

Hartal: A Violent Challenge To The Socio-Economic Development Of Bangladesh

Mallika Roy, Faria Hossain Borsha

Abstract: The paper depicts the grievous effect on different parts of economy like Export, Price level, Activity of port, Tourism sector, Human right etc. Trend, nature and the running of the wheel of the economy basically depend on the concerted adjacent of the related sectors of economy. As a result if the situation becomes entangled in a certain stage the wheel of the entire economy are bound to be halted abruptly. For this reason it is essential for our politician to search an alternate of hartal. The paper identifies a disappointing fact that hartal imposes a large cost on the economy. Also it attempts to explore the negative impacts on GDP and revenue collection. Based on the findings, a number of suggestive policy measures that the planners and implementers may consider for the future development of political situation in Bangladesh are embedded in the end of the paper.

Keywords: Hartal, local government, transport sector, education sector, Export, Price hike, port, GDP, small business, stock market

1. INTRODUCTION:

HARTAL is not a new subject to Bangladesh. What has changed is their frequency and destructiveness. More than 100 years have past the world's first hartal was staged. It took place in South Africa and was lead by the person who conceived the idea, Mohandas K. Gandhi, to protest the Black Act in 1906. The history of Bangladesh as a nation state began in 1971. In the past time politics was used for the welfare of country. In those day's there was no quarrel among the politicians for money and power but as today most of the politicians are interest is grown for money and power not for welfare of country. The phenomenon of hartal is continuous with persistent regularity in present day at Bangladesh. On the other hand a stable political situation is strong prerequisite for achieving the targeted economic growth and creating employment opportunity. Hartal is used for political approach. Hartal was not everyday matter in those days but at present time Bangladesh's political system is feeble. For this purpose opposite party called hartal frequently.

2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY:

2.1 Objective

Our study about recent political wavering and hartal in Bangladesh was conducted following the methodology as under.

1. Collecting, sorting and analyzing secondary information relating to history of hartal of the country.
2. Collecting, analyzing, reviewing and assessing secondary information relating to recent political instability and hartal.
3. Gathering, synchronizing and investing secondary information connecting to the impact of hartal on different economic sector.
4. Analyzing and suggesting how political stability could be ensured in Bangladesh.

2.2 Source of data

The paper is primarily based on secondary data collected from different website, journals, books and news paper. By using these data the paper has figured out the present condition of hartal at Bangladesh and it's affect on economy.

3. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Though I know that every research has must some problems are created. We are also facing some problem during the course of my study but we have overcome those problems and capable to prepared our research article. We must admit that our research has also limitations in some form or other. It is best to recognize these limitations rather than to pretend that these limitations do not exist. We are frank and fair to mention any unprecedented or situational factors that we might encounter during the execution of our study. In our research there are some limitations. The main limitation of our research we did not find any books or articles or research in this topic. As this research is newly done by us that's why there will have some limitations and this is the natural. Besides for the cause of sufficient time and sufficient money we did not collect all information properly.

-
- *Mallika Roy is currently a lecturer in Economics in BGC Trust University Bangladesh and pursuing M. Phil program in University of Chittagong, Bangladesh. She is Prime Minister Gold medalist in Economics for her scholastic academic result in Bangladesh.*
E-mail: mallikaroy_eco@yahoo.com
 - *Faria Hossain Borsha is currently a teaching assistant in BGC Trust University, Bangladesh, Bangladesh.*
E-mail: borsha.hossain@gmail.com

4. HISTORICAL EVIDENCE OF HARTAL:

Historical evidence shows that during the present democratic system initiated in 1991, the average number of Hartals per year has been more than three times higher (46 per year) compared to earlier regime.

Period	No. of Hartal	Period	No. of Hartal
1947-1950	1	1979-1982	48
1951-1954	5	1983-1986	52
1955-1958	16	1987-1990	245
1959-1962	1	1991-1994	216
1963-1966	6	1995-1998	279
1967-1970	38	1999-2002	332
1971-1974	36	2003-2006	86
1975-1978	1	2007-2009	1

Source: Ajoy Dasgupta, Sangbadpatrey Hartalchitra (Dhaka: Press Institute of Bangladesh, 2001)[42] and various newspaper

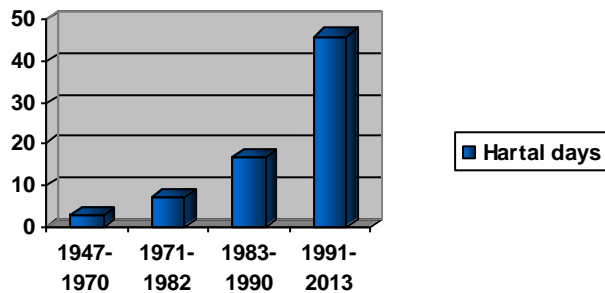


Figure 1: Hartal days in Bangladesh

Source: Sangbadpatre Hartalchitra by Ajoy Dasgupta (2001); [42], Ahmed, Imtiaz (2011) [43]

Odhikar; ASK and CPD

5. IMPACT OF HARTAL:

Development can be influenced by many non economic variables. Among them political instability comes first. Economic development largely depends on political stability. Political instability is the opposite concept of political stability. It is argued that there are four main dimension of political instability:

- Regime Change.
- Governmental Change.
- Violent Challenge (To either government or regime).
- Peaceful Challenge (Again to either government or regime).

<http://www.dhakachamber.com/cipe/EPPs%20&%20Studies/Political%20stability.pdf> [1]

Hartal can be considered as a mode of violent challenge. This phenomenon has a negative impact on different rapidly growing economic sector of Bangladesh.

5.1 IMPACT ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT:

Hartal of opposition party have harmed our local govt. since 5th November, 2012. They attacked the police team, government office, thana, educational institution, houses, transport, shop and cut the trees. According to government calculation, local govt. loss of six divisions of our country is about thirty crore taka. In 25 Upazila, 35 govt. offices have been attacked by them. And gross loss is about 10 Crore taka. Beside this, to set up a barricade in the road they had cut down many trees. The loss for cutting the tree is about 20 crore taka. Secretary of local govt. Abu Alam Mohammad Shahid Khan said, "It is only the govt. calculation. Many private organizations have been depreciated. Those loss amounts are much".

Table 1: Depreciation cost of Chittagong Division

Name of Local government	Loss amount
Bashkhali upazila	Tk 3,50,000
Chittagong City Corporation	Tk 2,42,179
Noakhali Shonaimuri Upazila	Tk 2,41,948
Coxs bazaar and Kutubdia shadar upazila	Tk 95,00,000
Total	Tk 1,83,75,000

Table 2: Depreciation cost of other divisions

Divisionwise other local governments	Loss amount
Sylhet division	Tk 15,75,000
Rajshahi division	
Bagura district: Nandigram upazila	Tk 1,20,13,500
Jaypurhat and Kalai upazila	Tk 3,00,000
Khulna division	
Jhinaidaha district: Harinakundu upazila	Tk 22,33,000
Jhinaidaha zila parishad tree cutting depreciation cost	Tk 50,00,000
Maheshpur upazila	Tk 10,00,000
Shatkhira district: Kalaroa and other upazila	Tk 1,10,00,000
Rangpur division	
Gaibandha district: Three upazilas	Tk 3,50,000

Local govt. specialist Tofael Ahmed told, "loss of local government will effectuate the general people. They will be the sufferer. If files cannot be find or destroyed, many works will remain unfinished. And govt. employees will suffer a lot." According to him, strike is a republic right. But depreciation is not a language of strike.(Prothom Alo, 22nd March,2013) [2]

5.2 IMPACT ON TRANSPORT SECTOR:

There is a great loss in transport sector due to recent hartal and political instability since November. Hartal activist burnt down about 400 vehicles from November, 2012 to 19th March, 2013.They also set aflame railway 92 times. They burned down the vehicle of Fire Brigade also.According to

the calculation of fire service and civil defense, 356 vehicles have been set afire.

Table 3: Quantity of burning transport

Month	No of transport
November	34
December	83
January	44
February	71
March	124

Source: Fire service and civil defense

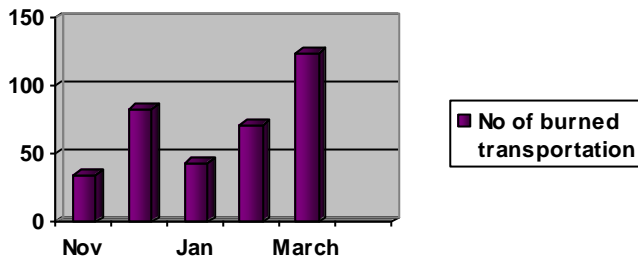


Figure 2: Bar chart of the quantity of burned transportation

According to fire service and civil defense, 356 bus-truck have been set alight from November to 18th March and the loss in money amount is about Tk 14,33,00000. According to another reliable source of bus-truck owner’s association and BRTA, from 28th February to 5th March, a loss money amount is about 18 crore in transport sector. From December to 3rd March, the loss amount of BRTC is about Tk 3,39,00000. And the loss of Bangladesh Railway is about Tk 9,39,00000. According to BRTA and bus-truck owner’s association, 955 vehicles have been set ablaze from 28th February to 5th March. As per as calculation of police force, 129 of their vans have been broken and 37 of their vans have been set on fire. (Prothom Alo, 27th March, 2013) [3] [4]

5.3 IMPACT ON STOCK MARKET:

As soon as the liquidity crisis has been eradicated, political gloom griped the Stock Market. Political unrest and continuous hartal brought debacle on daily turnover. In February, 2013 Dhaka Stock Exchange (DSE), Chittagong Stock Exchange (CSE) and Bangladesh Securities and Exchange Commission (BSEC) took some measures to boost the market. And as part of these, institutional investors had given some scope to overcome losses. As a result daily turnover went up to Tk 500 crore and general investors became eager to invest. But before curing the market political violence griped the market and big investors refrained from invest further and index began to fall again. About the market situation, CSE former President Fakhar Uddin Ali Ahmed said, “Due to hartal, listed companies faced losses as their production being hampered. As a result share prices of these companies declined. So market will not be normal without political stability. (bangladeshnews24.com) [5] “The strike, which

created some sort of a political crisis in the country, severely dampened investor sentiment,” said Faruk Ahmed Siddiqi, former chairman of Bangladesh Securities and Exchange Commission. If the strike continues for long, it will be disastrous for the economy, he added. “Strike means uncertainty in the whole country not only in the stockmarket,” said Fakhor Uddin Ali Ahmed, former president of Chittagong Stock Exchange, adding that prospective investors are staying off market for now.

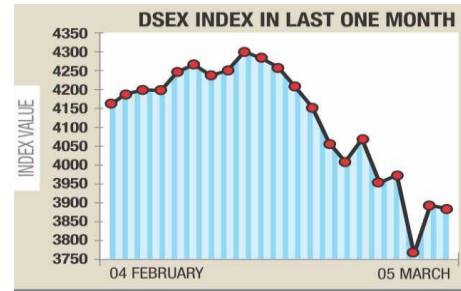


Figure 3: Dhaka stock exchange, 2013

The country passed 11 days in hartal from 4th February, 2013 to 5th March, 2013 and the DSEX lost 6.07 percent. (the daily star) [6] Certainly the violence and turbulence are deeply impacting the economy, creating losses of \$200 million a day, according to some estimates, US Ambassador Dan Mozena said, adding that in recent days, the Dhaka Stock Exchange General Index has fallen to new lows largely because, according to my analyst friends, political unrest is undermining investor confidence. Referring to media reports, he said, "There were only nine regular working days in March, buyers and investors reasonably are taking their business and investment dollars elsewhere. This is not how to build an Asian Tiger". Source: April 3, 2013 (BSS) Again, The Dhaka and Chittagong stocks suffered massive fall as the two bourses went into business amid a long-time general strike. The benchmark index of the Dhaka Stock Exchange (DSE) went down over 300 points to register the highest fall since Mar 13, 2013 when it lost about 459 points. The Chittagong Stock Exchange (CSE) Selective Categories Index closed at 10182.49 points, down 496.81 points or 4.65 percent. (bdtodaynews.com) [7]

5.4 DA MAGE OF STATE PROPERTIES:

Apart from the heavy human toll, lots of public properties have been damaged during the recent violence unleashed by Jamaat-Shibir activists across the country. The damage to state properties including a power substation, trains, rail tracks and buses adds up to at least Tk 500 crore, according to preliminary estimates. Officials said the losses will drastically hamper government services for an indefinite period.

The scenario is shown in the following table:

	Bangladesh Railway	BRTC Buses	Power Substitution	Police
Damaging events	Torched: 5	Torched: 3	Torched: 1	Car torched: 7
	Line dismantled: at more than one dozen places	Damage d: 81	Affected: 40000 Clients	Car damage d: 33
	Time to repair bogies: 1 year			Structures damage d: 5 Stations and outposts
Cost	Tk 8.5 Crore	Tk 3.5 Crore	Tk 200 Crore	Tk 200 Crore

Source: 7th March, 2013, The daily star [8]

5.5 IMPACT ON EDUCATION:

Hartal had a very or somewhat negative impact on education. Hartal prevent student from attending classes, creating increased pressure on them later on their studies and at exam time. The major impact of hartal is the postponement of exams resulting in delays in finishing school session. Hartal delayed education, which can have severe long term effects on younger people's future prospects. Education Minister Nurul Islam Nahid earlier urged the political parties not to throw any harmful programmes during the ongoing Secondary School Certificate (SSC) and equivalent examinations. But no effect is seen among the political parties. For that, life of 13 lakh students of SSC and equivalent exams is hanging and certainly they are the most sufferers for this hartal. Already, SSC practical exams have been postponed. The SSC exam was scheduled to end on March 7, 2013. But for postponing 5 exams, it is uncertain that, actually when the exam will end. However, not only exams, but also classes weren't held at different educational institutes for more than 20 days. To recover the damage, some school, colleges and universities are taking classes during the holiday. But that's not enough. Teachers fear that, students syllabus will not complete in the scheduled time. The education system of Bangladesh has broken down for continuous hartal declared by the opposition party and deadly violence occurring almost everywhere in the country. This week there is only one active hartal free day. For that, every exams of SSC, NU and also other exams postponed again and again during this week. In reality there is a tremendous devastating impact as mentioned by the educationists. Professor Ranjit Kumar Dey, co-ordinator of BGC Trust University Bangladesh said though hartal is a democratic right, it is causing immense harm to the students and common people. He said, BGC Trust University was kept

open during the hartal and there is a full attendance of teachers and staffs but students do not show up due to transport problem. But he mentioned it was not possible for him to ensure security of the teachers and staffs as well as the campus as a private institution like that of a public university. Moreover, he said, public university authorities and teachers are not accountable to their students but as a private university, he has to maintain a tight academic schedule. In this regard, he mentioned, he used to make up classes of hartal day usually on Friday but he becomes helpless while there are 3-4 days of hartal in a week. (Personal conversation) However, this is not the scenario of BGC Trust University Bangladesh; this is the scenario of apparently all universities, both public and private. The hartal is also creating confusion among examinees. Regarding this, colleges failed to appear at the final examination of some subject under National University due to hartal. It is mentionable that, students of national university have fallen into nested loop of exams, as exams under this university has already been postponed more than 7 times.

5.6 IMPACT OF HARTAL ON SMALL BUSINESS:

A small business is a business that is privately owned and operated, with a small number of employees and relatively low volume of scales. Small businessmen are normally privately owned corporations, partnerships or sole proprietorships. The legal definition of small varies by country or by industry. Small businesses are common in many countries, depending on the economic system in operation. Typical examples include: convenience store, other small shops (such as a bakery or delicatessen), hairdressers, tradesmen, lawyers, accountants, restaurants, guest houses, photographers, small-scale manufacturing etc. According to small business Act 1934, "A business which is independently owned and operated and not dominant in its field" is a small business. According to Stoner, Freeman and Gilbert 1995, "Small business refer to business locally owned and managed, often with very few employees working at a single location" There is no doubt that hartal is damaging the small business. Small businesses are stagnating. The country's shopkeepers and small business holders have expressed their worries over the future course of the country's economy as a sequel to adverse politics amid frequent calls for observance of hartal. They expressed their serious concern over the fallouts from the ongoing political developments that have tended to go violent across the country. The activities in the shopping malls turned standstill while only a few shops in some localities were opened during the time of hartal amid apprehension of being attacked. Many small traders sit idle as ongoing countrywide political troubles have caused disruption to the supply chain of essential commodities. The shop owners want to keep open the shop during a hartal. But some problems arise here. Shop owners face absence of salesmen. The question of safety and security is another problem. Many small traders feel that they have to give up business and go back to the village for land cultivation. According to UNDP research, strike has led to 3-4% GDP losses during the 1990s. There are about 611 strikes from 1995 to 2002. These created immense burden on the business firms as the shop often get vandalized during strike violence.(UNDP Report)[41] SA Quader Keron,

secretar general of Bangladesh Dokan Malik Samity, an organization of 2.6 million shop owners across the country told, " We are the worst sufferers of strikes as all shops remain closed during the hartal hours" (22th April, 2012; The Financial Express)[9]

5.7 IMPACT ON REVENUE COLLECTION:

Revenue collection by the National Board of Revenue fell short of the target for the first eight months of July, 2012-June, 2013 by 4.5% due to failure in achieving target by VAT and custom wing of the NBR. Current Political unrest, frequent hartals, sluggish trends in export and negative growth in import in July-February have taken toll on revenue collection in the period. The NBR official said repeated hartals and political unrest were causing trouble for the business activities including export, import and trade in the country which were the main reasons for such a huge shortage. Revenue collection amount, Target and deficit amount in July, 2012 to February, 2013 are given in the following table:

Table 4: Revenue collection amount, target and deficit (July 2012 to February 2013)

Sectors	Revenue collection amount	Target	Deficit
Custom duties	Tk 20985 Crore	Tk 22377 Crore	Tk 1392 Crore
VAT	Tk 23110 Crore	Tk 25257 Crore	Tk 2147 Crore
Income tax	Tk 18023 Crore	Tk 17348 Crore	-----
Other sources	Tk 388 Crore	Tk 638 Crore	Tk 250 Crore

Such a huge deficit makes the revenue board officials apprehended about the achieving the target of collecting Tk 112259 crore in the current fiscal year set by the NBR. (28th March, 2013, New Age) [10],[11]

5.8 IMPACT ON GDP:

Table 5: GDP Loss per day, per year and in percentage

Sector	Loss per one day (Crore taka)	Loss per one year (Crore taka)	Loss in GDP (%)
Ready made garments	360	14400	1.56%
Govt. Revenue	250	10000	1.02%
Wholesale market, shopping malls and other shops	600	24000	2.45%
Education	50	2000	.20%
Financial institution	50	2000	.20%
Insurance Company	15	600	.06%
Transport and Communication	60	2400	.24%
Tourism	50	2000	.20%
Production	100	4000	.41%
Others	65	2600	.26%
Total	1600	64,000	6.5%

Source: survey conducted by DCCI (Dhaka Chamber of Commerce and Industry)

The economy counts Tk 1,600 crore in losses for each daylong countrywide hartal while the country faces 40 hartals a year on average raising the figure of the losses to Tk 64,000 crore, reports UNB. This was found in a survey conducted by the Dhaka Chamber of Commerce and Industry (DCCI). The survey showed that the GDP is affected by 6.5 percent due to countrywide shutdowns and the GDP growth could be doubled if there is no hartal. The readymade garment (RMG) sector counts Tk 360 crore losses each day for hartal while the wholesale market, shopping malls, showrooms, small shops together count a loss of Tk 600 due to each hartal, it said. The DCCI chief alleged that political demonstrations are taking place even in commercial hubs like Motijheel, halting the business activities and hurting the economy. The country's GDP in 2011-12 fiscal was Tk 914,780 crore and the estimated GDP for 2012-13 fiscal is Tk 978,814 crore.[12] There are a number of other estimates which has also tried to calculate the economic loss from Hartals – however methodologies used were not available.

Source	Stated amount loss	Time frame
World Bank, 2001	USD 50 million (per day)	1995- 1999
BGMEA,2006	Tk. 108 crore (per day for RMG sector) USD 14 million (per day for RMG sector)	2006
ICCB,2013 (Following UNDP,2005)	USD 200 million (per day)	Current scenario
FBCCI (2013)	Tk. 10,000 crore (per day) USD 1.3 billion (per day)	Current scenario

Table 6: Economic loss from Hartals per day

5.9 IMPACT ON HUMAN RIGHT:

Political violence is a common means used by people or political parties around the world to achieve political goals. Many group and individual believe that violence is not only justified but also necessary in order to achieve their political objects [13]. The number of hartal is threatening the livelihoods, safety and security of ordinary citizens. The risk and intensity of political violence in Bangladesh is exacerbated by the easy accessibility of small arms and light weapons. In 2011, 135 people were killed and 11532 injured as a result of political violence. [14] A person was killed and 50 injured during the first day of the 36 hour countrywide hartal called by BNP led 18 party alliance. On the killing spot 10 others also injured. In the city's Laxi Bazar area at about 8 am 4 bombs exploded. Another 2 bombs was exploded in Pallabi of Mirpur. A group of opposition exploded 2 bombs in front of Mirpur Ideal School. In front of Kancha Bazar at Mirpur 2 bombs was exploded. Three bombs exploded beside the office of the Narcotics Control department in Tejgaon. Hartal supporters exploded a bomb just opposite the Notre Dame College. Another group of hartal supporter blasted 4 or 5 bombs in the south Kamalapur Area. During hartal in Barisal 4 people including ASI of sadar police station injured. In Rajshahi at least 10 people including a police man were wounded in separate clashes. In Chittagong 7 people injured during chase and counter chase. At the AK Khan gate picketers exploded several bombs. In Laxmipur 20 bombs were exploded. In Narayanganj 5 people were injured in a series of clashes. The picketers exploded 5 bombs here [15] Pro-hartal element torched 12 vehicles in separate places of the city on 1st April 2013 ahead of next daylong country wide shutdown of the opposite alliance. A stuff bus of Titas gas was set fire by hartal supporters at Karwanbazar (The Bangladesh CHRONICLE, April 1, 2013) [16] In 2nd April 2013 some 40 people were injured when 6 compartment and the locomotive of a passenger train veered off the tracks in eastern Bangladesh as miscreants removed several fish-plates hour of before the opposition sponsored hartal began (Xinhua, April 03, 2013).[17] On 8 april 2013 in

Chittagong at least 17 people, including police were injured in clashes between the hartal supporters and law enforcers. In Fatikchari 7 persons were injured for the clash (The Independent,10 April, 2013).[18] These are the small partial scenario of political violence caused by hartal in bangladesh. Table A enlighten the information gathered by ODHIKAR. The table shows us people killed and injured on account of political violence is increased from January to March.

Political Violence		
	Killed	Injured
January	17	1643
February	86	2772
March	75	3055
Total	178	7470

Table 7: Political violence over time

Source: ODHIKAR, Human Rights Monitoring Report, 2013.[19]

According to Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nation, 1948), Human Rights are international norms that help to protect all people every where from severe political, legal and Social Abuses. In Bangladesh political violence often take place through hartal. And Human Rights violated here by political violence are a common phenomenon.

5.10 IMPACT ON TOURISM:

The nascent tourism industry of Bangladesh is now face with long lasting damages due to civil unrest in the form of frequent hartal and almost total government inaction to help the helpless tour operators. It is the peak of tourism season and tour operators of the country were buoyant with expectation that performance and growth in 2013 would surpass performance and growth of 2012 by big margin. But on going civil unrest, hartal, associated violence, road blocked etc have jeopardized everything. Taking effects on inbound tours, domestic tours, hotel and restaurants and transportation sectors together, the financial loss has already become huge. If the adverse situation continues further, the damage to the sector would be colossal and might go beyond recovery in some cases. The tourism industry in Cox's Bazar is going through hard time due to political unrest and frequent hartals since February 28, 2013. Most of the hotel and motel in the town remained almost vacant this month, the last month of peak season, said hoteliers in Cox's Bazar. Businesses in Cox's Bazar consider the period from November to march as the peak season. Targeting this years peak season, they made extensive investment but are now on the edge of incurring a huge loss. Humayun Kabir, General manager of hotel The Cox Today let to know us they apprehended a loss of TK 5-

6 crore this season. "We made huge investment ahead of the peak season, but tourists have been turnout on the decline since February 28 due to continuous hartal and road blockades" he told. Corporate booking that were set three or six month ago are also being cancelled now, further he said. Mr. Humayun informed "many of our corporate bookings have been cancelled and the latest bookings for March 28-29 were cancelled due to the 36 hour hartal". He observed the political unrest is not only hampered the corporate bookings but also broken up privately arranged family tours. This kind of tour is a common event at this time. He also conveyed that Families from across the country go on a trip to Cox's Bazar after the SSC examination, but this year several examination had to be differed due to hartal and most of the families ultimately either lost their interest or did not feel it safe to go on there their planned tour. "Our hotel had a full reservation for this season, but now just 20% of rooms are in use and the rest are vacant" he added. Sarwar Hossain assistant front desk manager of Seagull Hotel, convey that they had already incurred a loss of Taka 3 crore this season. Corporate booking were frequently cancelled in February and March. Sarwar let to know us "the management has become unable to pay the salary of the employees and is forced to send many of them on compulsory leave". Shaikh Imrul Islam Siddique, chief executive officer of Seagull Hotel, informed that they had send one third of their stuff on leave to minimize the loss. Nurul Islam manager of hotel Shaibal said that only 20% of the hotel is now occupied, whereas it should have been jam packed at this time of the year (Bangladesh Chronicle, March 29, 2013)[20] Frequent countrywide and district level Hartals and blockades called by opposition political parties badly hit tourism industry as nearly 1000 foreign tourist cancelled their schedule tours in the last tow months. "As per our information entire tourism industry is facing loss in massive scale due to hartal and blockades," adviser of Tour Operation Association of Bangladesh and chief of Journey Plus Touifiq Rahman said. He also conveyed that "I have operated a tour of 8 persons from Greece at last month. They experienced 5 days of hartals out of their 10 days stay here". He told adding "Presently 16 British tourists under my tour plan are staying in Bogra, I have no idea how do manage them if hartal continuous nest week". Civil Aviation and tourism Minister M Faruk Khan also acknowledged that continuous hartals and vandalism across the country hampered the growth of tourism industry. He conveyed that "we may overcome the present situation shortly, but if the image of the country is tarnished to the foreign tourist, it is difficult to regain. (Dhaka, April 5,2013, BSS,By Tanzim Anwar) [21].

5.11 IMPACT ON HARTAL:

Economics and business leaders feel that the economy is facing a disaster because of hartal, blocked and political instability. Exporters are incurring losses as they can not make shipment of goods due to shutdown. The frequent hartals are severely damaging the economy. Reporting from Dhaka for Indian daily, Deccan Herald, Hassan Shahriar points out that a single day's shutdown means losses amounting to at least us \$69 million in export, production and revenue. "Business leaders say strike has stalled the economy that was making rapid progress" he wrote. According to a source in Bangladesh Garments

Exporter Association, the garments sectors which is country's biggest sources of revenue, losses \$18 million daily during a hartal (Online Asia Times, July 16, 2002)[22]. Acting BKME president Habibur Rahman said that the knit wear industry experienced a staggering growth of over 37% in the first four month of the current fiscal year and the general strike would deal a big blow to it (BKMEA, Novembor 27,2010).[23] The country's major exporters feared that they are unlikely to achieve the targeted export earning set for this fiscal year (FY 2012-2013). The situation will worsen by the persisting political turmoil. Buyers do not feel confident about coming and placing orders during any political instability. The country's major exporters said that the target of earning \$28 billion is unlikely to achievr this fiscal if the situation continuous. Exporter of garment, jute, shrimp, leather and footwear products that account for 85% to 90% of the total earnings said many buyers have already cancelled their recent meetings, expressed their concern over the situation and threatened of canceling orders in case of failure to meet lead time. Chairman of Sterling group MD. Siddqur Rahman said that Buyers will shift to other places even it cost them one or two doller extra for a piece of product as they do not want to take any risk (The Financial Express, March 10, 2013)[24]. FBCCI vice president Helal Uddin Ahmad said "the country will incur a loss of at least TK 6000 crore due particularly to disruption in the supply chain as around 20 lakh shops across the country remain shut (New Age,3 March 2013)[25]. As recent political hazard continue to impact our export economy directly, cost of garment manufacturing has already gone up by 30%. Further more hartals are squeezing out the profit margin of our exporters since nearly half of the exporter are now air shipping the goods to their destination (Dhaka Courier,14th March 2013)[26]. "Air shipment cost an additional amount of TK 2 million to 2.5 million per container" said an entrepreneur. Normally the air cargo charges \$3.5 for each kg of weight the authority's sources said, demand as high as \$5 to \$6 for each kg for weight (The Independent,17 March, 2013)[27]. The momentum of export sector seems to be losing theme because protective measures are absolutely absent from preventing worsening situation, Govt. needs to ensure not only safety but also a smooth flow of operation inside the export processing chains.

5.12 IMPACT ON PORT:

Port plays an important role in the economy of Banglaesh. Hartal has a significant influence on port. Following table shows us decreasing amount of released container in Chittagong Port

Table 8: Dispatch of container in Chittagong Port

Month	Dispatch of container
January	1925unit
February	1615unit
March	1450unit

Source: Prothom Alo,03.4.2013 [28]

The dispatch rate of container in chittagong port is decreasing from January 2013 to March 2013 due to continuous hartal and violence. Though clearing up of the container is decreased in the February, on average 2 thousand 85 containers are released everyday. The rate of import is relatively less than rate of dispatched container as a result the number of cleared up container increased from 13 thousand to 19 thousand suddenly. Commissioner of Chittagong custom house Md.Masud Sadik let us to know that as a result of downward tendency of dispatched container, loss of 800 crore taka is incurred in March. The chairman of FBCCI Kazi Akram Uddin Ahmed convey that production is stagnated as a result of hartal. Lack of security is the main reason of less clearing up. The imported goods and raw material can not be reached to the destiny timely. The chairman of chittagong chamber said that business activity is running less then 15 days in March. Asbusiness activity is almost stopped investor are fail to repay the bank loan. For this cause the dispatch of imported product is foiled. If this political situation is continued port will bound to stop its operation. The officials of custom house and the representative of importers inform that on average every container bear the product prized 25 to 35 lakh taka. According to port secretary of caring and forward unit Liakot Ali Haolader ,The 19 thousand container approximately hold the product valued 6000 crore taka. The Benepol port is failed to fulfill it's target for collecting revenue. Following table shows us the facts.

Table 9 revenue collection amount,target and deficit in Benepol port

Target (tk)	Collection (Tk)	Deficit (Tk)
19200000000	15130000000	4070000000

Source: Prothom alo 3.4.2013 [29]

407 crore taka is less collected as revenue than targeted amount in first nine month of corrent fiscal year 2012 to 2013. Related officials of port authority claim that Hartal, Blocked and labor unrest are liable for this situation. According to Benepol custom house 1 thousand 920 crore taka has been determined as revenue target from July 2012 to March 2013. But only 1 thousand 513 crore taka is collected. Joint commissioner of Benepol custom house informed that on average 11 crore taka collected as revenue per day normally. But recently in several days less than 1 crore taka is collected due to continuous hartal. (Source: Prothom Alo 3.4.2013)[30]

5.13 IMPACT ON PRICE LEVEL:

The rate of inflation under 2005-2006 base year ,surged to 7.4% in December on point to point basis and the non food inflation stood at 10.03%in the same month. While commenting on the latest figure of the macro economic indicator analyst said inflation surged in December last mainly because of supply disruption of essential good due to dense fog and general hartal in the last month of the calendared year (The Financial Express.09 January 2013 By Jasim Uddin Haroon)[31]. Price of vegetable, egg, and meat soared recently due to political strike. Frequent

shutdown has snapped the supply chain. All items are becoming costlier. Precedent of karwan bazaar cooperative agency Omar Faruk said transport owners refused to carry goods aimed the country wide panic triggered by political violence, causing a huge supply shortage of essentials in the market.

a) Wholesale market:

Traders convey that the supply of vegetable is decrease a bit but that of onion and garlic suffered a drastic fall, pushing their price up by 5 to 10 taka per kg over 24 hours between 2/4/2013 to 3/4/2013. He said onion and garlic's price had increased the most, with local onion being wholesaled at tk 32 a kg and imported onion at Tk 35 on the day while the wholesale proce of local garlic had risen to Tk 60 per kg and that of imported garlic to Tk 90. (New Age,March 4,2013 By Staff Correspondent)[32].

b) Retail market:

Table 10: retail market price

Item	Price (Tk per Kilogram) on 02-04-2013	Price (Tk per Kilogram) on 02-04-2013
Local onion	32 to 35	40
Imported onion	35 to 38	45
Local garlic	70	90
Imported garlic	130	140
Green Chillli	100	110

Source: (New Age, March 4,2013 By Staff Correspondent) [32].

It is estimated that sales of consumer products have declined by 20% (The financial Express, December 19, 2012 By Syed Jamaluddin)[33]. There is a reciprocal relationship between price and purchasing power. When price are going from low price to high price that is when there is inflation in economy ,the value of taka is shrinking , that is our purchasing power is going from being able to buy a lot to being able to buy a little (Steven Tomlinson)[34]. So, we can say that inflation causing by hartal has a negative effect on purchasing power of the people.

5.14 IMPACT OF HARTAL ON LOW INCOME PEOPLE

The low income people of Bangladesh are severely affected by hartal. Because most Auto rickshaws and Tempos do not operate on hartal days, almost all earnings for drivers and helpers are forgone. Some vehicles do operate at same personal risk to drivers and helpers but earnings are considerably lower then normal. Hartal is particularly damaging for cycle van drivers, because the vans are primarily used to transport cargo. With shops and market closed the demand for transporting cargo is also low. During prolonged or continuous Hartal the garments

factories were more likely to close down in which case workers were retrenched and not paid. Small entrepreneurs like hawkers and Vendors are badly affected by hartal. The demand for product and services sold by hawkers and vendors – clothing, food, betel leaf, cigarettes, shoe repair and polishing, watch sales and repair relies on customer passing through the area on the way to some where else. Demand is there for linked to other activities that are themselves disrupted by hartal. Borrowing is common to tide over hartal for these low income people. During continuous hartal loans are taken from the association and interest is paid on these loans. During consecutive or prolonged Hartal these types of low income people work as day labor. Following Data are showing the abated trend of the income of low earning people.

money snatching. So, hartal puts a strong negative role on their welfare.

Table 11: Reduction in income of low income people

Different sectors in which income is negatively impacted	% of reduction in income
Earnings for drivers, helpers and owners of the leased BRTC buses	60%
Cycle Van drivers	40%
Hawkers and Vendors	60%

Source:

<http://www.dhakachamber.com/cipe/EPPs%20&%20Studies/Political%20stability.pdf> [35]

At Mohammadpur in Dhaka a low to middle income area it is known to us that the sales of small retail stores were lower than usual at the period of hartal. The reported reductions in sales are highlighted below.

Table 12: Percentage of reduction in income of small shopkeepers

Types of Store	Percentage of reduction in Income
Small grocery and variety Store	25%
Drug Store	15%
Tailoring Shop	30%
Hardware Store	50%
Book Store	60%

Source:

<http://www.dhakachamber.com/cipe/EPPs%20&%20Studies/Political%20stability.pdf> [36]

Low income people face considerable risk of assault, bombs, damage to and burring of goods or vehicles and

6. FINDINGS:

From the discussion of this paper we can find a scenario which can help us to realize the endangerment of hartal on the overall economy of Bangladesh. Summarization of the total feature is given in below:

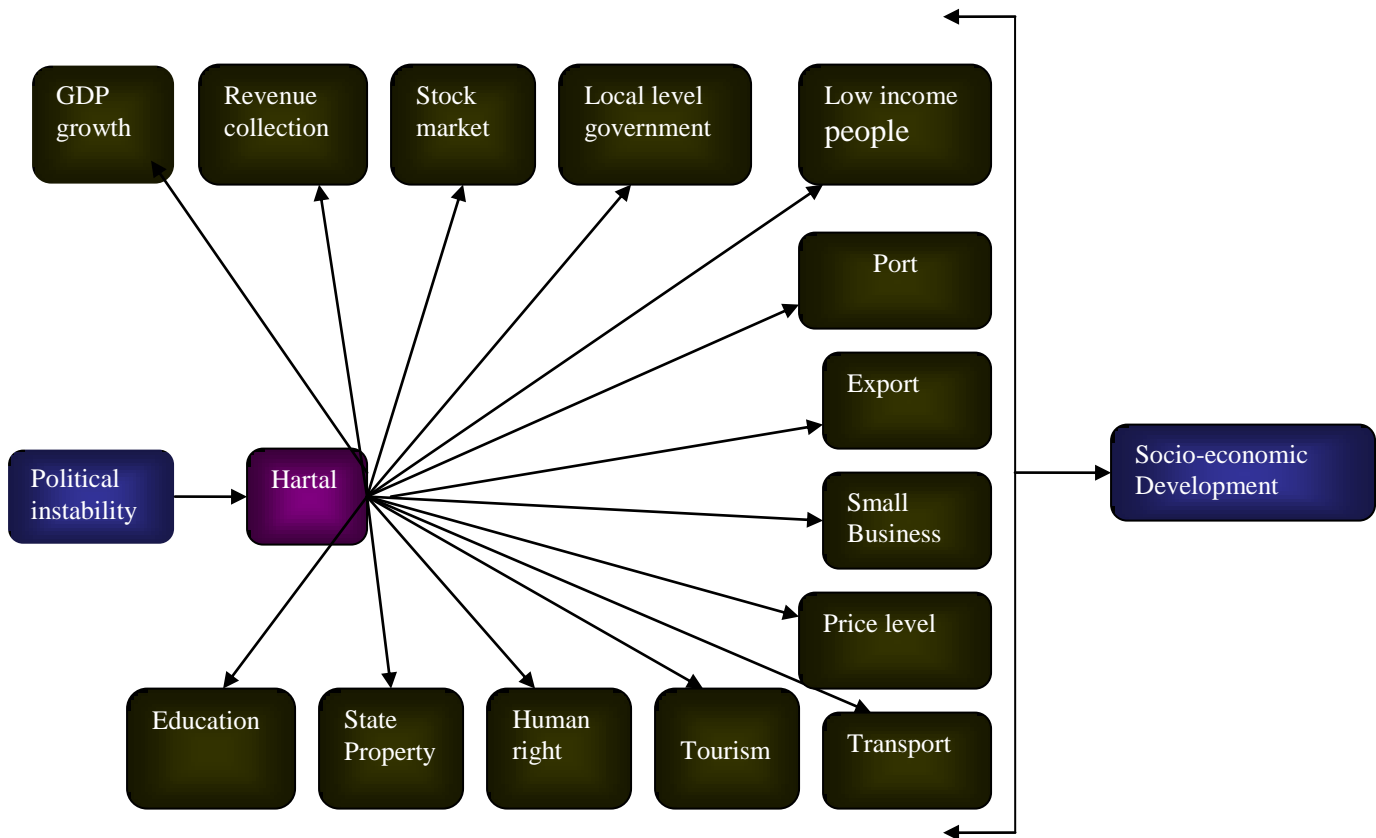


Figure 4: Flow diagram of negative impact of hartal

Flow diagram shows that the main reason of hartal was political instability. Different sectors such as education, human right, tourism, transport, price level, small business, export, port, low income people, local level government, stock market, revenue collection, state property, GDP growth rates were affected by hartal. Socio-economic welfare and development is a broader concept. It can be negatively influenced by political instability, violated human right, and some non market activity like tension, happiness etc. So, it can be concluded that socio-economic development can be seriously hindered by hartal.

7. ACTIONS THAT MAY BE TAKEN TO SOLVE THE NEGATIVE IMPACTS OF HARTAL

1. Frequently political leaders in Bangladesh are selected according to family practice. In most of the case coming from a political family is prevailed as prerequisite for leadership. As a result prudence and providence is over and over again uncared for. So, the cycle of nepotism must be broken up for political sustainability.
2. The prime minister of Bangladesh enjoys absolute power which is guarded by the constitution. Reducing of prime minister's power and

diversifying few to opposition could reduce political tensions.

3. Scope should be formed for the politicians who have sound experience about root level political affairs. They can use their skill for resolving crisis.
4. Strong lawful action against any political leaders and government high officials if found guilty through the amendment of the constitution shall raise fear in the minds of dispute planner and executor.
5. For ensuring Knowledge and efficiency the present rule of eligibility of a political candidate should modified.
6. NGO and civil society can play a well-built role for building consciousness among the people. The person who active in one political party's hartal often seen that the same person is going to another party's hartal and play destructive role in both case. This kind of event takes place only for a little amount of money which can be avoided by creating awareness.

7. Independent judicial division will be effectual to extend the answerability of government.
8. Parliament is dominated by government where oppositions are so marginalized. As a result they prefer streets rather than parliament to press their demand. Constitution could be amended to enlarge the scope of speaking of opposition party.
9. Policy makers think that in Bangladesh disguised democracy is continuing. Here monarchy is running under the cover of democracy. To abate this tendency scope for young generation must be created based on their efficiency.
10. Social interaction between leaders of different political parties should be augmented.
11. In Bangladesh student politics often works as a reason behind political violence. Students are used by corrupted political leaders here. These young people always take part in aggressive activity in haral. It should be ensured that student organization can play active role in case of claiming about student's welfare.
12. Business community is a power pressure group and a major stakeholder in political stability of the country. In several times they donate big amount of money to the political parties. They can render a major service to the economy if they stick to the motto 'business first, politics letter'.

8. CONCLUSION

The opposition doesn't have any other platforms to voice their demands and hence use hartals; politicians only care about personal gains and do not heed the impact on the economy because they are immune to the consequences; the government is hostile, leaving few alternatives; options such as rallies, protests, hunger-strikes are useless. All of these arguments make opposition leaders appear selfish, irrational, and ignorant. Hartal is a strategic tool for opposition parties utilized in the years prior to elections. Hartals legitimize the use of violence, which in turn can undermine the government, thereby raising the chances of electoral success for opposition parties. Hartals put salt in a wounded economy.

REFERENCES:

Web link:

- [1]. <http://www.dhakachamber.com/cipe/EPPs%20%20Studies/Political%20stability.pdf>
- [2]. http://eprothomalo.com/displaypage.php?id=2013_03_22_10_0_b#
- [3]. <http://eprothomalo.com/index.php?opt=view&page=1&date=2013-03-27#>
- [4]. <http://eprothomalo.com/index.php?opt=view&page=3&date=2013-03-27#>

- [5]. <http://banglanews24.com/English/detailsnews.php?nssl=175a462b8596a328146049ce3532894e&nttl=0804201367436>
- [6]. <http://www.thedailystar.net/beta2/news/stockmarket-a-big-casualty-of-hartal/>
- [7]. <http://en.bdtodaynews.com/stocks-plunge-amid-hartal/>
- [8]. <http://www.thedailystar.net/beta2/news/loss-not-less-than-tk-500cr/>
- [9]. http://www.thefinancialexpress-bd.com/more.php?date=2012-04-22&news_id=127447
- [10]. <http://news.org.bd/news/business/revenue-collection-pace-still-slow-in-july-feb/>
- [11]. <http://www.newagebd.com/detail.php?date=2013-03-28&nid=44240#.UZu1XGXyFXh>
- [12]. DCCI (Dhaka Chamber of Commerce and Industry) survey
- [13]. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_violence
- [14]. <http://www.saferworld.org.uk/where/bangladesh>
- [15]. <http://www.bangladeshchronicle.net/index.php/2013/03/one-killed-50-injured-on-first-day-of-hartal/>
- [16]. <http://www.bangladeshchronicle.net/index.php/2013/04/pre-hartal-violence-sees-6-vehicles-torched-in-city/>
- [17]. <http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/90777/8193270.html>
- [18]. http://theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=163782:15-injured-in-hib-cops-clashes-in-ctg&catid=187:online-edition&Itemid=223
- [19]. ODHAKAR, Human Rights Monitoring Report, 2013
- [20]. <http://www.bangladeshchronicle.net/index.php/2013/03/hartal-hits-tourism-hard/>
- [21]. <http://www1.bssnews.net/newsDetails.php?cat=0&id=323360&date=2013-04-05>
- [22]. http://atimes.com/atimes/South_Asia/DG16Df04.html
- [23]. <http://www.bkmea.com/newscorner-Rid-of-Hartal.html>
- [24]. http://www.thefinancialexpress-bd.com/more.php?news_id=162606&date=2013-03-10

- [25]. <http://www.newagebd.com/detail.php?date=2013-03-03&nid=41735#.UboQ2FL1uLc>
- [26]. <http://www.dhakacourier.com.bd/?p=10610>
- [27]. http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=159044:rmg-production-cost-goes-up-by-30pc&catid=110:business-others&Itemid=156
- [28]. [29][30]
<http://eprothomalo.com/index.php?opt=view&page=1&date=2013-04-03>
31. http://www.thefinancialexpress-bd.com/more.php?news_id=156175&date=2013-01-09
32. <http://www.newagebd.com/detail.php?date=2013-03-04&nid=41815#.UUcjKWVIBY0>
33. http://www.thefinancialexpress-bd.com/more.php?news_id=153633&date=2012-12-19
34. http://custom.cengage.com/static_content/OLC/0324833326/data/transcripts/8492.pdf
35. <http://www.dhakachamber.com/cipe/EPPs%20%20Studies/Political%20stability.pdf>
36. <http://www.dhakachamber.com/cipe/EPPs%20%20Studies/Political%20stability.pdf>

Report:

37. World Bank, 2001
38. BGMEA, 2006
39. ICCB, 2013
40. FBCCI, 2013
41. Beyond Hartal, UNDP Report, 2005

Journal articles:

42. Ajoy Dasgupta, *Sangbadpatrey Hartalchitra* (Dhaka: Press Institute of Bangladesh, 2001)
43. Imtiaz Ahmed, *Preserving Bangladesh's democratic future*, South Asian Journal