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Aims and Scope

CIU Journal (Chittagong Independent University Journal), a double blind peer-reviewed journal, is published in hard and soft forms in December every year. However, a submission is welcomed any time of the year. CIU Journal promises to be an esteemed outlet for showcasing high-quality research related to all branches of contemporary knowledge – natural sciences, social sciences, liberal arts, engineering, business, and law.

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The Future of RMG Industry of Bangladesh Confronting COVID-19 and Industry 4.0: A Thematic Analysis

Iffat Ishrat Khan¹, Sung Yong Kang²,
Myung Moo Lee³, Syed Manzur Quader⁴

Abstract

This research attempts to bring out the industry insights regarding the extent of the COVID-19 pandemic on Bangladesh's readymade garments (RMG) industry, looming challenges of preparing the industry for the immensely challenging Industry 4.0 revolution, and the industry's preparedness to overcome these challenges and sustain. Using the thematic analysis method, the information was collected through in-depth interviews with 29 factories selected by stratified purposive sampling. The research reveals a number of recommendations and policy suggestions from the respondents. Having high value added and sophisticated RMG products in export basket, facilitating relevant logistical supports, arranging required capital for factory up-gradations and necessary training of the workers, reducing import duty and taxes on raw materials, implementing a one price policy, continuing the production facilities at the factories safely have come out as some of the crucial strategies to confront the challenges, accelerate growth, and increase profit.

Keywords

RMG, COVID-19, industry 4.0 revolution, in-depth interview, thematic analysis, competitiveness, survival strategy, policy suggestions

Statements and Declarations

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Declaration of Conflict of Interest

On behalf of all authors, the corresponding author states that there is no conflict of interest.

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Data Availability

This research uses primary data collected through IDI which can be made available upon request.

Introduction

The year 2020 began with the news of a new virus known as “Coronavirus” or “COVID-19.” At the beginning, the disease mainly spread inside its alleged birthplace of Hubei Province, China (BBC News, 2020). Due to the high contagiousness of the virus, the disease spread to all human-inhabited continents of the world (Li & Detrixhe, 2020). As of January 31, 2022, the Worldometer shows that the disease spread to at least 223 countries and territories, infecting more than 376 million people and killing more than 5.6 million. Many countries in the world declared and observed a month-long lockdown, which brought the wheels of the affected economies almost to a standstill for a while. The financial loss coming from the disruption of the global economy already surpassed that of 2008-09 recession, and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) predicts that it might even touch the financial loss incurred during the great depression (BBC News, April 9, 2020). Like many other countries, Bangladesh was also affected by COVID-19, and its economy had to pass through phases of severe turmoil (Rahman, 2020). A major portion of the country’s income comes from the Readymade Garments (RMG) industry, which used to cover more than 84% of the country’s export earnings and generate income for 4.4 million people (Rabby, 2020) just before the COVID-19 outbreak. The pandemic enormously disrupted the general operations of Bangladesh’s RMG which had already been going through multiple other challenges. For instance, the Rana Plaza incident in 2013 brought this industry under constant scrutiny from global activists and policymakers. Consequently, the garment industry had to invest heavily in improving the working environment and workers safety (Elahi et al., 2019). Meanwhile, major competitors like Vietnam and Turkey have succeeded in diverting many buyers towards them by offering cheaper rates (UNDP, 2020). More recently, the RMG industry has also been facing the challenge of preparing itself for the Industry 4.0 revolution to remain internationally competitive. To upgrade the industry towards more automation and modernization, a long-term investment and training plan was on the industry’s agenda, which also required a great amount of investment and manpower (Biswas, 2019). In these circumstances, the unprecedented barriers brought by the COVID-19 pandemic pushed Bangladesh’s garments industry into even bigger challenges threatening its progress. In contrast, the pandemic may speed up the implementation of advanced manufacturing and digital information technologies in the RMG sector to better manage the overall operations and improve efficiency (Frederico, 2021). This research attempts to find out industry insights on how the industry can overcome these challenges, and whether it can learn any lessons from its past history of resilience on its way to reviving.

Literature Review

The RMG sector is the backbone of the economy of Bangladesh, a lower middle-income country.. The apparel industry started its venture during the late 1970s, but it grew into the major exporting industry of Bangladesh by the late 1980s (Ahmed, 2012). Currently, Bangladesh is the second largest exporter of RMG in the world (Ishaque, 2019). The Export Promotion Bureau (EPB) of Bangladesh showed that in the fiscal year 2019, the RMG sector contributed more than 84% to its export income which was 10% higher than the previous year's contribution (Ishaque, 2019). However, the RMG industry had to go through series of challenges in its journey. This section analyses the literature on challenges that Bangladesh RMG industry has experienced in its lifetime and the strategies it has followed to overcome those crises. Additionally, this section attempts to identify challenges that Bangladesh RMG industry is going through currently. These will assist in finding long-term solutions for mitigating the current challenges faced by Bangladesh RMG Industry.

Challenges Faced by Bangladesh RMG Industry and Their Mitigation Strategy

While looking for challenges faced by the Bangladesh RMG industry, remarkable incidences of financial crisis were found. Also, there were many incidences of man-made disasters, which later appeared as some of the greatest challenges faced by the industry. According to the United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction (UNDRR) (n.d.), a disaster is known as a severe “disruption” in a society's or community's general functioning. The “disruption” includes financial, man-made or environmental challenges that cannot be mitigated through the resources available to the affected society or community. The following part describes the greatest financial crisis and man-made disasters faced by the garments industry of Bangladesh.

Financial crisis: The establishment of Bangladesh RMG industry could be attributed to the Multi Fibre Agreement (MFA) quota facilities on textile and clothing for the developing countries introduced in 1974 (Chowdhury, Ali, & Rahman, 2006). Under the MFA, developing countries had quotas for the amount of yarn, fabric or clothing they could export to developed countries (Mridha, 2020; Ahmed, 2012). Utilizing this facility, within a short time, Bangladesh RMG industry attained remarkable success in its contribution to GDP, employment and foreign exchange earnings (Chowdhury, Ali, & Rahman, 2006). However, in the Uruguay Round negotiations in the 1990s, it was declared that the MFA would expire on December 31st, 2004 (Mridha, 2020). This incidence of quota cancellation could be considered as the first financial crisis in the Bangladesh RMG industry's history. The expert predicted many adverse impacts of this incidence including unemployment, factory closure and decline in export revenue (Mlachila & Yang, 2004). Research conducted by Institute of Apparel Research and Technology (iART) (as cited in Ahmed, 2012) however revealed that during the five years post MFA cancellation, employment rose, number of factories increased and RMG export

revenue grew positively. The credit behind this incidence could be given to the introduction of the “Lean Manufacturing System” after the MFA era switching from the traditional method of production used during the MFA era.

While looking for other major financial challenges in the RMG industry of Bangladesh, it was found that the 2008-09 global recession posed a great threat to this industry. Most of the major economies around the globe were facing a downturn associated with increasing unemployment, high inflation and declining GDP (McKibbin & Stoeckel, 2009; Strauss-Kahn, 2020). Nevertheless, Bangladesh’s economy this time around too did not submerge in that occurrence; instead, it showed a remarkable growth in its export income via success in its RMG industry. Bangladesh brought a favourable outcome out of the recession via two factors. Firstly, Bangladesh increased its production and export of regular consumer goods i.e., knit items more than its production of formal wear i.e., woven items because the demand for regular goods did not fall significantly with people’s falling income (Hossain, Rana, & Ahmed, 2016). According to the “Export Performance” found on the Bangladesh Garments Manufacturers and Exporters Association’s (BGMEA) website, the percentage of knit items in the total RMG export increased from 50% to 52% between the year 2007 and 2008, while the percentage of woven items fell from 49% to 47%. Secondly, by utilizing its elastic supply of affordable female labours, Bangladesh created a comparative advantage and offered RMG items at a cheaper rate than others. As a result, Bangladesh was successful in drawing the buyers towards them (Rahman, 2020).

Man-made disasters: Other than the financial crisis, the incident that brought the most suffering in the RMG industry of Bangladesh were man-made disasters. For example, the Garib and Garib fire incidence in 2010 that killed twenty-one workers (WRC, 2010), the Tazreen garments’ fire incidence in 2012 that killed 112 workers, the Rana Plaza building collapse in 2013 (Chowdhury & Tanim, 2016) and the political turmoil of 2013-14 (Kamal & Kaiser, 2015). Although all these incidences brought great crisis to the RMG industry of this country, the most remarkable one was found to be the Rana Plaza disaster. The building named Rana Plaza reportedly collapsed on April 24, 2013 killing at least 1132 people and leaving more than 2500 injured. This incidence made the world aware of the poor working conditions of RMG industry in Bangladesh (ILO, n.d.). Due to the loss of trust of the global buyers in the Bangladeshi RMG industry, many countries declared or threatened cancelation of GSP facilities, which provide exporters with reduced or zero duties when exporting to thirty-seven countries around the world. Some of the large buyers even stopped placing orders which brought great financial loss to the whole RMG industry (Amin, 2013). To improve the building and fire safety of RMG factories, several local platforms such as the Bangladesh Accord on Fire and Building Safety, the Alliance for Bangladesh Worker Safety and National Plan of Action were formed immediately. Furthermore, unplanned and risky factories were ordered to relocate to safer places. Also, a garment industrial park was planned besides the Dhaka-Chattogram highway for the relocation of structurally weak garments factories. All these attempts to improve the working

environment and labour safety of the RMG industry were warmly welcomed by the global brands which was reflected through their uninterrupted orders since the incident (Hassan, 2014).

Nevertheless, the industry was again moved by a different form of man-made disaster in 2013-14. This time the RMG industry suffered because Bangladesh was going through a long spell of political turmoil during its tenth parliamentary election. Violent protests, shutdowns and blockades against the ruling party rocked the country (Rahman et al., 2018). In the preceding two months before the election, the RMG industry lost business activities worth of one hundred thousand million takas because of supply chain disruption. This loss was the highest incurred because of any political incidence faced by this industry. The sufferings of this catastrophic event, however, came to an end after the election was over. Considering the huge loss and image crisis brought by the political turmoil, the Bangladesh government made sure that no such incident would be repeated in the future (Kamal & Kaiser, 2015).

Current challenges faced by Bangladesh RMG Industry: The journey of the RMG industry in Bangladesh has come across many challenges in its path, but it has found strategies to overcome the barriers brought by those. Still, the journey of struggles has not come to an end. If the current status of the RMG industry is studied, it can be found that it is presently struggling with two worldwide phenomena: the COVID-19 pandemic and the Industry 4.0 Revolution (Hossain and Islam, 2021).

The COVID-19 pandemic has remained the greatest nightmare for this century to most of the manufacturing firms. A joint study by SANEM and the Asia Foundation argued that while pharmaceuticals and financial sectors exceptionally reaped positive benefits during the pandemic in Bangladesh, the RMG industry, light manufacturing, wholesale and restaurants were the lowest performers of the economy (Raihan et al., 2020). During the first wave of the pandemic (the 2nd quarter of 2020), the RMG industry lost over six billion USD due to order cancellations or suspensions from the foreign buyers. The cancellation was the result of decline in demand from European and US markets. The financial loss deteriorated because the RMG factories were facing difficulties in sourcing their raw materials from their major exporter China. China could not supply the raw materials on time since they were the first country which to call lockdown (Bhattacharjee, 2020). As a result, many factories had to stop their operation permanently, some had to lay off their workers and some had to run their factories at a low capacity (Rahman, 2020). The remedy for this natural disaster is unknown as this is a unique phenomenon.

Another challenge faced by the Bangladesh RMG sector found in the very recent literature is the challenge of upgrading the industry according to the structure of Industry 4.0. The world of manufacturing industry has been changing rapidly with emerging technologies such as robotics, artificial intelligence (AI), the internet of things (IoT) and 3D printing (Biswas, 2019; Islam et al., 2018; Witkowski, 2017). To cope up with the pace of the world, Bangladesh

has also been in need of adopting Industry 4.0 technologies in the RMG industry to retain its global reputation and competitiveness. This process requires a huge investment in technological upgradation and training of the human resources in the factories of the apparel sectors for which Bangladesh is not prepared currently (Islam et al., 2018; Biswas, 2019).

Experts assert that the introduction of the new virus COVID-19 will instigate the adoption of Industry 4.0 features worldwide (Agrawal et al., 2021, Kumar et al., 2020). The COVID-19 era is likely to have a prolonged lifeline in this world as it is a novel virus that is continuously mutating too. Thus, to run the wheel of the economy while at the same time limiting the spread of the pandemic, many new techniques have to be applied. As social distancing and working from home have become the new trend of people's lifestyle, automation and minimal human interaction in manufacturing factories are becoming the demand of time. The maximum usage of IoT devices from now on, therefore, could smooth the path of revenue generation during the ongoing pandemic (McMahon, 2020; Agrawal et al., 2021; Kumar et al., 2021).

The literature on challenges faced by the RMG industry of Bangladesh summarizes that this industry has faced several crises and every time they came back strongly. However, there is neither much materials on the impact of COVID-19 and Industry 4.0 revolution on the RMG industry of Bangladesh, nor will the imitation of earlier adaptation techniques to different challenges fit this time as this is a new era of technological and lifestyle transformation. The future of the apparel industry will thus depend on the new strategies adopted in response to the pandemic and the industrial revolution. This research will add great value in estimating the effect of the coronavirus pandemic on the RMG industry of Bangladesh and the suitability of adopting Industry 4.0 applications for the sustainability of the sector. At the same time, it will assist in finding suitable strategies and policies to mitigate the negative effect of COVID-19 on this industry.

Project Narrative

There has been incredible number of researches done on RMG industry. The subjects of the researches had lot of varieties in them. Some focused on the year-to-year revenue changing history, some focused on the environmental and labour safety, while some focused on the accidents that these sectors have experienced. However, finding out the dual effect of a pandemic and industrial revolution on the RMG industry of Bangladesh is novel research as these are contemporary and uncharted issue. Even though these are emerging issues, the impact of the COVID-19 disaster is expected to be huge on the RMG sector; at the same time coping with the world's pace of upgrading this industry according to the standards of the Industry 4.0 applications is likely to make the industry's struggle harder. For establishing strategies and policies to combat the pandemic and cope with the Industry 4.0 revolution while maintaining the upward growth trajectory, this research focuses on evaluating the future of Bangladesh RMG sector facing the multifaceted challenges explained in the

literature review section. For doing so, this research established two specific objectives:

- i) To identify the possible impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on the RMG industry and
- ii) To interpret the suitability of Industry 4.0 applications for the RMG industry during this era of coronavirus pandemic and later waves of COVID-19 or similar.

Methodology

Data Collection

To find out relevant information, a qualitative data collection method has been applied. The tool used to collect the data was an In-depth Interview (IDI) and the questionnaire was semi-structured in nature. In addition to this, to cover up the information gap, secondary data has been collected from journal articles and renowned websites, and compared with the primary information.

The initial plan was to conduct 60 IDI from 60 RMG factories in Bangladesh. In order to do so, 60 RMG factories were selected through stratified purposive sampling from the BGMEA website depending on the variety of sizes of the garment factories, segments of their garments' items produced and their geographical location. The purposive stratification of the samples was of utmost importance for this study as there are multiple categories among the garments factories. To cover this heterogeneity, samples from all the categories were considered. Size wise the garments factories of Bangladesh could be categorized as large, medium, and small. Factories that employ less than 300 workers are considered as small factories. Factories that employ 301-600 workers are known as medium sized factories. On the other hand, garment factories which have more than 600 workers are considered as large factories (Mirdha, 2020). This study intended to cover 20 samples from each size of garments factories. Also, depending on the garment's items produced, the garment factories could be categorized as Knit and Woven according to the BGMEA member list. Hence, this study divided the initial 60 sample industries as Knit and Woven covering 30 samples from each category.

To cover geographical heterogeneity, this study covered samples from the two major cities where most of the garment industries are situated. The cities are Dhaka and Chattogram respectively (Rahman, 2020). As a sample universe, the garment factories that are members of the BGMEA were considered. The factories who are not members of the BGMEA were excluded from this study as there is no formal way to trace them. According to the BGMEA website 2019, there are 4376 garments factories who are members of BGMEA. Among the members, 2629 are from Dhaka city and 633 are from Chattogram city.

The targeted interviewees for IDI were owners, board of members, or higher-level employees of the RMG factories who possessed in-depth knowledge about the overall condition of the factories. The semi-structured

questionnaire was divided into 2 sections covering 19 questions as categorized below:

Section 1: Basic information about the interviewee and the garment factory was collected;

Section 2: Semi structured questions were asked, divided in the following two sub-sections:

Section 2.1: 10 questions were asked about the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on the RMG industry;

Section 2.2: 9 questions were asked about the suitability of Industry 4.0 applications in the RMG industry.

The research focused on qualitative method with a small sample size, as the target was to bring out as much detailed information as possible from the interviewees. The interviewees' opinion in this research was significant because the topic of this research is innovative and the garment owners' experiences and visions would be the main sources of information for the output of the research (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2018; Chamberlain & Murray, 2017). For the same reason, the questionnaires were designed as semi-structured so that each of the interviewees got enough opportunity to express his/her opinion. The questionnaire was designed to take an average forty-five minutes to complete.

For the main survey of the study, BGMEA requested the targeted factories via email to participate in the interview on behalf of the researchers. In addition, the researchers themselves attempted to approach those garment factories through personal contacts to ensure that the interviewees dedicated a healthy amount of time for the interviews. The approach of reaching out to the potential interviewees via the BGMEA email invitation was mostly unsuccessful as many of the email addresses were wrong or inactive. Even if they worked, there were very few positive responses to the invitation. Ultimately, the most effective way to contact the respondents was through the researchers' personal links. And the majority of the RMG factories in their close contact were the factories of large size. Apart from the large factories, the researchers managed to cover information from 4 medium-sized factories, but none from the small factories. Thus, the findings of this study might be skewed towards the opinions of the representatives from large size garment factories.

The researchers reached saturation after conducting 29 interviews. When Morse (1994) suggested that at least six interviews should be covered before declaring saturation, Mason (2013) suggested that the saturation point is completely arbitrary for each study. Thus, the researchers used their own discretion to find out the cut-off point depending on the richness of the information. The interviews were conducted between March and July of 2021. Among the 29 factories, 13 were from Dhaka and rest of the 16 were from Chattogram. On the other hand, 10 of the RMG factories produced knit items and 15 produced woven; while 4 factories produced both knit and woven. The interviews conducted took a time between forty-five minutes to one and half

hours depending on the interviewee's experience. All the interviews were recorded using a recorder. Table 1 provides the frequency distribution about the sample.

Table 1. Frequency Distribution of Sample

Type of Item	Factory size	Dhaka	Chattogram	Total
Knit	Medium	0	1	10
	Large	5	4	
Woven	Medium	1	2	15
	Large	6	6	
Knit and Woven	Large	1	3	4
Total		13	16	29

Source: The author.

Data Analysis

The study used the Thematic Analysis (TA) method to analyse the information collected through the interviews. This approach focuses on generating codes and then converting the codes into broader themes (Nowell et al., 2017). For data analysis, completed questionnaires were transcribed. Then the researchers identified the patterns of the data through data familiarization and jotted down possible themes and sub-themes. Themes were finalized through data coding using MAXQDA software, a computer assisted qualitative data analysis software that assists in gaining opinions from documents collected through an open-ended questionnaire survey (Bothwell, 2019). Under the different themes and segregation such as, location wise, product wise, and factory size wise, data were analyzed for report generation.

TA is a popular method of analysing qualitative data collected through IDIs, as this method assists in covering “the perspectives of different research participants, highlighting similarities and differences, and generating unanticipated insights” (King, 2004, p. 262). In addition, this method provides flexibility to organize the data under themes which are required to fulfil the objectives of the study (Denzin, & Lincoln, 2011). Therefore, the TA method perfectly fits in the analysis process of this study.

Findings and Discussion

The Impact of the COVID-19 Pandemic on Bangladesh's RMG Industry

The primary aim of this study was to understand the impact of the pandemic on the RMG industry in Bangladesh. To collect information on this issue, in total ten questions were asked of the respondents. Based on their responses, the following section has been developed.

Stable Condition Before the Pandemic: To compare the pre-pandemic scenario with that of the pandemic, the respondents were asked to brief about their garment factories' situation before the pandemic hit the globe. All of the respondents expressed some degree of satisfaction about their pre-pandemic situation. Capacity-wise many of the factories were running at their 100% capacity, while some of the factories were running around their 70% to 80% capacity. Orders from their buyers were also coming regularly.

The interviewees talked about some challenges as well. Few respondents asserted that although situations were much better than now, they were not in the best possible state. The main problem was coping with foreign buyers' expensive requirement of upgrading infrastructural facilities replicating world standards. The investment required for such upgradesis vast. Moreover, the foreign buyers did not show any interest in paying a better price than before even if the structures of the garment factories were upgraded to international standards. According to an owner of a big garment factory,

On top of everything, because once you have invested, you expect some return on it. We had expectation that if I invest as per the buyer guideline, I can get some upcharge but unfortunately the price went down” due to rising competition inside and outside the country.

COVID-19 Induced Financial Crisis and Adaptation: When the respondents were asked to share their experience about the impact of the pandemic on their businesses, all of them said that they had to face big financial losses from deferred or cancelled orders. In the language of one of the respondents, “The COVID-19 pandemic has impacted everyone including us. Initially there was a lot of uncertainty, everybody was panicked and the factories were shut down. So, we had to face some big losses...”

The COVID-19 infection was first diagnosed in Bangladesh on 8th March 2020, and the immediate response was to shut down all institutions including offices, factories, schools, and shops (Rahman, 2020). Accordingly, garment factories were closed too, for which the foreign buyers' on-going orders could not be fulfilled on time. Nevertheless, the owner side had to pay the salaries to their workers for the whole shut down period (Hughes, 2020). In the survey, it was found that the majority of the garment factories paid the full salary to their workers during the shutdown period. The rest said that they managed to pay 70% of the net salary to their workers, following the requirement of the Bangladesh government.

The findings contradict with some other studies. For example, a study conducted by Boudreau and Naeem (2021) stated that in the last six months of 2020, the RMG industry experienced a decline of 7.4% in their employment status in contrast to the same in 2019. However, the same study also stated that employment status started to increase at the end of 2020. Another study conducted by the BRAC Institute of Governance and Development asserted that many of the RMG factories only ensured to pay 65% of the workers' salaries and the rest remained unpaid. Overall, the RMG workers lost a net amount of 501 million USD between March and May 2020 (Fairouz, 2021).

Yet another study by Anner (2020) argued that more than one million RMG workers were fired or temporarily suspended.

Panicked Buyers and Shaky Response: When COVID-19 disease was first declared as a pandemic, there was widespread fear among people all around the globe (Anner, 2020). Buyers of the RMG industry were no different from others. Forecasting the uncertainty that would come along the pandemic, many of the buyers panicked and responded by cancelling their ongoing or forthcoming orders; some of the buyers delayed or halted their orders. There was irregularity in buyers' payments too (Rahman, 2020). Because of this shaky response from the buyers, many RMG factories had to cut short their production capacity. This bad situation more or less continued until July 2020. Afterwards, when the COVID-19 situation gradually improved in the western part of the world, where most of the buyers in the RMG industry belong, the buyers' attitude started to improve. The number of infections from the virus was reducing in Bangladesh too, which gave the buyers more confidence in ordering and receiving their products (Raihan et al., 2020). A respondent described this situation as,

The buyers were a bit reluctant at that time as their office, shops, everything was closed and so the order placement was very slow too. Because of that, last year for 4 months [April'20-July'20] we had to face disturbance and we even worked in 50% capacity in our production. Then August'20 onwards the situation started slowly improving a bit.

When buyer-wise responses were analyzed, it portrayed different scenarios in different cases. To elaborate, the respondents who worked with some of the biggest retailers in Europe and the USA had better experiences than the respondents who worked with smaller brands. Because, customers had faith in the biggest retailers and they more often purchased from those retailers even during the lockdown period. Correspondingly, the payment and order history from these buyers were good too. However, those RMG factories, working with lesser popular brands and non-brands suffered a lot in terms of getting their due payments and getting production orders. One sufferer of this kind of incidence expressed it this way, "some of the buyers declared bankruptcy, some of them were very clever and declared it early in March-April, 2020." This finding is similar to a study conducted by Private Enterprise Development in Low Income Countries which stated that the RMG factories that are members of BGMEA incurred an average loss of 17.4% in their revenue in 2020 in comparison to their earnings in 2019. Specifically, the relatively less organized small factories without having a very strong buyer base incurred larger revenue losses compared to others (Boudreau and Naeem, 2021). A similar result was found by Rahman (2020), Anner (2020) and Bhattacharjee (2020).

The differences in buyers' behaviour were found based on product category too. The RMG factories which produced knit items such as undergarments, sleeping wear, and lingerie had a smoother journey than the RMG factories those produced woven items like formal wears. As the pandemic influenced many sectors to convert to online/ home offices instead of physical offices, the

demand for woven items fell. On the other hand, the demand for knit items increased as people mostly spent time at home wearing comfortable clothing. Hence, the international buyers of the knit items were in good condition even during the first wave of the pandemic and they were able to fulfil the payments of the sellers of knit producing RMG factories on time. The woven producing RMG factories experience has not been very good. Table 2 shows Bangladesh's product wise export percentage growth rate for the fiscal years 2019-20 and 2020-21.

Table 2. Growth in Export of Bangladesh RMG Products to EU market

Region	Woven		Knit	
	2019-20	2020-21	2019-20	2020-21
Growth%	-19.39	5.09	-18.46	19.57

Source: BGMEA Website.

Bangladesh Government's Stimulus Packages and Satisfied/ Dissatisfied RMG Factory Owners: To save the RMG industry from sinking in financial crisis, the Bangladesh government extended its hand towards the RMG industry. Almost all of the respondents said that they received some kind of financial support from the Bangladesh government. The greatest support provided by the government was the stimulus package. Under this stimulus package, RMG factory owners received loans at a very low interest rate of 2% (Sultan et al. 2020). The respondents asserted that this timely stimulus package was of great help as it supported them in disbursing the wages of the workers on time even when the factories were under complete lockdown. In their language,

[T]his stimulus package we got helped a lot of factories to pay their salaries and keep them moving. Without this help from the government many factories would not have been able to pay their workers' salaries and would have caused a lot of labour unrest."

However, not all the respondents were completely satisfied with the government' support. They pointed out at several loopholes in the package. For example, some said that the amount of stimulus they received was not enough to cover their financial losses; when some said the extra 2% interest on the stimulus amount while repaying it to the government within a short timeframe was an extra burden to them.

Survival Challenges of Bangladesh's RMG Industry Post COVID-19 Era:

The challenges brought by this pandemic are likely to persist for a long time, as it has caused series of inconvenience around the globe. The respondents were asked about the kind of challenges they are currently facing and the challenges they are expect to face post-pandemic. The most common answer found during the survey was about falling profits due to price competition in the world market. They asserted that, as an outcome of the continuous entry of new RMG factories in the market, there is price competition among the sellers; which forces the price of the product to get down. On the other hand, the cost of RMG

production has been on the rise.

The existence of the pandemic has played a significant role in worsening the above-mentioned situation. For example, interviewees said that as there were movement restrictions among different countries, the freight price of imported raw materials from the major exporting countries like China and India increased. Some said that the price of raw materials has increased illogically too. Since there was uncertainty about the future due to the unpredictable nature of the pandemic, many sellers of raw materials chose to increase the price of their products and some did it purely out of profit motive. A garment owner said,

Somehow, somebody is taking the advantage of this pandemic situation and manipulating the prices of raw materials. Initially, what happened was USD became weak against the Chinese RMB. So, the Chinese increased their raw material price. Later, India being a big cotton supplier also increased their prices saying they have a shortage. Bangladesh has mostly cotton based factories and do not make much man-made fibres.

The respondents also noted a few other challenges those are threatening the sustainability of the RMG industry. For example, utility bills attached to RMG production i.e., gas, electricity, and water bills are on the rise every year due to government's policy, but the RMG products' selling prices are almost stable (Rahman, 2020). With the rising utility bills, the price of labours also rises annually as the Bangladesh government requires the RMG factory owners to increase the wages of their workers at least by 5% each year (The Daily Star, 2019). As opposed to increasing wages, the workers' skills do not improve as they are accustomed to producing low skilled products. This lack in skill is a great challenge on the progress of the RMG industry (Jabbour et al., 2017; Sarkar, Anjum, & Khan, 2017). Even if the RMG factory owners wish to train their labourers on high skill production, they are unable to do it during this crisis moment of the pandemic. One respondent explained this problem as,

We do basic polo shirt, T-shirt, trousers... The skill is average kind. But if you want to do the high-end products like jackets and blazers, definitely you have to develop your people. I think we are not there.

Another challenge that was reiterated by the respondents was about the low efficiency of this country's port service. The respondents first complained about the long formalities attached to importing and exporting products via sea-port. Secondly, they said that it takes many days to release a container from the port. The long waiting time of the containers in the port, on the one hand, incurs waiting charges that negatively affect their profit margin; on the other hand, this establishes a comparative disadvantage compared to those other countries who have a shorter lead time. One respondent told, "To ship out a container or to receive a container of fabric, it takes 7 to 10 days, but if you go to China, Vietnam or India you can get that container in 2 days."

Suitability of Industry 4.0 Applications in the RMG Industry

Familiarity with Industry 4.0 Applications and Preparedness of Bangladesh RMG Industry: All of the respondents to this study had some knowledge of or at least heard about the term IFR. Nevertheless, in-depth knowledge on this issue was not found to be very common. Some of the respondents expressed that the concept of IFR is still very new or not much relevant to the Bangladesh RMG industry, as it has always been a labour-intensive industry. Also, the machineries and technologies needed for the upgrade are too expensive to afford. Hence, they do not yet have any interest to get fully accustomed to this issue. In the language of one of the respondents,

As Bangladesh is a labour-intensive country it is not extensively prepared yet to embrace the Industry 4.0 revolution (IFR)... in the overall RMG industry of Bangladesh, most of the enterprises are either small or medium and they do not have the financial capacity to go in for automation.

Different views came out of the interviews too. Some of the respondents argued that although the concept is new to a developing country like Bangladesh, the country ultimately will not have any other options rather than adopting the new applications. They presented that if Bangladesh does not get prepared to upgrade their RMG sector to the standard of Industry 4.0 applications, they will lose competitive advantage in the RMG export market. Moreover, embracing the Industry 4.0 applications will make the factories smarter, which may eventually help the factories diversify their product lines, attract and retain buyers, and increase export volumes (Petrillo et al., 2018). Even if the initial investment is significant, the payback is certain though long. Realizing this fact, some of the RMG factories have already started upgrading themselves to the standards of IFR by introducing some automation in their production cycle such as 3D design, multifunctional machines, auto cutters, and auto spreaders. Interviewees who have started implementing the Industry 4.0 applications in their factories claimed to have completed 20% to 80% of their upgrade.

Suitability of Industry 4.0 Applications for the Sustainability of Bangladesh RMG Industry: Most of the respondents agreed that some kind of automation in the production cycle will make the process smoother by increasing efficiency and reducing average production time. In that manner Industry 4.0 applications are suitable for Bangladesh. One of the respondents said that, "I think the implementation of IFR will be suitable for the sustainability of the RMG industry of Bangladesh. It is because without digital technology, we cannot improve the efficiency level of the workers and increase productivity."

There were respondents who believed that for the sustainability of the RMG industry embracing Industry 4.0 is obligatory. The current world is considered a global village where the activities of one country effects those of other. There is continuous competition among countries for securing business by offering updated products (Petrillo et al., 2018). Many countries such as China and Turkey have already adapted industry 4.0 applications in their manufacturing processes and improved their efficiency in the RMG sector (Just Style, 2021; Rumi et al., 2020) which is why Bangladesh is facing tremendous competition from these technologically advanced countries.

However, some of the interviewees warned that complete automation of this industry would not be suitable for the RMG industry in Bangladesh. This is because, cheap labour is the source of comparative advantage for Bangladesh. And full automation means cutting down its labour size. According to the estimation of one of the respondents, “RMG will be the worst sufferer of the Industry 4.0 revolution as there is a possibility of 27 lakh or 60 percent of jobs being lost.” Thus, a step toward shedding the labours of the RMG industry might become a boomerang for the sustainability of this sector (Rumi et al., 2020).

Industry 4.0 Applications Implemented in RMG Industry: The researchers made an attempt to find out what IF applications have implemented in Bangladesh’s RMG industries, if there are any. Although not many, a few factories have planned or already started some kind of automation in their production cycles. These are the factories that are large and have spent more than a decade in the garment industry. One such woven factory owner in Chattogram, employing around 5000 workers, stated that they have completed 10% to 15% automation in their organization. The applications are automatic pocket welting machines, auto fabric spreader machines, and auto laser pointer machines. Another factory owner of a knit factory, situated in Dhaka with 10000 employees, claimed that they use conveyors and RFID chips for material movement and tracking. On the other hand, an owner of a woven factory who employs 4500 workers in his factory in Dhaka, stated that they have automatic back pocket attaching machine, automatic back pocket hemming machine, automatic deco attaching machine, high speed waist band attaching machine, high speed auto loop machine, auto spreader, and modern lab facilities.

Major Challenges in the Path of Embracing Industry 4.0 Applications: Two challenges have come up repeatedly in the interviews. The most common challenge on the way to upgrading to Industry 4.0 standards was the financial insolvency of the RMG factories. The second was the lack of a skilled and educated workforce. Details on both challenges are described below:

Lack of Financial Solvency: Many of the interviewees asserted that before the pandemic era, the Bangladesh RMG industry was already going through financial cramps as they had to commit huge amounts to become compliant factories. The financial struggle worsened as the Bangladesh RMG industry started to face extreme price competition from countries like Vietnam and China (Fashion Press 24 website, 2020). To sustain in the global RMG market, Bangladesh’s RMG factories had to cut their profit margins. As profit margin reduced, their savings and investment capabilities reduced too (Rahman, 2020). In this situation, they could not dare to show the urgency of embracing IFR applications. There are some big RMG factories that might be ready for this huge investment. Nevertheless, they themselves pointed out that factories having capacities like theirs are very few in number. The truth is, most of the RMG factories are at the moment financially insolvent to invest such amounts. According to one of the respondents, “in the overall RMG industry of Bangladesh, most of the enterprises are either small or medium, and they do not have

the financial capacity to go in for automation.”

Lack of Technological Skill: Unskilled workers have remained the key to the successful story of Bangladesh’s RMG industry by far (Rahman, 2020; Mian, 2020). However, the era of unskilled workers is likely to come to an end in the near future. The developed part of the world has been converting its industrialized production more towards automation and artificial intelligence. Bangladesh is also facing the need to upgrade itself according to global standards, although slowly. The challenge that will threaten Bangladeshi industries’, specially the RMG industry’s survival, will be the lack of human skills required to run the automated industries (Mian, 2020). The respondents acknowledge that the average level of education, knowledge, and skill of the RMG workers is not at all suitable for high tech industries. Nor can it be achieved through overnight training. This anxiety was expressed as,

We need to ask is whether our workers are ready for the technology revolution we are set to see. Automation is coming, whether we like it or not, but are our 4 million garment workers ready for it? Do they have expertise in coding? Of course, they don’t—not yet.

Forecasted Implications of Industry 4.0 applications: Mixed opinions were found when the interviewees were asked about the possible implications of Industry 4.0 applications on the Bangladesh RMG industry. Some believed that the implementation of new technologies would enhance the competitiveness of this industry. In contrast, some believed that nothing much would change by incorporating the IF applications in the RMG factories of this country. Both opinions are elaborately discussed below:

Enhance Competitiveness: Many of the respondents argued that effective implementation of industry 4.0 applications in the production cycle of the RMG industry could increase competitiveness by ensuring more profitability and stability than before. Profit will increase as the applications are expected to enhance productivity, quality, efficiency, and accuracy in the RMG industry. Better quality products in less time will play a vital role in bringing more profit to this industry. Again, the industry will become more stable, as there will be less dependency on humans and more dependency on machines. This will help in reducing frequent disruptions in the production process caused by mismanagement among employees, thus making the production process more stable (Rumi et al., 2020).

On the other hand, the heavy dependency on high tech machines is expected to reduce production cost through mass production. Also, considering the rapidly changing fashion trends around the world, swift production and shipment has become more important than ever and the Industry 4.0 applications is expected to reduce the lead time and may give the factories an added edge (Islam et al., 2018). The ultimate impact of this low-price products according to one of the interviewees is, “hope then BD will be in more acceptable position to the world buyers’ and will be market leader to grab at least 15-20%.”

Threaten Survival: Unlike the optimistic respondents, some inferred that the implementation of the Industry 4.0 applications will be a threat to the survival

of the Bangladesh RMG industry. They believed positive implications of the Industry 4.0 applications would be limited in Bangladesh's RMG industry. For example, they intuited that it might instantly help in planning process by estimating costing, pricing, and profit through the upgraded software. It might also help in advancing communication through artificial intelligence and enhancing customer confidence. Still, the interviewees argued that these immediate implications of the Industry 4.0 transformation could be considered trivial when compared to the huge investment capital required for implementing Industry 4.0 applications.

To summarize, the interviewees who are uncomfortable about the Industry 4.0 transformation in the RMG industry shortly argued that capital abundant or technologically advanced countries will reap the benefits of this transformation. But the Bangladesh RMG industry, where labour is the main advantage, might threaten their existence with the implementation of technology dependent production processes.

The Influence of COVID-19 and IFR on One Another

Respondents were asked to respond on the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on the path of embracing IF applications in the RMG industry of Bangladesh and also about the possible impact of IF applications in Bangladesh RMG industry in handling the COVID-19 pandemic. Like the previous section, this section will also present opinions from two opposite perspectives which are discussed below.

Positive Response: There were some respondents who believed that the presence of the COVID-19 pandemic was likely to accelerate the implementation of Industry 4.0 applications in the RMG industry. This study found that RMG factories that were already planning or in the process of upgrading themselves in line with IFR, were predisposed to accelerate their work, realizing that the pandemic was going to stay for a long time. They asserted that Industry 4.0 technologies have the capability of providing better digital solutions for industrial activities during the pandemic. One of the respondents perfectly pointed out the possible benefits of Industry 4.0 technologies in mitigating the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic as quoted below

Digitalization and the increased usage of artificial intelligence and block chain technology, have the potential to change how supply chains are managed as well as how and where production takes place. For instance, the digitalization of factory operations [during this pandemic] could help optimize various processes, including spreading, cutting, bundling, sewing, pressing, and packaging. If widely adopted across the supply chain, these technologies would require garment factories to be able to respond to this increasingly virtual model of operating, communicating, and engaging within the supply chain process through digital means.

As more dependence on high tech machines and artificial intelligence requires less human interaction, the respondent believed that it would assist in maintaining the protocols of pandemic given by the World Health Organization.

Also, ensuring production on time would save the RMG factories from financial loss and keep their production cycle active. According to one interviewee,

COVID-19 play a vital role to realize the industry 4.0 application as a path for survival. Application like agility, data digitization, Machine to Machine connectivity, problem solving through using artificial intelligence, cyber connectivity among the peoples etc. have been more helpful for handling a pandemic like COVID-19.

Negative Response: However, not all the respondents agreed with the above idea. There were many who thought that there was no question of accelerating the implementation process of Industry 4.0 applications induced by the COVID-19 pandemic, as the RMG industry has been going through a big financial crisis and uncertainty. At this moment, investing more in Industry 4.0 applications would be suicidal. Also, it is not possible to convert fully to Industry 4.0 standards overnight, so reaping the benefits of these applications during the pandemic is nearly impossible. These respondents also argued that even if Industry 4.0 applications had been implemented in the RMG industry of Bangladesh before the arrival of the pandemic, it would not have lessened the sufferings; because the pandemic forced people to cut back on consumption. The demand for RMG products declined as a consequence. Furthermore, the implementation of Industry 4.0 applications does not assure complete removal of humans from the production cycle. Instead, it lessens the dependency on humans to a great extent. If humans are unwell due to the pandemic or there is ban on human movement, the production cycle of RMG industry would definitely be interrupted, at least partially.

Recommendations and Policy Suggestions

To mitigate the existing challenges of the RMG industry, the respondents gave some recommendations and suggested some policies.

First, as there is increasing competition in the market for RMG items that Bangladesh produces, product diversification should be kept in focus. Specialization in high value added and sophisticated RMG products, which the importing countries have demand for but competing countries do not have the required skills to product, should be brought in. This will help in attracting foreign buyers and elevating profits.

Second, the upgrade of RMG products will require workers to become skilled. That is why proper training facilities need to be arranged. Also, high tech machines will be required to produce high quality products. To avail of these machines, the government should provide special schemes for the RMG owners to generate capital for the upgrade.

Third, to accelerate the growth of the RMG industry, relevant logistic supports should be improved. For example, making the port formalities faster, improving the transportation system, and fixing subsidized utility bills for the RMG industry. Also, facilitating the building of bonded warehouses where RMG factories will store raw materials for production was advised so that the

waiting time for the raw material shipment from exporting countries could be reduced or avoided.

Fourth, to alleviate the financial loss caused by the pandemic, there should be a reduction in duty and taxes on the import of raw materials.

Fifth, one country, one price policy could be implemented to reduce unhealthy price competition within the country.

Last but not least, to safely continue the production system garment workers should be given priority for getting vaccinated against the COVID-19 virus.

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Marketing of Financial Services: The South Asian Perspective

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Abstract

The intense competitive and challenging business environment is compelling the financial service providing companies to revitalize their marketing strategem. This study was conducted on the South Asian (India, Bangladesh, Pakistan and Sri Lanka) financial markets through analyzing the marketing of financial services. For the purpose of this study, four industries namely banking industry, mutual fund industry, insurance sector and pension funds of South Asia were taken into consideration. The analyses of these four industries highlighted how South Asian countries market their financial services. A proposed research model was developed in this study to identify the relationship between corporate image, customer satisfaction, trust and customer loyalty within the financial province of South Asia. The theoretical model, represented in this study (Figure 1), shows an integrated interpretation of the variables and associations for the South Asian financial sectors. The analyses attempt to contribute in the literature through analyzing the marketing theme into the financial sector from a comprehensive perspective. Future researchers are directed to conduct statistical analysis to examine this model by exploring the causal relationships between the research constructs.

Keywords

Financial service, corporate image, customer satisfaction, trust, customer loyalty, south asia.

Introduction

Competing in twenty-first century financial services requires that financial service organizations not only rethink their product offerings but also the nature of how they provide value to customers (Di Vanna, 2002). In an increasing risky and globalized market, well-informed financial decisions are of

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paramount importance (Lusardi & Mitchell, 2011). Financial markets improve the allocation of capital (Wurgler, 2000) and allocating financial capital is a key task for managers (Busenbark et al., 2017). The marketing of financial services is an overarching set of processes that aims to balance the key components of a wider environment (Ennew, Waite & Waite, 2013). Financial service institutions have shifted from traditional face-to-face selling to direct marketing practices (Lee, 2002), and the basic characteristics of services pose certain challenges that require specific strategies (Jan, 2012). Banking, savings and investment, insurance, debt and equity financing help citizens save money, guard against uncertainty, and build credit, while enabling businesses to start up, expand, increase efficiency, and compete in local and international markets (Sutton & Jenkins, 2007).

Financial companies need to emphasize on creating a unique corporate image by emphasizing on clear positioning in the mind of the target customers (Schiffman & Wisenblit, 2015). Corporate image is essential for ensuring sustainable competitive advantage (Özkan et al., 2019). Banks perform marketing and planning to offer services efficiently (Once, 2001) and customer satisfaction is crucial for the survival of a banking organization (Bargal & Sharma, 2008). In the ever-changing business environment customer satisfaction plays a vital role for any company as it aids a crucial driver of repeat purchase behavior (Özkan et al., 2019). Marketing is considered to be an integral management function in the banking sector (Bhatt & Gor, 2012). There have been important changes in the business of consumer financial services (Roig et al., 2006) and in the highly competitive global environment, building relationships with customers is vital (Irina, 2010) for which customers should have trust in the financial companies prior to share their personal sensitive information.

Marketing and distribution expenses are responsible for about one-third of the cost of active management in the mutual fund industry (Roussanov, Ruan & Wei, 2021). A mutual fund firm's ability to charge for marketing funds is a function of more than past financial performance (Kihn, 1996). Mutual funds act as a medium for retail investors to invest their savings in the professional fund management system irrespective of the sum invested (Singal & Manrai, 2018). Market competition impacts the marketing expenses for mutual funds (Parida, 2018) and mutual fund performance is derived as a function of investors' and managing companies' preferences and technology (Massa, 1998). Mutual funds have become a dominant investment vehicle (Smith, 2009) and the mutual fund market has evolved into a competitive market (Wahal & Wang, 2011). Mutual funds have the potential for higher yield with minimum risk in comparison to other risky investment schemes (Fiergbor, 2020). Investment levels fluctuate within mutual funds over time (Hornstein & Hounsell, 2016) and with few exceptions, mutual funds have grown significantly in most countries around the world (Klapper, Sulla, & Vitas, 2004).

The insurance sector is relevant for the overall stability of the financial system by outlining the sources of vulnerability and risk (Trichet, 2005). Marketing-oriented companies have fared better in comparison to those which

relegated marketing to a less important role in managerial priorities (Majaro, 1984) and insurance has been slow in absorbing the marketing concept and has been intrigued by the notion of marketing (Majaro, 2013). The financial services industry is exposed to increasing performance pressures and competitive forces (Shameem & Gupta, 2012) and even the functioning of the insurance market depends on the marketing of products that insurance companies offer customers through the insurance market (Zekaj, 2016). Marketing plays a key role in the insurance market to meet supply and demand because insurance products are intangible and exist only in the form of pledges (Zekaj, 2016). Marketing is one of the most important business functions for creating customers and generating demand and is of great importance to the insurance industry (Njegomir, 2018).

Pension funds are a channel for coping with population ageing without major economic disruptions (Davis, 1998). The growth of pension funds has been nothing short of astronomical (Clark, 2000). Pension funds can provide a significant support for financing the development of a country (Grujic, 2019). Pension funds can stimulate both capital market and economic development by providing higher amounts of resources through more efficient channels (Thomas & Spataro, 2016). Policy makers and pension fund regulators have to develop workable strategies by which pension funds can be invested to significantly benefit the economy (Sanusi & Mingiri, 2021). Policy makers charged with establishing or reforming a country's pension system will have in mind numerous competing objectives, among which should be the promotion of economic growth (Gray & Weig, 1999). The potential for pension funds to contribute to capital markets and thereby economic growth has been argued theoretically and demonstrated empirically (Stewart et al., 2017).

This study has been conducted on the South Asian (India, Bangladesh, Pakistan and Sri Lanka) financial markets through analyzing the marketing of financial services. For the purpose of this study, four industries namely banking industry, mutual fund industry, insurance sector and pension funds of South Asia has been taken into consideration. Furthermore, a proposed research model has been developed in this study to identify the relationship between Corporate Image and Customer Loyalty within the financial province of South Asia.

Research Gap

Previous researchers have focused on different financial aspect from diverse areas of South Asian context (Ahmad, Malik & Humayoun, 2010; Kandpal & Kavidayal, 2013; Mathur, 2013; Jalal & Younis, 2014; Kushwaha & Agrawal, 2015; Farah, Hasni & Abbas, 2018; Dodamgoda & Canagasabey, 2019; Rahman & Al Mamun, 2022). However, maximum of these studies conducted on South Asian perspective has covered the integration of stock market. As such, Mohsin and Rivers (2010) has originated the financial integration of South Asian countries. Narayan et al. (2004) studied the vigorous connection between the stock markets of South Asian countries. Rahman and Uddin (2009)

analyzed the links of stock prices and exchange rates between evolving South Asian countries like Bangladesh, India and Pakistan. Bhunia and Das (2012) have interlaced the Indian stock markets with the prominent stock markets of the South Asian countries. Perera and Wickramanayake (2012) has analyzed the stock and bond market from South Asian countries perspective. Mishra (2012) has scrutinized the efficacy of South Asian capital markets. Rajwani and Mukherjee (2013) examined the incorporation of Indian and other foremost Asian stock markets. Financial unpredictability of the South Asian stock markets has given significance by Kumar and Dhankar (2017).

Therefore, for encompassing the marketing leitmotif into the financial ground, this study has developed a proposed research model for the financial market to identify the relationship between corporate image, customer satisfaction, trust and customer loyalty within the financial domain of South Asia. Studies conducted on the South Asian region suggested that no such research model form marketing perspective were considered in the prior research. Thus, the present study, in the context of the above consequences has endeavored to draw attention on the marketing of financial services form South Asian perspective.

Research Objectives

The present study has the following objectives as stated below:

- a. Undertake a comparative analysis of the selected South Asian countries' marketing strategies for their financial services, and
- b. To develop a proposed research model to highlight the importance of corporate image, customer satisfaction, trust and customer loyalty within the financial province of South Asia.

Research Methodology

The study applied content analysis (White & Marsh, 2006) and the archival research method (Ventresca & Mohr, 2017) to examine the literature relevant to the topic. Content analysis is a systematic, rigorous approach to analyzing documents in the course of research (White & Marsh, 2006) while the archival research method includes a broad range of activities applied to facilitate the investigations of documents and textual materials produced by and about organizations (Ventresca & Mohr, 2017). Archival research and content analysis enable the integration of internal and external information (Yu et al., 2018), and there is increasing scholarly interest in qualitative methodologies to study complex business phenomena (Duriau, Reger & Pfarrer, 2007). Since the present study is qualitative by nature, the selection of content analysis and the archival research method is deemed appropriate.

The study is qualitative in nature and used content analysis from the review of literature (Rakemane & Mosweu, 2021) and archival research to establish a theoretical framework (Velte, 2021) to identify the key aspects of the marketing of financial services. Content analysis includes the use of search and

databases (Lacy et al., 2015) and archival research contributes towards the context of the research topic (Das, Jain & Mishra, 2018). The challenge of designing a content analysis can be met by making decisions about the nature of the content to be analyzed (Potter & Levine-Donnerstein, 1999) while archival review serves to determine the distribution of quantitative and qualitative methods (Kriek, Beaty & Nkomo, 2009). Content analysis is a technique that enables researchers to evaluate qualitative content (Yu et al., 2018) while the growing importance of archival methods is notable (Eden & Nielsen, 2020).

Findings of the Study

Objective 1: Undertake a comparative analysis of the selected South Asian countries' marketing strategies for their financial services

Traditionally, marketing in financial services has been a largely tactical activity, concerned primarily with the advertising and selling of existing products (Ennew, Wright & Thwaites, 1993). There has been the emergence of a greater degree of market orientation in the dynamic environment of the financial services industry (Appiah-Adu, Fyall & Singh, 2001) and market segmentation is becoming an important strategic tool in the evolution of the financial services industry (Javalgi & Dion, 1999). Market segmentation is increasing in importance as a competitive weapon (Harrison, 1994) and focusing on segments is at the core of organizations' efforts to become customer driven (Wind & Bell, 2008). Market segmentation is an important topic in many businesses (Bassi, 2017) and the changing nature of financial services, brought on by economic and regulatory forces, has prompted financial institutions to take a renewed interest in market segmentation to compete successfully (Harrison, 1995). Diversification creates competitive pressures across a diverse range of market segments which increases innovation and efficiency in the provision of services (Sanya & Wolfe, 2011).

The marketing of services is regarded as different from the marketing of goods (Thunman, 1992). Banking plays a vital role in the distribution of money for the development of trade, industry and commerce (Mayilvaganan & Karthikeyan, 2012). Banking and financial services will change dramatically in an increasingly digital world (Broby, 2021). The competitive climate in the Indian financial market has changed dramatically (Kushwaha & Agrawal, 2015). In India, the banking sector is a central component of the services sector (Kaura, 2013). The Indian banking industry has experienced significant transformations in the 21st century, and has undertaken speedy transformations in their operations to maintain the market share (Arora, 2017). Indian banks are using new and innovative services to retain and maintain their customer base, and in comparison to urban areas are focusing more on rural areas and providing services like merchant banking, insurance, and mutual funds to their customers apart from borrowing and lending (Arora, 2017). Mutual funds in India have confined their reach to urban areas leaving vast potential in the rural areas untapped (Kandpal & Kavidayal, 2013). In recent times, the mutual fund

industry has emerged as the most dynamic segment of the Indian capital market and there is a lot of scope for the growth of mutual fund companies (Parihar, Sharma & Parihar, 2009). Insurance companies in India use a variety of strategies to market their products, including advertising, sales promotion, publicity and public relations (Arumugam & Iyappan, 2016). India's pension reforms will open the sector to private fund managers (Poirson, 2007). The Provident Fund Regulatory Development Authority of India has developed a new pension scheme for the Indian citizens, which is basically a retirement plan offered to the general public (Kamath & Patil, 2017).

Bangladeshi banks are helping the banking sector with a full variety of services, but they need to develop their marketing approach to sustain in a competitive environment (Mahtab & Abdullah, 2016). Developments of mobile banking, Short Messaging Service (SMS) banking, agent banking, internet banking, and mobile money account are examples of financial services innovation in Bangladesh (Kabir, Huda, & Faruq, 2020). The growing popularity of mobile banking services in Bangladesh not only allowed financial institutions to tap into the market areas previously untouched by banking services, but also brought the challenges of customer retention (Sagib & Zapan, 2014). Direct marketing of mobile banking is very crucial for the penetration into the rural areas (Rahman, Xi, & Islam, 2016). The mutual fund industry is still in a growing phase in Bangladesh, and is underperforming in comparison to the market (Anwar & Arif, 2017). The mutual fund industry is very small for Bangladesh, and new investors have a significant interest in this industry (Rahman & Al Mamun, 2022). Insurance awareness among the people of Bangladesh is at a marginal level due to the absence of initiatives by the regulatory body and the companies of the industry (Islam, 2019). Other problems of the insurance sector include legal complexities, lack of qualified human resources, and traditional management (Ali, 2020). Bangladesh has pension policies for social security in old age for only retired government employees (Khan, 2022).

The Pakistani banking sector is continuously improving with a diversified pattern of ownership due to the active participation of local and foreign stakeholders (Ahmad, Malik, & Humayoun, 2010). There is a direct link between service quality and customer satisfaction (Zafar et al., 2012). The banking sector is moving to online banking services (Kazmi & Hashim, 2015) and mobile banking was introduced as early as 2009 (Farah, Hasni, & Abbas, 2018). ATM services provided by the banks are highly praised by the customers (Abbasi et al., 2019). Customers are fairly satisfied with the e-banking services in Pakistan in terms of quality (Toor et al., 2016) and e-banking services provide a competitive edge in the banking sector of Pakistan (Rauf et al., 2018). The mutual fund industry has not progressed in Pakistan and is growing at a slow pace, with equity funds outperforming income funds (Raheel, Sohail, & Urfa, 2011). Personal selling and religious advertising play an important role in the marketing of mutual funds in Pakistan (Waqas, Mian & Nazir, 2021). In Pakistan, the ratio of insurance policy holders is found to be very low in the context of developing countries (Farooq et al., 2015).

Bancassurance is emerging as a prominent channel for the marketing of insurance policies in Pakistan (Jalees, 2016). Pakistan is stated to have a weak pension system (Jalal & Younis, 2014).

Marketing strategy and a long-term marketing orientation have a positive relationship with customer commitment in the banking sector of Sri Lanka (Abeysekara & Hewawasam, 2010). There is a growing trend among young, educated customers towards converting to mobile banking in Sri Lanka (Kumari, 2016) and commercial banks are stated to have not yet attracted sufficient customers to use internet banking (Ajanthan, 2018). Sri Lankan banks are introducing paperless and information technology-oriented to existing and prospective customers (Fernando & Fernando, 2017). Mutual funds in Sri Lanka have seen tremendous growth (Mathur, 2013). Insurance was introduced to the Sri Lankan market mainly by foreign firms but later there was more domestic involvement (Randiwela et al., 2012). The life insurance industry in Sri Lanka has existed for eighty years although life insurance penetration rates have been stagnant for a period of time (Dodamgoda & Canagasabey, 2019). Different types of retirement plans are offered by the life insurance companies in Sri Lanka and approximately 10% of the total life insurance policies sold consist of retirement plans (Gamage, 2019). The Employees' Provident Fund (EPF) of Sri Lanka is a defined-contribution pension fund whose pooled asset holdings consist of mainly local government bonds (Kumara & Pfau, 2012). The EPF is the largest such fund in Sri Lanka and has operated relatively smoothly under the supervision of the Central Bank (Rannan-Eliya & Eriyagama, 2003).

To compare the marketing strategies of financial services between the countries selected for the study, the following tables highlight the findings of the first objective:

Table 1. Banking Sector Marketing Strategies Comparison between South Asian Countries

India	Advertising is the dominant marketing strategy followed by the Indian banking sector. Mobile banking and social media are also gaining ground in this regard.
Bangladesh	E-banking and internet banking are two of the prominent channels followed by the banking sector.
Pakistan	Banks in Pakistan provide both traditional and automated services. Mobile banking is becoming prominent.
Sri Lanka	A number of banks of Sri Lanka have adopted the green banking strategy. Social media has also emerged as a banking channel.

Source: Shah (2010), Bhatt & Gor (2012), Pathirana & Khin (2016), Shabbir, Rehman & Shabbir (2016), Fernando & Fernando (2017), Farah, Hasni & Abbas (2018), Jahan, Ali & Al Asheq (2020).

Table 2. Mutual Funds Sector Marketing Strategies Comparison between South Asian Countries

India	Mutual funds are presented to customers through certified agents, service centres and web portals. Advertising through billboards / hoardings has also started,
Bangladesh	Mutual fund is an underrated sector. Managers are trying to increase publicity of this sector through advertisements.
Pakistan	Personal selling and religious advertising are some of the marketing strategies for customers.
Sri Lanka	Mutual funds in Sri Lanka have seen tremendous growth.

Source: Rao (2010), Mathur (2013), Anwar & Arif (2017), Waqas, Mian & Nazir (2021)

Table 3. Insurance Sector Marketing Strategies Comparison between South Asian Countries

India	Insurance products are marketed through the agency channel, along with alternative channels such as bancassurance, corporate agencies, brokers, rural channels, direct and online marketing.
Bangladesh	There is a lack of a proper marketing policy. Marketing and branding of insurance activities are absent.
Pakistan	Bancassurance has emerged as a prominent channel for insurance products. Islamic insurance has emerged.
Sri Lanka	Insurance companies are looking to new distribution channels such as call centers, mobile apps and the web.

Source: Khan & Uddin (2013), Sharma & Saxena (2013), Gunawardane, Munasinghe & Dissanayake (2016), Jalees (2016), Ali et al. (2019), Islam (2019)

Table 4. Pension Sector Marketing Strategies Comparison between South Asian Countries

India	India's pension reforms opened the sector to private fund managers.
Bangladesh	Bangladesh does not have a government mandatory provident fund in the private sector except in the tea and newspaper industries.

[Contd.]

Table 4 (continued)

Pakistan	Most Islamic banks do not offer pension schemes.
Sri Lanka	Voluntary Pension Scheme (VPS) introduced by the Social Security Board of Sri Lanka. The country makes extensive use of provident funds.

Source: Poirson (2007), Asher (2009), Chowdhury (2016), Heenkenda (2016), Hati, Gayatri & Indraswari (2020)

This above comparative analysis highlights how South Asian countries market their financial services. The study observes that Bangladesh and Pakistan is lagging behind for effective marketing strategies to attract new customers, especially in the mutual fund and insurance sectors. In comparison, India and Sri Lanka are doing much better in the marketing of their financial services. South Asian countries need to implement both offline and online marketing for their financial services to obtain effective results and reach a higher customer base.

Objective 2: To develop a proposed research model to highlight the importance of corporate image, customer satisfaction, trust and customer loyalty within the financial province of South Asia.

In this section, a proposed research model has been developed. Four research constructs has been discovered in the proposed research model. For the better development of the financial service providing companies, the importance of corporate image, customer satisfaction, trust and customer loyalty has been highlighted in this model. In the following section, the authors have discussed this proposed model that has established from the analysis of the research constructs and the relationship between corporate image, customer satisfaction, trust and customer loyalty. We have also developed three hypotheses for the purpose of this study. These hypotheses exemplify the relationships between the underlying concepts (corporate image, customer satisfaction, trust and customer loyalty) shown in the proposed theoretical model (Figure 1). At the end of this section conceptual framework has been discussed.

Corporate image, customer satisfaction, trust and customer loyalty: Corporate image is the intangible identity of the company that creates the customer perception regarding their feelings, beliefs (Fusva et al., 2020) and opinion that they hold about the company. If customers found to have a favorable image about the company, they tend to become loyal with that company. Research indicated that corporate image has a positive effect on customer loyalty in the micro banking industry (Hayati et al., 2020). Similar conclusion drawn by Hendrawan, Amrin and Fawzee (2021) where corporate image of Indonesian banks found to influence customer loyalty. In the Zimbabwean

banking sector, Makanyeza and Chikazhe (2017) established that significant relationship exist between corporate image and customer loyalty. Sari and Yasa (2019) discovered that, the greater the corporate image, the greater the loyal customers. Yuliani and Rahyuda (2021) revealed that favorable corporate image have a direct positive and significant effect on customer loyalty in Indonesian banking sector. Similar results also indicated by Abd Aziz (2018) in the Malaysian Islamic banking sector and by Özkan et al. (2019) in the Turkish banking industry.

For the financial companies,' customer satisfaction occurs when the value for the services provided offer a favorable experience that encounters/meets or exceeds customer expectations. Satisfied customers spread positive word of mouth and they are the best brand ambassadors for any company. In the ever-changing business environment, customer satisfaction plays a vital role for any company as it aids a crucial driver of repeat purchase behavior (Özkan et al., 2019). Hamouda (2019) in Tunisia discovered that growing customer satisfaction will create growing number of loyal customers.

In the financial industries, trust has a significant influence on customer enthusiasm to continue his/her financial transactions. Customers' trust in the financial service providing companies make them loyal. Sari and Yasa (2019) validated that trust positively and significantly influence customer loyalty. Previous studies indicated, when customers can trust the companies, they became loyal with that companies. Several studies highlighted that greater customer trust creates greater customer loyalty for the company (Setiawan & Sayuti, 2017; Leninkumar, 2017).

Therefore, based on the above discussion of corporate image, customer satisfaction, trust customer loyalty the study proposed the following hypotheses to be examined in the financial market of South Asian context:

H1: A significant relationship exists between corporate image and customer loyalty in South Asian financial market.

H2: A significant relationship exists between customer satisfaction and customer loyalty in South Asian financial market.

H3: A significant relationship exists between trust and customer loyalty in South Asian financial market.

Based on this above background of the relationships among the research constructs (corporate image, customer satisfaction, trust and customer loyalty), hypotheses have been developed. Now, based on these relevant hypotheses conferred above the proposed theoretical model for this research has been developed which is shown below.

Conceptual Framework

To analyze the second objective, this study has proposed a theoretical model to identify the influence of corporate image, customer satisfaction and trust on customer loyalty within the financial domain of South Asia. Furthermore, from South Asian perspective, this is the virginal attempt to highlight the

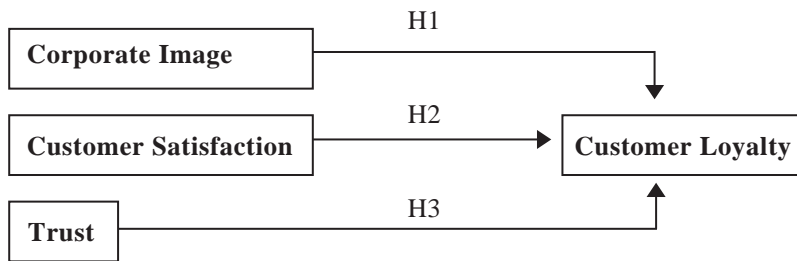


Figure 1. Proposed Theoretical Model

Source: The authors

relationships between corporate image, customer satisfaction, trust and loyalty incorporated into one research model. Therefore, this model pursues to contribute to the existing literature by proposing the combination of corporate image, customer satisfaction and trust as a significant element to build customer loyalty and its implication in the financial province of South Asia.

Conclusion

This paper has concentrated on the financial sector of South Asia, emphasizing the importance of corporate image, customer satisfaction and trust to build customer loyalty. Four financial industries have been taken into consideration for the purpose of this study. In the first/former part of this paper we have given a comparative analysis among the four industries namely banking Industry, mutual fund industry, insurance sector and pension funds of South Asia by highlighting the importance of marketing. In the later part of this paper, a proposed theatrical model (Figure 1) has been developed by the authors. This model underlines the significance of building a long-term corporate image, customer satisfaction and trust for the financial companies to capture loyal customers. This reflects the idea that corporate image is not only necessary for the financial companies to develop a sustainable image, but also companies need to create satisfaction and trust among the customers of financial sectors in South Asia.

The theoretical model, represented in this study (Figure 1), shows an integrated interpretation of the variables and associations for the South Asian Financial sectors. In a single framework, this study has hypothesized the relationships through the proposed model by analyzing the relationship between the research variables of corporate image, customer satisfaction, trust and customer loyalty. Further statistical analysis by future researchers is directed to examine this model by exploring the causal relationships between the research variables (H1, H2, and H3) presented in this study for building a comprehensive understanding regarding South Asian customers' loyalty status.

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A Multivariate Analysis of the Efficacy of Management Development Programs Conducted in Luxury Hotels of Bangladesh

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Abstract

Management Development Program (MDP) has not been a serious focus in hotel industry in many countries despite their emphasis on skilled management in tourism and hospitality sector. This study aims to explore the effectiveness of the MDP in Bangladesh where tourism is a major source of employment. Data were collected from the mid-level managers of 36 star-rated luxury residential hotels. Exploratory Factor Analysis was used to identify the most effective determinants of MDP and to rank them based on their loading values. Four factors of MDP namely Organizational Development, Leadership Development, Individual Motivation, and People Management were revealed. MDP of the sample hotels were found very effective in developing self-management ability and rising moral of the employees. However, improvement of innovation and creative skills is suggested through promoting a collaborative culture. Research work on MDP is not very common in the residential hotel industry and is also rare in the tourism context of the developing country Bangladesh. This paper helps to fill the gap.

Keywords

Management development program, star rated luxury residential hotels, organizational development, leadership development, management skills

Introduction

Management Development Programs (MDP) is a human resource development intervention that helps an enterprise in attaining its business goals through people (Humphreys, 2001) and obtaining different managerial and leadership

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skills (Brownell & Chung, 2001). It is an effective tool to gain a competitive advantage and facilitate organizational development. The momentum of a learning organization is highly endorsed by an effective management development practice (Huda, Karim, & Hussain, 2020).

MDP is a tailored competency development program that promotes a dynamic and productive corporate culture and stimulates the development of organizational core competency (Terrion, 2006). MDP is also a strong determinant of the sustainability of this economically important industry (Nee, 2011). While employee development through training is a part and parcel of the hospitality sector (Malik, 2018), MDP fosters competency-based professional development programs to be competitive in the global market (OECD, 2012; Brownell & Chung, 2001). Regular training programs help the management identify talented employees (Leonard, 2019). The initiative of a training and development program should be maintained through adequate investment in employee learning initiatives (Cho & Kang, 2006; Hazra, Ghosh & Sengupta, 2017). Such an employee development program must facilitate the hoteliers' capacity to adjust to the changing environment, develop their competency to be globally competitive, develop a creative capability, and be efficient in providing quality service to the guests (Mohanty, Mishra & Mohanty, 2020).

Prasanth (2015) has stated the importance of training need assessment to get the insight of employee development requirements in the hospitality industry and such development programs must facilitate professionalism among the hospitality employees. Ho (2012) emphasized hospitality leadership development initiatives through MDP. Hazra et al. (2017) had conducted empirical research on the importance of employee training in the Indian hospitality industry and explored two major aspects, i.e., self-development and organizational commitment. Modern MDP should include attitudinal training for employees to develop the capacity to build human relations (Lam & Xiao, 2000). MDP is an institutionalized employee development initiative that ensures the sustainable growth of an organization like residential hotels. Therefore, a detailed study can measure the effectiveness of MDP to enrich its managerial implication which is the main objective of this research.

Rationale and Objective

The world tourism and hospitality industry are on a hike of growth and it is predicted to be more sustainable than the oil and automobile industries (Shalini & Duggal, 2015). The industry has kept the wheel of the global economy in motion and supports social development by generating employment for the people of different spectrums (Yeoman & McMahon-Beatte, 2016). Bangladesh is a new wonder of socioeconomic development and tourism and hospitality have immense potentials to grow like the readymade garments (RMG) sector as a source of foreign earnings (Huda, Haque & Jahan, 2012). It can highly contribute to GDP as all the spectrums of this sector have an enormous potential for sustainable growth (Das & Chakraborty, 2012). According to the latest official figures of the year 2017, its current contribution to GDP is 2.2%

which is around 427.5 billion BDT. There is a possibility of hosting 5.7 billion tourists by the year 2023 but the COVID-19 pandemic could be a deterring factor in this regard.

The tourism and hospitality sector significantly contributes to generating employment from managerial to worker level and has created 1,178,500 jobs in the year 2017. This figure represents 1.8% of the total job market and may increase up to 3.2% (3,114,000 jobs) by the year 2020. According to Hasan (2018), the export potential of this industry may rise to 15.5 billion BDT by the year 2024. However, the uniqueness of this sector is mostly dependent on the growth of the hospitality industry (Zahra, 2012) and gastronomic tourism is the most vital factor of tourism export (Das & Chakraborty, 2012). According to Huda, Haque and Khan (2014), the key to the success of this economically valuable sector is superior human resource management and development.

Research work on MDP of the Bangladeshi hospitality industry is rare in the existing literature. Therefore, this study will endeavor to meet the research gap and will conduct an empirical investigation to measure the effectiveness of MDP conducted in the selected luxury hotels in Bangladesh. The effectiveness of hospitality MDP could be appraised through the contribution of the soft skill and leadership development by the employees and the degree of value addition to the productivity and profitability of the hospitality organizations like residential hotels. Therefore, the purpose of the study is to measure the effectiveness of MDP based on the degree of the learning experience of management employees of luxury residential hotels operating in Bangladesh, which may enrich the quality of the program and facilitates the human resource development of the hospitality industry as well.

Literature Review

Definition and Importance of MDP

Commonly, the organizations conduct MDP to sharpen the managerial prudence of the employees who are in decision-making positions (Huda et al., 2020). A management development program is conducted to improve the managerial performance of an employee applying a well-structured learning process and prepare them to undertake future responsibilities (Mumford & Gold, 2004). It is an effective organizational development program (McGurk, 2008) that allows managerial prudence and keeps the human resources ready to encounter the challenges of change (Juhdi et al., 2015). According to McGurk (2008), Perin et al. (2009), Islam and Islam (2018) and many more, the main aspect of an MDP is the development future leadership, facilitating to acquire self-management techniques, and the spirit of teamwork among the management employees of an organization. MDP fosters the career development of an individual employee (Mangan & Christopher, 2005) and facilitates the succession planning of an organization by creating a team of potential leaders (Khan, 2002).

Hence, the modern organization goes far ahead of the concept of individual

career development and emphasizes total organizational performance development (Enga, 2017) which is designed to gain competitive advantage (Mabey & Thompson, 2000). D'Netto et al. (2008) had researched a number of companies based in Australia and found that they strictly align MDP with organizational talent management programs. According to Ballou, Bowers, Boyatzis and Kolb (1999), it facilitates a continuous learning environment for the employees ensures higher productivity and profitability for the organization. It also facilitates behavioral development, promotes a positive attitude, and brings harmony to the organizational culture (Huda et al., 2020).

Syed-Ikhsan and Rowland (2004) emphasized an efficient knowledge management aspect to get the best results from MDP. However, the development of on-the-job performance (Austin et al., 2006; Nuraini et al., 2015) and shift in social behavior (Wright, Szeto & Cheng, 2002) should be the main aim of the MDP. It helps in rising per employee productivity and profitability (Linman, 2011).

The effectiveness of an MDP is measured by the attainment of individual development of an employee which impacts the organizational performance (Brown & McCracken, 2010). The management employees must develop several managerial competencies and leadership qualities through this program. The main outcome of an MDP is obtaining some technical and soft skills by the management employees and the success of the program depends upon the degree of learning and development. According to Adams and Waddle (2002), the effectiveness of MDP in the hospitality industry could be evaluated based on the value of soft factors of the employee learning experience and its contribution to the bottom line of the organization.

Methods of MDP

According to Becker and Bish (2017), most of the MDPs are conducted in a form of internal employee training programs using different techniques including business games, role-playing, and case studies. Popular instructional techniques like job-rotation, action learning, behavior modeling, and seminars are useful to facilitate job-oriented learning (Hirsh, Pollard, & Tamkin, 2000; Juhdi et al., 2015). MDP also includes different self-management interventions like coaching and counseling (Hirsh et al., 2000). Hence, mentorship provides intensive guidance to the potential managers to navigate them to attain the mission of the enterprise (Banerjee-Batist & Reio, 2016). Humphreys (2001), and Brownell and Chung (2001) had recommended the upgrading of professional certifications and university diploma courses.

However, all programs should be friendly to adult learners (Ballou et al., 1999) and periodical training needs analysis (TNA) of all the learning programs should be practiced with due diligence (Terrion, 2006). Lau and McLean (2013) had researched Malaysian companies and observed that they are facing challenges in attaining the intended outcome of the program. They have suggested designing the MDP following the adult learning method to make it effective. According to Pedler, Burgoyne, and Boydell (1994) informal learning methods and flexible learning environments could facilitate the

self-development of the senior executives as they remain preoccupied with their business assignments. Gosling and Mintzberg (2004) had recommended that organizations should nominate the senior executives for an advanced certification program in prominent business schools to develop their decision-making skills and such programs must foster practical management education rather than theoretical leanings.

Juhdi et al. (2015) focused on the assessment of leanings and recommended taking the assistance of external assessment centers for effective evaluation. Though Kirkpatrick method of the evaluation of training programs is commonly used across organizations (MacVarish et al., 2018; Khan, 2002), the modern 360-degree feedback method could be an effective tool to evaluate the overall performance of an MDP (Tyson & Ward, 2004; McCarthy & Garavan, 2007).

Different Dimensions of MDP

According to Khan (2002), a well-structured MDP facilitates modern-day executives to acquire skills in decision making, problem-solving, conflict management, global competition management, and internationally benchmarked practices. It also helps in obtaining different managerial skills (Oppong, 2017; Papulová, & Mokros, 2007) and orients them with a collaborative management style (McGurk, 2008). It enriches communication skills, develops the capacity to manage interpersonal relationships, facilitates the spirit of teamwork, and nurses a culture of creativity and innovation (Hutton, 2015). Millennial organizations encounter intensive competition and these organizations demand consummate leaders to minimize the stress of competition. Therefore, an MDP must transform the “manager” into an empowering “leader” (McGurk, 2008) with the spirit of empowering the followers (McGurk, 2008; Robert Jr & Shipper, 1998). Thus, a leadership development program is the principal objective of MDP which is facilitated through a comprehensive intervention of people’s management skills (Glezos, 2003) and effective decision-making skills (Mintzberg, 2004; Khan, 2002). Lipman (2014) had stated that an effective MDP equips a manager to discipline the organization and develops the competency to manage unruly people in the organization.

The MDP should address organizational development aspects of an organization (Huda et al., 2020) and developing a strong spirit of commitment among employees (McGurk, 2008), and instilling a very high sense of professionalism is important to propel organizational growth (MacVarish et al., 2018). It creates a platform to utilize knowledge gained through different training programs (D’Netto et al., 2008) and facilitates the ability of an innovation skill that prepares them to encounter the challenges of the rapidly shifting business environment (Tamkin et al., 2003). The culture of teamwork encourages the attitude of risk-taking and increases the magnitude of collaborative learning among management employees (Mattson, 2015). And for many, the MDP should equip the employees to combat job stress and assist in developing a strong workforce (Meola, 2016; Livingston, 2016; Tetrick & Winslow, 2015).

Research Gap

A good number of MDP research is noteworthy (Nuraini et al., 2015; MacVarish et al., 2018; Lau & McLean, 2013) who had made their contributions in different sectors like telecommunication, aviation, and public health mostly in the developed countries including the USA, China, and Malaysia. Some of the studies like Brownell and Chung (2001) has been done on hospitality industry but are outdated. Some MDP studies (Islam & Islam, 2018; Huda et al., 2020) are recent, but those are about MDP of Bangladeshi RMGs. Thus, MDP regarding the residential hotel industry is rare. Considering the limitations of the existing researches, this study intends to measure the effectiveness of MDP conducted in Bangladeshi luxury residential hotels which may enrich the quality of the program and facilitate the human resource development of this industry as well.

Methodology

The authors have gone through numerous published sources mostly journals, reports, policy guideline papers, and newspaper articles to explore as many determinants of successful MDP as possible irrespective of the country of study. Through an extensive literature review, the authors accumulated 23 variables relevant to MDP (Table 1). These variables were shared with an expert panel consisting of four top-level managers working in hotels having long experience in the hospitality sector. The panel member had checked the practicability of the initially sorted variables in the light of Bangladeshi hotel management context and culture and suggested retaining all. The experts had suggested using a 6-point Likert-type scale to take the opinion of the respondents. The questionnaire contains demographic information i.e. gender, age, address, and year of experience.

The instrument was built on 23 variables of MDP and responses were scaled on a 6-point Likert scale (6 = 'Strongly agree' and 1 = 'Strongly disagree'). The language of the questionnaire was English. An open-ended question was also asked to get qualitative responses from the respondents and later used for managerial implications. Mostly the mid-level managers of different sections of the hotels were randomly selected as they have vast work experience (08-12 years) in the industry and participated in a sufficient number of MDPs organized by the organization. Respondents were chosen considering that they fulfilled the screening criteria.

A total of 135 questionnaires were distributed among the potential respondents for data collection. A few questionnaires were discarded due to different types of errors like missing responses or ticked multiple options. In the end, 128 responses from 36 hotels were finalized and prepared for analysis. Finally, we have collected 128 responses from 36 different hotels on 23 variables and maintained a 1:5 data to response ratio following Stevens (1996), and Bentler and Chou (1987). As the survey was conducted on management employees, collecting large-scale data of those positions was hard due to the scarcity of

management staff. Therefore, the researchers considered a 1:5 data ratio. The respondents were chosen from luxury hotels having a minimum of three-star status as they had a practice of employee development through MDP.

The researchers applied Factor Analysis through SPSS-20 software. EFA was used to identify the most effective determinants of MDP and to rank them based on their loading values (greater than 0.50). Hence, a higher loading value signifies the higher degree of effectiveness of the MDP variables and vice versa. The questionnaire contains statements related to different variables of MDP, that is, to what degree they have improved their problem-solving skill; whether they have developed the self-management capacity through MDP; whether the program has raised their morale and commitment to the organization; how the program facilitates teamwork; and on what degree they have obtained the ability to manage job stress. About 36 luxury hotels were chosen from Dhaka, Chattogram, and Coxbazar City, and the survey was carried out from January to March, 2020.

Table 1. Summary of Different Determinants of MDP

Sl.	Determinants	Code	Reference
1	Improves problem-solving skills	X ₁	Khan (2002)
2	Develops expertise to ascertain global competition	X ₂	Oppong (2017)
3	Teaches the art of conflict management	X ₃	Islam and Islam (2018)
4	Sharpens managerial competency	X ₄	Oppong (2017)
5	Excels interpersonal communication skill	X ₅	Hutton (2015)
6	Develops the art of effective collaboration	X ₆	McGurk (2008)
7	Raises the confidence to manage human resources	X ₇	Glezos (2003)
8	Builds the habit of delegation	X ₈	Robert JrandShipper (1998)
9	Develops the mindset of empowerment	X ₉	McGurk (2008)
10	Facilitates mentoring abilities	X ₁₀	Banerjee-BatistandReio (2016)
11	Gains self-management ability	X ₁₁	Hirsh et al. (2000)
12	Forge effective decision-making	X ₁₂	Mintzberg (2004)
13	Develops professionalism	X ₁₃	MacVarish et al. (2018)
14	Builds confidence to undertake a new task	X ₁₄	Glezos (2003)
15	Foster opportunity to exploit individual skills	X ₁₅	D'Netto et al. (2008)
16	Trains to cultivate an innovative culture	X ₁₆	Tamkin et al. (2003)
17	Hoists employee commitment	X ₁₇	Ahmad and Bakar (2003)
18	Raises morale	X ₁₈	Tamkin et al. (2003)
19	Improves interpersonal relationship	X ₁₉	Tamkin et al. (2003)
20	Trains to nurses a culture of teamwork	X ₂₀	Perin et al. (2009)
21	Trains to manage work pressure	X ₂₁	Livingston (2016)
22	Teaches to combat job stress	X ₂₂	Tetrickand Winslow (2015)
23	Builds a strong workforce	X ₂₃	Meola (2016)

Source: The authors

Data Analysis and Findings

In this study, EFA was used for identifying the most essential determinants of MDP conducted in luxury hotels (Table 2). This analysis describes the variability amid observed and correlated variables in terms of a potentially lower number of unobserved variables.

The normality of data was checked using Kurtosis and Skewness test and for this data set, the values were 2.21 and 0.39 respectively. Principal Component Analysis through VARIMAX was used mainly on twenty-three (23) explored variables which are presented in Table 1. KMO value is 0.705 which is projecting a commendable degree of sample adequacy. The results of this study are also projecting a satisfactory value of Total Variance Explained (TVE) which is 72%. According to Hair et al. (2016) and Malhotra and Dash (2016), a TVE value above 50% is acceptable if the sample size is small.

Table 2. Factor Summary of MDP Variables with Values

MDP Factor	Variables	Loading Value	Communality Value	Rank based on loadings	Percentage of Variation Explained
F1 Organizational Development	X ₂ Expertise in global competition	.712	.76	5 th	32.354
	X ₁ Improve problem-solving skill	.582	.65	13 th	
	X ₆ Art of effective collaboration	.580	.81	14 th	
	X ₁₃ Develops professionalism	.645	.86	10 th	
F2 Leadership Development	X ₃ Art of conflict management	.528	.60	16 th	10.867
	X ₅ Interpersonal communication	.661	.87	7 th	
	X ₉ Mindset of empowerment	.525	.73	17 th	
	X ₁₁ Self-management ability	.926	.90	1 st	
	X ₁₆ Cultivates an innovative culture	.621	.70	12 th	
F3 Individual Motivation	X ₁₇ Hoist commitment	.816	.86	4 th	10.764
	X ₁₈ Raises Morale	.871	.89	2 nd	
	X ₁₉ Interpersonal relationship	.648	.88	9 th	
	X ₂₁ Manage work-pressure	.636	.83	11 th	
F4 People Management	X ₇ Confidence to manage HR	.524	.66	18 th	8.815
	X ₈ Attitude of delegation	.658	.70	8 th	
	X ₁₀ Mentoring ability	.565	.80	15 th	
	X ₁₄ Undertake new task	.679	.58	6 th	
	X ₂₂ Combat Job Stress	.866	.91	3 rd	

Source: The authors

The outcomes of the rotated factor matrix demonstrate that 23 variables of MDP collectively explain more than 67% of the total variation. A strict decision was taken considering the recommendation of Hair et al. (2016) to reject the variables with a loading value smaller than 0.50 and also the cross-loaded one. However, the commonality values of each variable were checked. Five variables explicitly X_4 sharpens managerial competency, X_{12} forge effective decision-making, X_{15} foster opportunity to exploit individual skills, X_{20} nurses a culture of teamwork and X_{23} builds a strong workforce were excluded at the first phase EFA, as the loading and communality values were found at a marginal level. This finding predicts that the variables are not much effective concerning the MDP of the luxury hotels or the respondents may have correlated these variables with other variables.

The remaining 18 variables were grouped into four (4) broad dimensions. The factor loading and communality value of the study are found significant which means that these determinants are effective in achieving the outcome of MDP. All four factors and their eigenvalue and the percentage of variation explained are also found significant which are tabulated in Table 2. The statistical fact of this study had identified four new dimensions of MDP coded as F1, F2, F3, and F4 (Table 2). Factor 1 is titled "Organizational Development" which includes the variables namely, X_2 Expertise on global competition, X_1 Improve problem-solving skill, X_6 Art of effective collaboration and X_{13} Develops professionalism. Hence, the Eigenvalue (5.433) and the percentage of variation explained (32.354) demonstrates a high degree of effectiveness of MDP. Factor 2 is named "Leadership Development" and this factor had clustered five variables X_3 Art of conflict management, X_5 Interpersonal communication, X_9 Mindset of empowerment, X_{11} Self-management ability, and X_{16} Cultivates innovative culture. The eigenvalue (1.825) and percent of variation explained (10.867%) are also satisfactory.

Factor 3 is labeled as "Individual Motivation" and clusters four variables, namely X_{17} Hoist commitment, X_{18} Raises Morale, X_{19} Interpersonal relationship, and X_{21} Manage work-pressure. The eigenvalue (1.808) and percent of variation explained (10.764%) are also found in an acceptable range. Factor 4 is denoted as "People Management" and had clustered the variables namely X_7 Confidence to manage HR, X_8 Attitude of delegation, X_{10} Mentoring ability, X_{14} Undertake new task, and X_{22} Combat Job Stress. This factor carries the lowest eigenvalue (1.480) and percentage of variation explained (8.815%) which are at a tolerable range.

Discussion and Managerial Implication

This study projects a comprehensive picture of the effectiveness of MDP conducted in the luxury residential hotels of Bangladesh. After analyzing the results of EFA, four factors of MDP, and the degree of effectiveness of 18 relevant determinants are revealed. The loading values of all the determinants were found at an acceptable range for being greater than the cut-off value (0.50) of which four variables were found highly effective with the loading

value greater than 0.80. The Organizational Development Factor (F1) shows a high degree of effectiveness as it exhibits the maximum value of the percentage of variation explained tallying with other factors. In contrast, the loading value of these variables in this factor is comparatively lower than the others. The loading value (.712) of the variable X_2 expertise on global competition is ranked in the 5th position. It means the hoteliers are developing their aptitude to meet the global challenges.

However, the rest of the three variables namely X_1 Improve problem-solving skill (.582), X_6 art of effective collaboration (.580) and X_{13} develop professionalism (.645) contains very marginal loading value and ranked in 13th, 14th, and 10th positions respectively. It means the degree of effectiveness of these variables is low independently but it could make some difference collectively as the percentage of variation explained is the highest amongst all the factors (32.354). Leadership Development Factor (F2) contains five determinants of MDP and the variable X_{11} self-management ability holds the highest loading value (.926) and ranked in 1st position. The result indicates a higher degree of effectiveness in developing management employees with self-managing capacity. According to the opinion of the experts, most of the hoteliers had to shoulder individual responsibility in their work and for that reason, the management emphasis on grooming them with self-help capacity, and the respondents are also sensing the same confidence.

Hence, it is also surprising that the rest of the four variables of this factor including X_3 art of conflict management (.528), X_5 interpersonal communication (.661), X_9 mindset of empowerment (.525) and X_{16} cultivates innovative culture (.621) are carrying comparatively low loading and are ranked 16th, 7th, 17th, and 12th respectively. According to the experts, curriculums of the MDP programs are very traditional in Bangladesh and the program mostly focuses on technical skills, not soft skills. Two variables of Individual Motivation factor X_{18} Raises Morale (.871) and X_{17} Hoist commitment (.816) are showing a very commendable degree of effectiveness with higher loading value and these variables are ranked 2nd and 4th respectively. The result is very predictable in today's Bangladeshi corporate culture as the management uses a training program as a tool to boost the morale and commitment of the employees and most of the employees connect MDP with career development opportunities and naturally feels satisfied if the learning opportunities are sponsored by the organization.

This finding matches the studies made by Ocen, Francis and Angundaru (2017); Atharand Shah (2015) as they had claimed the correlation between employee motivation and commitment to employee training. The rest of the variables of factor 3, i.e., X_{19} Interpersonal relationship (.648) and X_{21} Manage work-pressure (.636) are exposed with comparatively moderate loading values are ranked in 9th and 11th position consecutively. The result predicts that MDP programs are somewhat effective in developing interpersonal relationships among the employees and the hoteliers can manage work pressure. This result contradicts the study made by Huda, Haque and Khan (2020) where their argued that hoteliers are under tremendous work overload and there is an

existence of conflict among them.

People Management Factor (F4) contains five variables and out of which X₂₂ Combat Job Stress variable has the highest value amongst them with a loading value .866 and ranked in 3rd position. It means that the MDP program of the sample hotels is highly effective in making their management employees capable of managing job stress. However, these results also contradict the earlier research findings of Anbazhagan, Rajan and Ravichandran (2013) and Benita (2017), where they had exposed that job of a hotelier is highly stressful and such stresses are unmanageable. The rest of the variables grouped in factor 4 are X₇ Confidence to manage HR (.524), X₈ Attitude of delegation (.658), X₁₀ mentoring ability (.565), and X₁₄ Undertake new task (.679), and their loadings are at an acceptable level and ranked in 18th, 8th, 15th, and 6th position successively.

This study has revealed different facets of MDP related to the residential hotel industry of Bangladesh. It is clear from the study that the MDP is highly effective in developing self-management ability of the employee; the program raises the morale of them; made them capable to combat job stress; to hoist commitment towards organization and developing expertise of the employees to realize global competition and act upon that. Top management of the residential hotels should maintain these areas of strength of the MDP. However, the program is somewhat effective to develop their management employees in undertaking new tasks and assignment; their interpersonal communication skill is improved; they have developed their attitude towards delegating responsibility and authority, and the program has facilitated to develop professionalism among them. MDP of luxury hotels should conduct leadership development programs regularly to improve the aforementioned skills and competencies. Watson (2008) also suggested the same intervention in his research.

Hence, the MDP of the sample luxury residential hotels needs improvement to train their management employees managing work pressure; to equip them cultivating a culture of innovation and creativity, improving problem-solving skills; collaboration skills; developing mentoring capacity; conflict management skills; the attitude of empowering the subordinates and confidence of people management. The management of residential hotels should promote a positive corporate culture through MDP and include people management skill development and innovation management program in their training curriculum. MDP of the sample hotels has partially failed to train their employees on effective teamwork. Hence, it is also evident from research by Abdullah, Boyle and Joham (2011) that the culture of teamwork is very rare in the local companies; as a result, the practice of teamwork does not prevail. Even the employees are trained to work as a team.

Conclusion

This research attempted to measure the effectiveness of MDP of selected star-rated luxury residential hotels located in the major cities and tourist destinations of Bangladesh. The study offers a four-dimensional 18 item model that

can capture different aspects of MDP in luxury hotels. According to the results, the sample residential hotels were found somewhat effective in achieving the overall success of the MDP as most of the loading value of the variables is found at a marginal level. However, the MDP program of the sample hotels is highly effective in developing self-management ability among the staff and they are good at managing job stress. Top management of the hotels should concentrate on improving the MDP curriculum considering the results of this study and should emphasize on soft skill development of the management employees specifically in the area of leadership development and organizational development factor of MDP.

The effectiveness of an MDP is an area of strength for every company to gain and sustain a competitive advantage in the global economy. It could be used as a game-changer to meet the challenge of the fourth industrial revolution and the turbulent situation created by the COVID-19 pandemic. The survival of this human resource-intensive service industry demands efficient and innovative utilization of human potentials which could be facilitated by an effective MDP and aid to foster the growing economy of Bangladesh. However, to reach an ultimate conclusion to the effectiveness of MDP of the hotel industries of Bangladesh, researchers may extend this study a little further in terms of inclusion of other cities, countries, and larger samples.

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Factors Influencing English Speaking Performances of Bangladeshi Private University Engineering Students

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Abstract

This paper is an attempt to address the influencing factors of speaking skills of tertiary-level learners in engineering studies. The data were collected from sixty students and nine teachers teaching at a number of Bangladeshi private universities – International Islamic University Chittagong, Southern University Bangladesh, and Chittagong Independent University. The researchers followed mixed methods to analyze and generate data. The students were chosen from the freshers of Engineering faculties of the mentioned universities who were involved in different speaking activities such as storytelling, performing presentations, debate, problem-solving, situational conversation, question answering and extempore speech. This research, the topic of which is apparently controversial, explores the learners' English-speaking competence as well as the influencing factors such as fluency, pronunciation, grammatical range and accuracy, and lexical resources. The major findings of the study include certain challenges in speaking skills such as Anglophobia, lack of an English-speaking environment, syntactic and morphological limitations, lack of lexical resources, and intonation issues in pronunciation. This paper will understandably contribute to the syllabus design and material development of teaching speaking skills to tertiary-level students of Engineering studies in particular.

Keywords

English speaking, engineering students, influencing factors, speaking competence, tertiary level

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Introduction

Speaking is a useful skill and an important part in learning a language. According to McDonough and Shaw (1993), speaking is a competence that allows us to make utterances. When we are truly communicative, speaking should be meaningful, functional, and purposive since humans speak for certain aims and purposes. While English is considered as the lingua franca of the world in recent years, the significance of speaking English has been a key factor in ESL/EFL situations. It is quite concerning that the speaking proficiency of the majority of the tertiary students (of Engineering fields) in Bangladesh is below average, despite their having studied English as a compulsory subject in the country's mainstream Bengali curriculum from the Primary level to the Higher Secondary level. Surprisingly, even after finishing the required English courses during undergraduate studies, the level of the oral ability of the students is not adequate.

In existing Engineering subjects, students learn speaking skills in the language learning process by using methods like Grammar Translation Method (GTM), Communicative Language Teaching (CLT), and Eclectic and various other techniques in English language classes. Teachers in English language classrooms encourage students to participate in group discussions, extempore speech, turn-taking, adjacent pair, side sequence, topic change, topic conflict, or other activities that encourage them to be habituated to speaking in real-life situations. Speaking is highly sought by engineering students since their occupational discourses need to be remarkably convincing and efficient communicants (Brown, 2010). Since the English language is generally utilized as a means of academic and professional communication, mainly in the 'digital world,' more priority is given to educating learners in mastering English language speaking skills (Boonkit, 2010). Due to the increased need for improved speaking abilities, Bailey (2005) and Goh (2007) propose approaches to focus on speaking skills through syllabus adjustments, task development, and identifying appropriate pedagogy. Students enrolled in undergraduate courses come, nowadays, from a variety of cultural, educational, and socio-economic backgrounds. Their language abilities also vary depending on whether the learners received their formative education in English or Bengali medium. Furthermore, according to a recent survey by Aspiring Minds (2019), many engineering students fail terribly in terms of communication in English, despite their adequate expertise in English as an academic subject. As a result, there is a need to improve students' oral English skills so that they may perform effectively in both academic and professional environments.

Literature Review

Engineering students frequently complain that they fail to meet industry needs and expectations because they lack language, expression, and style abilities (Erling & Walton, 2007). It is unanimously agreed that attaining proper speaking proficiency requires command of four sub-skills including fluency, lexical resource, grammar, and pronunciation.

Fluency

In Bangladesh, English is widely used as a medium of communication and the usage of English speaking is gradually increasing due to globalization. In our country, 86 percent of tertiary students come from Bengali medium schools (Jahan & Jahan, 2008). Furthermore, speaking abilities are often eliminated from English language teachers' teaching objectives, and students do not have the opportunity to study spoken English in the pre-university years (Farooqui, 2007; Majid, 2007). Students may lose interest in studying English if they do not learn to speak or practice speaking communication in the language classroom and in real-life contexts. Speaking in the class, on the other hand, can be a source of interest if the proper activities are taught in the right way, increasing overall student motivation and making the English language classroom a joyful and dynamic place. Tuan and Mai (2015) identify the aspects that influence students' speaking performance, such as motivation, confidence, anxiety, time, planning, the amount of help provided, standard performance, listening capacity, and feedback during speaking activities. Furthermore, Mamun (2016) attributes acceptable speaking difficulties to two fundamental causes: one resulting from differences between the mother tongue and the target language, and the other from the teaching process, which is made up of the syllabus, the teacher, the teaching method, material, equipment, and testing. Most EFL and ESL students consider mastery of speaking abilities to be essential (Richards, 2008; Florez, 1999). Richards (2006, p. 19) advocates for "natural language usage" to describe speaking as "when an orator participates in useful contact and sustains understandable as well as continuing communication despite limits in his or her communicative ability to increase emotional intelligence." Zaremba (2006), Celce-Murcia (2001), and Kayi (2006) all emphasize the importance of verbal communication. The complexities of speaking are tied to a set of talents that may be measured by "the capacity to fill time with discussion... the capacity to speak in clear, reasoned, and semantically complex phrases... the ability to say suitable things in a variety of circumstances"; the ability to "be innovative and imaginative in language usage" (Richards, 1990, p. 75).

Pronunciation

Pronunciation is considered one of the major sub-skills of speaking proficiency. L1 influence on pronunciation is a common phenomenon when it comes to speaking English as a second language. And in this regard, Bangladeshi students are no exception. According to Hayati (2008), Standard pronunciation is, without doubt, one of the most important and unavoidable aspects of teaching English in particular, and any other language in general. Regardless, pronunciation is rarely given enough focus in English teaching and learning at any level in Bangladesh (Maniruzzaman, 2008). As a result, pupils have limited opportunity to practice English pronunciation in the classroom and hence struggle with it. As pronunciation is hardly assessed in the existing examination system, students are reluctant to improve their pronunciation skills.

Maniruzzaman (2008), has questioned the capacity to teach pronunciation on the grounds that it has little, if any, influence on students' pronunciation abilities. According to him, the classroom teacher has little control over correct pronunciation in an EFL situation. He also expresses his notion saying that learning a native-like pronunciation is unachievable and even dialect may have an impact on pronunciation in Bangladesh. Pennington (1989), on the other hand, did not take such beliefs into account, claiming that formal pronunciation instruction can make a difference. To improve proficiency in pronunciation, Engineering departments at both public and private institutions in Bangladesh provide courses on spoken English with a focus on pronunciation in English language teaching pedagogy.

Syntactic Accuracy

Generally speaking, learning and teaching English in EFL context often involves a lot of challenges, mainly at the beginning of learning, where learners of English language make linguistic errors at various levels: phonological, syntactic, and semantic (Rimbar, 2017). Al-Busaidi and Al-Saqqaf (2015) observe that the students' errors mostly affect their intelligibility in writing and speaking. EFL students mainly commit grammatical errors both in their productive skills namely writing and speaking. Grammatical errors in using syntactic and phonological have been divided into various kinds. These errors account for the highest number of errors which are classified into eight different types. These types are listed in order based on their frequency as follows: (1) tense and form (2) plurality (3) subject-verb agreement (4) prepositions (5) parts of speech (6) word order (7) articles and (8) adjective form.

As a consequence, eight types of errors extracted in the speaking of the learners of the technical subjects are the following: errors in word usage, articles, preposition, conjunction, tense, errors in word order active-passive structure, and subject-verb agreement. Among these, the highest frequency of errors is in word usage, and subject-verb agreement is the lowest frequent common error. The factors of these general errors are highly related to the L1 transfer. The findings of the study have implications for the English-speaking of the students especially in the realm of science and engineering.

Lexical Recourses

In English language education, while identifying the primary reasons for improving speaking skills, both instructors and learners acknowledge that lack of vocabulary is one of the most common hurdles to learners' fluency development. As a result, it is necessary to create an appeal to emphasize vocabulary acquisition tactics that may play a significant role in this situation. Therefore, learners become aware that vocabulary learning plays a critical part in this process (Bailey, 2006). Similarly, learners must demonstrate good command of the following: pragmatic awareness of the word (the capability of using language in social contexts while keeping cultural constraints in mind),

grammatical aspect, and competence in interconnecting the words to make a conversation meaningful and purposive. Learners have difficulty striking a balance in this regard, which adds to the complexity of their vocabulary and cognition (Bulté, Housen, Pierrard, & Van Daele, 2008). They emphasize oral discourse qualities such as the use of formulaic phrases, hesitation tactics, repetition and rephrasing (Hughes, 2002); the use of contractions, reductions, or elisions; and the use of suitable pronunciation, idioms, stress, rhythm, or intonation (Brown, 1994).

While the above literature illustrates several factors regarding speaking barriers, the current study seeks to explore the most relevant challenges of speaking ability of tertiary level engineering students in Chattogram, Bangladesh. And in order to do so, this paper asks the following questions:

1. What difficulties in terms of oral communication in English do the students of engineering faculties of private universities in Chattogram face?
2. In what ways the existing challenges regarding English speaking proficiency can be overcome?

Research Method

This paper deals with the influencing factors of speaking of the tertiary level learners of three private universities located in Chattogram, Bangladesh. This paper follows quantitative and qualitative methods. The study also focuses on the fluency, pronunciation, syntactic accuracy, and lexical resources of technical students' speaking. The study uses sixty students' speaking tests which have been recorded by the examiners in the second semester to identify the nature of errors committed in their speaking. In order to identify the possible reasons for errors along with necessary remedial measures, the authors have conducted face-to-face interviews with nine English instructors who have taught English-speaking courses to the students of engineering faculties. The names of the participants, for example, teachers and students have been kept unnamed in contemplation of research norms. The selected first and second-semester students of the Bachelor program in the Engineering Departments from Southern University Bangladesh, International Islamic University Chittagong, and Chittagong Independent University.

To analyze the speaking proficiency of tertiary-level engineering students effectively, 60 students of the first and second semesters of mentioned universities were selected. Actually, their English speaking examination is the process of checking their ability to present their academic topics in English verbally with required fluency, correct accent, and proper syntactic accuracy and lexical exactitude. Moreover, the speaking skill of the students is measured with a regular grade scale in their results. It is noted that these students completed their English speaking courses in their 1st/2nd semester. In addition, the students got the idea about the correct use of accent, vocabulary, grammatical structures, situational conversation, extempore speech, academic

presentation, and question-answer session. Moreover, besides speaking content, the students also learn basic grammatical usages and their implications in the real life context. These courses are designed for the students of Engineering where they can learn the techniques of speaking, use of phrases and idioms.

Findings and Discussion

Sixty samples of speaking have been collected randomly from first and second semester students of the engineering departments of Southern University Bangladesh, International Islamic University Chittagong, and Chittagong Independent University. After monitoring the speaking, the researchers observe that their speaking is not free from grammatical and lexical errors. The prime concern of this paper is to bring out the efficiency of the students in their effective communication in real life situations. However, speaking skill is practiced in the classes and assessed in the examination at the undergraduate level to boost learners' speaking competence and performance. Moreover, in order to facilitate students, textbooks in line with speaking skills are included in the English syllabus. It is generally found that after completing Spoken English courses, learners' pronunciation level hardly reaches the optimum level. Despite having enough lessons and practice in the class, only a few students can speak accurately and use varieties of grammatical structures while speaking in English. It is mentionable that among many students, only a small number can use words precisely in communication either in the classroom or in real life situations.

The ELT practitioners who are teaching English language skills for many years in engineering faculties at the tertiary level have provided their insightful opinions regarding the challenges and effectiveness of speaking skills. Some of the major opinions are feeling shyness, nervousness or hesitation, Anglo phobia, lack of confidence, poor background in English preferably English speaking, and lack of teachers' rapport.

Questionnaire data collected from target students and the insights from teachers' interviews are presented and analyzed below:

Quantitative survey: Students' Perceptions.

Statement 1: Students can make effective communication in real life situations.

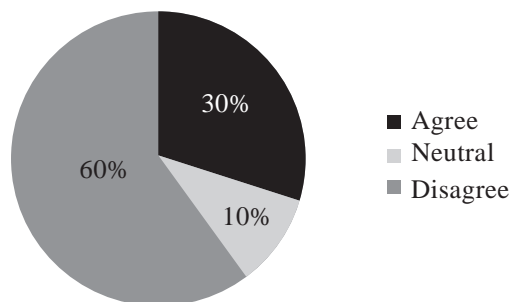


Figure 1. Students Can Make Effective Communication in Real Life Situations

Source: The author

Figure 1 shows that among the participants, 60% of them opine that they cannot communicate effectively mainly in their real-life situations both inside the classroom and outside the classroom which they consider as a prerequisite for their degree and also to get a good job. On the other hand, 30% believe that after completing the Spoken English courses, they can communicate in daily life situations where necessary, though they may not be expert users. However, 10% of participants remain neutral to give their opinion on the above statement.

Statement 2: Speaking Skill is assessed in the examination at the undergraduate level.

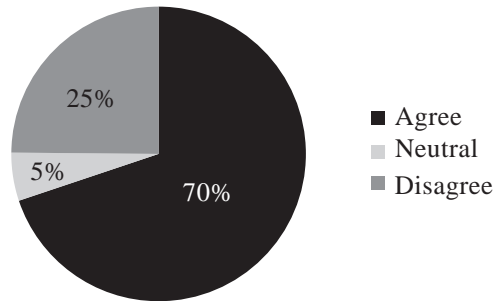


Figure 2. Speaking Skill is Assessed in the Examination at Undergraduate Level

Source: The author

In Figure 2, 70% of the participants have agreed that speaking skill is assessed in the examination at the tertiary level as one of the requirements of their syllabus. Engineering students not only practice and learn in class but also manifest in the exam as feedback. On the other hand, 25% of the participants have given opposite opinions. They think that speaking skill is not rightly tested in the exam as it is needed. 5% of the participants remain neutral to give their opinions regarding the issue.

Statement 3: Appropriate Textbooks in line with speaking skills are included in the English syllabus.

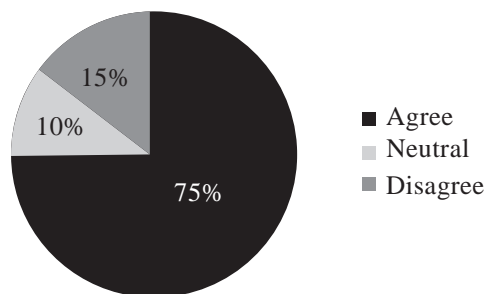


Figure 3. Appropriate Text Books in Line with Speaking Skills are Included in the English Syllabus

Source: The author

The data presented in Figure 3 shows that 75% of the participants have given their opinion with the statement that their assigned textbooks are appropriate for their regular class activities. On the other hand, 15% disagreed with the statement provided. They feel the necessity that the existing textbooks need to be modified and updated to keep pace with their academic topics. But 10% of the participants remained neutral in their opinions.

Statement 4: After completing the Spoken English courses, learners' pronunciation skill reaches the optimum level.

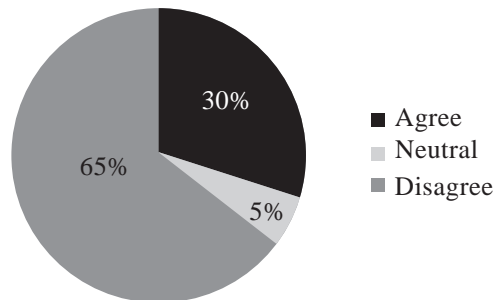


Figure 4. After Completing the Spoken English Courses, Learners' Pronunciation Skill Reaches the Optimum Level

Source: The author

According to the data shown in Figure 4, 65% of the participants have expressed that their pronunciation skills fail to reach their expected level as they hardly find a suitable environment or partner to practice their accurate English pronunciation. As a consequence, they are not confident enough to speak in English neither for academic nor for professional purposes. In contrast, 30% disagree that they are satisfied with their speaking skill and they can converse with accurate pronunciation. The number of participants who have remained neutral is 11%.

Statement 5: Students can use varieties of syntactic structures in speaking English.

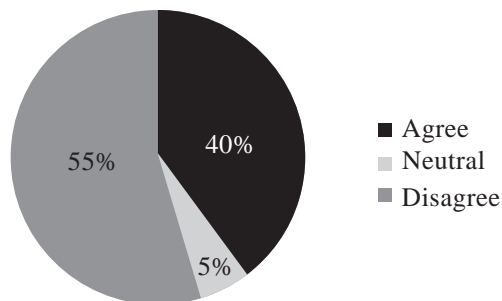


Figure 5. Students Can Use Varieties of Syntactic Structures in Speaking English.

Source: The author

Figure 5 shows that 55% of participants cannot utilize several kinds of syntactic structures spontaneously while speaking in real life context. In addition, they always try to translate their thinking from their mother tongue to English in which they are not concerned about grammatical range and accuracy. On the other hand, 40% of participants can use effectively grammatical structures according to the situation needed. 5% of participants remain neutral to provide any information regarding the mentioned question.

Statement 6: Students can utilize and generate lexical resources in communication.

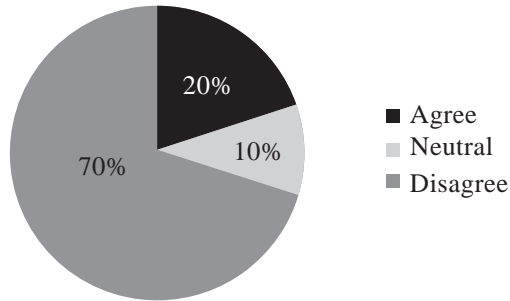


Figure 6. Students can Utilize and Generate Lexical Resources in Communication.

Source: The author

The data presented in Figure 6 present that 70% of participants cannot generate an award range of vocabulary. Students of engineering faculties are not generally capable of using appropriate diction in communication though they are even taught Baron technical words to enrich lexical resources in the classroom. As they frequently use L1 in daily communication, they cannot use the relevant vocabulary in English speaking outside the classroom where it is required for. In contrast, 20% of the participants agreed that they can utilize lexical resources in their daily communication besides speaking in the classroom. The last 10% of the participants have remained neutral in their opinions.

Table 1. Teachers' Data Analysis

The interviewees	Data Themes
T1	Feeling shy, nervous, or hesitated, Anglophobia
	Lack of confidence
T2	Individuality (Bangla is enough)
	Scarcity of Technical devices to practice English speaking
T3	Lack of enough English practices in formal and informal situations
	Lack of English-friendly environment

[Contd.]

Table 1 (continued)

T4	Poor background in English preferably English speaking
	Sense of reluctance or lack of interest in learning English speaking
T5	Inappropriateness to adjust with assessment
	Poor stock of words, phrases, and idioms
T6	Weakness in using grammatical rules and structures
	Weakness in word formation and sentence formation
T7	Lack of teacher - student rapport
T8	Intonation issues -lack of meaningful chunking
T9	Insufficient credit hours of English language courses.
	Large class size.

Source: The authors

The English teachers who have been teaching English to engineering faculties at International Islamic University Chittagong, Southern University Bangladesh, and Chittagong Independent University for many years have pointed out some major factors in the English speaking of the students. The teachers are coded as T1, T2, T3, T4, T5, T6, T7, T,8, and T9 in Table 1 to keep their names undisclosed as research norms.

According to T1, the key elements which shrink students' efficiency in speaking are mainly shyness, uneasiness or reluctance, and fear. The bulk of T1 pupils lack confidence in their ability to communicate their speaking abilities. T2 agrees with T1 and states that lack of confidence is the primary cause of errors in English speaking. T2 also states that students in engineering professions have a strong preference for their mother tongue (Bengali), which is regarded as an impediment to speaking English. Another important factor to consider is the lack of materials or teaching aids. Another English instructor, T3, believes that students of technical subjects prioritize Engineering skills and knowledge over English learning. The students are mostly concerned with gaining Engineering knowledge so that they can obtain a job. As a result, they believe that lack of practice in formal and informal situations is an important cause of poor speaking skills. T4 has also said that a lack of English proficiency is an important factor in this profession. Generally, pupils at the elementary level do not receive an adequate environment in English speaking. Learners are often reluctant to engage in English discourse in regular activities. T5, on the other hand, argues that pupils are unable to adjust to the assessment process of speaking owing to the inadequacy of the evaluation system and that they are unable to utilize acceptable vocabulary in appropriate situations. T6 believes that pupils are unable to apply grammatical structure to the circumstances in the speaking sector. T7 is likewise worried about the teachers' and students' relationships. Students are apprehensive about approaching their professors.

Therefore, active interactions between teachers and students are not taking place in the classroom. T8 believes that students in Engineering sectors commonly struggle with pronunciation, particularly with intonation and meaningful chunking. T9, on the other hand, believes that learners in the technical sector only receive Basic English courses during their first or second semester of graduate school, which is insufficient to teach English effectively. T9 also says that English class sizes in Bangladesh are exceptionally large. As a result, language teachers are unable to give learners critical feedback on linguistic progress. Furthermore, in a semester system, the time of the course is inadequate for teachers to finish the material in depth. T8, another instructor, reminds out that the English language class is just fifty minutes long, which is far too short.

Reasons for Committing the Errors

The researchers have chosen nine English language practitioners who are teaching English at the Engineering field for more than five years to address significant reasons responsible for the errors in speaking. Based on the face-to-face interview with the practitioners, the researchers point out the following facts which play a vital role in their poor performance in speaking that have been perceived by them:

a. Students do not have the required command of English grammar due to insufficient input at primary, secondary, and higher secondary levels. Their insufficient syntactic competence lowers their confidence in fluency in English.

b. English practitioners at the tertiary level are not concerned enough about effective teaching methods and techniques in the classroom rather they focus on completing syllabus contents. Moreover, they are keenly interested in preparing students for examinations instead of true learning and teaching.

c. Many educational institutions cannot provide teaching aids like audio-visual classrooms, microphones, uninterrupted electricity, and trained teachers due to economic constraints. Similarly, English practitioners are not well paid in Bangladesh which eventually negatively impacts teaching performances.

d. Students are very much keen to speak their mother language and do not give sincere attempts in Speaking English which bars their spontaneity in fluency and pronunciation.

e. Students in the engineering sector always show their negligence in the learning English language because of their course curriculum in which students are not encouraged to give focus on learning correct English.

f. As English is a second language in Bangladesh, students in engineering fields nurture some kind of Anglophobia which ultimately impedes their communication skills in English.

g. In Bangladesh, still some universities use the combination of Bengali and English as a medium of instruction. Teachers are obsessed with L1, so often language instructors deliver English lectures in Bengali which is a great

drawback because students do not get a pure English-speaking environment in classrooms.

h. Majority of the English teachers in Bangladesh are GTM oriented. Therefore, they do not try sincerely to come out from the traditional method.

i. Most of the English teachers give their unanimous opinion that the practical implementation of curriculum and syllabus is a major challenge as the majority of the teachers and students fail to keep pace with new changes in curriculum and syllabus.

Recommendations

After a thorough analysis of the data generated by both teachers and students through the questionnaire and interviews, this research recommends the following:

- Confidence among learners must be improved through adequate practices of the usage of language in the English class. English practitioners should ensure a congenial environment in the class where students get motivation and appreciation to engage themselves in classroom activities spontaneously.

- In the formal environment, the influence of L1 and dialect should strictly be prohibited in English language pedagogy. There must have a penalty for using L1 and local dialects in mainly English language classes. In addition, students should avoid ethnocentric ego so that they feel comfortable in learning and practicing English speaking.

- In order to enhance language proficiency, technical devices such as audio, video, projector, microphone, and uninterrupted electricity in language teaching must be ensured. Digital classrooms and mentioned opportunities should be available for English learners so that they can utilize technologies for the betterment of their English skills.

- Practices of English speaking both inside and outside the classroom must be habituated among students and this is how they may be fluent and extrovert in L2. Learners should be motivated to practice speaking language in real-life situations. They should have a good command of the sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic applications of the English language.

- To improve overall development in English, students may be given a six months semester primarily focusing to know how to develop four skills namely listening, reading, writing, and speaking before starting undergraduate study so that they can easily adopt the syllabus.

- Students may be provided with incentives and encouragement to create interest in learning and development of their speaking skills. Competitions and workshops may be organized and consequently, prizes can be provided to the winners to motivate and boost their skills in English. This is how students will be extroverted and confident enough to engage in discussion in classroom activities more and more.

- English language lab may be founded for English learners to practice to enhance their aptitude and proficiency in English usage.

- English language class size must be confined to 20-30 students so that teachers can give due feedback to each and every student in terms of their syntactic and lexical errors. When the class size is large, interaction between teachers and students is hardly possible.

Conclusion

The current study can have immense importance to boost the English-speaking potential of students in engineering academics. In addition, this research may contribute to playing an effective role in learners' learning process to improve speaking proficiency with a special focus on fluency, pronunciation, syntactic accuracy, and lexical resources. This paper will certainly prompt both teachers and learners to adopt active roles in the process of communicative activities. Though teachers are still grappling with some challenges to the implementation of effective teaching and learning in the engineering sectors, they should strive to apply fruitful teaching pedagogy to improve the speaking efficiency of the learners.

Moreover, this study may provide new insights to English language teachers in improving their teaching pedagogy. Finally, this research is expected to open a new avenue for researchers, educationists, and policymakers in designing syllabi and curricula for English learners of tertiary level in general, and engineering students in particular.

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An Evaluation of Legal Education in Bangladesh

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Mohammad Belayet Hossain³

Abstract

This paper criticizes Bangladeshi legal education and claims its failure to create court-ready practitioners. Bangladeshi law schools are expected to reform their pedagogy to better prepare students for practice, develop professionalism, and expose them to justice concerns. This article offers a candid analysis of the issues plaguing Bangladesh's legal education system, pinpointing the specific causes of its ineffectiveness during the previous four decades. Providing ideas on how to solve these challenges and enhance the quality of legal education based on the findings of multiple surveys that were administered to students enrolled in a number of different law schools, this paper concludes that it is essential for educational institutions to modify their teaching methods in order to generate competent professionals who are able to satisfy the requirements of legal practice and advance the rule of law in society.

Keywords

Legal education, banking system, restructuring, traditional teaching methods, bangladesh

Introduction

Bangladesh's legal education system is in desperate need of reform and diversity. In light of recent changes in both knowledge and society, legal education must broaden its scope and diversity to maintain qualitative outputs. Each day, there is a significant advancement in legal education, and each day law schools are synchronizing themselves with the development of the legal arena to accommodate the needs of students and professionals. Despite this, the idea of change is not generally acknowledged by our academia and law schools. Prevailing practices and policies clash with each other, creating barriers that

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prevent students from achieving their natural intellectual growth and development. In this context, Gary Bellow's words are very important. He said,

"It seems to me that law school is empirically irrelevant, philosophically faulty, pedagogically dysfunctional, and costly. The incoherence of second and third-year course offerings, the amount of repetition in the curriculum and, perhaps most importantly, the degree to which unacknowledged ideology permeates the entire law school experience, as well as the fact that no graduate of law school is capable of practice after they receive their graduation without taking long term apprenticeship, indicates that prevailing system of education is simply indefensible. (Bellow, 1983)

The above remark appears to apply more to Bangladesh's legal education system, which is always lagging behind and failing to produce quality pupils.

It is worth noting that effective learning cannot be promoted when learners are in an environment where they remain uneducated. Because of empirical irrelevance, flaws in the theory, and poor teaching methods, students are losing out on theoretical and practical information in our law school. Our law school should promote such an education that can combine practical knowledge with theoretical knowledge and produce capable students who can opt to work both in courts as lawyers and in educational institutions as academics.

Regrettably, Bangladesh's legal education fails to prepare students to practice in the courts, even if they acquire competence in theoretical subjects while they are in school. To date, there is no report of any coordinated attempt to investigate or develop a program of education that teaches what new practitioners should know and be able to accomplish when they first begin their legal careers. Thus, reform is essential to promote equitable balance among the three different types of social apprenticeships, i.e., cognitive, practical, and ethical social apprenticeships. To achieve a balanced legal education, the boundary between practical and academic knowledge must be drawn with clarity.

This essay focuses on the urgency of legal education reform and provides some potential ideas to reverse the downward trend of educational quality to ameliorate the situation. This article will emphasise how educational institutions' policies and teaching practices conflict with law students' fundamental needs and produce undesired effects. These policies and practices will be compared to recent, relevant empirical studies to formulate a legal education firmly rooted in theoretical and practical knowledge. In addition, solutions will be outlined to synchronise practical training with law students' natural needs and tendencies. These suggestions are favoured by many legal educators because these are expected to lay the groundwork for a new kind of lawyer (Edwards, 1992). Legal education will not be difficult to realise in the future if an immediate and significant change is needed as a result of these suggestions. These suggested legal education reforms will benefit society in the development of better practitioners.

The statistical data that was included in the article is essential for determining and comprehending the issues that currently exist in the field of legal education in Bangladesh. These statistical data may assist to provide a more

objective and evidence-based examination of the challenges that are being addressed by the legal education system in Bangladesh. It makes it possible for us to go beyond anecdotal evidence and personal experiences in order to present a more in-depth and accurate grasp of the topics at hand. This helps to lend credibility to the answers that have been presented, and it makes it more likely that these ideas will be successful in resolving the issues that are being encountered.

Objectives of Legal Education

It should not be the sole aim of legal education to teach only legal theory. Legal education must be focused on having more than a few theoretical and practical goals and a variety of different methods for accomplishing them. One of the main objectives should be to familiarise students with legal ideas and institutions and the manner in which legal reasoning operates so that they can have a good understanding of the functions of government and the courts of law. The most important component of legal education is knowledge of the way in which society is structured and operates. It is necessary to comprehend this concept to create democratic norms in which lawyers have a vital role as advocates and experts with accurate information (Edwards, 1992).

For making legal education contemporary, realistic, and valuable, it is necessary to apply an interdisciplinary approach. Larry Kramer said that legal education must keep up with society's shifting perspectives and needs to remain relevant with time. Nowadays, finding solutions to issues needs different abilities than those traditionally taught in law school. A lawyer would not be able to provide advice on intellectual property issues in China or India if he does not have enough knowledge of the laws of that zone (Kramer, 2006). He suggested that lawyers require a new set of tools forged only through a solid multidisciplinary education. Margaret R. Caldwell, in this respect, said,-

[T]he best lawyers do not just think like lawyers; they also think like clients. They understand, anticipate, and further their clients' interests because they know their clients' needs and understand how their clients work and think. Here is one of the chief ways in which traditional legal education falls short of its aspirations: We purport to be training young men and women to perform the multiplicity of roles that lawyers play, yet the education we currently offer remains one-dimensional. (Caldwell, 2006)

To achieve these goals, legal education should focus on six major areas, according to the Bangladesh Law Commission:

1. To impart knowledge of the fundamental principles and perceptions that underpin the legal system, keeping in mind that the law is more than just principles and provisions; it is also a set of values of justice and fairness that guide the way in which societies organise themselves through well-established institutions;

2. To prepare law graduates to be equipped with substantive and procedural knowledge of the law as well as practical skills to enable them to enter the legal profession as a lawyer or a judge;

3. To prepare law graduates who would become not only lawyers and judges but legal counsels, legislators, law officers, mediators, teachers, researchers, human rights activists, and social reformers with an emphasis on specialization in particular branches of legal knowledge;

4. To provide liberal legal education, emphasizing academic and intellectual aspects of law to be studied in combination with other subjects, would likely better qualify law graduates for responsible positions in public and private sectors;

5. To equip the law graduates with social and ethical values of law, emphasizing that law has a great social engineering role, and that law as a pervasive discipline can be used as a tool for distributive justice, which is so indispensable for poverty alleviation and protection of human rights in a country like Bangladesh;

6. To promote the transnational aspects of law, courses like International Law and Conflicts of Law (Private International Law) should be included so that the graduates of law are better trained to face the challenges of globaliza-

The statement from Barrister Amirul-ul Islam, ex-chairman of the Bangladesh Bar Council's Legal Education Committee, is critically important here. By emphasizing the relevance of legal education, he pointed out that legal education has an essential role in creating and maintaining the legal order and society's growth. These three concepts: law, legal education, and development, are mutually linked, and now these ideas can be found in all developing countries trying to alleviate the socio-economic conditions of their people peacefully and democratically. Because of this, the quality, substance, and complexion of legal education must be reformed now (Islam, 1992). A second observation made by him was that, in the context of constitutional commitment and social demands, the aim of legal education must include a broad concept. Thus, legal education should be provided to foster an atmosphere and the capability of reshaping the structure of society to accomplish those national objectives, among other things.

In addition to assisting students in mastering the skills of a lawyer, legal education must be able to create multidisciplinary methods for developing the personality and intellectual capacity to grasp society and the human condition in a changing socio-economic environment (Islam, 1992). Legal education should strive to turn students into competent lawyers with practical skills. To make legal education more current, trustworthy, and realistic, the focus must be on multidisciplinary legal education. If it is helpful, a broad array of subjects may be included in the legal curriculum, from sociology to psychology to archaeology to anthropology to literature. These are the reasons Larry Kramer believed legal education should respond to these changes. It is critical to know the basics of law and to know how to 'think like a lawyer.' Lawyers are the problem-solvers who excel today, especially in the public and commercial sectors, and require skills beyond those taught in the traditional legal curriculum (Kramer, 2006).

Analyses of Legal Education in Bangladesh

Some observers may view things differently, but the quality and manner of legal education in Bangladesh are disappointing. Prevailing legal education does not meet the nation's requirements, which necessitates the overhauling of the system. The only significant change in Bangladesh's legal education after independence occurred when the Dhaka and Rajshahi universities introduced four-year LL.B. (Hons.) and one-year LL.M. degrees in the late 1972s, and these were followed by the Kushtia and Chittagong universities many years later. It benefited the country's legal education, although in a small way and for a small number of people. For most of it, college legal education derived from the Indian legal education system remained unchanged, resulting in legal education being infused with British Indian influences, while there were no changes to the curriculum, teaching style, or the length of the course. There have been more colleges built in the last four decades, but the quality of education has declined. Law faculties at universities are like distinct islands, isolated from one another. Their coordination is less than adequate. A significant number of public colleges have a frigid connection with the surrounding community. Furthermore, the universities do not link with other legal organizations, such as the Court or Bar Council, which is a must Nowadays, the Bar Council monitors some activities of law schools. These activities are the number of admitted students in the L.LB (Hons.) program in a semester and the number of graduates, which is praiseworthy. Apart from these, no effective collaboration or information sharing was seen between the Bar Council and universities.

Law schools in Bangladesh are seen as another tool of knowledge that keeps its real potential hidden, hindering its impact on the nation's growth. Although Professor Moniruzzaman Miah's 2003 Education Commission for Bangladesh noted sixty-seven law schools in the nation, the reports neglected to highlight that such institutions had failed to promote legal education in the country (Moniruzzaman, 2004). The Law Commission of Bangladesh published its Final Report on the Review of Legal Education in Bangladesh in 2006. This report was supported by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). The report's primary emphasis was on the issues plaguing Bangladesh's existing legal education system, and it concluded with a set of suggestions for addressing those issues. The research stressed the significance of clinical legal education programmes and a more practical and skills-based legal education. The study also recommended increased collaboration between academic institutions and professional groups to ensure legal education matches professional demands (Law Commission 2006). Here, it is worth noting Dr. Shahdeen Malik. In an article, he makes the argument that in order to provide successful legal education and training, there must be collaboration between academic institutions and professional organizations. He proposes that the clinical legal education model used in North America, in which law students deal with actual clients on real issues while being supervised by practicing lawyers, may be adapted to the environment of Bangladesh (Malik, 2011).

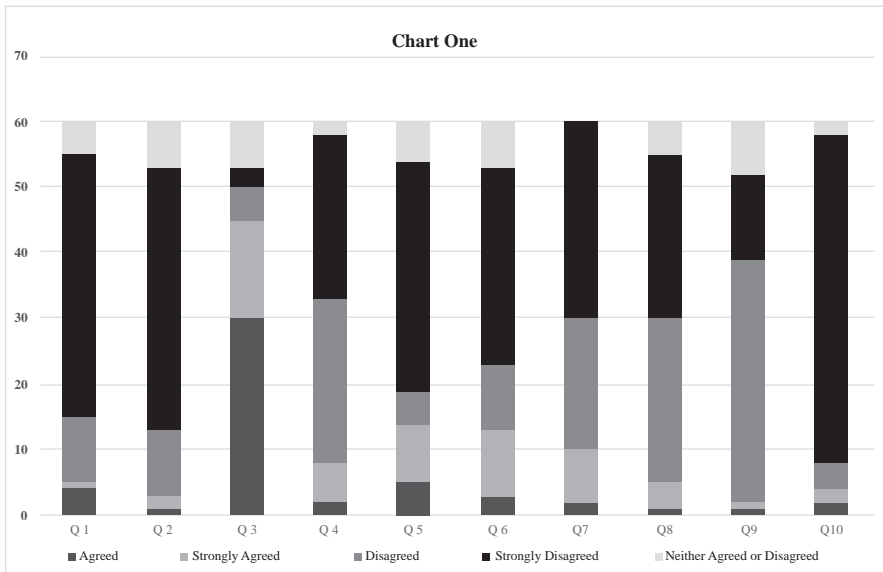
However, in order to put such a model into action, enormous resources would be required. These resources would include collaborations between academic institutions and practicing lawyers, in addition to proper finance and infrastructure. In addition, it is important to note that clinical legal education is not a silver bullet that will solve all of the problems that are plaguing legal education in Bangladesh. Although it has the potential to give students useful practical experience, it is nevertheless vital to ensure that students acquire a good theoretical basis in the law and are taught to think critically and ethically. As a result, any attempts made to change the present educational system need to take into consideration a holistic strategy that addresses the educational system as a whole and incorporates both theoretical and practical aspects.

Most libraries at law schools are unable to meet research requirements. The amount and scope of research and publication are still a long way off. Many legal schools have journals that are irregularly published. However, these publications are not on par with global standards. In comparison to other nations, the salary earned by our country's law teachers is inadequate, and their workload is quite enormous. Mostofa Kamal and Talukder observed this issue as follows-

Law teachers in our country have to feel the self-contentment with the inadequate salary they get to shoulder the cumbersome workload; thirty-eight to forty-four hours normal for full-time lecturers. Instead of engaging oneself in teaching, a law graduate working for 3 to 5 years can make a big amount of money at the end of the month if he practices in the High Court or the other courts. (Kamal & Talukder, 2010)

It must be stressed here that teachers are often the victims of unhealthy confrontations between academics and administration staff in most universities. Promotions are withheld without a valid reason; various types of inquiry committees are formed time and again to harass teaching staff for trivial reasons, which in many circumstances results in decreasing motivation and interest for staying in the legal profession.

Between 2016-2017, we interviewed 30 Lecturers, 20 Senior Lecturers and 10 Assistant Professors from different private universities around Dhaka, Cumilla, and Rajshahi. At the end of our discussion, we handed over questionnaires relating to their workload, salary, option for higher education, research opportunities and fair treatment in employment. We asked them (a) Whether they are receiving enough salary from their institutions to maintain their family? (b) Whether they are receiving a standard wage from their employers? (c) Whether their workload is more than their employment terms? (d) Whether there are accepting payments for extra workload? (e) Whether law schools are allocating time and opportunities for research? (f) Whether their employers publish Research Journals regularly? (g) Whether their employers encourage them to publish research papers? (h) Whether they are promoted in due time with a salary increase? (h) Whether the academic wing of the law school shares a good rapport with the administration wing?



Source: The author

Chart One: The numeric value of the surveyed data is 60, survey was conducted between 2016-2017. Q1 –represents the data relating to the questionnaire: ‘I am receiving enough salary from my institutions to maintain family’. Q2- represents the data relating to the questionnaire ‘I am receiving a standard salary from my employers’. Q3- represents the data relating to the questionnaire ‘My workload is more than my employment terms.’ Q4- represents the data relating to the questionnaire ‘I am receiving payments for the extra workload.’ Q5- represents the data relating to the questionnaire ‘my employers (Law school) are allocating time and opportunities for research.’ Q6- represents the data relating to the questionnaire ‘My employer (university /Law School) publishes Research Journals regularly’ Q7- represents the data relating to the questionnaire ‘My employers encourage me to publish research papers.’ Q8- represents the data relating to the questionnaire ‘My employers (university /Law School) promote their employees (teaching staff) in due times with salary increases.’ Q9- represents the data relating to the questionnaire ‘academic wing of my workplace (law school) shares a good rapport with administration wing.’ Q10- represents the data relating to the questionnaire ‘As a teacher I have acquired formal education on ‘Creativity, Innovation, Motivation and new Teaching Methodologies’ (Short Course / Diploma/ Others) from universities or government institutions or online accredited sources.’

The survey data conveys that in response to Q1, 6.67% of the participants Agreed, 1.67% of the participants Strongly Agreed, 16.67% Disagreed, 66.67% Strongly Disagreed, and 8.33% Neither Agreed nor Disagreed. The survey data conveys that in response to Q2, 1.67% of the participants Agreed, 3.33% of the participants Strongly Agreed, 16.67% Disagreed, 66.67% Strongly Disagreed,

and 11.67% Neither Agreed nor Disagreed. The survey data conveys that in response to Q3, 50% of the participants Agreed, 25% of the participants Strongly Agreed, 8.33% Disagreed, 5% Strongly Disagreed, and 11.67% Neither Agreed nor Disagreed. The survey data conveys that in response to Q4, 3.33% of the participants Agreed, 10% of the participants Strongly Agreed, 41.67% Disagreed, 41.67% Strongly Disagreed, and 3.33% Neither Agreed nor Disagreed. The survey data conveys that in response to Q5, 8.33% of the participants Agreed, 15% of the participants Strongly Agreed, 8.33% Disagreed, 58.33% Strongly Disagreed, and 10% Neither Agreed nor Disagreed. The survey data conveys that in response to Q6, 5% of the participants Agreed, 16.67% of the participants Strongly Agreed, 16.67% Disagreed, 50% Strongly Disagreed, and 11.67% Neither Agreed nor Disagreed. The survey data conveys that in response to Q7, 3.33% of the participants Agreed, 13.33% of the participants Strongly Agreed, 33.33% Disagreed, 50% Strongly Disagreed, and 0% Neither Agreed nor Disagreed. The survey data conveys that in response to Q8, 1.67% of the participants Agreed, 6.67% of the participants Strongly Agreed, 41.67% Disagreed, 41.67% Strongly Disagreed, and 8.33% Neither Agreed nor Disagreed. The survey data conveys that in response to Q9, 1.67% of the participants Agreed, 1.67% of the participants Strongly Agreed, 61.67% Disagreed, 21.67% Strongly Disagreed, and 13.33% Neither Agreed nor Disagreed. Q10, 3.33% of the participants Agreed, 3.33% of the participants Strongly Agreed, 6.67% Disagreed, 83.33% Strongly Disagreed, and 3.33% Neither Agreed nor Disagreed.

Students are not receiving the necessary inspiration or training since there is no history of legal scholarship in Bangladesh for law professors. A hefty teaching load and inadequate research facilities cannot be supported. A small number of schools can provide enough full-time faculty members; rest of the teachers are part-timers who are only present on campus during class hours. Most of the teaching staff is mainly comprised of lecturers who lack in training. Most of the country's law departments are overseen by assistant professors, lecturers, and adjunct professors. Lecturers are the majority of a law school faculty, and many law schools place far greater emphasis on recruiting lecturers over professors, associate professors, and assistant professors, disregarding the requirements of teaching competence to save money. Practicing in the Court is preferred over becoming a teacher because of this. Thus, brilliant students are reluctant to become involved in teaching law.

Although there are no particular licences or certifications for law teachers, most institutions are only interested in recruiting academics who earned excellent academic grades and passed the bar council test. A law teacher must have practical experience with ICT in education and understand how to develop students' soft skills and critical thinking. He must understand how to increase motivation, set classroom norms, communicate, monitor, build rapport, integrate pair and group work, and evaluate complex skills via interactive and engaging activities. Due to a lack of professional training, teachers often fail to satisfy students' requirements and maximise their learning potential. The majority of legal educators struggle to devise inventive techniques to enhance

learning and assist their pupils. They get little knowledge about legal lectures or transferring practical skills throughout their work as a law teacher. In Bangladesh, law teachers are not exposed to research, ideas, and models that serve as a basis for teaching and studying law. They are not informed about the psychology and features of adult learners, nor are they instructed on how to adapt teaching techniques to reflect such qualities. Formal education is essential for law teachers, which undoubtedly turns them into excellent educators equipped with proper methodological skills. It is suggested that universities may improvise a way to compel law teachers to participate in a mid-career development programme (on teaching) as a condition of professional progression. Universities already offer UGC-sponsored short courses and workshop sessions on teaching methods via IQAC, but long-term training programs for teachers are to be initiated to ensure quality education. Intensive training programmes for law teachers on teaching skills may have a transformative effect on the whole future of the legal profession since the legal profession is highly dependent on the students who graduate from these law schools in the long run

In Bangladesh, the current approach to teaching law is unclear. For instance, from the looks of things, the general methods, policies, and practices used in Bangladesh law schools (especially when it comes to teaching, grading, and the rest) appear to have an assortment of significant disadvantages. These adverse outcomes significantly impact students' well-being and emotional maturity, impairing their ethics and content in life and work. Mainly because of the formative nature of law school, these impacts are reflected in its students. A functional incongruence is also apparent in the policies and practices of law schools.

In most universities for legal education, the lecture method is,

universally emphasizing the hackneyed system of presentation and verbal analysis of the rules and doctrine. Hardly attention is paid to the policies that explain rules or the social, economic, or political circumstances that influence and often shape the legal system. As the system deals primarily with the abstract, the students must learn to evaluate concrete situations in light of the abstract norms. (Kamal & Talukder, 2010)

The preceding statement is affirmed in the Law Commission's final report on Legal Education. While certain university law faculties have made sporadic efforts to make teaching more practice-oriented, the technique in other universities, and, of course, in colleges, has remained mainly lecture-based. Occasionally, teachers try to make classes more participatory by using the Socratic Method and case studies, albeit within the confines of a 45-minute lecture. Even though lectures using Socratic and case-study methods are not relevant and helpful, law schools prefer to follow the old teaching rules. As a result, students fail to retain the essential skills for their professional lives. Modern teaching methodologies and methods do not support this kind of conventional instruction; which Calamander has coined the "Charlatan's Method." Calamander said that this method entails the lecturer speaking alone for an hour on his topic without any regard for whether his pupils are paying attention.

As a result of this teaching approach, a student passes the course with a minimum level of understanding. Fricke called this method of teaching the 'Banking Method of Education.' Paulo Freire describes the 'Banking Concept of Education' as a method of teaching where-

[t]he teacher talks about reality as if it were motionless, static, compartmentalised and predictable. Alternatively, else he expounds on a topic completely alien to the existential experience of students. His task is to 'fill' the students with the contents of his narration –contents detached from reality, disconnected from the totality that engendered them and could give them significance...Education ...becomes an act of depositing, in which the students are depositaries, and the teacher is the depositor. Instead of communicating, the teacher issues communiqués and make 'deposit' which the students patiently receive, memorise and repeat. (Freire, 1974)

The teacher's role in the Banking Method is to provide the pupils with the study material. Education becomes a depositing mission in this approach, with students serving as depositories and the teacher acting as the passionate depositor. This is a teacher-centred approach in which the teacher and the student have no contact. The instructor prescribes to the students what and how they should learn. The practice makes students lose their confidence to raise questions in class and become less critical when analyzing legal problems. This instructional strategy is based on the oppressor-oppressed paradigm, in which teachers are the oppressors and students are the oppressed (Sheldon & Krieger, 2007). However, some advances have been achieved in recent years. For example, a few law schools are starting to provide more practical, less repetitious courses to teach procedural law via trial simulation (Colton, 1994). Furthermore, at certain institutions, even students are required to present a formal graduate thesis. The undergraduate thesis is a methodical synthesis and application of the information gained throughout undergraduate education. It is a critical connection in the development of creative practice ability and entrepreneurial spirit in students. It is very important in terms of the development of law students' overall capacity and quality of education. The quality of undergraduate theses has been steadily decreasing for a variety of reasons, and a discussion over the need for an undergraduate thesis has emerged in the education sector. It is necessary to enhance the quality and procedure of undergraduate thesis writing. The proposal, subject selection, guidance, defence, and summary are all aspects of the graduation thesis process that revolve around teaching management. Students do their thesis work under the supervision of a teacher who is overburdened with work. Students work on their graduation thesis in a 'passive' condition, with reluctance. The thesis supervisor (course teacher) is the first person responsible for the quality of the thesis. The teacher is accountable for the quality of the student's thesis, and he should act as a mentor for the student's scientific research abilities and must set a good example, such as by eliminating academic misconduct and executing the guidance responsibility system. A teacher in our educational system is tasked with supervising 15 theses, among other duties. He is having a tough time guiding all 15 pupils. Further, law school does not have a budget for instructors or research

materials. Even many law schools do not provide any print material for teachers engaged in research projects and academic activities. Furthermore, students are given not more than 10 days to finalise all the procedures of the dissertation including the submission of the thesis. Which is unreasonable and also a violation of the professional code of practice. Most law schools do not have online research facilities, even law libraries are in fragile condition. Lack of supervision is an event in the process of a dissertation thesis. The purpose of supervision is to improve teaching and learning. Inadequate teacher preparation, poor student attitudes toward law schools, and an inauspicious environment may all arise from a lack of monitoring.

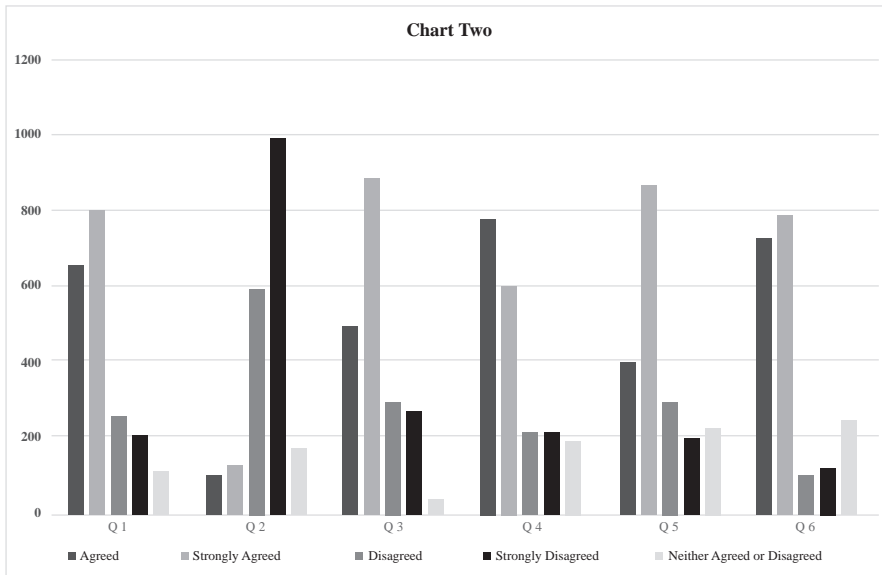
Although the characters, objectives, and institutional advantages of university legal education distinguish it as being of higher quality than law colleges, both university and college legal education suffer from deficiencies in the curriculum and methodology of teaching, both falling short of the standards that we have mentioned and intend to elaborate on in the ensuing paragraph in this article. With the required proposed changes, the faculties may be dragged up to the standards that have been desired for a long time. However, to adapt and implement the proposed reforms, significant structural and systemic adjustments would be required at the law schools.

“For greater benefit of the students, it will be necessary to redesign the whole educational system to create a coherent and integrated learning and teaching system. Let us now examine the scenario in the classroom. To a certain degree, the activities that are assigned to students in a different classroom setting are terrible for them since they do not provide opportunities for the students to use their creative faculties. Very conventional subject matters are taught. Tutorials are provided as a matter of tradition; students are required to write papers on certain subjects rather than studying the many areas of law on their own; seminars are conducted on occasion, but their frequency is very limited and does not ensure high-quality research”. (Kamal & Talukder, 2010)

In the present day, law teachers are required to do research and write. At least, there are a large number of them. Law professors frequently decide to pursue academic jobs because they like to study and write. Many teachers in the present system have conflicting motives. A lack of motivation is there, but a lack of interest is persistently visible. We have surveyed the inclusion of modern subjects in the law school syllabus among the law students of eight (8) universities during 2015-2019. Two thousand students from different private and public universities took part in the survey. The outcome of the survey is represented in Chart Two.

Chart Two: Numeric value of surveyed data in 2000. Q1- represents the data relating to the questionnaire ‘modern teaching methods and the introduction of contemporary practice-oriented subjects is necessary for the development of legal professionals in Bangladesh’. Q2- represents the data relating to the questionnaire ‘I am happy with my present curriculum and learning outcome’. Q3- represents the data relating to the questionnaire ‘I want to see a change in teaching techniques and appointment process of teachers for better learning

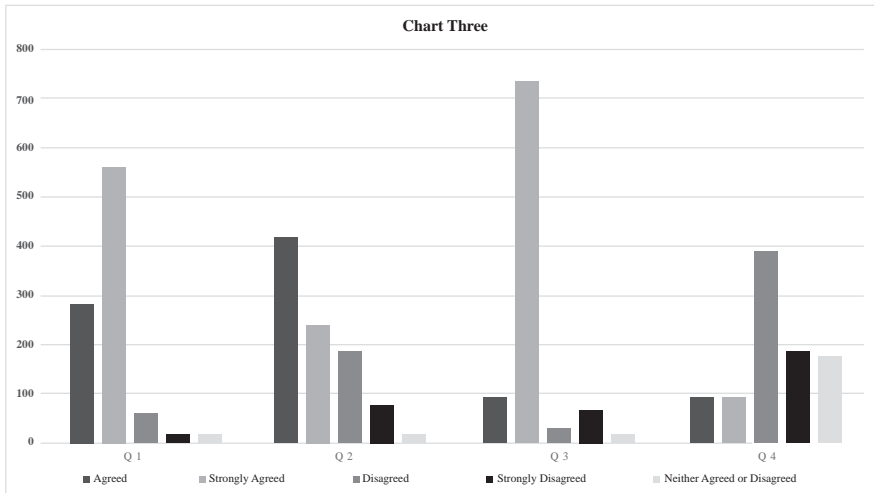
outcome’. Q4-represents the data relating to the questionnaire ‘Online and offline legal research must be facilitated in the law schools for better educational outcome’. Q5- represents the data relating to the questionnaire ‘unavailability of proper Text Book forces students to read statute books which diminishes the quality of education in the legal sector.’ Q6- represents the data



Source: The author

relating to the questionnaire ‘in the absence of a proper Text Book, teachers often prescribe Indian Law Books which have nearly similar legal provisions, but these books are divorced from the legal reality that exists in Bangladesh, which hinders the capacity of a law student to practice in court.’ The survey data conveys that in response to Q1, 32.5% of the participants Agreed, 40% of the participants Strongly Agreed, 12.35% Disagreed, 10% Strongly Disagreed, and 5.15% Neither Agreed nor Disagreed. The survey data conveys that in response to Q2, 5% of the participants Agreed, 6.1% of the participants Strongly Agreed, 30.4% Disagreed, 50% Strongly Disagreed, and 8.5% Neither Agreed nor Disagreed. The survey data conveys that in response to Q3, 25% of the participants Agreed, 44% of the participants Strongly Agreed, 15% Disagreed, 13.85% Strongly Disagreed, and 1.65% Neither Agreed nor Disagreed. The survey data conveys that in response to Q4, 38.85% of the participants Agreed, 30% of the participants Strongly Agreed, 11% Disagreed, 10.65% Strongly Disagreed, and 9.5% Neither Agreed nor Disagreed. The survey data conveys that in response to Q5, 20% of the participants Agreed, 43.6% of the participants Strongly Agreed, 15% Disagreed, 10% Strongly Disagreed, and 11.4% Neither Agreed nor Disagreed. The survey data conveys that in response to Q6, 36.5% of the participants Agreed, 40% of the participants Strongly Agreed, 5% Disagreed, 6% Strongly Disagreed, and 12.5%

Neither Agreed nor Disagreed. The tasks given to students in various courses are not up to standard since they do not have to maintain a high level of mental commitment to complete their assigned duties. There are tutorials available, and students are given coursework on various subjects, which does not enable them to study many areas independently due to a lack of research tools. Occasionally, seminars take place, which also does not guarantee impeccable research.

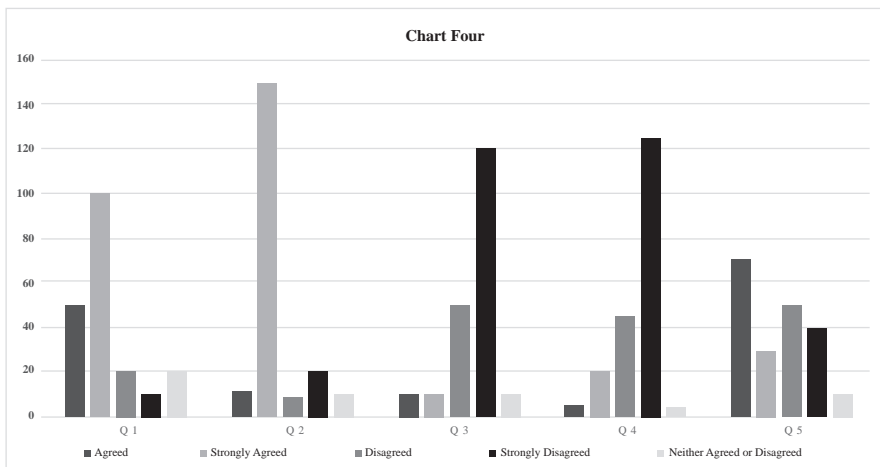


Source: The author

Chart Three: Numeric value of the surveyed data 935, survey conducted during 2018-2020. Q1 –represents the data relating to the questionnaire ‘Modern teaching methods should be introduced in the classroom’. Q2-represents the data relating to the questionnaire ‘The law school syllabus must be updated.’ Q3- represents the data relating to the questionnaire ‘inclusion of contemporary practice-oriented subjects is necessary.’Q4- represents the data relating to the questionnaire ‘Happy with the current teaching method.’ The survey data conveys that in response to Q1, 30.5% of the participants Agreed, 60% of the participants Strongly Agreed,5.99% Disagreed, 2.03% Strongly Disagreed, and 1.93% Neither Agreed nor Disagreed. The survey data conveys that in response to Q2, 45.67% of the participants Agreed, 25.24% of the participants Strongly Agreed,20% Disagreed, 8.02% Strongly Disagreed, and 2.14% Neither Agreed nor Disagreed. The survey data conveys that in response to Q3, 10.5% of the participants Agreed, 78.93% of the participants Strongly Agreed,2.89% Disagreed, 6.06% Strongly Disagreed, and 1.07% Neither Agreed nor Disagreed. The survey data conveys that in response to Q4, 9.3% of the participants Agreed, 9.95% of the participants Strongly Agreed,42.03% Disagreed, 20% Strongly Disagreed, and 18.72% Neither Agreed nor Disagreed.

To a large extent, the Langdellian curricular and discipline paradigm still dominates the law school curriculum today, as well as the minds of many

generations of educators and practicing lawyers. Imagine just one teacher teaching a class of 50 students with minuscule quantities of one-to-one tutorial-type instruction. Pedagogically, this is a flawed model, but in the 20th century, to some extent, it served its purpose. Law schools need to find a way to evolve and have an updated and efficient curriculum. But our legal schools are not doing anything to improve themselves. A few law schools are trying their best to get out of the flock and do something new for better output. A handful of the advances do not seem to impact other institutions; a few appear to influence other schools in insignificant ways. In light of the long-term history of legal education, it appears that institutional reform has proven to be both sluggish and incremental; but we do believe there is still hope. A survey was conducted between 2017-2018. Two hundred students from different law schools who were at the time studying LL.M. participated in the survey. Most of these students were in their final semester, and some of them were in practice. Students were requested to give an opinion on the issues written below: Q-1 there is a need for a specialised LL.M. course to address the essentiality of the inclusion of modern courses in the curriculum. Q-2 the current curriculum is updated accurately and satisfies the requirements of the student. Q-3 I am happy with the number of seminars and workshops in my studentship at the Law School. Q-3 Classes are offered through multimedia presentations. Q-4 I am pleased with my teacher’s performance and eloquently updated with the latest developments in my study area. Q-5 I am receiving class notes from my professor and instructions regarding Text Books.



Source: The author

Chart Four: Numeric value of surveyed data 200, survey conducted between 2017-2018. A questionnaire consisting of a total of five questions was handed over to the subjects after a brief discussion. The survey data conveys that in response to Q1, 25% of the participants Agreed, 50% of the participants Strongly Agreed, 10% Disagreed, 5% Strongly Disagreed, and 10% Neither Agreed nor Disagreed. The survey data conveys that in response to Q2, 5.5%

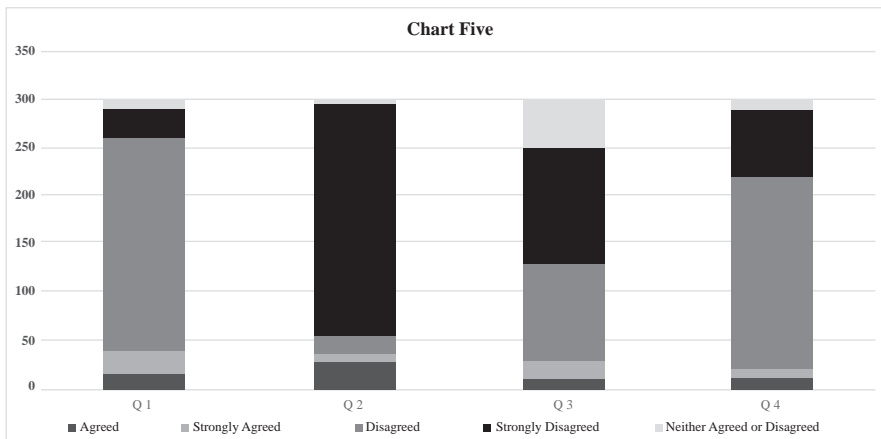
of the participants Agreed, 75% of the participants Strongly Agreed, 4.5% Disagreed, 10% Strongly Disagreed, and 5% Neither Agreed nor Disagreed. The survey data conveys that in response to Q3, 5% of the participants Agreed, 5% of the participants Strongly Agreed, 25% Disagreed, 60% Strongly Disagreed, and 5% Neither Agreed nor Disagreed. The survey data conveys that in response to Q4, 2.5% of the participants Agreed, 10% of the participants Strongly Agreed, 22.5% Disagreed, 62.5% Strongly Disagreed, and 2.5% Neither Agreed nor Disagreed. The survey data conveys that in response to Q5, 35% of the participants Agreed, 15% of the participants Strongly Agreed, 25% Disagreed, 20% Strongly Disagreed, and 5% Neither Agreed nor Disagreed

As mentioned earlier, the development of a new generation of lawyers is reliant upon the availability of practical and updated syllabuses. All efforts related to developing new syllabuses should be driven by a single fundamental notion e.g., to integrate existing theory and practice in specific areas of law to fulfil a practitioner's basic need. The curriculum should be evaluated in light of the policies and objectives of legal education. As previously stated, the law schools' curriculum is 'traditional', consisting only of the basic topics. Beyond these basic topics, public universities have selectively included Human Rights, Environmental Law, International Trade Law, Corporate Law, Intellectual Property Law, Administrative Law, and Criminology in their curricula. However, topics such as Information Technology Law, Telecommunication Law, E-Commerce Law, and Medical Jurisprudence have yet to be added. There is a shortage of teachers who are academically specialised in a subject and capable of taking classes in these specialised courses.

Legal education must be founded on the belief that laws and their interpretation and implementation are necessary for the redistribution of national resources and the maximization of social justice and welfare. The inter-disciplinary approach to the study of the law becomes critical at this point. Economic, sociological, historical, and literary studies are all necessary components of the study of law. The way law professors handle their students in the classroom has to alter. The parameters of the curriculum's subject areas should be redefined. When a teacher teaches land law, human rights law may be brought into the frame of reference. Criminal law may be taught from a human rights viewpoint. It is critical to highlight that our law schools' curricula are often out of date with domestic law changes and the most recent developments in international law, both public and private. This issue requires particular attention. Furthermore, our law schools do not always take an interdisciplinary approach to curriculum design to address the complicated development of contemporary society.

We surveyed 300 lawyers between 2019-2021 in Bangladesh. We handed them a questionnaire consisting of five simple questions. We asked them (a) Are they capable enough to defend a case relating to cybercrime in Cyber Tribunal with the knowledge they received from his graduation courses? (b) Are they capable enough to develop a counter-argument against a post-mortem report with the knowledge he received from their graduation courses? (c) Are they capable enough to defend a client who is a respondent in a case of

Intellectual Property Law with the knowledge he received from their graduation courses? (d) Are they satisfied with the outcome of the education they received during graduation? Question (a) was relating to Cyber Law; question (b) was relating to Medical Jurisprudence; and question (c) was relating to IP Law. These questions were asked to acknowledge the fact that the curriculum requires an update. The subjects mentioned above are contemporary and highly demanded in recent times. Question (d) was asked to extract the level of satisfaction of the graduate practicing in the legal arena. Most of the participants of the survey conveyed that they would have welcomed more chances to exercise their legal abilities on campus in a law clinic before entering the real world; furthermore, they wished for greater multidisciplinary experiences while in law school. These participants did not participate in any clinical law processes during their studentship. Many even did not visit any Law Firm or Court before starting their apprenticeship. These lawyers said that they were very good at memorizing theories that are no longer in widespread usage. Their law school did not teach them how to identify problems and evaluate the situation they were confronted with in professional life. They continued by stating that they are not always given the practical abilities that they would need in order to put their ideas into practice.



Source: The author

Chart Five: The numeric value of the surveyed data is 300. Q1- represents the data relating to the questionnaire ‘I am capable enough to defend a case relating to cyber Crime in Cyber Tribunal with the knowledge I have received from my graduation courses’. Q2- represents the data relating to the questionnaire ‘I am capable enough to develop a counter-argument against a post-mortem report with the knowledge I have received from my graduation courses’. Q3- represents the data relating to the questionnaire ‘I am capable enough to defend a client who is a respondent in a case of Intellectual Property Law with the knowledge I have received from graduation courses?’ Q4- represents the data relating to the questionnaire ‘I am satisfied with the outcome of the education I received during graduation.’ The survey data conveys that in response to Q1,

5% of the participants Agreed, 8.33% of the participants Strongly Disagreed, 10% Strongly Disagreed, and 3.33% Neither Agreed nor Disagreed. The survey data conveys that in response to Q2, 10% of the participants Agreed, 1.67% of the participants Strongly Agreed, 6.67% Disagreed, 80% Strongly Disagreed, and 1.67% Neither Agreed nor Disagreed. The survey data conveys that in response to Q3, 3% of the participants Agreed, 6.67% of the participants Strongly Agreed, 33.67% Disagreed, 40% Strongly Disagreed, and 16.67% Neither Agreed nor Disagreed. The survey data conveys that in response to Q4, 3.67% of the participants Agreed, 3% of the participants Strongly Agreed, 66.67% Disagreed, 23.33% Strongly Disagreed, and 3.33% Neither Agreed nor Disagreed.

It has already been mentioned that the improvement of legal education largely depends on the teacher, who does not have formal education about the assessment and its importance. Mostofa Kamal and Talukder observed this scenario as follows:

Law teachers' oft-times confess that they teach like they were taught. Of course, they have different models of teaching from which to choose. It may be that they choose the teaching style that is most in accord with their personality, or that was most effective for the students. (Kamal & Talukder, 2010)

Quality assessment of student performance in individual classes is limited, and there is practically no longitudinal analysis of student performance outside of individual courses (Wegner, 2009). Law schools neglect practical ways of teaching law, with only a few exceptions. There are almost no tutorial classes available for students to learn new skills. Most public university law teachers are, in fact, on the path to becoming part-time employees at private university law schools ignoring the needs of their students. The current criteria for recruiting law teachers for universities rely heavily on prior academic performance, which often gave birth to controversies. Appointments take place through written and spoken tests, ignoring the efficiency and abilities of a potentially excellent teacher. One concerning trend in recent years that has created more hullabaloo has been the appointment of teachers based on political considerations and nepotism rather than talent. There is no meaningful assessment or accountability for our teachers, whether they are at universities or colleges. Students evaluate professors in more than a few Bangladeshi universities. However, the effectiveness of this practice is dubious since teachers are not evaluated under standard procedures and guidelines. Often, students do the Teacher Evaluation under the undue influence of teachers, or if students conduct a Teacher Evaluation and correctly evaluate a teacher's performance as unsatisfactory, authority in most circumstances ignores the Teacher Evaluation Report (TER). It does not intervene to cure the defect.

Furthermore, law schools must come forward to improve the preparation of their students for practicing, clarifying, and expanding their educational objectives. The importance of achieving goals was explained by Gregory S. Munro. He asserts that an excellent law school has a well-defined goal, a strategy to accomplish that objective, and the ability and desire to track the progress or

failure of the endeavour. Educational institutions must get accurate and complete information on their current performance to maintain clarity of goals, track their efficacy, maintain a relevant curriculum, and provide valuable services to their stakeholders. A law school without a clear goal and the ability to measure student and institutional progress does not have a clear purpose and therefore devolves into a series of activities without coherence. A law school that fails to evaluate a student's performance or accomplishment, as well as the effectiveness of its intended initiatives, provides no verifiable proof of whether their goals have been met (Munro, 2003).

Schools that train future practitioners do not sufficiently educate their students on the art of practicing law because they do not encourage them to become adept at the skills required for effectively doing legal work. Anthony G. Amsterdam agreed with this assessment. He said that legal education fails to cultivate students' ways of thinking because it neglects their critical analysis, planning, and decision-making methods. Institutions emphasise legal education on reading cases and understanding the law, rather than critical analysis, planning, and decision-making, which are all only ideas until they are applied (Amsterdam, 1987).

Many public and private institutions are attempting to establish a teacher-development program for professors and lecturers to enhance their teaching skills to battle these discouraging conditions. Workshops, seminars, and courses are often offered to these academics. This approach equips the younger academics with essential teaching and assessment tools, making it easier for them to properly instruct and evaluate their students. To rescue legal education from this catastrophic situation, measures must be taken.

Recommendations

From the above discussions and analysis, the authors are recommending the following for initiating a fusion between theoretical knowledge and practical knowledge:

1. Integrating legal education in government policy measures and taking tangible actions to improve the quality of legal education are among the first steps the government should take;
2. Establishing a central regulating authority for legal education in Bangladesh, which would be responsible for managing, monitoring, and supervising legal education. The authority will collaborate with the Bangladesh Bar Council and the University Grants Commission, among other organizations. Furthermore, a legislative structure for establishing a central regulating body should be developed, which would also recommend that the Bangladesh Legal Practitioners and Bar Council Order, 1972, be amended.
3. Forming a legal education committee inside the framework of the University Grants Commission, which includes representatives from law schools, and amending the University Grants Commission Order as required to forward the concept;

4. The duty of developing the course outline would fall on the shoulders of the legal education committee. The theoretical and practical rudiments of legal education should be combined in various ways to ensure that law graduates gain the information, skills, and competence necessary for legal practice and law-related general services in their fields. Practical law teaching should be given more importance alongside theoretical law teaching, with examples of practical teaching including the case study technique, problem question method, moot court and mock trial, clinical legal education, etc. Students would be better prepared to understand the real-world situation of the judicial system if they participated in professional courses. Furthermore, it may assist students in comprehending the basic ideas of law on a more sophisticated level than they would otherwise. As an added benefit, it aids students in acquiring a fundamental knowledge of the legal mechanisms that society uses to settle many of its conflicts. Studies have shown that two-way learning helps students from various backgrounds learn more quickly and accurately and improves their attitudes toward legal school. Simulation—a representation of a real-world phenomenon—can unquestionably contribute to increased professionalism. Besides, just theoretical knowledge is insufficient for achieving optimum professionalism and the intended result. The current legal education system does not provide enough support for practical learning. The majority of law schools in our nation are adamant about not teaching their students in a realistic setting. Moreover, they lack the necessary resources to offer hands-on instruction, such as mock trial rooms and qualified teachers;

5. The government's initiative to organise a mandatory moot court competition among law schools would be beneficial. It would expose students to practical elements of the legal profession while improving their abilities;

6. Basic knowledge of various fields such as ICT, IT, works of literature linked with law, anthropology, sociology, history, geography, economics, political science, and so on could be encompassed in the legal education curriculum to help students better understand people and society. This knowledge would also assist students in critical, analytical, and precise thinking. As a consequence, students will be able to serve their customers better and will be able to draft suitable legislation for the nation as a whole;

7. The curriculum for legal education should constantly evolve. International law, International Commerce, and Intellectual Property related subjects should be included in the curriculum since there is a need at this point. Because, in this era of globalization, international law is critical in preserving the connections between nations all over the globe, it is essential to note that furthermore, international law has become increasingly important in protecting a country's rights and in bringing the country's claims before international courts and tribunals;

8. The legal education curriculum should be affixed with separate courses on ADR, professional legal ethics, the art of legal research etc.;

9. Human rights and gender sensibility, as the most discussed topics of the time, should be included in the curriculum;

10. Students should be encouraged to research the existing problems in the legal system;

11. Legal education could be introduced in college education after S.S.C. so that students can spend more time in the arena of law and learn better;

12. Law clinics could be set up in each law school wherein clinical legal education would be available for the students. In clinical legal education, students would be able to come closer to the real-life scenario as it tends to provide legal services to people;

13. Immediate reform should be brought to college legal education or LL.B. pass course by-

- i. extending the duration of the course from two years to three years wherein emphasis should be given to practical courses;
- ii. provision for admission tests should be introduced;
- iii. the number of seats for the students should be limited;
- iv. a fixed percentage of attendance should be set as mandatory for the students, maybe 60% or 70%;
- v. full-time well-educated teachers should be appointed;
- vi. provision for the supervision of the colleges by the legal education committee;
- vii. provision for adequate infrastructural facilities like classrooms, libraries, books, computers etc.;

14. Government law colleges should be established as a model and standard for college legal education;

15. Problem questions should be asked along with the essay-type questions so that students can increase their analytical abilities;

16. The bilingual character of the medium of instruction for legal education should be preserved, but the emphasis should be given to English;

17. A unique syllabus should be introduced for all the law schools so that law graduates with a certain range of quality can come out;

18. The students should evaluate teachers at the end of the courses, and institutional accountability for the teachers should be adequately maintained;

19. In our legal education system, 'treating pupils unequally' is a major source of contention. It is a common practice in our law schools that the meritorious students and those who are economically and socially upper class in society are given privileges, which causes a feeling of deprivation among the other students. Teachers have an extremely significant role to play in the elimination of this disparity. In the class, teachers should not only interact with the meritorious student but with others too. Moreover, teachers should summon all the students to clear their doubts instead of calling them individually. Furthermore, teachers can also instruct the students to ask their queries through e-mails, and the teachers can respond to those e-mails individually;

20. The government may introduce training courses for the teachers of the law schools so that they can produce successful law graduates to serve the country better.

21. The seminar is one of the additional tools on which we place particular attention. By seminar, we refer to a relatively small group of professors and students who are engaged in problem-solving via creative analysis and investigation. In order to achieve the stated goals of our curricular reconstruction, it is necessary to replenish seminar content with relevant material. The seminar's unique benefits are widely recognised. Seminars' intense work develops abilities such as collaboration and information presentation. The seminar format is particularly conducive to discovering new issues and the careful investigation of new sources and even new abilities that are peripheral to the core machinery of procedural issues with which the student does not get acquainted in the classroom. Seminar work should be encouraged at future law schools since the authors, like many reformers of the law school curriculum, believe that seminars can enormously impact law students by teaching them to think ingeniously and helping them analyse problems creatively.

22. If seminars can evolve into research centres, then it will be very beneficial. There are many benefits to transforming the seminar into an institution, even if just in name. Research fellows, who dedicate the majority of their time for a number of years to study in a certain area, may be recruited to serve on such seminar-institute staff in addition to professors from law schools and other departments of universities. These fellows should be drawn from the normal teaching faculty of law schools, individuals who can devote a year or more to a productive contribution to law and policy literature. In some instances, law school graduates with little interest in teaching but a strong talent for basic research may be eligible for fellowships.

23. When it comes to supporting successful student learning, theoretical education will not suffice. Different practical activities, such as SPS (small practice sessions), may perform wonders in terms of boosting students' self-confidence and expanding their knowledge via close interaction between students and instructors. Mock trials, negotiation and mediation sessions, and other courses provide a diverse range of pretty similar options to the actual world. It allows students to make mistakes during a session without causing harm to the client's interests, and it provides immediate feedback to allow them to rectify a wrong action. Increasing students' exposure to real-world situations can take many forms, from something as simple as requiring them to observe judicial or administrative proceedings related to their subject matter to something as complex as coordinating a course with an on-campus clinic in which they are responsible for providing legal services to clients. The multidisciplinary approach to legal education may help students better understand the law and the world around them.

24. There were many law school students (who participated in our survey) who complained about the size of their courses. Instruction in large classrooms become extremely challenging with limited resources, and extra time is

devoted to disciplining students instead of teaching and learning. A class that is made up of smaller numbers of students is beneficial to all learners. When class sizes are too large, learners often lose concentration on the work at hand since teaching is geared toward the class as a whole rather than toward individual students. Gradually reducing class numbers gives students an advantage in school, particularly in subjects like reading and science.

Conclusion

The economic crisis of 2019-2021 has put the legal profession under unprecedented strain. The present recession is expected to last longer and be more intense than any prior recession in terms of length and severity. As a result, the legal profession is venturing into new territory. Furthermore, during the past thirty years, the expense of legal education has risen significantly. Tuition is expected to increase as the financial crisis takes hold. Almost every private law school in the nation is experiencing a substantial income loss due to the unavailability of public funds, decreasing admission, and the COVID-19 crisis. Having the right students in their courses will become more challenging as the application pool shrinks. To meet this challenge, law schools will need to find out how to make their graduates more competitive for the future job market while keeping the cost of legal education as low as possible. The combination of low cost and high quality will be most appealing. Because the employment market favours candidates with practical experience, so law schools that can provide skills and education at a reasonable cost will be rewarded. The current economic downturn provides a once-in-a-lifetime chance for legal education to realign its objectives. Law schools will need to find innovative methods to educate students in practical skills rather than utilizing student money to support full-time academics and subsidizing other programs of universities. Only then will educational institutions be able to retain a competent pool of students and produce qualitative output.

As we said in the preceding paragraph, the lack of appropriate interpretations of education quality and adequate evaluation methods hinders Bangladesh's higher education institutions. Student input is deliberately ignored in the process of reform. A lack of academic autonomy, limited academic and research resources, a lack of faculty motivation, and a low faculty salary rate worsen the system. Thus, student output is impeded. Therefore, students' knowledge should be supplemented with appropriate texts in Sociology, Anthropology, global literature, and other related fields. In addition, students' moral foundations should be strengthened by instilling a strong sense of ethical conduct in the classroom. The suggestions made in this article will assist scholars in reconstructing their perspectives and students in their efforts to change the current legal education system. The suggestions provided in this article will aid academics in their attempts to rebuild their perspectives and students in their efforts to alter the current legal education system. It is intended to bring together an academic curriculum, a career path, and a professional network. As a result, future students will benefit from a new employment opportunity that

will enable them to go further in their professional careers.

Limitation

A further empirical, multidisciplinary, and comparative study is required to address the problems mentioned in the preceding paragraphs. Taking into consideration the requirements of this area, law school Deans and other academics should advocate for the establishment of an institution to conduct high-quality, interdisciplinary research on legal education, and the students would undoubtedly profit from this.

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An Auteurist Assessment of Rabindranath Tagore's Works on Screen

Shah Ahmed¹

Abstract

Rabindranath Tagore is and remains the most adapted author in Bengali and South Asian cinema at large. Although almost all great authors whose works are frequently adapted for cinema have been recognized in adaptation studies, the film adaptations of Tagore's works have not been given deserving critical attention. Through a systematic analysis of the historical documents, records and other sources that contain piecemeal information about 'Tagore films' – some of which are on the verge of oblivion and most remain critically unexamined – this archival research attempts to revive them for critical focus and theoretical examination, and contextualise them in academia. Identifying the directors' creative role behind critical acclaim and spectatorial acceptance, I argue that it is not the textual fidelity, but the directorial creativity that guarantees the success to adaptation of Tagore on screen. Thus, in distinguishing the adaptations works as either successful or unsuccessful from the prism of the auteur theory, the paper finally holds that filming a text arbitrarily is far from vindicating art or guaranteeing success; an exertion of the director's esthetic exhilaration makes the films transcend the philological medium, and the film becomes a visual art. It is believed that research professionals will have fresh perspectives from this study to re-evaluate Tagore films from a wide range of critical and theoretical interests.

Keywords

Authors and auteurs, tagore films, auteur theory, directorial freedom, screenplay, commercial and critical success, adaptational undercurrents

Introduction

Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941), arguably the greatest writer of Bengali literature and the only Nobel Laureate from this literary tradition, is regarded as a bionic polymath of catholic talents. In fact, he is to Bengali literature what

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Shakespeare is to English literature (Iyengar, 2017). Like Shakespeare's 'timeless' works, Tagore's works have enormous universal appeal. As Somdatta Mandal (2020, p. 297) comments, "There is never an end to Tagore." Although he is mostly recognized as a poet – partly because he got the Nobel Prize in recognition of his poems in *Song Offerings* (1912) – his fictional works are still considered worthy of high literary merit. Interestingly, when cinema production started in the 1900s, Tagore, much ahead of his time, felt drawn to "the primordial attraction of cinema" (Mollick, 2011). Later, he himself directed the film *Natir Puja (The Dancing Girl's Worship [1932])*, an adaptation of his 1926 dance drama of the same name. Since then onward, the adaptation of his works, commonly known as the Tagore films, has been a visual phenomenon in cinema and television media. As Alam and Chakravarty (2011, p. 26) confirm, "Stage and screen adaptations of Tagore's works continue to draw audiences." Apart from thousands of poems and songs, he is credited to have written a total of twelve novels and ninety-five short stories. Almost all of his novels, many of his short stories and a number of his plays have been adapted (and readapted) into film so far. Virtually all noteworthy Bengali directors of both mainstream and parallel cinemas translated Tagore's fictional works to screen. Additionally, hundreds of films have used *Rabindra Sangeet*³ as background music in diegetic and non-diegetic forms. In fact, Rabindra Sangeet has been a yardstick for Bengali art films.

Unlike in Western countries, where the visual version of literary texts is included in the curriculum, literary teaching in the subcontinent is still limited to two-dimensional philological media – reading and perceiving. To put it differently, the teaching and reading of literature do not traverse interdisciplinary and intertextual premises in this respect. Moreover, the idea that a filmmaker is regarded as an artistic counterpart or equal to a literary author, as the auteur theory claims, is either unknown or depreciated in subcontinental academic studies. Therefore, the films adaptations of Tagore's works, especially the creative ones such as *Kshudhita Pashan (The Hungry Stones [1960])*, *Streer Patra [Letter from the Wife [1972])* and *Chaturanga (Quartet [2008])* are not adequately evaluated in the academic arena, research scope, and critical review. In other words, the literary author and his auteurs (read creative filmmakers) are hardly given due recognition in film, transmedia or intermedia studies. Woefully, this inattention has led to the loss of a number of his films and the oblivion of many that bear tremendous aesthetic and academic values.

Hence, in this era of adaptation and media studies, interdisciplinary enquiry, comparative discourses, and translational mutation, Tagore's works on screen deserve comprehensive research attention from the perspective of artistic rendition. If the cinematic versions of his works are not invested with a theoretical framework and aesthetic assessment like those of Sophocles,

² This neologism was first used by Merie Seton in her 1971 biographic book *Portrait of a Director: Satyajit Ray*.

³ A variety of Bengali lyrical songs, also known as Tagore songs, written and composed by Rabindranath Tagore himself.

Shakespeare, Jane Austen, Charles Dickens, Victor Hugo, Henrik Ibsen and others, Tagore will be denied due attention in relevant academic discourse. Western auteurs or creative filmmakers – such as Jean Renoir, Sir Alfred Hitchcock, Akira Kurosawa, Stanley Kubrick, Federico Fellini, Ingmar Bergman, Jean-Luc Godard and Francis Ford Coppola – have been given constant research attention and brought in academic studies especially for their adapted films. However, except for Satyajit Ray, other talented Tagore auteurs such as Ajay Kar, Tapan Sinha and Rituparno Ghosh have hardly been examined in academic discourses.

It is from this critical stance, this paper attempts to revive Tagore films and explore them, using the tenets of auteur theory, to distinguish successful adaptations from unsuccessful ones. Eventually, I will place more emphasis on examining the reasons for successful renditions in order to position them in a theoretical context. Thus, examining these adaptations auteuristically, the paper finally reaffirms that an erratic film adaptation of a literary work without the director's artistic inscription in it is far from vindicating art or ensuring success. Put differently, an exertion of the director's aesthetic exhilaration makes an adaptation transcend the philological medium, and the film becomes a visual art. This attempt will, as I believe, give due recognition to Tagore and his cinematic counterparts (read auteurs) in adaptation studies and will benefit a wider readership as well as future researchers.

Existing Critical Propositions

As mentioned above, the critical proposition is not proportionate to the proliferation of Tagore's works on screen. Though some of them have been individually studied, the annals in their entirety are not sufficiently vetted. Nonetheless, the ground-breaking works, though a few in number, which have triggered primary curiosity toward the visual representation of the author's works require critical examination. In this regard, probably Arunkumar Roy's 1986 book *Rabindranath O Chalachitra* (Rabindranath and Cinema) deserves the first consideration. The book made arguably the first significant attempt of probing into the historical enquiries regarding Tagore's engagement with cinema and his works on screen. Meticulously ploughing through Tagore's writings (letters, essays, stories, and the archives at Visva Bharati) and interviews of his contemporary filmmakers, Roy explored Tagore's increasing interest in, and response to, cinema. Thus, being an essentially historical attempt, though the discussion includes some of Tagore's important adaptations, it does not expatiate upon the subsequent winning adaptations which have enshrined Tagore in the cinema world. However, this book has inspired a number of Bengali authors to further explore, albeit in the same manner, the background stories of Tagore's works on screen. Most notable ones may be Someswar Bhowmik's *Ruper Kalpanirjhar: Cinema Adhunikota Rabindranath* (Intuition of Cinematograph: Cinema, Modernity and Rabindranath [2011]) and Chandi Mukhopadhyay's *Cinemat Rabindranath Rabindranather Cinema* (Rabindranath in Cinema and the Cinema of Rabindranath [2015]).

Similarly, Somdatta Mandal, in “Adapting, Interpreting and Transcreating Rabindranath Tagore’s Works on Screen” (2015) discusses Tagore’s ideas of overarching focus on Tagore’s engagement with the photographic process, though the author identifies the textual departures in these adaptations, she refrains from concentrating on the question why the films of the great filmmakers such as Ray, Sinha and Ghosh are more successful and critically acclaimed. Almost in agreement with Mandal, Indranil Chakravarty in “Tagore, Cinema and Poetry of Movement” (2015) also engages in exploring Tagore’s ideas of cinema and the direction of Natir Puja. The most apparent limitation of enquiry is that despite referring to a number of Tagore’s adaptations, Chakravarty does not concentrate on the directors’ creative vision, musical improvisation and technical command in these films.

Published in two volumes (part one and part two), *Chalachitre Rabindranath* (Rabindranath in Cinema [2012]) edited by Sharmila Ghosh may give an impression that it embodies the history and evaluation of Tagore’s works on screen. Conversely, the book is in fact a collection of Tagore’s texts – novels, short stories, plays and poems – which were transported to screen from 1923 to 2010. Though it does not contain any critical implications of the adaptations, it may be important as a comprehensive compilation in respect to Tagore’s texts in cinema. Most recently, arguing for the contextualization of the auteur theory in the critical assessment of Bengali cinema, Shah Ahmed, et al (2020) identified a few Tagore’s adaptations – such as *Tapan Sinha’s Kabuliwala* (1957), Satyajit Ray’s *Charulata* (The Lonely Wife [1964]) and Rituparno Ghosh’s *Chokher Bali* (The Eyesore [2003]) – as auteur adaptations in Bengali cinema. Given the importance and limitation of these attempts, it is clear the above authors do not vet Tagore films altogether in terms of directorial freedom, fidelity-infidelity issues, and adaptational undercurrents. The apparent limitation is that the existing critical perspectives on the adaptations and their box-office proceeds, which rehash their critical as well as spectatorial successes, have been regrettably avoided. Moreover, the existing works do not address some long-standing miasmas and misinformation (regarding Tagore films) which have been crucial in research and academic references. There remains a lot of confusion about the bard’s works on screen in relation to filmography, exact years of release, and identification of the source of adaptation, musical direction and, more importantly, screenplay writers which play a pivotal role in a film’s success or failure. The information about a film available in the film database IMDB and other web sources is sometimes either erroneous, insufficient or missing. At times, web information does not match bibliographic facts. Again, the fact that almost all the silent films and some of the talking films made from his works are not available anymore gives way to flawed information about them. These issues ultimately pose constant problems for readers and researchers.

Providing a brief, yet informative, explanation of each Tagore film – under the theoretical premise of auteurism – the discussion that follows seeks to remove all these miasmas about Tagore film adaptations. More importantly, the succinct assessment of each of the adaptations in terms of artistic and

commercial successes will eventually lead to distinguishing the directors between auteur directors and commercial directors. It is believed that this cinema and succinctly surveys the most contemporary adaptations of Tagore's works until 2011, with a short vignette given on each of them. With an essentially archival research will promote subsequent research on these auteur directors and auteur adaptations.

Criterion of Assessment: Auteur Theory

Since the aim of this paper is to study Tagore's works on screen in order to single out the most successful ones, both commercially and artistically, it concerns the filmmakers who adapted Tagore's works pursuing their creative queries and following the technique of compression and expansion. Both in compressing the novels and expanding the short stories, the directors had to, as the demand of the visual medium requires, depart from the source texts and interject their own ideas in such a creative way that the 'auteur theory' seems to be most appropriate for the theoretical framework of this study. In his 1948 article "The Birth of a New Avant-Garde: The Camera Pen," the French film critic Alexandre Astruc claims that, apart from the expressional and material variations of the pen and the camera, there is no other essential difference between a literary author and a film author (1948, p. 17). He suggests that, though literary authors and cinematic auteurs produce medium-different artworks, they are equivalent in artistic stature. Indeed, Astruc's article significantly contributed to the theoretical formation of European cinema. Prior to such ideas, a film production was traditionally viewed as the subtle interplay of a group of specialized professionals with diverse skills, qualities, interests and opinions.

With the new shift of focus on the director as the sole author of a film, the subsequent exponents of the theory including André Bazin, Jean-Luc Godard and François Truffaut have made the director "a figure of cultish hero worship" (Brantley, 1996, p. 9). They put forward the argument that the same artistic exertion that underlies the process of literary art is required for its cinematic counterpart. An auteur of a film is, more precisely, equivalent to the author of a literary work. Almost without any divergence, they agree that if filmmaking is solely steered by its director's artistic and creative style, which is called "auteur-structuralism," the director is the auteur of the film (Hayward, 2000, p. 362). Moreover, the success or the failure – both artistic and commercial – of a film is determined largely by its director's ingenious or slapdash approach.

Given the premise of auteurist criticism, this paper addresses the question of identifying the successful ones in the annals of Tagore films in terms of spectatorial acceptance and critical appraisal. Simultaneously, it looks into the crucial issues behind the successes/failures in the light of creative modification / faithful transference. In other words, the paper demonstrates whether the directors' control over the production and creative vision have been pivotal in movie-goers' acceptance of, and the critics' response to, the films; that is to say, whether auteur direction remained as significant factor behind the success

of the films. Consequently, special focus will be given to the directors' multiple engagements such as writing, directing and directorial improvisation. More precisely, in espousing the auteurist claim of the director's artistic and stylistic command by which they author the film, the discussion will scrutinise the adaptations in light of auteurism as a theory of authorship to show how much they are individually innovative and artistic in their respective adaptations.

An Auteurist Assessment of Tagore Adaptations

This section of the paper briefly attempts to bring almost all of Tagore's works on screen adapted in both silent and sound eras during his life and after his death. With a view to distinguishing the auteur directors from the commercial ones, the discussion touches upon the adaptations chronologically, from *Manbhanjan* (1923) to *Postmaster* (2016), through a number of subsections. This pithy film-by-film scrutiny will lead to the 'auteurs vs. adapters' section that attempts to single out the theoretically-perfect Tagore auteurs whose adaptations may be examined, individually and/or comparative, in subsequent studies by other researchers. As this paper is an auteurist study of selected film authors, the analysis will be organized with the directors in mind. This process will ultimately lead to an assessment of those who have emerged from adapters to auteurs in Bengali cinema in both Bangladesh and India. The directorial ventures into six silent-era and about fifty talkie-era adaptations will be scanned for determining the auteurist signature in Tagore films. Though it is not possible to elucidate more than fifty adaptations in a single paper with detailed information, in what follows, a brief informative description will be provided to facilitate judging the auteurs from the adapters.

Adaptations in Tagore's Lifetime

It is an interesting coincidence that the release of India's first full-length film *Raja Harishchandra* and Tagore's winning the Nobel Prize took place in the same year, that is, 1913. In 1919, six years after *Raja Harishchandra*, Rustomji Dhotiwala made the first Bengali feature film *Billwamangal*. By this time, Tagore became a literary luminary worldwide. Hence, the origin of Indian popular cinema and the reputation of Tagore as the representative of the Bengali literary tradition are historically connected. It is quite reasonable that Indian filmmakers, especially those of Bengali cinema, would draw much from Tagore for their sources.

In contextualizing Tagore's works on screen, the first director to be mentioned is Naresh Mitra, the only director who adapted a maximum of four fictional works of Tagore in both silent and sound films. He adapted the short story "Manbhanjan" (1885) and the novel *Noukadubi* in the silent era. Both of the films are lost now. Sisir Kumar Bhaduri's *Bicharak (The Judge [1894/1929])*⁴ encountered a disquieting censorship problem immediately after

⁴ Here and henceforth, the first date is the year of a text's publication and the second date, the year of the release of its film.

its release owing to the alleged low moral tone in it though after a hiatus of three years it was re-released in 1932 (Garga, 1996). Madhu Bose, another director to have adapted Tagore in both silent and sound cinemas, made two silent films, *Giribala* (also known as *Manbhanjan* [1885/1930]) and *Dalia* (1891/1930). The former was regarded as one of the most appreciated films of the silent era. Manju Jain (2009) believes that the success of *Giribala* in the director's own script inspired Tagore to direct *Natir Puja* after a couple of years.

With these six silent films, Tagore's works have made a beeline for sound-era cinema since 1932, and the poet himself blazed the trail in directing *Natir Puja* which is one of the earliest films of Bengali talkie cinema ushered in in 1931 by Ardeshir Irani through his *Alom Ara*, the first ever sound film in the subcontinent. There exists an overbearing polemic on whether *Natir Puja* is a success or failure. One string of the polemics, such as Krishna Gopal Ray (1975) and Mahbub Alam (2011) along with a number of reviews published in *Anadabazar Patrika*, glorifies the film as 'artistic,' 'creative' and 'wonderful.' Conversely, Someswar Bhowmik (2011) and Indranil Chakravarty (2015) argue that *Natir Puja* is a disaster and far from being a classic.

With sound came a new velocity in the popularity of Indian cinema. Accordingly, to keep literature popular on screen, Bengali filmmakers started adapting literature more frequently than ever. Since *Natir Puja*, around fifty films have been made on Tagore's works. Premankur Atorthy directed the poet's comic play *Chirakumar Sabha* (*The Society of Celibates* [1925/1932]). A number of reviews published in the *Anadabazar Patrika* appreciated the film as an admirable adaptation (Bandopadhyay, 1995). As mentioned earlier, after making two silent films *Manbhanjan* and *Noukadubi*, Naresh Mitra adapted, in his own scripts, two more novels, *Gora* (1909/1938) and *Bou Thakuranir Hath* (*The Young Queen's Mart* [1883/1953]). Of the two, *Gora* received mixed criticism as a much-compressed adaptation though Nazrul's musical direction has remained a musical tour de force in Bengali cinema (Rahman, 2011). Satu Sen adapted Tagore's famous romantic novel *Chokher Bali* (1938). It is a very interesting coevality that the release of both *Gora* and *Chokher Bali*, two films based on the same author's novels, coincided on the same day, 30 July 1938. Tagore himself watched and highly appreciated the adaptation, and these two films were the last cinematic endeavors in the poet's lifetime.

Posthumous Adaptations until 1999

Saumyen Mukherji brought the comic play *Sodh Bodh* (*Final Reckoning* [1926/1942]) to screen as the first attempt after the author's death in 1941. Nonetheless, *Sodh Bodh*, in the director's own script, is not known to be a successful film. Pashupati Chattopadhyay rendered the comic play *Sesh Raksha* (*Saved at the End* [1927/1944]) in his own script. The film was rather a faithful adaptation of the play and could not preserve the intermedial balance of transcribing literature to visual media. The same is true about the play's second adaptation in 1977 by Shankar Bhattacharya.

The success of Nitin Bose's *Noukadubi* (1947) encouraged him to render a short story *Drishtidan* (*Donating Eyes* [1898/1948]) and another novel *Jogajog* (1929/1958). These adaptations are considered trailblazers in reference to the director's creative rendition of Tagore's works (Ghosh, 1982). However, except *Noukadubi*, Bose's other two films attracted neither audience nor critics (Rahman, 2011).

Importantly, after Tagore in *Natir Puja*, the first auteurist mark was traced in Madhu Bose's direction of *Shesher Kabita* (1929/1953)]. After *Giribala* and *Dalia* in the silent era, Bose took Tagore films to a new height by rendering this poetically romantic novel in his own script. Artistically transmitted, *Shesher Kabita* is still regarded as one of the most successful and path-breaking adaptations of Tagore's works (Rahman, 2011). The acclaimed changes Bose introduced in the film for the demand of medium-specificity provided artistic freedom for the subsequent directors such as Satyajit Ray, Tapan Sinha and others (Hayat, 2012).

Tagore's novella *Malancha* (*The Garden* [1934]) was adapted twice, first by Prafulla Roy in 1953 and later by Purnendu Pattrea in 1979. In both adaptations, the directors themselves were writers though they followed the narrative linearization of the text. Pattrea's *Malancha* was, nonetheless, fairly notable as it is the first color film on Tagore's works. From the above adaptations, it turns out that in their cinematic rendition of Tagore's works, the directors were giving preferences to novels and short stories. His plays were hardly attempted until 1954 when a pair of directors, Hemchandra Chandra and Soren Sen, transposed the poetic play *Chitrangada* (1892). The main feminist undercurrent of the play was cinematically dramatized in the film. The directors attempted to keep the thematic spirit, musical malleability and dance docility of Tagore's *Chitrangada*. The film was highly appreciated by both moviegoers and critics (Hayat, 2012).

Though auteurist adaptation was previously traced in Tagore's *Natir Puja* and Madhu Bose's *Shesher Kabita*, Tapan Sinha's *Kabuliwala* is the first worldwide acknowledgement as a 'creative film' and an incredible success as regards Tagore's works on screen (Sinha, 2012, p. 132). The film won the director a number of national and international awards for the first time in the history of Tagore's works on screen.⁵ Inspired by its success, Sinha made two more award-winning adaptations *Kshudhita Pashan* and *Atithi*. After Sinha's successes, emerged Satyajit Ray. While making the doc-film *Rabindranath Tagore*, Ray undertook the making of *Teen Kanya* and released it in the same year before the biopic was released. Ray's *Charulata*⁶ and *Ghare-Baire* are evidences of his continued interest in Tagore. After their ground-breaking adaptations, some subsequent filmmakers tried to transpose Tagore's works on screen exercising the same creative freedom. Perhaps, the most ardent successful follower of them is Rituparno Ghosh who also made three Tagore films

⁵ National Film Award for Best Feature Film and Silver Bear Extraordinary Prize at the Berlin Film Festival

⁶ As mentioned earlier, *Charulata* is based on Tagore's novella *Nastanirh* (*The Broken Nest* [1901]).

Chokher Bali: A Passion Play, *Noukadubi* and *Chitrangada: The Crowing Wish*, and a biopic *Jeevan Smriti*, all of which were both commercial and critical successes. Importantly, in their Tagore films, these three directors – Ray, Sinha and Ghosh – and worked on their own screenplays. The strategy of making films on their own writings helped them bring about as many narrative and thematic changes as their creative exhilaration demanded. Apart from directing and writing, they also exercised absolute freedom in controlling almost all other dynamics and modalities of productions, such as aesthetic, musical, technical and editorial control.

Beside Ray's biopic masterpiece *Rabindranath Tagore*, some other directorial attempts were made to celebrate Tagore's centenary in 1961. Debaki Kumar Bose made a documentary film *Arghya* (Worshippers' Oblation [1961]), based on four narrative poems of Tagore: "Pujarini" (The Female Worshipper [1900]), "Puratan Bhritya" (Old Servant [1995]), "Abhisar" (Love's Sojourn [2000]) and "Dui Bigha Jami" (Two Measures of Land [1896]). Although it was the director's most innovative film (Druick and Williams, 2014), cineastes did not receive it as favorably as they did Ray's doc-film. The most perceptible reason is that the fusion between poetry and cinema was not gracefully harmonized (Mukhopadhyay, 2015). Another film in commemoration of Tagore's birth centenary is Jiban Gangopadhyay's *Sandhyarag* (Afterglow [1961]), based on the short story "Konkal" (Skeleton [1892]). The film was a failure both artistically and commercially and is not available anymore (Rahman, 2011).

It is perhaps important to note here that two unique team directors Agradoot and Agragami⁷ contributed remarkably to Bengali cinema through making many popular films. They made one Tagore film each. Agradoot filmed the 1891 short story "Khokababur Pratyabartan" (Return of the Young Master [1960]) which was a remarkable commercial success and "one of the most touching Bengali films ever created" (Bengali Films, 2018). On the other hand, Agragami made *Nishithe* (1963) on the basis of the eponymous 1894 short story. *Nishithe* was a box office and critical success and earned the director a national award.⁸

The cinematic adaptation of literature in general has earned a different adaptational edge from Partha Pratim Choudhury's *Subha O Debatar Gras* (Subha and the Snatching of God [1964]). He ventured to make a fusion of a short story "Subha" (1882) and a narrative poem "Debatar Gras" (1898) into a film. We have already seen three short stories in Ray's *Teen Kanya* and four narrative poems in Bose's *Arghya*, but *Subha O Debatar Gras* is an entirely unprecedented film in which a short story and a narrative poem are interwoven into a single film. Critics highly appreciated Choudhury's screenplay owing to its capable fusion of poetry and prose as well as the cinematic transgressions demanded by its visual version.

⁷ These two filmmaking companies were active from the 1950s to the 1980s.

⁸ Certificate of Merit for the Second-Best Feature Film in the 10th National Film Awards

Around this time, the actress Arundhati Debi directed *Megh-o-Roudra* (Sun and Showers [1899/1969]). Written by the director, who took befitting freedom in writing the screenplay, the film was one of the super-hit films released in 1969 (Bhowmik, 2011). In the following year, one of India's filmmaking giants, Mrinal Sen brought the short story "Ichhapuran" (1895) on screen. The director's only Tagore film *Ichhapuran* (1970) failed to attract both viewers and critics. Despite Tagore's delightful story, the film appears to be a bit tedious and slipshod. Perhaps, it is because the director could not tackle the technique of visual expansion of a literary story.

Swades Sarkar visualized two Tagore stories, "Shasti" (Punishment [1893/1970]) and "Didi" (Elder Sister [1895/1984]). As a mainstream Bengali film, *Shasti* was very sentimental in style and used both Rabindra Sangeet and popular Bengali songs. The same is true about his *Didi*, which was criticised to be "too melodramatic" and "too insubstantial" (Mukhopadhyay, 2015, p. 149). The film overdramatized Tagore's poignant story of a compassionate sister towards her ailing brother. Eminent filmmaker Ajoy Kar also wrote and directed two Tagore films, *Malyadan* (The Garlanding [1903/1971]) and *Noukadubi* (1979). Though *Malyadan* was highly successful and secured a number of awards,⁹ *Noukadubi* is not recorded to draw either positive or negative reviews. After making *Malancha*, as mentioned above, Purnendu Pattrea adapted the short story "Streer Patra" (Letter from the Wife [1914]) in 1972 which won the National Award for Best Feature Film in Bengali. In his screenplay, Pattrea brought in some artistic deviations from the short story, especially in elaborating on some characters and introducing new ones. "In all potentiality," as Chakravarty (2015, p. 4) observes, "*Streer Patra* appeared as a very lyrical and visually beautiful film." After *Naval Gandhi* in 1928, Bireshwar Bose rendered "*Bisarjan*" in 1972 in his own screenplay. In his own admission, the director made a faithful adaptation of the story. Probably, it is the reason why film did not shine to critics or viewers. However, Nitish Mukherjee made the last Tagore film in the twentieth century in the Tollywood film industry. His *Rabibar* (Sunday [1996]) from the 1939 short story of the same name was a faithful rendition and not reported to receive any rave review.

Tagore on Screen in the Twenty-first Century

Rituparno Ghosh lent even a more elevated edge to Tagore's works. He invested the author's works with the heteroglossia of postmodernism, postcolonialism, feminism, narratology, intertextuality and cinematographical breakthroughs of the twenty-first century. Subsequently, some of his contemporaries have experimented with digressing the textual narratives, twisting the stories, interpolating new characters and fostering technical breakthroughs. Suman Mukhopadhyay adapted two Tagore novels *Chaturanga* (*Quartet* [1916]) in 2008 and *Shesher Kabita* in 2015. As a director and writer, his effort to film the poetic and lyrical *Chaturanga* with narrative twists of the novel and focus on the colonial legacy in the postcolonial era, is remarkable. *Shesher Kobita*, on

⁹ Notably, the National Film Award for Best Feature Film in Bengali in the 18th National Film Awards

the other hand, was not among the most artistic and successful ventures of his filmography though the film's narrative is much straighter than the poetic, subtle novel. However, director Aparna Sen admires the film's cast and their performances (Red Tapism, 2015).

To commemorate Tagore's sesquicentennial birth anniversary in 2011, a number of young filmmakers embarked on transporting his stories to screen. Pranab Chaudhuri's *Musalmanir Galpo (Story of a Muslim Woman [1941/2010])* is probably the most appreciated attempt among these ventures. The story itself points to the overbearing polemic that Tagore in his writings has not convincingly focused upon the Muslims, the second largest faith community in India. It is perhaps important to note that whenever Tagore portrayed Muslim characters in his works, albeit infrequently, "he portrayed them in a positive light, often pitting them against corrupt and retrogressive practices in the Hindu culture and/or community" (Quayum, 2017, p. 244). In recognizing Tagore's promotion of a syncretic relation in "Musalmanir Galpo," Shah Ahmed (2017, p. 445) says that the story "is strong enough to cleanse the hidebound views of those critics who hold some misgivings about him concerning the scope of Muslim characters in his works." In this perspective, Chaudhuri's adaptation of the story merits admiration, and critics have positively appreciated the endeavor. Similarly, in 2010, Raja Sen also filmed another controversial short story "Laboratory" (1940) which "urges women," as Bharati Ray notes, "to find an identity of their own, and realize that wifehood and motherhood are but fractions of their whole being" (2010, p. 68). Sen's film received mixed reviews from the critics. On her review of the film, Shoma A. Chatterji (2010) mentions that some pointless insertions of feminist issues dilute the inner strength of the story. After Ray's adaptation of Tagore's *Nastanirh as Charulata*, Agnidev Chattopadhyay makes another attempt as *Charuulata*¹⁰ in 2011. However, it is negatively reviewed as a very loose version of the novella. The last attempt of the sesquicentennial celebration is Bappaditya Bandopadhyay's *Elar*¹¹ *Char Adhyay* (2012), based on the novel *Char Adhyay (Four Chapters [1934])*. *Times of India* review (2016) commends the poetic, lyrical and feminist interpretation of the political novel.

In adapting "Tasher Desh" (1939), Qaushiq Mukherjee exploited sufficient creative freedom in his *Tasher Desh* (2012), the only adaptation of the short story. Onkar Dichwalkar suggests that though the director had made many changes, especially in the narrative, *Tasher Desh* is ultimately an artistic film (2013, p. 2). Tagore's play "Achalayatan" (Stalemate [1912]) was adapted as *An Obsolete Alter* in 2013 by directors Mrigankasekhar Gangopadhyay and Hyash Tanmoy. It was the only film selected to represent India at the 2013 Eastern Breeze International Film Festival in Canada and some other festivals. The directors ambitiously wanted to present a new dimension to the story of Tagore. Arnab Ghoshal adapted the short story "Aparichita" (The Inscrutable

¹⁰ The intentional deviation in spelling from Charulata to Charuulata prepares the audience to expect a too free adaptation.

¹¹ Inclusion of Ela, the novel's female protagonist, in the title suggests a directorial feminist concern

Woman [1914]) under the title *Dekha Na Dekhay* (Between Seen and Unseen [2013]). Though the synchrony of ten Tagore songs was highly praised, the film as a whole was negatively criticized for its overemphasis on sentimentalism. Writing for *Times of India*, Laboni Sarkar (2013) claims, “[T]he script fails to hold one’s attention for long. There’s little in terms of good dialogue. The first half is bearable but the second half seems never-ending.”

After more than fifty years since Nitin Bose’s first adaptation of *Jogajog* in 1958, Shekhar Das recently wrote and directed another film on the novel in 2015. Sustaining the inherent musical melody of the novel, Das rehashed the theme of marital rape in the context of contemporary conjugal difficulties. However, critics have identified faults with the direction of the film in terms of the temporal setting of the novel and film (Dutta, 2015). After Ray’s 1961 adaptation of “The Postmaster” in *Teen Kanya*, Srijon Bardhan visualized the story as *Postmaster* (2016). Critics severely criticized Bardhan’s extravagant freedom that prompted him to extend the story to an amorous relationship between Ratan and the postmaster. To this too free adaptation, Chatterji (2016) berates that it is insupportable why Tagore’s name is pegged to such a film that seems to be a new story in its script and plot. So far, the film has not received any favorable reviews.

Tagore’s lyrical and symbolic play *Raktokorobi* (Red Oleander [1923]), though frequently staged and televised, was not filmed since 2017 when writer-director Amitava Bhattacharya made a film *Red Oleanders Raktokorobi*. It is not an adaptation, in the strictest meaning of the process; it is rather an inspiration of the play in which Bhattacharya blends the concurrent politics. It is almost a metaphorical adaptation in Rituparno Ghosh’s fashion of improvising the play *Chitrangada*. Though not a commercial success, the film critically acclaimed and was longlisted for the general category of the Academy Award Best Picture in Foreign Category.

Tagore’s Works in Bangladeshi Cinema

Unlike Kolkata filmmakers, their Dhaka counterparts have not consistently turned to Tagore’s works for their cinematic creations. Immediately after the liberation of the country in 1971, its mainstream cinema followed the formulaic stereotype of Indian commercial cinema. However, it is almost unknown that director Kazi Hayat first adapted “Kshudhita Pashan” as *Rajbari* (1986) in the tradition of Bangladeshi parallel cinema. It is untenable that this adaptation is not referred to the filmography of Tagore’s works.

However, Chashi Nazrul Islam, a preeminent Bangladeshi film director, is probably the most important figure with regard to Tagore’s works in Bangladeshi cinema. In his film *Ora Egaro Jon* (Those Eleven Freedom Fighters [1972]), the country’s first film on the 1971 Liberation War, Islam used a Tagore song (*O amar desher mati* [O’ the land of my country]) for the first time in post-Independence Dhalliwood cinema. What is more, the first Tagore film in the mainstream cinema of Bangladesh, *Shasti* (2004), was produced under his direction. Both viewers and critics appreciated the rendition of the story in

Bangladeshi social context. After two years, Islam transposed another short story “Subha” (1892) as *Shuva* (2006). It was also a box-office success and earned a mixture of positive and negative reviews. Momtaz Uddin Ahmed, a famous playwright, actor and educator of the country, wrote both of the films.

Later, Kazi Hayat wrote and made another film *Kabuliwala* (2006) in the typical standard of Dhallywood cinema. However, despite its commercial success, the film did not add anything significant to the fame of the short story’s previous adaptations such as Sinha’s *Kabuliwala* (1957) and Heman Gupta’s *Kabuliwala* (1961). Inspired by Islam’s and Hayat’s successful adaptations, Nargis Akter, a promising female director, rendered “Samapti” (1893) as *Abujh Bou* (The Immatured Wife) in 2010. The film was a liberal adaptation and a commercial success. Critics admired the director’s effort to lend a contemporary feel to the film by changing the time and setting of the short story. Accordingly, in 2010, the films received a number of awards in the 35th Bangladesh National Film Awards, the most notable of which was the Best Screenplay (Nargis Akter). Importantly, though the directors of this cinematic tradition considerably extended Tagore stories to, more or less, two-hour films, their reworkings do not conform to the creative freedom and technical sophistication of their counterparts in Indian (Bengali) cinema.

Tagore’s Works in All-India Cinema

Considering the number of the film adaptations of Bangla literature, though Tagore’s works are frequently adapted in Bangla cinema, Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyay (1876–1938), another preeminent novelist of this literary tradition, is the most adapted author in all-India cinema. However, a dozen of films have been made from the latter’s works in Bollywood and other regional cinema of India. The first Tagore film in Hindi cinema is Naval Gandhi’s *Balidan* (1927) on the 1890 play *Bisarjan* (The Sacrifice). Made in the director’s own script, *Balidan* was a great success in maintaining the high literary quality of its source (Rajadhyaksha & Willemsen, 1999). Since it “was made to show Western audiences that Indian cinema could measure up to Western standards,” this silent film was successfully premiered in Europe (*Balidan Reviews*, 2021).

Among all Tagore’s works, *Noukadubi* is probably the most adapted novel not only in Bengali cinema but also the regional cinema of the country. Nitin Bose first transported the novel Hindi cinema in 1946 in Sajanikanta Das’s script. It is reported that the film was not a box-office success, but it earned the director and the music director Anil Biswas and the cinematographer Radhu Karmakar huge critical acclaim (Alam, 2011). In 1956, the polyglot T. Prakash Rao concurrently rendered the novel in Tamil cinema as *Mathar Kula Manikkam* (A Gem among Women) and in Telegu cinema as *Charana Daasi* (Wife). Both of the films were commercial successes (Guy, 2012). Multilingual film writer Vempati Sadasivabrahmam wrote the script for both of the films. Inspired by Rao’s commercial success, the famous filmmaker Ramanand made *Ghunghat* (1960), another Hindi-language film on the novel. A commercial success, the film’s music and acting were highly appreciated by the critics

(Mukhopadhyay, 2015). Muthyala Subbaiah's *Oka Chinna Maata* (1997) is another *succès fou* based on the novel *Noukadubi*. In the director's script, the film is apparently more connected to Charana Daasi than to the novel.

Presumed as based on Tagore's poem "Dui Bigha Jami" (Two Measures of Land [1896]), Bimal Roy's neorealist classic *Do Bigha Zamin* (1953) is one of the most influential films which introduced Indian cinema's aesthetic heights to the cinema world (Chatterji, 2017). However, the film's direct source is not Tagore's poem; it is based on Salil Chowdhury's (1923–1995) short story "Rickshawala" (1951) written in inspiration of Tagore's poem. Ritwik Ghatak, a friend of Chowdhury and Roy, suggested to keep the title in view of Tagore's popularity and recognition (Literature on Screen, 2020). The film is widely regarded as Indian first successful neorealist film and an influence of Vittorio De Sica's *Bicycle Thieves* (1948).

Probably, *Uphaar* (Gift [1971]) based on the 1893 short story "Samapti" (The Conclusion) is probably the only Tagore film to have been submitted for the category of Best Foreign Language Film at the Academy Awards. Directed and written by Kumar Shahani, *Char Adhyay* (*Four Chapters* [1997]) is another critically acclaimed and commercially successful. Two more successful films in Bollywood are Heman Gupta's *Kabuliwala* (1961) based on Tagore's 1892 short story of the same name and Gulzar's *Lekin... (But... [1991])* based on the poet's 1895 short story "Kshudhita Pashan." However, in a closer examination it turns out that the directors of the films have depended much more on their filmic sources than literary ones; Gupta's *Kabuliwala* in Vishram Bedekar's script can be, though uncredited, taken as a remake of Tapan Sinha's *Kabuliwala* (1957) and Gulzar's *Lekin...* in Arun Kaul's script as the same director's *Kshudhita Pashan* (1960). *Lekin* is called "a forgotten classic" and its music and cinematography of *Lekin...* is appreciated by the critic (Nalik, 2016 and Chakravarti, 2018). In 1966, Zul Vellani rendered Tagore's famous play *Dak Ghar* (1912) in the same title. The attempt received both negative and positive reviews from the critic. Vrajendra Gaur (2012) appreciates the film's weaving together fantasy and reality though he is afraid, "Children may not entirely understand what is going on" in the film.

In the twenty-first century, like many Bengali filmmakers who experimented Tagore's works on screen through the buoyant theoretical perception and technological breakthrough, some other regional filmmakers retold Tagore's stories with remarkable improvisation in the narrative. Based on Tagore's 1898 short story "Drishtidan" (Denoting Eyes), The Marathi film *Taptapadi* (2014) is a critical as well as commercial success. The writer and director Sachin Nagargoje recontextualized the film in Maharashtrian social milieu. Appreciating the director's improvisation, Sunil Nandgaonkar (2014) comments, "Nagargoje has handled the story with maturity and has presented some hard-hitting scenes in a subtle yet soulful manner." Prodyut Kumar Deka made *Drishti* (*The Vision* [2016]) from the short story of the same, arguably the first Assamese film on any Tagore's work. The film has not yet received any significant critical insight. In 2018, Deb Medhekar in his own screenplay reinterprets Tagore's "Kabuliwala" in his Hindi film *Bioscopewala* in the contemporary

Afghan context. In his review, Prasanna D Zore (2018) observes, “Deb Medhekar's *Bioscopewala*, a contemporary adaptation of Tagore's *Kabuliwala*, is a sweet film, soothing to the eyes, and weaves a story of human suffering cutting across national boundaries.”

In Bipin Nadkarni's screenplay and direction, *Darbaan* (*Guard* [2020]), a Hindi adaptation of 1891 short story “*Khokababur Pratyabartan*” (Return of the Young Master), is a commercial success and has received mostly positive comments from the critics. Distinguishing the director's “own narrative bits” and its “endearing soundtrack,” Pradeep Kumar (2020) in his review for *The Hindu* identifies the weakness in the screenplay. However, it is apparent that Nadkarni more relies on the story's 1960 Bengali adaptation by Agradoot. In his review, Archika Khurana (2021) maintains, “*Darbaan*” is an unusual story of loyalty, friendship, caregiving and the ultimate sacrifice that is powered by superlative performances, which make it a noteworthy tale”

Reason Behind the Success of Tagore Films: Auteur Direction

A central aspect that is inexorably linked to the adaptation phenomenon is the technique of compression, omission, expansion and improvisation for the medium specificity of cinema. This genuinely cinematic technique, which largely contributes to the organic structure and the success or the failure of an adaptation, is crucial from two adaptational perspectives. Firstly, they allow auteurs to make textual departures, and secondly, these departures create an avenue for them to exercise their own artistic insights. From the above discussion of the author's works on screen, it becomes apparent that a few directors, in execution of these dynamics, altered his works and stamped their own aesthetic élan. They can be brought under auteurist criticism to explore whether they exercised directorial independence, worked on their own screenplays and trailed their creative pursuits, and whether the film ultimately made significant commercial returns as well as critical acclaim. Based on these criteria, directors such as Rabindranath Tagore, Madhu Bose, Satyajit Ray, Tapan Sinha, Purnendu Pattrea, Rituparno Ghosh and Suman Mukhopadhyay can be primarily distinguished as auteurs. Though some other directors have also exercised freedom, their adaptations have not been considered artistic or successful. This suggests that transgressing a text erratically cannot vindicate art or ensure success; the transgressions, when exploited from the director's aesthetic exhilaration, may make the films transcend the philological medium and become visual art.

Making auteur films is always a challenge for directors since they have to give equal precedence to both critical appreciation and financial success, that is, they have to attract both audience and critics. So, making the film as a “popular,” “industrial” and “financial” art that will allow for a wider exposure to “a critical argument of much greater importance” (Bazin, 2005, p. 130) is an overarching challenge to auteur directors. The auteur has, in other words, to reach audience for commercial gross by the film's unique script, characters,

performance, plot and innovation. Again, they inherently aim to win considerable appreciation from the critics through a distinctive narrative technique, philosophical bearing, theoretical relevance, cinematographic signature, musical elegance, and intertextual, political and stylistic interweaving.

Hence, a closer examination makes it apparent that even though the above adapters demonstrated auteurist tendencies, not all of them can be, to the strictest principle of the theory, justified as auteurs. In the light of auteur direction in which directors essentially remain a creative catalyst and organizing principle in a number of films, only three directors – Satyajit Ray, Tapan Sinha and Rituparno Ghosh – have made three Tagore films each. Stalwarts of Bengali parallel cinema, these master adapters are consistently inspired by the different genres of Tagore's corpus and have consistently translated them into visual medium (Gooptu, 2011, p. 187). In their Tagore films – Ray's *Teen Kanya*, *Charulata* and *Ghare-Baire*; Sinha's *Kabuliwala*, *Kshudhita Pashan* and *Atithi*; and Ghosh's *Chokher Bali: A Passion Play*, *Noukadubi* and *Chitrangada: The Crowing Wish* – they have exploited the auteurist role as “creative mind” (Benshoff, 2016, p. 63) in overseeing the entire production. If closely observed, the screenplays of all these films are written by the directors themselves. This particular authority confirms the directors' overweening control in textual manipulations and visual improvisations. Moreover, the films are far from faithful rendition suggesting that the auteurs have artistically and historically modified Tagore's texts.

Apart from Tagore films, these directors made many other extraordinary adaptations from the works of other authors. In these works, they also demonstrated the same badge of creative aptitude and authoritative command, and transcended their literary authors. Moreover, in most of their films, they not only made musical directions but also wrote their own music for many of their films which gained considerable currency in Bengali musical studies (Gooptu, 2011). For example, in *Ek Je Chhilo Desh* (“Once There Was a Country” [1977]), based on Shankar's short story of the same name and *Raincoat* (2004), based on O. Henry's “Gift of the Magi,” Sinha and Ghosh were the lyricists, respectively. In their musical directions they made a blend of Tagore's songs with other genres of Bengali music. For example, in *Charulata*, *Atithi* and *Chokher Bali*, Ray, Sinha and Ghosh respectively harmonized Tagore's songs with those of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Lalon Shah and Atul Prasad Sen. What is more, these directors intertextualized their adaptations with some other literary texts and historical references that ultimately gave them authorial status over their adaptations.

Therefore, in terms of unconstrained command of technical and aesthetic superiority in their respective filmographies, Ray, Sinha and Ghosh can be regarded as the three most outstanding auteurist representatives of the cinematic adaptations of Bengali literature and of Tagore's works in particular. Strangely, although their works were significantly appreciated at home and abroad, the textual departures they made received opprobrium, as literary texts are considered superlative and cinematic versions derivative. If applied, auteur theory can initiate a new critical argument vis-à-vis the traditional methods,

assess films on their real merits and contextualize them in the theoretical grounds of recent adaptation theories and approaches.

Conclusion

Rabindranath Tagore is a cinematic phenomenon in South Asian cinema, especially in India and Bangladesh. Put differently, his stories, poems, and songs predominate in the cinema of this tradition. Since cinema is considered on a par with the equal artistic stature of literature, the cinematic translation of Tagore's works demands adequate critical (and also artistic) assessment in cinema and adaptation scholarship. Through the fidelity/infidelity criticism with which subcontinental film critics still tend to evaluate film adaptations, Tagore films may not have proper artistic justification. That is, these adaptation works necessitate being assessed through contemporary theoretical developments. This paper has focused on almost all Tagore films – from the silent era to the talkie dialogue system and from Bengali to all regional film industries – and examined them through the theoretical lens of auteurism, which helps identify the successful adaptations based on the extent of the directors' artistic and creative interferences.

It is a cinematic reality that the auteur adaptations on which directors leave their recognisable creative inscription receive critical introspection and contribute to the enduring appeal of the films. From the above discussion, it appears that the Tagore films that transcended temporal constraints and were critically acclaimed were, in fact, those adapted auteuristically. However, unlike the Western scholars, the South Asian ones do not acknowledge this directorial role; they rather bluntly and untheoretically argue that Tagore's works are classics and so do not need to be tempered in celluloid rendition. In fact, theories and scholarship of adaptation studies are derogative about faithful adaptations (Ahmed et al., 2020). That is why film theories like auteurism require sufficient relevance in the academic study of South Asian cinema. There are other theories that have gained currency in recent adaptation discourse such as Linda Hutcheon's concept of "palimpsestuous adaptation" which claims that an adapted film is inherently an interference of other intertexts, literary or/and cinematic (2006, p. 8). Further work is also possible on Brian McFarlane's concept of "a modified structuralist approach" in order to distinguish "between transferable and non-transferable elements" (1996, p. 201) of Bengali fictions on screen. What is more, the film versions of Tagore's works can be assessed through Mikhail Bakhtin's literary theory of chronotype,¹² premising that "the work and the world represented in it" can enter any other time and space "in a continual renewing of the work through the creative perception of listeners and readers" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 253). It is believed that assessing the films through these theoretical prisms will not only wean them from moralistic criticism of fidelity concern but also revive them from oblivion and recontextualise them in film discourse and academia.

¹² Robert Stam (2005) has already suggested, albeit briefly, the relevance of chronotype in *Literature through Film*.

This paper has given its predominant focus on the directorial role in order to distinguish the critically and commercially successful adaptations of Tagore's works. The films may also be seen through other creative and aesthetic concerns such as music in Tagore films (Rabindra sangeet and other musical genres), spatiotemporal recontextualization, thematic concern and intertextual plaits in Tagore films. Moreover, there are some directors such as Suman Mukhopadhyay, Qaushiq Mukherjee, Amitava Bhattacharya, and Deb Medhekar who retell Tagore stories with postmodern and postcolonial sensitivities diverting exuberantly from the originals in contemporary technological breakthroughs. These radical attempts, individually or collectively, have been critically important for contemporary research concerns in the burgeoning popularity of adaptation studies.

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The Impact of Social Support and Work-family Enrichment on the Well-Being of Female Bankers in Bangladesh

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Abstract

This study investigates the mediating role of work-family enrichment (WFE) in the relationship between work social support and employee well-being. Data were collected from female bankers in three different waves over four months. The study applied the structural equation modeling to test the proposed hypotheses. The findings revealed a direct influence of both the coworker support and the supervisor support on WFE and work stress. Whereas the supervisor support only influenced work satisfaction, and intention to leave, WFE significantly predicted work stress, work satisfaction, life satisfaction, and turnover intentions. WFE fully mediated the role of the coworker support on work stress and work satisfaction. Similarly, WFE fully mediated the role of the supervisor support on work stress, work satisfaction, and intentions to leave. However, WFE demonstrated a partial mediation on the role of the coworker support on life satisfaction and turnover intentions, and the role of the supervisor support on life satisfaction. Findings imply the importance of increased coworkers and supervisory collaboration and cooperation in the workplace where women bankers could contribute to the banking service process efficiently by sharing their experiences emanating from work and family demands. This study, believably, contributes to the field by investigating the mechanism in which WFE mediates the relationship between work-social support and well-being.

Keywords

Work-family enrichment, work stress, female bankers, work social support, well-being

Introduction

Jobs in the banking sector are in general characterized by heavy workloads, pressure, stress, and demand. Strict supervision, monitoring, and serving diverse customer needs, and long working hours lead to higher levels of stress and burnouts (Hammer et al., 2016). Since banking jobs in Bangladesh are highly competitive and challenging, employees have to work under tremendous

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stress complying with multiple standards of local and international banking transactions. This nature of the banking job allows employees no or little authority to deal with banking customers. Moreover, employees are required to be in the workplace for long hours where there are limited structural supports to facilitate employees' well-being. In such a challenging and uncomfortable working environment in the service sector, well-being is highly important. Well-being in the service sector has been stressed as an essential aspect of HRM to attract, develop, and retain talented and committed employees. Researchers explored that work-family enrichment improves individual well-being, satisfaction with life, and quality of life (Mauno, Kinnunen, & Rantanen, 2011). Besides, it reduced mental stress, nervousness, and negative effects of burnout. Despite this, limited attention has been given to the study of what facilitates the well-being of working women, particularly in a context where formal support is minimal.

Researchers suggested that both the coworker support and the supervisor support are essential for workplace social support and vital resources for employees to accomplish challenging job tasks and handle diverse customer demands (Kurtessis et al., 2015). Work social support refers to the extent to which employees believe that others in their work environment recognize their contribution and care for their well-being (Kottke & Sharafinski, 1988). Such work social support from supervisors, according to social support theorists, can promote employees' well-being since they enhance their ability to cope with work and life adversities. Moreover, such support from colleagues and supervisors helps employees to perform multiple responsibilities at home and at work. Both the quality and availability of social support are critical for employees' well-being. Social support from workplace has reliably been associated with improved well-being (Wan Edura et al., 2012). In spite of the significance of work social support in improving well-being, however, thus far few research works have been conducted to study the social support-well-being link.

Previous studies into social support and well-being mainly used family interference (Welsh & Kaciak, 2019), the role of psychological capital (Mishra et al., 2017), family-to-work enrichment (Neneh, 2017), and occupational future time perspective (Henry & Desmette, 2018) as mediators to illustrate employees' well-being. However, far too little effort has been given to the potential role of work-family enrichment well-being outcomes. Specifically, Bansal and Agarwal (2019), and Chan et al. (2019) reveal that work-family enrichment is an antecedent of well-being. Thus, by integrating research on social support and work-family enrichment, this research provides valuable understanding into the possible mediating role of WFE on well-being in the banking context. By doing so, this study contributes to this growing field of research by investigating work-family enrichment as a mediating variable in the relationship between work-social support and employee well-being.

Based on the above, we propose a model that includes work-family enrichment as a mediating construct in the association between work-social support from coworkers and supervisors, and four dimensions of well-being such as work stress, work satisfaction, life satisfaction, and commitment. Particularly,

this study examines the influence of both the supervisory and coworker support on WFE, and the above-mentioned aspects of well-being; the role of WFE on work stress, work satisfaction, life satisfaction, and commitment, and WFE as a mediating variable in these relationships.

This research, by achieving aforesaid objectives, makes meaningful contributions to the work-family and well-being literature. Notably, work-family enrichment is an important aspect among working women for service organizations (Lapierre et al., 2017). Researchers stated that it is yet to empirically explore the underlying causes of WFE, and the influence of WFE on several contexts (Kalliath et al., 2020). This statement echoes the suggestion of other studies (e.g., Welsh & Kaciak, 2019; Neale-McFall, 2019) drawing attention to carry further research regarding the workplace factors driving WFE. The significance of widespread examination of the antecedents affecting WFE among working women in the service financial sector is less pronounced in the existing literature.

Support from coworkers and supervisors is a vital source of contextual resource in a workplace that signifies WFE that eventually assists individuals to facilitate their well-being. The coworker and supervisor support also helps working women to accomplish their multiple role demands at home and work, which in turn help them to attain well-being. Although few studies have investigated work-social support and well-being, coworker and supervisor support were studied as moderating and/or mediator variables of the predictor associations leading to well-being. Simply a handful of research investigated underlying mediation leading from work social support to well-being.

Drawing on the work-home resource (W-HR) and job demand resource (JD-R) models, which have been contextualized to explain the process of resource gain, supervisors and coworkers increase the pool of personal resources that ultimately individuals utilize to accomplish work and family aspirations (Brummelhuis & Bakker, 2012). With this, our study contributes to the existing literature investigating work social support; work and non-work outcomes that were primarily manifested in the conservation of resource (COR) theory and social exchange theory to study the mediation of underlying variables. The JD-R and W-HR models are more pertinent to this study because they offer an integrated theoretical lens to understand particular antecedents, connecting mechanisms, and predictors in the work-family boundary.

Theory and Hypotheses Development

Job Demands-resource Theory and Work-home Resource Theory

This study draws on the job demand-resource theory (JD-R) (Bakker & Demerouti, 2017) and W-HR (work-home resource) model (Brummelhuis & Bakker, 2012) to develop proposed hypotheses for this study. Specifically, JD-R theory assumes that continuing work demands such as verbal aggression and

psychological demands diminish employees' resources and hence lead to arising various health hazards (e.g., anxiety, stress, and depression) and undesirable work behaviors (e.g., lower commitment, turnover intention, poor satisfaction). In contrast, the motivation assumption of the theory suggests that job resources such as social support facilitate employees' well-being through learning and development. Such resources make people able to attain their accomplishments by enriching their work and family domains. Individuals with adequate work resources tend to be lively, energetic, enthusiastic, and delighted with their work while working intensely. These resources consequently demonstrate desirable outcomes for both the employees and organizations.

In addition to the JD-R model, this also underpins the W-HR model that applies the COR theory and explains the process of resource depletion and gain that enriches and/or diminish work and family spheres. According to Brummelhuis & Bakker (2012), contextual resources (e.g., coworker and supervisor support) are exterior to the people and could be available in the context of the social environment in a workplace. Employees in stressful work and context with less formal support tend to obtain and utilize resources from the social contexts prevailing in a work environment to attain their desired goals such as work and life satisfaction. The model also presumes that contextual resources facilitate the WFE process. In congruent with the concept of "gain spirals as proposed by Hakanen et al. (2011), employees tend to acquire resources whenever a larger pool of resources would be available. These resources contribute to enrich work and family interfaces as well as integrate them (Brummelhuis & Bakker, 2012).

Integrating two theories, this study proposes a research model (see Figure 1). The model assumes that the coworker support and the supervisor support stimulate female bankers' work-family enrichment. Women bankers high on WFE are likely to experience less stress, better satisfaction with their work and life, and demonstrate higher emotional attachment to their job. Employees who get adequate support from their supervisors and coworkers also exhibit a lower level of stress, and an elevated level of job satisfaction, life satisfaction, and affective commitment.

Hypotheses

Coworker and Supervisor Support and Work-family Enrichment

Work-family enrichment refers to the existence of positive synergies between work and family roles and related to engagement (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006). Work-family enrichment explains experiences in role A can enhance the quality of life in role B. WFE is a bidirectional perspective as it explains enrichment from both family-to-work and work-to-family roles. The idea of WFE highlights the meaningful dependency between work and family duties (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006). WFE is the effect of the collective impact of aggregate

multiple-role requirements. Since work social support from coworkers and supervisors has been reported to be predictors that help working women handle multiple role demands, female employees who perceived a work environment with supportive coworkers and supervisors reported a greater ability to accomplish work and family roles (Park, Jo, & Park, 2019). Researchers also reported social support as a critical resource for women that minimize work-family conflict. Hence, it is assumed that women working in a supportive workplace tend to sustain with a positive attitude even when they stay at home after completing their work roles (Chan et al., 2019).

Researchers consistently have demonstrated that supportive supervisory behavior is related to enriched work-family experience and less conflict. Although work-family policies are essential, previous studies have evidenced that informal family-friendly behaviors from supervisors are more essential than merely having such policies to have a positive work-life experience (Kossek et al., 2011). This is due to the importance of family-friendly provisions largely depending on the supervisors' interests, discretion, and efficacy to improve employees' work-family arena. Thus, supervisors can contribute to the WFE by dissuading or inspiring people towards utilizing work-family benefits arising from such legal provisions.

As like as supervisors, coworkers also can contribute to enriching the work-family experience of employees. According to Meglich et al. (2016), coworkers enrich the work-family interface of their peers by taking over some job duties, allowing them to sign out and/sign in the workplace early or late due to family issues. Moreover, coworkers may enable employees to adjust work demands such that their family performance is attained, thus contributing to reduce work interference into family (Russo et al., 2015). Besides, supportive relationship among coworkers brings about positive mood and feelings at work that intend to increase positive emotions about family too, which leads to a work-family enrichment (Sloan, 2017).

The influence of supervisor and coworker support on WFE seems to be direct but the existing literature demonstrates inconsistent evidence to many extents relating to the role of coworker and supervisor. In addition, despite plenty of studies on work-social support very little is known about the underlying mechanisms by which coworkers and supervisor support to contribute well-being through work-family enrichment. However, this research proposes that work social support from coworkers and supervisors' has positive influence on WFE of female bank employees. Hence, it is expected that:

H1a. Coworker support is positively related to WFE.

H1b. Supervisory support is positively related to WFE.

Coworker and Supervisory Support and Work Stress

Numerous studies have studied the role of work social support on work stress (Hwang & Ramadoss, 2017). Within the work setting, coworkers and social support have been found to be effective to relieve the work stress of employees

leading to enhance their well-being. In an organization with a top-down system of management, supervisor support matters the most to individuals. Similarly, coworker support is also essential in the work setting emphasizing collaboration and teamwork (Kossek et al., 2011). Moreover, employees with caring and supportive colleagues feel confident and appreciated which enhance their career situation that eventually lowers their work-related stress (Lee et al., 2015). A study among Korean working mothers reported that coworker and supervisor support are vital resources for diminishing work stress (Cho & Coulton, 2016). Another study, likewise, using a sample of long-term care nursing staff found the importance of supervisor support in reducing depression. Some studies among correctional officers have demonstrated that both coworker and supervisor support contributed to reduce occupational stress (Kristin, Mack & Gayle Rhineberger-Dunn, 2019). Taken together, the following hypotheses are proposed:

H2a. Coworker support negatively relates to work stress

H2b. Supervisory support negatively relates to work stress

Coworker and Supervisor Support and Work Satisfaction

Usually, feeling supported by supervisors and coworkers contribute to work satisfaction. A recent study on 107 educators reported a significant positive effect of coworker and administrators' support on work satisfaction (Neale-McFall et al., 2018). The study also reported that coworker support was a key predictor to explain over 60% of satisfaction with work. Since working women perceive less support from institutions and formal policies to enrich their work-family spheres (Neale-McFall, 2019) the informal social support from their superiors and peers may bring greater satisfaction about their jobs. Particularly, various supervisors' cooperative behaviors such as solving disputes, inspiring employees towards continuous learning, communicating company values, policies, and visions by indicating that supervisors view their contributions as strategically significant (Gordon et al., 2019). Existing literature on the service sector provided evidence appertaining to the role of the coworker and supervisor support on work satisfaction. Studies on cabin attendants (Chiang & Wu, 2014) and front-line employees (Talebzadeh & Karatepe, 2018) found a significant positive influence of coworker and supervisor support on work satisfaction. Thus, the following hypotheses are proposed:

H3a. Coworker support has a positive influence on work satisfaction

H3b. Supervisory support has a positive influence on work satisfaction

Coworker and Supervisor Support and Life Satisfaction

Literature on the link between the work social support and life satisfaction is relatively rare. However, there are few studies that provide empirical evidence in relation to the role of coworkers and supervisory social support on life

satisfaction. For example, a study on the US working parents unveiled the positive role of job-related supervisory and coworker support on life satisfaction (Hill, 2005). On the other hand, another study that included a sample from gay, lesbian, and bisexual employees reported that coworker support was positively related to their life satisfaction. Findings from a national sample of the US workers, Thompson & Prottas (2005) explored a positive role of coworker and supervisory support on satisfaction with life. Some studies found coworker support not supervisory support to improve life satisfaction (Hwang & Ramadoss, 2017), whereas others found the importance of supervisor support to promote life satisfaction (Newman et al., 2015). Research that investigated the role of coworker support only reported a positive association between coworker relations and life satisfaction. The abovementioned inconsistent results draw further attention to examine the constructs in terms of their relations to life satisfaction. However, based on the above, this study proposed the following hypotheses:

H4a. Coworker support has a positive influence on life satisfaction

H4b. Supervisory support has a positive influence on life satisfaction

Coworker and Supervisor Support and Intention to Leave

Work social supports provided by supervisors, including feedback on performance, information, and guidance, and providing challenging work improve employees' ability, acceptance, and commitment toward the organization (Wickramasinghe & Jayaweera, 2010). Similarly, coworkers can also contribute to generating support for their colleagues by providing information, guidance, learning, and friendship. Particularly, coworkers and supervisors can help employees to manage work-related problems, progress and develop careers that ultimately influence individuals to reduce their thought of leaving an organization (Karatepe & Olugbade, 2016). Previous studies also provided evidence in support of this argument. Supervisors and coworkers are found to be influential to enhance employee retention in an organization. A study among healthcare service employees highlighted the importance of supervisor support to reduce intention to leave (Luther et al., 2017). In another study of retail sales employees, Eisenberger et al. (2002) reported an indirect effect of supervisory support on turnover intention. Other studies in the select-service hotel in the US and foreign-invested manufacturing enterprises in China reported a negative role of supervisory reports on turnover intention. Accordingly, in a study among hospitality employees reported that felt social bond with coworkers lengthens their expectations to stay in an organization (Ellingson et al., 2016). Although literature reported no impact of coworker support on intention to leave. The study also stated that coworkers can have a heavy influence on the newcomers relating to turnover decisions. However, using a sample of restaurant employees, Han, Bonn, and Cho (2016) found coworker support to eliminate turnover intention. Similar evidence was reported by Tews et al. (2013) for entry-level employees. Altogether, the following hypotheses are expected:

H5a. Coworker support negatively relates to the intention to leave

H5b. Supervisory support negatively relates to the intention to leave

Work-family Enrichment and Well-being

Work-family enrichment happens when perceptions of work enhance the quality of family life with positive effects and tangible benefits (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006). For instance, work achievement may enhance the gratification of employees in their family and marital life, which in turn gives rise to life satisfaction (McNall et al., 2015). Moreover, WFE improves the quality of work life by increasing one's satisfaction with work (Henry & Desmette, 2018). For instance, if an individual develops the capacity to handle multiple tasks from his or her work, these abilities may effectively gain one's family performance such as accomplishing parenting roles. On the other hand, WFE negatively influences work stress as it reduces job burnout and emotional exhaustion (McNall et al., 2015). A meta-analysis of the consequences of WFE reported a positive association between the WFE and job satisfaction (Zhang et al., 2018). Previous research (De Klerk, Nel & Koekemoer, 2015) clearly evidenced the association between WFE and work satisfaction. The study reported that positive enrichment helps to gain new competency and provides a sense of independence that enhances their capacity to accomplish successfully, which gives rise to meaningful work experience. Friedment & Greenhaus (2006) have explained the resource-centric feature of the enrichment perspective such that it provides resources to employees by which employees tend to be energized and inspired to work meaningfully that eventually nurturing a sense of satisfaction with the job.

In addition, enrichment experience develops a sense of fulfillment and a positive state of mind among women, which is characterized by greater attachment to one's job and hence reduce the thought of leaving an organization (Koekemoer & Olckers, 2019). Notably, with WFE feelings, employees nurture a strong sense of dedication and commitment toward their job by devoting more time and energy to accomplish their work roles (Qing & Zhou, 2017). Given this, the literature consistently explains the significance of WFE on employees' sustainable employment within an organization (Pan & Zhou, 2015). Thus, this study hypothesizes as: H6. WFE significantly influences (a) work stress, (b) work satisfaction, (c) life satisfaction, and (d) intention to leave.

Work-family Enrichment as a Mediator

Work social support has been found to handle work challenges and role demands (Zhang et al., 2018). This support stems from coworkers and supervisors. Supervisors provide support to address family demands and can extend organizational family-friendly benefits to family members (Lapierre et al., 2017). Coworkers, another form of social support, can listen to their fellow

employees' experiences about work and family demands (Gayathri & Karthikeyan, 2016). However, individuals who receive social support from coworkers and supervisors at the workplace are better able to handle their work and family demands that eventually facilitate their well-being. The inspirational paths in the W-HR and JD-R theories suggest that both the supervisor and coworker support make female bankers overcome family-related work demands (Brummelhuis & Bakker, 2012; Bakker & Demerouti, 2017). These models assume that individuals use resources (coworker & Supervisor supports) accessible to them to obtain other resources (sharing dependent care and household chores), and attain a satisfactory level of functioning at work and home.

Since these supports contribute to alleviating stress, facilitating better attachment to one's work roles, attaining work goals, and increase their satisfaction with life, they improve employees' well-being. The employees who are high on WFE with resources from coworkers and social support are likely to experience better well-being. Literature provides empirical evidence on the underlying mechanism relating to work social support and well-being (stress, work satisfaction, life satisfaction, and intention to leave) of working women (Rastogi et al., 2018; Welsh & Kaciak, 2019). Drawing on the W-HR and JD-R models as theoretical lenses, this study proposes that female bankers working in a workplace with social support from supervisors and coworkers demonstrate greater WFE and hence, experience an elevated level of well-being. Examining these links is substantial because of limited empirical evidence relating to WFE as a mediator of the specific role of supervisor and coworker support on four essential dimensions of well-being among women employed in the banking sector. Thus, we hypothesize as:

H7. WFE mediates the role of coworker support on (a) work stress, (b) work satisfaction, (c) life satisfaction, and (d) intention to leave;

H8. WFE mediates the influence of supervisor support on (a) work stress, (b) work satisfaction, (c) life satisfaction, and (d) intention to leave.

Methodology

A quantitative research design with convenience sampling was employed in this study. The quantitative research approach for this study includes descriptive data analysis, confirmatory factor analysis (CFA), and structural equation modeling (SEM). At first, we conducted a descriptive analysis to collect information about participants. Further, CFA was conducted to test the psychometric properties of the measurement instrument and finally, we tested hypotheses using SEM.

Sample and Procedure

The population of this study included female bank officers employed in private

commercial banks in Bangladesh. Data were collected employing a convenient sampling technique from female bankers employed in the 21 private commercial banks out of 48 local commercial banks located in two metropolitan cities located in Dhaka and Chattogram in Bangladesh. Dhaka and Chattogram, two capital cities of the country, were selected since most (80%) of the bank branches were located there (Uddin et al., 2021) and it is easy to collect data from respondents in urban areas than semi-urban and rural areas. The study studied female bankers of commercial banks because commercial banks have less focus on work-life enrichment, support, and well-being than state-owned banks, foreign commercial banks, and specialized banks in Bangladesh (Uddin et al., 2020). First of all, branch managers/heads were contacted via mail or phone to seek their permission and cooperation to conduct a survey among respondents in their branches. Most of the managers responded positively giving permission to conduct survey. Since the study was based on cross-sectional data, several measures were taken to address the issue of common method variance (Podsakoff et al., 2012). First, the study collected data in three different waves. The time interval was 30 days from one to another wave. A cover letter illustrating the purpose of data collection, the anonymity of the responses to be provided, voluntary participation and discretion to withdraw at any time without any prior permission, and permission of the branch manager to conduct the survey. Respondents were requested to return their responses in a sealed envelope. The responses were coded to identify and match the three waves of surveys. In spite of identification coding, the participants were unidentified as questionnaires were surveyed unanimously.

Altogether, 350 female bankers were invited to fill up the scale during the first wave (T1) survey that consisted of coworker and supervisor support, and demographic variables. However, 304 participants responded by returning filled-out surveys. 16 responses were eliminated because of missing information yielding a response of 288 complete surveys (82%). Then 288 respondents who participated in the T1 survey were re-invited to participate in the second wave (T2) survey consisting of the work-family enrichment construct. 276 participants returned their responses, out of which 7 surveys were discarded for incomplete responses. During the last wave (T3), we distributed 269 scales comprised of four constructs of well-being such as work stress, job satisfaction, work satisfaction, and intention to leave. 264 respondents returned their filled-out scales, out of which none was rejected thus, making a final sample of 264 with a response rate of 75%. Since data were collected from respondents in three waves, hence, it is expected that the selected sample size would be representative of the population.

Concerning the sample demographics, 72 percent were married and 64 percent had more than one child. The sample comprised of most of the participants aged between 27 and 40 years. Altogether, 84 percent of the respondents were qualified with a master's degree. Regarding the length of service, the results showed that 83 percent of participants worked for 3 to 12 years for their present organization.

Measures

Coworker and Supervisor Support: The study developed a validated measurement scale from the literature to study the proposed hypotheses. We used a 10-item scale, consisting of five items for each, developed by Karasek et al. (1982) to examine coworker and supervisory support. Sample items are “I receive help and support from my coworkers”, and “My supervisor encourages employees to develop new ways of doing things” for coworker and supervisor support respectively ($\alpha = 0.86$). All the items were rated using a five-point Likert scale (1=strongly disagree; 5=strongly agree).

Work-family Enrichment: To measure work-family enrichment, the six-item WFE (affect) scale (Carlson et al., 2006) was utilized. A sample item was “My involvement in my work puts me in a good mood and this helps me be a better family member” ($\alpha = 0.92$). The items were measured using a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

Employee Well-being: The study used a four-construct scale (work stress, work satisfaction, life satisfaction, and intention to leave) to measure the employee well-being of the respondents. Work stress was studied by adopting a six-item scale from French et al. (1972). A six-item scale was taken from Brayfield & Rothe (1951) to study the work satisfaction construct. Further, life satisfaction was evaluated by using a seven-point measure proposed by Cummins and Group (2006). The ratings were provided on a five-point Likert scale (1=strongly disagree; 5=strongly agree). The sample items are “I seem to tire quickly” ($\alpha = 0.87$), “I feel fairly well satisfied with my job” ($\alpha = 0.94$), and “How satisfied are you with your health?” ($\alpha = 0.94$) for work stress, work satisfaction, and life satisfaction respectively. In addition, the intention to leave was examined by adopting a five-point scale from Dysvik and Kuvaas (2013). A sample item was “I will probably look for a new job in the next year” ($\alpha = 0.81$). The items were rated on a five-point Likert scale (1=very often, 2= fairly often, 3=sometimes, 4 =occasionally and 5=rarely or never).

Results

Assessment of Structural Model

The study used Amos 24.0 to evaluate the measurement model. The model included seven factors. Results demonstrated that the loadings varied from 0.43 to 0.92 and were significant. The values of average variance extracted (AVE) for coworker support, supervisor support, work-family enrichment, work stress, work satisfaction, life satisfaction, and intention to leave were 0.59, 0.67, 0.81, 0.68, 0.54, 0.74, and 0.78, respectively. All the AVEs were greater than the threshold limit of 0.50 and results reported a composite reliability of above 0.60 (Bollen, 1987). The study also checked the composite reliability (CR) scores for the constructs, which were 0.84, 0.73, 0.91, 0.80, 0.79, 0.67, 0.81, and 0.92 for coworker support, supervisor support, WFE, work stress, work satisfaction, life satisfaction, and turnover intention respectively. The CR values were greater than the cut-off value of 0.60 (Bagozzi & Yi, 1988).

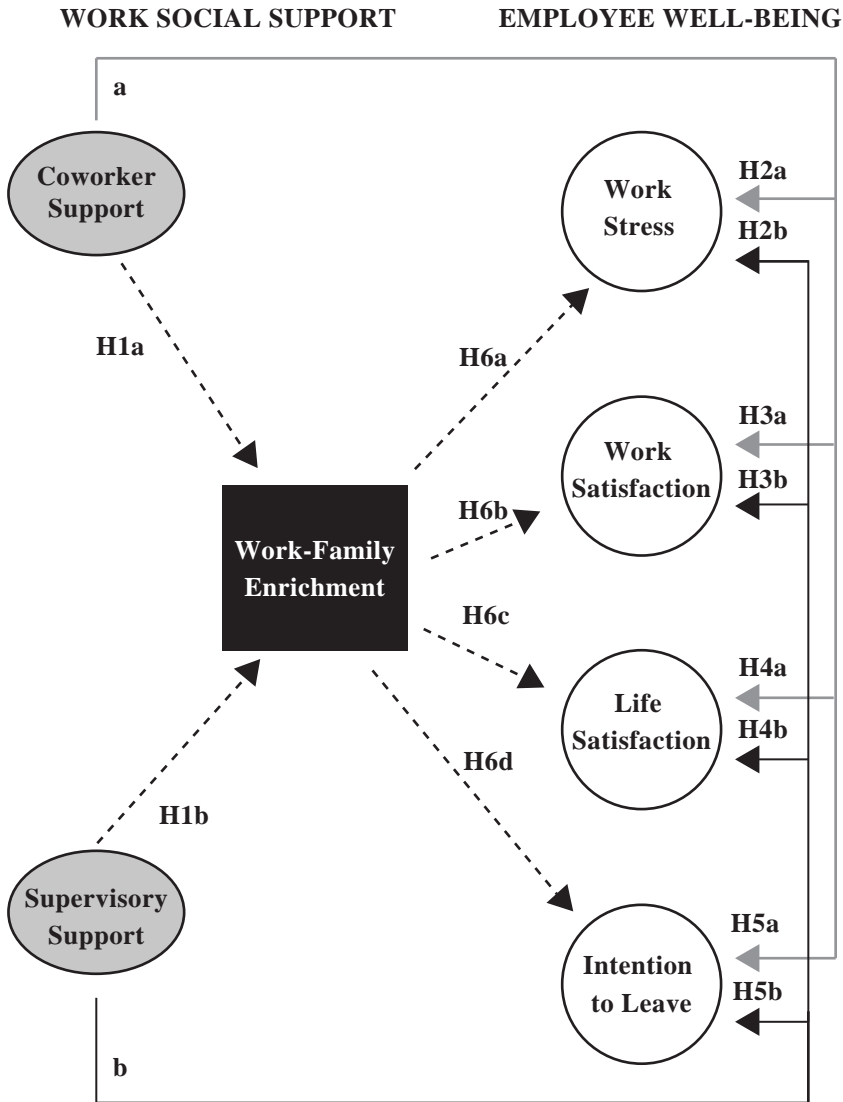


Figure 1. Hypothesized paths

Source: The author

Further, we checked the discriminant validity of the constructs following guidelines in the literature (Gilal et al., 2018). With this procedure, the proposed seven-factor model was compared with the alternative six-factor, five-factor, four-factor, three-factor, two-factor, and one-factor models. The results showed the seven-factor model (i.e., coworker support, supervisor support, work-family enrichment, work stress, work satisfaction, life satisfaction, and intention to leave). The results demonstrated a consistent fit of the

data set: $X^2 = 1108.27$, $df = 631$, $X^2/df = 1.75$, “Comparative Fit Index (CFI)” = 0.908, “Incremental Fit Index (IFI)” = 0.917, “Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI)” = 0.893, “Goodness of Fit Index (GFI)” = 0.881, “Standardized Root Mean Squared Residual (SRMR)” = 0.046, “Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA)” = 0.089”. Taken together, the results confirmed the validity and reliability of the constructs. Table 1 depicts the descriptive statistics and correlations among constructs.

Test of Proposed Hypotheses

In order to test the proposed hypotheses, the study examined the alternative models with non-mediation ($X^2 = 1143.42$, $df = 690$), partial-mediation ($X^2 = 1073.46$, $df = 684$), and full-mediation ($x^2 = 1136.18$, $df = 694$). The results of the full-mediation model showed that the direct paths from a coworker and supervisor support to work stress, work satisfaction, life satisfaction, and turnover intention were not set free, whereas WFE was not a mediator in the non-mediated model. The results reported a significant output ($\Delta x^2 = 56.27$, $df = 9$) regarding the comparison of a partial-mediation model with that of a full-mediation model. Similarly, the finding also demonstrated a significant result ($\Delta x^2 = 63.35$, $df = 5$) relating to the assessment of the partial-mediation model and the non-mediation model. The fit indices for the partial-mediation model are as: $X^2 = 1073.46$, $df = 684$, $x^2/df = 1.57$; CFI = 0.896, IFI = 0.908, TLI = 0.891, GFI = 0.879, SRMR = 0.044, RMSEA = 0.087, which demonstrated sufficient fit of the data set to examine the proposed hypotheses.

Regarding direct influence, as depicted in the Table 2, the results reveal that both coworker ($\beta = 0.27$, $t = 3.08$) and supervisor support ($\beta = 0.36$, $t = 2.83$) illustrated significant effect on the work-family enrichment, thus supporting H1a and H1b. Regarding the role of the coworker support on the dimensions of well-being, the findings reveal that coworker support only significantly influences work stress ($\beta = -0.31$, $t = 3.07$), whereas coworker does not show any significant association with work satisfaction ($\beta = -0.09$, $t = 1.24$), life satisfaction ($\beta = 0.07$, $t = 1.37$), and turnover intention ($\beta = -0.10$, $t = 0.87$). Therefore, results supported H2a and did not support H2b, H3a, and H3b because coworker support had a significant bearing on reducing work stress but not on work satisfaction, life satisfaction, and turnover intentions.

Table 1: Test Hypotheses (Direct effects)

Hypotheses	Hypothesized path		Coefficients (β)	t-value	Decision	
H1a	Coworker support	→	Work-family enrichment	0.27	3.08**	Supported
H1b	Supervisor support	→	Work-family enrichment	0.36	2.83*	Supported
H2a	Coworker support	→	Work stress	-0.31	3.07**	Supported

[Contd.]

Table 2 (continued)

<i>H2b</i>	Coworker support	→	Work satisfaction	0.09	1.24	Not supported
<i>H3a</i>	Coworker support	→	Life satisfaction	0.07	1.37	Not supported
<i>H3b</i>	Coworker support	→	Intention to leave	-0.10	0.87	Not supported
<i>H4a</i>	Supervisor support	→	Work stress	-0.46	5.16**	Supported
<i>H4b</i>	Supervisor support	→	Work satisfaction	0.37	3.31**	Supported
<i>H5a</i>	Supervisor support	→	Life satisfaction	0.08	1.04	Not supported
<i>H5b</i>	Supervisor support	→	Intention to leave	-0.36	3.63**	Supported
<i>H6a</i>	Work-family enrichment	→	Work stress	-0.24	2.49*	Supported
<i>H6b</i>	Work-family enrichment	→	Work satisfaction	0.29	3.26**	Supported
<i>H6c</i>	Work-family enrichment	→	Life satisfaction	0.19	2.41*	Supported
<i>H6d</i>	Work-family enrichment	→	Intention to leave	-0.21	2.93**	Supported

Source: The author

The results about the direct association between supervisor support and well-being constructs the evidence which indicates that there were significant influences of supervisor support on work stress ($\beta = -0.46$, $t = 5.16$), work satisfaction ($\beta = 0.37$, $t = 3.31$), and intentions to leave ($\beta = -0.36$, $t = 3.63$) but did not show any significant positive association with life satisfaction ($\beta = -0.08$, $t = 1.04$). Hence, the analysis supported H4a, H4b, and H5b but did not support H5a because supervisor support did not play any significant role to improve life satisfaction.

The findings, moreover, demonstrated that WFE significantly impacted work stress ($\beta = -0.24$, $t = 2.49$), work satisfaction ($\beta = 0.29$, $t = 3.26$), life satisfaction ($\beta = 0.19$, $t = 2.41$), and intentions to leave ($\beta = -0.21$, $t = 2.93$). Consequently, in consistent with our predictions, H6a, H6b, H6c, and H6d were confirmed.

Results relating to the mediating effect as illustrated in Table 3, the results supported all the proposed hypotheses (i.e., H7a, H7b, H7c, H7d, H8a, H8b, H8c, and H8d). That is, the partial or full mediation role of work-family enrichment was supported by the empirical results. In particular, work-family enrichment was a full mediator of the association between coworker support and work stress ($z = 3.06$), and work satisfaction ($z = 2.64$). Thus, the results supported H7a and H7b. Moreover, the study provided empirical evidence on the partial mediation of WFE on the relationships between coworker support and life satisfaction ($z = 2.09$), and turnover intentions ($z = 1.89$). Hence, H7c and H7d were established.

Table 2: Test of mediation (Indirect effects)

Hypotheses	Hypothesized path		β	z-value	Decision
H7a	Coworker support	→ WFE → Work stress (full)	-0.11	3.06**	Supported
H7b	Coworker support	→ WFE → Work satisfaction (full)	0.09	2.64**	Supported
H7c	Coworker support	→ WFE → Life satisfaction (partial)	0.07	2.09*	Supported
H7d	Coworker support	→ WFE → Intention to leave (partial)	-0.16	1.89*	Supported
H8a	Supervisor support	→ WFE → Work stress (full)	-0.09	2.46**	Supported
H8b	Supervisor support	→ WFE → Work satisfaction (full)	0.13	3.17**	Supported
H8c	Supervisor support	→ WFE → Life satisfaction (partial)	0.06	2.38**	Supported
H8d	Supervisor support	→ WFE → Intention to leave (full)	-0.11	1.79*	Supported

Notes: WFE-Work-family enrichment. * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$

Source: The author

In addition, results provided further evidence on the mediation of WFE on the association between supervisor support and dimensions of well-being. The evidence showed a full mediation of work-family enrichment on the association between supervisor support and work stress ($z=2.46$), work satisfaction ($z=3.17$), and intention to leave ($z=1.79$), and a partial mediation on the link between supervisor support and life satisfaction ($z = 2.38$). These results led to support the expected hypotheses of H8a, H8b, H8c, and H8d.

Discussion

Discussion on Findings

Grounded on JD-R and W-HR theories, this study proposed a framework in which WFE mediated the role of supervisor and coworker support on female bankers' work stress, work satisfaction, life satisfaction, and turnover intention leading to well-being. Specifically, this research examined the role of supervisor and coworker support on well-being; the mediating role of WFE on work stress, work satisfaction, life satisfaction, and turnover intention as dimensions of well-being. The results, in general, offer empirical evidence of the vast majority of hypotheses. The following sections discuss the findings.

The findings reveal that work-social support from a coworker and supervisor support is a vital antecedent of WFE among female bank employees. The positive impact of supervisor support on WFE was relatively stronger than coworker support. It may be due to female bankers' intention to utilize more benefits of support stemming from superiors while comparing with support

emanating from coworkers and demonstrating greater enrichment of the work-family interface. These findings are consistent with the JD-R theory and the research of Park, Jo, and Park (2019) that reported similar evidence among women.

Relating to the impact of WFE on well-being dimensions, the findings showed significant influences on work stress, work satisfaction, life satisfaction, and turnover intentions. The significant result of the WFE-work stress link is not only consistent with the JD-R theory (Bakker & Demerouti, 2017) but also supports the findings of other studies (Carvalho & Chambel, 2017; Achour et al., 2017). Women bankers who experience full of energy, view their works as challenging and can mitigate the stress emanating from work and family roles. In addition, WFE also demonstrates significant influence simultaneously on female bank employees' job satisfaction, life satisfaction, and turnover intentions. These findings suggest that the work-positive work-family experience was predominantly useful in facilitating women bankers' well-being. Although the significant effect of WFE on well-being dimensions is congruent with previous studies (Ghislieri et al., 2016; Koekemoer & Olckers, 2019), Neale-McFall (2019) did not report a significant result for WFE-life satisfaction. This might be due to the relatively stronger effect of WFE on work satisfaction than on life satisfaction (Kalliath et al., 2020). This study suggests that female employees enriched with the work-family interface are likely to experience better well-being. However, with greater enrichment of their work and family spheres, they can alleviate their work stress, increase work and life satisfaction, and eliminate thinking of leaving their present occupations and organizations. With this well-being, they can pay greater attention to the proper management of financial resources and banking transactions.

WFE mediates the influence of coworker and supervisor support on female bankers' well-being. WFE fully mediates the influence of coworker support on work stress and work satisfaction, while it shows a partial mediation of coworker support on life satisfaction and turnover intention. These findings are consistent with the W-HR theory and JD-R model. Coworker support is essential for alleviating work stress and enhancing work satisfaction. Supportive coworkers are also effective for rising female bankers' work-family enrichment, which ultimately alleviates role stress and increases job satisfaction.

WFE shows a mediation effect on the influence of supervisor support on the dimensions of well-being. Particularly, WFE fully mediates the effect of supervisor support on work stress, work satisfaction, life satisfaction, and turnover intentions, whereas supervisor support partially mediates the relationship between supervisor support and life satisfaction. In consistent with the JD-R and W-HR models, these results are partly in line with other studies (Achour et al., 2017; Hwang & Ramadoss, 2019). These significant results of supervisor support to well-being suggest that female bankers receive support from their supervisors to relieve work stress, be satisfied with work, and eliminate thinking of leaving the job or organization.

The abovementioned findings stress WFE as a mediating factor. That is, WFE fully mediates the role of coworker support on work stress and work

satisfaction, and the role of supervisory support on work stress, work satisfaction, and turnover intentions. Hence, drawing on the JD-R and W-HR theories, a female banker with sufficient coworker and supervisor support is high on WFE and consequently can alleviate work stress, rise work satisfaction, and reduce their intention to leave the present organization. Supporting coworkers and supervisors together can help to reduce work stress, and supervisors, in addition, can contribute to increasing work satisfaction and reduce turnover intentions of female bankers directly. WFE also shows mediation on these links.

Theoretical Implications

First, this study extends both the JD-R and WH-R theories. Based on these two theories, our findings and arguments reveal that the important assumptions of these models have relevance outside the organizational borders to employee well-being. Particularly, we argue that resources emanating from coworkers and supervisors support that female employees' experience in a male-dominated work setting may facilitate their subsequent well-being. Given that, one potential extension of the JD-R theory might be incorporating a range of well-being dimensions such as work stress, work and life satisfaction, and turnover intentions. Accordingly, the study contributes to the W-HR model by investigating the role of WFE on the influence of coworker and supervisor support on well-being dimensions. By studying the distal and distal correlates of well-being dimensions by applying unified theoretical lenses, this study contributes to the budding field of literature.

Second, the findings demonstrated that WFE fully mediates the impact of coworker support on work stress and work satisfaction and also the impact of supervisor support on work stress, work satisfaction, and turnover intentions. This evidence is meaningful due to two reasons. Although substantial evidence indicates that WFE is a salient predictor of job satisfaction (Kalliath et al., 2020), minimal effort has been directed to relate WFE to other dimensions of well-being. Based on our model that drew salient vital assumptions from the JD-R and W-HR theories, the study argues that the reason WFE would have a significant impact on work stress, work satisfaction, and turnover intentions is the availability of work social supports that enrich work and family outcomes. These findings empirically validated our expected propositions. Moreover, this study demonstrated that female bankers' perceptions of their WFE resonated with their ability to alleviate work stress and increase job satisfaction, and thoughts of leaving by enriching their work and family interfaces. It is essential to note that the work context matters for employees' well-being. The finding also implies that work-family enrichment indeed makes significant contributions to elevate the well-being of female bank employees. So far author's knowledge goes; this study is the first of its kind in the country to study the direct and indirect effects between work social support from coworkers and supervisors, and well-being via WFE in a South-Asian emerging economy perspective.

Third, the link between WFE and well-being dimensions is theoretically significant because it provides validation relating to the domain and resource-centric view of social and WFE as they facilitate the well-being of employees beyond the organizational boundary. Frone et al. (1992) suggested that the domain-specific aspect of the work-family interface generates outcomes in getting family sphere. The results of this study suggest that the outcomes associated with work -social support and WFE are not only confined to the work domain but also extend to family domain, which in turn enriches one's work-family experiences.

Practical Implications

This study has practical implications for both female bank employees and their supervisors. First, in a highly competitive banking industry banking organizations do not surprisingly take initiatives to attain competitive advantage. However, banking organizations need to consider female employees as strategic partners to gain such advantages. Organizational management should organize comprehensive training programs for female employees and their supervisors to demonstrate that organizations give the utmost importance to nurture a work setting that comprises supportive colleagues and supervisors. These training programs need to highlight how female employees can enhance their contributions with support from coworkers and supervisors to the success of the organization.

Second, WFE helps to minimize work stress, fosters work and life satisfaction, and reduces the intention to leave an organization. Given this understanding, organizations' HR managers should develop programs and practices that assist individuals to experience better enrichment at work and family spheres across their careers. In this regard, organizations can offer schedule flexibility and compressed working hours to facilitate WFE. Moreover, nurturing a work-family supportive culture at the workplace encourages employees to share freely their family demands and situations (Mauno & Rantanen, 2013), which in turn improves WFE. These initiatives might be effective in developing a resource pool for employees personally.

Given that WFE mediates the coworker and supervisor support-well-being link, banking organizations should uncover ways to ensure a higher level of well-being through developing coping strategies among women bankers. Banking organizations may also offer mentors to help and guide women in managing challenging job tasks that reduce their feelings of being overwhelmed. Effective communication may also be useful in this context to elucidate work and family demands within the work domains.

It could be essential to explain how work roles in case of family emergency can be shared well at the workplace particularly with colleagues and supervisors as they are vital sources of social support stemming from the female employees' colleagues and supervisors. Coworkers and supervisors may uncover pathways to support women by lending an understanding and demonstrating an ear of challenging banking works.

Finally, the findings imply for each female banker to understand that coworkers and supervisors could lend support for a greater work-family interface and well-being. Hence, they need to avail resources whenever it is needed. Besides, women bankers have to be aware of WFE and their well-being, and take required corrective measures against stereotypical attitudes leading to the severe loss of resources (Brummelhuis & Bakker, 2012).

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

The findings have several limitations. Particularly, this study examined female bankers' perceptions of work-social support as a predictor of WFE. Future studies consisting of work-family values would outline a comprehensive image of the drivers of WFE. This work used work stress, work and life satisfaction, and turnover intention as well-being outcomes of WFE. Including other dimensions such as effective commitment and family satisfaction could contribute to the existing literature. Moreover, this study assessed only coworker and supervisor support as contextual resources in the proposed model. Further research may examine the role of other contextual resources such as enjoying the flexibility, compressed working hours weekly, and leader-member exchange in terms of their direct and indirect effects via work-family enrichment. In addition, this study recruited a sample only from the banking industry within Bangladesh. Female bankers in other countries with different cultural, organizational, and societal settings might affect the findings. A longitudinal design may further contribute to existing theory and practice relating to the stability and applicability of the JD-R and W-HR theories from different perspectives. Finally, there could be other antecedents which are worth studying. For instance, a vital personal resource including self-efficacy might play a moderating or mediating influence in the same context. Other outcome variables such as organizational citizenship behavior and anti-productive behavior could also be examined as part of the well-being. In sum, this study makes valuable contributions to the theory and practice by integrating JD-R and W-HR models and mediating effect of WFE in explaining female bankers attain and use workplace social support from coworkers and supervisors in enriching their work-family interface to facilitate their well-being.

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Marginalized Minority Voice in the Partition of India: A Study of Bapsi Sidhwa's *Ice-Candy-Man*

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Abstract

The popular history and the grand narratives of the partition of India are constructed mainly around the communal riots, violence, and the deeply rooted animosity between Hindus and Muslims. This animosity is seen as one of the main reasons for the partition. The popular history and the grand narratives of the partition mainly constructed to serve the nationalistic purposes of the two countries, India and Pakistan. Therefore, it is evident that the popular history and the narratives are serving the purpose of the majority population of the respective countries, Hindus and Muslims. But in British India, besides these two major religious communities, there were also other religious and ethnic minority communities. The voice of these communities is muted and marginalized in the state-endorsed official history and the grand narratives of the partition. The Sikhs and the Parsis are two such communities along with many others. Bapsi Sidhwa, in her novel *Ice-Candy-Man* (1988), has tried to project the voice and anguishes of these two religious minority communities. In light of *Ice-Candy-Man*, this paper examines the involvement of the Parsi and the Sikh communities in the dynamics of the partition, and how their voice is disregarded and marginalized in the partition process.

Keywords

Indian partition, disregarded voice, minority, the parsi, the sikh

Introduction

The Partition of the British India in 1947 is one of the most dreadful events in the history of South Asia. It gave birth to the two new countries, India and Pakistan, accompanied by unmatched genocide, violence, and one of the largest migrations of people in the world history. It was the result of the series of deadly violence and riots across the British India in the name of religions of the two major communities, the Hindus and the Muslims, for decades before

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1947. The ferocity of riots and violence were most shattering mainly in its two most distinctive provinces, Bengal and Punjab. There are numerous narratives along with the state projected popular history of the partition. The popular history and the grand narrative of the partition mainly project and represent the conflicts and differences between the Hindus and the Muslims and serve the nationalistic interest of these two communities of majority population of India and Pakistan. Besides these two major religious communities- the Hindus and the Muslims, there were many other religious and ethnic minority communities in the British India. The popular history and the grand narrative of the partition of India are almost silent regarding the voices of those religious and ethnic minorities. "Seen largely as an aberration in modern Indian history, this Partition is little memorialized by the state or by those affected by it" (Daiya, 2008, p. 7). The voices of the other religious communities are muted because the partition is projected as the fighting between the two major religious groups, the Hindus and the Muslims, only. Beside this grand narrative and the popular history of the partition, there are many other meta narratives, such as various personal memoirs and regional histories, that give voices to the other religious and ethnic communities of British India. Bapsi Sidhwa's famous partition novel *Ice-Candy-Man* is one of the finest examples of this kind. The novel mainly focuses on social demolition, psychological impact and the approach to the historical moment of the partition that signifies the loss and displacement of the two minority religious communities of British India and their marginalized voices.

The Parsis in the Partition Process

The Parsi community is a very small community in India who was forced to migrate to India almost more than a thousand years ago from their original homeland, Iran, by the Arabs for their religious belief. As Luhrmann (1996) mentioned, "Modern Parsis are a tiny Indian community settled in Bombay. They are an old people who emigrated from Persia a thousand years ago, probably to preserve Zoroastrianism from Islam" (p. 1). They were living in India for centuries in peace and harmony, but in the turmoil of the partition they were put into the crisis of existence again as they had no clear idea about their position in the partition process. They were haunted by the fear of forced displacement again in the time of the partition. As a very small minority community they were very severely immersed in the Hindu- Muslim chaos of the partition, and the voices of the Parsi community were muted and disregarded as the voices of other minority communities were obscured and marginalized. As they had no clear idea about their position in the partition process, the Parsi community was forced to be submissive about the situation. In *Ice-Candy-Man*, the situation of the community is very much clear in the speech of the Parsi community leader Colonel Bharucha who utters, "Let whoever wishes rule! Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Christian! We will abide by the rules of their land!" (Sidhwa, 1999, p. 39). Being a minority community, the Parsees had little to do in that situation except watching and following the waves of the turmoil.

As a minority community, they knew very well that they were not capable to bargain on their share and the position in the partition process with the English or with the Hindus and the Muslims. Thus, they knew it for sure that if they too joined in the race of power they would be crushed up. As a consequence, the Parsi leader very rightly measured the situation and their vulnerable position on that particular situation to set their steps in the partition process. He very rightly warned his fellow Parsis, "Hindus, Muslims and even Sikhs are going to jockey for power: and if you jokers jump into the middle you'll be mangled into chutney!" (Sidhwa, 1999, p. 36). The Parsi community always maintained a neutral position in the partition process even though many members of the community faced the forced migration and displacement for the partition. As the popular narratives of the partition violence, forced migration, and sufferings are largely built around the history and narratives produced by the two major communities, Hindus and Muslims, those narratives excluded the traumatic experiences and sufferings of small minority communities like the Parsis.

It is said earlier that though the partition process mainly focused on the interests of Hindus and Muslims, the interests of other minority communities were untenably ignored and disregarded. The interests and the fate of those minority communities were left in the hands of the leaders of majority communities. Therefore, when the question of joining with the majority communities came to the Parsis – which stream the Parsi would join, Hindus, Muslims or Sikhs – they were in a total puzzle and disappointment as none of these three communities were very indifferent and were also not sympathize to the cause and the demand of the Parsis. Later, it is seen that even the Sikh community also had to leave the demand of their own land and was forced to join either Pakistan or India. In that condition, the leader of the Parsi community had given a suggestion to his community, and that suggestion was the finest example of minority insight in the midst of the fighting giants. Colonel Bharucha said,

Don't forget, we are to run with the hounds and hunt with the hare. No one knows which way the wind will blow. There may be not one but two –or even three- new nations! And the Parsees might find themselves championing the wrong side if they don't look before they leap! (Sidhwa, 1999, p. 37)

Disregarded Parsi Dream

It is very evident that the entire Parsi community was in the utter darkness about the partition process and its outcomes. The community had no clear vision about their condition in the process, and that lack of clear vision led them to a very daunted trauma of displacement again. The British Raj was negotiating the issues of the partition mainly with the leaders of majority communities by keeping aside the leaders of minority communities. The Raj had given the option to the leaders of minority communities to join either with Hindus or Muslims. On the other hand, the leaders of majority communities

had different proposals and plans on the partition issue. In that complex time and situation, it was not surprising that the partition process was not only obscure to the various minority communities, but it was also obscure to its propagating leaders of the majority communities. Even the leaders of the majority communities had not the clear idea of their position and share. They were also in an utter confusion about what was going to happen in the partition process. A famous historian Joya Chatterji (2002) claims in this regard that,

Jinnah, it is true, never clearly defined his demand for Pakistan, even to his closest colleagues, and the famed Lahore Resolution made no mention of partition. In fact, the very vagueness of the 'Pakistan' idea made it a slogan of inordinate power. It could mean different things to different people and there were almost as many images of Pakistan as Jinnah had followers. (p. 226)

The leaders of the majority communities were not satisfied with what they had got in the partition. They had the very different vision from what they were forced to acknowledge by the Raj. As the leaders of the majority communities were not sure of their share and their communities' demands in the partition process, they became desperate; they only concentrated on the interests of their own communities. Hence, the demand and dream of the minority communities were not in their consideration and consciousness.

The consciousness of the spatial belonging of minority communities became an increasingly important and visible character in the question of the partition process as they understood that their ability of owning a region, a state or its leadership would not be feasible, and they were destined to go with the demands of the majority communities. The sense of belonging stresses the importance of the spatial entity, or to put it differently, the sense of belonging boosts the standpoint that captures the people of their communities and the place of their living. In the partition process, the sense of belonging of the minority community and the question of their own land became hesitant as they had a strong perception that their demands and dreams would never be entertained by the majority communities' leaders though they, the minority communities, had all kinds of supports and cooperation in the independent movement of India. The Parsi community was very much aware that, being a very little minority community, their all demands would not be fulfilled but they had to adjust with the situations and plan for the post-partition future. Afshin Marashi (2022) comments,

While large swaths of the Parsi community were active supporters of India's independence movement, others were also uncertain about what a post-independence India might mean for the Parsis. [...] and the growing momentum of the independence movement therefore posed a dilemma for how the community should plan for its future. (p. 74)

The emotional aspect of this sense of belonging knotted with the space and their leadership, but the leaders of the majority communities failed to conceptualize the dream of the spatial and social belonging of the minority communities. Those leaders of the majority communities became a kind of alien to the

people of the minority communities as they not only failed to understand the feelings and emotions of the minority communities but also were reluctant and apathetic to the demands and dreams of minority communities. In *Ice Candy Man*, Lenny's observation on the matter is noteworthy: "Mother, Father and their friends are always saying: Gandhi said this, Nehru said that. Gandhi did this, Jinnah did that. What's the point of talking so much about people we don't know?" (Sidhwa, 1999, p. 29)

The Sikhs in the Partition Process of Panjab

Sikhs are the third largest religious community in India, after Hindus and Muslims. Like the Parsi community, the Sikh community was another ill-fated community which was almost ruined in the partition process. The Sikh community found that they would suffer most in the partition process mainly from the proposed arbitrary boundary line because Punjab was their traditional homeland for centuries and the partition of Punjab posed a particular crisis to the Sikhs. In *Ice-Candy-Man*, Sidhwa shows that for a very long time, historically Sikhs were living in Punjab with their own culture, tradition, and religion. In the beginning of the partition process they were hopeful, like Bengal, to make a separate Sikh State. Like the leaders of Bengal, the Sikh community leaders were also trying to keep Punjab undivided to keep their own identity undaunted. Against the sharp religious division of the Hindus and the Muslims, the Sikh leaders were trying to make a kind of alignment in between the religious and ethnic identity to keep their motherland, Panjab, undivided. In this regard the comment of Tanweer Fazal (2015) is worth mentioning as he states, "The idea of Sikh nationalism promised to align religious and national identity. In the perceptions of most Sikhs, however, religion and nation emerged as two distinct entities that may not necessarily be in conflict" (p. 178).

In the novel it is seen that the community leaders were trying to stir the people for undivided Punjab, and they were hopeful about their standing for their land, but the Inspector General of Police advised them to go with the Muslim League to save their land. He advised,

My dear man, don't you know the Congress won't agree on a single issue with the Muslim League? The Cabinet Mission proposed a Federation of the Hindu and Muslim majority provinces. Jinnah accepted it; Ghandi and Nehru didn't! [...] those arrogant Hindus have blown the last chance for an undivided India [...] Ghandi and Nehru are forcing the League to push for Pakistan! [...] if you Shiks plan to keep your lands in Lyallpur and Montgomery, you'd better start fraternising with the Muslim League. If you don't, the Muslims will throw you off your rich lands. (Sidhwa, 1999, pp. 62-64)

Therefore, it was not surprising that Sikhs were integrating themselves and tried to keep their right on the land of their origin. To translate their desire into reality, they had to take practical steps, and they took all kinds of measures, but all their efforts went in vain in race with the aspiration of the two other major religious communities. It is important to note that when the Inspector General of Police Rogers said to Mr. Singh about the dislodgement of their land,

Punjab, he became very angry and said that, “That mother-fucker isn’t born who can throw us out! We will throw them out! And you out!” (Sidhwa, 1999, p. 64). This angry reaction of Mr. Singh clearly shows that the Sikhs not only had the angst against the British, but also they had not any plan to go with the Hindus or the Muslims, and they had their own plan for their Sikh Land- The Azad Panjab. But, the British plan to divide Panjab made the Shiks dishearten about the dream of their quest for an independent Shik state under the Khalsa flag. Chhanda Chatterjee’s (2019) observation on the issue is very important as he observes,

For the Sikhs this amounted to an ultimatum threatening perpetual subjection to a dominant Muslim majority in their own homeland, the land of their Gurus and the land where Maharaja Ranjit Singh had carved out a large Sikh Empire, uniting the distant parts of the Punjab under the Khalsa flag. (p. 114)

But in return the answer of Mr. Rogers to Mr. Singh is worth mentioning and the answer becomes a prophecy in the history of the partition. He said, “Rivers of blood will flow all right! Nehru and the Congress will not have everything their way! They will have to reckon with the Muslim League and Jinnah. If we quit India today, old chap, you’ll bloody fall at each other’s throats!” (Sidhwa, 1999, p. 62). Not only the river of blood flowed all over the Panjab, but also it was divided in two parts by diminishing the century long dream of the Sikh land, The Azad Panjab, for the voluptuous demands of the Hindus and the Muslims.

Azad Panjab, the Unattained Sikh Land under the Khalsa Flag

As it is said earlier that the whole Partition process was mainly focusing on the interest of the Hindus and the Muslims, the Sikhs interests went in vain. The drawing of the borders by the Radcliff Boundary Commission was mainly based on the demands and the interests of the Hindus and the Muslims. The Sikh interest, their demands and their concerns were not at the forefront in the border drawing. Drawing borderlines based on the population concentration and the demands of the Hindus and the Muslims became so horrifying that even Redcliff was in a bewildering situation. The Boundary Commission was in utter dilemma because if they met the interests of Hindus and Muslims, Sikhs would find them in a wretched way on the both sides of the border. So, the chairman of the boundary commission, Radcliff found the whole situation in puzzles as it was very difficult to fulfill the demands of all three parties in the division of Panjab. Jeff Hay (2006) perfectly lined out the situation by commenting on Radcliff’s position,

To his despair, Radcliffe quickly found that the principle of drawing borders based on population concentrations could hardly be done clearly or evenly; Hindus, Muslims, and Shiks (who mostly hoped to live in India) were simply too dispersed. Some areas had a clear majority, but in thousands of villages, especially in the Punjab, Hindus, Muslims, and Shiks had lived side by side for centuries. Inevitably, large numbers of people were going to find themselves placed in countries where they did not wish to live or where they might not be welcome. (p. 75)

The crucial point about the Radcliff Boundary Commission was that it not only failed to fulfill the desire of the existing fighting majority communities, but also totally disregarded the interest and desires of the minority communities of British India. So it was sure that, the boundary criterion would occur dangerous disaster over an extended period of time. As a result, the boundary was not published neither to the people nor to the leaders of the Congress and the Muslim League even after the day of independence. The boundary line was to be expected that it will give a solution to the desires of the millions, but it left a lifelong nightmare to the people of the Indian subcontinent. Jeff Hay (2006) notes the situation and its consequences as he comments,

The border was revealed to the public on August 17, and those Punjabi villages whose residents had cautiously flown both Indian and Pakistani flags on August 15, now know their status. The immediate effect was to vastly increase a torrent of migration toward India or Pakistan that had begun already within weeks, 11.5 million people were on the move. (p. 83)

It is clearly seen that the Boundary Commission not just failed to fulfill the expectations of the major religious communities, the Hindus and Muslims, it rather shattered the dreams of the Sikhs by dividing their own land into parts for ever and dispersed the community for ever too.

Appraising the consequences of the Partition discards all the shown rationalities behind the Partition as it proved a failure to fulfill the desires of all the majority and minority religious communities, the Hindus, the Muslims, the Sikhs, and the Parsis, negotiating independence. The Partition turned futile as it made an inappropriate spatial allotment based on the interests and the religious stand-point of the majority communities. Minority communities lost their own space where they could express themselves as distinct communities. It also crushed the dreams of the major communities, the Hindus and the Muslims by not satisfying their long cherished demands. As Khan (2017) comments,

In some ways, the final settlement was a true compromise, splitting land, resources and people between two entities, yet it satisfied no one. The League was handed a scarcely viable, 'moth-eaten' state to run, the Punjab and Bengal (ironically perhaps the two Indian provinces with the most distinctive regional cultures and interwoven populations) would be wrenched apart. (p. 88)

Again, in the process of prioritizing the Hindu-Muslim interests, the religion based Partition ignored the rights of other minority religious communities like Parsis and Sikhs. Later the futility of religion-based division was exposed as it could not meet the dream of the major religious community of Pakistan. Religion which was the prime cause of the partition became a farce in 1971, in the time of the war of independence of Bangladesh and proved that religion could not be the basis of a nation. In this regard, the comment of Ayesha Jalal (2013) is very significant, as she comments, "If the religion was indeed the primary driving force in the Partition of India, it proved to be utterly irrelevant twenty-four years later to the political dynamics that led to the emergence of Bangladesh" (p. 6).

Conclusion

From the point of view of both minority and majority communities, we can question the partition in the same manner of Pandey (2001) who questioned, “Shall we continue to think of 1947 as a constitutional division, an agreed –upon partition of territories and assets? Or, shall we face up to the enormity of the violence and the incredible acts of rape, torture, and humiliation?” (p. 15). The question is mainly for the reason that the partition could not bring the problem to an end, but it still remains problematizing the life and politics of the sub-continent by the name of religion-based nationalism. The partition not only disregarded and muted the voices of minority communities but also put them into a perpetual victim of majority communities. As Sen (2018) commented, “Partition deepened the vulnerability of minorities by recasting them as people out of place. Yet, the founding fathers of India and Pakistan neither anticipated nor encouraged the movement of minorities” (p. 6). The muted voices of those minority communities were not heard in the popular history of the partition, but only in some meta narratives of fiction, novel, personal memoir or in oral history. Parsis and Sikhs are the two such communities who had been largely forced to be assimilated with the major religious communities, even their identity, and place had been forced to merge with the major communities. Although their voices had been erased from the popular history and the grand narratives. However, their dying voices are heard in the *Ice-Candy-Man* where Sidhwa is still representing the distinct voices of those minority communities.

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Muslim Sahitya Samaj (1926-1938): The Origin and Evolution of an Intellectual Organization in Dhaka

Shahadat H. Khan¹

Abstract

The Muslim Sahitya Samaj is a modern literary organization that began in Dhaka in the 1920s and lasted twelve years. It typically promoted research, published journals, and held scheduled meetings where essays were presented and discussed. Contrary to many other literary organizations in Bengal's intellectual history, the Sahitya Samaj launched a more powerful vocal movement of *buddhir mukti* or "Emancipation of Intellect," meaning rationalism under universal (not specifically Islamic) ideals of 'freedom of thought' and 'liberation of expression.' It was the most unique and striking expression among some twentieth-century Bengali-speaking Muslims before Indo-Pakistani independence. If historians argue that Ram Mohan Roy and Rabindranath Tagore, two stalwarts of the Bengal Renaissance, were inspired by "British Orientalism," then the radical, rational humanist Bengali-speaking Muslim intellectuals were inspired by British Orientalism through Roy and Tagore. Why did this movement begin in Dhaka? This paper argues that Dhaka city in the 1920s fulfilled some significant infrastructural growth and development crucial for the rise of a classy intellectual group who, through networking, were pioneering the origin and evolution of such a vast organization, Muslim Sahitya Samaj, that launched the emancipation of intellect movement.

Keywords

Muslim sahitya samaj, bengali-speaking muslims, buddhir mukti, dhaka bhadrak, hindu bhadrak, dhaka university, intellectual associations, kazi wadud and abul hussain

Introduction

The buddhir mukti (Emancipation of Intellect) movement of Bengali-speaking and Bengali-writing Muslim intelligentsia is virtually unknown in the scholarship of Muslim historiography in the West. This movement was the most unique and striking expression of rational humanism among twentieth-century

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Bengali Muslims before Indo-Pakistani independence. The movement began in Dhaka in 1926. Its intellectual motto was: *jnan jekhane simabaddha, buddhi sekhane arashtha, mukti sekhane asambhab* or "Where knowledge is restricted, there the intellect is inert, there freedom is impossible." The movement's central organization was Muslim Sahitya Samaj (MSS) in Dhaka, and its views were published in its Bengali journal, Shikha. The movement's motto, *buddhir mukti*, was conceived by Kazi Wadud (1894-1970) and emphasized by his influential associate, Abul Hussain (1897-1938)

This essay traces the origin of MSS in Dhaka, including developments leading up to its formation and details of its foundation. The MSS was not founded in Dhaka merely because Wadud and Abul Hussain happened to be employed in Dhaka city and founded an organization there. The essay demonstrates that voluntary intellectual associations sprang up and operated in Dhaka when Wadud and Abul Hussain came to work in the city. These associations were the outcome of English education that British rule had extended to Dhaka city, a crucial example of which was the establishment of Dhaka University in 1921. The essay argues the origin of MSS as a by-product of Dhaka University and an outgrowth of some informal Bengali intellectual network of *addas* (conversational circles) through which Wadud and Abul Hussain had developed a relationship with Dhaka *bhadraloks* before the MSS was founded.

Urbanization of Dhaka and Extension of English Educational Facilities

Dhaka city's British-based civic and educational facilities began in the nineteenth century. By the Sepoy Mutiny (1857), the British had established the Dhaka Government College and Dhaka Collegiate School (Hunter, 1973, p. 137). Dhaka College was founded in 1841, but before the college, an English high school opened in 1835. Despite these early developments, the city's educational facilities required considerable attention by the beginning of the twentieth century. For example, "The Dacca [now Dhaka] College has been starved, the professors have been few and underpaid, and progress has languished" (Molla, 1981, p. 160). However, the partition of Bengal (1905) brought significant development to the city's education facilities. Before the opening of Dhaka University in 1921, the government had funded an engineering college, a medical school, a teacher's training college, and seven English high schools (Hussain, 1957, p. 13-15).

The development of Dhaka College during the partition years 1905-1911 was an example of improved educational facilities in the city. The college staff increased from twelve in 1906 to thirty in 1911. Among its thirty academic staff, twelve were qualified in Europe (Molla, 1957, p. 168).² The college building was extended with a group of "architecturally harmonious buildings,

² The principal of the college was Mr. Archbold. A. Macdonald, M.A., B.Sc., of Glasgow University taught physics. J.M. Bottomly, B.A. (Oxford) was a teacher of Mathematics. For detail See, M.K.U. Molla, *The New Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam*, p.168. Mahmud Hussain, "The Cultural Life of Old Dacca," *Pakistan Quarterly*, Vol. VII, No. 1, 1957.

nobly planned and executed” (Molla, 1905-1911, p. 170). The college’s physical facilities included laboratories, student hostels, residential quarters for teaching staff, a library building, and a hall. The latter was named Curzon Hall after the Viceroy Lord Curzon. Honors and M.A. classes were opened in many subjects at Dhaka College. The library facilities were improved to support graduate courses. Clubs, including one for cricket and a "literary and debating society," were started. H.R. James, Principal of Presidency College, remarked on the beautiful transformation of Dhaka College: “The Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam are to be congratulated on the liberality with which they have carried out the design for a residential college (Dhaka College) on a great scale” (Molla, 1905-1911, p.172). The growth of the academic institutions of Dhaka was one reason that the Calcutta University Commission of 1917 recommended a university for Dhaka. The Commission noted that Dhaka College was the “best equipped among all *mofussil* (district town) colleges, with an admirable site in Ramna to form a nucleus of a new university” (Ahmad, 1991, p. 263).

One of the finest achievements of Dhaka College was its teaching staff, who informally socialized with students. This led to an easing of the traditional hierarchy of teacher-student relationships. Dr. Mahumud Hussain, who was then a student at Dhaka College, wrote:

I have found, in general, European teachers very magnanimous and humane. Once, it so happened that Mr. Turner, who succeeded Mr. Archbold as Principal, was playing football with us. While playing, my classmate Sailen Chatterjee received an injury. Before realizing what had happened, I saw Mr. Turner running to Bungalow at top speed and running back to the playground in two minutes with a big basin of water...He then gave Sailen first aid and sent him to the hospital.... (Hussain, 1957, p. 15)

Mahmud cites many other examples where Dhaka College teachers broke down rigid hierarchical barriers with students. We shall see soon that Dhaka University's rules and regulations also have informalized teacher relations with students. Wadud and Abul Hussain, who were teaching at Dhaka College and Dhaka University, would maintain these informal relations in their addas, in the publication of journals, and in the rules of procedure of the MSS.

Under British rule, the physical facilities of Dhaka city also improved. During the late nineteenth century, the British constructed roads, railways, and telegraph lines that connected the town’s wards and the city with the outlying regions and Calcutta (Hunter, 1973, p.108). The Dhaka municipality was founded in 1864 and was continuously engaged in: "developing areas...by filling the low-lying parts" of the city. In 1870 the British moved the administrative headquarters of Dhaka from an old fort to a new building constructed on Johnson Road in the new urbanized neighborhood of Dhaka. Nazia Hussain, an urban historian of Dhaka, stated that Dhaka was the only city in India where electricity and water were “gifts and not the result of municipal or government enterprise.” These two civic facilities were gifts of the Dhaka Nawabs, cost-free initially to the citizens of Dhaka municipality (Ballhatchet &

Harrison, 1980, p. 213).³ At the close of 1935-36, Dhaka had 1,066 electric and 865 kerosene lights. All the public roads surrounding the government buildings and educational centers glittered with electric lights (Ballhatchet & Harrison, 1980, p. 213). The city's law-and-order situation was tightened by employing one police officer for every 35 adult male citizens (Hussain, 1980, p. 213).

The census reports recorded steady growth in the population of Dhaka city. In 1872 the city's population was 69,000, and in 1921 it jumped to 119,000 (Ballhatchet & Harrison, 1980, p. 198), an increase of slightly more than 82%. The highest growth rate was recorded between 1905 and 1911, when Dhaka was "reincarnated" as the administrative capital of East Bengal. The city's population increased by 21%, from 90,000 in 1901 to 109,000 in 1911. The growth rate was not so rapid after Dhaka returned to being a divisional sub-capital of Bengal in 1911. However, population growth continued in the city. Dhaka city had been traditionally known as the "city of the mosque." Yet, in 1901-41, Hindus outnumbered the Muslim population.⁴

The Emergence of Dhaka Bhadrlok ("gentleman") and Their Activities

The physical, educational and administrative facilities led to the emergence of a visible group of Dhaka *bhadrlok*. Rajat Sanyal, another urban historian of Dhaka city, gave statistical evidence of *bhadrlok* of the Dhaka district (including Dhaka city): "In 1901, in the district of Dacca, 2778 persons were engaged in the teaching profession, 285 in clerical services, 280 in legal professions, and 168 in medical professions" (Ballhatchet & Harrison, 1980, p. 263). Nazia Hussain gave evidence of the *bhadrlok* population of Dhaka city: "Dhaka city had 128 vakils and pleaders of which 2 were Muslims in 1905" (Ballhatchet & Harrison, 1980, p. 209). In 1911, this figure increased to 144, of which 3 were Muslims (Ballhatchet & Harrison, 1980, p. 209). The Calcutta (now Kolkata) University Commissions (1917) had given statistical evidence of the *bhadrlok* of Dhaka division and Trippera. The two divisions, according

⁴ Census	Hindus	Muslims
1901	51,000	41,728
1911	59,994	47,295
1921	69,145	49,325
1931	79,906	57,764
1941	129,223	82,921

Religiously, all the city's wards were not completely segregated: "Three wards were predominantly Hindu; in ward 2 they formed 76.1 per cent, in ward 3, 75.9 percent, in ward 1, 68.8 per cent, of the inhabitants. Two wards were almost equally divided between the Hindus and Muslims. Hindus formed 52.4 per cent in ward 7, and 50.0 per cent in ward 5. Muslims predominated in wards 4 and 6 where only 31.4 percent and 36.8 per cent respectively were Hindus." Nazia Hussain, "The City of Dacca, 1921-1947," pp 200-203.

to the Commission, "supplied 7,097 out of a total of 27,290 students of Calcutta University."⁵ The *Thacker's Indian Directory* listed 267 pleaders in Dhaka in 1921 and 967 in 1931 (Ballhatchet & Harrison, 1980, p. 209). In 1921, the Dhaka district had 2,593 male and 93 female teachers working in colleges and schools. The figure steadily rose to 3,430 males and 352 females in 1921 and 4,354 males and 498 females in 1931 (Ballhatchet & Harrison, 1980, p. 210). The religious-communal composition of Dhaka bhadralok was overwhelmingly Hindu.

The Dhaka *bhadralok* were expressive people. Since the late nineteenth century, they had established several intellectual associations and published Bengali journals and newspapers. From 1847-1905, the Dhaka *bhadralok* published 76 Bengali newspapers or periodicals (Mamoon, 1987, p. 148-151).⁶ In the years 1831-1930, Bengali Muslims from Dhaka city published a total of 14 Bengali Muslim journals (Anisuzzaman, 1969).

The Dhaka branch of the Brahma Samaj was established in 1846. W.W. Hunter recorded activities of the *Samaj* in Dhaka:

The Brahma (sic) Samaj was established in Dacca in 1846 and has steadily increased its members and influence. Up to 1857, its meetings were held in the houses rented for the purpose, and from that time to 1869, in the place of a native gentleman, a deputy magistrate of the district, and a leading member of the Samaj.... There are about a hundred regular subscribers to the Samaj, who pay from six shillings to five pounds per annum to meet current expenses, and a thousand ordinary members, or sympathizers, comprising nearly all the English-speaking Hindus of Dacca. (Hunter, 1973, p.58)

Brajasundar Mitra, a poor but educated bhadralok, was the founding secretary of the Brahma Samaj in Dhaka. In one report sent to Calcutta, Mitra reported that Dhaka Brahma Samaj was founded in a "hostile environment." For the "first three months, it had to maintain secrecy about its meetings."⁷

Keshab Candra Sen's effort turned the Brahma Samaj in Dhaka into a well-knit organization. Keshab visited Dhaka in November 1865 and arranged "regular social prayer for the followers of Brahmoism" (De, 1974, p. 133). In March 1869, Keshab again visited Dhaka and founded "Brahmo festivals." On March 18, 1869, he delivered a lecture in which he said:

⁵ Calcutta University Commission, IV (1917), cited by Rajat Sanyal, "Protiva and Shikha: Two Faces of Literary Culture of Early 20th Century Dhaka," p. 263.

⁶ In the years, 1857-1900, the total number of Bengali newspaper-journals was 905. The total number of newspaper-journals published from East Bengal was 241. The first East Bengali newspaper-journal, *Rangpur-bartabaho*, was published from Rangpur in 1847. See Muntassir Mamoon (ed.), *Unish Shatake Bangladesher Sangbad-Samayikpatra*, Vol. II, No.1-2 (Dhaka: Bangla Academy, 1987), pp. 148-151.

⁷ Rajat Sanyal, *Voluntary Associations and Urban Public Life in Bengal, 1815-1876* (Calcutta, 1980), p. 211. Sanyal writes that a report was written by Brahma Samaj secretary, Brajasundar Mitra, for Calcutta Brahma Samaj to be published in *Tattwabohini Patrika*. The report is reprinted in Benoy Ghosh (ed.), *Samyaik Patre Banglar Samaj Chitra*, II (Calcutta, 1962), pp. 504-507. For an early development of Brahma Samaj movement in Dhaka, see also, Shibnath Shastri, *Ramtanu Lahiri o Tatkalin Banga Samaj* (Calcutta, 1957), pp. 231-234. Upadhyay Gourgobinda Ray, *Acarjya Keshab Chandra*, I (Calcutta, 1938), pp. 284-297.

“Brahmo Samaj is a power” (De, 1974, p. 133). In December 1869, Keshab visited Dhaka for the third time and founded a Brahmo Mandir. A ceremony marked the occasion for two days. Amalendu De wrote:

The Nawab of Dhaka, several Englishmen, and respectable Bengalis graced the occasion with their presence As a result of his visit, the sphere of influence of the Brahmo Samaj was extended. Being inspired by Keshab Sen, 36 men of Dhaka embraced Brahmonism on December 7. At that time, one simple-hearted energetic young Muslim also embraced Brahmoism, and Brahmos cordially received him. (1974, p. 134)

The Dhaka *Brahmo Samaj* served as a model for the structure and arrangement of intellectual associations in Dhaka. For the first time, the Brahmo Samaj established an agreement to publish an intellectual newsletter or journal by a voluntary association. In 1846-1847, two Bengali journals were published by Dhaka Brahmo Samaj: *The Dhaka Prakash* and *Dhaka Bijjapan*. After Keshab's visit in 1869, the Dhaka Naba Bidhan Sabha published a Bengali journal in 1870 as *Bangabandhu* (Friend of Bengal). The journal survived thirty-seven years. Its founding editor was Banga Candra Roy. Some of its editors toward the end of the journal were: Kailash Candra Nandi, Barada Kanta Hawlader, Iswar Candra Sen, Durgadas Roy, and Girish Candra Sen., Most of the editors were born in Dhaka and educated at Dhaka college.⁸

The journal, *Bangabandhu*, had started a new format. It printed a saying of Keshab Candra as the motto of the Naba Bidhan Sabha on the front page: “1) one thought, one belief, one way of life, one mother and one father; 2) lacking faith in the people/person of [any] religious community is the same as lacking faith in religion [as such]”⁹ The English supplement of the journal, *New* (1925), the journal of Abul Hussain, and later *Shikha* (1927-31), the MSS journal, followed a similar arrangement, although the messages differed.

The Naba Bidhan Sabha and its journal were two sources that spread radically new religious ideas in Dhaka. The journal addressed Muslims with a friendly term: *mussalman bhrata* or Muslim brothers (Mamoon, 1987, p. 185). Amidst an anti-British outcry of some leading journals¹⁰ owned by Hindu *bhadralok* in late nineteenth-century Dhaka, *Bangabandhu* stood solidly behind British rule.¹¹ A radical religious manifesto of the Naba Bidhan Sabha was

⁸ For example, Banga Chandra Roy was born in Dhaka, educated in Dhaka College and he was teacher in Dhaka Pogoj School. Kylash Nandi was born in Tripura, but educated in Dhaka College.

⁹ 1--*Ek mat, ek bishvas, ek rakam pranalite cala, ek ma, ek bap. 2--dharma sampradayer lok'ke abishvas kara ar dharme ke abishvas kara ekay.* *Bangabandhu*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 3 (May, 1903), p.1.

¹⁰ See for example, *Hindu Hitaishini*, Vol. LXXV, No. 38 (August, 1875); Vol. LXXVI, No. 21 (May, 1875); Vol. LXXIX, No. 1 (December, 1878); Vol. LXXVI, No. 24 and 32 (June 1876); Vol. LXXVII, No. 9 (February 1877). *Dhaka Gazette*, Vol. LXXXX, No. 42 (October, 1890). *Garib*, Vol. LXXX, No. 40 (September, 1888).

¹¹ On occasion of Jubilee Celebration of Queen Victoria's fifty-year reign in India, *Bangabandhu* published a special article. The title of the article was "*Jubilee uplakshe Naba Bidhan Mandire Bishesh Prathanna* or 'special prayer on occasion of Queen Victoria's jubilee.' The conclusion of the article writes: "Oh! mother (Queen Victoria) you have brought great welfare in India. During

regularly published in *Bangabandhu*. For example, on May 3, 1903, Bangabandhu posted a religious sermon on the front page entitled *Buddhir Ishvar*, or 'God of Intellect.' The sermon stated:regularly

Oh! Great father! Oh! Lover of children! Love is Yours; salvation is Yours; many of us know about it. But we do not know that knowledge (jnan) is Yours, intellect (buddhi) is Yours....We believe that You have been infatuated with mercy. You are shining. Who does not believe this? But one thing strikes our mind...there are some faults in your knowledge (jnan) and intellect (buddhi). Nobody says it, frankly, but everybody believes it. If we had faith that You have such an intellect (buddhi) that could guide human's practical life very well, then we would have firm faith in You...If humans apply their mind (buddhi) daily in their useful life, they can run a practical life better than You.... (Das, 1903)¹²

The radicalism of Naba Bidhan Sabha spread among the English-educated *bhadralok* of Dhaka. We have noted above that some Hindu *bhadralok* of Dhaka were converted into Brahmoism. A few followers of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj were also converted into Naba Bidhan Samaj. Bijoy Krishna Gosami was an example of the latter type. In 1888 Gosami published a note in *Bangabandhu*:

Whatever is the truth that is Brahmo religion.... Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, Naba Bidhan Samaj, Adi Samaj, Hindu Samaj, Christian Samaj, Mussalman Samaj, I am a servant of the servants of all samajes. I have no samaj of my own. All samajes are my samaj. Wherever there is any amount of truth, that is my Brahmo religion.¹³

Other *bhadralok* of Dhaka city observed, enjoyed, participated in, and supported the Brahmo Samaj but did not change their caste-based religion. Hunter noted: "Collector (of Dhaka) believes that many students who are...*Brahmos*, when at college, become good Hindus when they returned to their country homes" (Hunter, 1973, p. 58). This observation is not incorrect. Many Hindu editors were supportive of the Brahmo movement. For example, *Garib (poor)*

fifty-year British rule, the welfare that you have brought for Indians, we do not want to explain these from our sinful mouth.... Mother, we are sick and stupid. Yet, remaining under your feet, the 'great queen' (maharani), we also bless a happiness of your children." Bangabandhu, March 1, 1887, in Muntassir Mamoon (ed.), *Unish Shatake Bangladesher Sangbad-Samayikpatra*, p.63.

¹² *He prampita, he shantanbatsal, prem tomar, punya tomar iha amara aneke jani; kintu jnan tomar, buddhi tomar iha jani na.... Amara mani tumi dayate matta hayecha, punya ujjal hayecha; e ke na mane? Kintu ekti katha mane lage...ekta katha mane na-jen tomar jnane, budhhite kichu truti ache; mukhe keha bale na bate, kintu mane e rakam samskar ache; jadi bishvas karitam, je tomar eman buddhi ache jahate amader samsar tumi khub bhala kare calate para, ta hale amara sarbbsva diye tomake bishvas karitam...Manush nitya jadi buddhi khatiyे samsar calay, tomar ceye bhala calate pare. See Durgadas, "Bishay Buddhir Ishvar" published in *Bangabandhu*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 3 (May 3, 1903), p. 1.*

¹³ *Jaha satya tahai Brahmo dharm.... Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, Naba Bidhan Samaj, Adi Samaj, Hindu Samaj, Khiristiya Samaj, Mussalman Samaj, ami sakal samjer dasanudas amar kona Sampraday nai athaca sakal Sampradaya amar. Jekhane jatatuku satya seitukui amar Brahmo dharm... Bangabandhu, June 1, 1888. Muntassir Mamoon (ed.), *Unish Shatake Bangladesher Sangbad-Samayikpatra*, pp. 97- 98.*

started as a journal of the Hindu Sabha. Later the journal turned out to be a defender of the Brahmo movement of Dhaka, but again it returned to a Hindu stand (Mamoon, 1987, p. 374). *Kaliprasanna Ghosh* was born into a conservative Hindu family and edited a Hindu journal, *Bandhab*. Later he was attracted to the Brahmo Samaj movement and edited one of its journals, *Shubhasadhini*, but he returned to Hinduism again (Mamoon, 1987, p. 374). The *Naba Bidhan Sabha* thus created a radical element in the Dhaka intellectual environment. It set a precedent of religious innovation on which other bhadralok could start a movement of radical religion-social thought. Wadud, Abul Hussain, and many others frequently visited Naba Bidhan Sabha before they founded the MSS. We will see shortly that Dhaka had other sources of radical rationalism.

Muslim intellectuals of Dhaka did not organize any particular movement against the Brahmo Samaj in Dhaka. Two Muslim intellectual associations were established in Dhaka in 1879 and 1883, the Samaj Sanmilani and Mussalman Suhrid Sanmilani or Dacca (Dhaka) Mohammedan Friends Association.¹⁴ The founder of the two associations was Mawlana Obedullah Al-Obedi (1834-86). Obedi was a principal of Dhaka Madrasah (now Islamic Intermediate College).¹⁵ He was also the first Muslim Bengali to translate Rammohun's *Tuhfat-Ul-Muwahhidin* into English. The Suhrid Sanmilani was founded on February 23, 1883, and continued until 1886-87. It had an executive committee, a president, and a general secretary. In its last year, the association had 102 members (Qayum, 1967, p. 34). The president, the vice president, and the association secretary were Dhaka College graduates. In the first Annual Report (1883), the general secretary said the objectives of the *Mussalman Suhrid Sanmilani*:

The purpose of this sabha (meeting) was an all-around improvement of the Muslims of Bengal. But due to a lack of support from the local people, this high ideal was dropped. Now society has restricted its purpose to spreading ideas for Muslim female education in Bengal. (Qayum, 1967, p. 34)

The association selected books for Muslim women so that they would read these books and appear in the examination conducted by the association. (Qayum, 1967, p.31)¹⁶ It needs to be discovered what books the association selected. However, the association privately arranged to write a book for the

¹⁴ See for detail, Syed Murtaza Ali, *Obaidullah Al-Obaidi Suhrawardy* (Dhaka, 1965). Mohammad Abdul Qayum, "Dacca Muslim Suhrid Sanmilani," in *Mahe Nao* (April 1967), pp. 27-32 Khondkar Sirajul Huq, "Bangali Mussalmaner Jagarane Muslim Sahitya Samajer Bhumika", in Mohammad Faruk (ed.), *Bhasha Sahitya Patra*, Vol. XI (1983), pp. 33-70. Mohammad Habibullah, "Sekaler Graduate," in *Masik Mohammadi* (January-February, 1941), pp. 283-284.

¹⁵ Obedullah Al-Obedi was grandfather of Husain Shahid Suhrawardy. Suhrawardy was one-time Prime Minister of Pakistan.

¹⁶ This private arrangement of the examination was based on five rules: i) any Muslim female of Bengal can sit for the examination; ii) the medium of the test is either Bengali or Urdu; iii) the place of examination is at home (*antapur*), under the supervision of a guardian of the examinee; iv) the examiners of the oral test shall be selected with a consent of guardian of the examinee; v) for the test, no help is allowed to be taken from any book or from the guardian. See Mohammad Abdul Qayum, "Dacca Muslim Suhrid Sanmilani", p. 31.

education of Muslim females: *Tuhfat-ul-Moslemin* (n.d.) or a 'Gift to Muslims' It was written by Mohammad Reazuddin Ahmad (1862-1933), a Calcutta-based neo-orthodox Muslim intellectual. (Qayum, 1967, p. 34) Mawlana Obedi's leadership in the association is dubious, as his name is not listed in the first executive committee of the association. (Qayum, 1967, p. 29)¹⁷ The sessions of the association were held only in Dhaka Madrasah. In the declaration of the first year, the association stipulated that its purpose was nothing without or beyond Islam:

Oh, brothers! Religion is the only essential of human life. Only for this religious matter is the human called the human. Like a diamond, nothing without its bright light exists in human life, and the human body is separated from religion. Muslims are always ready to sacrifice their lives for faith.... There is nothing dear to a Muslim except religion.... We humbly appeal to Muslim brothers of all positions and groups to help this organization and its activities, which the holy rules of Mohammadi approve.... (Qayum, 1967, p. 31-32)

The association lasted only a short time. One significant cause for its decline was a shortage of funds.

Up to the foundation of MSS (1926), five Muslim journals had been published in Dhaka.¹⁸ These journals were short-lived, and none proposed any program against the movement of Brahma Samaj. The Muslim journal *Paril Baratabaha* (edited by Anisuddin Ahmad) was published in a village in Dhaka. *Islam Suhrid* (edited by Sheikh Abdus Sobahan) was published in 1906 and lasted until 1907. The *Bhaskar* (edited by Nurul Islam Kasimpuri), the third journal, published in 1920, was again a "short-lived" journal. The "Zahed Islam Mission" journal, *Ainul Islam* (edited by Ainul Islam), declared its purpose:

We want an education from a truthful puritan Islam. We want the unity of simple faithful persons. Therefore, seeking the truth is our highest aim. Human society is our field of cultivation. Hazrat Mohammad is our ideal cultivator. And faith is our capital.... (Anisuzzaman, 1831-1930, p. 393)

The fifth journal, *Samsari* (edited by Syed Abdul Karim), aimed to improve the "health and home economics" of Muslims (Anisuzzaman, 1831-1930, p.394). The Hindu Sabha of Dhaka had also failed to suppress the Brahma movement. Kashi Kanta Chattyopadhyay, a conservative Hindu and a lawyer of Dhaka,

¹⁷ The members of the Executive Committee, as listed in the First Annual Report of the Dacca Mohammedan Friends Association (1883), were: Maulabi Hikmat Ali--President; Maulabi Abdul Majid--General secretary; Maulabi Hemayet Uddin--Assistant secretary; Maulabi Johadar Rahman--Assistant secretary; Maulabi Makbul Ahmad---Treasurer; Maulabi Azad Ali--district representative; Maulabi Madacheb Ali--district representative; Maulabi Syed Hazrat Ali--district representative; Maulabi Fazal--district representative; Noazesh Ali--district representative; Maulabi Mohammad Chadek--district representative. The list is cited by Mohammad Abdul Qayum, "*Dacca Muslim Suhrid Sammilani*", p. 29.

¹⁸ These journals are: i) *Paril Bartabaha* (1874), ii) *Islam Suhrid* (1906), iii) *Bhaskar* (1920), iv) *Ainul Islam* (1923), v) *Samsari* (1924). See Anisuzzaman, *Muslim Banglar Samayikpatra 1831-1930*, pp. 4, 123, 291, 392, 394.

established the Hindu Dharma Rakshini Sabha, or Association for Protection of Hindu Religion. In the same year, Kasi Kanta published Sabha's intellectual journal, *Hindu Hitaishini*, edited by Harishcandra Mitra. (Mamoon, 1987, p. 367) The journal continued its publication up to 1887. Kashi Kanta was hostile to the Brahmo movement of his anti-British intellectual stand (Mamoon, 1987, p. 73-77). He was also hostile to the Brahmo Samaj because his son, Syama Kanta, had become a Brahmo (Mamoon, 1987, p. 367). Despite an anti-Brahmo slogan, the journal could not wage a significant intellectual battle against the Brahmo Samaj. Its emphasis on Hinduism was on a return to the *kulin* ideal in Hindu society (Mamoon, 1987, p. 95).

Late-nineteenth-century Dhaka also witnessed other intellectual associations that promoted a more liberal view.¹⁹ These multi-functional associations were established for the avowed purpose of social reforms. Four associations of Dhaka declared as their objective "improvement of knowledge in the field of literature". Three others advocated: the "cultivation of knowledge and reformation of character" (Sanyal, 1980, p. 264). Apart from an Indo-European learned society, the Dhaka (Dacca) Institute, these small voluntary associations were controlled by Hindu *bhadralok*.

In 1910 the Hindu *bhadralok* of Dhaka city founded the Dhaka Sahitya Parishad²⁰ or Dhaka Literary Society. A year later, the Parishad published a journal, *Protiva* [*Pratibha*, 1911] or Genius. The Parishad and *Protiva* [*Pratibha*] were founded by some teachers of Dhaka College and Jagannath College with a clear objective:

The object of this association (Dhaka Sahitya Parishad) is to take care, through various means, of the cultivation and improvement of Bengali and literature. The Parishad will not be involved, in any way, in politics, social reforms, or religious reforms. (Sanyal, 1980, p. 265)

The Parishad did not involve itself in issues of religious reform. It published many essays on Bengali language and literature, Sanskrit literature, and English literature. Several Sanskrit works were translated into Bengali, including Kalhana's classic *Rajatarangini* and Bhasa's dramas. While some attention was given to India's historical subjects, the regional cultures outside of Bengal were ignored (Sanyal, 1980, p. 266). The Parishad gave systematic attention to "antiquities, Bengali language, sociology of Eastern Bengal and collection of manuscripts and oral literature". (Sanyal, 1980, p. 266) The Parishad and *Protiva* were not forums for ordinary Bengalis. *Protiva* was published essentially for intellectual *bhadralok*:

¹⁹ Some of these voluntary associations are recorded in W. W. Hunter's, *Statistical Account*, V, p. 117. Others are recorded in *Bengal administrative Report*, 1876-77, cited by Rajat Sanyal, *Voluntary Associations and Urban Public Life in Bengal*, pp. 211-212.

²⁰ Rajat Sanyal, "Protiva and Shikha: Two Faces of Literary Culture of Early 20th Century Dhaka". Sanyal is probably the first historian who has done research on *Protiva* and *Dhaka Sahitya Parishad*. His information is based on the proceedings of the *Dhaka Sahitya Parishad* as well as on the writings published in the volumes of *Protiva*.

No short stories, or so-called poems, entertaining ordinary people are to be published in the *Protiva*. On the other hand, it makes an effort to awaken the intellectual faculty of the readers so they can realize where [their] place on earth is. Their attention is drawn to the question of what we were and will be[.] It will continue to make such endeavor to [the] utmost. (Sanyal, 1980, p. 266)

The Parishad was mainly an organization of teachers, lawyers, government officials, and landlords. There were no visible student members of the Parishad. Nor was there any female member who read a paper in any session of the Parishad or participated in the discussion.²¹ (Sanyal, 1980, p. 268) Muslims were not represented in the Parishad.²² The association, therefore, was an organization of Hindu *bhadralok* of elite professions. The Parishad built a typical modern organizational structure. It had a constitution, a president, and an executive committee. No indication that members were elected to hold positions in the Parishad. The members of the Parishad met monthly, annually, and at times in special meetings.

The religious-communal composition and arrangement of the associations and journals of Dhaka were evident. The Naba Bidhan Sabha was essentially a religious organization. Despite its radical religious doctrines, the Naba Bidhan Sabha did not write a self-critique of Brahmoism. The Sabha's *Bangabandhu* journal published only essays supportive of the Brahmo faith. A survey of the articles published by the journal for one year shows that most essays were apologetics on behalf of the Brahmo religion. These essays featured, for example, the doctrines of Brahmo religion, prayers of Keshab Candra, critique of Bijoy Krishna Gosami, festivals of Brahmo religion, etc. One journal essay asked: "Why Naba Bidhan Sabha should not maintain any relationship with the opponents (*Naba Bidhan birodhider sange jog raksha kara ucit nay ken*)?" (Mamoon, 1887, p. 360-362) The communal orientation of associations of the Muslims was also evident. Hindus were not active and visible members of any Muslim association in Dhaka. Apart from a lone Hindu intellectual, who gave a lecture in one session, the Dhaka Mohammedan Friends Association was exclusively composed of Muslims. The MSS and Shikha would be a breakthrough in this regard.

Establishment of Dhaka University

Dhaka University was established in 1921 to compensate the Muslims of Eastern Bengal for the loss they incurred due to the annulment of the partition of Bengal in 1911. The Chancellor of Dhaka University, Lord Lytton, said in the first-degree convocation (1923) that Dhaka University was "designed as a splendid imperial compensation" (Rahim, 1981, p. 191-192). J.P. Hartog, the

²¹ Rajat Sanyal writes, "One important matter to be added is that women did not feature prominently in the *Protiva* except for a few women poets, one of them being Kusum Kumari Debi. Her poems appeared in the *Protiva* when she was twelve years old." Rajat Sanyal, "Protiva and Shikha", p. 268.

²² Abdul Karim Sahitya Bisharad's some collections of puthi literature were published in *Protiva*, Vol. VIII, No. 8.

first vice-chancellor of the university, made similar observations: “Dacca (Dhaka) University scheme is intended to provide extended education opportunities to the Muslim community in Bengal” (Rahim, 1981, p. 191). This rhetoric that the university had been founded for a specific group, the Muslim community, was intended to satisfy the Muslim political leaders in Bengal. The political leaders, specifically A.K. Fazlul Huq, ceaselessly demanded in Bengal Legislative Council the extension of educational facilities for Muslims.²³ Dhaka University was not created to cater to the needs of the Muslim community or well-to-do classes.²⁴ The former stipulation was changed to “Bengali student” (Stapleton, 1921, p. vi) by the Calcutta University Commission (1917), which drafted the early ordinances of Dhaka university. The Government of India rejected the latter (Stapleton, 1921, p. ii).

Impact of Dhaka University: Collegial teacher-student relationship

Dhaka University opened on July 1, 1921, and began a new phase of the teacher-student relationship. The university constructed three residential hostels, or halls, for students: Dhaka Hall, Jagannath Hall, and Salimullah Muslim Hall. Following the system of Oxford and Cambridge, academic and administrative headship of a hall were combined in a position called the provost. During the early years of Dhaka University, the provost was always a senior professor at the university. The early ordinances of the University of Dhaka defined the purpose and functions of a hall:

Hall and the classroom would be the center of intellectual life. The students and teachers form part of one community, working for one purpose and helping each other to a common end.... Proper education can only be obtained--[by]the training of mind, body, and character; the result, not a book, but humankind.²⁵ (Sen, 1981, p.5)

The passage thus indicates a “corporate life” of students and teachers at Dhaka University. Early ordinances of the university also authorized provosts to

²³ See, A.K. Fazlul Huq's speech on the Budget for 1913-1914. See also Sirajul Islam, “Fazlul Huq Speaks in Council”, *Bangladesh Historical Studies*, Vol. I (1976), pp. 131-205.

²⁴ H.E. Stapleton, Special Officer, Dhaka University, told at the Social Service Exhibition, Dhaka, on March 11, 1920: “The Committee's (Sir Robert Nathan Committee) scheme for a ‘Well-to-Do-Class-ees’ College was cut down to the provision of simply a Hostel...” See, Sir Robert Nathan Committee Proposal on Dhaka University cited by H.E. Stapleton, “A University in the Making,” published in *The Dacca Review*, Vol. April-May, 1921, p. ii. For social background of Muslim students of Dhaka University from 1920s to 1940s, see, Sardar Fazlul Karim (ed.), *Dhaka Vishvavidyalay o Purbba-bangiya Samaj* (Dhaka: Bangla Academy, 1993), pp. 39, 42, 49, 51.

²⁵ Report of the Calcutta University Commission 1919 IV, cited by Rangalal Sen, “Jagannath Haller Itihas o Prayata Pradhyaksha Prasanga”, published in Narendra Nath Bishvas, Rangalal Sen, Ajay Kumar Ray, Shantinarayan Ghosh and others (ed.) *Basantika* (Dhaka: Jagannath Hall Diamond Jubilee publication, 1981), p. 5.

establish collegial relations with students and organize *Chatra Samsad*, or Student Union. (Sen, 1981, p.5) In 1923, Professors Ramesh Candra Majumdar (History) and Naresh Candra Sen Gupta (Law) guided students to form the Dhaka *Vishvavidyalay Kendriya Chatra Samsad* or Dhaka University Central Students Union (DUCSU). It was an elected body whose concern was to look after the welfare of students.²⁶ (Philips and Wainwright, 1970, p.371) Early ordinances of the university stipulated that the DUCSU's three key positions (president, vice-president, general secretary) be held by the provosts of the three halls. During the 1925-26 academic year, R. C. Majumdar, provost of Jagannath Hall, became president of DUCSU. Mamtazuddin Ahmad (provost of Muslim Hall) and A.K. Mukherjee (provost of Dhaka Hall) were vice presidents and general secretaries of the DUCSU (Sen, 1981, p.19). Collegial relations between teacher and student were thus mandated and fostered by the ordinances of Dhaka University.

Students were also free to organize their *Samiti* or association. In its early days, the university's teaching staff was crucial in guiding students to form associations and journals. Professor Naresh Sen Gupta sponsored *Praci* or *Orient* (1923), a monthly literary journal published by some students of Jagannath Hall. A Hindu student edited the journal. Yet there is a column entitled: "Muslim world". Abul Fazal, a future activist of the *buddhir mukti* movement, published his first journalistic article in *Praci*. (Fazal, 1968, p. 113) Sen Gupta had personal contact with Tagore and requested Tagore to write a poem for the first issue of *Praci*. Tagore wrote a poem for *Praci*: "Risen oh! ancient Orient" (Fazal, 1968, p. 15).

Sen Gupta also sponsored another private student association, *Chatra Seba Samgha* (1923-40), or Voluntary Organization of Students. The organization was dedicated to imparting education among lower-caste Hindus in Dhaka. R. C. Majumdar, provost of Jagannath Hall, invited Tagore in 1924 to see this project. In 1925, Tagore sent a representative of Shantiniketan, Kali Mohan Ghosh, to observe this project (Fazal, 1968, p. 16-17). During the terrorist movement in 1930, police officers sought permission from Professor Majumdar to raid Jagannath Hall. Majumdar, who respected terrorist leaders saying "You are makers of history, I am a mere writer" (Fazal, 1968, p. 23) refused the permission from the police. At another time, when a hall student was arrested and police ordered him to walk to police headquarters, Majumdar intervened. He told the police officer: "Let him hire a transport to go to the *thana* (police office); I shall pay the fare" (Fazal, 1968, p. 23).

This pattern of a collegial relationship with students was a precedent that Abul Hussain developed before the foundation of MSS. Abdur Razzak, then a student of Dhaka university and now a National Professor of Bangladesh, said in an interview:

²⁶ Altaf Hussain, an early leader of the DUCSU, was a leader of Pakistan movement in Dhaka University in the 1930's. See Mahmud Hussain, "Dacca University and the Pakistan Movement", in C.H. Philips and Mary Doreen Wainwright (ed.), *The Partition of India: Policies and Perspectives* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1970) p. 371. DUCSU played, however, a leading role in an anti-Pakistan movement, 1969-71.

In those days, most students had close and frequent contact with teachers such as Abul Hussain and Kazi Mutahar Hussain. These teachers provided the morale to the whole show. It was not important what they said in class. They needed to lead a life devoted to the students. Their lifestyles were critical in building respect for learning among students. (Karim, 1993, p. 112)

Abul Hussain's principal activity during the years just before MSS was to involve students in journalistic and associational works. His earliest effort was to publish a Bengali journal, *Tarun Patra* (1925), or Letter of the Young [heart]. The design and the motto of *Tarun Patra* set the pattern for *Shikha*. Below is the title of *Tarun Patra*: "If truth has power, then advance with the fearless mind". (Kadir, 1976, p. 419) Pramatha Choudhury, editor of a radical humanist journal, *Sabuj Patra* (published from Calcutta), commented on *Tarun Patra*:

Respected Suniti Kumar Catyopadhyay has recently introduced me to a monthly journal. The journal's name is *Tarun Patra*, and its origin is Dacca. The journal aims to enlarge new thoughts beyond our everyday view of food. In other words, its purpose is to inspire youth an appetite for cultivating new thinking and knowledge.... After I read this, I was happy and astonished that this was a journal of some young Bengali Muslims! (Choudhury, 1925, p. 267)

The journal's first editorial argued: "To obey some rules, prohibitions, customs, and precedents without knowledge is not only a blunder but a serious fault" (Kadir, 1976, p. 420).

Abul Hussain owned and financed the journal, and most of its radical articles were written by him in a column, "*Patheya*". The journal's editor was Mohammad Fazlul Karim Mallik. Mallik was a unique symbol of religious pluralism. Mallik attracted the attention of Muslim Hall students. The office of *Tarun Patra* was within the campus and near Muslim Hall. The two undergraduate students of the Muslim Hall who regularly visited the *Tarun Patra* office were Abul Fazal and Abdul Kadir. Kadir was a "beloved student of Wadud and Parimal Kumar Ghosh" (Islam, 1987, p.11) of Dhaka College. The mentorship of Wadud and Parimal inspired Abdul Kadir to search for a new meaning of knowledge. He involved himself wholeheartedly in the literary activities of Dhaka College. One of the self-composed poems he published in the college magazine was titled "*Mukti*" or "Freedom". Young Abdul Kadir was impressed by Mallik's religious pluralism. Abdul Kadir wrote: "By birth, Mallik was a Hindu, Hariprasad Mallik. First, he was converted to Christianity; then he was converted to Islam (Shahidullah converted him²⁷) (Islam, 1987, p. 126), and again to Christianity, and finally, he went back to Hinduism" (Kadir, p. 420). Abul Fazal wrote in his memoirs why Muslim Hall students were attracted to the *Tarun Patra* office:

In those days, all of us new writers knew Fazlul Karim Mallik. We called him Mallik dada (elder brother Mallik). He loved literature like a maniac. Simultaneously, he could write poems and literary essays.... In his personal life, he got a

²⁷ Rafiqul Islam, *Abdul Kadir*, p.126.

taste of three religions. Yet we never heard a religious belief from him. We never saw him practicing any religious ritual. Literature was his only addiction. From this addiction, he cared very little for his children and wife. He could not give them good food, and sometimes he could not even pay his house rent. Yet, Mallik spent hour after hour with us. We forgot our time, place, and energy when he discussed literature. He was addicted to literature, and those of us who gathered around him also fell into this addiction to literature. (Fazal, 1968, p. 126)

Abul Fazal published his first literary essay, “*Matribhasha o Bangali Mussalman*”, (Mother tongue and Bengali Muslim) in Tarun Patra (Vol. IV). In the same volume, Abul Fazal reviewed Abul Hussain's *Banglar Balshi* (Peasants of Bengal, 1921). These works elevated Abul Fazal's position in *Tarun Patra*. Abul Hussain appointed him as assistant editor of *Tarun Patra*. Probably no salary was given to Abul Fazal, yet the employment of an undergraduate student as an assistant editor gave him valuable experience in editing journals. Abul Hussain also enhanced young Abul Fazal's literary reputation. Abul Hussain wrote and published articles in *Tarun Patra* under Abul Fazal's name.²⁸

As an assistant house tutor of Muslim Hall, Abul Hussain established informal relations with students. Muslim Hall itself published only a formal journal of the Student Union. Abul Hussain privately organized some “progressive students” and brought out a hand-written wall journal, *Pataka*,²⁹ or 'Flag' in 1926. Abul Hussain edited the journal, but his name was not published. The journal was published under a student's name, A.M. Taheruddin. Taheruddin was a favorite student of Caru Candra Bandyopadhyay, a radical teacher at the Bengali Department of Dhaka University. Caru babu's frequent remarks included: “I am not a Hindu. I have no place in Hindu society. Because I worship facing to the west, the Hindus of my village have isolated me”.³⁰ The motto of *Pataka* was a little poem printed at the top of the journal: “What is fear, what is dread? We will conquer all the barriers”.³¹ The first editorial of the *Pataka* explained its objective:

We have grown new passion among ourselves. We want to be dynamic. We want to re-examine our lives, ask questions, and demand an answer from ourselves: Where are we? In which direction will we go? If Muslim Hall supports us, our 'flag' will cross the boundary of the Muslim Hall, and everybody will one day honor us. (Hakim, 1990, p. 6)

²⁸ One example was Abul Hussain's article, “*Itihaser Bhaugalik Bhatti*” or 'Influence of geography on History.' The article was published under Abul Fazal's name in *Tarun Patra*. See Abdul Kadir (ed.) *Abul Hussain Racanabali*, p. 426.

²⁹ The copy of this hand written journal was published by Syed Abul Maqsd of Bangladesh News agency. See Abul Hussain, “*Pataka*”, in Syed Abul Maqsd (ed), *Astitva*, Vol. I (1986), pp. 61-66 and *Astitva*, Vol. II (1990), pp. 6-8.

³⁰ Abul Hussain, “*Pratham Barsha Dvitiya Adhibeshan*”, April, 4, 1926, unpublished. See *Sabhar Samkshipta Karjya Bibarani* or ‘*Muslim Sahitya Samaj Proceedings*’ or MSSP p. 14.

³¹ “*Sakal badha karba jay, kisher dar, kisher bhay?*” Abul Hussain, “*Pataka*” (1926), in *Astitva*, Vol. I (1986), p. 62.

By invitation from Dhaka University (1924), Rabindranath Tagore visited Dhaka on February 7, 1926. Tagore's visit further intensified Abul Hussain's relationship with students. In 1922, the university invited a French humanist, in Paris. On February 22, 1922, Levi gave a guest lecture on "Eastern Humanism. (University of Dacca, 1925) Tagore gave three speeches at Dhaka University, of which DUCSU organized two, and Abul Hussain organized the third in Muslim Hall (Fazal, 1968, pp. 140-145).

For a grand reception to Tagore, Abul Hussain involved all Executive Committee members of the Muslim Hall Student Union. He formed a seven-member student committee for the decoration of the hall. The two undergraduate students of the committee were Mohammad Eusuf and Bilayet Ali Khan. (Hussain, 1990, p. 7) Later these two students would become active members of the MSS. The Muslim Hall students were excited that Tagore would visit their hall. At first, they decided that Tagore would be given a reception only by an 'address of welcome' Shortly before the visit, enthusiasm for Tagore had reached such an extent that students wanted to drink tea with Tagore. Abul Hussain endorsed this love of students for Tagore. He arranged money so that students could have tea with Tagore.³² Under Abul Hussain's leadership, Muslim Hall students gave a grand reception to Tagore. Abul Fazal describes this event in his memoir:

The reception was arranged in the large dining room of the Muslim Hall. From the university's main entrance to the Muslim Hall, the road was covered with flowers of all types. The room was turned into several flower gardens with little birds in the cage. The students were excited and forgot that Rabindranath would not like these little birds in a cage. When Tagore entered the Hall, students showered upon him in a rain of flowers.... Tagore entered the Hall with his son Rathindranath and his wife, Pratima Devi. The vast audience gave a standing ovation.... The poet's chair was decorated with so many flowers that one could hardly see the chair. The second round of flower showering upon Tagore began when the poet took his seat.... I have never seen such a magnificent reception in my life. (Fazal, 1968, pp. 144-145)

Abul Hussain read an address of welcome. He capitalized on a crowded gathering to launch a manifesto of the buddhir mukti movement for the first time. The crowd was composed of elite intellectuals as well as hundreds of students. In the reception address, Abul Hussain first paid rich tribute to Tagore. He identified Tagore with the motto of *buddhir mukti* ("Emancipation of Intellect"). His purpose was to appeal for the support of "*Rabindra(a)nuragis*" or 'lovers of Rabindranath' to support the MSS that had been born only a week before Tagore came to Dhaka. We cite a paragraph of his "Address of Welcome to Tagore:"

³² Abul Hussain wrote: "On the occasion of Rabindranath's visit, great excitement had begun among students in Muslim Hall. The Hall Union members decided at first to give an address of welcome. Subsequently their respect for Tagore was more excited. The students decided to arrange a tea-party for Tagore. But there was very little money in the Union Fund. So, we decided to raise funds from donation of students. The entire expense of tea-party was raised in one day." See, Abul Hussain, "*Pataka*", reprinted in Syed Abul Maqsud (ed), *Astitva*, II (1990), p. 7.

Oh! Conservatory of World learning! 'Jnan jekhane simabaddha, buddhi sekhane arastha, mukti sekhane asambhab' ("Where knowledge is restricted, there the intellect is inert and their freedom is impossible"); you, having understood and felt this motto in your heart, have arranged a dynamic program for acquisition of world knowledge in Shantiniketan. Let us be inspired by your ideals of the conservation of world knowledge so that we can go beyond the narrow boundary of shastra, time, nation, and country to accept all humanity's contributions as our own. Your immortal advice, 'non-co-operation in the world of knowledge is death,' we will never forget so long as we live.³³

In 1927, Abul Hussain founded a radical organization in Muslim Hall, the Al-Mamun Club. Its secretary was Naziruddin Ahmad, a brilliant student of history at Dhaka University. On the club's opening day, Abul Hussain read an article, "*Al-Mamun*", that highlighted the rational thought of Mutazilites during the reign of Abbasid Caliph, Al-Mamun.³⁴ The club was open to all students. The Purdah-birodhi Samgha, (Fazal, 1968, p. 162) or Anti-Purdah Association, of Dhaka University used Al-Mamun Club as a forum. In 1927, the Purdah-bi-rodhi Samgha formally received a Muslim female student, Miss Fajilatun Nesa. Fajilatun was the only Muslim female graduate student of Dhaka University in 1927. She broke *purdah* in the university by refusing to wear a *borka* or a black ankle-length veil (Fazal, 1968, p. 163). As a result, Fajilatun was taken by the Samgha as a symbol of Muslim *nari pragati* (Woman's progress) (Fazal, 1968, p. 163) in reply to the reception, Fajilatun read a lengthy written paper on the "Urgency of education for Muslim females" (Fazal, 1968, p. 163).

Impact of Dhaka University: Freedom of Expression

Freedom was one of the precious objectives for which Dhaka University was founded in 1921. The Calcutta University Commission (1917) granted the University the right to have "autonomy" while drawing its financial support from the government. The Commission wrote, "By autonomy, we mean neither irresponsibility nor freedom from all constitutional restraints. But without a certain degree of freedom, we do not think the University of Dacca can ever become a living and healthy organism" (Stapleton, 1921, p. iv).

A limited autonomy from governmental control was implemented at Dhaka University. The highest executive body of the University, the Dhaka University Court, was elected by the university's registered graduates. Members of the

³³ Abul Hussain, "*Kabi Samrat Acarja Rabindranath Takhurer Dhakay Agaman Uplakshe Muslim Hall Chatrabrinder Abhinandan*," Abdul Kadir (ed.), *Abul Hussainer Racanabali*, p. 288. For Rabindranath's speech in Muslim Hall, see Abul Hussain, "*Muslim Halle, Rabindranather Abhibhashan*," *Abhijan*, Vol. I, No.1 (1926), pp. 16-18. For Wadud's comment on Tagore's speech, see Kazi Abdul Wadud, "*Mlan Samasya*," *Saogat*, Vol. VI, No. 12 (1929), pp. 850-851.

³⁴ The article was first published in Bengali journal *Jayati*, Vol. I, No.1 (1930). The article is reprinted in Abdul Kadir (ed.), *Abul Hussainer Racanabali*, pp. 252-262.

Court elected the provosts. The vice-chancellor had his vote and a casting vote to elect a provost.³⁵ In those days, the dean's office was selected, but only senior professors with high academic standings were appointed. P.J. Hartog, the first vice-chancellor of the university, stood against any discrimination of students, teachers, and officeholders for any beliefs and practices:

It shall not be lawful for the University or any of its authorities from now on provided to adopt or impose on any person any test, whatever of race, religious belief, or of profession, to entail him to be admitted as a professor, teacher, or student of the university, or to hold any office therein or to graduate thereat or to enjoy or exercise any privilege thereof, except where the such test is expressly provided under this act or the statutes of the university made thereunder, or as may be defined in Trust Deeds.³⁶

The act was fully implemented during the early decades of the university. The university teachers were appointed based on merit rather than race and religion. The university began with a 60-member, highly qualified teaching staff, of which 45 were Hindus, 11 were Muslims, and 4 were Europeans. (Rahim, 1981, p. 194) H.E. Stapleton, Special Officer of Dhaka University during the 1920s, described a motto of freedom and humanity that the university expected from its students:

The visions will be vouchsafed to the student of his inherent oneness with humanity--a oneness that Wilberforce has pointed out transcends and overflows the isolation of personality.... He will be face to face with the conception that...we have only to unite ourselves by loving service with our fellow men...to attain bodhi (enlightenment), to obtain mukti (salvation). (Stapleton, 1921, p. viii)

Several examples show that teaching staff and students enjoyed and exercised freedom at Dhaka University. Muslim hall students had refused to give entry into the hall to Sir Abdur Rahim, a communal political leader of the Bengal Legislative Council. (Karim, 1993, p. 39) Similarly, A.F. Rahman, provost of Muslim Hall, recognized students' "academic freedom" to practice and express their beliefs. In 1925, Muslim Hall students arranged a debate on a radical topic. The event has been described by a Muslim student leader who organized this debate:

For the first time in the Muslim Hall, I arranged a debate on a topic: 'Bolshevism is the only hope of mankind'. The opponent group, led by Professor Ayer of the

³⁵ In 1932, Shahidullah was a contestant for the position of provost in Muslim Hall. Shahidullah got seven votes while his opponent got eight votes. Vice-chancellor, Professor G.H. Langley, elected Shahidullah by his own vote as well as the casting vote as the president of the meeting. See News Report, "Dr. Shahidullah Appointed Provost of Dacca Muslim Hall," *The Mussalman*, February 20, 1932.

³⁶ Dhaka University, Philip Joshep Hartog Papers, Vol. I, Hartog's Memorandum No. 59, unpublished, see British Library, MSS, EUR, 221.

Economics Department, took the opposite. The vice-chancellor, P.J. Hartog, gave a lengthy speech against Bolshevism. The opponents could not refute our argument. The overwhelming majority of the panel issued a decision in favor of us. As a result of this decision, the University administration was scared of the 'sedition' movement on the campus. Sir A. F. Rahman was undaunted by this fear and told us: 'the Hall Union is a students' union, and they must have academic freedom.' (Hussain, 1945, p. 313)

Sir A. F. Rahman took a leave from the university in 1927. He took a new job as secretary of the 'reform committee' of Aligarh University. At this time, Wadud and Abul Hussain knew Rahman. Abul Hussain worked as a house tutor of Muslim Hall, while Rahman was provost of the Hall. Additionally, Rahman was a secretary of the reception committee of the MSS in 1926. As vice-chancellor of Dhaka University in 1935, Rahman served as president of a General Session of MSS. Rahman said his opinion about the MSS in 1926: "Muslim Sahitya Samaj is a movement of new dynamism. It is simply a symptom of a new renaissance in our society" (Rahman, 1926, p. 2).

Intellectual freedom had existed in Muslim halls before it became a stronghold of MSS. Professor A.F. Rahman (History)³⁷ symbolized secularism in the hall. He was popular among Hindu and Muslim students. When a Hindu provost of Jagannath Hall took leave, Hindu students of Jagannath Hall insisted that Sir P.J. Hartog appoint Rahman as their provost (Rahman, 1945, p. 295). Rahman usually opposed any Islamic orthodoxy in the hall. One of Rahman's students wrote:

While he (Rahman) was provost, the number of the be-namaji (non-praying) students in the Hall increased faster than the namaji (praying) students. As a religious person, Shahidullah (one of the house tutors of the Hall) was so excited that he strictly imposed five-time prayer as compulsory for every student. As a result, students broke into two groups: namaji and be-namaji. After a lengthy debate between the two groups, the matter was referred to the provost. Sir A.F. Rahman solved the issue diplomatically: "After the whole day, you go to sleep. What is a guarantee that this sleep is not your eternal sleep? Can you take care of yourself when you are asleep? Should you not, then commit yourself to the care and will of your Lord before you retire to bed." (Khan, 1945, p. 301)

Rahman's mild but diplomatic reply did not help the praying group, who wanted an Islamization program in Muslim Hall. The non-praying group was

³⁷ Born in 1889 in West Bengal, Rahman was educated at Oxford and London University. For a few years in the 1910s, Rahman taught history at Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College. In 1921, Rahman joined Dhaka University as Reader in History Department. In 1924, he was elected as representative of Dhaka University to the Bengal Legislative Council. In 1934, he was appointed as vice-chancellor of Dhaka University. In 1937, he was appointed as a member of the Indian Civil Service Commission. In 1942, Rahman was knighted. Rahman died on March 24, 1945. For biographical information on Sir A.F. Rahman, see Mizanur Rahman, "A.F. Rahman," *Jagaran*, Vol. IV No. 9 (1945), pp. 294-295. B.C. Ghosh, "Jibani," *Jagaran*, Vol. IV No. 9 (1945), p. 297. Abul Khayer Ahmad Khan, "Smriti-Kanika," *Jagaran*, Vol. IV No. 9 (1945), pp. 299-301. Mohammad Shahidullah, "Sir A.F. Rahman," *Jagaran*, Vol. IV No. 9 (1945), pp. 304-305.

united firmly. They demanded that meals be served as usual during Ramadan in the dining room (Ali, 1828, p. 206). They discussed with Dr. Mohammad Shahidullah that religion is purely private and personal. Shahidullah compromised to the extent that they should declare themselves sick, and then they would be allowed to eat privately.

The non-praying group was not satisfied. They petitioned the university's chancellor to keep the dining hall open during Ramadan. Under the chancellor's instruction, Sir A.F. Rahman temporarily calmed down the rebellious student group. The new provost, Mahmud Hussain, made Ramadan compulsory for Muslim students of the Hall. The non-praying group challenged this arbitrary decision of the provost and filed a case in the civil court against Dhaka University for violating students' freedom of religious beliefs (Ali, 1828, pp. 203-214). The decision of the court is not known to us. Nevertheless, the formation of a non-praying group, a willingness to eat during the Islamic holy month of Ramadan, and finally filing a case in the civil court for safeguarding freedom against Islamic injunction was a classic example of Muslim bhadralok's radicalism in Dhaka University, before the MSS was founded. For example, a rebellious student of the Muslim Hall, Khan Mohammad Ataur Rahman, even wrote an essay in which he drew picture sketches of maulabis who were intolerant and brought torture to freedom of expression.

Several reasons can account for the radicalism of the non-praying group. One can see that the group had fully utilized the religious freedom that P.G. Hartog had stipulated for Dhaka University. Second, though we have no evidence to prove Abul Hussain's specific influence on the group when the group emerged, Abul Hussain was one of the house tutors and published in *Tarun Patra* several radical essays that were critical of Islam. For example, Abul Hussain wrote in one of the articles of *Tarun Patra*:

You recite the Quran and Hadith wonderfully, yet your mind will remain dry. The recitation will satisfy your tongue and ear, but your mind will remain hungry.... Performance of religious formalism will not give you the truth. If there is no life in religious formalism, it will wear down your body, and you will not go to the path of truth.... Have you not seen people snooze in prayer in the mosque and preaching in milad? Can we achieve reality through these?³⁸ (Kadir, pp. 3-12)

Means of Informal Intellectual Exchanges: *Addas*

Wadud and Abul Hussain were like immigrants in Dhaka city in the 1920s. Wadud came to Dhaka in 1920, and Abul Hussain in 1921. They had no roots in the town. They owned no property and had no near relatives in Dhaka. Yet,

³⁸ Abul Hussain, "Satya" or "Truth", Abul Hussain (ed.) *Tarun Patra*, Vol. I (May-June, 1925). See also Abul Hussain, "Ahamika", *Tarun Patra* Vol. I (April-May, 1925); "Agganubartita", *Tarun Patra*, Vol. I (June-July, 1925). The three articles are reprinted in Abdul Kadir (ed.), *Abul Hussainer Racanabali*, pp. 3-12.

within six years of their arrival in Dhaka, they founded a significant, meaningful, unique intellectual association. For the formation of the MSS, Wadud recalled the years 1920-26 as the years of “preparation”. Wadud wrote to Abdul Huq, a writer who edited Wadud's writings in the 1970s:

Your evaluation of the Shikha is good, but you had yet to write anything about Abul Hussain and my preparation during the years before the publication of Shikha--that makes your essay incomplete. To know Abul Hussain's preparation, look at Tarun Patra (1925). Understanding my preparation is less complicated, and I can answer your questions. (Huq, 1983, p. 9)

Wadud prepared to build many informal intellectual circles or *addas* in Dhaka.

Characteristics of Intellectual *Addas* in Dhaka

The general meaning of *adda* in a Bengali context is an informal means of thinking and communicating through group conversation. *Adda* is one of the typical socio-cultural experiences in the intellectual life of a Bengali. The primary cohesion among participants of an *adda* is not ordinarily based on kinship relations. The intellectual *adda*, or *budhijibider adda*, in Bengali society, is formed when formal relationships, for example, a conventional relationship among professional colleagues or a formal association of teacher-student or peer relationship among students is further extended into an informal relationship, e.g., as among companions or friends. The informal relationship grows further through frequent casual meetings or *addas*. Unlike formal voluntary associations, an *adda* has no fixed agenda. An *adda* has no set time, place, membership, subscription, constitution, or schedule. Nevertheless, many *addas* in Bengal have developed into formal voluntary intellectual associations or have published some of the finest Bengali journals.

Many intellectual *addas* existed in Dhaka during the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s. One good example was the ‘*Pragati adda*’ or ‘Progressive adda’. One participant of this *adda* was Buddhadeb Basu, a scholar and an academic graduate from Dhaka University. The *Pragati adda* originated in the Dhaka University cafeteria in the 1920s, as Basu relates:

Compared to our education in the university (Dhaka University), the facility of our cafeteria was inferior. Situated in one corner of the University, the cafe was a shanty place filled with worn-out furniture. It was here that we ate our lunch and drank tea. It is here we met our friends---Tonu (later, Professor Ajit Kumar Dutt of Dhaka University), Amal (later, Professor Amalendu Dutta of Calcutta and Aligarh Universities), Parimal (later, Professor Parimal Roy of Dhaka and Delhi Universities). Hour after hour, we spent here in *addas* and drank tea and talked about literature, Bengali society, and politics. (Basu, 1981, p. 89)

The *adda* gave itself a name in 1926-27, *Pragati adda*, or Progressive Group. They also published a literary journal, *Pragati*, edited by Buddhadeb Basu and Ajit Kumar Dutta. Centered on this journal, *Pragati*, the *Pragati adda* in 1940 crystallized into a formal voluntary association, Pragati Lekhak Samgha or

Progressive Writers Association. (Gupta & Karim, 1994, pp. 50-54) Detailed evidence is not available, yet there is a reference that the *Pragati adda* knew Abul Hussain and Wadud. Basu had been a student of Wadud at Dhaka Intermediate College. In 1926, 'rebel poet' Nazrul Islam came to the opening session of MSS. Basu snatched Nazrul away from Abul Hussain's house and brought him to *Pragati adda* (Rahman, 1991, p. 78).

Another *adda* was regularly held in the house of Mohitlal Majumdar, a teacher at the Bengali Department of Dhaka University. Shukumar Ray was a student of Mohitlal, yet Ray regularly attended the *adda* held in his teacher's house. Ray described this *adda*:

I have studied Bengali literature and attended many *addas* (in Dhaka city). But no *adda* had overwhelmed my thought so much as the *adda* held in the house of Professor Mohitlal Majumdar. Usually, the *adda* was born in the evening and participated in by students, teachers, professional writers, and scholars of literature. In the *addas*, night after night, Mohitlal discussed the writings of Rabin-dranath, Bankim, Madhusudan, and Debendranath Thakur on the one hand and recited poems of English poets of the romantic age on the other. (Ray, 1981, p. 95)

We are curious if *addas* in Mohitlal's house were ever transformed into a voluntary association. But Mohitlal, in the 1930s, played an active role in the MSS.

The *Addas* of Kazi Wadud in Dhaka

Wadud organized an *adda* with Kazi Mutahar Hussain in Dhaka city in 1920. Mutahar Hussain was a 'demonstrator' for the Physics Department of Dhaka University, and Wadud was a teacher of Bengali literature at Dhaka Intermediate College. Wadud was also a childhood friend of Mutahar. Mutahar wrote:

In childhood, I met Wadud every year when he came to the village during summer vacations. At that time, I was a rustic village boy, and he was a well-dressed and intelligent city babu....The village boys flew small kites; he flew a big kite....Yet he loved me...because he believed some intelligence was still left in my brain.... (Hussain, 1984, pp. 358-359)

In 1920, Kazi Wadud renewed this informal relation of childhood friendship with Kazi Mutahar in Dhaka. The two Kazis rented a house in Dhaka and lived with their families for four years (to 1924). Mutahar was a physicist, a good singer, and a renowned chess player. Wadud developed both these hobbies of Mutahar in *addas*. (Hussain, 1984, p. 362) This friendship with Mutahar brought Wadud into informal contact with many other intellectuals of Dhaka University. For example, Professor R.C. Majumdar and Mohammad Shahidullah knew Mutahar. Mutahar was a "favorite student of Satyen Bose, again a good friend of Professor Majumdar. Mutahar described one incident in which Professor Majumdar expressed intimacy with Mutahar:

Ramesh babu once organized a cultural function at Jagannath Hall. For some reason, I was late for that function. Ramesh babu immediately sent a student to my home. When I reached the function, there was no vacant seat in the male spectator's area. Ramesh babu directed one student, 'seat Kazi saheb in a vacant seat in the area of female spectators because he (Kazi) is the ladies of the ladies'. (Hussain, 1992, p. 28)

Mutahar's familiarity with Shahidullah, however, was based on kinship. Mutahar wrote: "By matrimony; Shahidullah was my maternal father-in-law (*baibahik samparke Shahidullah amar khalu svashur haten*)" (Hussain, 1992, p. 29).

Wadud cemented the informal contacts with Professor Majumdar and Shahidullah that he initially established through Mutahar. At the same time, Wadud organized literary *addas* in his home, *Johara Manjil*, where many professors, including Professor Majumdar, frequently participated. S.N.Q. Zulfiqar Ali, a Bengali civil servant, participated in *addas* in Wadud's home. Ali wrote:

Frequent literary *addas* were held in Wadud's home, *Johara Manjil*, Dhaka. The participants usually read essays and self-composed poems. I have been introduced to many intellectuals in these *addas* S.N. Maitra (principal, Dhaka Intermediate College); Dr. Kalika Ranjan Kanungo (Professor of Bengali, Dhaka University); Caru Candra Bandyopadhyay (Assistant Professor of Bengali, Dhaka University); Kazi Mutahar Hussain; Stayen Bose; A.F. Rahman; R.C. Majumdar and Haridas Bhattacharjya (Professors of Dhaka University). I have noticed and respected one characteristic of Wadud in these *addas*. He never thought himself inferior to these high-profile Dhaka University professors. He never thought he was only a government college teacher, and they were high-profile intellectuals of Dhaka University. In the *addas*, Wadud spread his ideas to these intellectuals through conversations and debates. (Ali, 1982, pp. 78-79)

Wadud's home was not the only place of *adda* in Dhaka. Wadud took Mutahar to Anwarul Kadir's home, where he met Abul Hussain (Rahman, 1988). Anwarul Kadir (Professor of Logic) was a professional colleague of Wadud at Dhaka Intermediate College (Islam, 1981, p. 252). This formal professional relationship between Wadud and Anwarul Kadir soon developed into what Wadud called: *bandhubar Anwarul Kadir* (Wadud, 1990, 323) or great friend Anwarul Kadir. What had transformed this formal relationship into an informal friendship is challenging to establish. Perhaps it is an inherent social trait of Bengalis to mix freely and frankly with strangers if they sense some similarity of feelings.

Anwarul Kadir's daughter, Zaheda Rahman (now residing in Dhaka), and son Hamidul Kadir (now residing in Calcutta), confirmed for me (1993) that Wadud frequently visited their home in Dhaka. In 1928, Kadir was transferred from Dhaka to Noakhali. The departure of his friend saddened Wadud. He wrote in his diary:

Today my bandhubar is leaving. I have not had as much friendship with anybody as with him. Pramatha (Pramatha Sarkar, Professor of Economics at a college in Calcutta), Niren (Nirendranath Roy, Professor of English at a college in Calcutta), Afzal (Afzalul Huq, editor and publisher in Calcutta) were my good friends. But with Kadir, I have a relationship of heart, more organic, the kind of relationship I have with my children and a few relatives. (Wadud, 1990, p. 324)

Wadud met Abul Hussain at Anwarul Kadir's home because Abul Hussain was a frequent visitor at Anwarul Kadir's home. We have noted that Anwarul Kadir was a school teacher of Abul Hussain. Anwarul Kadir's financial subsidy and paternal care supported young Abul Hussain's secondary education. At that time, young Abul Hussain addressed Kadir, *baba*, or father. After many years, they met again in Dhaka. Abul Hussain continued to call Anwarul Kadir *baba*, although Abul Hussain held a higher professional rank at Dhaka University. Anwarul Kadir, like a father, advised his son and asked Abul Hussain to complete a law degree. After Abul Hussain completed the degree of M.L.A. and obtained a distinction, he "touched the feet" of his *baba*, Anwarul Kadir.³⁹ At a family level, Abul Hussain's children were like brothers and sisters of Kadir's daughter and son. Hamidul Kadir frankly admitted that his father, Anwarul Kadir, did not develop a habit of writing because Anwarul Kadir's view was: "Socrates did not write!" Abul Hussain inspired Kadir to write and read articles in MSS sessions.⁴⁰ Abul Hussain inspired Anwarul Kadir to edit these articles and publish a book. The book was published in 1934 under *Amader Duhkha* (1934) or 'Our Sorrows.'

Wadud's informal acquaintance with Abul Hussain at Kadir's home was gradually cemented. During 1924-25, Wadud, Abul Hussain, Kadir, and Kazi Mutahar Hussain had "closed-door meetings" in Kadir's home.⁴¹ We need to find out what they discussed in these *addas*. Zaheda told me that she was young and could not enter that room. Wadud's *adda* with Abul Hussain was extended outside of Kadir's home. Together, they spent hours watching 'folk dramas and songs' (*jatra gan*) in Dhaka. They visited and enjoyed the songs of the Brahmo Samaj of Dhaka (Wadud, 1990, p. 307). Wadud's respect for Abul Hussain's ideological stance further strengthened this informal companionship. Wadud wrote in his diary:

He (Abul Hussain) is committed to the well-being of [Muslim] society. But how stupid Muslims are that they could not follow Abul Hussain....Abul Hussain wants to present himself in the Muslim community as an exemplary instance of devotion, dedication, and bravery. But Muslim society does not understand a single word of Abul Hussain. They also think he is an enemy of Islam and the Muslim community. Of course, ordinary people are like this in every society, but none is so 'perverse' as the Muslims. I do not blame them too much if they do not understand

³⁹ Interview with Zaheda Rahman, Dhaka, May 5 1993, unpublished.

⁴⁰ Interview with Hamidul Kadir, Anwarul Kadir's son, Calcutta, June 23, 1993, unpublished.

⁴¹ Interview with Zaheda Rahman, Dhaka, May 5 1993, unpublished.

me. But Abul Hussain's thought is so clear that, except for blind people, everybody should understand each of his words. This blind and stupid (ahammak) Muslim society is probably fit to be destroyed.⁴²

Wadud's support of Abul Hussain's radical stance continued as long as Wadud lived. Specifically, in MSS sessions, Abul Hussain was allowed to read most of his radical personal essays, and Wadud was one of their vocal supporters. In 1926, shortly after MSS was founded, Wadud published his book, *Naba Parjay* or 'New Step'. Wadud respectfully acknowledged the following: "This book's title, '*Naba Parjay*', is given to me by my respected friend, Professor Abul Hussain" (Wadud, 1926, p. 3).

A strong Rabindra-admiring adda existed in Dhaka city in the 1920s. Wadud entered this *adda*, called Vishva-Bharati Sanmelani (1924), or Vishva-Bharati adda. The adda was first begun by Manoranjan Dhar. Manoranjan was a cultured Hindu bhadrakalok as well as a business person. Inspired by Tagore, he opened a bookstore in Dhaka city. The store was not far from Dhaka University and Kazi Wadud's house. To attract customers to his shop, Manoranjan organized an *adda* of the intellectuals in his shop. Abul Fazal has described the *Vishva-Bharati adda* in Dhaka:

The *Vishva-Bharati Sanmelani* offered an excellent opportunity to those who moved purposefully to Dhaka city to include themselves in some *addas* for literary activities. The bookstore of Manoranjan Dhar was named *Bani Mandir* (temple of words). And underneath the store's name was written: 'here are available books of Rabindranath, Sarat Chandra, Nazrul Islam, and books of many more modern writers'. We began to visit this shop every evening. After I got a taste of the literary activity of the shop, I became a member of *Vishva-Bharati Sanmelani*. (Fazal, 1968, pp. 137-139)

The Bani Mandir was also one of the distributors of Wadud's book, *Naba Parjay*, I & II (1926, 1929). Wadud participated in this *adda* because it largely centered on the life and thought of Rabindranath Tagore. The regular self-styled 'secretary' of the *adda* was Parimal Kumar Ghosh. Parimal was a colleague of Wadud and a Professor of English at Dhaka Intermediate College. In many meetings of this *adda*, Wadud also met Caru Chandra Bandyopadhyay. Caru was a specialist on Rabindranath in Dhaka University. In 1924, Wadud had given three talks on Rabindranath (Wadud, 1927) in three consecutive *Vishva-Bharati addas* in Dhaka. The *adda* had also arranged a staging of Tagore's drama, *Falguni*. Wadud also took a role in the drama along with many other intellectuals of Dhaka city, including Dhaka Intermediate College professors (Fazal, 1968, p. 139).

We noted Rabindranath Tagore's visit to Dhaka in 1926. On February 14, 1926, the Vishva-Bharati adda arranged a small meeting in honor of Tagore in Apurba Kumar Canda's house. Canda was Wadud's colleague at Dhaka Intermediate College. Wadud, Professor R.C. Majumdar, and a few other elite intellectuals of Dhaka were invited. (Fazal, 1968, p. 147)

⁴² *Tini samajer kalyan can--sei tar aradhya. Kintu mussalman ki ahammak--ei loktir katha ektuo bujhte pare na....Samajer samne emani ekti tyager emani ekta sahaser dristantao tini pesh karte can. Kintu mussalman tar e kajer etatuku artha bujhla na--shudhu tai nay, takei tara bhabe dharm o samajer satru bale. Abashya sadharan manusher sab deshei ei cehara, kintu hayta eta 'perverse'* (English phrase is Wadud's) *keau nay. Amake jadi na bojhen tabe besi dosh dite pari na, kintu Abul Hussainer samajpriti eta suspastha je andha bhinna ar sabari najare para ucit. Sei andha, ahammak, mussalman samaj hayta dhvamsa haye jaoyar jogya. Kazi Abdul Wadud, Nana Katha, p. 327.*

Abul Fazal was also invited because of his close association with *Vishva-Bharati adda*. The reception arrangement of the meeting followed the typical Hinduized way. The two Muslim participants accepted this arrangement without questions. Abul Fazal noted this reception arrangement in his memoir:

I looked behind and saw Kazi Wadud entering the adda. A Hindu woman outside the door received Kazi Wadud by pasting a mark of 'scented wood' (chandan) on his forehead. The woman was doing the same to everybody who was entering. I took a relaxed breath. After all, I am not the only one. Kazi saheb was a lecturer, and I was a mere student.... (Fazal, 1968, p. 148)

Abul Hussain knew R.C. Majumdar. Professor Majumdar was the Dean of the Faculty of Arts who recommended Abul Hussain for an appointment at Dhaka University. Abul Hussain also knew Professor A.F. Rahman because Abul Hussain was one of his assistant house tutors in Muslim Hall. However, no evidence is available to determine if Abul Hussain had converted these professional relationships into informal ones in *adda*. However, there is evidence of Abul Hussain's causal relationship with Khan Bahadur Abdur Rahman Khan. Khan was Secretary of the Dhaka Board of Education. Abul Hussain's influence on Khan was responsible for the latter's participation in the MSS. Rahman Khan's biographer noted: "Abul Hussain respected Rahman Khan as a murabbi (respected senior) because he was a friend of Anwarul Kadir." (Saklayan, 1990, p. 47) Rahman Khan wrote in his autobiography, *Amar Jiban* (1964), that his informal relationship with Abul Hussain had brought him to participate in MSS:

In 1928, he (Abul Hussain) told me that 'you have to be president of this session of the Dhaka Muslim Sahitya Samaj....I refused by giving him several reasons. But he (Abul Hussain) did not listen. I therefore agreed and became a president. (Khan, 1964, p. 144)

By involving Dhaka *bhadralok* in informal intellectual networks, Wadud and Abul Hussain were ready to form a formal voluntary intellectual organization. We do not know precisely when and in which *adda*, if any, they decided to start the Muslim Sahitya Samaj (MSS). Nonetheless, after the MSS was formally founded, the students and intellectuals of Wadud's and Abul Hussain's informal networks were the first batches of its members.

Foundation of Muslim Sahitya Samaj (MSS)

The MSS was founded formally in the afternoon (4 p.m.) of January 17, 1926. The foundation was preceded by a formal meeting held in Muslim Hall. The meeting was presided over by Mohammad Shahidullah and was participated in by four key individuals: Wadud, Abul Hussain, and two students, Abdul Kadir and A. M. Taheruddin. The foundation meeting lasted only a short time, which gives the impression that the actual decision to found the MSS had already been

taken in addas to Wadud. The MSS was not based on a clear ideological consensus. This is clear from a disagreement in the foundation meeting. Shahidullah argued that the purpose of MSS is to create: “Muslim literature for safeguarding Muslim culture” (Hussain & Bandopadhyay, 1926, p.3). Wadud disagreed saying, “This organization (MSS) would make no distinction between East and West Bengali literature” (Hussain & Bandopadhyay, 1926, p. 3). The divergence of ideals was thus clearly visible at the very foundation of MSS.

Conclusion

The foundation of the MSS and publication of *Shikha* originated in Dhaka, not simply because Wadud and Abul Hussain were working in Dhaka in the 1920s. Since the late nineteenth century, a solid intellectual climate and context of voluntary intellectual associations have existed in Dhaka. These were direct and indirect results of British policies for developing Dhaka city and Bengali communication patterns. British rule pursued two fundamental policies in Dhaka: urbanization and extension of English educational facilities. As a result, a newly educated *bhadralok* community grew up who were founders and participants of modern intellectual associations in Dhaka.

The establishment of a university in Dhaka by British rule directly contributed to the formation of MSS and the encouragement of similar intellectual initiatives. Among notable influences of Dhaka University upon the formation of MSS, this essay has emphasized two factors: i) Dhaka University tended to break down the hierarchy of formal relations between teacher and student, and ii) Dhaka University recognized and supported freedom of thought and expression. The former, encouraging more intimate informal relations between teachers and students, was further developed by the rational humanist teacher Abul Hussain, who welcomed Tagore to Dhaka University with his students. This causal relationship mode induced many students to join their teachers in MSS. The MSS maintained that informal collegial relationship in its organizational structure, debates, editorship of *Shikha*, and other social activities.

The freedom of thought that Dhaka University advocated had its predecessors, like the freedom to criticize and innovate in religion and society exhibited by *Naba Bidhan Sabha* in its standpoint of radicalism in late nineteenth-century Dhaka city. Freedom of thought was also implicit in the religious pluralism of Dhaka *bhadralok* editors and the students of Dhaka city. Conservative and traditional interests in Dhaka before the 1930s could not initiate and sustain any effective movements against liberal and rational humanist viewpoints. The racial and religious freedom of Dhaka University, rightly or wrongly interpreted by some teachers and students, provided a supportive milieu on the university campus for intellectual initiatives culminating in MSS and *Shikha*. Early ordinances of freedom of thought at Dhaka University had enabled a radical ‘non-praying group’ to exist even in Muslim Hall. Furthermore, Abul Hussain was able, based on the freedom of thought of Dhaka University, to publish a radical journal *Tarun Patra*, a radical Al-Mamun Club, and finally, MSS on campus.

The structural pattern of many journals and associations of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Dhaka had also influenced the shape of MSS and *Shikha*. The example of a masthead used by *Bangabandhu* (journal of Naba Bidhan Sabha) was also visible in *Tarun Patra* and later in *Shikha*. Likewise, the Dhaka Sahitya Parishad had a president, general secretary, executive committee, and annual meetings, i.e., a structure very similar to what would be utilized by MSS.

Wadud, for his part, built on the intellectual ethos and pattern of *addas* that existed in Dhaka. The *adda* network helped Wadud to have informal intellectual exchanges with the *bhadralok* of Dhaka city. These *bhadralok* and students of Wadud's and Abul Hussain's *adda* circles were the first cadres of people who joined the MSS. For example, six intellectuals out of the seven stalwarts of the *buddhir mukti* movement and the MSS had been associated previously with Wadud's and Abul Hussain's *addas*.

The MSS and *Shikha* were forums founded by Muslims. Yet, unlike many Hindu, Muslim, and Brahmo associations and journals in Dhaka, a parochial and religious exclusiveness was foreign to the MSS and *Shikha*. This is evident in MSS's definition of membership, composition, resolutions, rules of procedure, intellectual activities, and contents of its journal, *Shikha*. In none of the areas was discrimination imposed because of religion, gender, or professional status. Deliberation of MSS shows that radical Muslims of MSS were critical of Islam and Muslim society in several respects. This gave birth to an intellectual polarization between 'Islamic liberals' and 'radicals' in MSS, and communal political pressures beyond the Samaj--led to the demise in the mid-1930s.

The essential contribution of the MSS was not its advocacy of any particular viewpoint. Its unique gift provided a framework within which a range of divergent views could be expressed and mutually assessed in orderly discussion and debate. The topics of essays ranged from Bengali Muslim literature, society, and religion-cultural life. But the ways of thinking about these Muslim topics were deliberately structured to be diverse and critical. One significance of calling the association a Muslim Samaj was that this would demonstrate that one could be Muslim and still engage in free and open debate on topics of concern to Bengali.

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Book Review

Aisling O’Sullivan, *Universal Jurisdiction in International Criminal Law: The Debate and the Battle for Hegemony*. New York: Routledge, 2017, 222 pp., ISBN 9781138123946

The book is a commendable attempt by Aisling O’Sullivan where she sheds light on the complexities surrounding universal jurisdictions and rethinks the legacy of the 1990s regarding the developments within the fight against impunity. In the period of 1990, the historians of international law observed an unparalleled institutional growth-development of human rights law and the environment law, the World Trade Organization's foundation. It also witnessed the establishment of the International Criminal Court as the ultimate achievement of the attempt to abolish war crimes and crimes against humanity. However, in the second decade of the 2000s, the globe also saw the backlashes of international law.

Martin Koskenniemi, in the foreword of this book, penned the illegal war in Iraq and its subsequent consequences in both the Western world and the Middle East, the failure of the Arab Spring, Russian Occupation of Crimea, the so-called refugee crisis and the economic downturn since 2008 have significantly weakened or exposed the vulnerability of the previously established liberal consensus. Sullivan tried to reveal the question of what happened to the effort to bring the accused of having committed grave violations to face justice in domestic courts under the principle of universal jurisdiction. Furthermore, why the attempt to acknowledge the jurisdiction of all States to judge horrific crimes collapsed, regardless of where they were committed, was also observed in this book. She also discussed in the book how Universal Jurisdiction is perceived by Third World nations as yet another weapon for imposing neo-imperialism and Western hegemony while disguising it as a humanitarian ideal.

The author stated in the book's prologue that the importance and relevance of universal jurisdiction became clear following the headline-grabbing 1998 arrest of former Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet. The idea of universal jurisdiction, as reported by the former UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon, is an additional mechanism for international justice that can enhance the scope of the courts for international crimes and provide the broadest possible scope of jurisdiction for crimes against international law. The future of universal jurisdiction appeared promising despite concerns about the restriction on its use up to the Arrest Warrant ruling. This decision seemed to lead to a quick withdrawal from the perception of an excessively broad jurisdiction of domestic courts over acts that are considered extremely horrific to humanity, as was discussed in the Eichmann case.

In an effort to bring clarity to the seemingly chaotic international legal system, the author of this book aims to unravel the ongoing debates surrounding universal jurisdiction in international criminal law. This discussion is constrained by the conflict between two opposing political ideologies known as formalists who prioritize avoiding abuse and moralists who seek to end impunity. This book also recognizes international law's linguistic indeterminacy and its institutional bias. She understands that this is how language operates—as a field of conflict or a political arena where people contend for dominance over one another. She further argues that the debate surrounding universal jurisdiction inevitably gravitates towards finding a middle ground between the formalist and moralist approaches. However, this combined viewpoint, which the author refers to as “the hegemonic approach,” continues to favor one political inclination or sensibility over another.

In terms of structure, the book is divided into two parts. The first section (Chapters 1-3) explains the kinds of binary oppositions that exist in public international law today and how they function within historical disputes. A historical overview of the evolution of hegemonic control from a moralist perspective that was influenced by the Eichmann story to a formalist one that appeared to be sparked by the Arrest Warrant case is provided in the second section (Chapters 4 and 5).

The author argues in the opening chapter, “*The Politics of International Law*” that contemporary international law is rife with conflicting doctrine, with a counter-principle for every principle and an exception for every rule. The author employs certain techniques drawn from Martin Koskeniemi's *Multiple Points of Thought* to deconstruct these seemingly competing legal positions which read international law as a language system to illustrate legal style. She posits that international law is what lawyers think about it and how they go about using it in their work. The author draws upon insights from Saussure's binaries and Derrida's deconstruction theories. According to Derrida's deconstruction theory, every judicial contract built on violence or law is a sanctioned violence, a force that justifies or is justified in applying itself, even if this just is considered to be unjust or indefensible elsewhere. International law tends to assert its own language and norms as universally recognized, without fully considering or recognizing alternative perspectives or discourses. It is also remarked that fundamental liberal precepts are contradictory and cannot be reconciled for reasons intrinsic to the (liberal) concept itself. While describing hegemonic strategies, the author illustrates how the liberal goal, with its concept of an objective rule of law, has been undermined. The author emphasizes how crucial it is to take into account both opposing points of view in every argument and explains why no legal argument by itself can determine the outcome of a legal case. This has forced judges in international adjudication to adjust equitable standards or ideas like reasonableness in order to produce a legal outcome. The chapter concludes by stating that international law is characterized by two projects, one of unity and the other of variety. International law thus provides a defense for both hegemonic and non-hegemonic behaviors.

The chapter “*Narratives of Justification from 1883*” demonstrates how the nineteenth century gave rise to a classical system with a specific conception of sovereignty as the fulcrum for a generalized international law that regulated interactions between civilized and uncivilized nations. From this perspective, the concept of single sovereignty—also known as common sovereignty—which is wider than national traditions and the distinction between common and civil law—came into being. Therefore, in this sense, territorial behavior was no longer restricted by international law; rather, jurisdictional areas were defined.

These ideas of an enemy of mankind or common danger (of mankind) were used as a normative justification for piracy as an offense against the law of nations during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, giving rise to this inherent right of the sovereign. As a result, everyone was required to abide by the moral code, and if they did not, they had to take personal responsibility for their actions. The author concurs with Lorimer's view that when the law of nations exercises criminal jurisdiction directly, it deals with those it claims as its own citizens. According to Lorimer, individuals who engage in cosmopolitan criminal acts cease to be citizens of a specific state, as they have violated the laws that govern all of humanity. Instead, they are perceived as enemies of the state. The Nuremberg paradigm has been linked to the origins of international criminal law and the affirmation of personal responsibility for state-sponsored violence, the article continues. But it also enables a critical examination of the reactions to or the aftermath of Nuremberg, showing how the International Military Tribunal (IMT) trial's moralizing effect failed because it was retrospectively discredited when surveys from the early 1950s are taken into account, revealing a sharp decline in German perception of the trial as fair.

In the subsequent chapter, “Conventional Readings,” the author makes the observation that, when outlining each jurisdictional foundation, it is evident that they are ambiguous and open-ended. Therefore, using a logic and interests-balancing idea is the most common tactic. When foreign lawyers decide whether the jurisdiction is suitable in the particular circumstance, there is a trend toward political discretion. The binary components of jurisdiction are also discussed by the author. The two complementary elements of prescription and enforcement make jurisdiction not a single notion, but rather a combination of both of them. As a result, exercising the power to enforce is contingent upon exercising the right to prescribe. Therefore, the most crucial rule is that any use of the enforcement right inside a state's borders is likewise illegal if a state's prescriptive authority extends beyond the lines set by international law.

The idea of a lack of a jurisdictional link and the idea of a legal right to exercise jurisdiction over specific offenses against the international community that are considered offensive to the international community as a whole are combined when international lawyers attempt to describe universal jurisdiction over crimes against international law. As a result, there are several ways to interpret the precise wording of the concept, which favors either the notions of essential interests or individual liberty. The author notes how the conflicting

interpretations of universal jurisdiction and immunity of state officials appear to suggest two diametrically opposed positions, here characterized as normative or social description approaches, and a move to a middle ground in an attempt to reconcile these seemingly intractable competing approaches. It follows that each competing interpretation can seem subjective and political to its opposing position.

In the next chapter “*Competing for Hegemony*” it is observed this inner struggle in the debate over universal jurisdiction with a seemingly endless swing between advocacy for ending impunity and for avoiding abuse. The debate is best characterized as a struggle for hegemonic control by contrasting positions (moralist/formalist) that tends towards a middle ground with its particular hegemonic choice.

Delving into the intricate and contentious topic of universal jurisdiction, Sullivan successfully deconstructs the conceptual antagonism between idealism and realism, moral principles and formalist axioms, normative and sociological approaches to international community, and statehood in the context of disputes on universal jurisdiction. Additionally, she adds linguistic theory into international law, which is vigorously used in a range of international legal projects, including many others, such as criminal law. By examining different viewpoints, O'Sullivan allows readers to develop a nuanced understanding of the complexities and controversies surrounding universal jurisdiction. This book serves as a foundational text for those interested in delving deeper into the multifaceted discussions and power dynamics surrounding universal jurisdiction in international criminal law.

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