

# CHAPTER 1

## 1. Introduction

Unlike many Third World countries, Bangladesh has remained relatively stable and peaceful and escaped from major internal upheavals. Despite these developments, Bangladesh is in the midst of a host of internal crises which could potentially undermine long-term national stability.

Every normative society has some ways and means to ventilate its grievances collectively. The modality of such collective action may differ from system to system, and from age to age. The style of protest must also vary with the differences of the mode of governance. In Bangladesh, HARTAL is a constitutionally recognized political method for articulating any political demand.

Although Hartal by virtue is the political and constitutional right of the people protesting government failures at keeping with its promises and decisions or actions contrary to people's interest, much has been criticized due to the sufferings Hartal causes to the economy and daily activities of people. Ideally Hartals are considered to be a mass people's movement or resentment; Hartal in the past has often become an instrument of political vendettas that hampered the economy and society.

Hartal politics has become pervasive in Bangladesh. It has become part of our life. The frequent Hartals and work stoppages have been viewed from different angles. Through Hartals, the opposition political parties insist on a powerful tool of pressure to make their demands.

At the same time, Hartals can also be viewed a 'symptom' of the frustration of opposition parties at the lack of space for them to play a constructive role in democratic dialogue and the 'winner takes all' style of successive Governments. In this respect, promoting a more constructive role for opposition in Parliament, and enabling greater freedom of expression through peaceful demonstrations and through the media could take away much of the impetus for Hartals.

Hartals become an acceptable means of protest when constitutional politics goes missing, when illegitimacy is the crude principle on which a class or classes of individuals attempt to undermine the democratic aspirations of citizens. Barring such stipulations, a Hartal turns into an irritant, an instrument that rains blows on a nation's self-esteem and leaves it wounded badly in the knees.

In its most basic form, a Hartal especially in Bangladesh where an ever-present requirement remains for democratic pluralism to dig deeper roots is a potent sign of the clear absence of intellect that has come to shadow the world of our politics. Nothing can be more telling than a Hartal putting a nation through asphyxiation at a point in history when the rest of the world is moving ahead to make itself a better place for those who inhabit it. A Hartal in these times comes wrapped in things spurious, for it reflects only the narrow political outlook of those who, unable to rise to the level of the visionary, look upon it as a sure-fire way of clawing to power.

This report is written by a group of BS Hons. (4<sup>th</sup> year) students of the Dept. of Statistics, Biostatistics & Informatics, University of Dhaka for the academic purpose of their project in Research Methodology and is part of a genuine effort to address a pressing national issue that is hampering the development potential of the country. It is sincerely hoped that the findings contained in this report will assist leaders and decision makers to deepen democracy for the progress and prosperity of all citizens of Bangladesh.

## **1.1 Background of the study**

Originally, a Gujarati expression, “HARTAL” signifies closing down of shops and warehouses with the object of realizing a demand. Though essentially a mercantile practice, Hartal acquired political significance in the 1920s and 1930s when MK Gandhi, the Indian national leader from Gujarat, institutionalized it by organizing a series of anti-British general strikes in the name of “Hartal.”

In Bangladesh, Hartal is a constitutionally recognized political method for articulating any political demand. During the period between the 1920s and 1950s, strikes, dharmaghats and Hartals were used interchangeably. From the 1960s, political activists were increasingly organizing Hartal instead of dharmaghat, which appeared to be a weaker political weapon than Hartal. Hartal played a decisive role in mobilizing people on the eve of the Bangladesh War of Liberation.

Since 1980s, it has become a very frequently used political tool for agitation. In the face of recurring Hartals, called mostly on the issue of legitimacy, the regime of President Hussain Muhammad Ershad (1982-1991) collapsed. The government of Begum Khaleda Zia was once put under tremendous pressure when Awami League-led opposition called for relentless Hartals. Similarly, the government of Sheikh Hasina was also not free from the politics of Hartal. However, the culture of frequent Hartal has been depleted now-a-days.

Politics of Hartal have been consistently looked down upon by successive ruling parties, and a large section of the public is also of the view that Hartal as a political weapon, however effective it might have been during colonial times, is no longer appropriate in a modern national state.

Economically, Hartals are very damaging. But most politicians in the opposition camp still prefer to use Hartal in order to maximize pressure on the government. According to them, in the existing socio-political environment of Bangladesh, Hartal is still a powerful weapon to generate public opinion on various national issues.

## **1.2 Objectives of the Research**

In a least developing country (LDC) like Bangladesh, HARTAL hinders the development of the country. Thus, the main objective of our study is to search the reasons and consequences of Hartal. Hence, we are attempting to find some alternatives in order to get rid of this barrier called HARTAL. As a whole, our research objectives are:

1. To determine the reasons behind Hartal and why it is so frequent in Bangladesh.
2. To investigate the effectiveness of Hartal as a political tool.
3. To get knowledge on the social impact of Hartal.
4. To assess the economic impact of Hartal.
5. To recommend some constructive alternatives to Hartal.

### **1.3 Limitations:**

- In this research we have used convenience sampling design, which is not the proper way to draw sample for our research. Because convenience sampling is especially used in market research and public opinion surveys and it has no control to ensure precision.
- For sampling purpose, we have considered samples only from Dhaka city. The researchers here are the students of 4<sup>th</sup> year B.S (Hons.) so it was difficult for us to carry out a broader study with proper finance and time.
- Though the scope of the study is much broad but it is not possible for us to carry out extensive research work involving several differentials that may be important in this context. We have focused on the very initial part of such study.
- The findings of this study are based on self reported information that may have occurred bias because of respondents' interpretation of the questions or desire to report their emotions in a certain way or simply because of inaccuracies of responses.

## CHAPTER 2

### Review of the literatures

#### 2.1 Literature Review

In this chapter we introduce some of important literatures related with our research topic. Among them we discuss only about 4 topics here.

##### ❖ A Review of Selected Literatures:

- Akhter Hossain, **Anatomy of Hartal Politics in Bangladesh, Asian Survey, Vol. 40, No. 3 (May - Jun., 2000), pp. 508-529.**

This article has analyzed the dynamics of Bangladesh's politics from a historical perspective with a view to identifying factors causing political instability. It has showed that in the midst of political instability voters have congregated systematically around two major political parties, the Awami League and the BNP. If these parties cooperate politically from the view point of enlightened self-interest, they can establish a stable two party political system. The article has also explained why these parties remain in confrontational mode on trivial issues: non-cooperation between these parties is the outcome of the political culture in which each party intense to monopolize the state power as if the other does not even have the right to exist. This has been a reflection of the attitude of born-to-rule under a dynastic leader- a far cry from the spirit of power sharing under a multiparty parliamentary democracy.

A policy implication of the above findings is that any meaningful cooperation between Awami League and BNP would require the breaking up of the hereditary leadership system in both these parties. To put it bluntly, neither Sheikh Hasina nor Khaleda Zia should be seen as an upholder of democratic culture and institutions. Through agitation politics over the past decade, they have divided the nation, created and perpetuated dynastic myths around two past leaders and thereby derived legitimacy for their leadership. What they sell as democratic struggles could more accurately be described as the perpetuation of a feudal rule within an encompassing patron-client system. Such a system gives rise to a political culture that promotes suspicion and betrayal, arrogance of power, intolerance of political opposition and criticism and most importantly state sponsored terrorism, corruption and other aspects of state misgovernance. Within such a degenerative political culture, it is difficult, if not impossible, for someone with leadership potential to remain clean and then to rise above sleazy politics and challenge the existing leadership. After all a dynastic political system destroys the political leadership needed to re-invigorate a society.

The creation of such a political culture cannot be simply done with legislation Bangladesh requires a structural change both in the economy and the society, such that the attitude and outlook of the people toward politics and the affairs of the state is qualitatively changed. Only then would both politicians and the people show respect for rules of law, majority verdict, minority opinions and other aspects of a constitution that go with democracy. Sustained high economic growth is, however, not possible without deep economic and institutional reforms. Such reforms are unlikely to be undertaken in the near future simply because they would decrease the scope for corruption by politicians, bureaucrats and other interest groups (including trade union officials). Unfortunately, though, Bangladesh has been caught in a classic conundrum. Without political stability and clean

politics, there would be little economic and social development in this country. Similarly, without rapid economic and social development, the hope for political stability and clean politics could remain an illusion.

➤ **Dr. Osman Haider Chawdhury (18th April, 2000), A Survey on the Impact of Hartal on the Poor of Dhaka City, ActionAid Bangladesh and Democracywatch.**

The perception that frequent Hartals are not supported by the general public has been validated by this survey. Democracywatch and ActionAid Bangladesh jointly conducted the survey. The specific objective of the survey was to determine the extent of income loss and sufferings of the poor city dwellers. The other objectives were:

1. Total loss and damage incurred.
2. Urban poor's perception about alternatives to Hartal.
3. How much the poor are in favor or against Hartal.
4. Participation of the poor in political activities.

The survey systematically dealt with the participation of the respondents in Hartals and other political activities, their loss/damage due to Hartals, suffering of the respondents in Hartals and their perception on Hartal or alternatives to Hartals. An urban poor is defined as one who earns Tk. 4000/- per month or below.

The survey revealed that, the respondents have incurred income loss/damage of their properties due to Hartal. The main reason of income loss is due to the shut down and income decrease due to Hartal. During Hartal, their average daily work is halved, and consequently, earning drops by average 60 per cent. A large number of respondents close their workplaces and activities due to Hartal. It should be also noted that garments are not within the preview of Hartal.

A cluster sample design was evolved. Around 1000 poor of the Dhaka City were interviewed through a questionnaire survey.

The survey has amply revealed some preliminary but key responses of the poor city dwellers on Hartal politics.

Firstly, most city dwellers do not support Hartal because they suffer most in terms of economic loss and income loss. They also witness a lot of damage to their properties due to Hartal.

Secondly, a proportion of poor city dwellers do participate in political activities but most of them do not support any political party. Some of them receive money for participating in Hartals, meetings and processions. But two third of them do not participate in these activities even after receiving the money.

Thirdly, the poor in the city across all Occupations seem to have no faith in the tall promises of the government. They do not believe even when the Prime Minister has assured that when she will be in opposition she won't resort to Hartals. Moreover, though the poor don't support Hartal they mostly blame the government for Hartal and related violence.

Finally, the poor overwhelmingly believe that parliament should be the appropriate forum for sorting out political differences but they also do support that meetings/processions should be allowed to air the political grievances.

➤ **BEYOND HARTALS: TOWARDS DEMOCRATIC DIALOGUE IN BANGLADESH (2005), United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Bangladesh.**

Two wrongs don't make a right -- that is, in one short sentence, what this report is about.

Urban areas are generally more seriously affected by Hartals than rural areas because of the higher concentration of both people and business activities, and the survey was therefore restricted to urban centres only. The sample consists of 3,058 respondents, which is considered sufficient for a significant indication of general opinion. The respondents were the main income earner of the household and of the age 18 or above.

The survey was nationwide and the respondents were therefore selected from all six divisions in Bangladesh, weighted according to percentage of population. More respondents were therefore selected from the larger divisional capitals (DC) of Dhaka and Chittagong. From all divisions two “other municipal towns” (OMT) and one “non-municipal town” (NMT) were selected, and in all three geographic centres starting points were identified. From each starting point twelve households were randomly selected and respondents identified using the KISH GRID method to avoid bias.

The focus of this paper is on how to move ‘beyond Hartals’ and ‘towards democratic dialogue’ in Bangladesh. The point of departure was an Opinion Survey carried out in 2003, where citizens were asked to voice their views on Hartals. The results of the survey provide evidence that citizens believe that Hartals have ‘passed their sell-by date’; with an overwhelming 70% of the population preferring alternative means of voicing views.

In addition, there is widespread consensus amongst citizens and the business community that the frequent use of Hartals is harmful particularly to the economy and education sector. The recurring ‘Hartal seasons’ give Bangladesh a bad image abroad, deterring foreign investors and causing costs to business – the quantifiable impact on the economy is estimated to be between 3 to 4 % of GDP per year. Children and young adults also suffer interruption of educational courses, resulting in missed and delayed exams and unfulfilled potential – thereby reducing Bangladesh’s development in general. The non-quantifiable costs, such as the psychological costs (e.g. the frustration of students not reaching their full potential, the stress caused to employees having to work on weekends to reach targets), and the uncertainty and insecurity that accompany Hartals should also not be underestimated.

At the same time, the majority polled held the view that calling a Hartal is a democratic right. This result is not as ‘schizophrenic’ as it may appear on the surface. Hartals and other forms of protest constitute an important part of Bangladesh’s history and political culture, having been used as an effective instrument to oust colonial powers and secure Bangladesh’s national identity and language. However, as the chapter on the History of Hartals documents, contrary to any belief that Hartals would subside with the advent of democracy, paradoxically, there have been more Hartals during the democratic period than ever before.

This is explained by the author as being a result of the continuation of ‘mobilization politics’, characterized by confrontational relations between the main political parties in Bangladesh.

Furthermore, the opinion poll revealed that Criminals or mastaans are often involved in organizing Hartals, and “hired hands” (including children) are paid to participate. In addition, Hartals have lost their legitimacy as broad-based social movements to promote development for society as whole, as today Hartals are perceived to be serving largely the interests of a small minority of party leaders.

This report does not provide a definitive solution, however it focused on the way forward, providing a number of practical suggestions. ‘Making Democracy Work’ lays out a number of institutional reforms that could strengthen democratic voice including suggestions to modernize the Constitution, measures to strengthen the voice of opposition in Parliament and reforms to political parties to make them more democratic and accountable. ‘Constructive Alternatives’ to Hartals provides a number of suggestions in the form of alternative types of social mobilization that could be used in Bangladesh. The many alternatives that have been used since colonial times are highlighted, including some more recent alternatives being used today, such as human chains.

Civil society coalitions, business and professional associations and the media have a vital role to play in supporting peaceful and non-coercive alternatives to Hartals. Bangladesh’s development partners can also advocate for an end to conflictual politics as a constraint to development. In order to move away from party politics, a ‘positive focus’ on the constructive alternatives is one that can unite different actors.

Finally, the report suggested that -- to establish a Code of Conduct for Democratic Dialogue agreed by all parties that would limit the purview of Hartals.

Furthermore, the study concludes that “although political parties must take the key responsibility in ending the ‘Hartal impasse’, all sectors of society have an important role to play to ensure that expression of views takes place in a responsible way that will allow the country to continue its development path... This will require courage, determination and imagination to move away from the Hartal tradition to embrace a new democratic culture of tolerance and responsibility.”

➤ **Jahangir Raina(December 2010), Effectiveness of Hartals & Feasible Alternatives,R.E.A.S.O.N (Kashmir, India)**

There are three issue of this survey:

1. Is Hartal the most effective protest strategy?
2. Is it a sustainable protest strategy?
3. If the answer to either of the two questions above is ‘NO’, then what are the feasible alternatives?

This report is intended to facilitate public input and feedback on the effectiveness of Hartals and feasible alternatives. The analysis above is based on several one-to-one interactions and a group discussion that took place among professionals at an event organized by R.E.A.S.O.N in Srinagar. There were 35 participants in the group discussion. Each participant presented his/her perspective on the issue. The participants/panelists were selected from various professions.

**The findings of the survey are:**

- Hartals have been a very effective form of protest. Hartals have shaped the public opinion in India. They have induced several positive peace initiatives. Hartals represent a successful transition of Kashmir’s struggle towards a peaceful non-violent movement. Most importantly, the prolonged Hartals of 2010 have sent a clear message to the authorities that the public has zero tolerance for killings and other forms of human rights violations.
- There are several other methods of alternative protest forms, but none are as aggressive as Hartal in terms of their effectiveness.

- Hartals also pose an inherent dilemma. Due to excessive use of Hartals, the economy and education of Kashmir have suffered, which mandates a measured use of this form of protest.
- The ownership of the responsibility to nurse the negative effects of Hartals remains a big question mark. Government, on its part, has no such policy in place. Neither will its efforts along these lines get any positive response, given the public sentiment. Furthermore, since this parodist leadership does not have the requisite resources and clout to nurse the negative effects of Hartals, this form of protest will inevitably be utilized in a measured way.

❖ **News Report:**

- **M Ashraf Al Haq, The cost benefit analysis of pursuing Hartal to the nation, BLiTZ, Comprehensive tabloid weekly, July 20, 2011**

Before reading this article, the politicians have to understand the meaning of Cost Benefit Analysis (CBA), Hartal and true meaning of a nation, only then they will understand the accurate denotation deep inside this analysis and get the real essence of the implication of Hartal continuation.

Firstly, let us analyze what is a nation, and what should be our duty to the nation. According to Wikipedia, 'Broadly speaking a nation may refer to a community of people who share a common territory and government; and who often share a common language, race, descent, and/or history. It can also refer to the inhabitants of a sovereign state irrespective of their ethnic make-up. In international relations, nation can refer to a country or sovereign state'. And a great expert in the field (Matt Rosenberg) wrote, 'A nation, however, is a tightly-knit group of people which share a common culture. A nation-state is a nation which has the same borders as a State'.

And on duty to the nation, the scouts group of University of Massachusetts Lowell, writes, 'Our duty to our country (nation) is, of course, part of our duty to God; and therefore our duty to our country cannot possibly be made an excuse for not doing our duty to God. It is well to have this fact firmly fixed in our minds,..."Country" means land with its hills and valleys, mountains and plains, rivers and streams, big and little lakes, harbors and seaboards, fertile lands and barren tracts, rock and swamp, -- and all this, although it is merely a vast quantity of physical matter clothed in wonderful forms, is but a symbol of what we really mean when we promise to do our best to serve God and our country. The soil, with all its varieties, is the place upon which we rest our feet and from which we draw the manifold necessities for physical life, such as food, wood, and metal; but our country in a deeper sense is the human life which the land supports, and this we call the nation; but there is something even deeper than the nation regarded merely as a vast population in the mass, and that is the nation regarded as composed of individual men, women, and children...It is just so with the life of the nation as a whole. It depends ultimately upon the strength of every individual citizen, and, even more than that, upon the strength of every man, woman, and child, and of every inhabitant within its borders...It is the duty of every single individual ...to be as strong as he possibly can be in his body, his mind, and his character; and, by so doing, he will be serving his country in the very best way possible. This is the most important way of doing our duty to our country and corresponds exactly with our duty to God; if we begin by serving our country in this way, we shall find out many other special ways of being useful to it'.

Now we analyse Hartal in its true sense. 'Hartal was originally a Gujarati expression signifying the closing down of shops and warehouses with the object of realizing a demand. MK Gandhi (Father

of the Indian Nation), who hailed from Gujarat, organized a series of anti-British general strikes which he called Hartals, thereby institutionalizing it. The contemporary origin of such a form of public protest dates back to the British colonial rule in India. Repressive actions infringing on human rights by the colonial British Government and princely states against countrywide peaceful movement for ending British rule in India often triggered such localized public protest' (the Wikipedia on Hartal).

Furthermore, on 20th June 2011, Prof. Abdullah A Dewan (Professor of Economics at Eastern Michigan University, USA), writes in the Daily Sun, 'The title says it all. The word "Hartal" is construed here as an acronym for "Hateful Act Rendered To Afflict Loss". In fact, UNDP estimates claim that Hartals account for approximately 3 percent GDP loss annually – evidently not counting the all-enveloping social costs'. He further states, 'Forcible observance of Hartal is nothing new in Bangladesh. With the restoration of democracy in 1990 the frequency of Hartal — contrary to people's expectations — has increased steadily for the worse. Between 1999 and 2002, nearly 332 incidences of Hartals were recorded. During ... 2002—2006 the' opposition 'called 270 Hartals. It seems democracy – instead of fostering civility in politics — facilitated incivility and incidences of Hartal... As a columnist, my first article "The political economy of Hartals" was published in The Daily Star and The Financial Express on 25 and 26 March, 2005 respectively... The police are still being deployed to crush Hartal with the same ferocity... Everyone including the Hartal callers would agree that Hartal is harmful – ceasing most economic activities in cities and markets – one that's tantamount to calling for an "economic boycott" as I see — one that perpetrates a permanent loss of goods and services from the economic stream. A stronger characterization would be to call Hartal a self-inflicted act of economic terrorism'. According to him it should have been 'a call for Hartal as a last resort'.

On the 9th of April 2011, BBC declares, 'Indian activist Anna Hazare ends hunger strike', as he states, 'his success was a victory for the people of India'. BBC further reports, 'Indian anti-corruption activist Anna Hazare has ended a 96-hour hunger strike, after ministers agreed to all of his demands...The 72-year-old campaigner is pushing for tough anti-corruption laws, and has gained huge public support'.

On May 8, 1932, Mahatma Gandhi started a 21-day hunger strike in protest against the British authorities in India. His Hartal and hunger strike was a result of peaceful movement, nonviolent resistance, which is totally missing in Hartal called by activists in Bangladesh today. All great leaders promoted nonviolent resistance, like Leo Tolstoy, Mohandas Gandhi, Andrei Sakharov, Martin Luther King, Jr., Václav Havel, Lech Wałęsa and so on. The news such as, 'The clashes erupted when thousands of Islamists cut off a stretch of highway leading to the capital's (Dhaka) eastern suburbs with barricades' (The Reuters, 10 July 2011), really demands urgent attention.

Now let us investigate the meaning of CBA, and fit the meaning to our current situation in Bangladesh. Cost benefit analysis, 'involves comparing the total expected costs of each option against the total expected benefits, to see whether the benefits outweigh the costs, and by how much' (Wikipedia).

F. John Reh further writes, 'A cost benefit analysis is done to determine how well, or how poorly, a planned action will turn out. Although a cost benefit analysis can be used for almost anything...'a cost benefit analysis finds, quantifies, and adds all the positive factors. These are the benefits. Then it identifies, quantifies, and subtracts all the negatives, the costs. The difference between the two indicates whether the planned action is advisable. The real trick to doing a cost benefit analysis well is making sure you include all the costs and all the benefits and properly quantify them'.

So from above partaking we understand the meaning of nation, duty towards it, the meaning of Hartal and its noble start as a non violent movement and not bludgeon-carrying movement, the meaning of cost benefit analysis and where we can head to in the future.

A true sense of bringing a change to the current notion can be hunger strikes like M K Ghandi or Anna Hazare. 'Hunger strikes have been used to change policy and social wrongs for hundreds of years...Fasting until an injustice is corrected is a nonviolent tactic' (Wikipedia).

The benefits from a Peaceful Hartal can be a breath of fresh air, less traffic, a chance to revise studies at home, one can walk to work, less pollution, peaceful roads, and children can play on the roads and so on. But the costs of these Bludgeon-Carrying Hartals (BCH) are, detrimental to the economy (a day it costs millions of dollars loss to this poor but developing nation), disruption to transport network, blazing of buses and cars, and damaging shops, severe injuries, wounds and growth of animosity, ill feelings and bad mouth, schools closed and exams delayed, earning stopped and missing of flights, and above all sympathy is eroded because of misunderstanding and mistrust between the negotiating parties. We should always remember the current and past achievements just by hunger strikes or peaceful non violent movement that can achieve enormously and which outweighs ill conceived plans and actions by recent opposition actions.

The Islamists move with terror (bludgeon-carrying) in a world of fright towards them shakes all mind and thinking. What sort of Islam are they propagating - terror Islam or peaceful Islam? I think the government has an urgent duty to check these growths right now, before we are in the danger of international question raised due to non interference. The CBA analysis has to be done by both parties. The real leader who is visionary will understand that achieving a result is depended on this Cost Benefit Analysis before a task is undertaken. One has to see whether running with swords will work or running with head and mind will bear fruit? We all have to stop for a while, take a deep pause and understand what is our goal? Is creating a chaos a goal? Then it has to be stopped. If a government is stopping a chaos it will be hailed. Because the angels are with the government initiatives. But if the government were brutal, like brutal kings in the past, then angels might be not with them, hence the confusion will mount and a natural order will have a say, as we see in case of Ghandiji. But in Bangladesh, we all see that in the analysis, the Hartal callers are not in the path of negotiation, or normalcy, but rather resorting to ill tactics, and not wise one, therefore the popular support is missing, rather indisputably eroding.

One can *Raise A Query* for every point that is hoisted by the ruling authority, but the adherence of norms and values will make the CBA in ones favor. We should always keep this Cost Benefit Analysis in our mind, so that we are not missing the point or not losing the nation or its people. Though there are many environmental benefits in terms of non traffic observance due to Hartal enforcement, the question arises; will it serve any benefit to a violent call? Anna Hazare, or Mr. Ghandi changed the world just by calling or keeping a hunger strike, and as we belong to the same nation, so why we should not learn? I think anybody willing to participate in active politics must study first the rule of law, the duty to one's nation, the political achievement history, the common sense approach in dealing with human psychology and above all, the meaning of peace, happiness, nation building criteria, and above all the correct way to calculate the CB analysis. In Malaysia, it is mandatory to go through marriage lessons and duties before getting married, which helped to a significant extent in resolving the divorce rates – so one should think twice before getting married, whether it's ok to marry or not, so similar lessons will help an active politician to do a Cost Benefit Analysis by attending such political courses before pursuing that career. An informed, educated politician will be a better choice than a questionable egoist running for that prime position, I believe. I am confident that all the politicians in Bangladesh will understand fully the true meaning of self image, respect, dignity, and building a calculative decision making process to achieve a

desired end, not an act of sudden madness or miscalculating the cost benefit part. That will be disastrous.

➤ **Dr. Abdullah A. Dewan, the political economy of Hartals, the Daily Star, 24<sup>th</sup> March, 2005**

Have Hartals and lockouts in Bangladesh become a tool of last resort for voicing dissenting views by opposing political parties? Although the economic and social consequences of such drastic measures are debated in the national and local news media and in the public forum with monotonous regularity, the politicians of the opposite pole claim that they have no alternative but to use this recourse to fight the intransigence and deaf ear of the party in power. This has been true for both major parties. After living in the US for over twenty five years, I may have apparently insulated and distanced myself from the detrimental fallouts of Hartals. However, because of my family roots and lineage, I cannot escape from the sad realization of the adverse economic impact of Hartals and lockouts. In the US or for that matter in any Western industrialized countries, Hartals are not a rare occurrence; they are an unheard of occurrence in recent memory.

Hartal is not simply an inconvenience or a nuisance as deemed by some people. It is tantamount to a call for an "economic boycott" of our own goods and services by our own politicians during the period Hartals are in effect. In stronger words, one may regard the calls for Hartals as an act of constitutionally sanctioned economic terrorism. Why should we not regard the call for a Hartal an act of economic terrorism when the citizens of a free country (buyers, sellers, shop-owners, factory workers, business executives, transportation workers, students, and academic institutions, etc.) are forced to stay out of their normal and routine activities for fear of retribution and physical harm? Reluctant shop-keepers and innocent bystanders lose properties and many even get killed by Hartal enforcing hooligans.

Historically, calls for Hartals in Bangladesh are made by major political parties when they lose their grip on positions of power. Obviously, not all politicians are corrupt. Unfortunately, the honest and the dedicated are few and far between. Once an opportunity opens up with offering of a new government contract, or some private entrepreneur taking an initiative for major investment, the ministers and the entire government machinery including the lending bank officials line up to get a share of what can be grabbed from the project. These are the same politicians who get involved in Hartals and lockouts when they switch from a position of power to one of powerless.

Political protests, open political dialogue and debate are the fundamental rights of the citizens of a free society. But how can the politicians promise its citizens a better economic future if their acts are directed to destroy the economic fabric and infrastructure of the country they want to rule? Of course, the blames for loss of output and welfare due to recurrent calls for Hartals rest equally on both the major political parties.

I was motivated to write this after I read about the UNDP report on GDP loss due to Hartals. The report's claim about the loss of 3 to 4 percent of annual GDP apparently caused some discomfort to some circles. Leaving aside any contentions about the precise measure of the loss of economic output, and the magnitude of the parameter reflecting the negative effects of Hartals, one must recognize that the GDP does not provide an accurate measure of the welfare of the people. The GDP measure does not reflect the welfare loss brought about by the inconveniences, hardships, and anxieties the citizens have to withstand during the periods of Hartals and after. The GDP loss would be further aggravated when one considers the measure of discouragements for foreign investments, potential loss or delays of supplies of exports and imports due to delays in productions, and distribution? Hartals and the concomitant loss of output and welfare may seem as

being a short-term phenomenon by the Hartal callers. Political instability is probably the most important discouraging factor for foreign investment and inflow of capital. Political instability not only drives away foreign investment, it discourages domestic investors and encourages capital outflow.

In a capitalist and free market economy sources of funds for business investment and expansion depend on how strong and efficient is its financial market. Unfortunately, even after 33 years of its existence as an independent country, financial market in Bangladesh is still in a primitive state. Because of recurrent Hartals and rampant corruption, public distrust in corporate accounting and finance, business conditions are not congenial to stock market activities. Profitability of businesses is already cut by bribes to government ministers and officials even before factories are built and operational. If businesses are not profitable and the factors that foster economic growth are hindered by Hartals, lockouts and corruption, financial market will remain ineffective to generate sources of funds for business expansion and cease to function efficiently. Thus the impacts of Hartals have long-term political and bleak economic implications.

Most immediate effects of Hartals are losses of many daily essentials worth millions of taka which are perishable unless refrigerated or stored in cold storage. A small fisherman whose catches are for daily sales, a small farmer whose produce, such as vegetables and dairy products, are ready to be traded for purchase of his daily essentials cannot afford to lose their sales. The next day when the Hartal is called off, there is bound to be shortages of these daily necessities. The public rushes to buy whatever they can get driving prices up. This price inertia will not revert itself in days to come and the result is an economy-wide inflationary pressure. Day laborers lose their wages and are thrown into uncertainty about post-Hartal employment. Loss of work and income throws them into further financial ruin and poverty. If Hartals bring misery to the public, how can such tactics gain widespread public support for political and economic reform?

Democracy provides the forum for reasoned and thoughtful political dialogue and public discourse. Resorting to violent means such as damaging and burning private and public properties during Hartals to voice dissatisfaction against the policies of the party in power is becoming increasingly common and the citizens have already started showing their annoyance and non-compliance. Hartal is a political tool to be used only when everything else has failed and the issues raised are popular public concerns and demands. If the objective for calling Hartals is to make the party in power unpopular and dysfunctional, then the calls for Hartals and political protests are better motivated by those issues the citizens are struggling with on a daily and hourly basis. Some of these issues are corruption, health care, money laundering, politicians' family members investing and transferring money to foreign countries, deteriorating law and order situations, lack of clean and safe drinking water, road side city garbage disposal, shortage of electricity, etc., which affect the common citizens on a daily and hourly basis. Bringing remedies and reforms to these issues will improve ordinary citizens' life and living and at the same time awaken the voters about the lack of concerns of the party in power. Issues concerning political reforms, law and parliamentary affairs must at first be debated on the floor of the parliament. The party in power must allow open and timely forum for the opposition parties to voice their opinions and arguments. Hartals and protests may be warranted when the opposition is denied such a forum.

The democratically elected politicians in power are not obliged to listen to the voices on the streets but to the voters who elect them. Neither the Awami League (AL) nor the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) is going anywhere from our national politics. The personal mutual dislikes of the leaders of the two parties and the acrimonious atmosphere they created among the politicians of the country seems to have reached to an irretrievable point. The politics of personal destruction and dislikes has made the democratic process blatantly farcical and the country has become an object of

jokes and ridicules to late night comedians on Western television. It is well past time that they resort to reconciling and harmonious coexistence for the greater cause of the people.

Bangladesh may no longer be Henry Kissinger's "bottomless basket." Unfortunately, it has now made a transition to be widely perceived as one of the world's poorest and the most corrupt countries. When I hear or read this in the Western news media, I lose my pride. I strongly protest by suggesting that the country is not corrupt, the politicians and government machinery is. Being poor is not a crime, but being corrupt is. Why not observe a "Hartal" against corruption and Hartal itself?

➤ **Dr. Sadeq R. Chowdhury serves in the US Federal Government in Washington D.C., Regulating Hartal may be a sensible option, The Daily Star, December 23, 2010**

The culture of frequent Hartals is coming back to Bangladesh, which is damaging for the economy and the country's image, and a disincentive for foreign investments. A UNDP study estimates that it costs about 1% of GDP for every three days of Hartal. Frequent Hartals can seriously impact our export and can jeopardise our growing benefits from economic globalisation. The business community, through FBCCI, has expressed serious concern about frequent Hartals. Political stability and harmony instead are extremely important for our economic progress.

In that context, there is a proposal for enacting a law to ban Hartal. Since avoiding Hartals through consensus among political parties is unlikely, a carefully designed legal measure may be a possibility. A complete ban on Hartal is not possible because Hartal without violence is a democratic right. Moreover, a ban on Hartal will be convenient only for the government and unfair to the opposition.

To understand why Hartal is a part of our politics and the risks of banning it, we have to recognize both its costs and its benefits. It not only has negative impacts but also has positive contributions that shaped the history of our nation. Starting from our struggle against colonial rule, the movement for independence and during our struggle for democracy, Hartals has played a vital role. Since Hartal has proved to be such an effective tool for materializing public demands in our country, we need to keep legal provisions for it. If an anarchist or a dictator ever comes to power and threaten our constitution or our democracy, we should be able to defend them by using Hartals if necessary.

Having said this, we also have to remember that we are in a different phase of development now. We are an independent country with a reasonable form of democracy. Our main challenge now is to work for economic development while strengthening the democratic process. Without economic emancipation of the mass, independence is not meaningful. With that objective in mind, we should be very careful before supporting or not doing anything about Hartals.

We should consider enacting legislation that will regulate Hartal rather than ban it completely. It should make Hartals generally illegal but should keep provision for it in some special circumstances. If there is ever a threat to our constitution or democratic rights, we should be allowed to defend them by calling Hartals as necessary. For example, if a government ever plans to engineer the election process or manipulate constitutional provisions that may jeopardize our democracy, a Hartal can be legally called when all other peaceful means of demonstration are exhausted.

In all other situations, once we elect a party to form the government, we should allow them to govern for their full term. The only way to remove the government before its term ends is through a

no-confidence motion that is carried in Parliament by a majority vote. A government needs to make many important decisions or policies but not all of them would seem right to everyone. Those decisions or policies can be criticized in the parliament or in various other forums, but a Hartal is not an appropriate way to protest such issues. The government may or may not consider those criticisms but it should be allowed to proceed with whatever policy it adopts because it has the people's mandate to run the country for five years.

For example, if a government adopts some new policies related to health, education, or administration, the opposition parties can express their disagreement, if any, in peaceful ways, but it should be illegal to call a Hartal as long as those government policies are within our constitutional framework. If a government's decision unfairly benefits or disadvantages some individuals or groups, it will not be taken as a good enough reason for calling a Hartal.

Increase in the prices of commodities is not a good reason for calling Hartal because it may not always be possible for the government to control prices. An opposition party can always criticize and use peaceful means of demonstration to make the government review a policy or just to gain public support to utilize in the next election. If the government is not convinced, the opposition can wait until their turn comes to review and change those policies, as appropriate.

However, if the opposition believes that an issue is fundamental and deserves calling of a Hartal, they should be allowed to do that; there should be a legal provision for it. The court's interpretation can be obtained when it is unclear whether an issue is fundamental enough for observing Hartal. If the court does rule against that Hartal, the government will be allowed to use all legal measures to stop it. Currently, the miscreants come out in the guise of legal protesters and once they are on the streets it becomes difficult to stop them from vandalism or to charge them. If a Hartal is judged as illegal beforehand it may be easier to stop that instead of just the illegal acts during a legal Hartal.

Enacting legislation will not necessarily resolve the problem completely. There may be difficulty enforcing it, or an interpretation may be in question in some cases. But it will at least serve as a terms of reference to help the public and politicians to make their judgments, and give the government the power to act when necessary. A carefully designed measure can ultimately help reduce frequency of Hartals.

There must be rational ways of resolving issues without being destructive. If a government cannot be trusted for five years then the alternative is to reduce the term. As long as a government functions under the constitution it should be allowed to serve peacefully for the whole term. Only the voters reserve the right to remove a government through election, not through Hartals by an opposition party that lost the election. Putting national interest ahead of party and individual interests would help find such solutions that would work both when a party is in power or in opposition. Otherwise, we will not be able to get out of the cycle of the same problems.

Currently, although illegal vandalism comes as a package with Hartal and is difficult to stop because the protesters come to the street legally as part of the Hartal and then conduct those acts. If some Hartals can be identified as illegal it would easier to enforce the law to stop Hartal at the planning stage.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **3. Introduction**

This chapter explains the exact nature of the statistical aspects that we followed. It describes in detail the precise quantitative tools and techniques used and reveal the manner in which we will lead to the desired results. Specifically, this section comprises the following issues.

##### **3.1 The Study Type**

A wide range of different measures has been used to address the reasons & consequences of HARTAL. A cross sectional study was conducted among the peoples of Dhaka city. All kind of peoples were selected as respondents.

##### **3.2 The Study Variables**

To correctly identify the reasons & consequences of Hartal, we considered some study variables under different sectors. These variables were selected on the basis of their importance on our study and we culled these variables of interest from our questionnaire given in appendix.

##### **3.3 The Target Population**

Though to identify the reasons and consequences of HARTAL our target population was the whole population of Bangladesh, but in our study we worked with only the people of Dhaka city because of our cost and time limitations.

##### **3.4 Data Sources**

This study uses primary data only from different types of people. For simplicity we collect information from the people of Dhaka city. We consider all classes of people. Information about respondent's age, sex, family income, political affiliation etc. is collected through questionnaire. The data used in this study is publicly unavailable.

##### **3.5 Sampling Methodology**

Sampling technique is an important part to carry out a study. In our study we used convenience sampling technique because of our time and cost limitations. It is the best way of getting some basic information quickly and efficiently. The subjects are selected just because they are easiest to recruit for the study and we did not consider selecting subjects that are representative of the entire population.

##### **3.6 Sample Size**

In this study we handover 250 questionnaires and about 238 peoples were participated. And finally our sample consists of 23 from Day labor, 23 from Media, 23 from Police, 32 from Students, 23

from export-import, 23 from transports, 23 from production, 23 from Bank, 23 from Food stops and 22 from Politics.

### **3.7 Data Collection Strategy**

Data was collected in a systematic manner by a well structured questionnaire. All the thirteen researchers were deployed in the different classes of people according to their job structures. For collecting data here we used convenience sampling. Proper instructions were given to the respondents about the questionnaire. They were given 9/10days to do the job very carefully.

### **3.8 Study population:**

The study population was divided into ten groups according to the various sectors such as under-

1. General.(A common section filled by all respondents of the following 10 sections)
2. Day labor.
3. Media.
4. Police.
5. Education.
6. Export-import.
7. Transport.
8. Production.
9. Bank.
10. Food stops &
11. Politics.

### **3.9 Analysis plan:**

The reasons, impacts, & opinions of different peoples about HARTAL were assessed using questionnaire involving both qualitative and quantitative questions. Our study involves most of the questions as qualitative.

The collected data was analyzed by personal computer following a planned analysis strategy. This plan was largely followed the objectives of the survey. As early we had said that our objective is to find the reasons and consequences of HARTAL and also to find some effective ways to avoid the habit of HARTAL. For these purposes, univariate analysis, bivariate analysis and Pearson chi-square test, Kendall's Tau\_b statistic, multinomial regression analysis were performed. Univariate analysis was used to analyze a single variable to count the number of cases in each category. Bivariate analysis was used to analyze the interrelation between two variables. Finally to assess the association between the consequences and the possible risk factor Pearson chi square was done. Here also we consider some regression models to interpret the fact such as LOSS due to HARTAL at different sectors. The SPSS version 17 was used for data analysis.

## CHAPTER 4

### Analysis on General Section

We have decorated this chapter with the various types of analysis of our data on the basis of our research objectives. Here we attempt to find the various impacts of Hartal and other factors such as reasons for high frequency of Hartal, effectiveness of Hartal, relevant issues behind Hartal and finally we found constructive alternatives of Hartal. For doing so we performed univariate analysis, bivariate analysis, test of association and fitted some regression models.

### **PART A: UNIVARIATE & BIVARIATE ANALYSIS**

In this part we have performed univariate analysis of some variables which shows the frequency of each category of the variables. A bivariate analysis has also been performed to see the interrelationship of the variables.

#### **4. A.1Univariate analysis:**

To analyze a single variable to count the number of cases in each category here we have performed univariate analysis

##### **4. A.1.1Occupation:**

Here we will see the percentage of respondents from different occupations, like-government service, private service, laborer, business, and student. The table below will show us these percentages.

Table 4.A.1.1: Frequency distribution of the occupation of the respondent				
Occupation of the respondent	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Government service	35	14.7	14.7	14.7
Private service	58	24.4	24.4	39.1
Laborer	25	10.5	10.5	49.6
Business	68	28.6	28.6	78.2
Student	52	21.8	21.8	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>238</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

After analyzing the above table of occupation of respondents we observed that the majority of the respondents come from business sector and the percentage is 28.6. Whereas, the lowest percentage of respondents is from laborers and the figure is 10.5%. However, the percentage of respondents from government service, private service and students are 14.7, 24.4 and 21.8 respectively.

We can easily get a clear idea about the above frequency table from the bar diagram given below:

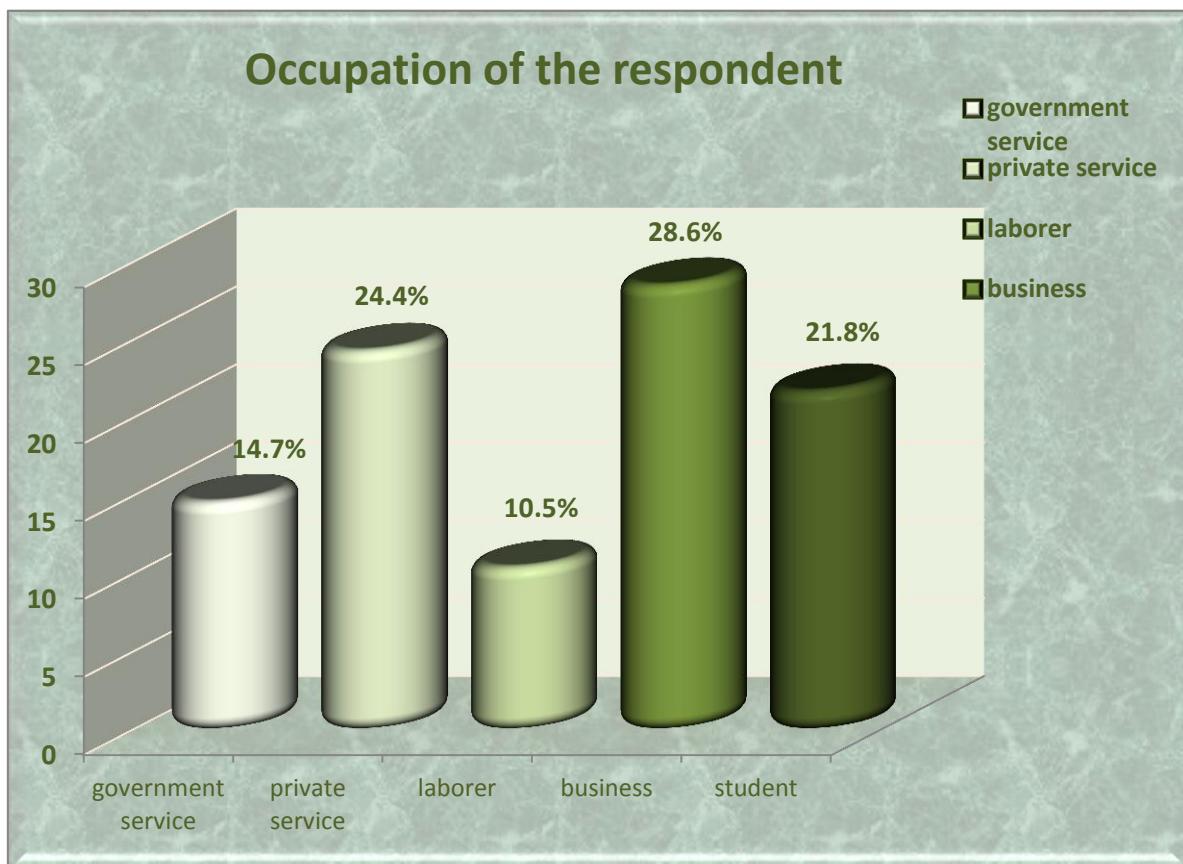


Figure 4.A.1.1: Bar diagram depicting the percentages of respondents from different occupations.

#### **4.A.1.2 Political view of the respondent:**

For our study purpose we collected information about the political view of all our respondents as AL, BNP or NP and here we have the frequency table of this political view of the respondents.

Political view of the respondent	Responses		Percent of Cases
	N	Percent	
<b>AL</b>	89	37.4%	37.4%
<b>BNP</b>	66	27.7%	27.7%
<b>JP</b>	9	3.8%	3.8%
<b>Others</b>	33	13.9%	13.9%
<b>None</b>	41	17.2%	17.2%
<b>Total</b>	238	100.0%	100.0%

From the table, we can see that 37.4% of the respondents are Bangladesh Awami League supporter, 27.7% are Bangladesh National Party supporter, only 3.8% are Jatio Party supporter, 13.9% support other parties and surprisingly, 17.2% of the respondents have no political choice. Here's the graphical representation-

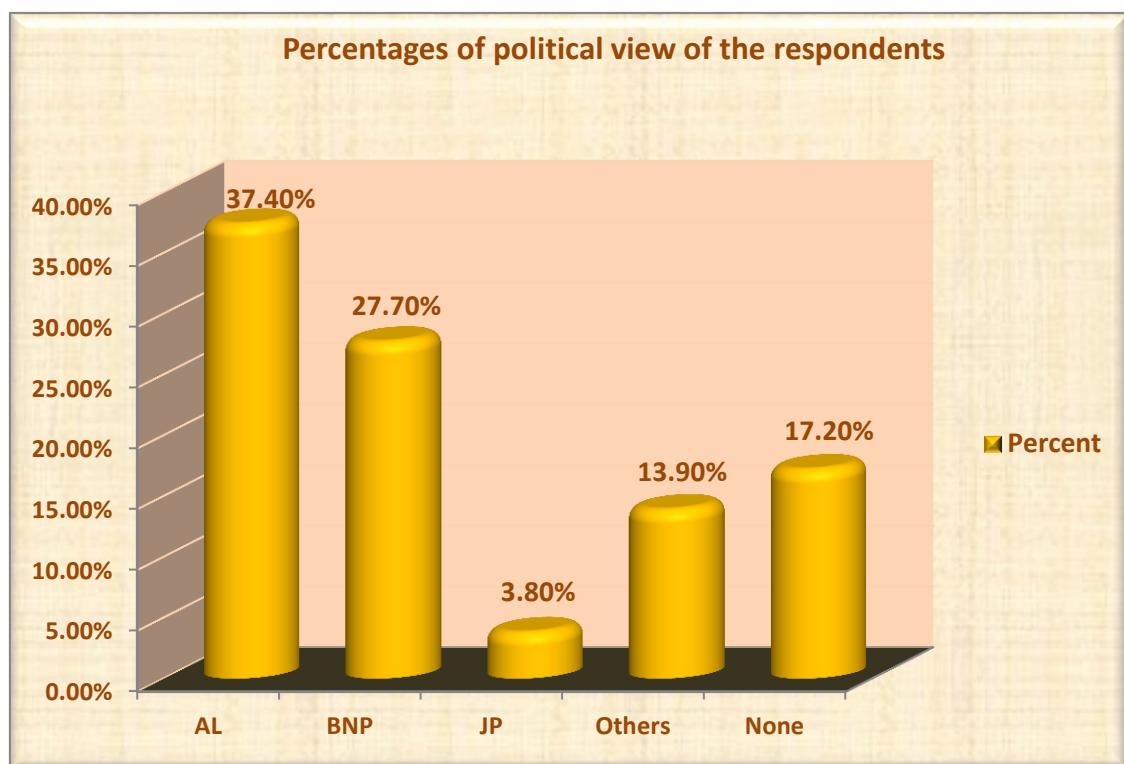


Figure 4.A.1.2: Bar diagram showing the political view of the respondents under study.

#### **4.A.1.3 Support Hartal as a democratic voice?**



We have asked all the respondents if they support Hartal as a democratic voice or not, the result from this poll was outstanding. Now, we will see the results from the table below:

Table 4.A.1.3 : Frequency distribution of Supporting Hartal as a democratic voice of protest				
Responses	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
<b>Yes</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>18.9</b>	<b>18.9</b>	<b>18.9</b>
<b>No</b>	<b>193</b>	<b>81.1</b>	<b>81.1</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>238</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

The above table tells us that, 81.1% of our respondents do not support “Hartal as a democratic voice”. This is almost 4 times than the percentage of respondents who support “Hartal as a democratic voice”. This scenario will be much clear to us from the pie chart, let’s see here:

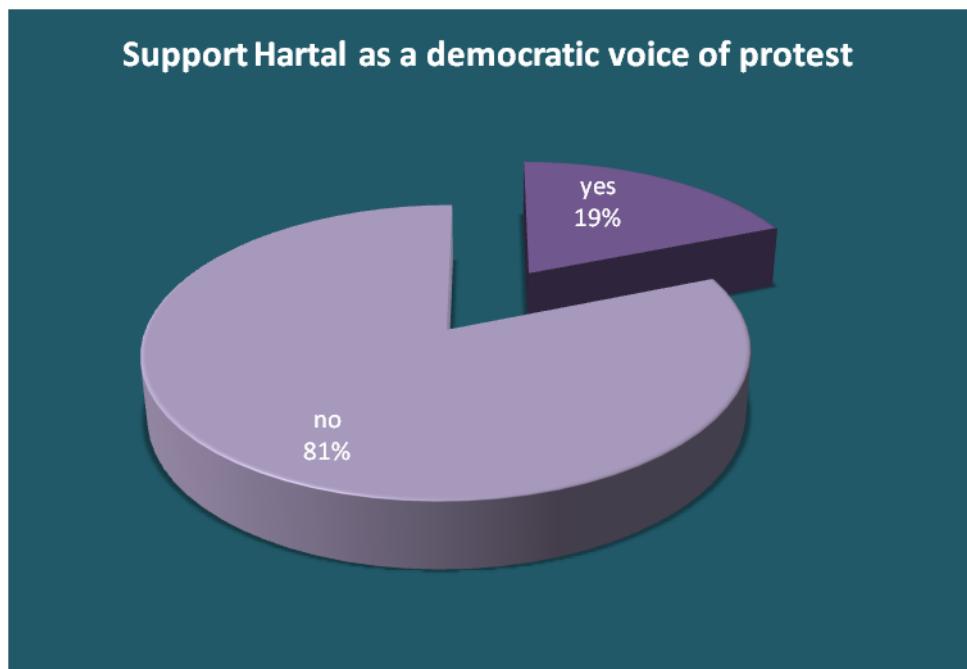


Figure 4.A.1.3: Pie chart on percentage of respondents whether they support Hartal.

#### **4.A.1.4 Usual problems when outside on a Hartal day:**



Here we have another variable with multiple responses. We wanted to know, the problems that people usually face when they go outside on a Hartal day. Now, we will get a summary of it from the table below:

**Table 4.A.1.4 : Frequency distribution for the problems when outside on a Hartal day**

	Responses		Percent of Cases
	N	Percent	
Non availability of necessary transports	101	42.3%	53.2%
Facing any indecent situations	98	41.0%	51.6%
Panicked at Hartal	20	8.4%	10.5%
High rickshaw fare at Hartal	14	5.9%	7.4%
No problem	6	2.5%	3.2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>239</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>125.8%</b>

The above table representing the percentages and frequencies of the problems facing by the respondents on going outside on a Hartal day tells us that 42.3% respondents face the problem of non-availability of necessary transports. Whereas, the percentage of respondents who face “any indecent situation” on a Hartal day is approximately equal to the former and the figure is 41%. On the contrary, 8.4% and 5.9% of the respondents feel panic and face problem of high rickshaw fare accordingly. Surprisingly 2.5% of the respondents face no problem at all.

To understand the results easily with one view we can take the help of the following bar diagram:

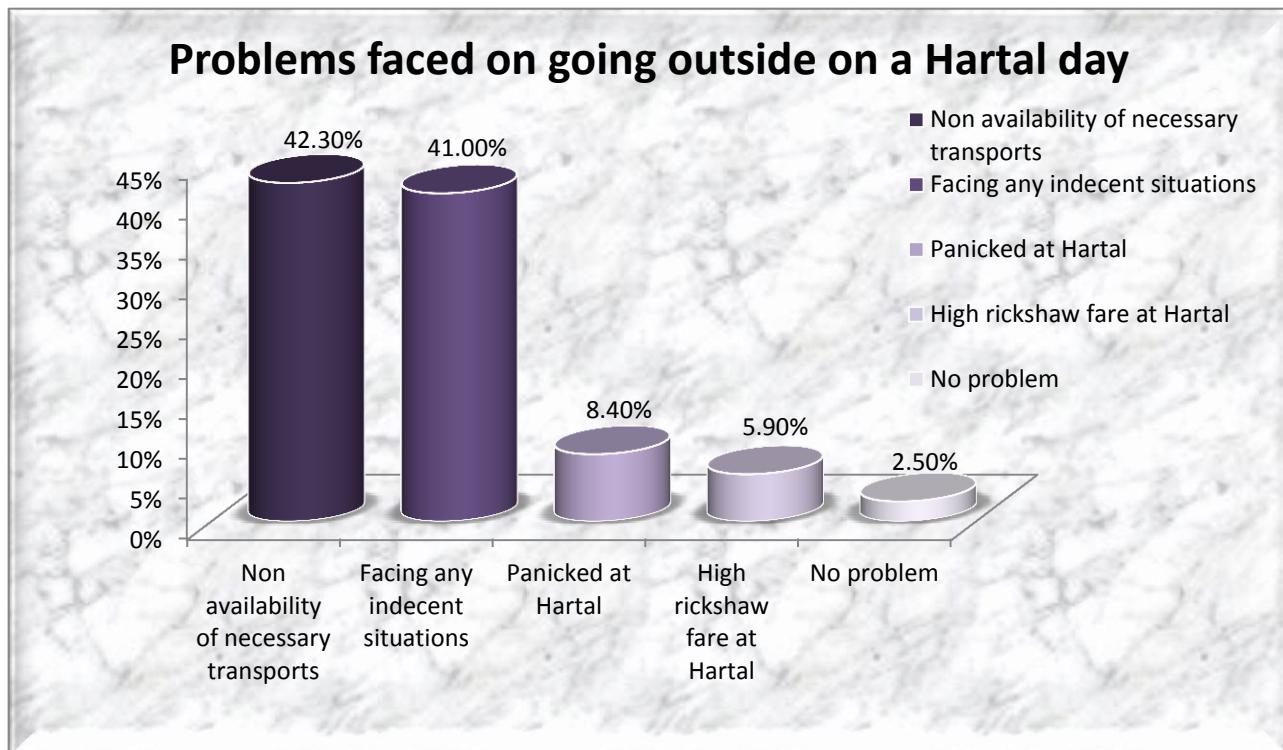


Figure 4.A.1.4: Bar diagram showing the problems faced by the respondent while going outside on a Hartal day.

#### **4.A.1.5 Effectiveness of Hartal:**

Here we see whether the issue behind Hartal is solved. We ask all of our respondents and collect information on it. The necessary table is given below:

<b>Table 4.A.1.5 : Frequency distribution of whether issues solve after Hartal</b>				
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
<b>Yes</b>	6	2.5	2.5	2.5
<b>No</b>	164	68.9	68.9	71.4
<b>In some cases</b>	68	28.6	28.6	100.0
<b>Total</b>	238	100.0	100.0	

Analyzing the table we conclude that 68.9% of the respondent said that the issue is not solved and 28.6% of them said sometimes it is solved. And only 2.5% said the issue is solved.

The above scenario can be easily represented with the help of a bar diagram.

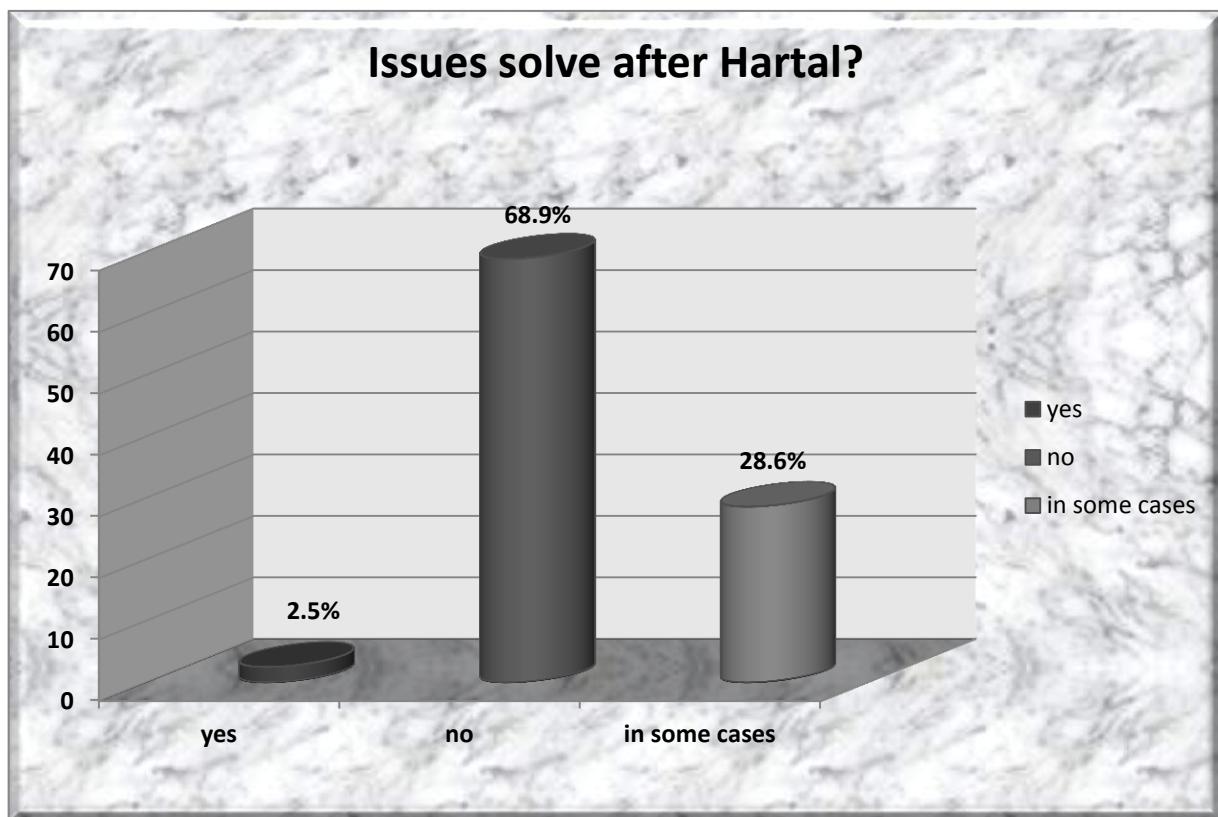


Figure4.A.1.5: Bar diagram representing whether the issue is solved

#### **4.A.1.6 Extra cost on a Hartal day when going outside:**

We wanted to get an idea that how much extra cost the respondent need to make when he go outside on a Hartal day for work or other purpose. Below is a frequency distribution table describing this:-

**Table 4.A.1.6 : Frequency distribution of the extra cost on a Hartal day**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	<b>0 tk</b>	49	20.6	26.5	26.5
	<b>Below 100 tk</b>	73	30.7	39.3	65.8
	<b>101 - 300 tk</b>	48	20.2	25.9	91.7
	<b>301 - 500 tk</b>	9	3.8	5.0	96.7
	<b>Above 501 tk</b>	6	2.5	3.3	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	186	78.2	100.0	
<b>Total</b>		238	100.0		

From the above table, we can see that highest 39.3% of the respondents have an extra cost on Hartal day from 1 to 100Tk. 26.5% of the respondent informed that their extra cost is 0Tk, while 25.9% say that their extra cost is between 101 to 300 Tk. Another 5.0% &3.3% informed that their extra cost are 301-500 Tk & above 500Tk respectively. Graphically shown as-

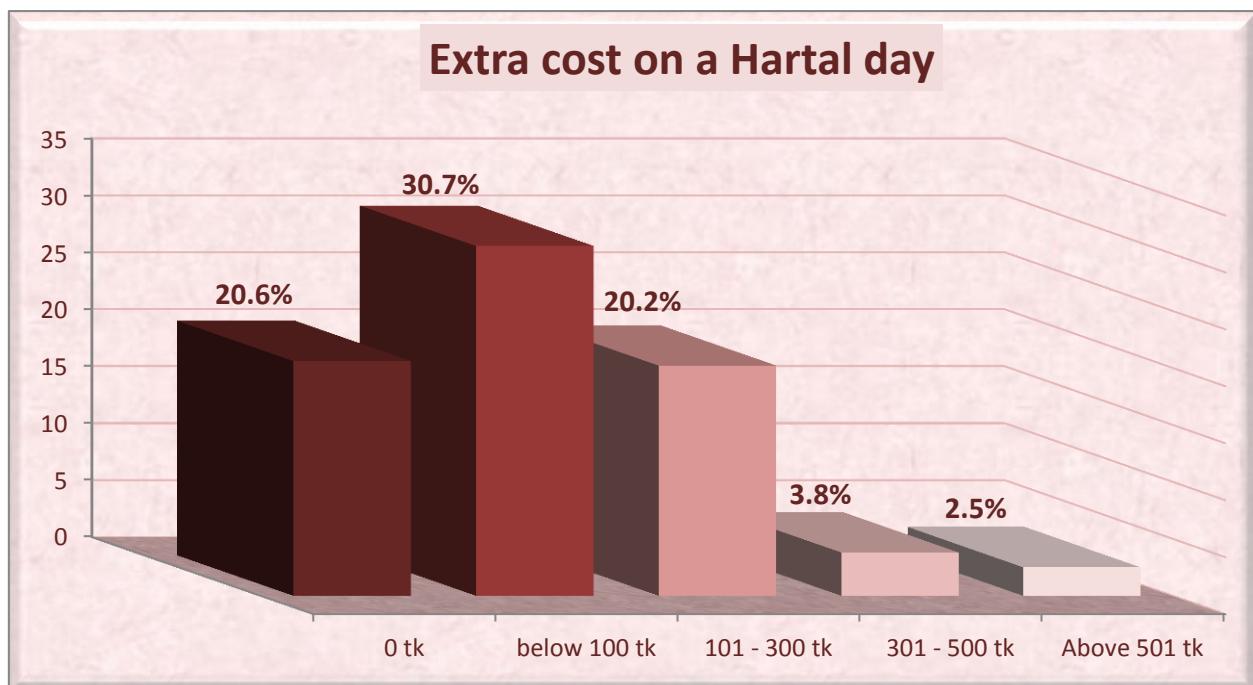


Figure 4.A.1.6: Bar diagram representing the extra cost of the respondent on a Hartal day.

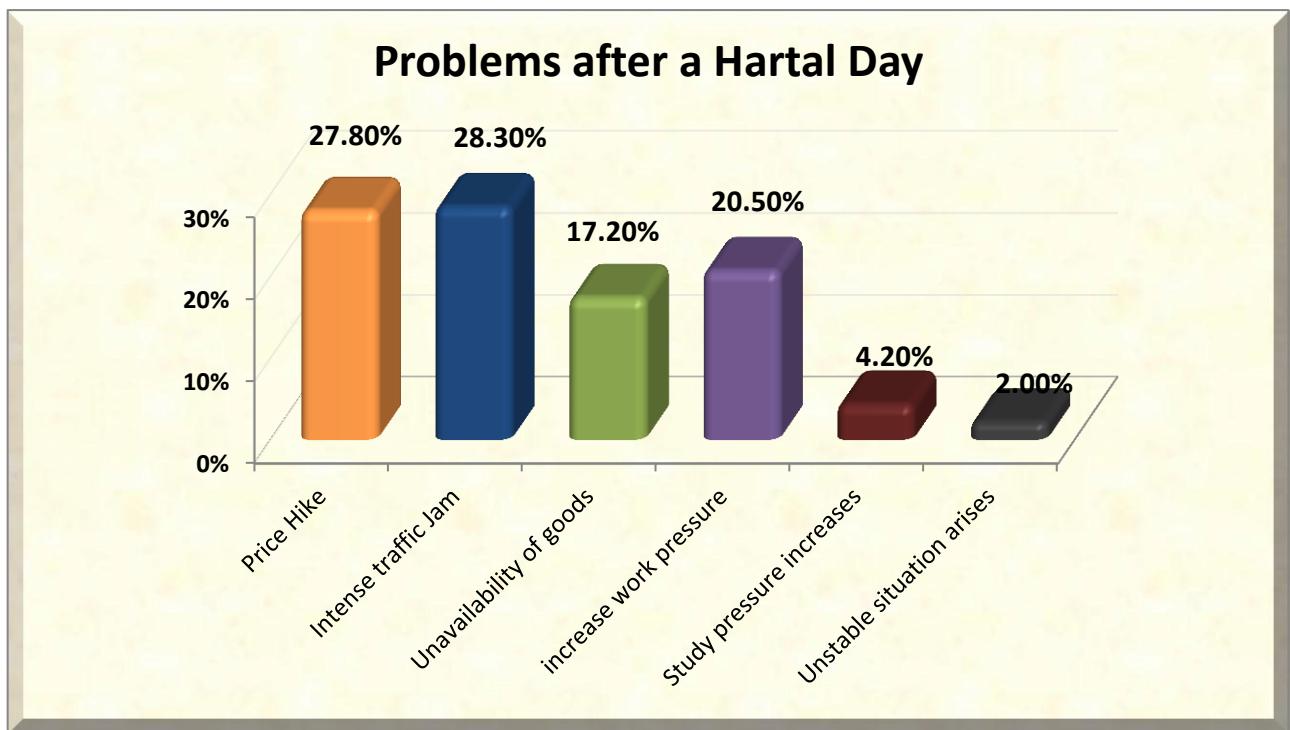
#### **4.A.1.7 Common problems in post-Hartal days:**

Here we have analyzed a single variable “common problem in post Hartal days” with multiple responses.

**Table 4.A.1.7 : Frequency distribution of problems after Hartal day**

	Responses		Percent of Cases
	N	Percent	
Price Hike	126	27.8%	53.8%
Intense traffic Jam	128	28.3%	54.7%
Unavailability of goods	78	17.2%	33.3%
Increase work pressure	93	20.5%	39.7%
Study pressure increases	19	4.2%	8.1%
Unstable situation arises	9	2.0%	3.8%
<b>Total</b>	<b>453</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>193.6%</b>

Now, we would represent the scenario by the help of the given bar diagram:



**Figure 4.A.1.7: Bar diagram on common problems in post Hartal days**

The above bar diagram of multiple responses reveals that “price hike” and “traffic jam” are two most common effects on post Hartal days, where the frequencies are greater than 100 (above 27%) , followed by “increased work pressure” (20.09%) and “unavailability of goods” (16.85%) respectively. However, “study pressure” and “unstable situation” are not so common events on post Hartal days among our respondents.

#### **4.A.1.8 Weapons used in a Hartal day:**



bdnews24.com

Here we have a brief idea about the weapons used in a Hartal day, from our respondents. The results are in the frequency table in terms of percentages given below:

**Table 4.A.1.8 : Frequency distribution of weapons used in a Hartal day**

Weapons	Responses		Percent of Cases
	N	Percent	
<b>Cocktail</b>	73	20.0%	30.8%
<b>Hand bomb</b>	30	8.2%	12.7%
<b>Pistol/gun</b>	12	3.3%	5.1%
<b>Brick-bats</b>	204	55.9%	86.1%
<b>Stick</b>	36	9.9%	15.2%
<b>Hockey-stick</b>	5	1.4%	2.1%
<b>Rod</b>	5	1.4%	2.1%
<b>Total</b>	365	100.0%	154.0%

The above table represents that, 55.9% respondents think that brickbat is used in Hartal. However, 20% think cocktail is used. About 8.2%, 3.3%, 9.9%, 1.4%, 1.4% respondents think that hand bomb; pistol/ gun, stick, hockey-stick and rod are used accordingly.

This information can be represented by the following bar diagram:



Figure 4.A.1.8: Bar diagram showing the percentage of weapons those are mostly used in Hartal.

#### 4.A.1.9 Effects of Hartal on village people:

We asked respondents if they think that there is any effect of Hartal on villages.

Table 4.A.1.9 : Frequency distribution of the response on Whether villages (rural areas) affected by Hartal					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	160	67.2	67.2	67.2
	No	78	32.8	32.8	100.0
	Total	238	100.0	100.0	

Among total respondents 67.2% thinks that villages are affected by Hartal and 32.8% think that villages are not affected.

We got the pie chart of this here:

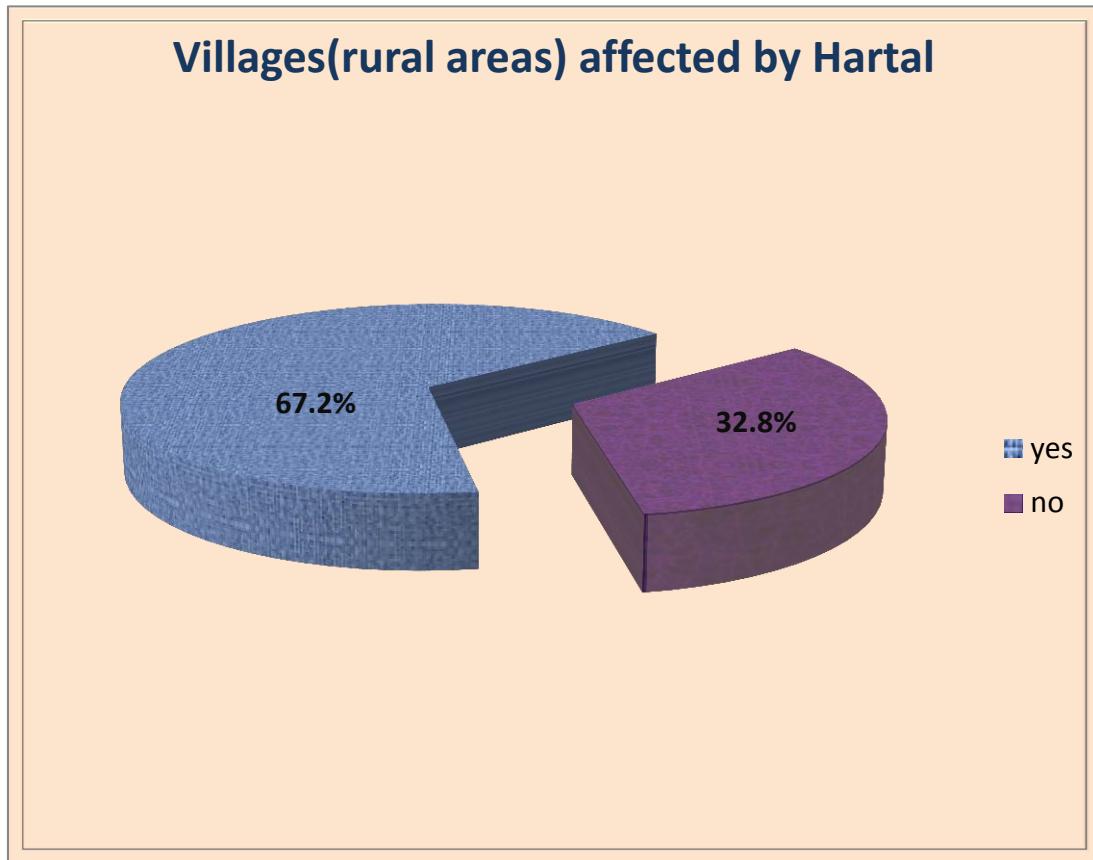


Figure4.A.1.9: Pie chart on the belief of whether villages are affected by Hartal.

#### **4.A.1.10 Types of institutions remain open on a Hartal day:**

On a Hartal day most of the institutions remain closed. In this part we will see types of institutions remain open with their corresponding percentages. In our survey we collect information from all the respondents on this.

The frequency table is given below

**Table 4.A.1.10 : Frequency distribution of the Institutions that remain open on a Hartal day**

Institutions open in a Hartal day	Responses		Percent of Cases
	N	Percent	
Bank	73	10.3%	30.7%
Grocery shop	139	19.6%	58.4%
Food shop	127	17.9%	53.4%
Shopping Mall	10	1.4%	4.2%
Pharmacy	201	28.3%	84.5%
Bazaars	154	21.7%	64.7%
Nothing	5	.7%	2.1%
Total	709	100.0%	297.9%

From the above table we find that Pharmacy takes the highest frequency with percentage 28.3%. While Bazaars take 21.7%, Grocery shops 19.6%, Food shop 17.9%, Bank 10.3%, Shopping Mall 1.3%. We also see that there are some small votes for nothing that is all are closed with percentage 0.7.

The above information can easily be presented with the help of bar diagram.

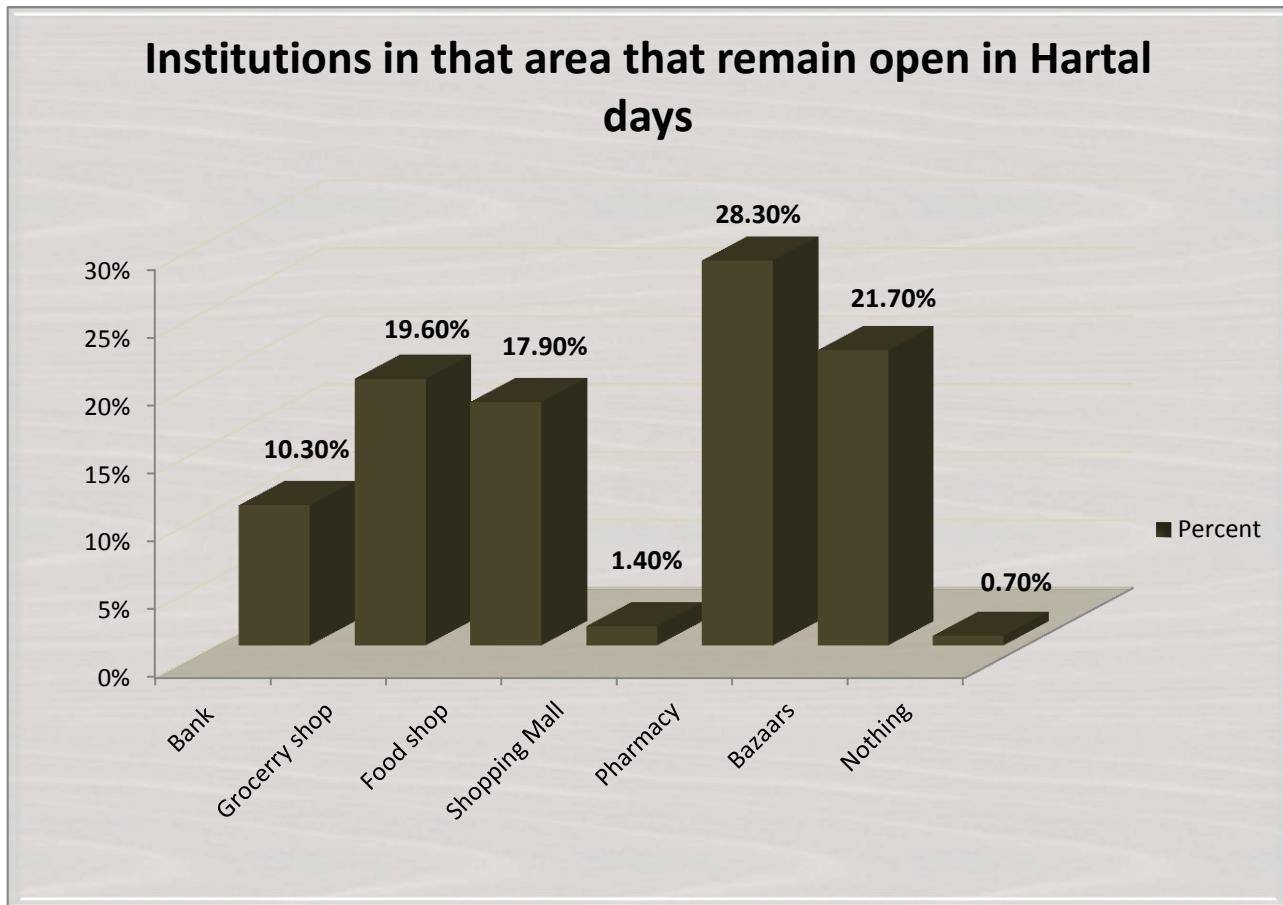


Figure 4.A.1.10: Bar diagram representing the institutions remain open in a Hartal day



#### **4.A.1.11 Who is benefited from Hartal?**

In this section we have an interest to see the people who are beneficiary due to Hartal. Information's are collected from all the respondents and the types of people who benefits from Hartal with their corresponding percentage is presented in a frequency table which is given below.

Beneficiary due to Hartal	Responses		Percent of Cases
	N	Percent	
Political Parties & Leaders	171	44.6%	72.5%
Corrupted Businessmen	67	17.5%	28.4%
Trades people stocking goods	64	16.7%	27.1%
Rickshaw Puller	26	6.8%	11.0%
Terrorists	55	14.4%	23.3%
Total	383	100.0%	162.3%

Analyzing the above table we see that 44.6% of the respondent votes for political parties & leaders. While Corrupted businessmen 17.5%, trades people stocking goods 16.7%, terrorists 14.4% and rickshaw puller 6.8%.

The above phenomenon can be clearly represented with the help of a bar diagram.

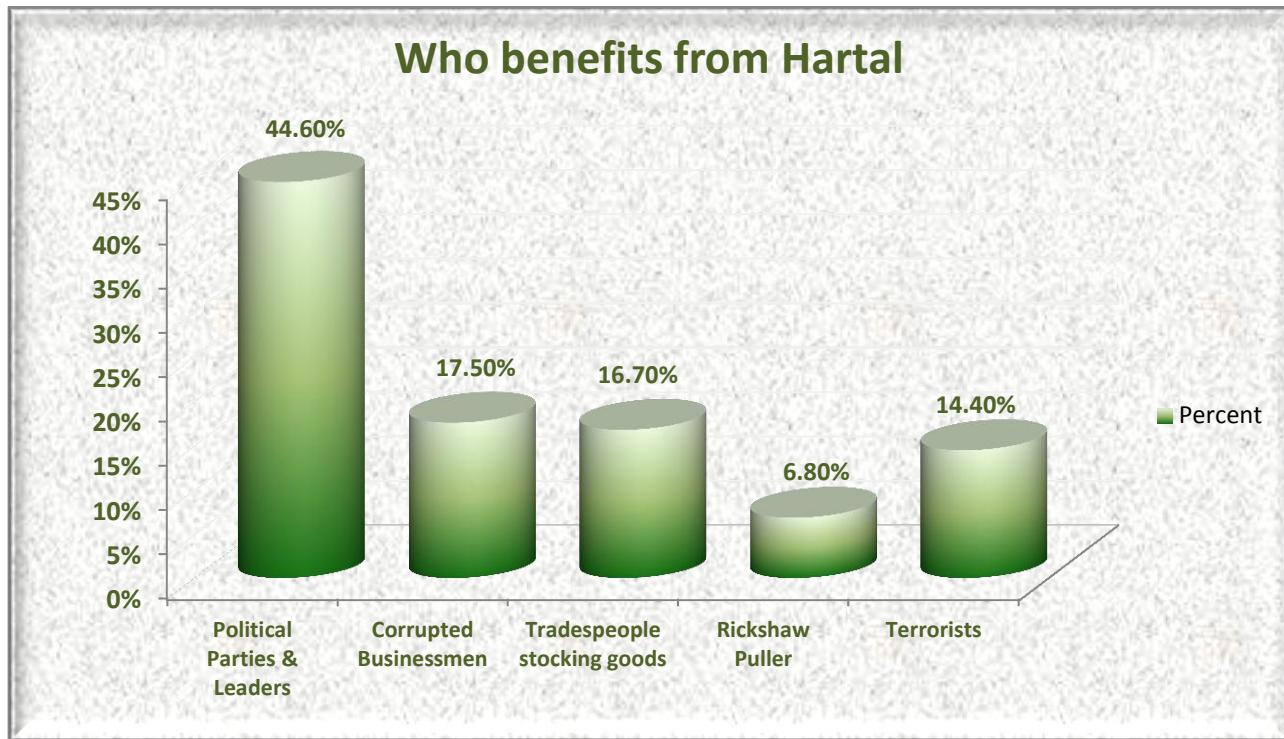


Figure4.A.1.11: Bar diagram showing the people who are benefited from Hartals

#### **4.A.1.12 Effectiveness of Hartals by social organizations other than political parties:**

Now a day's Hartals are also used as a voice of protest by social organizations. And we are interested to know the effectiveness of those Hartals called by social organizations other than political parties. For this reason we ask all the respondents about the effectiveness of those Hartals and collect our necessary information.

The following frequency table will help us to fulfill our interest.

**Table 4.A.1.12: Frequency distribution showing Effectiveness of Hartals by social organizations other than political parties**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Effective	6	2.5	2.5
	Partly effective	104	43.7	46.2
	Not effective	128	53.8	100.0
	Total	238	100.0	100.0

Studying the above table it is so clear that 53.8% of the respondents think that it is not effective, 43.7% of the respondents think it is partly effective while only 2.5% of the respondents think that it is effective. That is majority of the respondents weights on not effective.

The above phenomenon can be clearly presented with the help of a pie chart.

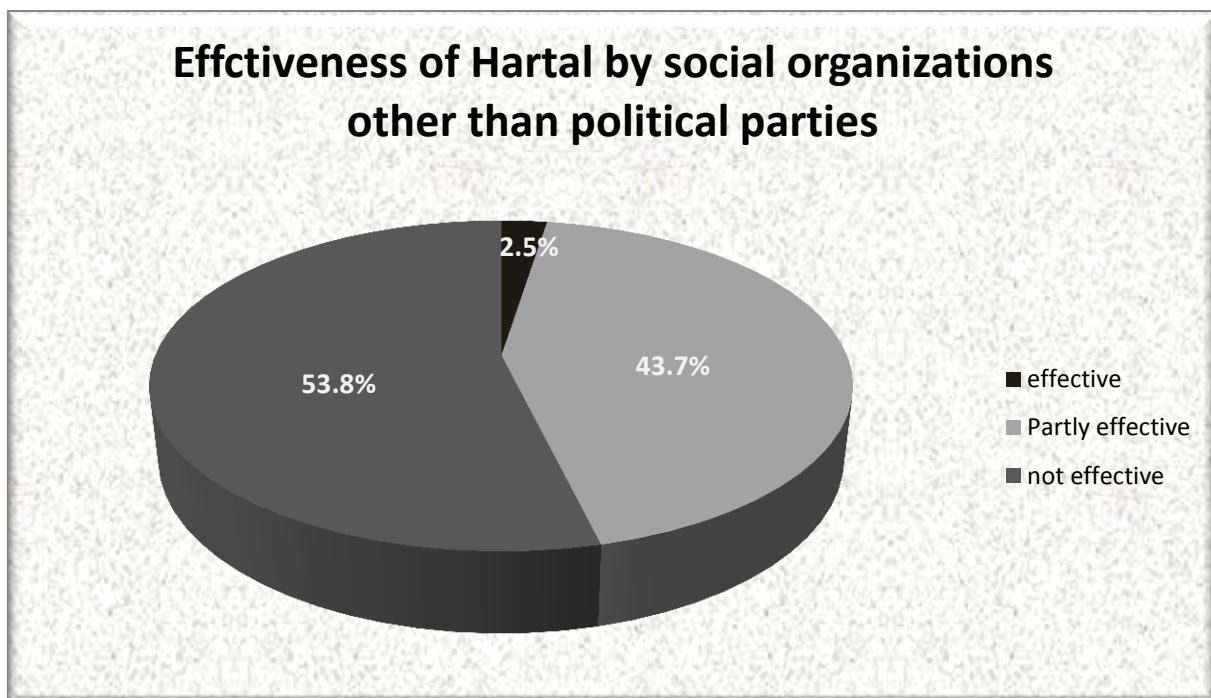


Figure4.A.1.12: Pie chart on the effectiveness of Hartal called by social organizations.

#### **4.A.1.13 How to move beyond Hartals :**

In this part we will concentrate on the movement beyond Hartal. The term “movement beyond Hartal” stands for how we will get free from Hartals or how we can stop the frequent use of Hartal. We collected necessary information from all of our 238 respondents and the resulting frequency table with percentages is shown below.

Table 4.A.1.13:Frequency distribution of the ways to move beyond Hartals

How to Move Beyond Hartal	Responses		Percent of Cases
	N	Percent	
Stop the implementation of Hartal	25	6.6%	10.5%
Make mutual understanding between govt. & general people	93	24.6%	39.2%
Discussing the matter in the parliament	76	20.1%	32.1%
Find out any alternative way of Hartal	77	20.4%	32.5%
Increasing public awareness	54	14.3%	22.8%
Ban Hartal	36	9.5%	15.2%
Mutual understanding among political parties	11	2.9%	4.6%
Protest against Hartal	6	1.6%	2.5%
<b>Total</b>	<b>378</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>159.5%</b>

Analyzing the above table we see that , 24.6% of the respondents voices on mutual understanding between govt. & general people, 20.4% on finding alternative way of Hartal, 20.1% on discussing in parliament, 14.3% on increasing public awareness, 9.5% on Ban Hartal, 6.6% on stop implementation on Hartal, 2.9% on mutual understanding among political parties and only 1.6% on protest against Hartal.

The above scenario can be easily and more clearly represented by a bar diagram.

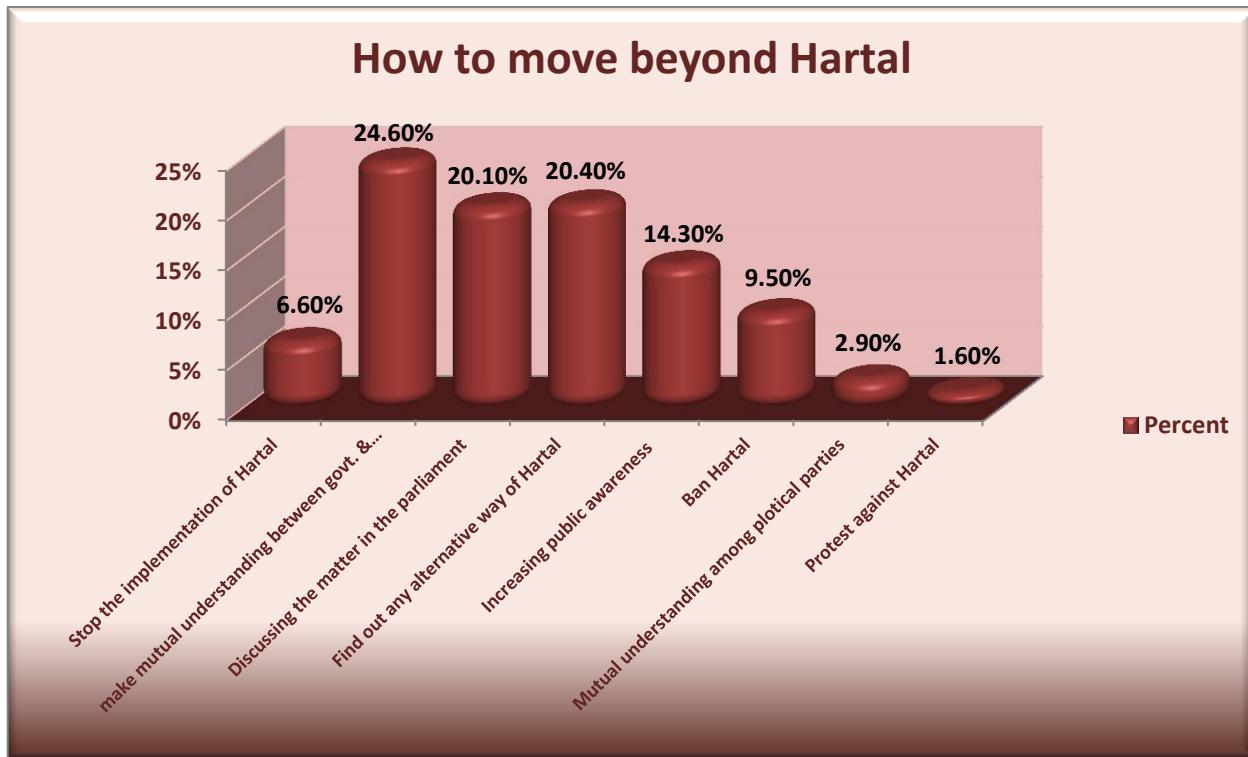


Figure4.A.1.13: Bar diagram showing how to move beyond Hartals

#### **4.A.1.14 Constructive alternatives of Hartal:**

Since majority of the respondent don't support Hartal as a democratic voice of protest, so we should find some alternatives of Hartal. Based on public opinion we have some suggestions.

The following frequency table shows the suggestion and their frequencies.

Constructive alternatives of Hartal	Responses		Percent of Cases
	N	Percent	
Public rally	68	18.6%	29.1%
Use discussing in the parliament	163	44.7%	69.7%
Road march	35	9.6%	15.0%
Hunger strike	49	13.4%	20.9%
Blockade	17	4.7%	7.3%
Gherao	13	3.6%	5.6%
Enforcement of proper law	3	.8%	1.3%
Human chain	7	1.9%	3.0%
Understanding among political parties	10	2.7%	4.3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>365</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>156.0%</b>

Studying the above table we find that 44.7% of the respondent voices on discussing in the parliament, 18.6% on public rally, 13.4% on hunger strike, 9.6% on road march, 4.7% on blockade, 3.6% on Gherao, 2.7% on understanding among political parties, 1.9% on human chain and .8% on the enforcement of proper laws.

The scenario can be expressed more clearly with the help of a bar diagram.

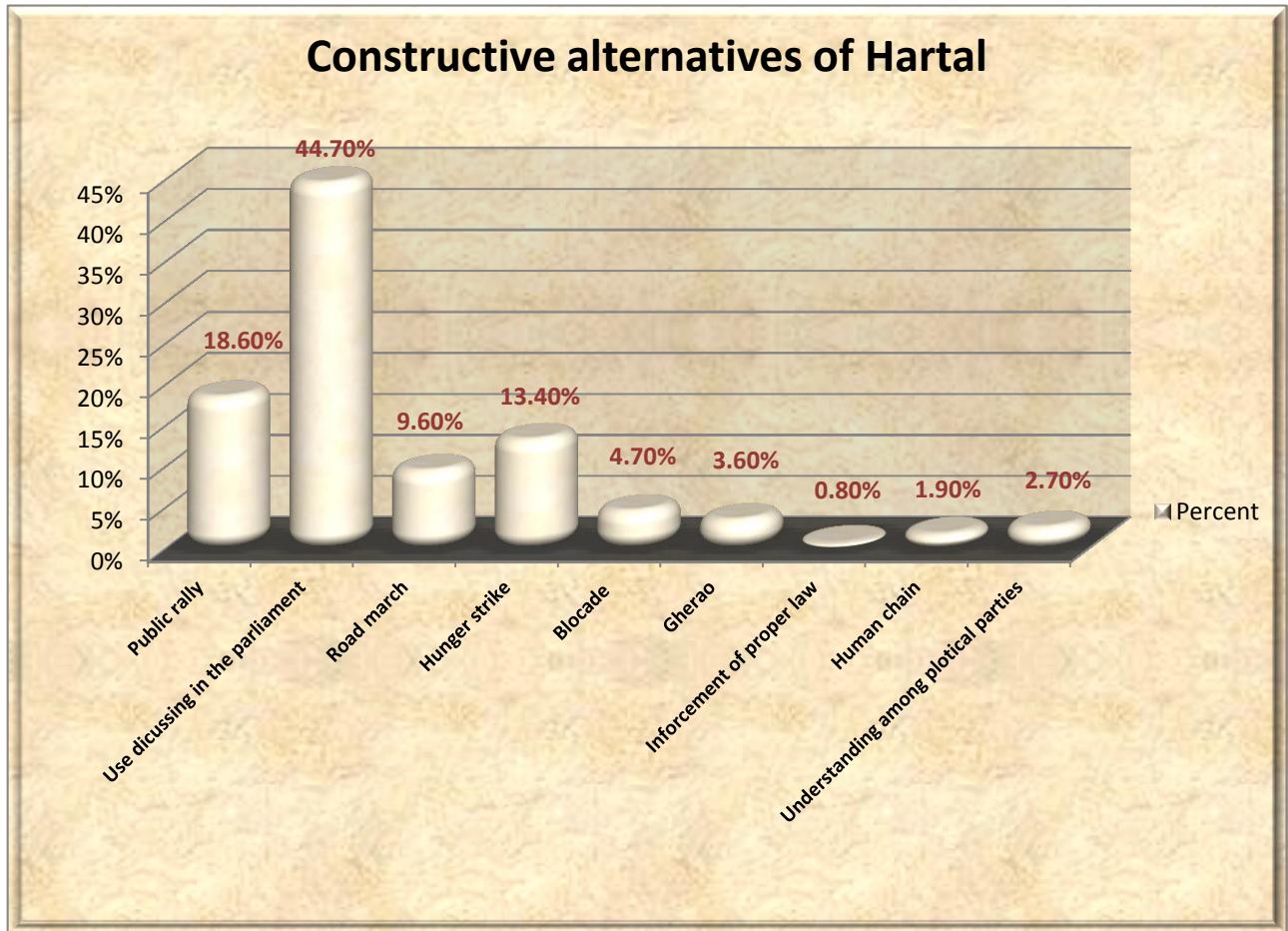


Figure4.A.1.14: Bar diagram showing the constructive alternatives of Hartal.

## **4.A.2 Bivariate analysis:**

### **4.A.2.1 Judgment of the fact that the law enforcement forces are doing the right job based on different respondent's supporting different political party:**



We calculated the percentage of the respondents who thinks that the law enforcement forces are doing the right job or not based on the political party they support.

Now, we are given the following frequency table:

Table 4.A.2.1: Political view Vs Judge the activities of the law enforcement force during Hartal Cross tabulation

Political view		Judge the activities of the law enforcement force during Hartal		Total
		Doing the right job	Not doing the right job	
Ruling party	Count	56	33	89
	% within Political view	62.9%	37.1%	100.0%
Opposition party	Count	38	71	109
	% within Political view	34.9%	65.1%	100.0%
None of them	Count	20	20	40
	% within Political view	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
<b>Total</b>	Count	114	124	238
	% within Political view	47.9%	52.1%	100.0%

The table reveals that, 62.9% among the respondents who support the ruling party thinks that the law enforcement force is doing the right job and 37.1% of them think that they are not doing the right job. These percentages for the opposition party are 34.9% and 65.1% respectively and for the respondents not supporting any party the percentages judging the forces are doing the right job or not are 50% for each.

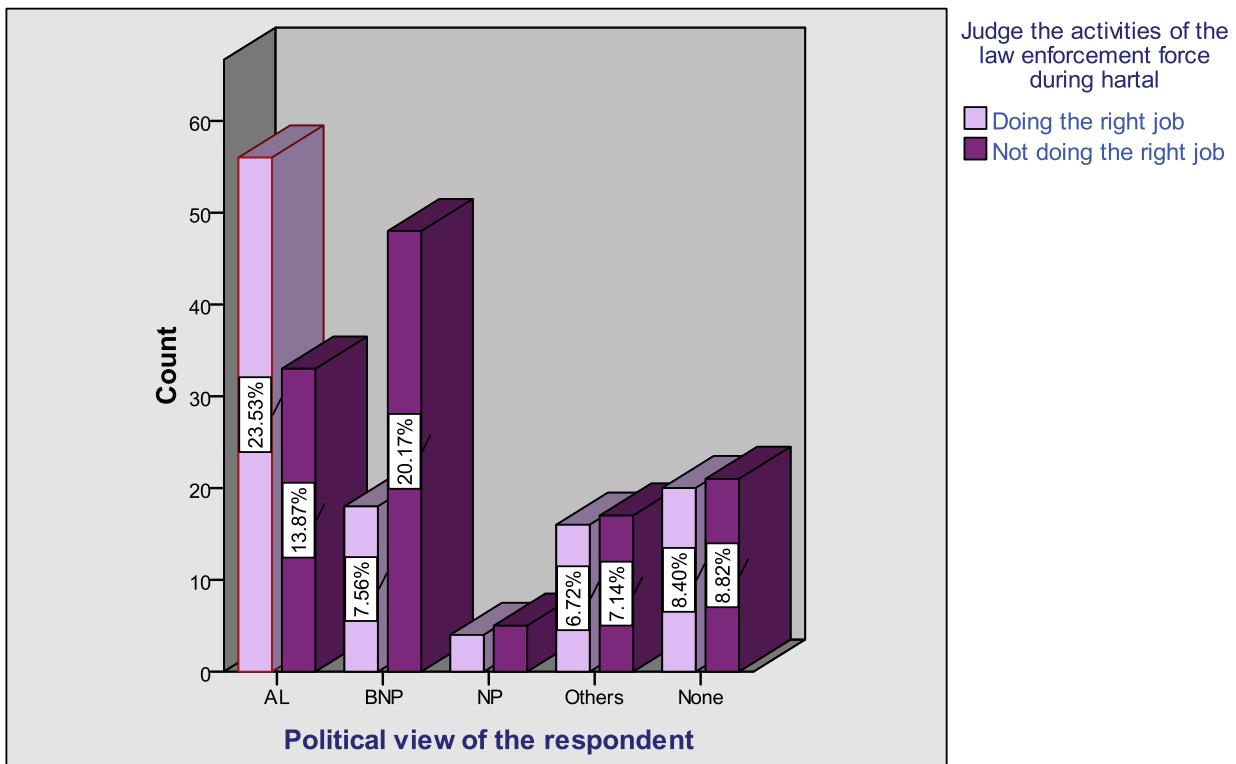


Figure 4.A.2.1: Multiple bar diagram showing the activities of the law force judged by the respondents of different political view

Now we will see here if there is any relationship between political view and the judgment about the law enforcement force with the help of chi-square test.

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
<b>Pearson Chi-Square</b>	15.542 <sup>a</sup>	2	.000
<b>Likelihood Ratio</b>	15.741	2	.000
<b>Linear-by-Linear Association</b>	5.268	1	.022
<b>N of Valid Cases</b>	238		

We have the value of Pearson's chi-square is 15.542 and from the test results we can conclude that, there is significant association between political view of the respondent and their judgment about the fact that the law enforcement force is doing the right job or not. We have the table of symmetric measure for finding association:

Symmetric Measures					
		Value	Asymp. Std. Error	Approx. T	Approx. Sig.
<b>Ordinal by Ordinal</b>	Kendall's tau_b	.160	.062	2.575	.010
<b>N of Valid Cases</b>	238				

We have the value of Kendal's tau 0.160 and p-value is 0.010, so there is correlation between this two factors.

#### **4.A.2.2 Part of socio –economic life most affected by Hartal:**

Here we tried to make a cross table for the variable part of socio-economic life most effected by Hartal with the occupation of the respondents. Now we have the table here-

Table 4.2.2: Occupation of respondent * Part of socio-economic life is affected most by Hartal Cross tabulation									
Occupation of respondent	Part of socio-economic life is affected most by Hartal								Total
	Interruption in daily mobility	Economical loss	Disturbance in business	Educational loss	Destroy of assets	Misery of general public	Price hike	Life risk	
<b>Government service</b>	0	10	3	1	4	6	1	0	25
	.0%	40.0%	12.0%	4.0%	16.0%	24.0%	4.0%	.0%	100.0%
<b>Private service</b>	6	24	6	2	3	14	3	0	58
	10.3%	41.4%	10.3%	3.4%	5.2%	24.1%	5.2%	.0%	100.0%
<b>Laborer</b>	2	1	2	0	1	10	9	0	25
	8.0%	4.0%	8.0%	.0%	4.0%	40.0%	36.0%	.0%	100.0%
<b>Business</b>	7	25	17	3	3	9	3	1	68
	10.3%	36.8%	25.0%	4.4%	4.4%	13.2%	4.4%	1.5%	100.0%
<b>Student</b>	12	13	1	5	0	19	2	0	52
	23.1%	25.0%	1.9%	9.6%	.0%	36.5%	3.8%	.0%	100.0%
<b>Total</b>	27	73	29	11	11	58	18	1	228
	11.8%	32.0%	12.7%	4.8%	4.8%	25.4%	7.9%	.4%	100.0%

We can interpret the above table more easily with the help of a multiple bar diagram which is given below-

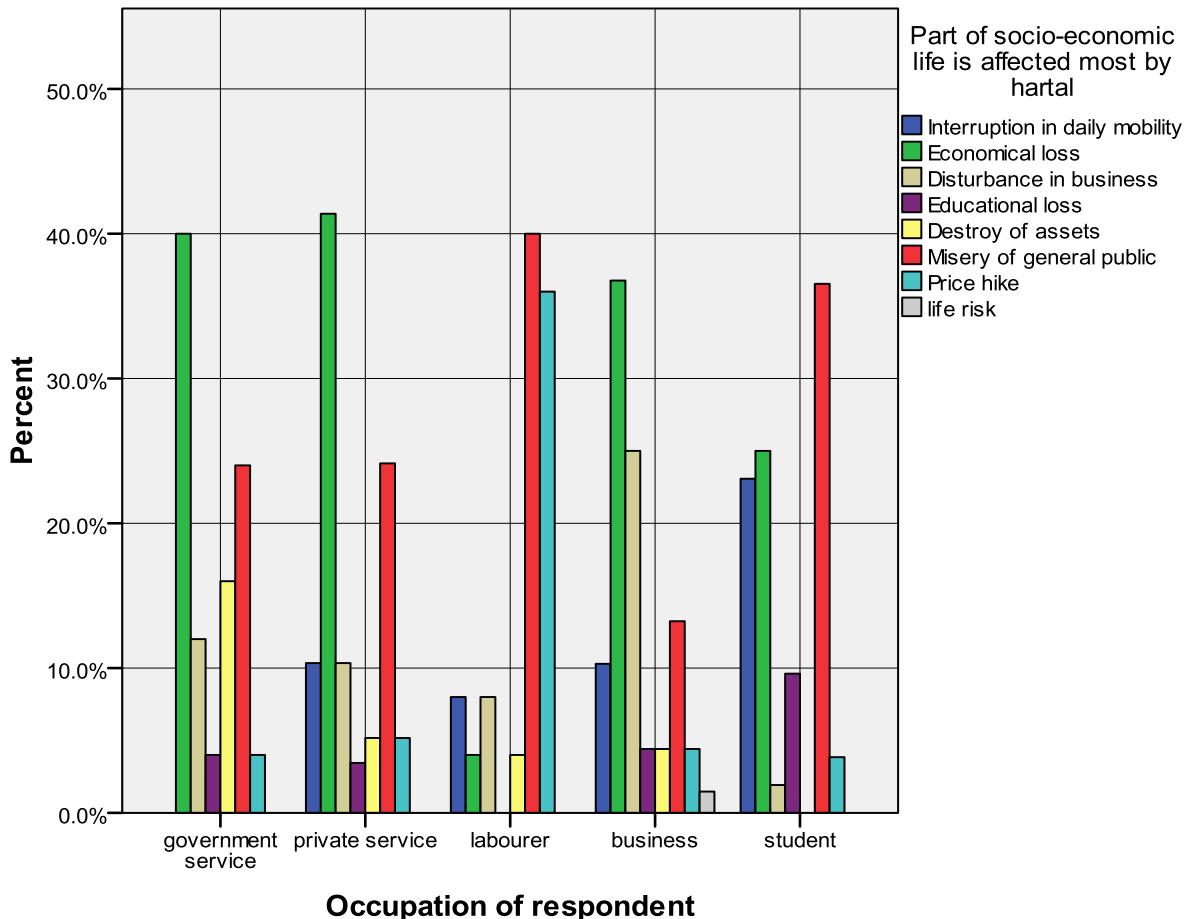


Figure 4.A.2.2: Part of socio-economic life affected most by Hartal Vs Occupation of the respondent

Here we can see that the green & red bars are mostly chosen options, which are respectively indicating Economical loss & misery of general public. The government service holders' as well as the private service holders' and businessmen's prime choice was the economical loss. The day laborers and students mainly focused on the Misery of general public. 2<sup>nd</sup> prime choices are for govt. service holders & private service holders is Misery of general public, for businessmen is Disturbance in business, for day laborers is price hike & for the students is economical loss and Interruption in daily mobility.

#### **4.A.2.3 Part of education affected by Hartal:**

Education sector is largely affected by Hartal and it is true for all levels of education .We found responses from our respondents about this problem and got an idea about their opinion about which sector of education is most effected by Hartal. We made a cross tabulation of this question with the respondents education level.

Table 4.A.2.3: Education level * Level of education is most affected by Hartal Cross tabulation						
Education label		Level of education is most affected by Hartal				Total
		School	College	University	All	
<b>Literate</b>	Count	3	1	2	7	13
	% within Education level	23.1%	7.7%	15.4%	53.8%	100.0%
<b>Primary</b>	Count	4	0	1	22	27
	% within Education level	14.8%	.0%	3.7%	81.5%	100.0%
<b>Secondary</b>	Count	10	1	4	21	36
	% within Education level	27.8%	2.8%	11.1%	58.3%	100.0%
<b>Higher secondary</b>	Count	3	0	3	16	22
	% within Education level	13.6%	.0%	13.6%	72.7%	100.0%
<b>Graduate</b>	Count	16	0	17	42	75
	% within Education level	21.3%	.0%	22.7%	56.0%	100.0%
<b>Masters &amp; onwards</b>	Count	1	2	17	45	65
	% within Education level	1.5%	3.1%	26.2%	69.2%	100.0%
<b>Total</b>	Count	37	4	44	153	238
	% within Education label	15.5%	1.7%	18.5%	64.3%	100.0%

From the table, we can see that most of the respondents in each education level think that all levels of educations are highly affected by Hartal and the percentages are for just literate respondents is 53.8%, for primary educated respondents is 81.5%, for secondary level educated respondents is 58.3%, for higher secondary level educated respondents is 72.7%, for graduated respondents is 56% and finally for post-graduated respondents is 69.2%. This choice from respondents of all education level indicates there is no association between their own education level and their thought about the affected education level. So, we check further choices, to check the association really absent or not. The 2<sup>nd</sup> highest choice were for just literate, primary, secondary level educated respondents is School level and the percentages are 23.1%, 14.8%, 27.8%. The 2<sup>nd</sup> choices for higher secondary educated respondents were equally (13.6%) both “school level” and “University level”. While the 2<sup>nd</sup> choice were for the graduated & post-graduated respondents is “university level” with percentages 22.7% & 26.2%. This indicates an association between them. Let's check this graphically and by chi-square test.

In this case we have the following bar diagram:

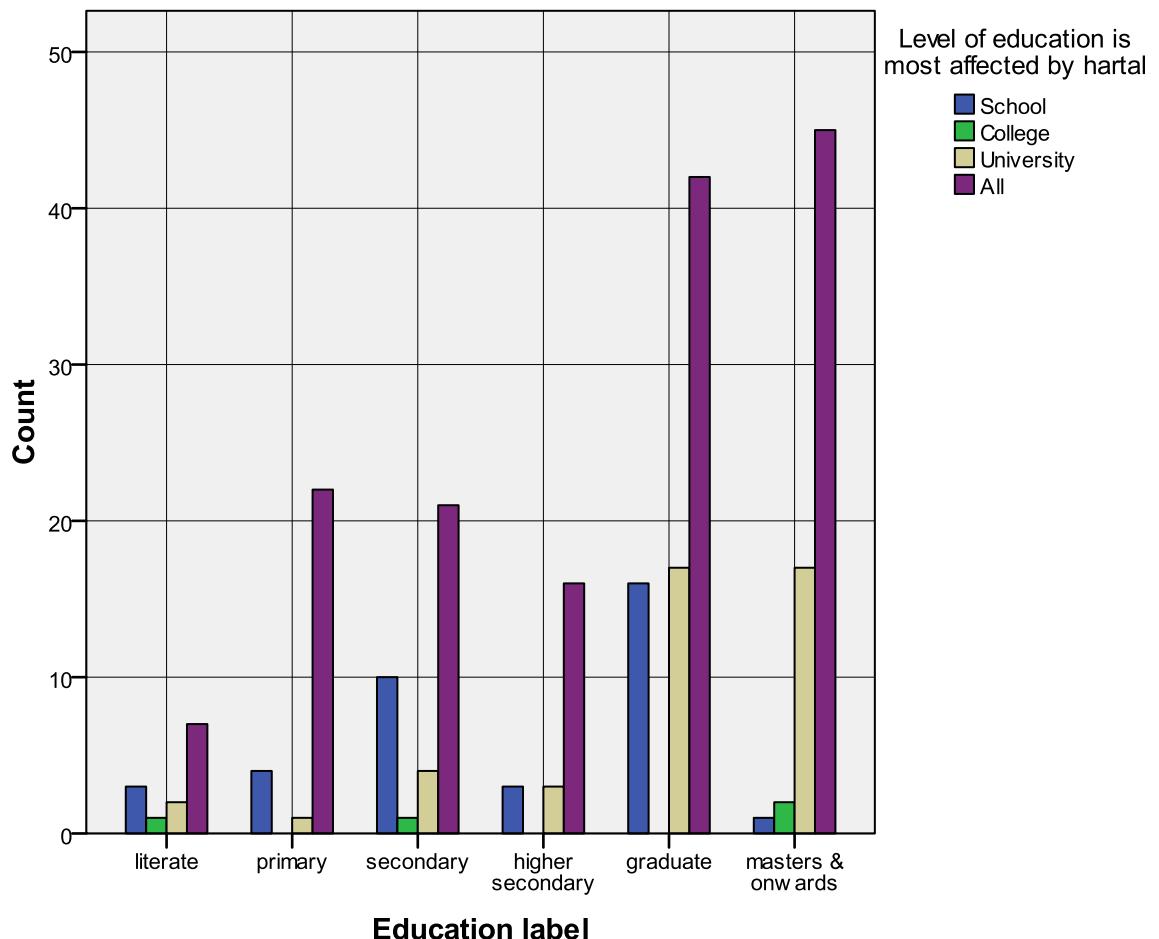


Figure 4.A.2.3: multiple bar diagram on respondent's education level vs. his belief of affected education level

### Chi-square test:

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	30.038 <sup>a</sup>	15	.012
Likelihood Ratio	36.542	15	.001
Linear-by-Linear Association	2.363	1	.124
N of Valid Cases	238		

a. 12 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .22.

We performed chi-square test and found the value of Pearson chi-square is 30.038 and p-value is .012. That is, the test is significant and we may conclude that there is association between the respondents' level of education and belief about which part of education is affected mostly.

### **Table for value of Kendall's tau:**

Symmetric Measures		Value	Asymp. Std. Error <sup>a</sup>	Approx. T <sup>b</sup>	Approx. Sig.
<b>Nominal by Nominal</b>	Contingency Coefficient	.335			.012
<b>Ordinal by Ordinal</b>	Kendall's tau-b	.043	.053	.800	.424
<b>N of Valid Cases</b>		238			

From this table of symmetric measure we found the value of Kendall's tau-b is 0.043 and p-value is 0.424, so can say that there is no association between these two variables. Since both the variables have ordered categories, we may conclude depending on Kendall's tau-b that there is no association between the respondents' level of education and belief about which part of education is affected mostly.

### **4.A.2.4 Political view of the respondent versus opinion about sources of Hartal:**

From the cross tabulation between political view of the respondents and sources of Hartal, it is necessary to add here that we got multiple response for the question sources of Hartal. Now, we have the table here,

			sources of Hartal				Total
			Wrong decision & carelessness of govt.	Opposition parties own interest	Wrong activity of any person/organiz	Welfare of general people	
Political view of the respondent	AL	Count	28	72	5	4	88
		Row %	31.8%	81.8%	5.7%	4.5%	
	BNP	Count	55	19	0	1	66
		Row %	83.3%	28.8%	.0%	1.5%	
	NP	Count	5	7	0	1	9
		Row %	55.6%	77.8%	.0%	11.1%	
	Others	Count	21	21	5	1	33
		Row %	63.6%	63.6%	15.2%	3.0%	
	None	Count	21	25	5	2	41
		Row %	51.2%	61.0%	12.2%	4.9%	
Total		Count	130	144	15	9	237

From the above table we may easily comprehend that 81.8% of the AL supporter voted on opposition party's own interest as a reason of Hartal. Whereas 83.3% of the BNP supporters reveal their opinion on wrong decision & carelessness as the reason behind Hartal. Among all the options of the question sources of Hartal we found highest frequency for "own interest of opposition party" and it is 145 and it was a multiple answer question.

Lets depict the situation with the help of a multiple bar diagram-

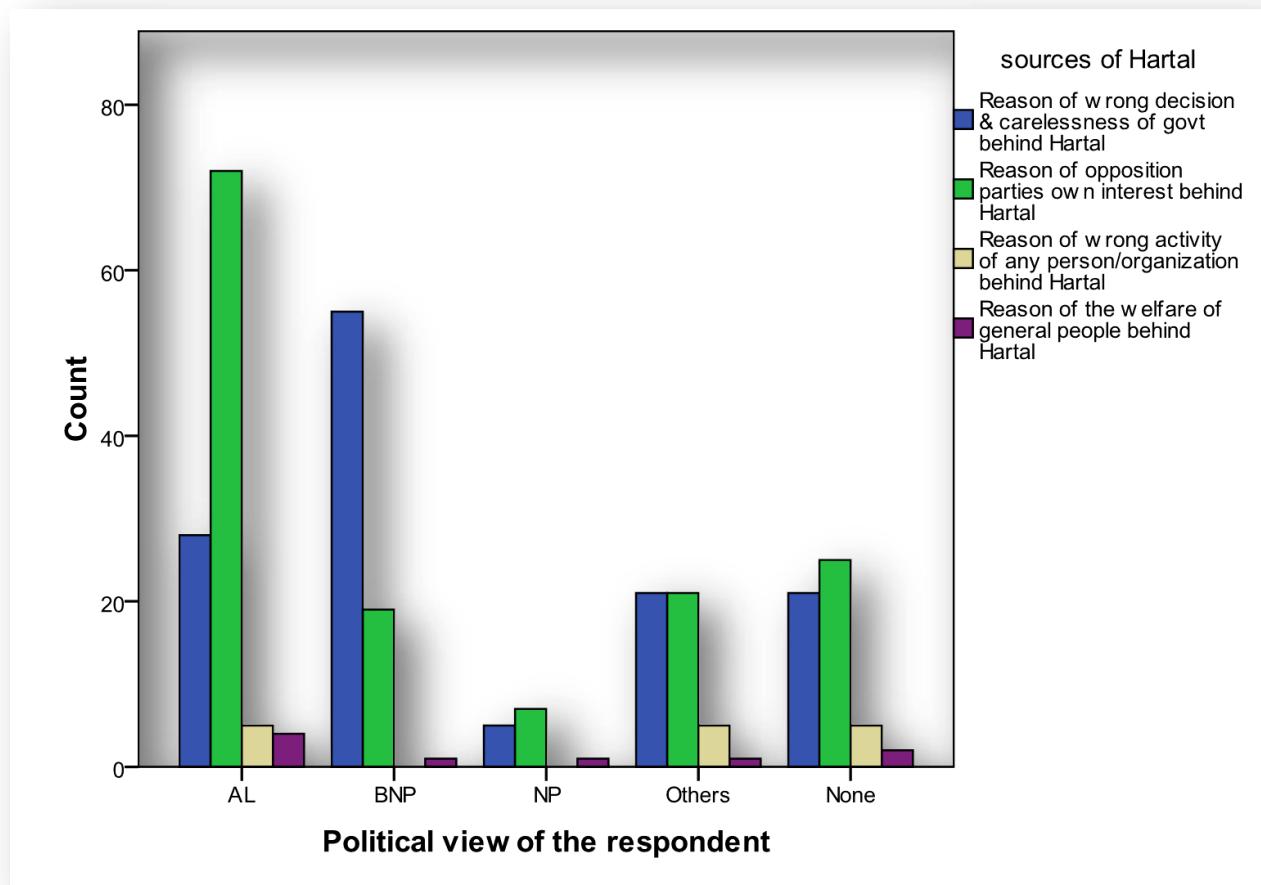


Figure 4.A.2.4: Multiple bar diagram showing the sources of Hartal for the respondents of different political view.

**4.A.2.5 Cross tabulation between sources of Hartal and level of education of the respondents:** We tried to find if there is any association between sources of Hartal and the level of education of the respondents, for this we made a cross table and perform chi-square test. The results are here:

Table 4.A.2.5: sources of Hartal*education Crosstabulation								
Sources of Hartal		Education level						Total
		Literate	Primary	Secondary	Higher secondary	Graduate	Masters & onwards	
Wrong decision & carelessness of govt.	Count	6	15	14	13	48	34	130
	% within \$source	4.6%	11.5%	10.8%	10.0%	36.9%	26.2%	
	% within edu	37.5%	40.5%	36.8%	52.0%	50.5%	38.6%	
Opposition parties own interest	Count	10	18	20	11	40	46	145
	% within \$source	6.9%	12.4%	13.8%	7.6%	27.6%	31.7%	
	% within edu	62.5%	48.6%	52.6%	44.0%	42.1%	52.3%	
Activity of any person/organization	Count	0	3	4	0	3	5	15
	% within \$source	.0%	20.0%	26.7%	.0%	20.0%	33.3%	
	% within edu	.0%	8.1%	10.5%	.0%	3.2%	5.7%	
Welfare of general people	Count	0	1	0	1	4	3	9
	% within \$source	.0%	11.1%	.0%	11.1%	44.4%	33.3%	
	% within edu	.0%	2.7%	.0%	4.0%	4.2%	3.4%	
<b>Total</b>	Count	16	37	38	25	95	88	299

The respondents who believes that wrong decision and carelessness of government is the reason behind Hartal are 4.6%,11.5%,10.8%,10%,36.9% and 26.2% from literate, primary, secondary, higher-secondary, graduate and masters & onwards respectively. "Opposition parties own interest" and "wrong activity of any person /organization" are thought to be reason behind Hartal largely by the respondents from masters & onwards and the percentages are 31.7 and 33.3. "Welfare of the general public" is thought to be a reason largely by the graduates and figure is 44.4%.

### The value for chi-square test:

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	11.508	4	.021
Likelihood Ratio	14.809	4	.005
Linear-by-Linear Association	5.545	1	.019
N of Valid Cases	22		

From the table we have the value of chi-square 11.508 and p-value .021. We can conclude that, there is association between level of education and opinion about the reason behind Hartal.

Symmetric Measures			
		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.723	.021
	Cramer's V	.511	.021
	Contingency Coefficient	.586	.021
N of Valid Cases		22	

From the table of symmetric measure we have phi value 0.723 and p-value .021 i.e. there is association between level of education and opinion about the reason behind Hartal.

#### **4.A.2.6 Educational level & constructive alternatives of Hartal(bivariate analysis):**

We are informed by many of the opinions suggested by our respondents. And the opinions vary person to person of different educational level.

The following cross table shows the choice of different constructive alternatives for different educational level.

Table 4.A.2.6: Educational level vs constructive alternatives of Hartal cross tabulation							
Constructive alternatives of Hartal	Education level						Total
	Literate	Primary	Secondary	Higher secondary	Graduate	Masters & onwards	
Public rally	3	12	7	5	17	24	68
	4.4%	17.6%	10.3%	7.4%	25.0%	35.3%	
Discussing in the parliament	4	15	25	15	56	48	163
	2.5%	9.2%	15.3%	9.2%	34.4%	29.4%	
Road march	4	2	4	2	6	17	35
	11.4%	5.7%	11.4%	5.7%	17.1%	48.6%	
Hunger strike	3	9	5	1	8	23	49
	6.1%	18.4%	10.2%	2.0%	16.3%	46.9%	
Blockade	1	1	1	1	2	11	17
	5.9%	5.9%	5.9%	5.9%	11.8%	64.7%	
Gherao	1	6	1	0	2	3	13
	7.7%	46.2%	7.7%	.0%	15.4%	23.1%	
Enforcement of proper law	0	0	0	0	2	1	3
	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	66.7%	33.3%	
Human chain	1	1	1	0	1	3	7
	14.3%	14.3%	14.3%	.0%	14.3%	42.9%	
Understanding among political parties	1	2	1	1	3	2	10
	10.0%	20.0%	10.0%	10.0%	30.0%	20.0%	
<b>Total</b>	18	48	45	25	97	132	365

A multiple bar diagram will help us to explain this scenario.

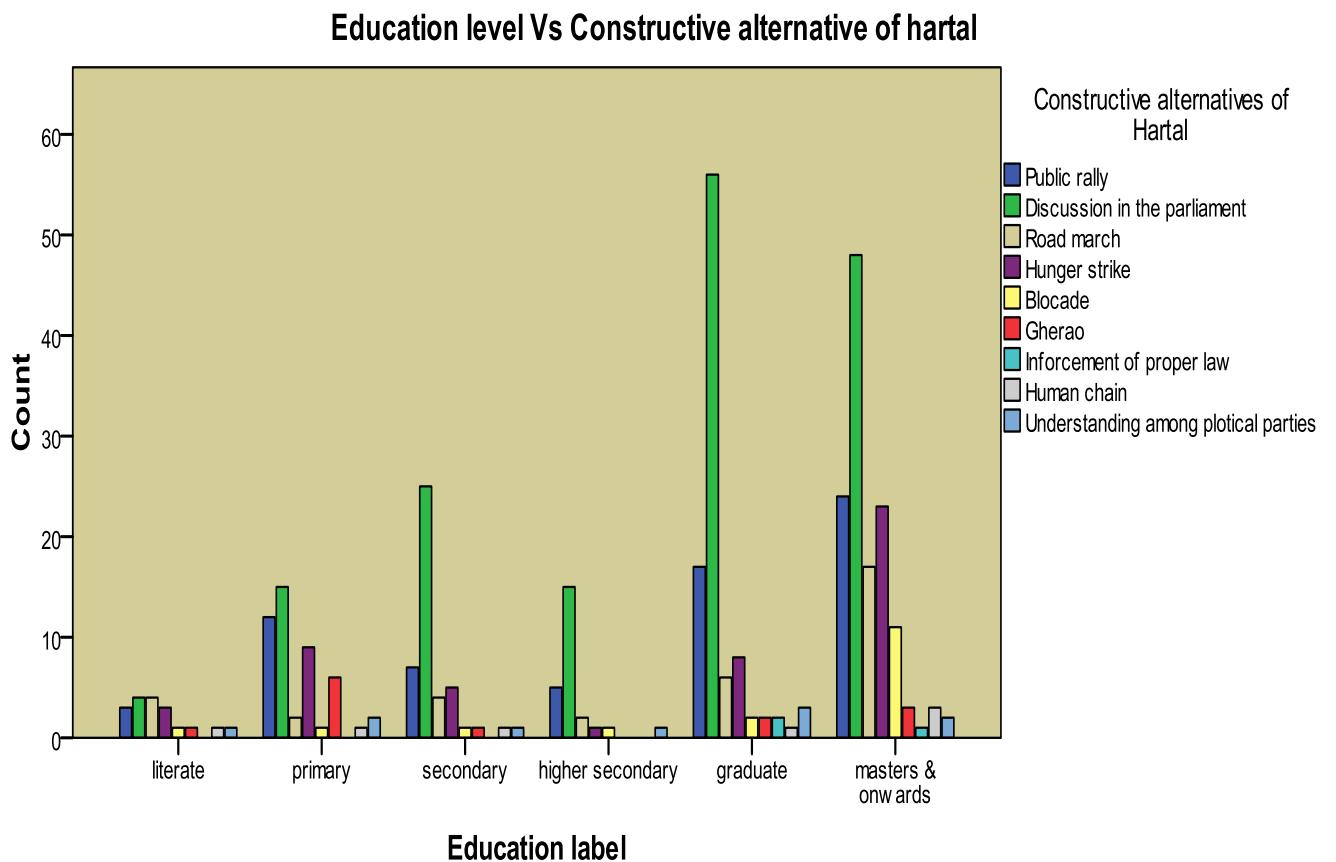


Figure4.A.2.6: Multiple Bar diagram representing the choice of constructive alternatives for different educational level

From the above diagram we can easily conclude that people of all educational level have preferred discussion in parliament the most as a constructive alternative of Hartal. Public rally is also suggested greatly by Masters & graduated respondents. And hunger strike has also possesses a large frequency among primary, Masters and graduated respondents.

## PART B: REGRESSION ANALYSIS

### **4.B.1A Regression of “extra cost on a Hartal day” on “occupation of the respondent”:**

Here we want to assess that how occupation affects the extra cost on a Hartal day of the respondent, i.e. we want to fit regression models of Y (extra cost on a Hartal day) on X (occupation of the respondent).

Y (extra cost on a Hartal day)	X (occupation of the respondent)
0Tk	Govt. service
Below 100 Tk	Private service
101-300 Tk	Laborer
301-500 Tk	Business
Above 500 Tk	Student Housewife

We define dummy variables for X as-

$$D_1 = \begin{cases} 1, & \text{Govt. service} \\ 2, & \text{Others} \end{cases}$$

$$D_2 = \begin{cases} 1, & \text{Private service} \\ 2, & \text{Others} \end{cases}$$

$$D_3 = \begin{cases} 1, & \text{Laborer} \\ 2, & \text{Others} \end{cases}$$

$$D_4 = \begin{cases} 1, & \text{Business} \\ 2, & \text{Others} \end{cases}$$

$$D_5 = \begin{cases} 1, & \text{Student} \\ 2, & \text{Others} \end{cases}$$

& categories of Y as-

$$Y = \begin{cases} 1, & 0 Tk \\ 2, & \text{Below } 100 Tk \\ 3, & 101 - 300 Tk \\ 4, & 301 - 500 Tk \\ 5, & \text{Above } 500 Tk \end{cases}$$

Here, we used multinomial logistic regression approach to fit the models. The fitted models for respective categories of Y are-

$$\ln\left(\frac{P_1}{1-P_1}\right) = 18.974 - 0.063D_1 - 17.588D_2 + 1.586D_3 + 0.348D_4$$

$$\ln\left(\frac{P_2}{1-P_2}\right) = 19.610 - 0.566D_1 - 16.519D_2 + 0.075D_3 - 0.170D_4$$

$$\ln\left(\frac{P_3}{1-P_3}\right) = 18.723 + 1.186D_1 - 16.158D_2 - 14.852D_3 + 0.024D_4$$

$$\ln\left(\frac{P_4}{1-P_4}\right) = 2.197 - 0.000D_1 - 0.588D_2 + 0.000D_3 + 15.3798D_4$$

$$\ln\left(\frac{P_5}{1-P_5}\right) = 1.609 - 0.000D_1 - 17.588D_2 - 16.643D_3 + 16.550D_4$$

Here,  $P_i$  is the probability of occurring  $Y_i$ .  $D_5$  is omitted from the models, because the coefficients of  $D_5$  are zero. The category with highest  $P_i$  will be the estimated category for the corresponding X-category (dummy).

The predicted Y-categories are-

X (occupation of the respondent)	Predicted -Y (extra cost on a Hartal day)
<b>Govt. service</b>	101-300 Tk
<b>Private service</b>	Below 100 Tk
<b>Laborer</b>	0 Tk
<b>Business</b>	Below 100 Tk
<b>Student</b>	Below 100 Tk

Below some model fitting criteria-

Pseudo R-Square	
Cox and Snell	.315
Nagelkerke	.337
McFadden	.140

From the above pseudo R-square table, we can see that, by Cox and Snell method, the models can explain 31.5% of Y, by Nagelkerke it is 33.7% and by McFadden it is 14%.

Observed	Classification						Percent Correct	
	Predicted							
	0 tk	below 100 tk	101 - 300 tk	301 - 500 tk	Above 501 tk			
0	0	1	0	0	0	0	.0%	
0 tk	12	29	7	0	0	0	25.0%	
below 100 tk	5	57	8	0	0	0	81.4%	
101 - 300 tk	0	29	19	0	0	0	39.6%	
301 - 500 tk	0	9	0	0	0	0	.0%	
Above 501 tk	0	5	0	0	0	0	.0%	
Overall Percentage	9.4%	71.8%	18.8%	.0%	.0%	.0%	<b>48.6%</b>	

From the above classification table, we can see that the models correctly classified 48.6% of cases, which is fairly high. So, we can conclude that the fitted models are fairly good for explaining Y and hence, can say that X (occupation of the respondent) has an effect on different categories of Y (extra cost on a Hartal day).

#### **4.B.2A regression of “choice of-reason behind Hartal” on “Political view of the respondent”:**

We want to assess whether the respondent's political view (X) has an effect on informing/ choosing the reason behind Hartal (Y).

X	Y
1. Govt. supporter	1. Wrong decision & carelessness of govt.
2. Non-govt. supporter	2. opposition parties own interest
3. Neither	3. wrong activity of any person/organization 4. the welfare of general people

Since the dependent variable is a multiple response variable, we created dummies for Y in beside of X. The following table shows the dummies-

Dummies of X	Dummies of Y
$X_1 = \begin{cases} 1, & \text{Govt. supporter} \\ 2, & \text{Others} \end{cases}$	$Y_1 = \begin{cases} 1, & Y = 1 \\ 2, & \text{Others} \end{cases}$
$X_2 = \begin{cases} 1, & \text{Non - govt. supporter} \\ 2, & \text{Others} \end{cases}$	$Y_2 = \begin{cases} 1, & Y = 2 \\ 2, & \text{Others} \end{cases}$
	$Y_3 = \begin{cases} 1, & Y = 3 \\ 2, & \text{Others} \end{cases}$
	$Y_4 = \begin{cases} 1, & Y = 4 \\ 2, & \text{Others} \end{cases}$

We will fit 4 different models for 4 dummies of Y.

#### **4.B.2.11<sup>st</sup> Model (for $Y_1$ ):**

Parameter Estimates							
wrong decision & carelessness of govt.		B	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
						95% Confidence Interval for Exp(B)	
							Lower Bound      Upper Bound
yes	Intercept	.049	.312	.024	1	.876	
	Govt. supporter	-.811	.387	4.384	1	.036	.444 .208 .949
	Non-Govt. supporter	1.050	.383	7.497	1	.006	2.857 1.348 6.057
	Neither	0	.	.	0	.	.

a. The reference category is: no.

The fitted model is-

$$\ln\left(\frac{P_1}{1 - P_1}\right) = 0.049 - 0.811X_1 + 1.050X_2$$

Where,  $P_1$  gives the probability of occurring  $Y_1=1$ . Here,  $\exp(B) = 0.444$  means when  $X_1=1$  the odds of occurring  $Y_1$  is 44% of not occurrence of  $Y_1$ , i.e. when  $X_1=1$ , it is more unlikely to occur

$Y_1$ . Similarly,  $\exp(B) = 2.857$  means when  $X_2=1$  the odds of occurring  $Y_1$  is 2.857 times of not occurrence of  $Y_1$ , i.e. when  $X_2=1$ , it is very likely to occur  $Y_1$ . Also, from the above table we can see that the coefficients of  $X_1$  &  $X_2$  are significant at 5% level of significance.  $X_1$  (political view-Govt. supporter) has less effect on the choice of  $Y_2$  (choice of-opposition parties own interest) than  $X_2$  (political view- Non-Govt. supporter).

Below some model fitting criteria-

Model Fitting Information						
Model	Model	Fitting	Likelihood Ratio Tests			
	Criteria	-2	Log	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
	Likelihood					
<b>Intercept Only</b>	51.775					
<b>Final</b>	13.823		37.952	2	.000	

The above table shows that the final model is significant at 5% level significance with the intercept only model.

Pseudo R-Square	
Cox and Snell	.148
Nagelkerke	.198
McFadden	.116

The above pseudo R-square table shows the model can explain 14.8% (As Cox and Snell) variation in  $Y_1$ . As Nagelkerke this is 19.8% and as McFadden this is 11.6%.

Classification			
Observed	Predicted		Percent Correct
	no	yes	
no	60	47	56.1%
yes	28	102	78.5%
Overall Percentage	37.1%	62.9%	<b>68.4%</b>

The above classification table shows that, the estimated model could correctly predict 68.4% of cases, which is pretty high.

So, from the above criteria, we can conclude that, there remains a causal-effect relationship between  $Y_1$  (choice of-wrong decision & carelessness of govt.) with X (Political view of the respondent), which is fairly described by the fitted model.

#### 4.B.2.22<sup>nd</sup> Model (for Y<sub>2</sub>):

Parameter Estimates								
opposition parties' own interest		B	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% Confidence Interval for Exp(B)
								Lower Bound      Upper Bound
yes	Intercept	.446	.320	1.943	1	.163		
	Govt. supporter	1.058	.423	6.255	1	.012	2.880	1.257      6.598
	Non-Govt. supporter	-.707	.374	3.566	1	.059	.493	.237      1.027
	Neither	0 <sup>b</sup>	.	.	0	.	.	.

a. The reference category is: no.

The fitted model is-

$$\ln\left(\frac{P_2}{1 - P_2}\right) = 0.446 + 1.058X_1 - 0.707X_2$$

Where, P<sub>2</sub> gives the probability of occurring Y<sub>2</sub>=1. Here, from the above table we can see that the coefficient of X<sub>1</sub> is significant and coefficient of X<sub>2</sub> is insignificant at 5% level of significance. Again, exp (B) = 2.880 means when X<sub>1</sub>=1 the odds of occurring Y<sub>2</sub> is 2.880 times of not occurrence of Y<sub>2</sub>, i.e. when X<sub>1</sub>=1, it is very likely to occur Y<sub>2</sub>. X<sub>1</sub> (political view- Govt. supporter) has a greater effect on the choice of Y<sub>2</sub> (choice of-opposition parties own interest) than X<sub>2</sub> (political view- Non-Govt. supporter)

Below some model fitting criteria-

Model Fitting Information				
Model	Model Fitting Criteria	Likelihood Ratio Tests		
		-2 Log Likelihood	Chi-Square	df
Intercept Only	44.967			
Final	13.671	31.296	2	.000

The above table shows that the final model is significant at 5% level significance with the intercept only model.

Pseudo R-Square	
Cox and Snell	.124
Nagelkerke	.168
McFadden	.099

The above pseudo R-square table shows the model can explain 12.4% (As Cox and Snell) variation in Y<sub>2</sub>. As Nagelkerke this is 16.8% and as McFadden this is 9.9%.

Classification			
Observed	Predicted		
	no	yes	Percent Correct
<b>no</b>	61	32	65.6%
<b>yes</b>	47	97	67.4%
<b>Overall Percentage</b>	45.6%	54.4%	<b>66.7%</b>

The above classification table shows that, the estimated model could correctly predict 66.7% of cases, which is pretty high.

So, from the above criteria, we can conclude that, there remains a causal-effect relationship between  $Y_2$  (choice of-opposition parties own interest) with  $X$  (Political view of the respondent), which is fairly described by the fitted model.

#### **4.B.2.33<sup>rd</sup> Model (for $Y_3$ ):**

Parameter Estimates								
<b>Wrong activity of any person/ organization<sup>a</sup></b>		B	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% Confidence Interval for Exp(B)
								Lower Bound      Upper Bound
yes	Intercept	-1.974	.477	17.109	1	.000		
	Govt. supporter	-.835	.663	1.586	1	.208	.434	.118      1.591
	Non-Govt. supporter	-1.051	.661	2.526	1	.112	.350	.096      1.278
	Neither	0 <sup>b</sup>	.	.	0	.	.	.

a. The reference category is: no.

The fitted model is-

$$\ln\left(\frac{P_3}{1 - P_3}\right) = -1.974 - 0.835X_1 - 1.051X_2$$

Where,  $P_3$  gives the probability of occurring  $Y_3=1$ . Here, from the above table we can see that the coefficients of  $X_1$  &  $X_2$  are insignificant at 5% level of significance.

So, we can conclude that, there has no causal-effect relationship between  $Y_3$  (choice of-Wrong activity of any person/ organization) with  $X$  (Political view of the respondent).

#### **4.B.2.4 4th Model (for Y<sub>4</sub>):**

Parameter Estimates									
welfare of general people <sup>a</sup>		B	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% Confidence Interval for Exp(B)	
								Lower Bound	Upper Bound
yes	Intercept	-2.970	.725	16.786	1	.000			
	Govt. supporter	-.074	.887	.007	1	.933	.929	.163	5.287
	Non-Govt. supporter	-.585	.932	.394	1	.530	.557	.090	3.461
	Neither	0 <sup>b</sup>	.	.	0	.	.	.	.

**a. The reference category is: no.**

The fitted model is-

$$\ln \left( \frac{P_4}{1 - P_4} \right) = -2.970 - 0.074X_1 - 0.585X_2$$

Where, P<sub>4</sub> gives the probability of occurring Y<sub>4</sub>=1. Here, from the above table we can see that the coefficients of X<sub>1</sub>& X<sub>2</sub> are highly insignificant at 5% level of significance.

So, we can conclude that, there has no causal-effect relationship between Y<sub>4</sub> (choice of-welfare of general people) with X (Political view of the respondent).

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **Sector-wise Analyses**

Here, the Analysis is done based on the responses from respondents of ten (previously explained) sectors, to get a closer view into those sectors. The analysis is continued first in univariate procedures and then, where necessary, bivariate procedures and test of associations are also used.

#### **SECTION 5.1: DAY LABOR**

To assess the various effects on poor people, we took sample from day labors and did various analyses in this section.

##### **Univariate analysis:**

###### **5.1.1 Occupation of the respondents:**

Among day labors there are various types of occupation we found some hawker, tea seller, carpenter, cobbler, labor, rickshaw puller. We are showing the frequency of these types:

<b>Table 5.1.1: Frequency distribution of occupation of the respondent</b>				
Occupation	Frequenc y	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Hawker	2	8.7	8.7	8.7
Rickshaw puller	3	13.0	13.0	21.7
Tea seller	4	17.4	17.4	39.1
Carpenter	3	13.0	13.0	52.2
Labor	10	43.5	43.5	95.7
Cobbler	1	4.3	4.3	100.0
Total	23	100.0	100.0	

The table reveals that, we got largest number of respondents from laborers. 8.7%, 13%, 17.4%, 13%, 4.3% respondents are from hawker, rickshaw puller, tea seller, carpenter and cobbler respectively.

We have the bar diagram to understand it easily:

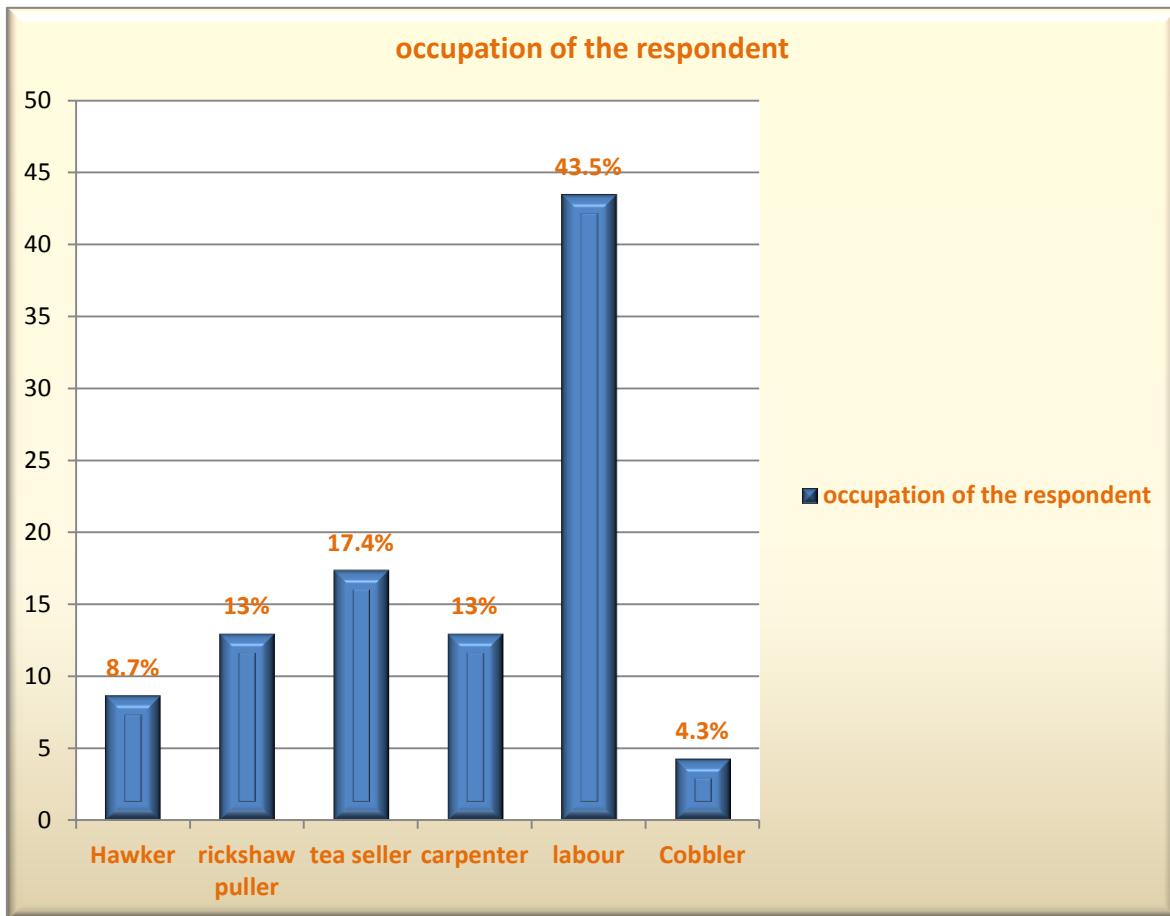


Figure5.1.1: Bar diagram on different categories of day-labor.

### **5.1.2 Going outside on Hartal day:**

It's necessary to go out every day for day labor, as they live on their regular works. On Hartal day they also try to go out. Many times the situations are not fair, and then they back from.

Now see what the condition of them is:

**Table 5.1.2: Frequency distribution of whether going outside in Hartal days**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	13	56.5	56.5	56.5
	No	10	43.5	43.5	100.0
	Total	23	100.0	100.0	

The table says 56.5% of them go out to work, and 43.5% avoid going. So, the majority is going out.

And see the corresponding pie chart:

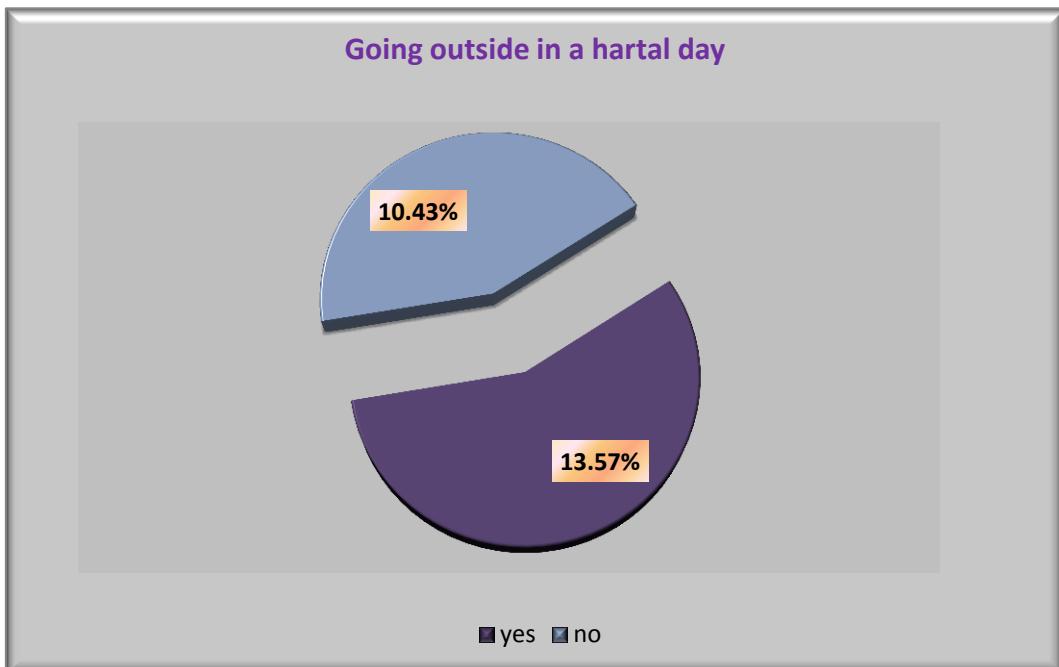


Figure5.1.2: Pie chart showing the percentage of going out-side on Hartal day.

### **5.1.3 The reasons for not going out on Hartal day:**

Although labor always try to go out but many time they fail to full fill their aim. Surprising run off, picketing, bombing, unexpected anxiety etc keep them aloof from going out. We can check what the data say:

<b>Table 5.1.3: Frequency distribution of the reasons for not going outside in Hartal days</b>				
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Fear of picketing	15	78.9	78.9	78.9
To support Hartal	2	10.5	10.5	89.5
Others	2	10.5	10.5	100.0
Total	19	100.0	100.0	

We see that 78.9% of the respondents avoid to outside for fear of picketing. 10.5% don't go for the fear if they are forced to support Hartal.

Now let's see the simple bar diagram:

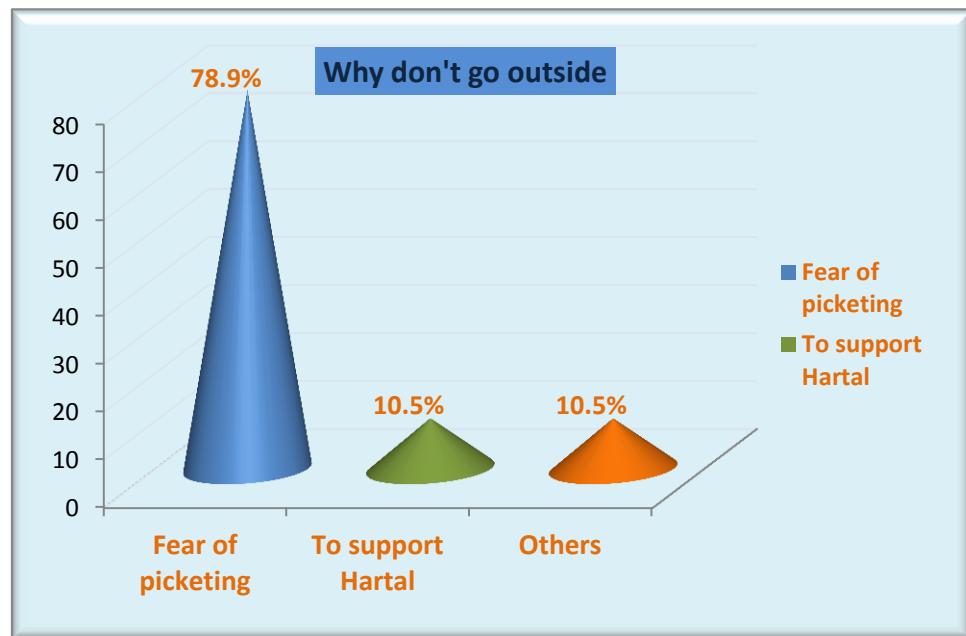


Figure 5.1.3: Bar diagram on the reasons for not going outside on a Hartal day..

#### **5.1.4 Types of threats /loss:**

Threats also come to labor classes too. Physical torture seems so common to them; it might come from both sides (police, Hartal supporter). Labors main panic is to loss their things. The table for different types of threat or loss of a day laborer is given below:

<b>Table 5.1.4: Frequency distribution of type of threat /loss</b>				
<b>Types of threat /loss</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Valid Percent</b>	<b>Cumulative Percent</b>
Physical torture	8	40.0	40.0	40.0
Harassments by Police	2	10.0	10.0	50.0
Damaging parts of Rickshaws	6	30.0	30.0	80.0
Fear of terrorist	4	20.0	20.0	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

From the above it's clear that the main panic is physical torture, it shows 40.0%. Rickshaw pullers are the worse sufferer, damage of rickshaws in percentage is high enough 30.0%. Terrorist threat is not less, 20.0%. Less percentage in police harassments, only 10.0%.

Let's check the bar-diagram:

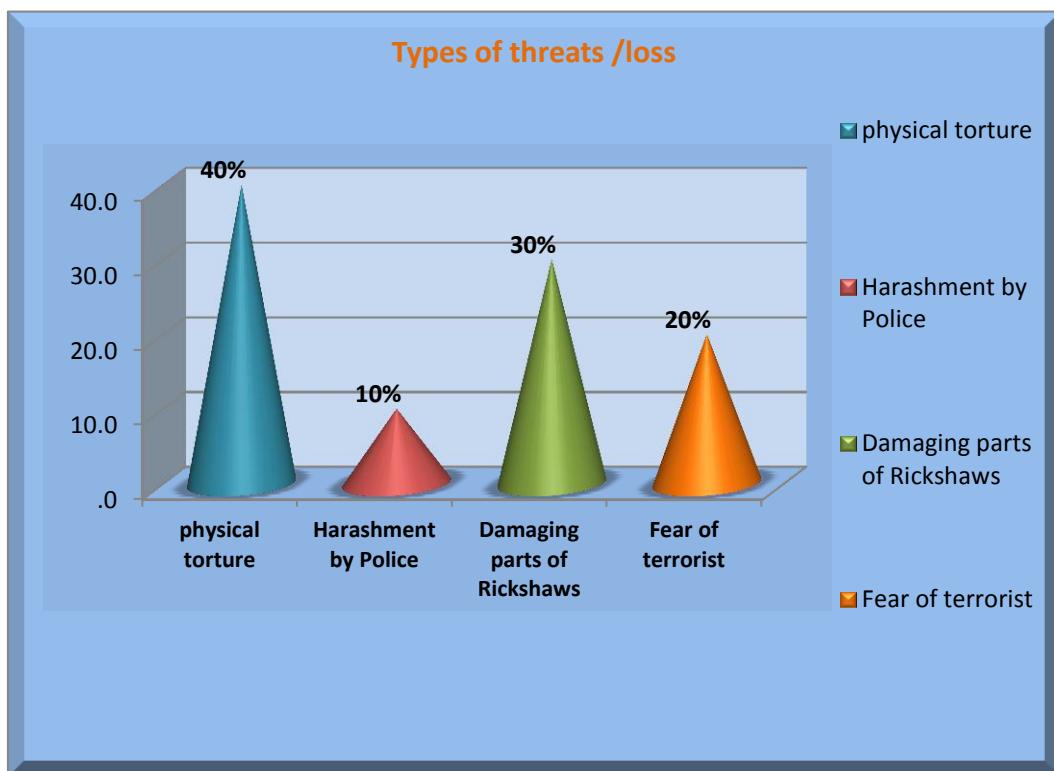


Figure 5.1.4: Bar diagram showing the percentages of threats got by labors.

## Bivariate analysis:

### **5.1.5 Cross tabulation between occupation and amount of loss:**

We made a cross table between occupation and amount of loss/profit. Now check the table-

<b>Table 5.1.5: Occupation of the respondent * amount of loss on a Hartal day Cross tabulation</b>						<b>Total</b>	
<b>Occupation of the respondent</b>	<b>Amount of loss on a Hartal day</b>						
	<100	100-200	200-300	300-400	>400		
Hawker	0	0	1	1	0	2	
	.0%	.0%	50.0%	50.0%	.0%	100.0%	
Rickshaw puller	0	2	0	0	0	2	
	.0%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%	
Tea seller	2	2	0	0	0	4	
	50.0%	50.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%	
Carpenter	0	2	1	0	0	3	
	.0%	66.7%	33.3%	.0%	.0%	100.0%	
Labour	0	1	5	1	3	10	
	.0%	10.0%	50.0%	10.0%	30.0%	100.0%	
Cobbler	0	0	0	0	1	1	
	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
Total	2	7	7	2	4	22	
	9.1%	31.8%	31.8%	9.1%	18.2%	100.0%	

The table is enough to exaggerate the data.

From the above we conclude that the percentage of loss of tk 100-200 and 200-300 is high. 50% of Hawker's loss is within 200-300 or 300-400 tk. And rickshaw puller's loss is between 100 to 200 tk. Tea seller's loss is either less than 100 or between tk 100-200. 66.7% of the carpenter's loss occurs within the range of tk 100-200. And 50% of the labor's amount of loss is between tk 200-300.

Now we can easily represent the above scenario with the help of a multiple bar diagram.

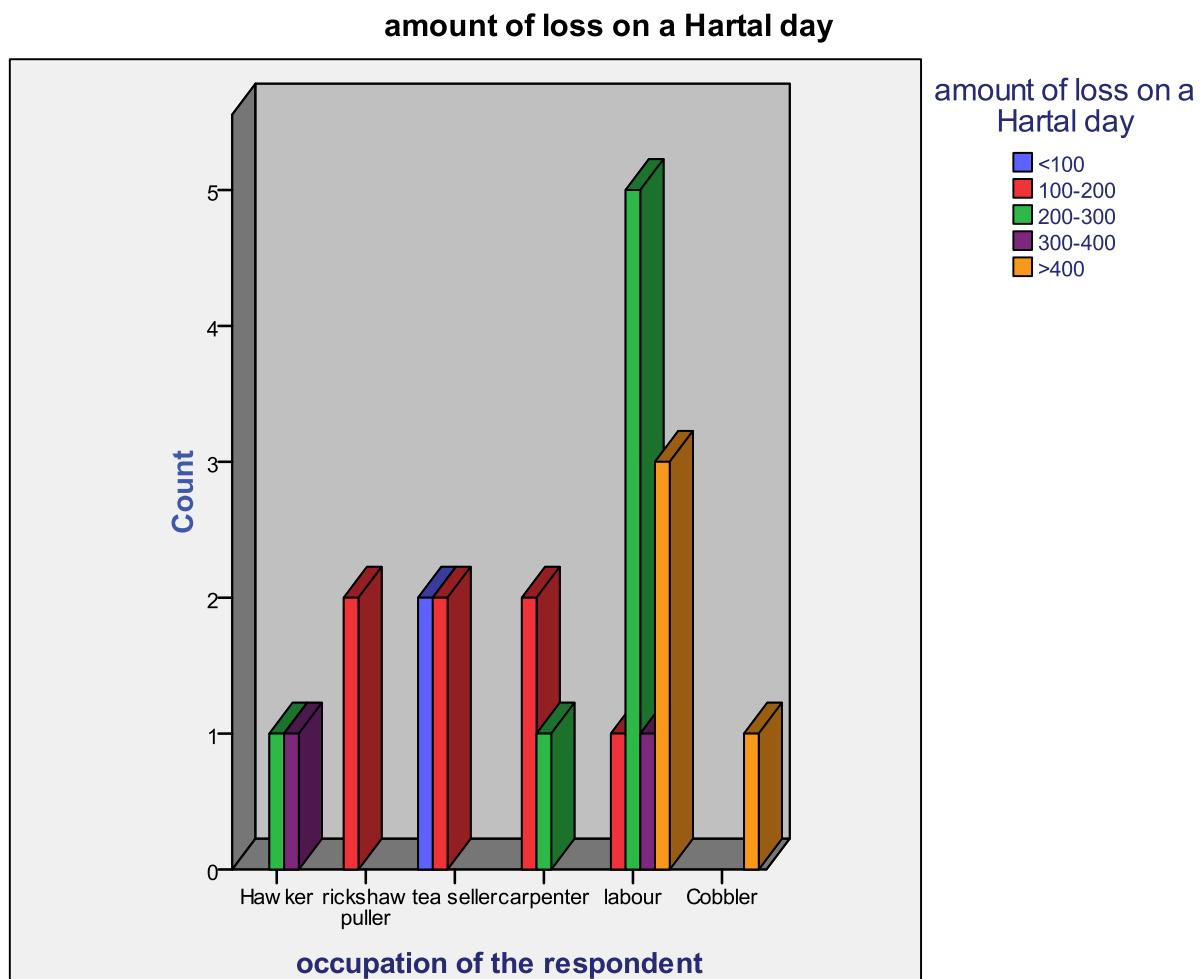


Figure5.1.5: Multiple bar diagram of the amount of losses on a Hartal day for different types of labor.

### **5.1.6 The way how they compensate the loss of a Hartal day:**

Day labors are of various types as we found some hawker, rickshaw-puller, tea-seller, carpenter, cobbler and labor. We have the frequencies about how they compensate their loss in a Hartal day .In this case we got multiple responses from the respondents. The table is given below:

The way to compensate their loss	occupation of the respondent						Total
	Hawker	Rickshaw puller	Tea seller	Carpenter	Labor	Cobbler	
Loan	2	1	2	3	3	0	11
	18.2%	9.1%	18.2%	27.3%	27.3%	.0%	
Extra income	1	0	3	0	2	0	6
	16.7%	.0%	50.0%	.0%	33.3%	.0%	
Using savings	0	2	0	1	9	1	13
	.0%	15.4%	.0%	7.7%	69.2%	7.7%	
Reducing expenditure	0	1	1	2	4	0	8
	.0%	12.5%	12.5%	25.0%	50.0%	.0%	
Others	0	0	2	0	1	0	3
	.0%	.0%	66.7%	.0%	33.3%	.0%	
Total	3	4	8	6	19	1	41

The table is enough to exaggerate the data.

We see that, majority of the Hawkers, rickshaw pullers, tea sellers, carpenters, labors, cobblers have found their way to compensate losses by loan or extra income, using savings or reducing expenditure, extra income, loan, using savings respectively.

Now let's see the multiple bar diagram.

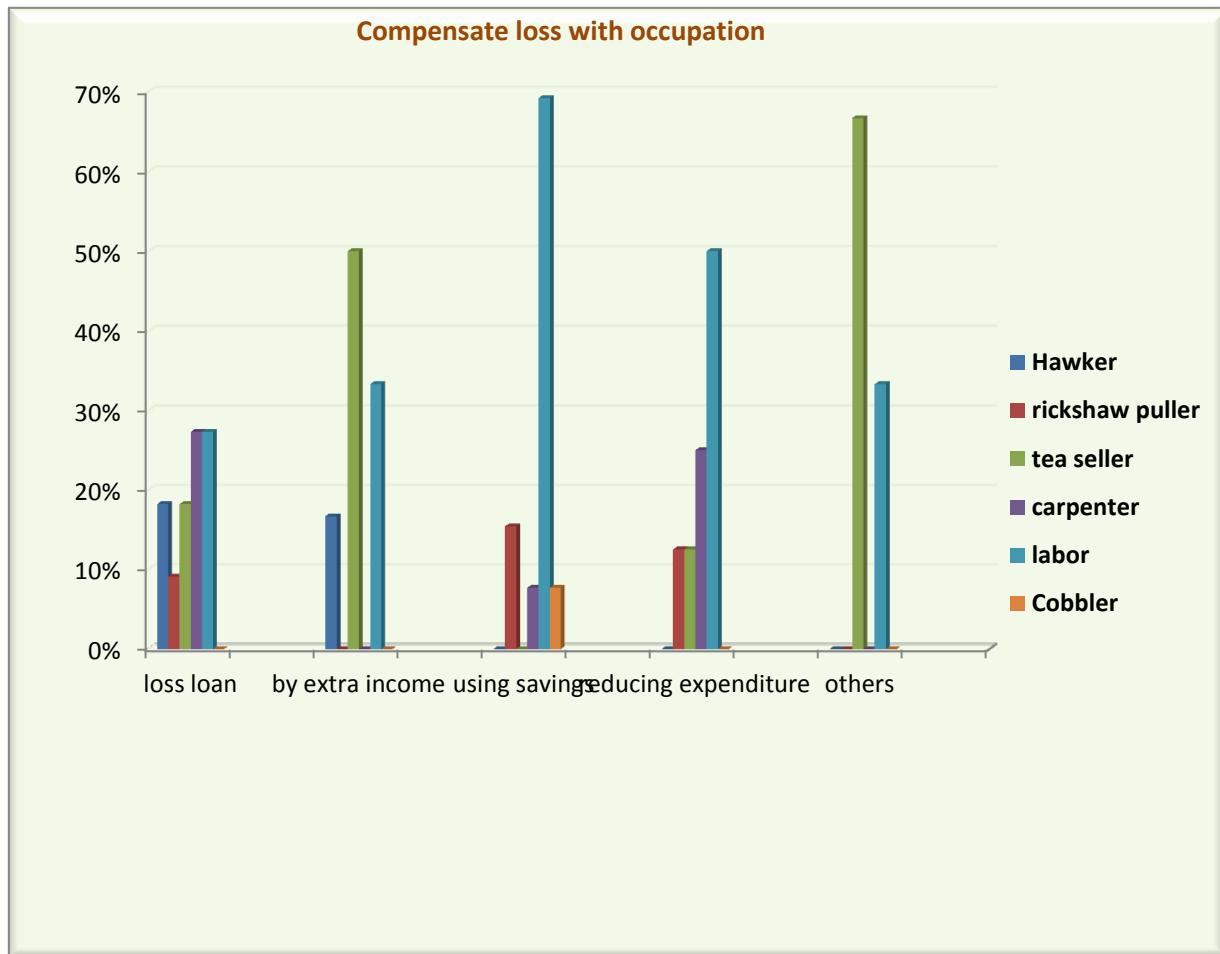


Figure5.1.6: Multiple bar diagram on the percentages of ways to compensate loss for different types of labors.

## SECTION 5.2: MEDIA

The effects of Hartal in the most popular & important sector “Media” of our society is cancerous. Here we take a sample from a population of media workers of Dhaka city and perform some univariate and bivariate analysis to see the effects of Hartal on this sector.

### **5.2.1 Facing indecent situations:**

Here we see the percentage of media workers facing any indecent situation when they were on duty on a Hartal day.

The following frequency table shows the percentage of respondents who ever faced any indecent situation while working on a Hartal day.

**Table 5.2.1: Frequency distribution of whether faced any indecent situation**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	8	66.7	66.7	66.7
No	4	33.3	33.3	100.0
Total	12	100.0	100.0	

Analyzing the table we observe that 66.7% of the sample have some experiences of facing some indecent situations while working on a Hartal day and 33.3% of the respondent don't have such experiences. We notice that the percentage of facing indecent situations is comparatively double than not facing so.

Now the above scenario can be presented with the help of a doughnut chart given below:

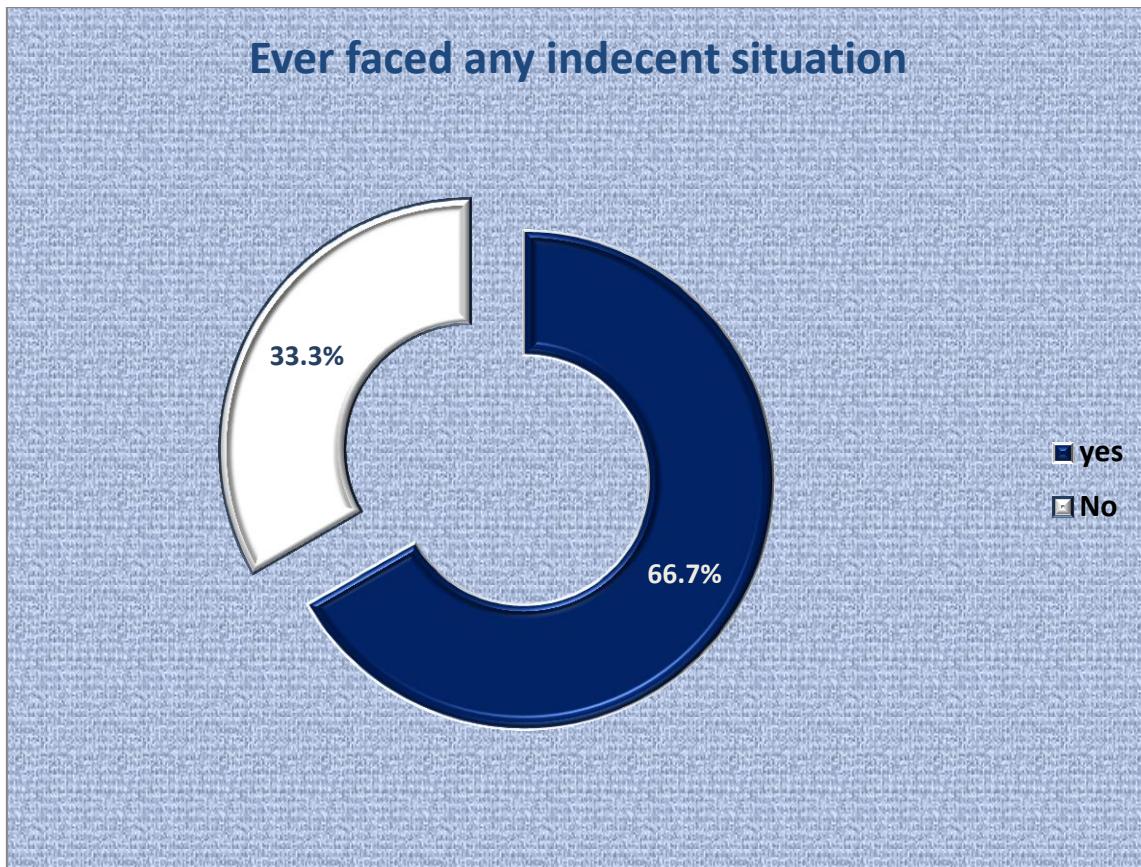


Figure 5.2.1: Doughnut chart to represent the percentage facing indecent situations

## **5.2.2 Types of indecent situations:**

Now we observe the types of indecent affairs that the media worker faces on a Hartal day with their corresponding percentages.

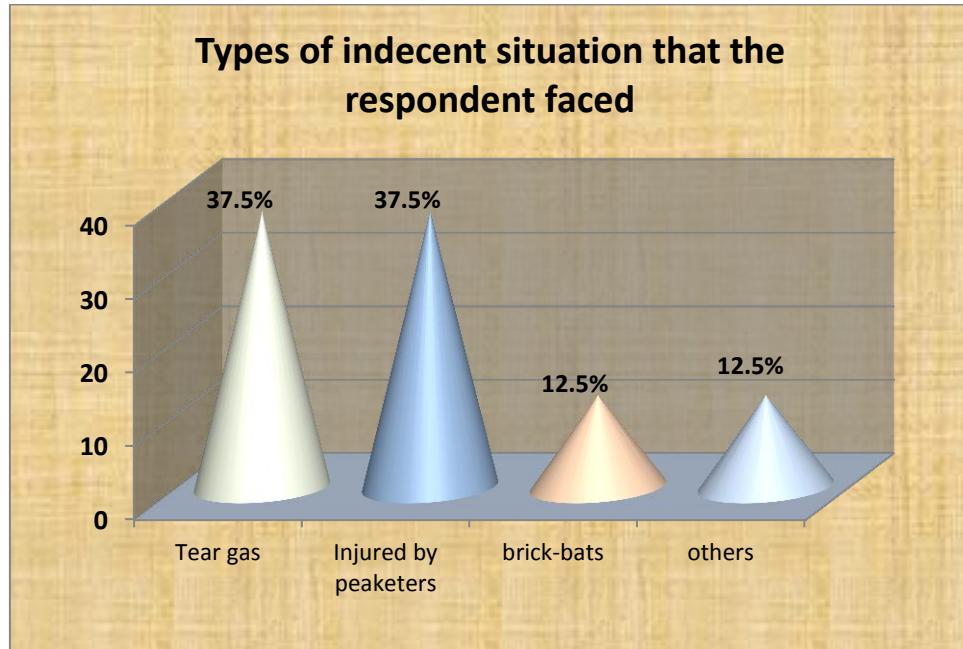
The following frequency table shows the percentages-

**Table 5.2.2: Frequency distribution of types of indecent situation that the respondent faced**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Tear gas	3	37.5	37.5	37.5
	Injured by peaketers	3	37.5	37.5	75.0
	Brick-bats	1	12.5	12.5	87.5
	Others	1	12.5	12.5	100.0
	Total	8	100.0	100.0	

Analyzing the above frequency table we see that, tear gas and picketing occur the most carrying the highest percentage of 37.5. The percentage of injuring by brick-bats is 12.5. And all the other indecent situations that the media workers face while was on duty takes the percentage of 12.5.

Now for the clear picture of the above scenario, we represent the above information with the help of a bar diagram.



**Figure 5.2.2: Bar Diagram with the types of indecent situations that respondent faced**

### **5.2.3 How risky the duty on a Hartal day?**

In this part we observe the risk of duty of a media worker on a Hartal day. We use three categories of risk, (i) not risky, (ii) less risky and (iii) high risky and collect information on this from the respondents.

The frequency and corresponding percentage are shown in the following table.

**Table 5.2.3: Frequency distribution indicating How risky working on a Hartal day**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Less risky	2	16.7	16.7	16.7
	High risky	10	83.3	83.3	100.0
	Total	12	100.0	100.0	

Analyzing the above frequency table we find that there is no vote for “not risky”. 83.3% of the respondents have given their opinion that working on a Hartal day is very much risky and only 16.7% said that it is less risky.

Now with the help of a bar diagram the above scenario can be expressed more clearly.

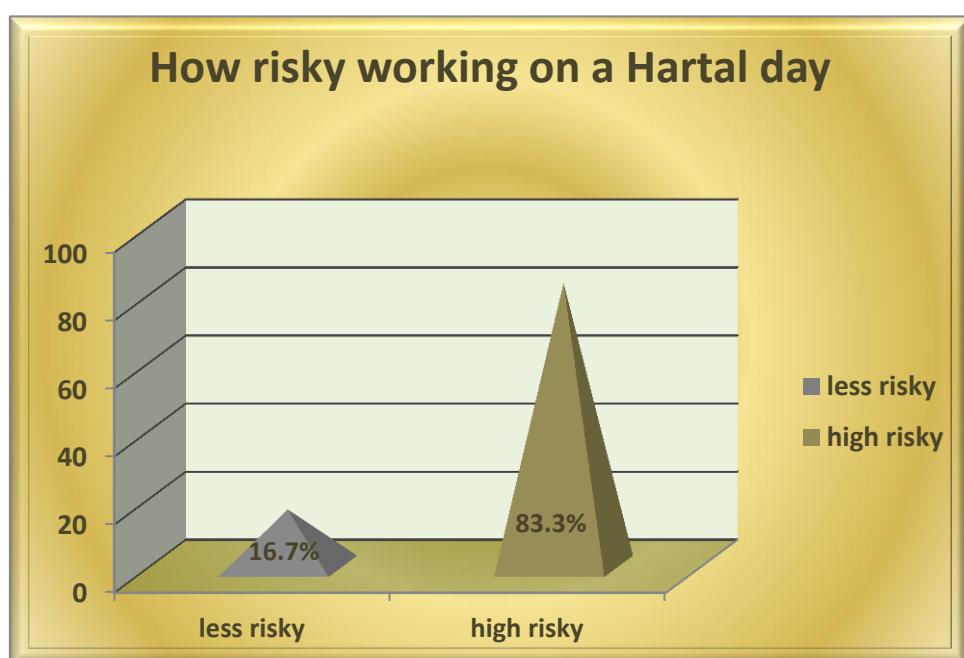


Figure 5.2.3: Simple bar diagram representing the risk of duty on a Hartal day.

#### **5.2.4 Behavior of Police to media workers:**

When the respondent is on duty, we record the behavior of police to them. We ask all of our respondents sampled in our survey about the behavior of police and record whether it was helpful or not.

The frequency table along with the percentage of the behavior of police based on the records is given below.

**Table 5.2.4: Frequency distribution showing the Behavior of police when the respondent is on duty**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Helpful	7	58.3	58.3	58.3
	Not helpful	5	41.7	41.7	100.0
Total		12	100.0	100.0	

From the table, we see that 58.3% of the respondent said that the behavior is helpful while 41.7% said it isn't.

The scenario can be expressed more clearly with the help of a bar diagram.

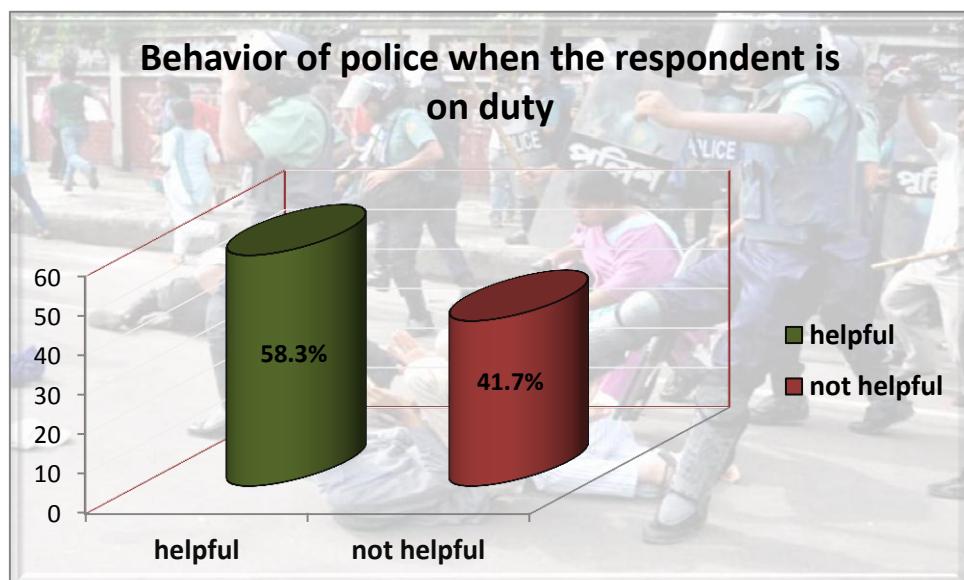


Figure 5.2.4: Bar diagram representing the behavior of police.

### **5.2.5 Effects of reports on society the respondent publishes on Hartal:**

Finally we wanted to know the effectiveness of Hartal related reports that the respondent publishes. We ask all respondents about the effectiveness of their reports whether it has any positive, negative or no effect on society.

The frequency table along with percentages is shown below.

**Table 5.2.5: Frequency distribution of showing the effects of reports on society**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Positive	10	83.3	83.3	83.3
Negative	1	8.3	8.3	91.7
No effect	1	8.3	8.3	100.0
Total	12	100.0	100.0	

We observe that among all the respondent 83.3% have said that the published report on Hartal has positive effect on society, 8.3% answered on negative effect and 8.3% answered on no effect.

The above frequency distribution can be expressed in the following pie chart.

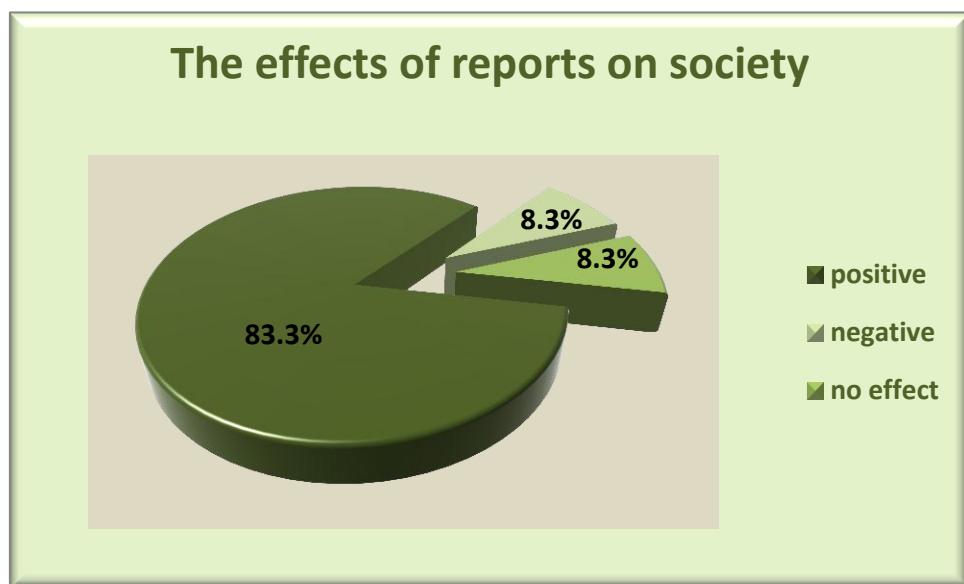


Figure 5.2.5: Pie chart showing the effectiveness of the reports based on Hartal to society

## SECTION 5.3: POLICE

### **5.3.1 Duty time on a Hartal day (in hour):**

Here we recognize the duty hour of Police on Hartal day. Duty time might vary according to their designation and the area where they are on duty.

The frequency table is under:

Table 5.3.1: Frequency distribution showing the duty time on Hartal day (in hours)				
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
<b>Valid</b>	10-15	4	17.4	17.4
	>15	19	82.6	100.0
	Total	23	100.0	100.0

Studying on the above table, it's so clear that duty hour weights on greater than 15. Duty hour from 10-15 is in percentage only 17.4. Where hours greater than 15 take percentage of 82.6. So, the majority voices on more than 15 hours. And only 17.4% voices on 10-15 hrs.

And the data give us the following pie chart:

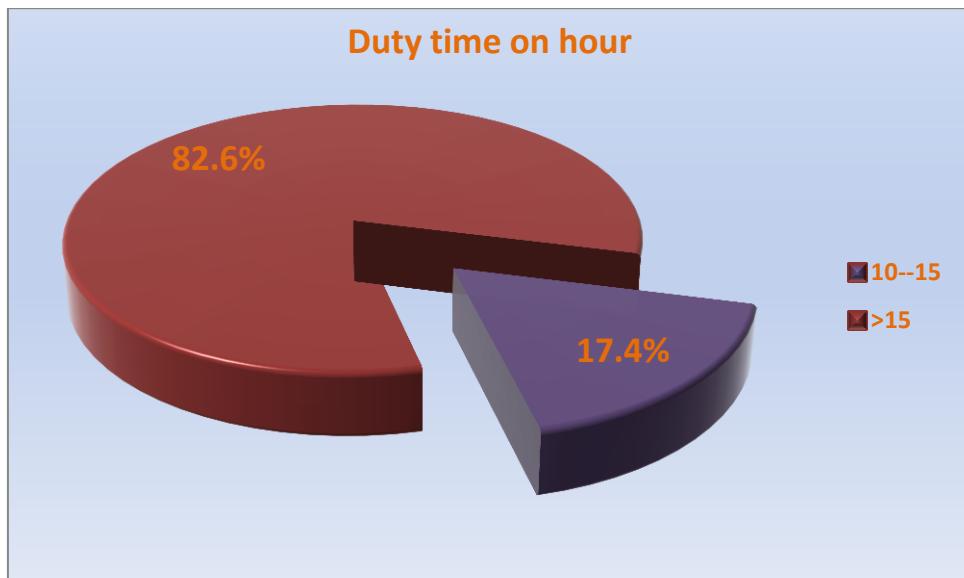


Figure 5.3.1: Pie chart on the duty time (in hour) on Hartal day of polices.

### **5.3.2 Political effects on duty time:**

Political parties (both the Hartal supporter & against the Hartal) are the leading characters on Hartal day. Police may do their duty as a service holder's work but many times their leadership goes under political parties. And it is interesting that it seems like political parties keep more command than the police. Especially on arresting someone or not arresting someone. And sometimes they are so helpless unless follow the command. According to this it is like to say those polices are so lucky who never faced this.

Now we see what our data say-

**Table 5.3.2: Frequency distribution indicating whether there any effect of political parties on duty time**

	Valid	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
		Yes	78.3	78.3	78.3
	No	5	21.7	21.7	100.0
	Total	23	100.0	100.0	

Data say 78.3% polices are work under political parties, only 21.75% are free from this effect.

Let see what the corresponding pie chart says:

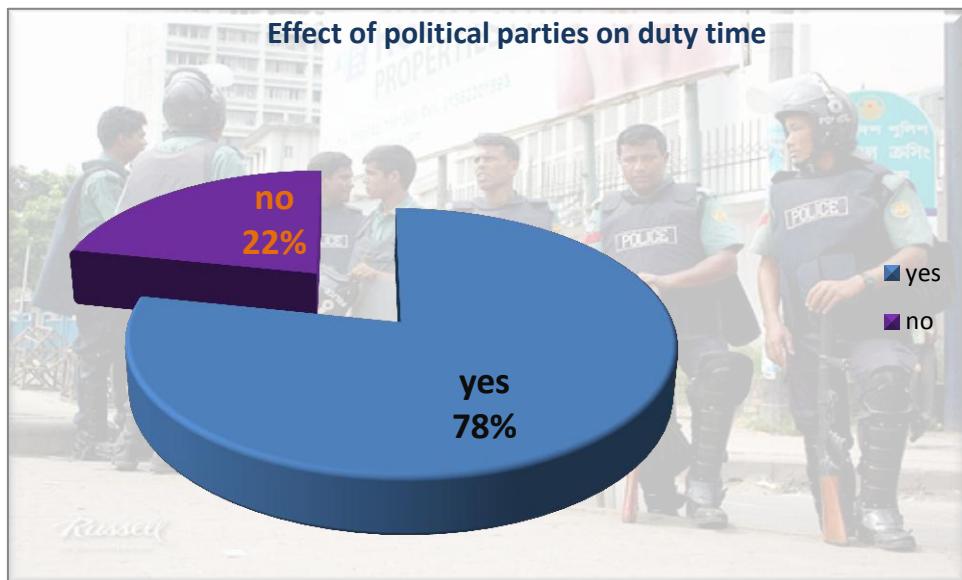


Figure5.3.2: Pie chart representing whether polices are affected by political parties.

### **5.3.3 Subsequent harassments for duty:**

Duty on Hartal day could impacts a lot; sometimes impacts go for long run. Polices are sent to retirement even, although they are still able to work, able to show their better performance. Good thing is it happens very less. Now check the following data:

**Table 5.3.3: Frequency distribution whether faced subsequent harassments for duty**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
<b>Valid</b>	Yes	2	8.7	8.7	8.7
	No	21	91.3	91.3	100.0
	Total	23	100.0	100.0	

Only 8.7% of Police get harass subsequently, it's so poor regarding the percentage of not getting harassments. This shows 91.3% are free from these sufferings. Indeed it's good sign but it will best if it turn into 100%.

Let check the corresponding pie chart:

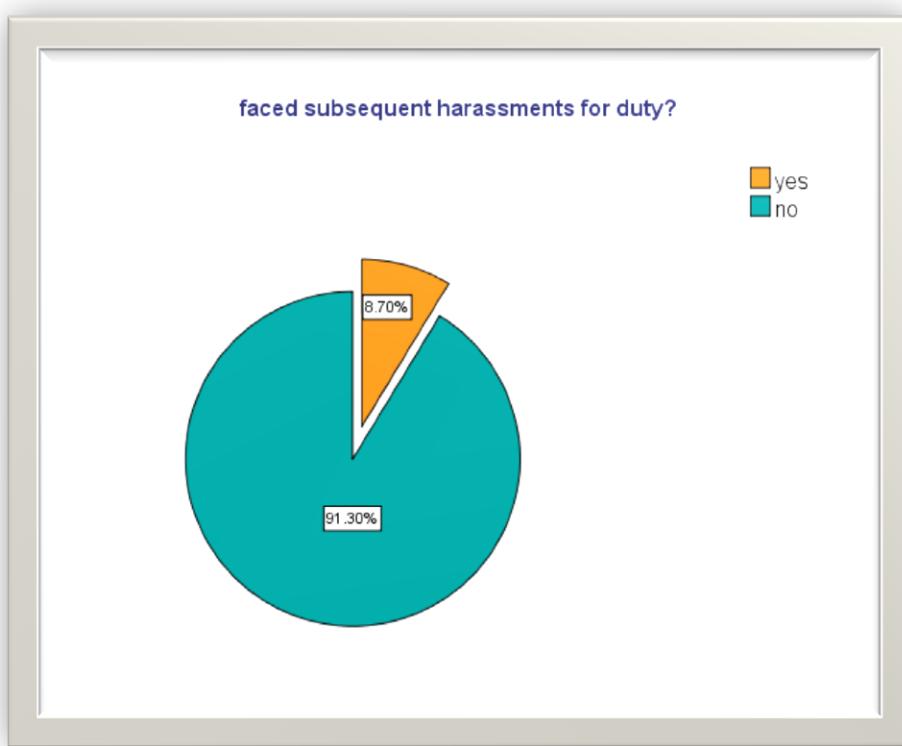


Figure 5.3.3: Pie chart on subsequent harassments for the duty on Hartal day.

### **5.3.4 Impacts on family because of the duty on Hartal day:**

Hartal day duty time is always higher than the usual time. So, it becomes tough to maintain the family demand on that day. Some weight on their child's education, some on emergency cases. Now check the following table, what it says:

<b>Table 5.3.4: Frequency distribution of showing impact on respondent's family because of doing duty on Hartal day</b>					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
<b>Valid</b>	Mental pressure	5	21.7	21.7	21.7
	Get threat from unknown	1	4.3	4.3	26.1
	Unable to manage family demand	9	39.1	39.1	65.2
	No comment	4	17.4	17.4	82.6
	Break down on usual works	4	17.4	17.4	100.0
	Total	23	100.0	100.0	

What is focused here, the usual demand of their family. It shows 39.1% face this. Mental pressure is also highlighted, 21.7%. Maximum police says "Each & every second we pass with panic, cause anytime and anyway any kind of destruction may take place". Breaks on usual works are 17.4% and another mentionable event is unknown threat (4.3%). Some gave us "no comment" also on average 17.4%.

Now, see the corresponding bar diagram:

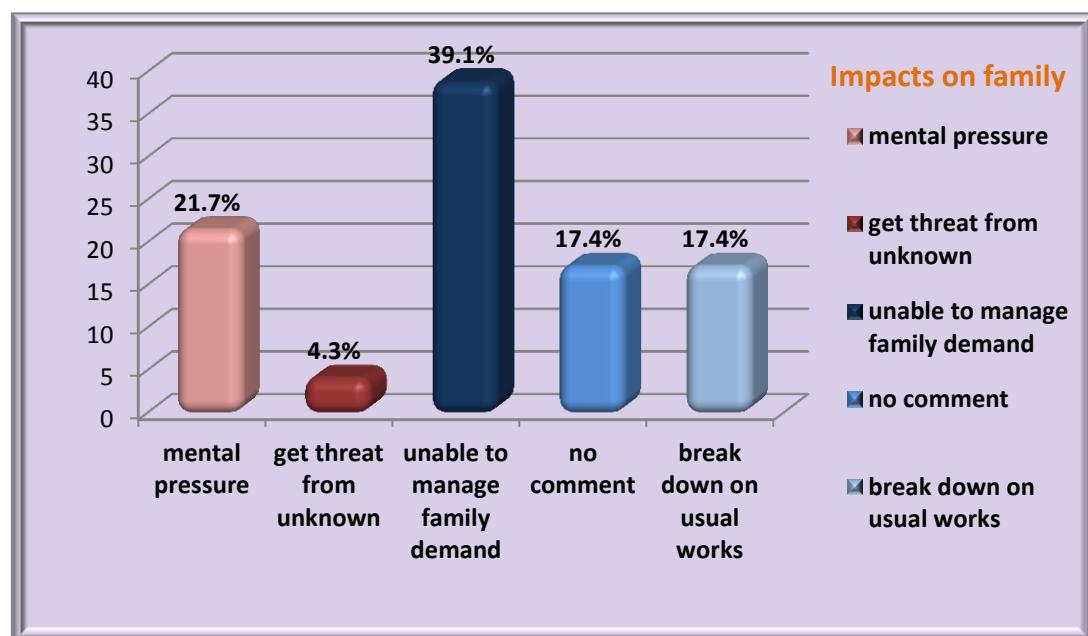


Figure 5.3.4: Bar diagram showing the impacts on family for the duty on Hartal day.

### **5.3.5 Getting tortured on Hartal day:**

Police are also tortured by picketer, especially when they try to stop the strikers. Let us check the data below.

**Table 5.3.5: Frequency distribution indicating whether polices got tortured on Hartal day**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
<b>Valid</b>	Yes	10	43.5	43.5	43.5
	No	13	56.5	56.5	100.0
	Total	23	100.0	100.0	

We got the answer “yes” 43.5% times and “no” 56.5% times. It’s clear the percentage of torturing is less but the rate is not satisfactory.

Let's check the pie chart:

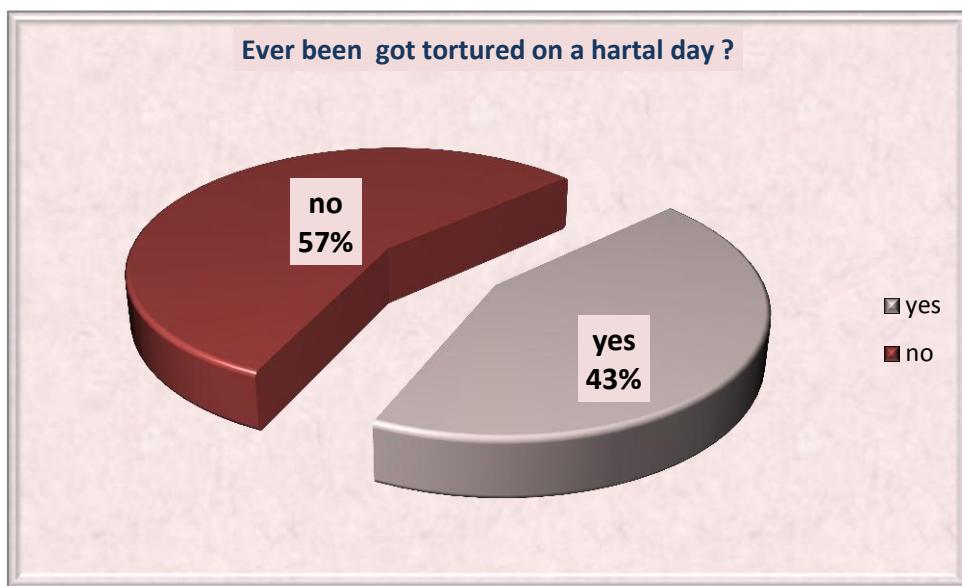


Figure5.3.5: Pie chart showing the percentages of getting tortured on Hartal day duty time.

### **5.3.6 Political parties Insistent on arresting someone:**

On behalf of the duty Police have to arrest people those who try to make the environment collapsed. Police give their highest effort to make calm the surroundings. That's why they arrest the destructible people. And again the political parties' unseen hands come here automatically. Polices were asked by about this and note what we got by them.

The frequency table is given under-

<b>Table 5.3.6: Frequency distribution indicating whether political parties insist to arrest someone</b>					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	15	65.2	65.2	65.2
	No	8	34.8	34.8	100.0
	Total	23	100.0	100.0	

Table shows 65.2% of them arrest people under political parties leadership, 34.8% of them are free from this. So, the majority indicates the insistence of political parties.

Let see what the following bar diagram says:

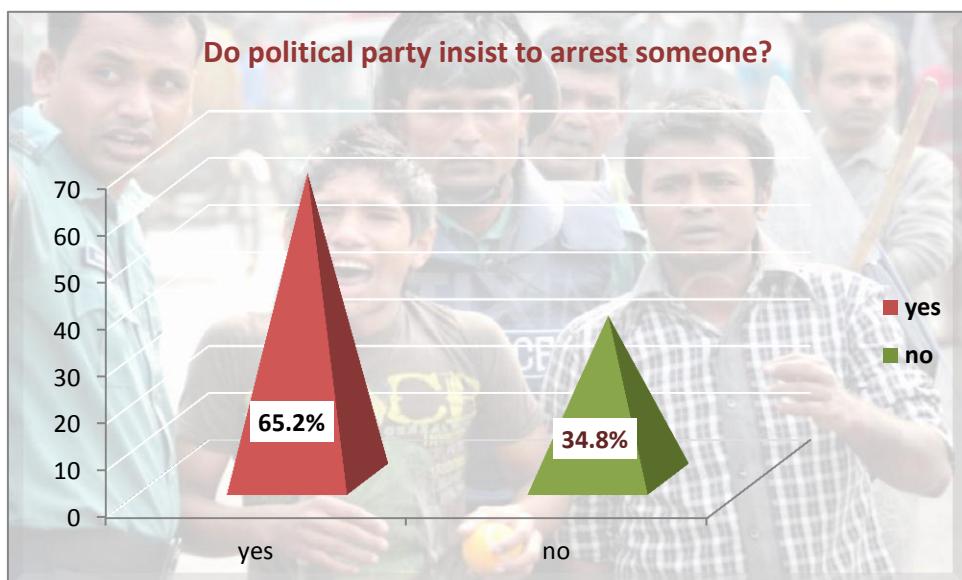


Figure 5.3.6: Bar diagram depicting the insistence by political parties on arresting someone.

## SECTION 5.4: EDUCATION

The effect of Hartal on educational sector is dangerous. Here we take a sample from a population of student sector and perform some univariate and bivariate analysis to see the effect of Hartal on Students.

### **Univariate Analysis:**

#### **5.4.1 School and College students affected by Hartal:**

তারিখ	ব্যাপ	বিবরণ
২৫/০৮	যোগী	বিজ্ঞান
২৫/০৮	কলেজ	ইঞ্জিনিয়ারিং
২০/০৮	কলেজ	ই-লিঙ্গুজ স্কুল
২২/০৮	কল	ই-লিঙ্গুজ স্কুল
২৮/০৮	কল	সাহিত্য
২৮/০৮	কল	ই-লিঙ্গুজ স্কুল
২৬/০৮	কলেজ	ই-লিঙ্গুজ স্কুল
২৯/০৮	কলেজ	ই-লিঙ্গুজ স্কুল
২৩/০৮	কল	স্কুল ইংরাজি
২৫/০৮	কল	স্কুল ইংরাজি

Here we see that the percentages of students are affected by Hartal when classes are impeded, the flow of study is hampered, exam is postponed etc. The following frequency table shows the percentages of students are affected by Hartal:

**Table 5.4.1: Frequency distribution showing how School and college affected by Hartal**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Classes are impeded	18	56.3	56.3	56.3
	The flow of study is hampered	9	28.1	28.1	84.4
	Exam is postponed	4	12.5	12.5	96.9
	Planning in holiday hamper	1	3.1	3.1	100.0
	Total	32	100.0	100.0	

Analyzing the table we observe that 56.3% of the students expressed their opinion on impeded classes, 28.1% on the flow of the study hampered, 12.5% on the exam postponed and 3.1% on the planning in holiday hampered.

Now can easily represent the above information with the help of a bar diagram:

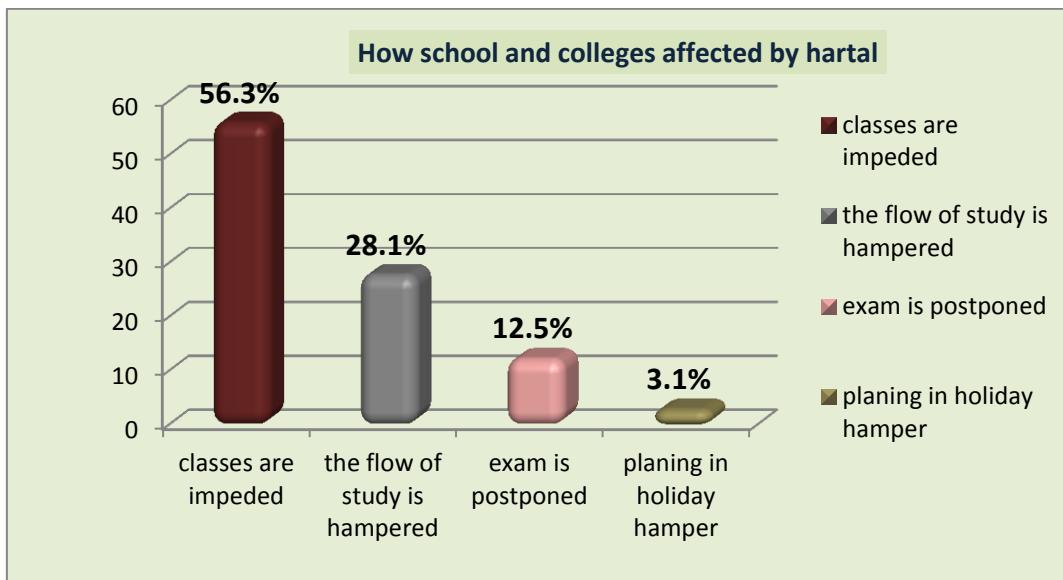


Figure 5.4.1: Bar diagram to represent the percentage of the student of School and College affected by Hartal.

#### **5.4.2 Residential students compelled to join the procession:**

Here we see that the percentage of residential students who are compelled to join the procession when Hartal occurs.

The following frequency table will help us to understand the above phenomenon.

**Table 5.4.2: Frequency distribution showing whether residential students compelled to join the procession**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
<b>Valid</b>	Yes	8	25.0	33.3	33.3
	Sometimes	14	43.8	58.3	91.7
	No	2	6.3	8.3	100.0
	Total	24	75.0	100.0	
<b>Missing</b>	System	8	25.0		
<b>Total</b>		32	100.0		

Analyzing the table we observe that the 33% of the residential students are compelled, 58.3% are sometimes compelled while 8.3% are not.

Now the above scenario can be presented with the help of a pie chart given below:

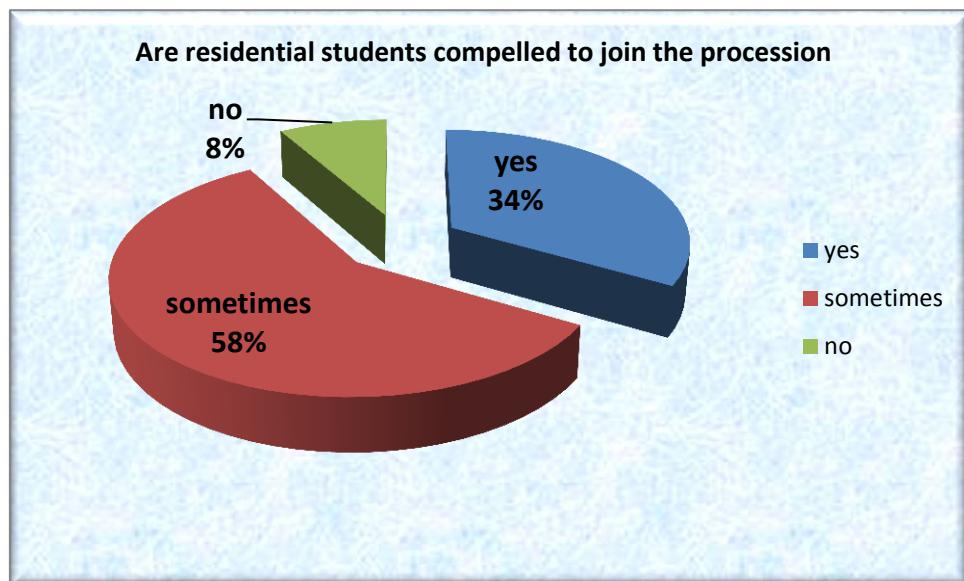


Figure5.4.2: Pie chart to represent the percentage Residential Students compelled to join the procession.

### **5.4.3 How the university students suffer because of Hartal:**

Here we see that the percentage of the university student suffer much because of Hartal.

The following frequency table shows the percentage of university students suffer much because of Hartal:

**Table 5.4.3: Frequency distribution showing how University students suffer much because of Hartal**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
<b>Valid</b>	session jam	21	65.6	65.6	65.6
	instable campus	10	31.3	31.3	96.9
	Psychological affect	1	3.1	3.1	100.0
	Total	32	100.0	100.0	

Analyzing the table we observe that 65.6% of the students suffer for session jams due to Hartal, 31.3% for instable campus, 3.1% for psychological effect. We notice that the session jam is comparatively double than other.

Now the above scenario can be presented with the help of a pie chart given below:

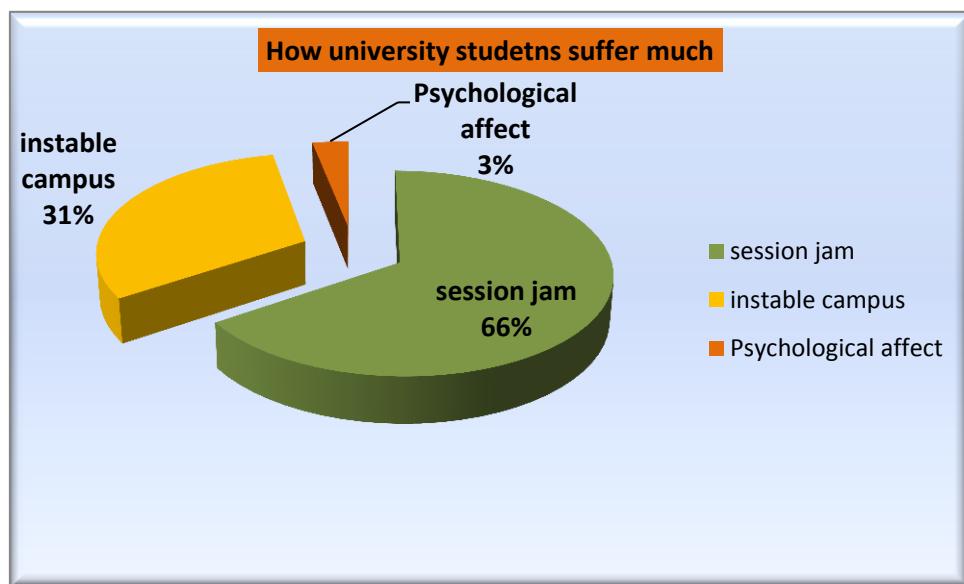


Figure 5.4.3: Pie chart to represent the percentage of university students suffer by Hartal.

## **Bivariate analysis:**

### **5.4.4 Educational Institution opened in Hartal day:**

Here we see the educational status of respondent when educational institutions open in Hartal day. The following table shows the educational institution opened in Hartal day category of yes or no:

<b>Table 5.4.4: If educational institution opened * Teachers present in Hartal day Cross tabulation</b>					Total
		Teachers present in Hartal day			Total
		Many of them are present	A very few of them is present	Nobody is present	
<b>If educational institution opened</b>	All classes are held	3	0	0	3
		100.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Some classes are held	4	7	0	11
		36.4%	63.6%	.0%	100.0%
	Nothing	1	6	1	8
		12.5%	75.0%	12.5%	100.0%
<b>Total</b>		8	13	1	22
		36.4%	59.1%	4.5%	100.0%

Analyzing the table we observe that when all classes are held, then many of the teachers are present taking the percentage of 100. But when some classes are held few of the teachers are present with percentage 63.3 and many teachers are present with percentage 36.4. And when no classes are held, then some teachers are present in the institutions.

**Table:** Nonparametric correlation between Teacher presents in Hartal day and if educational institution opened.

Correlations				
			Teachers present in Hartal day	If educational institution opened
<b>Kendall's tau_b</b>	Teachers present in Hartal day	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.520**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.011
		N	25	22
	If educational institution opened	Correlation Coefficient	.520**	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.011	.
		N	22	22

Now we see from the table, the value of the coefficient (.520) indicates considerable positive association between teachers present in Hartal day and if educational institution opened.

The P-value (.011) indicates that the association is statistically significant at the 1% level of significance.

Now for the clear picture of the above scenario, we represent the above information with the help of a bar diagram:

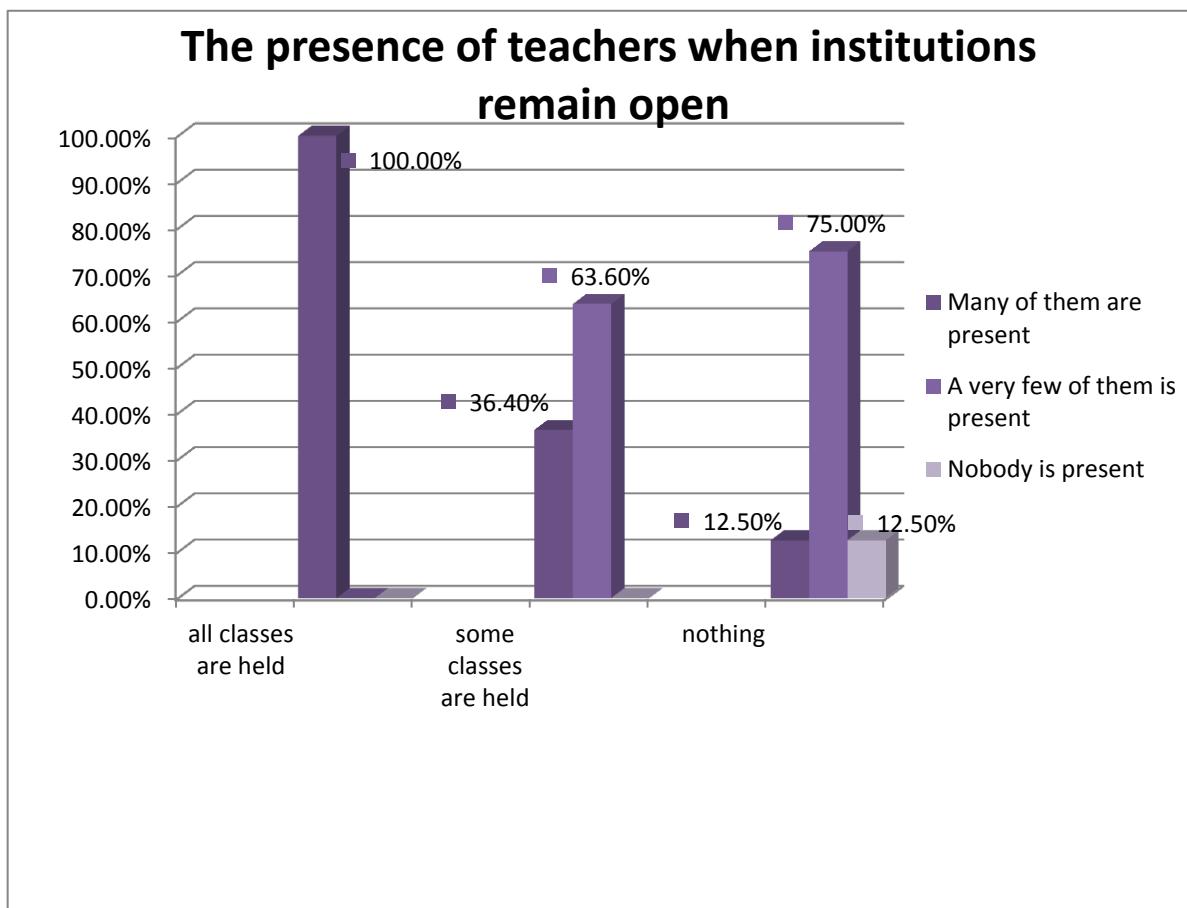


Figure 5.4.4: Multiple bar diagram showing the presence of teachers when institutions remain open.

## SECTION 5.5: EXPORT-IMPORT

Export import is an important part of our economy and Hartal effects greatly this part and the businessmen related to it. Here we have perform various analysis (e.g. univariate & bivariate) for necessary variables.

### **Univariate analysis:**

#### **5.5.1 Types of the business:**

We have export-import related businessmen from different sectors. So here we made a frequency table for the respondents from different business sectors. Actually here we consider normal whole sellers/retailers with the export-import business as they also face problem in Hartal day.

**Table 5.5.1: Frequency distribution of business that the respondent is related with**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Export-import	5	21.7	21.7	21.7
Whole seller	5	21.7	21.7	43.5
Retailer	13	56.5	56.5	100.0
Total	23	100.0	100.0	

We have equal percentage of respondents from export –import and wholesale category and the figure is 21.7% and maximum percentage of respondents was from retailer group and it is 56.5%. Now let's see the corresponding bar diagram:

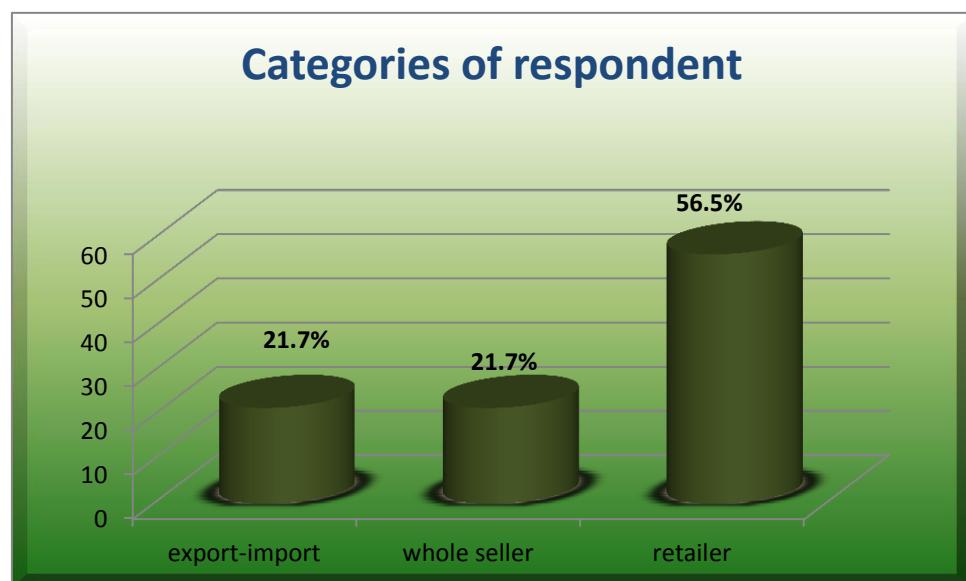


Figure 5.5.1: Bar diagram on the type of business that the respondent is related with.

### **5.5.2 Ability of transaction on a Hartal day:**

Due to Hartal businessman/whole sellers /retailers face the problem of their usual transaction

The frequency table gives us the idea about the respondents' ability of transaction in a Hartal day.

**Table 5.5.2: Frequency distribution showing the ability of transaction on a Hartal day**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	13	56.5	56.5
	No	10	43.5	100.0
Total	23	100.0	100.0	

The table says that, 56.5% of the respondents can make transactions in a Hartal day. Whereas, 43.5% cannot make transactions.

This can be represented by the pie chart nicely:

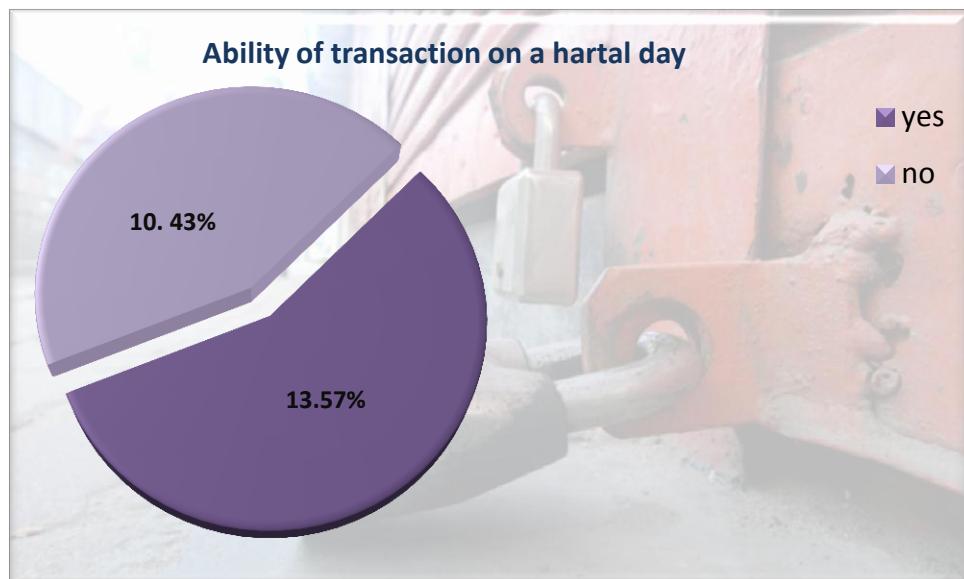


Figure 5.5.2: Pie chart showing whether transaction is possible on Hartal days.

### **5.5.3 Amount of transactions in a Hartal day relative to normal days:**

We have a frequency table to show the amount of transaction in a Hartal day relative to normal days and found satisfactory results here-

**Table 5.5.3: Frequency distribution showing the amount of transaction on Hartal day relative to normal day**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Equal	10	71.4	71.4	71.4	
1/4	1	7.1	7.1	7.1	78.6
3/4	3	21.4	21.4	21.4	100.0
Total	14	100.0	100.0	100.0	

Here we can see that, maximum number of the respondents can make transaction which is almost same with the normal days and the figure is 71.4%. On the other hand, 21.4% said it becomes three-fourth and only 7.4% says that it becomes one-fourth.

The clear scenario can be found by the simple bar diagram given below:

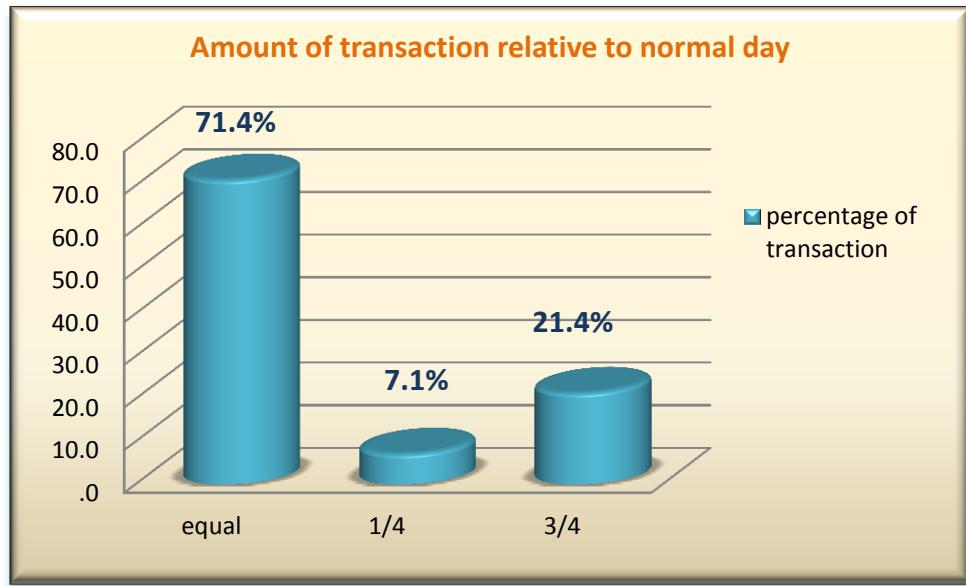


Figure 5.5.3: Bar diagram on the amount of transaction relative to normal days

### **5.5.4 Destruction of products:**

We construct a frequency table based on the respondent's opinion about if they face any destruction of their products when purchasing them in Hartal days.

**Table 5.5.4: Frequency distribution indicating whether faced destruction of products**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	3	13.0	13.0	13.0
	No	20	87.0	87.0	100.0
	Total	23	100.0	100.0	

The table indicates that 87% don't face the problem of destruction and only 13% face the problem of destruction due to Hartal.

For an easy idea we have the bar diagram here:

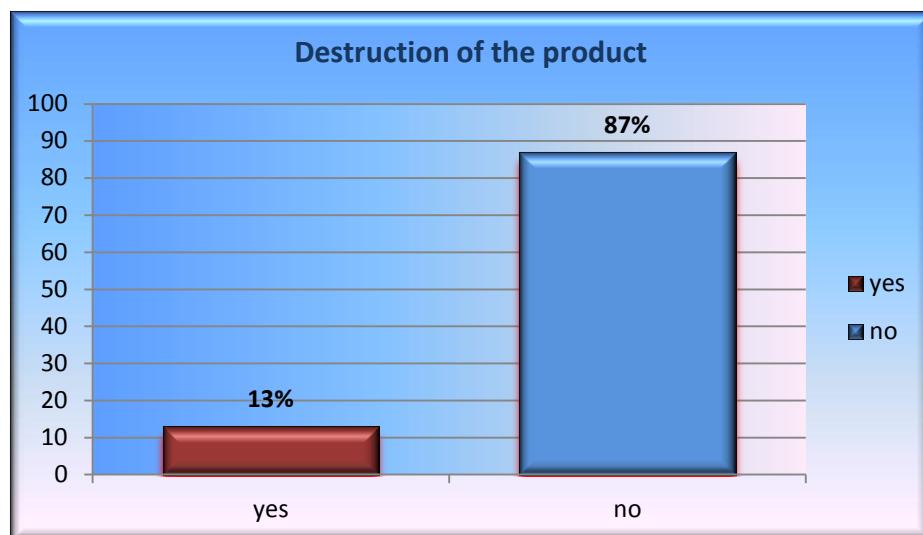


Figure 5.5.4: Bar diagram on whether products are destroyed on a Hartal day.

### **5.5.5 Satisfying market demand:**

Some respondents cannot satisfy the market demands, but some can satisfy. Here we have the frequency table:

**Table 5.5.5: Frequency distribution indicating whether faced any problem to satisfy market demand**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	17	73.9	73.9	73.9
No	6	26.1	26.1	100.0
Total	23	100.0	100.0	

The highest number of respondents face the problem of not able to satisfy the market demand and the percentage is 73.9% and only 26.1% can satisfy the market demand.

We have a pie chart for this table:

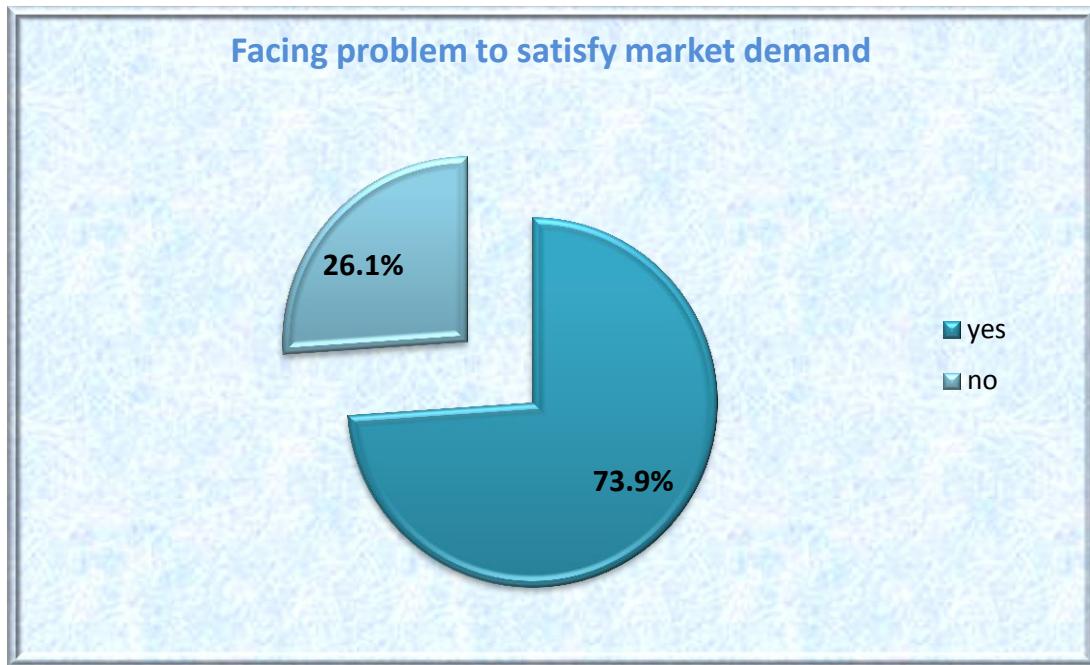


Figure 5.5.5: Pie chart showing the percentages of facing any problem of satisfying market demand.

### **5.5.6 Whether the employees are paid:**

The export-import businessmen need to pros pond their daily delivery works and also the garment factories may me remain close in Hartal days .We have a frequency table here to show if our respondents pay their employees in a Hartal day:

**Table 5.5.6: Frequency distribution indicating whether employees are paid if factory is closed on Hartal day**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	12	52.2	52.2	52.2
	No	11	47.8	47.8	100.0
	Total	23	100.0	100.0	

The table discloses that maximum respondents pay their employees and the percentage is 52.2%.Whereas, 47.8% respondents said that they don't pay their employees.

The clear scenario will be obtained from the pie chart given below:

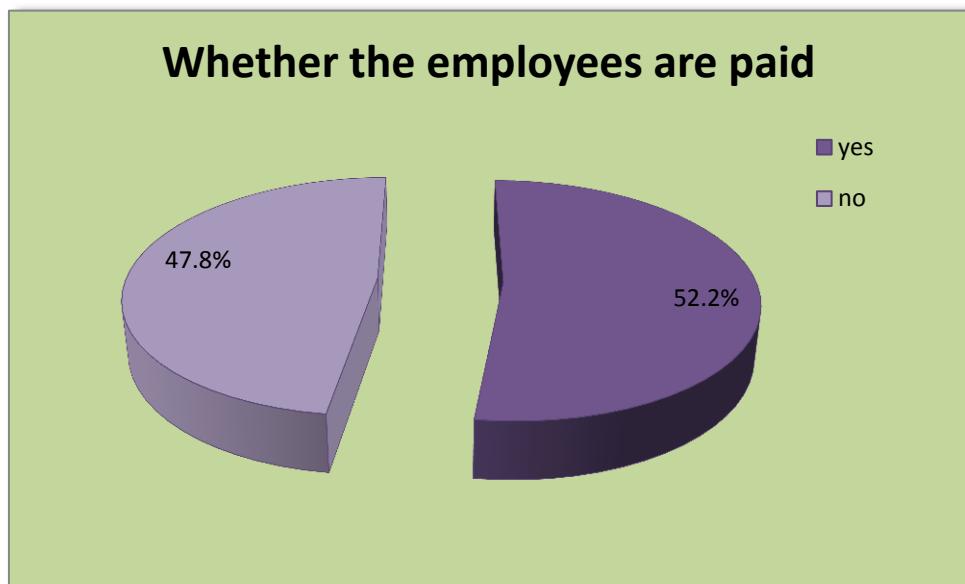


Figure 5.5.6: Pie chart showing the percentages if the employees are paid or not in a Hartal day.

## **Bivariate analysis:**

### **5.5.7 Cross tabulation between the type of business and ability of transaction in a Hartal day:**

We tried to find if there is any association between the respondent's business category and the ability of transaction in a Hartal day. For this reason we made a cross table, got the percentages and then performed the chi-square test and find the value of phi-value.

Table 5.5.7: To which business he is related with Vs ability of transaction on a Hartal day Cross tabulation				
To which business respondent is related with		Ability of transaction on a Hartal day		Total
		Yes	No	
Export-Import	Count	1	4	5
	% within business related with	20.0%	80.0%	100.0%
Whole seller	Count	2	3	5
	% within business related with	40.0%	60.0%	100.0%
Retailer	Count	10	3	13
	% within business related with	76.9%	23.1%	100.0%
Total	Count	13	10	23
	% within business related with	56.5%	43.5%	100.0%

The above table reveals that among the respondents who are directly related with export import business 80% cannot make transactions in a Hartal day and 20 % can make transactions. However, 40% of the whole sellers can make transaction and 60% cannot. On the other hand, a huge percentage of respondents i.e. 76.9% of the retailer can easily make transactions and 23.1% cannot.

Let's see the above phenomenon with the help of a multiple bar diagram:

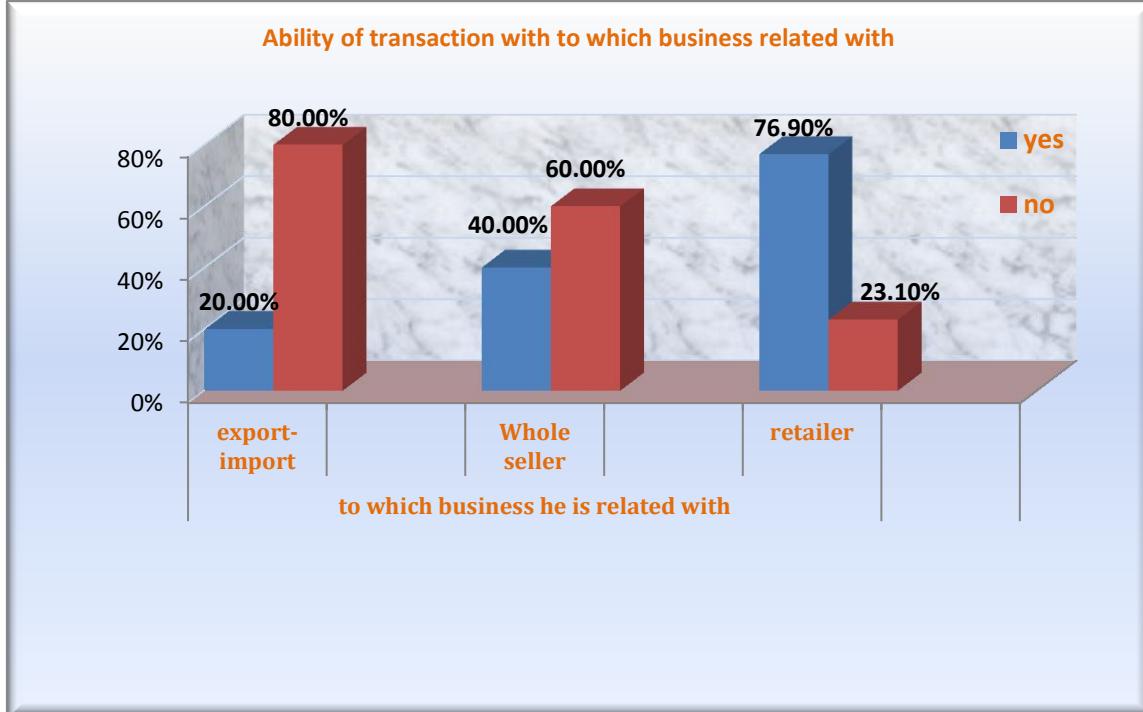


Figure 5.5.7: Multiple bar diagram showing the ability of transaction on the type of business on a Hartal day.

## SECTION 5.6: TRANSPORT

One of the largest parts of Bangladesh's economy that is affected by Hartal is Transportations. And most probably, breaking, damaging & burning of vehicles on the road is the most common way of protest/ movement in Bangladesh. Thus, these transportations remain in higher risk & insecurity during different movement including Hartal. We, here, tried to access shortly the affect on Hartal on Transportations.

### **5.6.1 Types of vehicle owned by the respondent:**

We surveyed over a small number of transport owners & managers. Below is the frequency table-

Table 5.6.1: Frequency distribution of Type of vehicle owned by the respondent					
Valid		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Local bus	6	26.1	26.1	26.1
	Long-root bus	8	34.8	34.8	60.9
	Truck/Lorry	2	8.7	8.7	69.6
	Auto-rickshaw/ Taxicab/ Microbus	1	4.3	4.3	73.9
	Rickshaw	6	26.1	26.1	100.0
	Total	23	100.0	100.0	

We surveyed over 23 transport owners & managers of which 6 (26.1%) are Local bus holders, 8 (34.8%) are Long-root bus holders, 2 (8.7%) are truck holders, 6 (26.1%) are Rickshaw holders.

This is illustrated in the following chart-

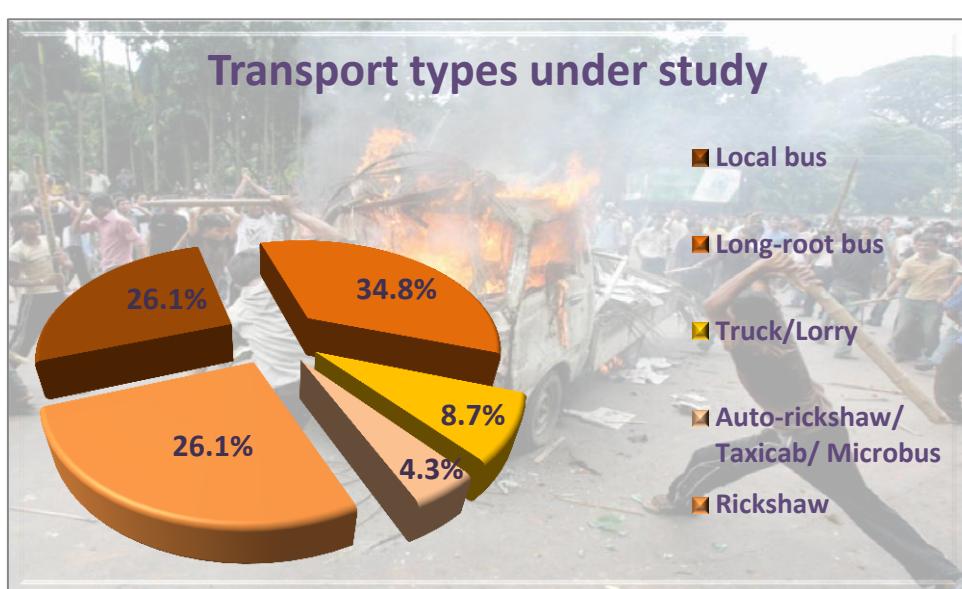


Figure 5.6.1: Pie chart of the types of vehicle owned by the respondent.

## **5.6.2 Whether transports are set in motion on Hartal day:**

The following table shows the percentage of transport owners those are likely to operate some or all of their vehicles on the road on Hartal day-

Table 5.6.2: Frequency distribution indicating whether the transports are set in motion on Hartal day					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	7	33.3	33.3	33.3
	No	14	66.7	66.7	100.0
	Total	21	100.0	100.0	

The frequency table shows that only 33.3% of the transport owners are likely to run his vehicles, where 66.7% are not.

Graphically-

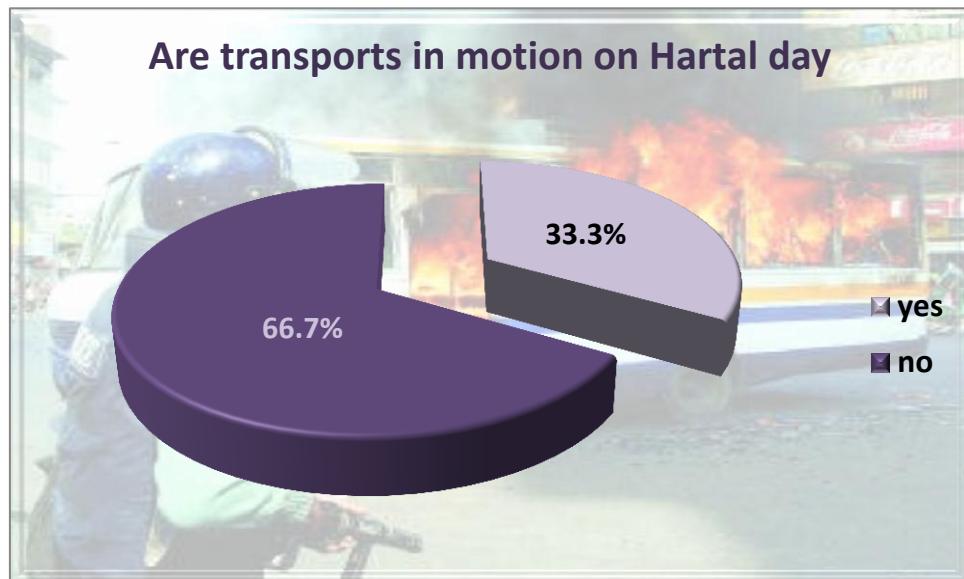


Figure 5.6.2: Pie chart of whether transports are set in motion on Hartal day:

### **5.6.3 Whether any damages to vehicles due to Hartal:**



The following table shows the percentage of transport owners those faced different kind of damages of their vehicle due to Hartal (before or on or after Hartal)-

**Table 5.6.3: Frequency distribution showing whether faced any damages to vehicles due to Hartal**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	11	47.8	47.8	47.8
	No	12	52.2	52.2	100.0
	Total	23	100.0	100.0	

The table shows, 47.8% owners informed that their vehicles got damaged due to Hartal, where the rest 52.2% are not. If we check the frequency, then we can see 11 out of 23 transport owners informed that their vehicle been damaged due to Hartal, which is very high.

Here is a graphical illustration-

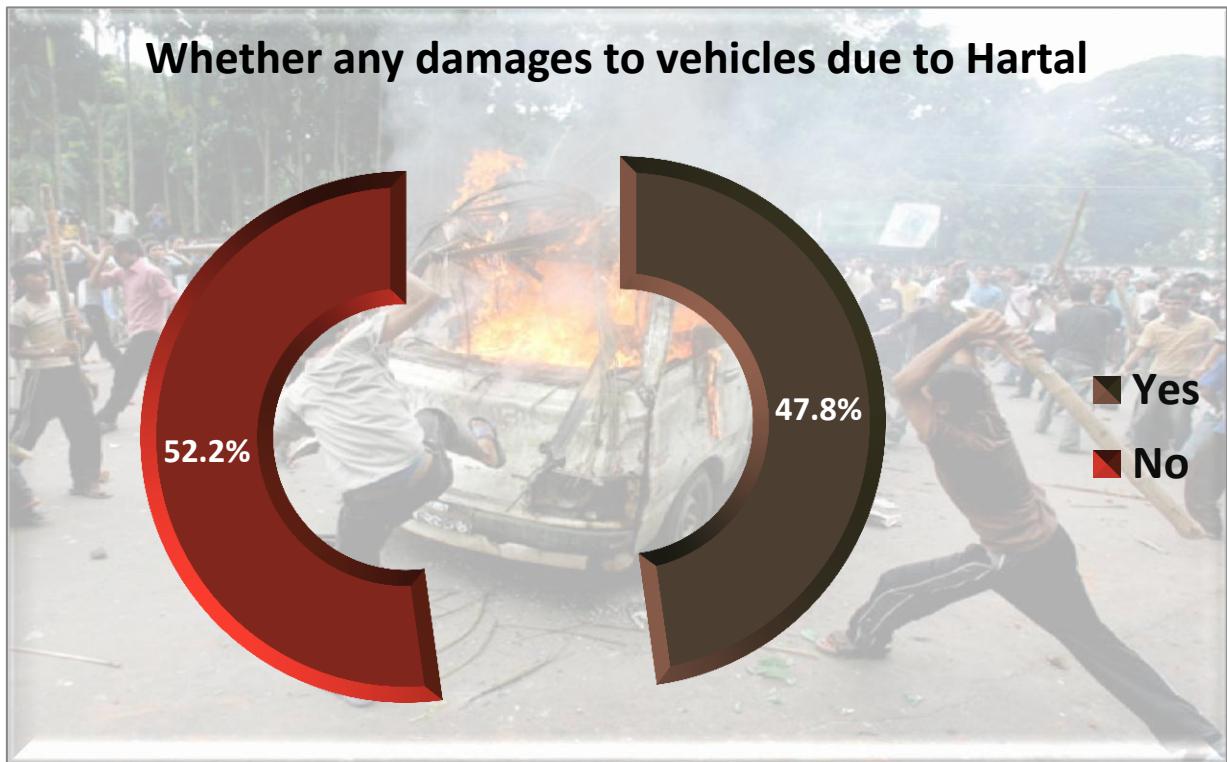


Figure 5.6.3: Doughnut chart showing the dichotomous response of damages to vehicles due to Hartal.

#### **5.6.4 Summary statistics of loss:**

The following table gives some descriptive statistics of the total amount of loss due to Hartal (which includes loss due to non-operation of the vehicles on Hartal day and loss due to the damages occurred to the vehicles)-

Statistics		
<b>Loss due to Hartal</b>		
<b>N</b>	Valid	21
	Missing	217
<b>Mean</b>		1756116.67
<b>Median</b>		150000.00
<b>Mode</b>		4500 <sup>a</sup>
<b>Std. Deviation</b>		3199675.359
<b>Skewness</b>		2.018
<b>Std. Error of Skewness</b>		.501
<b>Kurtosis</b>		3.318
<b>Std. Error of Kurtosis</b>		.972
<b>Minimum</b>		2250
<b>Maximum</b>		11000000
<b>a. Multiple modes exist. The smallest value is shown</b>		

The table shows that loss has a minimum of 2250 Tk to a maximum of 1, 10, 00,000 Tk with mean 17, 56,116.67 Tk and median of tk 1, 50,000. The following histogram illustrates this-

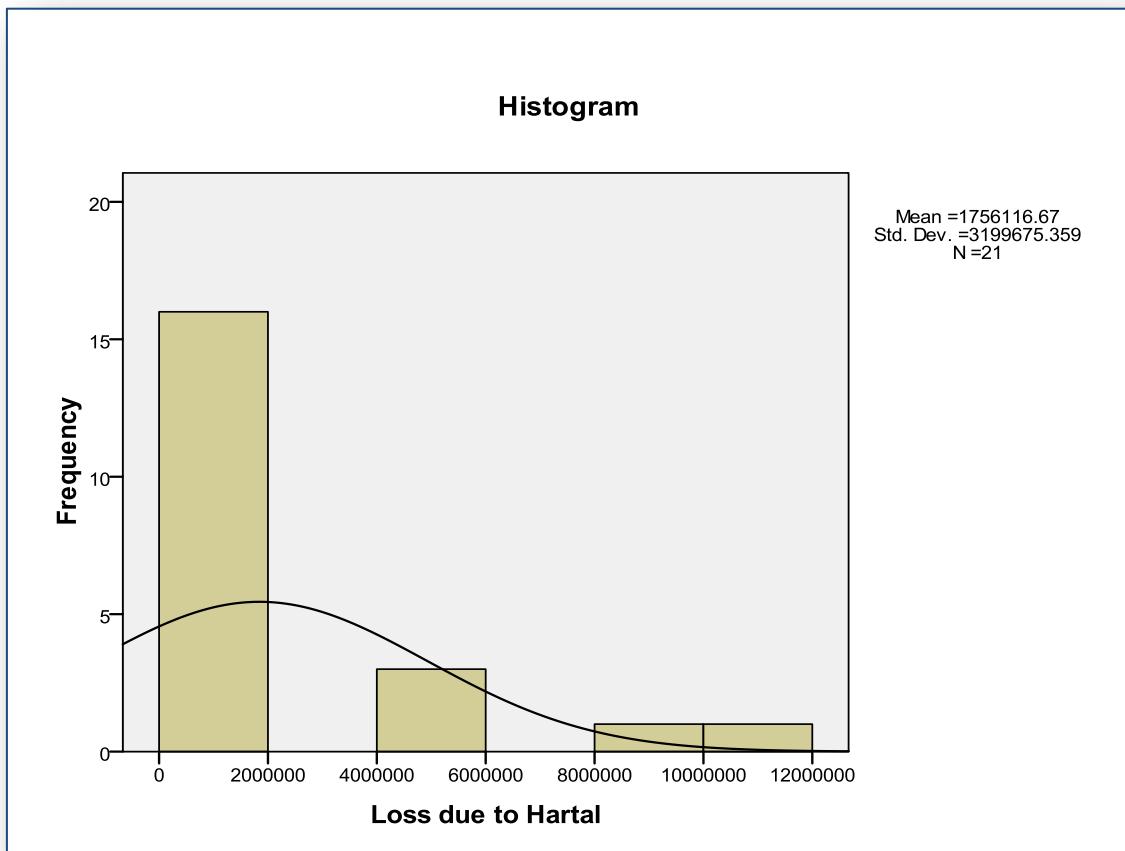


Figure 5.6.4: Histogram showing the distribution of Loss due to Hartal.

### **5.6.5 Whether the employees are paid salary for Hartal day:**

Table 5.6.5: Frequency distribution indicating whether the employees are paid salary for Hartal day					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	6	46.2	46.2	46.2
	No	7	53.8	53.8	100.0
	Total	13	100.0	100.0	

The above table shows 46.2% transport owners pay salaries to the staffs even if they don't operate their transports on Hartal day, where other 53.8% says that they don't.

Graphically-

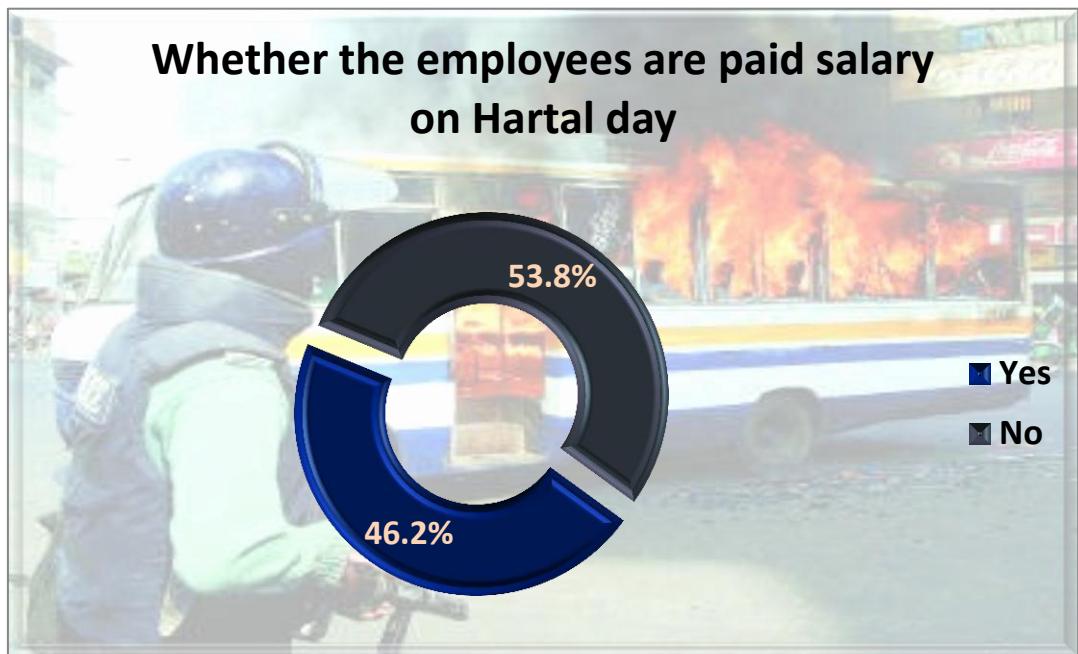


Figure 5.6.5: Doughnut chart depicting whether the employees are paid salary for Hartal day.

## SECTION 5.7: PRODUCTION

Due to Hartal several problems are created on the sector production. Here we are interested to know about the impacts of Hartal on production sector. For this reason we are performing different analysis techniques which will help us to get the actual impacts of Hartal on production.

### **5.7.1 Presence of the labor on Hartal day:**

On a Hartal day, generally the presence of the labor has become reduced. They can't attain their work properly due to HARTAL. Let see the percentage with the help of a table:

Table 5.7.1: Frequency distribution showing the percentage of presence of the labor			
	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
50% come	4	23.5	23.5
More than 50% come	12	70.6	94.1
100% present	1	5.9	100
Total	17	100	

Analyzing the table we see that the percentage that 50% labor has come is 23.5%, and the percentage that more than 50% labor has come is 70.6%, and the percentage that 100% labor has come is 5.9%.

The above scenario can presented with help of a pie chart given below:

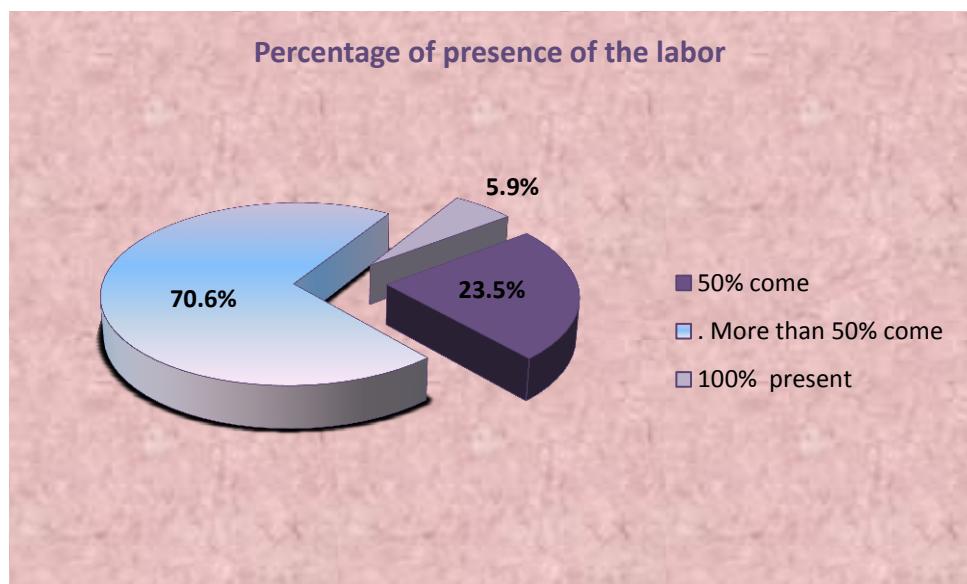


Figure 5.7.1: Pie chart on presence of the labor on a Hartal day.

## **5.7.2 The production amount on Hartal day as compared to the other day:**

Due to Hartal, it is observed that the production amount remain same for some cases but it is changed for most of the cases. Now consider the following table:

<b>Table 5.7.2: Frequency distribution showing the production amount as compared to the other day</b>			
	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Same	2	<b>11.76</b>	<b>11.76</b>
Three-fourth( $\frac{3}{4}$ )	6	<b>35.29</b>	<b>47.06</b>
Half( $\frac{1}{2}$ )	7	<b>41.18</b>	<b>88.24</b>
One-fourth( $\frac{1}{4}$ )	2	<b>11.76</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>100</b>	

Analyzing the table we see that the percentage that the production is remaining same is 11.8%, is become three-fourth ( $\frac{3}{4}$ ) is 35.3%, is half is 41.2% and the percentage that the production amount is one-fourth ( $\frac{1}{4}$ ) is 11.8%.

The above scenario can presented with help of a pie chart given below:

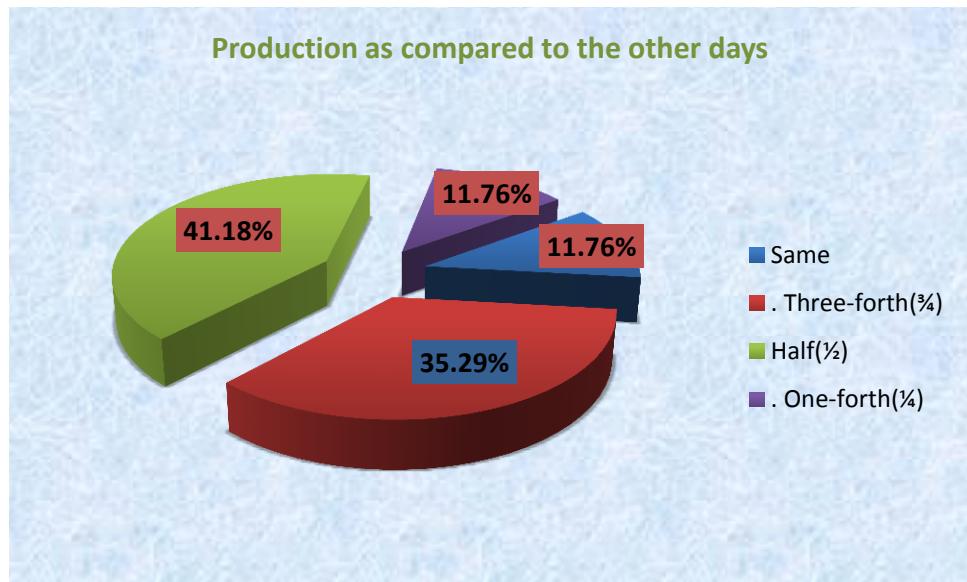


Figure 5.7.2.: Pie chart of the production amount as compared to the other day.

### **5.7.3 Wages of the labor when production is discontinued:**

Due to the discontinuation of production works somewhere labor are paid their wages and somewhere not. Sometimes it depends on the nature of their works. Observe the table given below:

Table 5.7.3:Frequency distribution indicating whether wages are paid to labors when production is discontinued on a Hartal day

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
<b>Yes</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>29</b>	29
<b>No</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>71</b>	100
<b>Total</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>100</b>	

From the table, we see that labors of 29% production companies are paid their wages and about 71% are not for a Hartal day if the production process remains stopped.

Let's check the corresponding bar diagram:



Figure 5.7.3.: Bar diagram of wages to the labor due to discontinuation of production.

## **5.7.4 Problems to meet the market demand:**

If production is off / partly off/ due to transportation problem, there we have to face many problems to meet the market demand. We have the following table to represent the problems:

Table 5.7.4: Frequency distribution indicating whether faced problems to meet the market demand			
	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
<b>Face with some problem</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>65</b>
<b>Many problems have to face</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>100</b>	

The table says that, about 65% production works faced with some problems and about 35% faced with many problems.

Let check the corresponding bar diagram:

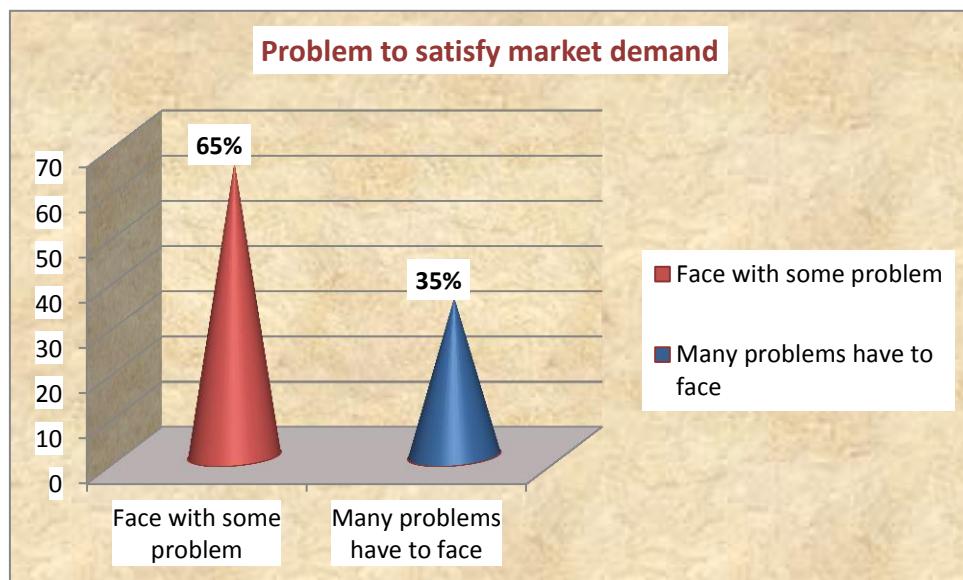


Figure 5.7.4: Bar diagram to show the problem to meet the market demand.

### **5.7.5 Extra cost to store products due to HARTAL:**

Due to Hartal, sometimes production process may need extra cost to store their products. We have the following table to represent this:

Table 5.7.5: Frequency distribution of Extra cost to storage products

Valid		Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Yes	2	9	9
	No	21	91	100
	Total	23	100	

The table represents that 9% of the production process needs extra cost & about 91% don't need to store their products.

The above scenario can presented with help of a pie chart given below:

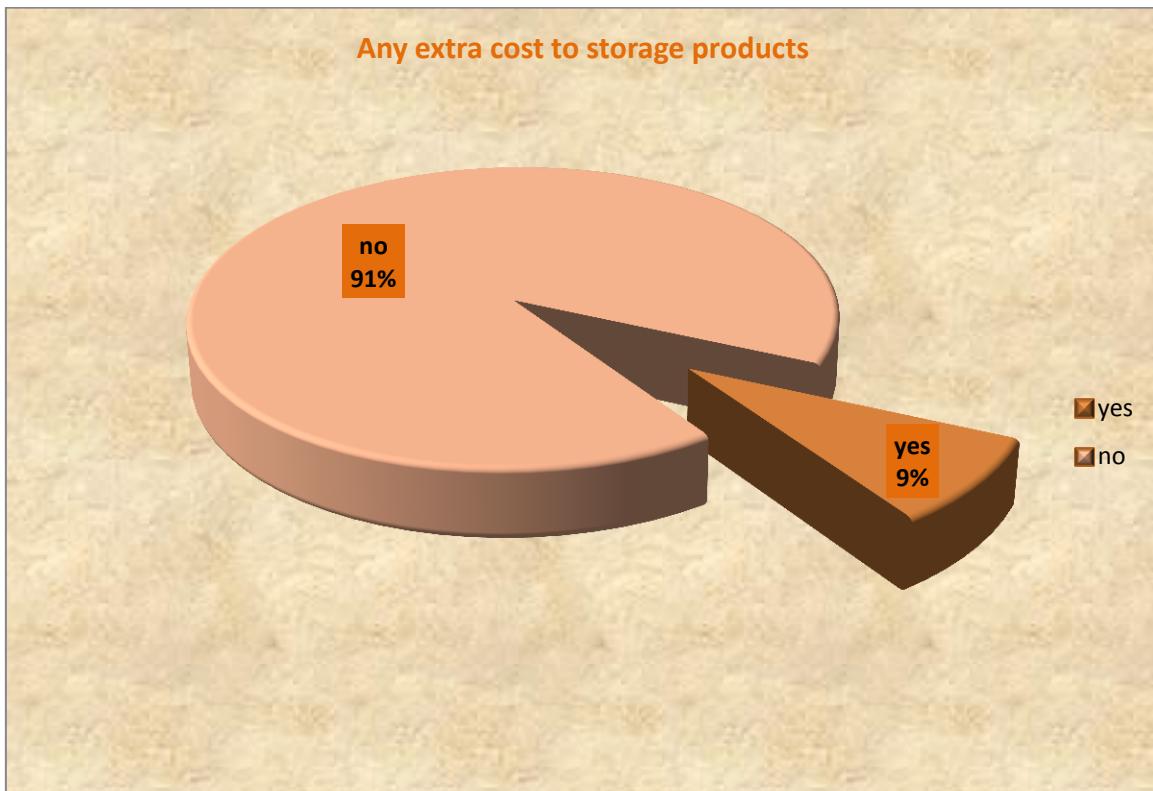


Figure 5.7.5: Pie chart of any extra cost to storage products.

## **5.7.6 Facing difficulties to get order in future:**

Because of Hartal, if any one unable to deliver the goods in due time, then they may have to face difficulties to get order of their work in future. The given table represents the situation:

**Table 5.7.6: Frequency distribution showing the difficulties to face to get order in future**

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Many problem have to face	7	30	30
Some problem have to face	11	48	78
No problems to face	5	22	100
Total	23	100	

The above table shows that, 30% of the production process have to face many problems, 48% of the production process have to face some problems & 22% have no problems to face to get order of their works in future if they unable to deliver the goods in due time because of Hartal.

Now, see the corresponding bar diagram:

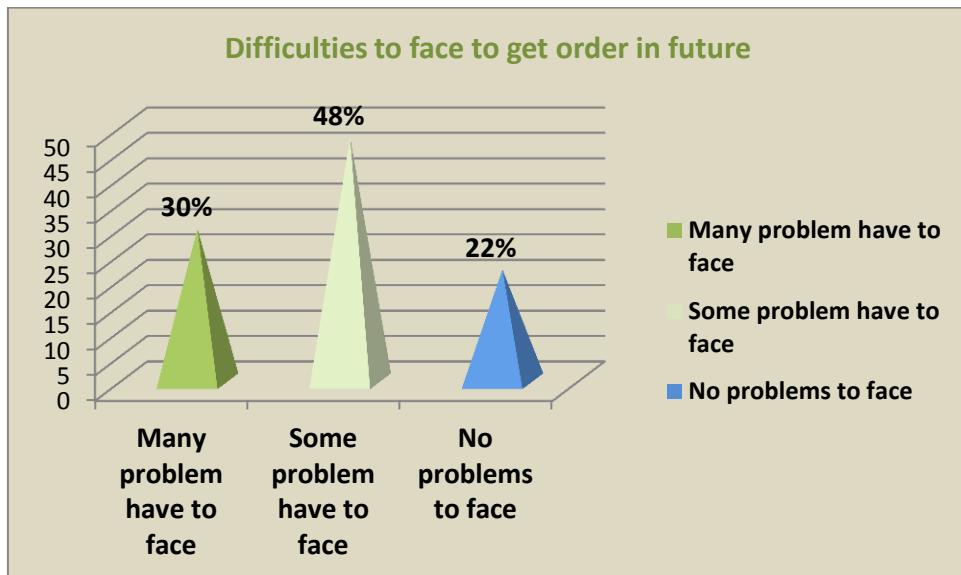


Figure 5.7.6.: Bar diagram of difficulties to face to get order in future.

### **5.7.7 Times of continuation of process:**

To minimize the loss due to Hartal, sometimes production process may carry on for extra time before or after Hartal. The duration of continuation of Hartal may represent as:

**Table 5.7.7: Frequency distribution of duration of continuation of process**

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Less than 2 hours	4	50	50
2 hours to less than 4 hours	2	25	75
4 to 6 hours	1	12.5	87.5
More than 6 hours	1	12.5	100
Total	8	100	

We have that, 50% production processes continue for less than 2 hours, 25% continue for 2-4 hours, 12.5% continue for 4-6 hours and 12.5% continue for more than 6 hours.

Now we have the bar diagram as:

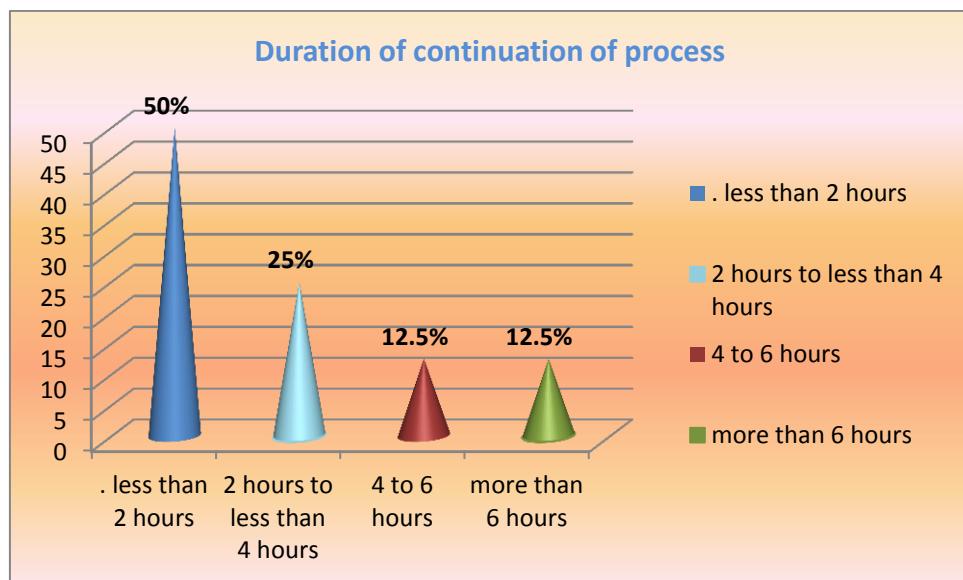


Figure 5.7.7: Bar diagram showing the duration of continuation of process.

### 5.7.8 After taking steps, the percentage of compensation:

After taking steps, production process may compensate their loss. Consider the following table:

**Table 5.7.8: Frequency distribution showing that after taking steps, whether it possible to compensate losses**

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
20% or less	2	33	33
21% - 40%	4	67	100
Total	6	100	

After taking necessary steps the percentage that less than 20% loss can be compensated is 33%, and the percentage that 21-40% loss can be compensated is 67%.

Let's check the corresponding bar diagram:

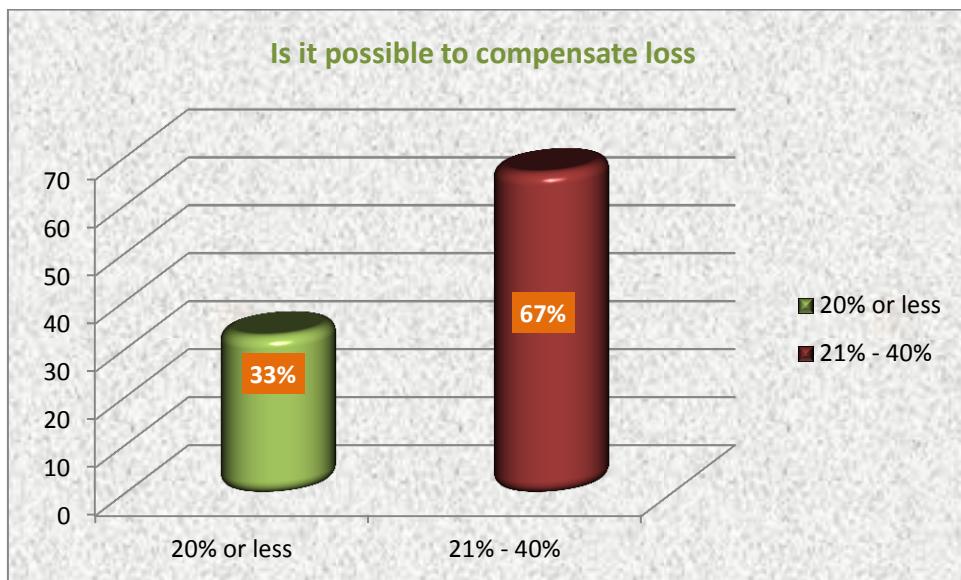


Figure 5.7.8.: Bar diagram to show the possibility to compensate, after taking steps.

## SECTION 5.8: BANK

### Univariate Analysis

#### **5.8.1 Frequencies of the respondent's bank:**

As for our working purpose we run into some banks. And below it is shown those who reacted to us:

Table 5.8.1: Frequency distribution of the respondents Bank					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	DBBL	4	17.4	17.4	17.4
	National Bank	3	13.0	13.0	30.4
	Sonali Bank	5	21.7	21.7	52.2
	Pubali Bank	4	17.4	17.4	69.6
	Janata Bank	3	13.0	13.0	82.6
	Bank Asia	1	4.3	4.3	87.0
	BRAC Bank	1	4.3	4.3	91.3
	Prime Bank	2	8.7	8.7	100.0
	Total	23	100.0	100.0	

The above frequency table shows that, the largest percentage of respondents is from Sonali bank and it is 21.7%. Then in both DBBL and Pubali bank there are 17.4% respondents. A reasonable percentage of respondents come from National bank and Janata Bank which is 13%. 8.7% comes from Prime Bank. Whereas, only 4.3% respondents come from Bank Asia and only 4.3% from Brac Bank.

Let see, what the corresponding pie chart says:

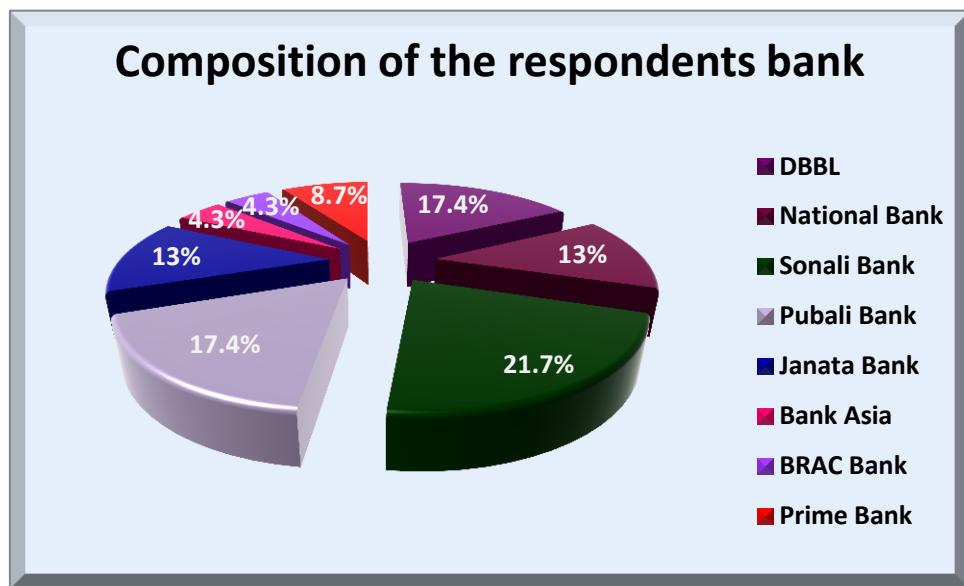


Figure 5.8.1: Pie chart showing the percentages of respondent's bank.



### **5.8.2 Acceptance of utility bill on Hartal day:**

We asked all bankers who are sampled in our survey about their bill payment services. How much service they can provide on Hartal day especially on this? Majority gave positive answer. According to their answer, they do the usual services on Hartal day too rather give more as the working pressure is close to zero level. Now see the tables below:

**Table 5.8.2: Frequency distribution indicating whether Bill payment continues on a Hartal day**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	20	87.0	95.2	95.2
	No	1	4.3	4.8	100.0
	Total	21	91.3	100.0	
Missing	System	2	8.7		
Total		23	100.0		

The above frequency table gives us the easy view that 95% respondents said they take utility bills in their branches on a Hartal day and only 5% don't take utility bills in their branches.

Check the corresponding doughnut chart:

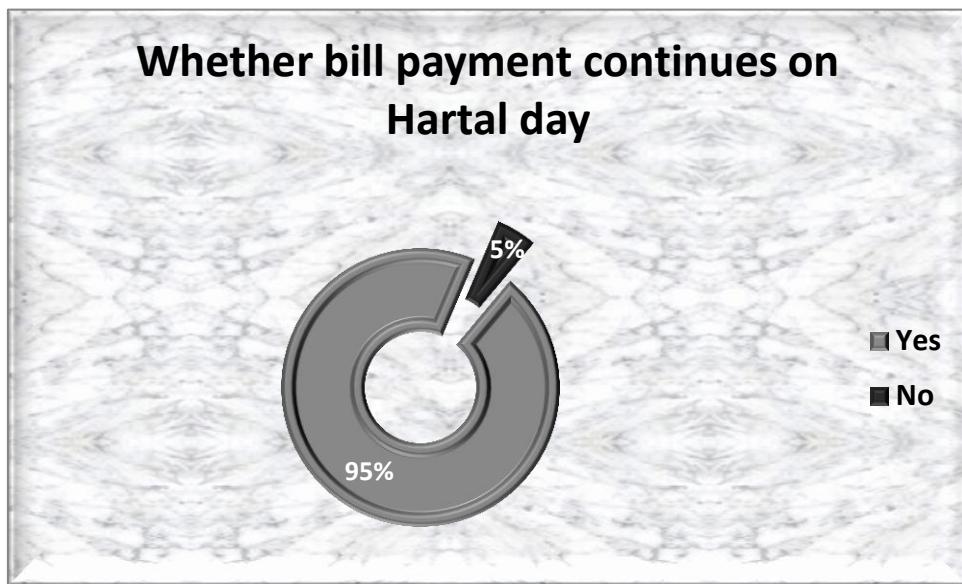


Figure 5.8.2: Doughnut chart on bill-payment service of different banks.

### **5.8.3 Using ATM-BOOTH on Hartal day:**

Now-a-days ATM-Booths are frequently used service not less than going to bank. Some banks opens regularly, some do not provide it regularly.

We are showing in the frequency table whether the ATM Booths are used in Hartal days or not.

<b>Table 5.8.3: Frequency distribution of the use of ATM booths on Hartal day</b>					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Low	12	52.2	75.0	75.0
	Regular	4	17.4	25.0	100.0
	Total	16	69.6	100.0	
Missing	Not applicable	3	13.0		
	System	4	17.4		
	Total	7	30.4		
Total		23	100.0		

The frequency table of usage of ATM Booths on a Hartal day shows that, 69.6% banks have ATM Booths. Among them 75% booths have regular activities whereas 25% of the booths have comparatively lower activities on a Hartal day.

Let see the simple bar diagram:

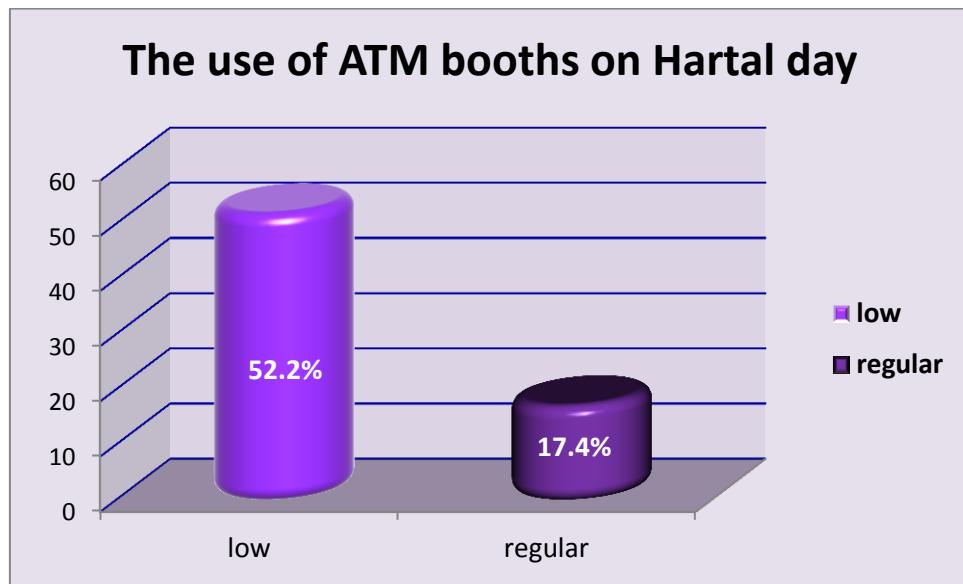


Figure5.8.3: Bar diagram on the percentages of opening ATM-BOOTHs of different banks.

#### **5.8.4 Effects on On-line banking:**

One might think about the effectiveness of Hartal on On-line banking. Hartal does not affect it drastically but effects. See the frequency table please.

Table 8.05: Frequency distribution representing the effects of Hartal on online banking					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Less transaction	6	26.1	26.1	26.1
	Normal	5	21.7	21.7	47.8
	High	12	52.2	52.2	100.0
	Total	23	100.0	100.0	

So, we see the on-line transactions remain high for 52.2%, normal for 21.7% & less for only 26.1% of the banks. Thus, on-line banking on Hartal is satisfactory.

Now see the pie chart:

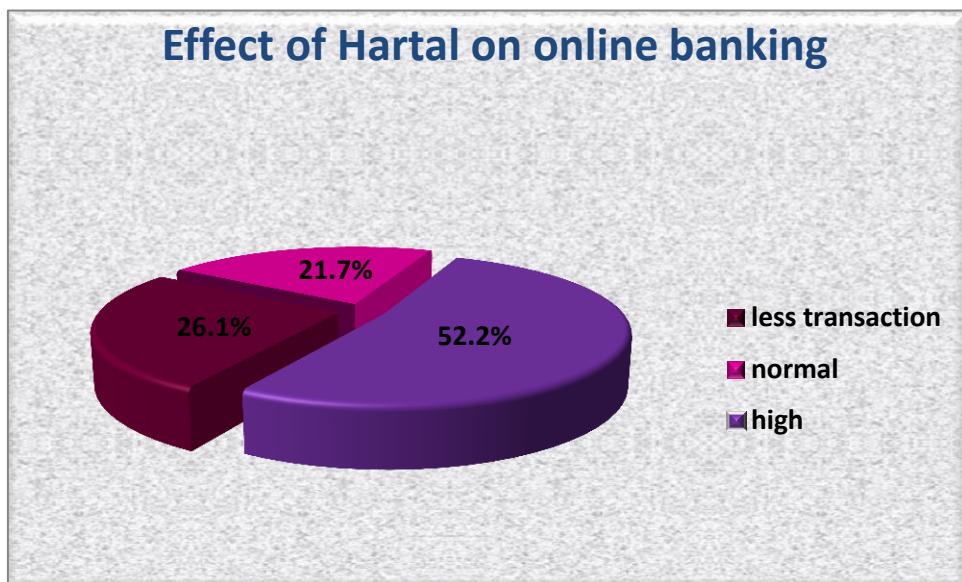


Figure5.8.4: Pie chart depicting on-line banking percentages on Hartal day.

## **Bivariate Analysis:**

### **5.8.5 Whether bank open on Hartal day:**

From our interest we wanted to see which type bank remain open on Hartal day most. And we categories it into three parts:

- Government Bank
- Semi-Government Bank
- Private Bank.

Here, government and semi-government banks are always open but the case is different in case of private bank.

**Table 5.8.5: Frequency distribution showing whether the Bank remains open in Hartal day**

Category of the Bank	All branches are open	Some branches are open	All closed	are	Total
<b>Government</b>	8	0	0		8
	100.0%	.0%	.0%		100.0%
<b>Semi-government</b>	1	0	0		1
	100.0%	.0%	.0%		100.0%
<b>Private</b>	9	2	3		14
	64.3%	14.3%	21.4%		100.0%
<b>Total</b>	18	2	3		23
	78.3%	8.7%	13.0%		100.0%

Analyzing the above table we see that, all govt. and semi government Banks are open in a Hartal day. While among private Banks all branches are open with a percentage of 64.3 and some are open with percentage 14.3 and none are open with percentage 21.4.

Symmetric Measures					
		Value	Asymp. Std. Error <sup>a</sup>	Approx. T <sup>b</sup>	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	.397	.095	2.700	.007
N of Valid Cases		23			

From the above table we see that there is association between category of bank and whether it remains open. Kendall's tau-b statistic shows a value of .397 and the corresponding p value is .007 which is highly significant. It ensures that there is association between the two variables.

The above scenario can be clearly explained with the help of a multiple bar diagram:

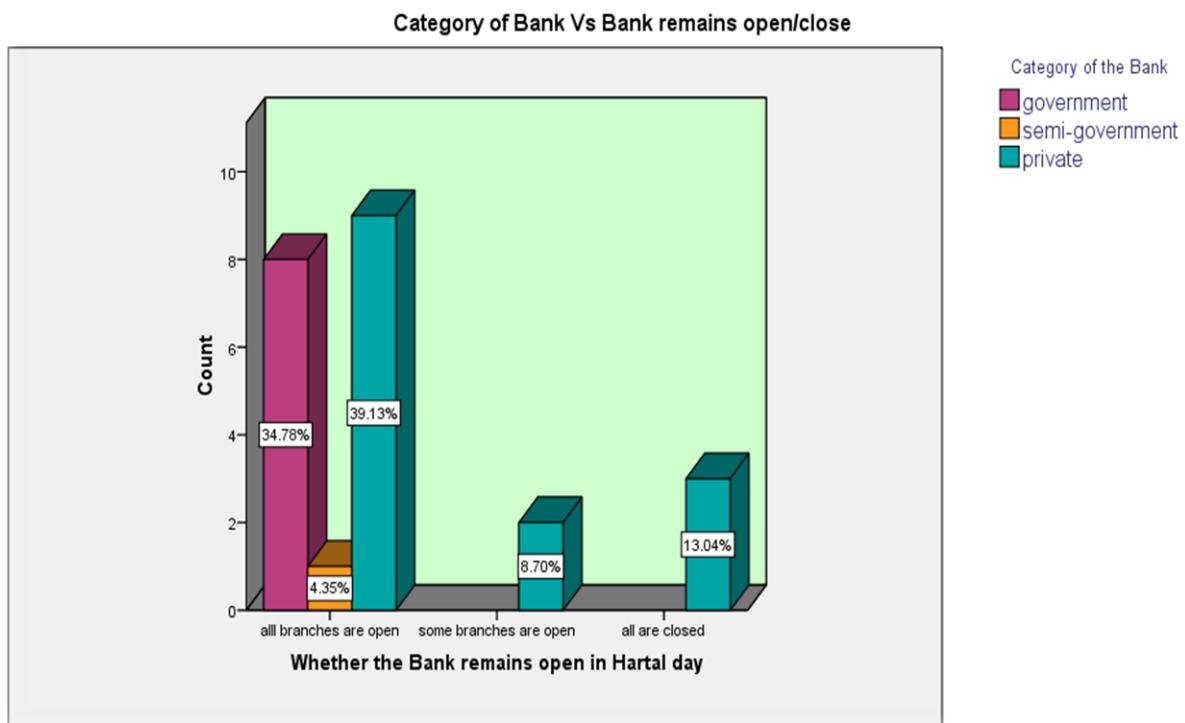


Figure 5.8.5: Opening percentages of govt., semi-govt. & private banks on a Hartal day, presented in a multiple bar diagram.

## **5.8.6 The security system and the categories of the Bank in a Hartal day:**

We already see that many of the branches of the Banks remain closed on a Hartal day. While some remain open. So there may arise question of security of Banks on a Hartal day. In this section we will see the security system for different categories of the Bank.

The necessary table is given below:

**Table 5.8.6: Security system in banking on a Hartal day \* Category of the Bank Cross tabulation**

Security system in banking on a Hartal day	Category of the Bank			Total
	Government	Semi-government	Private	
Normal	4	0	0	4
	100.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
Very secure	4	1	14	19
	21.1%	5.3%	73.7%	100.0%
Total	8	1	14	23
	34.8%	4.3%	60.9%	100.0%

Studying the above table we see that, the security system remains normal for govt. Bank in a Hartal day. Whereas it is very secure for 21.1% of the govt. banks, 5.3% of the semi govt. Banks and 73.7% of the private Banks.

**Chi-Square Tests**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	9.079	2	.011
Likelihood Ratio	10.163	2	.006
Linear-by-Linear Association	8.288	1	.004
N of Valid Cases	23		

The chi square value is 9.079 and corresponding p value is .011 which is highly significant. So security system and category of Banks are dependent.

Now we will see the association between the two variables,

**Symmetric Measures**

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error	Approx. T <sup>b</sup>	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	.595	.131	2.647	.008
N of Valid Cases		23			

The Kendall's tau-b statistic shows the value of correlation between the two is .131. That it is a weak positive correlation. P value is .008 which is highly significant. So we may conclude that there is association between security system and category of the Bank.

The scenario can be easily represented with the help of a multiple bar diagram:

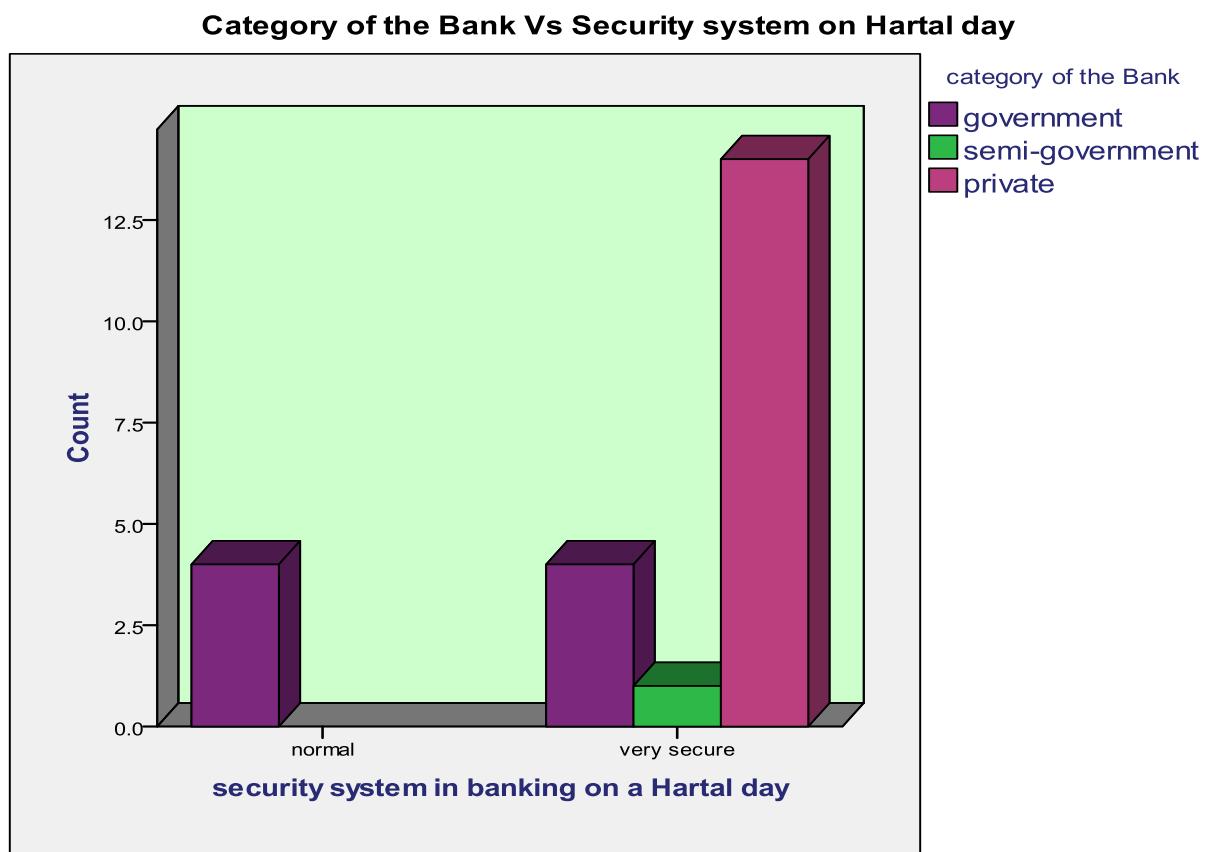


Figure 5.8.6: Multiple Bar diagram showing the relation between category of the Bank and security system

## SECTION 5.9: FOOD STOPS

Another spread section of Bangladesh's economy is food stores/ shops. There are many well-known & popular food places in Bangladesh, especially in Dhaka city. These food stores make a huge amount of income & profits daily & puts a large part in national economy. In this section we attempted to know how these food stores & their business is harmed because of Hartal, briefly.

### **5.9.1 Frequencies of Categories of food stop**

Table 5.9.1: Frequency distribution of type of food stops					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	<i>Restaurant</i>	12	57.1	57.1	57.1
	<i>Mini restaurant</i>	4	19.0	19.0	76.2
	<i>Confectionary</i>	3	14.3	14.3	90.5
	<i>Fast food shop</i>	2	9.5	9.5	100.0
	<i>Total</i>	21	100.0	100.0	

In these research study, we included 21 food stops, in total, over a vast area of Dhaka city, in which we get 12 Restaurants (which is 57.1% of total), 4 Mini-Restaurants (19% of total), 3 Confectionaries (14.3% of total) & 2 Fast Food Shops (9.5% of total). Below is a pie chart display of these proportions-

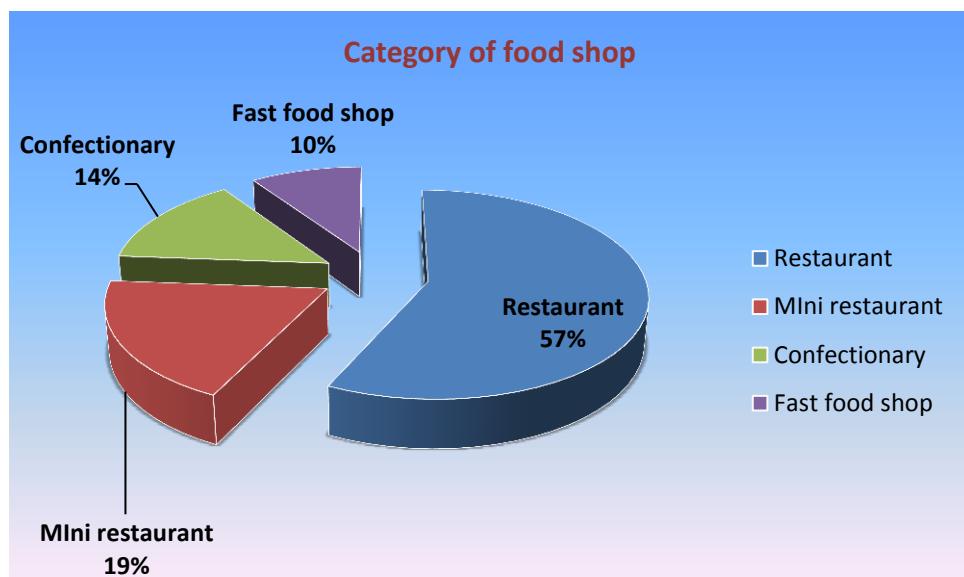


Figure 5.9.1: Pie chart depicting the categories of food stops.

### **5.9.2 Summary statistics of daily income:**

Also some descriptive on the daily income of the food stops, which shows a daily income of 46000Tk, on average.

Statistics		
total income of the food stop everyday		
N	Valid	21
	Missing	0
Mean		64897.62
Median		46000.00
Mode		7500
Minimum		850
Maximum		250000

### **5.9.3 Whether food stops kept open at Hartal days:**

We asked further whether the food stops are kept open or not on Hartal day, which reveals-

**Table 5.9.3: Frequency distribution indicating whether food stops remained open on Hartal days**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	12	57.1	57.1	57.1
	No	8	38.1	38.1	95.2
	Sometimes	1	4.8	4.8	100.0
	Total	21	100.0	100.0	

The above table shows that about 57% of the food stops are always kept open during Hartal and about 38% of them remain closed, where the rest of about 5% sometimes open their shops, may be depending on street situation of that Hartal day. Below is a graphical illustration of this-

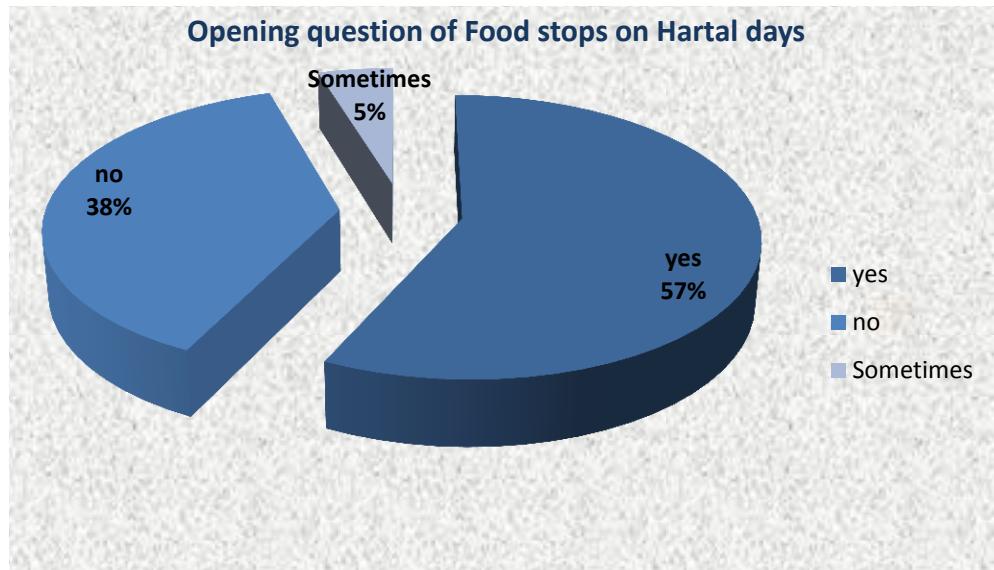


Figure 5.9.3: Pie chart showing the opening question of food stops on Hartal days.

#### **5.9.4 Number of customers arrive at the food stop on Hartal day:**

Even though about 57% of the stores are kept open on Hartal day, Hartal reduces the number of customers of these stores-

Table 5.9.4: Frequency distribution on customers arrive at the food stop on Hartal day					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very few	8	66.7	66.7	66.7
	Few	3	25.0	25.0	91.7
	Normal	1	8.3	8.3	100.0
	Total	12	100.0	100.0	

From the above frequency table, 66.7% stores that are kept open, informed that it gets A very few customers on Hartal day, 25% informed of getting Few customers & only 8.3% informed that it gets its regular number of customers.

The above information tells that those 57% stores losses their daily income completely & 91.7% (cumulative percentage) of the remaining stores losses their daily income partially.

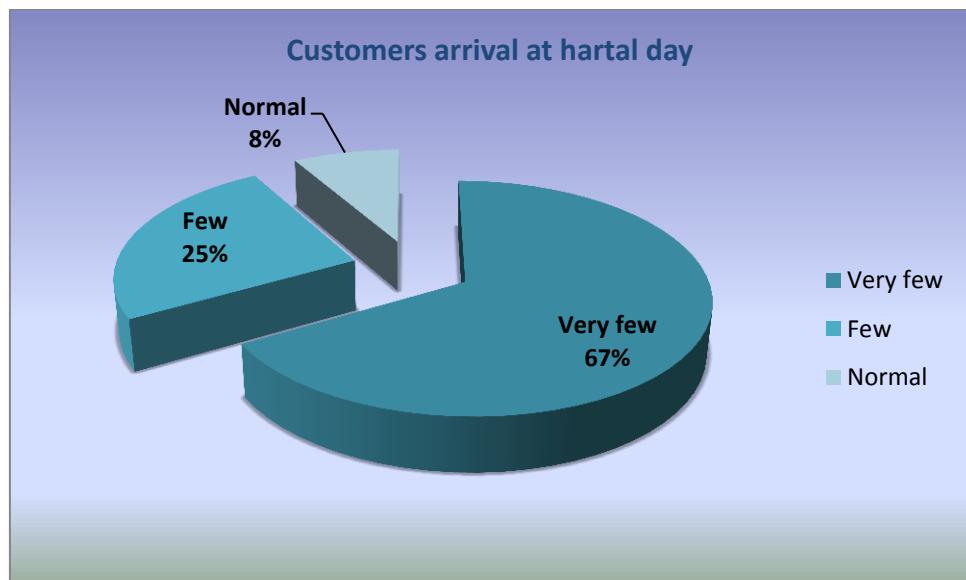


Figure 5.9.4: Pie chart depicting the arrival pattern of customers at food stops on Hartal day.

### **5.9.5 Problems faced due to Hartal:**

Finally, we tried to explore problems (other than those economic losses), that the stores face on a Hartal day. Below the corresponding frequency table-

		Responses		Percent of Cases
		N	Percent	
Problems faced on Hartal in a food store	Less workers remain present	5	19.2%	23.8%
	Goods are not available	3	11.5%	14.3%
	High transport fare	2	7.7%	9.5%
	Problems in home delivery	5	19.2%	23.8%
	No other problems	11	42.3%	52.4%
Total		26	100.0%	123.8%

The table shows 23.8% of all food stops have less number of their workers on Hartal day, 14.3% complained that the necessary goods are not available, 9.5% said about high transport fare, 23.8% faced problems in home delivery, where 52.4% faced no other problems. Below is graphical presentation-

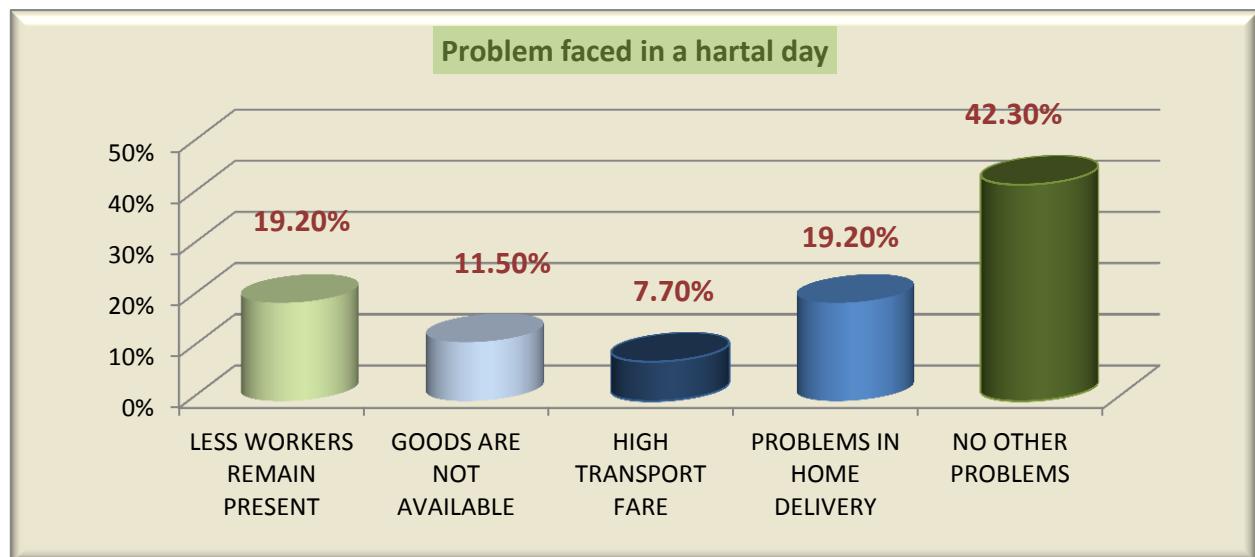


Figure 5.9.5: Bar diagram showing the common problems food stops face due to Hartal.

## SECTION 5.10: POLITICS

Hartal is a political issue. There are many political parties in Bangladesh. In this section we attempted to know about Hartal from the view of supporters of different political parties of Bangladesh.

### **5.10.1 Frequencies of political parties that the respondent is involved:**

**Table 5.10.1: Frequency distribution of political parties that the respondent is involved**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Bangladesh Awami League	10	45.5	45.5	45.5
	Bangladesh Nationalist Party	10	45.5	45.5	90.9
	Bangladesh Jatio Party	2	9.1	9.1	100.0
	Total	22	100.0	100.0	

In this research study, we included 22 supporters of different political parties over Dhaka city, in which we get 10 supporters of Bangladesh Awami League (which is 45.5% of total), 10 supporters of Bangladesh Nationalist Party (which is 45.5% of total), and 2 supporters of Bangladesh Jatio Party (which is 9.1% of total). Below is a pie chart to display these proportions-

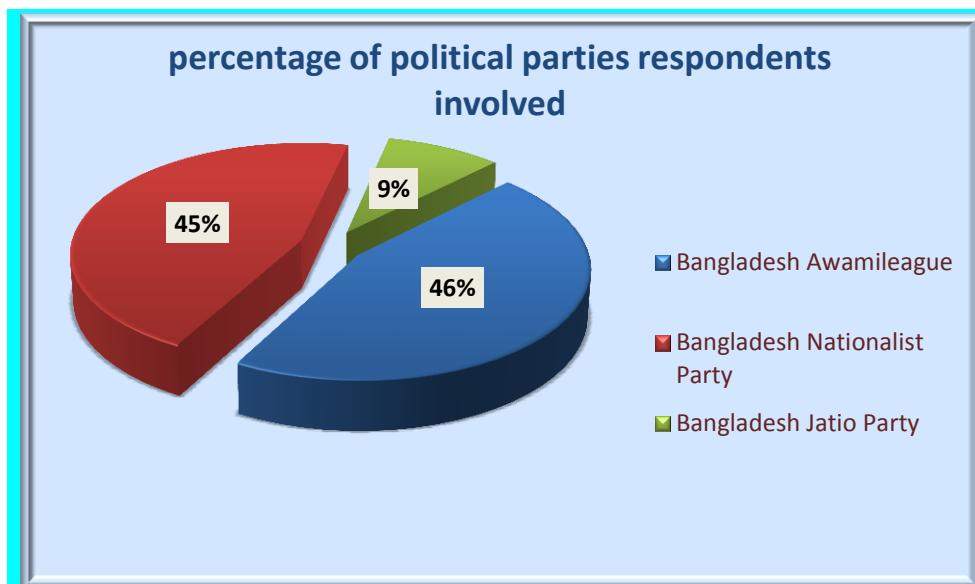


Figure 5.10.1: Pie chart showing the political parties respondent involved through percentages.

## **5.10.2 Main reasons behind Hartal according to politicians:**

We asked them about the main reason behind Hartal. Which reveals-

**Table 5.10.2: Frequency distribution showing main reasons behind Hartal**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Purpose of political party	10	45.5	45.5	45.5
	Purpose of general people	12	54.5	54.5	100.0
	Total	22	100.0	100.0	

The above result shows that 45.5% respondent think that Hartal is called for the purpose of political party, where the other 54.5% respondent think that Hartal is called for the purpose of general people.

Below is a pie-chart to display the result-

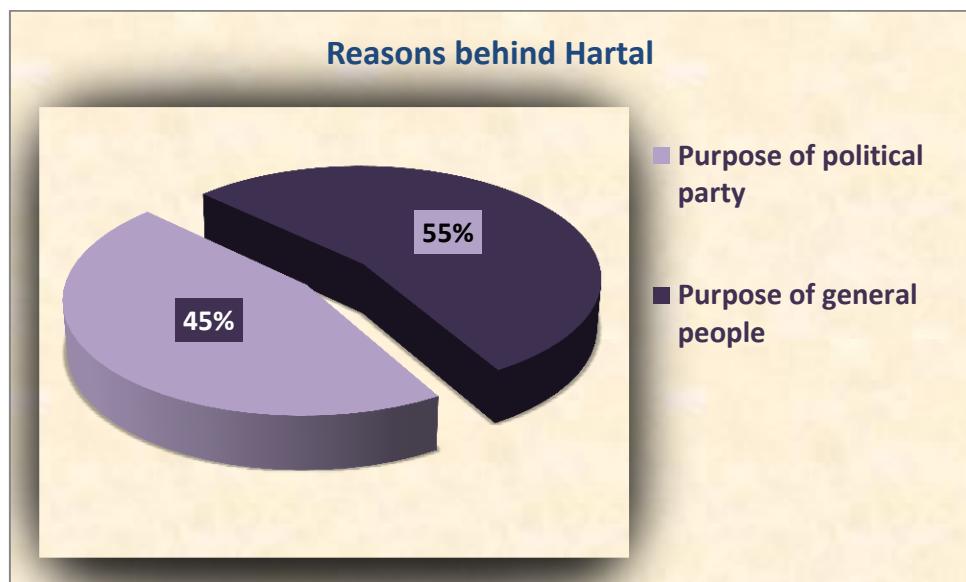


Figure 5.10.2: Pie chart showing the Main reasons behind Hartal according to politicians.

### **5.10.3 Ever faced any hindrance in procession during Hartal:**

We also wanted to know whether the supporters of different political parties have faced any sort of hindrance in procession during a Hartal day. Which reveals-

**Table 5.10.3: Frequency distribution showing whether faced any hindrance in procession during Hartal**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative percent
<b>Yes</b>	20	90.9	90.9	90.9
<b>No</b>	2	9.1	9.1	100.0
<b>Total</b>	22	100.0	100.0	

The above result shows that 90.9% of the total respondents have faced hindrance in procession during Hartal and 9.1% of the respondents have not faced so. The graphical representation is-

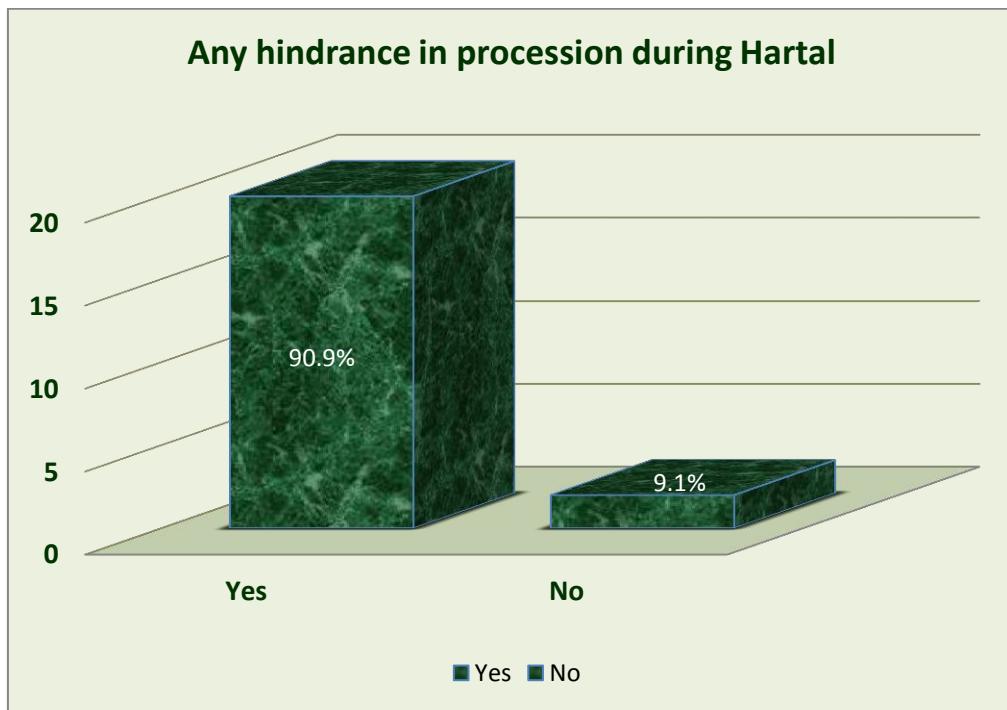


Figure 5.10.3: Bar diagram showing any hindrance in procession during Hartal.



#### **5.10.4 By whom Hartal supporters being suppressed?:**

We also asked the supporters of different political parties that, by whom they have faced any hindrance in procession Hartal day. The corresponding frequency table is given below-

**Table 5.10.4: Frequency distribution showing the groups who protest respondent in propaganda during Hartal**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
<b>Police</b>	12	54.5	54.5	54.5
<b>Supporter of government party</b>	4	18.2	18.2	72.7
<b>None</b>	6	27.3	27.3	100.0
<b>Total</b>	22	100.0	100.0	

The above result shows that, the 54.5% of the supporters of political party are protested by police, where 18.2% of the supporters of political party are protested by Government party and 27.3% of the supporters of political party have not faced any sort of protest in propaganda during a Hartal day.

The graphical representation is given below-

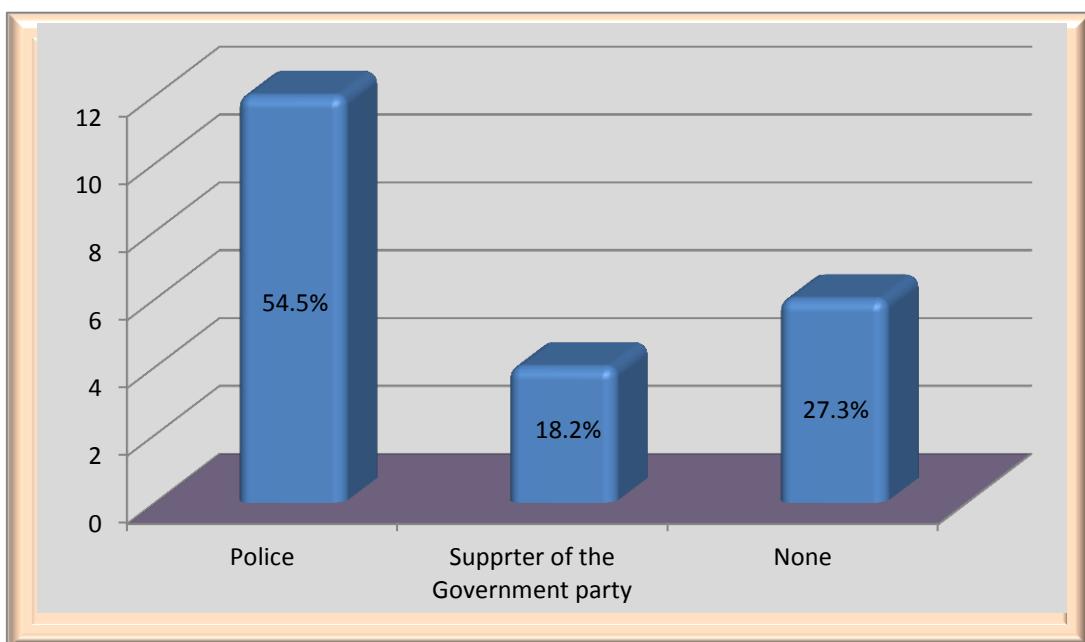


Figure 5.10.4: Bar diagram showing by whom Hartal supporters being suppressed during a Hartal day.

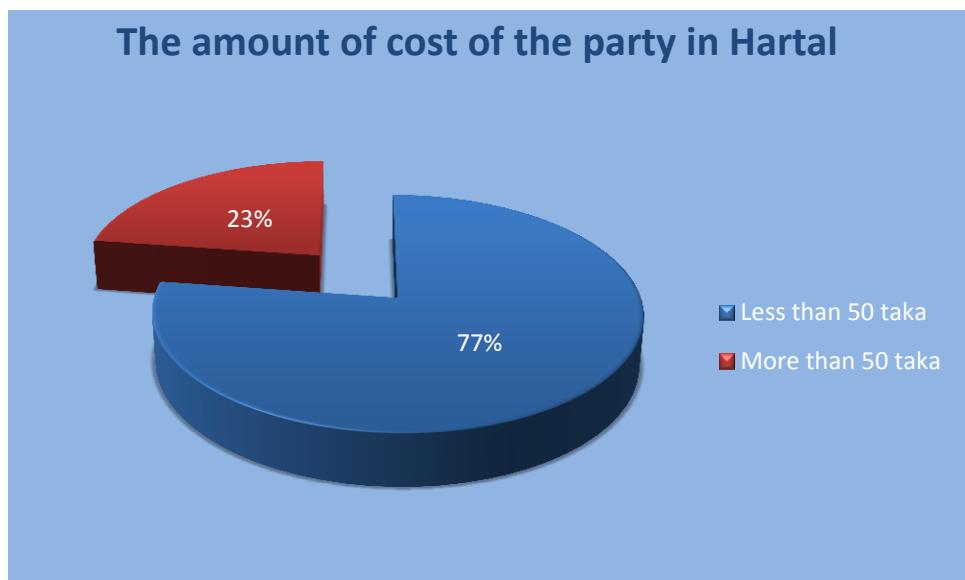
### **5.10.5 The amount of cost of the party in Hartal:**

We also wanted to know the cost of the political party in a Hartal day. Which reveals-

**Table 5.10.5: Frequency distribution of the amount of cost of the party in Hartal**

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
less than 50 tk per person	17	77.3	77.3
more than 50 tk per person	5	22.7	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

The above result shows that 77.3% of the political party costs less than 50 taka in a Hartal day. On the other hand 22.7% of the political party costs more than 50 taka in a Hartal day. The graphical representation is-



**Figure 5.10.5: Pie chart depicting the amount of cost of the party in Hartal**

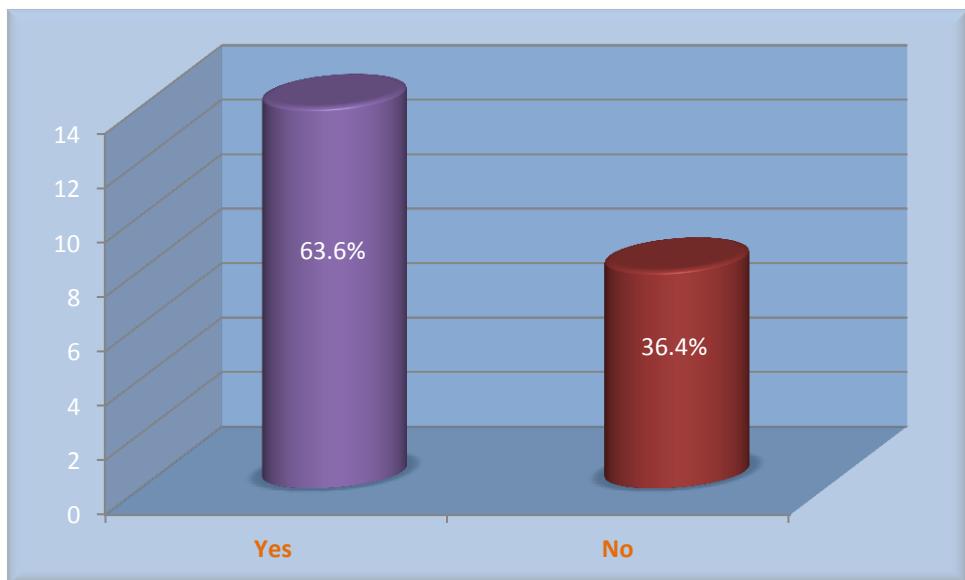
## **5.10.6 Whether illegal arms are used:**

We wanted to know whether illegal arms are used in Hartals or not. Which reveals-

**Table 5.10.6: Frequency distribution indicating illegal arms used in Hartal**

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
yes	14	63.6	63.6
no	8	36.4	36.4
Total	22	100.0	100.0

The above result shows that, 63.6% respondents think illegal arms are used in Hartal. On the other hand 36.4% respondents think that illegal arms are not used in Hartal. The graphical representation is-



**Figure 5.10.6: Bar diagram showing whether illegal arms used in Hartal.**

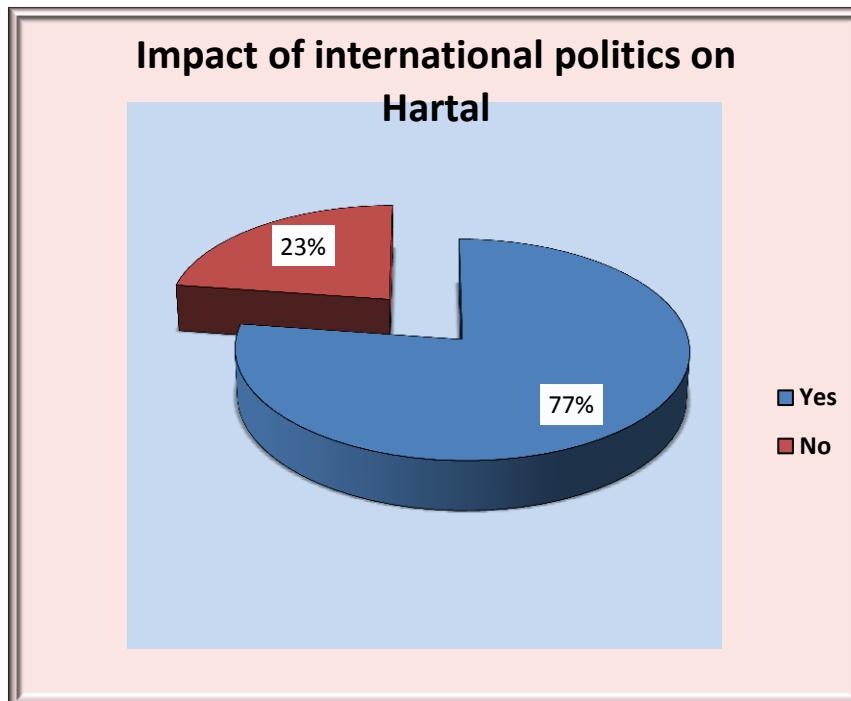
### **5.10.7 Impact of international politics on Hartal:**

We also wanted to know whether there is any impact of international politics in Hartal or not. Which reveals-

**Table 5.10.7: Frequency distribution answering whether any impact of international politics on Hartal**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative percentage
Yes	17	77.3	77.3	77.3
No	5	22.7	22.7	100.0
Total	22	100.0	100.0	

The above result shows that 77.3% of the total respondents think that, there is impact of international politics in Hartal. Where the other 22.7% supporters think that there is no impact of international politics in Hartal.



**Figure 5.10.7: The pie chart showing the impact of international politics on Hartal.**

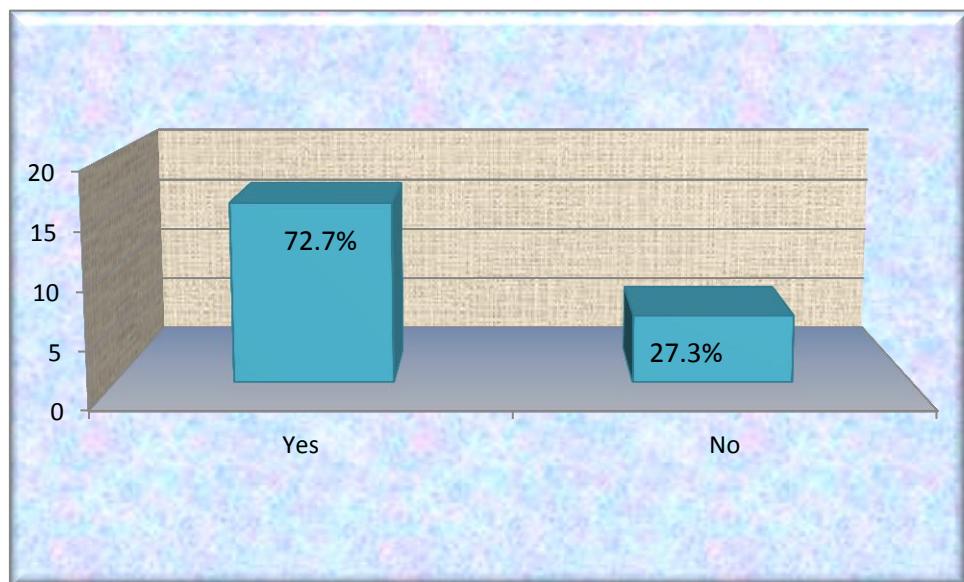
### **5.10.8 Whether help any person of the respondent's party when injured:**

We wanted to know that, any supporter is physically injured during Hartal, then whether the party helps him or not. This reveals -

**Table 5.10.8: Frequency distribution indicating whether the party helps any person of that party when injured**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	16	72.7	72.7	72.7
No	6	27.3	27.3	100.0
Total	22	100.0	100.0	

The above result shows that, 72.7% of the supporters of political parties are helped by the corresponding political party, if they are injured during Hartal. On the other hand, 27.3% of the supporters of political parties are not helped by the corresponding political party, if they are injured during Hartal. Below is graphical presentation-



**Figure 5.10.8: Whether help the political party to that person's when injured in a Hartal day**

### **5.10.9 Hartal a way to be politically highlighted? :**

We wanted to know whether Hartal is a way to be politically highlighted or not. These reveals-

**Table 5.10.9: Frequency distribution indicating whether Hartal a way to be politically highlighted**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	18	81.8	81.8	81.8
	No	4	18.2	18.2	100.0
	Total	22	100.0	100.0	

The above result shows that, 81.1% politicians thinks that Hartal is away to be politically Highlighted. On the other hand 18.2% politicians think that Hartal is not the way to be politically highlighted. The graphical representation is-

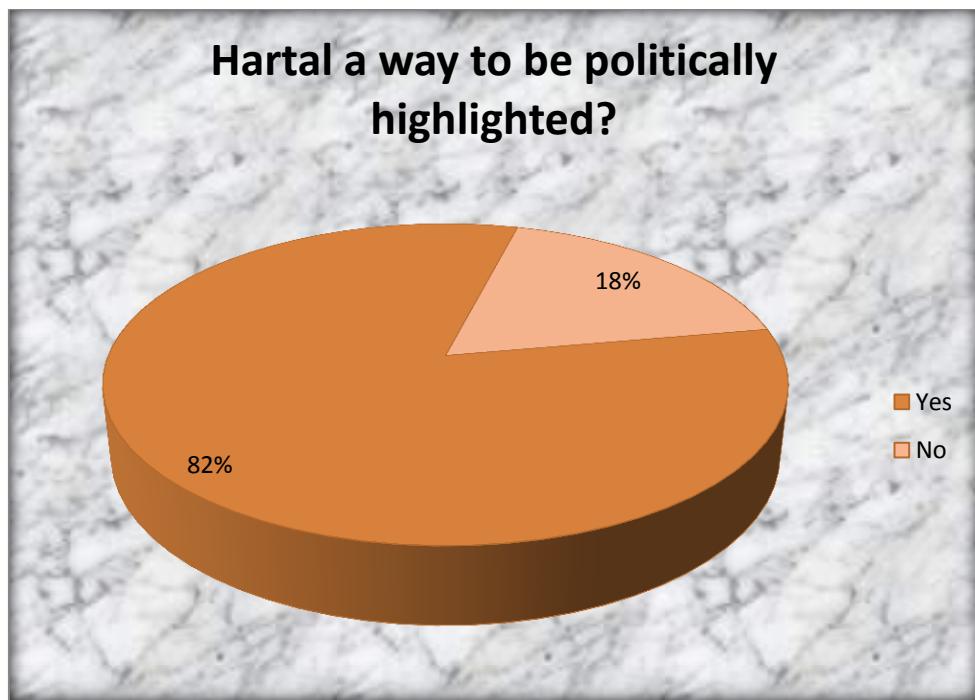


Figure 5.10.9: Pie chart representing whether Hartal a way to be politically highlighted.

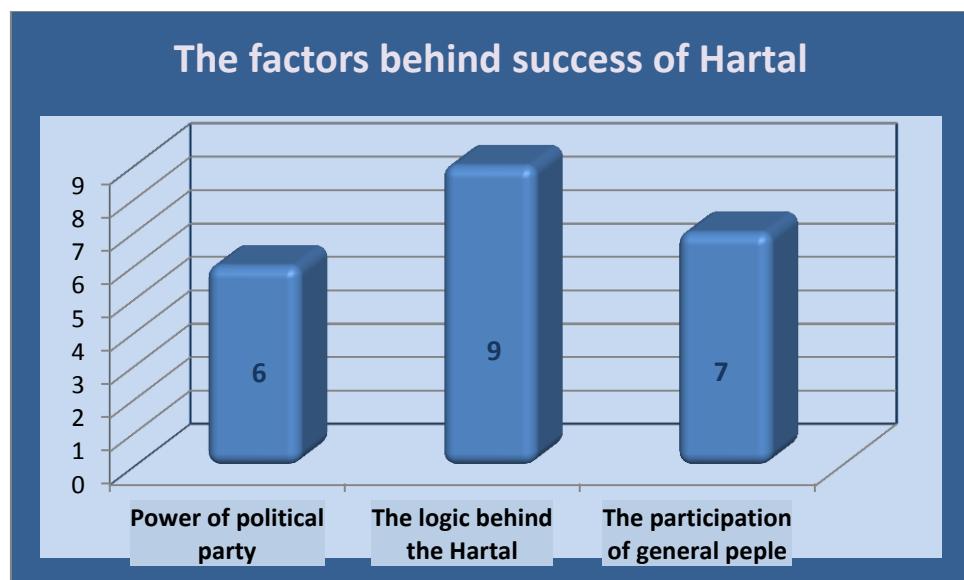
### **5.10.10 The factors behind success of Hartal:**

We wanted to know from the politicians about the factor behind the success of Hartal. These reveals-

**Table 5.10.10: Frequency distribution showing the factor behind the success of Hartal**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Power of political party	6	27.3	27.3	27.3
The logic behind the Hartal	9	40.9	40.9	68.2
The participation of general people	7	31.8	31.8	100.0
Total	22	100.0	100.0	

The above result shows that, 27.3% of the politicians think that power of political party is the factor behind the success of Hartal, 40.9% of the politicians think that, the logic behind the Hartal is the factor behind the success of Hartal. 31.8% of the politicians think that, the participation of general people is the factor behind the success of Hartal .The graphical representation is-



**Figure5.10.10: Simple Bar diagram showing the factor behind success of Hartal**

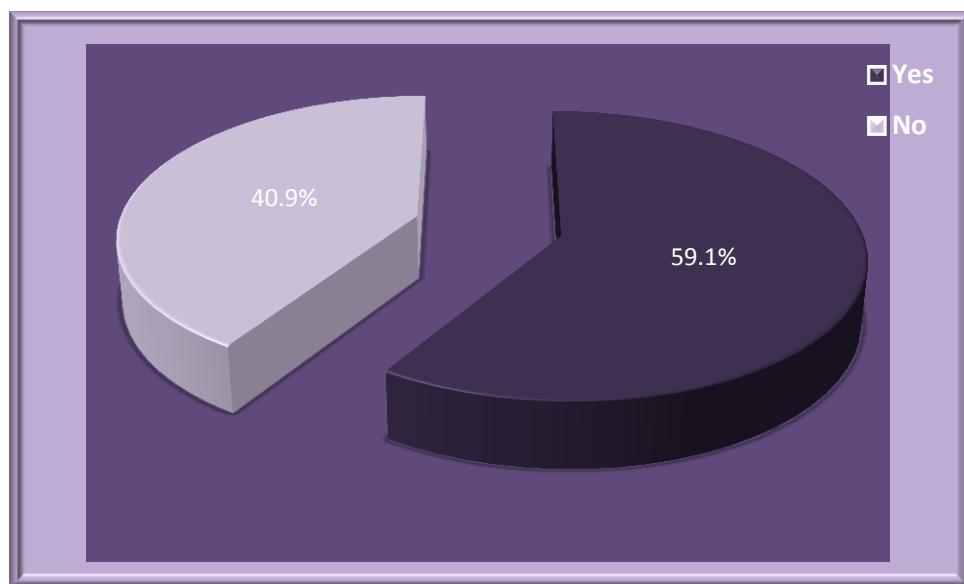
### **5.10.11 Strong role of media reduce the impact of Hartal?**

We also wanted to know, whether strong role of media can reduce the impact of Hartal or not. These reveals-

**Table 5.10.11: Frequency distribution showing whether strong role of media can reduce the impact of Hartal**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	13	59.1	59.1	59.1
	No	9	40.9	40.9	100.0
	Total	22	100.0	100.0	

The above result shows that 59.1% of the politicians think that strong role of media can reduce the impact of Hartal and 40.9% of the politicians think that strong role of media cannot reduce the impact of Hartal. The graphical representation is-



**Figure5.10.11: Pie chart showing the percentage of politicians who think whether the impact of Hartal is reduced by media or not.**

From the above results we can say that, though most of the times Hartal is called for the purpose of political party, most of the politicians use it to be politically highlighted. Usually the opposition parties call Hartal to strengthen their movement against Government party and on the issue of Hartal the relationship among opposition parties become strong. According to the politicians, the success of Hartal depends on power of the political party, the logic behind the Hartal and the participation of general people. The strong role of media can help to reduce the impact of Hartal, but to reduce more bad impact of Hartal we need strong and logical role of the politicians.

# CHAPTER 6

## Findings & Recommendations

### **Findings of the study**

This chapter provides the main findings of our opinion survey on Hartal carried out for this publication. The survey carried out in January 2012-polled some 238 respondents in different areas within Dhaka city.

To summarize citizen's supportive view to Hartal, most of the citizens felt that, Hartals cannot be a democratic voice to protest. The vast majority (81.1%) of the respondent don't support Hartal, whereas only 18.9% of them support Hartal.

### **Reasons behind Hartal:**

In order to investigate the main reason behind Hartal, we studied and found that the "own interest of opposition parties" bears the highest frequency. We observe that 58% of the graduated respondent believed the "wrong decision and carelessness of govt." is the major reason behind Hartal. While 52.3% of the masters completed respondents felt that the "interest of opposition parties" as a main reason behind Hartal. We also looked upon the reason behind Hartal for the respondents involved in different political parties. Here we see cross tabulation and perform regression analysis and are able to know that the supporters of opposition parties have more effects on the choice of "wrong decision and carelessness of govt." than supporters of ruling parties as a reason for Hartal. On the other hand, the supporters of ruling party has a greater effect on the choice of "opposition parties own interest" than supporter of opposition parties as a reason behind Hartal.

### **Effectiveness of Hartal:**

Now we come to the point of effectiveness of Hartal as a political tool which was one of our research objectives. Analyzing our data we reached to the conclusion that 68.9% of the respondents believed that it is not effective 28.6% believed that it is partly effective and 2.5% of them said that it is effective. When Hartals are called by social organizations other than political parties, 53.78% of the respondent voiced that it is not effective while 43.70% said it is partly effective.

## **Economic effects of Hartal:**

Hartal affects greatly our socio economic life. Most of the respondent said that our economy is affected by Hartal the most. Government (40%) & private service holders (41.4%) and businessmen (36.8%) also said so. But labors (40%) and students (36.5%) felt that the most affected side of Hartal is the misery of general people.

The urban areas are affected greatly due to Hartal. The most affected sectors are transports, Export-import, production, bank and food stops.

### **(i) Export-Import**

Due to Hartal, Businessmen/whole sellers/retailers face the problem in their usual transaction. From the data, we have about 56.5% respondents, who can make transactions on Hartal day (within them 71.4% can make the same amount of transactions compared to other day & rest of them can make less). Whereas, 43.5% respondents cannot make transactions on a Hartal day. Analyzing data we have, about 87% don't face the destruction of their products due to Hartal, whereas 13% face it. About 73.9% respondents are not able to satisfy market demand. 52.2% respondents pay salaries to their employees for the Hartal day, even if they remain closed on that day. Finally we have that, the respondents who are directly related with export-import business 80% cannot make transaction on a Hartal day, 60% of the whole sellers cannot make transactions, and 76.9% of the retailer can easily make transactions.

### **(ii) Bank**

Hartal has great impact on Bank sector. Analyzing the data, we observe that both govt. & semi-government Banks are open in a Hartal day. Among private Banks all branches are open with a percentage of 64.3%. We observe that 67% respondents' bank take utility bills in their branches on a Hartal day, which have the frequency 20 among 23.75% of the ATM booths have regular activities. We see that on-line transactions remain high for 52.2%, normal for 21.7% & less for remaining 26.1%. Thus, on-line banking on Hartal day is satisfactory.

### **(iii) Production**

Due to Hartal, we have impacts on production sector. Generally more than 50% labor come in a Hartal day but not all. There is a 41.2% possibility that the amount of production becomes half. From our study we observe that labors of 29% production companies are paid their wages and about 71% are not on a Hartal day if the production process remains stopped. We also have that 65% production works faced with problems to meet their market demand. To minimize the loss due to Hartal sometimes production process may carry on for extra time before or after Hartal .About 50% production process continue for less than 2 hours to minimize their loss. After taking necessary steps about 67% production process can compensate 21-40% loss.

#### (iv) Transports

Transportations is one of the largest part of Bangladesh is economy. On a Hartal day, about 33.3% of the transport owners are likely to run his vehicles, whereas 66.7% are not. Our analysis reveals that about 47.8% vehicles got damaged due to Hartal, whereas 52.2% are not. The loss due to non-operation of the vehicles on Hartal day & loss due to the damages occurred to the vehicles has a minimum of 2250 Tk to a maximum of 1, 10, 00,000 Tk with mean 17, 56,116.67Tk and median of Tk1, 50,000. We observe that about 46.2% transport owners pay off salaries to the staffs even if they don't operate their transports on Hartal day, whereas other 53.8% say that they don't.

#### (v) Food stops

Food stops is another spread section of Bangladesh economy. Due to Hartal, food stores & their business are harmed. Our analysis shows that about 57% of the food stops are always kept open during Hartal, 38% of them remain closed & 5% are sometimes opened. 66.7% stores that are kept open, informed that it gets a very few customers on Hartal day, 25% gets few customers & only 8.3% regular number of customers. Also we found that 23.8% of all food stops have less number of their workers, 14.3% complained that the necessary goods are not available, 9.5% said about high transport fare, 23.8% faced problems in home delivery, whereas 52.4% faced no other problems in managing food stops on a Hartal day.

We also got informed that there occurs some extra cost on a Hartal day for general public when they are outside of home for their work. We found the cost is below tk100 for 39.3% of the respondents, tk101-tk300 (25.9%) and tk300 & above for 8.3%. Again from regression analysis we were assured that occupation has a significant effect on the above categories of extra cost on a Hartal day.

### Social impact

#### (i) Day- labor

Generally day labors have to go out for their works on a Hartal day & the percentage is 56.5%. For fear of picketing 78.9% respondents avoid to go outside. Our study tells us that day labors have to face many problems. The main panic in physical torture & its percentage is 40.3%, rickshaw pullers faced with the problem of damaging rickshaws, 20% have the fear of terrorist & 10% have the police harassments. The percentage of loss of taka 100-200 & 200-300 is high among the day labors. They compensate their losses by loan or extra income/using savings or reducing expenditure.

## (ii) Media

The effect of Hartal on the most popular and important sector of our society named “media” is cancerous. In this sector we found that 66.70% of the media workers faced indecent situations while working on a Hartal day. And 75% of them were injured by picketers. This result is very unsatisfactory for any civil society. For this reason we got a large percentage of 83.3% among the media workers claimed that carrying duty on a Hartal day is very risky.

## (iii) Education

In education sector we get acquainted that schools, colleges and universities are affected enormously due to Hartal. 64% of our respondents said that all the above three levels of education of our country are greatly hampered for the reason of Hartal. In school and college level we found classes are impeded (56.3%), the flow of study hampered (28.1%); exams are postponed (12.5%) as a negative effects of Hartal. While in universities, session jam (65.5%), instable campus (31.3%) are the destructive effects of Hartal. Also it should be noted that 33.3% of residential students (in universities) are compelled and 58.3% are sometimes compelled to join the procession of Hartal.

## (iv) Police

The duty hour of police is affected due to Hartal day. Their duty time might vary according to their designation and the area where they are on duty. From the results of our analysis we see that most of them have duty hour >15 takes the percentage of 82.5. Data reveal that 78.5% polices work under political parties, only 21.75% are free from this effect. Only 8.7% of police get harassed subsequently. 91.3% are free from these sufferings. Police who have duty on Hartal day, about 39.1% face the problem of managing family demand, 21.7% have mental pressure 4.3% get threat from unknown. Police are also tortured by picketer. 43.5% are tortured & 56.5% are not. We also have that 65.2% of them arrest people under political parties leadership, 34.8% of them are free from these. So the majority indicates the insistent of political parties.

## (v) Politics

From the results of the political section, we can say that, though most of the times Hartal is called for the purpose of political party, most of the politicians use it to be politically highlighted. Usually the opposition parties call Hartal to strengthen their movement against Government party and on the issue of Hartal the relationship among opposition parties become strong. According to the politicians, the success of Hartal depends on power of the political party, the logic behind the Hartal and the participation of general people. The strong role of media can help to reduce the impact of Hartal, but to reduce more bad impact of Hartal we need strong and logical role of the politicians.

The effect of post Hartal days is also very serious. 28.3% of the respondent of the respondents answered on price hikes, 28.3% on intensive traffic jam, 17.2% on unavailability of necessary goods, and 20.5% on increasing work pressure as the problems of Post Hartal days.

Also we got some responses of 67.2% from the respondent said that villages are also affected by Hartals.

## **Beneficiaries of Hartal**

On the question of whether the respondent believed anybody was benefiting from Hartals, 44.60% of the respondent believed that political parties and leaders are beneficiaries due to Hartal. While corrupted businessmen (17.5%), trades people stocking goods (16.7%), terrorists (14.4%) and rickshaw pullers (6.8%) are also beneficiaries due to Hartals.

## **Constructive alternatives of Hartal:**

Finally we found the many of the respondent believed that there should have some constructive alternatives of Hartal. Of this majority named discussion in parliament (44.7%) as the most effective alternative of Hartal. Public rally (18.6%) was their second choice. Hunger strike (13.4%), Road march (9.6%) has also taken places as the constructive alternatives to Hartal.

## **Conclusion and Recommendations:**

Though Hartal has a long historical background in Bangladesh, it never did well to its democracy. It is not a peaceful solution but a destructive political weapon. In this research study it is already shown that how the daily socio-economic life is hampered due to Hartal. Most of the respondents in this study gave opinion against Hartal, though some other think that Hartal is necessary for the present political situation of Bangladesh. However, here are some citations of the respondents for readers' convenience-

- “We are people of a poor country. Protest hampering the country like this way, is not correct”
- “In a proper democratic system, Hartal is necessary in taking important decisions. But that Hartal, which is destructive, never brings good to proper democracy in Bangladesh, so there is no need of Hartal.”
- “All our national and international businesses are hampered by Hartal. So I extremely dislike Hartal. We should take proper steps against it.”
- “By Hartal the economy, that is, the national development of the country is hampered. Since, student politics is supported in Bangladesh, educational institutions are largely get hampered.”
- “In this country, to protest against government, Hartal is the easiest and correct way.”
- “Hartal is logical & ethical. Through this a govt. can judge its activities and be capable of taking right decision.”
- “If the two political parties work together, then there is no need of Hartal.”

As a part of democracy it is obvious that there must have at least two political parties, one governing the country( by getting support from the public as better party) and the other party will help in and constructively criticize the activities of the governing party. Though it is not possible to the govt. to take the right decision every time and/or it may happen that the ruling party wrongly using its powers, so that there is a big role of the opposition party in a democracy. So, there must be some proper way to protest against or to criticize the wrong activities of govt., which is peaceful, acceptable, ethical and highly effective.

As a part of this research objective, we here (in the study) searched for the possible, but acceptable ways of protest and better constructive alternatives of Hartal, from the people of different ages, occupations and classes. Here, we are making some recommendations on a better way to democracy along with some good constructive alternatives of Hartal in perspective of Bangladesh, which were derived from the comments and answers of the questions in the questionnaire that were asked to the respondents.

### **Recommendations:**

To move beyond Hartal/ to avoid Hartal:

1. Both the govt. and opposition parties must be aware and concern about the asset and life of general public of Bangladesh.
2. Both govt. and opposition parties must respect each other and appreciate each other's good work.

3. The govt. should give importance to the opinions, suggestions, ideas and remarks of the opposition parties.
4. Govt. should work in such that, there remains no need to protest.
5. Politicians must be concerned about the ethics and human rights.
6. Law enforcement force must be provided the power to work independently under law.
7. Govt. should establish the power of laws in the country.
8. Awareness should be raised among the politicians and general public about the country.
9. Political parties (as a representative of the general people) should stop the use of Hartal and search for better constructive ways of protest or criticism, which is peaceful, harmless to general public, ethical, effective and civilized, so that the dignity and sovereignty of Bangladesh remain intact.

### **Better constructive alternatives of Hartal:**

1. In a democratic country an active and effective parliament is strength of that country. So, as the recommendations of the most of the respondents, discussion in the parliament of the political parties on different problems of the country may be the best alternative of Hartal.
2. Advertising and circulating about the positive and negative works of govt. through different mass-media, internet, press-conference etc.
3. Making a mutual understanding between public and govt.
4. Finding a way, so that people can directly connect with govt. and can help govt. to take decisions (e.g. call-centre, Sanglap)
5. Using other established peaceful way of protest like human-chain, public rally, hunger-strike, work-off etc.

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# APPENDIX

University of Dhaka



iINDEPENDENT

## Questionnair

### A STUDY ON HARTAL: REASONS & CONSEQUENCES

- *Serial no of respondent:*
- *Name of interviewer:*
- *Date of interview:*

00		General	
01	Day labor	06	Transport
02	Media	07	Production
03	Police	08	Bank
04	Student	09	Food stops
05	Export-import	10	Politics

Questionnaire code:

Sec      Rol      No

This research project is initiated & conducted by a group of students of DU of Statistics department, named iINDEPENDENT, in search for the reasons & the effects of HARTAL at different aspects of our life. Your kind participation & valuable information will lead us to a successful research. Thank you.

The information provided in this questionnaire by the respondent is highly confidential and will not be used anywhere except this particular research project.

# QUESTIONNAIRE

This research project is initiated & conducted by a group of students of DU statistics department names *iNDEPENDENT*, in search for "**The Reasons & the effects of HARTAL at different aspects of life**".

The information provide in this questionnaire by the respondent is highly confidential and will not be used anywhere except this particular research project.

Put tick (v) marks on your selected answer(s). If you select "others", please specify your option. Thank you.

1. Name of the respondent.....

2. Address.....

3. Age

--

4. Sex

1. Male	2. Female
---------	-----------

5. Marital status

1. Unmarried	2. Married	3. Divorced
4. Widowed	5. others-(mention)	

6. Education

1. Literate(can sign only)	2. primary	3. secondary
4. Higher Secondary	5. Graduate	6. Masters & onwards

7. Occupation

1.Government service	2. Private service	3. Laborer	4. Business
5. Student	6. Housewife	7. Housekeeper	8.Others(specify)-

8. Are you the only earner of your family?

1. Yes	2. No
--------	-------

9. What is your monthly income on average?

1. below 5000 tk	5. 20,001 - 30,000 tk
2. 5000 - 10000 tk	6. 30,001 - 50,000 tk
3. 10,001- 15,000 tk	7. 50,001 - 1,00,000 tk
4. 15,001 - 20,000 tk	8. Above 1,00,001 tk

10. What is the monthly income of your family on average?

1. below 5000 tk	5. 20,001 - 30,000 tk
2. 5000 - 10000 tk	6. 30,001 - 50,000 tk
3. 10,001- 15,000 tk	7. 50,001 - 1,00,000 tk
4. 15,001 - 20,000 tk	8 Above 1,00,001 tk

10(a). What is your political view?

	AL	BNP	JP	Others	None
Yes	O	O	O	O	O
No	O	O	O	O	O

11. Do you support Hartals as a democratic voice of protest?

1. Yes	2. No
--------	-------

12. Do you have to go outside on a Hartal day?

1. Yes	2. No
--------	-------

If your answer is "1" then go to question no. 13-16

if your answer is "2" then go to question no. 17-18

13. Why you have the need to go outside on a Hartal day?

1. For political issue	2. For business purpose	3. To attend in jobs
4. For daily necessities	5. Others-(mention)	

14. What kind of problems you have to face on a Hartal day?

1. Non availability of necessary transports	2. Facing any indecent situations
3. Others-(mention)	

15. Which transport you usually use on a Hartal day?

1. Rickshaw	2. On foot	3. Local bus
4. Private car	5. Others-(mention)	

16. What is your extra cost on a Hartal day?

1. 0 tk	2. below 100 tk	3. 201 - 300 tk
4. 301 - 500 tk	5. Above 501 tk	

17. On a hartal day if you do not go outside , then mention the amount of your economic loss -

18. Also mention if there are any other losses except economic loss on a Hartal day -

19. How much insecure/unsafe do you feel on a hartal day?

1. Secure	2. Insecure	3. Very much insecure
-----------	-------------	-----------------------

20. How will you judge the activities of the law enforcement force during hartal?

1. Doing the right job	2. Not doing the right job
------------------------	----------------------------

If you have selected '1', then answer question no 21

If you have selected '2', then answer questions no 22.

21. Why do you think that they are doing the right job?

22. Why do you think that they are not doing the right job?

23. How the behavior of the law-force should be?

24. What problems do you face on post-hartal days?

1. Price hike	2. Intense traffic Jam	3. Unavailability of goods
4. Increased work pressure	5. Others (specify)-	

25. Tick on the following(s) that you have faced due to hartal-

1. Death of near ones	2. Unable to take necessary treatment	3. Damage of personal transport
4. Injured by picketers	5. Injured by police	6. Hijacked
7. None	8. Others (specify)-	

If you have selected '1', then answer 25(A) and/or if you have selected '3', then answer 25(B).

25(A). How much deaths occur?

.....

25(B). What is the monetary amount of the damage?

.....

26. Which weapon(s) are used highly on a hartal day?

1. Cocktail	2. Hand bomb	3. Pistol/gun
4. brick-bats	5. Stick	6. Others (specify)-

27. Do you ever been involved in hartal directly or indirectly?

1. Yes	2. No
--------	-------

If you have selected '1', then answer 27(A)

27(A). How were you involved in hartal?

28. Which aspect of our socio-economic life is being affected most by hartal, you think?

1. Interruption in daily mobility	2. Economical loss	3. Disturbance in business
4. Educational loss	5. Destroy of assets	6. Misery of general public
7. Price hike	8. Others (specify)-	

29. Which level of education is most affected by hartal?

1. School	2. College
3. University	4. All

30. Do you think that the educational institutes should be kept out of the jurisdiction of hartal?

1. Yes	2. No
--------	-------

31. How the media reports affect general public to take position in favor of or against hartal?

1. Positively	2. Negatively	3. No effects
---------------	---------------	---------------

32. Which media has a greater effect on general public?

1. TV	2. Radio	3. Newspaper
4. Internet	5. Others (specify)-	

33. How much effective the talk shows that are related to Hartal?

1. Not effective	2. Effective	3. Very much effective
------------------	--------------	------------------------

34. Which sector(s) of urban area are mostly affected by Hartal?

1. Export-Import	2. Banking	3. Garments
4. Mills	5. Transports	6. Educational Institutes
7. Shopping malls	8. Others (Specify)-	

35. Do you think villages (rural areas) are also affected by hartal?

1. Yes	2. No
--------	-------

If you have selected '1', then answer 36

36. Which peoples are most affected in villages?

1. Fishers	2. farmers	3. Day-labor
4. businessmen	5. Other (specify)-	

37. How hartal is reasonable as a language of protest?—what do you think?

1. logical & ethical	2. illogical but ethical	3. logical but unethical
4. illogical and unethical	5. no comments	

38. What do you think what is the reason behind hartal?

1. wrong decision & carelessness of govt.	2. opposition parties own interest	3. wrong activity of any personal organization
4. for the welfare of general people	5. "others-(specify)	

39. do you think after hartal the problem is solved for which hartal was called?

1. Yes	2. No	3. in some cases
--------	-------	------------------

40. Do you think hartal is more frequent in Bangladesh than other countries?

1. Yes	2. No	3. no comments
--------	-------	----------------

41. When hartal is more frequent?-what do you think...

1. at the beginning of new government	2. at the middle of the time	3. at the end period of govt.
---------------------------------------	------------------------------	-------------------------------

42. Which institutions in your area remain open in hartal days?

1. Bank	2. Glossary shop	3. food shop	4. Shopping Mall
5. Pharmacy	6. Bazaars	7.Others	8.Nothing at all

43. Which sector of economy is most affected by hartal?

1. Transportation	2. .readymade garments	3. export –import
4. industries	5. production	6. banking

44. Who become beneficiary due to hartal-what do you think?

1. political parties& leaders	2. unethical businessmen	3. Trades people stocking goods
4. rickshaw puller	5. terrorist	6. General people

45. Do you support any posterior action for any unwanted event on a hartal day?

1. Yes	2. No
--------	-------

If your answer is "1" then go to 46.

46. If you agree what type action may be taken?

1. hartal	2. strike	3. gathering
4. road march	5. others(specify)-	

47. What do you think about the effectiveness of Hartals called by social organizations other than political parties?

1. effective	2. Partly effective.	3. not effective
--------------	----------------------	------------------

If your answer is "3" then go to 48.

48. Why do you think it is not effective?

49. If you were given the power to say against the wrong decision of government how would you do it?

50. How new generation treat hartal?

51. How the consciousness of general people can be increased against irrelevant hartal?

1. Advertising on mass media	2. increasing political knowledge
3. Increasing literacy rate	4. others(specify)-

52. How to move beyond hartal?

1. Stop the implementation of hartal	5.Increasing public awareness
2. make mutual understanding between govt. & general people	6. Ban hartal
3. Discussing the matter in the parliament	7. others-(specify)
4. Find out any alternative way of hartal	

53. Which options can be used as constructive alternative of hartal?

1. Public rally	2.Discussing in the parliament	3. road march	4.Hunger strike
5. Blockade	6. Gherao (besiege)	7. others (specify)-	

.....  
Record:

**Section-1: Day Labor**

1. What is your occupation?

--	--	--

2. Do you attend in your job on a Hartal day?

1. Yes	2. No
--------	-------

3. If no, then why don't?

1. Fear of picketing	2. To support Hartal	3. Call for Political leader
4. Others(Specify)-		

4. Is there any effect of Hartal on your earnings?

1. Profit	2. loss
-----------	---------

5. What is the amount of profit/loss?

1. <100	2. 100-200	3. 200-300
4. 300-400	5. > 500	

6. How risky you think to attend in jobs on a Hartal day?

1. Less risky	2. More risky	3. No risky
---------------	---------------	-------------

7. Have you ever faced any threats when getting outside?

1. yes	2. No
--------	-------

8. What types of threat?

1. physical torture	2. Harassments by Police	3. Damaging parts of Rickshaws	4. Fear of terrorist
---------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------------	----------------------

9. If you join in your job on a Hartal day, then how much time you work?

1. The time as usual I work	2. Comparatively high	3. Less time
-----------------------------	-----------------------	--------------

10. If you don't attend in your job on a Hartal day whether your wage is being cut off?

1. Yes	2. No
--------	-------

11. For this reason what type of problem that your family face?

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12. How do you compensate your loss?

1. Borrowing	2. Working overtime	3. Spending saved money
4. Reducing cost	5. Others (specify)-	

13. Have you ever worked in support of hartal in a Hartal day?

1. Yes	2. No
--------	-------

14. Write down your opinion/reaction about Hartal-

\*\*\*\*\*

Record:

Sec	Role	No

## Section-2: Media

1. Which media you are related with?

1. Television	2. Newspaper	3. Radio
---------------	--------------	----------

2 what is your post at your workplace?

--

3. Did you make any coverage on Hartal day?

1. Yes	2. No
--------	-------

If 'yes' then answer question 4-7

4. Usually in which area you perform your duty on a Hartal day?

--

5. Did you face any unwanted event while performing your duty on a Hartal day?

1. Yes	2. No
--------	-------

If yes then go to question 6

6. What type of event did you face?

--

7. How risky do you think performing duty on a Hartal day?

1. high risk	2. less risk	3. less risk
--------------	--------------	--------------

8. In publishing report on Hartal is there any pressure from any powerful sector?

1. Yes	2. No
--------	-------

9. During performing duty how was the behavior of police?

1. helpful	2. not helpful	3. they hinder
------------	----------------	----------------

10. After publishing the report did you have to face any political revenge?

1. Yes	2. No	3. No comments
--------	-------	----------------

11. As a reporter what do you think about the effect of the reports on the society?

1. positive effect	2. negative effect	3. no effect
--------------------	--------------------	--------------

12. What is your opinion about Hartal?

\*\*\*\*\*

Record:

Sec	RoI	No

### Section-3: Police

1. What's your designation?

2. Do you ever have duty during hartal time?

1.yes	2.no
-------	------

3. How many hours do you had your duty?

1. less than 5 hours	2.5 -10 hours
3. 10-15 hours	4.more than 15 hours

4. In which area mainly do you have to duty during hartal time?

5. Is there is any political impact on your duty?

1.Yes	2.no
-------	------

6. If yes, then what kind of impact it is?

7. Is any political impact behind arresting people on a Hartal day?

1.yes	2.no
-------	------

8. The people that are arrested, are they physically tortured?

1.yes	2.no
-------	------

9. If the manpower of police is satisfactory to control the situation of hartal?

1.yes	2.no
-------	------

10. Do you ever been tortured in hartal time?

1.yes	2.no
-------	------

11. If yes, then what type of torturing? (pls.specify)

12. Do the extra duty in hartal time have any impact on your family?

1.yes

2.no

13. For your duty did you face any political revenge?

1.yes

2.no

If yes got to question no. 14

14. What type of revenge?

15. Finally, write down your opinion/reaction about hartal .....

\*\*\*\*\*

Record:

#### Section-4: Education

1. In which level do you study?

1. School	2. College	3. University
-----------	------------	---------------

2. Is the educational institution opened in hartal?

1. Yes	2. No
--------	-------

3. If it is opened, then

1. All classes are held	2. Some classes are held	3. No classes are held
-------------------------	--------------------------	------------------------

4. How many of the teachers are present in hartal's day?

1. Everybody remains present	2. Many of them remain present
3. A very few of them remain present	4. Nobody remains present

5. How are the school and college affected by hartal?

1. Classes are impeded	2. The flow of study is hampered	3. Exam is postponed
4. Hamper planning in holiday	5. Others (specify)-	

6. How do the university students suffer much because of hartal?

1. Session jam	2. Instable campus
3. Others (specify)-	

7. How do you spend your Hartal's day without attending the class?

1. Reading story book	2. Reading lesson	3. Sleeping
4. Playing	5. Others (specify)-	

8. Are the residential students compelled to join the procession?

1. Yes	2. Sometimes	3. No
--------	--------------	-------

9. Are the presence of non-residential students noticed in the hall on the night before hartal day?

1. Very much noticed	2. Less noticed	3. Not noticed
----------------------	-----------------	----------------

10. Had you ever been harassed by law enforces during hartal?

1. Yes	2. No
--------	-------

11. Do you support to take make up classes in general holiday?

1. Yes	2. No
--------	-------

12. Do you support taking class during on a hartal day?

1. Yes	2. No
--------	-------

13. Do you support taking exams during a hartal day?

- |        |       |
|--------|-------|
| 1. Yes | 2. No |
|--------|-------|

14. Write down your opinion/reaction about hartal-

--

\*\*\*\*\*

Record:

Sec	Roll	No

### Section-5: Export-Import

1. What is your designation?

--

2. Which of the following business related to your institution?

1. Export-import	2. Whole sale	3. Retail sale
------------------	---------------	----------------

3. What type of products do you exchange?

--

4. What is monetary value of daily exchanged products?

	tk
--	----

5. Can you able to Export-Import (buy-sell) in hartal day?

1. Yes	2. No
--------	-------

If the answer is "1" then go to 6

6. How much products do you export-import (buy-sell) daily?

1. equal	2. 1/4	3. 1/2	4. 3/4
----------	--------	--------	--------

7. Have your export-imported (buy-sell) products been damaged during Hartal?

1. Yes	2. No
--------	-------

If the answer is "1" then go to 8

8. How much monetary loss does it cost?

	tk
--	----

9. Do you export-import (buy-sell) fragile products?

1. yes	2. no
--------	-------

If the answer is "1" then go to 10-11

10. Is there any chance to be spoiled of those products due to Hartals?

1. yes	2. no
--------	-------

If the answer is "1" then go to 11

11. For this how much loss occur in taka?

	tk
--	----

12. can you deliver emergency products in Hartal ?

1. yes	2. no
--------	-------

13. What types of problems you face in business dealings due to Hartal ?

--	--

14. Did you face any difficulties in meeting market demands due to interruption of export-import (buy-sell) in Hartal?

1. yes	2. No
--------	-------

15. Are the employees given wage if the industry remain off in a Hartal day ?

1. yes	2. No
--------	-------

16. Do you take any attempt to compensate the loss of a Hartal day?

1. Yes	2. No
--------	-------

If the answer is "1" then go to 17

17. How much loss can be made up by taking attempts?

1. 20% or less	2. 21% - 40%
3. 41 - 60%	4. 60% or more

18. What is the amount of extra cost in transportation on a Hartal day?

	Tk
--	----

19. What are the other problems you face on a hartal day?

--	--

20. Is there any effect on foreign investment due to Hartal ?

--	--

21. Do you expect Government's help to keep export-import (buy-sell) out of the boundsof Hartals?

1. Yes	2. No
--------	-------

22. Write down your opinion/reaction about Hartal-

\*\*\*\*\*

Record:

Sec	Roll	No

### Section-6: Transportation

1. Which type of transport is under your responsibility or ownership?

1. Local Bus	2. Highway Bus	3. Truck/Lorry
4. Launch/Steamer	5. Local Train	6. Long distance Train
7. Wagon	8. CNG/Taxi cab/Micro bus	9. Rickshaw
10. Others (specify)-		

2. How many transports do you operate daily?

3. How many passengers are conveyed in your transport every day? (If applicable)

4. What amount of goods are carried in your transport every day? (If applicable)

 Ton

5. What is the daily income by conveying passengers in your transport? (If applicable)

 Tk

6. What is the daily income by carrying goods in your transport? (If applicable)

 Tk

7. How many transports are set in motion at Hartal Day?

8. How many transports are set in motion at Hartal Day?

1. Nil	2. One-fourth(1/4)	3. Half (1/2)
4. Three-fourths (3/4)	5. Normal	6. 1.25 times
7. 1.5 times	8. 2 times or more	9. Not Applicable

9. What is the average amount of goods carried at Hartal Day? (If applicable)

1. Nil	2. One-fourth(1/4)	3. Half (1/2)
4. Three-fourths (3/4)	5. Normal	6. Not applicable

10. . Have your transports ever been damaged by anyway at Hartal Day?

1. yes	2. No
--------	-------

If the answer is '1', answer 10(A)-10(C) or, if the answer is '2', go to 11.

10(A). If the transports get damaged at Hartal Day, what would be number of transports damaged?

---

10(B). How do the transports get damaged?

---

10(C). What is the average financial loss for the damage of the transports?

---

11. . Is additional fare is taken from the passenger at Hartal Day?

1. Yes	2. No
--------	-------

If the answer is '1', go to 11(A) Or, if the answer is '2', go to 12.

11(A). What is the percentage of taking additional fare from the passenger?

1. 20% or less	2. 21%-40%
3. 41%-60%	4. 60% or more

12. If the transports are remained off in hartal day, is the salary paid to the workers of the transport for that day?

1. Yes	2. No
--------	-------

13. Is any measure adopted to compensate for the loss of hartal day?

1. Yes	2. No
--------	-------

If the answer is '1', answer 13(A) &13(B) Or, if the answer is '2', go to 14

13(A). What sort of measure is adopted to compensate for the damage?

13(B). After adopting measures, how much is the damage complied with?

1. 20% or less	2. 21%-40%
3. 41%-60%	4. 60% or more

14. What other problems do you face at Hartal Day?

15. What is your opinion/reaction as regard to Hartal Day?

\*\*\*\*\*

Record:

Sec	Role	No

### Section-7: Production

1. In which area your organization is situated?

.....

2. What types of goods are produced by your organization?

.....

.....

3. The quantity of production?

No/ \_\_\_\_\_ Ton

4. What is the monetary value of your productions per day?

\_\_\_\_\_ taka

5. What is the status of production on a Hartal day?

1. Works go with usual manner	2. Productions remains partly off	3. Totally closed
-------------------------------	-----------------------------------	-------------------

If your answer is "1" & "2" then go to 6-8

6. What's about the percentage of presence of the labor?

1. No one comes	2. 50% come
2. More than 50% come	4. 100% present

7. the production amount as compared to the other day-

1. Same	2. Three-fourth( $\frac{3}{4}$ )	3. Half( $\frac{1}{2}$ )	4. One-fourth( $\frac{1}{4}$ )
---------	----------------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------------

8 Did you ever been attacked by hartal supporters because of your typical works on hartal day?

1. Yes	2. No
--------	-------

9. On hartal day, if you don't continue your production works then do you pay wages to your labor for that day?

- |        |       |
|--------|-------|
| 1. Yes | 2. No |
|--------|-------|

10. Although your discontinuity of production process, do you have to pay extra cost for this?

- |        |       |
|--------|-------|
| 1. Yes | 2. No |
|--------|-------|

If the answer is 1 , then go to question 10(1) and 10 (2)

10(1). What kind of pay off?

--

10(2). How much money you have to pay?

tk

11. Do you face any problem to meet the market demand if, production is off / partly off/ due to transportation problem?

- |                        |                           |                               |
|------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. No problem is faced | 2. Face with some problem | 3. Many problems have to face |
|------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|

12. Due to hartal do you face any problem to storage your final products?

- |        |       |
|--------|-------|
| 1. Yes | 2. No |
|--------|-------|

If the answer is 1, then go to 12(A)

12(A). What kind of problems you have to face?

--

13. Due to hartal, do you have to pay any extra cost to store your products?

- |        |       |
|--------|-------|
| 1. Yes | 2. No |
|--------|-------|

If the answer is 1, then go to 13(A)

13(A). How much money you have to pay?

--

14. Do you have to face any difficulties in delivering the products due to hartal?

- |        |       |
|--------|-------|
| 1. Yes | 2. No |
|--------|-------|

15. Because of hartal,if you unable to deliver the goods in due time, then is there any difficulties to face to get order from them in future?

- |                              |                              |                        |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Many problem have to face | 2. Some problem have to face | 3. No problems to face |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------|

16. How many days you continue your production process in a week?

1. 5 or less than 5	2. 6 days per week	3. 7 days
---------------------	--------------------	-----------

17. To minimize your loss due to hartal, do you carry on your production process for extra time before or after hartal?

1. Yes	2. No
--------	-------

If the answer is 1, then go to 17(A)

17(A). How many hours you continue the process?

1. less than 2 hours	2. 2 hours to less than 4 hours
3. 4 to 6 hours	4. more than 6 hours

18. Due to hartal, if any labor or staff got hurt, do you have any compensate for them?

1. Yes	2. No
--------	-------

If the answer is 1, then go to 18(A)

18(A). If you gave, was that enough?

1. Yes	2. No
--------	-------

19. To compensate the loss of your industry, do you take any steps?

1. Yes	2. No
--------	-------

If the answer is 1, then go to 19(A) and 19 (B)

19(A). What kind of steps is taken?

19(B). After taking steps can you compensate?

1. 20% or less	2. 21% - 40%
3. 41% - 60%	4. more than 60%

20. What else problems are faced due to hartal?

21. What is your opinion or reaction about hartal?

### Section-8: Bank

1. Which Bank you are working for?

2. Which category is your Bank belongs to?

1. Govt.	2. Semi Govt.	3. Non Govt./private
----------	---------------	----------------------

3. Are the regular activities of the Bank kept continue in the Hartal day?

4. Are the regular activities of the Bank kept continue in the Hartal day?

1. All the sections are kept open	2. Some of the sections kept open	3. No sections are kept open
-----------------------------------	-----------------------------------	------------------------------

If your answer is "1" then go to question no. 4(A)-7

4(A). Which sections are being opened?

5. What is the amount of transactions during a Hartal day?

6. Are the regular activities of the Bank being continued during a Hartal day?

1. Yes	2. No
--------	-------

7. Do you receive the utility bills (electricity, gas, water etc.) in the Hartal?

1. Yes	2. No
--------	-------

8. If the ATM booth are opened On a Hartal day?

1. Yes	2. No
--------	-------

If your answer is "1" then go to question no. "8(A)"

Otherwise go to question no.9

8(A). How about the usage of the ATM booth?

1. Less than normal	2. Normal	3. More than normal
---------------------	-----------	---------------------

9. What is the effect of Hartal on online Banking?

1. Less transactions	2. Normal	3. High transactions
----------------------	-----------	----------------------

10. Do you have to give extra debt to the business organizations due to Hartals?

1. Yes	2. No
--------	-------

11. How about the transactions of share in the Hartal day?

1. Abnormally low	2. low	3. Normal
4. High	5. Abnormally High	6. Can't say

12. If there is any problems in the transaction s of share due to Hartals?

1. Yes	2. No
--------	-------

If your answer is "1" then go to question no. "12(a)"

12(A). Which kind of problems?

--

13. If there is any long term effect in your Bank due to Hartal?

1. Yes	2. No
--------	-------

14. How strong is the security system of your Bank in the Hartal day?

1. Less strong	2. Normal	3. very strong
----------------	-----------	----------------

15. Do you face any kind of attack when the Bank is kept open in the Hartal day?

1. Yes	2. No
--------	-------

If your answer is "1" then go to question no. "15(a)"

15(A). Which kind of attack?

1.Breaking	2. Burning
3.Chadabaji	4. Others(specify)-

16. Write down the opinion/reaction about Hartal-

--

Record:

Sec	Roll	No

### Section-9: Food Stops

1. What is the category of your Food stop?

1. Restaurant	2. Mini Restaurant
3. Hotel	4. Confectionary
5. Fast-food shop	

2. In which area is your food stop situated?

--

3. How many customers are being served by your stop every day?

--

4. What's the total income of your Food stops every day?

	tk
--	----

5. Are you kept open your food stops at Hartal days?

1. Yes	2. No
--------	-------

If your answer is "1" then go to question no. 5(A)-6

5(A).How many customers are arrived at your shop on Hartal days?

1. Very few	2.Few	3.Normal	4. Many	5. So many
-------------	-------	----------	---------	------------

5(B).Have you faced any accident in Hartal day when your shop is open?

1. Yes	2. No
--------	-------

If your answer is "1" then give answer the question no. 5(c)

5(C). What kind of unwanted situations you faced?

1. Destroyable	2. Burning	3. Money hackers
4. physical torture	5. Stone throwing	

6. What is your earning on a Hartal day?

	Tk
--	----

7. Do you face any problem to bring raw materials on Hartal days?

1. yes	2. No
--------	-------

If your answer is "1" then go to question no. 7(a)

7(A). What types of problem?

1. Transportation problem	2. can't go outside due to fear
---------------------------	---------------------------------

8. If your shop is closed on Hartal days, do you pay the employees?

1. Yes	2. No
--------	-------

9. What types of other problems that you face in maintaining your food shop on a Hartal day?

1. Less workers remain present	2. Goods are not available
3. High transport fare	4. Problems in delivery
5. No other problems	

10. Write down the opinion/reaction about Hartal-

\*\*\*\*\*

Record:

<i>Sec</i>	<i>Role</i>	<i>No</i>

### Section-10: Politics

1. Which political party is supported by you?

--	--	--

2. Have you ever directly involved in Hartal?

1. Yes	2. No	
--------	-------	--

3. What is the main reason behind Hartal?

--	--	--

4. Which step do you take first as a preparation of Hartal?

--	--	--

5. Have you ever faced any problem in your movement in hartal?

1. Yes	2. No	
--------	-------	--

6. Who insisted you in your movement in Hartal?

1. Police	2. Supporter of government party	3. Had not insisted
-----------	----------------------------------	---------------------

7. How many people of your party participate in Hartal?

1. Few people	2. Most of the people	3. All
---------------	-----------------------	--------

8. Do you compel any people to participate in Hartal ?

1. Yes	2. No	
--------	-------	--

9. What is the amount of cost in a Hartal day?

	tk
--	----

10. In which sector do you spend money in Hartal?

--	--	--

11. If the opposition party calls Hartal then which actions do you take to insist it?

--	--

12. Do you think that illegal arms are used in Hartal?

1. Yes	2. No
--------	-------

13. Do you think that the relationship among opposition parties become strong in Hartal?

1. Yes	2. No
--------	-------

14. Are the relationship between politicians and organizations hampered due to Hartal?

1. Yes	2. No
--------	-------

15. If any party calls Hartal frequently then do you think that the party loses popularity?

1. Yes	2. No
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16. Does international politics has any impact on Hartal?

1. Yes	2. No
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If your answer is "1" then go to ques no.17

17. What is the impact on international politics on Hartal?

1. Small	2. huge
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18. If any supporter of your party is physically tortured due to Hartal then does your political party help him?

1. Yes	2. No
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19. Do you think that Hartal is a way to become politically highlighted?

1. Yes	2. No
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20. On your view what's the criteria of a successful Hartal?

1. The power of the political party	2. The reason behind Hartal
3. The participation of general people	4. Others(specify)-

21. Do you think that the direct and strong role of media can reduce the impact of Hartal?

1. Yes	2. No
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22. Write down your opinion about Hartal-

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*In search of  
A  
Peaceful Nation*