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Announcement

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Edited by

NAZRUL ISLAM

focuses on

Religious Studies in South Asia: The Dhaka Initiative

With

Guest Editor

Joseph T. O'Connell

(Professor Emeritus, Study of Religion, University of Toronto, Canada)

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Note from the Editor

The issue is long overdue. A number of factors transpired against its timely publication, one of which was, again, a technical glitch because of which our mailing system became totally inoperative and finally a new mailing system had to be installed. That's what happens with complete dependence on modern technologies! And with my limited knowledge to deal with these, I probably make things worse, before I decide to seek expert help. It is probably my ego, more than anything else, which gets in the way.

Added to this were a few personal reasons which debilitated me for a while. I decided to take early retirement from the University of Dhaka and move permanently to the Independent University, Bangladesh (IUB), where I began teaching earlier on lien from the University of Dhaka. The process, elsewhere in the world, would require little attention on my part and could be done as a routine matter, here in Bangladesh it has become e a daunting task. And, believe it or not, it is more than eight months and I am yet to be cleared by the University of Dhaka. In the meantime IUB itself relocated to its permanent campus. The shifting needed round the clock attention from all of us and made all other work secondary.

However, we are past all those and are now ready with two consecutive issues. This issue (July 2010) for understandable reasons is a curtailed one in the sense that it contains only five papers. The first of the papers is on the role and nature of Military intervention in Bangladesh. It takes a brief look at the history of military rule in Bangladesh but more importantly tries to understand the legitimacy of the issue. Bangladesh, according to Saaduddin, a well known political sociologist, "is one of the few countries which has a constant fear of reverting to the military rule due to political acrimony emanating from a vicious cycle of reprobate political economy. The study focuses on the emergency period 2007 -2008.

The second paper is a seminal work on the informal sector in Port Harcourt, Nigeria where Nte offers a detailed analysis of the informal sector as it influences the third world economies. He also tries to understand the workplace insecurities of the women in such an economy. He notes that "Port Harcourt, which is at the heart of the Niger Delta and where there are exponential security risks, fostered the worst security for these women/girls in ways that have significantly hampered their effectiveness".

The next two papers deal with school children, their level of performance and the   impact of filial relationship respectively. From a study of Agartala (India) Raichaudhury et al. show that, "students' attendance, mother's education and presence of trained teacher in the school have a positive impact on students' academic performance". In the other study of the senior secondary students of the River State (Nigeria) Jamabo and Jamabo found a significant positive relationship between autonomy and filial relationship. They noted that "the warmer the filial relationship existing in a family, the higher the development of autonomy among adolescent members of the same family"

In the last paper Farhana et al. study the rural urban migration pattern of the women and children. Focusing on the Rajshahi (Bangladesh) metropolitan area they look at the "role of work in acquiring dignity, the filial duty in a traditionally hierarchically structured society and also women and children as active-decision makers in the migration process. This is a rare study of Rajshahi city and will, hopefully, encourage other studies of the city.

The book under review by Palash Kamruzzaman was published in August 2010 but since we are late in publishing the present issue, it has been included here.

Hope these studies will continue to excite the readers as much as other papers in the BEJS of the past have done.

Martial Law, Rule of Law and Legitimacy:
A Sociological Analysis of Bangladesh Politics - 2008[*]

K.A.M. Saaduddin[**]

Abstract: Third world countries today are grating   increasingly aware of the scourge of military rule which had so often haunted them during the last quieter of the 20th century. In spite of this gradual awareness, some of the countries are even today, trying to perpetrate military rule and/or rule by military provenance. Bangladesh is one of the few countries which has a constant fear of reverting to the military rule due to political acrimony emanating from a vicious cycle of reprobate political economy. A brief overview of the historical process leading to political skirmishes need to be sociologically analysed in teams of legitimacy. Needless to say that such analyses are very inadequate in political literature of contemporary times.

"Man is born free but everywhere he is in chains. One thinks himself to be the master of others but still remains a greater slave than they. How these things come about I do not know. But what can make it legitimate, this question, I think, I can answer" - *(*Rousseau).[1]

In these words the famous eighteenth century political philosopher, Rousseau, who is also considered to be a philosopher of the French Revolution sought an alternative to the prevailing order of the society. But the question of legitimacy, which he believed, he resolved through his concept of General Will– the real will of the community– remains so much shrouded in mystery that it is still considered to be the 'paradox of freedom'. The real will of the people which was supposed to be the liberator of mankind during the French Revolution was used as the worst kind of weapon to perpetrate a reign of terror in the wake of the Revolution. Even the most outrageous form of dictatorship may claim legitimacy by quoting passages from Rousseau out of context. Such was the state of affairs in this region when in 1971 an unprecedented genocide was sought to be legitimized in the electronic and print media by the domesticated Bengali intellectuals of that time in the name of General Will.

The legitimacy question was invoked also when the Pakistani rulers imposed the first Martial Law in this region in 1958. The constitution was suspended; elected governments, both central and provincial, were dislodged and an elaborate system of Martial Law judicature was established to the bewilderment of the entire nation. The main architect of this Martial Law, General (later designated as

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[1] Rousseau, J J. *The Social Contract.* 1763,

Field Martial) Ayub Khan sought to legitimize his authority by castigating all the politicians of that time in the most vicious language. In his own words: "A perfectly sound country has been turned into a laughing stock. Politicians have started free-for-all type of fighting….There had been no limit to their baseness, chickenery, deceit and degradation."[2] It was the beginning of legalizing a downright illegitimate act, which, however, received immediate approval of the Western powers. The way the politicians were abused left the military with no room for compromise to return to the traditional form of democracy through a smooth transformation. It was also obvious that the military intervention of 1958 had a strong negative impact on the political development of the then East Pakistan, with a corroding effect on the natural and spontaneous growth of a political system in this region. Instead of bringing the murderers of Shahed Ali to book (Deputy Speaker of East Pakistan Provincial Assembly, Shahed Ali was killed a few days before the imposition of '58 Martial Law in a riotous situation inside the assembly) the military government used the incident as a pretext to declare emergency and Martial Law in quick succession. But they did not care even to initiate a murder case, far less an enquiry commission to probe such a heinous act. This led to a great suspicion as to the real intent of '58 Martial Law. There is thus a good reason to suggest that it was directed primarily to thwart the progressive movements in this region for greater autonomy.[3]

After a decade of rule by military provenance[4], Ayub Khan finally surrendered to a friendly military coup in 1969 led by his own trusted Chief of Staff General Yahia Khan. Without losing much time Yahia Khan acted on two important agenda: the nation- wide election to be held on a day fixed by him and abolition of the 'parity principle' with one-man-one vote as its basis[5]. The election, however, was held under the Legal Framework Ordinance (LFO). The election result severely shook the foundation of the Pakistani establishment and the inevitable happened. General Yahia and Z.A Bhutto played the role of villains in an unprecedented genocide in East Pakistan perpetrated on unarmed civilians from 25 March 1971 till the last day of occupation, 16 December 1971.

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[2] Kessing's Contemporary Archives. 1957-58, 16458.

[3] While the majority of the people in East Pakistan detested it was hailed in West Pakistan, a fact that demonstrates that there was not only two economies in Pakistan but also two polities. It is all the more demonstrated by subsequent events when Awami League got the majority in the national assembly of Pakistan and was destined to capture the power of the central government, it was almost a nightmare for the West Pakistanis. *Dr. Mehkri* who was the external examiner of MA Final examination of 1970 of the department of Sociology of the University of Dhaka came here during the first week of March 1971. He informed us in as informal chat in the committee meeting that he had heard a young Karachi journalist saying after the election of 1970 "if Mujib comes to power I will throw away his pen and pick up my gun". In Mekhri's opinion that was the prevailing sentiment of the people there.

[4] Or 'quasi civilization of military rule', as characterised by Professor Newman and supported by S E Finer (see *Man on Horseback.* 1988. P.173).

[5] The 'parity principle' was drawn in Muree conference in 1955 and adopted in the constitution of 1956, which goes in the name of Hossain Shahid Sahrawardi as its architect. The principle stipulated that there would be equal number of seats in the national assembly from East and West Pakistan. Ironically, however, in the Awami League's Six point Programme, which was considered as the magnacarta for the movement of autonomy and rights of the people of East Pakistan, there was no demand to nullify the 'parity principle'.

After independence Bangladesh faced several military coups. The most significant and horrifying was the coup of Aug 15, 1975 in which Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the architect of Bangladesh, was killed with his entire family except his two daughters, who were out of the country at that time. A civilian court in 1999 in its verdict mentioned, Major Syed Faruque Rahman and Major Rashid as the main organizers. Senior army commander and later President Ziaur Rahman had the foreknowledge of the coup and covertly cooperated with the rebel majors. This was followed by two other coups, one on November 3, in which Major Faruque along with Khondaker Mustaque were overthrown and brought Major General Khaled Mosharraf to power. Again a counter coup four days later, killed General Mosharraf. "This was led by Col. Taher (who) rescued Ziaur Rahman from captivity but was later executed in a 'Kangaroo Trial' (secret trial) by Ziaur Rahman." [6] General Ziaur Rahman survived as many as 21 coups during his 5 years' tenure until he succumbed to the 22nd coup. That was the coup of 30 April, 1981 which took place in the southern city of Chittagong. "Many quarters later accused the then army chief and later President Hossain Mohammad Ershad to have covertly organized the coup using General Manzur. The circumstances of Ershad's support of anti-coup forces are also mysterious and alleged to have only followed the clear, national revulsion against the assassination of Zia. The mysterious death of Manzur, alleged to have been at the hand of an 'in enraged mob', but later shown in autopsy report to be via a clean bullet shot to the back of the head, added to the mystery and allegations."[7] The coup by General Hussain Mohammad Ershad however took place almost after a year of the assassination of President Zia. "In a bloodless coup on 25 March 1982 Ershad ousted the elected president, Justice Abdus Sattar."[8]

Both Zia and Ershad seized power in the name of constitution and sought to legitimize their position by claiming that they brought stability to the country in order to guarantee democratic freedom. In general almost all interventions sought to bring a 'military controlled civil administration' in this backdrop. Zia did it for a long time and so did Ershad. Thus Martial Law was followed by a period of so-called democratic set up where the army remained in effective control of the government. Ershad's support from the army in 1982 intervention came from this feeling. Zia dismantled Martial Law after Feb1979. Ershad withdrew his Martial Law on May 1986 though with less leverage.

Only a year later, Ershad sought to legitimatize the role of the army still further by hastily pushing a controversial legislative bill through the Assembly to include military representation on local administrative councils. This had a boomerang effect as the opposition parties quickly joined hands for a united movement against it. In the absence of Martial Law, which was withdrawn only a year before, Ershad invoked the Special Power Act of 1974 and dissolved the Parliament with a schedule for fresh elections in 1988. But this could not save his regime from the wrath of a mass movement,

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[6] L.Schutz*, Bangladesh: The unfinished revolution.* 1979.

[7] *Wikipeida*- The Free Encyclopedia
[8] Ibid. (President Abdus Sattar however at a later interview with the press very surreptiously admitted that he had to surrender at the point of gun.)

which was further strengthened by the participation of all the political parties who were hitherto at loggerheads. Within a couple of years he was forced to submit to the popular will.

There was also an abortive attempt of Military Coup (May 18-20, 1996), which ended in the forced retirement of the then Chief of the Army General Nasim. That along with some other subsequent events brought to light the conspiratorial murders, inner bickering and factional politics in the Army. [9] Three things stand out most clearly from these frequent military interventions and attempted coups in Bangladesh. First, there is a severe lack of professionalism, glaring manifestation of which is seen in the first coup of 1975. The subordination of the army to the civil administration is the sign of a mature political culture. In a developed political system the institutional framework exhibits a system of check and balance where the different branches of government work as a safeguard against each other from becoming overbearing. But the system does not include the army, which remains always subservient to the civil administration, the later being totally controlled by the elected representatives.[10] Secondly, the top brass in the army are more politicized than it should be. This is because of their close connections with the leaders of political parties, which springs from their ambition and connection with civil administration.[11] Finally, militarization of the civil administration creates intense public resentment. But at the same time apprehension prevails among the military that civil supremacy will turn the balance of power against them and limit their influence and effectiveness in national affairs, which they are enjoying since the 1975 coup.

The latest intervention of army popularly known as one-eleven (should be eleven-one according to British tradition to which we are used) is of a different type since a combination of civil and military powers gained almost universal acclaim in the beginning. In fact the events preceding it were so horrifying to the vast majority of citizens that it came unquestionably as a great relief. However, the selection of the head of the caretaker government remains a great surprise to many as it was the furthest conceivable bid from the President, Prof. Iazuddin Ahmed, who himself was holding that post, to abdicate in favour of a retired World Bank Director and former Governor of Bangladesh Bank, Dr. Fakhruddin Ahmed, with no political background at all. (Constitutionally, only the President of the country is empowered to appoint the chief of the Care Taker Government (C.T.G). But in all probability Prof. Iazuddin Ahmed had no knowledge of the selection and no intention to abdicate. It remains a mystery as to why and how Dr. Fakhruddin Ahmed along with his Cabinet was so promptly appointed.)

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[9] Kabir B. M. *Politics of Military Rule and the Dilemmas o Democratization in Bangladesh..* 1999. P. 222-229.

[10] Bangladesh army is too much exposed to foreign influences in very many ways. It is no deviation or dereliction or duty to have joint exercises or seminars or training programmes, but the limit must be drawn as to the real potential and prowess of the army to defend and to strike at the time of crisis. Unfortunately some foreign intelligence has so much access to our defense profiles, which is not desirable.

[11] It is a well-known fact in our country particularly after the latest emergency declared on 11/1 that military personnel man almost all the major decision making institutions.

However the full evaluation of the success or failure of this intervention is not yet possible since smooth transformation to a democratic system is still not achieved. But this intervention is different from earlier military takeovers in several respects: First, it took place within the constitutional framework though it needed and still needs some wayward interpretations and validation without which the legitimacy issue remains unattended. Second, the attempt to bring to surface outrageous corruption and abuse of power by politicians who held very important portfolios in previous regimes and on which legal proceedings are going to be drawn, received highest appreciation from all sections of people. Thirdly, the people with utmost grace silently accepted declaration of a roadmap to return to a democratic system of government eradicating the vicious political culture, which haunted our social life for decades. Most prominent of all is the fact, as it appears from the present scenario that neither the present civil government nor the army behind it is working with any clear design to get one or the other party elected in the ensuing election or to create a new party as was done by all other previous military regimes (though the currents and cross-currents behind the scene are still unknown).

However, with the passage of time the drive against corruption is losing much of its grip in that it has failed to squarely haul all the elements engaged in corruption, a fact that is borne out by the soaring prices of essentials, making life of the masses almost unbearable. Further letting loose some of the very outstanding political criminals, as well as a move to return the black money that the government previously promised to confiscate, demonstrate the loosening of the governmental rigour. The latest take over has set up its target to eradicate reprobate politics and corruption before general election. It is laudable but ambitious; more specifically this line of thinking relies more on legal and moral means without trying to identify its root cause. To be sure moral precept and religious practice appear to have very little efficacy in reducing corruption, reprobate politics and moral degradation as is exemplified from our own national life. Over the last several decades there had been manifold increase in the number of mosque going devotees, which should mean that corruption level should diminish proportionately. But the record of corruption shows just the opposite trend.

 The question is often asked as to why the army should intervene in national policies. Further, what kind of authority and legitimacy do they hold? Morris Janowitz[12] elaborately described the process of political control by military forces by ascribing it mainly to the failure of the civil political forces as well as the feeling of efficient organized group homogeneity by the military themselves. S. E. Finer[13] has been more critical of the process where he pointed out multiple factors for military takeover: the political ambition of the military officers, the failure of political forces to meet the needs of the people, the congenial atmosphere and support from outside the country and ideological differences with the political movements which might in their view subvert the foundation of the state. The last of the

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[12] Janowiz. *Military in the Political Development of New Nations.* 1904

[13] Finer. S.E. *Man on Horseback.* 1988.

factors was the most important consideration for the two military interventions that this region experienced during the Pakistani regime. But the two military interventions after independence were prompted by specific political and personal motivations. At any rate legitimacy in all these cases is called in question. Invoking Rousseau's General Will is therefore untenable in varying degrees. It should be mentioned here that the 'paradox of freedom', which is inherent in Rousseau's formulation, is not in the least supportive of military takeover, far less its legitimacy. In his language: "If the people do not have the intent to be free, they will be forced to be free…this alone legitimizes civil undertakings, which without it would be absurd, tyrannical, and liable to the most frightful abuses." [14]

It should be noted that military intervention by itself does not always lead to Martial law. In most of the cases initially the military takeover is coupled with some civilian involvements and quasi-constitutional measures. This is followed almost immediately by imposition of Martial Law. In 1956 and 1962 constitutions there were provisions for Martial Law, but not so in 1972 constitution. The emergency provision also does not call for a suspension of the basic provisions of constitution. A.V. Dicey towards the end of the 19th century devoted a section to Martial Law in his famous book *Law of the Constitutions.* In his opinion, it is embedded in French Constitution but unknown in England. To quote him: "Marital Law means the suspensions of ordinary law a temporary government by military tribunal…unknown to the law of England. We have nothing equivalent to what is called in France 'Declaration of the State of Siege' under which maintenance of order and police passes entirely to the army."[15] Dicey's abhorrence for Martial Law stems from his deep commitment to British constitutional system, which is firmly, entrenched in the rule of law and finds its support in all the countries, which have been influenced by British Rule. The essence of the rule of law had been laid down by him in no uncertain terms which is still today considered as the most authentic statement. The three characteristics of the rule of law that he mentioned are: Equality in the eye of law, no punishment without due process of law and individual rights defended by independent and neutral judiciary. In the light of this definition then there should be no doubt in our mind that for Pakistan as well as for Bangladesh with the influence of centuries of British legal tradition, Martial Law was a great deviation indeed. In effect, then, the claim to power by military regimes in Pakistan as well as in post-independence Bangladesh leads us to a very puzzling sociological issue, that is to say, why do men obey? Or upon what inner consent coupled with external means is the domination sustained? The answer to these questions I believe is to be found in the analysis of legitimacy as a theoretical issue.

Legitimacy was a central issue in Max Weber's discourse, which was very succinctly presented by him in a series lecture in 1918 at Munich University[16] (though he had quite a bit of discussion in a number of other writings). He began with the premise that in a human community "it is the state alone

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[14] The take over that took place after 11 January 2007 was not a direct military takeover. It is in the words of S.E. Finer, a rule by military provenance, where military was the main support of the new regime.

[15] Dicey.A.V. *Law of the Constitutions.*1885, P.287-88.

[16] Weber, Max. in 1918 at Munich University which came out as a publication in 1919 with the title: *Politics as Vocation*

which claims the monopoly of legitimate use of physical force within the limits of a fixed territory[17]." However, as he tried to find out the roots of the claim to legitimacy he came up with three types, which according to him are historically tenable. These are legitimacy conceived as eternal and related to the past i.e. *traditional*; legitimacy achieved through extraordinary personal gift or grace i.e. *charismatic*; and legitimacy legally achieved through *rational* use of force. It is only the last one in Weberian analysis, which reduces obedience into duty for all citizens including those who exercise power.

The generic meaning of legitimacy thus hinges on three important issues: a) Whether the ruler has the right to exercise the supreme power on behalf of the entity he is representing, b) Whether a bonafide agreement is achieved through definite and acceptable enactment of law and c) Whether the enactment procedure is morally viable, that is to say whether it is good for the entire community. The consensus with regard to the 'good of the community' involves willing submission of the minority to the majority rule. But force as an instrument of submission without rational and voluntary acquiescence becomes inoperative and therefore dysfunctional. It has been found that representative character of elected representatives in many of the third world countries is questioned by the opposition, bona-fide agreement violated and even moral viability is lost by misuse of power. In effect, then, such communities turn into closed political systems, the extreme form of which results in the imposition of Martial Law.

Whatever elaborate and insightful analyses we find in Max Weber's treatment of traditional and charismatic authority, his ultimate reliance, it appears, is on "the domination by virtue of the belief in the validity of legal statutes and functional competence based on rationally created values."[18] Legitimacy, then, is a contrivance for the state to maintain control over its citizens through a legal system which the citizens believe has been enacted in appropriate form by people who have the confidence of the majority if not all. The 'rule of law' is necessary but not sufficient for the vast majority of law-abiding citizens. The capacity of traditional or charismatic authority is very limited and is inadequate to cater to the needs of "communities or societies that have been torn by deep division and destructive conflicts"[19]. If there is a deep division in the society as suggested by the above narration, the conflicting situations call for very different analytical tools for solution. This leads us to an analysis of 'legitimacy as an integrative power' as well as 'legitimacy in intractable conflicts with real or imaginary ideological differences'.

Integrative power is inherent in the formation of a nation. Geographical identities leading to a community, common historical development enforcing common experience leading to common outlook for nation formation and consensus on the meaning of nationhood, are the essential ingredients of this integrative power. Loyalty of the citizens to the state is based on these elements

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[17] ibid
[18] ibid
[19] ibid

having a moral force, which overrides loyalty to party, region, or sect. With the achievement of Bangladesh after a bloody war, it was established, at least outwardly that citizens' loyalty to the state has been firmly entrenched in the spirit of the war of independence. But due to several unforeseen factors, which the authority failed to perceive and tackle, the situation went out of control. Most prominent of the factors is the political villainy in the rank and file of the pseudo freedom fighters. The real freedom fighters from all sections of the country were relegated to oblivion; on the other hand, in the midst of a tremendous upheaval quite a large number of political self-seekers made successful inroads into the new political situation even before any governmental machinery could be set in motion. And when independence was finally achieved the unifying force of Bengali nationalism rapidly refracted since the Awami leadership "failed to build up a national consensus even among those who had constituted the vanguard of the liberation struggle. A sizeable number of Awami League leaders did not actually participate in the liberation war, but after the war they claimed a monopoly over state power"[20]. Though liberation is the culmination of a long drawn political struggle where Awami League played the key role yet the war of independence was won with the leadership of internal armed force mainly from surviving Bengali section of Pakistani armed forces – the East Bengal Regiment and the East Pakistan Rifles. The key participants in the armed struggle were the vast number of very ordinary villagers, peasants, workers and groups of student volunteers motivated by revolutionary feeling and also those who were forced to join or otherwise the Pakistani army through their massive combing operation all over the region would have killed them. Ignoring the essence of the struggle for independence, the Awami League thus lost the opportunity of unifying the country's integrative power with the consolidation of the spirit of war of independence. To quote S.E. Finer, "In nearly all the new states…the moments of the charismatic leader is one of the most striking features of the first stage of national resurgence, and where a new state loses such leaders…its political future is immediately jeopardized."[21] After the bloody military coup of August 1975, General Ziaur Rahman emerged as almost an undisputed leader primarily in the army and later on of the country. But "he remained without firm ideological or personal commitments… Suppressing this opposition was foremost in Zia's priority…Zia subdued several minor revolts in the army in the sense of which some of his military rivals were killed or sacked". [22] Thus another glimmer of hope of national consensus towards integrative power was also lost in the maze of the personal ambition of a military ruler. In fact Zia's attempt initially was to bring homogeneity to the army and thereafter to consolidate his authority in civil government, which led him to enter into many questionable alliances. Most significant was his appointment of a Prime Minister and several ministers with questionable role in the independence struggle, which created a schism in the body politics of Bangladesh leaving very little common ground for a unified national identity.

Conflict intervention has thus become in Bangladesh the most important concern for all. Rule of law has become largely dysfunctional, as the opponents inevitably call legitimacy of the government or

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[20] Peiris, G.H. *Political Conflict in Bangladesh*. Journal of Ethnic Studies. 1998. P. 47-50.
[21] Ibid
[22] Ibid

persons to authority in question. And more often than not, such accusations lead to protracted lawlessness, making the life of the citizens unbearable. Politicization of bureaucracy including judiciary, the last resort for protection of human rights, acrimonious inter-party relationship leading to frequent skirmishes and pervasive villainous politics paving the way for corruption at all levels often attract foreign donors and agencies to express their concern verging on interference in our national affairs. "Oftentimes…in intractable conflicts, the problem is not simply that parties do not have legitimacy; one or more of them are seen by some significant sector of society as illegitimate."[23] This general observation of Marie A. Dugan about Third World countries very well reflects the Bangladesh scenario.

This vicious cycle of questionable legitimacy has its roots in several contingent factors. We may identify these as follows: a) *Lumpen* development at the very initial stage of national life; b) Successive military interventions stifling the natural growth of political culture; and c) The dominance of foreign investments leading to high handedness of the transnational corporations (TNCs) and proliferation of *compradorism*. Reprobate politics, however, is a reflection of a *lumpen* economy where trade unionism represents a vested interest at the bottom, while *compradorism* at the top.[24] With the aid and assistance of persons in governmental authority nationalized industries are being plundered causing total shut down of those industries one after another. All the governments, including military, remained oblivious of the far-reaching consequences of those acts. This process can be traced back to the very early stage of national independence when a number of youths and former student leaders turned into businessmen-cum-politicians overnight! Without caring for national interest they looted and plundered industries left by the non-Bengalis and even some of the Bengali industrialists. The political process, which could weed out this *lumpen* development, was also questionable as a trend was already set for a total dependent economy subsisting on aids and loans from which they could not wriggle themselves out. The political process or political upheaval that could change the context could not gain ground as military governments relied on the same group of people for their power base. The same group of people joined the rank and file as well as leadership of the parties that sprang up under the aegis of the military rulers. In other words, military interventions not only stifled the natural and spontaneous growth of political culture but also relied heavily on the *compradors* to keep the ongoing economy as dependent as ever. The fact of the matter is that the economy that prevails in Bangladesh militates against any increase in the 'social productivity of labour'[25] to quote a phrase from Marx. This pseudo-capitalism can be compared with

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[23] Dugan, M.A. *Legitimacy*, 2004.
[24] Marx describes in the *Eighteenth Blumaire* (1852), the lumpen proletariat as a class fraction that constituted the political power base for Luis Bonaparte of France in 1848. According to him this is the 'refuse of all classes' that worked as power base of political reprobates capturing power or lurking evil designs to capture power. Lumpen bourgeoisie is a term used be Andre Gunder Frank in his book "*Lumpen Bourgeoisie and Lumpen Development*" (1972) to denote refuse of all classes which can be manipulated to support neo-colonial exploitation (as in Latin America) bereft of any nationalistic feeling.

[25] Marx, K. *Capital*, Vol: 3, P.596, Progress Publisher, Moscow 1971.

Marx's usurer's capital.[26] In his language: "Usurer's capital impoverishes the mode of production, paralyses the productive forces (labour) instead of developing them, and at the same time perpetuates the miserable conditions in which social productivity of labour is not developed at the expense of labour itself as in the capitalistic mode of production." In the light of this comparison of the mode of production it is obvious that without a significant change, if not a revolutionary transformation in the production relation, the process of impoverishment and consequent debasement cannot be halted.

The examples of dependency require no elaboration; but a few critical observations may be illuminating. In the face of the so-called globalization, dictated by donors in early 1990s, Bangladesh reduced its tariff from 225% to 45%. The idea was to allow increased repatriation of foreign investment profit from our country. But it made trade deficit a chronic problem. Unemployment and poverty level increased in unusual proportion and weakened the structure of governance, which was already riddled with multifaceted problems. All these were done at the behest of IMF. Rightly did the Nobel laureate Joseph E. Stiglitz point out: ".... the perception throughout much of the developing world, one I share, is that IMF itself has become part of countries' problem rather than a part of its solution. [27]

Unfortunately both military and elected governments in our country failed to perceive this stark reality, which had not only financial implications but impacted adversely on the socio-political aspects of our life. The fact that global economy is turning countries like Bangladesh to a new phase of corporate dominance under the myth of 'emerging markets' is obvious from the deals that have been made for their investments. Transnational corporations with the strong support of high-level state functionaries from within are expanding their horizon by leaps and bounds. These organizations (TNCs) numbering about 37000 all over the world are the bearers of capital and technology and the major agents of the new imperial order, which include the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and other financial institutions. The global financial networks do not work for the improvement of the Third World rather their investment policies and activities are directed towards improving their own economic base which necessarily depletes the economy and resources of these countries. The trade liberalization policy that they imposed on Bangladesh to adopt has turned Bangladesh into its worst victim. "These indicate a very weak institutional mechanism to monitor, analyse and prescribe policy actions and sensitise higher levels of administration in support of Bangladesh economy".[28]

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[26] The use of this concept may be misleading but usuerer's capital as described by Marx has a clear similarity with our conditions. This however needs further analysis and explanation.

[27]. Stiglitz.J.E *Globalization and Its Discontents*, 2003, P.97.

[28] See *Globalization and the People of Asia and the Pacific*, "*Friends of the Earth*" Ahy.Marvic.M.V.F Leonen, [LRC/FOE Philippines 2001-P.34-37].

The above discussion very briefly underlines the dominant issues of contemporary socio-political situation to find out the sociological significance of legitimacy as prevailed in different regimes. The question of legitimacy has unfolded some areas of concern such as national identity, conflict interventions, crisis of legitimacy, and the problem of governance. The brief allusion in this article to the military interventions at different periods of our history and consequent imposition of Martial Law may be seen as a parallel political process to that of democracy. The share of it is almost half of the entire period of independent Bangladesh. But even in a democratic set up in our country the nature of government and the exercise of power are almost equally centred on individuals' authority.[29]

Democracy is a system of government with elaborate institutional framework reinforced by rule of law and periodic franchise. A fuller development of democracy is contingent upon a tradition enriched by tolerance and respect for each other's opinion. At societal level it calls for continued democratic practices. In fact Bangladesh is so much constricted by the vested interests in party organizations that all the mechanical devices and legal restrictions at the highest level cannot stave off the reprobate politics and highhandedness of money and muscle power.

Nevertheless military rule is no alternative to the rule of law. Though legitimacy is not necessarily or fully achieved by franchise and representative governance, with *lumpen* economic base and chronic trade deficit, democracy seems to be only a window dressing covering the emptiness behind. In other words for a fair play of democratic institutions in our country it is necessary to extricate ourselves from the financial imbroglio that has been created over the last four decades either by omissions or by commissions of persons in authority. Thus today the country is at the crossroad of cupidity and stupidity and it is only by raising the consciousness level of the general masses that this impasse can be overcome.

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[29] Individuals who headed the government (in serial order):
* Tajuddin Ahmed – Govt. in exile took over and ruled the country – 16 December' 1971 to January ' 1972
* Founder of the Nation, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman – 10 January' 1972 to 15 August ' 1975
* Khondoker Mostaque – Major Faruqur Rahman - -August 15 to November 3' 1975
* Major General Khaled Mosharraf – November 3 - November 7' 1975
* Major General Ziaur Rahman – November 7' 1975 to April 30' 1981
* Justice Abdus Sattar – June 1' 1981 to March 24' 1982
* Lt. General Ershad – March 24' 1982 to December 6' 1990
* C.T.G Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed – December 6' 1990
* Begum Khaleda Zia – March 1991 to March 1996
* C.T.G Justice Habibur Rahman – March 1996 to June 1996
* Sheikh Hasina – June 1996 to July 2001
* C.T.G Justice Latifur Rahman – July 2001 to October 10' 2001
* Begum Khaleda Zia – October 10' 2001 to October 10' 2006
* C.T.G Prof. Iazuddin Ahmed – October 10' 2006 to January 11' 2007
* C.T.G Dr. Fakhruddin Ahmed – Moin U Ahmed – January 11' 2007 (Continuing)

The Urban Informal Sector and Workplace Insecurity for Women in Nigeria: Evidence from Port Harcourt City

Ngboawaji Daniel Nte[•]

Abstract

> *This work is an evaluative analysis of the role of the informal sector in the national development of third world economies in general, and Nigeria in particular. The study found not women contribute the bulk of the work force in this sector and in the course of their contribution face daunting challenges related to insecurity in their workplaces. These insecurities include: flagrant evictions and expulsions, confiscation of merchandise by local authorities, exposure to the elements, sexual harassment local authorities and general substandard safety measures, especially for the informal employees of formal enterprises. Specifically, the study found that Port Harcourt, which is at the heart of the Niger Delta and where there are exponential security risks, fostered the worst security for these women/girls in ways that have significantly hampered their effectiveness. The recommendations provided in the study offer veritable channels for tacking this social problem.*

Introduction

One of the most profound transformations in the global economy over the past thirty years has been the increasing incorporation of women into the global work force. New opportunities to pursue careers have enabled some women to enhance their command over limited hold resources, take advantage of increased physical mobility and develop their technical and entrepreneurial skills. Nonetheless, in the developing world, the majority of these activities take place within the informal economy, where women face a wide range of insecurities. In sub-Saharan Africa, for example 87 % of non-agricultural women workers are informally employed (as compared to 63% of men). In Latin America 58% of women work informally (versus 48% of men) and in Asia 65% of women and men are informally employed (ILO, 2002:182; Roever, 2007:21).

A comparative study of the informal sector in Africa and Latin America shows that the proportion of the urban working poor in the informal sector in Latin America was estimated at: Bolivia 66.2%, Brazil 66.4%, Costa Rica 63.5%, Guatemala 93.3%, Honduras 84.9%, and Venezuela 52.4%, while in the region as a whole it was 68.7%. The study went on to note that rising poverty and unemployment levels have resulted from the weak employment creation capacity of the formal sector as there is

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evidence to suggest that the formal sector has failed to generate sustainable employment opportunities for the growing urban poor (STEP, 2006:12).

In Nigeria, the informal sector has remained the stronghold of the economy. The resilience of this sector is, in fact, the key to the survival of the economy in the face of unprecedented levels of mismanagement and corruption in government circles. Official economic indicators over recent decades paint a gloomy picture. Per capita income has fallen to its present level of $300 from more than $1000 in 1980, although the 2008 estimate, while controversial, restores the 1980 value, apparently as a result of income from oil revenue and somewhat successful macro economic records so far (Daily times, 1992:32; Obadina, 2006:44; CBN, 2008:76). Indeed, the recent global economic crisis and the crash of world oil prices have exposed the vulnerability of the Nigerian economy which is consistently at the mercy of a volatile global oil price mechanism. The only hope for the Nigerian economy for now is the anticipated rebound of oil prices. Whether this trend is sustainable remains a matter of conjecture.

The contrast between the apparent lack of growth of the national economy and the enduring spirit of ordinary people is evident across Nigeria, Africa and other parts of the underdeveloped world. The pessimistic images of starving Nigerians and other Africans, hapless and despondent, often seen in the western media mainly reflect the conditions of victims of war, famine and of course, maladministration. The vast majority of Nigerians and Africans are poor by western standards yet they remain dignified, vibrant and largely productive.

The informal sector, also known as the underground economy, provides a wide range of services and produces a variety of goods for markets used by all classes of consumers, but mainly by the poor and increasingly the pauperized middle class. Offerings in these markets range from young boys and girls selling drinking water in small plastic bags to mechanics to communications vendors, foreign exchange traders, shoe makers and tailors. These activities of the informal sector play a crucial role in the economies of all developing nations. This sector is the main source of employment, both in terms of self-employment and hired labour paid in wages or profit sharing (Obadina, 2006:47).

According to the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA), the informal sector accounts for about 72 % of non-agricultural employment in sub-Saharan Africa. Estimates of the contributions of the informal sector to the region's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) vary widely but conservatively put contributions at about half of the GDP (UNECA). In a similar survey by the IMF, the sector accounted for some 77% of Nigeria's economic output. While, as a result of its size and nature, the underground economy is difficult, perhaps even impossible to measure, there is no doubt that it employs many more people than the formal economy where government invests most public resources. This is one of the absurdities of prevailing public policy, as in many ways the informal

sector is the real economy where the most potential for entrepreneurial development exists (IMF Survey, 2004:64).

Be that as it may, the informal sector is far from perfect, as it is fraught with some serious and harmful consequences including the use of child labour, lack of labour rights, poor working conditions and low wages/income and above all, indices of workplace insecurities for the women who dominate this sector.

While the centrality of the informal sector in the third world cannot be over emphasized, it does present some challenges in certain regions of Africa. This is because in addition to the traditional inequalities inherent in the informal economy, some urban centres are becoming increasingly violent as a result of pervasive war and conflict (Okaba & Nte, 2008:41). The implication of this is that women and girls in the informal sector become victims of magnified insecurity in their workplace. In the Niger Delta region of Nigeria where Port Harcourt city is located, the situation at the administrative headquarters is atrocious. Given the general level of militancy, hostage taking, kidnappings, rape and terrorist acts, the security of women and girls in the informal sector is under serious threat. This is in addition to the often perverted activities of Local Council officials, touts and security agents perpetrated against these workers.

This paper purports to examine the pervasive insecurity in the informal workplace. In doing so, this study will focus on street vendors, home based workers and informal employees of formal enterprises. Specifically, this study will investigate the hazards faced by women and girls at the hands of government official, touts, criminals and the entire gamut of urban policies as they affect the informal sector. This study will also examine the vulnerabilities of women operators in this sector in the increasingly urban city of Port Harcourt, Nigeria, where women (and others) face an endless struggle for survival in an increasingly harsh economy.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study is to embark on an analytical investigation of the informal participation of women in the informal sector; the strength of the economies of most third world countries including Nigeria. In the course of doing so, the work will investigate the different dimensions of workplace insecurity faced by these female players of the informal sector in the growing city of Port Harcourt, in the Niger Delta, Nigeria.

Consequently, the study will strive to provide answers to the following research questions:
- ❖ What role does the informal sector play in third world economies?
- ❖ What are the impacts of the informal sector on the Nigerian economy?
- ❖ What role do women play in the informal sector?

❖ What are risks and security threats faced by women operators in this sector?

❖ Are there peculiar forms of insecurity women face in the informal sector in Port Harcourt city, Nigeria?

Theoretical Perspectives on the Urban Informal Sector in Developing Countries

Available literature has shown that third world urban environments manifest contrasting systems of production and distribution. Most scholars have attempted to conceptualize these forms of duality. According to Geertz (1963:19) the urban economy of the third world approximates a bazaar sector and a firm–centred arrangement. The International Labour Organization (ILO) (1972:43) and Hart (1973:54) have conceptualized it in terms of 'formal' and 'informal' sectors while Santos (1979:43) introduced the concept of circuits of production and distribution and went on to divide third world employment into upper and lower circuits. Dependency theorists and Marxists, including Gerry (1979:74) and Gerry and Birkbeck (1981:115) used the concept of 'mode of production' in which they refer to the informal sector as 'petty commodity production'. Before moving onto the methodology and data analysis, this paper will explore these different perspectives.

In examining the key components of the dualistic theories, Geertz (1963:26) noted that in Indonesia, most town commercial activities fit into the 'bazaar' sector. The major feature of this arrangement was extreme "marketization" also known as 'pasar'. The pasar is an economic institution, pattern of life and commercial arrangement that becomes prevalent across the entire society. People meet in the market for commerce and sometimes fraudulent exchanges, small-scale hawking and processing activities. The bazaar trading system is characterised by unrelated person–to–person transactions and employs a large pool of people on marginal levels of living and profits are usually small with no prospect of capital accumulation (Geertz, 1963:28-30).

In studying this phenomenon, Geertz examined the small market town of Modjokuto in East Central Java. In Modjokuto, Geertz (1963:29) observed something slightly different - progress towards effective patterns of economic activity. This tended to depart from the bazaar type of economy towards the firm type of economy, consisting of firm-like distributive institutions of small stores, shops and factories. He observed that in a difficult and individualistic market place, a few of the more interested members of the town's trading class were trying to organize themselves into a guild of local entrepreneurs. Geertz identified retail stores (Toko) and factories (Perushan) as the two commercial features showing the most significant evolution from the "bazaar" to the "firm-centred" economy. This categorization of third world urban economic activities into bazaar and firm-centred sectors remains significant in understanding urban systems in developing counties. However, it seems as though Geertz has failed to offer an analysis of the nature of the dynamism and development that carries an economy from the bazaar to the firm-centred structure.

The International Labour Organisation Office (1972:69) and Hart (1973:165), have also conceptualized the same urban organization duality in terms of formal and informal sectors. The ILO (1972:70) outlined its first formal-informal sector definitions in its 1972 Kenya Report using the characteristics of enterprises to arrive at the formal-informal dichotomy (Kenya Report, 1972:6). The informal sector has since been adopted for studies of third world economies by two groups of scholars with different perspectives. For the first group, informal sector activities are sluggish, dependent and do not generate any significant income for the participants and the economy. This approach also attacks third world petty activities and accuses them of being exploitative at the individual level, providing only low earning opportunities, creating intense competition, being discriminatory in terms of gender, depending in foreign technology and resources and giving rise to a petit-bourgeoisie with links to the formal sector. Such enterprises are also viewed as a nuisance to the public, obstructing development and wasting public funds (Mazumdar 1976:321; Damnhaeuser, 1977:98; Longdon 1975:154; Kiplinsky, 1979:105 Bromley 1978:118; Bromley & Rusque – Alcaino, 1979:216, Birkbeck, 1979:137; Gery and Birkbeck 1981:107; Bannerjee, 1981:142 Moser, 1981:106; Norcliffe, 1983:132; Bolnick, 1992:198 and Nand, 2006:33). The general position of these writers is that the informal sector seems not to have inherent and dynamic characteristics of its own, and as such the need for outside forces such as raw materials, finance, markets and technology undermine the accumulation of capital by sector operators.

On the other side of the spectrum are those who believe that the informal sector is replete with success stories, individual excellence and the stimulation of economic development. They contend that the informal sector provides employment and income opportunities, develops skills, uses local and appropriate technology, and assists in the redistribution of wealth. The sector is also viewed as providing a sense of achievement and progress to its numerous participants (ILO, 1972:230; King, 1974:105; Merrick, 1976:112; Jellenik, 1978:76; Nihan & Youndain, 1978:217; Nihan, Demol & Jondoh 1979:282; Hanuofa, 1979:164; Baxter, 1980:187; McGee, et. al, 1980; Watsh, 1982:313; Roger & Beavon, 1982:132; Waldorf & Waldorf, 1983:264). Because of this more optimistic view of the informal sector, some scholars have made useful contributions to ways of improving the welfare of informal sector activities and participants (Yokman, 1989:108; Khundker, 1988 & Chandavakar, 1988:282; Maloney, 1988:233; Dasgupta, 2003:176)

A related dualistic conceptualisation of the informal sector interprets it as "upper" and "lower" circuits. According to Santos (1977), each third world urban system has an employment arrangement that fits into these two circuits. Santos argues that every place is the field of coexistence of two polarizations and two concrete modes of production existing side by side (Santos, 1977:50). This is true for both the means of production and distribution. Thus, according to him, the two circuits of the economy (upper und lower) and synergy in the third world stand side by side in the urban system.

Each of the circuits in the urban system has the same set of variables, although their characteristics may differ. The two circuits work as a system and have a dialectical or logical relationship in which the upper circuit is dominant (Santos, 1977). Each circuit consists of its own distinctive characteristics. Like the former conceptualisations of third world economies as bazaar and firm-centred sectors or formal and informal sectors, Santos' concept of upper and lower circuit is also an important tool in the analysis of third world urban economic activities. Santos has also made significant contributions to uncovering the nature and dynamics of the relationship the two circuits. He identified a veritable reciprocity in terms of distribution of goods in the region by the circuits. Because of this, Santos has helped to bridge the gap in academic thought which conceptualized third world economic activities solely in terms of duality. The final part of this section takes a look at the dependency theories and Marxist petty commodity production.

Dependency theorists and Marxists understand new urban economic activities of the peripheral (third world) economies in terms of production and refer to the informal sector as petty commodity production. This categorization demarcates peripheral economies from the major axis of capitalist production and/or market relations (Gerry, 1979:341; Gerry and Birkbeck, 1981:276). These authors opine that petty commodity production is best situated as a distinct economic form found in the context of several modes of production (feudal, capitalist and socialist). For them, it is characterized by subordination, dependency and transition with complex features and relations in petty commodity exchange.

Despite its solitary nature, petty commodity producers are likened to what dependency and Marxists scholars refer to a "petty commodity bourgeoisie". The provision of raw materials, finances and markets by the national bourgeoisie enable the petty commodity bourgeoisie to accumulate wealth for investment and expansion and subsequently become dominant petty commodity enterprises. This arrangement concentrates wealth in the hands of a few and aggravates the distribution of resources, status and financial capital (Nand, 2006:35).

Another feature of petty commodity production is the apparent stagnation and perhaps declining income over time even in the face of growth and relevance. This reinforces the position of local small scale entrepreneurs who sustain the predominant political and economic structure for their own benefits. These subjective and complex relations or modes of production remain a snag in the growth of petty enterprise, the bulk of which tend to collapse over time (Gerry 1979:198; Birkbeek and Gerry, 1981:79; Forbes, 1981:154; Norcliffe, 1981:202). The import of these analyses is that to a great extent petty commodity production is inextricably linked to the development of capitalism (Gerry and Birkbeek, 1981:203). Moreover, once these petty enterprises become viable, they cease to be petty. This situation approximates Geertz's notion of the movement of entrepreneurs from the bazaar economy to the firm economy via the accumulation of wealth and resources (Nand, 2006:44)

Despite the existence of the petty commodity bourgeoisie, most petty producers are not bourgeoisie. The petty commodity production paradigm is not dualistic as it is not made up of distinct groups at polar ends like the bazaar and firm-centred, formal and informal, and upper and lower circuit approaches. There is a more uniform distribution of enterprises, workers and owners of the means of production operating in different modes of production. Relative to the dependency approach, the Marxist perspective pays greater attention to the linkages between these various modes of production. This model is at variance with other dualistic models used to conceptualize third world urban economies.

Based on the foundation established by Marxist and dependency theorists, the transition and linkage of petty commodity enterprises with the organized formal sector has received due analysis. Using an integrative approach, to explain petty commodity enterprises in the informal sector, they have corrected some of the theoretical misconceptions and generalisations about the third world urban system (Nutress, 1987:178; Jaganathan, 1987:358; Maloney, 1998:254). The main thrust of the integrative approach is that there exists a strong link between formal and informal sectors; they work together with overlapping characteristics. Most informal sector enterprises are labour intensive, small scale, unrecognized, and unregulated although a few are more large scale and labour intensive. These enterprises have experienced expanding production but since they still operate outside the zone of official recognition and regulation, their capital accumulation possibilities are limited. These limitations and prohibitive recognition costs tend to confine operators of the informal sector to the realm of informality.

Urbanization and the Informal Sector in Nigeria

According to Ogbu and Ikara (1995:530), Africa's urbanisation is quite pervasive in a world that is increasingly gravitating toward cities. For these authors, Africa has surpassed all other regions of the world in the 1975-80 period, when African cities grew at an average annual rate of 4-9%. Today, the rate is remains considerable – hovering around 6% and making Africa the region with the highest urban population growth rate in the developing world (World Population Council, 2004:129).

Sub-regional demographic fact sheets show that East Africa has the highest growth rate compared with other regions in the world (Torrey, 1998:B6). According to United Nations estimates, by 2025 nearly half of all East Africa will live in cities and almost three quarters of the population of Southern African will reside in urban areas (Hope, 1998:347). Likewise, unusually high rural-urban migration rates reported for some urban counties demonstrate the on going drive to urbanise, as is the case for Tanzania, whose capital Dar-es- salaam has for decades been one of Africa's fastest growing cities (Hope, 1998). Almost inevitably, the rapid concentration of migrants in African cities raises the spectre of unemployment, especially among women and young girls, pessimistically predicted to rise to 60% to 70% in the next few years (Guardian, 2001:36). In South Africa, part of this urban–pull

migratory pattern is predicated on the collapse of the Apartheid regime and the sense of freedom experienced by blacks who feel that the urban area once preserved of the whites need to be experienced after all.

Demographers believe that the dearth of information remains one of the most significant problems in addressing urbanisation in Africa (Rakadi, 1996: 10). The impact of wars and other conflicts stands out as a particularly understudied and overlooked subject. This impact is most noticeable in sub-Saharan Africa. From Angola to Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) to Sierra Leone, hundreds of thousand or even millions of people displaced by wars and conflicts have sought refuge in capital cities. Freetown, the capital of Sierra Leonean, showed a dramatic increase, with its population rising from 384,499 in 1985 to 837,000 in 2001 (Africa South of the Sahara, 2002: 926). This astronomical rise of 217% took place during the war years (1991- 2001). Internally displaced persons (IDPs) are markedly drawn to the Freetown area, the number of whom were thought to have reached 500,000 by 1995 (Synge, 2002: 920), and were progressively significant throughout the latter stages of the war. These estimates, experts believe, may be significantly lower than the actual figure, but are clear indications of rapid urban population growth during and after wars, and other forms of conflict (Okaba & Nte, 2008:46). The implication of this for urban Africa is an army of immigrants who must survive in the informal sector since most of them are not equipped to fit into formal urban sector arrangements. Women and young girls tend to constitute the core this army.

In Nigeria, urban growth has consistently been considerable, accelerated by the "bonanza" development introduced by huge oil wealth and attempts to provide basic infrastructure in urban areas at the expense of rural areas. This aggravated the urban–pull migratory pattern resulting in population surges the Nigeria cities of Lagos, Kano, Ibadan, Kaduna, Jos, Aba, Onitsha, Port Harcourt, Maiduguri, and Kaduna. At the same time, the creation of new states in Nigeria in 1987, 1991 and 1996 created new capital cities and new urban /administrative areas. These new cities include Asaba, Umuahia, Yenegoa, Lokoja, Dutse, Damaturu, Birnin Kebbi, Uyo, and Gombe. (Ekpenyong, 1992:148; UN, 2004:328; Nte, 2006:65). These new cities as well as the old continue to attract new immigrants who believe that life is at least marginally better in the city than in their villages.

The consequences of the aforesaid situation are obvious. Just like in other parts of the world and often to a greater extent in the third world, cities face a number of challenges – unemployment, food shortages, sanitation problems and frustrations. Most times, rather than dissuade migrants these frustrations encourage them to adopt novel survival mechanisms including crime and other forms of deviant behaviour. For non-deviants, the informal sector holds the key to their survival.

In a 1980 survey of Port Harcourt and Calabar, both cities in Southern Nigeria, 84% of the respondents said their incomes were irregular and 72% felt their jobs to be insecure or only fairly

secure, and complained of their relatively short average job tenure. From their responses, it seems irrefutable that there has been increasing pressure on people in recent years to engage in marginal economic activities. Some respondents, such as street vendors, felt insecure as a result of official and police harassment, others because of competition, or low and irregular incomes (Ekpenyong, 1992:158).

Port Harcourt city, which is the political capital the Niger Delta region of Nigeria, presents an interesting urban scenario. Home to the hydrocarbon industry, the city has one of the highest cash flow levels in the country and is also the most expensive to live in. This harsh reality does not in any way deter the endless streams of migrants from all parts of the country, and indeed the continent, to partake in the pleasure of the largely illusive "Eldorado". Consequently, the city has affluent areas known as the Government Reserved Areas (GRA) and scores of sprawling shanties and waterfronts dotting the city (Nte, 2006:41; British Council, 2004:24; Ekpenyong, 1992:168; 1999:108). These areas are inhabited by hundreds of thousands of the poor and very poor who eke a living in the city. Amongst them are innumerable women and girls who prod the nooks and crannies, hawking or selling in makeshift huts or poorly built and insecure stores all over the city expect the posh GRA's. This is in addition to their work in government city markets at Mile 1 Diobu, Mile 2 Diobu, Mile 3 Diobu, Creek Road Market, New Layout Market, Rumuomasi Market, Oil Mill Market etc. These informal urban markets are densely populated by women in the urban informal sector in what approximates integration into a peasant economy. The situation provides a forum for the broadening of knowledge, exchange of ideas and opportunity to define their place in the world outside their local environment. It also provides a social network and integrates peasants into the national and international culture (McGill et. al. 1980:218, Forman & Riegelhanpt, 1970:143; Nand, 2004:213).

These stores, shops, and markets constitute the hub of the commercial activities in the urban informal sector in Port Harcourt. This is in addition to other crafts like dressmaking, hair weaving, the production of ice cream and other similar activities traditionally dominated by women. In the pursuit of these activities which are inevitable for survival, those working in this sector face unprecedented levels of threats, insecurity and related challenges. This work seeks to explore, in particular, the impact of this risk and uncertainty on the women of Port Harcourt.

General Insecurity in the Niger Delta Region and its Implications for the Urban Informal Sector

Anatomical insight into the security problem in the Niger Delta reveals that it is a product of decades of neglect, repression and exploitations of the region due to its minority status in the eyes of the Nigerian State. This unmitigated suppression by the Nigerian ruling class was often concealed beneath the ceaseless flow of petrodollars pumped out of the belly of the region at a monumental pace and environmental cost (Nwadiaro, 1980:34; Okoko, 1997:36; Mitte, 2007:15). The prolonged indignation

lasted as long as it suited the capital interests of the ruling class and their multilateral collaborators in the region.

Initial protests, such as the twelve day Boro revolution was easily crushed and ultimately emboldened the rampaging Nigeria state for further resources and profit. The revenue accrued from oil was at times denied and only grudgingly allocated, falling from 25% to 0% and then back up to 3% between 1970 - 2000. This is in sharp contrast to the pre-oil era when derivation was based on a fifty-fifty ratio. The exploitation climaxed when the superlatively brutal regime of General Sani Abacha murdered Kenule Saro Wiwa, an international writer and environmentalist who led a non-violent protest to the despoliation of the Niger Delta and Ogoni land in particular. This was, however preceded by the Umuechem Massacre that tends to define the advent of the violent repression of the indigenous peoples of the Niger Delta (Okoko, 1997:38; Okonta, 2000:67; Ibiba, 2003:164; Nte, 2005:192).

Faced with very real extermination, the region became awash with social movements fighting against glaring injustice and demanding resource control as the only way out of these socio-economic–cum environmental doldrums. In the midst of genuine agitations, desperate politicians cashed in on the frustrations and desperation in the region and armed unemployed youths in an attempt to capture power in 1999. This arrangement gave birth to the proliferation of small and light weapons in the region. By 2003, when the politicians had succeeded and joined the Nigerian ruling class as "junior looting partners," the quest to hold on to power necessitated that more arms be supplied to the already insurgent youth. Coupled with the 'use and dump' attitude of the politicians and abnormal unemployment rates in the region – well above the national average - the region became heavily armed. According to Edede (2006:14), "politicians of the region armed jobless youth, turning them into political thugs and agents of violence. They armed them with AK-47 riffles and this gave the youth purpose. The politics of the AK-47 soon gave way to the economics of the AK–47 and the Kalashnikov became an economic variable as the Niger Delta youths took to the creeks to engage their tormentors in a macabre dance of molten lead".

To this day, agitations have continued unabated and the 30 million people of the region, who speak approximately 50 languages and inhabit 185 of the 774 local council areas in the country, are still worrying about the sorry state of their environment, the destruction of their flora, fauna and their biodiversity, and the pollution of the water they drink and the air they breath. And yet oil production in the region still accounts for 90 per cent of the country's exports and more than 80 per cent of total government revenue (Ekpu, 2007:46).

These situations have created a combination of genuine agitation, nationalism, self-determination and exponential criminality in the region. Presently, the region is known for mindless killings, rape, kidnappings and hostage taking. So daunting is the situation that most expatriate staff have left the region and oil production has been reduced by about 30 per cent. The devastating effects of this militant, albeit criminal, dimensions of the Niger Delta conflict cannot be over emphasized. At the national level it has

depleted the revenue base of the nation, as oil production has dipped massively and oil prices have shot up internationally with severe economic implications.

In the last few years, Port Harcourt has come to approximate Kandahar in Afghanistan and Fallujah in Iraq where cult wars perpetrated by urban terror gangs waste thousands of young lives and commit unspeakable sexual harassment of women in and around Port Harcourt, and other urban areas in the Niger Delta. Added to these gangs, cultists, and militants, are members of the task forces, created by local councils for revenue collection, environmental law enforcement and other such sundry responsibilities of local councils, who prey on women and girls through extortion and sexual harassment. Part of the strength of these "touts" is the power bestowed upon them by the councils and the inextricable link between them and the rampaging gangsters/cultists who in turn act as the foot solders of the political class.

The end results of this multifaceted turmoil are magnified insecurity in the region and serious threats to the predominantly women dominated urban informal sector in the region's cities. For Port Harcourt, these crises are particularly reprehensible, as the city graduated from the most peaceful city in the region to the most dangerous and insecure. This study investigates the dimensions of these threats and insecurities faced by women in the informal sector of Port Harcourt, Nigeria.

Methodology

The methodological thrust of this paper is predicated on a combination of observation and qualitative analysis of the data generated. There is also a reliance on extensive secondary sources of information such as text books, articles, and reports.

In terms of observation, the author of this work has been involved in UNIFEM-assisted programmes for women in the informal sector for about a decade. This gave him useful insights into the challenges faced by women in this sector including issues relating to their security and threats from the different quarters of the city.

Population and Sample Selection

The design for this study falls within the realm of descriptive research. One of the methods used in descriptive research is the survey method and this is the method adopted here. The population of this study comprised of one hundred and thirty five (135) female small shop owners, two thousand three hundred and fifty (2350) female hawkers, twenty seven (27) Port Harcourt city council staff, seventy (70) women's rights groups and the police. A convenient study sample size (via random sampling) of four hundred and sixty five (465) of women in the urban informal sector in Port Harcourt city and thirty seven (37) representatives of city council, women's rights groups and the police was drawn for the study.

The second level of data collection was based on a structured-focused group interview of the different stakeholders of this research. They included female hawkers and small shop owners, local council task force members, the police, women's NGO/civil societies, and the national association of women journalists (NAWOJ). In all 502 respondents were interviewed according to the distribution below.

Table 1: Different Stakeholders

Women hawkers and small shop owners	446
Local council task force	25
Police	17
Women's NGOs and civil societies	10
NAWOJ	4
TOTAL	502

Chi Square and Simple percentage were employed for analysis.

It should be noted however that, in selecting the respondents for interviews, they were selected in a random fashion which helped the author infuse additional ideas, colour and rigour into this work.

I attempted to the best of my ability and resources at my disposal to present relatively balanced and logically precise research. All the same, since no research is completely independent of its normative evaluation of the research problem, this analysis and the results reached and presented may bear the hallmark of our stance. It is my appeal that all subjective postures which were not addressed should be seen as part of the researcher's oversight and should be overlooked (Ololube et al., 2007).

Limitations of Study

In the course of this study certain obstacles were encountered. These include inadequate funds, logistics, and the uncooperative attitude of local council staff and the police. These obstacles may have negatively impinged on the quality of the work. Be that as it may, obstacles are surmountable and the credibility of this study was guarded to minimize compromise.

Data analysis

Instrumentation

Three instruments were used to collect the various types of data needed for this research. The construction of these instruments was guided by the research objectives, and included questions that were relevant to the study. Two of the instruments were Likert-type three-point scales. These were opinionnaires for women and girls and consisted of sets of constructed items suitable for the analysis

of the security threats faced by this demographic in the urban informal sector. Each opinionnaire was made up of statements to be rated on a three-point scale of agree, undecided and disagree. The third instrument was an interview guide for the portion of the study comprised of interviews with women, girls, women's groups, security agencies and local council staff. This guide consisted of a set of questions designed to direct the in-depth interviews of these populations on their perception of the dangers faced by women in the urban informal sector in Port Harcourt city.

The validity of the interview instrument had its face validation confirmed by a panel of three validators. The reliability coefficient (r), defined as a measure of the consistency of a test (Wiersma et. al. 2005:176), was obtained using the test re-test procedure. A value of 0.64 was reached as the reliability coefficient (r) for the instrument. Both the validity and reliability of the instrument were determined in like manner. The reliability coefficient (r) for this instrument was found to be 0.63.

Data collection

Data were collected by hand-delivering copies of the two opinionnaires to the respective respondents and seeking help from the leaders of the local Women Traders Association to complete their forms and to ensure that their members completed theirs as well. In addition, face-to face personal interviews were conducted with selected group leaders. Data from the interview sessions was captured by tape-recording each interview. Note-taking during each interview was used to augment the taped interview data.

Data analysis

The responses of the respondents to the two opinionnaires were subjected to a coding system for the purpose of organization and classification of the collected data for subsequent statistical analyses. Once all the responses were coded, the resulting scores were subjected to statistical analysis using the statistical package for social sciences (SPSS).

Results and Discussion

Interview responses showed that workplace insecurity in Port Harcourt city is quite pervasive. These forms of insecurity were said to vary in terms of their depth and breadth while the ranking of the degree of the risks faced by women and girls in the urban informal sector is not very clear. Most of the respondents were undecided on the similarity between the traumas faced by unprovoked evictions, extortions by council staff and request for sexual gratifications by council staff for preferential treatments in forced evictions. This could be attributed to the fact that most of the respondents may not have in-depth knowledge of the nature of oppression of women in a relatively patriarchal society. Where they do have such an understanding, the impact of poverty and cultural values may make them gloss over it and see such oppression as normal.

Table2: Chi square analysis details of insecurity of women in the urban informal sector by gender

	Observed Value (O)	Expected Value (E)	O-E	(O - E)^2	(O-E)^2 / E	df = 2
female (A)	69	62	7	49	0.70	Value of χ^2
female (U)	26	26	0	0	0	at 0.5 level
female (D)	15	15	-7	49	2.23	= 1.386,
male(A)	34	41	-7	49	1.19	Calculated χ^2
male(U)	18	18	0	0	0	Value of 15.21
male(D)	22	11	11	121	11	is
						Significant.
$\sum$(O-E)^2 / E	=		15.21			

(KEY: A- Agree, U- Undecided, D- Disagree)

The computed chi square value of 15.21 for gender effect on the responses shows that there is a significant difference in the responses of male and female respondents with more female respondents identifying the pervasion of workplace insecurity in urban informal sector in Port Harcourt city. This result is reflective of the beliefs and arguments in most patriarchal societies that tend to ignore oppression of women based on anti-women cultural practices.

Along the same line, respondents' perceptions of the forms of insecurity faced by women and girls in the urban informal sector in Port Harcourt city of Nigeria, show that a slightly larger proportion of female respondents, 46%, endorsed the various forms of insecurity faced by women in contrast to only 42.7% of male respondents. This disparity in the responses of male and female respondents is further confirmed when the data is subject to the chi square analysis. The results of the chi square analysis are given below:

Table 3: Chi square analysis on the forms of Insecurity faced by women in the informal sector the city of Port Harcourt by gender

	Observed Value (O)	Expected Value (E)	O-E	(O-E)^2	(O-E)^2/ E	df = 2
Male respondents (A)	437	464	-27	729	1.57	Value of χ^2
Male respondents (U)	320	320	0	0	0	at 0.5 level
Male respondents (D)	291	263	28	784	2.98	= 1.386,
Female respondents (A)	571	544	27	729	1.34	Calculated χ^2
Female respondents (U)	376	376	0	0	0	Value of 8.25
Female respondents (D)	281	308	-27	729	2.36	is significant
$\sum$(O-E)^2/ E =	8.25					

(KEY: A- Agree, U- Undecided, D- Disagree)

The computed chi square value shows that there is a significant difference in the opinions of male and female respondents. Hence, one can contend that gender has an impact on responses as more female respondents felt that the forms of insecurity faced by women in the informal sector in Port

Harcourt city were exhaustive. The intent of this section of the work is to bring to the fore Nigerian public perceptions about the dangers faced by this important but vulnerable segment of the country's economy with a view to guiding policy development. Interestingly, the inhibitive cultural practice of male dominance has equally manifested here in the relatively slight difference between the perceptions of male and female respondents. Ordinarily, this would have skewed completely towards overwhelming female appreciation of all these forms of insecurity rather than the mild appreciation presented in the data here.

Personal Interviews:

The results of the analysis of responses to the questions in each population's interview are used, as follows, to illustrate the trend in the interview sessions:

Women/Girl Traders

Question One: Have you felt insecure in the course of your business? Ninety per cent of the respondents experienced insecurity, while just over three per cent. (3.3 %) of the respondents claimed that they have experienced insecurity and 6.7 of the respondents claimed that they don't know if they felt insecure.

Question Two: What do you feel is the greatest threat to you now? Ninety-six per cent of the respondents claimed that the greatest threat is that of the militant youth who regularly storm the market to steal, rape and at times kill people, while four per cent did not know.

Question Three: What are the other threats to your business?

(a) Constant demolition of shops and destruction of wares by council staff: ninety-eight per cent of respondents felt that this was a threat while two per cent did not know.

(b) Request for monetary gratifications by local council staff:
Just over ninety-six per cent (96.5%) of respondents confirmed that they were constantly being extorted by council staff, while 3.5% of the respondents did not know. This response pattern highlights the corrupt and extractive nature of Nigerian bureaucratic institutions.

(c) Request for sexual gratifications by local council staff: responses show that 63%of the respondents had received these requests, 30 % of respondents had not and 7 % did not know. It should be noted that this data may be misleading because of the nature of Nigerian society in which sexual harassment is not openly discussed due to its stigmatisation. The percentage admitting to requests may have been higher in more open societies that permit more candid discussions of issues related to sex.

Local Council Staff

Question One: Do you engage in indiscriminate evictions/demolitions of traders stall? Ninety-nine per cent of council staff interviewed confirmed that evictions and demolitions were legally done, while only one per cent did not know. This response pattern is not surprising, given the fact that government agencies will always justify their actions even when appropriate welfare measures are not in place to cushion the pains of urban renewal programmes.

Question Two: Do you seek for gratifications from these traders? All the respondents (100%) denied this allegation in sharp contrast to the claims of the traders. Common sense easily validates the fact that, normally, no one would expect the council staff to accept this charge.

Police Authorities

Question One: Do you receive complaints of harassment of market women/girls? Ninety-four per cent of police officers interviewed confirmed that such reports come to their office while four per cent claimed ignorance of such reports.

Question Two: How do you handle such reports?
  (a) Charge such cases to court: Yes – (56%), No - (45%), Don't Know – (1%)
  (b) Settle out of the police station: Yes – (53%), No - (42%), Don't Know - (5%).

Conclusions

This study has made a modest attempt to review the vulnerabilities of a crucial segment of the Nigerian, women and girls in the informal sector. In the course of its all important contribution to the growth of the national economy, women and girls who constitute a significant portion of this segment of the economy in the urban areas face incalculable risks and insecurities. These risks and insecurities have been validated by this study. Although the study may not have uncovered all the details of the fear and harassment endured, due to the sensitive nature of the issue under review, it has provided useful insights into this relatively understudied area.

This study has shown the need to urgently assist these women and girls in coping and dealing with these risks as they impinge on their individual survival and the growth of the national economy. Port Harcourt city, the administrative capital of the Niger Delta region in Nigeria, has in the last few years been embroiled in unmitigated violence and crises which has further worsened the security of women and girl operators in the urban informal sector in the city. This warrants urgent steps be taken to remedy the situation. Although in the last few months, general security tends to have improved in the region due to the amnesty granted the Niger Delta militants, most analysts are cautiously optimistic about the sustainability of the programme.

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Filial Relationship and Autonomy of Senior Secondary School Students in Rivers State

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Abstract: *This study is aimed at determining the association/relationship between filial relationship (operationalized as parenting and family attachment styles) and adolescent family member's autonomy of senior secondary school students in Rivers State, Nigeria. The survey data collected from a sample of 1000 senior secondary school two (SS 2) students were used for the study. The Pearson's product moment correlation statistic was used in testing the hypothesis of the study at 0.05 level of significance. The result obtained showed a significant positive relationship between autonomy and filial relationship. It was noted that the warmer the filial relationship existing in a family, the higher the development of autonomy among adolescent members of the same family. Thus the role of early parental relationships with children needs to be emphasized in the personality development of children among Nigerian families.*

Introduction

Filial relationship as a construct depicts the parenting or child rearing styles actually adopted by parents in bringing up their children. Where there is no such parenting, there may not be any affinity or attachment between parents and their children (Ainsworth, 1979). Parenting manifested as democratic, autocratic or laissez-faire was the precursor to family attachments that may also manifest as secure, insecure and ambivalent. Attachment as defined by Bowlby (1955) is an affectional ties that one person forms with another, binding them together in space and enduring over time. Attachment styles refer to a close emotional relationship between two or more persons often characterized by mutual affection and desire to maintain proximity. Studies have shown an attachment relationship develop from parents and newborn interaction through touch-control, contact-comfort and eye-to-eye contact and is not present at birth (Bowlby, 1955). Parental attachment that increases youngster's opportunities to engage in behaviours that enhance the development of a sense of efficacy, personal control and mastery is made of support or acceptance for disciplinary patterns in the form of control, permissiveness and participation. The major premise here is that parental acceptance has an enhancing effect upon psychosocial development, and parental rejection

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at the other extreme, presumably results in an impoverished environment and a diminished sense of personal worthiness (Ainsworth, 1979; Isabella, 1993; DeWolff & van Ijzendoorn, 1997).

It is parenting and its consequent attachment relationships that constitute filial relationships. Filial relationships therefore concern the ways in which a daughter or a son should relate to parents and vice versa. The family, after all, is the primary agent of socialization and is the strongest factor in the adolescent's internalization of acceptable societal mores (Shaffer, 1999). The amounts of love, warmth, nurturance, acceptance exhibited in these relationships go a long way in developing a strong sense of who the children are. This is a very crucial factor to consider in proper adolescent development of autonomy from parents.

During the developmental stage of adolescence, young people strive for independence and begin to make decisions that impact them for the rest of their lives. According to Erikson (1968), the adolescent moves from a state of complete satisfaction and dependence to a state of independent operation and mutual regulation with others in a community. This is because the onset of adolescence brings a new set of problems to the developing ego as well as revitalizing former ones. Physiologically, the body experiences very rapid changes which result in genital maturity. At the same time, the adolescent recognises that he/she is about to face adulthood. Healthy resolution at this stage results in a sense of ego identity which Erikson defines as being at one with oneself, seeing one's relationship to one's community and to one's future.

Adolescent autonomy does not mean total independence from parents and significant others. It is also not the same thing as adolescent rebellion. Instead of doing away with earlier relationships, this is what emerging autonomy at the onset of adolescence really means; becoming emotionally independent. This is the predisposition of the adolescent to drop childish behaviours, overcoming the psychological loss of parents and other caregivers for a more stable interest and emotions. This emotional independence of the adolescent would have been perfected by earlier relationships in the mould of sibling rivalry and household chumships. These are relationships of siblings, cousins and a few neighbourhood friends usually of the same sex. Autonomous adolescents have also gained ability to be self-reliant, make decisions, choices and judgements after careful discussion and thought. The adolescent too gains in a dimension called individuality in identity formation. This is the ability of the adolescent to have and communicate a point of view and the peculiar use of communication patterns.

These are all dimensions of adolescent autonomy. Coupled with the above issues is the issue of incorporating sexuality into a still developing sense of self, the need to resolve questions about sexual values and morals and coming to terms with the sort of relationships into which the adolescent is prepared (or not prepared) to enter (Katchadourian, 1990).

Studies by Wainright and Patterson (2006), Eya (2007) revealed that adolescents whose parents described closer relationships with them reported less delinquent behaviour and substance use, suggesting that the quality of filial relationship better predict adolescent autonomy outcomes. It is ditto to the finding of Herman, Ostrander and Tucker (2007) that low family cohesion was uniquely associated with depression for African American adolescents. The studies of Boll, Ferring and Filipp (2003); Pike, Coldwell and Dunn (2005) and Criss and Shaw (2005) have supported the thesis that many aspects of familial relationships add to the quality of family life one enjoys. These could include dyadic parent-child, spousal and other filial dyads. Transactions within these dyads might involve a bi-directionality of influence. In this reciprocal interplay, adolescents, it must be emphasized are contributors to their own development, not objects of unidirectional parental influence.

Theoretical framework

This study is guided by psychosexual theory of Freud (1937), psychosocial theory of Erikson (1968) and filial love theory (Steinberg, 1999).

Freud (1937) was the first to stress how early life of the infant shapes his/her later life. During the phallic stage, Freud's theory stresses that the fact that if a child receives harsh or restrictive treatment, he will lack enough self-confidence, curiosity and ambition; and may develop anxiety about his/her body and inappropriate sexual behaviours.

Freud also believes that the feelings of warmth, trust and security that infants gain from secure attachments sets that stage for healthy development later in life. Of course, one implication of this viewpoint is that insecure attachment may forecast less than optimal developmental outcomes in the years ahead.

At the genital stage (age 12-18years), further changes take place in the body. The further changes in hormones and genital organ maturity that take place during puberty reawaken the sexual energy of the adolescent. As the adolescent approaches adulthood, they develop interest in the opposite sex, develop intimate relationships, becomes free of parental influence, develop the capacity to be interested in others, engage in some sexual experimentation and begin to assume adult responsibilities. There is a trend away from narcissism and toward altruistic behaviour and concern for others. Accordingly, working and loving as well as deriving satisfaction from them are of paramount importance.

This is what Erikson (1968) refers to as the basic trust without which the psychological development of the child is hindered. Erikson believes that through satisfying the child's psychological needs like love, warmth, acceptance, encouragement and security, the child shall develop self-confidence, good personality and appropriate sexual behaviour. The importance of warmth and nurturance for the

development of competence and moral behaviour can be traced to the earliest infant-parent attachment relationship.

The filial love theory of Steinberg (1999) speculate about father-child, mother-child and parents-child relationships as well as household chumship, peer love and their interactions on each other on the overall development of autonomy.

Problem

Many parents have problems establishing and maintaining limits, privileges and responsibilities with their children. They are not firm, fair, explicit and consistent with their children. When parents act as wrong role models, directly or indirectly rewarding inappropriate behaviours, then adolescents' involvement in all kinds of untoward behaviour could increase. The reason being that the parents are the most consistent and salient models of behaviour and dispensers of reinforcement (Geerheart, Depinter and Sileo, 1986). Besides, the family operates as a multilevel social system with interlocking relationships rather than simply as a collection of members. Both the parent-child subsystem is embraced in the network of interdependencies that constitute a family. In these multiple interlocking relationships, the roles of parents, spouse and offspring carry different functional demands, development opportunities, constraints and reciprocal obligations. So when an aspect of this network of relationships goes dysfunctional, it is bound to affect the whole network.

As children grow into adolescence, their autonomy gains ascendancy at the expense of earlier efforts at identification with parents as models. Like all interpersonal transitions, this movement can be fraught with anxiety. If the interpersonal tasks of adolescence have been negotiated successfully, the young person enters late adolescence and young adulthood able to be intimate and carving a niche for one's self. If not, the resultant frequent frictions would distract adolescence from noble goals.

In a bid to stem the tide of escalating filial quandaries, families are responding more to counselling, government have empowered Social Welfare Departments to mitigate the ugly trend. Agencies such as Society for Family Health (SFH) are out to encourage family health, yet the slide continues unabated. This study is therefore conceptualized to proffer solutions to help delinquent adolescents created by filial quandary.

Hypothesis

We hypothesized that the autonomy of students is not significantly related to their filial relationship.

Methodology

The study utilized the survey research design. Stratified random sampling technique was used in the selection of a sample of 1000 participants from senior secondary schools in Rivers State. The criteria

for stratification was based on the school type i.e. girls only, boys only, rural and urban locations. The sample was made up of 490 males and 510 females. They came from various backgrounds, which reflected the socio-economic status of their parents or guardians and their religion. They also came from various ethnic groups. Their age range lay between 14-17years.

Instrumentation

This research instrument was constructed by the researchers. It was validated by the experts from the department of Educational Foundation of the University of Calabar. It was constructed to measure variables of the study, which are filial relationships and autonomy. Face validity has been established for the instrument of this study where all the items in the instrument were subjected to rigorous scrutiny by experts. In addition to face validity, authors established the "factorial analysis" to confirm construct validity. The instrument was pilot tested. Internal consistency was confirmed via the Cronbach Alpha Co-efficient which is 0.73 while a test-retest was established as reliability co-efficient at 0.87.

Data collection

The instrument was administered personally by the researchers to the participants in the sampled schools. The questionnaires were administered to the students in their various groups in each of the sampled schools. The purpose of the investigation was briefly explained to them as contained in the questionnaire. The questionnaire was carefully explained for comprehension of what was required of them. The participants were encouraged to give true and unbiased responses to every item. Assurance was given to respondents for the confidentiality of the information given so as to remove fears of their private life being exposed. The participants were also told that the exercise was not an examination, therefore, there was neither correct nor wrong answers to the items on the questionnaire. Respondents were prevented from interacting with each other. This was to reduce the misrepresentation of information.

Data analysis

The autonomy of senior secondary school students is not significantly related to their filial relationship. There are two variables involved in this hypothesis; these are filial relationship (which is the independent variable) and their autonomy (which is the dependent variable).

The statistical analysis technique deployed to test this hypothesis was Pearson's correlation analysis. The result of this analysis is presented in Table 1. The result presented in Table 1 has shown a calculated r-value of 0.43, which is higher than the critical r-value of 0.062 at 0.05 level of significance with 991 degrees of freedom. With this result, the null hypothesis is rejected. This implies that there is a positive strong significant relationship between the autonomy of senior secondary students and

their filial relationship. This means that the more their level of autonomy, the higher their level of filial relationship.

Table 1: Pearson's correlation analysis of the relationship between students' autonomy and their filial relationship

Variable	Mean	SD	$\sum X/\sum Y$	$\sum X^2/Y$	$\sum XY$	r
Autonomy(x)	63.60	9.84	63159	4113209		
					4524041	43*
Filial relationship (y)	70.98	9.91	70480	5099958		

*Significant at .05 level, critical   r = .062; N = 993

Discussion

The results of the analysis show a significant positive relationship between filial relationship and autonomy. This implies that the higher the individual's degree of filial relationship, the more his/her degree of autonomy.

A psychological theory to interpret in the light of one's result is the psychosexual theory of Freud. From Freud's point of view, early good relationship between parents and their children is very important for the child's personal adjustment to the society he/she finds him/herself. Poor parent-child interaction may lead to weak spots in the child's development. This is consistent with the assertion of Eya (2007) that positive parent-child relationship tends to reduce alienation while negative or impoverished parent-child relationship tends to encourage alienation in the adolescent who falls headlong into peer pressure. Warmer and stronger parent-child relationship tends to reduce alienation while negative or impoverished parent-child relationship tends to encourage alienation in the adolescent. This is also consistent with the finding of the study that the warmer the level of filial relationship, the more the level of autonomy of adolescents. This is also similar to the findings of Wainright and Patterson (2006) that adolescents whose parents described closer relationship with them reported less delinquent behaviour and substance use, suggesting that the quality of parent-adolescent relationship better predict adolescent outcomes. It is ditto to the findings of Herman, Ostrander and Tucker (2007) that low family cohesion was uniquely associated with depression for African American adolescents. The studies of Boll, Ferring and Filipp (2003), Criss and Shaw (2005) and East and Khoo (2005) emphasize that good filial relationship shape up siblings relationships, which in turn influence adolescent outcomes including their autonomies hence the result posited that there is a significant positive relationship between filial relationships of senior secondary school students and their autonomies.

At this juncture also one might consider looking at the study's methodology as touching the sampling, the instrument and the conduct of the study. The sampling technique that was used in the study that

is the criteria of stratification which was boys only, girls only and co-educational helped to improve the internal validity of the study. And of course, the data collection instrument predetermined the questions and answers one anticipated. This is the plus for the survey design; there were ample opportunities for exploring researcher's ideas and the theories that guided the study. To that extent, the research results can be generalized to different postulations, settings and conditions. To that extent, one considers this study to be a good example of a study in social psychology in general and educational psychology in particular. Especially to the extent that the assumption of the study which claims subjects honesty and willingness to disclose all their negative tendencies were true.

Recommendation and Conclusion

The findings reveal that:

The individual's sense of autonomy has a strong link with the degree of his/her filial relationship. Based on the findings of this study, and subsequent conclusion, the following recommendations are made

1. Parents should be made aware of the importance of warm filial relationships. The warmer the filial relationship existing in a family, the higher the autonomy of the adolescents in that family. Higher autonomy means better adjustment and more quality participation in the ideals of society. Democratic and even autocratic parenting style are better options to permissive style as far as the autonomy of the adolescent is concerned

2. Parents should be caring enough to figure out whether their children are tending towards anxious-avoidant attachment style. Children in this mould display more negative autonomy outcomes. The importance of early childhood years to the development of a secure and enduring attachment relationship between children and their parents. Students who are securely attached scored higher on the autonomy variables; so a secure attachment is encouraged. High family closeness in the form of robust sibling relationships is encouraged as these serve as frame of reference for individual development and family functioning. Students with low level of household chumship are significantly more involved in negative autonomy outcomes than those with moderate and high levels.

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Surviving Pattern of Women and Children Migrants in Urban Bangladesh

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Abstract: *Migration is a relevant phenomenon with important implications at three different levels: local, regional and international. On the wider level, migration is tightly related with globalization and with the workflow of human resources towards the host countries; on a local level, rural to urban migration is one of the most important aspects of the economy of the state. This paper analyses the situation of Bangladesh, with a particular focus on the causes and consequences of women and children migration, who move to big cities like Rajshahi to find work and to enhance their livelihood. The paper looks at the role of work in acquiring dignity, the filial duty in a traditionally hierarchically structured society and also women and children as active-decision makers in the migration process. The paper also focuses on the characteristics of migrant people, with sex and age disaggregated data, and statistics about the different families' situations and the type of work in which the migrant people are involved in.*

1.1. Introduction

Migration is an important aspect of globalization and has implications on local, regional and international development. Women and children are vulnerable segments of population almost in every part of the world. It is also true for Bangladesh because of its social inequality, unfavorable economic condition, political climate, joblessness etc. The large-scale migration of women and children to urban areas is not entirely a recent phenomenon, nor is it equally common in all parts of the world. In Asian context women have many outstanding characteristics, such as their industrious, dutiful, conscientious and intelligent personalities, but most of all their roles in keeping the society in stable development.

In view of the above vulnerable situations women and children often become the victims of immoral migration locally and internationally. The presence of poor migrant children in Bangladesh is the symptom of social phenomena like broken families and underdevelopment, such as poverty, over population, unemployment and illiteracy. With the escalation of polygamy, remarriage after death or divorce, lack of family responsibility and others, children are forced to the streets. It is clear that most of the street children migrated from rural to urban area for various socio-economic causes and they

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live in hazardous conditions in urban areas (Rahman, 2002). Another way in which children migrated to Rajshahi city is through the increasing demand for domestic workers, which are often recruited from poor families in rural villages. Therese Blanchet (1996) in her study on child servants in Bangladesh has pointed out that "unlike the trend observed in many parts of the world, domestic service in Bangladesh is not a disappearing occupation" and this job victimizes young children, especially girls. They generally are 6-16 years old and most of them are employed full time on a residential basis (Shamim *et al.,* 1995). Many empirical studies from different rural areas in Bangladesh show that most child domestic servants come from very poor families (Blanchet, 1996; Rahman, 1995). In other cases, the rupture of families, such as the death of one of the parents or their divorce, may be a reason for putting children into domestic services. In the same circumstances, children may decide autonomously to take up this kind of employment for their own security rather than living on the street (Rahman, 1995).

Rural to urban migration has been a major explanation for the dramatic increase in the urban population. The most remarkable characteristic of this urbanization is the mushrooming growth of slums and squatters with the increased migration of poor rural people in search of employment and income (Afsar, 2000). Although the implications of rural-urban migration for socio-economic development are of long-standing interest to social scientists, very little work has looked at the effect of migration on the health and survival of the most vulnerable members of migrants' families – infants and children in Bangladesh. In the days of urbanization and the destruction of rural socio-economic condition as well as the polarization of socio-economic condition of rural society, people internally migrate from rural to urban area with the hope of better livelihood option. In this way, the children have been also migrating with his/her family as well as personally (Rahman, 2002).

Bangladesh is a highly patriarchal society in terms of women's mobility (Farhana, 2008). Within the household and through the legal bodies and local decision-making process, men have control over women's sexuality, labour, income, assets and choice of partner. Women's access to social, economic, political and legal institutions is mediated by men. They are dependent on men throughout their lives, from fathers through husbands to sons. State legislation and institutions underpin this gender subordination and dependence, in spite of constitutional affirmations of sex equality. Men's authority over women is reinforced by pervasive gender-based violence (Farhana, 2008).

2. Institutional communication of the United Nations

Rural to urban migration is a very important topic on which United Nations have worked in the past years as a particular declination of the problem of urbanization. The UN website for Bangladesh reports many official publications on different topics, such as education, child labour, adolescents' social environment, gender equality, health problems, poverty, but there is no specific document for rural-urban migration of women and children.

In 2008 the United Nations Population Division held an international conference in New York to bring together specialists of urbanization to discuss the situation of different countries. The Expert Group on Population Distribution produced a paper titled "An Overview of Urbanization, Internal Migration, Population Distribution and Development in the World", which is not specific to Bangladesh, but the state is cited many times as one of the seven countries with a level of urbanization ranging from 26 to 50 percents together with China, India, Indonesia, Nigeria and Pakistan (UN, 2008). The same source tells that Bangladesh has a rural population of 116 million inhabitants and an urban population of 42 million which means that the percentage of people living in the cities is 26.6 percent. Bangladesh is also one of those countries (with Benin, Nepal and Pakistan) where female migrants outnumber male migrants by over 10 percent.

From 1995 to 2007 the United Nations have produced a conspicuous number of resolutions titled "Violence Against Women Migrant Workers", adopted by the General Assembly or by the Human Rights Council. These resolutions focus on the gender-related dimension of the phenomenon, highlighting the problems faced every day by migrant women. Even if the main focus of the resolutions is on international migration and the link between countries of origin, transit and destination, many considerations about women migrant workers can also be applied to the rural-urban migration. In fact it is said that "this feminization of migration requires greater gender sensitivity in all policies" because the reports underscore the persistence of "grave abuses and violence committed against migrant women and girls, including gender-based violence, in particular sexual violence, trafficking, domestic and family violence, racist and xenophobic acts, abusive labour practices and exploitative conditions of work" (UN, 2007). Bangladesh has also ratified two documents of the International Labour Organization about gender equality at work: the "Convention 100 on Equal Remuneration" and the "Convention 111 on Discrimination in Employment and Occupation", but national laws have still to implement these international treaties.

In 2007, the Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Bangladesh to the United Nations, Mr. Ismat Jahan, presented the main points for a sustainable urbanization. His speech does not focus on the situation of women and children, but considers the influence of poverty on the phenomenon of migration and insists on the development of both urban and rural areas with a "coordinated approach among UN-Habitat, UN Funds and Programmes, Specialized Agencies, BWIs and other relevant stakeholders". This objective is extremely important: a projection (UN, 1998) reveals that in Bangladesh urban population will exceed 50 million by 2025.

Among the problems related to rural-urban migration, child labour is one of the most important situations to be solved. A research conducted by the International Labour Organization (2006) shows that in states where the per capita income is $500 or less, the percentage of children working is 30-60%. Bangladesh has a per capita income of $489, but 36% of population lives with less than $1 a day and 82, 8% with less than $2 a day (UNDP, 2005).

The causes of child labour are complex and related to very different aspects: a vulnerable economy is surely one of the first indicators of the presence of this phenomenon, but we have to consider also social inequalities, a weak legislative system and the low quality of schools. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) indicates compulsory and free primary education as a fundamental and indivisible right for all children. Nevertheless, many children drop out from school at a very early age (nearly 50% of students before they complete Grade 5) and begin to work, sometimes leaving the family to reach a big city, where they live alone in hazardous conditions.

This situation violates different international treaties, like the "Convention on the Rights of the Child" (UN, 1989), the "Minimum Age Convention" (No.138, ILO) and the "Convention on the Elimination of Worst Forms of Child Labour" (No. 182, ILO). In 2008 ILO, UNICEF and UNESCO jointly sponsored a document called "Child Labour and Education in Bangladesh: Evidence and Policy Recommendations". The study shows that the percentage of children involved in child labour is still high, even if there has been a decline since 2000.

3. National Communication on Child Labour

Actually, Bangladesh has many laws which regulate child labour. One of the first document is the "Primary Education (Compulsory) Act" (1990), with which the state made primary education free and compulsory for all children. Other national plans were signed in the following years, dealing with the elimination of child labour ("National Plan of Action for Children 2004-2009"), eradicating illiteracy and providing education for all the children ("National Plan of Action on Education for All 2003-2015"). In 2006, two important documents where signed: the first one, the "National Non-Formal Education Policy Framework" is a consideration of the government on the activities and framework of NGO non-formal education programs. In the same year, the government signed the "Labour Act", with which it explains the definitions of children (below 14 years) and adolescents (14-18 years).

Finally the Ministry of Labour and Employment developed a national policy on child labour, explained in the "National Child Labour Elimination Policy". This document is still a draft but has been submitted to the government for approval.

Bangladesh has a total child population (5-17 years old) of 42, 3 millions: 19,7 millions are female children and 22,7 millions are male children. The table below shows how many of them are involved in the economy of the state.

Table 1: Child Labour in Bangladesh

Components	Percentage
Child Labour (5-17)	3.2 million
Rural Child Labour	2.4 million
Total Economically Active Children	7.4 million
Rural Economically Active Children	6 million
Male, Female Child Labour Ratio	3:1
Hazardous Child Labour (HCL)	1.29 million
% of HCL Male Child Labour	90.7%

Source: BBS, 2003

These data demonstrate that, even if the awareness about the negative aspects of child labour is increasing, the phenomenon is still a huge problem. The strategies have to be implemented to become more effective. Nowadays, the low quality of the educational system pushes parents to send children to work, because they have low confidence in the returns from school education.

4. Methodology:

This research on poor migrant women and children surviving patterns in urban localities has been conducted in two adjacently located neighbourhoods of Ramchandrapur and Vadra areas of Rajshahi City. The most important rationale for selecting these two places lies in the fact that we have evidence that comparatively poor women and children migrants had settled there from time to time (BBS, 1991). A total of 500 households have been identified from both the neighbourhoods of Ramchandropur and Vadra, who were interviewed with a set of small questionnaire in the form of a face sheet. This is based on a total enumeration through which we have been able to identify the poor migrants. Subsequently, after identifying a total number of 250 households, we found that 110 among them were poor women and children migrants.

In this research we mainly followed both participant-observation and survey methods. We have also conducted a few case studies and used the key-informant of the slum dwellers' family of migrants as well as the family of women migrants. This study also followed techniques such as: a) collected general background data of the women and children migrants; b) both structured and unstructured interviews to were used, and c) formal and informal meetings with women and children migrants were held on a periodic basis. Quantitative data are presented in tables, which may exhibit meaningful results. This research used the classification of data to trace meaningful differential trends. The quantitative data were analyzed to provide information on the patterns of women and children migrants' age, sex, occupation, education, politics, family structure, family numbers, kinship, marriage and lastly socio-economic condition and livelihood.

5. Causes and Consequences of Women and Children Migration

In Bangladesh children clearly have an economic value for their families since they contribute substantially to household's welfare from a very early age. The structure of the household, reinforced by the socio-economic conditions and the agrarian intensive labour market, promotes a perceived economic value attached to the newborn, especially if male. Large traditionally hierarchically structured families rely on the perception that a child is an economic asset, able to provide an income and extra labour power, which can be controlled by the household through traditional attitudes of parental power and filial duty. Parents also agree that for the children work is an opportunity to gain experience and the dignity necessary to achieve a recognized position in the society. In this regard, child work is, therefore, seen as an initiation into adulthood.

Rajshahi city has to cope with the increasing pressure of population growing at a rate far beyond the ability of the economy to provide an adequate level of basic social services. Rural-urban migration of women as well as children has been the major cause of this fast growth. Women and children migration is not a unique phenomenon of Bangladesh; it is widespread across South Asia, as well as in Africa. Most of the people have been migrating from rural villages to cities, either to escape from a violent and oppressive situation at home or to find employment opportunities more available in the city. The purpose of this section is to explore the characteristics of migrant children and women. In doing so, we will emphasize that in some cases children and women are active-decision makers rather than passive players in the migration process. The present section also explores the causes which induce parents and their children to move to Rajshahi city, attempting to highlight the position of children within the migration process. It also examines the livelihood strategies that children and women set in place once they arrive at the destination such as the work they do and the places where they settle.

Children and women, who come from very poor families where everybody's work is essential for survival, generally see as their responsibility to work and earn money. The children usually do not criticize their parents for sending them to work since they perceive it as a duty they have to

accomplish to contribute to their families' income. Sometimes, they also "feel proud of the money they earn which gives them importance in the family" (Farhana, 2008).

In our study we have seen that women and children also play the role of household's heads. Here we asked the causes of their coming to the city, information about nature and age of migration, family background, adjustment process, profession, and the environment of working places. The data are presented below.

Table 2: Causes of Women and Children Migration in Urban Areas (in percentage)

Causes	Women	Children
Poverty	48.00	40.00
Natural disaster	27.00	38.00
Marriage	17.00	0.00
Others	8.00	22.00
Total	**100.00**	**100.00**

In Bangladesh the average family size is six persons. In families where children work, the father often is a rickshaw puller or a day labourer and the mother is a domestic help. Poverty leads to quarrels; tension can ultimately result in the cruel treatment of children. The mother, being over burdened with work, can lose interest in her children and neglect them. In our study 48 percent women and 40 percent children migrated due to poverty (Table 2). Without a stable income children become a burden on parents and must find work for their own survival in the urban society. Twenty seven (27%) percent women and thirty eight (38%) percent children (Table 2) migrated because of natural disasters e.g., floods; land erosion, cyclones etc., which further increases the pressures on poor families and lead many children to enter the labour force. Child workers always face bad working conditions, unfixed wages, health hazards, lack of recreation and are exposed to mental, physical and sexual harassment. Seventeen (17%) percent poor women migrated because of marriage and after that they went with their husband to the city, but after their arrival in the city their partners got married again and left them; eight (8%) percent women and twenty two (22%) percent children migrated for other causes, like pushed out of house work, enticement for marriage, offer of work, helping family income, influence of local people for getting job, illiteracy and ignorance, running away from family, family pressure, living freely and earning lot of money for family etc.

6. Age at Migration

Concerning age, we find that children aged from 5 to 15 and women aged above 16 to 26 migrated to Rajshahi city. Thirty nine (39%) percent children aged from 8-10 came to the town mainly for domestic work. Beside this, thirty seven (37%) percent children aged from 11-15, come to Rajshahi

to find a job and earn money for their family and twenty four (24%) percent from aged 5-8 came for poverty, missing parents, in search of work etc. Women came to the city in search of job, or with their husbands or during natural calamities when they lost everything. Most of them were aged from 16-20, but women aged above 21-25 belonged to the second highest position.

Table 3: Age of Women and Children at the Time of Migration (percentage)

Age Level	Children	Women
5-8	24.00	0.00
8-10	39.00	0.00
11-15	37.00	0.00
16-20	0.00	52.50
21-25	0.00	32.50
26 Above	0.00	15.00
Total	**100.00**	**100.00**

7. Work Pattern in Urban Society

In our study we find that in Rajshahi city women and children are involved in different types of occupation.

Table 4: Types of Work at the Urban Areas (percent)

Type of work	Women	Children
Maid servants	47.00	-
Hotels and restaurants	23.00	35.00
Day laborer in construction works	20.00	31.00
Rickshaw/ van puller	-	21.00
Others	10.00	13.00
Total	**100.00**	**100.00**

In our findings forty seven (47%) percent women are maidservants. Some of them are working on part time basis, some permanently and some on hourly basis, for example, two times in a day at 6 am to 1 pm and 5 pm to 8 pm, or 6 am to 8 am; some are working from 8 to 10 and 10 to 12 (only half-day work) and some are working whole day such as 6 am to 6 pm.

Their monthly salary depends on their work type. The lowest salary is Taka 200 ($2.86[30]) and the highest salary is Taka 1000 . Most of the women are working in low and middle income families and only a few of them are working in upper income families. The salary and other benefits are greater in the upper income families than the middle income families. They get Taka 300-500 and one to two meals by working 3-6 hours in a day in the middle income families. On the other hand they get Taka 500-700 and three meals by working whole day in upper level families. Majority of them feel more satisfied to work in the upper income families because the meal they receive is enough for their entire family. Thirty five (35) percent children and 23 percent women are working in hotels and restaurants. The children are mainly working as waiter, cleaner and water puller. The women are washing dishes, cooking the food and grinding spices. The salary depends on their work duration. Children usually get 50-150 Taka; the women usually get Taka 100-300 and they get food on the basis of their working time. Children usually work whole day in the hotels and restaurants and the working hour of the women usually depends on their work type. Twenty (20) percentage women and thirty one (31) percent children work as daily labourers in the construction of roads and highways, buildings, bridges, culverts, etc. They get their wages on daily basis. It depends on their work pattern. Some works are highly risky especially for children i.e. brick, the building material, carrying heavy or weighty materials, building construction etc. They start their work in the early morning and continue until evening. Children get Taka 30-60 and women get Taka 40-100 per day. In the case of wages, the woman are deprived compared to the male labourers. The authority gives lame excuse that the women worked less than the male workers even if the women claim that they work the same as the male workers. Twenty one (21) percentage children are involved in rickshaw and van pulling. They earn 40-70 Taka per day. But they have to pay the rickshaw owners a big amount of their income. Sometimes they have to spend money for repairing the rickshaw if it is damaged in accidents. Ten (10) percent women and thirteen (13) percent children are involved in other types of work such as mobile hawkers, peddler, working in garage and factories and some even begging. They earn 20-50 Taka per day.

We find that the children got jobs in their working places individually or with the help of family members, relatives or neighbors. The majority of children works in a hard, dangerous, health hazard environment, and is always harmed mentally and physically. Obviously this situation is in contrast with what is said in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child: "the child, for the full and harmonious development of his or her personality should grow up in a family environment, in an atmosphere of happiness, love and understanding" (UN, 1989). In March 2000, US President Bill Clinton gave Bangladesh $14 millions to combat child labour, $8.7 million in particular to against hazardous work conditions. What "hazardous conditions" mean is that children do not get medical facilities, do not have adequate attention if handicapped, work dangerously with chemical and acid materials. Children working as domestic servants are also exploited in the sense that they do not have access to education and medical care.

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[30] $ 1= 70 Taka (aprox)

In 1999 UNICEF published the "Asian Child Labour Report", in which it is said that in Bangladesh there are 40 industries which use child labour. In these places children are exposed to dust, gases, noise and fumes which bring them diseases affecting their muscular, skeletal and respiratory systems.

8. Children's Relationship with Parents

Our study reveals that most of the children who have migrated to Rajshahi city have an organized family composition having mother and father together. Sixty three (63) percent children have not been detached from their father and mother. Children having parents are generally free from regular work, but due to low income, children also try to supplement their family. Twenty five (25) percent children are living with their mother as their family has broken down due to separation. This section of children regularly works in the urban areas to support their mothers. Their fathers either died or shifted to other areas and not maintaining any contact or responsibilities. Nine (9) percent live with their father and three (3) percent of the children have not parents. They are orphans, live with their relatives and work to survive
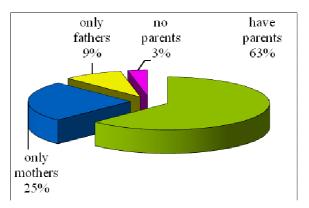

Figure 1: Information about Children's Parents

9. Working and Living Environment

Migration is best understood as one of the strategies adopted by individuals, households or communities to enhance their livelihood. When migrant children arrive at their destination, Rajshahi city, their experience of adaptation to the new urban setting changes drastically according to the reasons that induced children and women to migrate, and the way the departure took place.
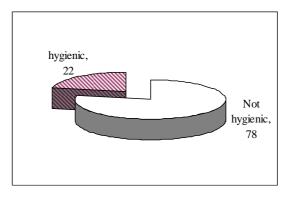
Figure 2: Working and Living Environment

In this context, the environment and pattern of work are totally opposite of the rural areas. Here we find that the work and living environment in urban areas for seventy eight (78) percent not to be hygienic and only twenty two (22) percent of women and children feel that their work place and living environment are hygienic. That means nasty, narrow, not sufficient light, congested work or living places, polluted air and water etc. The cities' slums do not have any permanent sanitation system: because of that situation, women and children's health is affected by many diseases like diarrhea, for whom Bangladeshi population spends nearly $70 million a year in treatments. In addition to that, slums do not have specific areas to wash the dishes and there is no drinkable water. So that, people clean their things in the open air water bodies, increasing the pollution of the areas. People are also exposed to Acute Respiratory Infections (ARI) because of air pollution due to smoke from cars and other vehicles, open air garbage and weak sewerage system.

10. Case Studies

> ### Case -1 Jarina Khatun
>
> *Jarina is a 16 year old girl working in a house in the city. She came from Nilphamary, a neighboring district of Rajshahi with her relative to work as a domestic servant. Before migration a rickshaw puller proposed to her to marry him when she was 12 years old. First time she and her family refused him, but the rickshaw puller was very much inclined to marry her. Finally Jarina married him, but her husband left her in the village and came to Rajshahi City. Jarina waited six months but, he did not contact her. So she decided to go to Rajshahi to find him and she came to the city. After migration she stayed at her neighbor's house in Ramchandrapur's slum area. After three months, she found her husband living with another wife and pathetically he refused to take her. So Jarina got engaged in different jobs (daily labourer, restaurant worker) and finally she got a job as a maidservant. Since then she has been working as a maidservant and her monthly income is 700 Taka. She is living in this city for more than four years. She was very young when she came here for the first time, but now she is an adolescent girl. Interestingly, she got married again but her 2nd husband died in a road accident. Now she is living alone with her two year old son.*

Case-2 Khodeja Begum

Khodeja was a resident of Rangpur district. She was eight when she first migrated to Rajshahi city with her uncle. She has five sisters and two brothers. Her father is a poor farmer of a shared land and the income was not sufficient to maintain their livelihoods. One day Khodeja's uncle came from Rajshahi city and influenced her father to send his daughter for work in Rajshahi. First time her parents did not agree to send her but finally they accepted, she was then a student of class three. Her father dropped her out from school and sent her to the city with her uncle. At first, she stayed with her uncle in a house of Seroil area where her uncle worked as a servant. The house master's wife and their children were cruel and rough on her. They always threatened and beat her. She was always crying and one day she tried to go back to her village. But the master didn't agree. One day her father came to Rajshahi and observed his daughter's condition, but he was unable to help her. So, Khodeja escaped from that place to another relatives' house at Ramchandrapur slum area. He was a restaurant worker from whom Khodeja got shelter and managed housework beside her new residence. Khodeja's relative told her "If you want to stay with us you must pay for a room". So, she started another two house works at the same time. One day Khodeja was raped by a man who lived in her slum. But she was afraid to expose it to anybody. After few days of this incident Khodeja's father arranged marriage for her with a boy who worked in a motor garage. But pathetically five years later her husband got married again and left her. Now Khodeja and her two children are living with her parents. She admitted her children in a school but her elder son dropped out and now is working in a restaurant. First Khodeja was not adjusted with the new environment but after few days she got herself adjusted in urban life. Now she likes the city very much but her parents do not like urban life. They want her to come back to their village but it is not possible for her.

Case-3 Nazma Khatun

Nazma is a resident of Ramchandrapur area of Rajshahi City. She came alone from Rangpur district, leaving her family, to find a job when she was 15. She was unmarried and extremely poor. Before migration, her father earned very little amount of money. So, she decided to migrate in Rajshahi city and at the beginning she stayed with her relatives in Ramchandrapur area of the Padma riverbank. Every day early in the morning she walked one and half mile to reach her working place in a hotel, where she was engaged for more than two hours and earned only Taka 200 which was not enough for her, so she managed another two house works. She also sends Taka 300 every month to her family in Rangpur where she also has one school going brother and sister, and she wishes to continue their education.

Case 4 Sujanuzzaman

Sujan is a 10 years old child. He migrated from Dinajpur, because one day his father beat him. The first days of his migration he begged slept on the footpath beside the road. Then he got a job in a motor garage, found a room at Bhadra Slum. Now Sujan is a 15 years old rickshaw puller. One day he met a man who was a neighbor from his village. He told Sujan that his mother is now living alone with his brothers and sisters because his father got married again. After hearing this news he went to his village and met his mother. Now he is staying with his family in the city and wishes to be married in one year. His mother is working in a restaurant. She doesn't like the city and wants to go back to her village.

Case-5 Marjina

Marjina's father was a marginal farmer with a few acres of land adjacent to the river in a village of Nowgaon district. Their economic conditions have never been stable and it became desperate when all of their lands were eroded away by the river during 1970. So, her father started work as an agricultural labourer in the village, but the earning was not enough for the whole family. Her grandparents, who lived with them, were perennially ill because of their old age. Their economic condition further deteriorated with the outbreak of the liberation war in 1971. They became destitute and their poverty became unbearable for her father. They all, therefore, decided to move to the Rajshahi city in 1972 where all of them could be involved with some kind of work and fight poverty. Thus, Marjina and her family migrated in Rajshahi city.

1.11. Conclusion

Bangladesh is a country with rapid urbanization: this situation has significant economic, social, demographic and environmental consequences. Rural to urban migration can have both positive and negative aspects. It permits a reallocation of people to more productive activities, giving to poor people opportunities that are not available in their original locations. Nevertheless, urbanization also creates many problems of urban governance, because local politicians have to provide facilities to a great number of people, including women and children living alone. The services for improvement include health-care services, schools, hospitals, drinkable water and security. The analysis shows the

importance of large-scale migration of women and children to the urban areas in Bangladesh.

This paper started with a general overview of the literature on this topic made by the United Nations: the documents underline that Bangladesh is undergoing massive urbanization and that the policies have to take into consideration gender-related problems particularly when migrants are women. The literature review also looked at the problems dealing with child labour: Bangladesh has signed many international treaties proposed by the United Nations on this topic and produced national plans and laws to combat school dropout and child labour.

Poverty, broken families, unemployment and illiteracy are only few of the causes which can bring people to cities like Rajshahi, where they mainly find difficulties related to discrimination at work and lack of facilities. Other causes are natural disasters or the family size, which force children to leave their houses to contribute to the family income. The majority of the children migrate when they are between 8 to15 years old, while women migrate between 16 and 26 years of age. The study analysed the conditions in which people live when they reach their destination, considering the kind of jobs available, the average salary and the conditions of hygiene. young children are often employed as domestic workers, waiters or cleaners in hotels and restaurants, while women work as maidservants or wash the dishes, cook the food and grind the spices in hotels and restaurants. In any case, 78 percents of them live in conditions which cannot be considered hygienic. Only 9 percents of children are orphans, while 63 percent live with their parents. Most children do not criticize their families for sending them to work, because it is perceived as a filial duty to earn money to contribute to the family income. The five case studies at the end of the article were used to illustrate the situation as examples which are representative of thousand other cases.

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Book Review

Sociological Perspectives on Poverty

Edited by Nazrul Islam

Dhaka: Ankur Prakashani, 2010, **pp. 380, BDT 400 and US$ 10, ISBN 9844642787**

This interesting book looks at the relationships among poverty and diverse sociological perspectives in contrast to conventional wisdom of poverty that is primarily based on econometric arguments. This collection explores how the international financial institutions such as the World Bank (and other donors) have manipulated and exploited the concept of poverty. Historically what commentators mean by poverty depends to some extent on what they intend or expect to do about it. Thus academic and political debate about poverty is not merely descriptive; it is prescriptive too. The first thing is to bear in mind is that poverty is not a simple phenomenon which can be defined by adopting *the correct* approach. Poverty can be seen through a range of contested definitions which overlap and sometimes contradict each other. This book has successfully shed lights on sociological investigation of poverty by some leading scholars in Bangladesh. In addition, inclusion of African and Indian contexts has enriched the discussion and arguments made in this volume.

The first chapter (by S Aminul Islam) looks into traditional theories of poverty and exhibits the limitations. This work proposes the development of ground analysis of poverty with empirical evidences from two villages in Bangladesh. The same author assesses the poverty trends and poverty reduction programmes in Bangladesh in the concluding chapter. The author offers his invaluable personal experience on limitation of survey methods used in Bangladesh and proceeds to envisage the significance of space and human agency with the examples of four villages in Bangladesh. This work proposes that instead of elitist perception of poverty (based on crisis management and vested interest) thoughts on poverty reduction should be focused on sociological understandings – a signal for change in transforming values and attitudes conducive to increase human capability. The second chapter of this book (by Monirul Islam Khan) describes the problems of calorie intake and income based poverty. Instead this piece delineates the non-economic concepts of poverty. In order for doing so, it offers some matrix on measuring sociological profile of poverty taking resource poor and agency poor as examples. However, for some reader this may be a bit hypothetical. Some evidence (empirical or other) would have enhanced the claims made in this work.

The next chapter (by Shahadat Hossain) provides a critical assessment on social theories (for example, the theories of subsistence, 'relative deprivation', 'entitlement', 'marginality', 'culture of poverty' and 'political economy') on poverty and marginality in the urban contexts. After a critical review of these theories this section suggests an integrated framework focusing on livelihood systems, poverty and asset vulnerability, network and social capital. This proposition is rather short

and could have been elaborated. Hossain also has three other chapters in this book. The first one is on household strategies and coping with urban life in Dhaka city. This suggests a 'livelihood framework' – a strategy of survival for the poor during shocks and other stresses in addition to utlising natural resource base. It is argued that urban poor use a combination of strategies for their economic activities, expenditure and purchasing pattern and using social services. Maintaining their rural ties, using various social networks and active participation in the community also consist their overall survival strategies. The second one looks into socio-spatial differentials of political behaviour of the urban poor in Bangladesh. He claims here that neighbourhood, age, gender, education, employment status, level of poverty and urban residence are the determinant factor for comprising the political behaviour of the urban poor in Bangladesh. They utilize their political attitudes in order to overcome their marginalized position in urban politics. The final chapter by Hossain deals with rapid urban growth and poverty in Dhaka city where he outlines that Dhaka has been the epicentre of Bangladesh's growth. In Dhaka the gap between rich and poor is increasing, also there is a significant increase in the population living in the slums and squatters. He also insists that urban poor use a number of social networks (both kin and non-kin based) that turns into social capital in the adaptation of urban life.

The fourth chapter (A I Mahbub Uddin Ahmed) of the book investigates socio-demographic correlates of rural poverty in Bangladesh. This work presents strong evidence from two *upazillas* in Bangladesh and measures poverty by ten variables (such as food, income, assets, expenditure, health status, education, reproductive control by women, access to electricity, safe water and sanitary latrine). Eight independent variables are used as socio-demographic correlates of poverty in this study (such as location, gender, age, household size, marital status, occupation, ownerships of land and house). The author claims that findings of this study are reflective of Bangladesh's socio-economic context and insists that poverty analysis (primarily reliant on economic aspects) in Bangladesh needs a paradigmatic shift. – a shift in the definition of poverty from economic dimension to sociological dimension. Ahmed also has another chapter that sketches out the consensual poverty in Britain, Sweden and Bangladesh. This study also explores the dynamics of normative construction of deprivation and concludes that the wholesale importation of economic definition and measurement of poverty has made a disastrous impact on sociological research on poverty. He asserts that poverty studies should be society-subjective and preferably consensual type rather than universalistic one. Ahmed has also co-authored (with Lipon Kumar Mondal) another paper that offers a case study of Uttara (an urban location in Dhaka) in understanding normative deprivation in urban Bangladesh. This section is a follow-up of Ahmed's previous chapters and again claims for rigorous research on poverty from social scientific perspectives.

The eighth chapter of the book (by Nazrul Islam) unravels the discrepancies of World Bank data on poverty. Islam arrests the exaggerations of the World Bank in terms of their so called statistical claims in the numbers of poverty and success on poverty reduction. This fascinating piece alerts the reader

that rhetorical claims of poverty reduction (specially in numbers, based on economic and statistical point of view) can be wrong and misleading. The ninth chapter (by David Everatt) questions the political intent of poverty reduction in South Africa. He depicts how poverty reduction has been used as a political tool and been replaced with the language of development. It is argued that along with the definitional problems, poverty reduction has been deterred in South Africa due to the politicization of poverty. This chapter suggests that South Africa should adopt a long term policy that will make poverty reduction redistributive and a national priority. The following chapter (by Mahububa Nasreen, Khondokar Mokaddem Hossain and Debashis Kumar Kunda) provides an overview on the inter-relationship between poverty and environment sustainability in Bangladesh. This work provides a background on environment sustainability, poverty and development. It goes onto envisage that Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) claims to be participatory but it actually was made through the bureaucracy that has resulted in the exclusion of environmental issues of poverty reduction in Bangladesh. This paper invokes a participatory environmental plan connected to poverty reduction in Bangladesh in the context of alarming environmental changes. The next chapter (by D. Parimala) presents the challenges of poverty reduction programme in developing countries focusing on gender issues. This study scrutinizes traditional poverty reduction programmes in Indian context and demonstrates that often survey data may ignore the subtleties and nuances of female headed households and other gender related issues. This work underscores that important aspects such as 'female poverty' needs to be carefully looked at in poverty reduction programmes otherwise those may be inadequate.

It has to be said that the book has some stylistic and bibliographic limitations. Stylistically, the chapters are not written in coherent manner even when same author has written multiple chapters. Bibliographically, in most cases data and literature used in this book are little outdated (clearly there are couple of chapters those are quite updated). As the Editor informs us that majority of these chapters were published before in the *Bangladesh E-Journal of Sociology*, perhaps, the contributors could have taken the opportunity to incorporate latest data and information to crank up their works. This would have enabled them to examine whether there have been any change since they produced their papers. Furthermore, the notion of poverty (both economically and non-economically) is constantly changing. Updated literature and data would have helped the authors (and the readers) to perceive the changing trajectory of understanding poverty and the underlying reasons for those changes (mainstreamed and adopted by the academics, aid agencies, international financial institutes and developmentalists).

This book is however an interesting read for the graduate students and development practitioners alike. This collection has clearly evinced that poverty is not a mere economic issue. Having widely been recognised that poverty is multifaceted and multidimensional there are not many useful texts that entirely come up with other social scientific perspectives of poverty than economic contexts only. This piece has demonstrated how poverty can be understood from a range of sociological milieu and

hence widened the horizon of studying poverty. This is a well-structured book that makes a valuable contribution to the ongoing debate on poverty. It would have benefited from an advanced literature and date base. Perhaps future editions would take care of these minor problems.

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