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সংখ্যা ৬৩

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বাংলাদেশ লোক-প্রশাসন প্রশিক্ষণ কেন্দ্র
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Foreign Direct Investment and Economic Growth in Bangladesh: An Empirical Analysis¹

Laila Haseen*

Abstract: Foreign direct investment (FDI) is considered as the driving force of economic growth to the resource scarce underdeveloped and developing countries of the world. FDI stimulates economic growth through spillover effects, which results from new technology, capital formation, human resource development (labor skills and employment) and the expansion of international trade by gaining from comparative advantage. Besides, it also positively affect domestic investment and capital inflow to the home country. Bangladesh, which has plethora of tangible resources FDI can provides capital from abroad which the country is unable to supply domestically. The inflows facilitate the growth of a number of economic sectors, including industry, manufacturing, infrastructure, and energy. The expansion leads to a rise in the availability of jobs and a fall in the unemployment rate. Consequently, GDP and per capita income increase which, in a developing country like Bangladesh, fosters poverty alleviation. Besides analyzing the trends the study has also undertaken a scientific approach to examining the relationship between FDI and economic growth by Granger Causality test and found unidirectional causality from FDI to GDP implying that FDI inflows have been able to increase GDP by raising the economy's output capacity at the full-employment level. In addition FDI can provide the necessary tools for Bangladesh to progress further and realize higher growth levels by utilizing all its resources to their fullest potential. Therefore, attempts should be taken to attract more FDI in Bangladesh.

1.0 Introduction

In a developing country like Bangladesh FDI has positive reasons to stimulate overall economic growth. Creating congenial environment to attract FDI remains a big challenge to the developing and underdeveloped countries since 1980s, when the world economies become more open. Market based economic reforms and outward orientation was the major policy agenda in the 1980s, which resulted huge flow of capital worldwide and thus enhance output growth. FDI not only provided to home country necessary benefits but also benefited host country's companies by scale economies in production, research and development (R&D) activities, and by promoting brand value. Besides, FDI tends to have significant effect on economic growth through multiple channels

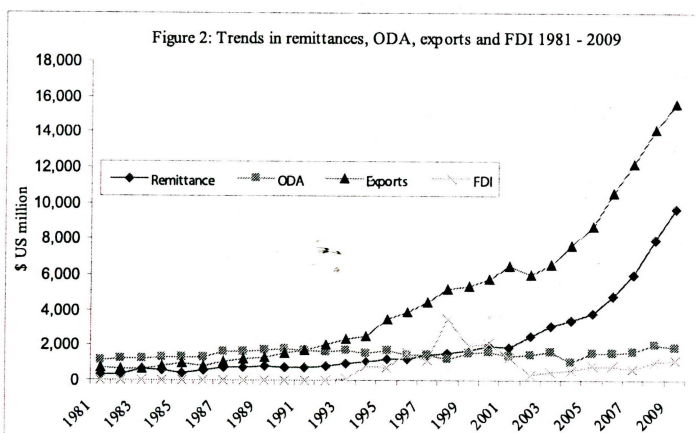
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such as capital formation, technology transfer and spillover, human capital (knowledge and skill) enhancement, and so on. Though the home countries have also experienced the negative impact of FDI, the amount of FDI continued to increase in recent years. China and the East Asian countries for instance, Hong Kong and Singapore have attracted the lion's share of FDI among the developing countries. Hsu and Liu (2002) stated that global financial integration and financial capital movement drives the potential regional integration in East Asia. This area, including Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore and Japan, is the major FDI capital sources since 1990. However, in 1997, Asia financial crisis resulted in FDI capital flow changed its direction to Mainland China and in the South Asian region. Most of the investment in China and South Asia belong to the labor-intensive industries as these regions have a huge mass of surplus labor. FDI in these regions created employment for them and host country also has benefited from low labor costs (Haseen, L. 2012).

Bangladesh is a resource scarce labor surplus economy and is facing the daunting challenges of feeding its 150 million of people about half of whom are lying below the food based poverty line. Of the very few sources of foreign exchange the overseas remittances is one of the major sources of tangible resources to the economy of Bangladesh followed by commodity exports, foreign direct investment (FDI) and the official development assistance (ODA). In the backdrop of the narrow based exportable and their high concentration in a less wider market, shrinking trends of the bilateral and multilateral assistances (ODAs), foreign direct investment (FDI) and the overseas remittances become the major issue of concern to the policymakers, politicians and economists.

It is evident from the figure that though the commodity exports and foreign remittances are increasing sharply, official development assistance remains almost stable over the long period of time. However, the FDI increases slightly till 1999. Then it shows a declining trend till 2003. After that it show slim upward trend.



Source: Bangladesh Bank, 2010.

For the last few decades like many developing countries Bangladesh is heavily relying on foreign trade for enhancing its economic development. However there is a scope for attracting foreign capital due to its natural advantage of low labor and so the production cost. Since its independence in 1971 Bangladesh has experienced different policy regimes inwardness to the outward orientation by making the economy open. The degree and extent of openness has increased over the decades. Now Bangladesh is one of the most liberalized countries in the South Asian region, thus created the ground for FDI. However, most of the foreign investment in Bangladesh is in the ready-made garments industries. The examination of the relationship between the FDI and economic growth is thus imperative.

The paper is organized as follows. After introducing the issues in section 1, section 2 will critically examine the theoretical and empirical literature on the relationship between FDI and economic growth. Methodological issues and objective are discussed in section 3. Section 4 presents the trends and patterns of FDI in Bangladesh. Section 5 briefly analyze the growth impact of FDI. Section 6 sets out the empirical framework for causality, cointegration and error correction models. Finally, section 7 concludes the paper with policy implications.

2.0 Brief Survey of the Literature

The dynamic causal relationship between FDI and economic growth has widely been discussed in the theoretical and empirical literature.

The neoclassical growth theory, led by Solow and Swan argued that

economic growth generally comes from two sources: factor accumulation and total factor productivity (TFP) growth (Felipe, 1997). To them, FDI contributes to the total factor productivity growth through spillover effect such as new technologies, capital formulation, the expansion of international trade and the development of human capital (labor skills and employment) (Alguacil et al., 2002; Baharumshan and Thanoon, 2006; Balasubramanyam et al., 1996, 1999; Bende-Nabende and Ford, 1998; Borensztein et al., 1998; Chakraborty and Basu, 2002; De Mello, 1997, 1999; Liu et al., 2002; Wang, 2005).

The endogenous growth models points out that, FDI can not only contribute to economic growth through capital formation and technology transfers (Blomstrom et al. 1996; Borensztein et al., 1995) but also do so through the augmentation of the level of knowledge through labor training and skill acquisition (de Mello 1997, 1999). These models mentioned three main channels through which FDI affects growth. First, FDI increases capital accumulation in the receiving country by introducing new inputs and technologies (Dunning, 1993; Blomstrom et al., 1996; Borensztein et al. 1998). Second, it raises the level of knowledge and skills in the host country through labor and manager training (de Mello, 1996, 1999). Third, FDI increases competition in the host country industry by overcoming entry barriers and reducing the market power of existing firms.

Recent literature attempts to analyze the impacts of FDI on host country's economy and competitiveness of firms. These studies used different econometric techniques and have found mixed results. Some studies indicate that FDI can stimulate the economic growth. As explained by Chowdhury and Mavrotas (2005), a large number of empirical studies on the role of FDI in host countries suggest that FDI is an important source of capital, complements domestic private investment, is usually associated with new job opportunities and enhancement of technology transfer and spillover, human capital (knowledge and skill) enhancement, and boosts overall economic growth in host countries. On the other hand, a number of firm-level studies do not lend support for the view that FDI promotes economic growth.

Some recent literature mentioned that FDI growth relationship depends on some crucial factors such as the trade regime, the human capital base in the host country, financial market regulations, banking system and the degree of openness in the economy. In essence, Hermes and Lensink

(2003), Durham (2004) and Alfaro et al. (2004) all find that countries with better financial systems and financial market regulations can exploit FDI more efficiently and achieve a higher growth rate.

However, other studies reveal that FDI can offset economic growth (Bende-Nabende et al., 2003; Carkovic and Levine, 2005). Bende-Nabende et al. (2003) found that FDI in some countries had a negative relation with economic growth. Considering the omitted variable bias of the early studies several other studies included export in the model along with FDI and GDP. Burrige and Sinclair (2002) found bidirectional causality between each pair of real GDP, real exports, and real FDI for China using seasonally adjusted quarterly data from 1981:1 to 1997:4; Kohpaiboon (2003) found that, under export promotion (EP) regime, there is a unidirectional causality from FDI to GDP for Thailand using annual data from 1970 to 1999; Alici and Ucal (2003) found only unidirectional causality from exports to output for Turkey using seasonally unadjusted quarterly data from 1987.1 to 2002.4; Dritsaki, Dritsaki and Adamopoulos (2004) found a bidirectional causality between real GDP and real exports, unidirectional causalities from FDI to real exports, and FDI to real GDP.

Following the general pattern, a few empirical studies explored the validity of FDI-led growth in Bangladesh using different data sets and adopting different econometric techniques and found mixed results (Ahmad, 1990; Alam, 1999; Sattar, 1999; Mian and Alam, 2006; Kabir, 2007; Hossain, 2008; Ahmad et.al. 2010 etc.). Although these studies bear significance, they suffer either from methodological deficiencies or from the omitted variable bias or have data problems. The present paper marks an improvement over the early studies in terms of overcoming the above problems and relying on the Johansen-Juselius maximum likelihood method in fully specified error correction modeling, which produces identical cointegrating vectors for either variable in the model.

3.0 Objectives and Methodology

The dynamic causal relationship between FDI and economic growth has largely been discussed in the developed and developing economies, while only a few studies have been conducted for the emerging economies like Bangladesh. Most of the recent studies on this issue tried to establish FDI led growth hypothesis and thus suffer from methodological deficiencies of omitted variable bias or specification errors, as they did not explain the trends and patterns of FDI in Bangladesh. This study is an improvement

of the early studies in terms of data used and methodological point of view. The major objective of this paper is to explain the trends and pattern of FDI in Bangladesh and its growth impact. It also sheds lights on the relationship among the considered variables using the annual time series data for the period 1990 to 2010. The main data sources are the publications of Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS), Board of Investment (BOI) and the economic trends published by Bangladesh Bank. To examine the linkages among the variables the paper applies the Granger Causality Test (GCT) as well as the cointegration and error correction models to examine the short run dynamics of the long run relationships between FDI and economic growth. The findings of the above tests will be of immense help for formulating apposite policies to attract FDI to the labor surplus economy Bangladesh.

4.0 Trends and Patterns of FDI in Bangladesh²

4.1: FDI and its Categories

The Board of Investment (BOI) defines foreign direct investment as, 'an investment involving a long term relationship and reflecting a lasting interest and control by a resident entity in one economy (parent enterprise) in an enterprise in another economy (FDI enterprise or foreign affiliate)'. Under this definition there are three components of FDI, which are

- i) Equity capital is the foreign direct investor's purchase of shares of an enterprise in a country other than its own.
- ii) Intra company loans refer to short- or long-term borrowing and lending of funds between direct investors (parent enterprises) and affiliate enterprises.
- iii) Reinvested earnings comprise the direct investor's share (in proportion to direct equity participation) of earnings not distributed as dividends by affiliates, or earnings not remitted to the direct investor. Such retained profits by affiliates are reinvested.

The Board of investment categorized four different types of FDI as:

- i) Green Field FDI: entails establishment of new production facilities and movement of intangible capital (in service) contributing to capital formation and employment generation.

² This section draws heavily from the report 'Foreign Direct Investment in Bangladesh (1971-2010) by Board of Investment, Bangladesh (November, 2010), and Haseen, L. (2012)

- ii) Cross-border M & As: end up transferring production assets to foreign investors and does not increase capital stock.
- iii) Round-tripped investment: involve channeling of local investor's funds abroad and subsequent return to local economy in the form of direct investment.
- iv) Trans-shipped investment: or investment mainly intended for FDI in some other country does not increase capital stock.

4.2: Trends and Patterns of FDI

In the broad categories FDI can be decomposed either as 100 percent FDI or joint venture investment.

A. 100 percent FDI

100 percent foreign direct investment proposal represents projects having full ownership of the foreign investors. They enjoy equal privilege as local investors. Following Table 1, shows the year wise registration of 100 percent FDI proposals registered with board of investment (BOI).

Table 1: Year wise Investment

Year	Investment (in million US\$)	Employment opportunities (person)
1990	0.623	100
1991	2.841	344
1992	18.919	206
1993	0.2	150
1994	28.037	2541
1995	10.318	252
1996	22.257	4125
1997	191.242	3998
1998	1018.871	3887
1999	436.907	13116
2000	406.695	1012
2001	11.258	1761
2002	35.963	9709
2003	83.516	8042
2004	224.806	20775
2005	3197.623	14439
2006	1120.82	11688
2007	55.163	23779
2008	65.584	6208
2009	44.688	11050
2010	36.437	4795
Total	7012.768	141,957

Source: Board of Investment (2010)

Table 1, represents a gloomy scenario of 100% FDI in Bangladesh. From the very lowest level it has shown remarkable improvement in the last half of the 1990s. However, the momentum has not been maintained. As it fallen sharply in the latter years and reached its peak in the history of Bangladesh in 2005. But its falls down very rapidly again in the recent years.

The 100% FDI in Bangladesh is narrow based. These are concentrated only a few sectors. In the considered time frame the textile, chemical and engineering sectors are the prominent among the manufacturing sector apart from the service sector which attracted almost 90 percent of the FDI in Bangladesh, as shown in the following table 2:

Table 2: Sector wise Investment

Sl	Sectors	No of units	Investment (in million US\$)	Employment opportunities (person)
1	Agro based	59	154.291	24434
2	Chemical	65	1985.938	6147
3	Engineering	57	38.963	4388
4	Food and Allied	13	19.112	1662
5	Glass and ceramics	3	8.188	328
6	PrintingnPublication an Packaging	7	2.269	325
7	Tannery and Rubber Products	4	4.013	602
8	Textile	115	221.259	84,578
9	Services	91	4575.901	18,758
10	Miscellaneous	7	2.834	735
	Total	418	7012.678	141,957

Source: Board of Investment (2010)

Bangladesh has succeeded to attract 100% FDI only from a small number of countries. The top 10 investing countries in terms of investment amount are as follows:

Table 3: Top investing countries in Bangladesh

(From 1977-2010)

Sl. No.	Country	No of units	Investment (in US\$ millions)	Employment opportunities(in person)
1	United Arab Emirates	6	2229.898	6,513
2	Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA)	4	1850.406	2,154
3	United Kingdom	45	952.035	26,194
4	United States	23	735.376	3,881
5	The Netherlands	7	351.197	595
6	Egypt.	2	177.149	243
7	Malaysia	7	162.006	833
8	South Korea	88	123.708	46,089
9	India	43	93.803	7,982
10	China	54	55.622	7,071
11	Singapore	9	51.636	1,842
12	Thailand	8	48.418	804
13	Hong Kong SAR, China	18	45.121	11,147

Source: Board of Investment (2010)

It is evident from table 3 that United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia and the United Kingdom are the top three foreign investors in Bangladesh. They contributed the lion's share of 100% FDI in Bangladesh while the shares of the other investors are almost trifling.

B. Joint Venture Investment

Year wise the list of Joint Venture Investment proposals registered with Board of Investment are as follows. The table shows a very dissatisfactory figure of joint venture in Bangladesh. From a very low level it shows a slight improvement in last half of the 1990s. However, it falls gradually after that and have shown slight improvement in the recent years.

Table 4: Year wise Investment

Year	Investment(in US\$ million)	Employment opportunities (person)
1977	5.031	60
1979	10.16	260
1980	6.203	327
1981	1.938	140
1982	21.118	680
1983	21.111	110
1984	9.284	229
1985	2.49	210
1986	2.228	136
1987	49.133	480
1988	55.62	330
1989	75.085	280
1990	95.377	1,011
1991	5.617	415
1992	14.545	1,248
1993	19.608	717
1994	211.622	1,522
1995	651.816	1,313
1996	616.978	6,692
1997	1838.911	10,820
1998	786.09	8,713
1999	101.657	4,851
2000	127.779	4,670
2001	228.445	4,679
2002	218.827	10,786
2003	365.974	18,925
2004	247.894	13,180
2005	602.498	22,081
2006	349.148	40,516
2007	271.687	39,037
2008	2403.328	36,677
2009	579.75	22,590
2010	175.518	5,522
Total	10,172.47	259,207

Source: Board of Investment (2010)

The sector wise joint venture investment is also narrow based. In line with the 100% foreign owned investment, Chemical, Engineering and Textile sector received the most proposals. The service sector represents 301 proposals, which is 66% of the total joint venture investment. The scenario is shown in the following table 5.

Table 5: Sector wise Investment

				(From 1977-2010)
Sl	Sectors	No of units	Investment in (USD million)	Employment opportunities (person)
1	Agro based	111	329.807	12,588
2	Chemical	169	1413.025	21,319
3	Engineering	151	412.821	18,847
4	Food and Allied	50	54.65	3,069
5	Glass and Ceramics	15	69.424	2,334
6	Printing Publishing and Packaging	13	17.159	877
7	Tannery and Rubber products	42	85.754	17,219
8	Textile	320	1093.168	135,053
9	Services	301	6693.352	47,394
10	Miscellaneous	8	3.31	507
Total		1179	10,172.47	259,207

Source: Board of Investment (2010)

5.0 Growth Impact of Foreign Direct Investment

Bangladesh is a resource scarce labor surplus economy and is facing the daunting challenges of feeding its 150 million of people about half of whom are lying below the food based poverty line. Of the very few sources of foreign exchange the overseas remittances is one of the major sources of tangible resources to the economy of Bangladesh followed by commodity exports, foreign direct investment (FDI) and the official development assistance (ODA). In the backdrop of the narrow based exportable and their high concentration in a less wider market, the FDI become the main issue of concern to the policymakers, politicians and economists. Therefore attracting FDI becomes a top policy agenda in the economy of Bangladesh for maintaining the overall macroeconomic stabilization. It is now considered as the crucial development strategy which augments country's potency of import payments, improve balance of payments situations. Thus help the country to trim down from the dependence on foreign aid / loans. It is widely acknowledge fact that FDI can bump up capital formation through additive savings, and generating employment to the huge mass of unskilled workers and so to ensure long run economic growth of the country.

Globalization i.e. the economic integration among the nations of the world has given a new pace in capital movements from the economically

developed regions to backward regions. FDI can give a big push to the economy and drive away the economy from a low level equilibrium to the high equilibrium by giving a big push to the economy. Inward FDI flows to Bangladesh as a percentage of Gross Fixed Capital Formation (GFCF), from 1972 to 2008 is shown as follows:

Table 6: Inward FDI as a percentage of Gross Capital Formation

Year of Investment	Inward FDI as a % of Gross Fixed Capital Formation
1972	0
1973	0.3
1974	0.3
1975	0.1
1976	0.4
1977	0.3
1978	0.3
1980	0.2
1981	0.1
1982	0.2
1983	0
1986	0.1
1987	0.1
1988	0
1989	0
1990	0.1
1991	0
1992	0.1
1993	0.2
1994	0.2
1995	1.3
1996	2.9
1997	6.7
1998	6.2
1999	3.1
2000	5.5
2001	3.4
2002	3
2003	2.9
2004	3.4
2005	6
2006	5.3
2007	4
2008	5.9

Source: Board of Investment (2010)

Domestic investment remains around 25% of the GDP of Bangladesh for the last decades. However, though the FDI scenario is gloomy the inward FDI as a percentage of GDP in Bangladesh shows a slightly rising trends fro 2.3% in 1980 to 5.9% in 2008 as shown in the following table 7:

Table 7: Inward FDI stock as a percentage of Gross Domestic Products

Year of Investment	Inward FDI stock as a Percentage of GDP
1980	2.3
1981	2.5
1982	2.7
1983	2.5
1984	2.2
1985	2.1
1986	2
1987	1.9
1988	1.7
1989	1.6
1990	1.5
1991	1.5
1992	1.5
1993	1.5
1994	1.3
1995	1.6
1996	2.1
1997	3.4
1998	4.3
1999	4.2
2000	4.8
2001	4.8
2002	5.2
2003	5.6
2004	5.5
2005	6.1
2006	6.9
2007	6.5
2008	5.9

Source: Board of Investment (2010)

6.0 Empirical Analysis

6.1 Methodology³

To examine the relationship between trade openness and economic growth the concept of Granger causality is employed within a bivariate vector autoregression (VAR) framework. The basic idea of the Granger Causality is that X causes Y if Y can be explained better by the present and lagged values of X than by the past values of Y alone assuming that both X and Y are stationary variables. This test assumes that the information relevant to the prediction of the respective variables is contained solely in the time series data on these variables (Gujrati, 2003). In a two variable framework, the test is based on the following regression:

$$Y_t = \alpha + \sum_{i=1}^m \beta_i Y_{t-i} + \sum_{i=1}^n \phi_i X_{t-i} + \varepsilon_t \dots\dots\dots (1)$$

$$X_t = \chi + \sum_{i=1}^m \phi_i X_{t-i} + \sum_{i=1}^n \mu_i Y_{t-i} + v_t \dots\dots\dots (2)$$

where, ε_t and v_t are white noise error term and assumed to be stationary, and m & n are the number of lags to be specified. Equation (1) postulates that current Y is related to past values of itself as well as that of X and equation (2) proposes a similar behavior for X. Given the above specification the following cases can be distinguished:

- i) unidirectional causality from X to Y i.e. X causes Y if $H_0: \phi_i = 0, i = 1, \dots, n$, can be rejected and (ii) does not hold;
- ii) unidirectional causality from Y to X i.e. Y causes X if $H_0: \mu_i = 0, i = 1, \dots, n$, can be rejected and (i) does not hold;
- iii) feedback or bilateral causality is said to occur if both (i) and (ii) hold; and
- iv) independence is suggested if neither (i) nor (ii) hold.

In addition, the framework can be generalized to include more variables in the system.

The stationarity properties of the series are not taken into consideration in the standard Granger causality test, which may report one-way, or two-way causality or no causality. However, if the variables are cointegrated, the modified Granger causality test rules out the possibility of no causality when the variables share a common trend. The estimation of the Granger causality test involves three steps. Step I includes the identification of the order of integration of the variables under consideration. Cointegration is determined

³ This section draws heavily on Hossain (2011), (mimeo).

through the Johansen and Juselius (1990) technique in step II. In step III, we proceed with the standard Granger causality test if the variables are not cointegrated. However, if the variables are cointegrated, the residuals obtained from the cointegrating regressions are used as error-correction terms in estimating the modified Granger causality equations.

6.2 Step I: Testing for the Order of Integration (ADF Test)

Since we are considering annual time series data, the first step consists of determining the order of integration of the variables under consideration. This is done by using the Augmented Dickey- Fuller (ADF) test (Dickey and Fuller, 1981) as follows:

$$\Delta Q_t = \phi_0 + \phi_1 t + \phi_2 Q_{t-1} + \sum_{i=1}^n \phi_i \Delta Q_{t-i} + \varepsilon_t \quad (3)$$

In the above equations, Q_t is a random walk with drift around a stochastic trend, Δ is the first difference operator, ε_t is the white noise error term. The null hypothesis that Q is a nonstationary time series is rejected if ϕ_1 is less than zero and statistically significant. The ADF test is carried out by replacing Q_t with GDP_t , and FDI_t in equation (3) respectively.

Table 1: Unit Root Test with ADF for the period 1990 to 2010

Variables Difference	ADF		ADF	
	C	First Difference	C, T	First
Ingdp	-2.075 (2)	-2.770 (2)*	-2.566 (2)	-3.506 (2)*
Infdi	-1.005 (3)	-2.890 (3)*	-3.435 (3)	-4.670 (3)***

Notes: i) C = constant term included in the unit root test, C,T = constant and trend term included in unit root test; ii) Figures within parentheses indicate lag lengths chosen by the Akaike information criterion (AIC); iii) ***, ** and * denote rejection of the null hypothesis of unit root at the 1%, 5% and 10% levels respectively.

Results of the unit-root tests are presented in Table-1. The test results indicate that at the levels GDP, and FDI are nonstationary. Therefore to achieve stationarity the variables must be first-differenced. The ADF statistics are significant only for the first-differenced series. This shows that, all the series are integrated of the same order i.e., $I(1)$. Since all of the series are integrated of the same order, the series may be tested for the existence of a long-run relationship between them.

6.3 Step II: Testing for Cointegration (Johansen-Juselius Test)

The next step is to search for cointegration between variables. This can be done either by Engle-Granger two steps cointegration procedure or by

Johansen-Juselius cointegration technique. We relied on Johansen-Juselius cointegration techniques because our sample size is small and by this we can avoid the defects⁴ of the Engle-Granger test. This test relied on the relationship between the rank of matrix and its characteristic roots. This test involves checking two test statistics to identify the number of cointegrating vectors. These are the trace statistic and the maximum eigenvalue test statistic. The Trace test statistic for the null hypothesis that there are at most r distinct cointegrating vectors is

$$\lambda_{trace} = T \sum_{i=r+1}^N \ln(1 - \lambda_i) \dots\dots\dots(4)$$

where, λ_i 's are the $N-r$ smallest squared canonical correlations between X_{t-k} and ΔX_t (where $X_t = (GDP_t, FDI_t)'$ and where all variables in X_t are assumed $I(1)$), corrected for the effects of the lagged differences of the X_t process.

The maximum eigenvalue statistic tests the null that the number of cointegrating vectors is r against the alternative of $r + 1$ cointegrating vectors is given by

$$\lambda_{max} = -T \ln(1 - \lambda_{r+1}) \dots\dots\dots(5)$$

Johansen (1988) shows that equations (6) and (7) have non-standard distributions under the null hypothesis and provide approximate critical values generated by Monte Carlo methods.

Table 2: Unrestricted Cointegration Rank Test (Trace)

Hypothesized		Trace	0.05	
No. of CE(s)	Eigenvalue	Statistic	Critical Value	Prob.**
None *	0.660643	24.16967	15.49471	0.0019
At most 1	0.174187	3.636347	3.841466	0.0565

Trace test indicates 1 cointegrating eqn(s) at the 0.05 level

* denotes rejection of the hypothesis at the 0.05 level

**MacKinnon-Haug-Michelis (1999) p-values

⁴ For details see Enders, W (2004).

Table 3: Unrestricted Cointegration Rank Test (Maximum Eigenvalue)

Hypothesized No. of CE(s)	Eigenvalue	Max-Eigen Statistic	0.05 Critical Value	Prob.**
None *	0.660643	20.53332	14.26460	0.0045
At most 1	0.174187	3.636347	3.841466	0.0565

Max-eigenvalue test indicates 1 cointegrating eqn(s) at the 0.05 level

* denotes rejection of the hypothesis at the 0.05 level

**MacKinnon-Haug-Michelis (1999) p-values

Table-2 and 3, presents the maximum eigen-value and trace tests of Johansen and Juselius (1990). These are complementary versions of the same test to determine the cointegration rank, r . Both the eigen value and trace statistic suggest that GDP and foreign direct investment are cointegrated in Bangladesh implying that the considered variables maintain a stable long run relationship meaning that investment has long run impact on output in Bangladesh.

6.4 Step III: Granger Causality in the ECM-VAR

Since the considered variables have stable long run relationship in the long run, they turn out to be cointegrated. However, in the short run they may drift apart, i.e. they may be in disequilibrium. To take care of this disequilibrium, we need see the short run dynamics between the variables, which can be examined by error correction mechanism. The standard Granger causality test is thus modified by incorporating the error correction terms obtained from the cointegrating regressions as follows:

$$\Delta Y_t = \beta_0 + \rho_1 \eta_{t-1} + \sum_{i=1}^m \beta_i \Delta Y_{t-i} + \sum_{j=1}^n \alpha_j \Delta X_{t-j} + u_t \quad (6)$$

$$\Delta X_t = \gamma_0 + \rho_2 \mu_{t-1} + \sum_{i=1}^m \gamma_i \Delta X_{t-i} + \sum_{j=1}^n \delta_j \Delta Y_{t-j} + v_t \quad (7)$$

where all variables are stationary time series, Δ is the first difference operator and η_{t-1} and μ_{t-1} are the error correction terms which represents the lagged residuals from the cointegrating equations, m and n are the lag lengths chosen by the Akaike Information Criterion (AIC) and u_t and v_t are the disturbance terms. X is said to Granger- cause Y not only if α_i 's are jointly significant but also if ρ_1 is significant. Similarly, Y is said to Granger- cause X not only if δ_j 's are jointly significant but also if ρ_2 is significant. The results of the error correction model are shown in the following table.

Null Hypothesis	F statistic	t-Statistic on Error Correction Term
FDI does not Granger cause GDP	1.30***	-2.698**
GDP does not Granger cause FDI	0.060	-0.0024

Notes: i) ***, ** and * denote rejection of the null hypothesis at the 1%, 5%, and 10% levels respectively; ii) The optimal lag length has been considered to be 2 according to the Akaike information criterion (AIC).

Table-3: Temporal Causality Results based on Granger Causality Tests (F statistic) and Error Correction Model (t statistic)

Table-3 reports the F-statistics and the t-statistics on the lagged ECM terms. The lagged changes in the independent variable represent the short-run causal impact while the error correction term gives the long-run impact. The F-statistic measures the long-run causation while the t-statistic on the lagged error correction terms indicates short-run causality. Both tests show that there exists a unidirectional causality both in the short as well as in the long run from FDI to GDP. However, no feedback relationship has been established.

7.0 Summary and Conclusions

The positive impact of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) on a macroeconomic level has largely been discussed both in the theoretical and empirical literature. Bangladesh, which has plethora of tangible resources FDI can provides capital from abroad which the country is unable to supply domestically. The inflows facilitate the growth of a number of economic sectors, including industry, manufacturing, infrastructure, and energy. The expansion leads to a rise in the availability of jobs and a fall in the unemployment rate. Consequently, GDP and per capita income increase which, in a developing country, fosters poverty alleviation. In addition, FDI strengthens ties with developed countries that may yield cost advantages in the form of advanced technology transfers and resulting positive externalities. Bangladesh is one of the most liberalized economies in the South Asian region, which offers maximum facilities to the foreign investors, with its natural advantage of cheap labor.

The objective of this study is to conduct a historical and statistical analysis of the trend, patterns and growth impact (by cointegration and error correction models) of FDI in Bangladesh. This study has also

undertaken a scientific approach to examining the relationship between FDI and economic growth by Granger Causality test and found unidirectional causality from FDI to GDP. Since Bangladesh has only very few sources of foreign exchange, FDI is pivotal in providing Bangladesh the necessary finance and capital to achieve sustainable growth. FDI inflows have been able to increase GDP by raising the economy's output capacity and full-employment level. At the same time, it has also delivered development by improving per capita income levels. In short, FDI can provide the necessary tools for Bangladesh to progress further and realize higher growth levels by utilizing all its resources to their fullest potential. Therefore, attempts should be taken to attract more FDI in Bangladesh.

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Socio-economic Profiles of Migrant Household's and Salient Features of Migration Process: A Study on Some Selected Villages

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Abstract: This article is an attempt to focus on socio-economic profiles of migrant household's and migration related process. The article is an outcome of a case study conducted* by the author. Data was collected through household's survey. Households were selected from the six administrative divisions of the country, two districts from each division that had higher rated migrants' were chosen, and one upazila (sub-district) was randomly selected from each of the 12 districts. Following multi-stage sampling from 12 union parishad, twelve villages those had the highest migrant was selected. The sample size was 208 comprising 192 head of the household of current migrants and 68 returned migrants households.

About 39 percent of the total migrants are concentrated in KSA followed by 22.1, 14.4 and 10.1 percent in UAE, Malaysia and Kuwait respectively. The mean ages of current, returned and non-migrant are 33, 41 and 37 years respectively. 72.80 percent of the current migrants are aged between 25 and 39 years; while 70.6 percent of returned migrants are aged between 30 and 49 years. The average duration of stay overseas of current and returned migrants is about 8 and 12 years respectively. Average years of schooling for current and returned migrants and non-migrants are 8, 7 and 7 years respectively. Mean number of household members of current migrants is 5.26 excluding migrant himself. For returned and non-migrants the average number of household members are 5.44 and 4.98 respectively indicating current migrants belong to relatively larger families. Among the current migrants 50.72 percent are unskilled workers followed by 27.14 percent skilled and 13.57 percent semi-skilled workers. Non-government recruiting agencies handled about 69 percent migration related works. About 75 percent of migrants had access to borrow from family members and other relatives with or without interest. Commercial banks and other financial institutions provided only 1.44 percent of the total fund required for migration.

Introduction

Bangladesh became an independent nation in 1971 with a small territory, low per capita income and huge number of un-skilled labour. From early 1972 labour migration has become an important way for the survival of many households in Bangladesh. To avail the means of subsistence, a good number of Bangladeshi workers are migrating abroad every year. In the 1970s and the 1980s Bangladeshi workers migrated to a small number of countries. Each year thousands of Bangladeshi workers migrate to

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work in the Middle East and since the 1990s many Bangladeshi workers found their new destination in South East Asia such as Malaysia and Singapore and some other newly developed Asian countries and a few industrialized countries. Among the Middle East countries, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA) absorbs the largest number of labour force from Bangladesh. Besides, new employment opportunities have also been created for Bangladeshi workers in South Korea, Libya, Brunei, Lebanon, Mauritius, Jordan and other countries of the world (Hossain 2007).

The flow of migration has been increasing over the years. According to data provided by Bureau of Manpower Employment and Training (BMET) about 7.04 million workers from Bangladesh were employed overseas up to December 2010. Details of country-wise manpower export from Bangladesh since 1976 is shown in Annex (Table A.1). About 2578 thousand (37 percent of the total) workers were employed in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia followed by 1772 thousand (25 percent) in the United Arab Emirates, 849 thousand (12 percent) in Malaysia, 477 thousand (7 percent) in Kuwait and 395 thousand (6 percent) in Oman during the same period. Considerable number of workers have begun to migrate to Malaysia since 1990; the number of migrant workers in Malaysia was only 502 before 1990. However, volume of manpower export to Malaysia drastically fell in 2009 and 2010 due to restriction imposed by the Malaysian government; the same experience is faced in the case of KSA. Manpower export, however, significantly increased in the UAE during the period from 2005 to 2010 compared to other countries. Manpower export from Bangladesh declined in 2010 compared to the previous year irrespective of the countries (Table A.1 of Annex).

Low level or lack of education and skills are the key features of Bangladeshi human resource. International pull factors, viz., work opportunities for the illiterate un-skilled and semi-skilled workers in the Middle East and other regions of the world, the attraction of modern life styles motivated people to migrate to other countries. This migration is helping the country in two ways- by reducing pressure on unemployment situation and by sending remittances to home country. Remittances have been an increasingly important mechanism for transferring resources from overseas to developing economies such as Bangladesh. Migration, overseas remittances and the related micro-variables have become the new area of research in the last decade, as there is a strong linkage among them.

In this aspect socio-economic profiles of the migrants and surveyed households are discussed through this paper. Besides, the migration process and other related aspects are also addressed. The objective of the study is to find out socio-economic conditions of the migrants and their households. Methodology of the study is discussed below.

Data Collection

To address the study objectives, it was necessary to use nationally representative sample of migrants including returned migrant households. But due to budget constraints, several regions of Bangladesh that had higher than average rates of migration were selected and a sample of households from these regions were chosen. Thus selected regions of this study were chosen purposively on the basis of administrative divisions of the country. However, for analytical purpose, these regions are grouped as Central Region (Dhaka and Tangail), East Region (Chittagong and Comilla), North-East Region (Sylhet and Moulavibazar), North-West Region (Bogra, Capainawabganj and Kushtia), South-West Region (Jessore, Barisal and Bhola). It may be mentioned that to follow the concept of proportionate sample size based on number of migrants; Jessore and Kushtia districts were adjusted into other regions. Details of the survey design are explained below.

Sample Areas and Sample Selection Techniques

The target group of this survey is the households currently receiving remittance from migrated members. In Bangladesh there is no proper registration system for the migrant which helps to find out actual physical existence of the migrants' households. We therefore, adopted alternative technique to trace the sample respondents. Data were collected from the villages by a migration-focused survey. Villages were selected applying multi-stage sampling. To identify districts that have higher than average rates of migration, Bureau of Manpower Employment and Training (BMET) was consulted. First, among the six divisions of the country, two districts from each division that had higher number of migrants were chosen, and one upazila (sub-district) was randomly selected from each of the 12 districts. Next one union in each upazila that had the highest number of migrants was chosen. Similarly, from each union, one village that had the highest number of migrants was selected. It may be mentioned that in selecting higher than average rate of migrant's upazila, union and villages with higher number of migrants officials and local representatives of district council, upazila parishad and union council and

local elites were consulted. Among the officials, the desk in charge of 'overseas welfare' in the Deputy Commissioner's office was consulted to have an idea about the migrants' concentration within the district, upazila, union and villages.

In consultation with the Upazila Chairman/Vice Chairman, Upazila Nirbahi Officer, Union Parishad (UP) Chairman and members, the researcher and the survey team members visited every selected village and collected background information about the migrants household. On the basis of the collected information, the respondent households were selected following the principle of purposive and simple random sampling.

Principles of Selecting Households for Interview

To examine the determinants of remittances, primary data were collected by field level survey. Sample respondents were divided into two categories-current migrants and returned migrant households. Households currently having member overseas and receiving remittances from the member working abroad at least in the last 4 years were classified as "current migrant" households. It may be noted that only those migrant households were selected for the study that had only one migrant working abroad and whose major source of income was remittances. Households whose members have returned from host countries within one year from the date of the survey were classified as "returned migrant" household. The study considers only worker type of migrants, professional and highly educated persons are beyond the purview of this study. Some salient features of respondents are presented Table 1.

¹ Returned migrant is defined as one who has returned to country of origin from overseas within a year of the survey, after spending at least four years abroad.

Table 1 Summary Statistics of the Respondents

Socio-economic features	Results	
	Mean	Std. Dev.
Age of Migrant (in years)	35.57	8.57
Number of family members	5.32	1.96
Dependent family members	4.33	1.62
Years of Schooling	7.92	2.96
Number of children currently going to school	1.73	.76
Monthly household income (in Tk.)	6454 [BM] 21053 [AM]	2555 9244
Per capita income (in Tk.)	1291 [BM] 4211 [AM]	

Source: Field survey, June-August 2010.

Note: BM indicates before migration and AM indicates after migration.

Distribution of Sample Respondents

The respondents were selected from each village in proportion to number of migrants abroad of the districts and thus the sample size was 208 including selected household members such as migrant head of household etc. Distribution of sample respondents is presented in Table-2.

Table 2 Distribution of Sample Respondents

Name of Division	Name of District	No. of Village	No. of Respondents		
			Current migrants	Returned migrants	Total Respondents
Dhaka	Tangail	1	13	7	20
	Dhaka	1	13	7	20
Chittagong	Comilla	1	16	9	25
	Chittagong	1	16	9	25
Rajshahi	Bogra	1	9	4	13
	Chapainwabganj	1	9	4	13
Khulna	Jessore	1	9	4	13
	Kushtia	1	9	4	13
Barisal	Barisal	1	9	4	13
	Bhola	1	9	4	13
Sylhet	Sylhet	1	14	6	20
	Moulavibazar	1	14	6	20
Total (Percent)		12	140 (67.30)	68 (32.70)	208 (100.00)

Data Collection Period

Data were collected from the respondents by the researcher and selected data collectors. Four persons were trained in objectives, scope and methodology of the study. They collected data from twelve sample villages under close supervision of the researcher. The researchers came to direct contact of the respondents, talked to them and observed their socio-economic conditions. The survey was conducted during the period from early May to mid August 2010.

Tools of Data Collection

A set of structured questionnaire was administered to collect required primary data. Questionnaire was used to gather information from current and returned migrant households.

Empirical Result

Demographic Profile of the Migrants Households

The demographic characteristics of the migrant households are presented in terms of age, education, marital status, occupation, family size and workers by countries of destination.

Migrants by Age

The mean age of current and returned migrants is 33 and 41 years respectively as can be seen from Table 3. In the case of current migrant, highest percentage (27.10) belongs to the age group of 30-34 years followed by that of 35-39 years. It is noticed that most of the current migrants (72.80 percent) are aged between 25 and 39 years, whereas 70.6 percent of returned migrants are aged between 30 and 49 years. It is observed that 36.8 percent of returned migrants belong to the age group of 40-49 years; which is the highest followed by that of 35-39 years having 23.5 percent of the respondents. Murshid et. al (2002) found the mean ages of current and returned migrants was 33.73 and 40.49 years respectively which are very close to the findings of this study. Nair (1993) found the median age of the migrant was 34 years. In this study the average age of the migrants was found to be 36 years. Thus, migrant workers generally initiate emigration in the late teens and return after working up to fifteen years (Eki 2002). Some repeat emigration several times to the same work place until they reach their sixties.

Table 3 Distribution of Current and Returned Migrants by Age

(Percentage)

Age Groups (Years)	Migrants	
	Current	Returned
20-24	11.4	0.0
25-29	22.1	8.8
30-34	27.1	10.3
35-39	23.6	23.5
40-49	12.9	36.8
50 and above	2.9	20.6
Total	100	100
Mean Age	33	41
Number of Observations	140	68

Source: Field survey, May-August 2010.

Migrants by Education

In terms of years of schooling, it was observed that current, returned and non-migrants have very similar educational attainment, the percentage for 6-8 and 11-12 years of schooling are almost the same for the two groups. In most cases, more than 83 percent of the migrants have up to 10 years of schooling. The percentage of respondents, having more than twelve years of education is small in all cases. The information of educational attainment indicates that higher educated people may not feel interested to be migrant; rather they try to work in their own country. It may be noted that average years of schooling for current and returned migrants are 8 and 7 years respectively (Table 4), which are very close to the findings of the study of Murshid et al. (2002). The results indicate that the percentage of population having higher education is small. The possible explanation lies in the focus of the study. Only workers from the villages are focused, professional and highly educated migrants who usually live in urban areas are beyond the purview of this study.

Table 4 Distribution of Current and Returned Migrants and Non-Migrants by Education

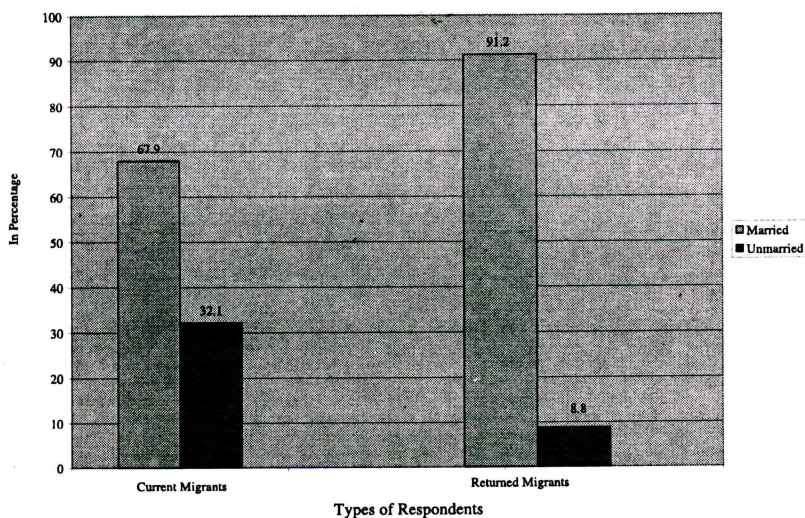
Years of Schooling	Migrants by level of Education in %	
	Current Migrants	Returned Migrants
0 (None)	2.1	2.9
1 -5	18.6	36.8
6-8	26.4	25.0
9-10	39.3	22.1
11-12	9.3	10.3
13 and above	4.3	2.9
Total	100.00	100.00
Mean Years of Schooling	8	7
Number of Observations	140	68

Source: Field survey, May-August 2010.

Migrants by Marital Status

In respect of marital status it was found that 68 percent of current migrants were married compared with 91 percent for returned migrants. Details may be observed in Figure 1. The difference in marital status is a reflection of the age structure of the two groups of respondents. The current migrants are of lower average age and hence the proportion of married is lower compared with the other group.

Figure 1 Marital Status of the Respondents



Source: Field survey, May-August 2010.

Migrants by Household Size

It was observed that the average number of members of current migrant households is 5.26 excluding migrant himself. The highest percentage of migrant households has 5 to 6 members and this holds also for other category of respondents. 70 percent of the current migrant households have 3 to 6 family members and for returned migrants the relevant figure was 72.01 percent (Table 5). The average size of households of migrant is somewhat higher than that of national average. This indicates that migrant workers come from larger families. Larger households can support migration of one or more of their members as an income diversification strategy.

Table 5 Distribution of Current and Returned Migrants by Household Size

Number of Members of a Household excluding migrant	Percentage of Households *	
	Current Migrants	Returned Migrants
1-2	5.7	1.5
3-4	31.4	30.9
5-6	38.6	41.2
7-8	17.9	16.2
9 and above	6.3	10.3
Total	100.00	100.00
Mean Members	5.26	5.44
Number of Observations	140	68

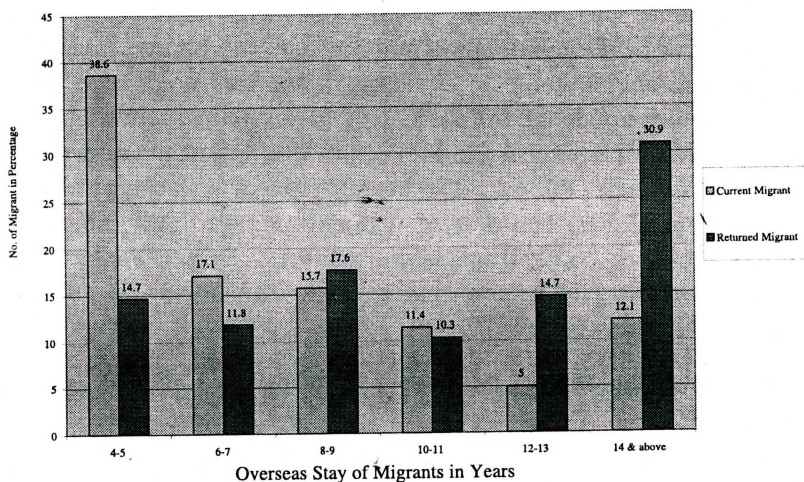
Source: Field survey, May-August 2010.

*In case of current migrant households, migrant is excluded to count the size of member.

Migrants by Duration of Overseas Stay

Distribution of migrants by duration of overseas stay is presented in Figure 2. About thirty-nine percent of current migrants are staying overseas for a period of 4 to 5 years followed by 17.1 percent for 6 -7 years. About 72 percent of current migrant have been staying for a period of 4 to 9 years while 44 percent of returned migrants stayed for similar period. On the other hand, more than 12 percent of current migrants have been staying for more than 14 years; and for returned migrant this figure was about 31 percent.

Figure 2 Distribution of Migrants by Duration of Overseas Stay



Source: Field survey, May-August 2010.

Selected Characteristics of Migrants by Categories and Regions

Table 6 highlights the salient features of migrants and heads of households. The mean age of household heads is little higher for current migrants than that of returned migrants. In terms of time spent abroad, it was about 12 years for returned migrants and for current migrants this is about 8 years. According to Murshid et al. (2002) average years of stay of both current and returned migrants was around 6.5 years indicating an increase in the average years of overseas stay over the years.

Table 6 Selected Characteristics of Migrants and Non-migrants and Migrant Heads of Households

Category	Age	Education	Duration of stay abroad	Age of HH*
	Mean	Mean	Mean	Mean
Current migrant	33	8	7.91	57
Returned migrant	41	7	11.68	55
Average	37	7.50	9.80	56

Source: Field survey, May-August 2010.

* Age of heads of household include age of father, mother, elder brother and wife of migrant who looks after the family in absence of migrant.

The average age, educational attainment, years abroad of migrants and age of heads of households by regions are presented in Table 7. The migrants of north-east region (Sylhet and Moulavibazar) are slightly older than that of central region (Dhaka and Tangail); while the migrants of north-west region (Bogra, Kushtia and Chapainawabganj) are youngest compared to those of other regions. Compared to other regions, the household heads of east region are slightly older (60.54 years) followed by north-east region (58.88 years). It may be mentioned that household heads of north-west region are younger (52.05 years) than others. The migrants of north-east (Sylhet and Moulavibazar) region stayed abroad for maximum of 12.20 years while those of north-west (Bogra, Kushtia and Chapainawabganj) region stayed for 5.49 years.

Table 7 Selected Characteristics of Migrant and Heads of Households of Migrant by Regions

Regions	Age of migrant	Education	Duration of stay abroad	Age of migrant HHs*
	Mean	Mean	Mean	Mean
Central (Dhaka and Tangail)	36.50	8.98	9.17	54.60
East (Chittagong and Comilla)	35.76	7.86	10.40	60.54
North-East (Sylhet and Moulavibazar)	37.85	8.25	12.20	58.88
South-West (Barisal, Bhola and Jessore)	35.90	7.74	8.00	54.90
North-West (Bogra, Kushtia and Chapainawabganj)	31.69	6.77	5.49	52.05
Average	35.54	7.92	9.05	56.19

Source: Field survey, May-August 2010.

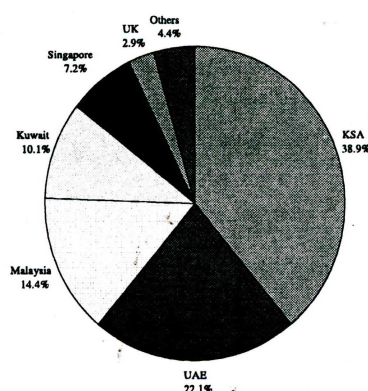
* HHs denotes head of households.

Countries of Work of Migrants

Distribution of migrants by working countries is presented in Figure 3 which shows about 39 percent of the current migrants are working in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia followed by 22.1, 14.4 and 10.1 percent in the United Arab Emirates (UAE), Malaysia and Kuwait respectively. It should be noted that BMET time series data shows the number of migrant workers varies from country to country. The migrant workers are

concentrated mostly in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Qatar, Oman, Bahrain, Malaysia and Singapore². Data also show that from 1976 to 2010, 36.15 percent migrants were working in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia followed by 24.85 percent in United Arab Emirates (UAE) and 11.91 percent in Malaysia; this distribution is close to the sample percentages of the present study. Thus migrants from the rural areas have been working mostly in the Middle East.

Figure 3 Migrant Workers by Countries of Destination



Source: Field survey, May-August 2010.

Migrants by Major Occupations

BMET³ classifies migrants to Middle East and South East Asia into four categories. These are professionals, skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled. Doctors, engineers, university teachers, cost and chartered accountants, computer experts, administrators and nurses are included in professional group. Skilled workers include persons who have special qualities to carry out technical works such as machine operators, garment workers, driver and electricians. Workers who can perform the work as tailors, masons, carpenters and plumbers through on the-job training are considered as semi-skilled. Persons without any technical and professional skills are categorized as unskilled workers. Housemaids, agriculture labourers, hotel boys, salesman, security guards and manual labourers such as general/construction labourers, cleaners and gardeners are considered unskilled workers. Occupational distribution of migrants by major categories are presented in Table 8. More than 27 percent of

³ BMET is the executing agency of the Ministry of Expatriates' Welfare and Overseas Employment (MEWOE) and maintains record of migrants.

current migrants are skilled workers while for returned migrants this figure is 25 percent. On the other hand, 13.57 percent current and 25 percent returned migrants are semi-skilled labour. About 51 percent current migrants and 38.23 percent returned migrants are unskilled workers. Thus, a larger proportion of current migrants are unskilled workers who are likely to send their savings to Bangladesh. It should be noted that the sample does not have any professional migrants as this group live in the urban areas as mentioned before, while the survey is conducted in the rural areas.

The findings of this study are almost similar to those of Raihan et al. (2009), where it was found that 53.9, 15.2 and 29.3 percent of the migrants are unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled respectively. The Middle East labour market has been employing a larger proportion of unskilled labour from Bangladesh.

Table 8 Migrants and Non-Migrants by Major Occupations

Occupation	Current Migrant		Returned Migrant	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Skilled	38	27.14	17	24.99
Manufacturing or garment /factory workers	12	8.57	7	10.29
Driving	4	2.86	2	2.94
Electrician	8	5.71	2	2.94
Computer operator /Service	13	9.29	6	8.82
Hair Cutting	1	0.71	0	0
Semi-skilled	19	13.57	17	24.99
Masonry	8	5.71	8	11.76
Tailoring	2	1.43	1	1.47
Carpentry	3	2.14	4	5.88
Plumbing	2	1.43	1	1.47
Welding labour	4	2.86	3	4.41
Unskilled	71	50.72	26	38.23
General/Construction worker	49	35	14	20.59
Agriculture labour/ Agriculture farming	5	3.57	2	2.94
Van/ Rickshaw pulling	0	0	0	0
Security guard	3	2.14	0	0
Salesman	4	2.86	3	4.41
Hotel boy	6	4.29	1	1.47
Gardening	2	1.43	1	1.47
Cleaning	2	1.43	5	7.35
Others	12	8.57	8	11.76
Hotel business	8	5.71	5	7.35
Grocery shop/Small business*	4	2.86	3	4.41
Total	140	100	68	100

Source: Field Survey, May-August 2010.

* These refer to groceries/stationery, phone/fax, shop, fisheries/poultry and livestock

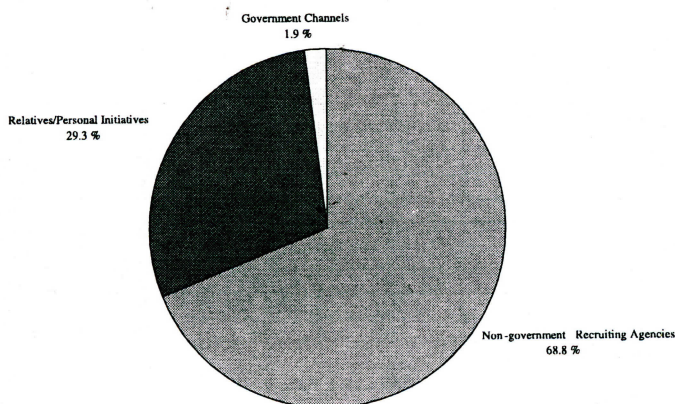
Migration Process and Related Entities of Remittances

In Bangladesh most of the migrant workers are less equipped with knowledge and education to communicate to the counterpart employers in overseas. Hence, in most cases they depend on intermediaries to accomplish most of the migration related tasks. This has implications for transparency in the migration process, cost and financing of migration as well as remittances. The private agents charge much higher amount and are less transparent. The high costs force the households to borrow in many cases which is repaid later on by remittances.

Migration Facilitating Channels

It has been found that about 69 percent of migration related works were handled by non-government recruiting agencies followed by 29.3 percent by relatives and others. Only about 2 percent of migration was facilitated by government agencies. This shows migration is mostly a private sector activity with government channels playing a minor role (Figure 4).

Figure 4 Share of Different Channels Facilitating Migration



Source: Field survey, May-August 2010.

Methods of Financing Migration

In case of source of financing for migration, different financial arrangements are made. About 75 percent migration was arranged by borrowing from brothers, sisters, neighbours, relatives and friends. This is followed sequentially by funding through own/family fund (43 percent) and mortgaging/selling land and other assets (39 percent). Only 1.44

percent migration took place through borrowing from formal sources- i.e., commercial banks and financial institutions (Table 9).

Table 9 Sources of Financing International Migration

Major Sources	Percentage of migrants
Own / Family Fund	42.79
Borrowing (from neighbours, brothers, sisters, friends & relatives, father- in- law, uncle, agents-employer and others) against interest / without interest payment	74.52
Mortgaging/selling land and other assets (livestock etc.)	39.42
Borrowing money from financial institutions/Commercial Banks	1.44
Others	3.37
Number of Observations	208

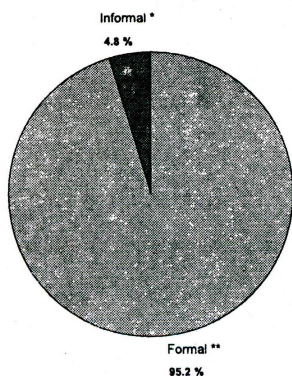
Source: Field Survey, May-August 2010.

Note: Multiple answers were recorded.

Channels of Remittances

Remittance sending is a natural outcome of migration for temporary migrants and some time for permanent migrants as well. Most of the migrants tried to send money to their family members. More than 95 percent remittances are sent through formal channels and only about 5 percent remittance came through informal channels, i.e., hundi, departing friends and relatives (Figure 5). Siddiqui (2004) found that 39.45 percent of the total volume of remittances came through hundi, 46.28 percent through official channels, 4.62 percent through friends and relatives and about 8 percent carried by migrant workers themselves. Thus noticeable changes have taken place in the pattern of remittance sending in recent years. Hundi which was a very popular channel of remittance in the past has declined in popularity. Currently formal institutions such as banks and western unions have gained popularity. Various steps adopted by the government to make access to formal channels easier in the host countries as well as in Bangladesh supplemented by initiatives by money transfer companies have contributed to this change.

Figure 5 Channels of Sending Remittances



Source: Field survey, May-August 2010.

** Formal includes own accounts, third person's accounts/ cheque /Bank draft/Western Union etc.

* Informal includes hundi / friends / relatives and others.

Factors Considered by Remittances Recipients

The choice of remittances channel from the perspective of the receivers is influenced by several factors. It is observed that more than sixty-eight percent recipients considered reliability of the channels followed by speed of transferring money, low charges and nearest distance of delivery point.

Table 10 Factors Considered by Remittances Recipients

Factors	Response in percentage
Speedy transfer of money	45.67
Reliability of the channels	68.26
Low charge	20.68
Nearest distance of delivery point	13.46
Number of Observations	208

Source: Field survey, May-August 2010.

Note: Multiple answers were recorded.

Monthly Income of Migrants

Migrant workers send a proportion of their wages/salary income to home. Average income and remittances of migrants are presented in Table 11. Average monthly income and remittances of migrants including returned migrants are Tk. 27,903 and Tk. 21,281 respectively. Remittances constitute 76 percent of their income. Average monthly income of current and returned migrants are Tk. 27,439 and Tk. 28,368 respectively with remittances constituting 75 and 77 percent of their incomes respectively. Thus there has been a decline in average remittances earned by migrants¹. In recent years the earning of the migrants has declined compared to the

past when the returned migrants were in work; it is opined by the respondents that this is due to the economic crisis of the Middle-East and the East Asia as well as the adverse global economic situations.

The migrants of east region earned the highest; Tk. 32,010 followed by Tk. 31,325 and Tk. 27,280 by those of north-east and south-west regions respectively. The income of the migrants of north-west region is the lowest, Tk. 20,718 per month. It may be mentioned that positive correlation exists between income and duration of stay in overseas. Because, the corresponding duration of stay for Tk. 20,718 per month is 5.49 years against 10.40 years for Tk. 32,010. The study of Murshid et al. (2002) found that average monthly remittances of migrant was Tk. 6,000 i.e., within nine years, the remittances increased by three and half times .

Table 11 Monthly Income* and Remittances of Migrants

Migration Status/Regions	Average Monthly Income and Remittance Per Migrant (Tk.)		
Status	Income	Remittances	Remittances as % of Income
Current Migrants	27439.29	20621.43	75
Returned Migrants	28367.65	21941.18	77
Average	27903.47	21281.30	76
Regions	Income	Remittances	Remittances as % of Income
Central (Dhaka and Tangail)	26125.00	19338.50	74
East(Chittagong and Comilla)	32010.00	24540.00	77
North-East (Sylhet and Moulavibazar)	31325.00	24100.00	77
South-West (Barisal, Bhola and Jessore)	27282.05	21064.10	77
North-West (Bogra, Kushtia and Chapainawabganj)	20717.95	15205.13	73
Average	27492.00	20849.55	76

Source: Field Survey, May-August 2010.

* Income denotes only cash.

⁴ Now with a lower rate of wage the workers are willing to work overseas especially in KSA. I learned from the Bangladeshi workers while I was in KSA in November 2011 that employers are offering lower wages as they understand they will get workers even at lower rate. Workers in most cases earn beyond their contracts in informal sector.

Conclusion:

The following conclusions can be drawn from the examination of the findings of the study:

The findings reveal that average years of schooling of migrants are very low, only 8 years; this situation should be improved to compete with the rest of the countries of the world. Evidences show that the proportion of skilled workers among the migrants is low, more than two-thirds of the total workforce are unskilled or semi-skilled. To increase the number of skilled workforce integrated efforts should be taken. Efforts should be made to expand the technical and vocational education. Pre-departure training for labour migrants may be a powerful tool in raising awareness about positive aspects of skilled workforce for migrant's sending country such as Bangladesh.

It is found that most of the migration related tasks were performed by non-government agencies. In this aspect government should come forward to take the role more effectively.

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ANNEX

Table A.1 Country- wise Migration of Bangladeshi Workers to Overseas, 1976 - 2010

Year	Saudi Arabia	Kuwait	UAE	Bahrain	Oman	Malaysia	Singapore	Others	Total
1976	217	643	1,989	335	113	0	0	809	6,082
1977	1,379	1,315	5,819	870	1,492	0	0	632	13,484
1978	3,212	2,243	7,512	762	2,877	23	0	1,029	19,636
1979	6,496	2,298	5,069	827	3,777	0	110	223	20,779
1980	8,695	3,687	4,847	1,351	4,775	3	383	84	25,805
1981	13,384	5,464	6,418	1,392	7,351	0	1,083	1,029	38,102
1982	16,294	7,244	6,863	2,037	8,248	0	331	182	43,181
1983	12,928	10,283	6,615	2,473	11,110	23	178	2,279	47,872
1984	20,399	5,627	5,225	2,300	10,048	0	718	638	46,939
1985	39,133	7,384	8,336	2,965	3,218	0	792	428	64,241
1986	27,235	10,286	8,790	2,597	6,255	53	25	1,159	58,386
1987	39,133	7,384	8,336	2,965	3,218	0	792	428	64,241
1988	27,622	6,524	13,437	3,268	2,213	2	0	1,409	56,463
1989	39,049	12,402	15,184	4,870	15,429	401	229	1,286	90,839
1990	57,086	5,957	8,307	4,563	13,980	1,385	776	2,678	96,722
1991	75,656	28,574	8,583	3,480	23,087	1,628	642	3,032	1,46,673
1992	93,132	34,377	12,975	5,804	25,825	10,537	313	3,569	1,88,524
1993	106,387	26,407	15,810	5,396	15,866	67,938	1,739	4,930	2,46,466
1994	91,385	14,912	15,051	4,233	6,470	47,826	391	5,896	1,88,158
1995	84,009	17,492	14,686	3,004	20,949	35,154	3,762	6,589	1,87,640
1996	70,734	21,042	23,812	3,759	8,691	66,631	5,304	7,236	2,09,205
1997	106,534	21,126	54,719	5,010	5,985	152,844	27,401	7,458	3,83,074
1998	158,715	25,444	38,796	7,014	4,779	551	21,728	10,640	2,69,665
1999	185,739	22,400	32,344	4,639	4,045	0	9,596	9,419	2,70,181
2000	144,618	594	34,034	4,637	5,258	17,237	11,095	5,213	2,24,686
2001	137,248	5,341	16,252	4,371	4,561	4,921	9,615	6,656	1,90,966
2002	163,254	15,767	25,438	5,370	3,927	85	6,870	4,545	2,27,258
2003	162,131	26,722	37,346	7,482	4,029	28	5,304	11,148	2,56,193
2004	139,031	41,108	47,012	9,194	4,435	224	6,948	25,006	2,74,962
2005	80,425	47,029	61,978	10,716	4,827	2,911	9,651	35,165	2,54,707
2006	109,513	35,775	1,30,204	16,355	8,082	20,496	20,139	19,717	3,81,516
2007	204,112	4,212	2,26,392	16,433	17,478	2,73,201	38,324	42,457	8,32,609
2008	132,124	319	4,19,355	13,182	52,896	1,31,762	56,581	68,836	8,75,055
2009	14,666	10	2,58,348	28,426	41,704	12,402	39,581	80,141	4,75,278
2010	6,541	39	1,86,127	20,313	37,905	806	35,491	68,880	3,56,102
Total	25,7,826	4,77,431	17,72,009	2,12,393	3,94,903	8,49,072	3,15,892	4,40,826	71,31,690
Percent	36.15	6.69	24.85	2.98	5.54	11.91	4.43	6.18	100.00

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People's Participation in Development Projects in Rural Bangladesh: A Case Study of Alampur and Jagannathpur Union Parishad¹

Sheikh Noor Mohammad²

Abstract: After four decades of independence, the culture of people-centric developments in rural Bangladesh has not yet been institutionalized and ensuring people's participation in local development projects has largely remained elusive. One of the preconditions for nurturing people-centric developments is to ensure the participation of people into the project cycle. But ironically the concept has not been realized till to date. This study has aimed to review the gap between the theory and practices of people's participation in development projects - particularly at Union Parishad level, the lowest tier of local government bodies - in rural Bangladesh. For conducting the study, two Union Parishads - Alampur Union Parishad of Taraganj Upazila under Rangpur district and Jagannathpur Union Parishad of Comilla Sadar Upazila under Comilla district - have been purposively selected. One of the main purposes of this study is to ascertain the reasons behind the poor participation or non-participation of people in development projects, and the study has particularly tried to empirically measure the participation level at different stages of project cycle and to explore various factors influencing this participation. The paper has been concluded by recommending some measures that can ameliorate the participation scenario.

1. Introduction

People's participation is the sine qua non for development. Contemporary development scholars have been advocating the inclusion of people's participation in development projects as they believe the avowed objectives of any project cannot be fully achieved unless people meaningfully participate in it. Stone (1989) emphasized that people's participation in development projects may help to bring effective social changes. Besides, community participation in the design and management of a project greatly enhances the likelihood of project success due to improved goodness of fit and increased sustainability (Shrimpton, 1989).

People's participation in development projects has been gaining momentum as a new strategy for development since 1970s. In

¹ This paper has been written as part of the author's Masters' thesis in Public Policy and Governance (MPPG) in June 2010, NSU.

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Bangladesh, local level development projects are generally implemented by Union Parishad (UP)³. Hence, the socio-economic development of local people largely depends on the proper functioning of this vital institution. In post-independent Bangladesh, almost all the development projects ever taken at grass-root level have been initiated and implemented under the supervision of popularly elected UPs. Ironically, the outcome of development projects is not significantly visible. Rural people still live in misery and deprivation; their basic human needs are not fulfilled. Their lifestyle is not improved as much as it was expected. The participatory practice has not yet been cultured properly. From this backdrop some questions may subsequently arise in the mind of a development practitioner-Does the existing decision making process of UP not promote people's participation in development process? What are the factors that affect the participatory process in UP level development projects? This paper is an attempt to address these empirical questions with an eye to its prime objective i.e. to explore the actors and factors shaping participation as well as causes for non-participation of local people in UP-led development projects. Furthermore, the article will provide some policy guidelines which will help development practitioners as well as the policymakers to identify the loopholes in the present system and thereby assist them to formulate proper policies in future.

2. Review of Existing Literatures

People's participation is the basic tool for achieving national goals of development. In order to implement governmental policies in right perspectives, the people -- the real clients of the governmental operations, are to be involved at all stages of development intervention. But because of bureaucratic preponderance and distrust by the successive governments to the people, people's participation in a large scale in local development process remained beyond the reach of the ordinary people (Ali et al (1983).

Aminuzzaman (2008) notes some invisible but serious factors which have a direct impact on the level and quality of accountability and popular participation of common people into the affairs of LG including: i) continued centralized control over the UP- maintained through the administration and the limited resources at its disposal; ii) the critical and

³ Union Parishad (UP) is the lowest platform of Local Government in Bangladesh for integrating local people into the development process.

often hidden role of the MPs and other political stakeholders in development planning and management and iii) lack of effective institutional mechanism which gives poor and marginalized to take part in development project planning and implementation.

Union Parishad (UP) is the lowest tier of the LGIs of Bangladesh which is evidently the most effective mechanism to integrate local people into the development wheel.² However, after nearly four decades of independence, the ground reality of Bangladesh is that the local power structure remains in the hands of local elites. On the other hand, UP representatives and local political leaders are often labelled as an 'exploitative class' who control the destiny of the rural people by remaining close to the citadel of power (Asaduzzaman, 2008).

Development projects in Bangladesh are being managed by the LGIs- particularly the Union Parishads. However, related literatures suggest that there is very little scope of participation for common people in the decision making, management and supervision of these UP-led development projects. Project information is also barely disseminated to them. An effective horizontal evaluation system has also not been institutionalized till today. In this backdrop, many questions have been raised by the development practitioners as to the existing decision making processes of Union Parishads - whether it promotes people's participation in development process or vice versa.

3. Methodology

Questionnaire survey, in-depth interview and case study methods were used to collect the primary data. Out of 130 respondents, 122 from Union level and 08 from Upazila level has been selected. Questionnaire survey was conducted at two union parishads of Bangladesh; i.e. Alampur Union Parishad of Taraganj Upazila under Rangpur district and Jagannathpur Union Parishad of Comilla Sadar Upazila under Comilla district from 100 community people and from 22 elected representatives i.e. UP chairman/member. Interviews of eight UZ level people's representatives and government officials including UZ Chairman, UNO, UZ Engineer and PIO were taken through unstructured questionnaire. Furthermore, four randomly selected development projects of the financial year 2008-2009 and 2009-2010 of the study area, two from each UP have been studied extensively. The committees of the said projects have been scrutinized. Informal discussion was also taken place with some members of the committees and some primary beneficiaries of those projects.

4. Evolution of Participatory Practices in Local Development Process of Bangladesh

Decentralization and people's participation at all levels of administration are two basic tools for achieving national goals of development. As policy model decentralization not only offers opportunities for the local people to interact with LGs and be integrated in the governance process but it has come to be regarded as a key to effective public administration and good governance as well as a facilitator to sustainable development. Throughout the world there has been a growing interest in decentralization and since 1970s decentralization efforts have been a common phenomenon in various parts of the world.

In Bangladesh, the idea of decentralization is not new. A large number of Committees and Commissions in the past right from the British rule through Pakistan period devoted some of their attention to involving common people into local development initiatives through decentralization program though these initiatives continued to be slow and obscure (Ali et al, 1983). However, to unearth the status of people's participation in local development process, a brief pen-picture of the decentralization effort ever taken in Bangladesh is discussed below.

4.1 British Period (1765-1947)

Bangladesh has repeatedly experimented with decentralization in the colonial, post-colonial and post-independence period. Every successive regime between 1882 and 2010 attempted to reform the LG structure. The first initiative of decentralization in the land dates back to the year 1882 when Ripon Resolution⁴ was enacted. By the end of nineteenth century LG system was introduced by the-then British rulers. Since then to strengthen the capacity of LGs and to create scopes and opportunities for the participation of community people in the management of local affairs, a considerable number of decentralization initiatives have been taken by different governments. But as the ultimate objective of colonial regimes was to consolidate the power, the decentralization efforts taken and implemented during the British rule had been piecemeal, narrow and restrictive in nature (Siddiquee: 1995: 150). Hardly any major changes

⁴ Ripon's Resolution, 1882 had opened up a panorama of leniency in its government policy by bestowing numerous powers on locals. To reduce bigger dissimilarity between different parts of the country, Ripon's government preferred the provincial government to implement the principle of financial decentralization with an eye to empowering the local bodies and municipalities, which ultimately surpasses as a milestone in the growth of a local self-government in Indian sub-continent.

occurred in the pattern of local people's participation in decision-making process. As a result, during the colonial period mass people's participation in development process had remained a distant reality.

4.2 Pakistan Period (1947-1970)

A decentralization policy for rural development under the banner of Basic Democracies system was introduced in 1959 by General Ayub Khan, which offered a four-tier government i.e. Union Council at Union level, Thana Council at Thana level, District Council at District level and Divisional Council at Divisional level reflecting a mix of deconcentration and devolution (Khan, 1997:8). During Pakistan period, union councils played important political role. As a result, participation had been limited to local political elites only.

4.3 Bangladesh Period (Since 1971)

Ironically, most decentralization initiatives in Bangladesh have been initiated by undemocratic governments. Though ostensibly the reforms aimed at strengthening LGIs, the hidden agenda was to consolidate political base at local level. As a result, participation had been limited to local elites only and the mass people remained outside the boundary of decision-making.

Decentralization contributes towards creating a politically motivated interest class and serves at a local level to protect the interest of the central political and military regimes. In countries like Pakistan and Bangladesh, where military rule was prolonged for decades, the military-bureaucratic oligarchies have adopted decentralization as a policy measure to satisfy the urban and rural notables with whom they have an interdependent relationship. The access of this privileged class into state resources and services is entrusted by the bureaucratic means. In return, the local elites work as the 'vote banks' in the process of 'legitimizing' and 'civilianizing' the dictatorial rule of the regimes (Rahman, 1995: 137).

Soon after independence government explicitly committed itself to decentralization and made efforts towards this end. The new Constitution of Bangladesh had provisions for representative bodies at all level of LG. In 1973, the President's Order 22 was promulgated under which some reforms in the LG had been taken: 1) a three-tier LG namely Union Parishad (Council), Thana Development Committee and Zila Parishad

were introduced; 2) District Governorship was introduced; 3) UP election was held in 1973. Although to ensure grass root democracy, the UP election was held but the government did not hold election to the other LG tiers nor did it take any measures to devolve authority to any of them. So it is evident that during this period more attention was vested to national than local issues.

A more significant change in the LG system was brought about in 1976 through the Local Government Ordinance, 1976. This Ordinance provided for a UP for union, a Thana Parishad for thana and a Zila Parishad for district. However, no election was held in any tier except UP. In 1980, as a result of the said Ordinance, Swanirvar Gram Sarker was introduced for the first time at village level in Bangladesh providing for an equality of representation to various functional interests like farmers, landless laborers, freedom fighters, women and youths. Many argues that implicit objective of the reform package of decentralization was to gain political support at grass root level for the military regime in its process of civilianization.

The most revolutionary step in the history of LG in Bangladesh has been marked in 1982 through the introduction of UZ system by promulgating Local Government (Upazila Parishad and Upazila Administration Reorganization) Ordinance 1982 in the name of "bringing the administration nearer to the people and improving local people's access and promoting their participation in decision-making process." Under the Ordinance, some reforms in the LG had been taken: 1) decentralization of administration through the abolition of former sub-divisions and upgraded the Thanas into Upazilas; 2) UZ was established having more functions and responsibilities and huge funds were allocated to it directly; 3) UZ was made the focal point for rural development; 4) the Gram Sarker was abolished.

The major change that occurred was that for the first time all development functions were given to the locally elected council and the councils were supported by devolution of financial powers to enable it to plan and implement projects of local importance through popular participation (Siddiquee, 1995). But Khan (2009) finds that the declared objectives of decentralization during Ershad regime - promoting participatory development and ensuring people's access - have not been achieved rather it has been used as a device to establish 'privileged access' of a powerful few into state resources. Moreover, the UZ system was also thought to have decentralized corruption at local level (Khan, 1987:407).

The momentum of UZ system did not last long. The democratic government under the leadership of Begum Khaleda Zia abolished the nine years old UZ system in 1991 and reinstate the bureaucracy dominated thana administration where the chairmen of UP were given the chairmanship by rotation and TNO was made secretary to it. But the abolition of UZ system limited the opportunity and re-established the position of administrative apparatus at local level. Since then no significant changes have taken place in the structure of LG. Though several Commissions were formed, their recommendations for 'major changes' in the structure, composition, functions and finances of rural LG bodies have not been implemented. The Non-party Caretaker Government, after coming to power in 2007, chose to re-establish UZ system. The UZ election has been conducted in January 2009.

The Awami League government after coming into power in 2008 has enacted the Upazila Parishad (Reintroduction of the Repealed Act and Amendment) Act, 2009 detailing the functions and duties of UZ. The law has created widespread controversy among the civil society members and caused discontentment amongst the elected representatives of UZ. The role of MP as stipulated in law has been termed by many as a bottleneck for participatory local governance. In fact, the UZ system is now struggling for tripartite power shedding among local MP-UZ Chairman-UNO or control crisis i.e. who controls whom. It is a fact that after a long interval, constant experimentation and ups and downs, the UZ system is restored in the local governance system in Bangladesh with new hopes and aspirations and government is trying to readjust the roles and responsibilities of the actors relating to UZ resolving the existing power shedding and control crisis.

5. People's Participation in Development Process: Framework for Analysis

Community people's participation in the development process is the fundamental issue that the study endeavours to address in this paper. Therefore, a clear understanding of some concepts like- 'participation', 'development' and 'development project' is of vital importance for realizing the spirit of this article.

5.1 Concept of Participation

Participation is an indispensable ingredient of development and development administration in all countries and occupies an institutional basis in the total process of developmental change. It is the way to

improve on traditional ways of making decisions, setting agendas, and devising policy (Rowe and Frewer, 2004:513). But participation is not easy to achieve. People's participation is a broad and comprehensive societal happening that cannot take place in isolation. Participation is the by-product of a democratic, civic and political cultural process. People's participation in development programs is not only affected by the environment in which participatory practices take place but also conditioned by the institutional framework, socio-economic as well as political backgrounds of the participants (Cohen and Uphoff, 1980, Cornwall, 2002 and Gupte, 2004).

In this instance, participation refers to active or meaningful involvement of local people in UP-led development projects in Bangladesh. To be more precise, only those activities or involvements on the part of local people, which have influenced the decision-making at planning and implementation stage of development projects, have been considered as participation in this study.

5.2 Development: What It Means

The concept of development is used in different disciplines. In the parlance of development economics 'development' means 'improvement in a country's economic and social conditions'. More specifically, it refers to improvements in ways of managing an area's natural and human resources in order to create wealth and improve people's lives. Development, in this study, is closely linked with this notion and is concerned with the improved quality of life at the grass-root level that can be achieved through proper implementation of development projects.

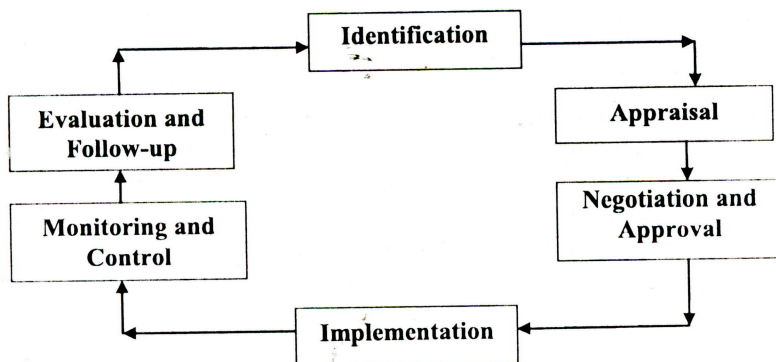
5.3 Concept of Project and Project Cycle

'Project' is a plan-hypothesis with a starting and finishing time, a cost and geographical location for achievement or accomplishment of specific objectives. The Project Management Institute has defined project as a temporary endeavour undertaken to create a unique product or service (Project Management Institute, 2004:5). Projects, in this study, refer to the development projects undertaken and implemented through LGIs at UP level. A development project, in content and coverage, is flourished through several stages which are known as project cycle.

The cycle that projects goes through from their initial conceptualization to implementation and evaluation is called the project cycle. A development project sets out to meet a perceived need by a sequence of

activities, which includes identification, preparation, appraisal, implementation and evaluation. The stages and components of project cycle and their logical sequences can be formulated with the following diagram:

Figure 1: Project Cycle: The Six Phases



In this study, the level of participation of community people only in the identification and implementation stages of projects has been examined.

5.4 Factors Conditioning Participation

In Cohen and Uphoff's (1980) comprehensive participatory model, three basic and fundamental dimensions of participation: what kind of participation takes place, who participates and how the process of participation takes place has been got importance (cited in Ahmed, 1987: 16). For ensuring social inclusion in policy cycle, Cohen and Uphoff's includes the criteria like sex, family status, education, social division and income level of the participants whose involvement must be in project identification, implementation, benefits and evaluation stage. Furthermore, social, economic, cultural and political factors usually creates bottleneck for people's participation in policy/project cycle. In the case of Bangladesh, all the factors including institutional framework that Cohen and Uphoff mentioned in their comprehensive model regarding people's participation are more or less influencing in the context of people's accesses in local level development projects. Hence in this paper, in order to examine the factors that affect the effective participation of local people in UP level development projects of Bangladesh, a framework of participation has been developed based on Cohen and Uphoff's basic framework. In this newly framed model, it is assumed that multifarious institutional and regulatory (structure and rules and

regulations), socio-economic (gender, educational status and income level) and politico-cultural (number of political interferences and unwillingness in participation) factors inhibit participation of community people in UP-led development projects.

6. A Brief Overview and Socio-Economic Profile of the Studied-Union Parishads

Jagannathpur Union Parishad is located at Comilla Sadar Upazila under Comilla district and is considered as a model UP at Comilla District. Because of high literacy rate, people of this UP are culturally aware, financially well-off and relatively conscious about local development initiatives. Alampur Union Parishad of Taraganj Upazila, Rangpur district, on the other hand, has different socio-economic pattern. Most inhabitants of this union are directly or indirectly dependent on agriculture for their livelihoods. The main features of these union parishads are given in the following table:

Table 1 Profiles of the Studied-Union Parishads

	Alampur Union Parishad	Jagannathpur Union Parishad
Establishment Year	1960	1964
Area	22 Square Km.	8.25 Square Km.
Population	21,019	45,015
*Male	10,960	22,515
*Female	10,059	22,500
Educational Institutions	10	21
*College	-	1
*High School	2	4
*Govt. Primary School	2	5
*Non-govt. Primary School	3	5
*Dakil Madrasha (religious school)	2	4
*Community School	1	2
Literacy Rate	40%	70%
*Male	41.54%	60.12%
*Female	34.76%	56.22%
Communication Facilities		
*Kutcha Road (Km.)	60 Km.	20 Km.
*Brick Built (BB) Road (Km)	6 Km.	19 Km.
NGOs working in the area	6	9
Main Occupation	Agriculture (90%), Small-scale Business	Industrial work, Small-scale Business, Overseas worker, Service

Source: Author's compilation of the information collected from Alampur and Jagannathpur Union Parishad complex

6.1 Socio-Economic Profile of the Respondents

Hundred cross section of community people (male 70 percent and female 30 percent) was interviewed during survey. To examine the correlation between socio-economic status of the respondents and their participation in development projects, relevant information on age, gender, occupation, educational level and income level of the respondents have been collected. 61 percent respondents are aged between twenty-one and forty years. 43 percent respondents are either illiterate or have only attended primary school. 46 percent respondents are poor with less than four thousand taka as their monthly income. In addition, two UP chairmen and twenty UP members were also interviewed. Most of them were from well-to-do families and socially as well as politically powerful in their respective areas.

7. Participation of Local People in Development Projects: Empirical Findings

Development programs of the government are usually implemented at the grass root level through development projects. In rural Bangladesh, development projects are planned and subsequently implemented by UPs keeping an eye to national guideline. The very aim is to connect the community people into different phases of development projects. With a view to addressing the factors influence on and affect the participatory process in UP-led development projects, the survey was conducted in Alampur UP and Jagannathpur UP. The collected data has been analyzed keeping an eye to the objective of this study. On the basis of empirical data, the major findings have been drawn which is presented chronologically.

Participation in Development Project Planning and Implementation

Projects are usually undertaken for the improvement of livelihood of local people. Local people's needs and demands, therefore, are assumed to be reflected in the selection of development projects. Their involvement in project planning is a prerequisite for its sustainability. However, during survey 93 percent respondents reported that they never participated in the planning phase of any UP-led development projects. Hence, the participation of grassroots people in project planning is only 7 percent whereas at implementation level this percentage is 24.

Factors Influencing the Participatory Process in UP-led Development Projects

There was a general assumption that several factors like institutional, legal, economic, social, political and cultural factors play a role in influencing on the participatory process in UP-led development projects. To verify the assumption, questions were asked to the respondents which later on has been produced the following information.

Institutional and Regulatory Framework and Participation

Development projects are planned, prepared and implemented for the development of local people. As the administrative system and institutional management of Bangladesh from time immemorial are hierarchical and rule bound, strong institutional mechanism and development focused regulatory framework is utmost necessary to connect the local people into development process. To be involved into development activities, the local people as beneficiary have every possible right to know about the ins and outs of development projects. But with a very few exceptions, the elected representatives were found mostly reluctant to disclose development project related information to common people.

Perception about existing Structure of Union Parishad

Many development practitioners opine that the institutional arrangements of LGIs hardly encourage popular participation in the decision-making process. Though run by people's representatives, the institutions are still hierarchical in nature and thus the UPs seem to disregard the voices of community people. The existing UP administrative system would not let the local people know about the details of development projects. In this study, 60 percent respondents opined that the present structure of UP hardly promotes grass root people's participation in development process. To address the issue, some respondents suggested for creation of the post of PIO, engineering section and a Union Development Officer (UDO) at UP level. Some emphasized on UP-NGO collaboration for motivating and encouraging community people to be involved in local development initiatives.

Perception about the existing Rules and Regulations of Union Parishad

The people of Bangladesh prefer legal provisions to tradition or own initiatives. Nobody is eager to take any initiatives unless it is being

covered by existing rules and regulations, even if it brings something good to common people. During the study 58 percent respondents expressed that the existing rules and regulations are not conducive to local people's involvement in development process especially in project implementation level. Whereas as there are no government rules and regulations in selection and planning level, UPs hardly invite local people to participate in development project planning process. Rather in absence of any clear-cut policy-guideline, personal desire of the UP representatives gets preference. In that case less important issues are being selected over local people's urgently felt issues which eventually provide benefits for a few at the cost of hundreds.

However, to culture participatory practices in local development project, there are clear provisions for inclusion of certain number of members in PICs from local elites/community people in different project guidelines. But in some cases such practices are confined to mere official formalities whereas in some others cases like LGSP, participatory culture are largely being practiced. Participation friendly guidelines can be the reason behind it.

Socio-economic Background and Participation

Generally it is assumed that literate and economically solvent people have easy access to the implementation process of local development projects. Male are more privileged than female to tag into the development project cycle. The study however, reveals a connection between participation and socio-economic backgrounds of the participants.

Income Level and Participation

Comparatively rich respondents mostly claimed their involvement in development process. In The study reveals that only 23 percent respondents who had lower monthly income (below 8000 taka) claimed of participation in development project implementation process while 77 percent respondents who claimed of participation were found to be economically solvent (at least 8,000/- taka monthly income).

Table 2 Relation between Income Level and Participation (n=100)

Income level (in taka)	Below 2000	2001-4000	4001- 8000	8001- 10000	Above 10000
No. of Respondents	10	28	30	23	9
No. of Respondents Claiming Participation	2	2	3	15	8
%	20	7	10	65	89

Source: Survey Data

So a positive relation between respondents' monthly income and participation is being observed in Table 2 which indicates that people with low economic condition are not generally invited to participate in PICs of development projects.

Educational Status and Participation

Participants claiming participation in project implementation stage especially in inclusion in PICs were mostly retired government officials, established businessmen or school teachers. The study reveals a relationship between respondents' educational status and participation.

Table 3 Relation between Education Level and Participation (n=100)

Education level	Illiterate	Primary School	High School	S.S.C	H.S.C	Degree and above
No. of Respondents	14	31	26	13	11	5
No. of Respondents Claiming Participation	2	2	4	9	9	4
%	14	6	15	69	82	80

Source: Survey Data

Data (Table 3) indicate that only 27 percent respondents with lower education level (less than S.S.C) claimed of participation in project implementation process while 73 percent respondents with higher education level (at least S.S.C) said that they participated into it especially as members of PICs. So it is clear that illiterate people hardly understand the nitty-gritty of a project and thus their illiteracy is a great hindrance to their participation in PICs whereas their number is significant in the implementation stage where the project area is.

⁵ Local Governance Support Project (LGSP) is a project started in July 2006 and being implemented under the supervision of Local Government Division with the financial assistance of Government of Bangladesh (GoB), WB, UNDP, UNCDF, EC and DANIDA. The very aims are to increase the fiscal power of UP, to ensure the participation of local people in development planning and implementation and to accelerate the development activities based on local demand.

Gender and Participation

In Bangladesh, traditionally and culturally it is assumed that male group's participation in rural development activities is higher than that's of female folk. This inconsistency was clearly marked during survey where 38 percent male respondents claimed participation in the implementation of at least one UP-led development project while this percentage is only 14 in case of female respondents. Hence, it is observed that male respondents avail more opportunity than female in the implementation of development projects and by which the vulnerability of female folk to the involvement in project activities has been clearly visible.

Politico-cultural Factors and Participation

Politico-cultural background of people plays a dominant role in shaping the participation outcome. From time immemorial rural politics in Bangladesh is dominated by local elites who are directly or indirectly involved in power politics. Building up nexus with local administration, these rural elites control the access to local development intervention which ultimately discourages local people's participation in development projects. The cultural factor i.e. samaj tradition and patron client relation largely dominates the participation scenario in UP level development projects. Failing to break through the unholy alliance, a portion of local people is becoming unwilling to involving in development project cycle.

Political Influence in Development Project Selection/ Planning and Inclusion in PIC

Projects are usually selected and framed as the expression of political government as part of their commitment to the people. Consequently, it is assumed that project will be selected on local people's urgent need and demands, not to facilitate some undue advantages to the ruling party local political leaders or elected representatives closest ones. But 57 percent respondents from both community people and elected representatives mentioned that during project selection, UPs had to face to and adjust with the request of local political leaders especially from local MPs, ruling party UZ level leaders and even local MP nominated political persons at each UP.

Furthermore, as the elected representatives view development projects as means of recovering election costs, they, with a view to maximizing their own profits, try to make such projects as less participatory as possible. Hence tendency to include elected representatives' close allies' in PICs is

a grave concern for them. 55 percent respondents mentioned that during formation of PICs, people with strong political background or connivance with UP chairman or local MP, got preferences. So though inclusion of local elites in PICs as part of legal obligation is ensured, it ultimately has resulted in mere formalities. The real spirit of involvement of local people in PICs, therefore, remained in paper not in practice.

Cultural issues are considered as one of the major factors behind non-participation of common people in development process. Traditionally, the principle of hierarchy in interpersonal relationship, obedience to seniors, consult with guardians/ local elites before taking any decision are important values in rural society. Such hierarchism produces a sense of compliance to others weakening individualism in rural society. Likewise unwillingness of socially enlightened class in involving against the existing rural development process weakened the participatory development culture at rural level.

Unwillingness to be involved in Development Projects

Out of hundred cross sections of people 18 percent especially the socially enlightened section like high school/primary school teachers, traders and well-to-do farmers mentioned that they are not interested to be involved in development activities though they feel that they should. Because they think that local politics are inflicted with patrons and stouts. So in the name of participation in development initiatives where their views deem to be not valued, they cannot be a part of that journey. This section of people is dead against the pattern of participation existed in the implementation process they termed as 'meaningless', which had to practice by UPs to maintain mere official formalities. Consequently, they always try to avoid engaging in project activities in spite of request from UP Chairman /members even if they are anyhow compelled to be involved in PICs, they simply kept mum. As a result, the community becomes deprived of their valuable contribution to it.

8. Factors influence on the participatory process in UP-led Development Projects

During the survey respondents both community people and UP level elected representatives were asked to mention the factors restraining the local people from involving into local level development projects. The respondents mentioned series of factors which hinders the appropriate planning and better implementation process of development projects at UP level.

- Political intervention in project selection or inclusion in PICs

Political intervention in project selection is a very common phenomenon at UP level development projects. It was observed at Jagannathpur UP that the respective MP allotted sixty percent of the total grant for Food for Works Programme to only one project by ignoring the UP. Furthermore, this project was implemented by persons having close tie with the MP. Participation of the actual beneficiaries in the project cycle was almost absent. Political consideration in selection of members of PICs is also an inevitable factor at UP level.

- Locally elected representative's personal interest

Sometimes some projects are selected by the locally elected representatives not on the basis of community need but for their personal gains. To achieve this, they recruit their closer ones in project implementation process keeping the original beneficiaries in dark.

- Lack of dissemination of project related information

As local projects are undertaken for the sake of the development of local people, these projects should be selected, designed and implemented in consultation with the local people. Project beneficiaries have the right to know about the project related information. But the practice of disseminating project related information to the beneficiaries is mostly absent at UP level.

- Nexus between elected representatives and local elites

Local development initiatives are mostly seized by economically well-off people who have strong link with ruling party leaders. The local elected representatives have built up an unholy alliance with those local elites on the basis of win-win strategy. It is very hard for the common people to break through this vicious cycle.

- Lack of participation focused guidelines in project selection or planning level

Existing legal provision or policy guidelines needs to be user-friendly and well clarified. In the existing project guidelines, local people's inclusion is clearly incorporated at project implementation or formation of PICs level but not at project selection or planning level.

Elected representatives, therefore, exploit this opportunity to avoid inclusion of the common people in project planning. Such practices, however, are limited in LGSP due to participation-friendly guidelines and effective monitoring, evaluation and audit system.

- Lack of strong monitoring and evaluation process of development projects

Transparency and sustainability of development projects largely depends on not only beneficiaries' attendance but also on proper and effective monitoring, evaluation and auditing system. In most of the development projects at UP level, the monitoring and evaluation system is somewhat poor. The auditing system is not up-to-date. Beneficiaries' participation is almost absent. In some cases where participation is visible, effective realization of that participation is not felt. All these irregularities induce elected representatives to keep the beneficiaries away from the development projects and to gain undue or personal benefit. Whereas in LGSP, due to effective monitoring, evaluation and auditing system, the projects are run and implemented with the minimum satisfaction of the beneficiaries.

- Absence of active local civil society or watchdog organizations

Institutionalization of participatory practices at UP level is still in nascent stage. In this backdrop local civil societies' strong role can help ensure transparency, accountability and people's participation and thereby culturing participatory practices in LGs. So strong Local Government Institutions (LGIs)-Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) interface is a crying needs for nurturing participatory practices at UP level.

- Socially enlightened/ conscious class's avoiding tendency

Participatory practices in development project cycle can only be flourished through the meaningful participation of beneficiaries into it. In UP level project selection process, either the local MP/ UZ level ruling party political leaders or UP chairman/members' personal choices got preferences to local needs. To fulfill that desire, PICs are formed with the likeminded people avoiding the representation of cross section of people. Government instructions are obliged in black and white but the spirit of representation of cross section of people become meaningless. This malpractice discourages the socially

enlightened/ conscious persons to be involved in local level development projects.

- Lack of local peoples' awareness about their rights, roles and responsibilities

No development initiatives can gain ground unless the beneficiaries become aware of their rights, roles and responsibilities. In rural Bangladesh, majority people are illiterate and involved in farming. They consider voting is their only duty to the state. Many are ignorant of their potentiality in involving in the development initiatives.

9. People's Participation: A Quantitative Summary

Participation as process is a complex mechanism depending on the context of a society. In the present study 'people's participation at UP level development projects' has been taken as dependent variable whereas 'institutional and regulatory framework (structure and rules and regulations)', 'socio-economic factors (gender, educational status and income level)' and 'politico-cultural factors (number of political interferences and unwillingness in participation)' are identified as independent variables. At the outset, there were some general hypotheses that the higher the income level, the higher the participation; or people from educated background are more prone to the participation etc. However, existing structure and prevailing rules and regulations of UP, gender, political interference and unwillingness of the conscious community people may impede the participation. With a view to testing the initial hypotheses, survey was conducted among cross-sections of community people; besides, some development projects have been studied for this purpose. The collected data has been analyzed for statistical generalization and validation of relationship between dependent and independent variables. Table 4 presents the relationship found between different factors and participation.

Table 4 Relationship between Factors with Participation

Indicators	'r'	Level of Significance
Institutional and Regulatory Framework		
• Structure	.661	0.01
• Rules and Regulations	.608	0.01
Socio-economic Factors		
• Income Level	.526	0.01
• Educational Status	.568	0.01
• Gender	.238	0.05
Politico-cultural Factors		
• No. of Political Interference	-.437	0.01
• Unwillingness in Participation	.438	0.01

Pearson's coefficient correlation has been conducted to test the initial hypotheses. From Table 4 a high degree of positive correlation is observed between existing structure ($r=.661$) and rules and regulations of UP ($r=.608$) and participation which indicates that the existing structure and rules and regulations of UP are the two very significant factors that affect participation. Moreover, a positive relation is found between income level and participation ($r=.526$) and educational status and participation ($r=.568$). This means that if income level and educational status increases, the participation increases as well. In case of political interferences and participation a high degree of negative correlation ($r=-.437$) has been observed through which it has been established that higher the political intervention in participatory processes of development projects, lower the scope of participation of beneficiaries into it. It is also seen that there is a low degree of correlation ($r=.438$) (though significant) between unwillingness of community people and participation. This means that generally the majority portion of community people is interested to be involved into local development activities. But the smaller section including school teacher, social worker, imam etc. who have a clean image in rural society are usually unwilling to be involved into development projects. As regards gender, during correlation testing it is difficult to quantify the persons. Subsequently, a low degree of correlation between gender and participation ($r=.238$) in 0.05 level has been observed. But during Chi-Square test surprisingly a significant relationship between gender and participation has been found ($\chi^2=5.669$). So it is evident that gender matters in the context of participation. In synthesis, it is clear that all the factors initially assumed to determine the

major causes behind less or non participation has been proved to be more or less significant.

10. The Way Forward

The main contention behind people's participation in development is that real development must be people-centered. Several decades of development initiatives of Bangladesh have shown that without meaningful participation of local people in development process, sustainable improvement in the standard of living of local people cannot be achieved. In view of the survey findings, some recommendations are proposed to make the development process more people-oriented:

- ❖ Some structural changes can raise awareness and bring power to the marginalized groups breaking the traditional patterns. Local NGOs working with the marginalized section need to be included in the local development design and planning process. This may gradually help institutionalize the participatory practices.
- ❖ Technical skills regarding project design, pre-assessment of projects of UPs need to be increased. Effective measures should be taken to build capacity of the UPs so that they can undertake and carry out local development activities independently.
- ❖ UPs should be conferred with meaningful autonomy. Interference from any quarter i.e. from local MP, UZ level political leaders, must be stopped. At the same time UPs should be kept outside the complex bureaucratic procedure. Reforms of the legal regulatory framework should be made, if necessary.
- ❖ The elected representatives at UP level are mostly unaware of the benefits of participatory development approach. Lack of knowledge on their part may have contributed to their misunderstanding and misconception to this approach. Launching training programs or workshops may help change the mindset of the elected representatives.
- ❖ At present, funds are distributed directly in favour of UPs only under LGSP and direct funding programme from Local Government Division. Government should initiate the process of disbursing funds of various other development projects directly to the UPs.

- ❖ Participatory budgeting needs to be introduced at UP level. In this context, representatives from different social groups should be trained so that they can articulate their demands properly and make meaningful contributions to local development planning.
- ❖ Stakeholder analysis should be carried out before undertaking any project. In addition, participation of key stakeholders in development planning must be ensured in order to make development projects sustainable and viable. NGOs could be mobilized to help UP in such initiatives.
- ❖ Evaluation of selective projects should be done on a regular basis. In evaluating the projects, opinions and perceptions of the key beneficiaries should be sought. Performance audits of UPs can also be done in this regard. Deputy Director of Local Government should undertake sample-based intensive evaluation of these development projects.
- ❖ A "Citizen based Monitoring Team" can be formed in each UP comprising of civil society members, local media, school teachers and socially enlightened persons which would work as a watchdog and recommend measures to improve participation level.

11. Conclusion

The role of decentralization has long been recognized in development. In fact, sustainable development largely depends on how decentralization is designed and implemented. Since its independence successive governments in Bangladesh have taken various reform measures with a view to ensuring development for all, but these reform initiatives have not significantly fulfill the declared objectives. Development decisions, which affected the lives of millions, had been monopoly of a powerful few. The unholy nexus between the rent-seeking politicians and self-seeking bureaucrats stifled, in many ways, development of self-reliant L.G. Local government as a decentralization strategy has continued but mass people's integration in it has remained a mirage. Consequently, development programs at local level did not include those for whom those were meant.

Mapping the level of participation of local people in UP-led development projects was one of the prime objectives in this work. The survey has

produced some interesting results. It has been found that the level of participation in development projects in the study area is very insignificant. The poor and the marginalized, characterized by economic, social and political backwardness are mostly excluded in the local development projects. The study further reveals that the elected representatives are keen to exploit personal benefits from development projects. They seem to have enduring ties with the local elites and share these benefits. This kind of unholy alliance keeps the poor and the marginalized people outside the development wheel. Furthermore, in some cases it is observed that UP representatives are under tremendous pressure from the local MP to follow his directions and to include his nominated persons in the projects.

Besides, the structure of UP, participation-unfriendly rules and regulations, high rate of illiteracy among rural poor, unwillingness of socially advanced classes, and other socio-economic issues like gender, economic condition etc. were identified as main reasons behind non-participation.

However, despite some limitations and drawbacks, it seems that some participation takes place sporadically in various forms, especially in the Local Governance Support Projects (LGSPs). For example, Jagannathpur UP has already started practicing participatory budgeting. In some other rare occasions, open meetings are also held for identification of local priorities. But these initiatives are very few and do not have significant impact on the overall development process. In most cases, these initiatives are rather personal than institutional. It is evident that participatory practices are still in its nascent stage at the UP level development projects in Bangladesh and these practices needs to be institutionalized.

There is still a long way to go. Day by day community people are becoming more conscious as citizens and as a result, voices are growing from the civil society organizations as well as citizens' groups for participatory governance at local level for better and sustainable management of public resources. The policymakers also must come up with comprehensive policy guidelines with a view to freeing the LGIs from unnecessary political and bureaucratic controls and strengthening them by integrating people from all walks of life in the development as well as governance process.

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অটিস্টিক শিশুর প্রতি পারিবারিক দৃষ্টিভঙ্গি: ঢাকা শহর ভিত্তিক একটি সমীক্ষা

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সারসংক্ষেপ: একুশ শতকের চ্যালেঞ্জ মোকাবিলায় যে কয়টি ইস্যু বিশ্ববাসীর নিকট কঠিন প্রশ্নের সম্মুখীন তার মধ্যে অন্যতম অটিজম-শিশুর মস্তিষ্কের এক ভয়ংকর রোগের নাম অটিজম যার কারণে এবং সম্পূর্ণ নিরাময়যোগ্য সঠিক চিকিৎসা এখনও পর্যন্ত জানা নেই। সাধারণত শিশুর বয়স তিন বছর হওয়ার আগেই অটিজমের লক্ষণগুলো প্রকাশ পায়। ছেলে শিশুদের মধ্যে অটিজম হওয়ার হার মেয়ে শিশুদের চেয়ে প্রায় চার গুণ বেশি। অটিজমের সাধারণ লক্ষণগুলো হচ্ছে শিশুর ভাষা শিখতে সমস্যা, অপরের চোখে চোখ না রাখা, অন্যের সঙ্গে মিশতে না চাওয়া, নাম ডাকলে সাড়া না দেওয়া, অন্যের বলা কথা বারবার বলা, একই কাজ বারবার করা, নিজের শরীরে নিজে আঘাত করা, নিজস্ব রুটিন মেনে চলা, শব্দ বা আলোর প্রতি অস্বাভাবিক সংবেদনশীলতা, হঠাৎ উত্তেজিত হয়ে ওঠা ইত্যাদি যা একটি স্বাভাবিক শিশুর তুলনায় একটু ভিন্ন প্রকৃতির। ফলে বাংলাদেশের সাধারণ জনগণ অটিজম সম্পর্কে ভ্রান্ত ধারণা পোষণ করে থাকে। এমনকি সমাজের অনেকে অটিস্টিক শিশুকে নেতিবাচক দৃষ্টিভঙ্গিতে মূল্যায়ন করে এবং পারিবারিকভাবে ও তাদেরকে হেয় করা হয় যা এই গবেষণার মাধ্যমে বের হয়ে আসে। গবেষণায় আরো দেখা যায় অটিস্টিক শিশু পারিবারিক ও সামাজিক জীবনে নানা প্রতিকূলতার মাধ্যমে জীবন নির্বাহ করতে হয়। আর এসকল অবস্থা থেকে মুক্তির জন্যে এবং স্বাভাবিক ও সুন্দর জীবন যাপনের নিমিত্তে সরকারী ও বেসরকারীভাবে বিভিন্ন প্রতিষ্ঠান তাদের শিক্ষা ও প্রশিক্ষণ বিষয়ক কার্যক্রম গ্রহণ করছে। এক্ষেত্রে জনসচেতনতা বৃদ্ধির জন্য এনজিও গুলোকে ব্যাপক কর্মসূচী গ্রহণ করতে হবে। মূলত: বর্তমান গবেষণাটি বাংলাদেশের প্রেক্ষাপটে অটিজমের বাস্তবতা, অটিস্টিক শিশুর পারিবারিক জীবনে বিভিন্ন সমস্যা ও তাদের মানিয়ে নেওয়া এবং ভবিষ্যৎ সম্ভাবনা সম্পর্কে আলোকপাত করা হয়েছে।

Abstract: Autism is one of the main challenging issues for the 21st century of the world. Autism is a kind of serious brain disease of children whose cause & remedy are yet to be known. Normally the symptoms of Autism are seen within 1st three years of a child. The cause of Autism among the male children is four times than the female counterparts. General symptoms of Autism are-problem in learning language, avoiding direct eye contact with others,unwilling to mix & play with the peers, not responding to others calls, repeating others words & doing same things again & again, beating & hurting own body, following own routine, abnormal sensitivity towards sound & light,suddenly excitement etc.which are distinguish the Autistic children from the normal ones. They behave differently from the normal children. For this reason mass people of bangladesh have a wrong perception regarding Autism. Even many people of the society looked at the Autistic children from negative point of view and they are underestimated by their own family as well as which is the ultimate outcome of this study.This study has also found that Autistic children have to face many ods in their family & as well as society at large. For their emancipation & to ensure normal & happy life from these unfavourable & misjuistice situation GOs & NGOs have already taken some programmes including to their education and training for the Autistic children.To raise awareness among the people NGOs have to under take wider programmes in this regard. Infact: this research has been carried out mainly to focus on bacground of Autism in Bangladesh adaptation of Autistic children with different problems in family life and their future possibilities.

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১. ভূমিকা:

সমস্যা সংকুল এই বিশ্বে সকল পিতা-মাতাই চান তার শিশুর জন্য একটি সুন্দর পরিবেশ আর চান সেই পরিবেশ উপযোগী একটি শিশু যে হবে সুস্থ সুন্দর ও স্বাভাবিক। এই মুহূর্তে অটিজম সারা বিশ্বে বাবা- মাদের এক মূর্তিমান আতংক। শিশুর মস্তিষ্কের এক ভয়ংকর রোগের নাম অটিজম যার কারণ এবং সম্পূর্ণ নিরাময় যোগ্য সঠিক চিকিৎসা এখনও পর্যন্ত জানা নেই। সারা বিশ্বে হু হু করে বেড়ে যাচ্ছে অটিজম আক্রান্ত শিশুর সংখ্যা। বাংলাদেশে ও এই দুরারোগ্য রোগে আক্রান্ত শিশুর সংখ্যা আশংকাজনকহারে বাড়ছে (রহমান: ২০০৮)।

অটিজম শব্দটি সর্বপ্রথম আবিষ্কার করেন সুইডিস মনোচিকিৎসাবিদ উম্ববহ ইসবষবৎ। তিনি ১৯০৮ সালে তার গবেষণার কাজে অটিজম শব্দটি উল্লেখ করেন (<http://autismexposed.com>)। এর পরে Johan Hopkins Hospital Gi wPwKrmK Leo Kanner ১৯৪৩ সালে অটিজম শব্দটি ব্যবহার করেন (Kanner:1943)। ১৯৬০ সালের দিকে এটি একটি আলাদা ব্যাধি হিসেবে প্রতিষ্ঠা লাভ করে। সময়ের বিবর্তনে এই রোগের সংখ্যা দ্রুত বাড়তে থাকে। ১৯৬৬ সালে গবেষক লটার প্রতি ২০০০ জনে ১ জন, ১৯৯৬ সালে রাইসন প্রতি ৫০০-১০০০ জনে ১ জন, এবং বেয়ার্ড ১৯৯৯ সালে প্রতি ৩৩৩ জনে ১ জন অটিজমে আক্রান্ত বলে গবেষণার মাধ্যমে জানান। অতি সম্প্রতি নিউজ উইক এর এক সংখ্যায় জানা যায় আমেরিকায় প্রতি ১৬৬ জনে ১ জন, জাপানে প্রতি ৪৭৬ জনে ১ জন এবং পশ্চিমবর্তী দেশ ভারতে এই সংখ্যা প্রতি ৫০০ জনে ১ জন অটিজম আক্রান্ত বলে ধরা হয় (রহমান: ২০০৮)।

বাংলাদেশ অটিজম আক্রান্ত শিশুদের সঠিক হার এখনও বিজ্ঞানভিত্তিকভাবে নির্ণয় করা হয় নাই, তবে এই হার যে দ্রুত বৃদ্ধি পাচ্ছে এতে কোন সন্দেহ নেই (রহমান: ২০০৮)। কেননা ইউনেস্কোর হিসাব মতে উন্নয়নশীল দেশে প্রতিবন্ধিতার হার শতকরা ১০-১৫ ভাগ। বাংলাদেশে এক সাম্প্রতিক জরিপে প্রতিবন্ধী জনগোষ্ঠীর হার ৫.৬ পাওয়া গেছে (জাতীয় প্রতিবন্ধী ফোরাম ও হ্যান্ডি ক্যাপ ইন্টারন্যাশনাল, (২০০৫) তাদের জরিপের অন্যান্য ফলাফল নিম্নরূপ:

টেবিল ১ প্রতিবন্ধীর ধরন অনুসারে মোট জনসংখ্যাভিত্তিক শতকরা হার এবং প্রতিবন্ধী জনগোষ্ঠী ভিত্তিক শতকরা হারে বিন্যাস:

প্রতিবন্ধিতার ধরন	মোট জনসংখ্যাভিত্তিক শতকরা হার	প্রতিবন্ধী জনগোষ্ঠীভিত্তিক শতকরা হার
দৃষ্টি প্রতিবন্ধী	১.৮	৩২.২
শারীরিক প্রতিবন্ধী	১.৫৬	২৭.৮
শ্রবণ প্রতিবন্ধী	১.০৪	১৮.৬
বুদ্ধি প্রতিবন্ধী	০.৩৮	৬.৭
বাক প্রতিবন্ধী	০.২২	৩.৯
বহুমুখী প্রতিবন্ধী	০.৬	১০.৭
মোট	৫.৬	৯৯.৯

উৎস: আহমেদ, মোর্শেদ ও আকতার: ২০১০

বিশ্ব স্বাস্থ্য সংস্থার মতে, সারা বিশ্বে ১০ শতাংশ মানুষ প্রতিবন্ধী, যাদের ১ শতাংশ অটিস্টিক। বাংলাদেশের মোট জনসংখ্যার ১ কোটি ৭০ লাখ প্রতিবন্ধী। এর মধ্যে ১ লাখ

৫০ হাজার অটিস্টিক (দৈনিক কালের কণ্ঠ: ২ এপ্রিল ২০১২)। ২০০৯ সালের পরিচালিত এক জরিপে দেখা যায় কেবল ঢাকা বিভাগে প্রতি হাজারে ৮ জন শিশুর মধ্যে অটিজম রয়েছে (প্রথম আলো ট্রোডপত্র, ৪ এপ্রিল ২০১২)। অটিজম নিয়ে এক গবেষণায় দেখা গেছে, উন্নত বিশ্বে ও বাংলাদেশে শহরাঞ্চলে সচ্ছল পরিবারে অটিজম বেশি দেখা যায়। গ্রামাঞ্চলে অসচ্ছল পরিবারে অটিজমের প্রকোপ কম দেখা যায়। প্রতি ১৫০ জনের মধ্যে ১ জন শিশু অটিস্টিক। এই সংখ্যা দিন দিন আশংকাজনক হারে বাড়ছে (কলি: ২০১০)।

বর্তমান সময়ে সারা পৃথিবীতে এমনকি আমাদের দেশে অটিজম অত্যন্ত আলোচিত বিষয়। বাংলাদেশে সরকারী ও বেসরকারী অনেক প্রতিষ্ঠান অটিস্টিক শিশুদের নিয়ে কাজ করে যাচ্ছে। ২০১১ সালে ২৫ জুলাই ঢাকায় ৫ দিন ব্যাপি অটিজম সম্মেলন অনুষ্ঠিত হয় এবং গোবাল ভাবে অটিজম নিয়ে কাজ করার জন্য জাতীয় অটিজম কমিটি গঠন করা হয়, যার বর্তমান চেয়ারম্যান সাযমা ওয়াজেদ পুতুল। প্রতিবন্ধী শিশুদের সেবা প্রদানে ১৯৯৯ সালে চাইল্ড ডেভেলপমেন্ট অ্যান্ড নিউরোলজি সার্ভিস সেন্টার (child development and neurology service centre) নামে একটি কেন্দ্র প্রতিষ্ঠা করা হয় বঙ্গবন্ধু শেখ মুজিব মেডিকেল বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ে। এরপর ২০১১ সালের জুলাই মাসে সেন্টার ফর নিউরো ডেভেলপমেন্ট অ্যান্ড অটিজম ইন চিলড্রেন (সিনাক) এর যাত্রা শুরু হয়। কর্তব্যরত চিকিৎসকরা জানান এখানে প্রতিদিন ৫০-৬০ জন প্রতিবন্ধী শিশু চিকিৎসা নিতে আসে। এসব শিশুর মধ্যে ৫-৬ জন অটিজম আক্রান্ত (দৈনিক সমবহুল, ২৫ জুলাই ২০১১)।

বাংলাদেশে জাতীয় প্রতিবন্ধী উন্নয়ন ফাউন্ডেশন এর আওতায় ৩৫টি সেবা ও সাহায্য কেন্দ্র চালু করা হয়েছে (কালের কণ্ঠ, ৩ এপ্রিল ২০১২)। এছাড়া ১৪টি সরকারী মেডিকেল কলেজ হাসপাতালে শিশু বিকাশ কেন্দ্রে অটিজম সংক্রান্ত এসেসমেন্ট করার হয় এবং মায়েদের প্রশিক্ষণ ও উপদেশ দেয়া হয় (কলি: ২০১০)। বেসরকারী পর্যায়ে অটিস্টিক শিশুদের নিয়ে বিভিন্ন সংস্থা কাজ করার জন্য সমাজসেবা অধিদপ্তর থেকে নিবন্ধন নিয়ে কার্যক্রম চালিয়ে যাচ্ছে। এ সকল প্রতিষ্ঠানের মধ্যে উল্লেখযোগ্য হলো- সুইড বাংলাদেশ, স্কুল অব গিবটেড চিলড্রেন, অটিজম ওয়েল ফেয়ার ফাউন্ডেশন, সোসাইটি ফর দ্যা ওয়েলফেয়ার অব অটিস্টিক চিলড্রেন (সোয়াক), প্রয়াস, বিউটিফুল মাইন্ড ইত্যাদি (দৈনিক সমকাল, ২৫ জুলাই ২০১১)।

সম্প্রতি ২ এপ্রিল ২০১২ সালে পালিত হয় ৫ম বিশ্ব অটিজম সচেতনতা দিবস। ২০০৮ সাল থেকে জাতিসংঘ অটিজম সচেতনতা দিবস পালন করে আসছে। এবার অটিজম সচেতনতা দিবসের স্লোগান “অটিস্টিক প্রতিবন্ধী বন্ধু যত দেশ গড়ায় সুসংহত।” এ দিনে বর্তমান প্রধানমন্ত্রী শেখ হাসিনা বলেন, বিসিএসসহ সরকারী চাকরির ১ম ও ২য় শ্রেণীর পদে প্রতিবন্ধীদের জন্য ১ শতাংশ এবং ৩য় ও ৪র্থ শ্রেণীর পদে এতিম ও প্রতিবন্ধীদের জন্য ১০ শতাংশ কোটা সংরক্ষণ করা হবে। এছাড়া ঢাকায় অটিস্টিকদের জন্য অবৈতনিক বিদ্যালয় চালু করা হয়েছে (দৈনিক প্রথম আলো, ৩ এপ্রিল ২০১২)।

অটিজম ও অটিজমে আক্রান্ত শিশুরা সমাজের বোঝা নয়, এরা সমাজেরই অংশ। তাই এদের অবহেলা বা ঘৃণা করা যাবে না, সমাজে সচেতনতা সৃষ্টি করতে হবে। আর এজন্যে সরকারী ও বেসরকারী ভাবে বিভিন্ন প্রতিষ্ঠান গড়ে তুলতে হবে এবং বিভিন্ন সভা, সেমিনার, প্রচার প্রসার বৃদ্ধি করতে হবে। এহেন প্রেক্ষাপটে ঢাকা শহরের উপর বর্তমান গবেষণাটি পরিচালিত হয়েছে।

২. গবেষণার যৌক্তিকতা:

অটিজম একটি পরিব্যাপক বিকাশগত প্রতিবন্ধিতা (Pervasive development disorder) যার ফলে শিশুরা তাদের স্বাভাবিক বিকাশের পথে বিভিন্ন প্রকারের প্রতিবন্ধিতার (ভাবের আদান প্রদান, সামাজিক ও জ্ঞানমূলক ক্ষমতা) সাথে প্রতিদ্বন্দ্বিতা করতে হয় (Cohen, Donnellan & Paul: 1987)। এই মুহূর্তে অটিজম সারা বিশ্বে বাবা-মাদের কাছে এক মূর্তিমান আতংক এবং বেড়েই চলেছে অটিজম আক্রান্ত শিশুর সংখ্যা। ২০০৩ সালে যুক্তরাষ্ট্রের অটলান্টাভিত্তিক Centre for Disease Control (CDC) এর জরিপে দেখা গেছে ৩ থেকে ১০ বছর বয়সী শিশুদের মধ্যে প্রতি হাজারে ৩.৪ জন শিশুর অটিজম রয়েছে। যুক্তরাজ্যের ৮ বছর বয়স পর্যন্ত শিশুদের মধ্যে অটিজমের হার নিয়ে Medical Research Council 2011 সালে একটি পর্যালোচনা প্রকাশ করেছে এতে দেখা যায় প্রতি হাজারে ১-৩ জনের তীব্র মাত্রা অটিজম রয়েছে। প্রতি হাজারে ৬ জন শিশুর মধ্যে অটিজমের কিছু লক্ষণ দেখা যায়। মেয়েদের তুলনায় ছেলেদের অটিজমের হার অনেক বেশি অনুপাতটি প্রায় ১:৪ (হক ও মোর্শেদ: ২০১১)।

বিশ্ব স্বাস্থ্য সংস্থার সহায়তায় ২০০৯ সালে পরিচালিত এক জরিপে দেখা যায়, কেবল ঢাকা বিভাগে প্রতি হাজারে ৮ জন শিশুর মধ্যে অটিজম রয়েছে। বাংলাদেশে ১৯৯০ সালে প্রতি হাজারে ১৪৩ জন শিশুমৃত্যুর ঘটনা ঘটেছে, সেটা ২০১১ সালে এসে মাত্র ৪৮ জনে ঠেকেছে। এটা একটা বিরাট সফলতা কিন্তু ১৯৯০ সালে যেখানে ৮০ জন বিভিন্ন সমস্যায় আক্রান্ত শিশু ছিল, সেটা এখন বেড়ে দাঁড়িয়েছে ১৮০ জন। এর মধ্যে ৩.৫ ভাগ শিশু অটিস্টিক। জাতিসংঘ তথ্যকেন্দ্রের অধিকর্তা কাজী আলী রেজা বলেন-পাঁচ বছর আগে প্রতি ১৫০ জনে মাত্র ১ জন অটিস্টিক শিশুর জন্ম হত। এখন প্রতি ৮৮ জনে কোন না কোন শিশু অটিজম নিয়ে জন্ম নেয় (দৈনিক প্রথম আলো, ৪ এপ্রিল, ২০১২)।

অটিজম শিশুরা অন্যদের চেয়ে একটু আলাদা এবং এদের মধ্যে বৈচিত্র্য রয়েছে অথচ এই বৈচিত্র্য আমরা পছন্দ করি না। ফলে আমরা অনেকেই অটিজম শিশুকে বৈষম্যের চোখে দেখি। নানা ধরনের অর্বাচীন বাংলা ব্যবহার করে ওই সব শিশুকে হেয় করি। এটা একেবারেই অনুচিত। মূলত: এই গবেষণায় অটিস্টিক শিশুর প্রতি সমাজের এবং পারিবারিক দৃষ্টিভঙ্গি তুলে ধরা হয়েছে। বর্তমান গবেষণায় বাংলাদেশের অটিজমের বর্তমান চিত্র তুলে ধরা হয়েছে যার মাধ্যমে NGO নীতি নির্ধারক, পরিকল্পনাবিদ, প্রশাসক তাদের নীতি, পরিকল্পনা ও কর্মসূচী প্রণয়নে সহায়ক হবে এবং সমাজের মানুষের মধ্যে সচেতনতা বৃদ্ধিতে সহায়ক ভূমিকা পালন করবে।

৩. প্রত্যয়গত ধারণা:

৩.১ অটিজম ও অটিস্টিক শিশু

অটিজম শব্দটি সুইস শব্দ Autos থেকে এসেছে যার অর্থ আত্ম বা নিজ। এটি একটি বিকাশমূলক প্রতিবন্ধিতা যার ফলে কেন্দ্রীয় স্নায়ু প্রণালীতে গঠনগত ত্রিযাগত সমস্যা বা বিশৃঙ্খলার কারণে মস্তিষ্কের ত্রিযা ব্যহত হয়। আমেরিকান সাইক্রিয়াট্রিক এসোসিয়েসন কর্তৃক প্রণীত Diagnostic and statistical Manual of Mental Disorders DSM-IV-TR ম্যানুয়াল (২০০০)-এ অটিজম সম্পর্কে বলা হয়েছে Children and youth identified as

pervasive developmental disorder are characterized by severe and pervasive impairment in several areas of development: reciprocal social interaction skills, communication skills, or the presence of stereotyped behavior interest, and activities. (হক ও মোর্শেদ: ২০১১)

Children with Autism সম্পর্কে Sharmin Huq & Asim Das তাঁদের প্রবন্ধে উল্লেখ করেন

Autism is a complex disorder of the central nervous system that has the following three defining core features: (a) Problems with interaction; (b) impaired verbal and non-verbal communication; and (c) a pattern of repetitive behavior with narrow, restricted interests (Huq & Das: 2007).

৩.২ অটিজমের ধরন:

শিশুর মস্তিষ্কের এক ভয়াংকর রোগের নাম অটিজম। সারা বিশ্বে হু হু করে বেড়ে যাচ্ছে অটিজম আক্রান্ত শিশুর সংখ্যা। যদিও অটিজম শব্দটি সর্বাধিক পরিচিত তথাপি আমেরিকান সাইকোট্রিক এ্যাসোসিয়েশন এবং বিশ্ব স্বাস্থ্য সংস্থা অটিজম এবং এর অতি কাছাকাছি ৭টি অবস্থাকে একত্রে অটিস্টিক স্পেকট্রাম ডিজর্ডার হিসেবে অ্যাখ্যায়িত করেছেন। (রহমান: ২০০৮)

টেবিল ২ পরভেসিভ ডেভেলপমেন্টাল ডিজর্ডার বা অটিস্টিক স্পেকট্রাম ডিজর্ডার সমূহ:

DSM-IV Diagnosis APA, 1994	ICD-10 Diagnosis WHO, 1992, 1992
(1) Autistic disorder অটিস্টিক ডিজর্ডার	(1) Childhood autism চাইল্ডহুড অটিজম
(2) Asperger disorder এসপার্গার ডিজর্ডার	(2) Asperger syndrome এসপার্গার সিনড্রম
(3) Childhood disintegrative Disorder চাইল্ডহুড ডিসিটিগ্রেটিভ ডিজর্ডার	(3) Other Childhood disintegrative disorder অন্যান্য চাইল্ডহুড ডিসিটিগ্রেটিভ ডিজর্ডার
(4) Rett disorder রেট ডিজর্ডার	(4) Rett Syndrome রেট সিনড্রম
(5) PDD-Nos পারভেসিভ ডেভেলপমেন্ট ডিজর্ডার	(5) Atypical Autism এটিপিক্যাল অটিজম
(6) Atypical autism এটিপিক্যাল অটিজম	(6) Other PDD, Unspecified অন্যান্য PDD, অনুলেখিত
(7) No Corresponding DSM-IV diagnosis অনুরূপ কোন DSM-IV ডায়াগনসিস নেই	(7) Overactive disorder with mental retardation with stereotyped movements ওভার্যাকটিভ ডিজর্ডার বাধা ধরা গতিবিধি এবং মানসিক প্রতিবন্ধিকতা সহ

উৎস: রহমান: ২০০৮

৩.৩ অটিজমের লক্ষণ:

অটিজম এর উপসর্গসমূহ শিশু বয়স তিন বছর পূর্ণ হওয়ার আগে থেকেই বিদ্যমান থাকলেও অনেক ক্ষেত্রেই অটিজম ডায়াগনোসিস হতে উপসর্গ আসার পরেও কয়েক বছর পার হয়ে যায়। অটিজম রোগ নির্ণয়ে কোন বায়োলজিক্যাল মার্কার নেই সেই জন্য অটিজম রোগ নির্ণয় করার জন্য বিভিন্ন ধরনের বৈশিষ্ট্যের উপর জোর দিতে হয় (রহমান: ২০০৮)। অটিজম

অথবা অটিস্টিক স্পেকট্রাম ডিজর্ডারের তিনটি মূল বৈশিষ্ট্য। (১) সামাজিক আদান প্রদানে প্রতিবন্ধকতা, (২) মৌখিক ও অমৌখিক যোগাযোগ স্থাপনে প্রতিবন্ধকতা, ও (৩) সীমাবদ্ধ গন্ডির এবং পুনরাবৃত্তিমূলক আচরণ ও আগ্রহ (হক ও মোর্শেদ: ২০০১)।

বিভিন্ন বয়সের অটিজম রোগ নির্ণয়ের বিভিন্ন বৈশিষ্ট্য রয়েছে। যেমন- এক বছর বয়সে (প্রথম জন্মদিনে) অটিজমে ডায়াগনোসিস: চারটি আচরণকে অনুসরণ করে ৯০% এর বেশী সংখ্যক অটিস্টিক এবং অনুরূপ বৈশিষ্ট্য সম্পন্ন শিশুদেরকে ১ বছর বয়সে সনাক্ত করা সম্ভব। নিম্নোক্ত চারটি বৈশিষ্ট্য অনুপস্থিত থাকলে এক বছরের শিশুকে প্রাথমিকভাবে অটিজমে আক্রান্ত বলে সন্দেহ করতে এবং শিশুকে নিয়মিত ফলো-আপ করতে হবে।

- (ক) চোখে চোখে তাকানো।
- (খ) নাম ডাকলে তাকানো।
- (গ) আঙ্গুল দিয়ে নির্দেশ করা।
- (ঘ) কোন কিছু দেখানো।

২০ থেকে ৩৬ মাসের মধ্যে অটিজম ডায়াগনোসিসের জন্য নেতিবাচক লক্ষণ বা আচরণগত সমস্যাসমূহ:

- চোখে চোখে তাকানো
- নিজের নাম জানা
- একত্রে মনোযোগের আচরণসমূহ
- মিছামিছি খেলা
- অনুকরণ
- অমৌখিক যোগাযোগ
- ভাষাগত বিকাশ/উন্নয়ন

অভিবাকদের যে সকল দৃষ্টিভঙ্গি/উদ্যোগ অটিজমের সমূহ সম্ভাবনা হিসেবে বিবেচনা করা হয়:

যোগাযোগের ক্ষেত্রে:

- নাম ডাকলে সারা দেয় না
- কি চায় বলতে পারে না
- কথা বলা শিখতে বিলম্ব হয়
- কোন নির্দেশ অনুসরণ করে না
- কখনও কখনও বধির মনে হয়
- কখনও কখনও কানে শোনে মনে হয়
- আঙ্গুল দিয়ে দেখায় না বা টাটা বাই বাই করে না
- কিছু শব্দ বলত এখন বলে না

সামাজিক ক্ষেত্রে:

- সামাজিক কারণে কাউকে দেখে মুচকি হাসি হাসে না
- একা একা খেলতে পছন্দ করে
- খুবই স্বাবলম্বী

- খুব শীঘ্র সব কিছু করে
- চোখে চোখে তাকানোর ব্যাপারে দুর্বল
- নিজের জগৎ থাকে
- সবাইকে বিচ্ছিন্ন করে রাখে
- অন্য শিশুর প্রতি আগ্রহী নয়

আচরণের ক্ষেত্রে:

- বদ মেজাজ/জিদ করা
- অত্যন্ত চঞ্চল/অসহযোগী বা বিপরীত ধর্মী
- খেলনা দিয়ে খেলতে জানে না
- বারংবার একই জিনিসে আটকে যায়
- বুড়ো আঙ্গুলের উপর ভর করে হাটে
- কোন খেলনার প্রতি অসাধারণ আসক্তি
- জিনিসপত্র এক লাইনে সাজানো
- কোন কোন শব্দ বা Texture এর প্রতি অতিরিক্ত সংবেদনশীল
- চলাফেরার ধাঁচে আত্মভাবিকতা (www.autism-society.org)

অবিলম্বে আরও পর্যবেক্ষণের নিশ্চিত লক্ষণসমূহ:

- ১২ মাসের মধ্যে ও কোন আধো আধো বলে না
- কোন ইশারা করে না (আঙ্গুল দিয়ে দেখানো, হাত নেড়ে টাটা বাই বাই করা ইত্যাদি)
- ১৬ মাসের মধ্যে একটি করে শব্দ ও বলে না
- ২৪ মাসের মধ্যে দুটি শব্দ দিয়ে (শুধু অনুকরণ করে নয়) নিজের থেকে হুমকথা বলে না
- যে কোন বয়সে ভাষাগত বা সামাজিক দক্ষতা হারিয়ে ফেলে

অটিস্টিক শিশুদের অটিজমের পাশাপাশি গুরুত্বপূর্ণ ও বিপদজনক কিছু বিশেষ রোগের আশংকা থাকে। সম্প্রতি গবেষণায় দেখা গেছে যে অটিজমে আক্রান্তদের ৩০% এর ম"গীরোগ (epilepsy) দেখা দেয়ার সম্ভাবনা রয়েছে (বিশেষ করে বয়ো:সন্ধিক্ষণে) (রহমান: ২০০৮)।

৩.৪ অটিজমের কারণ:

অটিজমের সুনির্দিষ্ট কারণ এখনও পর্যন্ত জানা যায়নি। তবে জেনেটিক ফ্যাক্টর খুবই গুরুত্বপূর্ণ। দেখা গেছে একই জনন কোষজাত অভিন্ন যমজদের (মনোজাইগোটিক টুইন) উভয়ের মধ্যে অটিজমের হার ৬০-৮০%। সহোদর ভাইবোনদের মধ্যে অটিস্টিক বৈশিষ্ট্য থাকার সম্ভাবনা ৩-৫% (রহমান: ২০০৮)। এক গবেষণায় প্রমাণ পাওয়া যায় Cytolomegalo নামক ভাইরাস এর কারণে অটিজম রোগ হতে পারে। (Edelson M stephen: ১৯৯৯)।

সাম্প্রতিক কালে কোন কোন লেখক পুরুষের Fragile 'x' ক্রোমোজম ও শৈশব অটিজম

(Intantile Autism) এর মধ্যে সম্পর্ক থাকার কথা বলেছেন। কিন্তু Datson et.al Fragile 'x' ক্রোমোজম রয়েছে অথচ অটিস্টিক নয় এইরূপ গুরুতর মাত্রায় মানসিক প্রতিবন্ধীদের মধ্যেও প্রায় এই হারে Fragile 'x' ক্রোমোজম পাওয়া যায় যা শৈশব অটিজম ও পুরুষের Fragile 'x' ক্রোমোজমের মধ্যে সম্পর্কে সঠিক ব্যাখ্যা দিতে পারে না (নন্দ ও জামান: ২০০৫)।

আসলে অটিজমের কারণ কি- এ সম্বন্ধে এখনও কোন সঠিক তথ্য জানা যায়নি। তবে-

১. মস্তিষ্কের কোনরূপ গঠনগত ক্ষতি
২. অস্বাভাবিক বৈদ্যুতিক ক্রিয়া
৩. শরীরে নিউরোকেমিক্যাল ক্রিয়ার অসাম্য
৪. শিশুর জন্মপূর্ব বা জন্মের পরবর্তী কালের কোন সংক্রমণ, ক্রোমোজমগত অস্বাভাবিকতা এবং শ্রবণ প্রতিবন্ধকতাকে দায়ী করা হয় (নন্দ ও জামান: ২০০৫)।

যেহেতু এই রোগের কোন সুনির্দিষ্ট কারণ জানা যায় নাই সেহেতু এর সুনির্দিষ্ট কোন চিকিৎসা এখন পর্যন্ত আবিষ্কার হয়নি। ইন্টারনেট ঘাটলে অসংখ্য প্রকার চিকিৎসা পদ্ধতির উল্লেখ পাওয়া যায় যার অধিকাংশই বৈজ্ঞানিক গবেষণা দ্বারা সাফল্য প্রমাণ করা সম্ভব হয় নাই। তবে বিভিন্ন প্রকার স্পেশাল এডুকেশন থেরাপি অটিজম এর চিকিৎসায় ব্যবহার হচ্ছে এর মধ্যে উল্লেখ যোগ্য হচ্ছে (১) ABA (Applied Behavioru Analysis) Method (২) TEACCH (৩) PECS (Picture Exchange Communication) (৪) RDI (Relationship Development Intervention) ইত্যাদি উল্লেখিত পদ্ধতিগুলো ছাড়াও আরো অনেক ধরনের স্পেশাল এডুকেশন পদ্ধতি রয়েছে তবে পাশাপাশি অটিস্টিক শিশুকে অকুপেশনাল থেরাপি এবং স্পিচ থেরাপি দেয়া যেতে পারে (রহমান: ২০০৮)।

৪. গবেষণার উদ্দেশ্য:

বর্তমান গবেষণার সাধারণ উদ্দেশ্য হচ্ছে অটিস্টিক শিশুর প্রতি পারিবারিক দৃষ্টিভঙ্গি সম্পর্কে জানা। তবে এই সাধারণ উদ্দেশ্যকে সামনে রেখে যেসব বিশেষ উদ্দেশ্যে গবেষণা কাজ পরিচালিত হয়েছে:

১. অটিস্টিক শিশুর পরিবারের আর্থ-সামাজিক অবস্থা সম্পর্কে জানা;
২. অভিভাবকরা কিভাবে অটিস্টিক শিশুর সাথে মানিয়ে চলে সে সম্পর্কে জানা;
৩. অটিস্টিক শিশু পরিবার এবং সমাজ জীবনে কি ধরনের সমস্যার সম্মুখীন হয় তা জানা;
৪. অটিস্টিক শিশুদের জন্য পরিচালিত সেবা সমূহ সম্পর্কে অবহিত হওয়া।

৫. গবেষণা পদ্ধতি:

বর্তমান গবেষণাটি একটি তথ্য উদঘাটনমূলক সামাজিক নমুনা জরিপ। ঢাকা শহরে অটিস্টিক শিশুদের কল্যাণে পরিচালিত বিভিন্ন প্রতিষ্ঠানের অটিস্টিক শিশুরা এ গবেষণায় সমগ্রক হিসেবে বিবেচিত হয়েছেন। তবে সোসাইটি ফর দ্যা ওয়েলফেয়ার অব অটিস্টিক চিলড্রেন (সোয়াক), অটিজম ওয়েলফেয়ার ফাউন্ডেশন, সুইড বাংলাদেশ, বিউটিফুল মাইন্ড

এবং স্কুল ফর গিফটেড চিলড্রেন এই প্রতিষ্ঠানের প্রত্যেক অটিস্টিক শিশুই গবেষণার একক হিসেবে বিবেচিত হয়েছেন। উক্ত সমগ্রক থেকে উদ্দেশ্যমূলক নমুনায়নের মাধ্যমে ৮০ জন শিশুকে নমুনা হিসেবে নির্বাচন করা হয়েছে। তথ্য সংগ্রহের কৌশল হিসেবে সাক্ষাৎকার পদ্ধতিকেই বেছে নেয়া হয়েছে। বাংলাভাষায় মুদ্রিত একটি কাঠামোবদ্ধ সাক্ষাৎকার অনুসূচীর সাহায্যে গবেষণার তথ্য সংগৃহীত হয়েছে। প্রাপ্ত উপাত্তগুলিকে প্রথমে বাছাই এবং সম্পাদনের ব্যবস্থা করা হয়। সম্পাদনকৃত তথ্য পরিসংখ্যানিক বিভিন্ন পদ্ধতি ব্যবহার করে এর ফলাফল নিরূপণ করা হয়েছে।

৬. গবেষণার ফলাফল পর্যালোচনা:

মানুষের জীবনযাত্রা তার আর্থ-সামাজিক অবস্থার সাথে ওতপ্রোতভাবে জড়িত। তাই এই গবেষণায় অটিস্টিক শিশুদের প্রতি পারিবারিক দৃষ্টিভঙ্গি জানার প্রয়াসে তাদের পরিবারের আর্থ-সামাজিক অবস্থা জানার উদ্দেশ্যটি গৃহীত হয়। এ লক্ষ্য অর্জনের জন্য শিশুর পরিবারের মাসিক আয়, শিক্ষা বাবদ বাৎসরিক ব্যয় এবং পরিবারের কাঠামো ইত্যাদি তুলে ধরা হয়েছে।

সারণী-১ অটিস্টিক শিশুর পরিবারের মাসিক আয় সম্পর্কিত তথ্যের বিন্যাস:

মাসিক আয়	গণসংখ্যা	শতকরা
০-৩০ হাজার	১৪	১৭.৫%
৩০-৬০ হাজার	২৫	৩১.২৫%
৬০-৯০ হাজার	২৬	৩২.৫%
৯০ হাজার +	১৫	১৮.৭৫%
মোট	৮০	১০০%

প্রতিটি পরিবারের আয়ের উপরই নির্ভর করে সংশ্লিষ্ট পরিবারের জীবনযাত্রার মান। গবেষণায় প্রাপ্ত তথ্যের ভিত্তিতে দেখা যায় ১৭.৫% শিশুর পরিবারের মাসিক আয় ০-৩০ হাজার টাকা, ৩১.২৫% শিশুর পারিবারিক মাসিক আয় ৩০-৬০ হাজার টাকা এবং ৬০-৯০ হাজার টাকা মাসিক আয় করে ৩২.৫% এছাড়াও ১৮.৭৫% পরিবার মাসে ৯০ হাজার টাকায় অধিক আয় করে থাকেন। তবে এক্ষেত্রে দেখা যায় উত্তরদাতাদের মধ্যে অনেকেই উচ্চ মধ্যবিত্ত পরিবারের এবং তাদের জীবনযাত্রার মান অনেকাংশে উন্নত।

সারণী-২ অটিস্টিক শিশুর শিক্ষা বাবদ বাৎসরিক ব্যয় সম্পর্কিত তথ্যের বিন্যাস:

মাসিক আয়	গণসংখ্যা	শতকরা
১০-৩০ হাজার	৪	৫%
৩০-৫০ হাজার	৫	৬.২৫%
৫০-৭০ হাজার	১৪	১৭.৫%
৭০-৯০ হাজার	২৬	৩২.৫%
৯০ হাজার +	৩১	৩৮.৭৫%
মোট	৮০	১০০%

অটিস্টিক শিশুদের পরিবারের মাসিক আয় থেকে দেখা যায় তাদের অধিকাংশ উচ্চ মধ্যবিত্ত পরিবারের এবং তাদের জন্য বাৎসরিক শিক্ষা ব্যয়ও অনেক। গবেষণায় দেখা যায় ৫% পরিবারের বাৎসরিক শিক্ষা বাবদ ব্যয় ১০-৩০ হাজার পর্যন্ত, ৬.২৫% পরিবারের ব্যয় ৩০-৫০ হাজার টাকা, ১৭.৫% পরিবারের ব্যয় ৫০-৭০ হাজার টাকা এবং ৩২.৫% ও ৩৮.৭৫% পরিবারের বাৎসরিক শিক্ষা বাবদ ব্যয় যথাক্রমে ৭০-৯০ হাজার টাকা এবং ৯০ হাজারেরও অধিক টাকা। মূলত এসকল শিশুরা বেসরকারী শিক্ষা প্রতিষ্ঠানের সাথে সংশ্লিষ্ট বিধায় এদের ব্যয় অনেকাংশে বেশি তবে সরকারী শিক্ষা প্রতিষ্ঠান হলে শিক্ষা বাবদ ব্যয় অনেকটা কমে আসত যা দিয়ে পরিবারের অন্যান্য ব্যয়ভার বহন করা সম্ভব হত।

সারণী-৩ অটিস্টিক শিশুর পরিবারের ধরন সম্পর্কিত তথ্যের সারণী।

পরিবারের ধরন	গণসংখ্যা	শতকরা
একক পরিবার	৬৬	৮২.৫%
যৌথ পরিবার	১৪	১৭.৫%
মোট	৮০	১০০%

বিজ্ঞান ও প্রযুক্তির আবিষ্কারের ফলে মানুষের মধ্যে কর্মের গতিশীলতা বৃদ্ধি পায় এবং শিক্ষা গ্রহণের ফলে তাদের মধ্যে সচেতনতা সৃষ্টি হয় যার ফলে পরিবার ব্যবস্থার মধ্যে ব্যাপক পরিবর্তন লক্ষ্য করা যায়। গবেষণায় প্রাপ্ত তথ্যের ভিত্তিতে দেখা যায় ৮২.৫% পরিবার একক পরিবার এবং ১৭.৫% যৌথ পরিবার গবেষণায় একক পরিবারে অটিস্টিক শিশুর অনুপাত বেশি লক্ষ্য করা যায় যা যৌথ পরিবারে অনেকাংশে কম।

এই গবেষণার আরেকটি উদ্দেশ্য হলো অভিভাবকরা কিভাবে তাদের অটিস্টিক শিশুদের মানিয়ে চলে। এক্ষেত্রে পরিবারের অন্যান্য সদস্যরা অটিস্টিক শিশুর প্রতি কিরূপ আচরণ প্রদর্শন করে, পিতা-মাতার ব্যবস্থার সময় কিভাবে নিয়ন্ত্রণ করে এবং তাদের সকল আবদার কতটা পূরণ করা হয় এ সকল বিষয়কে প্রাধান্য দেয়া হয়েছে।

সারণী-৪ অটিস্টিক শিশুর প্রতি পরিবারের অন্যান্য সদস্যদের আচরণ সম্পর্কিত তথ্যের বিন্যাস:

সদস্যদের আচরণ	গণসংখ্যা	শতকরা
স্বাভাবিক	৭৭	৯৬.২৫%
অস্বাভাবিক	০৩	৩.৭৫%
মোট	৮০	১০০%

অটিস্টিক শিশুদের পারিবারিক জীবনে দেখা যায় পরিবারের অন্যান্য সদস্যদের তুলনায় তাদের প্রতি একটু বেশি দৃষ্টি রাখা হয় এবং অন্যান্য সদস্যরা ও তাদের প্রতি স্বাভাবিক আচরণ প্রদর্শন করতে সচেষ্ট থাকে। প্রাপ্ত তথ্যের ভিত্তিতে দেখা যায় পরিবারের অন্যান্য সদস্যরা তাদের প্রতি স্বাভাবিক আচরণ বা বন্ধুত্বপূর্ণ আচরণ প্রদর্শন করে যার শতকরা হার ৯৬.২৫%। অন্যদিকে বন্ধুত্বপূর্ণ আচরণ করে না এমন পরিবারের সংখ্যা খুবই কম যার শতকরা হার ৩.৭৫%।

সারণী-৫ অটিস্টিক শিশুর প্রতি পরিবারের সদস্যদের উত্তর স্বাভাবিক আচরণের ধরন সম্পর্কিত তথ্যের বিন্যাস:

ধরন সমূহ	গণসংখ্যা	শতকরা
খাওয়ানোর সময়	৭২	৯৩.৫%
গোসল করানোর সময়	৬৯	৮৯.৬১%
ঘুমাতে যাওয়ার সময়	৬৬	৮৫.৭১%
খেলাধুলার সময়	৬৭	৮৭.০১%
স্কুলে যাওয়া আসার সময়	৭৪	৯৬.১০%
বেড়াতে যাওয়ার সময়	৫৯	৭৬.৬২%
সব সময়	৭	৯.০৯%

* একাধিক উত্তর গ্রহণ করা হয়েছে

অটিস্টিক শিশুরা সাধারণ শিশুদের তুলনায় একটু ভিন্ন প্রকৃতির হয়ে থাকে তাই বাবা-মা ও পরিবারের অন্যান্য সদস্যরা তাদের প্রতি একটু বেশি যত্নশীল হতে হয় এবং তাদের সাথে স্বাভাবিক বা বন্ধুত্বপূর্ণ আচরণ করতে হয়। অটিস্টিক শিশুরা যেহেতু একটু ভিন্ন প্রকৃতির তাই তারা একটু বেশি খামখেয়ালী হয় এমনকি তারা খেতে চায় না, গোসল করতে চায় না, সময় মত ঘুমাতে চায় না। একারণে পিতা-মাতাকে এসকল বিষয় বেশি গুরুত্ব দিতে হয় এবং বন্ধুত্বপূর্ণ আচরণ প্রদর্শন করতে হয়। প্রাপ্ত তথ্যের ভিত্তিতে দেখা যায় ৯৩.৫% অভিভাবক খাওয়ার সময়, ৮৯.৬১% গোসল করানোর সময়, ৮৫.৭১% ঘুমাতে যাওয়ার সময়, ৮৭.০১% খেলাধুলার সময়, ৯৬.১০% স্কুলে যাওয়ার সময়, ৭৬.৬২% বেড়াতে যাওয়ার সময় এবং ৯.০৯% সব সময় তাদের বন্ধুত্বপূর্ণ আচরণ প্রদর্শন করার চেষ্টা করে থাকেন। তবে এক্ষেত্রে অভিভাবকদের অনেক বেশি সচেতন হতে হয় এবং ধৈর্য ধারন করতে হয়।

সারণী-৬ অটিস্টিক শিশুর নিয়ন্ত্রণ সম্পর্কিত তথ্যের বিন্যাস:

বাবা মা যা করেন	গণসংখ্যা	শতকরা
অন্য কিছু দিয়ে ব্যস্ত রাখেন (নিয়ে যাওয়া হয় না)	২৩	২৮.৭৫%
অন্যকে দিয়ে পাঠান	৩১	৩৮.৭৫%
সব কাজ ফেলে যেতে হয়	৩৮	৪৭.৫%
অন্যান্য	০৫	৬.২৫%

অটিস্টিক শিশুরা একটা ভিন্ন জগৎ নিয়ে থাকে এমন কি তাদের ধ্যান-ধারণা, চিন্তা চেতনা অন্য সাধারণ শিশু থেকে একটু ভিন্ন প্রকৃতির হয়ে থাকে এবং বেশির ভাগ সময়ই তারা অস্বাভাবিক আচরণ প্রদর্শন করে থাকে। ঘরের জিনিসপত্র ভেঙ্গে ফেলা, সমবয়সীদের সাথে মারামারি, অন্যের গায়ে থু থু দেয়া ইত্যাদি আচরণ প্রদর্শন করে থাকে। এক্ষেত্রে অভিভাবকদেরকে বিভিন্নভাবে তাদের এই আচরণ নিয়ন্ত্রণ করতে হয় যা প্রাপ্ত গবেষণায় দেখা যায় ৫৬.২৫% শাসন করে, ৬৩.৭৫% প্রলোভন দেখিয়ে, ৮২.৫% বন্ধুত্বপূর্ণ আচরণ প্রদর্শন করে এবং ২৬.২৫ বিভিন্ন কৌশল ব্যবহার করে তাদের নিয়ন্ত্রণের প্রচেষ্টা চালিয়ে থাকে।

সারণী-৭ বাবা-মা ব্যস্ততার সময় শিশুকে বাহিরে নিয়ে যাওয়া সম্পর্কিত তথ্যের বিন্যাস:

বাবা মা যা করেন	গণসংখ্যা	শতকরা
অন্য কিছু দিয়ে ব্যস্ত রাখেন (নিয়ে যাওয়া হয় না)	২৩	২৮.৭৫%
অন্যকে দিয়ে পাঠান	৩১	৩৮.৭৫%
সব কাজ ফেলে যেতে হয়	৩৮	৪৭.৫%
অন্যান্য	০৫	৬.২৫%

* একাধিক উত্তর গ্রহণ করা হয়েছে

স্বভাবতই শিশুরা বাসার বাহিরে যেতে একটু বেশি স্বাচ্ছন্দবোধ করে। অটিস্টিক শিশুরা একটু ভিন্ন প্রকৃতির হয়ে থাকে, ফলে অনেক সময় তারা যা বলে তাই শুনতে হয়। কেননা তাদের কথামত কাজ করলে তারা খুব খুশি হয়। সারণীতে দেখা যাচ্ছে যে, বাবা মা'র ব্যস্ততার সময় শিশু বাহিরে যেতে চাইলে অন্য কিছু দিয়ে ব্যস্ত রাখেন অর্থাৎ বাহিরে নিয়ে যান না যার শতকরা হার ২৮.৭৫%, ৩৮.৭৫% অন্যকে দিয়ে পাঠান, ৪৭.৫% সব কাজ ফেলে নিয়ে যান এবং ৬.২৫% বিভিন্ন অজুহাত দেখিয়ে তাদের বাসায় রাখতে চেষ্টা করেন। পিতা মাতার শত ব্যস্ততার মধ্যে শিশুদের একটু সময় দিতে পারলে তারা খুবই আনন্দ অনুভব করে থাকেন।

সারণী-৮ অটিস্টিক শিশুর সকল আবদার পূরণ সম্পর্কিত তথ্যের বিন্যাস:

আবদার পূরণ হয় কিনা	গণসংখ্যা	শতকরা
হ্যাঁ	৫৬	৭০%
না	২৪	৩০%
মোট	৮০	১০০%

শিশুরা অনেক সময় অনেক কিছুই আবদার করে থাকেন তবে অনেক অভিভাবক সেগুলো পূরণ করে থাকেন আবার অনেকে পূরণ করেন না। প্রাপ্ত তথ্যের মধ্যে ৭০% অভিভাবক তাদের শিশুদের আবদার পূরণ করার চেষ্টা করে থাকেন। তবে এর কারণ হিসেবে দেখা যায় অভিভাবকগণ অনেক সচেতন এবং অটিস্টিক শিশুকে অধিক ভালবাসেন। অন্যদিকে ৩০% অভিভাবক তার অটিস্টিক শিশুর অনেক আবদার পূরণ করেন না। এর কারণ হিসেবে দেখা যায় যে শিশু অনেক সময় অসম্ভব আবদার করে থাকে বা পরিবারের আর্থিক সীমাবদ্ধতা রয়েছে।

সারণী-৯ আবদার পূরণ না হওয়ার কারণ সম্পর্কিত তথ্য:

কারণসমূহ	গণসংখ্যা	শতকরা
অহেতুক আবদার	১৩	৫৪.১৬%
আর্থিক সংকট	১৭	৭০.৮৩%
কর্ম ব্যস্ততা	৯	৩৭.৫%
অন্যান্য	৩	১২.৫%

* একাধিক উত্তর গ্রহণ করা হয়েছে

শিশুর আবদার পূরণ না হওয়ার বহুবিধ কারণ বিদ্যমান। প্রাপ্ত সারণী হতে দেখা যায় যে সকল অভিভাবক তার অটিস্টিক শিশুর অনেক আবদার পূরণ করেন না তাদের মধ্যে ৫৪.১৬% অভিভাবক শিশুর অহেতুক আবদার বলে অভিহিত করেছেন, ৭০.৮৩% অভিভাবক তাদের আর্থিক সংকটকে দায়ী করেছেন এবং ৩৭.৫% অভিভাবক তাদের কর্ম ব্যস্ততাকে দায়ী করেছেন। তবে এক্ষেত্রে ১২.৫% অভিভাবক আরো অন্যান্য অনেক কারণকে দায়ী করেছেন।

বর্তমান গবেষণার আরেকটি উদ্দেশ্য ছিল অটিস্টিক শিশুরা পরিবার এবং সমাজ জীবনে কি ধরনের সমস্যার সম্মুখীন হয় সে সম্পর্কে জানা এ লক্ষ্যে পরিবারের অন্যান্য সদস্যদের দ্বারা কোন ধরনের সমস্যায় পতিত হয় কি না, সামাজিক অনুষ্ঠানাদিতে অংশগ্রহণ করতে পারে কি না, প্রতিবেশি শিশুরা তাদের প্রতি কি ধরনের মনোভাব প্রদর্শন করে এবং শিক্ষা প্রতিষ্ঠানে উদ্ভূত সমস্যাবলীসহ পারিবারিক ও সামাজিক দৃষ্টিভঙ্গি কিরূপ প্রভৃতি দেখানো হয়েছে।

সারণী-১০ পরিবারের অন্যান্য সদস্যদের দ্বারা অটিস্টিক শিশু কোন ধরনের সমস্যায় সম্মুখীন হয় কি না:

সমস্যার সম্মুখীন হয় কি না	গণসংখ্যা	শতকরা
হ্যাঁ	৩৩	৪১.২৫%
না	৪৭	৫৮.৭৫%
মোট	৮০	১০০%

অটিস্টিক শিশুরা তাদের নিজস্ব ধ্যান ধারণা নিয়ে চলে, তাদের একটি আলাদা জগৎ রয়েছে যা অন্যরা বুঝতে পারে না ফলে অন্য সদস্যরা তাদের জন্য সমস্যা তৈরি করে থাকে। এক্ষেত্রে ৪১.২৫% অভিভাবকের মতে অটিস্টিক শিশুরা তাদের পরিবারের অন্যান্য সদস্যদের দ্বারা সমস্যায় নিপতিত হয়। এর কারণ হিসেবে দেখা যায় পরিবারের সকলে শিশুটিকে সঠিকভাবে মেনে নিতে পারে না। আবার কেউ কেউ এই শিশুটিকে পরিবারের বোঝা মনে করেন। অন্যদিকে ৫৮.৭৫% শিশুর পরিবারে কোন সমস্যার সম্মুখীন হতে হয় না। এর কারণ হল এই সকল পরিবারের সদস্যরা অধিক সচেতন।

সারণী-১১ উত্তর হ্যাঁ এর ক্ষেত্রে কি ধরনের সমস্যার সম্মুখীন হয় সে সম্পর্কিত তথ্যের বিন্যাস।

সমস্যার ধরন	গণসংখ্যা	শতকরা
কাজে অসহযোগিতা	৮	২৪.২৪%
কঠোর নিয়ন্ত্রনের মধ্যে রাখা	১২	৩৬.৩৭%
খারাপ ব্যবহার করা/ধমকের সুরে কথা বলা	৭	২১.২২%
বাহিরে বেড়াতে নিয়ে না যাওয়া	১০	৩০.৩১%

* একাধিক উত্তর গ্রহণ করা হয়েছে

পরিবারের অন্য সদস্যরা শিশুর জন্য সমস্যা তৈরি করেন এক্ষেত্রে হ্যাঁ বলেছেন ৩৩ জন উত্তর দাতা যার শতকরা হার ৪১.২৫%। এক্ষেত্রে কাজে অসহযোগিতার মত সমস্যা তৈরি করেন ২৪.২৫%, ৩৬.৩৭% কঠোর নিয়ন্ত্রনের মধ্যে রাখেন, ২১.২২% খারাপ ব্যবহার করেন এমনকি ধমকের সুরে কথা বলেন এবং ৩০.৩১% বাহিরে বেড়াতে নিয়ে যেতে চান না ইত্যাদি ধরনের সমস্যার তৈরি করে থাকেন যা অটিস্টিক শিশুর স্বাভাবিক জীবনকে অনেকাংশে ব্যাহত করে থাকে।

সারণী-১২ সামাজিক অনুষ্ঠানাদিতে অংশগ্রহণ করতে পারে কিনা।

অংশগ্রহণ করতে পারে কিনা	গণসংখ্যা	শতকরা
হ্যাঁ	৫৯	৭৩.৭৫%
না	২১	২৬.২৫%
মোট	৮০	১০০%

সারণী ১২ থেকে জানা যায় ৭৩.৭৫% শিশু সামাজিক অনুষ্ঠানাদিতে অংশগ্রহণ করতে পারে। এর কারণ হিসেবে দেখা যায় এই সকল শিশুর অভিভাবকরা অনেক সচেতন। ২৬.২৫% শিশু সামাজিক অনুষ্ঠানাদিতে অংশগ্রহণ করতে পারে না। এর কারণ হল যথাযথ সুযোগের অভাব, উপযোজনের সমস্যা, লোকলজ্জার ভয় প্রভৃতি।

সারণী-১৩ সামাজিক অনুষ্ঠানাদিতে অংশগ্রহণ করতে না পারার কারণ?

কারণসমূহ	গণসংখ্যা	শতকরা
পিতা-মাতার অনীহা	৪	১৯.০৪%
উপযোজন সমস্যা	১০	৪৭.৬১%
সামাজিক সম্মান হানির ভয়	৩	১৪.২৮%
পিতা-মাতা হীনমন্যতায় ভোগা	০২	৯.৫২%
কুসংস্কারের ভয়	০৫	২৩.৮০%
মোট	২৪*	

* একাধিক উত্তর গ্রহণ করা হয়েছে

সামাজিক অনুষ্ঠানাদিতে অংশগ্রহণ করতে না পারার বিভিন্ন কারণ বিদ্যমান এর মধ্যে ১৯.০৪% পিতা-মাতার অনীহাকে দায়ী করেন, ৪৭.৬১% উপযোজন সমস্যা, ১৪.২৮% সামাজিক সম্মান হানির ভয়, ৯.৫২% হীনমন্যতায় ভোগা, ২৩.৮০% কুসংস্কারের ভয়কে দায়ী করেছেন।

সারণী-১৪ প্রতিবেশি সমবয়সী শিশুদের অটিস্টিক শিশুর প্রতি মনোভাব পোষণের ধরন।

মনোভাবের ধরন	গণসংখ্যা	শতকরা
ইতিবাচক	২৩	২৮.৭৫%
নেতিবাচক	৫৭	৭১.২৫%
মোট	৮০	১০০%

অটিস্টিক শিশুর প্রতি প্রতিবেশি সমবয়সী শিশুরা অনেক সময় ইতিবাচক আবার অনেক সময় নেতিবাচক আচরণ প্রদর্শন করে থাকেন। সারণীতে দেখা যায় ২৮.৭৫% ইতিবাচক আচরণ পোষণের পক্ষে মতামত দিয়েছেন আবার ৭১.২৫% নেতিবাচক আচরণের পক্ষে কথা বলেছেন। এক্ষেত্রে কারণ হিসেবে তারা বলেন অটিস্টিক শিশুরা যেহেতু নিজস্ব একটা জগৎ নিয়ে থাকে তাই প্রতিবেশি সমবয়সী শিশুরা তাদের প্রতি ইতিবাচক আচরণ কমই প্রদর্শন করে থাকেন।

সারণী-১৫ প্রতিবেশী সমবয়সী শিশুদের অটিস্টিক শিশুর প্রতি নেতিবাচক মনোভাবের কারণ।

কারণসমূহ	গণসংখ্যা	শতকরা
স্বাভাবিক আচরণ করতে না পারা	৩৩	৫৭.৮৯%
পছন্দ না করা	২৯	৫০.৮৭%
হীন দৃষ্টিতে দেখা	৩৬	৬৩.১৫%
ভালভাবে মিশতে না পারা	২৬	৪৫.৬১%
অন্যান্য	০৭	১২.২৮%

* একাধিক উত্তর গ্রহণ করা হয়েছে

প্রতিবেশি সমবয়সী শিশুরা অটিস্টিক শিশুর প্রতি নেতিবাচক মনোভাব প্রকাশের ক্ষেত্রে ৫৭ জন মত দিয়েছেন যার শতকরা হার ৭১.২৫%। আর এর কারণ হিসেবে বিভিন্ন বিষয়কে দায়ী করেছেন এর মধ্যে স্বাভাবিক আচরণ করতে না পারা ৫৭.৮৯%, ৫০.৮৭% অটিস্টিক শিশুকে পছন্দ না করা, ৬৩.১৫% হীন দৃষ্টিতে দেখা এবং ৪৫.৬১% অটিস্টিক শিশুরা ভালভাবে মিলতে না পারা কে অনেকাংশে দায়ী করেছেন। এছাড়াও ১২.২৮% অন্যান্য কারনকে দায়ী করেছেন।

সারণী-১৬ শিক্ষা প্রতিষ্ঠানে অটিস্টিক শিশু কি ধরনের সমস্যার সম্মুখীন হয় তার বিন্যাস।

সমস্যার ধরন	গণসংখ্যা	শতকরা
বাথরুম সমস্যা	৭৯	৯৮.৭৫%
উপযোগে সমস্যা	৭১	৮৮.৭৫%
মনোযোগে দিতে না পারা	৫৬	৭০%
মনোভাব প্রকাশ করতে না পারা	৩৩	৪১.২৫%
যোগাযোগ করতে না পারা	৬১	৭৬.২৫%
অন্যান্য	১২	১৫.০০%
মোট	৩১২*	

* একাধিক উত্তর গ্রহণ করা হয়েছে

শিক্ষা প্রতিষ্ঠান অটিস্টিক শিশুরা বিভিন্ন মুখী সমস্যার সম্মুখীন হতে হয় এর মধ্যে বাথরুম সমস্যা, উপযোগে সমস্যা, মনোযোগ দিতে না পারা, যোগাযোগ করতে না পারা ইত্যাদি

বিশেষভাবে উল্লেখযোগ্য যাদের শতকরা হার যথাক্রমে ৯৮.৭৫%, ৮৮.৭৪%, ৭০.০০%, ৪১.২৫%, ৭৬.২৫%। এছাড়াও ১৫.০০% অভিভাবক আরো বিভিন্ন ধরনের সমস্যার কথা ব্যক্ত করেন। এর কারণ হিসেবে তার শিশুদের মানসিক অক্ষমতাকেই দায়ী করেছেন।

বর্তমান গবেষণার সর্বশেষ উদ্দেশ্য দিন অটিস্টিক শিশুদের কল্যাণে পরিচালিত সেবা প্রতিষ্ঠান সম্পর্কে অবহিত হওয়া। এ লক্ষ্যে সরকারী ও বেসরকারী পরিচালিত বিভিন্ন সেবা প্রতিষ্ঠানের প্রকৃতি কিরূপ তা দেখানো হয়েছে।

অটিস্টিক শিশুদের কল্যাণে বাংলাদেশ সরকারী ও বেসরকারী পর্যায়ে বিভিন্ন সেবা প্রতিষ্ঠান গড়ে উঠেছে। আর এসকল সেবা প্রতিষ্ঠান গুলো বেশির ভাগই শহর কেন্দ্রীক ফলে গ্রামীণ জনগোষ্ঠীর একটি বিরাট অংশ এই সেবা থেকে বঞ্চিত হচ্ছে। এছাড়াও সরকারী সেবা প্রতিষ্ঠানের সংখ্যা খুবই কম আবার বেসরকারী সেবা প্রতিষ্ঠান গুলোর ব্যয় অনেক বেশি। ফলে দারিদ্র্য জনগোষ্ঠী এই সেবা থেকে সহজেই বঞ্চিত হচ্ছে। গবেষণায় প্রাপ্ত মতামতের ভিত্তিতে ঢাকা শহরে যে সকল সেবা প্রতিষ্ঠান সেবা প্রদান করেছেন তার মধ্যে উল্লেখযোগ্য হলো:

- সোসাইটি ফর দ্যা ওয়েলফেয়ার অব অটিস্টিক চিলড্রেন (সোয়াক)।
- অটিজম ওয়েলফেয়ার ফাউন্ডেশন
- প্রয়াস
- সুইড বাংলাদেশ
- বিউটিফুল মাইন্ড
- বাংলাদেশ প্রতিবন্ধী ফাউন্ডেশন (বিপিএস)
- স্কুল ফর গিফটেড চিলড্রেন
- বিএসএমএমইউ
- চাইল্ড ডেভেলপমেন্ট সেন্টার (শিশু হাসপাতাল)

এ সকল সেবা প্রতিষ্ঠানের মাধ্যমে শিশুদের শিক্ষাসহ স্বাভাবিক জীবন যাপনের জন্য বিভিন্ন কর্মসূচী পরিচালনা করে থাকে। তবে এসকল সেবা প্রতিষ্ঠানের কর্মসূচী শুধু শহর এলাকার মধ্যে সীমাবদ্ধ না রেখে গ্রাম পর্যায়ে বিস্তৃতি ঘটাতে পারলে অটিস্টিক শিশুরা আরো বেশি উপকৃত হবে বলে আশা করা যায়।

৭. উপসংহার ও সুপারিশমালা

প্রতিটি বাবা মার নিকট তাদের সন্তানরা সম্পদ স্বরূপ, অটিস্টিক শিশুরাও এর ব্যতিক্রম নয়। অটিস্টিক শিশুদের সমাজের বোঝা মনে না করে, তাদের প্রতি নেতিবাচক আচরন প্রদর্শন না করে যদি উপযুক্ত শিক্ষা ও প্রশিক্ষণ প্রদান করা যায় তাহলে তারা নিজেরাই সমাজে প্রতিষ্ঠিত হতে পারবে। এমনকি যথাযথ প্রশিক্ষণ পেলে এরাও সাধারণ শিশুদের ন্যায় বিজ্ঞানী, শিল্পী, চিত্রকর হতে পারবে। অটিস্টিক শিশুদের সার্বিক কল্যাণ নিশ্চিতকরণে এই বিষয়ে আমাদের সচেতনতা বৃদ্ধির বিকল্প নেই। অটিস্টিক শিশুদের প্রতি পারিবারিক দৃষ্টিভঙ্গি সম্পর্কে তথ্য সংগ্রহ করতে গিয়ে শিশুদের কল্যাণের জন্য অভিভাবক থেকে যে সকল সুপারিশমালা লক্ষ্য করা যায় তা নিম্নরূপ-

- (১) অটিস্টিক শিশুদের সার্বিক কল্যাণ সাধনের জন্য সরকারী ভাবে বিভিন্ন প্রতিষ্ঠান গড়ে তুলতে হবে।

- (২) বেসরকারিভাবে পরিচালিত প্রতিষ্ঠান গুলো শিক্ষা ব্যয় কমাতে হবে।
- (৩) অটিজম সম্পর্কে সামাজিক কুসংস্কার দূরীকরণের জন্য অটিজম সম্পর্কে সঠিক তথ্য প্রচারের মাধ্যমে জন সচেতনতা গড়ে তুলতে হবে।
- (৪) অটিস্টিকদের কল্যাণে পরিচালিত প্রতিষ্ঠান গুলো শুধু শহরকেন্দ্রীক সীমাবদ্ধ না রেখে গ্রাম পর্যায়ে বিস্তারিত করতে হবে।
- (৫) অটিস্টিক শিশুর পিতা-মাতাদের জন্য অটিজম সচেতনতা বিষয়ক সংগঠন প্রতিষ্ঠা করতে হবে।
- (৬) অটিস্টিক শিশুরা আমাদের সমাজেরই অংশ এবং তাদের মধ্যে মেধা ও সম্ভাবনা রয়েছে। এই মেধা ও সম্ভাবনাকে কাজে লাগানোর জন্য পরিবারের সকলকে আন্তরিক হতে হবে।

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New Public Management (NPS) and Collaborative Public Management (CPM): Novel and Noble Concepts in Public Administration

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***Abstract:** In the broader context of governance intervention, humane governance, joined-up government, whole-of-government, democratic citizenship, empowered community, engaged citizens, organizational humanism, interpretive as well as critical analysis of bureaucracy and organizations, the diction shows a clear centripetal tendency towards a discourse that increasingly associates itself with a convergence that places citizens at the centre and their interests at the top. Discourse theory and postmodernism stressing the need for enhanced public dialogue reinforce the position of citizen central in the whole scheme of things. This paper is an attempt to furnish a review of recent and relevant developments in the field of governance and public administration with major emphasis on New Public Service (NPS) and Collaborative Public Management (CPM), which advocate citizenship and collaboration and reinforce the public in public administration for upholding citizens rights and ensuring better services.*

The Overview

New Public Management (NPM) no doubt ruled the world for a period of time and some of its pro-efficiency connotations are no doubt noteworthy and deserve attention in their own rights. However, inherent contradictions of centralization and devolution, that is, centralizing tendencies inherent in contractualism (from economic organization theory) and the devolution tendencies of managerialism (from management theory) struck at the root to weaken its base (Christensen and Lægreid 2004, 13).

This philosophy also increasingly transformed the basic nature of State from one of rationally-based State based on parliamentary chain of governing to one of supermarket model thus turning the state into a mere service providing entity. This constantly nibbled at the core values of democracy and governance. However, NPM lost much of its vigor before taking its roots in the developing world. Even if it is there in some measure, its contextualization remains a big challenge if it is put through a cultural compatibility test (Brunsson and Olsen 1993).

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'Joined-up Government' made a foray into the domain of NPM hegemony with its emphasis on collaboration and government's increased role in getting other sectors of the society involved. In fact, 'Joined-up Government' philosophy came as a response to the weakness of traditional public administration and fragmentation of NPM reforms. It stressed the need for more collaboration and coherence between the government and the other sectors (especially, NGOs).

Whole-of-Government (WG) approach surfaced to present a real challenge to NPM with its holistic motto (Christensen and Lægreid 2007). Though WG approach does not represent a philosophical distinction like NPM insofar as coherent sets of ideas and tools are concerned, it is more an umbrella term incorporating a group of responses putting real emphasis on a strong and unified sense of values, trust, value-based management, collaboration and team-building (Ling 2002). WG approach also echoed a call to reestablish the 'common ethics' and a 'cohesive culture' values to offset the corroding values of loyalty and trust in the public domain (Norman 1995).

However, the much-needed intellectual response to NPM emanated from Denhardt and Denhardt (2000)'s through their groundbreaking stance for democratic citizenship over the concept of customer coupled with exit policies of the State. Their criticism of NPM -- for its proclivity towards being workplace values in addition to being techniques -- deserves to be discussed and analyzed in its proper perspective.

Denhardt and Denhardt's (2000) New Public Service (NPS), the flag bearer of citizenship, is based on a constellation of theories and values such as democratic citizenship, models of community and civil society, organizational humanism and discourse theory. NPS places a sledgehammer argument for the State to accept if it intends to put interests of the common citizens above the interests of a few or the privileged few. For the very existence as well as eminence as a sovereign entity, the State has to look into the well-being of the people, especially the needy.

Collaborative Public Management (CPM) appeared with a vision that sets high priorities on collaboration and network as these have become basic requirements to remain attuned to the societal changes in the society and to face up to the intractable challenges such as poverty, health care and natural disasters and so on. For negotiating these problems more efficiently and effectively, a more flexible, more adaptable, more inclusive and more agile administrative setting is required where public

managers will be required to cut across their governmental, organizational and sectoral boundaries (McGuire 2006). In the collaborative setting, a networked web of public and private actors is a *sine qua non*.

Old Public Administration: Basic Tenets

Before embarking on a comparison, it is worthwhile to ruminate over the traits of Old Public Administration. Though, there is not a single set of ideas agreed to by all concerned, there are elements of public administration theory and practice that to constitute a guiding set of ideas or a normative model that we now generally associate with the old public administration. Denhardt and Denhardt (2000, 551-52) compile the tenets as follows:

- Public administration is politically neutral, valuing the idea of neutral competence.
- The focus of government is the direct delivery of services. The best organizational structure is a centralized bureaucracy.
- Programs are implemented through top-down control mechanisms, limiting discretion as much as possible.
- Bureaucracies seek to be closed systems to the extent possible, thus limiting citizen involvement.
- Efficiency and rationality are the most important values in public organizations.
- Public administrators do not play a central role in policy making and governance; rather, they are charged with the efficient implementation of public objectives.
- The job of public administrators is described by Gulick's POSDCORB (1937, 13).

New Public Service (NPS): Citizenship at its heart

In response to revolutionary thinking in the public management, public administrators were advised to "steer rather than row," and to be the entrepreneurs of a new, leaner, and increasingly privatized government (Denhardt and Denhardt 2000, 549). As a result, a number of highly positive changes were implemented in the public sector (Osborne and Gaebler 1992). However, in the rush to steer, the issue of ownership of government got subsided. In *Government Is Us* (1998), King and Stivers rightly reminded by the following conviction, The government belongs to

its citizens (Box 1998) where the message is pretty evident that public administrators should focus on their responsibility to serve and empower citizens with citizens at the heart of governmental scheme of things.

Table 1 Comparing Perspectives: Old Public Administration, NPM and NPS

	Old Public Administration	New Public Management (NPM)	New Public Service (NPS)
Primary theoretical and epistemological foundations	Political theory, social and political commentary augmented by naive social science	Economic theory, more sophisticated dialogue based on positivist social science	Democratic theory, varied approaches to knowledge including positive, interpretive, critical, and postmodern
Prevailing rationality and associated models of human behavior	Synoptic rationality, "administrative man"	Technical and economic rationality, "economic man," or the self-interested decision market	Strategic rationality, multiple tests of rationality (political, economic, organizational)
Conception of the public interest	Politically defined and expressed in law	Represents the aggregation of individual interests	Result of a dialogue about shared values
To whom are public servants responsive?	Clients and constituents	Customers	Citizens
Role of government	Rowing (designing and implementing policies focusing on a single, politically defined objective)	Steering (acting as a catalyst to unleash market forces)	Serving (negotiating and brokering interests among citizens and community groups, creating shared values)
Mechanisms for achieving policy objectives	Administering programs through existing government agencies	Creating mechanisms and incentive structures to achieve policy objectives through private and nonprofit agencies	Building coalitions of public, nonprofit, and private agencies to meet mutually agreed upon needs
Approach to accountability	Hierarchical—administrators are responsible to democratically elected political leaders	Market-driven—the accumulation of self-interests will result in outcomes desired by broad groups of citizens (or customers)	Multifaceted—public servants must attend to law, community values, political norms, professional standards, and citizen interests
Administrative discretion	Limited discretion allowed to administrative officials	Wide latitude to meet entrepreneurial goals	Discretion needed but constrained and accountable
Assumed organizational structure	Bureaucratic organizations marked by top-down authority within agencies or control or regulations of clients	Decentralized public organizations with primary control remaining within the agency	Collaborative structures with leadership shared internally and externally
Assumed motivational basis of public servants and administrators	Pay and benefits; civil service protections	Entrepreneurial spirit, ideological desire to reduce size of government	Public service, desire to contribute to society.

Source: Denhardt and Denhardt 2000, 554

Denhardt and Denhardt (2000) rightly remark that the New Public Management is not just the implementation of new techniques; it carries with it a new set of values, specifically a set of values largely drawn from the private sector. There is a long-standing tradition in public administration supporting the idea that "government should be run like a business." And, this recommendation calls for government agencies to adopt practices, ranging from "scientific management" to "total quality management," that have been found useful in the private sector. However, the crux of the issue is that the NPM takes this idea one step further, arguing that government should not only adopt the techniques of business administration, but should adopt certain business values, too. The blueprint is to become a normative model for public administration and public management.

However, as Denhardt and Denhardt (2000) assert, in making their case, proponents of NPM have often used the old public administration as a foil, against which the principles of entrepreneurship come out as clearly superior. For example, Osborne and Gaebler (1992) contrast their principles with an alternative of formal bureaucracies plagued with excessive rules, bound by rigid budgeting and personnel systems, and pre-occupied with control. These traditional bureaucracies are described as ignoring citizens, shunning innovation, and serving their own needs.

As stated above, proponents of the NPM have developed their arguments largely through contrasts with the old public administration and, in this comparison; the NPM is a sure winner. However, the better contrast should be with the "New Public Service," a movement built on work in democratic citizenship, community and civil society, and organizational humanism and discourse theory and the core of the New Public Service is that the primary role of the public servant is to help citizens articulate and meet their shared interests rather than to attempt to control or steer society (Denhardt and Denhardt 2000).

The New Public Service can lay claim to an impressive intellectual heritage, including, in public administration, the work of Dwight Waldo (1948), and in political theory, the work of Sheldon Wolin (1960). However, Denhardt and Denhardt (2000) focus on more contemporary precursors of the New Public Service, including (1) theories of democratic citizenship; (2) models of community and civil society; and (3) organizational humanism and discourse theory.

New Public Service: Seven Tenets

There are similarities that distinguish the cluster of ideas of the New Public Service from those associated with the New Public Management and the old public administration (Denhardt and Denhardt 2000). Moreover, there are a number of practical lessons that the New Public Service suggests for those in public administration. These lessons are not mutually exclusive, rather they are mutually reinforcing. Among these, the following are most compelling (Denhardt and Denhardt 2000, 553-57):

1. Serve, rather than steer: The role of the public servant is to help citizens articulate and meet their shared interests, rather than to attempt to control or steer society in new manners. Government will act, in concert with private and nonprofit groups and organizations, to seek solutions to the problems that communities face. In addition to playing more than a service delivery role, public officials will play a conciliating, a mediating, or even an adjudicating role.

2. The public interest is the aim, not the by-product: Public administrators must contribute to building a collective, shared notion of the public interest. The goal is not to find quick solutions driven by individual choices. Rather, it is the creation of shared interests and shared responsibility. Rather than simply responding to disparate voices by forming a compromise, public administrators will engage citizens with one another so that they come to understand each other's interests and adopt a longer range and broader sense of community and societal interests.

3. Think strategically, act democratically: Policies and programs meeting public needs can be most effectively and responsibly achieved through collective efforts and collaborative processes. Through involvement in programs of civic education and by developing a broad range of civic leaders, government will stimulate a renewed sense of civic pride and civic responsibility. Such a sense of pride and responsibility is to evolve into a greater willingness to be involved at many levels, as all parties work together to create opportunities for participation, collaboration, and community.

4. Serve citizens, not customers: The public interest results from a dialogue about shared values, rather than the aggregation of individual self-interests. Therefore, public servants will not only respond to the demands of "customers," but focus on building relationships of trust and

collaboration with and among citizens. In the public sector, it is problematic to even determine who the customer is, because government serves more than just the immediate client. Government will not discriminate between the ones with and without greater resources and skill in its treatment.

5. Accountability isn't simple: Public servants should be attentive to more than the market; they should also attend to statutory and constitutional law, community values, political norms, professional standards, and citizen interests. Public administrators should be influenced by and held accountable to complex constellations of institutions and standards, including the public interest, statutory and constitutional law, other agencies, other levels of government, the media, professional standards, community values and standards, situational factors, democratic norms, and of course, citizens.

6. Value people, not just productivity: Public organizations and the networks in which they participate are more likely to succeed in the long run if they are operated through processes of collaboration and shared leadership based on respect for all people. If public servants are expected to treat citizens with respect, they must be treated with respect by those who manage public agencies. Shared leadership, collaboration, and empowerment will become the norm both inside and outside the organization.

7. Value citizenship and public service above entrepreneurship: The public interest is better advanced by public servants and citizens committed to making meaningful contributions to society rather than by entrepreneurial managers acting as if public money were their own. Public administrators must not only share power, work through people, and broker solutions, they must reconceptualize their role in the governance process as responsible participant, not entrepreneur. If required, public officials will take risk and if dialogue and citizen engagement is ongoing, opportunities and potential risks can be explored in a timely manner.

Collaborative Public Management (CPM): Collaboration as its core

Two perspectives can be attributed to the newness and prominence of collaborative public management in governance. One perspective argues that societal change is a primary determinant of collaborative public management. It implies that the nascent information age calls for permeable structures in which people can link across organizational

functions and boundaries just as the hierarchical organization emerged during the agricultural age and bureaucracy dominated the industrial age (McGuire 2006).

Another perspective claims that the types of problems that government faces today cannot be addressed effectively through traditional bureaucracies. Solving apparently intractable problems such as poverty, health care, and natural disasters requires mechanisms that are more flexible, more inclusive, and more adaptable and operate with greater speed (Alter and Hage 1993) than those of conventional government organizations. These problems - often referred to as "wicked problems" - have no clear solutions, only temporary and imperfect resolutions (Harmon and Mayer 1986).

In fact, policies dealing with such complex issues will increasingly require collaborative structures for execution (O'Toole 1997). Collaborative structures may be needed in problem areas in which the public concurrently prefers more government action and less government involvement. With the contemporary increase of government's speed, the tendency of citizens to expect greater choice of services administered through less traditional government activities has also increased (Goldsmith and Eggers 2004). And, according to these arguments, collaborative public management is emergent (McGuire 2006).

Collaborative Structures

Collaborative public management takes places in various settings (Alter and Hage 1993), both in a vertical context through levels of government and in a horizontal context in which an array of public and private actors are mobilized. It also involves the distinct operations of managing upward, downward, and outward toward the networked environment (O'Toole, Meier, and Nicholson-Crotty 2005). A public manager may be simultaneously involved in managing across governmental boundaries, across organizational and sectoral boundaries, and through formal contractual obligations and sometimes it becomes difficult to distinguish where the boundary lies between these different environments (McGuire 2006).

Four types of collaborative contexts are usually seen in the governmental arena (McGuire 2006). They are: Intermittent coordination; Temporary task force; Permanent or regular coordination: Coalitions and network structures. In general, a network is a structure that involves multiple nodes - agencies and organizations - with multiple linkages. In a network

structure, there is a strong commitment to multi-organizational level goals, and resource sharing is risky and extensive. Coalitions disband after the task is completed or the problem is solved, but networks have a long, even indefinite life span because the problems they address are either long term or become redefined as the network evolves (McGuire 2006).

Not all network structures are, however, alike. Agranoff (2003) demonstrates in his study of 12 networks in various policy areas that four different types of networks can be delineated by the scope of activities undertaken within the network (McGuire 2006):

Informational networks: These involve multiple stakeholders who come together for the sole purposes of exchanging information and exploring solutions to a problem or set of problems. Any action that is taken occurs within the member agencies' home organizations.

Developmental networks: These involve information exchange combined with education that enhances the member organizations' ability to implement solutions, again at the individual organization level rather than at the network level.

Outreach networks: These not only exchange information and improve the administrative capacity of the network members but also "carve out programming strategies for clients (for example, funding packages, usable technologies) that are carried out elsewhere, usually by the partner organizations" (Agranoff 2003, 11). Although action strategies are developed in the network, action does not occur at the network level.

Action networks: It is the most extensive type of network. Unlike the other three types, action networks engage in collective action by formally adopting network-level courses of action and often delivering services.

Clearly, there is no one best way to organize for collaboration, and public managers need to give careful consideration to the decisions associated with organizing collaborative activities (Imperial 2005). Smaller, flatter structures such as networks may be best in one situation, whereas a simple partnership between two actors may be best in another. Researchers should also take great care when examining collaboration and labeling the structures. Networks are the stated unit of analysis in much of the recent empirical research, but the term is used, sometimes incorrectly, to describe many different collaborative configurations when task force or partnership would be a more accurate characterization (McGuire 2006).

CPM: Unique Skills for Collaboration

A clear distinction between hierarchies and collaborative management is not always accurate. Instead of a completely flat, self-organizing network, the presence of a lead organization, acting as system controller or facilitator, is often a critical element of effectiveness in collaborative management. Such a network administrative organization can reduce the complexity of self-governance and enhance the legitimacy of a network. The larger the network, the more difficult it is to delineate tasks, and the fewer the available network skills, the more likely that centralized forms of network governance will be adopted (Provan and Kenis 2005).

Collaborative organizations are "organizations composed of other organizations" that perform a variety of more traditional functions by institutionalizing rules, procedures, and processes into a coordinative organizational structure (McGuire 2006). Agranoff and McGuire (2001a, 2001b; McGuire 2002) distinguish collaborative management behaviors in terms of their operational differences and organize the behaviors into four different categories, activation, framing, mobilizing, and synthesizing.

Activation: It is the identification and incorporation of the right people and resources needed to achieve program goals. The right people for the effort are those who possess the policy-making resources -- finances, knowledge, information, expertise, experience, legal authority, and labor -- on which the collaborative effort depends in order to attain its goals. One important criterion for determining who becomes involved in collaboration may be that member agencies offer resources that other agencies lack.

Framing: It includes facilitating agreement on leadership and administrative roles; helping to establish an identity and culture for the network, even if it is temporary or continually changing; and helping to develop a working structure for the network i.e., committee involvement, network assignments (McGuire 2002). Strategic planning by participants in the collaboration is one important way to develop an overall purpose and framework for the collaborative effort.

Mobilizing: Mobilizing behavior on the part of a public manager is intended to induce commitment to the joint undertaking and build support from both key players outside the collaborative effort and those who are directly involved

Synthesizing: It involves engendering productive and purposeful interaction among all actors. This includes facilitating relationships in order to build trust and promote information exchange.

All organizational forms -- hierarchical or collaborative -- have a defined structure, even if that structure changes. A collaborative manager cannot rely on an organizational chart or consult history for operational guidance, as the boss in a hierarchical organization can do. However, managers in both contexts influence rules and structure daily. Although new competencies are needed for collaboration, some of these are already inherent in the public manager (McGuire 2006).

Scholars rallying round Citizenship and Collaboration

Harry C. Boyte (2005), like Denhardt and Denhardt, described the active role that citizens must play in both policy creation and in the process of democratic governance, rather than simply being consumers of public services. Donald F. Kettl (2006) identified the main problem of modern-day public administration and governance as the inconsistencies between existing administrative systems and the problems that public administration must resolve. Network reporting structures tend to be horizontal rather than vertical, which has undermined traditional hierarchies, made co-ordination more challenging and accountability difficult to ensure (Kettl 2006). Amber Wichowsky and Donald P. Moynihan (2008) discussed public sector performance management to show it can threaten democratic governance by ignoring citizenship outcomes. The authors opine that public agencies and government networks in a democratic state are responsible to their citizenry, and thus must measure how their programs affect democratic governance (Wichowsky and Moynihan 2008).

Conclusion

Government is the protector and promoter of citizens' rights. In exchange for the services from the government, the citizens will express allegiance to the government. This is loyalty in exchange for rationality. Government is not a business firm that would be engaged in mere profiteering. However, making free with public money in the name of public service is to be done away with. Governance is the way the government transacts with its constituents; this is the way the government treats its citizens. Thus, there should be sincere efforts on the part of the government to be honest and responsive towards the citizens. A government to have modicum of governance needs to be at least up and doing, if not always successful, in trying to safeguard people's basic rights. While rejuvenation of citizenship promises to bolster the aspects of citizens in the overall governance scenario, increased attention to networks and collaboration is imperative to keep pace with the challenges of this increasingly networked global arena.

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