to implement its goals (MHFW, 2000):

- A research institution will be established to identify the causes and solutions of various diseases. A national training institute will also be established to provide medical professionals and staff training and continuing education to develop their skills.
- Standardized quality guidelines will be provided to every health care clinic
- Nutrition and health education will be the priority. Every government hospital will have one nutrition and health education unit to educate the patients.
- The public hospitals and clinics will charge a small fee for services so that people from low income families can access health care. Moreover, NGOs and other private-run hospitals and clinics will charge less from the patients who are from low-income families.

Even though a great number of objectives, principles and strategies are included here, it fails to explain exactly what steps the government will take to provide quality primary health care along with mental health care to the citizens of Bangladesh. Also, the main flaw of this policy is its broad and vague nature. The policy does not specify a time table, emergency plans, funding sources, structure or organization.

Mental Health Policy in Bangladesh

The country has an old mental health policy named the Lunacy Act of 1912 that was developed while the country was a British colony (1757-1947). This policy reflects an outdated perception of mental illness and health. According to this policy, the term Lunatic means "an idiot or person with unsound mind". Besides defining the term, the policy also has a provision for asylum or prison where people with behavioral disorders must stay according to court order and a set of rules and norms was established by this act. However, as all rules were developed almost 100 years ago, it must be amended. India, the neighboring country of Bangladesh already amended the policy in 1987 by changing the definition of lunacy to mental illness, establishing new rules for

licensing the psychiatric hospitals, developing procedures admitting and discharging people with mental illnesses (Rastogy, 1987). Therefore, it is the time to amend the existing Lunacy act to create a better service option for the people with mental health issues in Bangladesh.

Recommendations

In order to develop and provide adequate health services to every Bangladeshi, the country must first adopt an integrated health care policy that focuses on primary health care and mental health. According to Lopez et al. (2008), "Integrated health care is a systematic coordination of physical and behavioral health services." The primary intention of integrated health care is to achieve a better outcome by providing combined service to patients because physical and behavioral disorders often occur simultaneously (Lopez et al., 2008). Most of the Bangladeshis ignore their mental health issues and do not seek treatments for their behavioral disorders. If they do, they must go to their primary doctors where they may not receive adequate and relevant care. Initially integrated health care should have two components:

a) Primary Health Care

Primary health care is designed to manage acute medical problems. In primary care, behavioral health problems often go undetected and untreated. In some cases, even when recognized, a sufficient quality of care is not provided to the patients. In Bangladesh, a provider rarely spends enough time to obtain adequate assessment and collaboration with other providers that also hinder providing quality of care.

b) Mental Health Care

The essential dimension of mental health is delineated in the WHO definition of health: "Health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity (WHO, 2007)." According to the above definition, it has been clarified that the mental health is a primary part of integrated health care that should be treated equally as physical health.

An addition, the following measures should be considered to formulate an integrated health care policy so that the policy could ensure and offer a better health care service to the people of Bangladesh:

Allocate More Money and Provide Low Cost Health Care to the Citizen: Health should be the country's top priority. An allocation or a minimum of ten percent of the total national budget should be invested in the health care sector in Bangladesh. In order to develop health infrastructures, Bangladesh should also explore funding both from the national and international donor agencies such as W.H.O., United Nations Population Fund, and United Nations International Children's Education Fund. In addition, Government should subsidize the health sector to provide a low cost health care to Bangladeshis. The government should also regulate services fees to ensure that private practitioners do not charge excess fees.

Provide Training and Improve the Health Infrastructures to Provide Affordable Health Care: Fund raising and infrastructure development including building more hospitals and clinics, recruiting more doctors, psychiatrists, counselors, social workers, nurses and other medical staffs should work simultaneously. The country should produce proportional quality medical staff by providing adequate education and training so that they can provide quality health care to the people. The government can also provide training to the un-licensed practitioners (traditional healers, faith healers, homeopathic practitioners, etc) who are already working to better prepare them to care for the population. The government can develop a training manual by combining the traditional and homeopathic practitioners' knowledge and expertise with evidence so that this training manual can work as a resource guide for the future practitioners to provide traditional health care in a scientific way. Bangladesh can also form agreements with other countries to import qualified medical staff. In addition, the ratio of doctors to patients and nurses to patients must be minimized. For example, doctors to patients' ratio should be one to five hundred so that doctors have enough time to listen to patients' health problems before diagnosing and prescribing any drugs. This doctor to patient ratio could be minimized by training and recruiting more doctors to the country.

Reduce Child and Maternal Mortality Rate (MMR) by Improving and Offering Reproductive Health: A broad based commitment is required to improve reproductive health and decrease child and maternal mortality rates. This commitment can provide a minimum level of basic nutrition and health education. By using the country's mass media, such as television, radio and daily news papers, the

government can develop an awareness program to the people who are unable to afford this education from institutional settings. Also, prenatal and antenatal check up can reduce this high rate of mortality.

Increase Mental Health Support Services: Bangladesh has a minimal number of hospitals and clinics for mental health care. At this point, the country can use the current hospital infrastructure and extend a new window for providing mental health services to the clients. Both government and private initiatives should work together to maximize their resources and provide a broader range of services. The country also can use mass media campaign to promote a general understanding of mental health across the country. The government should also develop sufficient mental health support services so that individuals could find a productive way to deal with their issues and minimize their health problems.

A number of research studies suggests that individuals who suffer from severe and constant mental illness die 25 years earlier than individuals without these disorders (Lopez et al. (2008). Therefore, early detection of mental health must be a focus of an integrated health policy so that the high mortality rate can be minimized. The government should also establish initiatives across the country to promote the detection of the early stages of mental health needs and provide sufficient support and care. The early detection can be possible only when people will be able to overcome their fear, stigma or shame of accessing mental health services. The government can take the pioneer role by creating available services and develop mass awareness programs to educate the people about mental health across the country. The more the people are able to understand the needs and importance of mental health issues, the more they will be interested to access services.

The country also has a high rate of suicide. This trend is not limited to people of low income families rather than people with any range of income, education and age group (Fisher et al., 2009). Here, the government can initiate a national program to prevent suicide. By organizing community stakeholders and collecting community support and resources can minimize and prevent the suicide rate. Awareness programs can also be created and implemented in schools.

Review Best Practices Health and Mental Health Services: Depression, anxiety and stress are common phenomena in the mental

health arena. When it occurs in a minor level, this might not create any major problems. However, continuous anxiety and depression exacerbate serious health problems (Islam et al., 1993). Thus, government can encourage the people to recognize depression and help to live a healthy life. Both government and non-government initiatives should be combined here to teach people to recognize the symptoms of depression. For example, media can produce educational video clips on it and broadcast them on various television channels so that people from different ages can learn about depression and how to overcome this situation. The country can explore the best practice programs from other countries that have already established health care services and review them in order to establish its own integrated health policy for Bangladeshis.

Develop User-Friendly and Consumer-Oriented Health Website: The country can also develop a user friendly and consumer oriented health and mental health website by explaining about health related information, services and community resources so that people can access the information that people need from the site. These websites should provide people some space to share their experiences and resources both in mental health and primary health arenas so that other people can be benefitted.

Conclusion

According to the WHO, there is no perfect health care system that covers the entire population's medical problems. In addition, overall health care cost, access, quality, and social disparities impact the expectations and demands of individual health care. However, providing quality and affordable health care is impossible without formulating an integrated health care policy. Bangladesh has a number of health care problems both in primary and mental health areas. In order to mitigate both physical and mental health problems, curative and preventive health care strategies must be developed (Grob & Goldman, 2006). Another solution to health care problems could be providing sufficient training programs to the primary health care providers so that they can enhance their skills not only in physical health but also in mental health areas. They can also provide practice guidelines. Integrated health care should be developed in a comprehensive manner with easy access to proper diagnosis, treatment,

and rehabilitations. These goals can only be achieved through the establishment of an integrated health care policy.

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Perception on the State of Democracy and Military-backed Caretaker Government (2007): A Study on the Political Thought of the Students of Dhaka University

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Abstract: Military intervention in politics seems to be a common phenomenon in Bangladesh since its independence through a liberation war in 1971. Democratic process of this country was hampered many times by the unsatisfactory intervention of the military personnel. Although Bangladesh started its political journey with a parliamentary system after independence, it failed to sustain it several times. In January 11, 2007, the Bangladesh army seized power in a military coup, ostensibly to save the country from political violence. On that case, a military-backed caretaker government was formed for the free and fair democratic election and peaceful transfer of power to the public. This research paper is based on the study of political thought of the students of Dhaka University. Students' perception on the reasons of the military intervention to form the caretaker government is addressed. While the institutional framework for parliamentary democracy has been set up in Bangladesh, this paper aims at showing whether it can sustain democratic order.

Keywords: Caretaker, Democracy, Government, Intervention.

Introduction

Since independence in 1971, Bangladesh like most of the third world countries has been facing mainly three types of problems: institutionalization of a democratic order, military intervention in the democratic process and natural disaster. Democracy is a continuous political process which can only be sustained and developed by giving

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due attention to certain issues. Though Bangladesh has passed 40 years of its independence, it has failed to establish democracy as an institution. In Bangladesh every political leader or party, civil or military, popular or unpopular, big or small, in or out of power, talks about democracy. But the reality is that the nation has failed to put it into practice. Taking advantage of this situation, military leaders intervened to practice their own version of democracy, which only exacerbated the crisis. Recent military intervention in the democratic countries is a hot issue over the world. So present study will try to focus the hidden causes for what military get the chances to intervene in the democratic process as well as politics of Bangladesh. The study tries to justify the acceptability of the military backed caretaker government (2007) among the university students, explain the causes of military interference in the caretaker government of 2007 and to find out the factors that led the elected government failed to restore the continuing democracy in Bangladesh.

The Notion of Constructing Democracy

According to David E. Apter, the precondition of constructing of democracy is population and a main element of which is the participation of the population. In principle the more decentralized are the units of governing and the greater the degree of democracy. This relationship has been shown in the following figure:

Figure-1: Power and Democracy
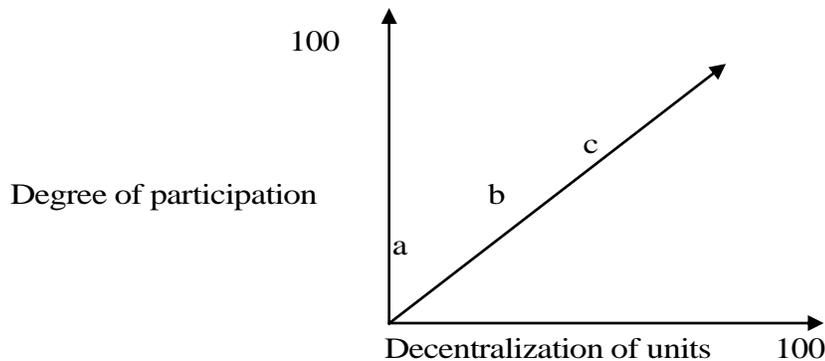
Source: Apter, 1981, (Page-170)

At each point a, b, c on the above diagram, there is an increased degree of sharing of the power among more and more instrumentalities of

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government. At point a, a political system is relatively monistic, with power concentrated in a few units of government or even a single figure. At point c, the system of pluralistic, with power shared broadly in the community and distributed among many jurisdictions. The model of democratic government at point c in the figure looks like the diagram in the following figure:

Figure-2: The Model of Democratic Politics
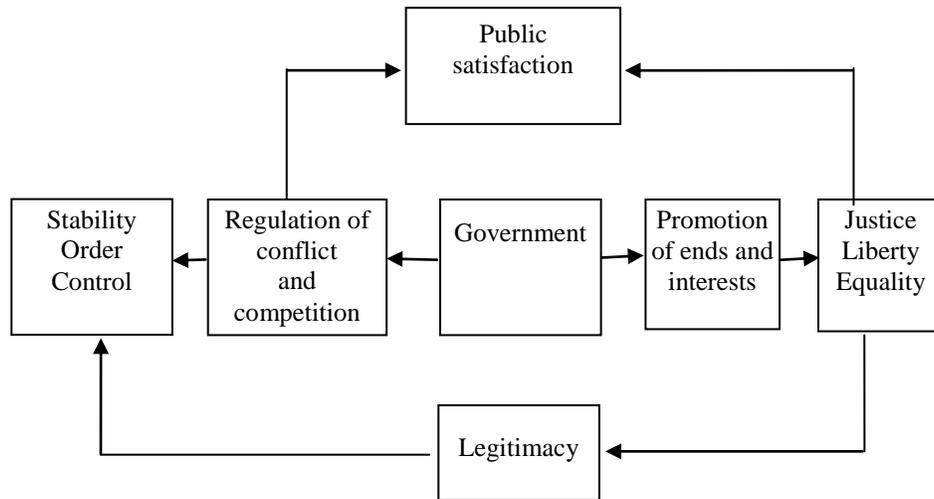
The probation of ends and interests take the form of legislation, which accords with principles of justice, liberty and equality and satisfies both the public's needs and its sense of appropriateness about things to do. Legislation provides the societal basis or consensus for stability of order and control. At the same time, within that large consensus, government can act to control the political conflicts arising from factional conflict, or party competition by means of improved electoral methods, changes a party financing of other means (Apter, 1981). In the following figure, it is showed that Justice provides power to law; Law provides representation to the equality of access to all citizens. The above chain of command is necessary for the democratic process for any democratic country. Where the chain of command is strong, the democratic process is in good condition there. Then democracy also provides liberty, liberty provides right to the citizen and to the state. Thus state is authorized and gives order to show its authoritative power. These are the principles of democracy. If these principles are weak in any country, the democratic process also becomes weak in that country.

Figure-3: Basic Principles of Democracy
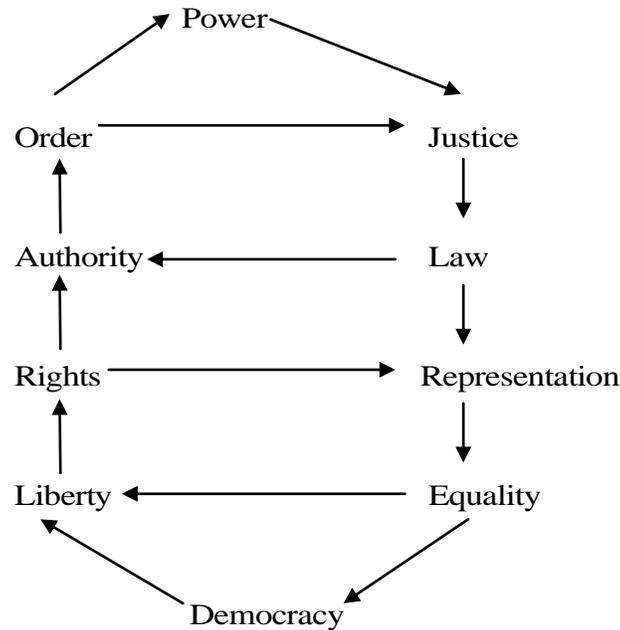
So in Bangladesh perspective, the above figure is important to protect the smooth democratic process from the threat of any non political authority. Apart from exhortation, probably all the respondents alike agreed that there are few tools that the international community can use to compel Dhaka to restore parliamentary democracy, improve governance and justice provision, diminish the politicization of the bureaucracies, restrain Islamist militants, and improve law and order. Limited options notwithstanding, all the participants of this academic research agreed that the donor governments should make an active effort to get Bangladesh's democracy back on the right track. But if we want to establish our country in the world, we should not allow any intervention that can be harmful for the long term democratic process in this country. So we have to make a situation where democracy will be in a position that may be defined as a constituent for a permanent future. The second main elements of constructing democracy and their interrelations are summarized in the following figure

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Figure-4: Constitution of Democracy

Democracy

Popular sovereignty ← Consent of the Governed

Limited government → Judicial review

Executive responsibility ← Legislative control

Universal suffrage → Party competition

Electoral system ← Informed public

Free press → free assembly

Check and balance
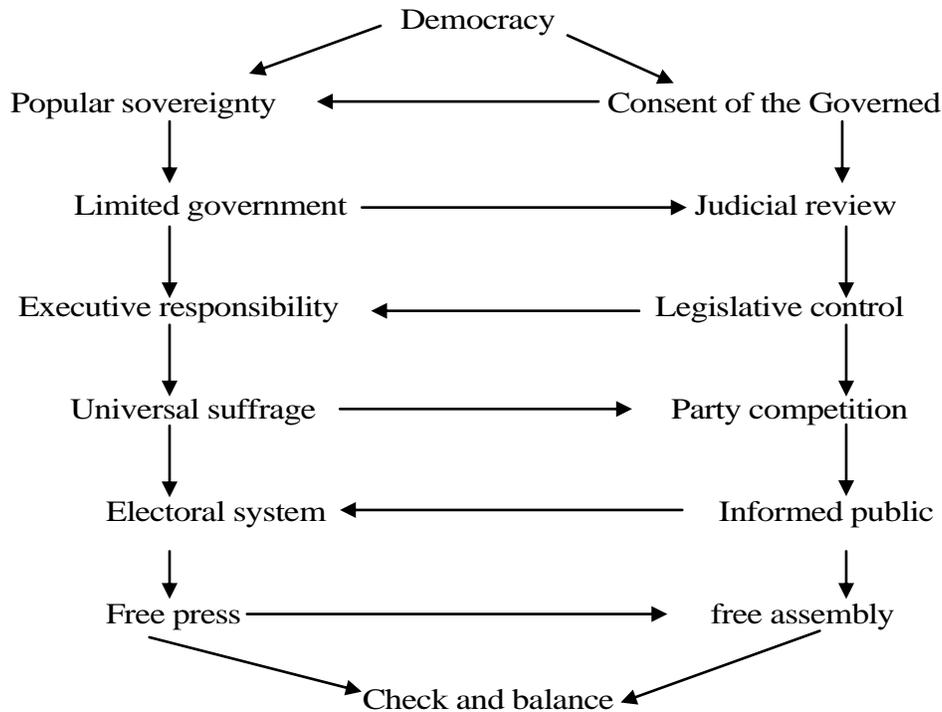
Source: Apter, 1981, (Page-142).

If democracy is to be constituted, the above characteristics are to be present. Democracy will remain as a dream without the responsibility of the execution of democracy. Electoral system is to be supported by the all existing political parties. Democracy is impossible without the competition among the political parties. But competition is to be in a democratic way not in the willful way. Public must have to be informed about what is going to be in the political system. Each political party is to publish their own agenda before the general election. Then the mass people will decide which party they will select for the next five years to govern the country.

Democracy and the Notion of Caretaker Government

The caretaker government plays the role at a time when there is no political government to run the country. The caretaker government carries out every day administrative activities and refrains from policy making. The notion of caretaker government is included through the

13th amendment of our national constitution to hold a free and fair election. The chapter 61, 99, 123, 152, 157 of constitution and second chapter of fourth division describe in detail the role and formation of the neutral caretaker government (Bangladesh national constitution). The 13th amendment provides that the caretaker government must be formed with not more than 11 members including the chief adviser. After the end of any parliamentary government, the caretaker government must be formed within 15 days.

Democracy and the Notion of Civil Society

There is no consensus as to the theoretical and empirical separation of political, economic, and social relations in the social sciences. The shifting meaning of the concept of "civil society" indicates changing theoretical attitudes towards the relationship between economy, society and state (Nicholas, 1988). The term 'civil society' was used by writers such as Locke and Rousseau to describe civil government as differentiated from natural society of the state of nature, the Marxist concept derives from Hegel (Bottomore, 1985).

Marriage between Democracy and Corruption

Corruption plays a negative role in the democratic process of a country. The military backed caretaker government (2007) came to the power committing to reduce corruption from all sectors. Corruption is a complex phenomenon. Its root lies deep in bureaucratic and political institutions. And its effect on development varies with country conditions. But cost may vary and systematic corruption may co-exist with strong economic performance. Experience suggests that corruption is bad for development. "Corruption is behavior of public officials which deviates from accepted norms in order to serve private ends" (Huntington, 1968). Corruption is one of the tools that are obstacle for a democratic country.

Bangladesh is now going through a deepening crisis of democracy. The crisis lies on corruption mainly. To become the champion in corruption is going to be an integral part of this country. The military backed caretaker government (2007) came to the power of this country due to the corruption of the political leaders. So in a corrupted country there is a great probability of the military rule.

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Military Intervention in Politics in the Developing World

Military intervention in the politics of developing countries is a common incident in present times. Usually countries experiencing political instability due to lack of consensus among different groups fall victims to military intervention. The absence of strong political institutions and leadership makes the democratic order weaker (Barman, 1988). Different scholars have formulated several propositions pertaining to military intervention in politics. Huntington points out that the principal causes of military intervention lie in politics and not the military (Huntington, 1996). The army may intervene when the political institutions of a country become weak and divided. The absence of constitutional consensus and intense conflict between classes, regions and either or communal groups may encourage the military to intervene. Huntington also places importance on the competence and decisiveness of a government which is absent in the developing countries. Finer states that the military is likely to intervene if civilian institutions are weak and lacking position in legitimacy (Finer, 1985).

Methodology

The study was conducted at the University of Dhaka. The University of Dhaka has always been an archetypal place for national level crisis mitigation centre. This education institution leads in the period of crisis. During all autocratic power exercise, it had played its crucial role. This is why the researcher chose this area. This study includes students of studying in different five subjects at the University of Dhaka as its study population. Study involved students who are thought to be the agents of main discussion regarding political issues while the country passing its transitional and turmoiling time. That's why students studying at the University of Dhaka have been selected as the target population for the present study. This study involves non-probability sampling approach to collect necessary samples from the target population. Survey was mainly the data collection method for this study. Semi-structured questionnaire was used for the survey for the main data collection method of the present study. For conducting the survey, a semi-structured questionnaire with 36-questions was used. With the objective to organize this work in a representative manner, the researcher had taken more representative samples from the target population. A total of 223 samples (students) were taken from the five different subjects by the following ways.

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Table-1: Sample Design of the Study

Studying Subject	Sex		Total
	Male	Female	
Sociology	20	24	44
Political Science	22	23	45
Economics	24	19	43
Public Administration	26	19	45
International Relations	25	21	46
Total	**177**	**106**	**223**

The fieldwork for the present study was conducted for a period of 20 days between October and November 2007. The researchers themselves administered the questionnaires for the survey among the respondents according to the sampling plan discussed above. Before approaching the respondents, the researchers informed the sample students about the topic under study and the purpose to conduct the survey. The researchers sought their cooperation and formal permission to conduct the survey. After receiving formal permission and gaining access, they administered questionnaires to the target population (students).

Figure-5: Conceptual Framework
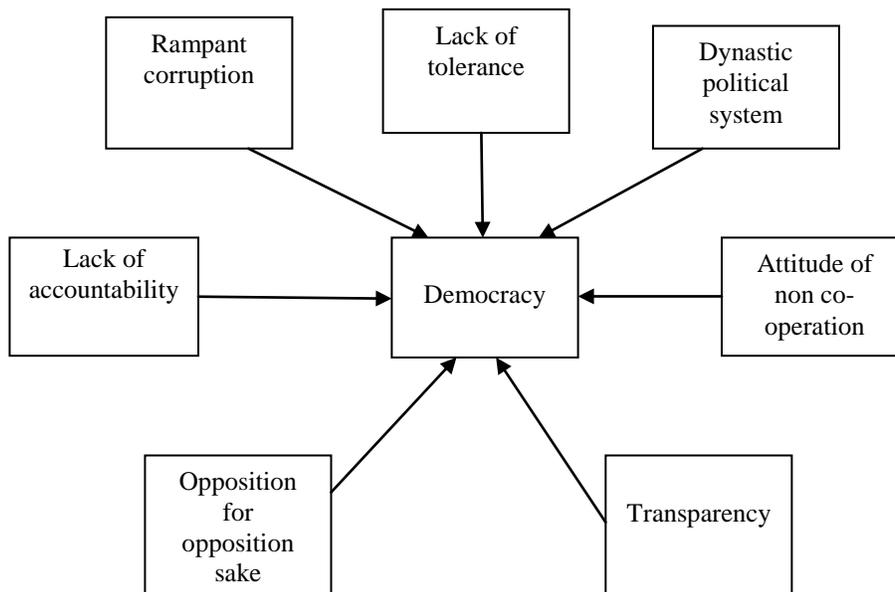
Results of the Study
Characteristics of the Respondents

A total of 223 students from five subjects of the University of Dhaka are interviewed for this study. It has been found that in this study respondents are unevenly distributed in terms of gender. Study involves 55 percent male and 45 percent female respondents. Respondents are predominantly Muslim (83%) and second majority respondents (14%) are from Hinduism.

Democracy and Military Backed Caretaker Government (2007)

In the study it is found that 64(%) percent of the respondents think that democracy will not be well established if the military backed caretaker government governs the country. It is evident that 84 (%) percent respondents think the military backed caretaker government of 2007 as illegal or not constitutionally approved. On the other hand only 14(%) percent respondents think positively. From the table , it is evident that maximum respondents (78%) think that government is not giving priority to public opinion, 23% respondents think that government is giving priority to public opinion to some extent and only 9% said about giving priority to the public opinion by the caretaker government.

Table-2: Democracy and Military Intervention

Items of Response	Yes (%)	No (%)	To some extent (%)	Total
Well establishment of democracy by the military backed caretaker government	22	64	14	100
Constitutional approval of the military backed caretaker government of 2007	14	86	-	100
Giving priority to the public opinion in decision making by the caretaker government	9	78	23	100

Items of Response	Yes (%)	No (%)	To some extent (%)	Total
Necessity of caretaker government system in Bangladesh without any military intervention	89	11	-	100
Necessity of military intervention in the political crisis of Bangladesh	9	83	8	100
Military backed caretaker government's attitude regarding the minus-2 formula	78	13	9	100

A significant number of the respondents (89%) opined that care taker government is necessary for the free fair election in Bangladesh. Only a small number of respondents (11%) opined that there is no necessity of the care taker government in Bangladesh. Again 65 percent respondents do not expect military intervention in the democratic process of Bangladesh. Majority of the respondents think that the military backed caretaker government wanted to establish the minus-2 formula (i.e. to make present prime minister Sheikh Hasina and past prime minister Begum Khaleda Zia minus from Bangladesh politics).

Restoration of Democracy and Nature of Political Parties in Bangladesh

In order to explore the political thought regarding democracy of Bangladesh respondents were asked to comment on specific response items. Here it is found that 65 percent of the respondents think that politics should be free from the family orientation (hereditary process) for the smooth democratic practice in Bangladesh. On the other hand 72 percent of the total respondents think that lack of tolerance among the politicians is the main barrier for the proper establishment of democracy. Only 16 percent opined negatively.

Table-3: Restoration of Democracy and the Nature of Political Parties

Comments on-	Yes	No	To some extent	Total
Politics should be free from family orientation	65	11	24	100
Lack of tolerance among the politicians is the main barrier for the well establishment democracy	72	16	12	100
Opposition for opposition sake among the political parties are liable for the weaker democracy in Bangladesh	58	27	15	100
Lack of accountability among the politicians is liable for the instable democracy	69	9	22	100

There is a political tradition in Bangladesh to show opposition for opposition's sake even on the national crisis. Here we see that 58% of the respondents think that opposition for opposition's sake among the political parties is liable for the weaker democracy. Again 27% of the respondents don't think so. It is also evident that 69% of the respondents think that lack of accountability among the politicians is liable for the unstable democracy of Bangladesh. Only 9% of the respondents don't think so.

**Table-4: Respondents' Political Thought about the Democratic Practice and Flourishment of Bangladesh from1991 to 2006**

Items of Response	%
Highly satisfactory	5
Satisfactory	26
Not satisfactory	69
Total	100.0

It is evident from the above table that the majority of the respondents do not have positive idea about the democratic practice and flourishment in Bangladesh from 1991-1996. Majority of the respondents (69%) replied

as not satisfactory about the democratic practice and flourishment during the political party's government.

It is evident from the following figure that the majority of the respondents (72%) think that military backed caretaker government will not be able to establish political stability, 17% think government will be able to establish political stability.

Figure-6: The Military Backed Care Taker Government (2007) and the Establishment of Political Stability in Bangladesh
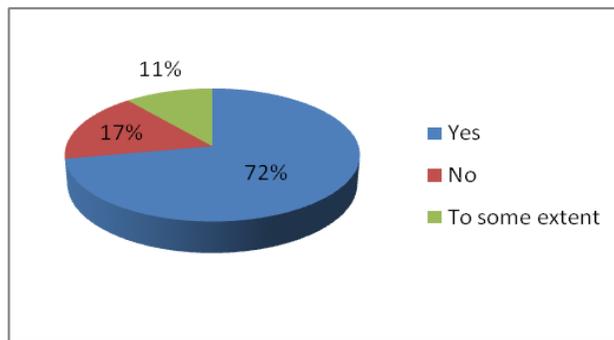
Stable Democracy and Few Components

A measure of association such as Cramer's V was computed in order to examine the association between a set of components of the stable democracy and democratic flourishment in Bangladesh. Some of the components of stable democracy such as kinship based political system and corruption are strongly associated with the badly flourishment of democracy.

Table-5: Association Between Stability of Democracy and Democratic Practice from 1991 to 2006

Component of Stable democracy	Democratic flourishment from 1991 to 2006
Corruption is the main obstacle or impediment in the process of democratization	V=0.311***
Lack of tolerance among the politicians is the main barrier for establishing democracy	V=0.169**

Component of Stable democracy	Democratic flourishment from 1991 to 2006
Lack of accountability among the politicians is liable for the instability of democracy in Bangladesh	V=0.156**
Kinship based political system affects democracy negatively	V=0.259***

*Significant at the 0.05 level **Significant at the 0.01 level *** Significant at the 0.001 level

Again lack of tolerance among the political parties and accountability among the political leaders is also significantly associated with the flourishment of democracy in Bangladesh.

Discussion and Conclusion

The military backed caretaker government (2007) came to power during a political crisis in Bangladesh. The struggling situation of two big political parties Awami League (AL) and BNP created a situation in the country to form a military backed caretaker government. So the countrymen expected a better situation of the country after the military intervention but countrymen had to be disappointed. As it is evident from the respondents, about 64% opined that the military backed caretaker government (2007) has failed to establish political stability in the country. Bangladesh came into the process of political stability in 1990 after the regime of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. The history of (1975-1989) was the history of military coup one after another. In 1990 Bangladesh entered into the process of democratic transition in the wake of huge mass upsurges and although there have been regular elections and transfer of powers, the country is yet to achieve democratic consolidation. Thus the issue of democratic consolidation in Bangladesh is of crucial importance for the global agenda of democratization. For the smooth development of democracy in the country no one wants military intervention in politics. A significant number of the respondents (83%) don't support the military intervention in the caretaker government. On the other hand 89% of the respondents feel the necessity of the caretaker government system without military intervention for the free and fair election. In order to ensure the foundations of democracy and unwanted military intervention in politics following issues should be acknowledged:

i. For the smooth and stable democratic practice in Bangladesh the first and foremost task is to maintain the continuity of constitutional rule. Constitutional process should not be disrupted under any circumstances. Again any military or extra-constitutional intervention must be resisted and a law should be introduced to punish not only those who seek to intervene but also those who would support the illegal regime.

ii. The system of government accountability to the people as well as to the national parliament should be established.

iii. A major weakness which tends to precipitate the crisis of democracy is the fragmentation of the existing parties.

iv. Political parties are considered to be the key to development of democracy. In particular, those who talk about democracy do not uphold democratic values within their parties. This issue of democracy within the party is crucially important.

v. Corruption is the main problem in the administration of Bangladesh for the implementation of any development programme. Corruption has ingrained in our society. But this evil cannot be wiped out overnight. No leader, even though he is powerful or charismatic, will be able to wipe out corruption overnight. Only it can be wiped out gradually through the process of institutionalization of controlling institutions and it needs a dedicated leader for institutionalization of institutions, which control the administration.

vi. Hereditary nature of leadership should be abolished and the party constitution should be amended to allow change in the leadership after each specified term. The party structure and committees should be filled only by election and this will encourage as well as develop leadership from grass-root level.

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Extremum Difference Formula on Total Opportunity Cost: A Transportation Cost Minimization Technique

Md. Amirul Islam[1], Md. Masudul Haque[2] and Md. Sharif Uddin[3]

Abstract: Transportation cost is an important factor in business arena. In Operation Research (OR), we use several traditional methods to minimize the transportation cost. A new technique to minimize the transportation cost through operations on a moderate Transportation Table (TT) called Total Opportunity Cost Table (TOCT) is presented herein. The Distribution Indicators (DI) are calculated by the difference of greatest and smallest unit cost. The least entry of the TOCT along the highest DI is taken as the basic cell. Finally, loads have been imposed on the original TT corresponding to the basic cells of the TOCT. The method has been illustrated with an example to justify its efficiency. It is observed that the method presented herein is applicable on TP with equal constraints.

Keywords: Operation Research, Transportation Table, Total Opportunity Cost Table, Distribution Indicator, Transportation Problem.

Introduction

Transportation model plays a vital role to ensure the efficient movement and in-time availability of raw materials and finished goods from sources to destinations. Transportation Problem(TP) is a Linear Programming Problem (LPP) stemmed from a network structure

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consisting of a finite number of nodes and arcs attached to them [Kasana, H.S and Kumar, K.D 2004]. The objective of the TP is to determine the transportation schedule that minimizes the total transportation cost while satisfying the demand and supply limit [Swarup, K; Gupta, P.K and Man Mohan]. In literature, a good number of researches [Korukuglu, S & Balli, S, 2011; Kasana H.S & Kumar K.D 2004; Shimshak, D.J; Kaslik, J.A & Barelay, T.D 1981; Taha, H.A 'Operation Research'] are available to obtain the basic feasible solution for TP with equal constraints. Transportation problem presents the typical problem of single product to be shifted from m origins (factories) to n destinations (warehouses/ sales centers/showrooms) wherein a_1, a_2,...,a_m and b_1, b_2,...,b_m are the capacities of the origins and destinations respectively. There is a constant c_{ij}, called per unit transportation cost from the origin i to the destination j. There is a variable x_{ij} representing the unknown quantity to be transported from the origin i to the destination j.

Extremum Difference Formula has been applied on TOCT [Korukoglu, S & Balli, S, 2011] in this paper to solve the TP. Several methods are available to achieve the target. The well-known methods are: Vogel's Approximation Method (VAM) [Taha, H.A 'Operation Research'], Balakrishnan's version of VAM [Balakrishnan, N, 1990], Shore's application of VAM [Shore, H.H, 1970], H.S. Kasana et. al.'s Extremum Difference Method for Transportation [Kasana, H.S and Kumar, K.D 2004]. In this paper, we present a method which gives better minimized transportation cost than given by the methods just mentioned.

Formation of TOCT

Step 1:   Subtract the smallest entry from each of the elements of every row of the TT and place them on the right-top of corresponding element.

Step 2:   Apply the same operation on each of the column and place them on the right-bottom of the corresponding element.

Step 3:   Form the TOCT whose entries are the summation of right-top and right-bottom elements of Step 1 and 2.

Algorithm of the Presented Method

Step 1: Calculate the differences of the greatest element and the smallest element of each row and column of the TOCT and place them just after and below the supply and demand limit respectively within the first brackets, which are called the row distribution indicators and column distribution indicators respectively.

Step 2: Identify the largest distribution indicator and choose the smallest cost element along the largest distribution indicator. If there is more than one smallest element, choose any one of them arbitrarily.

Step 3: Allocate $x_{ij} = \min(a_i, b_j)$ on the left-top of the smallest entry in the cell (i, j) of the TOCT.

Step 4: If $a_i < b_j$, leave the i-th row and re-adjust b_j as

$$b_j' = b_j - a_i.$$

If $a_i > b_j$, leave the j-th column and re-adjust a_i as

$$a_i' = a_i - b_j.$$

If $a_i = b_j$, then leave either i-th row or j-th column but not both.

Step 5: Repeat Step1 to 4 until the demand and supply are exhausted.

Step 6: $z = \sum_{i=1}^{m} \sum_{j=1}^{n} c_{ij} x_{ij}$, c_{ij} being the cost elements of the TT corresponding to the basic cells of the TOCT where loads have been made.

Example

A company manufactures motor cars and it has three factories F_1, F_2 and F_3 whose weekly production capacities are 4, 9 and 7 pieces respectively. The company supplies motor cars to its four showrooms located at D_1, D_2, D_3 and D_4 whose weekly demands are 5, 4, 5 and 6 pieces respectively. The transportation costs per piece of motor car are given below in the TT:

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Factories	Showrooms				Supply
	D_1	D_2	D_3	D_4	
F_1	3	2	1	3	4
F_2	8	7	6	4	9
F_3	7	5	6	8	7
Demand	5	4	5	6	20

We want to schedule the shifting of motor cars from factories to showrooms with the minimum cost.

Now the row differences and the column differences are shown on the right-top and right-bottom respectively to each of the elements.

Factories	Showrooms				Supply
	D_1	D_2	D_3	D_4	
F_1	3_0^2	2_0^1	1_0^0	3_0^2	4
F_2	8_5^4	7_5^3	6_5^2	4_1^0	9
F_3	7_4^2	5_3^0	6_5^1	8_5^3	7
Demand	5	4	5	6	20

Therefore, the TOCT is

Factories	Showrooms				Supply
	D_1	D_2	D_3	D_4	
F_1	2	1	0	2	4
F_2	9	8	7	1	9
F_3	6	3	6	8	7
Demand	5	4	5	6	20

The distribution made by difference of greatest unit cost is

Factories	Showrooms				Supply	Row Distribution Indicator			
	D_1	D_2	D_3	D_4					
F_1	2	1	$^4 0$	2	4	(2)	(2)	-	-
F_2	$^2 9$	8	$^1 7$	$^6 1$	9	(8)	(2)	(2)	(2)
F_3	$^3 6$	$^4 3$	6	8	7	(5)	(3)	(3)	(0)
Demand	5	4	5	6	20				
Column Distribution Indicator	(7)	(7)	(7)	(7)					
	(7)	(7)	(7)	-					
	(3)	(5)	(1)	-					
	(3)	-	(1)	-					

The transportation allocation to the original TT is as follows:

Factories	Showrooms				Supply
	D_1	D_2	D_3	D_4	
F_1	3	2	$^4 1$	3	4
F_2	$^2 8$	7	$^1 6$	$^6 4$	9
F_3	$^3 7$	$^4 5$	6	8	7
Demand	5	4	5	6	20

So, the transportation cost is

$$z = 1 \times 4 + 8 \times 2 + 6 \times 1 + 4 \times 6 + 7 \times 3 + 5 \times 4$$
$$= 91 \text{ units}$$

Comparison of transportation cost obtained by different methods

Methods	Transportation Cost
Presented Method	91
VAM	91
North-West Corner Method	126

Methods	Transportation Cost
Matrix Minima Method	91
Row Minima	93
Column Minima	93

So, we observe that the optimal cost is 91 units.

Conclusion

The presented method helps the manager to arrange the transportation schedule which minimizes the transportation cost of a company. The method developed here can be used for solving any type of problem and ensures a minimized transportation cost which is very nearer to the optimal cost. It takes less iteration to reach the optimal result. Sometimes the optimal transportation cost is provided straightforward by the presented method.

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The Five Year Plans in India: Overview of the Health Policies in HIV/AIDS Perspective

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Abstract: HIV/AIDS policy of India is associated with establishment of STD clinics, initiation of HIV sentinel surveillance system, testing of cases for infection, control of infection through anti retroviral treatment, counselling, care and support, expansion of infrastructure for blood banks, involvement of NGOs with the focus on awareness generation, training of personnel and mass health education. The main objective of this paper is to examine how the HIV/AIDS policies was implemented emphasising the issues of HIV/AIDS through the five year plans period of India.

Key words: Plans, HIV/AIDS, Health, Policies, Perspective.

Introduction

Sexually transmitted diseases (STD) have been a global problem since time immemorial. In India, a National STD Control Programme has been in operation since 1967 but its outreach and coverage have been poor. There is no nation-wide surveillance system for STD. With the advent of HIV infection, in the late 1970s and early 1980s, there has been a dramatic change in the situation because there is no effective drug for the treatment, or vaccine for protection against, HIV infection. In the early 1990s, HIV/AIDS has emerged as a new public health problem in India. Lack of policy guidelines to combat HIV spread, inadequate surveillance system and absence of facilities for examination of blood and blood products and the growing menace of intravenous drug abuse contributed to this upsurge in infection. The HIV/AIDS epidemic constitutes one of the most formidable challenges to development and social progress. The epidemic exacerbates poverty

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and inequality, and increases the burden on the most vulnerable people in society. After the first detection of AIDS case in 1986, the Government of India (GOI) started to formulate the specific policies to combat with HIV/AIDS. Accordingly, the National AIDS Committee was constituted (GOI, 2007) and the Government of India launched the "AIDS Control Program" in 1986 by establishing of surveillance centers, testing of cases for infection, training of personnel and mass health education as the main activities within the program (GOI, 1992).

The Eighth Plan (1992-1997)

During this plan period, the government of India adopted the following strategies for prevention and control of HIV/AIDS: (i) Surveillance of the population with special emphasis on high risk behavior groups for detection of infection; (ii) Strengthening of the blood banks and blood safety measures with priorities on special areas and metropolitan large cities to start with; (iii) Area specific strategy for mounting control of infection and target specific Information Education Communication (IEC) activities based on epidemiological data; (iv) Integration of the control program with the activities of the departments like Social Welfare, Youth & Sports, etc. and other Government and non-government organizations; and (v) Strengthening of STD Program and training of staff (GOI, 1992). In pursuance of the eighth plan, India's first National AIDS Control Program Phase I (NACP-I) was launched in 1992 with World Bank assistance and was completed in 1999 (GOI, 2002). The National AIDS Control Organization (NACO) was constituted to implement the program as one of the Divisions of the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare. The objective of NACP-I was to control the spread of HIV infection. During this period, expansion of infrastructure for blood banks, establishment of STD clinics, initiation of HIV sentinel surveillance system, involvement of NGOs with the focus on awareness generation, and creation of State AIDS Cells were undertaken (GOI, 2007).

The Ninth Plan (1997-2002)

The Ninth Five Year Plan strategy for HIV/AIDS was (i) to control/reduce the ever increasing emerging problems of alcoholism, drug addiction, HIV/AIDS, etc., (ii) development of an integrated

approach to curb the increasing magnitude of these problems with effective co-ordination amongst the concerned: and (iii) involvement of local voluntary organizations to act as interface between the governmental agencies and the target groups. During this plan, the phase II of **NACP** was launched in 1999 and completed in 2006. The NACP- II focused on: (i) reducing HIV transmission among the poor and marginalized high risk group population by targeted intervention, STD control and condom promotion; (ii) reducing the spread of HIV among the general population by reducing blood-borne transmission; (iii) promotion of IEC, voluntary testing and counseling; (iv) developing capacity for community-based low cost care for people living with HIV/AIDS; (v) strengthening implementation capacity at the national, state and *panchayat* (local government) level through appropriate arrangements and increasing timely access to reliable information; (vi) forging inter sector linkages between public, private and voluntary sectors. Phase II (NACP-II) has yielded positive results. The HIV prevalence is stabilizing and States like Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Maharashtra, and Nagaland have started showing declining trends (GOI, 2008).

The Tenth Plan (2002-2007)

During the Tenth Five Year Plan, the emphasis was on: (i) prevention of mother-to-child transmission; (ii) reduction in blood-borne transmission and accidental infection in health care settings; (iii) care of HIV-infected persons/AIDS cases; (iv) prevention and management of STD; and (v) improved surveillance to obtain epidemiological data on time trends in HIV infection (GOI, 2002). The National Health Policy (NHP) 2002 also fixed the goal to achieve zero level growth of HIV/AIDS by 2007(GOI, 2002a).

The Eleventh Plan (2007-2012)

The Eleventh Five Year Plan responded to HIV/AIDS threat by preventive awareness, targeted interventions, and care and support programmes. This Plan also ensured a large share of allocation for health programmes in critical areas such as HIV/AIDS (GOI, 2008). The Phase III (2007-2012) of the National AIDS Control Programme (NACP-III) was launched in 2007 with the objective to halt and reverse

the epidemic in India over the next five years by integrating programmes for prevention, care, support, and treatment and also addressing the human rights issues specific to people living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHA). The specific objectives are to reduce new infections by 60 per cent in high prevalence States so as to obtain reversal of the epidemic and by 40 per cent in the vulnerable States so as to stabilize the epidemic. In order to achieve the objectives, the following strategies are adopted: (i) Preventing new infections in high risk groups and general population through: (a) Saturation of coverage of high risk groups with targeted interventions, and (b) scaled up interventions in the general population; (ii) Increasing the proportion of PLWHA who receive care, support, and treatment; (iii) Strengthening the infrastructure, system, and human resource in prevention, care, support, and treatment program at the district and national levels; (iii) Enacting and enforcing national legislation prohibiting discrimination against PLWHA and their families in health facilities, schools, places of employment, and other institutions; (iv) Including mechanisms for victims and their guardians to lodge complaints and receive quick redress. (v) Ensuring that women and children living with HIV/AIDS receive medical care, including antiretroviral treatment and use all possible means to remove barriers to their receiving care; (vi) Strengthening a nation-wide strategic information management system; (vi) Advancing R&D of vaccines suitable for the strains of HIV prevalent in India (GOI, 2008). During this phase, the National AIDS Control Organization was strengthened to formulate policy and guide implementation to enable a decentralized response focused on local needs (NACO, 2007).

The Draft Pharmaceutical Policy 2006 also emphasized inter-alia on strengthening of Drug Regulatory System, Public Private Partnership Program for anti HIV/AIDS drugs and to fund the expansion of AIDS treatment centres for additional AIDS patients throughout the country through NACO (GOI, 2005). The National Policy on HIV/AIDS and the World of Work was also announced in 2009 by Ministry of Labor and Employment. An important aspect of HIV/AIDS policy and the World of Work was to ensure the protection of human rights of those who are vulnerable and also those who are infected (GOI, 2009). This policy aims at preventing transmission of HIV infection amongst workers and their families; protect right of those who are infected and provide access to available care, support and

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treatment facilities, deal with issues relating to stigma and discrimination related to HIV/AIDS by assuring them equity and dignity at the workplace and ensure safe migration and mobility with access to information services on HIV/AIDS (GOI, 2009a).

Expenditures & Achievements

Figure-1: Expenditure/Outlay on HIV/AIDS in India (Rs. in corers)
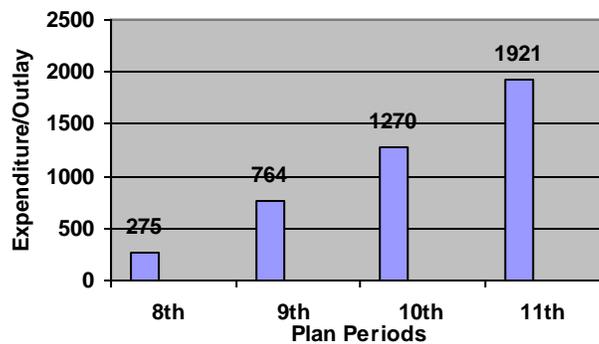
According to Figure-1, there was an increasing trend in the total expenditure/outlay on HIV/AIDS from eighth five year plan to the eleventh five year plan. During the eighth plan the total expenditure on HIV/AIDS was Rs. 275 corers, in 9th plan, it was Rs. 764 corers, in 10th plan it was Rs.1270 corers(GOI, 2002) and the eleventh plan outlay was Rs.2921 corers (Government of Tamil Nadu, 2007).

Figure -2: Number of HIV/AIDS cases in India (in millions)
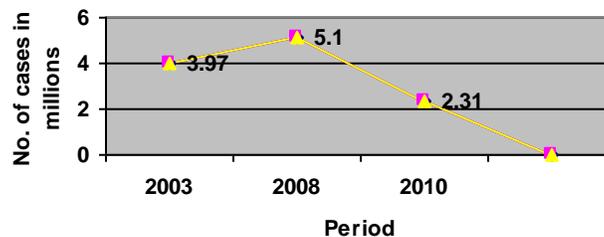
Figure-2 shows the number of HIV/AIDS cases in India. It was estimated that there were 3.97 million people living with HIV/AIDS in

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India in 2003 which increased to 5.10 million in 2008 (Index Mundi, 2010) and decreased to 2.31 million in the year 2010 (88.7% adults in 15-49 years, 7.5% aged 50 and above and 3.5% children below 15 years) (NACO, 2007a).

**Figure-3: Adult Prevalence rate of HIV/AIDS in India**
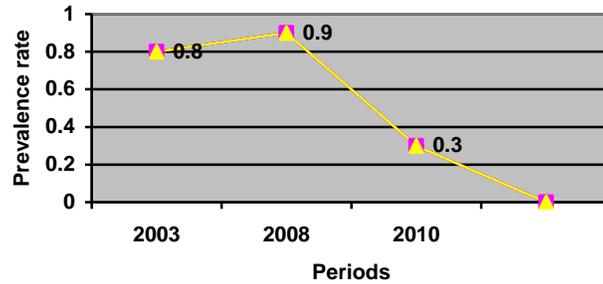
Figure-3 indicates that the adult prevalence rate of HIV/AIDS in India raised to 0.9 per cent in 2008 from 0.8 per cent in 2003 and fell to 0.3 per cent between 2008 and 2010. (NACO, 2007a & Index Mundi, 2010a). Between 2005 and 2006, prevalence has fallen in some major states – Maharashtra from 0.80 to 0.74 percent, in Tamil Nadu from 0.47 to 0.39 percent – for instance. Yet, new areas of concern have emerged.

Figure -4: Adult Prevalence rate of HIV/AIDS in South Asian Countries.
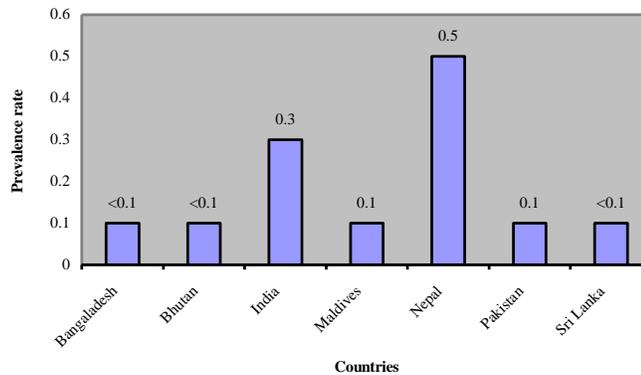
Figure-4 shows the adult prevalence rate of HIV/AIDS in South Asian countries. While compared with the South Asian countries, the adult

prevalence rate of HIV/AIDS was found high in Nepal (0.5%) followed by India (0.3%) whereas, it is less than one per cent in Bangladesh, Bhutan, and Sri Lanka (Index Mundi, 2010).

Conclusion

The analysis of the HIV policies and program shows that India has been successful in containing the overall prevalence of the epidemic. However, there is no room for complacency as the epidemic spreads from high risk groups to general population, from men to women and from urban to rural areas (NACO, 2007). Even though the Government of India has been successful in containing the overall prevalence of the dreadful epidemic by introducing the policies and plethora of program, India has to go a long way in achieving the goal of the "zero level growth" / in "mitigating the impact" of HIV/AIDS.

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Status and Factor Evaluation of Food Security in Sarankhola Upazila at Bagerhat District, Bangladesh

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Abstract: The purpose of this study is to understand status of food security and its influencing factors such as poverty, occupation, education and natural hazards. The data were collected from Sarankhola Upazila at Bagerhat district, Bangladesh through direct observation and questionnaire survey on food security status. More emphasis was given on knowledge of food security, dietary diversity, yearly statistics of food security and their copping strategy. The result reveals that people of the area face serious food insecurity in different categories, more so on qualitative food security. About 91% people are qualitatively food insecure. Low dietary diversity in foods causes this situation worse. Occupations with high wages, education, own food production have positive influence to achieve food security. Conversely, poverty, illiteracy, little self production make people vulnerable to food security in study area. Due to increase of one crop land year after year, only 7% people get support from their main food production through a year. Low education level households have less food security; 72% people never heard of balanced diet. Most households claimed that salinity (49%) is the main cause of low food productions and money (60.6%) is the main problem to purchase food. Cyclone and salinity is the main natural disruption in food access or production. Women face more food insecurity due to cultural factor. People mostly tried to cope with food insecurity from family or neighbor's help. This study concludes that poverty, socioeconomic situation and coastal specific featured-natural hazards make the area worst in food security.

Keywords: Status, Evaluation, Food, Security.

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Introduction

Since 1971, Bangladesh has made considerable progress in reducing extreme poverty and improving food security. But there is a long way to go achieving food security. The UN Food and Agriculture Organization estimates that the proportion of undernourished people hardly decreased in the 1990s and that the number of undernourished people increased by 8 million in the period 1990-1992 to 1999-2001. The emphasis of country's food self-sufficiency drive is principally on carbohydrate production (through rice and wheat) neglecting other macronutrients and all micronutrients (Gill, et al., 2003). Today, though people in Bangladesh are not dying of hunger, more people are becoming stunted with reduced mental and physical capacity. Malnutrition is one of the major public health problems in the country. Child Nutrition Survey 2000 has revealed that only 11.5 per cent of the pre-school age children in the country are nutritionally normal (BBS/ UNICEF, 2002). Normal diet of Bangladeshi people is also seriously imbalanced. The carbohydrate contributes around 74 per cent to the total dietary energy and about 57 per cent of protein (BBS, 2003). By educational status, population growth, poverty and income imbalance have caused food insecurity through out the country. A poor household consumes an average of 2003.33 kcal per capita per day compared to a non-Poor household's intake of 2528.8 kcal per capita per day (BBS, 2004). In Bangladesh, damage caused by natural disasters is one of the main sources of crisis for poor households. Every year calamities such as floods, cyclones, erosion, and droughts cause extensive damage to crops, homes, households and community assets, making people poor and poverty leads to infectious diseases and deaths. At the same time, disasters hamper physical access to food as food stocks are destroyed and markets temporarily fall short of food supply and may be there is an increase in the price of essential commodity and foods. In rural communities, producers and consumers live in the same household and are often the same people. Such situation may run right through the food chain or involve only part of it. Agricultural decisions may result in a direct change in diet or in the quantity, quality, variety and safety of food available in a particular community (BBS, 2004). Frequently, the effect is a change in access to food for a particular sector of society or community because of fluctuations in household income.

All of these changes affect consumption of food and the health and productivity of the consumer. Specially affected by these changes are

the poor, who do not have the resources or adequate buffer stocks to withstand a crisis and to maintain household food security on a sustainable basis. Food security at one level (national, regional, household, individual) does not imply food security at another. Within households, cultural factors influence food allocation; for example, who gives up food when there is not enough to go around. At the individual level, food security is achieved if a person's food consumption is greater than his or her physiological need. However, this assumes that income comes to the household unit as a whole, with decisions made at the household level and consumption divided among household members in some relation to need (Thompson and Metz, 1998). A sudden breakdown in household food security or a prolonged lack of availability of adequate food for consumption in the home will result in deterioration in nutritional status and malnutrition.

Sarankhola, a representative coastal area of Bangladesh has diversified problems that make food security of people of these areas more vulnerable. Different types of natural and man-made hazards of these areas add specific dimension to this problem. So the purposes of the present study are:

- To determine food security status of study area;
- To evaluate the socioeconomic factor of food security of study area; and
- To evaluate the influence of natural hazards on food security of study area.

Methodology

Simple random sampling technique was applied as sampling procedure and size was 165. To meet the objectives of the study, information were collected both from primary and secondary sources. Households questionnaire survey method was applied mainly to collect information about food security status and its influencing factors. Field survey in 2009 was conducted to perceive the condition in livelihood security (in household level) with respect to achieve food security. The respondent's name, his/her family member, age, sex ratio, education, occupation, income, expenditure per month, condition of health, government/NGOs service about food security. There are generally three methods used to identify household food security (Kabbani and Wehelie, 2004). In this study, food security questionnaire had developed on these three methods:

- Nutritional assessments of household members (height-weight indices, dietary intake).

- Comparison of income and food expenditures identifying whether households earn and spend enough on food.

- 'Direct' or 'experiential' measures of food security in which respondents are asked general questions about their household's experience in accessing an acceptable quantity, quality and starvation of food.

For nutritional assessment, direct question about loss of weight, BMI measure and a food frequency questionnaire were used. Food groups' score based on by choosing 5 food groups which received scores of a person who ate something from one of those categories once per week or more frequently received a score of 1, someone who ate from 5 categories received a score of 5. Households who ate 5 food groups categorized as high dietary diversity and who ate 4 categorized as low, 3 categorized as lower and 2 categorized as lowest dietary diversity. In 'Direct' or 'experiential' measures of food security, question had been coded to identify different status of food security. In questionnaire, question number 10 evaluates the quantitative food security where 'enough to eat' means 'quantitative food secure', 'sometimes enough to eat' means 'quantitative food insecure(average)' and 'often not enough to eat' means 'quantitative food insecure (severe)'. In question no 11, qualitative food security was estimated. And in question no 12, food insecurity with hunger was projected. For child food security measure, different scale was used where positive answer of one of first two questions counted as 'food secure'. All the information regarding this study area was analyzed by considering some selective criteria; occupation, income, expenditure, education.

Results and Discussion

Results are discussed in three categories- first, the socioeconomic dimension of study area, then food status analysis and at last its influencing factor.

Socioeconomic Dimension

Socio-economic condition of a locality could be characterized by the demographic features (e.g. total population, age and sex structure,

population growth rate etc.), literacy status, economic status (e.g. source of income, income level, earning member, occupational structure etc.), land ownership pattern which will be helpful to identify the livelihood security in that locality. Analysis of the socioeconomic aspects helps to identify the existing livelihood patterns that influence the food security status with its specific factor. Being a part of coastal area, this study area has distinctive socio-economic features which catch the attention of many. As socioeconomic dimension sums the vulnerability of livelihood security and food security is one of the livelihood securities that come as first demand to secure, this study identifies the socioeconomic features of household of the study area.

Household Size

Household size is defined as the total number of person related or unrelated, living together and taking food from the same kitchen from a household [BBS, 1991]. The average household size of the surveyed sample is 5.61 among them the Agro based households consist of 5.55, fisherman based households consist of 4.88, day labor based household consist of 5.84, van driver based households consists of 5.86 and other households consist of 6.57. In context of age structure of the study area, out of the total sample of 62.82% where 26.97% are in age group 18-34 and 26.40% are in 35-59 age group and only 9.55% in age group 60+. It is observed that the study area has a sex ratio of 53.06% male and 46.94% female.

Educational Status

The literacy rate of surveyed sample is 69.70% for both sexes, 66.3% of the total population is educated up to primary level. Population census, 2001 has recorded the literacy rate of this region as 55.3%. This shows a significant increase in educational status. But only 11.0% cross the primary level.

Occupation

Occupation pattern of an area gives an overlook about the income source of the population. In the context of occupation of the study area, it is found that agriculture is the main occupation of people in Sarankhola Upazila. Through the Sample, about 52.7% people live to lead their life in agriculture work which is followed by 15.2% fisherman and day labor and 8.5% van driver and others. But according

to the population census 2001, most of them are agriculture labors (BBS, 2006). So agriculture work doesn't provide them ample support to lead their lives efficiently.

Income of Household

In this section income of the household with respect to different occupation is categorized to give a clear view of different ability to handle livelihood security of population of study area. The average monthly income of household is 4475 taka with maximum 35000 taka/month and minimum 3500 taka/month (Table 1). From Table 1, it is found out that agriculture based household has average monthly income 5012 taka, fisherman have 4411 taka, day labor has 2647 taka, van driver has 2856 taka and others has 7442 taka. The minimum and maximum income shows the economical gap of people in study area which causes social gap between household to household.

Table-1: Income Distribution by Occupation of Study Area

Occupation	Min	Max	Average
Farmer	2000	35000	5012
Fisherman	2000	9000	4411
Day Labor	1500	4000	2647
Van driver	2000	5000	2856
Other	3500	15000	7442
Total	1500	35000	4475

Source: Household Survey, 2009

Table-2: Percentage of Household According to Different Income Group

Income Group	<2500	2501-3500	3500-5000	5001-7000	7001-9000	>9000
Household (Percentage)	20.0	30.9	31.5	6.1	7.9	3.6

Source: Household Survey, 2009

It is observed that households have income level from 2501 to 5000 per month (62.4%). And then 20% households have income level <2500 taka/month, indicating a subsistence economic condition of the study

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area. Only 3.6% households have monthly income more than 9000 taka (Table 2).

Expenditure of Household

The average expenditure of household is 5248 taka/month with average income only 4475 taka/month (Table 1). Average expenditure of the households of 'Others' occupational groups is 8440 taka/month (Table 3) which is the highest in study area but this occupational group represent only 3.6% of total households of the area.

Table-3: Expenditure of Different Occupation of Study Area

Occupation	Min	Max	Average
Farmer	2500	2200	5730
Fisherman	3500	9000	5320
Day Labor	2200	6000	3230
Van driver	2300	5500	3520
Other	4100	13000	8440
Total	4100	22000	5248

 Source: Household Survey, 2009

The agriculture based households which represent the most of the population (52.7%) have average expenditure of only 5730 taka/month (Table 3). The lowest average expenditure household is day laborer, only 3260 taka/month. It is observed that every group of household has more average expenditure than their average income. So, their incomes don't provide them total support to have livelihood security (Figure 1).
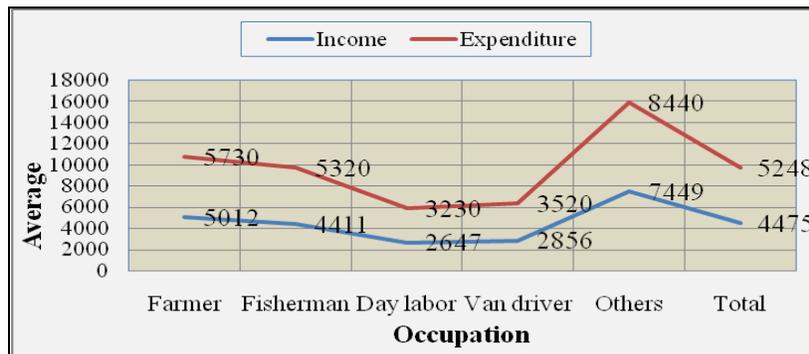

Figure-1: Average income & expenditure by Occupation

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Health and Sanitation

The sanitation facility of the study area is very good. After Sidr, aid in sanitation makes impulsive improvement in sanitation. 98% households use sanitary latrine. Most of the households respond that they have illness of different kinds. Most frequent diseases in this area are diarrhoea 24.2%, malnutrition 22.4%, anemia 16.4% dysentery 13.9%, worm 10.3% and stomach pain 9.1%. Only 3.6% report no illness of their households.

Table-4: Illness of Household Member within a Year

Illness	diarrhoea	dysentery	Worm	stomach pain	malnutrition	anemia	Never
Households	40	23	17	15	37	27	6
Percentage	24.2	13.9	10.3	9.1	22.4	16.4	3.6

Source: Household Survey, 2009

Food Security Status

This section gives a clear idea about their access, availability, utilization, dietary intake for attaining food security.

1. 'Direct' or 'Experiential' Measures of Food Security

Direct or experimental measures of food security follow up the households experience about quality, quantity, and their acquisition of food groups.

2. Acquisition of Main Food

Among 165 respondents in the household survey, 78 (47%) report that main food is acquired by both production and purchase. It has been observed that 89% households surveyed do not have self sufficiency of main food production and do not have availability of produced food throughout the year. The reason is that, most of the lands can produce one crop through the year (87.37%) (Table 5) (DAE, 2004).

Table-5: Cropped Land of Study Area

Cropped Land	2003-04	2004-05	Household Survey
One Cropped Land (%)	43.30	55.44	87.37
Double Cropped Land (%)	45.97	40.59	12.62
Triple Cropped land (%)	10.73	3.97	1.01

Source: Upazila Agriculture Extension Office 2004, Household Survey, 2009

* Percentage is estimated with respect to net cropped land
* Household Survey is estimated with respect to categorized questions 'how many times you cultivate your land'.

3. Sources of Drinking Water

Drinking water sources of study area are mostly (92.1%) pond sand filter (PSF). In visual survey, it is pragmatic that most of the ponds of PSF have insufficient water level. So, water quality of PSF doesn't remain safe. Only 2.4% respondents use tube-well for drinking purpose.

4. Knowledge of Balanced Diet

Knowledge of balanced diet of the area is seen to be very poor. Only 28% people have Knowledge about balanced diet while 72% remain unheard of it. So people of study area are not aware about their food security. They lack knowledge of nutritive value of food for their health.

5. Quantitative Food Security

The 64.24% respondents mentioned that they does not have enough food, and 35.76% answer that they can manage to eat enough over the year (Table 6). So, 64.24% households are 'quantitative food insecure' *(Enough to eat)*. Among the Quantitative Food insecure (64.24%), 17.57% are severely *(Often not enough to eat)* and 46.67% are averagely food insecure *(Sometimes not enough to eat)*. Only 35.76% households are 'quantitative food secure'.

Table-6: Quantitative Food Security Measures

Food security Status	Statement	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Quantitative Food insecure (Severe)	Often not enough to eat	29	17.57	17.57
Quantitative Food insecure (Average)	Sometimes not enough to eat	77	46.67	64.24
Quantitative Food Secure	Enough to eat	59	35.76	100
Total	—	165	100	

Source: Household Survey, 2009

6. Qualitative Food Security

Only 35.76% of households have quantitative food security (Table 6) and only 9% have qualitative food secure. So, 91% remain qualitatively food insecure.

7. Experience of Hunger or Deprivation

In answer to questions about skipping meals for lack of food, 62.3% answer that they are at times forced to do so. They experience deprivation of food almost every months (24.8%), 12.7% only few months and 24.8% only for one or two months (Table 7). On the other hand, 37.5% people don't experience starving at any time of year. It may call this situation food insecurity with hunger.

Table-7: Experience of Hunger or Deprivation

Statement	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes, almost every months	41	24.8	24.8
Yes, but only few months	21	12.7	37.5
Only for one or two months	41	24.8	62.3
Never	62	37.5	100
Total	165	100	—

Source: Household Survey, 2009

8. Woman Food Security

Women and men in the same households respond differently to household-level food security questions, with a concordance rate of 81%. Disparities in response are mainly related to gendered spheres of household responsibility, power imbalances affecting intra-household food allocation and different attitudes to food-related vulnerability. Culturally, Women take food after feeding others (webb et al., 2006).
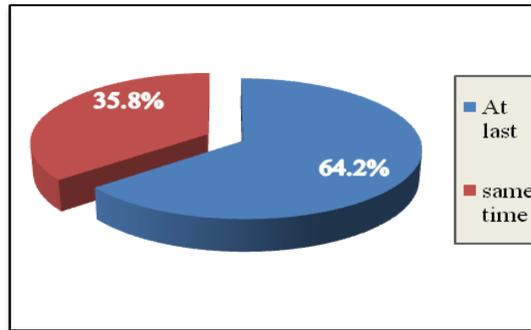
Figure-2: Meal Intake Period of Women
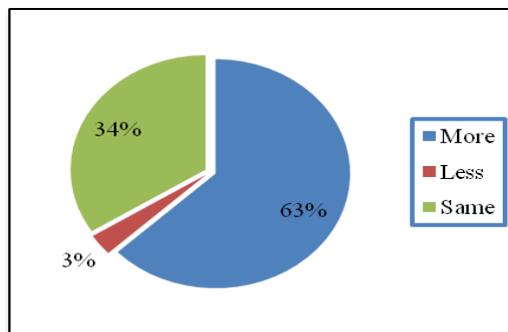
Figure-3: Women Illness Frequency with Respect to Men

These two graphs explain women are more vulnerable than men in the matter of food security because women take meal at last 64.2% (Figure 2) and get more illness than men 63% (Figure 3).

9. Child Food Security

From questionnaire survey, we observe that only 26% children are food secured, in contrast to it 74% are food insecure at different levels. Among them 46% are average food insecure, 18% are moderate and 10% are severely food insecure.

10. Copping Strategy

When foods run out, the coping strategies begin with help from neighbors or friends (24.9%), reduce the variety of food (22.1%) and substitute less expensive foods 20.9%. Different strategies have different impacts on food consumption, nutrition and health, for example, while eating less would reduce caloric intake, reducing

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varieties or substituting less expensive foods could affect diet quality, selling assets reflect the chronic scarcity of food. Only 3.6% have no need to cope, so their sustainability in food security is safe.

11. Body Mass Index

From Table 8 it is observed that 66.7% people have chronic energy deficiency. So food security status of most of the households is not good throughout the year.

Table-8: BMI Distribution in the Study Area

BMI Categories	Kg/m^2	Frequency	Percent
Chronic Energy Deficiency	< 18.5	110	66.7
Normal	18.5- 22.9	48	29.1
Overweight and Obese	≥23	7	4.2

Source: Household Survey, 2009

Among quantitatively food secure *(enough to eat)* households, underweight are 54.2% which is gradually increasing among quantitatively food insecure respondents. 70.1% in 'sometimes not enough to eat' respondents and 82.8% in 'often to eat' respondents are underweight. It is seen that underweight percentage is also high among quantitative food secure respondents because they all are not qualitatively food secure. Qualitative food secure households are only 9% in study area (Figure 4).
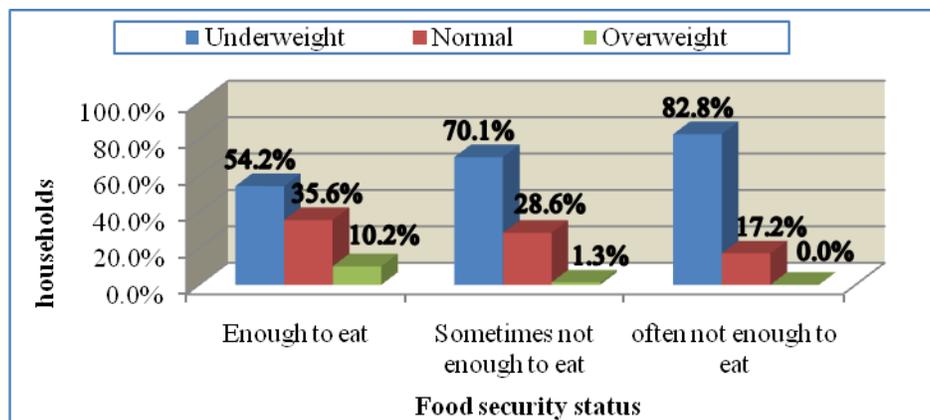
Figure-4: Distribution of BMI by Food Security

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12. Food Group Score

Results of the food frequency questionnaire reveal a heavy reliance on rice and vegetables. Dietary diversity results for the food group score revealed 54.5 as 'low' category (Figure- 4) (means they eat 4 not 5 groups of food). Only 4.8% score 'high dietary diversity and 7.9% have lowest dietary diversity.

13. Measure of Income & Food Expenditure

Income of a household provides great asset to food security. From Figure 5 and 6 it is clear that people of the study area, expend most of their income for food. With average income of a household 4475 taka/month, they spend 4131.4 taka/month for food. The total expenditure is 5248 taka/month (Figure 5) indicating that people live on loan or relief. Only 21.3% is spent for other basic needs, which cause conflict between food and other livelihood basic need.
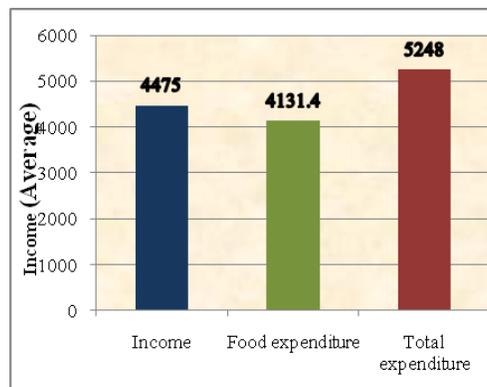
Figure-5: Average Income and Expenditure Distribution
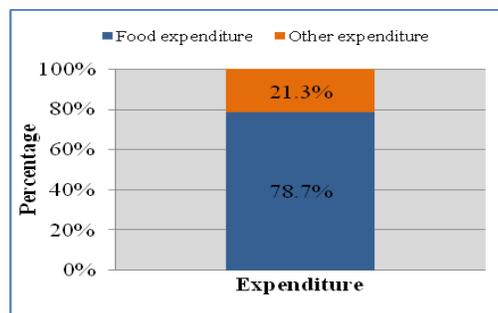
Figure-6: Food vs. Other Expenditure

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14. Influencing Factor of Food Security

Food security has different influencing factors that play a greater role at different levels of food security condition. Some selected factors of them are evaluated in this section to build a relationship with food security. Some of these factors are socioeconomic, sometimes it is local food production and sometimes it is natural hazards.

Distribution of Food Security by Socioeconomic Dimension

Socioeconomic factors have huge influence to evaluate food security status of households. Income, occupation, education etc. are main socioeconomic dimensions that influence food security.

1. Quantitative Food Security vs. Occupation

Food security varies with occupation. It is observed that occupation in 'others' (service holder, businessman, shop keeper etc.) category are more 'quantitatively food secured (57%) than other categories of occupation.
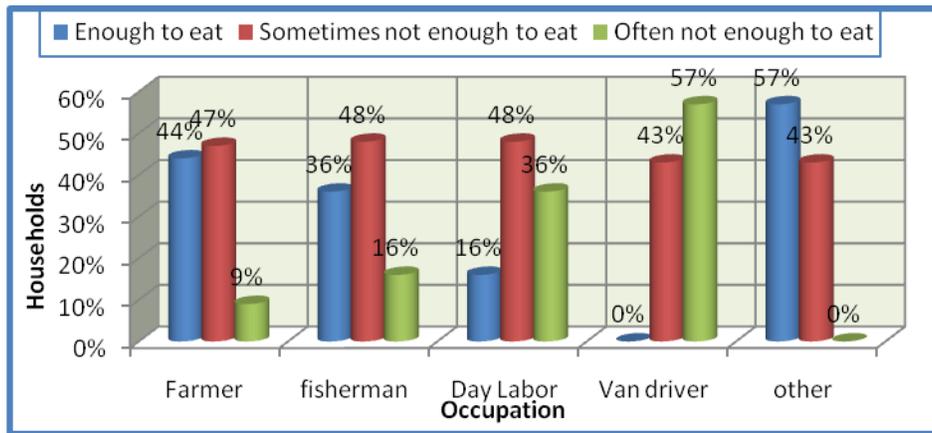

Figure-7: Quantitative Food Security by Occupation

But 'quantitatively food insecurity (severe), 'van driver' (57%) and 'day laborer' comprise 36%, but in 'agriculture', it is only 9 % (Figure 7).

2. Qualitative Food Security vs. Occupation

In occupation category 'day laborer' and 'van driver', there is not a single household which is qualitatively food secure. Only 'others' category has 29% qualitatively food security (Figure 8). So, occupation

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categories don't have too significant influence on qualitative food security, because occupation may not secure quantitative food security.
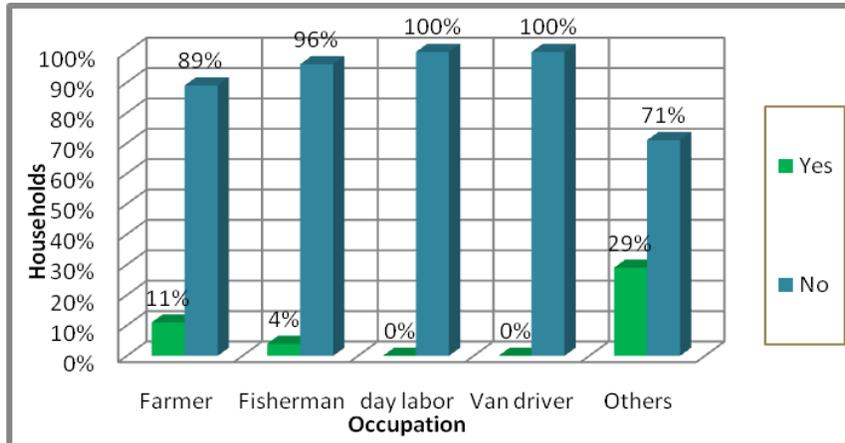

Figure 8: Qualitative Food Security by Occupation

3. Experience of Hunger or Deprivation vs. Occupation

Different occupations influence hunger experience throughout a year. In occupation of study area, most starving groups are 'day laborer' (52%) van driver (43%), 15% in 'agriculture and 'others' group. In 'Agriculture' 51% and 'others' occupation groups 57% never feel hungry for food shortage (Figure 9). Relating to figure 5 & 6, this inquiry explains that the occupation groups which are more food insecure starve more.
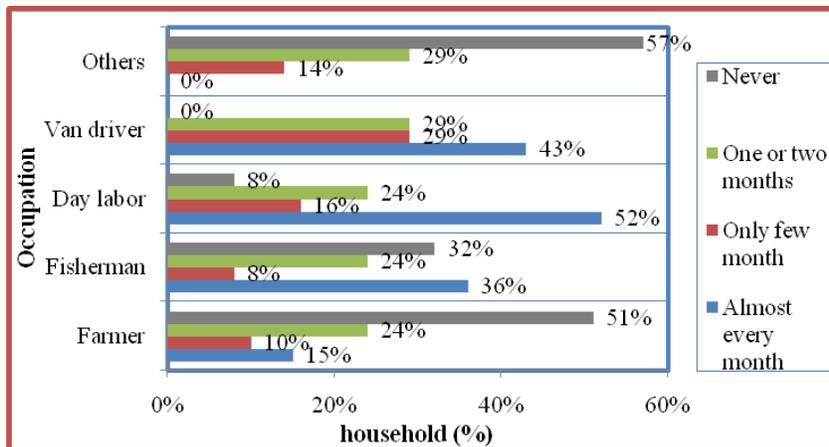

Figure-9: Distribution of Hunger or Deprivation vs. Occupation

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4. Quantitative Food Security vs. Income

Income is in a straight line with food security, which influences people's sustainability in food access, utilization and consumption.
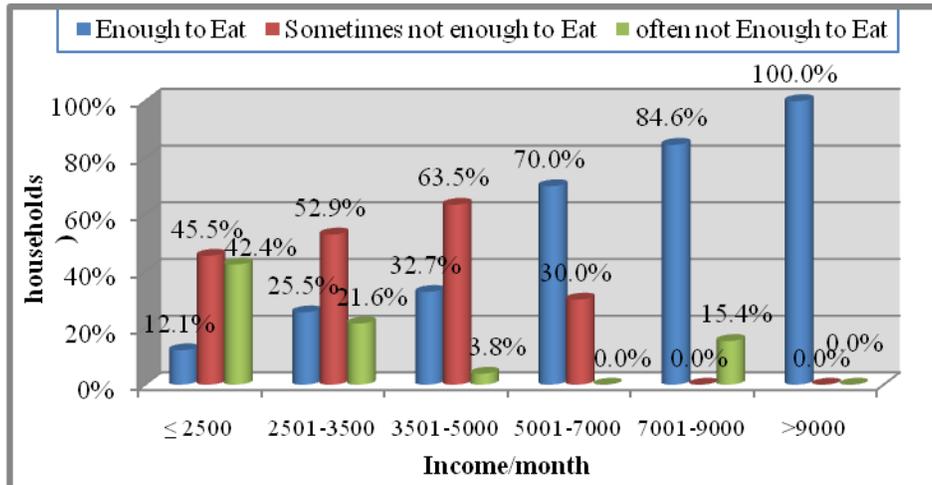

Figure-10: Quantitative Food Security by Income Level

From figure 10, People whose income are >9000 taka/month have optimum level of quantitative food security (100%) followed by 7001-9000 income level 84.6%, 5001-7000 income level 70% and so on. Households with income level ≤2500 taka/month are more susceptible to quantitative food security, 42.4% of them experience severe quantitative food insecurity which is reversely 0% for >9000 taka/month income level (Figure 10).

5. Qualitative Food Security vs. Income

Qualitative food security means people can get all kinds of food what they want to eat. It is much more intricate than quantitative food security. The respondents of study area have less access to qualitative food security. Only income group >9000 taka/month has significant qualitative food security (60%). Income group of ≤2500, 2501-3500 and 3501-5000 taka/month almost don't have any qualitative food security (Figure 11).
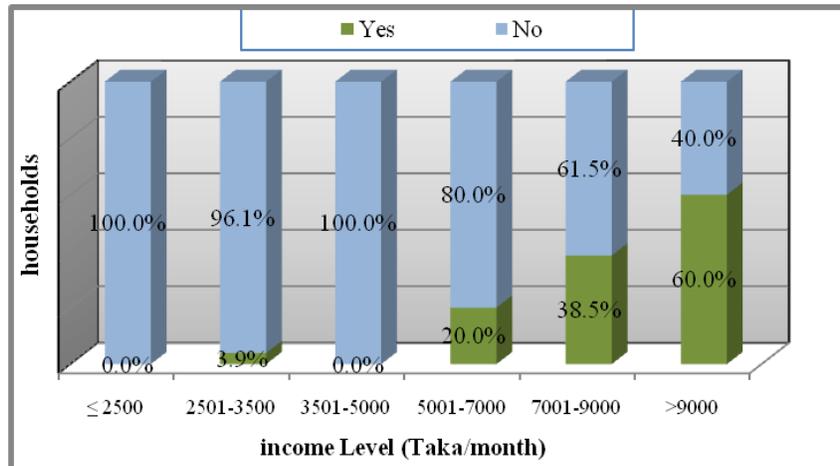
Figure-11: Distribution of Food Security by Income Level

6. Experience of Hunger or Deprivation vs. Income Level

Households' starvation in food security varies with income level. From Figure 10, higher levels of income suffer less starvation than lower income level. It is observed that >9000 taka/month income level does not experience hunger at any time of the year. 48.48% households of income level ≤2500 taka/month feel deprived of food almost every month in a year and on the other hand, only 18.18% respond as never (Figure 12).
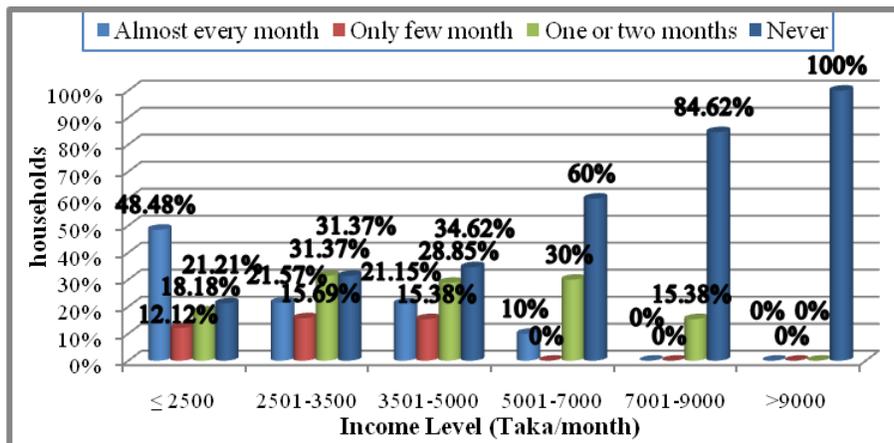

Figure-12: Experience of Hunger or Deprivation by Income level

We observe that hunger or deprivation is increasing with higher to lower income level.

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7. Quantitative Food Security by Education

Food security along with all other basic needs provides livelihood security. On the other hand, having food security of a household provides opportunity to manage other livelihood security. The quantitative food secured households have high education than food insecure households. Among 'quantitative food secure' households, 47.06% respondents have above S.S.C. level education and which is 11.76% in 'quantitatively food insecure (severe)' households. Again, when illiteracy rate is 54% in quantitative food insecure (average) households, it is only 22% in 'quantitative food secure' households.

Table 9: Quantitative Food Security by Education.

Food Security Status	Statement	Education Category			
		Illiterate	Primary	S.S.C	Above S.S.C
Quantitative Food Security	Enough to eat	22	23	39.39	47.06
Quantitative Food Security (Average)	Sometimes not enough to eat	54	46.15	2.43	41.18
Quantitative Food Security (Severe)	Often not enough to eat	28	24.62	18.18	11.76
	Total	30.3	39.4	20	10.3

Source: Household Survey, 2009

8. Qualitative Food Security by Education

Overall qualitative food security is only 9%, their education level doesn't have significant relation with qualitative food security, although there is a little variation among them. The highest qualitative food security shows in S.S.C education level (21.21%) (Table 10).

Table-10: Qualitative Food Security by Education.

Food Security Status	Education Category			
	Illiterate	Primary	S.S.C	Above S.S.C
Qualitative food secure	4	4.62	21.21	17.65
Qualitative food insecure	96	95.38	78.79	82.35
Total	30.3	39.4	20	10.3

Source: Household Survey, 2009

9. Experience of Hunger or Deprivation by Education

More than sixty nine percent households are literate than 30.3% of the illiterate groups among them 17.65% in 'above S.S.C' education level. Households with education category 'Above S.S.C' never feel hungry 52.94%, which is only 36% in 'Illiterate' category. In 'Primary' education level 38.46% people face food starvation only one or two months in a year (Table 10 and 11). In the study area, higher educated households have more food security than lower educated households.

Table-11: Experience of Hunger or Deprivation vs. Education

Experience of Hunger or Deprivation	Education Category			
	Illiterate	Primary	S.S.C	Above S.S.C
Almost every month	40	16.92	21.21	17.65
Only few months	18	9.23	15.15	5.88
One or two months	6	38.46	27.27	23.53
Never	36	35.39	36.36	52.94
Total	30.3	39.4	20	10.3

Source: Household Survey, 2009

Distribution of Food Security by Own Food Production

This section describes the relation of food security by own production level.

1. Quantitative Food Security Status by Own Food Production

It is obvious that more food production provides more food security. 76.5% of households have 'quantitative food security' *(Enough to eat)* with food production extent of 8-12 months. This food security status goes to 16.7% with food production extent less than 3 months. There is no 'severe quantitative food insecurity' *(Often not enough to eat)* with own production extent 8-12 months. Conversely, it is 29.2% which production extent less than 3 months. 56.7% and 54.2% household are in 'average quantitative insecure' *(Sometimes not enough to eat)* where their own food production extent 3-5 months and <3months respectively (Figure 13).

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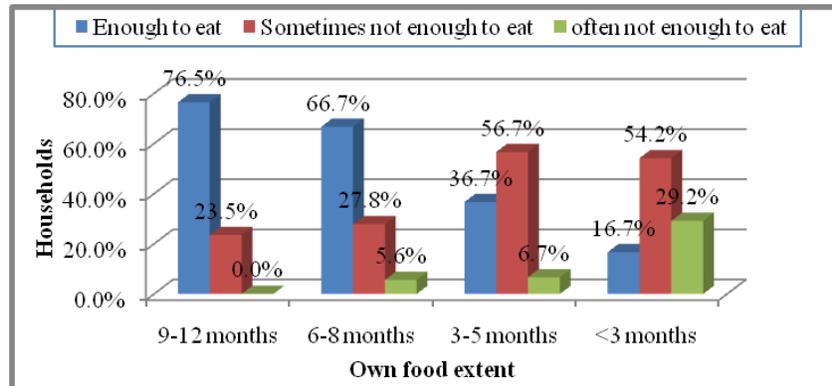
Figure-13: Food Security Status by Own Food Production Extent

2. Qualitative Food Security Status by Own Food Production Extent

Qualitative food security does not prevail with sustainability in respondent's food by production because only 9% households are 'qualitative food secure' in the study area. The food production meets foods for 8-12 months having food security of 29.41% (Table 12).

Table-12: Qualitative Food Security Status by Own Food Production Extent

Food Security Status	Own Food Production Extent			
	9-12 months	6-8 months	3-5 months	>3 months
Qualitative food secure (%)	29.41	16.67	6.67	0
Qualitative food insecure (%)	70.59	83.33	93.33	100

Source: Household Survey, 2009

3. Experience of Hunger by Own Food Production Extent

Food insecurity with hunger is directly correlated with own food production. In Table 13 shows that less deprivation prevails in more self food produced households. 41.67% households experience hunger almost every month where food production extent is less than 3 months. Conversely, where food production extent is 9-12 months, they never experience food insecurity with hunger. Only 10.5% household never experience hunger where food production extent is less than 3 months.

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Table-13: Experience of Hunger by Own Food Production

Experience of Hunger or Deprivation	Own Food Production Extent			
	9-12 months	6-8 months	3-5months	>3months
Almost every month (%)	0	0	30	41.67
Only few months (%)	0	11.11	40	25
One or two months (%)	11.76	50	23.33	20.83
Never (%)	88.24	38.89	6.67	10.5

Source: Household Survey, 2009

Problem to Purchase Food

The question about running out of money to buy food, 60.6% respondents answer affirmatively (Figure 14) indicating that money plays a vital role to achieve food security.

From figure 15, when money is not a problem, people of this area face other problems. The most usual problems are that, good stores are not available (36.4%), no money for transportation 15.2% and transportation not available 9.1%. 39.4% responds 'no problem' because when money plays the real role to food access, (60.6% have money problem) people have no chance to think of other problems. If respondents have enough money, they can manage food.
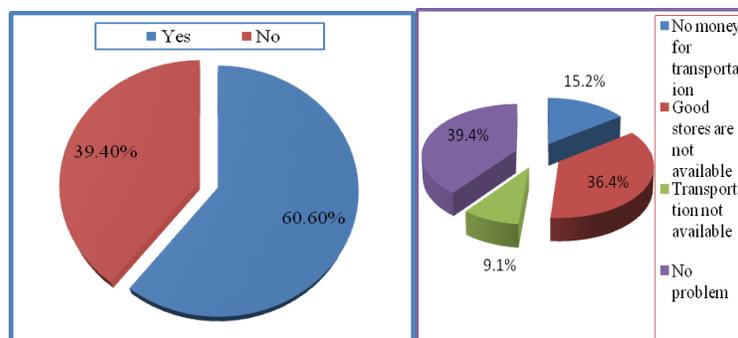
Figure-14: Distribution of Monetary Problem to Purchase Food

Figure-15: Other Problems to Purchase Food

Food Production or Access Problem

Among 89 respondents, 49% answer that salinity is the main problem to produce food, another problem to cultivate crop is irrigation (22%). Shortage of available fresh water makes the irrigation difficult because no proper maintenance of canal found in this region. People also incriminate technology (12%), pest (6%), fertilizer (6%) and drought

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(5%) as food production problem. Most of the respondents experience disturbance of food access or production due to cyclone 59% followed by salinity 20%, tidal Surge 10%, river erosion 8% and 3% drought.
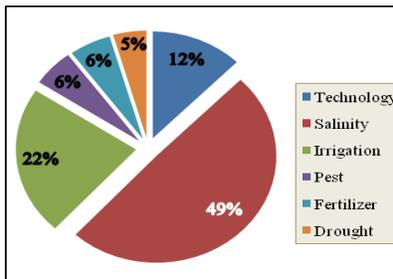

**Figure-16: Distribution of Problem for Food Production**
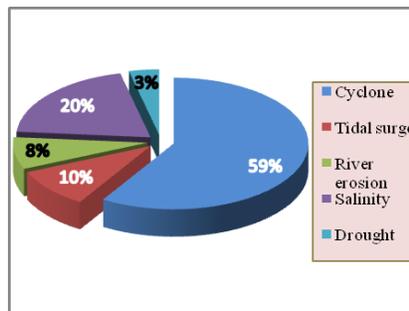
Figure-17: Extent of disturbance of Food Production or Access in terms of Natural Hazards

From Figure 16 & 17 it is observed that in both cases natural hazards cause main problem for achieving food security for coastal region.

Seasonal Variation in Food Security

Households face different levels of food insecurity at different times of the year. Figure 18 shows that most food insecurity occurs in August and September of the year.
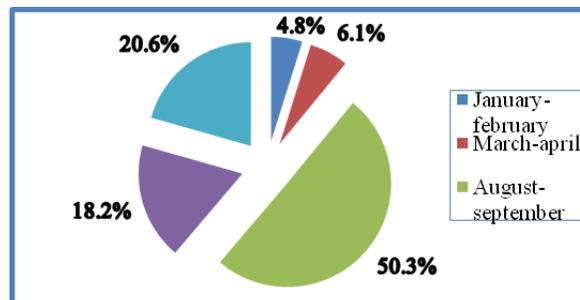

Figure-18: Seasonal Variations in Food Security

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Government/NGOs Policy

Government or NGOs have no policy to achieve food security in this region. There is no awareness program about food and nutrition that can make people aware about food security. All respondents answer negatively about food and nutrition program over the area, because most of the people don't have any knowledge about balanced diet.

Conclusion

Sarankhola is a place in coastal belt of Bangladesh. Being a part of coastal region, there are some general and specific problems which have contributed to foreseeing vulnerability than other region of Bangladesh. People of Sarankhola face different dimensions of food insecurity in their different social arenas. Coastal belt shows its specific phenomena like salinity, cyclone, and river erosion that pose vulnerability in food security. One cropped land cause low local production of food and makes livelihood security tough. In this study, food security status of households is mentioned on quantitative, qualitative and hunger or deprivation of food security scale. Where quantitatively 36.76% people are food secure, it is only 9% in way of qualitative food security. People have low access to different kinds of food which gives the reason of huge qualitative food insecurity in this region. About one fourth people feel hungry because of shortage of food in every month of a year, which means severity of food insecurity with hunger in the region. People show chronic energy deficiency due to food insecurity. Therefore, qualitative food insecurity is the dominant food insecurity which prevails almost all the year round. It is observed that different factors like poverty (money problem), occupation, education, own food production, food acquisition and natural hazards of study area matter in this respect. People blame money shortage as a main problem of attaining food security, though they expend 78.7% of their expenditure for it. So, poverty is the key to food insecurity. Households with agro based occupation have 44% quantitative food security where day laborers have only 16%. Study area shows food security in SSC educated households. As a part of coastal region natural hazards cause direct disruption in production or access to food. Salinity and cyclone are the main problems in production or access to food. 49% disruption only in food production is caused by salinity and 59% by cyclone to access to production. Both problems are specific in

coastal region. This study finds that own food production, is the influencing factor that gives sustainability in quantitative or qualitative food security. As most of the lands are one cropped land, it can't give efficient support in food security of study area. People of Sarankhola have very little knowledge about balanced diet which is first step to food in security. Government/NGOs have no policy to make them aware about food security; no program is running about food and nutrition in this study area. Cultural factor also influences food security in this area. This study finds that women are more vulnerable than men because they are to take meal in the same household at last and suffer from illness more frequently than men. Seventy-six percent children are food insecure at different levels. Awareness about balanced diet, local food production, sufficient fresh water supply for irrigation, proper disaster management, better earning, better transportation should be ensured to achieve sustainable food security in coastal area in Sarankhola.

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MINORITY EDUCATION IN INDIA: ISSUES OF ACCESS, EQUITY AND INCLUSION. By Abdul Waheed (ed.). pp. xvii + 264, tables, annexure, index, 2010. Serials Publications: New Delhi. Hard cover. Price 850/-

The publication of this volume is based on the deliberation among scholars on national educational plan for minorities that had taken place in a national seminar organized by Aligarh Muslim University (AMU) in March 2009. The seminar was organized taking the inspiration from the Government of India's 1993 publication entitled "*National Educationally Backward Minority*". The seminar was held under the auspices of the 'Centre for Promotion of Educational and Cultural Advancement of Muslims of India' which organized a two day national seminar on "Minority Education in India: Issues of Access, Equity and Inclusion' at Aligarh on 7-8, March 2009.

In the introduction the editor writes that the seminar evoked enthusiastic response of prominent leaders of minority communities, religious scholars, educationists, social activists, media persons and others. Four business sessions of the seminar were conducted and the important themes were:

- Educational Rights and Status of Minorities and Government Schemes for their Access and Inclusion;

- Issues of Minority Educational Institutions and Revitalizing of Aligarh Movement and Linking AMU with Minority Educational Institutions;

- Upgrading Educational Status of Muslim Women: Government Schemes a Voluntary Efforts and;

- Success Stories of Minority Educational Institutions.

The editor writes "Although 40 outstations and local participants submitted their papers, all did not get the chance to present their papers in the business sessions. This volume contains twenty-two papers which are arranged into three parts. Part 'A' of the volume contains papers, explaining various dimensions of exclusions of Muslims in States such as Maharashtra, West Bengal, Bihar Uttar Pradesh as well

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as highlighting ineffectiveness of government schemes for educational advancement of Muslims, whereas Part 'B' consists of articles describing success stories of Muslims managed educational societies and institutions in the States of South India. Papers in Part 'C' delineate measures / strategies for the educational access and inclusion of Muslims" (p. xv-xvi).

Under the Contents, Part-A , 'Dimensions of Exclusion', lists 9 articles; there are 8 articles under Part-B, 'Success Stories of Minority Education'. Part-C contains 5 articles under the subtitle 'Strategies for Educational Inclusion'.

The editor of the volume further writes "An Action Plan for educational development of minorities, called '*Aligarh Decalration 2009*' was evolved on the basis of Seminar deliberations. The declaration was read out by the Vice-Chancellor, Aligarh Muslim University in the Valedictory session of the Seminar and unanimously adopted by a vast assembly of scholars, educationists, grass-root level workers and students in the historic Kennedy Auditorium of the University." (p. xvi)

After the introduction the editor has presented the 'Aligarh Declaration 2009' (pages xix-xxiv). The declaration is called as "Aligarh Declaration 2009 on National Educational Agenda for the Muslims of India".

While going through the 'Declaration', it gives an impression that largely the onus of educational development programmes for the Muslims, particularly, Primary Education, Secondary and Senior Secondary, Vocational courses, Establishment of Schools — Senior Secondary Residential Schools, English Medium Senior Secondary Schools in Muslim dominated towns and districts, Professional Colleges, should be taken up by the government agencies. Even the educational awareness programmes among the Muslims is the responsibility of the government.

No amount of government sponsorship and funding can enlighten the Muslim children, unless the Muslim community members who are educated and have the leadership qualities, take initiative to bring awareness among the poorer Muslim families and establish private schools of the type like kindergarten, play school, nursery school in their own *mohalla* to bring awareness and interest in the modern system of school education among the Muslim children. If they stick to their traditional system of education then things are not going to change.

In a free country like India, any registered organization, society, or some community member group (unregistered even initially) can establish primary school, high school, or college or institute of higher learning with their own initiative and receive aids from the government. I wonder why the Muslim community members are not showing the zeal to establish a number of schools, imparting modern education, particularly science education, from primary to high school level, in the towns and districts where Muslims are largely concentrated. It has been realized that Muslim community has always had denied access to girls' education. If the women in the society are enlightened, the community marches ahead.

In Ranchi city, there are many Christian schools dotting the Purulia road and other parts of the district and interior villages. A massive educational programme has been taken up by the Christians since 1845 with their own initiative. Though Christians are favoured in admission to the schools, however, students of other faiths are doing excellent results in these Mission schools. The Christians too are a minority community.

In an article entitled (number 21, pp.213-222) entitled 'National Education Agenda and Action Plan for the Promotion of Minority Education', the author B. K. Beeran writes, "The socio-economic, educational and cultural problems of the Muslim Minority in India has become acute, warranting urgent measures by the Government at the Centre and in the State and also the enlightened leadership of the community. As observed by the Sachar Committee, apart from disparity due to historical reasons, the discrimination against the Muslim Minority appeared to have been largely institutionalized due to political and other related reasons. …..The report reflects pathetic condition of Muslims in education, employment, demography and all other related fields." (p.211)

In the article on 'Programmes and Schemes for Education of Minorities: Evaluation of Area Intensive Scheme' (pp.70-85), the author Anita Nuna, concludes, "Thus it is evident from the analysis that the scheme has not been properly and effectively implemented by the State Government except by the Government of Kerala and Karnataka . It can, therefore, be concluded that the scheme has not succeeded in achieving its goals." The author has only discussed the scheme and the funding by the government, but has not cared to make a deeper probe

about the nature of participation of the local Muslim community and their involvement in the educational programme initiated by the government. The author, Anita Nana had conducted the study in four other States – Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and West Bengal. However, the reasons of failure in these States have not been properly elucidated.

Sometimes I have a nagging feeling that the Sachar Committee report has only weakened the mental strength of the Muslims and has not awakened in them a self-confidence, dignity and self-respect; and a zeal and initiative for their own development.

If the Indian Muslims want to achieve an all round development in them socially, educationally, and economically, they must look within themselves to seek the answer. No amount of government privileges and funding can uplift a community. One has to stand on one's own feet confidently for moving forward, crutch is not going to help much.

P. Dash Sharma
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Results have been reported (Don Graham, 1989, personal communication).

Articles not yet published should show 'forthcoming' in place of the year (in both the reference and the citation). 'In press' should be used in place of the volume, issue and page range details.

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