CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND FINDINGS

7.1: SUMMARY

7.1.1: The Problem

Urban centres in general and the cities in particular of the Third World countries play a vital role in their socio-economic development. The need for studying the problems and complexities relating to these urban centres, therefore, appears to be emergent. One of the major problems that the big cities of the Third World are facing in recent years is the rapid population growth. While growth of population is considered to be one of the components of industrial urbanization without concomitant infrastructural development and other urban facilities, it creates socio-economic and environmental imbalances. The influx of rural migrants into the city and the growth and proliferation of bastees are indicators of such imbalances that generate both macro and micro problems.

Many, though not enough, studies deal with this problem mainly from the micro perspective often revealing the physical or environmental scenario. The limited number of studies that have been done so far unfold only the socio-economic dimensions of the bastee-people in the Third World countries. They are mostly descriptive in nature and, therefore, scarcely poses theoretical questions. Whatever
have been said in terms of 'urban villagers', 'marginality', 'differentiation within the squatter settlements' etc. by some of the studies do not address the general features of the important social forces that operate inside and outside the bastee shaping its social organization. In other words, there has been no such effort to generalize the social forces relating to the bastee in a larger context.

The bastee people are extremely poor who can be categorized as 'have-nots' or 'proletariat'. Their deteriorating conditions of life and apparent similarity of conditions leads one to believe that they are very likely to transform their status from 'class in itself' to 'class for itself'. However, the empirical experiences of some Third World countries imply that instead of having class alignment, the bastee people are separated and/or differentiated from each other within the bastee. Instead of class, social forces like kinship, region of origin, religion, language etc. play a dominant role in the bastee. Though Bangladesh is having relatively homogeneous population in terms of ethnicity, religion, language etc. factors like kinship, region etc. are also found to be more crucial to the social organization of the bastee than class alignment.

There is a need for studying the problem both from macro and micro perspectives so that generalizations are possible on the basis of specific empirical findings. Bangladesh, being a Third World country, is having a tremendous amount of inflow of rural migrants to its major
cities in general and in Dhaka, the capital city, in particular in recent years. On the basis of the specificities of the selected bastees of Dhaka city in Bangladesh, an effort is being made in the present research to arrive at a few generalizations regarding the social facts and forces of the bastees in the Third World.

7.1.2: The Universe

Among the Third World countries Bangladesh is relatively a new nation-state but an old society with a long history. During the 4th and 5th centuries A.D., initially the Gupta rulers and in the 12th century A.D. the Pala rulers brought unification of Bengal which was earlier divided into several kingdoms. During the Mughal and the British periods, it was made a suba or province. In 1905, Bengal was divided into two provinces but was annulled in 1911. However, it was again divided into East and West Bengal on the basis of Muslim and Hindu majority during the partition of India in 1947. The East Bengal was made a province of Pakistan named as East Pakistan which later on emerged as an independent nation state in 1971, called as Bangladesh.

Bangladesh has common borders with India on three sides—north, east and west. Burma and the Bay of Bengal cover south side of the country. The economy of the country is principally agriculture based and it is densely populated. The literacy rate of the country was 23.8 per cent in 1981 and the population is predominantly Muslims (approximately
86.6 per cent. Out of the total population of the country, 76 per cent live below poverty line and 65 per cent are landless in terms of cultivated land.

Bangladesh is less developed in respect to industrialization but has one of the world's highest population growth rate in her urban areas while growth rate in the rural areas is almost steady. This is because of the migration of a huge section of the rural poor to the major cities. Dhaka being one of the oldest cities of the sub-continent and presently the capital and main centre for administration, trade and commerce, education and other socio-cultural and political activities of the country attracts major portion of the in-migrants who settle in the squatter settlements or bastees. The population of Dhaka city was approximately 3.5 millions in 1981, at least one third of which were bastee dwellers.

Three bastees of different locations of Dhaka city were selected for investigation in the present study. They were small, medium and large sized bastees located in the central, middle and peripheral zones respectively of the city. The small one had about 100 households, the medium one had approximately 750 households and the large bastee had around 2500 households. In these selected bastees, 50 heads of the households (50 per cent) from the small bastee, 75 heads of the households (10 per cent) from the medium bastee and 125 heads of the households (5 per cent) from the large
bastee were selected for interview. Purposive sampling was used to cover different occupational groups of the bastee. The interviewing was done with the help of an interview guide to facilitate and ensure the depth and reliability of the qualitative data elicited.

Besides the primary data, some secondary data available from different organizations on different aspects of bastees of Dhaka and other cities of the country were collected. Especially the research reports regarding urbanization and bastees of Bangladesh prepared by the centre for urban studies, Department of Geography, Dhaka University were much helpful.

It took almost one year to complete the field investigation that began in early January 1989 which was completed in mid December of the same year. The primary and secondary data for the present research were collected solely by the researcher himself.

7.1.3: The State, Urbanization and the Bastees in Bangladesh

The urbanization process and the development of bastees spring from the very nature of the state. The nature of state varies from one another. However, there are two major types of states in the modern world — the socialist and the capitalist. A socialist state is expected to ensure basic needs like food, shelter, employment, education, health care etc. to all the citizens through equitable distribution of wealth. Whereas a capitalist state is based on the principle
of competition and inequality where accumulation of wealth into a few hands becomes possible. A bourgeois class is thus created in a capitalist state which perpetuate economic and political dominance in the society. Concentration of wealth in a few hands which create huge amount of inequality in the bourgeois state provides the very basis of the growth and proliferation of bastees particularly in the Third World.

Bangladesh is a quasi-democratic bourgeois state which is heavily dependent on the western capitalist world. A dependent comprador bourgeois class along with its companion, the middle class, have been developed in this country much in the way the British colonial power wanted thanks to their policies. It should be mentioned here that all the states in the South-east Asian region have always been bourgeois in nature designed to protect and nurture the dominant classes. During the pre-British period there had been Subadars, Mansabdars, Fouzdars etc. who used to extract revenue from the common people and were parasitic in nature. The positions of the heirs of these dominant classes were strengthened further during the British rule. A middle class also served the interests of the dominant classes. India was partitioned and Pakistan was created because of the contradiction that existed between the dominant classes of the Hindu Muslim communities. The Hindu bourgeoisie and the middle class of East Pakistan migrated to India leaving a vacuum for the West Pakistani bourgeoisie and ruling elites to fill in as there were no well developed bourgeoisie and
middle class among the Bengali Muslim of East Pakistan. Thus East Pakistan became virtually a colony of West Pakistan. Tension between the two wings grew with the rapid growth of disparity. The petty bourgeoisie and the middle class of the East Wing organized themselves under the leadership of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his Awami League and Bangladesh became an independent state in 1971 after a nine months old bloodiest arms struggle.

After the liberation urbanization process received greater momentum in Bangladesh. Particularly the cities became the places of increasing economic activities of the national and international bourgeoisie. Huge amount of wealth is being concentrated in the hands of the comprador bourgeois class which has consolidated its position after the liberation and live in the major cities of the country. On the other hand land, the single most important source of income, is concentrated into a few hands in the rural areas giving rise to landlessness. Understandably, the level of rural poverty is increasing very fast.

In such a socio-economic situation which is the natural outcome of its bourgeois state-policy increasing rate of migration of the rural poor to the cities is occurring. The rural migrants are being employed mostly in the informal sector and live in the bastees. This is how bastees have been proliferating in Bangladesh and the bourgeois nature of the state is largely responsible for this.
7.1.4: Income, Occupation and Social Class in the Bastee

The nature of social class of the bastee people largely depend on the kind of economic activities they are involved in. This include their nature of work, occupation and income. Given the background of unemployment or semi-employment in the rural areas the bastee people are employed mostly in transport, construction and as day labour which are unskilled in nature. The bastee people are mostly illiterates. There is a broad division of labour in the bastee on the basis of sex where the male members take the responsibility of earning and the female members look after the children and the household activities. However, some of the women who are mostly separated/deserted and widows work as maid servants.

Overwhelming majority of the bastee-people are daily wage earners. Only those employed in the organized or formal sector work on a monthly salary basis. Except the maid servants and beggars majority of the bastee dwellers have similar type of income: 77 per cent of the respondents earn between Taka 31 to 70. However, this represents individual earnings of the respondents. While there are some households having two or three earning members, an overwhelming majority of the households have single earners. Even when the total household earnings are taken into account, the income figures show similar pattern, i.e., 73 per cent households' income fall in the range of Taka 31 to 70.
The income of the bastee dwellers has no bearing on the size of their family. Though there is a tendency among the bastee dwellers to have small size family, the larger size of families are distributed both among the lower and higher income groups. So are the small sized families.

The bastee dwellers spend most part, if not all, of their income on food. They work most part of the day just to earn enough to buy food stuff for the day. Their every day struggle starts with this premise. Rice with some vegetables and pulse are the major items they usually consume at lunch and dinner and sometimes also during breakfast. Their other major expenditures are on housing and dress. While 87 per cent of them own the dwellings, 13.2 per cent live in rented rooms. Most of the bastee dwellers are found to be unable to afford the expenses of health-care, religious, recreational and other social necessities and obligations.

The nature of income, living conditions, expenditure and consumption pattern of the bastee people show a great deal of similarity. By economic standard they definitely belong to the lower class (have nots). Their similarity in terms of economic conditions raises the question as to whether there is any possibility of formation of class consciousness alongwith political organization. The precariousness of their living and earning, absence of a direct oppressor class and the individualistic nature of their occupation are found to work negatively on the possibility of their transformation from 'class in itself' to
7.1.5: The Family and Kinship in the Bastee:

The family appears to be the vital institution in the social organization of the bastee. It provides the only intimate interpersonal relationship. However, due to hard and precarious economic conditions and tremendous amount of male domination this relationship is not always so cordial and stressfree. There is also dominance of nuclear family (90.4 per cent) among the bastee people due to economic independence and hardship. Separation and/or desertion of wives by some of their husbands and due to economic independence among the old and the young as they have some form of earnings the tendency to establish nuclear family is pronounced. Despite all these the institution of family provides the most dependable and intimate interpersonal interaction in the bastee.

Majority of the bastee families have moderate to large number of members. Overwhelming majority of these families are monogamous in nature. The functions of the family centre around the necessities of gratification of sex, child rearing, food procurement, fulfilling emotional instincts etc. The broad division of labour on the basis of sex where male members take the responsibility of earning and outside activities and female members take care of the household activities has been already pointed out. Some wives and children work outside home to supplement husband’s/father's
income. So far as the decision making of the family affairs is concerned the husband plays the dominant role.

Family and kinship are interrelated but the kinship ties and obligations appear not to be so effective a bond in the social organization of the bastee-people. Because of the economic hardship the bastee-dwellers are unable to maintain kinship ties and obligations in the way they use to maintain in the rural areas. They helplessly abstain from these obligations though they are not apathetic towards their kinsmen. However, kinship has a wider bearing in the social organization of the bastee.

The sense of kinship is restructured and tended to take a wider dimension in the bastee. It prevails among them in the form of common 'region of origin' which may be considered as a substitute of lineage or clan and becomes the source of social identity. Their settlement process and creating pockets or clusters of the people having same regional origin clearly testify this. Thus, neighbourhood which is the source of intimacy and trust in their day to day activities largely made up of persons drawn from the common regional origin or larger kinship sentiment.

Family being the basic social unit and kinship being the source of self-identification class enters in a different manner in the interaction of the bastee-people, as compared with rural areas. In the rural areas, there is patron-client relationship due to agricultural production relations and also
the matter of dominance of lineage over others that make the family and kinship ties stronger. But the bastee people are free from such relationships. They are living with the people having similar regional and economic backgrounds. This enables them to nourish the mixture of kinship and class sentiments. But their highly precarious earnings and living conditions leave very little opportunity for them to nourish these sentiments in a meaningful way.

7.1.6: Political Organization of the Bastee-people

The nature of political organization of the bastee-people of Dhaka has twofold origin. First, the major political parties that shape the greater political process of the country with which the bastee-people are to interact in a number of ways have considerable bearing on their political life. Second is their day-to-day struggle and community life that determines their nature of political organization.

The Awami League and the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) are the major political forces in Bangladesh. The rule of General Ershad and his National Party from 1982 to 1990 was also among the countable political forces during those years. All these parties are meant for safeguarding and promoting the interests of the comprador and petty bourgeois class, the civil and military bureaucracy, the middle class etc. with slight policy differences. The Awami League, during its rule after liberation, took some socialistic steps in the economic sphere but the total political and economic
framework of the country remained bourgeois in nature. The BNP is more right wing than Awami League whose policies have greater leanings towards military and civil bureaucracy in the political front and free enterprise and dependency on the metropolitan bourgeois and the Arab-states in the economic front. General Ershad's policies correspond very much with that of BNP; rather they were more right wing oriented. These political parties are meant for promoting the interests of the dominant classes and use bastee-people for meeting their political ends. The bastee-people are being used as vote banks, for crowding the political rallies and demonstrations by these parties in exchange of nominal payment. The local power-brokers who work as agents of the major political parties use these people for their own political and economic reasons. The vulnerability of the bastee-people in terms of livelihood and living in the city leads them to be dependent on the local power-brokers. This also provides the bastee-people a sense of security.

In the arena of bastee life they have very little community level participation. Though so many families live in a compact and congested area, there is no formal or informal system of maintaining law and order and arrangements of social or cultural and religious activities such as marriage ceremonies, religious performances, recreation etc. They do not have local level leaders. Since every body is busy throughout the day for earning their livelihood and has no time to think about others, their existence in the bastee
is marked by separateness and indifference to others. They interact with each other in the bastee whenever they find time to share their emotions and to have a chat, but these are unable to generate any meaningful social organizational basis. The precarious nature of their income and living in the city leads them to be individualistic and lumpen. Since every body's socio-economic conditions are more or less similar, there is nobody who can dominate and can provide leadership to others.

All these lead the bastee-people to become individualistic which is a hindrance to the formation of class consciousness and political organization.

7.2: FINDINGS

The major finding of this analysis is that the bastee-people of Bangladesh are not in a position to form a 'class for itself' equipped with class consciousness and concomitant political organization. They are pauperized but not proletarianized. Several socio-economic factors, which reveal the nature of their social organization, work as barriers in the process of emerging class consciousness.

The capitalistic nature of state that serves the interests of the dominant classes and ignores the misery and unemployment of the common masses create the situation of the growth and proliferation of bastees in Bangladesh. The rural destitutes move to the city in a desperate bid to survive. Links like kinship, region of origin etc. play a
very important role in their process of migration and settling down in the *bastee*. After their arrival, they are being helped by those residents of the *bastee* who are from the same region. Thus an unique pattern in the settlement process of the *bastee* comes into force that leads to the creation of pockets or clusters of people having same regional origin in a large *bastee* area. In this way, their neighbourhood is being filled in either by their kith or kin or by the people from the native place.

The settlement process of the *bastee*-people suggests the possibility of having a well knit community life on the basis of cordiality and mutual understanding so far as the pockets or clusters are concerned. But the hard and precarious economic life that these people encounter every day makes their living in the *bastee* totally different. Their kinship ties and obligations begin to lose original flavour. Day by day the situation compels them to be individualistic and lumpen. Instead of being the place for social or collective interaction, the *bastee* becomes a place for sleeping, eating and such other bare necessities where the bond remains only with the family members. Even the family suffers from individualism and stressful relationships as an overwhelming majority of the families are nuclear in form. They hardly have any reason for involving in conflict with others because they do not have anything in the *bastee* other than *jhupri* (the hut). This leaves little chance for any law and order situation in the *bastee*. Marriage
ceremonies, religious and recreational activities that bring people together are also non-existent in the bastee particularly at the community level. Thus the lack of community life and effective leadership depicts the important aspect of the social organization of the bastee-people in Bangladesh. This means the bastee-people are not only separated from the rest of the social structure in the city but also separated from each other within the bastee itself.

The social separateness of the bastee-people within the bastee and the city is largely due to and manifested in their nature of occupation and income. Most of them are employed in the informal sector in the activities such as rickshaw-pulling, construction work, day labour of different kinds etc. having no guarantee of regular earning. They are to work on individual and self-employed basis. That means they are to look for every day's earning on individual basis in a competitive market failing of which means no bread for themselves and their family members for that day. In the job market, one bastee-dweller is competing with another.

In such a desperate situation there remains no collective effort to face it other than becoming more individualistic and lumpen. They certainly experience an intense inequality between themselves and the city-people. Many of them also carry deep frustration and anger within themselves against the more powerful and the affluent who also harass them in a number of ways. But they keep the past
experience in the rural areas and the present precarious nature of existence in mind. Moreover, they can not identify a class which threatens their economic interests and physical existence in the city. Rather they perceive many of the city-people as sympathizers and providers of livelihood whom they work for. On the other hand, the fellow bastee-men are their competitors in the everyday struggle for earnings.

The role of the major political parties prompts the bastee-people to become opportunists. Instead of organizing these people into a socio-economically meaningful direction, the major political parties of the country use them for their narrow political ends. This explains the nature of these political parties that give emphasis in protecting and promoting the socio-economic interests of the dominant classes neglecting the needs and aspirations of the poor. The policies and programmes of the major political parties — the Awami League, BNP and the National Party have been devised and executed in such a way that they not only helped the growth and proliferation of bastees in Bangladesh but also groomed the local power-brokers to use the bastee-dwellers for meeting their economic as well as political ends. The bastee-people, find a sense of security and usefulness through these power-brokers which in turn make them more individualistic and lumpen.

So long as the existing nature of state and the role of the major political parties continue and so long as the existing nature of occupation and income, family and kinship
and community life of the bastee-people persist, their individualistic and lumpen characteristics are most likely to be there deterring the formation of class consciousness and concomitant political organization that are vital for the transformation from 'class in itself' to 'class for itself'.

7.3: IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS

7.3.1: Implications at the Level of Understanding:

What are the implications of our findings in the Third World context? Being the problem of the Third World cities, the squatter settlements attract the attention of the social scientists across the continents. As has been pointed out in Chapter 1 that there have been some studies regarding the social scenario of the squatter settlements of the Latin American, African and Asian countries. According to the findings of some of these studies, ethnicity, race, region, religion, income, economic skills, style of life, urban experiences etc. form the important bases of differentiation among the squatter settlers in Latin American countries.¹ While in African countries ethnicity, region, religious practices etc. are the important social bonds that keep the squatters segregated.² In Asia, particularly in the Indian sub-continent, ethnicity, kinship, language, region, religion, caste etc. are the principal factors of alignment among the squatter settlers than that of class.³

It thus appears that in most of the Third World countries, the social bonds such as ethnicity, kinship,
region, religion, language etc. appear as common and vital social forces. However, we have to keep in mind that there is a lot of difference in the social situations of the squatter settlements of these regions. The Latin American situations are different from those of Africa and Asia. Despite their differences, one clear commonality in the features of the squatter settlements is manifested which can be identified in terms of segregation, separateness and individualism among the squatter settlers that work negatively in the process of their class formation.

What Bangladeshi experience contributes in this regard? Though the questions of separateness, segregation, differentiation etc. of the squatter settlers have been asked in the studies undertaken in some of the Third World countries, there was no systematic attempt in seeking answers to the general situation obtaining in the Third World context on the one hand and asking the question as to whether those social facts and forces have any bearing on class formation on the other. The present research has made a modest beginning in this direction. So far as the specificities of the Bangladeshi bastees are concerned we get a picture which is slightly different from those of other Third World squatter settlements.

The similarity of the Bangladeshi bastee with other Third World squatter settlements are the following. Having the background of rural origin the Bangladeshi bastee people
are to be seen as 'urban villagers' as elsewhere. Like squatter settlers in other Third World countries, they are also influenced by the ties of kinship, region, language and dialect etc., which is manifested in their settlement process in the bastee. Their employment mostly in the informal sector, the precarious nature of their employment and income, separateness from the rest of the urban social structure, very weak and loose community participation and lack of political organization resemble other Third World squatter settlers. However, there are some slight variations. Bangladesh, being mainly a country of the Bengali speaking Muslims have homogeneous population in terms of ethnicity, religion, language and other cultural heritage. Though there are minorities in the country, the bastee-people are drawn mainly from the majority segment of the population. That means the bastee-people in Bangladesh are mostly Bengali-Muslims.

Thus the bastee-people of Bangladesh are quite homogeneous viz-a-viz squatter settlers in other Third World countries. As for the differentiation within the squatter-settlers on the basis of technical skills, economic levels, type of life, political affiliation, urban experience etc. that have been found in the Latin American countries, the bastee-people in Bangladesh do not have such differentiation within themselves. They have a great deal of similarity among themselves in terms of technical skills, levels of income and styles of life. Their occupations, income,
housing, level of literacy, consumption pattern in food, clothing and other necessities of life bear the testimony of such similarity. Caste is a divisive force which is prevalent among the Indian bastee-dwellers. This is not present as such in the bastees of Dhaka. Neither there is a variety of tribal cultures like that of the African counterpart in the Bangladesh bastee. All these make Bangladeshi bastee-dwellers a relatively homogeneous group of people. Despite such apparent homogeneity, the situation of class formation is not different in Bangladesh. In other words, so far as the class formation of the squatter settlers are concerned, there is a common trend in all the Third World countries. However, there are variations among the bastee-dwellers in a number of social horizons in Bangladesh.

In Bangladesh, though there is an apparent homogeneity among the bastee-dwellers in comparison with other Third World squatter settlers, they are segregated within the bastee on the basis of region, kinship, dialects etc. Even though they have a great deal of similarity in skills, levels of income and style of life, their separateness from each other within the bastee is marked by very weak community participation and lack of leadership. Despite their relative homogeneity, the situation of class formation remains negative due to the nature of their economic activities, family and kinship, and the role being played by the state and the major political parties. In essence, this is a common trend in all the Third World squatter settlements.
From this we can make the following general propositions:

(i) The similarity of income and occupation of the squatter settlers facilitate them to belong to 'class in itself'. But such belongingness to 'class in itself' is not being transformed into 'class for itself' because of the following reasons.

(ii) Grinding poverty of the squatter settlers render them busy all the while leaving no scope for them to spare time for voluntary political action, often an expression of a 'class for itself'.

(iii) The absence of a direct oppressor or enemy class provides no chance for them to be united against the oppressor.

(iv) They are more inclined towards alignments based on traditional ties, i.e. family, kinship, regional background etc. than class.

All these in unison act as a barrier to their transformation from 'class in itself' to 'class for itself'. This proposition may be tested in different empirical situations and be articulated as a theory.

7.3.2: Implications at the Practical level

The implications of the findings of the present research represent the theoretical level or that of the level of understanding regarding the bastee as a social phenomenon. We may also assess the implications of our findings at the
practical level in the following sections.

7.3.2.1: The Role of the State:

It has been shown in Chapter 3 as to the nature of the state is related to the growth and proliferation of bastees in Bangladesh. From this it can be argued that the state has a potential role to play in chalking out and implementing plans and programmes through which much of the rural poverty and unemployment could be eliminated so that the rural poor do not become desperate migrants to the city. Their migration to the city brings a socially unhealthy situation both for themselves and for the city to which they migrate.

As for the role of the state there is wide scope. This will involve redistribution of land in rural areas, provision of employment opportunity through income generating activities, mass literacy programme and change of unequal economic and political/administrative power structure of the rural areas.

In the rural areas of Bangladesh, about 86 per cent of the people are living under desperate economic condition while only about 8 per cent are surplus farmers who operate about 45 per cent of the total cultivable land. Since land is the principal source of income in the rural areas it's uneven distribution leads to an uneven economic and power structure where the few who own major portion of the land becomes dominant. The dominant class of the rural areas, being the natural ally of the national bourgeoisie, takes advantage of the rural development programmes, misappropriates foreign assistance and deters changes which are much needed for the
upliftment of rural poor. All these become possible due to the present nature of the state which needs to be corrected to stop the migration of the rural poor to the urban centres.

7.3.2.2: Family, Community and the Society of the Bastee People

The stressful family relationship and lack of meaningful community and social life of the bastee-people not only reflect the hard and precarious nature of their life situations but also a socio-culturally abnormal or pathological condition. When thousands and even millions of people continue to live in such socio-cultural condition and the number of such population is increasing very rapidly, it is bound to affect the nation's social hygiene. The cities which are to be considered as the nucleus of development process will be the worse victim so far as its social hygiene is concerned. It will then affect the whole development process of the nation if such socio-economic imbalance is allowed to continue. This indicates the need for bringing the bastee-people into a meaningful family life and community participation within the bastee through an appropriate economic and social policy. There have been much talk and several suggestions for the much needed physical improvement of the bastees. No doubt this is certainly necessary. But unless the bastee-people are enabled to evolve a community of their own with meaningful institutions their socially abnormal or pathological conditions will continue. The meaningful institutions that they require for a community
life is a stable family, effective leadership, educational, religious, recreational and other cultural participations. Without such community life, the abnormal or pathological conditions of the bastee-people will continue to create a social ecological imbalance of the city and the nation. The role of the major political parties of the country is very important in this regard. There is a need to think of such policies which would help to transform the bastee-units into viable economic units on the basis of small and cottage industries. Such an economic structure will lead to a situation of community participation and leadership within the bastee along with recreational and other socio-cultural participation. The major political parties and the state are the real agents through which such policies could be chalked out and implemented. Though the possibility of such planning and transformation of the bastees under the present economic and political situations seems not to be imminent, nevertheless they are very much pertinent to any meaningful socio-economic planning of the bastees in Bangladesh as elsewhere in the Third World.

7.3.3: The Need for Further Research

On the basis of the present research it can be suggested that there is need for further research in many areas relating to the bastees of Bangladesh. These include detailed and indepth study of the income, expenditure, savings and the credit system of the bastee people. There is
also need for a specialised study on the family, kinship, community and the role of local power-brokers relating to the bastee-people in a more detailed and comparative basis. The need for setting up a 'Data Bank' on the basis of a separate census dealing with different aspects of the bastees of Bangladesh seems to be imperative for further research and planning. An organization for research and planning entirely relating to the bastees seems also necessary. The fact is that most of scholarship in Bangladesh is dedicated to research in theory and policy regarding the socio-economic complexities of the rural society. The cities in general and the bastees in particular receive not the attention of the social scientists which they deserve. Therefore, sufficient funds should be made available so that more social scientists can do more research on different aspects of the urban centres in general and that of the bastees in particular.