

立命館大学大学院  
2024年度実施 入学試験  
博士課程前期課程

文学研究科

人文学専攻・教育人間学専修

入試方式	実施月	コース	専門科目		外国語(英語)	
			ページ	備考	ページ	備考
一般入学試験	9月	研究一貫	×		×	
	2月		P.1～		×	
	9月	高度探究	×			
	2月		P.1～			
社会人入学試験	9月	研究一貫	×			
	2月		P.1～			
	9月	高度探究				
	2月					
外国人留学生入学試験 (RJ方式)	9月	研究一貫	×			
	2月		P.1～			
	9月	高度探究	×			
	2月		P.1～			
学内進学入学試験	9月	研究一貫				
	2月					
	9月	高度探究				
	2月					
APU特別受入入学試験	9月	研究一貫				
	2月					
	9月	高度探究				
	2月					

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一般入学試験	2月	P.3～	
外国人留学生入学試験	9月		
	2月		
学内進学入学試験	2月		

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※試験終了後、ホッチキスで綴じること(太線の4箇所)

2025年度 立命館大学大学院文学研究科入学試験問題

2025年2月8日

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「専門科目」

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●受験上の注意

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●試験中の持込許可物件について

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文学研究科入学試験答案用紙

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問Ⅰ・問Ⅱ・問Ⅲの中から2つを選択して解答しなさい。

問Ⅰ．【人間研究領域】 次の2問の両方に解答しなさい。

1. 宮城教育大学元学長で教育学者・哲学者だった林竹二は、「まごまごする能力が教師には必要です」と語っている。林の言葉の意味について、「教育者の要件」に関するランゲフェルドや和田修二の教育人間学的言説を踏まえて論述しなさい。
2. 以下から2つの用語を選び、そこに内包されている教育人間学的な論点を整理しつつ解説しなさい。
- (1)挫折  
(2)プラグマティズム  
(3)メタモルフォーゼ

問Ⅱ．【臨床教育領域】 次の2問の両方に解答しなさい。

1. 以下の2問のうちから1つを選び、解答しなさい。
- (1)臨床教育学について、日本におけるその発展の歴史と、教育人間学との関係性について述べなさい。その際、主要な研究者を2名以上取り上げること（立命館大学の教員は除く）。
- (2)コンテンプラティヴ教育について、世界におけるその発展の歴史と、高等教育におけるその導入可能性について論じなさい。その際、導入例を1つ取り上げること（立命館大学における実践は除く）。
2. 以下の5つの用語について、それぞれ説明しなさい。
- (1)Society 5.0  
(2)学びの多様化学校  
(3)チーム学校  
(4)学力の三要素  
(5)教育 DX

問Ⅲ．【心理健康領域】 次の2問の両方に解答しなさい。

1. 以下から2つの用語を選び、それぞれ説明しなさい。その際、それぞれ例を挙げて説明しなさい。
- (1)言語遮蔽効果  
(2)行動主義心理学  
(3)限定合理性  
(4)生態学的妥当性  
(5)自然言語処理
2. 統計的仮説検定における標本分布とは何か、「母集団」「標本集団」「サンプリング」の3単語を全て使って説明しなさい。必要があれば図を入れて説明しても良い。



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2025年度 立命館大学大学院文学研究科入学試験問題

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「外国語」(英語)

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以下の英文を読み、12 頁以降に示した 4 つの設問に答えなさい。

Chapter 1

Seeking New Life: The Temporary Urbanization of Rural Migrating Youth

Kazuyo Minamide

Zakir stopped his education after passing the Secondary School Certificate exam, and started working in the garment industry in Dhaka. He first migrated with the support of his brother-in-law, but after 18 months he quit the job and returned to the village. He migrated again after some months and has been working in a garment factory for five years. Sometimes he sends me a message to say how difficult he finds it to keep working at the factory, especially because of the low salary. He says, "I will return to the village after earning money for a few more years. I will use that money to start a new kind of agriculture-based business."

1.1 The First Educated Generation as Social Transformers

Bangladesh is a young country, with more than half of the population under the age of twenty. Two main phenomena characterize today's young generation, or those who were born during the 1990s. First — as mentioned in the introduction of this book — the majority grew up under a rapid expansion of mass primary education, particularly in rural areas, making them the first in their family to attend a formal school, so-called "first educated generation" (Minamide, 2015, p. 34). Second, Bangladesh has been experiencing significant economic growth since the beginning of this century, due in large part to the export-oriented garment industry and remittances from overseas Bangladeshi migrant workers. As the majority of wage laborers in garment factories are in their 20s, it can be said that the

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contemporary young generation has been directly contributing to the country's economic growth. Thus, according to the numbers, these two features seem to indicate that formal education has been successful in advancing economic growth at the national level.

However, these two features are not connected in any meaningful way as far as the life opportunities and choices of young people are concerned (Minamide, 2015, p. 48). Young people do not intend to work in the garment industry; rather, after completing some level of education, they feel frustrated about working in the industry. Yet, their longing to migrate to the city, spurred by a "non-agricultural mindset," pulls them from rural to urban areas to seek opportunities, even if it means working in the labor-intensive garment industry. Yet, the experiences and transforming perspectives that this "first educated generation" have during their migration play a significant part in broader social changes in Bangladesh (Minamide, 2015, p.49).

In this context, my question in this chapter is; do young people who migrate from rural villages to cities for work urbanize their lifestyle or their sense of belonging? If so, do they form a certain social class in the city apart from the one they originally belong to in their home village? What are their future prospects? In the following sections, I will introduce some case studies of young people who migrated from a rural village to the capital of Dhaka. They are not enjoying working in the city but continue to do so in the absence of other options. Their strategy to endure their current situation is to understand it as temporary work and to have better, but unclear, aspirations for the future. This process of how they recognize, accept, and adjust to their present situation is essential when we discuss the subjectivity of the social transformation.

1.2 Rural Youth and Their Diversified Paths

Since 2000, including year-long fieldwork both in 2000 and during 2003-2004, I have been conducting anthropological research in rural Bangladesh. During my long-term observation, I spent everyday life in a rural village in Jamalpur, the central northern district of Bangladesh. I attended a primary school that was founded in 1991 by

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a Bangladeshi NGO. I spent every day in a fourth-grade classroom studying with the students, my interlocutors. Focusing on their socialization and the impact of their educational experience on the course of their lives, I followed particular groups of children through their childhood to adolescence and early adulthood. I followed the life courses of 38 children (19 boys and 19 girls), 22 of whom were in the fourth grade in 2000, and 16 of whom were in the fourth grade in 2003.

The students' family backgrounds were very similar; their parents mainly engaged in agriculture, either farming their own lands or as employees of landowners. Most of the children I followed were the first educated generation in their families, creating a huge gap in educational experience between them and their parents (Minamide, 2015, pp. 36-37). After graduating from primary school, the majority went directly on to high school, but many left before completing their secondary education. Their paths have gradually diversified, but on the whole, many boys migrated to cities to work in garment factories, while many girls got married. Some live in the city by themselves or with their new families; others remain in the village. Many girls live in the village after marriage, while their husbands live on their own in the city.

### 1.2.1 Educational Experience

Figure 1.1 indicates the educational level attained by all 38 children according to enrollment levels. Although many of the children (30 of 38) who graduated from primary school went on to high school (secondary education), a significant number (9) left before completion. A total of 21 students completed secondary education up to the tenth grade (17 without repeating a year and four with repeating in the middle). Five students went on to complete higher secondary education; three of whom stopped their education once and came back after a few years.

Despite no direct correlation between their educational attainment and their ability to obtain specific jobs, none of the former students denied the importance of their educational experience, believing that it would contribute to bettering their future. Some

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The diagram illustrates the educational paths of 38 children. It starts with Primary Education Enrollment at 95%. From there, it branches into Secondary Education Enrollment at 59% and Dropout. Secondary Education Enrollment further branches into Higher Secondary Education Enrollment at 28% and Dropout. Higher Secondary Education Enrollment leads to Higher Education Enrollment at 6-11%. The diagram also shows a path from Primary Education Enrollment to Dropout, and a path from Secondary Education Enrollment to Dropout. The diagram is labeled with 'Madrasa' and 'English' on the left side, and 'Bangla' on the right side.

Figure 1.1: Mapping the Educational Experience of 38 Children

regret having stopped their education in the middle; a few are still seeking opportunities to return to school for higher education. A boy who passed the Secondary School Certificate (SSC) examination and started working at a garment factory told me, “I studied at school in order to be a good man, not to destroy my life. Based on my educational experience, I can try my best to get a better life.” Although they could not imagine the specific benefits that their education would have on their life courses, they arrived at their own interpretations of education, adopting it in their lives as they saw fit.

One interesting feature of the first educated generation is that they are allowed to have their own perspective about their education, even at the primary level. Their parents, who have had no experience with school, tend to say, “Our children know about school better than we do.” I understand this space as a part of their “child-sphere” in which, I conceptualize, children, who are normally considered socially immature, are allowed to have their own principles and even to make “mistakes” against existing social norms (Minamide, 2014). In the transforming social settings, they have this “sphere” more than ever.



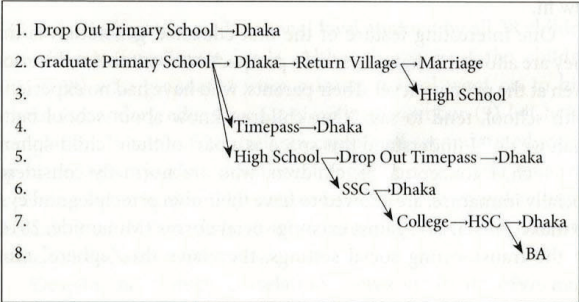
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1.3 Patterns of Migration

While there are clear parallel paths from school to urban migration for boys, and from school to marriage for girls (Minamide, 2015, pp. 41-42, 46-47), these paths are not always linear. Some leave school once to seek work, and return to their studies later (see Figure 1.2).

Despite the fact that 70-80 percent of the workers in Bangladesh's garment factories are female, boys constituted the majority of urban migrants from my research area. Only two among 19 female students are working in the city. The geography of eastern Jamalpur may explain this unusual circumstance; the land elevation of the area is higher than in other districts in Bangladesh, and rice cultivation is active throughout the year. The seasonal labor migration to urban areas used to be a common practice in Bangladesh during the rainy season when it was difficult to cultivate the land, but the lower risk of flooding in my research area means that the people there have not needed to seasonally migrate (Minamide, 2015, p. 36). Nowadays, however, since the demand for cash income has increased and job opportunities other than agriculture are limited in the village, men who are breadwinners in their families tend to migrate to the cities where they can get jobs in the labor-intensive market, particularly in the garment industry. With the exception of extreme poverty cases,



Source: Author's Survey from 2000 to 2018.

Figure 1.2: Path Flows of the Boys after Primary School

women do not migrate to work, but rather maintain their domestic lives in the village, which means that within the social context of this area, women working in the garment industry are viewed negatively as the "extreme poor."

Boys left the village at various points, sometimes returning to the village once and leaving again (Minamide, 2015, p. 41). Among 19 boys in total, ten boys are now working in and around Dhaka, and six live in the village.<sup>1</sup> Although they moved to Dhaka at different times, most of them are working in the garment industry under similar conditions.

How do these first educated generation migrants struggle and accept their life situation? Their changing situations and views reflect their life strategies and the process of urbanization, which I turn to in the next section.

1.4 Youth Migrating from Rural to Urban Areas

Bangladesh's economy has grown at an annual rate of over 6 percent since 2000 and one of the main drivers of this growth is the export-oriented garment industry. There are over 5,000 garment factories in Bangladesh and the country is the second largest readymade garment exporter in the world. According to Ashraf (2017, p. 82), "the rapid expansion of the sector depended on a mass influx of workers from rural areas into Dhaka's factories and employs more than four million workers, of whom nearly 80% are women, and who are rated among the world's cheapest labor force." Severe and problematic working conditions in the factories that have not seen proper improvement are not only discussed outside Bangladesh, but also within the society itself. Yet despite the harsh realities and negative image of the factories, hundreds of thousands of young people from the villages who have no other options continue to migrate to work in them.

The young men who migrated from my research site have three main complaints about the working conditions in the garment industry: they have to work too hard for long hours, they earn a

<sup>1</sup> Two migrated to foreign countries and I have lost track of one boy.



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very low salary, and their educational experience has no impact on getting a proper position or salary.

While they struggle to earn money under serious conditions, however, their behavior and mindset have been changing. When they first began working in the city, they would come back home almost every month, bringing their salary. Gradually the frequency of these home visits has reduced to once every three months, or only for annual festival breaks. Even if they do not go home, they regularly send remittances to their families through the domestic money transfer service. When they do return home for festivals, they rest for a few days, but then tend to feel bored, saying, “there is nothing to do in the village.”

Their lifestyle in the city is far different from that in the village. Although as a foreign researcher, I have not been permitted to enter the factories where my friends work and invite me to, Ashraf, a local anthropologist has written a rich ethnography based on long-term participant observation at one of the garment factories in Dhaka. As he mentions, work time in garment factories is strictly controlled by timecards and workers do not have physical freedom (Ashraf, 2017, p. 81). Their time and space are completely divided between their workplace and their private residence. This is a sharp contrast from their lives in the village, where people do agricultural tasks per their own schedule.

Compared with female workers, male workers tend to shift their workplace more frequently. Due to the lack of a promotion system within the factory, getting a job at a new factory is the easiest way to increase their salary.

In order to examine in detail, the situation of young migrants and the urbanizing process they undergo, I will now introduce four cases of youths who migrated from rural Jamalpur to Dhaka.<sup>2</sup> Although the number of cases is limited, these four stories are examples of contemporary urban migrants in Bangladesh. What do they think about their lives in the city and what visions do they have for their futures? Based on following their paths from their childhood days, and occasionally meeting them for informal interviews,

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I have been able to outline their family backgrounds, educational experiences, their comments on how they came to migrate, and their future plans.

**1.4.1 Shamsu, a Single Male Migrant**

Shamsu is the youngest son in his family. He has six elder brothers and no sister. By the time Shamsu reached primary school, his farmer father had already retired due to old age. Though Shamsu was the best student in his class when he graduated from primary school, he told me at that time that he would not be able to continue his education further because his parents could not afford it. However, when he was in the eighth grade, his second eldest brother migrated to work in the Maldives and started to send remittances to his family. With his brother's support, Shamsu was able to continue to study up to the 12th grade and passed the Higher Secondary Certificate (HSC) exam. He became the most educated among his brothers — one had studied up to the eighth grade; two had dropped out in grade four; and three had had no schooling at all. The eldest brother is working as a *rikshaw* puller in Dhaka, the third and sixth brothers work in the local market selling rice, the fourth is a farmer at home, and the fifth drives a diesel car for villagers' transportation.

When he passed the HSC, Shamsu decided to stop his education and migrate to work in the city. He had lost his drive to continue studying since he could not have visions for the future after completing his higher education. His friends who had already started to earn money also created pressure on his mind. Just before he left for Dhaka, he told me, “After I got the HSC with my hard work, I feel sad to work at a garment factory and get paid the same as other workers who only graduated from primary school.” He initially got a job through a relative's contacts and started working at the quality check section of a factory, receiving BDT 8,000 a month.<sup>3</sup> He also stayed at the relative's home at the start of his urban life.

Between the start of his career in September 2012 and January 2018, Shamsu has shifted his workplace three times. He worked for

<sup>2</sup> All names are pseudonyms to maintain privacy.

<sup>3</sup> BDT 1 was equivalent to USD 80 in 2012. The legal minimum wage was about BDT 5,200 per month in 2013.



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<div>40</div> <div>Millennial Generation in Bangladesh</div> <div>three years at the first factory and for 11 months at the second. He has been working at a third factory since August 2016. Though his position has always been a quality checker since the beginning, as of 2018, he was earning a monthly salary of BDT 13,000.</div> <div>Once they enter the network of the industry, young workers seek out information about which factory is recruiting new staff with better working conditions, and they try to get introduced through friends and mutual connections. When changing jobs from the second to the third factory, Shamsu said, “Now I don’t have any worries since I have skills. There are jobs if I have skills. I can move between the factories in search of better pay and improved working conditions.”</div> <div>Usually, single male migrants live in what is called a <i>mess</i>, a shared living house with several rooms. They rent a small room with barely enough space to sleep in, individually or with another roommate, and share the cost of hiring a local woman to do their cooking. Sometimes housemates work at the same factory, sometimes they do not. Shamsu rents a room on his own and shares eating expenses with his seven coworkers. Interestingly, these coworkers are not only nearly the same age, but they also share similar educational levels. Some are already married but have kept their families in their home village. Each has come from different rural districts. On the weekend, they spend time together at a park or a market for rest and recreation. Shamsu now goes back home to his village only for annual festivals, whereas he used to go home more often.</div> <div>Although he seems to have adjusted his life and network to the city, Shamsu still plans to return to his village after a few years. As of 2018, he is building a brick house on his land in the village and is looking for a bride. He does not intend to marry a woman in the city.</div> <div><b>1.4.2 Zakir, a Single Male Who Migrated, Returned, Married, and Migrated Again</b></div> <div>Zakir is the only son in his family. His parents live in the village, as do both his elder and younger sisters. His father is a farmer who often asks Zakir to help during the busy season. Zakir tended to be absent from school while he was a high school student. As the only</div>	<div>Seeking New Life</div> <div>41</div> <div>son in his family, he has more responsibilities than Shamsu. After completing the tenth grade and passing the SSC exam, he stopped his education and migrated to work in Dhaka.</div> <div>Zakir first worked for 18 months, but quit his job to return to the village. After spending some months in the village, he left for the city again. Soon after his second migration, his father arranged his marriage in the village. His father told me at that time, “It would be a problem if he got distracted by an unknown girl in the city.” During the festival holidays in 2012, he came back to the village to get married and returned to the city again. Zakir’s new wife stayed for a few months with her in-laws, but soon moved to live in the city with him.</div> <div>Zakir’s elder sister got married in Mymensingh, the district neighboring Jamalpur, when Zakir was a high school student. Her husband had worked in the city. When Zakir migrated for the first time, his brother-in-law helped him to get a job and they lived together. When he migrated for the second time, however, he went by himself and tried to get a job on his own. He included his educational certifications on his resume and submitted it to a garment factory that was hiring new staff. He was a bit nervous about whether he could get a job or not because he had no personal connections, but fortunately he was hired and started to work there.</div> <div>Zakir regularly sends remittances to his family in the village; his father was able to use these remittances to buy agricultural land and rebuild their house. Zakir has future plans in the village. As I described at the beginning of this chapter, he recently told me, “I will return to the village after earning money in Dhaka for a few more years, but I won’t be able to do agricultural work like my father. It’s too tough! I will start some kind of agriculture-based business. I am thinking of cultivating fish in our ponds.” He then asked me if I had any information about how and where he might be able to train for such a business.</div> <div>When I saw Zakir and his wife in Dhaka, they also lived in a <i>mess</i>, renting a room with an attached bathroom. The kitchen and toilet were shared with other residents. His wife seemed to prefer cooking on a gas stove in the city instead of cooking with firewood as</div>
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she had done in the village. When I asked them how their urban lives compared to their lives in the village, he responded by saying that they spent more time together in the city since his life was limited to the workplace, market, and residence, whereas in the village he would spend time at home only after dinner late at night. Although they enjoyed their nuclear family life in the city, they do not intend to settle there. His wife also said, “I have nothing to do in the city, I only stay at home the entire day.” After staying for six months in the city, she returned to the village when Zakir’s mother became ill and she had to help with the family’s household duties. After a year, she gave birth to their baby girl in the village.

1.4.3 Aki, a Single Female Migrant who Married in the City

Aki was from an extremely poor family. She lost her father when she was younger and lived with her mother and maternal grandparents. She dropped out of school in grade four and migrated to Dhaka with her mother in 2004, who got work as a housemaid. After a few years, Aki returned to the village and stayed in her grandparents’ home for a while. In 2009, when she was about 15 years old, she migrated to Dhaka by herself and started to work at a garment factory. Between 2009 and 2015, she shifted her workplace twice and married with a man from her village who was also working in the garment industry in Dhaka. After she got married, she took a job in the factory where her husband works.

Aki operates a sewing machine at the factory and earns BDT 10,000-11,000 per month, including overtime pay. She works six days a week, from 8 am to 5 pm, and up to 8 pm if she has overtime work. She does not intend to continue working at the factory for very long. When I saw her just after her wedding, she told me, “We are currently working in Dhaka, but we will return to our village in the future. We want to buy land and build our house there. I have to keep some savings as well, since we will have a baby and their education will cost money. I should earn now while I still can, because I won’t be able to continue to work once, I get a baby.”

In 2017, she gave birth to a baby boy and she returned to her in-laws’ home in the village. After her son became one year old, she

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went back to the city to work in the garment factory. She took her son and her mother-in-law to the city so that she had someone to look after her child while she was at work. But she came back to the village after four months. When I saw her in the village recently, she told me that she could go again to work whenever they need money.

1.4.4 Shahana, a Married Female Migrant

Shahana has two brothers and a sister, and her parents are still alive. She was in the fourth grade in 2000. She continued studying up to the tenth grade but failed her SSC examination. Just after the exam in 2008, her marriage was arranged by her parents. Her husband is from a nearby village; he is the third of five children in his family. He has an HSC, while his other siblings have never attended school. At the time of his marriage, he was working at one of the garment factories in an Export Processing Zone (EPZ) in Chittagong, but Shahana stayed in the village. She soon gave birth to twin boys and after two and half years, she migrated with their sons to Dhaka, where her husband had shifted his workplace.

Unlike the previous case of Aki, Shahana does not work outside in the city but is a housewife and mother at home. She does domestic piecework, sewing local women’s clothes, and earns about BDT 4,000 per month depending on customer orders. Her husband worked at a garment factory in Dhaka, but two years after moving to the city, his company shut down and he lost his job. While he looked for a new job for two months, Shahana supported her family with her piecework. Her husband was hired by another company in one of the EPZs in Dhaka and has been working there ever since. The working conditions in the EPZ, particularly the working hours, are comparatively better than at other factories because they tend to comply with industrial rules and norms. He works eight hours a day without overtime to earn BDT 15,000 per month.

Shahana and her family also live in a room in a mess, but with more furniture and household items, including her sewing machine and a television (see Figure 1.3). Their mess has twelve rooms in addition to the owner’s flat (see Figure 1.4). Her monthly rent is BDT 1,800 plus electricity cost. The kitchen and toilet are shared.



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Figure 1.3: Shahana's Household in Dhaka. Photo Credit: Author



Figure 1.4: Shahana's mess in Dhaka. Photo Credit: Author

Most of the tenants are families, but a few rooms are rented by single men who are relatives of those families. There are some couples with their unmarried children and a few single or divorced mothers who work at a garment factory and stay with their children. Some couples work at the same garment factory as Aki. Three women, including Shahana, are housewives who stay at home during the day, but she is the only one who is engaged in piecework.

When I visited Shahana in Dhaka in 2016, she told me, “When I first migrated to Dhaka, I felt like going back home, but now I am used to it and feel comfortable to living here in Dhaka. There are no family conflicts or idle gossip. I was tired of that in the village!” Now

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she goes back home to the village only once a year for an annual festival, as her sons attend school in Dhaka. Sometimes they cannot go home even during the festival period because transportation from Dhaka to the village becomes too crowded to move with children. Her husband occasionally goes back to bring rice from the village.

Her sons attend a secular madrasa near their residence in Dhaka. When she decided to send them to a madrasa, she asked me advice if it would be right to send them to madrasa or not. She thought they could study both Bangla and Arabic, paving the way for them to transfer to a Bangla-medium school for their higher education. Like others in her demographic (Riaz, 2011), the lower cost of the madrasa also factored into her decision, which I supported. Her sons also attend a private coaching center after returning home from school, which costs BDT 200 per month for each of them. Her children's education was one of the main reasons behind her decision to migrate to the city; she believes that the quality of education in Dhaka is better than that in a rural village because of the competition. Also, she told me that children do not study in the village, but they do in the city, where playing space is limited. Shahana's concern for her children's education is much stronger and more specific than that of her parents, which reflects a commonly-held perspective of the first educated generation toward the second generation. When I asked her if she taught her sons at home or not, she answered that she had tried, but her sons did not want to listen to their mother's instructions.

Despite Shahana's desire to raise her children in the city, her future plan does not include life in the city. She and her husband maintain their life in the city in order to earn money for their children's education. Once their children become independent, however, they plan to return to their village. They recently bought five cows in the village for BDT 200,000; her father takes care of two, her father-in-law takes care of one, and they split the benefits of one cow with a neighbor who takes care of it. They have also built their own house in the village although nobody lives there yet. Despite complaining about the tight relationships with relatives and gossip in the village, Shahana wants to return to their village. She explained, “It would be



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better to live in our own property than in rented accommodation. And sometimes I miss the collective spirit of the village community.”

All four migrants told me that they planned to return to their home village in future. The fact that they had married or intended to marry within the village is a key factor in shaping their perspectives of their future. In the next section, I will discuss how these four cases illustrate the process, limitations, and temporary nature of urbanization.

### 1.5 Temporary Urbanization?

The young migrants in this study remain unsettled between urban and rural life, between the city and the village. Rather than belonging to either place, it can be said that they are in the process of transforming their lives. As such, it is significant to examine their life strategies from their subjective points of view.

Before examining their urbanization, I would like to discuss the features of their backgrounds. As already mentioned above, all four youths profiled in the cases are the most educated among their families—even Aki, who had studied only up to the fourth grade. Their contemporary situations are clearly different from the lives of their parents. While Aki’s mother had also migrated to the city, she worked as a domestic worker. The parents of the other three were farmers in the village. In this sense, their urban migration was not moderated or reproduced by the previous generation, but represents a new strategy.

How educational experience facilitated their migration strategies differs by gender. The boys were conscious that their education should lead them to a “better life,” something defined not by any concrete image, but rather as one not involving agricultural work. On the other hand, the rural-urban migration of the girls was not undertaken by their own decision, and they have less recognition of the links between their educational experience and their migration. Yet, both girls are concerned for their children’s education and it could be said that their experience at school has nurtured a sense of responsibility to educate the next generation.

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Now, I would like to explore whether we can call their migration an “urbanization” of their lives. The four cases indicate migration-induced changes in three main realms: living space, time usage and perception, and human relations.

All four youths live in rented premises, or *mess*, in the city suburbs, not in the center of the city. Due to the rapid influx of migrant workers to Dhaka, housing options are limited and facilities are inadequate. Like most migrants, Shahana tries to maintain a proper living space with the necessary furniture and household goods within a limited space. The remittances that the migrants send to their families in the village also consume a significant portion of their earnings. None of the four migrants have any intention of having their own property or house in the city. Rather, all plan to develop property in their home village for their future. Thus, in terms of life space, their urban dwellings are seen as merely temporary.

When it comes to the migrants’ daily schedule and use of time, as Zakir mentioned, urban life is clearly divided between work and private time, and both strictly depend on one’s job. This is a typical modern lifestyle and it can be said that these youths are the first generation in Bangladesh, as a majority, that have had to adjust their lives to a controlled schedule since childhood when they were at school. When they were children in a village, they were trained to come to school on time. Yet, due to their disparate lives at school and in the village, they were occasionally absent from the former, for example when they had to help their parents during harvest season. Their teachers also understood their school absences as a social necessity. However, in their urban lives, their absence from work cannot be excused by any private necessity; their salaries would be deducted if they did not come to work on time. Accordingly, they have gradually adjusted their lifestyles to the wage labor system. As they condition themselves to be controlled by the urban sense of time, they tend to lose the sense of time according to their village lives. As Shamsu said, “There is nothing to do in the village” when he comes home for the holidays, their lifestyles in terms of how they spend time and perceive it have been urbanized, or “modernized.”



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The migrants’ sense of their human relations is the most ambiguous aspect of their urbanization. Most workers in the garment industry have migrated from a village to urban areas either on their own or with their nuclear families. Like Aki, many couples work in the industry together; or like Shahana, wives stay at home to do housework and take care of children. On one hand, Shahana is enjoying her urban life away from the tight relations of the village community. On the other, she also misses the collective relations of rural life. The migrants’ urban networks are built to facilitate practical convenience, such as to get work or to share living spaces, but in most cases, they are temporary.

Regarding the social relations of rural-urban migrants, Ajisaka (2009, p. 8), a Japanese sociologist who introduced the concept of “rural-urban sociology,” points out that people rely on various social relation mechanisms, such as mutual aid among relatives or fellow villagers, remittances, connections, local news, folklore, local dialects, and consciousness of their hometowns, when carrying out productive and reproductive social activities. He focuses on “home-based associations” among urban migrants in Japan, noting that once migrants arrive in urban areas, they join associations based on where they came from despite not necessarily knowing each other when they lived in villages. These associations work as a network for them—not only to share any helpful information, but also to maintain their local identities by speaking in local dialects, eating local cuisine, or enjoying folklore. They encourage and motivate each other, both practically and mentally, to live in the cities. Interestingly, sharing and fortifying their hometown identity helps them to adjust to urban life.

In Bangladesh, although migrants maintain a strong sense of identity based on their original home, they have not created associations in the cities with others from their hometown. Rather, they individually establish very practical, but temporary, networks with coworkers who have similar educational backgrounds and help them access better job opportunities. They do not create or join an urban association to maintain their local identity. Instead, they go home as often as they can and focus on building their future in the

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village. The collective family system also ties them to the village community; they tend to marry by their parents’ arrangement.

Thus, the young urban migrants from Bangladesh’s rural villages focus on their urban lives only for work and to gain an income. If “urbanization” refers to the phenomena of urbanizing social relations and interactions, we can say that the urban social lives of the first-generation migrants remain limited.

### 1.6 A New Urban Working Class Under the Global Economy

Although the lives of these new migrants have clearly been transformed when compared to those of the previous generation, all of the youths in this study recognize their urban lives to be temporary. Can they then be defined as a social class, and if so, how?

In her work on the middle class in India, the Japanese economist Kiso (2012) indicates four factors that contribute to class formation in the city: income, professional/business network, educational level, and property. She also argues that class mobility can be captured by three transformations. The first transformation is that from agriculture to manual labor in the informal sector, and then to work in the formal sector. The second transformation is that of an extended family structure to a nuclear one. Finally, the third transformation is that of a rise in educational attainment by generation.

According to Kiso’s discussion, all four of my cases earn income by working in the city and have built professional/business networks, although they only seem to be primarily for practical purposes. All have some level of formal education, received in the village. As for property, they do not buy, or even try to buy, property in the city, but rather, they use their earnings to accumulate assets in the village. These conditions make it difficult to categorize them into an existing social class in the city.

How about their class mobility? Compared with the previous generation, the youths in this study have undergone all three of Kiso’s transformations: job transfer, change in family structure, and rise of educational level. However, this does not exactly correlate to a rise in their social class; they have certainly avoided agriculture work,



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<div>50</div> <div>Millennial Generation in Bangladesh</div> <div>but their work seems to be temporary both in terms of their current realities and in their future plans. As for family structure, it is, like in the case of Zakir, often divided between urban and rural. Many males migrate alone, maintaining their extended family structure in the village, while some, like Shahana, start a nuclear family life in the city. Since they have just begun to have their own children, it is still difficult to make conclusions about the rise of education levels by generation. However, it is clear that they are very concerned about ensuring their children's education.</div> <div>Given the characteristics described above, it can be concluded that urban class formation and mobility have scarcely occurred among these migrants. Although their factory work is clearly different from jobs previously available in the informal sector in urban areas, such as those of housemaids or cleaners who used to live in urban slums, they are not satisfied with their current working conditions. While they may not be categorized into an existing urban class, they may instead be considered as a "new urban working class" whose situations are unstable and newly affected by the global economy. Their sense of "temporariness" also characterizes this class of migrants.</div> <div>Recently, the concept of "temporariness" has been widely discussed in the context of overseas migration from the global south to north. Commentaries like the following are common:</div> <div>Temporariness is being institutionalized as a condition acceptable for growing numbers of people worldwide, including those whose residency status is shaped by national and multilateral measures that secure national borders, those for whom temporary employment is the norm, and those who have limited social rights (Latham, Vosko, Preston, and Breton, 2014, p. 3).</div> <div>As labor shortages pose risks to economies and societies in the global north, temporary migrant work programs have expanded and the existing economic gap has motivated people to migrate from the south to the north to earn money. However, the political and social security of migrants is not guaranteed in the host societies and, "the movement of transnational capital has contributed to the institutionalization of temporariness as a permanently vulnerable</div>	<div>Seeking New Life</div> <div>51</div> <div>condition for many people" (Latham, Vosko, Preston, and Breton, 2014, p. 10). Migrants are also more interested in sending remittances to their home country as much as possible to support their family and to be recognized as "successful" in the context of their home societies rather than establishing stable lives in the host societies (Minamide, 2020). As an example, Klimt (1989) discusses how Portuguese migrants in Germany build their "home" in their own country with the desire to return home; this allows them to both maintain their identity and respond assertively to German exclusion.</div> <div>When it comes to domestic rural-urban migration in Bangladesh, more subjectively, the sense of temporariness has been used as a strategy by migrants to accept their undesirable working conditions. Most assume their jobs as a temporary pathway to survive and they are always seeking better opportunities. In the global setting, youths have easy access to unlimited information about opportunities, regardless of the availability of those opportunities. This at least allows them to imagine different lives from themselves. These unlimited and unclear prospects might also drive their sense of temporariness.</div> <div>This temporary urbanization, at least from their perspective, could also be due to the nature of the work in garment factories, which the majority of the rural to urban migrants engage in but without satisfaction or at the cost of their future aspirations. They view the garment factory jobs negatively due to the poor working conditions and have limited interest in continuing to work in the industry. In fact, the average age of workers in such factories has remained in the mid-20s since the 1980s, indicating that workers do not stay in the industry but leave after working for several years. Since they do not have options beyond the garment industry, they limit their urban lives to a short period of time and imagine their future in the village. Their sense of temporariness could be a form of resistance to the difficult working conditions.</div> <div>1.7 Transforming Their "Home"</div> <div>Members of the first educated generation of Bangladesh's rural societies are now migrating to cities in large numbers to get jobs.</div>
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They predominantly work in the garment industry, supporting the rapid economic growth of their nation. Whereas the population in and around Dhaka has dramatically increased and the urban areas are expanding with the construction of factories and workers' residences, the lifestyles and mindsets of the new migrants do not seem to have urbanized.

In this chapter, I introduced four stories of young people who migrated from a rural village in Jamalpur to Dhaka either on their own or with their families. Of the four, the single young man seems to be enjoying his lifestyle and network in the city the most. The couples with and without children are also managing their lives in the city with the support of their urban network. Nonetheless, all four envision their future prospects in their home villages and try to obtain property there, not in the city.

In the Bengali language, two terms for home is commonly used: *Bari* and *Basha*. *Bari* means "original home," and is usually based on paternal origin. Even those who were born and grew up in the city tend to identify their *Bari* with their paternal villages. They keep connections with any relatives and sometimes visit their *Bari*, especially at annual festivals. On the contrary, the other term, *Basha*, refers to the place where a person actually lives. A few citizens of the city identify their current house as *Bari*, but many refer to their place of residence in the city as *Basha* and their village home as *Bari*. This idea of *Bari* might also help young, especially first-generation migrants to maintain their identity in the village while they make their living in the city as a practical and temporary measure.

At the same time, their lifestyles have gradually changed in the urban context, and when they adopt an urban life, they start feeling bored in the village. In this regard, some of them may yet settle in the city, or some may bring their urban experiences with them and transform their village lives, and perhaps the village itself. Although they migrate to cities due to a lack of income-earning opportunities in rural villages, the migrants envision doing something new in the village with the resources they accumulate by working in the city. If their plans are realized, they have the potential to transform rural societies with the money, experience, sense, information, and the

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knowledge that they acquire during their urban lives. On the other hand, their children, who are growing up in the cities and have no childhood experiences in the rural areas, may in the future settle in the city separate from their parents. It is among this "second generation" that we may begin to see a more clear and long-lasting urbanization of lifestyle and mindset.

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