

## Urban Poor Migrant of Rajshahi City: An Anthropological Observation

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### Introduction

Migration has various meanings and types all over the world. A lot of work has already been done worldwide, and there is also a lot of work on migration in Bangladesh. These works focus on the various issues of migration in Dhaka, Chitagong, Khulna and Sylhet city. But the migration literature in Rajshahi city is rare. Rajshahi is a big city by its population, institutions and the rate of immigration, but there are no sufficient research works on the poor urban migrant of Rajshahi city. So, the urbanization processes, migration nature, and the urban nature of Rajshahi city should get importance for research at the national and international level. In this article, only the migrated poor people of Rajshahi city have considered for analysis, who are living in the slums of the city. Rajshahi is a divisional city and also known as an educational city. So, the nature of professions is a bit different than the other big cities of the country. The preliminary observations suggest that by this work the urban poor migrant cannot earn sufficient earning for their household maintenance. By this observation, I asked myself why they didn't go to other big cities like Dhaka or Chittagong- where they might have more options for employment. I tried to get my answer and realized that they had to move from their villages for survival. They moved within their network. In Rajshahi city, the slums dwellers create network and use network for various purposes as their life leading strategies.

This article is based on a preliminary observation at the vadra slum of Rajshahi city where every household is of migrated people. Most

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of them are from the various districts of the northern part of the Bangladesh and a few number of migrants are from other districts of the country like Faridpur, Jessore, Kushtia where rail communication is available. This slum is very near to Rajshahi Railway station and situated on the khash land of the railway.

Conventional migration theories argued that migration occurs due to factors such as 'push factor', 'pull factor', geographical displacement, poverty, urban facilities, landlessness, joblessness, economic deprivation etc. But an Anthropological observation reveals that not every rural poor want to migrate to the city. Only a number of poor people move towards the city. For moving to the city and adapt to the city through a social network is very important. Where urban administration fail to ensure the basic necessities of life, social network of the migrated population can partially fulfill their needs like by offering them employment, more and better options for income, water and sanitation facilities, housing options, health and education services and the basic amenities of their life. This paper will explore the above mentioned issues with the main objective of showing the coping strategies of urban poor migrants of Rajshahi city. The paper begins with special focus on social network of the migrants and their process of adaptation to the city. This article, will urge the importance of anthropological approachs in migration studies, on urban poverty, reasons of migration and its impact on their kinship or social network and its influence, settlement pattern and various problem and issues of the poor people in the Rajshahi city.

#### **Rajshahi City and the Urban Poor Migrant**

Rajshahi city is situated on the north bank of Padma River. It is a divisional headquarter. Rajshahi has a rich historical background. In ancient and medieval times, it constituted the heart- land of Bengal. Towards the end of medieval times, with the transfer of capital from Dhaka to Murshidabad, Rajshahi areas came in closer contact with the ruling aristocracy. The commercial potentialities of Rajshahi attracted European companies, the Dutch, the French and the English, all of them having business posts in Rajshahi. During the



British rule, Rajshahi continued to flourish as a place of importance. Rajshahi gradually developed into town with social, educational institutions and community organizations (Molla 1983:137-8). A relatively high ratio of house ownership is found in Rajshahi, which indeed reflects a low level of urbanism (Arephin 1983:174).

Historically, this city was very important commercially. It was the After independence of Bangladesh, the city used as an important root for smuggled goods from India. Smuggler used poverty-stricken poor people in this business. Many poor people came from rural areas and were involved with smuggling business. Now, this business is declining and the main professions of the poor people are like begging, collecting broken things (vangari kurano), rickshaw pulling, small shop keeping, house maids, construction work, and day laborer. The urban poor migrants live in low- cost rented house and slums. There are many slums at the city like Panchoboti, Soto Bongram, Vadra, Jamalpur, Sheroil slum etc developed at the private owner's land and govt. khash land. The city corporation supply running water for the citizen and there are electricity facilities in most part of the city. However, this city is out of natural gas supplies. There are lack of industry and other private sector entrepreneurship which can provide work to more people. In this article, I will explain why the rural people migrate to this city and how they are deprived of various basic service facilities offered by the state to its citizens.

### **Social Network**

Social network is very important for the poor migrants in Rajshahi city. In every stage of their urban life they depend on this social network which may be kin-based network, fictive relationships or neighbors whom they know from their villages. The concept of social network has important implications as migrants settle and adapt to urban city life through this social network. Networks provide a form of social capital that ultimately yields economic capital. For example, it was found that kinship networks were the basic units of income generation among rural-urban migrants in Rajshahi. Larger social networks are directly correlated with the

social and economic resources that can be mustered for settlement.

It is very interesting that generally migration is considered as the effect of push factor, pull factor, economic poverty, etc. But in the context of Rajshahi city the poor migrant bear special characteristics than the other places. Rajshahi is not a very resource full city for the migrants but the important thing is that who have some social networks to migrate at this city they can get their basic need 'food' from this city. Most of the cases the respondents of this observation came to the city for survival. Many poor people living in rural areas are not able to migrate to the cities as they lack social network. People with some social networks tend to migrate to the Rajshahi city. These social networks can be kin-based or otherwise. These observations suggest a different way of thinking to the analysis of the poor urban migrants.

To cope up with the poverty, usually, rural poor move to the city for work or try to occupy themselves with the production system. Among the anthropologists, there is a growing dissatisfaction with economic approaches in understanding the city ward migration. There are some works which emphasis on the role of social networks in the migration process (Butterworth 1962; Fjellman and Gladwin 1985; Gardner 1995; Graves and Graves 1974; Greico 1995; Lomnitz 1977; Wilson 1994 cited in Brettell and kemper, 2002). Migrants bring changes to localized communities not only through significant economic remittances but also through their continuing social connections (Levitt 1998 cited in Brettell and kemper, 2002). Migrants' contact with villages is likely to be influenced to some degree by the ties to their native places. In the context of Bangladesh, emotional bond is of great significance. Migrants' visit to their villages may enlighten the existing situation (Hussain 1996)

Social network is a significant determinant of population mobility, particularly due to 'segmentation' of migration streams between specific regions of origin and destination due to kinship and other networks (De Haan 1999). Social networks and affiliations with formal institutions such as trade unions and community based organizations facilitate labor migration, for example, by providing initial accommodation and employment at destination or information



on employment opportunities facilitating job search. One of my respondents (Kazem, 65) said

*"I did not have income generating option for a long days, but I could not migrate anywhere because I didn't know that where I can get work, when I meet with my cousin who lives in this slums he said that you can get your food at Rajshahi in any way. Then I took decision to migrate at Rajshahi city. Known people [Porichito Lok] are very important for living in a city."*

Often times, when someone settled in the urban area, she/he gets some help from their wider social networks. These networks play important role in changing the kin's economic and social situations by providing money or other supports which they need at the time of migration. Social networks play a very important role in individual's social reproduction (Chowdhury 2004), especially to the migrants who are staying in Rajshahi city from the rural areas of the country. They migrate for various purposes especially seeking for the works, facing the poverty at home, remove himself from the vulnerable situation and what not. So, there may have various causes of migration but the means of migration is the social network for the poor people.

#### **Reasons for Migration**

Bangladesh is a developing country and it is known as one of the poorest country in the world. Urban poverty in Bangladesh is partly a manifestation of rural poverty, as majority of the urban poor are still in fact the recent migrants from rural areas. Thus, urban poverty is largely due to the transfer of the rural poor to urban areas (Islam 1994:112). Very high population density as well as a high rate of population growth, widespread poverty and unemployment, periodic floods and tidal waves in the coastal areas, just to list some of the commonly noted features, marks the backdrop of rural-urban migration in Bangladesh, where some 80 percent of the population still live in rural areas (Naher 2002).

The poor people do struggle to survive at the rural areas. If poor people failed to get work or income generating sources they can move towards the city depending on the availability of opportunity. Rural to urban migration is a continuous process in Bangladesh. migration occurs at the urban areas for various purposes like

expected better treatment, looking for higher education, to obtain official works and also searching for jobs in different professional organizations, formal and informal sectors. But there are very little opportunities to get an income earning options at Rajshahi city. My respondent (Rashid, 40) said,

*"I came at Rajshahi for my wife's Treatment, it takes 3 months to be cured. I sold my agricultural land and last residential land (Vita) for this treatment purpose. When I lost all of my land then I thought I need not to back to my village because what I will do there, I had been staying at this city and getting income by rickshaw pulling and not returned back to my village but also there are lot of hardship in this city."*

There are more than 13 million poor people in the urban areas of the country. Earlier, Poverty was measured in terms of either income deprivation or nutrition deprivation, while more recent studies interpret poverty from a multidimensional approach. Poverty is sometimes defined as deficiency of food, individuals who are unable to manage minimum food nutrient are considered poor. Depending on level of nutrition intake (or income) below the poverty line, a household individual means also is identified to belong to either the moderate poor (belonging to poverty line II). The Bangladesh Bureau of statistics provide poverty data by these two poverty lines or poverty categories, for example, according to BBS calorie intake requirement for poverty line is 2122 cal/day/person, while that to poverty line II is 1805 cal/day/person (Islam 2002). The urban poor migrants are from the various villages of the country. Some of them were bound to migrate from their villages because they have no options for income generating in the villages, somebody came experimentally and have been living in the city.

**Migration is influenced by "Push" factor**, which represents a key livelihood diversification and survival strategy for poor and non-poor households in many parts of the developing world. In the context of Rajshahi city, here immigration is may be the effect of push factor for the urban poor. Due to workless ness, joblessness, lack of income generation, uncertainty of food for the family member as well as



children, the rural poor people moved towards the urban areas of the country. One respondent (Shonavan, 35) said,

*"If there don't have any work at the village then people have nothing to do except move for searching works. If you stay at the village you get die you must leave the village. To get work city is good, because there are many options to survive and if you have relative at the city you can get easily a chance."*

The rural landless and economically poor people move towards the city for work, for economic earning and ultimately for survival. After they arrived at the city, their first work is to search an income generating profession which may be begging if they have had no other way or they are not as skilled as to get a work. Landlessness, population growth and lack of employment opportunities in the rural areas are the main factors "pushing" many rural people to the urban areas (Naher 2002:291). Severe poverty may 'force' people to undertake permanent migration, potentially aggravating deprivation where there is no insurance against livelihood failure. Migration processes are often embedded in social or cultural relations for historical reasons and facilitated through kinship networks. This may involve promotion of mobility among certain demographic and ethnic groups and exclusion of others.

Anthropologists, like other social scientists, often assume that cities are populated primarily by migrants who have been "pushed" to leave their rural and small town homes as the result of economic hardship, rather than pulled by the attraction of urban opportunities (Sovani cited In Basham 1978:75). A common and widely accepted view about rural urban migrant in Asian countries is that they are "Pushed" rather than "pulled" into the urban areas. This results in rural under employment, over crowding and economic distress to the urban areas.

Many non-moving individuals and households from a sending area are likely to be, or become, chronically poor. They are unable, unless 'forced', to choose migration to ameliorate their circumstances due to prohibitive financial and economic costs, as well as such factors as

limited access to networks and disadvantage in terms of skills, knowledge and physical mobility.

**Migration is not choice, it is only an option for survival** of the deprived communities of the urban poor in the third world cities and they are no longer treated as transitory phenomena. They mostly represent a substantial proportion of the urban population in this country, but also continue to grow in both relative and absolute terms. So, the conditions, which the urban poor live, and their relative social standing in the urban society are more, then likely to have a bearing on their own future (Hettige 1990). Landless, jobless, workless rural people who are alienated from the agricultural land or their traditional professions usually shift towards an urban area of the country for looking works. One of the respondents (Siraj, 45) said *"I had to migrate to the Rajshahi city because I had no cultivable land of my own. I was involved in sharecropping but that couldn't produce sufficient for my family. My last own land I loose for 'Bondok'. I heard that if I can go the city I can get an income source and migrated to the city."*

Much of the early work on migration was influenced by modernization theory and neo-classical economic models that emphasized both the "push" factors of out-migration and the "pull" factors of in-migration. These models specified that migrants and their families were making rational economic calculations in response to differentials in land, labor, and capital between where they live and the locale to which they had decided to migrate. In addition to the jobs that attracted migrants to cities were the bright lights and excitement of urban life. But in the context of Rajshahi city most of the slums dwellers had no options for earning in the place of origin and they were pushed to the city for survival. Another respondent (Anser Ali, 65) said *"I had no option to manage our food at the village for this reason I myself migrated to Rajshahi and took shelter to my sister in-laws house at the vadra slum."*

There is significant population mobility in the developing world and that migration is a complex phenomenon occurring over a wide variety of spatial and temporal contexts and for many material and non-material reasons. Whereas economic theories focus on migration



as a choice of people who wish to do better their economic circumstances. In much sociological and anthropological literature, migration has been seen in a negative context, occurring as a last resort of the poor in response to economic, demographic and environmental shocks, and leading to their exploitation and further impoverishment (De Haan 1999). In recent years, there has been an expansion of interest in a more balanced approach to migration in the context of the sustainable livelihoods framework (see De Haan and Rogaly 2002).

The option of migration is not available to all poor people, least of all the chronically (long-term) and severely (poorest) poor. The ability to adopt migration as a livelihood strategy is affected by the degree of social inclusion/exclusion, reflected in access to and control over resources. Urban labour market is dominated by informal sector employment, especially in the big cities. One significant aspect of urban labour force expansion is the increased participation of women. Women migrants from the rural areas are joining the urban labour in informal manufacturing, construction industry and domestic services. Child labour participation is also increasing (Chowdhury 1994: 99). So, the urban labour market is always competitive for the poor urban migrant for survival, but they had to be bounded to shift themselves and their families to the city for minimum livelihood security. In the context of Rajshahi city the poor people are involved in different type of temporary occupation, though a large number is remaining workless but their strategies are somehow manage to get food and to ensure minimum security in their life.

**Migration may occur for economic adaptation.** Migration by one household member is a means of protecting income or consumption stability where risk is not covariant between sending and receiving localities and income sources. Migration decisions are made by rational self-interested individuals looking for higher paid work in urban areas and migration occurs if the economic benefits in terms of expected wages at urban destination – accounting for risk of initial spell of unemployment – exceed economic costs of moving and of foregone wages at rural origin (Lucas 1997). Rationality implies that

individuals with better education, skills and labour market experience have a comparative advantage in job search at destination labour markets, and therefore are more likely to migrate. Thus, migration is seen as a selective, rather than random process, and whilst migrants 'self select' in this way, the same logic of rationality implies that non-migrants do not move because their comparative advantage lies in staying (Tunali 2000). One of the slum dweller (kasuti, 38) said,

*"If you don't have money how you will live? Sometimes there are no scopes of earning in the village then people have nothing to do except move for searching works. To get work city is good, because there are many options to survive and if you have relative at the city you can get easily a chance. If you can collect the broken things it has price, you can collect waste paper and can get money by selling those things."*

Migration is a question of long-term economic adaptation (Portes 1995). Migrants are viewed not only as individuals carrying their personal skills, but also as members of groups and participants in broader social structures that affect in multiple ways their economic mobility. Migrant networks are sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants and nonimmigrant in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and share community origin (Portes and Rumbaut 1996). They increase the likelihood of internal movement because they lower the cost and risks of moving and increase the expected net returns to migrate. Network connections constitute a social resource that people draw on to gain access to various kinds of financial capital: employment, high wages, the possibility of saving and sending remittances to their place of origin (Massey 1999).

The earning of this poor people is generally insufficient and they mostly spend their earnings to fulfill their basic need. Stack (1970: 107) argued that those living in poverty have little or no chance to escape from the economic situation into which they were born. Nor do they have the power to control the expansion or contraction of welfare benefits or of employment opportunities, both of which have a momentous effect on their daily lives. In times of need, the only



predictable resources that can be drawn upon are their own children and parents, and the fund of kin and friends obligated to them.

**Migration is the result of poverty**, whilst migration does occur in response to crisis for some, it is also a central livelihood strategy for many people in the face of physical, economic, social and political adversity; and the impact of poverty and vulnerability on migration and implications of migration for well-being are highly context specific. Households in developing countries often undertake multiple livelihood strategies in order to diversify livelihood sources in the context of social, economic, political, environmental and historical circumstances. The sustainable livelihoods framework analyses how households and communities are enabled to pursue, or disabled from following, different livelihood strategies, including migration, in response to prevailing conditions and how this impacts on their well-being and vulnerability to adverse circumstances. Urban poor are people who cannot afford to meet the basic need requirements with their own income (CUS 1990). One respondent (Shonavan, 35) said,

*"If there don't have any work at the village then people have nothing to do except move for searching works. If you stay at the village you will get die, you must leave the village. City is better for getting works, because there are many options to survive and if you have relative at the city you can get easily a chance."*

Poverty is not just a matter of economic deprivation but that it also involves behavioral and personality traits. Once people adapt to poverty, attitudes and behaviors that initially developed in responses to economic deprivation are passed on to subsequent generations through socialization. Lewis (1966) added that the culture of poverty could come into being in a variety of historical contexts. However, it tends to grow and flourish in societies with the following set of conditions: (1) a cash economy, wage labor and production for profit; (2) a persistently high rate of unemployment and under employment for unskilled labor; (3) Low wages; (4) the failure to provide social, political and economic organization, either on a voluntary basis or by government imposition, for low income population; (5) the existence of a bilateral kinship system rather than

a unilateral one and family; (6) the existence of a set of values in the dominant class which stresses the accumulation of wealth and property, the possibility of upward mobility and thrift, and explains low economic status as the result of personal inadequacy or inferiority (Lewis 1966).

Poor people's migration choices are impaired by different forms of social exclusion, which result from inequitable access to different capital resources and institutions. These include economic assets (e.g. land ownership, savings), human capital (e.g. education, skills, age), social capital (e.g. kinship networks), cultural capital (e.g. ethnicity, caste, gender, language), geography (e.g. natural environment, rural remoteness) and political capital (e.g. political participation and citizenship). Human capital in terms of education, skills, knowledge, age and health determines access to economic opportunities (Kothari 2002). Individual human capital therefore has long been seen as a key determinant of migration probability, and there is a significant amount of evidence indicating that those with better education and skills have a comparative advantage in destination labor markets and are more likely to migrate (Lucas 1997). One respondent (Shonavan, 35) said,

*"Who have strong network at the city they can get better option for remove or decrease poor situation. The poor people live in the village for long time and failed to improve their situation at the village then they use their network and migrate to the city. Once upon a time we were solvent at the village we didn't think to come at the city but when we loose our cultivable land and residential land for river erosion we fall in to the poverty and took decision to migrate."*

Total labor supply available within the household is also likely to be an important determinant of whether the household has excess labor capacity and can therefore afford to send migrants out without adversely affecting domestic production. Seasonal migration is true for poorer food insecure households who cannot free labor for other activities during the rainy season due to the need to ensure their own food stocks for fear of food market failure. Richer, more food secure households are less constrained by this issue and therefore more able to pursue higher paid non-farm activities during rainy season and



hire farm laborers at a profit. Rural out-migration is often perceived to be the result of poverty, particularly in the case of seasonal migration, in which the poor migrate in search of alternative livelihoods in response to the deleterious effects of, for example, the dry season on agricultural production and livelihoods, impairing home production and increasing vulnerability as well all sorts of poverty.

So, there are different kinds of poverty, economic crisis, tension of survive, loosing of every resources at the villages, social exclusion, injustice, scarcity of land, lack of option to get land for cultivation etc at the rural areas, which the poor people are facing. To face the poverty, to secure their and their family member's food and the every crisis uncertainty the poor people need to take some strategy. One of the most popular strategies is to migrate to the city where their rural neighbors are available for decreasing the risk of migration.

#### **Deprivation from urban facilities and adaptive strategies**

Rajshahi is a divisional headquarter and is considered as urbanized area. All of the roads are pucca, and communication with Dhaka (the capital) and other districts is good. The city corporation has given available water supply, electricity, drainage systems, dustbins and other facilities for its citizens. There are a medical college hospital and many other clinics, pathology and diagnosis centers, city health service center operated by NGOS in this city. There are different types of market for raw and finished goods. There are also different type of temporary market over the city which is locally called 'Bow Bazar' where low cost vegetables and fish is available, a few hawkers markets where the low cost second hand materials are available. There are many other facilities which are inaccessible for the poor people. The urban poor migrant stay in the city, but they don't get all the opportunities, which urban areas offer. High rates of urban population growth in the developing countries have given rise to various social problems (Islam and Ahsan 1996:3). Most of the poor people are deprived from the urban facilities like housing, electricity, safe drinking water, education and health services.

The urban poor migrants suffer from the first time **shelter center than their permanent house**. When the poor people come to this city, they don't have any place to stay. A large number of the respondents spent their first night of the city at the railway station. After a while they found their known people at the city and took shelter to their houses. After this, their target is how can they find out any place where they can live without any rent. On this purpose, they try to find their kins at the slum and try to take shelter in their neighbors or kin's house. Their relatives (consanguine affine or fictive) usually manage a place closer to their house and thus the poor migrant get an accommodation at the city. Eventually, they try to find an employment some times if they are lucky, they get work and can think of savings for the future.

The habitat of the urban poor people of the Rajshahi city can be clearly distinguished from other types of urban settlement. Though they live in the most urbanized area of the country, the poor usually have no access to basic amenities of city life. Their shelters are old, clumsy, and dirty. The buildings they live in are usually partitioned into smaller units or temporary huts constructed of makeshift materials. The urban poor migrant live in the places which are very low cost or they make houses with very low cost materials like polythene papers on some government lands or any other private abandoned property.

There are private informal systems for housing in the city. Slums housing comes two forms – housing for family dwelling and units for mess living by single men or women (Islam et al 1997:125). There is another option for housing that fallow land or 'khash' land or govt. fallow lands are being used by the poor people in the urban areas. About one quarter of the urban houses of Bangladesh are built completely with thatch, bamboo or mud and about 23 percent shelters of the poorest there may be a significant percentage of population who would like to move from their present unsatisfactory housing condition to a more satisfactory situation, the proportion of which is not known (Hussain 1996). One respondent (Rupvan, 37) said,



*"Where we are living man cannot live here. Various dirty animal and we are living together here. We are living on the rail khash land, who will take care of our houses, rail authority always try to evicted us. We have not enough money to build a good house, if we have had money we must not live here, we would have a rented house, then our children would be protected from various disease."*

Slum owners supply or allow construction of very high density housing for renters, with very low structural quality, minimum sanitary facilities and extreme environmental conditions. They address the housing demand of a large segment of low income to low medium income group households. The issue of housing for the urban poor, there fore, should be bought in the centre of urban management (Hussain 1996).

Housing Problem and the unhygienic environment of the living place of the urban poor are very common scenario in the poor people's slums or squatters in Rajshahi city. Shortage of land insufficient quantity and at affordable price is a major barrier to proper housing development in its urban areas (Rahman 1994:31). Urban land especially in big cities is now acting as an important agent of unequalizer. Government policies and intervention have gone against the poor and middle income group (Chowdhury 1994). Urban poor are facing the crisis of shelter at the city if they can get a cheaper rented house or rent less govt. space at the city that are not healthy. But the poor people only can stay at the city by using their social networks to minimize their shelter accommodation and housing crisis in Rajshahi city.

They don't get **electricity** facilities due to the lack of ownership of the holdings as well as they don't have enough money for paying electric bills. For this reason the poor people of Rajshahi city use kerosene for lighting their lamp. But in recent time due to the rise of price of kerosene the poor people try to rationalize their utilization of kerosene. I have an important observation on this regard that one woman was taking her dinner in front of her house at the evening without any lamp. She told me that she had no kerosene at her house and didn't have any money. For this reason she is taking her meal in the moon light.

The poor people of the city have no ability to use electric heater for cooking. Two or three households share a common chula (cooker) for cooking. They use dried cow dung as fuel which they buy from the local market or from supplier and dried leaves, branches of tree collect from here and there. They cook their food once a day for saving fuel and take meals two or three times a day. So, they are living at the urbanized area and their style of cooking is like those of the rural areas. They don't have any separate kitchen room usually they cook in their living rooms.

In the city there are modern **health care facilities** but the urban poor people do not get these services. Lack of awareness is one reason but the most important reason is that all of the health care facilities are not affordable to the poor people. They have only access to outdoor medical facilities in the govt. health care centres like hospitals. These hospitals cannot provide free medicine and other services to them as they need it most. Although there are better treatments facilities in the city, the poor people are deprived of the modern health care services.

The city administration can not provide **safe drinking water** for the urban citizens. In most cases, water supply line and sewerage lines intersects thus dirty water mixed up with the drinking water. Though the city administration provides safe drinking water, the poor people don't have sufficient access to the water. There is a only one source of safe drinking water in a slum for the people of more than five hundred, and they usually stay in a long line for the safe drinking water. The slum people take their bath from the nearby water body. Poor people don't have the access to tube wells as they cannot afford the tube wells. When they don't get supply water at the dry season, they collect money from every house in order to establish a new tube well in the slum. They formed an association for the maintenance of the tube well. One respondent (Parul, 33) said, *"If there don't have any water at the tap or the tube well we often suffer for water and we need to go a long distance for water."*

**Education** is another important aspect of the urban dwellers. The poor migrant's children usually don't get education from the well



reputed schools in the city. They can hardly send their children to the level of primary education. Most of the poor people cannot afford the expenditure of the schools. Only those who are very interested about their children's education, they send their children to various NGO-run schools in the city. My observation suggest that most of the children of the slum neighborhood cannot complete their primary level of education. Only three children go to school regularly. However, their aunts take care of their educational expenditures.

**Sanitation** facilities are not available at the vadra poor neighborhoods. They don't have any toilet at their houses. The railway authority doesn't allow them to use their lands as open latrines. When asked how they meet this need. They said that they cross the wall of RUET (Rajshahi University of Engineering and Technology) and use their land as open latrine. Both male and female are accustomed to this habit. They maintain a network which helps them to meet up unexpected shameful crisis on this regard.

The poor people of Rajshahi is suffering from various types of problems like housing, health facilities, lack of work opportunities, permanent shelter etc. But their main sufferings is for their food. They moved to the Rajshahi city due to the lack of food but in the city they are not able to manage their food either. There are many slums in the city. Now a days they usually fail to collect their food even from begging. Slum dwellers are not receiving due attention and services from the government and the other non-governmental organizations. The existing administrative, financial and technical facilities of the city are heavily biased in favor of urban elite and rich communities (Mahbub 1996:104). Being majority, the poor are deprived of their due share in urban land and amenities.

### **Conclusion**

Social network is very important in every sphere of urban poor migrant's life. The urban poor migrants of Rajshahi maintain both 'blood' networks and marriage networks. Beside these kinship networks they have fictive network based mainly on their district of origin. The urban poor have a strong bondage with their village fellows (Hossain 2006). The social network becomes social capital in

the context of migration to the city by providing migration related information and adaptation to the city life, and by providing initial accommodation and employment information. But after migration to the city, living areas or community become important as social network for adapting to urban life.

There are many studies on the rural-urban migration which have analyzed the condition of poor people in urban areas, pattern of intake and the health condition of the urban poor. There is not enough work on the poor migrant of Rajshahi city. But the rural to urban migration is very important for the national economy, national politics and the national policy. It has a significant implication on urban social life. This article has explored the various research problems and issues which demand ethnographic research for developing a coherent policy for the city migrants.

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