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অগ্রহায়ণ ১৪২০/ডিসেম্বর ২০১৩

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সম্পাদক

মোঃ সানোয়ার জাহান ভূঁইয়া

সহযোগী সম্পাদক

সামসুল আলম খন্দকার

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Community Participation: An Essential Third Leg for Balancing PPP Tripod

Md. Fazle Rabbi*

Abstract: Providing public service is traditionally a domain of public sector. However, private sector is also an important actor now in this province under a special type of contractual arrangement popularly known as Public Private Partnership (PPP). In the recent past, PPP has been increasingly embraced by the governments around the world to overcome their budgetary constraints and to bring in private sector innovations and managerial efficiency to provide better services for the society. Despite its considerable success, in many cases PPP fails to deliver expected outcome and is criticized for providing expensive, inappropriate and inaccessible service for the beneficiaries. PPP is also criticized for limiting public accountability and transparency, creating risk of distortion of well-designed expenditure plan of the government and, more importantly, involving political and democratic cost. Among other reasons, lack of participation of community is acknowledged as one of the major causes behind these drawbacks of PPP. Rationally, it is expected that participation of community can overcome or at least minimize the downsides. It is found that community participation has been flourishing and has significant impact on appropriateness and ownership of services provided by PPP project. However, the concept is still incoherent in practice and the results are inconclusive that demands a proven framework containing element of community participation in PPP dwellers.

Background and Context:

It is the public sector that traditionally provides funds for public infrastructure and services. The private sector is also now involved in the provision. The practice which is known in different names in different countries and jurisdictions such as 'Private Finance Initiative' (PFI) in the UK and Malaysia (Beh, 2010), 'Privately Financed Projects' (PFP) in Australia and 'Public Private Partnership' (PPP) in Australia (NSW Treasury, 2002), Hong Kong, Malaysia, Bangladesh etc, was initiated in Britain and then proliferated to other parts of the world.

The uniqueness of the concept entails a special type of partnership between public and private sectors covering any contractual relationship

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between the government and the private sector to build an infrastructure, develop a production facility, procure an asset or deliver a service. PPP usually involves creation of assets and services through the private sector financing and ownership control for a specific period. It encompasses economic and social infrastructure and typically includes both a capital component and an ongoing service delivery component. Government usually contributes through the provision of land, capital work, risk sharing, revenue diversion or purchase of the agreed services (NSW Government, 2006) while the private sector infuses money and technology.

The earlier PPPs were encouraged by the government and development agencies as a substitute for scarce state capital. They aimed at expanding the pool of infrastructure capital, improving the efficiency of utilities and extending the reach of markets into non-core public service delivery. However, the objectives of contemporary PPP programmes transcend this purview. It is considered as an answer to 'both government and market failure, combining the advantages of the private sector-innovations, access to finance, knowledge of technologies, managerial efficiency, and entrepreneurial spirit - with social responsibility, environmental awareness and local knowledge of the public sector' (Koppenjan & Enserink, 2009, p.285). It envisages to provide better value for the community (NSW Treasury, 2002; Victorian Government) through mutuality and complementarity of the public and private partners and the synergies produced out of the partnership.

Unsurprisingly, the PPP has been embraced by the governments as a favourite tool to overcome its budget constraint in meeting the requirement of the society. In return the PPP delivers better services for the community through: (1) integration and synergies of design, building, financing, operation, and maintenance, (2) innovation, re-engineering, and more efficient management, (3) efficient allocation of risks to the parties who are best able to manage, (4) whole-of-life cost calculation, and (5) more intensive exploitation of assets (Demirag, Dubnick & Khadaroo, 2004; Partnership for Prosperity, 1997 as cited in Zhang, 2005; Grimsey & Lewis, 2007). A cross section of evidence from the Netherlands, Australia, Pakistan and Indonesia covering water projects, hospitals, prisons, small rail and road projects show that in all the cases value for money gain is substantial i.e. between 9 and 16 per cent (Grimsey & Lewis, 2007). In Britain, it shows that seven of the first eight PFI roads remain value for money despite reducing the discount rate in

calculating Public Sector Comparator (PSC) from 8 per cent to 3.5 per cent. The developing countries like Malaysia has changed its landscape and enhanced the quality of services in public sector in which private investment played a crucial role.

Some Downsides of PPP and Way Forward:

However, many PPP initiatives fail to reach the full potential in delivering desired services to the citizens in effective way. PPP in many cases proves to be expensive and inaccessible for the poor, to provide redundant service, restrict service users from using cheaper and traditional service options and engage the community into long-term undesirable contractual agreements. 'Cochabamba' water project in Bolivia is one of the examples which emerged as highly expensive for the beneficiaries. There, residents have to spend one third of the annual income on water after completion the PPP project (Peet, 2003). Private financing proves to be expensive for users even in developed countries like the UK and Spain, and rather proves beneficial for the construction industry, operators and their financial backers (Acrete, Shaoul, Stafford & Stapleton, 2010).

PPP also limits access of the marginalized people to the services - 'the basic rights to public goods' by imposing user fee which is often off-limit to poorer section of citizen (Brinkerhoff & Brinkerhoff, 2011). In addition, PPP curtails the access of citizen to other cost-free options. For example, the legislations of City Link Toll road in Melbourne and Cross City Tunnel in Sydney limit the access to surrounding toll-free roads and commuters are driven to PPP project to make PPP deal a success in term of economic return (Johnston, 2010).

Moreover, the availability of PPP fund can create a risk of distortion of well-designed expenditure plan of the government (Hodge, 2006). Government becomes attracted to the project in which private initiative is available ignoring the priority areas which are less attractive by the private sector. PPP also locks the community into a pattern of service which is deemed inappropriate in long-term (Ball & King, 2006).

PPP also draws criticism for limiting public accountability and transparency (Hayllar, 2010; Watson, 2003), and involving substantial political and democratic cost (Flinders, 2005). Accountability is seriously challenged in PPP arrangement as PPP projects bear complexities of managing horizontal relationship in public sector in one hand, the long term nature of PPP arrangement and multiplicity of contractual

dimensions make the accountability mechanisms more vulnerable (Forrer, Kee, Newcomer, Boyer, 2010) on the other. In addition, the long-term nature substantially diminishes the democratic accountability (Hood, Fraser & McGaverty, 2006). In a democratic system parties are voted to state power only for four to five years after which they have to get fresh mandate for continuing the office. But, a PPP project usually lasts for around 30 years and there is no way back for the citizen to reconsider their decision on voting, when the project falls short of fulfilling the expectations in the mid-way of its operational life. Transparency in the PPP process is not also out of question as there is considerable absence of disclosure of meaningful information for the citizen due to commercial sensitivity (Johnston, 2010). As a whole, PPP arrangement is detrimental to democratic accountability and acts as a deterrent to disclosing meaningful information to the stakeholders (Hood, Fraser & McGaverty, 2006).

Scholars suggest numerous as well as diverse ways and strategies to offset or mitigate the downsides of PPP. For example, Khan (2010) outlined a number of measures namely, subsidy to the poor, comprehensive and clear terms of contracts to minimise disputes and finally enforcement of contract by an effective regulatory authority to overcome the downsides.

His propositions are basically concerned with the states which are short of finance, have limited capacity for negotiation, and lack proper regulatory framework to tame PPP. The issue potentially can be more critical in the poor governance countries where, in addition to capacity constraint, corruption is also rampant. In this kind of situation PPP can be tool for privatising the benefits and nationalising the cost (Acrete, Shaoul, Stafford & Stapleton, 2010). The situation demand alternative measures which can supplement the role of the government. This essay particularly endeavours to focus on one of such ways i.e. participation of community or citizen which, if ensured, can contribute to enhance effectiveness of PPP projects significantly.

Participation of community in PPP is usually ignored or at least given less than due importance that believes to contribute to stifling ultimate outcome of many PPP projects. The phenomenon is well described as 'lack of publicness' in Public Private Partnership. Examining PPP policies and projects in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China, Hayllar (2010) demonstrated that government frequently disregarded public view and excluded meaningful participation of the people. As a result, PPPs failed to garner support of

the community and deliver expected service. Rather they got burdensome for the citizen by engaging the state for long term contractual engagement for not so essential services.

The Cross City Tunnel in Sydney shows similar phenomena. The project lacked participation of community and availability of meaningful information for the citizen. As a consequence, the project suffered from poor citizen's trust and ownership, and opening of the tunnel generated serious controversy and community discontent. Moreover, the project showed that this kind of project can serve the government's interest by undermining the interest of the citizen keeping the latter in dark (Johnston, 2010). As a whole the project demonstrates that public interest can be left out in this kind of projects. In both cases there was substantial absence of community participation that consequently undermined appropriateness of delivered services.

Beh (2010), in outlining the way forward to overcome the pitfalls of PPP in Malaysia, felt that absence of good governance practice in PPP arrangement can undermine the legitimacy of and trust in PFI institutions and ultimately fail it to achieve the policy goals. Moreover, in less developed countries, the success of PPP particularly depends on transparent communication and participation of stakeholders (Brynard, 1995 as cited in Mubangizi & Gray, 2011). As a whole, failure to involve potential stakeholder invariably leads the PPP projects to conflict of interest and even ultimate failure (OECD, 2007).

Conversely, participation of community can play a significant role in reducing the distortions and offsetting the downsides or at least to minimise them in PPP project in a number of ways. Firstly, community participation in PPP can ensure necessary transparency of the project should there be a mechanism for the community to participate in the very decision making process of the project. Secondly, in the same way, it can increase the appropriateness of the services through voicing concern of the community while making decision and executing the plan. Thirdly, participation of community can also reduce possibility of 'cream skinning' as the community becomes shareholder and receiver of the profit. It compensate the loss of community incurred due to overpaying in one hand, it will reduce inordinate profit-making desire of the private partner on the other hand as the profit is ultimately to be shared with the community. Fourthly, it minimises the risk of deviation of contract as the community can play the role of watchdog and act as a formidable

pressure group. Fifthly, may be most importantly, it supplements the diminished political accountability through ensuring direct accountability to the beneficiary. As a whole, it participation of community ensures equitable, accountable, responsive and appropriate service for the community.

Community Participation in Public Service Provisions:

Rationally, the international organisations and NGOs constantly pursue the notion of participation as the most important elements of good governance and there are increasing practice of more participatory governance throughout the world. The World Bank particularly includes participation of all stakeholders as one of the six principles in its guidebook on 'Promoting Good Governance in Public Private Partnership' (Mostafa, 2010).

In practice, participation of community or citizens is evident in both developed world like in the UK, the European Union and Australia, and in the developing countries like South Africa and Thailand. A number of reforms have been undertaken in the UK centred on the ideas of community participation and engagement. The initiative taken in the State Government of Queensland, Australia is even more exemplary (Reddel & Woolcock, 2004). The Queensland Government put partnership and citizen engagement at the centre stage of government's rhetoric. The approach can be better illustrated in the word of Premier Beattie who says-

There is.....an emerging service delivery model involving governments working in partnership with communities to determine needs, devising strategies for meeting these needs, implementing activities consistent with these strategies and ultimately monitoring results. The emphasis is on community empowerment and not on traditional functional program delivery.

In compliance with this imperative the government undertook a number of measures like community cabinet, community renewal program and Cape York Partnerships which showed substantial progress in making participatory governance and enhanced community satisfaction.

Similar mode of community participation is found in South Africa's 'Izimbizo' (or traditional forums) approach. Izimbizo engages the community and leaders from government including deputy president, ministers, premiers, and local government officials in interactive

meetings in the locality. The programme is designed as an effective means to ensure community participation in decision-making and enhance service delivery and citizen's access to the services. The approach is also proved effective in making the government accountable. Ultimately all these participation enhance the access to and appropriateness of the services and bring satisfaction for the community.

Community Participation in PPP:

Likewise, community participation in PPP, though limited until now, is not uncommon and has been flourishing exponentially. The success stories of this partnership are found in quite diverse areas like health service, irrigation and even conservation and ranges from limited consultation to participation in management and service delivery. The most common form of participation is predominantly limited to consultation with an exclusive set of people such as (Executing PPP in India is an example) academics, consultants, think-tank, NGOs, professional agencies and in some cases Residential Welfare Association (RWA). Many of these consultations are to fulfil the mandatory provision of the Terms of Reference (ToR) of the projects and pushed by international financial institutions and donor agencies. The downside of the participation is its exclusiveness. There is complete absence of the participation of the poor and the marginalized of the society in the consultation process.

There are also evidences of wider and more engaging participation of the community in infrastructure development. For example, Tamil Nadu Urban Development Fund (TNUDF) is a case where community participated in raising the fund for infrastructure development. The community raised as much as one fourth of the total cost of the project through contribution of the community. The model was appreciated by World Bank and other development agencies. But ultimately the model experienced unwillingness to pay by the well-offs in the society and that supports the issue of lack of inclusiveness.

Franceys and Weitz (2003) showed more inclusive participation of the community. They undertook a study in 10 Asian countries to investigate the roles and interaction between the public sector, private entities and the civil society in serving the urban poor with water supply, sanitation and solid waste management. They found a limited but value adding service to the poor with better quality at lower price coming out of public-private-community partnership.

The case studies showed primarily a pattern of public-civil society partnership where non-profit organisations, i.e. NGOs are filling the void of absence of large networked public infrastructure.

They cited example of Waste Concern, a NGO, which is working in Dhaka which has 55 percent of its population living below the poverty line and half of these poor lives in slums and shanties with very limited access to water supply, sanitation, solid waste management facility and other services. Waste Concern provides technical assistance in the formation of waste management committee and technical know how of waste management and income generation out of that.

The second pattern of partnership they found is on occasion without public involvement and where small private enterprises take advantage of a public bulk supply without any agreement or payment.

The third pattern found in the case study was involvement of the public and private sector in the form of mainly BOT arrangement where the poor of the society are served by default without any formal engagement of the poor or the society in particular.

But all these above-mentioned patterns lack true nature of public private community partnership. The first pattern can be best described as public-civil society-community partnership where profit making private sector is missing. In the second pattern there is absence of formal relation between public and private sector. The third pattern misses the participation of the community and the formal relation of the society with the other two.

The fourth pattern found in the case study has all three actors of public private community partnership. For example, in Metro Manila, Philippines, private sector enters into a 25 year concession arrangement with the government to provide sanitation and water services. Manila Water one of two private companies introduced group tap and community-managed water connections for the poorer sections of the residents. Group taps designed for two to five households where users for a cluster and share the cost of usage. Community-managed water connections characterized by introduction of a metered master connection, allows the community to organize and manage water distribution to the residents of the area through individual or shared connections.

However, despite involvement of public, private and community in the fourth pattern, the participation of community falls short of essence of partnership which contains the elements of 'deciding together' and 'acting together'. There is absence of deciding together in terms of service planning in the said public private and community partnership.

It can be concluded from the preceding discussions, the provision of community participation has already made in-road to PPP arrangement and demonstrated, though not inconclusive, its potential to enhance appropriateness and ownership of PPP delivered services. However, the concept is still incoherent in practice which might be due to absence of a universal model incorporating the community into PPP arrangement. Whatever the reason is, PPP can not afford to ignore engagement of community or citizen for the sake of delivering desired benefits for the society, especially during the era when citizen's participation is increasingly taking centre place in any government decision.

Conclusion:

There is rapid proliferation of PPP practices worldwide and the governments are increasingly adopting the arrangement to substitute its scarce state capital. PPP was particularly welcomed by the government for expanding the pool of infrastructure capital, improving the efficiency of utilities and extending the reach of markets into non-core public service delivery. The objectives of contemporary PPP programmes even transcend this boundary. It is now considered as an answer to 'both government and market failure combining the advantages of the private sector-innovations, access to finance, knowledge of technologies, managerial efficiency, and entrepreneurial spirit - with social responsibility, environmental awareness and local knowledge of the public sector

So far, PPP initiatives attained proven standing in delivering better services for the community through integration and synergies, innovation and re-engineering, efficient allocation of risks, whole-of-life cost calculation, and more intensive exploitation of assets. However, many PPP initiatives fail to reach the full potential in delivering desired services to the citizens. PPP projects in many cases prove to be expensive and inaccessible for the poor, to provide redundant service, restrict service users from using cheaper and traditional service options, and engage the community into long-term undesirable contractual agreements. It also

diminishes transparency and accountability including accountability in-built in democratic system.

Naturally, there are numerous propositions to overcome these drawbacks of PPP. But, most of them rely on the capability of the government which is inherently fall short of competence to tame its private partner. One of the options which has potential to supplement government's poor ability is incorporation of community or citizen in the PPP arrangement.

In practice, community participation is no longer a new phenomenon in PPP. Communities are involved in consultation process during formation phase of PPP project, and they are also engaged in forming capital and providing services. With varying degrees, these participations increase the ownership of the community, improve quality of services and enhance responsiveness. However, what is more noticeable here is the incoherent pattern of participation and inconclusive results of the practices that warrants a proven framework of PPP containing the element of community participation.

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Impact of Climate Change on the Livelihood of Slum-dwellers: A Case of Dhaka City

Sheikh Noor Mohammad*

Abstract: *The main focus of this paper is to understand and assess the impact of climate change on the livelihood of slum dwellers in Dhaka city. Being one of the most climate vulnerable countries in the world, Bangladesh experiences frequent natural disasters like floods, river erosion and cyclones; these impacts adversely on the lives and livelihoods of millions. Due to the worst victim of climate change, every year a large number of people are becoming climate refugee. These climate refugees, after losing everything, are increasingly migrating to capital Dhaka and usually taking shelter in slums which lack basic services. These slum dwellers are important for Dhaka city since they are keeping the economy going through their hard labour and providing necessary services to the city dwellers. Therefore, it is important to increase the understanding of the actual climate change dynamics on the slum dwellers in Dhaka. This study addresses the questions how vulnerable they are and why, what are the institutional coping mechanisms and what are the constraints that exacerbate vulnerability. The study also suggests some institutional and policy guidelines to address the climate change-induced challenges on the livelihood of slum dwellers.*

1.0 Introduction

Today climate change is not merely a concern but a reality. Global climate change has already had observable effects on the environment. The global warming induced greenhouse gas concentration in the earth's atmosphere and the consequent sea level rise are going to add fuel to the fire. The disadvantageous geographic location, flat and low-lying topography, high population density, reliance of many livelihoods on climate sensitive sectors like agriculture and fisheries and inefficient institutional aspects of Bangladesh have made the country one of the most vulnerable ones to climate change. Many of the anticipated adverse impacts of climate change in the form of recurrent flood, severe cyclones, water logging, droughts and river erosion, will aggravate the existing stresses that already slow down the development of Bangladesh, particularly by reducing water and food security, damaging essential infrastructure and therefore, migrating a large number of coastal and countryside population to capital Dhaka (Huq and Ayers, 2008).

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Dhaka, covering a population of 14 million with 4.4% annual growth rate, is the fastest growing megacity in the world (UN-HABITAT, 2009). This rapid growth has been due to unplanned urbanization coupled with migration of rural poor, particularly climate refugees who mostly take shelter in slums. In a 1996 survey, the Centre for Urban Studies (CUS) found 3,007 slums with a minimum of 10 households and roughly 1.6 million slum dwellers in Dhaka Metropolitan area (DMA) alone. The 2005 Slum Census about Urban Bangladesh identified 4,966 slums in DMA with a total slum population of 3.4 million and by 2015, the population of Dhaka city has been projected at 17.6 million, with up to 60% in the slums.

The expected impact of climate change to this city and its potential for disaster is frightening. Experts believe that the melting of glaciers in the Himalayas, along with increasing rainfall attributable to climate change, will lead to more flooding in Bangladesh in general, especially in cities located near the coast and in the delta region including Dhaka. Dhaka may also experience increased temperature from rising levels of vehicle exhaust emissions, increased industrial activity and increased use of air conditioning (Alam and Rabbani, 2007). The slum dwellers are therefore, vulnerable to the impacts of climate change due to poor infrastructure, lack of sanitation, scarcity of safe water and employment insecurity.

The impact of climate change puts extra burden on the socio-economic security of the slum dwellers. Their vulnerabilities are likely to be increased due to the dependence of livelihoods on climate sensitive natural resources and weak social protection structures. Climate change is likely to increase the frequency of extreme weather events such as floods, cyclones. While there is uncertainty in the projections about the exact magnitude and patterns of climate change, its consequences will change the fate of many generations to come if no appropriate measure is taken. In order to minimize the consequence, the article attempts to assess the climate change impact on the slum dwellers of Dhaka city. In addition, the article will also provide some policy guidelines which will help the authority concerned to undertake effective adaptation measures as well as to formulate pragmatic policies to address the climate change-induced challenges on the livelihood of slum dwellers.

2.0 Literature Review

There is a plethora of literature on the impact of climate change on the coastal population but there is a paucity of literature exclusively focusing

on the vulnerability of low income slum dwellers. However, the core findings of the researches so far attempted to assess the impact of climate change on slum dwellers in Dhaka city are pointed out here.

Among the 11 coastal and delta cities in Asia examined to climate change impact, Dhaka is identified as the most vulnerable one. Being situated just meters above the sea level, it is regularly impacted by cyclones and flooding (WWF, 2010). In the last 50 years severe flooding has impeded the development of Dhaka. The industry, commerce, utility services and infrastructure are the key sectors badly affected. Productivity reduces during and after major flooding which increases the vulnerability of the urban poor (Reid and Sims, 2007).

Climate change is associated with hotter summers and colder winters. Temperatures in Bangladesh have increased about 1°C in May and 0.5°C in November between 1985 and 1998. Temperature extremes are increasing and winter temperatures as low as 5°C have been recorded in January 2007 which was the lowest in 38 years (Reid and Sims, 2007). Changes in temperature and rainfall may change the geographic range of vector-borne diseases such as malaria and dengue. Young children and pregnant women are especially vulnerable to malaria that leads to low birth weight and maternal anaemia (WHO, 2002).

Slum dwellers in Dhaka city are the key player to provide essential services as laundrymen, barbers, newspaper boys, food vendors, rickshaw-pullers, sweepers, carpenters and electricians. Even the life of the middle and upper classes is impossible without the services of slum dwellers as domestic help. But it was found that at least one in thirteen people lived in slums had been forced to change their occupation during the 1998 flood, while the floods left 27.4% of people unemployed (Reid and Sims, 2007; Moser and Satterthwaite, 2008).

Most of the slum dwellers in Dhaka live on the edges of rivers and canals and on flood prone embankments which are vulnerable to climate change (WB, 2007). 46% slum houses are of poor quality which becomes more vulnerable during the flood and cyclone. Moreover, population density in slums of Dhaka ranges from 700 to 4,210 per acre and a minimum of four and maximum of ten people share a room, which is highly congested and unhealthy. Utility services such as water supply and sanitation, solid waste management are still inadequate in slums. Consequently, both household waste and human generated wastes go directly or indirectly into the low-lying lands or water bodies which significantly influence the

incidence of waterborne and airborne diseases (CUS, 2005; UN-Habitat, 2009).

Climate change impacts on human health both directly and indirectly. For example, the floods in 2004 caused 800 deaths, while the cyclone Aila in 2009 affected 8.5 million people, causing 3,500 deaths in Bangladesh (Sayeed, 2007). Climatic changes will also affect the distribution of climate sensitive diseases such as malaria, diarrhoea, dengue and hypertension associated with heat stress, asthma and skin diseases which have increased significantly in Bangladesh over the last 30 years (Reid and Sims, 2007). Though a causative connection between climate change and these diseases is difficult to verify, the conditions related to climate change (temperature, rainfall) and its impacts on water supply and sanitation generate favourable environments for the spread of such diseases (Hashizume et al., 2007).

Hossain (2005) stated that slum dwellers invariably live below the poverty line and have limited access to employment in formal sectors. Dhaka City Corporation (DCC) has little initiative to create opportunities for them. The slum dwellers therefore, try to cope with urban life through 'household strategies' such as putting more family members into work force, withdrawing children from school, establishing patron-client relationships with local leaders.

People develop coping strategies to deal with climate variability as with other shocks or stresses. These include building social networks as forms of insurance, traditional forecasting in order to be prepared for climatic changes and ingenious means of protecting assets. However, the poor's range of coping strategies is naturally restricted by their lack of assets which is further accelerated with environmental degradation (DFID, 2004).

Today climate change is the most talked about issue in Bangladesh. The adverse impacts of climate change on rural areas cause increased migration to urban areas in pursuit of non-agricultural employment (Kelkar and Bhadwal, 2007). The city is vulnerable to the impacts of climate change because of high concentration of economic activity and migrated population. The economic and social costs of climate change is higher in Dhaka, where high-valued infrastructure is located than elsewhere. However, as climate change has no boundary, the slum dwellers have to be part of the equation to solve the climate change crisis.

3.0 Objectives

The main objective of the article is to assess the impact of climate change on the livelihood of slum dwellers in Dhaka city. In this study, the effects of flood, heavy rainfall and extreme temperature are the considerable factors in addressing climate change challenges in Dhaka. Among various parameters involved in the slum dwellers' livelihood only housing, water supply, sanitation, health and income are considered. Focuses are also given to identify the negative impacts of climate change on slum dwellers.

4.0 Methodology

A case study research strategy is undertaken for intensive analysis of climate change impacts on the slum dwellers. In-depth interview method, with households, urban institutions officials and experts, is used to collect the primary data while the secondary data is gathered from published journals, reports from Bangladesh Meteorological Department (BMD), Dhaka Water Supply and Sewerage Authority (DWASA), Institute of Flood Control and Drainage Research (IFCDR) and newspaper report. To get a comprehensive overview of the impacts of climate change on the slum dwellers in Dhaka city, 30 households were randomly selected from two slums namely, Karail Slum at Mohakhali and Baganbari Slum at Mirpur - 14 based on location, density and structure. Detailed interview with the Director of BMD, Executive Engineer of Drainage Division of DWASA, environment expert of CAS and flood expert of IFCDR was held to realize the climate change trends, impacts and vulnerabilities.

5.0 Climatic Condition of Dhaka City

The climate of Dhaka is marked by six seasonal variations. It is hot and humid during May to October while cool and dry during November to February. 90% of the annual rainfall occurs in rainy season which generally prevails from May to October. The average annual rainfall is approximately 2000mm. The lowest temperature during November to February may drop down to around 50C while it may rise as high as 420C during March and April. Monthly evaporation varies from 80 to 130 mm.

6.0 Slums in Dhaka City

In a survey carried out by the United Nations, Dhaka is identified as a mega city and it would be an eighth populous city of the world. Dhaka is now experiencing a period of cramped population growth and migrants are mainly responsible for high growth rate. In 2011 the population of

Dhaka city was around 12 million (BBS, 2012) and a report expects it to cross 25 million by the year 2025 (Democracy Watch, 2002). This influx of people in the capital city has forced many low-income groups to live in slums. About 60% of the population in Dhaka city is migrants; 65% of them live in slums (Alamgir et al., 2009). The 2005 survey identified some 4966 slum clusters in DMA with a population of 3.4 million. Of the 4966 slum clusters, 4342 were within DCC limits. The slum population in the DCC was 2.5 million with an additional 0.9 million in the DMA areas outside of the DCC (CUS, 2005).

The slum dwellers are those residents who are mainly climate refugees, migrating to Dhaka after losing everything. It has been estimated that nearly 50% of the city's poor population live in slum areas (CUS, 2005). The physical condition of slums is characterized by high density living, poor-quality housing, lack of basic amenities such as water supply, sanitation, poor literacy rate, unemployment, poor health. The poor and hard-core poor people who live here mainly provide informal labour market such as garment industry, rickshaw pulling, street vending, construction works and small businesses (Alamgir et al., 2009).

7.0 Profiles of the Studied Slums

Two slums: Karail Slum and Baganbari Slum in Dhaka city were selected for this study.

7.1 Karail Slum

During late 80's the informal settlements at Karail started developing on the vacant higher ground. Later on it is expanded encroaching the vulnerable water edges of Gulshan lake. At present Karail covers around 90 acres with a population of over 100,000 (CUS, 2005). It easily attracts low income people like cleaners, household helpers, workers of garment industries for its location near the high-end residential and commercial (Gulshan-Banani-Mohakhali) areas of Dhaka city. 32% of the households are permanent and semi-permanent structures belonging to middle-class households, 36% of shelter units are katcha type, belonging to lower-middle and poorer classes and nearly 32% of units are Jupri type, belonging to the poor and hard-core poor.

7.2 Baganbari Slum

Baganbari stands beside the Dhaka Dental College at Mirpur 14. A narrow ditch is passed by the slum. This slum is vulnerable to flood and heavy rainfall. Almost 1200 households now live in the slum in an unhygienic condition. About 32% of the households here are katcha type,

belonging to lower-middle and poorer classes and nearly 68% of shelter units are Jupri type, belonging to the poor and hard-core poor.

8.0 Impact of Climate Change on the Slum Dwellers: Framework for Analysis

A multitude of approaches and methodologies are usually used to assess the impact of climate change on the livelihood of slum dwellers. Vulnerability assessment is useful not only to evaluate the climate change impact but it also helps to inform policymakers to facilitate decision-making process of particular stakeholders of a sector about their options for adapting to the effects of climate change within the scope of their resources. The impact of livelihood assets (social, physical, financial, human) on the slum dwellers is analysed based on local climatic data, impacts, vulnerability and coping strategies. Based on the DFID's Livelihood Framework¹ and CARE's² Livelihood Approach, a framework has been developed to assess the impact of climate change on the slum dweller's livelihood which is shown in Figure 8.1.

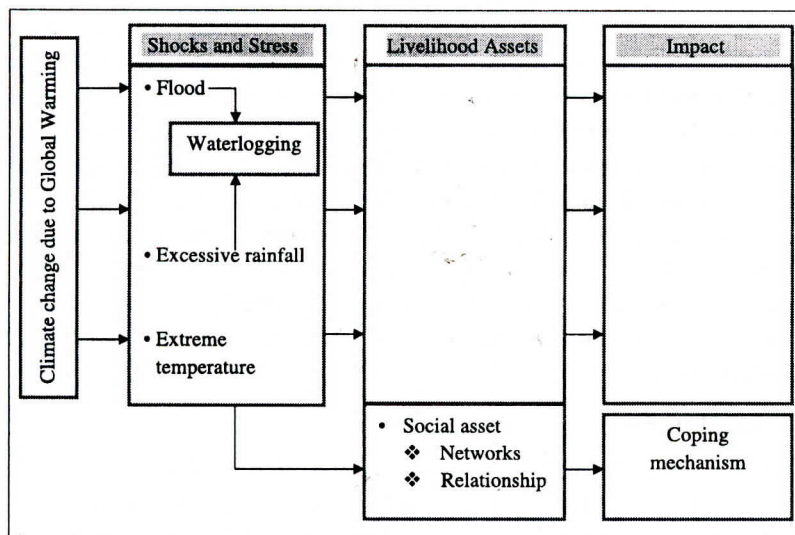


Figure 8.1: Framework for Climate Change Impact on the Slum Dwellers

¹ DFID's Livelihood Framework is a conceptual framework which takes asset/vulnerability approach including social capital, human capital, natural capital, physical and financial capital to analyse the livelihood of poor people.

² CARE's Household Livelihood Security Approach presents a tool for understanding the concerned living household activities such as sustainable and adequate access to income and other resources to meet basic needs and to build up assets to withstand shocks and stresses.

The climate change causes an impact on livelihood assets. However, the societies across the world have a long record of adapting to and reducing their vulnerability to the impacts climate related events (Pachauri and Reisinger, 2007) and thus, the coping strategies used to reduce the impact and the presence of other internal and external stressors determine the societal vulnerability to climate change. Identification of the current climate change, its impacts on livelihood, current coping strategies and identification of vulnerabilities help to assess the future possible changes, impacts and coping strategies.

The trend of climate change due to global warming is collected from secondary sources. The impact of these climatic events on livelihood asset is collected from the slum dwellers. In the framework social capital is used as a positive impact as friends, relatives and neighbours are found first for immediate coping mechanism.

9.0 Impact of Climate Change on the Slum Dwellers: Empirical Findings

The slum dwellers in Dhaka city are vulnerable as regards access to basic amenities. Climate change-induced challenges such as flooding, extreme temperature, excessive rainfall and waterlogging make their life more vulnerable and have its strong impacts on livelihood assets. To minimise the stress, the climate change is read into extreme weather events based on the trends of climate in Dhaka. To assess the impact of climate change on the slum dwellers in Dhaka city, the survey was conducted in Karail Slum and Baganbari Slum. The respondents' perception has been analysed with secondary data focusing on housing, water supply, sanitation, health care and income scenario related to climate change. On the basis of empirical data, the major findings have been drawn which is presented chronologically.

9.1 Impact of Flood

Dhaka has been periodically experiencing floods and some of those devastated the city. Due to the overflow of surrounding rivers, Greater Dhaka city faced major floods in 1954, 1955, 1970, 1974, 1980, 1987, 1988, 1998, 2004 and 2007. Among these, the 1988, 1998 and 2004 floods were catastrophic. Flooding due to rainfall is also a severe problem for city areas which sometimes swamped for several days, mainly for ineffective drainage system. Floods left untold sufferings and huge damages for the poor people particularly the slum dwellers in Dhaka city. In this study the impacts of floods in 1998, 2004 and 2007 on housing, water supply and sanitation, health and income scenario of the people

lived in Karail and Baganbari slums are taken into consideration.

Items	No. of response	%
Teachers' lack of expertise with ICT	53	60
Lack of confidence in using ICT	27	31
Insufficient knowledge of appropriate software	48	55
Insufficient knowledge of how to use ICT equipment	40	45
Lack of knowledge of how to evaluate the use and the role play by ICT in teaching and learning	35	40

9.1.1 Shelter

Most of the respondents in Karail and Baganbari were affected by the flood of either in 1998, 2004 or 2007 or both. As the severity of the flood in 2004 was high, they were affected more. Karail is adjacent to Gulshan lake and over-flooding of the lake affected its adjacent area. Baganbari is criss-crossed by a narrow ditch which is vulnerable to flood and waterlogging. As a whole, 100% respondents were affected in the last two floods while 50% of them had to leave their slums and took shelter on the road or in different schools or flood centres. Very few people took shelter in their relative's houses. Some households preferred to remain in their homes despite the terrible conditions in the slums.

Slums in Karail and Baganbari are on the government land and most of the dwellers built their houses there. However, the structure and construction materials used for building shelter are not so durable to resist flood or heavy rainfall. When flood strikes on the poor structure situated on the flood-prone areas, the houses become demolished. In this study, 72% households described that the most devastating loss for them was the irreparable damage to their houses and they were distressed at having their bamboo walls, tin and other house materials destroyed. 55% of those affected settlements were made of CI sheet. Reminders' qualities were comparatively inferior as those were with bamboo or polythene fence and roof.

Among the flood affected shelters, 67% households repaired their shelter by themselves or by their landlords. According to the respondents, the maximum repairing cost ranged Tk. 20000 to Tk. 25000. Managing money for repairing became tougher since some of them became jobless due to flood. Most households managed loans from relatives or friends. Repaying that extra money was a challenge for them and some did it even

by sacrificing their meal. Neither government nor NGO provides any help for repairing of the devastated house.

9.1.2 Water Supply

Water supply is a severe problem for the slum dwellers in Dhaka city. Normally most of the people use WASA's supply pipe water for drinking. 85% of the respondents use supply water for drinking and other purposes while a few uses tube well water. The supply water is not available within slums for all dwellers. Consequently, some households (25%) collect it from outside the slum with a monthly payment of Tk. 100 to Tk. 150. A very few people use artificial well water for other purposes. The sources of water in the slums are as follows -

Table 9.1 Sources of Water in the Studied Slums

Area	Supply Water within Slum (%)	Supply Water brought from outside (%)	Tube well
Karail	60	40	0
Baganbari	80	0	20

Source: Field Survey, 2012

N=30

During or after flood, slum dwellers face more difficulties to collect water. 90% respondents suffered badly since they struggle to manage water for drinking and other purposes during flood and 38% during heavy rain. Among them 40% of the respondents found difficulties for managing water and traditional chores for women, such as cooking and fetching. Kitchen utensils and clothes were usually washed in the flood waters. Though some government organizations and NGOs provided limited amount of drinking water and purifying tablets, all did not get that. Many of the women stood in line for hours to gain access to free water. Some respondents also bought water from owner of deep tube well.

Households of Karail slum bought water from T&T colony during flood. Many went to nearby school, mosque and hotels for collecting water. During the 1998 flood, 44 deep tube wells of WASA were affected by floodwater and water production was suspended in 13 of them (Alam and Rabbani, 2007). Water became contaminated as many pipes damaged due to water pressure. During the 2004 flood, more than 2 million city dwellers faced drinking water crisis as supplies had become contaminated. Thirty water pumps operated by WASA were inundated by

floodwater. Water pipelines of a few hundred kilometres and many reservoirs were under water, posing a serious threat to public health.

9.1.3 Sanitation

Sanitation is a major problem for the slum dwellers in Dhaka city. As they live in informal settlements, their place of defecation is very poor with unhygienic condition. During survey, it is observed that 55% respondents use katcha latrine, 33% use pucca latrine and the rest use hanging latrine. Those who live on the elevated dwellings over water have no option but hanging latrine. Some NGOs has constructed community latrine in collaboration with DCC.

Table 9.2: Place of Defecation in the Studied Slums

Area	Katcha Latrine	Pucca Latrine	Hanging Latrine
Karail	40%	30%	30%
Baganbari	70%	30%	0%
Total	55%	30%	15%

Source: Field Survey, 2012

N = 30

The unhygienic sanitation scenario of the slums in Dhaka city becomes acute during flood. In the last three floods and heavy rain like of 29th July in 2009, 85% and 50% respondents respectively faced defecation problem. Some did the task beside rivers while some went to the adjacent dry latrine. People stayed in flood shelter have to wait in queue for defecation.

Table 9.3: Opinion about Sanitation Problem during Flood/Heavy Rain

Area	During flood	During heavy rain
Karail	80%	40%
Baganbari	90%	60%
Total	85%	50%

Source: Field Survey, 2012

N = 30

In this study, majority respondents suffered badly in gaining access to sanitation as most of the latrines were submerged by floodwater. Women faced more problems since they had no option to sit here and there for urination as well as for defecation. As a result, they resorted to a number of desperate measures to cope with this predicament. During day women

could not sit nearby the people but at night they had no option except sitting behind any tree or obstacles. Likewise women, young adolescent girls were unable to use a latrine until late at night; while others out of desperation used their immediate surroundings as a toilet and some stood in the floodwaters to urinate or defecate (Rashid and Michaud, 2000).

9.1.4 Waste Disposal

Structured sewerage system has not yet developed in slums in Dhaka city. There is no fixed place for waste disposal in the studied slums. The katcha latrines are connected to the nearest ditches and rivers. Scattered wastes therefore, are visible in open places. River or ditches are used for waste disposal by 55% of the respondents whereas only 10% use dustbin. The rest 35% throw waste here and there. Exposure to such dirty environment is risky for children as they spend most of their time playing outside. The overall scenario is depicted in Table 9.4.

Table 9.4: Waste Disposal Places in the Studied Slums

Area	Beside room	Into ditch/river	Dustbin
Karail	10%	80%	10%
Baganbari	60%	30%	10%
Total	35%	55%	10%

Source: Field Survey, 2012

N=30

9.1.5 Health

Climate-induced disaster and the surrounding environment impact on slums dwellers' health. Flood has been shown to spread waterborne and vector-borne diseases. Water-borne outbreaks of diarrheal illness during and after flood are thought to result primarily from contamination of water caused by disruption of water purification and sewage disposal system. The study areas are characterized with the adjacent heap of wastes, poor sanitation and polluted ditch which are the breeding ground for mosquitoes. 65% respondents suffered from diarrhoea and a few respondents suffered from dengue and malaria.

Diarrhoea is related to water and sanitation whereas vector-borne diseases are connected with cleanliness. Flood makes water sources contaminated. The majority respondents, who personally or with their family members suffered, identified flood as responsible for diarrhoea while a few

respondents argues for extreme temperature. Children were mainly affected with diarrhoea as many of them played in the dirty water, even drinking and bathing in it. A study of ICDDR³ (2006) also identifies the existence of a good relation between diarrhoea and flood. Except diarrhoea and dengue, the respondents also found flood as the source of other health problems like scabies and fever. In 2004, the prevalence of diseases such as diarrhoea, dysentery, fever and skin diseases during floods increased significantly (Alam and Rabbani, 2007). The scenario of diseases people suffered once or more in recent five years in the studied slums is shown below -

Table 9.5: Health hazards scenario during Flood

Disease Area	Diarrhoea	Dengue	Malaria	Fever	Scabies
Karail	60%	10%	0%	10%	10%
Baganbari	70%	10%	10%	10%	10%
Total	65%	10%	5%	10%	10%

Source: Field Survey, 2012

N = 30

Though most of the people in slums are poor, they had to expend on treatment sometimes even if they went to the government hospital. 12 respondents (40%) reported that they spent from Tk. 20 to Tk. 20000. Among the respondents who suffered from diarrhoea, 30% respondents went to ICDDR³ and 25% respondents went to other hospitals for treatment. In ICDDR³, the treatment is almost free. The average expenditure for diarrhoea treatment is Tk. 200 or 300 whereas for dengue treatment it is expended up to Tk. 12000. Moreover, due to waterborne and vector-borne diseases, some respondents faced health problem like weaker than before. Some children did not attend school and some people even lost their job.

9.1.6 Work and Income

During any disaster situation, work and wages become scarce for the poor. Most of the slum dwellers are unskilled and involved in informal sector. A majority tend to work as day labourers. In this study, 38% of the respondents were absent from their work during flood and 5% lost their job. The prices of basic food items generally multiply which imposed

³ International Centre for Diarrhoeal Disease Research, Bangladesh

severe stress on the poor particularly those who were unemployed. Therefore, to save costs, most family members reduced their food intake and even in some cases parents sacrificed their meal for their children.

Female adults and children tended to work as housekeepers, labourers or in garment piecework, while male adults and children tended to work as rickshaw pullers, labourers, brick breakers, drivers or carpenters. Male adults worked an average of 9 hours and female works almost dawn to dusk every day.

According to survey data, 62% of households have income less than Tk. 5000 and 38% have income Tk. 5000 to less than Tk.10000. Survey data reveals that a major share of households' income is spent on food items (average monthly expenditure Tk. 3416) followed by house rent (Tk. 1242 on average) and non-food items (Tk. 879 on average) respectively. A significant number of households (72%) reported their expenses equal to income or greater than income and as a consequence they often depend on loans for survival. In case of medical treatment and repairing of damaged house, they take loan from their relatives or friends. To repay the loan they sometimes sacrifice even their meal.

9.2 Impact of Extreme Temperature

Climatic variability for the period 1981-2003 over Bangladesh has shown that in all seasons the mean maximum temperature is increasing except in winter for the northwest and middle zone ($-0.004^{\circ}\text{C}/\text{year}$ and $-0.007^{\circ}\text{C}/\text{year}$). Overall the temperature is increasing over the country (the rate of max temp is $+0.028^{\circ}\text{C}/\text{year}$) concurrent with the global temperature increase (Sarker, 2009). Since early 1990s a number of General Circulation Models (GCMs)⁴ have been exercised for projecting possible future temperature and precipitation pattern in Bangladesh. The BUP- CEARS-CRU (1994) attempted first on GCM model where it reported 0.5°C to 2°C rise in temperature in Bangladesh by the year 2030 under 'business as usual' scenario. WB's (2007) study suggested that the mean rainfall over Bangladesh would be increasing with global warming. Agrawala et al.'s (2003) study suggested that the annual temperature of Bangladesh would increase up to 1.4°C and 2.4°C whereas the monsoon

⁴ General Circulation Model (GCM) is a mathematical model of the general circulation of a planetary atmosphere or ocean and based on the Navier- Stokes equations on a rotating sphere with thermodynamic terms for various energy sources (radiation, latent heat). These equations are the basis for complex computer programs commonly used for simulating the atmosphere or ocean of the Earth. The Navier-Stokes equations describe the motion of fluid substances.

precipitation marked an increase up to 6.8 and 11.8% by the projection year 2050 and 2100.

Almost all the respondents in the studied slums feel that the summer is hotter and longer and winter is warmer and shorter than before. Their opinions comply with the two incidents of extreme temperature in 1995 and 2009. At the end of July of 2009 (on 26th) Bangladesh faced the highest temperature in last 14 years with a blistering 42.2°C in Jessore district and 38.7°C in Dhaka city. An unrelenting heat wave had swept the country for over that week. The highest temperature in 1995 was recorded as 43°C in Rajshahi and 39°C in the capital. This rising temperature gradually impacts on the poor people lived in slums in Dhaka city.

9.2.1 Shelter

Slums in Dhaka city is grown on the flood-prone area mainly beside the lake, on the embankment of river or ditches. The houses have been built with semi-permanent or temporary basis with poor structure and construction materials including CI sheet, tin, bamboo, polythene which is susceptible to extreme temperature. When the temperature becomes extreme, the load shedding reaches its peak. At that time, it is very hard for the slum dwellers to survive. The children are the worst victim of such extreme hot or cold weather.

9.2.2 Water Supply

People need more water in high temperature than normal. If the temperature becomes extreme, the load shedding of electricity reaches its peak. As the water supply is related to electricity run pump, restoration of water in reservation is interrupted frequently. 80% respondents noticed that they get less water and face problems in collecting water in summer.

Table 9.6: Opinion about Water supply amidst Extreme hot temperature

Area	Normal water supply	Getting less water
Karail	25%	75%
Baganbari	15%	85%
Total	20%	80%

Source: Field Survey, 2012

N = 30

Slum dwellers collect water from sources within slum and outside slum 4 or 5 times in a day. In summer or heat, they get 2 or 3 times after waiting

in the queue for a long time. Those who (20% respondents) collect water from outside suffer most.

9.2.3 Health

People usually face some health problems due to extreme hot or cold weather. Fever, tiredness, diarrhoea, skin diseases, headache and prickle are observed in hot weather while cough and respiratory problem are significantly noticed in very low temperature among the poorer section of the city. High temperature is associated with the number of non-cholera diarrhoea cases (Hashizume et al., 2007). For a one degree increase in average temperature over lags 0-4 weeks, the number of cases increased by 5.6% by using a model that assumes a log-linear increase in risk. The independent effects of temperature at different lags showed that the positive association was observed in the same week and decreased to null at lags 2 and afterwards (Figure 9.1).

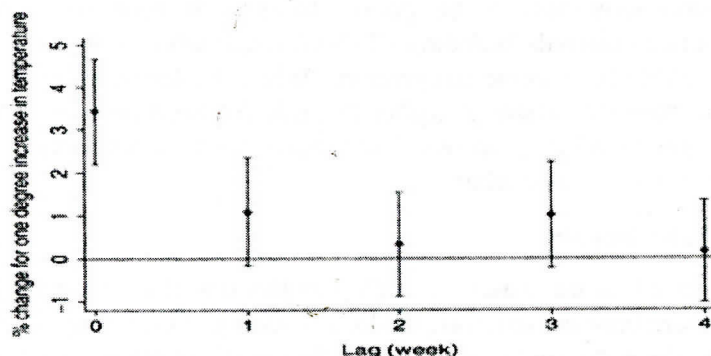


Figure 9.1: Change of non-cholera diarrhoea case for 1°C temperature rise at each lag (Hashizume et al., 2007)

According to IPCC (2007), all of Asia is likely to warm this century and warming in South Asia is likely to be above the global average at around 3.3°C. In the last 10 years severe cold waves have become common in Bangladesh, temperature as low as 5°C was recorded in January 2007. A recent study found that extreme climatic conditions enable the water living cholera bacteria *Vibrio cholera* to rapidly multiply and spread more easily (Huq, 2006).

9.2.4 Work and Income

Extreme weather disrupts the slum dwellers' work and income. Some occupations are largely influenced by weather like rickshaw pulling, daily labour, brick breaking. In heavy rain or flood the informal sectors are affected significantly. All respondents feel tiredness and take a pause for a while during their work in extreme high temperature. As a consequence, in profession like rickshaw pulling or vendor the respondents earn less.

9.3 Impact of Excessive Rain and Waterlogging

9.3.1 Excessive Rain

A study on climate change vulnerability based on certainty, timing, severity of impacts and importance of the sector, ranked water resources as the greatest concern due to climate change in Bangladesh (OECD, 2003). It has been predicted that due to climate change, there will be a steady increase in rainfall in Bangladesh (IPCC, 2007). Studies in different parts of the world indicate that global warming has altered the precipitation pattern and resulted in frequent extreme weather events like floods, droughts and rainstorms (WMO, 2003; Schmidli and Frei, 2005; Briffa et al., 2009). The time series of average monsoon rainfall between 1958 and 2007 from BMD shows (Figure 9.2) an increase in monsoon rainfall in Bangladesh.

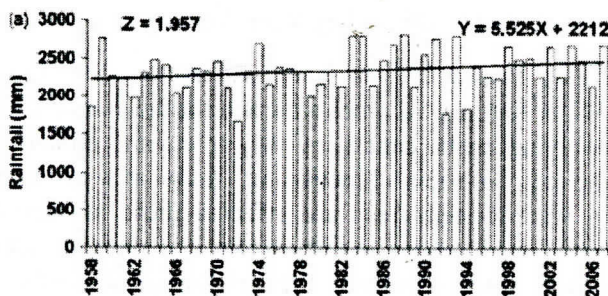


Figure 9.2: Trend of annual Rainfall in Bangladesh (1958-2006) (Shahid, 2010)

Rainfall data from the Dhaka station for 1958 to 2006 shows that the annual average rainfall in the city is about 2120 mm, of which about 50% falls during the months of June, July and August, generally referred to as monsoon season. Average rainfall during the winter months (December, January and February) is less than 2% of annual rainfall. While Dhaka's

long-term trend in annual rainfall shows no significant change, the trend in seasonal rainfall appears to be erratic. However, data indicates that rainfall intensity is increasing (Alam and Rabbani, 2007). In the 29th July, 2009, the heaviest rainfall (373 mm in 12 hours) occurred in Dhaka City and its devastating impact paralysed the city life.

9.3.2 Water logging

As the drainage system in Dhaka is very poor, water logging is a common problem for the city dwellers especially the slum dwellers. Most of the respondents (85%) in the studied slums faced this problem. The area-wise opinion is shown in Figure 9.3.

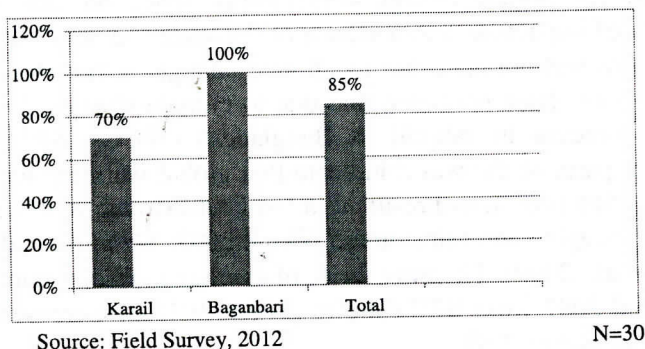


Figure 9.3: Households affected by Waterlogging

In recent years Dhaka City is facing extensive water logging during monsoon. Water logging becomes a burden for the slum dwellers, usually lived in low lying areas, canals, railway tracts and embankments, as it poses challenges to social functioning, trade and economic activity. Children in waterlogged areas are affected more as they suffer from diarrhoea because of playing in dirty water. The alarming scenario is that the waterlogged water mixes with the raw sewage and solid waste which produces mosquitoes, flies and bad odour.

9.3.3 Shelter

Though the slums are mostly located in the flood-prone areas, water does not usually enter into room in average rain. As Baganbari and Karail slums are relatively on the low land and adjacent to ditch, those become affected in normal rain. Most of the households studied reported that they become severely affected due to heavy rainfall (Table 9.7). During heavy rainfall the poor people suffers a lot with their kids and necessary stuff.

Table 9.7: Respondents affected by Rainfall

Slum Area	Affected in normal rain (%)	Affected in heavy rain (%)
Karail	30	100
Baganbari	60	100
Total	45	100

Source: Field Survey, 2012

N = 30

9.3.4 Sanitation

Major portion of the slum dwellers (70%) use katcha or hanging latrines and 55% respondents throw their daily waste haphazardly. Those pits and hanging latrine are connected to the ditches and canals. Consequently, both household waste and human generated wastes go directly or indirectly into the low-lying lands, open spaces or water bodies and causes a number of problems including health. In a seminar, the DCC admits that among the 15 millions people lived in the city ; only 20% people are getting sanitation facilities. During flood or excessive rain, 68% respondents suffered for defecation as most of the latrines were on the edge of rivers, canals, ditches and outside of their rooms.

In Dhaka, WASA drainage system covers only 37% of the total area. Drainage Division spokesman of DWASA told that present drainage infrastructure is capable of taking the load of rainwater up to 15mm per hour whereas the record in the July 29 of 2009 was 50 mm per hour. Any excessive rain comparing to the capacity of WASA will often create waterlogging in the city. Slums, on the ditches, canal and embankment, are creating problem by themselves as those illegally encroached areas previously worked as the retention pond for rainwater. Though there are 43 canals on record in Dhaka, 26 are now operating with obstacles.

9.3.5 Health

Excessive rainfall leading to waterlogging causes health problems like diarrhoea, fever, scabies. The relationship between the number of non-cholera diarrhoea and heavy rainfall is positive (Hashizume et al., 2007). An increase in non-cholera diarrhoea can be seen with high rainfall at lag 0-8 weeks and at lag 0-16 weeks. For a 10 mm increase above the threshold, the number of non-cholera diarrhoea cases is increased by 5.1%.

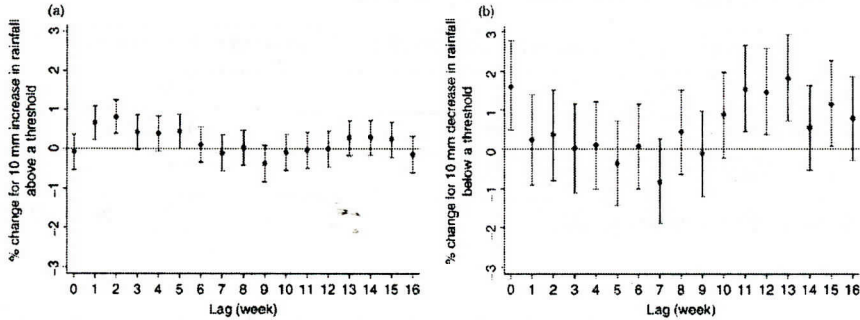


Figure 9.4: Changes in Non-cholera Diarrhoea for Rainfall rise (Hashizume et al., 2007)

9.3.6 Work and Income

Extreme weather disrupts the slum dwellers' work and income. During excessive rainfall with water logging, the informal sectors like rickshaw pulling, daily labour are affected in many ways: late arrival in workplaces, need more strength and time for rickshaw pulling, tough to move around for vending amidst water, no/less work as day labour/carpenter and therefore, the respondents involved into those professions earn less. Some respondents were absent from work for 5 days on an average and consequently some lost their job which put immense pressure to manage food for their families. On an average, they spend Tk. 3000 for food, Tk. 150 for electricity, Tk. 100 for water supply and Tk. 150 for fuel. If any extra burden comes, they manage it by cutting off their meal. The impact of any extreme weather events thus brings some loan, some hunger and ultimately more distress.

9.3.7 Climate Refugee

Migration to urban areas is a regular phenomenon but climate induced displacement forced to migrate to cities especially to Dhaka over the recent years is a matter of concern. Increased frequency and severity of flood, river erosion, cyclones and tide waves by climate change over the past recent years are not only displacing people physically but also exposing to enhanced poverty by threatening their livelihoods temporarily and permanently. Growing number of people rushed to city's slums creates urban crisis. In this study, 50% of the respondents were migrated to Dhaka since 1998 due to flood, river erosion or cyclone.

Table 9.8 Causes of Migration in the Studied Slums

Climate change -induced Disaster Area	Flood	River erosion	Cyclone
Karail	3	4	1
Baganbari	2	2	3
Total	5 (16%)	6(20%)	4(13%)

Source: Field Survey, 2012

N = 30

Respondents from Chandpur, Barisal and Sirajgonj were compelled to leave their villages losing everything by flood and river erosion whereas respondents from Bhola and Barguna were resorted to these slums victimized by cyclone. These people living in urban slums are in search of a better life. Since their slums are located mostly in low lying environmentally hazardous area coupled with inadequate facilities like food, shelter, sanitation, pure drinking water, health care, the existing scenario make their life even worse. Those who migrated to Dhaka before 2004 already suffered again by the devastating flood of 2004 and 2007.

From 1970 to 2013, the total number of major cyclones striking Bangladesh was 28, where the number of occurrences increased significantly since 1990. It should also be noted that the highest number of affected people has been recorded after 1990. In 2007, the country was ravaged by Cyclone Sidr, which displaced 650,000 people and killed 3,447 (official record). In the year 2009, two cyclones: (cyclone Bijli, April 2009 and cyclone Aila, May 2009) hit. About 200,000 people were displaced by cyclone Bijli. The intensity of the damage caused by the cyclones in 2009 might not be as high as cyclone Sidr, but though the country was hit twice in the same year. Cyclone Mahasen hit Bangladesh on 16 May 2013 which destroyed 95,003 poorly constructed huts, killed 17 people and displaced 1.3 million across the country.

10.0 Role of City Service Providers

Different urban institutions such as Rajdhani Unnayan Karttripakkha (RAJUK), DCC, DWASA are responsible for providing basic services to the city dwellers. Moreover, some NGOs are working sporadically in sector specific services to the slum dwellers. RAJUK, the major city development authority is accountable to implement policies regarding

urban planning and building construction. The poor people who prefer to live in slums due to low rent or free of cost, construct settlements in the flood-prone or low land in the out skirt of the city which are defined as risky zones for living by RAJUK through the illegal contact with its staff. The accountability and transparency of RAJUK therefore, is in question in this matter. Good governance can largely help to diminish these spatial differences by ensuring accommodation for the low income groups in safe sites with good infrastructure.

Rapid urban growth coupled with around 300,000 to 400,000 annual new migrants in the city put tremendous pressure on land, accommodation and services of water supply, sanitation, waste management, health care provided by the government agencies (BBS, 2007). A mismatch between the growth of Dhaka city's economic bases and population and the competence, capacity and accountability of urban institutions, especially DCC, RAJUK and DWASA is evident. The loss of life and damage to property caused by disasters ought not to be seen only as natural events rather as a failure of urban management - in which institutions have been unwilling or unable to meet their obligations to urban residents. For example, absence of effective coordination between WASA and DCC is the prime reason for waterlogging. In addition, coordination gap among service delivery agencies lead to overlapping and fragmented social services. Inter-organizational coordination therefore, seems to be a *sine qua non* for achieving city dwellers' satisfaction.

The present water supply system of Dhaka entirely depends on groundwater. Recharge occurs primarily through direct infiltration and percolation, mostly from direct rainfall, river water and floodwater. Due to rapid urbanization, the recharge area of the city is declining significantly with time. DWASA therefore, needs to install more tube wells to serve the ever increasing population of the city. According to DWASA, about 450 deep tube wells are needed to be installed within the city to meet the present water demand. With this shortage of water DWASA cannot supply adequate water to the slum dwellers. Tenure security is a serious problem for the slum dwellers to get the DWASA connection, though some NGOs are helping in this aspect in collaboration with DWASA and DCC.

Solid waste management is a crucial problem in Dhaka city. Though DCC is responsible for it, it is inflicted with some challenges such as lack of manpower and insufficient resources for drain cleaning. Recently

RAJUK finalizes the Detailed Area Plan (DAP) for Dhaka where Dhaka is divided into 17 land use zones like residential, commercial, industrial, flood flow, water body. DAP has proposed 24.7% area for flood flow zone, 1.75% for water retention area, 5.73% for water body to protect Dhaka from waterlogging which is appreciable. However, the implementation of DAP will be a great challenge for any government.

Though the slum dwellers are contributing significantly to the economy of Bangladesh, city governments have not yet undertaken comprehensive plans to protect them from climate change-induced environmental hazards. Moreover, the antagonistic relationship between the urban institutions and slum dwellers helps to keep them reluctant to address their local needs. Managing any loan from formal institutions for repairing or new construction is absurd as access is denied there for the slum dwellers. Although the nationalized commercial banks and the House Building Finance Corporation provide loan for building of houses and apartments, these loans are usually given to the middle and upper classes of the society. However, some NGOs are providing loans in a limited scale to the slum dwellers. Recently the present government has undertaken an accommodation project for the rehabilitation of slum dwellers.

11. The Way Forward

Slum dwellers in Dhaka were vulnerable before but now they are more vulnerable due to the intensity of climate change-induced natural disasters. Rapid urban growth and performance of urban institutions are two important catalysts in this regard. Extreme natural events are unstoppable. No country can ignore it. The whole world is trying to minimize the carbon discharge through United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and the Kyoto Protocol⁶. The success of the convention or protocol is uncertain as the leading carbon producing country USA has not yet signed the Kyoto Protocol. Consequently, country like Bangladesh should concentrate on minimizing risk and on strong adaptation policies. Bangladesh has already developed National Action Plan for Adaptation (NAPA) and

⁶ The Kyoto Protocol is an international agreement linked to the UNFCCC. The major feature is that it sets binding targets for 37 industrialized countries and the European community for reducing greenhouse gas emissions (GHG). This amount is an average of 5% against 1990 levels over 2008-2012. The major distinction between the Protocol and the Convention is that while the Convention encouraged industrialised countries to stabilize GHG emissions, the Protocol commits them to do so.

Climate Change Strategy and Action Plan (CCSAP), though urban poor has got less focus there.

In view of the study findings, some recommendations are proposed to minimize the climate change-induced challenges of slum dwellers -

- Urban institutions need to develop a set of specific policies and action plans to address the climate change-induced challenges for low income slum dwellers.
- Land use planning mentioned in the DAP needs to be effectively implemented.
- RAJUK and DCC have specific roles in reducing climate change vulnerability. Zoning and planning controls, which often lead to the exclusion of huge population, can be used to help provide safe locations for low income households.
- Coordination between DWASA and DCC should be ensured regarding operation and management of drainage system for minimizing waterlogging.
- Awareness program on flood and extreme events related diseases should be started.
- Government financial institutions should adopt pro-poor financing strategy to disburse adequate loans for the lower income people for immediate adaptation.
- Effective adaptation strategies should be adopted acknowledging the effective traditional risk sharing strategies to address the potential impacts of climate change.

12. Conclusion

The slum dwellers of Dhaka, mostly (50%) being a victim of climate change-induced natural disasters like flood, river erosion and cyclone, migrated from different corners of the country for their survival. Empirical data shows that majority of them live in deplorable condition, due to poor basic services provided by the service providing institutions of the government. Being the centre of major economic and administrative operations, Dhaka's rapid urban growth due to incoming migration is putting extra pressure on the city service providers. There is a plethora of policies describing the rights of all citizens regarding basic

services. In fact, these laws are hardly practiced for the poor. Consequently, the slum dwellers of Dhaka city always remain in the vulnerable position in respect of different natural events.

The respondents' perception shows that the slum dwellers suffer most in access to basic services. Climate change-induced flooding, excessive rainfall, waterlogging and extreme temperature increase the degree of sufferings. It puts extra burdens on the social and economic challenges that the poor people already face. Their vulnerabilities will be increased due to the dependence on climate sensitive assets and weak social protection structures. The increased intensity of climate extremes like flood or heavy rainfall is of particular concern since it reduces the time for slum dwellers to recover from one climatic shock to another.

According to scientific literatures and survey results, the frequency of flood, extreme temperature and excessive rainfall due to climatic change is increasing in Bangladesh, both in terms of extreme weather frequency and gradual changes which eventually impact on livelihood assets. Some impacts are direct, such as more frequent floods or heavy rainfall-induced water logging while some are less direct including availability of freshwater and constraints on health, eventually led to less income and more expenditure. The study also identifies some crucial roles that individuals (income, asset bases), communities (micro-credit, awareness building program, social interconnectedness) and local government agencies (safety nets) adopt in their own adaptation processes. There are also limited institutional coping strategies for instance, emergency aid and awareness rising on saving and diseases both from urban institutions and NGOs. These coping mechanisms are not sufficient to address the challenges for the slum dwellers, since they even lose their earning sources due to climate shocks. It also shows the lack of governance and commitment in local government authorities including utility service providers to face climate stresses for the urban poor. However, where this commitment is made, it should be seen as an opportunity to address three key issues affecting the slum dwellers: climate change adaptation, effective local development and good governance. Wedded with lack of affordability of hygienic shelters and sanitation, scarcity of fresh water, poor income, climate change is more likely to continue speculating the urban poor's socio-economic activities and intensifying their vulnerability.

Most indicators show that climate change is evident in Bangladesh as well as in Dhaka. There is no way of ignoring the impact of climate change on the poor people. Climatic incidence cannot be altered but its adverse impact can be reduced through formulating and implementing effective policies and regulations. To minimize the impact, focuses should be given on reducing the hazard where it is possible (e.g. better drainage that stops a heavy rainstorm creating floods), or reducing disaster related health concern (e.g. launching awareness program to minimise flood and extreme temperature borne diseases), or reducing people's exposure to it (e.g. working with those who live in areas at risk of flooding to improve their housing or move to safer locations). Post-disaster response should be activated not only to help the urban poor particularly slum dwellers to build their homes and livelihoods but also encourage measures that reduce risk from possible future hazards. After all, the capacity, accountability and attitude of local government authorities including utility service providers should be developed or ensured to minimise the vulnerability to climate change in urban areas.

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যুদ্ধ ও যুদ্ধক্ষেত্রে অপরাধ: নৈতিক পরিপ্রেক্ষিতের কয়েকটি দিক

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ভূমিকা

যুদ্ধ কি? খুব সহজ করে বলা যায় দুটি রাষ্ট্রের মধ্যে অথবা একই রাষ্ট্রের দুটি বিবাদমান গ্রুপের মধ্যে উন্মুক্ত সশস্ত্র সংঘাতময় অবস্থাই যুদ্ধ। সংজ্ঞায় ব্যবহৃত 'সংঘাত' শব্দটির অর্থ কি? 'যুদ্ধ' পরিভাষাটিকে বোঝার জন্য সংঘাত শব্দটির পারিভাষিক অর্থ জানা যেতে পারে। দু'জন ব্যক্তি, বা গোষ্ঠী বা রাষ্ট্র শান্তিপূর্ণ সহাবস্থানে থাকবে এটাই স্বাভাবিক। কিন্তু, এ দু'জনের মধ্যে যদি স্বার্থ সংশ্লিষ্ট বিষয়ে দ্বিমত ঘটে তবেই সংঘাত সৃষ্টি হয়। সংঘাতের বিভিন্ন সামাজিক ও রাজনৈতিক পর্যায়ে রয়েছে। কয়েকটি উদাহরণের সাহায্যে বিষয়টি বোঝা যেতে পারে। যদি কোনো দম্পতি এক সঙ্গে শান্তিপূর্ণভাবে বসবাস করতে না চায় তাহলে তারা ডিভোর্স করে। যদি শিশুরা এক সঙ্গে থাকতে না চায় তাহলে তাদের মধ্যে তর্ক বা ঝগড়া হয়। আবার যদি জাতিগোষ্ঠীসমূহ অথবা রাষ্ট্রসমূহ এক সঙ্গে শান্তিপূর্ণ সহাবস্থানে থাকতে সম্মত না হয় তাহলে যুদ্ধ বাধে। এ পরস্পর বিরোধী অবস্থা সমূহ: যেমন ডিভোর্স, তর্ক এবং যুদ্ধ ইত্যাদি হলো সংঘাতের বিভিন্ন মাত্রা। আর সংঘাতের সবথেকে জটিল, বিস্তৃত পরিসরই হলো যুদ্ধ। যুদ্ধ প্রসঙ্গে যেসব মৌলিক প্রশ্ন সামনে চলে আসে তাহলো যুদ্ধ কেন সংঘটিত হয়? কোনো রাষ্ট্রের জনগণের মুক্তির জন্য যদি অন্য কোনো রাষ্ট্র বা শক্তির বিরুদ্ধে সশস্ত্র সংঘাতে যেতে হয়, সেটি কি নীতিসম্মত যুদ্ধ? কিংবা অপর রাষ্ট্রের উপর শক্তিশালী রাষ্ট্র আধিপত্য বিস্তার করতে গিয়ে যদি কোনো সংঘাতে লিপ্ত হয় তাহলে সেটি কি নৈতিকভাবে গ্রহণযোগ্য? এ প্রবন্ধে এসব প্রশ্নের উত্তর অনুসন্ধানের প্রয়াস নেওয়া। প্রসঙ্গক্রমে প্রবন্ধের বিভিন্ন অনুচ্ছেদে যুদ্ধ ও যুদ্ধক্ষেত্রের অপরাধ কিভাবে সংঘটিত হয়, যুদ্ধের তাত্ত্বিক মূল্যায়ন, যুদ্ধের সঙ্গে অপরাধের সম্পৃক্ততা ইত্যাদি বিষয়ে পর্যালোচনা করা হয়েছে।

২.১ যুদ্ধ প্রসঙ্গে

খুব মামুলিভাবে বলা হয় শত্রু রাষ্ট্রকে পরাহত করে তাকে নিয়ন্ত্রণে নিয়ে আসার জন্য পরস্পরের মধ্যে যে সংঘাতপূর্ণ অবস্থা বিরাজ করে তা-ই যুদ্ধ। অনেকসময় যুদ্ধকে প্রতিযোগিতাও বলা হয়ে থাকে। এই প্রতিযোগিতা এমন ভয়াবহ যে তাতে রক্তপাত,

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জীবনহানি এবং মানবিক বিপর্যয়ই বেশি গুরুত্ব পেয়ে থাকে। যুদ্ধ যে প্রয়োজনেই সংঘটিত হোক না কেন তার প্রকৃত স্বরূপ হলো বিভীষিকাময়। প্রতিদ্বন্দ্বী রাষ্ট্রকে পরাস্ত করে ঐ রাষ্ট্রকে নির্দিষ্ট শর্তের অধীনে নিয়ে আসাও যুদ্ধের লক্ষ্য। কিন্তু, যুদ্ধের এতোসব দিকের মধ্যে সবথেকে পীড়াদায়ক দিকটি হলো রক্তপাত ও জীবনহানি তথা মানবিক বিপর্যয়। একটা সময় পর্যন্ত যুদ্ধ সীমাবদ্ধ ছিল নির্দিষ্ট সীমানা ও ব্যক্তিবর্গের মধ্যে। এসব যুদ্ধে ব্যবহার করা হতো ঢাল ও তলোয়ার। আর যুদ্ধ সংঘটিত হতো শুধু যোদ্ধাদের মধ্যে। এতে করে যুদ্ধের ভয়াবহতা শুধু যুদ্ধক্ষেত্রেই সীমিত ছিল। ঊনবিংশ শতাব্দীর শুরুর দিক থেকে বিভিন্ন রাষ্ট্র বা জাতিগোষ্ঠীর মারণাস্ত্র আবিষ্কার ও পারমাণবিক শক্তি অর্জনের মাধ্যমে দিয়ে যুদ্ধ এক ভিন্ন চরিত্র অর্জন করেছে। এই চরিত্র এতোটা ভয়াবহ যে তা শুধু সামরিক লক্ষ্যস্থলসমূহই উদ্দেশ্য থাকতনা। বরং বেসামরিক জনগণ, সম্পদ এবং প্রকৃতিও তা থেকে মুক্ত নয়। দ্বিতীয় বিশ্বযুদ্ধের পর হিরোশিমা ও নাগাসাকি শহরে এটম-বোমা নিক্ষেপের মধ্য দিয়ে যুদ্ধ তার ভিন্ন রূপকে সামনে নিয়ে এসেছে। বোমা নিক্ষেপিত স্থানের জনগণ, স্থাপনা এবং প্রকৃতি ব্যাপক হারে ক্ষতিগ্রস্ত হয়। আণবিক বোমায় ব্যবহৃত তেজস্ক্রিয় মৌল যার কার্যকরী ক্ষমতা দশহাজার বছরেও লোপ পায় না, এর পরিণাম আগামী প্রজন্মকেও ভোগ করতে হবে। স্থানীয় জনগণের যুদ্ধের ফলে প্রাপ্ত ক্ষয়ক্ষতি এতো বেশি ধ্বংসাত্মক ও ভয়ঙ্কর যে তা ভোগ করতে হয় প্রজন্ম থেকে প্রজন্মান্তর। যেভাবেই যুদ্ধকে বোঝার চেষ্টা করা হোক না কেনো যুদ্ধের বাহ্যিক পরিসর বিভীষিকাময়।

যুদ্ধকে সহজভাবে বোঝার উপায় কি? এ সম্পর্কিত প্রশ্নের যুক্তিসঙ্গত উত্তর অনুসন্ধান করেছিলেন জেনারেল কার্ল ভন ক্লজভিটজ^১। তিনি বলেন, জীববিদ্যার ক্ষেত্রে ডারুউইন যে বিবর্তনবাদী তত্ত্ব উপস্থিত করেছেন তা মানুষের সামাজিক জীবনের বিবর্তন থেকে আলাদা কোনো কিছু নয়। প্রাণী যেমন পরিবেশে দীর্ঘ লড়াই সংগ্রামের মধ্য দিয়ে বেঁচে থাকার চেষ্টা চালায়, তেমনি সামাজিক বিবর্তনের ইতিহাসেও মানুষকে অনেক সংগ্রাম ও তিতিক্ষার মধ্য দিয়ে এগিয়ে আসতে হয়েছে। প্রাকৃতিক বাস্তবতায় ডারুউইনের নীতিটি হলো : “যোগ্যতমের উর্ধ্বতন”। এই ‘উর্ধ্বতন’ বলতে বোঝানো হচ্ছে টিকে থাকার লড়াইয়ে যারা পরিবেশের সঙ্গে নিজেকে খাপ খাইয়ে নিতে পারবে প্রকৃতিতে তারাই উর্ধ্বতন অবস্থান লাভ করবে। কিন্তু, প্রশ্ন হলো সামাজিক জীবনে এই টিকে থাকা কী নৈতিক জীবনের উৎকৃষ্টতর অবস্থাকে বোঝায়? ডারুউইনের সামাজিক বিবর্তন শক্তিশালীর স্বার্থ সংরক্ষণকেই উৎসাহিত করে থাকে।

সামাজিক জীবনের ক্ষেত্রে যদি ডারুউইনীয় বিবর্তনবাদকে মেনে নেওয়া হয় তাহলে নৈতিকতাকে মূল্যায়ন করা হবে কিভাবে? অনেকে হয়তো এবিবেচনাকে সামনে রেখে বলবেন নৈতিকতা হলো সংগ্রামের বিষয়। নৈতিক বিবর্তনবাদের একজন অন্যতম

^১ Clausewitz, General Carl von, 1874 (1909), "ON WAR", Translated by Colonel, J.J. Grahm, London: Princeton University Press. and also available in <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/1946/1946-h/1946-h.htm> (accessed on 20 March 2013).

প্রবক্তা হার্বার্ট স্পেন্সার^২। তিনি মনে করেন, নৈতিক আচরণও বিবর্তনের ধারায় প্রগতির দিকে অগ্রসর হয়। যে আচরণ কম বিবর্তিত তা অপেক্ষা অধিকতর বিবর্তিত আচরণ বেশি উৎকর্ষপূর্ণ। এর সঙ্গে সঙ্গতি রেখে তিনি বলেন মানুষের বহুমুখী আচরণের মধ্যে যেটি জীবনের সপক্ষে সেটিই ভালো আচরণ। আর জীবনকে সংরক্ষণ করে না তা মন্দ আচরণ। উক্ত দু'ধরনের আচরণের পার্থক্য প্রসঙ্গে তিনি বলেন, ভালো আচরণ মানুষকে তার সমাজের সঙ্গে অভিযোজন করতে সাহায্য করে, আর মন্দ আচরণ পরিবেশের সঙ্গে বৈরি সম্পর্ক সৃষ্টি করে। স্পেন্সার এর বিবর্তনবাদী নীতিবাদের বিরুদ্ধে অসংখ্য সমালোচনা উপস্থাপন করা যায়। এ প্রসঙ্গে সবথেকে জোরালো সমালোচনা করেছেন সিজউইক^৩ এবং জর্জ এডওয়ার্ড ম্যুর^৪। সিজউইক বলছেন, স্পেন্সার জীববিজ্ঞান ও নীতিবিদ্যার ক্ষেত্রে যে অসম্পূর্ণ আলাদা তা বুঝতে ব্যর্থ হয়েছেন। নীতিবিদ্যার নিজস্ব সার্বভৌমত্ব রয়েছে। এটি 'কি হওয়া উচিত' প্রশ্নের অনুসন্ধান করে থাকে। অন্যদিকে জীববিদ্যা বিজ্ঞান হিসেবে ঘটনার বিবরণ প্রদান করে থাকে। নৈতিক আচরণ বিবর্তনের ধারায় অগ্রসর হয়ে থাকে। অন্য সমালোচনা এসেছে জি.ই ম্যুর-এর কাছ থেকে। তিনি যুক্তিবিদ্যার নিয়ম কানুন থেকে শুরু করে ভাষা বিশ্লেষণী প্রক্রিয়ায় দেখিয়েছেন কোনোকিছুর অধিকতর বিবর্তিত হবার সঙ্গে অধিকতর ভালো হওয়ার আবশ্যিক কোনো সম্পর্ক নেই। বরং অধিকতর বিবর্তিত হওয়া একটি প্রাকৃতিক ঘটনা, আর অধিকতর ভালো অ-প্রাকৃতিক বিষয়। এই দুই স্বতন্ত্র ধারাকে এক করে ব্যাখ্যা করা অনুপপত্তির সমপর্যায়ভুক্ত। এটাকে তিনি নাম দিয়েছেন 'প্রাকৃতিকীয় অনুপপত্তি' (naturalistic fallacy)। সুতরাং, স্পেন্সার-এর বিবর্তনবাদ নৈতিক সিদান্তে উপনীত হবার জন্য উপযোগী নয়।

আরো একটি দিক থেকে বিষয়টি বিবেচনা করা যাক। ধরা যাক সামাজিক জীবনে এমন একজন ব্যক্তি উর্ধ্বতন স্থান পেয়েছেন যিনি নীতি-নৈতিকতার দিক থেকে সুবিধাজনক নয়। হতে পারে ঐ ব্যক্তি চোরাই-কারবারি, লুঠ-পাট তথা অবৈধ পন্থায় অঢেল অর্থবিস্তের মালিক হয়েছেন। অর্থনৈতিক সামর্থ্যের কারণে তিনি বিভিন্ন প্রতিষ্ঠানে দান করছেন, বিভিন্ন দাতব্য প্রতিষ্ঠানে সহযোগিতা করছেন, কখনো দুস্থ-পীড়িতকেও সহযোগিতা করছেন। কিন্তু, ঐ ব্যক্তির ব্যবসায়িক প্রতিষ্ঠানসমূহ রাষ্ট্রের বিশাল কর ফাঁকি দিচ্ছে, তার ব্যবসায়িক মাধ্যমসমূহ জনগণের স্বাস্থ্য ও পরিবেশের জন্য ক্ষতির কারণ হয়ে দাঁড়িয়েছে। এরকম বাস্তবতায় ঐ ব্যক্তির 'উর্ধ্বতন' অবস্থাকে কি নৈতিক দিক থেকে উৎকৃষ্ট বলা যাচ্ছে? নিশ্চয়ই না। কারণ উপযোগবাদী (utilitarian) কিংবা বিচারবাদী (rationalist) যে কোনো পরিপেক্ষিত থেকে জনগণের কিংবা বৃহত্তর জনগোষ্ঠীর স্বার্থকে ক্ষতিগ্রস্ত করে নিজের ফুলে ফেঁপে ওঠা প্রাকৃতিক

^২ Spencer, Herbert, 1889. An Epitome of the Synthetic Philosophy, William and Norgate, London.

^৩ Sidgwick, H. 1963. The Methods of Ethics, Macmillan : London.

^৪ Moore, G.E. 1903 (1976) Principia Ethica, Cambridge University Press : London.

জগতের উর্ধ্বতন নির্ধারণ করলেও নৈতিকভাবে ব্যক্তির সর্বোৎকৃষ্টতাকে প্রমাণ করে না। সামাজিক ডারুউইনবাদ যদি নৈতিকতার মানদণ্ড হয় তাহলে ধরে নিতে হবে যে, যুদ্ধে যে জাতি জয়লাভ করবে তাদেরই টিকে থাকার অধিকার রয়েছে। অধিকারের এই আধিপত্যবাদী দৃষ্টিকোণ বাস্তবভিত্তিক কোনো নৈতিকতা প্রতিষ্ঠা করে না। আর যদি আধিপত্যবাদ হয় নৈতিকতার ভিত্তি তাহলে সার্বভৌমত্ব বা নির্দিষ্ট ভূ-সীমারেখা বলে কোনোকিছু থাকবে না। যারা শক্তিশালী তাদের জয়জয়কার মেনে নিতে হবে। এরকম ধারণা যুদ্ধকে আরো উৎসাহিত করবে। এবিবেচনায় সামাজিক ডারুউইনবাদ গ্রহণযোগ্য নয়।

উপর্যুক্ত উদাহরণটি যুদ্ধের ক্ষেত্রে বিবেচনা করা যেতে পারে। ধরা যাক কোনো রাষ্ট্র শক্তিমত্তার দিক থেকে অনেক উর্ধ্ব, অর্থনৈতিক ও সমরশক্তিতে যে কাউকে পরাস্ত করার ক্ষমতা রাখে। এরকম বাস্তবতায় যদি ঐ রাষ্ট্র ডারুউইনীয় বিবর্তনবাদকে অনুশীলন করে তাহলে যে কোনো মুহূর্তে যে কোনো দুর্বল রাষ্ট্রকে দখলে নিয়ে আসাই হবে তাদের পররাষ্ট্রনীতি। কিন্তু এটিও উল্লেখ্য যে, এরকম আধিপত্যবাদী নীতি আন্তর্জাতিক পরিসরে স্বীকৃত নয়। এজন্যই আমেরিকার ইরাক আক্রমণ, কিংবা বিভিন্ন রাষ্ট্রে ড্রোন হামলা মানবতাবাদী দিক থেকে সমালোচনার সম্মুখীন হচ্ছে।

প্রশ্ন হলো, যুদ্ধ সংঘটিত হয় কেন? কয়েকটি পরিপ্রেক্ষিত থেকে যুদ্ধ সংঘটনের কারণ ব্যাখ্যা করা যেতে পারে। এরকম কয়েকটি কারণ এখানে উল্লেখ করা যেতে পারে:

এক. বুদ্ধিবৃত্তিক বাস্তবতা (the realm of rationality): যুদ্ধ সংঘটিত হবার অসংখ্য কারণের মধ্যে একটি হলো কোনো পক্ষের অ-বৌদ্ধিকতা। দুটি জাতি, ব্যক্তি বা রাষ্ট্রের মধ্যে যখন 'সংঘাত' সৃষ্টি হয় তখন সংলাপের আবশ্যিকতা রয়েছে। কিন্তু, অনেকসময় কোনো এক পক্ষ যদি অ-বৌদ্ধিক হয়, যুদ্ধের ভয়াবহ পরিণতি, লোকবল ক্ষয়ের হিসেব কিংবা মানবিক বিপর্যয়ের হিসেব করার সামর্থ্য থাকে না তখন সে পক্ষ যুদ্ধের দিকে এগিয়ে যাবে। আলোচনা ও সংলাপ সেখানে কোনো ফল দিবে না। অ-বৌদ্ধিকতার কারণে যুক্তিহীনতা ও ভাবাবেগ গুরুত্বপূর্ণ হয়ে উঠে।

আবার যেসব ঘটনা নিয়ে সংঘাত বাধে সেগুলোর মধ্যে কোনটি বৌদ্ধিক/যৌক্তিক ঘটনা, আর কোনটি অযৌক্তিক/ অ-বৌদ্ধিক ঘটনা তার মধ্যে নির্ধারিত বিভাজন রেখাটি স্পষ্ট করা বাস্তবীয়। সংঘাত যেন যুদ্ধে পর্যবসিত না হয় সেজন্য এই বিভাজনটি খুবই জরুরি। বিশেষ কোনো বাস্তবতায় একটি পক্ষ হয়তো নিজেদের বোধ-বুদ্ধির ঘাটতির ফলে অবৌদ্ধিক/অযৌক্তিক কারণকে যথার্থ হিসেবে দাবি করতে পারেন। আবার অন্যপক্ষ বাস্তবিক ন্যায় ও যুক্তিসঙ্গত কারণের পক্ষে অবস্থান নিতে পারে। অথচ দুটি কারণই দু'পক্ষের কাছে যথার্থ মনে হতে পারে। ফলে এদের মধ্যে কোনো সংলাপ অথবা আলোচনা বিরাজমান সংকট মোচনে সহায়ক নয়। এজন্য

কোন দাবিটির যৌক্তিকতার ভিত্তি কতোটুকু বস্তুনিষ্ঠ সে সম্পর্কে সকলেরই স্পষ্ট ধারণা থাকা উচিত। অথবা তৃতীয় ও নিরপেক্ষ কোনো একটি পক্ষকে সম্পৃক্ত করে বিদ্যমান বিভাজনের মীমাংসা করা যেতে পারে। দুটি পক্ষই যদি উক্ত বিশেষ দিকসমূহ সম্পর্কে সচেতন না থাকে তাহলেই সংঘাত অনিবার্য হতে পারে। সর্বোপরি যদি তা সম্ভব না হয় তাহলে ধরে নিতে হবে উপর্যুক্ত বাস্তবতায় যুদ্ধ সংঘটিত হবার কারণ হলো যৌক্তিকতার সঙ্গে অযৌক্তিকতার বিরোধকে স্বীকার করে নেওয়া।

দুই. ধর্ম (religion): ধর্মীয় অন্ধ বিবেচনাও অনেকসময় যুদ্ধের কারণ হয়ে দাঁড়াতে পারে। ধর্মযুদ্ধ, কিংবা ক্রুসেড তারই দৃষ্টান্ত। কোনো একটি রাষ্ট্র বিশ্বাস করে তার 'ক' নামক ধর্মই উৎকৃষ্ট এবং পাশ্চবর্তী রাষ্ট্রের জনগণেরও এই ধর্মের অনুসারী হওয়া উচিত। সামরিক ও নিরাপত্তার শক্তিতে পাশ্চবর্তী রাষ্ট্র তুলনামূলকভাবে দুর্বল। দুর্বল রাষ্ট্রের নাগরিকগণ যদি এরকম চাপিয়ে দেওয়া সিদ্ধান্তের বিরুদ্ধে প্রতিরোধ গড়ে তোলে তবেই যুদ্ধ সংঘটিত হয়। বিশেষ করে ইসরাইল ও প্যালেস্টাইনের মধ্যে যে যুদ্ধ তা ধর্মীয় পরিপ্রেক্ষিত থেকে। কারণ ইহুদিদের ধর্মীয় বিশ্বাসের সঙ্গে তারা পবিত্র ভূমির ধারণাকে যুক্ত করেছে। এই যুক্তকরণের ফলে তারা মনে করেন প্যালেস্টাইনের ভূমিও মুসলমানদের নয়। ঐতিহাসিক কারণে এ ভূমির উপর কেবল ইহুদিদেরই অধিকার রয়েছে। আর অধিকারবোধের এই ধর্মীয় ভাবনা থেকেই তারা প্যালেস্টাইনীদের ভূমি-অধিগ্রহণের নামে দখলদারিত্ব চালাচ্ছে। পরিণতিতে তা-ই যুদ্ধের কারণ হয়ে দাঁড়ায়।

তিন. জাতিসত্তার পরিচয় সন্ধান (searching for identity of nationality): অমর্ত্য সেন তাঁর *Identity and Violence: The Illusions of Destiny*^৭, গ্রন্থে এ বিষয়টির উপর আলোকপাত করেছেন। তিনি মনে করেন, প্রত্যেক জাতির মধ্যে তার নিজস্ব আত্মপরিচয়ের অনুসন্ধান করার প্রবণতা রয়েছে। একটি জাতিগোষ্ঠীর আত্মপরিচয় স্বাভাবিকভাবে অন্য একটি জাতিগোষ্ঠীর আত্মপরিচয় থেকে স্বতন্ত্র ভাববার মনস্তত্ত্ব জন্ম নেয়। এই মনস্তাত্ত্বিক জায়গা থেকে অনেক জাতিগোষ্ঠীই হয়তো দাবি করতে পারে : তার ভাষা, সংস্কৃতি, কৃষ্টি, শিক্ষা ও রাজনৈতিক বোধ-বুদ্ধি যে কোনো জাতিগোষ্ঠীর চেয়ে উন্নত। এই প্রাসঙ্গিকতায় মূলত আমরা নিজেদের থেকে অন্যদেরকে আলাদা করার চেষ্টা করে থাকি। এই প্রচেষ্টার ফসল হিসেবেই দুটি জাতিগোষ্ঠীর মধ্যে সংঘাত বাধে। পরিণতিতে তাই যুদ্ধে রূপ লাভ করে।

মানুষ তার দৈনন্দিন কর্মকাণ্ডে বুদ্ধিবৃত্তি, ধর্ম ও স্বজাতিবোধ দ্বারা তড়িত হতে এটাই স্বাভাবিক। কিন্তু, প্রায়শই দেখা যায় অতি-আবেগ আমাদের বৌদ্ধিক সক্ষমতাকে লোপ করে দেয়। বুদ্ধির নিয়ন্ত্রণ হারিয়ে আমরা যোগ দিই অবিচারের মহোৎসবে।

^৭ Sen, Amartya Kumar, 2006. *Identity and Violence: The Illusions of Destiny*, W.W Norton and Company, New York.

পাশাপাশি ধর্ম যদি পারস্পরিক সৌহার্দ্য, সম্প্রীতি ও অহিংসার নীতি থেকে দূরে সরে যায়, যুক্তিহীন ও উগ্র ধর্মীয়বোধ দ্বারা কোনো জাতিগোষ্ঠীকে পরিচালিত হয়, তাহলে সংঘাত অনিবার্য হয়ে উঠে। আবার স্বজাত্য-অহংও (ethnic superiority) সংঘাতের আরেকটি কারণ। এই সংঘাতই যুদ্ধে পর্যবসিত হয়। যে কারণ থেকেই যুদ্ধ সংঘটিত হোক না কেন যুদ্ধ সম্পর্কে প্রাসঙ্গিক প্রশ্ন হলো তা নৈতিকভাবে গ্রহণযোগ্য কি-না? কিংবা যুদ্ধ সংঘটন কীভাবে অপরাধ হয়ে উঠে। পরবর্তী অনুচ্ছেদে উক্ত বিষয়ে পর্যালোচনা করার প্রয়াস নেওয়া হয়েছে।

৩.১ যুদ্ধ, অপরাধ ও নৈতিকতা

প্রশ্ন হলো যুদ্ধ সংঘটিত করা কী নৈতিক? নাকি অপরাধ? যেসব কারণ দেখিয়ে যুদ্ধের অপরিহার্যতাকে প্রমাণ করার চেষ্টা করা হয় এবং যুদ্ধক্ষেত্রে অপরাধ করা হয় তাই-বা কতোটুকু নৈতিক? প্রথম প্রশ্নের উত্তরে আমরা বলতে পারি যুদ্ধ অনৈতিক। কারণ যুদ্ধের মধ্য দিয়ে মানুষ দ্বারা মানুষকে হত্যা করা হয়। খাদ্য, পানীয় এবং জীবন-যাপনের অন্যান্য সুবিধাসমূহ সংকোচিত করে মানবিক বিপর্যয় সৃষ্টি করা হয়। এ বিবেচনায় যুদ্ধ পরিভাষার সঙ্গে ন্যায় পরিভাষাটি যুক্ত করে বলার কোনো সুযোগ নেই যে যুদ্ধ ন্যায় বা নৈতিক। উপর্যুক্ত বিষয়টিকে স্পষ্ট করার জন্য আমরা দুটি ধারণাকে স্পষ্ট করে নিতে পারি— এক. যুদ্ধ সংঠনের অপরাধ, দুই. যুদ্ধক্ষেত্রে অপরাধ।

পূর্বে উল্লেখ করেছি যে, কোনো কারণেই যুদ্ধ সংঘটিত হোক স্বনিহিত কারণেই এটি অনৈতিক কর্মকাণ্ড। কারণ যুদ্ধের মধ্য দিয়ে মানবিক বিপর্যয় সংঘটিত হয়ে থাকে। অনেকসময় হয়তো কোনো একটি রাষ্ট্র ন্যায়সঙ্গত কারণ দেখিয়ে যুদ্ধ শুরু করতে পারে। উদাহরণস্বরূপ বলা যেতে পারে কোনো একটি স্বাধীন ভূখণ্ড যদি অন্য কোনো শক্তিশালী রাষ্ট্র দ্বারা আক্রান্ত হয় সেক্ষেত্রে ঐ দেশের জনগণের কী করা উচিত? এ প্রশ্নের সাদামাটা উত্তর হলো আক্রান্ত রাষ্ট্রের উচিত অনৈতিক দখলদারিত্বের বিরুদ্ধে তথা গোটা জনগোষ্ঠীর স্বার্থ সংরক্ষণের জন্য রাষ্ট্রের প্রথম দায় হলো প্রতিরোধ গড়ে তোলা।

আবার কিছু কিছু যুদ্ধ সংঘটিত হয় ভুলতথ্য ও সিদ্ধান্ত থেকে। আমরা লক্ষ্য করে দেখব— ইরাক যুদ্ধের সময় আমেরিকা প্রভাবিত রাষ্ট্রসমূহ দাবি করে আসছে— “সাদাম সরকারের নিয়ন্ত্রণে জনবিধ্বংসী জীবাণু অস্ত্র এবং পারমাণবিক সরঞ্জাম রয়েছে”। এসব অধিকারে থাকার ফলে সাদাম সরকার বিশ্বশান্তির জন্য হুমকি হয়ে দাঁড়াতে পারে। এরকম অভিযোগের পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে আমেরিকা প্রভাবিত ন্যাটো ইরাক আক্রমণ করে। পরবর্তী সময়ে বিভিন্ন রিপোর্টের ভিত্তিতে জানা যায় সাদাম নিয়ন্ত্রিত ইরাকে এসবের কিছুই ছিলো না। একতরফা যুদ্ধে সাদামের পরাজয়ের মধ্য দিয়ে সেটা বিশ্ববাসীর কাছেও স্পষ্ট হয়েছে। বিশেষ কোনো লক্ষ্যকে সামনে রেখে, ভুলতথ্য প্রচারের মাধ্যমে যে যুদ্ধ শুরু হয় সেটিকেই আবার অর্থবহভাবে পরিচালনা করা হয়।

সুতরাং, যেকারণেই যুদ্ধ সংঘটিত করা হোক না কেন যুদ্ধ সংঘটন করা অনৈতিক, এ বিবেচনায় এটি অপরাধও। আবার যুদ্ধের নামে যে রক্তপাত এবং মানবতার বিপর্যয় হয় তাও অপরাধ। তবে মাত্রাগত দিক থেকে উভয়ের মধ্যে কিছু পার্থক্য রয়েছে। প্রথমেই আমরা জেনে নিতে পারি যুদ্ধ সংগঠনের অপরাধ বলতে কি বুঝি? এবং যুদ্ধসংগঠনের ক্ষেত্রের অপরাধ কি?

এক. যুদ্ধ সংগঠনের অপরাধ. সাধারণত যুদ্ধ বলতে বোঝায় দুই বা ততোধিক রাষ্ট্রের মধ্যে সংগঠিত সশস্ত্র সংঘর্ষ। যখন কোনো রাষ্ট্র ন্যায় বা অন্যায় কারণ দেখিয়ে অপর রাষ্ট্রকে আক্রমণ করে তাকে যুদ্ধ সংগঠনের অপরাধ বা চাপিয়ে দেওয়া যুদ্ধাপরাধ বলে। এ পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে ইরাক যুদ্ধকে কী আমরা চাপিয়ে দেওয়া যুদ্ধ বলতে পারি? দুটি প্রশ্নোত্তর থেকে আমরা বিষয়টিকে মূল্যায়ন করতে পারি :

(১) ইরাক যুদ্ধে দুটি পক্ষ ছিল। একদিকে ইরাক নিজে একটি পক্ষ, অন্যদিকে আমেরিকার নেতৃত্বাধীন আরেকটি পক্ষ। ইরাকের অভ্যন্তরীণ গণতান্ত্রিক ব্যবস্থাপনার অসংগতি, রাষ্ট্র পরিচালনায় স্বৈরতন্ত্র, পাশাপাশি জীবাণু অস্ত্র বহন করার মতো অপরাধ সংঘটনের দায়। এ দুটি কারণে আমেরিকা সাদ্দাম সরকারের পদচ্যুতি দাবি করেছিল। সাদ্দাম সরকারের দিক থেকে এ দুটি দাবিই অযৌক্তিক হিসেবে স্বীকার করা হয়েছে। এরকম বাস্তবতায় কোনটি চূড়ান্ত অর্থে সঠিক দাবি তা আমাদের জানার সুযোগ ছিল না। কিন্তু, পরবর্তী সময়ে বিভিন্ন মিডিয়ার মাধ্যমে আমরা অবহিত হয়েছি জীবাণু অস্ত্র রাখার অভিযোগটি একেবারেই ভিত্তিহীন ছিল। আর ইরাকের জাতিগত সংঘাতের বিষয়টি সেখানকার রাজনৈতিক সমীকরণে নতুন কোনো তথ্য নয়। এ দুটি বিবেচনার পাশাপাশি যেটি ধর্তব্যের বিষয় তা হলো অন্য রাষ্ট্রের অভ্যন্তরীণ বিষয়াদিতে বহিঃশক্তির হস্তক্ষেপ করার যৌক্তিক এবং আইনগত অধিকার কতোটুকু রয়েছে তা বিচার করা। যদি বিবেচনাটি হয় এরকম যে, অন্য রাষ্ট্রের অভ্যন্তরীণ বিষয়ে হস্তক্ষেপ করার অধিকার রাষ্ট্রের বাইরের কোনো শক্তির নেই তাহলে এটাই ঠিক যে ইরাক যুদ্ধ ছিলো একেবারেই চাপিয়ে দেওয়া যুদ্ধ। এ বিবেচনায় আমেরিকা যে অপরাধ করেছে তা হলো যুদ্ধ সংগঠনের অপরাধ।

(২) দ্বিতীয় কারণটি প্রথম কারণটির সঙ্গে সম্পৃক্ত। কোনো একটি রাষ্ট্রের গণতান্ত্রিক ব্যবস্থাপনায় যদি অনিয়মতান্ত্রিকতা থাকে, স্বৈচ্ছাচারিতা থাকে তাহলে বহিঃবিশ্বের দায়িত্ব রয়েছে তা উন্নয়নে ভূমিকা রাখা হতে পারে সেখানকার প্রতিবাদী কোনো গোষ্ঠীকে রাজনৈতিক সমর্থন দেওয়া, কিংবা গণতান্ত্রিক পরিবেশকে মানসম্মত করার জন্য স্বৈচ্ছাচারিতাকে নিরুৎসাহিত করা, ঘৃণা করা। তবে সংশ্লিষ্ট রাষ্ট্রের নাগরিক সমাজের ভূমিকাও এখানে গুরুত্ব সহকারে বিবেচনা করা প্রয়োজন। এবিবেচনায় এটি পরোক্ষ কারণ। কিন্তু, উপর্যুক্ত দুটি কারণে অন্য রাষ্ট্রের উপর চাপিয়ে দেওয়া কোনো যুদ্ধকে মেনে নেয়া যায় না।

উপর্যুক্ত কারণ (১) ও (২) বিবেচনায় ইরাকের সঙ্গে আমেরিকার মিত্রবাহিনীর যে যুদ্ধ তা একান্তই চাপিয়ে দেওয়া যুদ্ধ। উক্ত দুটি বিবেচনায় এটি হলো যুদ্ধ সংগঠনের অপরাধ। আবার ইরাক কর্তৃক কুয়েত দখলের ঘটনাটি বিবেচনা করা যাক। ইরাকের কুয়েত দখলও একটি যুদ্ধ সংগঠনের অপরাধ বলতে পারি। রাষ্ট্র হিসেবে কুয়েতের নিজস্ব স্বাধীনতা ও সার্বভৌমত্ব রয়েছে। জাতিসংঘ সনদে চুক্তি স্বাক্ষরকারী প্রত্যেকটি রাষ্ট্রেরই অপর রাষ্ট্রের স্বাধীনতা ও সার্বভৌমত্বের প্রতি শ্রদ্ধা প্রদর্শন করার বাধ্যবাধকতা রয়েছে। এ বিবেচনায় ইরাক জাতিসংঘ সনদের উপর্যুক্ত বিধিকে লঙ্ঘন করেছে বলা যায়। আর স্বাধীন ও সার্বভৌম রাষ্ট্রকে অপর কোনো রাষ্ট্র যদি আক্রমণ করে তাহলে তাও যুদ্ধ সংগঠনের অপরাধের সমতুল্য। কুয়েত আক্রমণের মধ্য দিয়ে ইরাক তাই করেছে। আবার সন্ত্রাসবিরোধী অভিযানের নামে আমেরিকার আফগানিস্তান দখলও যুদ্ধ সংগঠনের অপরাধ। কারণ আফগানিস্তান স্বাধীন সার্বভৌম রাষ্ট্র। বুশ সরকার তার সাম্রাজ্যবাদী গোষ্ঠীকে নিয়ে অন্যায় ও অনৈতিকভাবে আফগানিস্তান আক্রমণ করে যুদ্ধ শুরু করেছিল। সুতরাং, এটি সুস্পষ্টভাবে যুদ্ধ সংগঠনের অপরাধ।

দুই. যুদ্ধ ক্ষেত্রে অপরাধ বা যুদ্ধাপরাধ. যুদ্ধ সংগঠনের অপরাধ চূড়ান্ত অর্থে যুদ্ধ অপরাধেরই সমপর্যায়ের। সুনির্দিষ্ট কোনো সংজ্ঞায় একে না বেধে আমরা বলতে পারি — যুদ্ধের বিধি বিধান ভঙ্গ করে অন্য কোনো জাতি, জনগোষ্ঠীর উপর নির্বিচার আক্রমণ করে জীবনহানি, রক্তপাত, হত্যা, ধর্ষণ এবং লুণ্ঠন করলে যুদ্ধাপরাধ হিসেবে গণ্য হবে। জাতিসংঘ আন্তর্জাতিক the International Criminal Court^{*} যুদ্ধাপরাধ আর্টিকেল ৭ ও ৮-এ কতোগুলো ধারার প্রসঙ্গ উল্লেখ রয়েছে যা যুদ্ধাপরাধের সমতুল্য: Article 7 (3): নাগরিকের উপর যদি প্রত্যক্ষ কোনো হামলা চালানো হয়। সেটি হতে পারে সামরিক বা বেসামরিক হামলা।

Article 8 (2) (b) (xxii)-2: যুদ্ধে পরাজিত নারীদের যদি যৌন-দাসী হিসেবে ব্যবহার করা হয়।

Article 8 (2) (b) (xxii)-6: যুদ্ধ চলাকালীন যৌন-নিপীড়ন, ধর্ষণ ইত্যাদি অপরাধ।

Article 8 (2) (b) (xxvi): যুদ্ধে যদি শিশুদের অংশগ্রহণ করতে বাধ্য করা হয়।

Article 8 (2) (c) (i)-1: নির্বিচারে যদি অগণিত মানুষ হত্যা করা হয়। হত্যাকাণ্ডে পেশাজীবী যারা যুদ্ধে প্রত্যক্ষ বা পরোক্ষভাবে অংশগ্রহণ করেনি। যেমন, চিকিৎসক, ধর্মযাজক, শান্তিকর্মী তাদেরকে যদি হত্যা করা হয়।

Article 8 (2) (c) (i)-3: যুদ্ধে যদি নিরীহ মানুষের উপর নৃশংস আচরণ করা হয়।

^{*} United Nations, 2002/2011. Official Records of the Assembly of States Parties to the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, First Session, New York, 3-10, Sept 2002, [United Nations Publications, Part IIB. Also adopted in *International Criminal Court Publication*, RC/11.

Article 8 (2) (c) (i)-4: প্রতিপক্ষের কাছ থেকে যদি তথ্য আদায়ের জন্য নির্যাতন করা হয়, শারীরিক ও মানসিক যন্ত্রনা দেওয়া হয়।

Article 8 (2) (c) (ii): যদি প্রতিপক্ষের মানব মর্যাদাকে মারাত্মকভাবে ব্যহত করা হয়।

Article 8 (2) (e) (i): যদি উপাসনালয়, শিক্ষাপ্রতিষ্ঠান, লাইব্রেরী এবং ঐতিহাসিক স্থাপনা বা প্রত্নতাত্ত্বিক নিদর্শনসমূহ ধ্বংস করা হয়।

Article 8 (2) (e) (v): যদি যুদ্ধে পরাজিত ব্যক্তি বা গোষ্ঠীকে তাদের স্ব-সম্পদের উপর অধিকার ভোগ করতে না দেওয়া হয়, প্রতিবন্ধকতা সৃষ্টি করা হয়।

Article 8 (2) (e) (vi)-1: গণধর্ষণ করা। কিংবা নারী বা শিশুদের যৌন-নিপীড়ন করা হয়।

পরবর্তী সময়ে বিভিন্ন দেশ এবং আন্তর্জাতিক সংস্থাসমূহ উপর্যুক্ত বিধিগুলোর মধ্যে সমন্বয় রেখে বেশকিছু আর্টিকেল প্রণয়ন করেছেন যা লঙ্ঘন হিসেবে দাবি করা হয়েছে। যেমন, ব্রিটিশ মিলিটারী ম্যানুয়ালে^৯ মোট চারটি শর্ত উল্লেখ রয়েছে যা যুদ্ধবন্দিদের প্রতি পালন করা অপরিহার্য। এ চারটি আবার আন্তর্জাতিক Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court এর শর্তের সঙ্গে সামঞ্জস্যপূর্ণ। এখানে উল্লেখ করা হয়েছে :

১. যুদ্ধবন্দিদের সুনির্দিষ্ট বাসস্থান দিতে হবে।
২. তাদের প্রতি কোনো অসৌজন্যমূলক আচরণ কিংবা শারীরিক নির্যাতন করা যাবে না।
৩. পরাজিতদের সম্পদ লুণ্ঠন করা যাবে না।
৪. এবং বিনা কারণে আক্রান্ত রাষ্ট্রের রাষ্ট্রীয় এবং প্রাকৃতিক সম্পদ ধ্বংস করা যাবে না।

উল্লিখিত চারটি শর্তের ব্যত্যয় ঘটে তাহলেই তা যুদ্ধাপরাধ হিসেবে গণ্য হবে। ব্রিটিশ ম্যানুয়ালের পাশাপাশি এ সম্পর্কিত বিস্তৃত আলোচনা লক্ষ করা যায় প্রফেসর লাইচারপ্যাঙ্ক এর বিশ্লেষণে। তিনি বলেন, যুদ্ধক্ষেত্রে অমানবিকতার আশ্রয় নেওয়াও অনৈতিক। যেমন, যদি যুদ্ধ বন্দিকে খাদ্য প্রদান না করা হয়, মানুষ হিসেবে তার যে মর্যাদা রয়েছে সেটুকু প্রদান না করা হয়, শারীরিক ও মানসিক নির্যাতন করা হয় তাহলে তা অমানবিকতা হিসেবে গণ্য হবে। আবার নৃশংসতা যুদ্ধাপরাধের অন্তর্ভুক্ত। যেমন, যুদ্ধবন্দীকে নির্মমভাবে আহত করা, নির্যাতন করা ইত্যাদি। যুদ্ধক্ষেত্রে বিবেকবর্জিত কাজসমূহও যুদ্ধাপরাধ হিসেবে বিবেচ্য। উপর্যুক্ত আলোচনায় আমরা লক্ষ করেছি Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, ব্রিটিশ মিলিটারী

^৯ BAFM, 2009. British Army Field Manual, Volume 1 Part 10 Countering Insurgency, Army Code 71876, October.

ম্যানুয়াল এবং প্রফেসর লাইচারপ্যাষ্ট ভিন্ন ভিন্ন পরিপ্রেক্ষিত থেকে যুদ্ধাপরাধকে বিবেচনা করেছেন। কিন্তু, উভয়ক্ষেত্রেই একটি বিষয় অভিন্নভাবে গুরুত্ব পেয়েছে তাহলো যুদ্ধবন্দিদের স্বার্থকে মানবিক দিক থেকে বিবেচনা করা উচিত।

আমরা লক্ষ্য করে দেখব প্রফেসর ওপেনহ্যাম^{*} যেভাবে যুদ্ধাপরাধকে ব্যাখ্যা করেছেন তাতে বৃটিশ মিলিটারী ম্যানুয়াল এবং প্রফেসর লাইচারপ্যাষ্ট উভয়ের আলোচনায় প্রতিফলিত হয়েছে। নিম্নোক্ত শর্তের অধীনে যেকোনো ঘটনা যুদ্ধাপরাধ হতে পারে। ওপেনহ্যামের মতে সেগুলো হলো : ১. কোনো রাষ্ট্রের সশস্ত্র বাহিনী যদি বেসামরিক নাগরিকদের ওপর নির্বিচারে হামলা চালায়, বেসামরিক জনগোষ্ঠীর সঙ্গে সংঘর্ষে লিপ্ত হয়, ২. যুদ্ধের জন্য যেসব স্বীকৃত নিয়মাবলী রয়েছে তা লঙ্ঘন করা হয়, ৩. যদি কোনো রাষ্ট্র তার নিজস্ব স্বাধীনতা ও সার্বভৌমত্ব রক্ষার সংগ্রামে লিপ্ত হয় এবং যুদ্ধকালীন অবস্থায় কোনো নাগরিক স্বদেশের বিরুদ্ধে গুপ্তচরবৃত্তি করে কিংবা দেশদ্রোহিতা কার্যকলাপে লিপ্ত হয়, ৪. যুদ্ধকালীন অবস্থায় যদি সম্পদ লুণ্ঠন এবং পাচার করা বা প্রচেষ্টা চালানো হয় তাহলেও তা যুদ্ধাপরাধ হবে, ৫. যুদ্ধক্ষেত্রে শত্রুপক্ষকে নাজেহাল করার জন্য যদি কোনো বিষাক্ত গ্যাস ব্যবহার করা হয়, ৬. যদি কোনো সৈনিক যুদ্ধক্ষেত্রে আহত হয় এবং আহত অবস্থায় তাকে হত্যা করা। কিংবা ৭. যুদ্ধাবস্থায় যদি কোনো সৈনিক নিহত হয় এবং তার মৃতদেহ নিয়ে ন্যাকারজনক ব্যবহার করা হয়, কিংবা তার অঙ্গহানি করা, অবজ্ঞা করা হয়, ৮. বিজিত রাষ্ট্রের ইতিহাস, সংস্কৃতি ও ঐতিহ্য বিনষ্ট করা হয়, ৯. হাসপাতাল, যাদুঘর, গুরুত্বপূর্ণ স্থাপনা ও শিক্ষাপ্রতিষ্ঠান ধ্বংস করা হয়, ১০. যুদ্ধবিরতি পতাকাবহনকারীকে যদি আক্রমণ করা হয়, কিংবা আহত করা হয়, কিংবা তাচ্ছিল্য করা হয় এবং ১১. ঐতিহাসিক স্থাপনা ও নিদর্শনের ওপর হামলা করা বা ধ্বংস করা অথবা ধ্বংস করার নিমিত্তে বোমা-বর্ষণ করা হয়, তাহলে তা যুদ্ধাপরাধ হিসেবে সংঘটিত হবে।^৮

উপর্যুক্ত আলোচনায় আপাতত লক্ষ্য করা যাচ্ছে যুদ্ধ সংঘটনের অপরাধ এবং যুদ্ধাপরাধ কার্যত ভিন্ন। কিন্তু, চূড়ান্ত বিচারে দুটিই অপরাধ। তবু উভয়ের মধ্যে যে গুণগত পার্থক্য লক্ষ্য করা যায় তা উল্লেখ করা যেতে পারে:

এক. যুদ্ধ সংগঠনের অপরাধের ক্ষেত্রে কোনো জেনারেল বা রাষ্ট্রপ্রধান জড়িত থাকে। কোনো জেনারেল বা রাষ্ট্র প্রধান যখন অন্যদেশের ওপর আক্রমণের নির্দেশ দেন, সেই নির্দেশের ভিত্তিতে জেনারেল বা রাষ্ট্রপ্রধানের অধীনস্থ সেনাবাহিনী অন্য রাষ্ট্রের ওপর ঝাপিয়ে পরে এবং যুদ্ধ শুরু হয়। যেমন, ইরাকের কুয়েত আক্রমণে প্রেসিডেন্ট সাদ্দাম হোসেনের সিদ্ধান্তই মুখ্য ছিল। এখানে বিশেষ কোনো ব্যক্তি আক্রমণের লক্ষ্য ছিল না। কিংবা প্রত্যক্ষভাবে একজন ব্যক্তি অপর ব্যক্তির শারীরিক আঘাতে জড়িত ছিল।

^{*} দেখুন : Hattendorf, John. 1990. "The Study of War History at Oxford, 1860-1990" in John B. Hattendorf and Malcolm H. Murfett, eds., *The Limitations of Military Power: Essays presented to Professor Norman Gibbs on his eightieth birthday*: London

এরকম যুদ্ধ সংগঠনের দায়ে যদি কোনো বিচার হয় তাতে রাষ্ট্র নায়ক বা যুদ্ধের প্ররোচনাকারী ব্যক্তিই দোষী হিসেবে বিবেচ্য হবেন এবং শাস্তি ভোগ করবেন।

কিন্তু, যুদ্ধ-সংগঠনের অপরাধ থেকে যুদ্ধাপরাধ একটু ভিন্ন। যেমন, যুদ্ধ সংগঠনের অপরাধে সার্বিয়ান জেনারেল মিলোস্লেভিচকে বিচারের কাঠগড়ায় দাঁড়াতে হয়েছে। কারণ জাতিগত বিদ্বেষের ধূয়ো তোলে সে নির্বিচারে অন্য জাতিগোষ্ঠীর নিরস্ত্র মানুষকে হত্যা করেছে। এধরনের অপরাধ যেহেতু ভিন্ন রাষ্ট্রের সঙ্গে সম্পন্ন হয়ে থাকে এজন্য স্থানিক পর্যায়ে কোনো আদালতে নয়, বরং নির্ধারিত আন্তর্জাতিক আদালতেই এ অপরাধের বিচারকার্য সম্পন্ন হয়ে থাকে। কিন্তু, যুদ্ধপরাধ হলো যুদ্ধ সংগঠনের সময় যদি কোনো রাষ্ট্রের সেনাবাহিনীর কোনো সদস্য যুদ্ধের নিয়ম লঙ্ঘন করে, কিংবা কোনো নিরস্ত্র বা বেসামরিক জনগণের ওপর নির্বিচারে আক্রমণ করে, অথবা কোনো ব্যক্তি যারা কোনোভাবেই যুদ্ধের সঙ্গে জড়িত নয় তাদের ওপর হামলা করে কিংবা হত্যা করে তাহলে তা সাধারণ হত্যাকাণ্ড হিসেবে বিবেচ্য হবে না। অনেকসময় গৃহযুদ্ধে কোনো স্বৈচ্ছাচারি সরকারের সঙ্গে সাধারণ জনগণের যে যুদ্ধ হয় সেসময় সরকার নিয়ন্ত্রিত সশস্ত্রবাহিনী জনগণের ওপর যে গণনির্যাতন চালায়, গণহত্যা চালায় তাও যুদ্ধাপরাধ হিসেবে গণ্য হবে। এধরনের যুদ্ধপরাধের বিচার কোনো দেশের অভ্যন্তরীণ ফৌজদারী বিচারের মতোই হতে পারে। সুনির্দিষ্ট তথ্যপ্রমাণাদি, সংশ্লিষ্ট স্বাক্ষর প্রমাণের ভিত্তিতে ঐ অপরাধীর ব্যক্তিগত ভূমিকা কি রকম ছিল তা বিবেচনায় এনে বিচারকার্য সম্পন্ন করা হয়ে থাকে। যেমন, বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামের সময় এদেশের যেসব ব্যক্তিবর্গ পাকিস্তানী হামলাকরীদের নানাভাবে সাহায্য করেছে, গণহত্যায় সম্পৃক্ত ছিল সেসব ব্যক্তিদের বিচার ফৌজদারী মামলায় অভিযুক্ত করে সম্পন্ন করা যেতে পারে। আবার পাকিস্তান যেহেতু একটি স্বতন্ত্র রাষ্ট্র সেহেতু তখনকার পাকিস্তানি যেসব ব্যক্তিবর্গ তৎকালীন পূর্ববঙ্গে যুদ্ধ চালিয়েছিল তাদের বিচার আন্তর্জাতিক বিচারালয়ে সম্পন্ন হতে পারে।

দুই. যুদ্ধ সংগঠনের চেয়ে যুদ্ধাপরাধকে অধিকতর অপরাধ হিসেবে বিবেচনা করা হয়ে থাকে। ফৌজদারী বিচার ব্যবস্থায় চাপিয়ে দেওয়া যুদ্ধ অপরাধের চেয়ে যুদ্ধক্ষেত্রে সংগঠিত অপরাধ অনেক বেশিমাাত্রায় যুদ্ধাপরাধ। এক ব্যক্তি অপর ব্যক্তির বিরুদ্ধে অপরাধ করতে পারে, এমন কি কোনো বিশেষ পরিবারের লোকজনের বিরুদ্ধে অপরাধ করতে পারে। কোনো একজন সেনাকর্মকর্তার ভুল নির্দেশে সৈনিকরা গ্রামের পর গ্রাম ধ্বংস করে দিতে পারে। এ ধরনের নির্দেশে গ্রামের সমস্ত লোকই ক্ষতিগ্রস্ত হতে পারে। এ পর্যায়ে সেনাকর্মকর্তা নীতি নির্ধারণী পর্যায়ে অপরাধ করেছেন বলা যায়। যেমন, শত্রুপক্ষকে সাবধান করার জন্য সমরাস্ত্রের প্রদর্শনী করলে এ ধরনের অপরাধ হতে পারে। যা যুদ্ধাপরাধ হিসেবেই গণ্য হবে।

৩.২ কীভাবে যুদ্ধ সংগঠনের অপরাধ হয়? যুদ্ধ সংগঠনের অপরাধে ভিন্নতর কিছু বৈশিষ্ট্য রয়েছে। কোন একটি দেশ ভিন্ন ভিন্ন চাহিদা মোতাবেক যুদ্ধ সংগঠন করে

থাকতে পারে। হতে পারে অনেকক্ষেত্রে কোনো একটি রাষ্ট্র অর্থনৈতিকভাবে প্রতিষ্ঠা লাভের আশায় যুদ্ধ শুরু করতে পারে। আবার পূর্ববর্তী কোনো ভূ-খণ্ড পুনঃউদ্ধারের জন্য যুদ্ধ সংগঠনের অপরাধ করতে পারে। চাপিয়ে দেওয়া যুদ্ধ বা ভুল যুদ্ধে প্রতিপক্ষের বিরুদ্ধে বিজয় উল্লাস করার জন্যও সংগঠিত হতে পারে। কখনো কখনো যুদ্ধ সংগঠন করা অপরাধ নয়, বরং বাধ্যতামূলক হতে পারে। প্রশ্ন হলো কোন ভুল পথে সংগঠিত যুদ্ধ অপরাধ বয়ে আনে? উদাহরণস্বরূপ দেখা যায়, অনেকক্ষেত্রে জাতীয় নেতৃবৃন্দ যুদ্ধে জনগণ হত্যার আদেশ দেন নি, অথচ সৈনিক বা সামরিক নেতৃত্ব সিদ্ধান্ত নিয়েছে অকাতরে ধর্ষণ এবং বেসামরিক লোকজন হত্যা করার জন্য। এতে করে প্রতিপক্ষ বিচলিত হয়ে পড়বে। যুদ্ধে পরাজিত হবে। এখানে যে বিষয়টি উল্লেখ করার দাবি রাখে তাহলো যুদ্ধক্ষেত্রে সৈনিক বা সেনানায়ককে যুদ্ধক্ষেত্রে প্রযোজ্য প্রত্যেকটি নীতির অনুসরণ বাঞ্ছনীয়। যদি এসব বিধি ও নীতি অনুসরণ করে যৌক্তিক কোনো কারণে কোনো রাষ্ট্র যুদ্ধে ঝাপিয়ে পড়ে, যুদ্ধটি সঠিকভাবে সংগঠিত করে তাহলে সেটি অন্যায় নয়। এমনকি এটি যুদ্ধ সংগঠনের অপরাধ হবে না। অনেক সময় দুটি বিবাদমান দেশের মধ্যে সংঘটিত যুদ্ধকে অপরাধ বলা যায় না। যেমন, ফকল্যান্ড দ্বীপ নিয়ে আর্জেন্টিনা ও ব্রিটেনের সঙ্গে যে যুদ্ধ হয়েছে তা বিবাদমান দু'পক্ষেরই ভুল ছিল বিধায় তা নৈতিক মানদণ্ডে বিচার্য হয়নি।

৩.৩ যুদ্ধ সংগঠনের অপরাধ এবং যুদ্ধপরাধ

উপর্যুক্ত আলোচনা থেকে আমরা একটি বিষয় স্পষ্ট করার চেষ্টা করেছি যুদ্ধ সংগঠনের অপরাধ এবং যুদ্ধাপরাধ উভয়ের মধ্যে স্বরূপগত পার্থক্য রয়েছে। যে, ভিন্ন ভিন্ন পরিপ্রেক্ষিত থেকে উভয়ই যে অপরাধ এবিষয়ে কোনো মতদ্বন্দ্ব নেই। ধরা যাক, উভয়ই অপরাধ। কিন্তু, এটাও সঠিক যে, যুদ্ধ সংগঠনের অপরাধ এবং প্রত্যক্ষভাবে যুদ্ধাপরাধ মাত্রাগতভাবে ভিন্ন। এই ভিন্নতার কারণে উভয় ক্ষেত্রে বিচারের ব্যবস্থা একইরকম হবে না। যুদ্ধ সংগঠনের অপরাধ এবং যুদ্ধাপরাধের ক্ষেত্রে কার বিরুদ্ধে বিচার ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করবে সে সম্পর্কে আন্তর্জাতিক আদালত পৃথক পৃথকভাবে বিচার কার্য করতে পারে। দৃষ্টান্ত হিসেবে আমরা বলতে পারি যে, প্রথম বিশ্বযুদ্ধে পরাজয়ের পর ভার্সাই চুক্তি হয় এবং যুদ্ধোত্তর বিচারের ব্যবস্থা সন্নিবেশিত থাকে। দ্বিতীয় বিশ্বযুদ্ধের পর যুদ্ধ অপরাধীদের বিরুদ্ধে অভিযোগ দাঁড় করানো হয়। অভিযোগসমূহের মধ্যে কয়েকটি হলো : ১. তারা শান্তির বিরুদ্ধে যুদ্ধ করেছে, ২. যুদ্ধ করে যুদ্ধাপরাধ করেছে এবং ৩. তারা মানবতার বিরুদ্ধে যুদ্ধ সংঘটিত করেছে।

কয়েকটি উদাহরণের সাহায্যে বিষয়টি ব্যাখ্যা করা যেতে পারে। ১৯৪৫ সালে ন্যুরেমবার্গ ট্রায়ালে ২২ জন জার্মান নেতৃবৃন্দের বিরুদ্ধে অভিযোগ গঠন করা হয়। এই বিচার নিষ্পত্তিতে ১২ জনের মৃত্যুদণ্ড এবং ৭ জনকে বিভিন্ন মেয়াদে শাস্তি প্রদান করা হয়েছিল। ন্যুরেমবার্গ ট্রায়ালের মত টোকিওতে অপর এক ট্রায়াল হয় এবং এতে ২৮

জন যুদ্ধাপরাধীর বিরুদ্ধে ৫৫টি অভিযোগ দায়ের করা হয় এবং বিভিন্ন মেয়াদে শাস্তি প্রদান করা হয়। অবশ্য উপরিলিখিত দু'টো ট্রায়ালের বিরুদ্ধেই নিরপেক্ষতার প্রশ্ন উঠেছে। বিগত বৈচারিক প্রক্রিয়া সীমাবদ্ধতার আলোকে নতুন করে আইনসমূহ পর্যালোচনা করা হয়। পরবর্তীতে ১৯৫০ সালে আন্তর্জাতিক আইন কমিশন বিজয়ী ও বিজিত উভয় রাষ্ট্রের প্রতিনিধি সমন্বয়ে ট্রাইবুনাল বা আন্তর্জাতিক বিচারালয় গঠনের প্রস্তাব করেন।

প্রশ্ন হলো যুদ্ধাপরাধীদের জন্য শাস্তির কী ব্যবস্থা? যুদ্ধ অপরাধের ক্ষেত্রে শাস্তিদানের বিষয়ে বিতর্ক রয়েছে। এদের একটি হচ্ছে কোনো ব্যক্তি বাধ্য হয়ে পরিস্থিতিগত কারণে, অথবা যুদ্ধের আক্রোশে নিজেকে সম্পূর্ণ নিয়ন্ত্রণ না করতে পেরে অপরাধ করতে পারেন। এক্ষেত্রে দু'টো বিষয় রয়েছে: একটি হলো যুদ্ধক্ষেত্রে সে কি করছে তা নির্ণয় করতে না পারা এবং অপরটি হচ্ছে যুদ্ধের মাধ্যমে জাতীয় লক্ষ্য অর্জন করা। এ দু'টো কারণে যুদ্ধাপরাধ হতে পারে।

৩.৪ যুদ্ধ সংগঠনের অপরাধ

যখন কোনো যুদ্ধ আরম্ভ হয় তখন কতগুলো উদ্দেশ্যকে সামনে রেখে এক দেশ অপর দেশের উপর আক্রমণ করতে পারে। কেউ হয়ত অর্থনৈতিকভাবে প্রতিষ্ঠা লাভের আশায় যুদ্ধ সংগঠন করতে পারে, কোনো ভূ-খণ্ড পুনরুদ্ধারের জন্য যুদ্ধ সংগঠন করতে পারে। তবে এ দুটি কারণের যিনি বা যারা হোতা তাদেরকে যুদ্ধ সংগঠনের অপরাধে অভিযুক্ত করা যেতে পারে। যুদ্ধ সংগঠনের অপরাধ (war crimes) করতে পারে, আবার প্রতিপক্ষের বিরুদ্ধে বিজয় উল্লাস করার জন্যও যুদ্ধ সংগঠনের অপরাধ হতে পারে। কখনো কখনো যুদ্ধ আরম্ভ করা কোনো অপরাধ নয়, বরং আবশ্যিক হয়ে পড়ে। এ সকল ক্ষেত্রে যখন কোনো দেশের নেতা অপর দেশের বিরুদ্ধে যুদ্ধ ঘোষণা করে যুদ্ধাপরাধ করেন তখন হয়তো গণহত্যার আদেশ নাও দিতে পারে। কিন্তু, অনেক সৈনিক যুদ্ধ চলাকালীন সময়ে গণহত্যা এবং অমানবিক কাজ চালিয়ে অনৈতিক কাজ করতে পারে। প্রকারণে যা যুদ্ধাপরাধ হিসেবে গণ্য হবে। অনেক সময় কোনো দেশ যদি সঠিকভাবে যুদ্ধ পরিচালিত করে, তাহলে তা যুদ্ধ সংগঠনের অপরাধ হবে না এবং ফলে তা নৈতিক মানদণ্ডে মূল্যায়িত হবে না। অনেক সময় বিবাদমান পক্ষগুলোর যুদ্ধকে কোনো যুদ্ধ সংগঠনের অপরাধ বলা যায় না। পূর্বেও উল্লেখ করেছি ফকল্যান্ড দ্বীপ নিয়ে আর্জেন্টিনা ও ব্রিটেনের মধ্যকার যুদ্ধ এই নৈতিক বিবেচনার মধ্যে আসতে পারে। যুদ্ধের নৈতিক মূল্যায়নের জন্য এমনেস্টি ইন্টারন্যাশনাল প্রতিষ্ঠা হয়েছে। এর কাজ হলো যুদ্ধের নৈতিক মূল্যায়ন করা এবং যুদ্ধাপরাধ পর্যবেক্ষণ করে তার প্রতিবেদন আন্তর্জাতিক পরিসরে উপস্থাপন করা।

কোনটি যুদ্ধাপরাধ, আর কোনটি যুদ্ধসংগঠনের অপরাধ তা নির্ধারণ করা কঠিন। মূলত কোনটি অপরাধ তা নির্ধারণ করাও কঠিন। প্রথম বিশ্বযুদ্ধের পর ভার্সাই চুক্তি স্বাক্ষরের

মধ্য দিয়ে যুদ্ধোত্তর বিচারের ব্যবস্থা রাখা হয়। এরই পরিপ্রেক্ষিত ধরে দ্বিতীয় বিশ্বযুদ্ধের পর ন্যুরেমবার্গ ট্রায়াল গঠন করা হয়। এই ট্রায়ালে নাজি নেতাদের দাঁড় করানো হয় কাঠগড়ায়। যুদ্ধ বিশেষজ্ঞদের মতে, নাজি নেতৃবৃন্দ ভুলবশত যুদ্ধ আরম্ভ করেছিল, এজন্য তাদেরকে যুদ্ধের কাঠগড়ায় দাঁড় করানো হয়। ন্যুরেমবার্গ ট্রায়ালে তাদের বিচার শুরু করেছিলো। অভিযোগ আনা হয়—যুদ্ধ চলাকালীন সময়ে অপরাধ করার জন্য। নাজি নেতৃবৃন্দের বিরুদ্ধে অভিযোগ হলো : তারা (ক) শান্তির বিরুদ্ধে যুদ্ধ করেছে, (খ) সাধারণ জনগণকে হত্যা করেছে, (গ) মানবতার বিরুদ্ধে যুদ্ধ করেছে। এসব অভিযোগের ভিত্তিতে তাদের বিচার কার্য চালানো হয়। ন্যুরেমবার্গ ট্রায়ালের মত টোকিওতে অপর একটি ট্রায়াল অনুষ্ঠিত হয়। অনেক বিশেষজ্ঞগণই মনে করেন যে, উভয় ট্রায়ালই পক্ষপাতিত্বপূর্ণ ট্রায়াল ছিল। এ ট্রায়ালের পেছনের শক্তি হলো বিজয়ী শক্তি। বিজয়ী শক্তি দ্বারা গঠিত ট্রায়াল বিজিতদের উপর একতরফা বিচার হবে এটাই স্বাভাবিক। এসব কারণে অনেক তাত্ত্বিকগণ ন্যুরেমবার্গ ট্রায়াল এবং টোকিও ট্রায়ালকে নিরপেক্ষ ট্রায়াল হিসেবে মূল্যায়ন করেন নি। পরবর্তীতে ১৯৫০ সালে আন্তর্জাতিক আইন কমিশন বিজয়ী ও বিজিত উভয় রাষ্ট্রের প্রতিনিধি সমেত ট্রাইবুনাল গঠনের প্রস্তাব করেন। এই ট্রাইবুনালের লক্ষ হলো বিচারের নামে পক্ষপাত্তি হ্রাস করা। আর এই ট্রাইবুনালটি বৈশিষ্ট্যগত দিক থেকে আন্তর্জাতিক বিচারালয়ের মান মর্যাদার হতে হবে।

৩.৫ ইরাক যুদ্ধ : যুদ্ধাপরাধ নাকি যুদ্ধ সংগঠনের অপরাধ

প্রথমে প্রশ্ন হলো ইরাক যুদ্ধ কোন ধরনের যুদ্ধ? এ প্রশ্নের উত্তর অনুসন্ধানের জন্য আমরা জেনে নিতে পারি ইরাকে মার্কিন আক্রমণের প্রেক্ষাপট এবং মার্কিনীদের নির্যাতনের ধরন এবং ইরাকি জনগণের অর্থনৈতিক দুরাবস্থা এবং তাদের বর্তমান অবস্থা। এসব বিষয় পর্যালোচনায় তা স্পষ্ট হতে পারে। আমেরিকা এবং তার মিত্র-শক্তি ইরাক আক্রমণের পেছনে কতোগুলো উদ্দেশ্য কাজ করেছিল। এসব উদ্দেশ্য বাস্তবায়নের জন্য যুদ্ধের পরিপ্রেক্ষিত হিসেবে কতোগুলো কারণ তারা দাঁড় করিয়েছে। দাঁড় করানো কয়েকটি অভিযোগ এখানে উল্লেখ করা যেতে পারে :

১. আমেরিকা আক্রমণের প্রাথমিক কারণ হিসেবে ইরাককে দায়ী করা হলো। কারণ হিসেবে তাদের জীবাণু অস্ত্র রয়েছে এবং এধরনের অস্ত্র আবিষ্কারের মতো কাচামাল এবং কলাকৌশলও তাদের পাকাপোক্তভাবে রয়েছে।

২. আমেরিকা এবং তাদের বশংবদ বিভিন্ন মিডিয়াতে প্রচার করা হয় পৃথিবী জুড়ে আল-কায়েদা পরিকল্পিত হামলা চালাচ্ছে। এই হামলার কারণে অনেক মানুষের নিরাপত্তা চরমভাবে বিঘ্নিত হচ্ছে। অনেকক্ষেত্রে অসংখ্য মানুষ মৃত্যুমুখে পতিত হচ্ছে। আল-কায়েদার এই মানবতাবিরোধী কর্মকাণ্ডের সঙ্গে সাদাম শাসিত ইরাক সরকারের যোগসাজশ রয়েছে বলেও অভিযোগ আনা হয়।

৩. সাদ্দাম হোসেন রাষ্ট্রের ভিতরেও বিভিন্ন ধর্মীয় গোষ্ঠীর মধ্যে বিবাদ বিসম্বাদ লাগিয়ে রেখেছেন। প্রতিপক্ষ ধর্মীয় জনগোষ্ঠীর উপর উপর্যুপরি হামলা সাদ্দামের শাসনামলেই হয়েছে। এজন্য আমেরিকা ও তার মিত্র শক্তির চায় ইরাকী জনগণের উপর থেকে এই স্বৈরশাসকের বিদায় হোক। এরমধ্য দিয়েই তাদের পরিপূর্ণ মুক্তি অর্জিত হবে। মুক্তি অর্জনের বাহানাও ইরাক আক্রমণের একটি কারণ ছিল।

৪. আমেরিকা এবং তার মিত্রগণ মনে করেন, ইসরাইল ও প্যালেস্টাইনের মধ্যে বিবাদমান দ্বন্দের পেছনে সাদ্দাম সরকারের হাত ছিল। কিন্তু, মধ্যপ্রাচ্যে চলমান এসব জাতিগত সংঘাত অবলুপ্তির জন্যই সাদ্দাম সরকারের পতন প্রয়োজন।

উপর্যুক্ত চারটি কারণই বৈশ্বিক, রাজনৈতিক, আঞ্চলিক এবং জাতিগত রাজনীতির দোহাই ছিল। প্রথম বিষয়টি ছিল একান্তই অস্ত্র-রাজনীতি। অস্ত্র-রাজনীতির এই পরিকল্পনায় আমেরিকায় সাদ্দাম সরকারকে অভিযুক্ত করেছিলো। দ্বিতীয়টি হলো স্থানিক রাজনীতিতে আমেরিকার অনুপ্রবেশ করা। যার মধ্য দিয়ে সেখানকার রাজনীতিকে পরাশক্তির নিয়ন্ত্রণে নিয়ে আসা সম্ভব হবে। তৃতীয়টি একেবারেই আন্তর্জাতিক রাজনৈতিক পরিমণ্ডলের সঙ্গে যুক্ত। এই যুক্ততার পেছনে ভূমিকা রেখেছে তাদের সহায়ক বিভিন্ন গণমাধ্যম।

উপরোল্লিখিত কারণগুলো ছাড়াও আরো বেশকিছু কারণ গুরুত্বপূর্ণ ভূমিকা রেখেছিল। সেগুলো একাধারে আমেরিকার আধিপত্যবাদী রাজনীতিরই অংশ। এর সঙ্গে যুক্ত হয়েছে মধ্যপ্রাচ্যের তেলের উপর তাদের অবাধ বিচরণ। যুক্তিসমূহকে আমরা এভাবে উপস্থাপন করতে পারি : (ক) আমেরিকার মিত্রশক্তির ইরাকের তেল সম্পদের উপর নিয়ন্ত্রণে আনার আবশ্যিকতা, (খ) আমেরিকা যদি ইরাকের সাদ্দাম সরকারের পতন ঘটাতে পারে তাহলে মধ্যপ্রাচ্যের ভূ-রাজনীতিতে তাদের হস্তক্ষেপ বাধা-বিঘ্নহীন হবে, (গ) আর মধ্যপ্রাচ্যের রাষ্ট্রসমূহ যেহেতু গণতান্ত্রিক চর্চামুক্ত সেহেতু সেখানকার জনগণের আকাঙ্ক্ষা হতে পারে গণতান্ত্রিক অধিকার ফিরিয়ে দেওয়া। এই দাবির বাহ্যত দাবি ছিল গণতন্ত্র প্রতিষ্ঠা। এসব দাবি-দাওয়া নিয়ে মধ্যপ্রাচ্যের জনগণ ধোঁয়াশায় থাকলেও সেখানে আমেরিকার আধিপত্য বিস্তারে একটি উৎকৃষ্ট ফন্দি ছিলো।

ইরাকের উপর আমেরিকার মিত্রবাহিনীর হামলার পেছনে যেসব পরিকল্পনা নেওয়া হয়েছে, কিংবা যেভাবেই নেওয়া হয়েছে আমরা লক্ষ করে দেখব সেখানে যুদ্ধাপরাধ এবং যুদ্ধ-সংগঠনের দুটি অপরাধই সমানভাবে সংঘটিত হয়েছে। কিভাবে হয়েছে সেটি দেখা যাক:

ক. ইরাকে যুদ্ধ সংঘটনের অপরাধ হয়েছে : ইরাকে মার্কিনীদের সাম্রাজ্যবাদী নীতির কারণ দেখিয়ে যেভাবে যুদ্ধ শুরু করে পরবর্তীতে দেখা যায় যেসব কারণ উপস্থাপন

করা হয়েছে তার সবগুলোই ছিল মিথ্যা এবং বানোয়াট। আফগানিস্থানে আক্রমণের পর আধিপত্যবাদ বজায় রাখার লক্ষ্যে জর্জ বুশ ইরাককে বেছে নিয়েছিলেন। পাশাপাশি যুদ্ধ সংগঠনের অপরাধের জন্য যেসব শর্তসমূহ রয়েছে ইরাক যুদ্ধে আমেরিকা তার সবকয়টি লঙ্ঘন করেছে।

খ. যুদ্ধ অপরাধ (crime of war). ইরাকে মার্কিনীরা শুধু আক্রমণ করেই ক্ষান্ত হননি। বরং ইরাকে মার্কিনীরা ইতিহাসের জঘন্যতম বর্বর হত্যাকাণ্ড চালিয়েছিল। যুদ্ধবন্দীদের উপর অবর্ণনীয় নির্যাতনের কথাও আমরা ইতোমধ্যে জেনেছি। সাধারণ নাগরিক হত্যা, ঐতিহাসিক স্থানসমূহে আক্রমণ, ইরাকের মহামূল্যবান তৈল খনিজ সম্পদে অগ্নি সংযোগ ইত্যাদি। বিচারের নামে প্রহসনমূলক ট্রায়াল গঠন করে সাদাম হোসেনকে হত্যা, নৃসংশতা, যুদ্ধবন্দীদের নির্যাতন ও হত্যা, নারী ও শিশু হত্যাসহ বহুবিধ অবর্ণনীয় অপরাধ সেখানে সংঘটিত হয়েছিল। ইরাকে মার্কিনীরা প্রায় ৬,০০,০০০ (ছয় লক্ষ) মানুষকে হত্যা করেছে। শুধু তাই নয় ইরাকে আরও আক্রমণের জন্য সেই সময়ের মার্কিন প্রেসিডেন্ট জর্জ বুশ জাতীয় বাজেটের ৬২ শতাংশ খরচ করার সিদ্ধান্ত নিয়েছে। এই বাজেটে বরাদ্দকৃত অর্থের একটি বড় অংশ এসেছে তাদের স্বাস্থ্যসেবা কর্তন করে। এতে আমেরিকান জনগণের জীবনমানও প্রভাব ফেলে।

যুদ্ধ কি নৈতিকভাবে সমর্থনযোগ্য?

যুদ্ধ সেটা যে পর্যায়েরই হোক তাতে রয়েছে রক্তপাত, হিংস্রতা, পরস্পরকে জখম করা। যুদ্ধপরাধ, কিংবা যুদ্ধ সংগঠনের অপরাধ উভয়ের মধ্যে রয়েছে নেতিবাচকতা। এই নেতিবাচকতার কারণেই যুদ্ধকে সমর্থন করার মতো কোনো নৈতিক কারণ নেই। তবে সুস্পষ্ট করে আমরা বলতে পারি না যুদ্ধ নৈতিকভাবে যথার্থ কি-না। এটার মূল কারণ হলো আন্তর্জাতিক অঙ্গনে কোনো দেশ তার নিজের স্বার্থের কারণে যুদ্ধ সংগঠনের অপরাধ সংগঠন করে থাকে। এ সম্পর্কে কোনো যৌক্তিক কারণ কোনো জাতি দেখাতে পারলেও পরবর্তীতে তা সঠিক তথ্যের কারণে অস্পষ্ট থেকে যেতে পারে। এপ্রসঙ্গে আমরা ইরাকে ইঙ্গ-মার্কিন আগ্রাসন নীতির কথাই উল্লেখ করতে পারি।

আমরা যুদ্ধক্ষেত্রে বিভিন্ন ধরনের অপরাধ সংগঠিত হতে দেখি। এদের একটি হলো ব্যক্তির বিরুদ্ধে ব্যক্তি, সৈনিকের বিরুদ্ধে সৈনিক এবং সাধারণ জনগণের বিরুদ্ধে সৈনিক, দ্বিতীয় অপরাধ হচ্ছে কোন শত্রুর গ্রামকে ধ্বংস করে দেওয়া এবং তৃতীয়ত হচ্ছে নীতি বা স্ট্রেটেজীর বিরুদ্ধে অপরাধ করা। কিন্তু, যারা যুদ্ধ অপরাধ করে, কিংবা যুদ্ধ সংগঠনের অপরাধের সঙ্গে যুক্ত তাদের কি শাস্তি হতে পারে সে বিষয়ে বিতর্ক রয়েছে। তবে যুদ্ধ বিশেষজ্ঞ তাত্ত্বিকগণ উপর্যুক্ত অপরাধের দুটি শাস্তির প্রস্তাব করেন। এ শাস্তির পেছনের কারণ হিসেবে সৈনিকের মনোজগতের দুটি বাস্তবতা বিবেচনায়

রাখতে হয়। প্রথমত, যুদ্ধক্ষেত্রে একজন সৈনিক তার প্রতিপক্ষকে পরাজিত করার লক্ষ্যে যে কোনো কর্ম করতে পারেন। সেটি হতে পারে হত্যা, লুণ্ঠন, ব্যভিচার কিংবা এর চেয়েও জঘন্য কোনোকিছু। একাজে একজন সৈনিক ধরেই নেন যে যুদ্ধক্ষেত্রে সে যে অপরাধ করে তা প্রত্যাশা করে না। দ্বিতীয়ত, সৈনিকের একমাত্র উদ্দেশ্য থাকে বিজয় ছিনিয়ে আনা। তাদের উদ্দেশ্য অর্জনে কোনো পরিমাপ থাকে না। হত্যা, গুম লুণ্ঠন থেকে শুরু করে বিভিন্ন বিধবংসী কর্মও সৈনিক যুদ্ধক্ষেত্রে সম্পন্ন করে থাকে।

প্রশ্ন হলো যুদ্ধক্ষেত্রে যদি কোনো নৈতিকতা না থাকে, কিংবা কোনো ন্যায়বিচারের শর্ত না থাকে তাহলে মানুষের সঙ্গে মানুষের সংঘাত, জাতিতে জাতিতে বিভেদ, দ্বন্দ্ব-বিদন্দ্ব এসবতো সর্বক্ষণই লেগে থাকত। এতে করে মানবজাতির কেউই নিজেদেরকে নিরাপদ রাখতে পারতো না। ফলে হত্যা, রক্তপাত এবং সংঘাত হয়ে উঠতে পারে একটি নৈমিত্তিক ঘটনা। এরকম বাস্তবতায় যেন মানবজাতি নিপতিত না হয়, সেজন্য যুদ্ধ ও সংঘাতের বিরুদ্ধে মানবাধিকারকর্মী এবং শান্তিবাদী মানুষেরাও কাজ করে যাচ্ছে। তাদের সকলেরই দাবি হলো যে কোনো পরিপ্রেক্ষিত থেকেই যুদ্ধ সংঘটিত করা হোক না কেন তা মানবিক কিংবা নৈতিক কোনো বিবেচনায়ই গ্রহণযোগ্য নয়। যুদ্ধের অর্থই হলো মানবতার বিরুদ্ধে অবস্থান নেওয়া। মনুষ্যত্বের কোনো একটি অংশকে ধ্বংস করার অর্থই হলো গোটা মানবজাতিকে বিপর্যয়ের মুখোমুখি নিপতিত করা। এজন্য বর্তমান প্রবন্ধটিতে যুদ্ধের বিরুদ্ধে শান্তিবাদী পরিপ্রেক্ষিতকে বিবেচনায় রাখা যেতে পারে। পরবর্তী অনুচ্ছেদে এ প্রসঙ্গে আলোচনা করা হলো।

৪.১ যুদ্ধ নিরসনে শান্তিবাদী তত্ত্ব

যুদ্ধের বিপরীতে শান্তি একটি নির্বিল্প প্রতিশব্দ। নিশ্চয়ই মানুষ রক্তপাত প্রত্যাশা করে না। রক্তপাত, হত্যার শিকার হওয়াও কোনো মানুষের অভীষ্ট নয়। মানব মনস্তত্ত্বের এই দিকসমূহের বিপরীতে আবার প্রতিশোধ স্পৃহা, হিংসা ও হিংস্রতা উভয়ই রয়েছে। যুদ্ধ মূলত মানব চরিত্রের দ্বিতীয় গুণসমূহের প্রতিফল। তারপরও প্রত্যেকটি মানুষের স্বাভাবিক প্রবণতা হলো কারো হিংসা বা হিংস্রতার বিষয় না হওয়া। এটি আবার বিপরীত দিক থেকেও ভাবা যায়। এই ভাবনার মূল দাবি হলো ব্যক্তি যেমন নিজে কারো হিংসা, প্রতিহিংসা বা হিংস্রতার শিকার হতে চায় না, তেমনি তার দ্বারা কেউ যেন প্রতিহিংসার শিকার না হয় তাও প্রত্যাশিত, নৈতিকও। এজন্য যুদ্ধের ইতিহাসের পাশাপাশি শান্তি প্রতিষ্ঠার তৎপরতাও লক্ষণীয়।

শান্তিবাদীদের যুদ্ধ-বিরোধীতার অংশ হিসেবেই তারা রাষ্ট্রীয় পৃষ্ঠপোষকতায় সেনাবাহিনী গঠনের বিরুদ্ধে অবস্থান নেন। শান্তিবাদীদের মূল প্রশ্ন হলো: সেনাবাহিনীর কি আদৌ কোনো প্রয়োজন রয়েছে? এ প্রশ্নের প্রত্যুত্তরে তাঁরা দাবি করেন, মারাত্মক অস্ত্রে সজ্জিত সেনাবাহিনী ন্যায়সঙ্গত নয়। কারণ মারগাস্ত্র কিংবা মারাত্মক অস্ত্র-শস্ত্রে সজ্জিত হবার লক্ষ্যই হলো প্রতিপক্ষকে আক্রমণ করা, তাদের

শক্তিমত্তার জানান দেওয়া। এজন্য অনেক শান্তিবাদীদের যুক্তি হলো প্রতিহিংসাপরায়ণ কিংবা মারাত্মক কোনো উদ্দেশ্য নিয়ে যদি সেনাবাহিনী গঠন করা হয়, তবে তা নীতিসম্মত নয়। প্রশ্ন হতে পারে : তাহলে কি দেশসেবা, কিংবা অন্য কোনো মহৎ প্রয়োজনে সেনাবাহিনী গঠন নীতিসম্মত? এরকম প্রশ্নের জবাবে তারা দাবি করেন, মানবসেবা কিংবা মানুষের দুর্বিপাকে সহযোগিতার জন্য সামরিক প্রশিক্ষণের জন্য আলাদা কোনো প্রয়োজন নেই। সামরিক প্রশিক্ষণের মূললক্ষ্যই থাকে প্রতিপক্ষকে কীভাবে প্রতিহত করা যায়, প্রতিপক্ষের হামলায় কতোটা কৌশলী হওয়া যায় সে সম্পর্কিত কৌশলদি রপ্ত করা। সুতরাং সামরিকবাহিনীর প্রয়োজন রয়েছে কি-না তাও একটি নৈতিক আলোচনার বিষয় হতে পারে। বিষয়টি সংক্ষেপে লক্ষ করা যাক :

৪.২ যুদ্ধ ও সামরিক বাহিনীর প্রয়োজনীয়তা

বিশ্বের প্রায় দেশেই সামরিক বাহিনী রয়েছে। ১৯৮০-৮১ সালের এক জরিপে দেখা গেছে যে, প্রায় ১৫৮ টি দেশে সামরিক ভারসাম্য রয়েছে। বিভিন্ন দেশে জাতীয় আয়ের তুলনায় সামরিক বাহিনীর সদস্য সংখ্যা নির্ধারণ করা হয়ে থাকে। আমেরিকার সামরিক বাজেটের দিকে লক্ষ্য করলেই আমরা বুঝতে পারি সামরিক বাহিনীর প্রতি তাদের আচরণ কতোটা সংবেদনশীল। গত ২০০০ সাল থেকে মধ্যপ্রাচ্য সঙ্কট, আফগানিস্তান সংকট সহ গোটা বিশ্বের নানা জায়গায় আধিপত্য বজায় রাখার জন্য আমেরিকা তার সামরিক খাতের বরাদ্দ উত্তোরত্তর বাড়িয়েই চলছে। আর এ অর্থের পরিমাণ অভ্যন্তরীণ বাজেটের চেয়েও অনেক বেশি বলে অভিযোগ উঠছে খোদ আমেরিকার সুশীল সমাজের প্রতিনিধিত্বের দিক থেকে। ইরাক ও আফগানিস্তান যুদ্ধের জন্য অর্থ বাজেটের বরাদ্দ নিয়ে তীব্র সমালোচনার মুখোমুখি হতে হয়েছে। এই ব্যয়বৃদ্ধির কারণে খোদ আমেরিকার ভেতরেই তৎকালীন বুশ সরকার ও বর্তমান ওবামা প্রশাসনের বিরুদ্ধে সমালোচনা অব্যাহত রয়েছে। আমেরিকার অনেক সিনেটরও অভিযোগ করছেন, স্বাস্থ্য সেবাখাতে বাজেট কমিয়ে সামরিক প্রয়োজনকে বেশি গুরুত্ব দেওয়া হচ্ছে। এর অর্থ হলো আমিরকান ডেমোক্রেটিক কিংবা রিপাবলিকান উভয়ই নাগরিকদের স্বাস্থ্যের চেয়ে যুদ্ধকে গুরুত্ব দিচ্ছেন। সামরিক বাহিনীর প্রতি গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী চীনে সামরিক বাহিনীর সদস্য সংখ্যা অপেক্ষাকৃত বেশি। ১৯৭৮ সালের একটি বাজেট থেকে সামরিকবাহিনীর জন্য চীন সরকারের ব্যয়ের অনুপাতটি জানা যায়। তাদের ৪.৫ মিলিয়ন সামরিক বাহিনীর জন্য ব্যয় বরাদ্দ রেখেছিল ৪০ বিলিয়ন মার্কিন ডলার। যা তৃতীয় বিশ্বের কয়েকটি গরীব দেশের জীবন মান বৃদ্ধির জন্য ৫০ বছরের সফল প্রকল্প গ্রহণ করা সম্ভব।

ক্ষমতায় টিকে থাকার জন্য সামরিক বাহিনীর প্রয়োজন কতোটুকু তা দেখার বিষয়। অনেকসময়ই দেখা যায় কোনো কোনো জাতি তার সামরিক শক্তি প্রদর্শনের মাধ্যমে নিজেকে আত্মবিশ্বাসী ভাবতে পছন্দ করে। তাদের মধ্যে হিটলার, মুসোলিনী,

স্টালিন, সাদাম হোসেন এবং জর্জ বুশ প্রমুখের নাম উল্লেখউলে-খ করা যেতে পারে। তাদের সরকারের মূললক্ষ্যই ছিল জাতীয় আত্মবিশ্বাস বৃদ্ধির জন্য সামরিক বাহিনীর প্রতি অত্যধিক গুরুত্ব প্রদান করা। জাতীয় আত্মবিশ্বাস বৃদ্ধির জন্য সামরিক বাহিনীর শক্তি বৃদ্ধি প্রকারান্তরে যুদ্ধকে আহ্বান জানানোর সামিল। সভ্যতার ইতিহাসে সামরিক আক্রমণে জয়লাভের মধ্য দিয়ে জাতীয় ঐক্য, কিংবা মানবীয় পরিবেশ সৃষ্টির কোনো দৃষ্টান্ত আমরা লক্ষ্য করি না। সামরিক বাহিনীর ব্যয় বৃদ্ধি জাতীয় জীবনে কিংবা মানবিক সূচকে কোনো উন্নয়ন ঘটাতে সক্ষম হচ্ছে না। বরং সামরিক সংঘাত নাগরিক জীবনে ব্যাঘাত সৃষ্টি করে থাকে। এমনকী সামরিক অগ্রসরতায় মানুষের বুদ্ধিমত্তারও যথার্থ প্রয়োগ হয় না। জনগণের সুযোগ-সুবিধাসমূহ সঙ্কুচিত করে, জীবনের মানে উন্নয়নের প্রতি অবহেলা করাই সামরিক উন্নয়নের দিক। সুতরাং, সামরিক বাহিনীর উন্নয়নের জন্য মানব সম্পদ উন্নয়ন, মানবীয় চাহিদাসমূহ সরবরাহে প্রতিবন্ধকতা সৃষ্টি কোনোভাবে কাম্য নয়। পাশাপাশি সামরিক শক্তির উন্নয়ন পরোক্ষ ও প্রত্যক্ষ প্রভাবও লক্ষ্য করার মতো। তবে অনেকে হয়তো দাবি করতে পারেন, দেশের জনগণের নিরাপত্তার জন্য সামরিক বাহিনীর প্রয়োজন। নিরাপত্তার স্বার্থে সামরিক বাহিনীর প্রয়োজনীয়তার বিষয়টি কতোটুকু যুক্তিযুক্ত তা খতিয়ে দেখা যাক।

অনেকসময় সামরিক বাহিনী বৃদ্ধি ও এর উন্নয়নের পক্ষে অনেকে দাবি করতে পারেন : সামরিক বাহিনী দেশের জনগণের নিরাপত্তা বিধানসহ আরও অনেক কাজ সম্পন্ন করে থাকে। নিয়মিত সামরিক বাহিনী থাকার কারণে বাইরের কোনো পরাশক্তি বা প্রতিবেশী রাষ্ট্র হুমকি প্রদর্শন করতে পারে না। বহিঃশত্রু দ্বারা দেশের মারাত্মক ক্ষতি হবার কোনো সম্ভাবনা থাকে না। এসব কারণে অনেক সামরিক বিশেষজ্ঞগণই সামরিক বাহিনীর প্রয়োজনীয়তার কথা বলেছেন। আবার অনেকে মনে করেন, সামরিক বাহিনীর সদস্যগণ বিশেষ প্রশিক্ষণপ্রাপ্ত, অন্যান্য পেশার চেয়ে এখানে শৃঙ্খলা ও দক্ষতা অনেক উন্নততর। ফলে সামরিকবাহিনীর সদস্যদের পক্ষে জাতীয় যেকোনো দুর্ঘোণ মোকাবেলায় অনেক কিছু করার থাকে। বিশেষ প্রশিক্ষণের মধ্য দিয়ে তারা তাদের দায়িত্বের প্রতি প্রতিশ্রুতিশীল হয়ে থাকেন। একারণে তারা জাতীয় সেবায় বদ্ধপরিকর থাকেন, এবং জাতীকে নানা দুর্বিপাকে বিরামহীনভাবে সমর্থন করে থাকেন। এসব কারণে সামরিক বাহিনীর প্রয়োজনীয়তা কিংবা তার উন্নয়ন করার যৌক্তিকতা তুলে ধরেন।

উপর্যুক্ত যৌক্তিকতার পাশাপাশি আরো বেশকিছু যুক্তি দাঁড় করানো যেতে পারে: (১) দেশের সার্বভৌমত্ব রক্ষায় সামরিক বাহিনী প্রয়োজন, (২) সামরিক বাহিনীকে রাষ্ট্রীয় উন্নয়নমূলক কাজে সফলভাবে কাজে লাগানো যেতে পারে, (৩) রাষ্ট্রীয় সেবামূলক কাজে বেকার যুবকদের অংশগ্রহণ করার মাধ্যম হিসেবে সেনাবাহিনীর রিক্রুটমেন্ট হতে পারে ইত্যাদি। প্রশ্ন হলো সামরিক বাহিনীর বৃদ্ধি কি যুদ্ধ কিংবা সংঘাতকে উৎসাহিত করে? এ প্রশ্নটি খতিয়ে দেখা যাক। অনেকসময় দেখা যায়—সেনাবাহিনীর

আধুনিকায়ন, কিংবা তাদের সামরিক শক্তি বৃদ্ধির প্রতি দৃষ্টি দিতে গিয়ে জাতীয় উন্নয়নের অন্যদিকসমূহের প্রতি খুব একটা দৃষ্টি দেয়া হয় না। ফলে জাতীয় পর্যায়ে নাগরিক সম্প্রদায়ের মধ্যে অসন্তোষ সৃষ্টি হয়। সামরিক বাহিনীর উন্নয়ন কিংবা এর প্রতি সংবেদনশীল হবার কারণে অনেক সামরিক কর্তাদের রাজনীতিতে প্রভাব বিস্তারের প্রতি আকৃষ্ট করে তোলে। পৃথিবীর রাজনীতির ইতিহাসে দেখা যায় সামরিক কর্তাদের রাষ্ট্রক্ষমতায় হস্তক্ষেপ নাগরিক অধিকারের সঙ্গে মারাত্মক সংঘাতের সৃষ্টি করে থাকে। সামরিক চর্চা এবং রাজনৈতিক চর্চা স্বরূপগতভাবে ভিন্ন। এই ভিন্নতার কারণে রাজনৈতিক সিদ্ধান্ত গ্রহণে সামরিক বাহিনীর হস্তক্ষেপ গোটা গণতান্ত্রিক ও রাজনৈতিক পরিবেশকে অসহনশীল করে তোলে। সুতরাং, সামরিক বাহিনীর উন্নয়ন জাতীয়ভাবে গণতান্ত্রিক রাজনীতির জন্য হুমকিস্বরূপ। আবার অন্তর্জাতিক ক্ষেত্রে কিংবা প্রতিবেশী রাষ্ট্রসমূহের জন্য সামরিক শক্তির বৃদ্ধি হুমকির কারণ হয়ে দাঁড়ায়। প্রতিবেশী রাষ্ট্রের রাজনৈতিক সিদ্ধান্তে নাক গলানো, কিংবা অন্য রাষ্ট্রের উপর খবরদারি করা প্রবণতা বেড়ে যায়। প্রকারান্তরে তাও বৈশ্বিক শান্তির জন্য প্রতিবন্ধকতা হয়ে দাঁড়ায়। এজন্য শান্তিবাদী মতাদর্শিগণ সামরিকবাহিনীর জন্য অতিরিক্ত ব্যয় বৃদ্ধি কিংবা এর উন্নয়নের দিকে বেশি মনোযোগ দেওয়াকে প্রাধান্য না দেবার পরামর্শ দিয়ে থাকেন। শান্তিবাদী মতাদর্শিগণ যুদ্ধের বিপক্ষে যে কারণে অবস্থান নিতে আগ্রহী একই কারণে তারা সামরিক শক্তি বৃদ্ধিরও বিপক্ষে। কারণ যুদ্ধের অন্যতম মাধ্যম হলো সামরিক সরঞ্জাম। অনেকসময় লক্ষ করা যায় সামরিক সরঞ্জাম ও দক্ষ সেনাবাহিনী ঐ জাতির অহমিকার কারণ হতে পারে। এই অহমিকাবোধ থেকে তারা অন্যকোনো জাতির সঙ্গে যুদ্ধে জড়িয়ে যেতে পারে। দ্বিতীয় বিশ্বযুদ্ধকালীন সময়ে জার্মানীর মধ্যে বিদ্যমান এই অহমিকাবোধ মানব বিপর্যয় সৃষ্টিতে সাহায্য করেছে।

এখানে একটি প্রশ্ন গুরুত্বের সঙ্গে আলোচনা করা যেতে পারে : রাষ্ট্রের জন্য কি সামরিক বাহিনীর প্রয়োজনীয় রয়েছে? এ প্রশ্নের উত্তরে অনেকে হয়তো দাবি করতে পারে—সামরিক বাহিনী সঙ্গে দেশের নাগরিকদের প্রত্যক্ষ সম্পর্ক না থাকলেও ছোট ছোট কাজে সামরিক বাহিনীকে কাজে লাগানো যায়। স্যামুয়েল হ্যান্টিংটন* অবশ্য সামরিকবাহিনী প্রয়োজনের পক্ষে মত দেন। তিনি মনে করেন যে, কোনো জাতির শক্তিশালী সামরিক বাহিনী থাকা বৈশ্বিক আন্তঃসম্পর্কের গুরুত্বপূর্ণ ভূমিকা পালন করার সুযোগ সৃষ্টি হয়। কিন্তু, হ্যান্টিংটনের এরকম অভিমতের বিপক্ষে দুটি বিবেচনা উপস্থাপন করা যায় :

এক. অভিজ্ঞতায় দেখা যায় শক্তিশালী সামরিক বাহিনী প্রতিবেশী রাষ্ট্রের সঙ্গে সৌহার্দ্যপূর্ণ সম্পর্ক প্রতিষ্ঠিত না করে বরং বৈরি সম্পর্ক প্রতিষ্ঠা করে থাকে। যেমন

* Samuel P. Huntington, 1957. *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations*. Boston: Belknap of Harvard Univ Press.

ভারত পাকিস্তান সম্পর্ক। কিংবা বাংলাদেশ সীমান্তে ভারতীয় সীমান্ত রক্ষিবাহিনী (বিএসএফ) দ্বারা নির্বিচারে বাংলাদেশী হত্যা করা সৌহার্দ্যপূর্ণ সম্পর্কের প্রকাশ নয়। বরং সামরিক শক্তিতে তারা অনেক এগিয়ে এসব হত্যাকাণ্ডের বিরুদ্ধে বাংলাদেশের কিছুই করার সুযোগ নেই। তাহলে সুসজ্জিত সামরিক বাহিনী জাতীয় অহংবোধকে উস্কে দেয়, আর অহংবোধ অন্য জাতির জন্য পীড়নের কারণ হয়ে দাঁড়ায়। সভ্যতার বিকাশ থেকে এরকম অসংখ্য দৃষ্টান্ত এখানে উপস্থাপন করা যেতে পারে। যেমন, গ্রিক নগররাষ্ট্রসমূহের মধ্যে স্পার্টা সামরিক শক্তিতে অনেক সমৃদ্ধ ছিল। এই শক্তি প্রতিনিয়ত প্রতিবেশি রাষ্ট্রসমূহের উপর হামলা, আক্রমণ তথা দখলদারিত্ব করার মানসিকতাকে জাগিয়ে তুলত। এবিবেচনায় হ্যান্টিংটনের সামরিক বাহিনী বৃদ্ধির পক্ষে যে অবস্থান নিয়েছে তা মূলত যুদ্ধবাজি অপদার্শনিকতা থেকে উৎসারিত বলা যায়।

দুই. প্রশ্ন হলো নাগরিকদের অন্যান্য সুযোগ-সুবিধাদি সঙ্কুচিত করে, মানবীয় প্রয়োজনসমূহকে শিথিল করে সামরিক বাহিনীর উন্নয়ন করা কি নৈতিক? সামরিক বাহিনীর ব্যয় বৃদ্ধির সঙ্গে সাধারণ মানুষের উপকারিতার সম্পর্ক কতোটুকু তাও সমতাবাদী নৈতিক পরিপ্রেক্ষিত থেকে পর্যালোচনার দাবি রাখে। প্রথমেই দেখা যাক সামরিক বাহিনীর ব্যয় কোথা থেকে আসে? রাষ্ট্রের বিভিন্ন খাত রয়েছে, যেমন, শিক্ষাখাত, স্বাস্থ্যখাত তথা নাগরিকদের সুবিধাদি দেখার জন্য সেবাখাত। প্রত্যেকটি খাত প্রত্যক্ষভাবে নাগরিকের স্বার্থ সমুন্নত করতে সাহায্য করে থাকে। কিন্তু, সামরিক বাহিনী কি এরকম কোনো উন্নয়নের সঙ্গে সম্পৃক্ত? প্রশ্নটি খতিয়ে দেখা যেতে পারে।

সামরিক বাহিনীর ব্যয় সাধারণ জনগণের আয় হতে বহন করা হয়। এই ব্যয়ের সঙ্গে সরকারের উপকারিতা যুক্ত থাকলেও জনগণের উপযোগিতা বা উপকারিতা কোনোটিই যুক্ত নয় বলে অনেকে অভিমত দেন। রাষ্ট্রের প্রশাসনিক কাঠামোর বিভাজনের মাধ্যমে আমরা তা দেখাতে পারি। সরকার কাঠামোয় দুটি দিক রয়েছে : (১) সাধারণ নাগরিক এবং (২) তাদের সঙ্গে বিভিন্ন প্রতিষ্ঠানের আন্তঃসম্পর্ক। এরকম দৃষ্টান্ত খুব কমই রয়েছে যা সাধারণ মানুষের উপকারের জন্য সেনাবাহিনী প্রয়োজনে আসে। তবে রাষ্ট্র কখনোই নৈতিক দিক বিচার বিবেচনা করে সেনাবাহিনীর দায়-দায়িত্ব নেন তা বলা যায় না। সেনাবাহিনীর প্রয়োজনীয়তা সাধারণ মানুষের মূল্যায়নের উপরও নির্ভর করে না। উপর্যুক্ত দুটি বিবেচনাকে সামনে রেখে বলা যায় সামরিক বাহিনীর কলেবর বৃদ্ধির কোনো প্রয়োজন নেই।

সরকার যখন কোনো সিদ্ধান্ত নেন তা অবশ্যই সাধারণ জনগণের কথা ভেবেই করেন। সাধারণ মানুষ সরকারেরই অংশবিশেষ। বিশেষ ক্ষেত্রে রাষ্ট্রনেতা রাষ্ট্রীয় ক্ষমতা ও সম্পদের সুবিধাদি ভোগ করে থাকেন। রাষ্ট্র কতোটুকু সুবিধা ভোগ করবে বা ক্ষয়ক্ষতির মুখোমুখি হবে তা নির্ভর করে সরকারের কর্মকাণ্ডের উপর। জনগণের সঙ্গে সরকারের সম্পৃক্ততার ধরনের উপর। সরকার যদি অপেক্ষাকৃত উদার ও

জনহৈতিষি হন তাহলে জনগণের কল্যাণে সেনাবাহিনীর ভূমিকাকে ত্বরান্বিত করা হয়ে থাকে। তারপরও রাষ্ট্রের অর্থনৈতিক অবস্থা বিবেচনা করে সেনাবাহিনীর জন্য সম্ভাব্য আয়-ব্যয় বিশ্লেষণ করে দেখতে হবে সেনাবাহিনীর প্রয়োজনীয়তা কতোটুকু কিংবা পরিসরের দিক থেকে তা কীরকম হওয়া উচিত। অনেকে দাবি করেন যে, সেনাবাহিনীর প্রয়োজনীয়তা রয়েছে। পাশাপাশি সাধারণ জগণের উপকারের জন্য এবং নিরাপত্তা বিধানের জন্য সেনাবাহিনীর ভূমিকা রাখার সুযোগ রয়েছে। প্রত্যেক নাগরিকের নিরাপত্তা, সার্বভৌমত্ব ও স্বাধীনতার উপর বহিঃশত্রুর আক্রমণ থেকে মুক্ত রাখার স্বার্থে, নাগরিকের জীবনরক্ষার জন্য সেনাবাহিনীর প্রয়োজনকে অস্বীকার করা যায় না।

তবে যুদ্ধ প্রসঙ্গে শান্তিবাদী মতাদর্শিগণ সামরিক বাহিনীর জন্য ব্যয় বৃদ্ধি, কিংবা নাগরিক সুযোগ-সুবিধাদি সংকুচিত করে সামরিক সরঞ্জামাদি ক্রয় কোনোভাবেই সমর্থন করেন না। তাঁরা মনে করেন, যেকোনো উদ্দেশ্যেই হোক মারাত্মক সামরিক বাহিনীর অস্তিত্ব কোনো দেশের জন্যই কাম্য হওয়া উচিত নয়। বিপদজনক সামরিকবাহিনী রাষ্ট্র, রাষ্ট্রের জনগণ এবং অন্যান্য রাষ্ট্রের জন্য সমস্যার উদ্বেক করে থাকে। এপ্রসঙ্গে শান্তিবাদীদের যুক্তি হলো—যা কিছু মানবজীবনের জন্য হুমকিস্বরূপ তা ন্যায়সঙ্গত নয়। এখন প্রশ্ন হতে পারে, যদি অন্য রাষ্ট্রের সেনাবাহিনী নাগরিকদের শান্তিপূর্ণ জীবন-যাপনের জন্য হুমকিস্বরূপ হয়, তাহলে সেসব ক্ষেত্রে রাষ্ট্রের কী করা উচিত? যদি নিরাপত্তাহীনতার কারণে কোনো ব্যক্তির জীবন বিপন্ন হয়, অথবা মৃত্যুর কারণ হয় তাহলে জনগণের নিরাপত্তার স্বার্থেই সামরিক বাহিনীর প্রয়োজন অত্যাবশ্যকীয় হয়ে পড়ে। শান্তিবাদীগণ এরকম প্রেক্ষাপটে হয়তো আত্মরক্ষার কথা বলবেন। শক্তিশালী সামরিক বাহিনীর বিরুদ্ধে দুর্বল রাষ্ট্রের আত্মরক্ষার উপায় কি হবে? শান্তিবাদীদের কাছে এ প্রশ্নের কোন উত্তর নেই। এরকম পরিস্থিতিতে হয়তো শান্তিবাদীদের বিরুদ্ধে অনেকেই দাবি করতে পারেন, আমাদের স্বাধীনতার অধিকার আছে। এ অধিকার শূন্যে পরিণত হবে যদি কোনো সেনাবাহিনী বা প্রতিরক্ষা ব্যবস্থা না থাকে। তবে বিরুদ্ধ শিবিরের অনেকেই হয়তো বলতে পারেন, কোনো রাষ্ট্রের সেনাবাহিনী যত বড় হবে জনগণের দুর্ভোগ তত বৃদ্ধি পাবে। যেমন, সুইজারল্যান্ড, সুইডেন। তাদের সেনাবাহিনী আয়তনের দিক থেকে বিশাল নয়। অন্যদিকে রাশিয়া, আমেরিকা ও চীন সেনাবাহিনী আয়তনের দিক থেকে বিশাল। আমরা লক্ষ্য করে থাকব বৈশ্বিক সংকটের পরাশক্তিরসমূহের ভূমিকা খুবই জটিল হয়। অনেকক্ষেত্রে সামরিক দিক থেকে শক্তিশালী রাষ্ট্রসমূহ পৃথিবী জুড়ে সামরিক উত্তেজনা জিইয়ে রাখতে চায়। বিশাল সেনাবাহিনী পোষার কারণ ও তাই।

সামরিক বাহিনী সম্পর্কে আরেকটি দিক হলো এটি বৈশ্বিক অশান্তি তথা যুদ্ধের জন্যও দায়ী। সামরিক বাহিনীর মান উন্নয়নের জন্য আধুনিক প্রযুক্তি, অর্থনৈতিক ব্যয় তথা বহুমুখী ব্যয়বহুল সম্পৃক্ততা সৃষ্টি হয়। অথচ ব্যয়ের তুলনায় এ খাত থেকে কোনো

উন্নয়নই সাধিত হয় না। সববিবেচনায় এটি হলো অনুন্নয়নশীল খাত। তারপরও এই খাতটিকে যৌক্তিক করে তোলা হয় যে, এটি জনগণের নিরাপত্তা ও সার্বভৌমত্ব রক্ষায় ভূমিকা রাখতে পারে।

৫.১ যুদ্ধ ও শান্তিবাদ

উপর্যুক্ত আলোচনায় আমরা লক্ষ্য করেছি, শান্তিবাদীগণ সামরিক বাহিনীর কলেবর বৃদ্ধি, ব্যয় বৃদ্ধি তথা চলে সাজানোর ক্রিপক্ষে। কারণ যুদ্ধের সঙ্গে সামরিকবাহিনী ওতপ্রোতভাবে সম্পৃক্ত। শক্তিশালী সামরিকবাহিনী আধিপত্যের দিক থেকেও সক্রিয় হবে এটাই স্বাভাবিক। এই সক্রিয়তাই যুদ্ধের জন্য দায়ী। যুদ্ধের বিপক্ষে শান্তি বাদীদের অবস্থান দু'ধরনের : (ক) পরিপূর্ণ শান্তিবাদী, এবং (খ) দুর্বল শান্তিবাদী।

পরিপূর্ণ শান্তিবাদীগণ মনে করেন, যেকোনো অবস্থায় যুদ্ধ অনৈতিক। যুদ্ধকে উসকে দেওয়া, কিংবা যুদ্ধের জন্য মনস্তাত্ত্বিক পরিবেশ সৃষ্টি করা সবই নৈতিক বিবেচনায় বেঠিক। তবে দুর্বল শান্তিবাদীগণ মনে করেন, যেকোনো ধরনের যুদ্ধই অন্যায্য, মানবতার বিরুদ্ধে অবস্থান। এটাই হলো পরিপূর্ণ শান্তিবাদীদের অবস্থান। কোনো ব্যক্তি যদি নিজের আত্মরক্ষার জন্য কিংবা রাষ্ট্রের জনগণের সার্বভৌমত্ব কিংবা নিরাপত্তার জন্য প্রতিরোধ গড়ে তোলেন তা অনৈতিক নয়। কিন্তু, প্রতিরক্ষার নামে যদি উভয় পক্ষ মারাত্মক অস্ত্র ব্যবহার করেন তাহলে তাকে বিতর্কহীন বলা যাবে না।

প্রেসিডেন্ট বুশ কর্তৃক ইরাক আক্রমণের প্রসঙ্গ উল্লেখ পূর্বক ডক্টর মাহাথির মুহাম্মদ বলেন যে, আধুনিক বিশ্বে যুদ্ধের কোনো প্রয়োজন নেই। যুদ্ধ নিষিদ্ধ হওয়া উচিত। বর্তমানে মানব সভ্যতা কয়েক হাজার বছরে জ্ঞানে সমৃদ্ধ। তাই আমাদেরকে আলাপ-আলোচনার মাধ্যমেই সমস্যাকে সমাধান করতে হবে। যুদ্ধ আমাদেরকে পস্তর যুগে নিয়ে যাবে। যুদ্ধের ভয়াবহতা ও তৃতীয় বিশ্বযুদ্ধ কিরূপ হবে সে প্রশ্নে আইনস্টাইনকে প্রশ্ন করা হলে তিনি এর ভয়াবহতা প্রশ্নে নিশ্চুপ থেকেছেন। বরং তিনি চতুর্থ বিশ্বযুদ্ধ প্রশ্নে ভবিষ্যৎবাণী করে বলেন, চতুর্থ বিশ্বযুদ্ধ মানুষ লাঠি-সোটা নিয়ে যুদ্ধ করবে অর্থাৎ তৃতীয় বিশ্বযুদ্ধ এতই ভয়াবহ হবে যে, মানব সভ্যতা সম্পূর্ণ ধ্বংস হয়ে যাবে এবং চতুর্থ বিশ্বযুদ্ধ মানুষ হাতে হাতে করবে।

উপসংহার

যুদ্ধ যেকোনো অবস্থায় অন্যায়। যুদ্ধের মধ্য দিয়ে মানবতার বিপর্যয় ঘটে থাকে। যুদ্ধের বিভীষিকা কোনো সভ্য সমাজের জন্য গ্রহণযোগ্য নয়। ইরাক বাস্তবতায় খোদ বৃটিশ এবং আমেরিকান সাংবাদিক ও বুদ্ধিজীবীগণ সমালোচনা করেছেন। মার্কিন পররাষ্ট্রমন্ত্রী কনডোলিসা রাইসও স্বীকার করেছিলেন যে, ইরাকে মার্কিন আক্রমণ ছিল একটি ভুল সিদ্ধান্ত। আমেরিকা যে সেখানে অন্যায় যুদ্ধ চালিয়েছে উক্ত উক্তির মধ্য দিয়ে তা-ই প্রতিফলিত হয়েছে। ইরাকে মার্কিন নীতি সম্পর্কে মন্তব্য করতে গিয়ে মালয়েশিয়ার প্রাক্তন প্রধানমন্ত্রী মাহাথির মুহাম্মদ বলেন যে, বুশ রেয়ারের বিরুদ্ধে যুদ্ধ অপরাধের দায়ে অভিযুক্ত করে বিচার করা উচিত। ন্যায়সঙ্গত বিচারে তারা অভিযুক্ত হবে এবং বিশ্বের জনগণ তাদের প্রতি নিন্দা অব্যাহত রাখবে। সবকিছু মিলিয়ে বলা যায়, যুদ্ধ হলো অবিচার ও মানবিক বিপর্যয়েরই আরেক নাম। যেকোনো মানবিক বিপর্যয়ের বিরুদ্ধে থাকার অর্থই হলো যুদ্ধের বিপক্ষে থাকা। পৃথিবীর মানুষের মধ্যে যুদ্ধ-বিরোধী মনোভাব সৃষ্টিই যুদ্ধের নৈতিক বিবেচনাকে প্রাসঙ্গিক করে তোলে।

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Exploring Access Level and Factors of Hindrances of Using ICTs by Teacher Educators of Bangladesh

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Abstract: *ICT is a tool for effective teaching-learning process. It enhances education in various ways. Technology changes teaching and learning models in teacher education. This study aims to present the status of access level with attention to find out the factors of hindrances of using ICT by teacher educators. These issues were investigated using online survey methodology with a sample of teacher educators (n=88) from six teachers' training colleges of six divisions. Data were analyzed using descriptive statistics. Results show that teacher educators have average accessibility facility to ICT but moderate user of e-mail and internet. It identifies that lack of expertise in ICT and insufficient knowledge of appropriate softwares that causes from lack of appropriate ICT knowledge are major factors of hindering use of ICT that needs continuing professional development supports.*

Key Words: *access level, factors of hindrances, teacher educators, Information and Communications Technologies (ICT), digital divide.*

Introduction:

Literacy spread over in very different spheres and concepts of literacy have extended uttering that clusters of skills need for both students and the teachers in the form of digital literacy or e-literacy (Anderson, 2010). Technology changes teaching and learning models (Becta, 2009). ICT can be an effective tool in supporting teaching and learning along with pedagogical and technical expertise of the teacher (Hennessy, Harrison, & Wamakote, 2010).

Traditional teacher training as well in-service continuing training institutes are experiencing a rapid change in the structure and content of the training, and delivery methods due to speedy development in ICT (Jung, 2005). Correspondingly, it has an evident that teachers receive advantage from computers and the Internet which enabled them greatly to improve their knowledge of subject matter (Hawkins, 2002). ICT can be

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used as a core or a complementary means to the teacher training process (Collis & Jung, 2003). Presently, ICT is using in a broad spectrum. The UNESCO formulated a policy framework of ICT competency standards for teachers in which it is strongly anticipated that ICT will leap forth, both teachers and learners (UNESCO, 2008). The Becta survey reported that ICT helps teachers to personalize learners' learning (Rudd et al., 2009). However, it is surprisingly true that most teachers still unfamiliar with the social softwares. So, harnessing technology is still limited worldwide.

Teacher educators prepare the classroom teachers. So, it is extremely important to be familiarized, make well accessible to ICT by the teacher educators in their work places. Technology literacy is important for both teachers and teacher educators which involves the appropriate level of ease of access. Some hindrances may limit the opportunity of accessibility. This study reveals the level of accessibility and the factors of hindrances of access to ICT by the teacher educators in Bangladesh.

Research Questions:

This research attempts to investigate several questions focus on the teacher educators' access level and factors of hindrances of ICT in teachers training colleges. More specifically:

- RQ 1:** Which ICT do teacher educators' have access to in their colleges and what is the frequency of their access per week?
- RQ 2:** What is the adequacy and availability level of ICT in teachers training colleges?
- RQ 3:** What are the factors hindering teacher educators' readiness in using ICT?

Theoretical Framework:

In the following review, we provide a brief overview of generic term ICT, teacher educators' access level to ICT with adequacy and availability for integration in teaching-learning process, and factors of the hindrances of using it. The review will be followed by the articulation of the set of research questions.

Information and Communication Technologies (ICT):

The generic term ICT stands for Information and Communications Technologies. Various definitions of ICT have been emerged in different literatures. According to Wang & Woo (2007), ICT is basically a tool that

can be hardware such as computers, digital cameras, and software such as Excel, discussion forums, or both. ICT also refers to the technologies which are being used for collecting, storing, editing and passing on information in various forms (Sumalatha & Ramakrishnaiah, 2007). Some studies, like the study of Foley, Alfonso, & Ghani (2002), includes ICT as PCs, mobile telephones, interactive digital TV, PDAs and games machines. The definition of ICT employed in this study is based on the definition pronounced by the UNESCO in 1999. It states that "the Information and Communications Technologies (ICTs) are a diverse set of technological tools and resources used to communicate, and to create, disseminate, store, and manage information (Blurton, 1999, p. 1)". These technologies include computers, the Internet, broadcasting technologies, and telephony. Later, it restated in ICT transforming education: A regional guide published by UNESCO, Bangkok which summarizes ICT as many technologies for capturing, interpreting, storing and transmitting information (Anderson, 2010). Author added that the term ICT is plural, referring to many technologies. But for the convenience use, the study uses it as ICT only. The main three uses of computers are e-mail, Internet access, and work and people usually connect with internet via PCs, WAP phones, digital TV/set top boxes, and games consoles (Russell & Stafford, 2002).

Adequacy and availability level of ICT:

The B Ed curriculum has a compulsory course on ICT titled "Basic Computer Skills" carrying 50 marks; half of it evaluated in college level as internal assessment (B Ed Curriculum Report 2006). Likewise, every teachers' training college is equipped with some level of essential hardwares and softwares as TQI-SEP, a project functioning for improving teaching quality in secondary level initiated by Ministry of Education, Bangladesh provided Computer Lab with brand PCs and essential accessories.

Use of ICT in education has a long history. ICT has played an educational role in formal and non-formal settings. Teachers and students use ICT, such as computers, personal digital assistants, cell phones, interactive white boards, digital and document cameras, digital video equipment, digital audio recorders and players, and digital projectors to communicate, create, disseminate, store and manage information (Hutchison, 2009). In a study conducted in The Robert Gordon University Aberdeen (2004) in Scotland on teachers' ICT skills and knowledge need reported that the use of ICT is relatively low and is focused on a fairly

narrow range. Surprisingly, it is observed that although the availability of computer facilities was reportedly quite high, actual level of use was quite low and relative to other subject teachers, science teachers came out positively with regard to confidence and using ICT (Gray and Souter, 2004). Another study of Gillwald, Milek, & Stork (2010) builds evident that developing countries have not equitable access facility of using ICTs due to some constraints like high cost of services or equipment.

The study of Russell & Stafford (2002) confirms that usage of ICT has increased along with internet use among all age groups and growth has been largest among 35 to 44 year which is align with the report of OECD (2001) uttering that it is similar across the countries. The study also shows that most of the users work on computer daily and the heaviest users are the age group of 25-34, but less variation in the use of the internet which counts 7.0 hours to 7.9 hours in a week. However, males spend more time on the Internet than females (Russell & Stafford, (2002); Foley, Alfonso, & Ghani, 2002).

'Digital divide' is a new phenomenon emerged in the field of ICT refers to the disparity between those who have use of and access to ICT and those who do not (Foley, Alfonso, & Ghani, 2002; Anderson, 2010). The study reports that recently it has added an extra dimension to this definition by asserting that it should focus on the effective use of ICT for social and economic development and not simply 'access' and 'use'. Moreover, a digital divide exists between high, medium, low and non-users. Furthermore, lack of physical access has been regarded as the key barrier to ICT adoption and use stating that widening access to ICT will help to bridge the digital divide rather providing simple technocratic solution (ibid.).

Factors hindering use of ICT:

Personal ICT skills are prerequisite for using technology in the classroom (Becta, 2009). In a study done by Gillwald, Milek, & Stork (2010) indicates that women generally have less access and use ICT though men and women share similar backgrounds which also supports by OECD (2001) though it has a considerable variation across the countries. In addition, lack of computer skills is one of the main factors hindering men and women from using the Internet while confidence partly responsible for detaining. Authors also argued that formal education should introduce the ICT literacy as an integral part of curriculum, and at the same time on the job training should be provided with incentives. Another study shows that interest and attitude create digital divide, and orderly people

generally do not use computers and are not interested in using ICT (Russell & Stafford, 2002; OECD, 2001). The study also reveals that some interested non-users of computers expect free or cheap lessons as incentives along with cheap or free equipment or software. Hawkins (2002) reports that World Links program bridges the "digital divide". Through this program students and teachers get prepared in necessary technologies, skills, and educational resources to prepare. In a survey report of World Links the teachers reported that the lack of adequate hardware and software as well as unreliable Internet access hinders teachers using computers in instruction along with necessary support services (Hawkins 2002). Concurrently, author urges avidly for professional development of teachers' technology and education program. Rudd et al., (2009) study urges to foster confidence and efficacy in ICT to continue the improvement of teachers with support and additionally at least a little more continuing professional development scheme. Along with others education can be a concern of accessing to ICT (OECD, 2001; Foley, Alfonso, & Ghani, 2002). In the report, Science, technology and industry outlook 2001: Drivers of growth, published by OECD in 2001 elucidated that educational attainment helps to explain the differences in access to ICT. It clarifies that person having tertiary level education has more access to PC and internet than the lower educational attainment.

Methodology:

This study employs non-experimental and quantitative research in order to uncover some possible understandings of the research questions that previously outlined.

Research Design:

The study employs descriptive survey method, as Bethlehem (2009) describes the survey as a powerful instrument to collect new statistical information about a population using a questionnaire to the representatives of the elements in the population. This study uses the Bethlehem (2009) survey process ignoring the 'nonresponse correction' step. In addition, it embraces email survey as Simsek, F. Veiga, & H. Lubatkin (2005) justifies internet survey technique as a process of faster data gathering, error-free data entry, and lowering costs as well having respondents freedom to answer from anywhere, at their own pace and time.

Sampling:

The population of the study is 447 teacher educators of 14 government teachers' training colleges in Bangladesh. Among them, all teacher educators of six teachers' training colleges, one each from six divisions, were selected for sample as the colleges spread over the country.

Instrument:

This study involved in collection of quantitative data. In this instance, a structured questionnaire was adopted from the study of Tella et al. (2007) to gather data with necessary modification. The instrument consists of two sections: one for demographic information and the second section contains some items of inquiry align with research questions. The questionnaire has been piloted before administering among respondents.

Data Collection:

Data was collected from early June to 3rd week in 2010. Among 120 teacher educators 27 sent questionnaire by e-mail and remaining 61 sent through surface mail which calculates 88.

Data Analysis:

Data were analyzed using frequency count and percentages by descriptive analysis and was analyzed by MS Excel 2007. All data were placed on table to interpret appropriately.

Result:

Based on the responses of 88 teacher educators, the results and findings are presented here in brief description and in tables.

Demographic information:

In the sample of 88 teacher educators 72 (82%) were males and 16 (18%) were females. Of them, 51 (58%) have M. A/M. Sc./M. Com degree accordingly 34 (39%) have M. Ed, and only 2 (2%) teacher educators have PhD degree with the remaining 1 (1%) have other degree.

Respondents were divided into five age groups. Most of the teacher educators were in 41-45 age group which accounts 36 (40%) and the less was 4 (5%) in 46-50 age group. Others were 22 (25%), 18 (21%) and 8 (9%) in age groups 31-35, 36-40 and 51 & above respectively.

Three research questions focused in this current study. According to the research questions, following statistical analysis were made.

Research Question - 1

Which ICTs do teacher educators' have access to in their colleges and what is the frequency of their access per week?

Table 1 presents the types of ICT facilities in which teacher educators' have sufficient access. It explored that almost all 87 (99%) teacher educators have access to computers. It also displays that 85% teacher educators' have access to e-mail and internet, 74% to digital camera, 41% to scanner, 32% to video equipment, and 24% have access to data projectors.

Teacher educators' frequency of access to ICT has presented in table 2. The study revealed that one-third teacher educators have 0-5 hours access per week to ICTs in their colleges. It also exposes that 23 (26%) teacher educators have 6-10 hours access per week to computer that positioned 2nd while a good number of teacher educators' have more than 21 hours access per week to computer which counts 18 (21%). But only 13 (15%) and 6 (7%) teacher educators' have 11-15 hours and 16-20 hours access to ICT per week respectively.

Table 1 : Teacher educators' access to ICTs

ICTs	No. of response	%
Computers	87	99
E-mail	75	85
Internet	75	85
Digital Camera	65	74
Scanner	36	41
Video Equipment	28	32
Data Projector	22	25

Table 2 : Teacher educators' frequency of access to ICT

Access to ICT/week	No. of response	%
0-5 Hours	28	32
6-10 Hours	23	26
11-15 Hours	13	15
16-20 Hours	6	7
21 Hours & above	18	21

Research Question - 2

What is the adequacy and availability level of ICT in teachers' training colleges?

Teacher educators rated the various aspects of adequacy and availability level of ICT in their colleges on a five point Likert-type scale and results presented in table 3.

No consistent portrait has seen from table 3 regarding adequacy and availability level. A very little number of teacher educators reported 'very good' and 'very poor' in respect to availability of different ICT that ranges from 2 to 20. Nearly one-third teacher educators have good access to internet and software which considers little in amount. However, ICT technical support and access to Data Projector and Digital Camera reported satisfactory by 35 and 32 respondents respectively. On the other hand, 29 teacher educators reported poor in access and adequacy on computer hardware.

Table 3 : Adequacy and availability level of ICT

Sl.	Items	Very Poor	Poor	Satisfactory	Good	Very Good
1	Computer Hardware	11 (13%)	29 (33%)	15 (17%)	24 (27%)	9 (10%)
2	Software	10 (11%)	14 (16%)	28 (32%)	29 (33%)	7 (8%)
3	Computer Consumable	4 (5%)	19 (22%)	31 (35%)	26 (30%)	8 (9%)
4	ICT Technical Support	10 (11%)	13 (15%)	35 (40%)	23 (26%)	7 (8%)
5	Internet Access	2 (2%)	15 (17%)	19 (22%)	32 (36%)	20 (23%)
6	Others (Data Projector, Digital Camera etc.)	7 (8%)	18 (20%)	32 (36%)	20 (22%)	11 (13%)

Research Question - 3

What are the factors hindering teacher educators' readiness in using ICT?

Teacher educators' identified factors hindering their readiness and confidence of using ICT and results presented in Table 4. It exhibits that the main factors hindering teacher educators' readiness of using ICT are "lack of expertise with ICT" and "insufficient knowledge of appropriate softwares" which accounts 53 (60%) and 48 (55%) respectively. In addition, 40 (45%) teacher educators identified "insufficient knowledge of how to use ICT equipments", 35 (40%) identified "lack of knowledge of how to evaluate the use and the role play by ICT in teaching and learning", and 27 (31%) identified "lack of confidence in using ICT".

Table 4 : Factors hindering teacher educators' readiness of using ICTs

Items	No. of response	%
Teachers' lack of expertise with ICT	53	60
Lack of confidence in using ICT	27	31
Insufficient knowledge of appropriate software	48	55
Insufficient knowledge of how to use ICT equipment	40	45
Lack of knowledge of how to evaluate the use and the role play by ICT in teaching and learning	35	40

Discussion & Findings:

The demographic information shows that participants were well balanced in respect to age. Most of the participants were having M. A/M. Sc./M. Com degree and all other have a kind of tertiary level education that is line up with the OECD report 2001. The data explains that participants were from diversified background and were spread over in homogeneous set-up. So, it can be inferred that the sample was consistent.

Regarding access to ICT, the result shows that teacher educators have more access to computer, e-mail but have very limited access to the scanner, video equipment and data projector. This result differs from the study of The Robert Gordon University Aberdeen (2004) since it described that big proportion of teacher educators have good access opportunity to ICT equipments in their colleges. Consequently, it is understood that teachers' training colleges of Bangladesh are moderately equipped with ICT which confirms the study of Gillwald, Milek, & Stork (2010) as the teachers' training colleges has not good and equitable access facilities to ICT.

As well, an unpleasant picture has seen in connection to frequency of access to ICT. Right away, it learned that teachers' training colleges are moderately equipped with ICT. But, it has revealed that frequency of using computers per week by teacher educators' is not satisfactory. More than a half of teacher educators are using ICT less than 11 hours per week and only one-fifth uses ICT above 21 hours per week. This depicted that around 80% teacher educators' are using ICT in the rate of less than 3 hours per day. This result indicates that teacher educators' are moderate level ICT users. It confirms the opinion of Gray and Souter (2004) as actual level of use was quite low while the availability of computer facilities in teachers' training colleges was evidently average. As opined

by Gray and Souter (2004) it is due to teachers' lack of interest and lack of enthusiasm whenever the ICT equipments are made available in their reach. Availability and presence of ICT equipments can motivate teacher educators to get access to those facilities. To increase the rate of access to an expected level, there is no alternative way but to motivate them by training, tangible reward and promotion.

On the other hand, respondents rate on adequacy and availability level of ICT on a five point Likert type scale evident that moderate number of teacher educators' has access to internet, computer consumable, data projector and digital camera, and softwares. In contrast, teacher educators' have very limited access to computer hardware and technical assistance. This result indicates that computer hardware, softwares and technical support are less available and lacking in comparison to other facilities. Even though it happens in their colleges, this is not so important for the teacher educators' and a minimal skill in this area can provide an additional confidence in using ICT. The overall level of using ICT depends on level of motivation as this facet is justified by the report of The Robert Gordon University Aberdeen (2004). In this report, it is mentioned that teacher educators' reasonably confident in using ICT if more support and professional development can be ensured. And this premise further supported by the study of Gachago et al., (2007) which explains that support staffs should be charged with the responsibilities of providing assistance to the teachers that endorsed by Rudd et al., (2009) study.

Hence, an inference can be drawn that level of use of ICT in instructions by the teacher educators' depend on their level of motivation and professional development as an effective interventions. In addition, some may have ICT phobia and are afraid of using ICT. This finding is justified by a study on e-learning conducted by Gachago et al, (2007) at University of Botswana. The e-learning support staffs were charged with the responsibilities of providing assistance to the teacher on how to teach their students through this medium and how to train those who don't have knowledge of teaching through ICT. So, continuing professional development support for a number of ICT activities, including using learning platforms is needed (Rudd et al., 2009). Authors also informed that it may need to be supported with face-to-face guidance, encouragement, and possibly training. Teachers and learners need to be fully informed about how they can make optimal use of the various dimensions of learning platforms. Besides, the Becta (2009) review

articulated funding for continuing professional development (CPD) to have an integrated technology which described as important predictor of e-maturity.

Likewise, in association to factors hindering using ICT, several issues appeared in considerations. All of the participants have tertiary level education. So, education is not a factor of hindrance of readiness in using ICT as it mentioned by Gillwald, Milek, & Stork (2010) and OECD (2001). Moreover, females were calculated very less as why the result does not influence mostly while females reported less access and use ICT though men and women share similar backgrounds described in preceding study.

Furthermore, the finding exposes "the lack of teacher educators' expertise" and "lack of knowledge of appropriate software" are the two major important hindering factors of teacher educators' to readiness and confidence in using ICT. "Insufficient knowledge of how to use ICT equipment" and "lack of knowledge of how to evaluate the use and the role play by ICT in teaching and learning" is the consequence of appropriate ICT knowledge. In reality, the major cause of their poor confidence is lack of appropriate ICT knowledge that can be intervening through need based training (Hawkins, 2002). It is clearly depicted that generic ICT skills training and software specific training are need for teacher educators to make them confident in using technology that promulgated by Hawkins (2002). Similarly, the relevant study of JISC (2004) on techniques of developing ICT skill revealed that the most important factors identified teacher's lack of knowledge in ICT use and ICT skill in general. This is because of newly ICT introducing in teachers training colleges in Bangladesh.

Conclusions:

From the study it is illuminated that all the teacher educators of teachers' training colleges of Bangladesh are not using ICT at satisfactory level. Internet access and pertinent infrastructure has already been developed by this time across the country. Teachers' training colleges should be equipped with ICT infrastructures at a certain level as ICT and related issues changes rapidly. But lack of complementary policies and interventions need to integrate ICT in education taking initiatives for increasing and sustaining access level to ICT by the teacher educators. Apart from these, some kind of motivational factors like empowering of teacher community, performance based reward system, merit based

promotion should be considered. are some complimentary issues to integration of ICT in teaching and learning process of teachers training colleges of Bangladesh.

According to findings, ICT equipments must be provided at the premises of the colleges for the best uses. ICT technical support, computer software and hardware should be bestowed within the reach of all teacher educators' and trainee-teachers of teachers' training colleges of Bangladesh. In addition, an initiative should be taken to train, re-train teacher educators phase by phase on the basis of need assessment. This must be in the form of continuing professional development (CPD) for enabling teacher educators to keep in touch with ICT developments, new knowledge and research on teaching and learning with the appropriate pedagogical aspects. So, funding for ICT CPD and ICT facilities is recommended to have an integrated technology in teachers' training colleges which can be initiated by Ministry of Education or any other mechanism that may be an issue of further study.

Lastly, making all the ICT facilities and providing training are not the only issues which can ensure ICT integration in class room instruction rather effective monitoring and follow-up mechanism are two obvious measures that must be ensured. Simultaneously, reward system for ICT based outstanding performance must be ensured and constraints for sub-standard performance must be undermined.

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Socio-psychological Health Hazards Exposed to Female Nurses and Job Satisfaction: A Case Study on the Selected Public Hospitals in Dhaka City

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Tauhid Hossain Khan**

Abstract: This study looked into the extent of socio psychological health hazards exposed to the female nurses in their workplace. To be specific it assessed job satisfaction of female nurses in the public hospital of Dhaka city in relation to socio psychological health hazards. With a view to having an insight on this issue, the study also takes into Kanter's notion (1977) into account implying that workplace behaviors and attitudes are determined by social structures in the workplace. 138 surveys were administered to female nurses as per sampling framework and systematic random sampling procedure visiting their hospital in the three public hospital of Dhaka city in 2011. Results show that among the social hazards exposed to nurses, it is found that, victim of sexual harassment, disturbance in family relationships, social isolation and disturbance in social relations are 66%, 48.6%, 24.6%, and 43% respectively. Among the psychological hazards exposed to the nurses, it is found that, willing to give everything up, crying for no apparent reason, bitterness, and loss of self control are 48.5%, 34.5%, 48.4%, and 46% respectively. Findings also suggest that the most of the respondents of this study (67%) are not satisfied with the hospital administration system and a significant number of the respondents of this study (68%) want to change their profession. It is also noted in this study that a significant number of the respondents (33%) want to change their profession due to the job related health hazards. Based on the bi variate analysis, this study suggests that among the 13 components of socio psychological hazards exposed to the nurses, 7 components are significantly associated with the job satisfaction.

1.0 Introduction

Job satisfaction is a complex socio-psychological construct. Health care providers' job satisfaction is a crucial variable among the hints of quality of health care (Shah, et. al. 2004). It is also an important component of

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nurses' lives that can impact on patient safety, productivity and performance, quality of care, retention and turnover, commitment to the organization and the profession.

Moreover, the shortage of nurses nationwide and locally has been well documented and extended to the long term care industry (Fletcher, 2001; Mark, 2002). Employees' job satisfaction and their commitment have always been important issues for health care administrators. A number of studies have reported that employees who are satisfied in their job tend to stay longer in the job (Hinshaw, et. al. 1987; Taunton, et. al. 1989; Tett and Meyer, 1993). Research also shows that employees who experience job satisfaction are more likely to be productive (Cohen and Josefowitz, 1980; Likert and Katz, 1979). Satisfied employees tend to be more productive, creative, and committed to their employers, and recent studies have shown a direct correlation between staff satisfaction and patient satisfaction in health care organizations (Al-Aameri, 2000). Job dissatisfaction, on the contrary, leads to absenteeism, tardiness, grievances and increased turnover and therefore results in higher employment costs (Hinshaw, et. al. 1987; Tett and Meyer, 1993; Lucas, et. al. 1993; Porter and Steers, 1973; Seashore and Tabar, 1995; Weisman, et. al. 1981; Price and Mueller, 1981; Prestholdt, et. al. 1988; Shah, et. al. 2004). The traditional model of job satisfaction focuses on all the feelings that an individual has about his/her job (Lu, While, & Barriball, 2005). However, what makes a job satisfying or dissatisfying does not depend only on the nature of the job, but also on the expectations that individuals have of what their job should provide (Spector, 1997). Looking forward, almost all surveyed nurses see the shortage in the future as a catalyst for increasing stress on nurses, lowering patient care quality, and causing nurses to leave the profession. High nurse turnover and vacancy rates are affecting access to health care (Best & Thurston, 2004). Continuously hiring new employees is costly, and frequent staff turnover affects employees' morale and impairs patient care (Sofie, Belzar, & Young, 2003).

According to Borda and Norman (1997) and Lu, While, and Barriball (2005), the retention and recruitment of nurses have shown that low wages and poor job satisfaction are the primary reasons why nurses leave their positions. Their dissatisfaction is often attributed to heavy workloads, leadership styles, motivation, inadequate training, and lack of respect (Lu, While, & Barriball 2005). Professional nursing is a significant component of quality health care and nurses are vital to the

National Health Services System of a nation. They make a real difference to people's lives as far as health care is concerned. Yet the nursing profession is facing a crisis today all over the world. There are positions lying vacant due to non availability of qualified nurses (Gardner and Johnson, 2001). The steady stream of brain drain to the developed world makes the situation still worse in developing countries. From the days of mere caretakers, the nurses have emerged in the role of an envoy between a physician and a patient. Many a times they fulfill a large number of functions of a physician. But unfortunately, we, in Bangladesh, do not have many good qualified nurses for quality health care. The nursing services are vital for attaining health and development. They form the backbone of health care. Health care in Bangladesh is in a sad state, with insufficient doctors and nurses being available to serve its people. Moreover, due to the demand of skilled nurses to give life to the health sector in Bangladesh as well as over the world, nurses are getting dissatisfaction toward their profession; they are, hence, tending to leave their profession.

There is mounting evidence that health workers, especially nurses who are large portion by number among the health professionals (Foley, 2004), are subject to a variety of health hazards (Shimizu, et. al.2010). Nurses often work in settings in which they may be exposed to wide array of psychosocial, chemical, biological and physical hazards. Moreover, nursing personnel have one of the highest job related injury rates of any occupations (Foley, 2004). Recognizing this hazard as workplace violence, scholars also expressed their concerned that workplace violence is one of the most complexes and dangerous occupational hazards facing nurses working in today's health care environment (Mcphaul and Lipscomb, 2004). There by, the scholars have born out the notion that threats to nurses safety are an important public health concern (Shimizu, et. al. 2010). In addition, the nursing team is almost permanently faced with human suffering and death and thus must deal with ambiguous feelings, not only with regard to patients, but family members as well. This requires workers to remain level-headed, and to use strategies to deal with the psychological burdens produced by the working conditions to offset tensions that may cumulatively affect their health, potentially leading to pathogens (Shimizu, et. al. 2010). Notwithstanding the essential nature of the work carried out by nurses and nursing technicians in critical environments, various social and historical aspects are also involved, such as insufficient social recognition, as illustrated by the

undervalued and invisible nature of this position in relation to other healthcare professionals, including by those seeking assistance. Given the above, and based on the psychodynamics labor theory, it is assumed that work in the workplace of nurses causes various types of fatigue, which may reduce satisfaction (pleasure), and effective material and social recognition, leading to dissatisfaction (suffering), exploitation, illness, and even death.

Thus, it is extremely important to determine those factors that contribute to fatigue, in order to propose transformations needed to mitigate the effects of work processes in an organization. Disruptive behaviors toward nurses by the co-worker regardless of hierarchy are often overlooked as the psychosocial hazards. There is a plethora of literatures that disruptive behaviors among health care workers like nurses threaten the safety and well being of both patients and staffs. "Although disruptive behaviors have long been a concern among health care workers; they have often gone unchecked, or even often worse accepted as part of the system (Longo, 2010)". It is interesting that instead of addressing these behaviors, organizations silently supported and reinforced them. The nature of behaviors mentioned above produce the psychosocial hazards as well disorders in nurses because disruptive behaviors include overt and covert actions that are displayed by any healthcare worker and that threaten the performance of the healthcare team (TJC, 2008 ; Longo, 2010). The most frequently reported type of behaviors includes emotional-verbal abuse (Anderson, 2002; Anderson & Parish, 2003; Hader, 2008; Hesketh, et. al. 2003 ; Longo, 2010:). For nurses this verbal abuse is frequently reported as coming from other nurses (Hegney, Plank, & Parker, 2003; Hesketh, et. al. 2003; Rowe & Sherlock, 2005; Longo, 2010:). Examples of these behaviors include using threatening or abusive language; making demeaning or degrading comments; humiliating someone in front of others, including staff and patients; rolling eyes in disgust; sending nasty emails; refusing to mentor; refusing to help others; ignoring attempts at conversations; throwing items; physically assaulting team members; and intimidating others (Capitulo, 2009; Hader, 2008; North Carolina Physicians Health Program, 2009; Porto & Lauve, 2006; Rocker, 2008 ; Longo, 2010). Thus when the nurses are exposed to disruptive behaviors can experience stress, frustration, and physical and psychological disorders.

The impact of disruptive behaviors threatens not only patient safety, but also the well being of healthcare workers and their ability to perform

competently in their job (O'Connor, 2007 ; Longo, 2010). Yildirim and Yildirim (2007; Longo, 2010) have noted physical symptoms that can result from being a victim of disruptive behaviors include tiredness, headaches, gastro-intestinal complaints, and feelings of sadness. A study conducted in Brazil (Shimizu et. al. 2010), by comparing with other biological, physical and chemical hazards, reported that psychological hazards were satisfactory with regard to negative feelings (loss of self-confidence, loss of self-control, feeling of emptiness, bitterness, feeling of defeat, crying for no apparent reason, willingness to give everything up, long-lasting feeling of despair, and negative image of oneself). Thus they reported that the level of psychological and social hazards is tolerable comparing other hazards. Albeit it is tolerable as per their result, these hazards are silent killer, sometimes more dangerous than any other hazard because there are very implicit, latent and dormant related to much more unpredictable human behavior, since taking policy to minimize or mitigate this hazards is very difficult. Several literatures express that 'Family life-work conflict' is a paramount social hazard that is highly prevalent in the nursing profession (Friendly and Ross, 2008). These studies shows that when work interferes family life or vice versa, there are conflict and dilemma in family and social life. This is great source of social psychosocial health related hazards that have profound impact on the private and public life of nurses.

An unsafe, irrespective of physical, biological or psychosocial hazards, work environment leads to compromises in patient care, for example, organizations incur costs from lawsuits and claims increased absenteeism and turnover as well as poor productivity. Taking this advantage the less qualified females are entering to this profession. As these new nurses are being considered as the less qualified directly affect the total health care sector of our country. So the study relating to nurses' job satisfaction should get priority for the sake of its own merit. But very few studies have been conducted to explore the issues of the nurses' job dissatisfaction. Of course, most of the previous studies emphasized on quantifying the structural issues regarding the nurses' job satisfaction. The biological, physical and chemical related health hazards exposed to nurse are frequently well documented internationally in many studies. Unfortunately, Socio-psychological constructs of job satisfaction, psychological, social hazards in the work place and other cultural and contingent factors relating to job of nurses have always been overlooked. As mentioned above, the unexplored reasons of nurses' job dissatisfaction are crucial to prevent health sector, thus it would be rational to explore it.

2.0 Objectives of the Study

The overall objective of the proposed study was to provide data, which would allow for designing strategies to help having a sound environment for nurses in their workplace, investigating the nature of socio psychological health hazards and the extent of satisfactions toward their profession in Bangladesh. Heath hazards (social and psychological) are operationalized as the health related hazards or risks resulting from the situations faced (by or exposed to female nurses) in works settings (hospital), Specific objectives were:

1. To explore the pattern of socio psychological health hazards in the nursing profession.
2. To find out the extent to which nurses in public hospitals are satisfied with their job.
3. To assess the relationship between the socio psychological hazards and job satisfaction.

With a view to examining the relationship between socio psychological hazards and job satisfaction, this study tests the hypothesis: 'The more extent of victim of socio psychological hazards, the greater extent of job dissatisfaction in the nursing profession'.

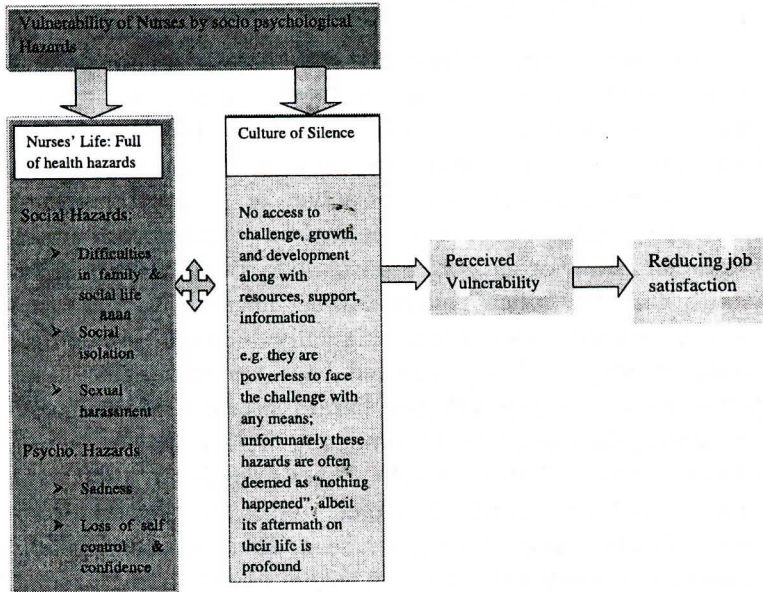
3.0 Socio psychological Health Hazards derived from Work place Social Structure and Job Satisfaction: Kanter's theoretical framework

According to Kanter (1977), workplace behaviors and attitudes are determined by social structures in the workplace, not personal predispositions. She claims that workers are empowered when they perceive that their work environments provide opportunity for growth and access to power needed to carry out job demands. When these conditions are lacking, employees feel powerlessness and vulnerability too as well. This threatens organizational productivity since powerless individuals are more susceptible to burnout and reduced job satisfaction (Kanter, 1979). Kanter defines power as the capacity to mobilize resources to accomplish work, and identifies structural characteristics within an organization that influence an individual's ability to access and mobilize the resources of job-related empowerment: (1) Power, that is, access to resources, support and information and ; (2) Opportunity, that is, access to challenge, growth and development. Access to these

organizational structures is influenced by the degree of formal and informal power an individual has in the organization.

Kanter (1977) maintains that individuals with access to power and opportunity structures can accomplish the tasks required to achieve organizational goals. Because they have these tools, they are highly motivated and able to motivate and empower others. Individuals without access to power structures perceive themselves to be powerless and become more rules-minded and less committed to organizational goals. The organizational behavior in public hospital in Bangladesh can be explained with this theoretical interpretation because the hazards produced from society and psychologically setting are often underreported, misreported or ignored its consequences. The consequences of these socio psychological hazards create, to some extent, vulnerability among the nurses to do something further, that results in reducing satisfaction toward her own work. These hazards are some sorts of exploitation to nurses by society, by which, nurses are alienated from their own work, family, and even society indeed. There is an interesting marriage between psychological and social health related hazards; social hazards may cause the psychological hazards or vice versa, albeit both acts upon the human behaviors. In the context of job satisfaction of nurse, the social psychological health hazards contributed by her workplace make degrade the level of satisfaction toward their job-this is the main argument by the authors.

4.0 Conceptual Framework of the Study



5.0 Study Design

This is a study designed to look into female nurses' level of job satisfaction in terms of socio psychological hazards (exposed from their workplace) in the public hospital of Dhaka city, Bangladesh. The study used quantitative approach of data collection. Survey was the main technique of data collection for this study. Following systematic random sampling procedure, samples for the survey were drawn from three public Hospitals in Dhaka city. The public hospitals are Dhaka Medical College & Hospital (DMCH), National Institute of Ophthalmology & Hospital (NIOH), and National Institute of Kidney Disease and Urology (NIKDU), randomly selected. The hospitals were enlisted as the following sequences: NIOH, DMCH, and NIKDU as per the drawing lottery ensuring the quality of random sampling with a view to constructing a sampling frame. Sample size was determined using Fisher's (Sarantakos, 2005) exact formula. A total of 138 female nurses from the three public hospitals were interviewed for collecting primary data. The variables and indicators were identified according to the conceptual framework of the study (Figure 1). A semi structured interview schedule containing pertinent questions related to the objectives of the study was developed for data collection. The fieldwork was conducted

during June to September 2011. SPSS for Windows (version 12) was used for managing data and computing statistical association.

The two categories, psychological and social, of hazards resulting from the situations faced in their work settings are deemed in this study. The social hazard is defined as a feeling of isolation and difficulties in family and social life encompassing 6 items such as disturbance in family relationships, social isolation, uncontrolled aggressiveness, disturbance in affective relationships, disturbance in social relations, and victim of sexual harassment. On the contrary, the psychological hazards is defined as negative self-perception, negative outlook on life in general and shifts in mood, encompassing 7 items like sadness, loss of self confidence, loss of self control, willingness to give everything up, crying for no apparent reason, negative image of oneself, bitterness. The response on the items was taken by three categories: yes (1), no (2), don't know (3).

6.0 Findings

6.1 Background characteristics of the respondents

The present study is conducted among the nurses of three public hospitals of Dhaka city. In total, 138 nurses ranging from age 21 to 60 years were interviewed. Of them 85% was married and 15% was unmarried nurses. The table 1 reveals the demographic profiles of the respondents. The table shows that the majority of the respondents (46%) are 41-50 years old; on the contrary, a considerable number of respondents (23%) are 31-40 years old. Majority of the respondents' (57%) level of academic education was SSC. It was found only 9%, who completed their Masters. Again most of the respondents (74%) did diploma in nursing. On the other hand, only 9% of the respondents did Masters in nursing. In terms of total monthly income, the majority of the respondents' (56%) family income ranges between Tk.30, 000-Tk.40, 000 per month.

Table 1 Socio-demographic and economic profile of the respondents

Characteristics (N= 138)	Per cent
Age	
21-30	18
31-40	23
41-50	46
51-60	13
Total	100.0
Marital Status(N= 138)	
Married	85
Unmarried	15
Total	100.0
Level of Education(N= 138)	
SSC	57
HSC	28
Bachelor	11
Masters	4
Total	100.0
Religion(N= 138)	
Islam	81
Hinduism	19
Total	100.0
Total Monthly Income of the Family (N= 138)	
Tk. 20000- Tk.30000	11
Tk. 30000- Tk. 40000	56
Tk. 40000- Tk. 50000	26
More than Tk. 50000	7
Total	100.0
Professional Qualification(N= 138)	
Diploma in nursing	74
B. Sc. in nursing	17
Masters in Nursing	9
Total	100.0

On the contrary, a considerable number of respondents' (7%) monthly family income is more than Tk. 50,000. It can be reported that a significant number of respondents' (26%) monthly family income is less than Tk. 40,000-Tk 50,000.

6.2 Dynamics of health hazards of nurses: social and psychological

Respondents were asked the statement to test their social hazards derived from their job and work place. It was found that a significant number of respondent(48.6%) faced disturbance in family relationships : whether they face any difficulties or disturbing in relationships and interaction regardless of spousal , sibling , relation with adult member of family or not. In the case of social isolation, they were asked whether they feel isolation or alienation from their surroundings like relatives, friends or

not, it was found that a significant number of respondent (24.6%) reported that they feel isolation because of the burden of the job.

Table 2 the social hazards exposed to nurses

Items on the social hazards (N=138)	Yes (per cent)	No (Percent)	Don't Know (Per cent)	Total (per cent)
Disturbance in family relationships	48.6	28	23.4	100.0
Social isolation	24.6	66.2	9.2	100.0
Uncontrolled aggressiveness	18.9	58.3	22.8	100.0
Disturbance in affective relationships	22.5	45.8	31.7	100.0
Disturbance in social relations	43.0	50.0	7.0	100.0
Victim of sexual harassment	66	24	10	100.0

In the case of difficulties in social relation, they were asked whether they face any difficulties in maintaining social life or not, it was found that a significant number of respondents (43 %) reported that they face such difficulties or disturbance because the nursing as a profession in our society bears lower status. They were asked on uncontrolled aggressiveness, disturbance in affective relationships, sexual harassment, and majority of the respondents (58.3%) reported that they did not any situation when their aggressiveness was uncontrolled, but significant number of the respondents (66%) reported that they were victim of sexual harassment by their male colleagues regardless of senior and junior, patient and visitors. And 22.5% respondents reported that they face affective disturbance.

Respondents were asked the statement to test their psychological hazards derived from their job and work place. It was found that a significant number of respondents (48.6%) faced feeling of sadness: whether they feel to less or greater extent of sadness regarding their profession. In the case of loss of self control and self confidence, it was found that a significant number of respondents (46 %) reported that they lost self control whereas loss of self confidence is 24.6%.

Table 3 the psychological hazards exposed to nurses

Items on the psychological hazards (N=138)	Yes (percent)	No (per cent)	Don't Know (Per cent)	Total (per cent)
Feeling of sadness	10.5	51.3	38.2	100.0
Loss of self confidence	24.6	66.2	9.2	100.0
Loss of self control	46	24	30	100.0
Willingness to give everything up	48.5	38.8	12.7	100.0
Crying for no apparent reason	34.5	50.0	15.5	100.0
Negative image of oneself	23.4	74.6	2	100.0
Bitterness	48.4	43.4	8.2	100.0

In the regard of willing to give everything up, almost half of the respondents reported (48.5%) that sometime they wish to give everything up including husband, issues as well as family life. A significant number of respondents (34.5%) reported that sometime they feel crying with no apparent reason. In the case of bitterness toward their life, almost half of the respondents (48.55%) feel bitterness, originated from their job experiences, toward their life.

6.3 Dynamics of satisfactions and dissatisfaction regarding nursing as a profession

From the table 4 we see that most of the respondents have the work experience ranging from 11-15 years. Again 25% of the respondents have the service experience of 6-10 years. On the other hand only 4% of the respondents experienced their service above 20 years.

Table 4 Service Experience of the Respondents

Service Experience(in year) (N=138)	Per cent
6-10	25
11-15	63
16-20	8
More than 20	4
Total	100.0

The table 5 shows the antagonistic relationship between nursing as a profession and nurse's family life. It is found that majority of the

respondents (52%) strongly agree that they don't get enough time to take care of their kids and family members due to their nursing profession.

Table 5 Nursing profession versus family life

Contradiction between Nursing profession & family life (N=138)	Level of agreement on the items (in per cent)					Total
	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	
Getting enough time to take care kids or other family members	52	23	5	11	9	100
Contradiction between nursing profession and smooth family life	25	40	3	19	13	100
Married nurses are less committed to their profession than the unmarried nurses	37	28	7	18	10	100

On the other hand, a considerable number of them (9%) strongly disagree with the statement. In respect of male respondents' state of agreement with the relationship between nursing professional and family life, it is found that majority of the respondents (40%) agree with the statement that there is a contradictory relationship between nursing profession and smooth family life.

On the other hand, a considerable number of them (19%) disagree with the statement. It is also found that majority of the male respondents (37%) strongly agree with statement that Married nurses are less committed to their profession than the unmarried nurses.

Table 6 Satisfaction with the hospital administration system

Nurses satisfaction with hospital administration (N=138)	Percent
Yes	33
No	67
Total	100.0

From the table 6 we find that the most of the respondents of this study (67%) are not satisfied with the hospital administration system. Instead 33% of the respondents said about their satisfactoriness with the hospital administration system.

Table 7 Respondents level of agreement with the statement that 'Nursing profession is seen to be a low class profession'

Nursing profession is the low class profession (N=138)	Percent
Strongly agree	14
Agree	11
Neither agree nor disagree	7
Disagree	8
Strongly disagree	60
Total	100.0

The table 7 shows that the majority of the respondents (60%) strongly disagree with the statement that nursing profession is seen to be a low class profession. On the other hand, a considerable number of them (14%) strongly agree with the statement.

6.4 Changing tendency of nursing profession and its aftermath on health care system

From the table 8 we find that the most of the respondents of this study (68%) do not want to change their profession. Instead, 32% of the respondents said that they want to change their profession. It is also evident from the table 8 that most all the respondents (41%) want to change their profession due the job related physical harassment. On the other hand a considerable number of respondents (33%) reported about the risks related to job.

And a considerable number of the respondents (21%) said that due to the low salary structure they want to change their profession. As we see in the table 8 that 43% of the respondents strongly agree that nurses of the public hospital are careless to the patient. On the contrary, only 7% of the respondents strongly disagree with the statement. It is evident from the table 8 that almost all the respondents (63%) think that nurses of the public hospital are careless to the patient because of the permanent nature of their job. And a considerable number of respondents (24%) reported about the lack of supervision for the nurses' carelessness

Table 8 Changing tendency of nursing profession and its aftermath on health care system

Intension to change their profession (N=138)	Per cent
Yes	32
No	68
Total	100.0
Reasons behind changing the job (N=32)	Percent
Low salary structure	21
Risks or hazards related to job	33
Job related physical harassment	41
Other	5
Total	100.0
Nurses of the public hospital are careless to the patient (N=138)	Percent
Strongly agree	43
Agree	28
Neither agree nor disagree	7
Disagree	15
Strongly disagree	7
Total	100.0
Reason of the carelessness (N=138)	Percent
Permanent job	63
Low salary structure	13
Lack of supervision	24
Total	100.0

6.5 Bi variate analysis

Components of socio psychological health hazards and job satisfaction

The table 9 shows the statistical association between the different components of socio psychological hazards exposed to nurses and the job satisfaction. It reveals that among the 6 components of social hazards, 4 hazards(disturbance in family life, disturbance in social life, disturbance affective life and sexual harassment) are significantly associated with the their job satisfaction. In the case of psychological hazards affecting job satisfaction of nurses, among the 7 hazards exposed to nurses affecting their job satisfaction, only 3 components (loss of self control, willingness to give everything up and crying with no apparent reason) are significantly associated with the job satisfaction of nurses.

Table 9 Summary tables of Chi-square and Cramer's V on the components of socio psychological hazards exposed to nurses and job satisfaction

Component s of socio psychological health hazards exposed to nurses	Job Satisfaction
Disturbance in family relation	$\chi^2 = 56.750^{***}$ df= 6
Disturbance in social relation	$\chi^2 = 58.650^{**}$ df= 1
Disturbance in affective relation	V = .180 ^{***}
Sexual harassment	V = .115 ^{***}
Willingness to giving everything up	$\chi^2 = 28.125^{***}$ df= 2
Loss of self control	$\chi^2 = 37.546^*$ df= 4
Crying for no apparent reason	V = .105 ^{***}

*** p=0.001 ** p=0.01 * p=0.05

7.0 Discussion and Conclusion

This paper has explored the nature, perceptions and experiences of socio psychological hazards exposed to the female nurses (and their job satisfaction in this regard) in the public hospitals of Bangladesh. Findings confirm the persistence of hazards in the public hospitals of Bangladesh, the study also reveals the significant impact of psychosocial hazards, exposed to female nurses, on the extent of job satisfaction; consequently this event provokes the nurses to quit from their profession or workplace. The authors acclaims that this tendency is sever and paramount threat for the public health for a developing societies like Bangladesh.

The study reveals that a significant number of respondents reported that they face various socio psychological hazards derived from the nursing profession specific jobs and experiences. The findings of our study in this context are consistent with the findings and comments of Shimizu (2010) where he reported that the level of psychological and social hazards exposed to nurses were moderately satisfactory. In our study, whether the level of psychological and social hazards exposed to nurses are satisfactory or dissatisfactory? To diagnosis this issue or to make a decision in this regard is mounting difficult because it is earlier mentioned that the socio psychological hazards faced by nurses are unreported and unspoken. Moreover, the findings of our study show the extent that is not satisfactory, albeit it seems to be less by figure (table 2, 3) for the time being. The extent of both hazards is alarming for health care sector as well as public health, we think, in this context especial reference to Bangladesh. In this sense our findings are not consistent with

Shimizu (2010) at all. In the case of sexual harassment as an important ingredient of social hazard, for example, it is extremely alarming because 66% female nurses have been sexually harassed by their male colleague regardless of hierarchy, male patients and even by male visitors. It is the sexual harassment exposed to female nurses that is enough to give birth of a couple of socio psychological hazards acting upon their life regardless of public and private. Several literatures express that 'Family life-work conflict' is a paramount social hazard that is highly prevalent in the nursing profession (Friendly and Ross, 2008). The findings of this study are consistent with our study because a significant number of our respondents (40%) agree with statement Contradiction between nursing profession and smooth family life, while 25% of the respondents strongly agree with the statement.

One's satisfaction or dissatisfaction toward one's job is not only part of public life but also part of private life. Victimization of socio psychological hazard by nurse's act upon their both private and public life; job satisfaction may seem to be one's private matter for the time being, but the offspring of this private issue make happen great loss of organization like hospital (Hinshaw, et. al. 1987; Tett and Meyer, 1993; Lucas, et. al. 1993; Porter and Steers, 1973; Seashore and Tabar, 1995; Weisman, et. al. 1981; Price and Mueller, 1981; Prestholdt, et. al. 1988; Shah, et. al. 2004). In this sense the aftermath of socio psychological hazards exposed to nurses is a great matter of concern in relation to nurses' job satisfaction. Kangas, et. al. (1999) reported that nurses who perceived the organizational environment as supportive were more satisfied. Even in the regard of cost benefit, there is welcome growth of literature to suggest that when nurses are satisfied, their patients are more likely to be satisfied (Parrinello, 1990; Shain, 1990), nurse who are satisfied with their job have a higher level of organization commitment (Acorn, et. al. 1997). In this study, the authors want to unearth the issues of hazards to dictate the cost and benefit issue of health or public health sector in Bangladesh indeed. Findings also suggest that the most of the respondents of this study (67%) are not satisfied with the hospital administration system and the most of the respondents of this study (68%) want to change their profession. Because a significant number of respondents (41%) want to change their profession due the job related various hazards including socio psychological hazards.

Table 10 Attempts to remove the hazards exposed to nurses whether it is personal or from their workplace

Personal or organizational attempts taken (N=138)	Percentage (%)
Yes	18.6
No	81.4
Total	100.0
Nature of steps (N=138)*	
Taking help of counseling	11.5
Hospital provide training , workshop on awareness program	10.65
Help from the husband	15.36
Help from other family members	20.65
Complaining to the authority for social hazards like sexual harassment	22.0
Steps against disruptive behaviors by authority	38.3

*Theses percentages add up to more than 100 because of respondents appeared in more than one category

This study suggests significant (table 9) association between the different components of socio psychological hazards exposed to the nurses and the job satisfaction. It reveals that among the 13 components or factors of socio psychological hazards exposed to nurses, 7 components are significantly associated with the job satisfaction. The study deems the theoretical framework of Kantar (1977), workplace behaviors and attitudes are determined by social structures in the workplace. These are the socio psychological hazards that are, in fact, product of society. This behavior, action- reaction, attitude, perception, practice, experiences have to be made sense by one's social structure under where one belongs. For that why, the socio psychological hazards exposed to nurses and even their job satisfaction are not out of workplace (social) structure. As result, the level of satisfaction or dissatisfaction toward their job is obviously determined by their workplace produced socio psychological hazards. Against the socio psychological hazards faced by the female nurses, in our study, the remedy taken personally or by the authority is about absent because an ignorable number of respondents (18.6%) reported that they took some steps to remove the hazards when they faced these difficulties such as taking help of counseling (11.5%), from husband (15.36%). On the contrary, amidst the organizational steps, only 10.65% respondents that they received education vis-à-vis training or various awareness programmes (table 10).

In finale, our study has argued that socio psychological hazards exposed to female nurses are alarming for the public health for a given country. Particularly, Bangladesh as a developing country has tendency of 'brain drain', many of our skilled nurses are immigrating to the developed country in every year. The low salary structure, low job status and less job security are degrading their level of satisfaction toward their job. Moreover, socio psychologically produced hazards in the workplace are now dominating factors acting upon the job satisfaction in the growing sector of work forces in Bangladesh. Unfortunately, albeit the chemical hazards and related risks are recognized as hazard or danger, socio psychological hazards (which we call 'silent killer') that act upon the private and public life tremendously have been not yet recognized as hazards in Bangladesh. This is the reality that is overlooked even internationally indeed. However, reliable procedures, education, follow-up, and a 'zero tolerance' approach by an organization like hospital will remove, at least, mitigate these hazards and its consequences.

8.0 Recommendations

To get hazards free workplace for the nurses with a view to making a sound health sectors for Bangladesh, the following issues can be recommended for national and local level: The government should conduct a long term, national surveys of nurses' health and exposures socio psychological hazards along with chemical hazards, and use this data to regularly assess health risks nurses faced from occupational exposures, to inform efforts to improve safety standers. First of all, the socio psychological health hazards are to be recognized as dangerous as the other hazards like chemical hazards.

- Government or authority of the hospitals has to take the 'zero tolerance' policy in the case of sexual harassment.
- Social and psychological counseling programme should be provided on the regular basis; the authority of the hospitals may set up a 'monitoring cell' to supervise the counseling.
- Workshop on identification and prevention of social psychological hazards may be provided to the nurses. In this regard intimate partner or other family member may be involved as participants.

- Government should put emphasis on training to maintain the quality nurses.
- A task force to study potential demands for national and international markets.
- v Media to play a role in improving the image of the nursing profession.
- Re-evaluate the existing salary structure.

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A Comparison among the Quality Dimensions of Products and Services: An Evaluation of Customer Perspective

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Abstract: *Quality does not have any unique definition as customers have the freedom to define the quality in different aspects. In general, quality pertains to a number of different dimensions of the products or services. This paper analyzed different quality dimensions exist in literatures which introduced by the quality experts. The list is quite large. From that list this paper finally suggested modified quality dimensions of products or services which must be considered as a basis before consumed the products or services. Through examples we also provided a list of organizations that operates in Bangladesh which are currently following our suggested quality dimensions.*

Introduction:

Today the nature of the society is becoming more globalized and interdependent. This change in the world environment pushed the organizations into a competitive situation to face more challenges for achieving the goal. These challenges include managing growth and change in the global phenomenon of demands, introducing new technology achieving and maintaining low cost of production, and continuously producing quality products and services. Quality refers to the ability of a product or service to consistently meet or exceed customer expectations. Before 1970 even in the U.S.A, as they considered quality was not very important, rather than quality they emphasized on productivity and cost. Frederic Winslow Taylor, the father of scientific management, "gave new emphasis to quality by including product inspection and gaining in his list of fundamental areas of manufacturing management. G.S. Radford improved Taylor's method. Two of his most significant contributions were the notions of involving quality

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considerations early in the product design stage and making connections between high qualities, increased productivity and lower costs (Adam & Evert, 2001). Due to the tremendous importance of quality concept, different methods are introducing in the organizations. Quality expert W. Edwards Deming introduced statistical quality control method to the Japanese manufactures. Joseph Juran introduced his "cost of quality" approach, emphasizing accurate and complete identification and measurement of the costs of quality.

During 1960s, the concept of zero defects becomes very popular, Philip Crosby given the concept (Adam & Evert, 2001). He focused on employee motivation and awareness, and the expectation of perfection from each employee. It evolved from the success of the Martin Company in producing a perfect missile for the U.S Army. In the 1970s, quality assurance methods gained increasing complain in services including government operations, health care, banking and travel industry etc. David Garvin focused on preventing mistakes from occurring altogether. Quality and profits are closely emphasized on customer satisfaction and involved all levels of management (Sasser et al., 1987) as well as workers in a continuing effort to increase quality.

Methodology:

This paper presents a descriptive research and is based on secondary source. Secondary information is used from several sources like journals, news papers, different periodicals and some reputed quality related books.

Quality Dimensions of Product or Service:

In literature, different scientists proposed various types of quality dimensions and that accumulate a large number of dimensions approximately 55. Generally it will be impossible to check all these dimensions before consumed the goods or services. Our main objective of the present work is to concise the list for the betterment of the customers and make a quick test for ensuring quality of the products or services.

Quality Dimensions, according to Gronroos (1990), can be classified into three groups such as technical quality, functional quality and corporate image. This is similar to those proposals by (Lehtinen & Lehtinen, 1991) i.e. physical quality, interactive quality and corporate quality.

The dimensions associated with technical quality are those that can objectively be measured regardless of customers' opinion, while those concerned with functional quality are related to the interaction between the provider & recipient of the service and are often perceived in a subjective manner. The corporate image dimensions relate to the overall picture of an organization perceived by the customers ; it is the result of a combination of technical and functional quality dimensions as well as factors like the price of the product (or service) & the reputation of the company.

Another categorization observed by the (Ghobadian et al., 1994) differentiates between those dimensions which are associated with the quality of the final product or out come of the service and those which relates to the internal processes within the organization; they are called "outcome" and "process" dimensions respectively. The importance of the process dimensions from the customer's view point depends on the extent to which they participate in the process. In a manufacturing sector customers do not normally deal with production process; however, in a service context, customers often have some participation in the process of service delivery. This participation may vary depending on the kind of service.

All characteristics of the product are not equally important to the customers. Usually, only some characteristics need to be considered when assigning quality and these important characteristics are determined by the specific, market goals of the organization and by the technical requirements of the important stages of the conversion process. Qualities of services, in general, differ from quality of manufactured products due to its special characteristics including intangibility, simultaneity and heterogeneity (Dotchin and Oakland, 1994; Ghobadian et al., 1994; Parasuraman et al., 1985). But a number of scientists suggested the quality dimensions which are equally important to the products as well as the services (Garvin, 1987). Our suggested modified quality dimensions (section 4) shall also be equally important to the products as well as the services. (Garvin, 1987) proposed the following eight dimensions of quality that as he stated can define both product and service quality:

Table- 1: Garvin's Quality Dimensions (1987).

1. Performance	2. Durability
3. Features	4. Service ability
5. Reliability	6. Aesthetics
7. Conformance	8. Perceived quality

Mc Call proposed eleven factors for software quality which are widely used in software engineering (Watts, 1987) which is shown in table 2.

Table-2: 11 factors for software quality of Mc Call.

1. Correctness	2. Testability
3. Reliability	4. Expandability
5. Efficiency	6. Portability
7. Integrity	8. Reusability
9. Usability	10. Interoperability
11. Maintainability	-

Source: Watts; 1987

Juran also mentioned few quality dimensions that are represented in Table-3.

Table-3: Juran's Quality Dimensions (1983)

Dimensions	Description
1. Quality of Design	Whether product design addresses customers needs
2. Conformance	Whether the product so produced meets design specifications
3. Availability	Referred to freedom from disruptive problems, it reflect both reliability and maintainability
4. Safety	Risks free from product hazards
5. Field use	Product's conformance and condition after it reaches customer's hand, which may affect by the packaging, transportation, storage and field service competence and promptness.

Source: Joseph M. Duran (1983); Upper Management Quality; 4th edition (New York: Duran Institute)

Parasuraman et al. (1985) make a remarkable contribution to provide some quality dimensions of service in their paper "A conceptual model. Other remarkable contributions comes from Sasser et al. (1987), Haywood Farmer (1988), Schvaneveldt et al.(1991), Gronroos (1990) and Stewart and Walsh (1989). Even though their model was basically for service quality dimensions but some dimensions, we identified equally important for product quality. A combined chart of service and product quality dimensions are representing in the following table:-

Table-3, Comparison among the Quality Dimensions that exist in literature

Para suraman et al (1985) 1	Mc Call et al (Watts; 1987) Dimension 2	Garvin's Dimension (1987) 3	Sasser et al (1987) 4	Hywood Farmer (1988) 5	Stewart & Walsh (1989) 6	Gronoos (1990) 7	Schvaneveldt et al (1991) 8
Reliability	Reliability	Reliability	consistency	Timeliness	Reliability Accuracy Mistake free	Reliability Trust worthiness	Accuracy
Responsiveness				Diagnosis Advice Guidance Attentiveness	Timeliness		Responsiveness
Understanding Customers					Understanding user's needs		
Access	Use ability		Availability	Knowledge skill	Ease of access	Accessibility	Ease of use
Competence				Warmth neatness	Competence Knowledge	Professionalism and skill	
Courtesy			Attitude	Politeness	Courtesy & Respect	Attitude and behavior	Emotion
				Communication			
Communication				Honesty	Helpfulness in contact		
Credibility		Aesthetics Perceived		Confidentiality	Credibility	Reputation & Credibility	
Security	Sincerity/ Integrity		Security	Physical facilities	Security		
Tangibles			Conditions		Surroundings		Environment
			Completeness	Handling complaints, Solving Problem	Effective use of technology		Completeness
	Maintainability	Durability Service ability		Flexibility	Redress	Recovery	
					Capacity for choice	Flexibility	
		Performance					Performance
		Features					
	Correctness	Conformance					
	Efficiency						
	Testability						
	Expandability						
	Portability						
	Reuse ability		Security				
	Inter Operability		Conditions				
			Completeness				

From the table it is very much clear that the list is lengthy and that will really confused the customers to judge quality of the goods or services. Therefore, it is time demand situation to reduce the list so that it will be convenient to judge the quality of the products or services and the present paper will hopefully serve the purpose.

Suggested Modified Quality Dimensions:

From the above discussion, we can provide a modified quality dimension that must be present in a product or service before consuming. The dimensions are presenting in the following table:-

Table:4: Suggested Modified Quality Dimensions

1) Performance	2) Reliability
3) Conformance/Correctness	4) Durability & Serviceability
5) Aesthetics & Perceived Quality	6) Environment/ Physical Facilities

Performance:

Performance is the main characteristics of the product or service. It represents everything work, fit and finished nicely and also works done in a reasonable price. For example, the performance of a television set comprises sound and picture clarity. For an educational environment, performance would be interpreted as the primary capabilities expected of graduates. Garvin (1987), Mc Call et al referred in Watts (1987) and also Schvaneveldt et al. (1991) mentioned the performance dimension is one of the most valuable dimensions to define quality product or service.

Features:

Those characteristics that supplement the basic performance functions are called features. For example, watch with water resist and for educational institutes, feature may be offering courses like computer programming that are not primary. Most of the authors ignored this dimension as Garvin stated; drawing a line to separate performance from features is often difficult.

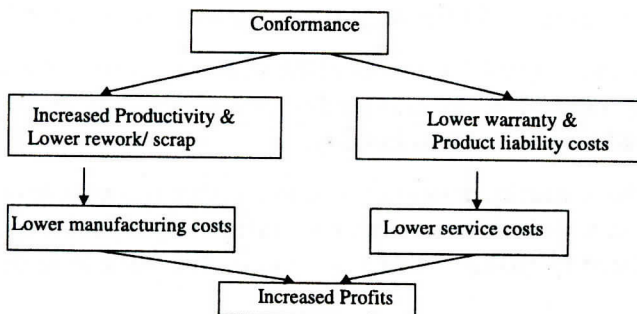
Reliability:

Reliability is nothing but the consistency of performance. The equipment or machines will not break down very often. The man, machine will do the work correctly and if it is the service providing organization, then reliability will represent that the service will be provided within the promised time. Mohammad S. Owlia and Elaine M. Aspinwall (1996) define Reliability as the probability of a product working fault-free within a specific time period, appears to be more relevant to goods than service.

For providing something reliable and consistent management justify GIGO concept i.e, "Garbage in Garbage out concept". If the producer is of quality but the raw materials then product will not be quality one. Some European Countries are using this GIGO concept for importing products. They are asking for ISO certification from the importer as well as supplier of that organization. Almost all of the Quality experts are identified this dimension as a very essential required dimension to define either quality product or services (Garvin, 1987), Watts, 1987), Parasuraman et al., 1985), Gronoos, 1990). Schvaneveldt et al. (1991) defined reliability as accuracy, Sasser et al. (1987) defined it as consistency and Stewart & Walsh (1989) defined the term as accuracy and mistake free.

Conformance:

Conformance refers to the degree to which goods or services conform (i.e., achieve) to the intend of the designers. This is affected by the factors such as the capability of equipment used, the skills, training and motivation of workers, the monitoring process to assess conformance etc. For a variety of reasons, products do not always perform on expected, and services do not always yield the desired results. Whatever the reasons, it is important from a quality standpoint of remedy the situation- through recall and regain of the product, adjustment or buy back or re-evaluation of a service. Example of conformance in higher education can be defined as the degree to which an institution meets educational standards as well as its own promises to clients. This is less important for service quality dimension but very important for product because the organization's goal like profit maximization directly related with this dimension. Quality of conformance will increase the productivity and lower rework or scrap that will lead to lower warranty & product liability costs. As a result production costs will be reduced and also down -size the service cost, the following diagram will clear the concept.



Philip Crosby who worked several years regarding quality given huge emphasis in conformance. Even he defined quality as "Conformance to requirement, not elegance". This differ from the conventional definition of quality and that is, it does not refer the manner in which the item is constructed or the method by which a service is provided. Rather, this definition is strategic in that it focuses on trying to understand the full array of expectation that a customer has and drives organization to meet the expectation. The equivalent term for service is correctness which is included by Mc Call et al referred in Watts (1987). The dimension also matched with Juran quality dimension.

Durability and serviceability:

Durability is defined as the useful life of the product or service. It is less meaningful for the service providing organization. But the same concept is used in service providing organization as service ability. Serviceability concerned with repairs and field services. Garvin (1987) mentioned durability and serviceability as a different quality dimensions but most of the authors who worked after Garvin regarding quality dimensions, they interchangeably used the concept in Products and service. Watts (1987) termed these as a single word maintainability, Heywood Farmer (1988) explained it by handling and solving the problem, Gronoos (1990) mentioned in his paper that the dimension related to recovery from the difficulties that suffer the organization.

Aesthetics and Perceived Quality:

Aesthetics basically refers appearance, feel, smell, taste etc. for which customers are willing to purchase them. Aesthetics and perceived quality are two dimensions but since they include those features which are subjective to the customers' opinions & reputation factors influencing the customers' image of the corporation. It will not be misleading to emerge them in single dimension. Aesthetics and perceived quality can be distinguished from performance as it is a matter of personal judgment.

Parasuraman et al. (1985), Gronoos (1990) and Stewart and Walsh (1989) defined the same term as creditability and reputations and Heywood Farmer (1988) explained it as honesty.

From the above quality dimension's table, another remarkable dimension is environment to work in service or manufacturing organization. That is directly related to quality product or service. The same term defined by

the different experts by different terms like physical facilities, surroundings, conditions etc.

Implementation of the Results:

Hopefully many organizations which are devoted to operations in Bangladesh, concern regarding quality. Some of have ISO certifications for quality product or service providing process. Berger Company already earns fame & trust world wide because of the reliability and performance. We listed some of the organization's name which following our suggested quality dimensions.

Table 5: Implementation of the suggested Quality Dimensions in Bangladesh perspective

SL	Name of the Organization	Category	Organization's Slogans	Emphasis on Quality Dimension
1	Text Mart	Garments	Fashionable cloths, affordable price	Relates to "features"
2	Comprehensive Holding Ltd	Real Estate	Always aesthetical & functional	Emphasis on aesthetics & performances
3	Read While Grill& BBQ	Restaurant	A great taste of inspiration	Relates to feature
4	Akij Cement	Cement Company	Guaranteed money back	Relate to reliability & performance
5	Berger	Color	Trusted world wide	Relate to performance, reliability, name & fame
6	British American University	Academic institution	Committed to quality	Basically highlights physical serviceability
7	Urban Design and Development Ltd	Real - Estate	Committed to quality	Emphasis on durability, service ability & other feature

Conclusion:

The main problem for the customers is to check the quality of the products and services before purchased or being consumed. And this is because, in reality, no organization agrees to accept that the quality of the products which they are manufactured or the services they provide has the lack of quality. Therefore, management scientists have the responsibility to do research on the problem to help customer to choose the right products or services. The present paper is nothing but a little effort on this direction.

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Diversity Management in Organisations A Conceptual Analysis

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Abstract: *Managing diversity is a way of doing business by changing an organisation's culture to recognise people's differences and not compelling them to fit in. This paper critically analyses diversity management and its various aspects in the context of human resource management. It will also argue on the issue with regard to strategic contribution of diversity management in organisations. By reviewing available literature, this essay highlights definition of diversity management, its background history, issues related to diversity management, its significance in business, diversity management and HR strategy and future trends of diversity management etc. Based on the recent trends, it is said that in order to maintain competitive advantage, in future, global and local business will witness huge cultural diversity, language differences, increase of aging population, ethical concerns, and will require more tolerance to tackle religious diversity as well.*

Introduction:

Over the last two decades, researchers, academicians and organisational practitioners have emphasised that diversity is a fact having a vast array of importance in the workplace and society at large. According to Daniels and Macdonald (2005, p.1), diversity is defined by CIPD (2004) as "valuing everyone as individual- as employee, customer, and client." Furthermore, Thomas (1990) argues that managing diversity is a way of doing business by changing an organisation's culture to recognise people's differences and not compelling them to fit in. Therefore, the purpose of this paper is to critically analyse the concept of diversity management and its various aspects in the context of human resource management (HRM). The paper will argue succinctly on the issue with regard to strategic contribution of diversity management in organisations. Finally, by reviewing available academic literature, this essay will be structured in a number of sections highlighting definition of diversity management, its background history, issues related to diversity management, its significance in business, diversity management and HR strategy and future trends of diversity management followed by a short

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conclusion. However, a comprehensive definition of diversity management will naturally set the scene in this regard.

A brief overview of diversity management:

Friday and Friday (2003) define that diversity management includes activities like planning, organising, leading people with differences in a particular organisation so that their capacities are used to achieve the strategic goals of the organisation. Additionally, Bolen and Kleiner (1996) as well as Thomas (1990) argue that managing diversity refers to facilitating everyone of the workforce to perform to their potential. Similarly, Cox (1993) highlights that diversity management involves planning and implementing practices of HRM to maximise the potential merits of diversity and minimize its demerits. Furthermore, CIPD (2004) classifies diversity into three types such as, first, 'social category diversity' relating to demographic aspects like age and race, second, 'informational diversity' relating to background like education and knowledge, and third, 'value diversity' relating to personality, belief and attitudes. Finally, Kearney et al (2009) agree with CIPD (2004) that social category diversity and informational diversity are surface level diversity while value diversity that includes attitudes, beliefs and values, is the deep level diversity.

On the other hand, Jabbour et al (2011) summarise the categories of diversity into two dimensions- primary dimension which includes ethnicity, age, race, gender, physical abilities and sexual orientation, and secondary dimension that includes educational background, income, geographic location, beliefs, work experience, and marital status. Therefore, diversity within an organisation is about recognising the range of differences in people and valuing people as individuals, respecting their differences and their needs as well as accommodating differences so that an individual can play a full part in the working environment (Daniels & Macdonald, 2005; Williams, 1999). Consequently, Jabbour (2011, p. 60) strongly argues, "Diversity is not a fad, but a requirement to keep a company competitive." Conversely, though diversity management is different from social approaches to discrimination, and though it theoretically claims to transform the organisational culture, practically it is the people and not the culture that undergo change (Kersten, 2000; Sturz et al, 2005). Nonetheless, the following section will focus on historical background of diversity management.

It is the USA where the concept of diversity management was originally propagated in the past century, and has been applied in various national contexts with diverse results (Bleijenbergh et al, 2010; Heres & Benschop, 2010; Nishii & Ozbilgin, 2007). There are narrow as well as wide meanings of diversity management (Thomas, 1991, 2004). From narrow perspective, diversity management movement is seen as a direct descendant of the traditional equal opportunities programmes run in some countries including the USA and the UK, targeting specific groups identified by sex, gender, racioethnicity and age, rather than individuals (Harrisr & Foster, 2010; Schwabenland & Tomlinson, 2008). The narrow concept of diversity largely focuses on equal opportunity in recruitment regulations, promotions, and other organisational procedures (Kandola & Fullerton, 2003; Richard, 2000). On the contrary, viewed from broader perspective, diversity management is an inclusive move towards employing new workforce, valuing individual differences including factors such as personal preferences, skills, experiences and sexual orientation (Bleijenbergh et al, 2010). Though diversity management used to be thought by some as a "narrow western concept", with the spread of globalisation and enforcement of anti discrimination legislations both locally and internationally, it has been a widely used management concept all over the globe (Harrison, 1994; Healy et al, 2011). The following discussion about issues related to diversity management will help the ideas flow smoothly.

Diversity is a multidimensional phenomenon that primarily includes demographic issues such as gender, race, nationality, religion and age on the one hand, and task related attributes like education, skills, experience and functional background on the other (Friday & Friday, 2003; Harrison & Klein, 2007; Jackson et al, 2003). Traditionally diversity at workplace deals with anti-discriminatory acts like equal opportunity for women and minority groups (Richard, 2000). Recently, new issues like age, sexual orientation, medical conditions like cancer and AIDS and physical abilities have been added to the diversity along with racioethnic background, gender, belief, age and so on (Bolen & Kleiner, 1996). Furthermore, diversity as an integral part of human resource management encompasses HR issues like selection, retention, pay and reward, promotion, transfer, employment relations, and training and development of people with diverse orientations and interests (Ivancevich & Gilbert 2000). Moreover, Allen and Montgomery (2001, p. 150) refer to a prediction made by the US Labour Department that "by 2005, 85% of

new workers entering the labour force will be women or minorities." Thus, since diversity is a very vibrant management issue, almost all the researchers invariably focus on mainstreaming women and minorities where white males in the west are seen as corporate majority (Perry, 1994). According to Rifkin (1994), as workplaces are becoming more diverse with women and minorities, white males are becoming more alienated as it is reflected in decrease of their self-esteem and increase of absenteeism. Accordingly, Bolen and Kleiner (1996, p.8) highlights on "reverse discrimination? saying that "if we want to diversify successfully, we must help not only minorities but also white males with their adjustment to a diverse workplace." However, the next section will focus on significance of diversity management.

HR strategy for diversity management:

Thomas (2000), one of the frontline proponents of diversity at workplace, as well as Barclay and Scott (2006) argue that organisations now work with more heterogeneous people in terms of ethnicity, race, gender, religion and other culturally varied minority groups like gay, lesbian, smoker, alcoholic, vegetarian, environmentalist, anti-war activist and the like. Both Fleury (1999) and Oswick (2011) agree that diversity is essential and enormously promising if viewed as a means for "social inclusion?". Additionally, Prasad (2003) as well as Treven and Mulej (2007) stresses that organisations with effective diversity management efforts can gain competitive advantage in terms of employee attitude, lower cost, wider market, productivity, problem solving and creativity. Similarly, Cox (1994) and Fleury (1999) further argue that diversity management aims at planning and implementing organisational practices to utilise individuals in order that possible competitive advantages are harvested.

Furthermore, managing diversity will ultimately add value to the organisation (Harris & Foster, 2010). If diversity management operates in an organisation effectively there naturally emerges a number of benefits. Firstly, it helps the organisation in attracting and retaining the best talents from the labour market (O'Mara, 1994; Wright et al, 1995). Secondly, diverse organisations enhance marketing activities by addressing various segments of diversified market and the democratic work environment helps to reduce direct and indirect organisational costs (Cox, 1994; Williams, 1998). Thirdly, effective diversity management fosters creativity and innovation in the organisation by enabling its workforce

feel accepted and cooperative and thus reducing absenteeism (Fleury, 1999; Kreitner et al, 2002). Additionally, Larkey (1996) as well as Treven and Mulej (2007) observes that innovative organisations persistently use heterogeneous teams for problem solving, and they employ more women and other minority people than non-innovative companies. Fourthly, diversity management makes problem solving easier by sharing unique ideas and varied perspectives of diverse individuals, and it consequently leads to effective decision-making and improved performance (O'Mara, 1994; Perry, 1994). Finally, diversity creates organisational flexibility and all of the above together improve productivity and functional efficiency by reducing level of discriminations (Allen et al, 2004). Furthermore, companies operating in increasingly competitive global marketplaces cannot ignore any area of competitive advantage (Bajawa & Woodall, 2006). Since, workforce of any organisation is a valuable asset, the diversity of their knowledge, experiences and capabilities needs to be considered cautiously (Miller, 1998). Therefore, an effective and efficient diversity management is very crucial as it vastly influences establishment costs, recruitment, employee attitudes, sales, corporate profits, market share, creativity and group problem solving (Stewart & Harte, 2010; Wright et al, 1995). So, discussion on strategic contribution of diversity management in organisations will further clarify the topic in the following section.

As argued by Jabbour and Santos (2008), diversity management efforts usually require human resource actions to obtain the best from the process. Diversity management is seen as an HR strategy considering its impact of competitive advantages and disadvantages on organisations (Margherita & Secundo, 2009). If diversity issues are handled effectively, it yields sweet fruits of employee participation, mutual understanding, environment of esprit de corps, corporate decision making, improved customer service, and enhanced productivity and performance, but in case of failure in managing diverse workforce, the net result will be utter confusion and demotivation that will ultimately hinder organisational development (Jamali et al, 2010; Kersten, 2000). In order to align issues like social integration and democratisation of access to opportunities with corporate goals, diversity management occupies a strategic position in human resource management (Kandola, 2006; Richard, 2008). Additionally, Pittis (2009) and Flood and Romm (1996) highlight that diversity management deals with components like recruitment from diverse groups, recognising diversity, valuing differences and managing

them which has much likeness with main functions of HRM namely-attracting, guiding, developing and rewarding. For instance, companies like Digital, Westpac, Esso, Ford Motors and Google implement diversity management policies as part of their HRM practices (Bolen & Kleiner, 1996; Bracket, 2008; Gross, 2007).

Furthermore, diversity management as a business strategy is very much important in the present day global market competition (Johnstone, 2009; Kandola, 2006). For example, at recruitment level, organisations that promote diversity will attract the best candidates including minority groups (Heres & Benschop, 2010). At marketing level, such companies by serving diverse customers can collect new clients as well (Gross, 2007; Harrison, 1994). Through devising sound practices at present and reviewing the effective means of dealing with diversity, companies that promote diverse workforces will find themselves stand on a vantage ground in future (Grubb, 1995; Pitts et al, 2010). For example, Nike and Google are renowned for their ethical practices as well as diversity management programmes, and which will create wider business prospects in return (Healy et al, 2011; Shah, 2011). From an American survey of 1994 it is found that almost 50% executives declared diversity programme as a business need, 38% considered it to be a competitive issue, and 4% thought it as a corporate social responsibility (Allen & Montgomery, 2001). The CEO of Tesco reasserts that diversity is the main strength of the company that has really pushed it up (Bartlett, 2008).

On the contrary, companies will lose customers and talented employees if they fail to successfully integrate their workforce by effectively managing workplace diversity (Davis-Blake, 1995). Diversity training may be a useful tool in the hand of the managers in order to effectively connect with potential clients and to get the best output from a diverse workforce (Allen et al, 2004). Diversity initiatives at corporate level include issues like organising task forces, setting up employee affinity groups, offering mentoring programmes, and finally diversity training for managers (Bleijenbergh et al, 2010; Friday & Friday, 2003). In addition, Galen and Palmer (1995) outline some strategies for retaining diverse employees such as career plan based on performance reviews, focus on bringing the best talent, introducing mentoring programmes among cross-cultural employees, promoting minorities to corporate positions, setting diversity goals for managers and diversifying the board of directors. Moreover, Treven and Mulej (2007) stress that employee unions can play a vital role

in implementing diversity strategies by bargaining for equal treatment for diverse workforce. Furthermore, it clearly indicates the importance of diversity management when a 1995 survey shows that about 75% of top fifty American firms have "diversity managers" whose main responsibility is to modify corporate culture (Galen & Palmer, 1995). For example, Kraft Food, Digital Equipment Corporation, IBM, Texaco and Dow Chemical are some reputed US companies having specific diversity training programmes (Kearney et al, 2009; Lublin, 1995).

Despite its wide applicability, there are some criticisms of diversity management as well (Caligiuri et al, 2004). The heavy stress put on diversity management creates an apprehension whether underqualified employees will be recruited and promoted when HR managers are given diversity targets to achieve (Cox, 1993). Even allocation of diversity bonus, for example in Sun Trust Banks, also may cause resentment among the mainstream workers (Healey et al 2011; Thanem, 2008). Finally, preferential treatment like quota reservation for minorities may be a cause of compromise with merit which will hamper organisational standard of talent pool (Bolen, & Kleiner, 1996). However, the next section will highlight on future direction of diversity management.

Trends of diversity management:

When Smith (1998) argues that consistent with the USA and the UK, women will represent 50% of Australian workforce by the year 2010, future trends of diversity at workplace becomes evident in the context of other countries as well. According to a 1995 survey by the American Management Association, more than 50% of the companies have regular diversity management programmes compared with 46% in 1992, which further indicates growing trends of investing in diversity management by American companies (Treven & Mulej, 2007). Daniels and Macdonald (2005) suggest three specific future trends of diversity which are legal trends, globalisation, and education and training. Firstly, there are legal bindings upon business organisations to comply with laws on equal opportunities and discrimination, which will create diversity issues as legal obligations upon the companies. Secondly, globalisation and supranational unionisation like EU directives will have impacts on organisations and their workforce, because they will operate in greater range of countries (Heres & Benschop, 2010). Additionally, the diverse workplace will create diverse knowledge from different groups and

nations, which will positively impact on the innovation and problem solving or even it may be coupled with potential difficulties such as division between groups, and competition for resources (ILO, 2004). Finally, legislation alone is not sufficient to address the issues of discrimination and diversity, and that more needs to be done to promote diversity through education and training given to employers and employees in order to stop discrimination (Thomas, 2004).

More specifically, senior vice president of McDonalds, Bob Beavers expresses a "do or die" message about importance of diversity management in future by saying "those companies that have addressed ... diversity will be better prepared, with people of colour and women in key management positions to lead them into the next century. Those without people in the pipeline now will perish" (Allen & Montgomery, 2001, p. 151). Additionally, HSBC, UK has introduced Islamic loans and pension schemes, and for which they have employed a good number of Muslim officers which is no doubt an instance of growing trend of accommodating diversity issues in world business (BBC News, 2004). Consequently, based on the recent trends, it can be said that in future global and local business will witness huge cultural diversity, language differences, increase of aging population, ethical concerns, and will require more tolerance to tackle religious diversity as well (Caligiuri et al, 2004; Galen & Palmer, 1995). However, the essay will be concluded in the following section.

Conclusion:

An organisation's capacity to effectively manage diversity will be more important in future, if it wants to compete successfully in the world market. The competitive advantages obtained from diversity management include high employee commitment, increased creativity, improved productivity, and more integration among workforce. In contrast, the common diversity management challenges are stereotyping, biases, cultural conflicts, discriminatory actions, and harassment toward minority employees. The paper has identified that diversity management though emerged in America more than two decades ago, now it has been an important business issue all over the world that requires careful consideration. It has found that diversity is a complex issue that involves a number of other social concerns like age, race, sex, ethnicity, religion as well as sexual orientation, physical abilities, medical conditions and so on

(CIPD, 2004; Healey et al, 2011). Therefore, diversity at workplace should be holistically managed in order to extract benefits of competitive advantage which helps organisations reduce costs and maximise productivity and performance.

Above all, now-a-days diversity is such a critical business concern that it is popularly viewed as a strategic issue for overall sustainability and development of an organisation, and not simply an equal opportunity issue. Furthermore, the essay has illuminated on the future trends of diversity management in the context of globalisation, national and international legislations and role of education and training for eliminating workplace discrimination of all sorts. Wendy et al (2013) proposed for framing a strategy of actions for the academics and the activists to implement change and promote diversity and inclusion in today's organisations and thus to bridge the gap between theory and practice. To conclude, it can be said that systematic management of culturally diverse individuals can offer synergistic benefits to the organisation from their contributions as well.

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