

**THE ROLE OF POLITICAL ELITE IN THE RURAL
DEVELOPMENT OF BANGLADESH**

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**BY
MD. ABDUL MALEQUE**

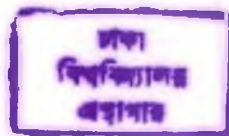
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**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF DHAKA
FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**



**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
UNIVERSITY OF DHAKA
DECEMBER 1996**

M.Phil.

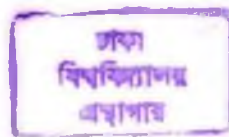
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বিদ্যালয়
গ্রন্থাগার

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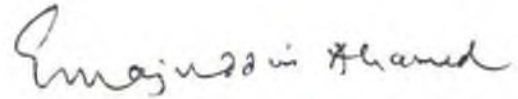
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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the materials embodied in this thesis, titled The Role of Political Elite in the Rural Development of Bangladesh, submitted by Md. Abdul Maleque is original and has not been surrendered in part or full for any other diploma or degree of any University. The thesis is worthy of consideration for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy.



Supervisor

Professor Emajuddin Ahamed
Department of Political Science
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Dated : The 18th December, 1996

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ABSTRACT

It is a policy oriented study. In this thesis, the role of political elite has been assessed in terms of policies undertaken for rural development by the political elite from 1971 - 1990. Rural development, has not yet been achieved in Bangladesh.

The rural development is a process, which implies the progressive qualitative and quantitative changes in the rural society resulting in alleviation of poverty of the rural poor through their participation in the decision-making and decision-implementing areas in the socially desirable direction.

The Thesis makes the observation that rural institutions have been manipulated by the dominant political elite for strengthening their support bases in the rural areas. On the other hand, the members of the Jatiya Sangsad want to be in sole control of these rural institutions within their constituencies. As a result, participatory institutions in the rural areas have become dependent, passive and ineffective.

An effective rural development policy aimed at strengthening the participatory institutions must provide the means by which rural people could solve the local problems and determine their own fortune.

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Md. Abdul Maleque

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Abbreviations

ADB	-	Asian Development Bank
ASA	-	Association for Social Advancement
BARC	-	Bangladesh Agriculture Research Council
BARD	-	Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development
BRAC	-	Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee
BRDB	-	Bangladesh Rural Development Board
BIDS	-	Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies
BSS	-	Bhumiheen Samabaya Samity (Landless Co-operative Society)
BMSS	-	Bhumiheen Mohila Samabaya Samity (Landless Women Co-operative Society)
CARE	-	Co-operative for American Relief Everywhere
CMLA	-	Chief Martial Law Administrator
DTWS	-	Deep Tubewells
ECNEC	-	Executive Committee of the National Economic Council
FFYP	-	First Five Year Plan
GDP	-	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	-	Gross National Product
GB	-	Grammeen Bank
HRD	-	Human Resource Development
ILO	-	International Labour Organization
IRDP	-	Integrated Rural Development Programme
KSS	-	Krishak Samabaya Samity (Farmer Cooperative Society)

LDC	-	Least Developed Countries
MP	-	Member of the Parliament
NILG	-	National Institute of Local Government
RD	-	Rural Development
RDA	-	Rural Development Academy
RDTI	-	Rural Development Training Institute
TCCA	-	Thana Central Cooperative Association
TIP	-	Thana Irrigation Programme
TNO	-	Thana Nirbahi Officer
TTDC	-	Thana Training & Development Centre
USAID	-	United States Agency for International Development
V-AID	-	Village Agricultural and Industrial Development
WB	-	World Bank

CHAPTER - ONE

Introduction

It is an attempt to study the specific role of Political Elite in Rural Development process in Bangladesh. Rural Development issue has now been recognized by the academicians, planners and policy-makers as the center piece of national development. The dominant political leadership of each regime have played important roles in formulating the rural development policies and its implementation.¹ Rural Development, however, has not yet been achieved in Bangladesh. Is it due to faulty process or lack of commitment on the part of the political elite? The study have analyzed the effectiveness of rural development policies, related to the rural people's participation, dictated by the dominant political elite in Bangladesh.

The term 'rural' has a sectoral reference in contradistinction to urban. It primarily refers to rural societies living in the countryside. The rural areas supply labour to man the machine, provide food for labour and raw materials for industries.²

Development is a multi-disciplinary and multi-dimensional process. In the perspective of social sciences, the term 'development' mainly refers to two dimensions of thought.³ One is historical process and the other is planned movement towards the agreed goals. In the developing countries of Asia and Africa, which emerged as independent states in the late forties and fifties followed the latter. Harry J. Friedman opines that the term 'development' means both the achievement of modernity and those changes in a society's economic, social, political and administrative areas which takes the society

¹ Emajuddin Ahamed, Bureaucratic Elites in Segmented Economic Growth in Pakistan and Bangladesh. (Dhaka : University Press Limited, 1980), P.29.

² . Lowry Nelson, Rural Sociology. (New York : American Book Company, 1955), P. 15.

³ . Dudley Seers "What Are Trying To Measure" in Nancy Baster (ed.), Measuring Development , (London : Frankcass And Company Limited, 1972), PP. 21 - 23.

closer to modernity. Development is both a goal and a process.⁴ Modernity is defined broadly to include both socio-economic progress and nation building activities.⁵ It takes place in economic, social, political and administrative spheres of the society. In this sense, Development implies dynamic changes in a society from one stage of being to another without positing a final stage.⁶

Bangladesh is the eighth most populous country in the world. But only four countries - China, India, Indonesia and the former USSR have a larger rural population. Only three countries - China, India and Indonesia, have larger number of people dependent on agriculture for livelihood. In terms of absolute numbers, Bangladesh is the fourth largest agricultural society in the world. In respect of proportion of the people living in rural areas and directly dependent on agricultural activities for living, Bangladesh is the most rural country in the world.⁷ Over 90% of the population of Bangladesh live in rural areas, as compared to 79.4% in India, about 85% in China and 81.8% in Indonesia.

The term political elite has been conceptualized by different scholars in different ways. According to T.B. Bottomore, elites imply the functional and

⁴ Harry J. Friedman, "Administrative Roles in Local Government" in Edward W. Wiedner. ed., Development Administration in Asia, (Durham, N.C. : Duke University Press, 1970), PP. 253 - 56.

⁵ Emajuddin Ahamed, Bangladesh Public Administration, (Dhaka : Golden Book House, 1980), P. 2 - 4.

⁶ John D. Montgomery, " A Royal Invitation : Variations On Thres Classical Themes", in Montgomery and William J. Siffin, eds., Approaches to Development : Politics, Administration and Change (New York : McGraw - Hill, 1966), P. 259.

⁷ Azizur Rahman Khan, Poverty and Inequality in Rural Bangladesh, in Griffin, Keith and Khan (ed.), Poverty and Landlessness in Rural Asia, Geneva : (110, 1977), P. 137.

mainly occupational groups which are distinguished in a society.⁸ In this sense many elite groups like political elite, cultural elite, religious elite, industrial elite live together in a society. C.J. Friedrich has suggested that the term 'Political elite' may be used describe a group of persons, who are distinguished in a given society by certain important characteristics, such as, (1) excellence in Politics; (2) ability to unite or monopolize the role in a community; (3) group cohesion; and (4) Capacity to secure political power.⁹ It is stated that any group of politicians who possess the above qualities can be called political elite.

The concept of ruling elite is derived from C.W. Mills.¹⁰ He attempts to locate the structural power centres in American society. Mills identified the power elite with those political, economic and military circles, which were dominant in taking decisions at least national consequences. Mosca has defined his 'political class' that in all societies - two classes appear; a class that rules and a class that is ruled. The first class, always the less numerous, performs all political functions, monopolizes power enjoys the advantages that power brings. Whereas the second, the more numerous class, is directed and controlled by the first.¹¹

Joseph. La Palombara has opined that political elite consist of those persons who occupy formal government positions, and who are endowed with official

⁸ T.B. Bittomore, elites and society (London: C.A. Watts & Co. 1966) P. 8.

⁹ C.J. Friedrich "The Political elits and Bureaucracy" in J.H. Michel, Pareto and Mosca, 1965. P. 171; Rangalal Sen, Political Elits in Bangladesh, (Dhaka : University Press Limited, 1986), pp. VI-XII.

¹⁰ C.W. Mills, The Power Elite (New York : Oxford University Press, 1936), P. 18.

¹¹ Gaetano Mosca, The Ruling Class (New York : Mcgraw Hill Book Co., 1939), P. 50.

authority in making significant decisions at national level.¹² Lasswell states that the political elite comprises the power holders of a body politic. The power holders include the leadership and the social formations, to which accountability is maintained during a given period.¹³ He has mentioned that political elites are the most influentials and those few who get the most of any values of what there is to get;¹⁴ It implies that political elite are very dominant and enjoy the maximum values beyond their dues.

To Mills, the most important thing is that the structural position i.e. the institution makes the man since it determines who shall wield power.¹⁵ He has shown how the power elite comprising the political directorate, the corporate rich and the high military and occupying the command posts in the major institutions, have exercised power. The leading personalities occupying the command posts, dictated policies in Bangladesh are political elite in this sense. Here political elite constitute the power holders, occupying the office of the President, Prime Minister, the Chief Martial Law Administrator and Deputy Chief Martial Law Administrators and the command post in such institutions as the Executive Committee of the National Economic Council, Planning Commission and top level bureaucrats. They have monopolized policy making in the sphere of economic development. In this study we have particularly highlighted some policies under taken in the name of rural development in Bangladesh. In fact, those policies and strategies have benefited the urban and rich people instead of poor.

¹² Joseph. Lapalombora, Politics within nations, 1974 P. 468; Emajuddin Ahamed, op. cit., p. 19.

¹³ H. D Lasswell, in Lasswell, D. Lerner and C. E. Rothwell, the Comparative Study of Elites (Standford : Standford University Press, 1952), P. 13.

¹⁴ Ibid., P. 14.

¹⁵ C. W. Mills, op., cit.,

In the socio-economic context, Bangladesh has historically experienced four types of political elite like the colonial, traditional, national and industrial over the present century. Each type of political elite has adopted different rural development policies in this country. Political elite, constitute the focus of this study; they are the ones who control and dictate policies.

Around ninety percent people live in the rural areas in Bangladesh. Harold D Lasswell in his book Politics : Who Gets What, When, How argues that the working attitudes of political elite determine the lot of a member in the society¹⁶ political elite are responsible for the authoritative allocation of values in a society¹⁷ But the sense of deprivation in terms of health, education, food, housing, which prevails among the rural people is critical. The worse situation of the rural illiterate may remind any one of the attitude of the political elite in different ways as the Politics: Who deprives whom, When, How. The dominant role of the political elite in developing countries like Bangladesh is recognized by all .This study seeks to examine the attitude of political elite towards rural development in this country.

The vast majority of people in Bangladesh live in the rural areas consisting of 86,038 villages.¹⁸ About fifty five percent of the rural people survive below

¹⁶ Harold D Lasswell, Politics : Who Gets What, When, How, (New York : Meridian Books, 1936), PP. 3-4.

¹⁷ David Easton, A Framework for Political Analysis (Englewood cliffs, N.J. Printice Hall, 1965. P.50

¹⁸ Bangladesh Population Census Report, 1991 Vol. 1 Analytical Report (1994), Bangladsh Bureau of Statistics. P. xi.

subsistence level, which the world Bank terms "absolute poverty."¹⁹ This situation is not only alarming but also threatening to our very existence.

The concept of rural development has been explained by different writers in different ways. It is very difficult to have an agreed upon definition of rural development and its strategies. According to Gotsch and Falcon rural development means access by the rural people to many of the social amenities²⁰ like education, health that have been associated largely with urban living. It also demands a large-scale participation of the rural population in the development process.

Robert Chambers argues that rural development means the eradication of poverty,²¹ He states that poverty makes the rural poor isolated, vulnerable and powerless.

Emajuddin Ahamed has suggested that rural development does not only mean the alleviation of poverty and unemployment of the rural poor but they must be also elevated to the status of participant citizens both in the decision-making and decision-implementing.²² Ahamed particularly recommends the

¹⁹ The Absolute Poverty has been defined as those with per-capital income of \$50 or less, plus others with per-capital income of less than one-third of the national average.

Source: World Bank, Rural development : Sector policy paper (Washington: World Bank, 1975), PP. 3-5.

²⁰ Gotsch and Falcon, Rural Development, International Bank for Reconstruction and development.

Source : Azhar Ali, Rural Development in Bangladesh (Comilla, Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development, 1975), P. 2.

²¹ Robert Chambers, Rural Development : Putting the Last First (London : Longman, 1983), P. 112.

²² Emajuddin Ahamed, "Strategy of Growth and Rural Development in Bangladesh" in Asian Studies, Vol. III, No. 1, February, 1981.

strategies of local participatory institutions for the purpose, through which the rural poor can determine their own future.

Lipton maintains a little bit different opinion; he suggests that rural development is the result of conflict,²³ which exists between the urban rich and the rural poor. It is an irony of fate that urban rich always win the race. This definition clearly indicates that as the planners and dominant political elite, who are rich and urban, keep the planning tilted in favor of the urban rich.

According to a World Bank Study, rural development is a strategy designed to improve the economic and social life of a specific group of people- rural poor.²⁴ It aimed at improving the socio-economic conditions of the rural poor but did not indicate how the benefits of development would be distributed among the poor within the existing economic and political structure.

Wahidul Haque concludes that the ultimate purpose of rural development is the development of man through the realization and unfolding of his potentialities.²⁵ He has suggested to introduce the process of human resource development by means of removing illiteracy of the rural poor and their empowerment.

²³ Michael Lipton, Why Poor People Stay Poor: Urban Bias in World Development (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977), P. 13.

²⁴ World Bank, Rural Development: Sector Policy Paper (Washington: World Bank, 1975), PP. 3-5.

²⁵ Wahidul Haque, "Towards a Theory of Rural Development" in Development Dialogue (Sweden: Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, 1977; 2), P. 14.

Here Falcon's education and health facilities, Haque's human resource development and Ahamed's participation of the rural poor in government seen to be required interrelated strategies for rural development.

If we state precisely and analyse the above definitions of rural development and strategy we find that such elements as education, health towards poverty alleviation and participation of the rural poor in the decision-making process and human resource development are the most important tenets.

It is by now clear that the heart of rural development lies in poverty alleviation of the rural poor and their participation in development activities. It may be naturally asked, what is poverty? Who are the poor? Poverty is a state of economic, social and psychological deprivations occurring among people or countries lacking sufficient ownership, control or access to resources to maintain acceptable living standards.²⁶ Poverty is thus cruel and dehumanizing state of condition.

In the conventional interpretation, poverty is assessed in terms of malnutrition, illiteracy, diseases and so on. But specifically, poverty is assessed by calorie intake as indicator. If an individual received less than 2000 calorie intake per-day he or she is in poverty. It can be also estimated by the amount of income and asset. In fact over half of the population in Bangladesh are living under poverty line. Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC) defines, the poor are those people, who own less than half an acre of land including the homestead, and those, who earn their living by selling manual labour.

²⁶ . Ottawa Based North-South Institute defined poverty in a report on rural poverty in Bangladesh in 1985 ; Dr. M. Farashuddin, "Poverty Alleviation in Bangladesh : Some Cretical Issues" Weekend Independent (Dhaka : October, 1996), PP. 11-12.

In view of this situation, the poor can be divided into two categories, the rural poor and the urban poor. The rural poor constitute the landless, small farmers, fishermen, weavers, potters including women of these occupations. On the other hand, slum-dwellers, day-labourers and small businessman constitute the urban poor. These poor again can be divided into two groups : (1) The hard-core or extreme poor and (2) the moderate poor. About 15% of them belong to hard-core poor and the rest are moderate poor.²⁷ According to that category a man who received less than 1850 calorie intake per-day he or she is hard-core poor. This acute condition of the poor is termed as absolute poverty by World Bank.²⁸

In this context, lack of participation of the rural poor in development activities is the focus of this problem. Participation and empowerment of the rural poor are not only end in themselves but also crucially important means of achieving poverty alleviation, particularly in circumstances prevailing in Bangladesh. The poor are to be taken into confidence. The political elite should come forward by recognizing the poor's inherent abilities, which are not less than those of others.

In view of circumstances, we may conclude that rural development is a process, which implies the progressive qualitative and quantitative changes in the rural society resulting in alleviation of poverty of the rural poor through their participation in the decision-making and decision-implementing areas in the socially desirable direction.

²⁷ . Dr. Quazi Faroque, "Eradication of Poverty in Bangladesh", Weekend Independent (Dhaka : 18 October, 1996), P. 4.

²⁸ . The World Bank, op. cit., P. 3.

There are three fundamental approaches to rural development. These are the transformation approach, improvement approach and rural socialism approach. Keith Griffin classifies them as follows.²⁹

- (a) Technocratic Approach,
- (b) Reformist Approach,
- (c) Radical Approach.

These approaches, which differ in objectives and ideology, are designed to mobilise support, and that way benefits of the economic system and growth process are distributed. Technocratic approach refers to outright industrialization accompanying the rural sector. This approach mainly involves technological modernization, managerial efficiency and growth in GNP. It emphasizes on physical infrastructure and modernization of farming. It may be mentioned here that this approach has been the focus of development process for over last three decades. This strategy not only failed to protect the poor from degradation but it also has acquired disreputation and widened the gap between the rich and the poor during the period.³⁰

The reformist approach aims at working with peasants in existing communities within the framework of co-operatives. The policy measures for this strategy may include land reforms, farm credit, cash crop development, agricultural extension, marketing cooperatives, local associations. This approach mainly intends to satisfy the needs of modern marketing facilities with the benefits of traditional farmland.³¹

²⁹ . Wahidul Haque, *op. cit.*

³⁰ . Ibid.

³¹ . R. C. Misra, "Perspective of Rural Development", in A. C. Mittal (ed.), *Rural Development Management*, (New Delhi : Omsons Publications Ltd., 1991), P. 41 - 42.

The radical approach or rural socialism aims at counterbalancing the industrial sector with a hierarchy of peasant collectives and communes. It indirectly refers to the revolutionary approach of consolidating the power of the peasants. This approach moves in the direction of rapid social change and redistribution of political power.³²

If we analyse the above approaches it may be pointed out that technocratic approach emphasises on raising the output in gross national products (GNP), while reformist approach advocates for working with the peasants in the existing socio-political structure through cooperative framework. But the radical approach is fully different in its objectives from others. It implies the need for structural transformation through the process of revolution. In the context of socio-economic conditions of Bangladesh the structural transformation is not only necessary but also indispensable and essential for the greater interest of the society. The process is very slow but steady in Bangladesh. Without changing the existing social structure by way of radical reform, all the efforts of rural development will be futile. This is evident when we assess the past development activities which were nothing but empty baskets offered to the rural poor people.

The traditional approach to rural development sector was initiated during the colonial period in the Indian sub-continent. An Agriculture Department was established in Bengal in 1880 for agricultural improvement and famine relief.³³ Each other department conducted its own programme following its own hierarchical structure. The rural component of the departmental programme was expected to contribute to the development of the rural areas relating to the sector. Though all departments pursued their programmes

³² . Ibid.

³³ . Azher Ali, *Rural Development in Bangladesh*, (BARD, Comilla, 1975), p. 12-14.

separately, the end result was rural development because most of them had rural development components. Under the traditional approach rural development is thus the sum total of the sectoral programmes of the concerned departments.

The patron-client relationship is usually maintained in the traditional approach. Promotion of local level organization and people's participation are not given much importance. There is lack of co-ordination among sectoral departments. As a result there may be overlapping of activities, inefficient use of resources and parallel posting of staff. In this approach rural development is largely perceived as a technical problem and as such technocratic solutions are prescribed.³⁴

Susan George in his book How The Other Half Dies argues that famine and hunger which exist in the developing countries are not the act of God and not inevitable; this worse situation is rather artificially created by some identifiable factors within the province of rational and human activities³⁵ Poverty and illiteracy are the products of wrong policies of the political elite. This study is an attempt to test the validity of this hypothesis in the context of Bangladesh.

This study also seeks to analyze certain rural reforms with a view to determining the real motives of the Political elite towards them. This evidence suggests that the dominant political elite are not infavour of

³⁴ Hasnat Abdul Hye, "Rural Development Strategies : Choice for Bangladesh" in Anwarullah Chowdhury Sociology of Bangladesh : Problems and Prospects, (Comilla : BARD, 1986), p. 145.

³⁵ Susan George, How The Other Half Dies, (England : Penguin Books Ltd., 1986), PP. 287-288.

substantial changes in the rural areas when those changes tend threaten their power base.

There are by now a number of works on rural development in Bangladesh. Among the pioneering works, mention may be made of Akhter Hameed Khan's Rural Development in East Pakistan; Rehman Sobhan's Basic Democracies: Works Programme, and Rural Development In East Pakistan; B.K. Jahangir's Differentiation Polarization and Confrontation in Rural Bangladesh; Emajuddin Ahamed's Bureaucratic Elites in Segmented Economic Growth: Pakistan and Bangladesh; Kamal Siddiqui's The Political Economy of Rural Poverty in Bangladesh; D Ch.Barman's Emerging Leadership Patterns in Rural Bangladesh - A Study and so on.

Akhter Hameed Khan has aimed at emancipating the small farmers through his cooperative system. At the same time he hoped to build up Basic Democracies through an extended Works Programme which would provide and maintain the infrastructure in the rural areas. Rehman Sobhan has pointed out that the regime wanted to shape the Basic Democracies system permanently through involving some vested interest groups in the political system. He took the Works Programme as instruments used in the rural areas for political purposes. Siddiqui has focused on the nature of rural poverty and explained the complex forces of agrarian structure which aggravated rural poverty. He further stated that some urban forces were responsible for increasing rural poverty. Siddiqui did not verify any strategy as Sobhan did. Jahangir has concluded that land reform and agricultural strategies in Bangladesh have made the rural elites all the more powerful by enlarging their social base and by linking them to the national power structure.

The above writings have not explored the close relationships between the commitments of dominant political elite and rural development in Bangladesh. It is an attempt to throw light on the specific role played by the political elite in policy-making, particularly for the development of rural areas. Having that in view, some questions have been posed. Did the political elite exercise an authoritative role in policy-making for rural development during 1971 - 1990 ? If so, how ? why did the political elite change the previous strategies? What kind of rural development could this strategy lead to ? Was the political elite responsive to changes in the rural power structure ? Was there any strong resistance to change ? If so, what instruments did it characteristically employ to resist such rural reforms? What kind of commitment these elite did have toward rural development?

The following general propositions would be tested in this study :

- (a) Political Elite have always centralized their power without giving any autonomy to the rural institutions. As a result, rural institutions became dependent, inactive and ineffective.
- (b) The dominant political elite have impeded the spontaneous growth of the rural representative institutions. The regime could have played the role of an auxiliary force, but they were too politicized to be neutral.
- (c) The Political elite were only responsive to the extent that the policies pursued by them did not affect their power and hegemony.

In order to test these propositions, we have analyzed the process of rural development and evaluated the performances of political elite in policy formulation and implementation of certain rural reforms undertaken during the past few decades. This study has been based on historical, analytical and

statistical approaches and has proceeded through the analysis of primary and secondary data. The data, used in this study, have been collected from (a) published materials, (b) government documents, reports and publications on the rural development issues, (c) interviews with some local political leaders who held offices in the political institutions during 1971-1990, and (d) three case studies of three local political leaders who have been associated with the process of rural development.

For the convenience of the study, we would like to develop this research through a few chapters. The introductory chapter opens the discussion about the political elite and rural development issues and background to the present study. Chapter two has highlighted the rural development policies and strategies adopted by the government in Bangladesh. Some actions undertaken by the government and some leading personalities for the development of the rural poor have been examined in chapter three. Chapter four focused the manipulation of rural institutions in the last four decades in Bangladesh. In chapter five three case studies have been included with a view to finding out the effectiveness of rural participatory institutions. Chapter six comes up with some findings and recommendations. Chapter seven shows a list of works undertaken since the later part of the last century to date and some politico-economic trends in statistics.

CHAPTER - TWO

**Rural Development Policies and
Strategies in Bangladesh**

An attempt has been made in this chapter to identify the major Rural Development measures adopted by the various governments in Bangladesh.¹ Its economy is predominantly agricultural. The vast majority of its people live in rural areas and 75% of them are engaged in agriculture. It is an overpopulated country of 114.2 million² people living in an area of 1,43,988 Sq. K.M. Agriculture contributes nearly 35% of the GDP. The rate of literacy is around 40% with per capita income of 235 and the growth rate of population is about 2%.

The Political elite have a kind of constitutional obligations to the people of the country. It is stated in the Constitution that "the state shall adopt effective measures to bring about a radical transformation in the rural areas through the promotion of agricultural revolution, provision of rural electrification, development of cottage and other industries, and improvement of education, communications and public health in these areas, so as progressively to remove the disparity in the standards of living between the urban and rural areas".³ So the political elite are morally committed to adopt rural development policies for bringing about changes in the rural economy.

¹ . The present territory of Bangladesh measuring about 1,43,998 Sq. K.M. was under the Muslim rule for over five and a half centuries from 1201 to 1757 AD. Afterwards, it came under the British rule just after the defeat of the last sovereign ruler, Nawab Sirajuddowla, at the Battle of Palassey on June 23, 1757. The British ruled over the entire Indian Sub-Continent including this territory for nearly 190 years from 1757 to 1947. During that period Bangladesh was a part of the British Indian Province of Bengal. With the termination of the British rule in August, 1947 the Sub-Continent was partitioned into India and Pakistan. Bangladesh was then a part of Pakistan and was known as East Pakistan. It appeared on the World Map as an independent and sovereign state on December 16, 1971 after the victory in the war of Liberation.

² . Census Report, 1991. Bangladesh Beureau of Statistics.

³ . The Constitution of The People's Republic of Bangladsh, Part II, Article 16. P. 14.

The rural poverty, which is characterized by malnutrition, illiteracy, disease, is the overriding problem in Bangladesh. Attempts have been made to reduce such distresses through of governmental interventions through planned development efforts. But it has achieved little success. Around sixty percent of the rural population is landless or near landless and their number is rapidly increasing.⁴ Peasant's control over land is unequal and the income distribution is traditionally inequitable.

The involvement of the political elite in formulating the rural development policies and its implementations in the rural areas may be categorized as follows :-

1. Institutional Intervention
2. Technological Intervention
3. Poverty-focused intervention

For the convenience of our study we have gone through the institutional intervention.

INSTITUTIONAL INTERVENTION :

Permanent Settlement Act was introduced in Bengal in 1793 by the British Government. The act was popularly known as Zamindari System, by which Zaminders and Talukders exercised control over land in return for payment of land revenue to the British Government. In the course of time four classes of people emerged with different kinds of rights on the land. They were : 1. Zaminders, 2. the tenure holders, 3. the Raiyats and 4. the under-raiyats.⁵ The Zaminders and the tenure-holders (Talukders) could not cultivate land. The cultivation and

⁴ . B. K. Jahangir, Differentiation, Polarization and Confrontation in Rural Bangladesh, (Dhaka : Centre for Social Studies, 1979), P. 33.

⁵ . op. cit. P. 27.

procurement of crops were done by the raiyats and the under-raiyats. The process continued till the end of the British rule in India. The Muslim League Government of East Pakistan promulgated the East Bengal State Acquisition and Tenancy Act, 1950 (EBSATA). This Act mainly operated against the interests of the Hindu landlords.⁹

The first land reform law, the EBSATA, Promulgated in 1950, abolished the Zamindari system with its intermediate rent-receiving interests. According to land reform law, the ceiling on land-holding was placed at one hundred bighas (33 acres). The government declared its intention of redistributing land over one hundred bighas. The aim of redistribution of land among the landless people was frustrated by the amendment act under the East Pakistan Ordinance No. XV in 1961. It raised the ceiling from 33 acres to 125 acres. Only 163, 741 acres of land, which was available for redistribution, was not good enough for the purpose. However through this reform, the Zamindars were dislodged as a force in the rural society in this region. But the land revenue collection of the government was enhanced. The Act of 1950 and the following amendment act of 1961 did not ameliorate the situation of the rural poor.¹⁰

RURAL DEVELOPMENT TRENDS (1947-1960)

After the Partition of India in 1947, East Bengal, a province of Pakistan, was paid little attention in terms of development of agriculture and rural areas by the central government. In the early fifties the village co-operatives were abolished and multipurpose co-operative were organized at the union level. In connection with the new trend towards rural development, agricultural officials were posted at the

⁹. ibid. P. 32.

¹⁰. ibid. P. 33

subdivision, Thana and Union levels. Local institutions continued to function at the union and district levels but they were handicapped for the shortage of capital investment.¹¹

The agriculture department, after the food shortage in 1952 and '53 due to flood and drought, introduced the Japanese method of cultivation to increase production. The method led to the transplanting of seedlings in straight lines with 10 inches spacing both ways. It further moved towards the use of organic and inorganic manures in the field. It encouraged the weeding and stirring up the soil by weeders.¹²

With great enthusiasm, officers of all departments and local leaders introduced the aforesaid Japanese method of cultivation in the rural areas. The impact of this method, particularly transplantation in straight lines is still prevalent in cultivation process in the rural areas.

VILLAGE AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME (V-AID)

Pakistan government for the first time introduced the comprehensive Village Agricultural and Industrial Development programme in February, 1954. This programme was popularly known as V-AID. It was designed to solve the problems of the villages by helping the villagers to help themselves individually and as communities. It aimed at coordinating the total resources of the government and people for a concerted and determined effort to reconstruct village life in

¹¹. Azher Ali, Rural Development in Bangladesh, (Comilla : Bangladesh Academy For Rural Development, 1975), P. 14.

¹². Ibid. P. 15.

Pakistan.¹³ The V-AID programme achieved limited success due to various reasons as follows:-

1. Lack of People's Participation

The programme expected too much from the people in the form of voluntary work. The local people however could not get any interest to extend their active cooperation with the programme.

2. Lack of local Leadership

In the process of implementation of the programme, leadership was imposed from the top rather than emerging from within the village community. The village level multipurpose workers failed to bring the rural areas into direct contact with the process of development. The Local Leadership, the village agent could not maintain liaison between the villages and the training centre along with the nation-building departments.

3. Lack of Coordination

The nation building departments could not accept the self identity of V-AID - created organizations and the village workers in the rural milieu. An hostile attitude naturally prevailed between the V-AID functionaries and the nation building departments from the beginning. Thus the programme suffered from lack of coordination.

4. Increasing Dependence Syndrome

¹³. The First Five Year Plan. (1973 - 1978), Planning Commission, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

Provision of subsidies in the shape of money and materials to individuals and groups involved with V-AID programme introduced dependence syndrome on government help. This provision primarily destroyed the spirit of self-help, self-education and organizational strength.

5. Lack of Political Commitment

The programme was discarded in 1960 without any evaluation of its field operation with the introduction of Basic Democracies system. It failed due to absence of any political commitment.

Impact of V-AID

Notwithstanding, the programme succeeded in creating an impact among the rural people. The villagers viewed it as the first ever attempt to solve at least a few of their diversified problems. It facilitated the infrastructure development with the construction of roads, culverts, bridges, dykes, embankments and excavation of canals and so on. In this way, it paved the way for the introduction of the Comilla experiment through the initiation of the Thana Training and Development Centre.

COMILLA MODEL OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT

The Comilla Model was developed in a series of experimental projects designed and conducted by the Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development in Comilla. Four of the elements of the models have been adopted for nationwide replication. These are :

1. A Two-tier Rural Co-operative System;
2. Thana Training and Development Centre (TIDC);
3. Rural Works Programme (RWP);
4. Thana Irrigation Programme (TIP).

1. Two-tier Rural Co-operative System : It was an attempt to organise the small farmers, who formed the overwhelming majority in a village. They were used to be grossly exploited by a vicious circle of moneylending and trade. They could not modernise their farming methods or use machines individually. The new system helped them to get rid of the money lenders.¹⁴ The Two-tier co-operative programme mainly represented two institutions-

- (a) a primary institution at the village level, and
- (b) a central institution at the thana level.

The primary institution at the village level was developed as a receiving unit. The nation building departments and other agencies provided services and supplies to

¹⁴. A.K. M. Obaidullah, *Comprehansive Village Development Programme : An Approach to Rural Development*, in Md. Abdul Quddus (ed.), Rural Development in Bangladesh : Strategies and Experiences (Comilla : BARD, 1993), P. 266.

this unit for rural development. On the other hand, the central institution i.e. the Central co-operative Association at the thana level acted as a facilitator, co-ordinator and trainer.

2. Thana Training and Development Centre :- The Thana Training and Development Centre (TTDC) emphasized the need for training of all village level leaders in every thana for the sake of development. It facilitated the introduction and close co-ordination among the nation-building departments of the local government and primary institutions at the village level.¹⁵

3. Rural Works Programme :- The Rural Works Programme (RWP) was an attempt to cover two fundamental problems in every thana in the rural areas. The problems were to :¹⁶ (a) construct a network of roads, drainage, dykes and embankments; (b) provide employment during the dry idle months to the landless labourers.

4. Thana Irrigation Programme :- The Thana Irrigation Programme (TIP) aimed at managing one of the vital constraints to agricultural development in the country. It created the third infrastructure, irrigation facilities during the dry periods. It also carried out the road construction and flood control works one step further.¹⁷

The need for synthesis of the aforesaid four Programmes and the departmental activities at the villages was strongly felt. There was a demand for integration both at the horizontal and vertical levels under the Comilla Model. The Programme was

¹⁵ M. Ghulam Sattar, "Comilla Models of Rural Development : Significance" in Md. Abdul Quddus, Rural Development in Bangladesh: Strategies and experiences, (Comilla : BARD, 1993), P. 115.

¹⁶ ibid. P. 116

¹⁷ ibid. P. 117

thus named the Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) in 1970. Unfortunately, the integration, though it was so much wanted by the planners and so much necessary for comprehensive development, did not come into existence due to lack of political commitment. Instead, the idea of integration' was replaced by departmentalism, Ostensibly by Bangladesh Rural Development Board (BRDB).¹⁸ The sectoral or target group approach came to the field with the patronage of the government and active support of the World Bank and the NGOs. The original Comilla concept of Gram Samabaya Samity (Village Co-operative society) was renamed Krishi Samabaya Samity: [Agricultural Co-operative Society (KSS)] on the justification of profession- based primary societies. In order to make the disbursement of credit justified, the Mahila Samabaya Samity: [Women's Co-operative (MSS)] and the means-based Bittahin Samabaya Samity: [Landless and Marginal Farmer's Co-operative (BSS)] along with the existing KSS were conducted by the BRDB in the rural areas at present.

The Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) was implemented as a national programme since 1970. It however came into focus in the early eighties. It had mainly two objectives :

(1) to integrate such multiple activities as production, employment, income distribution, provision of physical and social infrastructures, so that comprehensive development in the rural sector can be achieved;

¹⁸ Bangladesh Rural Development Board was established in 1982 as a successor of Integrated Rural Development Programme.

(2) to integrate rural poor and the disadvantaged groups with the rest of the community for effective participation in the production process and to ensure equitable share in the benefits of development.

After Liberation

During the period after independence, the entire focus on social, political and economic objectives of the new nation was changed. The programmes and policies of the Awami League regime during 1972-1975 were designed to achieve a socialistic economy within a democratic framework. In pursuance of the long-range objectives of the socialistic economy, large and medium sized industries were nationalised. In the process, some important steps were taken. On March 26, 1972, all banks, excluding the branches of foreign banks, and all the insurance companies, both life and general, were nationalized.¹⁹ The First Five year plan (1973-78) spelled out an investment strategy that underscored the need for land reforms, the extension of cooperatives, assistance to small farmers and landless labourers in the agricultural sector. The plan basically aimed at reducing poverty and achieving social justice with an annual growth of the gross domestic product (GDP) at 5.5 percent.²⁰ The planned target, however, could not be achieved; the employment and investment growth sectors largely remained unrealized due to

¹⁹ . Emajuddin Ahamed, "Agricultural Development Policy of Bangladesh : Social and political Consequences", in Mohammad Mohabbat Khan and Zafarullah (eds.) Rural Development in Bangladesh : Trends and Issues (Dhaka : Centre for Administrative Studies, 1978) pp. 124-27.

²⁰ . Government of the people's Republic of Bangladesh, planning Commission, The First Five year plan 1973-78 (Dhaka, November 1973). pp. 48-49.

shortfalls in domestic and external resources, inadequate institutional support, lack of skilled manpower, inflation and recession.²¹

²¹ The Second Five year plan, 1980-85, May 1980, Chapter 1,p.2.

The Two year plan (1978-80)

The Two Year Approach plan (TYP), introduced in 1978, reflected in general the socio-economic objectives of the President's 19-Point Programme.²² The TYP planned to achieve a higher rate of the economy over what was achieved during the FFYP period . It was designed to develop the rural economy with special emphasis on intensifying productivity as well as creating employment opportunities. The TYP intended to arrest deteriorating poverty conditions, improve income distribution and thereby promote social justice.²³ The strategy of the TYP was primarily referred to the effective utilization of local resources and mass mobilization through institutional arrangements and revitalization of the local bodies with wider powers and responsibilities.²⁴

In 1975-76, about 30% of the development outlay was invested in industries; this proportion rose to about 39% in 1976-77 and 40% in 1977-78. About 30% of the development outlay was invested in agriculture and rural institutions in 1975-76 and it rose to 33% in 1976-77 and 34% in 1977-78. As a logical consequence, the development outlay in the social welfare sector gradually decreased from 20% in 1975-76 to 12% in 1976-77 and 12% in 1977-78.²⁵ The same proportion continued throughout the period of the two Year plan, 1978-80.²⁶ The drastic reduction of the development outlay in the social sector have had a far reaching effect, especially on

²² The 19-point programme was announced by the then President Ziaur Rahman aimed at over all socio-economic development of the country.

²³ Planning Commission, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, The Two Year Plan, 1978-80 (Draft), March 1978. P. 29

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Emajuddin Ahamed, Op. cit. PP. 28-29

²⁶ Ibid.

the poorer section of the society. However, like the FFYP, the TYP also could not attain the end towards rural development.²⁷

The Second Five Year plan(1980-85)

The Second Five Year plan (SFYP) was introduced in July 1980. It concentrated on comprehensive rural development programme. Its objectives were formulated in the context of overwhelming problems of poverty, unemployment, illiteracy and malnutrition of the masses mostly living in the rural areas.²⁸ The SFYP aimed at augmenting growth to enable the country to follow a course of self-reliance. One of the strategies of this rural bias in development was to ensure mass participation in the nation building activities through village level democratic institutions affecting not only political life, but also power structure in the villages. The plan recommended that the role of the government would be one of moral leadership and guidance.²⁹

NEW PHASE OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT

In order to attain the goals of rural development, particularly reducing poverty and unemployment during the SFYP (1980-85), the government formally declared to establish self governing institutions at the grass root level, known as Swanirvar Gram Sarkar (SGS) or self-reliant village government. This micro-governmental concept was actually the combination of two experiments, the Swanirvar Andolon (movement for self-reliance) and Gram Sarkar (village government). The SGS was initially attempted at the non-government level. The Swanirvar Andolon aimed at achieving a breakthrough in agricultural production together with reducing population growth. On the other hand, Gram Sarkar (village government) idea emerged from the movement of self-reliance. It was an administrative arrangement

²⁷. The Second Five Year Plan (1980-85), Chapter, 1, P. 6.

²⁸. The Second Five Year Plan (1980-85) Chapter II, page - 1.

²⁹. Ibid. P. 5.

to organize better mobilization of development efforts and complete utilization of domestic resources. Thus the Swanirvar Village Government was the ultimate goal of self-reliance movement.

Movement for Self-reliance

Swanirvar Andolon (Movement for self-reliance) programme was introduced throughout the country in the mid-seventies with a view to making each level of society self sufficient. The government initially encouraged the formation of at least one swanirvar (self-reliant) village in each thana. The consequence was so encouraging that by 1977 each union had self-reliant villages.

The Swanirvar movement introduced three major strategies. These were :

- (1) functional group organization and their representation in local government,
- (11) mass mobilization strategy following the Ulashi model,³⁰ and
- (111) self-governing local institutions at the Union Parishad and the Gram Sarkar.

Gram Sarkar (Village Government)

The concept of Gram Sarkar (village government) made a great impact upon the masses in rural areas both in the social and political senses. It was planned to meet the basic needs of the rural people and remove rural poverty by the rural people themselves on the basis of self-help. It also advocated for better mobilization of development efforts and total utilization of domestic resources. It may be mentioned here that under V-AID Programme in the fifties the local people could not get any interest in extending their active cooperation on the basis of voluntary

³⁰ . Quazi Md. Munzur-I-Mowla, "Comilla and U-J : A Comparative Study in Rural Development Policies", in The Journal of Social Studies, No. 10, (Dhaka : Centre for Social Studies, 1980),

work. As a result it did not work. Past experiences had proved that not only V-AID but the Union Parishads also did not act effectively in organizing development activities at the village level on the voluntary basis.

In fact, the national government of previous periods paid little attention to the local affairs. As a result the local government remained the least capable organization in the national administrative structure. The passive role of the union parishads led to the rapid emergence of various voluntary groups and associations.

The Union Parishads were made self-governing institutions in the rural areas through the local government elections in 1977. With the support of local officials of the central government, the elected representatives took keen interest in development activities. They in turn helped the formation of Gram Sarkar in each village. The institutional arrangement was geared to the needs of utilization of local man power and stimulating local leadership.

Gram Sarkars were given de facto recognition by the national government. The formal rules and regulations were framed much later.³¹ Different models were adopted for the development of Gram Sarkars (village government) at different places. Primarily two models; Shadullahpur model and Kushtia model, have been highlighted in this paper.

The institutional plan of both the models had the following characteristics:-

1. organizing the village people into five interest groups such as agriculturists, landless, youth, women and other professionals;
2. establishment of a village parliament known as Gram Sabha;

³¹. The Swanirvar Gram Sarkar (Constitution and Administration) Rules, 1980, Bangladesh Gazette Extraordinary, May 24, 1980.

3. formation of village cabinet or Gram Parishad with two representatives from each of the interest groups.

The Kushtia model was limited only to the village level. On the other hand, the Shadullahpur model integrated the Gram Sarkar with the Union Parishads; it aimed at connecting the latter at the thana level.

The Shadullahpur Model

Shadullahpur thana belongs to the district of Rangpur in Bangladesh. It has 262 villages and 11 Union Parishads. Some major socio-economic problems were identified through a survey undertaken by the Village Swanirvar Committee in 162 villages of the said thana. A Two-Year plan was also formulated for each village to rid of such problems as illiteracy, unemployment, overpopulation, communication, public health, and law and order situation.

These plans, initiated at the village, were coordinated at the Union level and adopted as union plans. The Union plans were coordinated with the Shadullahpur thana plan. The plan involved a total outlay of taka eighty five millions. This was for the first time that such a well coordinated comprehensive plan was drafted at the local level entirely through local initiatives.³² In November, 1977 the Noldanga Union formed the first Union Parishad Sarkar and Gram Sarkars in all the villages.

However, the local government elections put the major responsibilities for the development of the villages upon the Union Parishads. Through the establishment of the Union Parishad, the nine elected and two nominated members had been assigned a different portfolio. The specific responsibility and practice adopted by

³². Ministry of LGRD & Co-operatives, Government of Bangladesh, Integration of Swanirvar Activities with Union Parishad/Sarkars: Formaion of Gram Parishads, Division's Memo No. S-1/IV-8/77/542(19), 1977.

the national government was followed at the union level. The members were in charge of specific portfolios. The portfolios were : 1. law and order; 2. finance, revenue and administration 3. planning, communication and works programme; 4. agriculture, irrigation and forests; 5. livestock; 6. fishery; 7. education, culture and religion; 8. cooperative and integrated rural development; 9. social welfare and cottage industry; 10. public health; 11. women and family planning. The chairman of the union parishad supervised and coordinated the activities of these different areas. The members of the union parishad were elected by the people of the union. It was, therefore, acceptable to both the people and the government. The same model was applied to the development of Gram Sarkar in the villages.

Gram Sabha(Parliament)

A village parliament or Gram Sabha was vested with full powers for dealing with all matters in the villages. It was organised with all members of the five interest groups. All programmes, activities and funds were approved and sanctioned by the Sabha. Monthly session of the Sabha deliberated upon different problems facing the village. It provided the people with information about development activities.

Gram Parishad (Cabinet)

The village cabinet known as Gram Parishad was composed of two representatives from each of the interest groups. The total number of representatives in the cabinet was 11. The head of the cabinet was the elected member of the union parishad from that village. He exercised his leadership role by dint of his position. The Portfolios were allocated to the eleven members of the cabinet just like the union parishad. The cabinet members were known as Gram Montri (Village Minister). Each minister had five persons representing five professional groups to assist him in his work. In this way the model ensured proportional representation of all sections in the locality.

The Cabinet Meeting:

The cabinet met twice a month and meetings were held fortnightly. The reports of the cabinet meeting on the progress of development activities of each department were recorded. The necessary measures were suggested to tackle the constraints. These were presented and utilized in the making of a master plan for the village.

Responsibilities of the departmental minister:

The ministers were supposed to :

1. assist the village surveyors in making correct statistics;
2. identify the sectoral problems;
3. prepare realistic plans to overcome constraints;
4. organise and manage projects for materialization of the plans;
5. generate funds, secure men and materials for the purpose.

Gram Sarkar, Union Sarkar and Thana Parishad: The Nature of Relationship:

In the Shadullahpur model, the Gram Sarkar, Union Parishad and the Thana Parishad worked together. Through mutual understanding, all village level ministers assembled at the union headquarters and met their counterparts in the union parishad. They presented reports for discussion and analysis. The relevant government officers at the thana level attended those meetings.

Every month, on a specific date, the departmental ministers of the union parishad met at the TTDC. The TTDC imparted training to the local leaders on various aspects of local government and development. Inter-union programmes were critically evaluated there. The monthly thana Parishad meeting was presided over by the sub divisional officer. The thana circle officer (development) acted as the

chief coordinator. All thana officials and chairmen of the union parishads participated in these meetings.

THE KUSHTIA MODEL:

In general, there was not much difference between Shadullahpur model and Kushtia Model. The Kushtia model preferred a system of sectoral committee for the planning and execution of development plans. Four such committees were there for the purpose : (1) Village Food Production Committee; (2) Village Education Committee; (3) Village Health and Cleanliness Committee; (4) Village Cottage Industry Committee.

Each committee consisted of 9 to 15 members including the concerned officials of the thana. The committees were headed by the Union Parishad members. A chosen person worked as its secretary.

The Self Reliant Village Government :

In the early 1980, President Zia inaugurated the first Swanirvar Gram Sarkar (SGS) i.e. self-reliant village government, at Jirabo in Dhaka. He declared that within a year each and every village in the country would have a SGS. The Ministry of LGRD & Cooperative, the controlling authority of the SGS, had issued rules for their constitution and administration.³³ According to these rules, eleven members including two women were to be chosen through consensus for Gram Sabha. The SGS was assigned the responsibility for doubling the food production, reducing poverty, eradicating illiteracy, reducing population growth, strengthening rural cooperatives and maintaining law and order in the village. The government formed a ten-member organising committee headed by the Circle Officer and

³³ Op. cit.

Thana Cooperative Officer as its member-secretary for constituting SGS in every village.

It was expected that The SGS would provide greater opportunities to the rural people for accumulating local resources and participating in planning and its implementation. The government proposed to adopt several measures to bring about and maintain linkages between the people's representatives at the grass root level and public servants working at the nation building departments.

High Powered Rural Development Institutions :

The government emphasized on the crucial role of institutionalized training in the rural sector for development of skills and expertise by the elective leaders and the public servants. Several far reaching policies were adopted to bring about desired changes under the SFYP (1980-85). Operational training was developed for members of the SGS in two phases. In the first phase, Circle Officers, Cooperative Officers and thana level youth organisers were to be trained. In the second phase, the trained persons would impart training to the members of the SGS within their own jurisdiction. The TTDC provided the training support to the SGS. Besides, the four rural development institutions of the government, Bangladesh Rural Development Board (Dhaka), Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development (Comilla), Rural Development Academy (Bogra), Rural Development Training Institute (Sylhet) and National Institute for Local Government (Dhaka) extended training facilities to government and non-government concerned officers.

At the centre, a national council for local government headed by the President as its chairman, the minister for Local Government Rural Development and Cooperative was its member-secretary and all other ministers were its member. National Council for Local Government (NCLG) used to decide policies and coordinate various activities centering on rural development along with allocation of funds.

The Executive Committee of the National Council for Local Government (NCLG) was chaired by the minister for Local Government Rural Development and Cooperative (LGRD & C) and the ministers for Planning and Finance, Agriculture and Forests, Fisheries and Livestock, Women Affairs, Youth Development, Health, Family Planning and Population Control were its Members. The Executive Committee of the National Council for Local Government (ECNCLG) would enforce policies and guidelines and review the actions undertaken.

Direct Intervention of Political Elite :

The aforesaid analyses represent a concern of the government of Bangladesh for development of the rural sector. But the increasing governmental intervention and involvement in the daily affairs of rural institutions have run against the concepts of 'people's participation', 'decentralization', 'self-reliance', and bottom-up planning'. The intervention of political elite and its adverse impact may be noted if one closely goes through the government's attempts in forming the SGSs throughout the country. The high governmental functionaries including the President most often applauded the virtues of these institutions. President Zia reminded the people that the SGS would allow the rural masses greater opportunities to participate in the running of the state at the grass root level.

It is interesting to note that the members of the SGS were not elected by the Gram Sabha but were chosen through consensus. In this process, ten-member organising committee could easily tilt the balance in favour of the candidate of their choice. The pious and avowed assertions of the political elite to keep party politics away from the SGS belied the truth. The ruling BNP members of the parliament were taking tremendous interest in the SGSs.

If the government would be able to implement the recommendations of the SFYP (1980-85) in the rural sector, very little real power would have remained in the hands of the local people. This practically killed local initiative in plan formulation and implementation.

Through the NCIG and ECNCIG, the President himself was involved in policy formulation, allocation of funds and coordination of rural activities. If this trend continued, it would establish a long chain of command comprising his cabinet members, members of the parliament, civil servants of different ranks to control the activities in the rural areas.³⁴

Decentralization in 1982 :

General Ershad came to power in 1982 through a bloodless military coup. Within a short time, a high powered committee was formed to review and identify the shortcomings of the existing rural bodies. It was asked to recommend an appropriate and effective system based on the spirit of devolution. The Committee in its 268-page report suggested major reforms of the local government structure at the thana level. The relationship between the central and local government was redefined. The role of district administration had also been reduced,³⁵. The committee also suggested the abolition of administrative unit, the Sub-division. The Thana Training and Development Centre (TTDC) system also underwent major restructuring. The major changes brought in the TTDC may be stated as follows:-

³⁴ This trend in the government's policy implied centralization of power in the name of decentralization and empowerment of rural institutions.

³⁵ Ershad government, under its reform policy, upgraded all the sub-districts into districts (Zila) and thanas into sub-districts later named as upazillas.

(I) The Institutional structure as well as the accountability and functional relationship between the people's representatives and government officials had been changed. The people's representatives were placed at the top of the hierarchy of the Parishad. The Upazilla administration and services of the officials and staffs of 13 nation-building departments were placed at the disposal of the Upazila Chairman.

(II) All government functions performed at the Upazila level were classified as 'Retained Subjects' and 'Transferred Subjects'. Upazilla Parishad was empowered to deal with the transferred subjects without direct intervention from the central government. A list of the retained and transferred subjects may be seen :³⁶

Retained Subjects :

1. Civil and Criminal Judiciary.
2. Administration and management of central revenue, like income tax, customs and excise, land revenue, land tax etc.
3. Maintenance of law and order.
4. Registration.
5. Maintenance of essential supplies including food.
6. Generation and distribution of electric power.
7. Irrigation schemes involving more than one district.
8. Technical education and education above primary level.
9. Modernized district hospitals and hospitals attached to the medical colleges.
10. Research organizations like Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (C.S.I.R) Laboratories.

³⁶ K. M. T. Sultan and Ahmed, "The Comilla Administration Experiment and Decentralized Administration in Bangladesh" in M.A. Quddus (ed.) RD Strategies in Bangladesh. P.226

11. Large scales seed multiplication and diary farms.
12. Large scale industries.
13. Inter-district and inter-thana means of communication.
14. Flood control and development of water resources.
15. Marine fishing.
16. Mining and mineral development.

B. Transferred Subjects :

1. Agriculture (Extension)
2. Livestock
3. Fishery
4. Health and Family Planning
5. Public health (Water Supply and Sanitation)
6. Primary Education
7. Co-operative (Registration and Extension)
8. Social Welfare
9. Disaster relief
10. Rural Works Programme.

In the context of decentralization process, it was justified that the new system could be potential for rural development in Bangladesh.³⁷ The Upazilla Parishad, however, became a democratic island within the bureaucratic ocean. Upazilla programme to a great extent helped the process from 1982 to 1986, After the parliamentary election in 1986, when the civilianization process of the military government was completed, the same government lost its interest in the Upazilla issue. The central government instead of helping a sound growth of the local institution and encouraging people's participation used the Parishad to legitimize

³⁷ H. W. Blair, Participation, Public Policy, Political economy and Development in Rural Bangladesh, 1958-85, World Development, Vol. 13 No. 12 (London : 1985).

their autocratic rule with a democratic bias at the local level.³⁸ The government did not further try to rectify some of the shortcomings of the Upazilla system. Moreover, without changing the structure, functions and the regulations the grant for Upazilla in the annual development plan was drastically reduced from 5 million to 1 million taka, because by that of time political priority of the government had been shifted.

In 1991 when the elected government replaced the government of Ershad and the interim government of Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed, by an ordinance on 23rd November 1991, Upazilla system was abolished and a fourteen member committee was formed to suggest restructuring of the local government and rural administration system. It is needless to point out that some changes were long overdue for the proper functioning of the system. Many areas of changes were already identified by several research works.

³⁸. K. M. Tipu Sultan and Ahmed, "The Comilla Rural Administration Experiment and Decentralized Administration in Bangladesh" in M. A. Quddus (ed.) Rural Development in Bangladesh: Strategies and Experiences. (Comilla : BARD, 1983), P. 223.

What is mostly needed in our national life is the political wisdom and strong commitment to bring those changes about in order to promote autonomous institutional growth of local government and rural administration. Rural development at a glance now in existence in Bangladesh is represented by the Comilla model, Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere (CARE), Swanirvar (self reliance) Programme and Grameen Bank. The following Chart gives a comparison among the models of operation :

	Comilla Model (KSS)	CARE Model (Rural maintenance Programme)	Swanirvar model (Agriculture Bank)	Grameen Bank model (Bank goes to the people)
1.	Formation of formal co-operative society	Formation of an informal group	Formation of small group for a specific purpose e.g. 'Danki-Prokalpa'	Formation of small group serves as collateral
2.	Weekly meeting	Meetings not so specified	Meetings not so specified	Weekly meetings & weekly repayments
3.	Weekly Savings	Savings not required	Minimum saving Taka 35	Savings not required
4.	Share Purchase	No share purchase	No share purchase	No share purchase
5.	Training emphasised	Training and visit	A short seven day training	Training not emphasised

Source : Anwarullah Chowdhury et. al. Sociology of Bangladesh : Problems and Issues, (Comilla : Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development, 1986),

One common issue which exists in all these approaches is the provision of credit to the villagers. This money comes from commercial banks or agricultural banks. The banks get these amount from the donors who underwrite all payments. The Comilla model provides funds through the Bangladesh Rural Development Board (BRDB).

The Bangladesh Rural Development Board (BRDB) advances loans through the Sonali Bank. These advances are underwritten by the world Bank, United States Aid for International Development (USAID), Asian Development Bank and other donors of foreign aid. Thus, rural development finance is almost entirely predicted upon the availability of foreign aid and grants.

SUMMING UP:

The foregoing analysis was intended to provide a broad framework for appraising and identifying the ongoing rural development strategies in Bangladesh. A hurried look at the past efforts in the rural sector reveals a long and impressive chain of rural development programmes. The co-operative movement of the early years of this century, the rural reconstruction programme of pre-1947, V-AID programme of fifties, the Comilla approach of sixties, the Swanirvar Movement and village government of seventies, decentralization of administration for effective participation of the people in the eighties and declaration of poverty alleviation of the nineties-all reflect a continuing preoccupation of the successive regimes over development. The lack of commitment on the part of the political elite is clearly demonstrated through frequent shifting of strategies of rural development since its inception.

The achievement of during the previous decades in rural sector has not been spectacular. In many respects there has rather been significant worsening of the situation. The current strategies have benefited the rich and middle farmers and turned them into a more oppressive and exploitative class. On the other hand, the poor farmers are becoming poorer and virtually reduced to dependent groups.

CHAPTER THREE

**Political Elite : Efforts On Rural
Development in Bangladesh**

An attempt has been made in this chapter to identify some initiatives and efforts adopted by political elites, for rural development in different periods in Bangladesh. Leadership is one of the most significant factors for development and social change. The leaders are the "agents of social change". The changes in the social structure may be brought about by conscious, rational and committed efforts by the political elite.

As determining factors of social change, there is a wide variety of opinions among the scholars. According to Marx economic determinants are determining factors of social change. According to Hegel, however, ideas are the motivating forces in the society. Max Weber thinks that religion is the chief initiator of all social changes.¹ Leaders can impress and influence the routes and patterns of change in every sphere of social, political, economic and cultural life. Alexis Carrel in his book, Man The Unknown has asserted that "humanity has never gained anything from the efforts of the crowd. It is driven by the passion of a few abnormal individuals, by the flame of their intelligence, by their ideal of science, of charity, and of beauty".² In the history of mankind, it is a fact that leaders are found to play a decisive role in changing the social structures.

In the context of the above discussions, we are convinced that the leadership pattern and the role of leaders are likely to work as a significant indicator. The role of political elite in the developing countries like Bangladesh is not only important for governance but also essential for initiating changes in the socio-economic and political life.

¹. Wilbert E. More, "A Reconsideration of Theories of Social Change" American Sociological Review, (December, 1960, Vol. 25), PP. 810 - 18.

². T. M. Kibriaul Khaleque, 'Leadership and Social Change' Asian Studies (Jahangirnagar University : Centre for Asian Studies, 1979), p. 13.

Emphasis on shifting the policies : The different five year plans and major policies are the reflection of the views of political elite at different periods. There is a number of fashionable prescriptions³ for rural development in the country during the last four decades. It is a fact that a consistent and persisting theoretical base presupposes a stable political framework, which did not obtain in the last four decades. However, the fact remains that our theoreticians and policy-makers also suffered from dilemma and lack of commitments. They have not only been willing to respond to internal political advantages but also remained vulnerable to the waves of theories and views of the multilateral and bilateral donors. As a result, frequent shifting in development strategy often disturbed the long term development process. Mahbubul Haq states: "the planners are often the willing victims of these changing fashions, partly because they must keep uptodate in the chase of development and partly because they may end up with very little foreign aid if they do not subscribe to the currently fashionable thinking of the donor countries"⁴ This remains one of the chief dilemma of rural development planning in Bangladesh. A person may be convinced with this view point if he goes through the pages of the First Five Year Plan (1973 - 78) and Second Five Year Plan (1980 - 85).

We need a theory of rural development to guide our policy makers and the planers, a theory, which operates beyond political compulsion. We need such a theory which can give us a framework to operate on a fairly long-time horizon. In the absence of sound and consistent theoretical formulations, it is not unlikely that rural development in Bangladesh would suffer from various

³. Mahbubul Haq, The Poverty Curtain : Choices for the Third World, (New Delhi : Pearl Offset Press, 1983), p. 20.

⁴. Mahbubul Haq, op., cit.

anomalies, confusions and contradictions. These anomalies, confusions and contradictions are reflected deeply in matter of policies, strategies, objectives and programme contents.⁵

However, some efforts both at the private and government levels were made for rural development by the previous regimes. Though it was in a limited scale, some ideas may be had from the list of works undertaken since the later part of the last century to date (Appendix-1)

⁵. Wahidul Haque, "Towards a Theory of Rural Development" in Development Dialogue (Uppasala, Sweden ; Dag Hammarakjold Foundation, 1977 : 2), p. 14.

In sum, it may be stated that there have been continuous efforts made by the political elite in improving the socio-economic conditions of the rural people. But practically nothing mentionable was achieved except the legislative actions which were initiated and materialized by Sher-e-Bangla A.K.Fazlul Haq (1935 - 40). He is still affectionately remembered as "Haq Shaheb" by the Bengal Peasantry, for passing the Bengal Agricultural Debtors Act in 1935.

Some productivity improvement was observed in the sixties when the Comilla Model was introduced by Akhter Hameed Khan. The achievement of Swanirvar Movement in the seventies has been anything but spectacular.

During the specific period of our study (1971 - 1990), three successive regimes in Bangladesh have taken initiative to set up structures for local participation in government. Each political regime in turn has found top down strategy inadequate for rural development. Political elite in those regimes found it necessary to put into effect a new institution for linking the national government with a system of popular participation at the local level. But it is a matter of great concern that the programme of every regime was cut short by coup d'etat or assassination or mass movement. Administrative and political institutions are needed for overall development in the developing country like Bangladesh. The massive efforts undertaken in India to build the Panchayati Raj system since 1959 may be cited in this context. Attempts were made during the regime of Ayub Khan (1958 - 69) in Pakistan to develop Basic Democracies system. In the period after independence, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman (1971 - 1975) initiated to construct a rural network of representative Parishads at the different strata of administration.

Ziaur Rahman (1975 - 1981) in the late seventies moved to build his Gram Sarkar. H.M. Ershad (1982 - 1990) introduced his upazila system. Each and every effort was initiated to build institutional medium for local participation through which their power base could be strengthened. It is clear to all that such previous efforts as 'representative parishads', 'gram sarkar' and 'upzaila system', which were undertaken in the name of participation and accelerating the process of rural development was politically motivated. These were designed to build up support bases of the regimes.⁶

Two crucial things can be rightly mentioned. One, no sooner had the political elite of the regime been overthrown than their policy was replaced with new one. Two, Every regime felt the necessity of building linkages between the government and the citizenry via these local institutions

Conclusion :

In fact, rural development Process must be institutionalized. There must be strong commitment on the part of the political elite towards rural development activities. The building and nurturing of political linkages between the government and rural people is absolutely vital if any long-term development in the country like Bangladesh is to take place. People must have channels for expressing their needs, wants, hopes and aspirations to the government. On the other hand, the government must have channels for responding to the popular needs. The routine work of bureaucratic systems are to carry out orders, administer and control. It is not to transmit popular needs, responses, compromises and exchanges. That speaks why the link-

⁶ Harry W. Blair, Participation, Public Policy, Political Economy and Development in Rural Bangladesh, 1958 - 85, World Development, Vol. 13 No, 12 (London : Pergamon, 1985), p. 1232.

political institutions between the government and people is not only necessary but also essential for rural development. It must be strengthened by political commitment of the nation.

CHAPTER - FOUR

**Local Government and Rural Development
in Bangladesh : A Historical Perspective**

In the previous chapter we have explored the efforts undertaken in the past on rural development. The object of this chapter is to highlight some participatory aspects in those efforts. We would focus on the local institutions having participatory policies initiated by different regimes. Attention will be given to the on going local government institutions - thana, union and village level bodies, which were brought into being for bringing changes in a politically desirable direction. During the last four decades, four successive governments in Pakistan and Bangladesh have taken initiative to build political structures for participation in the local government. None has worked well for the purpose. These efforts have been examined in the following pages.

Permanent Settlement Act, 1793

Permanent Settlement, popularly known as Zamindari System was introduced in Bengal in 1793 by the British government. This sort of settlement was known as 'Raiyatwari' system and 'Mahalwari' system in Southern India and North-West India respectively.¹ Under the Zamindari system in Bengal, Zamindars and Talukdars exercised control over land in return for payment of land revenue to the government. They were authorised to collect rent from the peasants. This Act affected the land system of the country, and land being the fundamental means of production, it affected the country's social system in the first place. Second, it affected the age-old traditional village administrative system Panchayat System. Finally, it reflected the attitude of political elite towards changes in the rural areas.

¹ Kamal Siddiqui, "Land Reform Since 1950", in Sirajul Islam (ed.), History of Bangladesh 1704 - 1971, Vol.1 (Dhaka : Asiatic Society of Bangladesh 1992), pp. 664 - 676.

Chowkidari Panchayat Act, 1870

The British administration in Bengal was primarily designed to collect revenue and maintain law and order. Zamindars were given the responsibility for both. Since the middle of the 19th century the British Government took up some roles for development activities. The enactment of Chowkidari Panchayat Act of 1870 is suggestive.² This Act, initially, divided the countryside into 'Unions' comprising a number of villages within an area of 10 to 12 square miles. Each union was placed under the Panchayat Committee consisting of five members. The Committee was given the responsibility to maintain peace in the village and was, empowered to collect taxes to raise funds for the payment to the village police or chowkidar. The Panchayat Committee was not an elected body. The district magistrate was empowered to nominate the members of the Panchayat.³ In the process of nomination, only the influential ones could manage to be nominated. Influential were none but Zamindars. Thus the Chowkidari Panchayat Act of 1870, did not affect the individual village directly. The centre of influence became placed at the union headquarters.

There were some shortcomings in the nomination process of the Chowkidari Panchayat System. The district magistrate could dismiss the membership of Panchayat any time without assigning any reason.

The Local Self Government Act of 1885

According to the Local Self Government Act of 1885, a three-tier local administrative system was introduced in Bengal during the viceroyalty of Lord Ripon. The District Board, Local Board and Union committee were created at the

² D.C. Barman, Emerging Leadership Patterns in Rural Bangladesh : A Study, (Dhaka : Centre for Social Studies, 1988), p. 110

³ ibid., p. 136.

District, Sub Division and Union level respectively.⁴ The Union Committee was made responsible for performing a number of small community services such as construction and maintenance of roads, maintenance of schools, ponds, drainage and sanitation facilities and so on. These activities were controlled and supervised by the District Board.

That could not make any change in the rural life. The same people who played dominant roles under the Chowkidari Panchayat system continued to be prominent in the village as well as the union headquarters. The union committee could bring no change in rural life as they had to depend for all practical purposes upon the District Boards.

The Village Self-Government Act, 1919

On the basis of the report made by Montagu-Chelmsford in 1918 the Village Self-Government Act, 1919 came into existence. The report recommended the integration of local influentials with the system of local administration.⁵ A two-tier system of local self-government with District Board at the district level and Union Board at the union level was introduced in Bengal under this Act. The Act abolished the local board and replaced the union committees with the Union Boards. A union board was established within an area of about ten square miles with a population of about 8000. Two-third members of the board were to be elected and rest were to be nominated. The board was given the right to elect its chairman and vice chairman from among its members. The act provided this institution with the executive, municipal and judicial functions and some financial powers to support their activities. This kind of local administrative set-up continued

⁴ Hugh Tinker, The Foundation of Local Self-Government in India, Pakistan and Burma, (University of London : The Athlone Press, 1954), p. 40.

⁵ Atiur Rahman, "Rural Power Structure : A Study of the Union Parishad Leaders in Bangladesh, " The Journal of Social Studies, (Dhaka : CSS), p. 94.

for a long time. The direct election of the chairman and vice-chairman to the union board was introduced in 1956. But the power structure almost remained the same. The name of the union board was only replaced by union council in October 27, 1959.

Ayub Regime

The first attempt of the Ayub regime at political institution building was the establishment of a system of local bodies known as the Basic Democracies. The four-tier administrative system was promulgated on 27 October 1959 with the objective to "effect democratic decentralization by bringing the people closer to the government and personnel of the government closer to the people."⁶

The main features of the Basic Democracies were borrowed from the old Panchayats of traditional India and local government introduced by the British in Bengal. It is for the first time that local governments were integrated from the bottom to top into the provincial government apparatus.⁷ At the union level, it created the Union Council to replace the Union Board and, at other levels, the tiers were Thana Council, District Council and Divisional Council respectively.

⁶ Nazrul Islam Chowdhury and M.A.Jabbar, "Development Orientation of local Government in Bangladesh : The Case of Union Parishad, "in The Bangladesh Journal of Agricultural Economics, 2,1 (Dhaka : June, 1979), p. 304.

⁷ Rounaq Jahan, Pakistan : Failure in National Integration. (Dhaka : University Press Ltd. 1977), p. 112.

Structure of the Basic Democracies

Participatory Institutions	Chairman	Members
Divisional Council	Commissioner (Government Official)	Half elected, half officials
District Council	Deputy commissioner (official)	Half elected, half officials
Thana Council or Municipal Committee	Subdivisional officer (official)	Half union council chairmen, half officials
Union Council or Union Committee	Elected by members	Elected by universal adult franchise

Source : Rounaq Jahan, Pakistan : Failure in National Integration, (Dhaka : University Press Ltd.1977) p. 115.

At the bottom of the structure there was the Union Council. Its members were elected on the basis of universal adult franchise. The members elected a chairman from amongst themselves. Above the Union Council level there was the Thana Council. It consisted of all the chairmen of the Union Councils in the Thana and an equal number of government officials appointed by the deputy commissioner. The subdivisional officer was the ex-officio chairman of the Thana Council. The circle officer was an ex-officio member and acted as vice chairman of the Thana Council.

According to the new system the first election to the Union Council was held in 1960. The Rural Works Programme (RWP) was launched in 1962-63, with the objective of boosting the Basic Democracies System and helping rural people to participate in a meaningful manner in the administration and development process of the rural areas.

Under the scheme, the Union Councils were vested with the planning and administration of local projects.⁸ It may be noted that the Basic Democrats or members of the union councils also acted as the "electoral college" for the election of the president. Basic Democrats were elected for a five-year term, and the right of franchise were given to 40,000 Basic Democrats in East Pakistan. The government was maintaining a close link with the Basic Democrats through the Rural Works Programme. The grants for the Rural Works Programme would work as a sort of patronage from the government and, in return, they would gain people's support. The Rural Works Programme was set up to erect labour-intensive rural development infra-structure.⁹

According to S.P. Huntington "the Basic Democracies brought politics to the rural areas and created a class of rural activists with a role to play both in local and national politics. For the First time, political activity was dispersed outward from the cities and spread over the countryside. Political participation was thus broadened; a new source of support was created for the government and a major step was taken towards creating the institutional link between the government and the countryside."¹⁰ The prominent political leaders in Pakistan viewed the Basic

⁸ *Ibid.*, p.115.

⁹ H.W.Blair, 'Participation, Public Policy, Political Economy and Development in Rural Bangladesh, 1958-85', in *World Development*, Vol. 13, No. 12. (Pergamon Press Lt., 1985), p. 1235.

¹⁰ S.P.Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies*, (: Yale University Press, 1968), p. 252.

Democracies system as an instrument and a "veiled measure to perpetuate the power of the regime".¹¹

Ayub's regime had trapped itself in the late sixties by a narrow base of support. As a result the army had become alienated and, it overthrew him in a coup. From that point of time until the Liberation War in 1971, the local participatory institutions were in a state of considerable confusion and uncertainty.

Mujib Regime :

Immediately after independence, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman emerged as a dominant political leader of the nation. In a war-ravaged Bangladesh Sheikh Mujib set up 'relief committees' with the Awami League members at the union level with a view to handling the crisis in place of the old and discredited union councils until a new structure could be made. After the Parliamentary election,¹² the regime held the local bodies election for the chairman, vice chairman and members of 4269 union parishads in December 1973. The regime followed the strategy of claiming the wining candidates after the election. It may be pointed out that the same strategy worked successfully in the Basic Democracies election during the Ayub era.

After the union parishad elections, it was anticipated that elected bodies would soon be set up at thana and district levels. Despite a declared intent of the political leadership to do so and directed by the constitution of 1972 to hold elections at all levels, the regime failed to hold elections for any other administrative unit. The reasons for this failure are somewhat gloomy but appear to revolve around the results of the union level poll of December 1973. In these elections, instead of second popular mandate for the ruling party, the Awami League after its massive

¹¹ Rounaq Jahan, *op. cit.*, 111.

¹² The Parliamentary elections were held on March 7, 1973. The ruling party (AL) won overwhelmingly 292 out of 300 seats.

parliamentary victory in the early 1973, the League's candidates were, in great many cases, rejected.

A study of 324 union parishad chairmen in one district found that 53% had previous experiences as members of Ayub's union council.¹³

Sheikh Mujib opted for a much different approach to participatory rural development in March, 1975. He initiated the so-called "Second Revolution" with the following objectives :

(a) to mobilize mass efforts in which there would be only one party;

(b) to replace the Parliamentary set-up by presidential system;

(c) to impose cooperative farming in the rural economy; and

(d) to hand over the local government system in the hands of some 61 appointed district governors.

None of these strategies however, came to force as Mujib was assassinated in a coup d'etat in August 1975. The new system, which was about to be implemented, not only failed but all of his plans died with his demise.

ZIA REGIME :

General Ziaur Rahman assumed power initially in his military capacity. Then he proceeded to civilianize his regime step by step. Zia followed Ayub's basic democratic approach towards the local bodies. The sub divisional officer became the ex-officio chairman of the thana level body with the Circle Officer as the vice-chairman. A striking departure from the Ayub and Mujib models was the new Zila

¹³ M.M. Alam, "Leadership Pattern, Problems and Prospects of Local governments in Bangladesh." Mimeo. (Comilla : BARD, 1976).

(District) Parishad, for which there were to be direct elections. The Zila level institutions, however, were never put into effect before Zia's assassination in May, 1981.

Zia introduced a new participatory body called, Swanirvar Gram Sarkar (Self-reliant village government) in the villages. In May, 1980 the government announced that a new village government of Swanirvar Gram Sarkar would be organised in the 68,000 village by the end of the year. The circle officer would select the Swanirvar Gram Sarkar's chief in a meeting in the concerned village. According to government order it would represent the people from all walks of life and of different functional groups in the rural areas.¹⁴

The Swanirvar Gram Sarkar was mainly responsible for: (a) increasing food production; (b) mass literacy; (c) population control and family planning; and (d) law and order maintaining salish (local judicial councils) to settle petty disputes.¹⁵

Most of the Swanirvar Gram Sarkars were set-up by early 1981. But before the enterprise could be linked up with the existing government structure and geared up for the action, Zia had been assassinated by a group of soldiers in Chittagong on May 30, 1981. The Swanirvar Gram Sarkar as an institution died with him.

ERSHAD REGIME :

A period of confusion followed Zia's assassination in May, 1981. But on 24 March, 1982 General H.M.Ershad had emerged as a military leader through a

¹⁴ Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, "The Swanirvar Gram Sarkars (Constitution and Administration) Rules, 1980," notification published in the Bangladesh Gazette Extraordinary (24 May, 1980), PP. 185-1196.

¹⁵ ibid., p. 1190 (Details has been given about SGS in chapter two)

bloodless coup d'etat. The Gram Sarkar system had been abolished and the expected elective zila parishads never came to life.

In view of the precedence set by his predecessors, it is not surprising that Ershad would come up with his own programme for the local government and rural government schemes. Just 35 days after taking over power, Ershad appointed a high level committee for Administrative Reorganization and Reform under the chairmanship of Rear Admiral M.A. Khan. The committee submitted its report in June, 1982. The major recommendations were that administrative power would be decentralized and there would be a devolution of power to the thana.

The recommendations were accepted and began to be implemented in 1983 under the caption of "Upazila" programmes. The Upazila(sub-district) was treated next to a district in importance.¹⁶

The Upazilla system would involve a genuine devolution of power to the thana level. For the first time in Bangladesh, the chairman of a upazilla council was directly elected in 1985. The chairman, according to government instructions was supposed to (1) coordinate all the development activities; (b) initiate policies in development matters; (c) identify projects and schemes and in general (d) be responsible for ensuring implementation of government policies within the thana.¹⁷

In short, the kind of government officials that had been available at subdivision level, was to be placed at the upazila level (460 in Bangladesh). Expertise, then

¹⁶ Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, "Resolution on Reorganisation of the Administration at the Thana, now Upazilla." 23 October, 1982, as later amended, in Upazilla Parishad Manual (As Amended Up-to-date), compiled by Syed Lutfur Rahman (Dhaka: Kitab Mahal, 1983).

¹⁷ GPRB, *ibid.*, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

would be significantly spread out into the countryside. But the regime lost its interest towards upazila programme in the late eighties.

UPAZILA STRUCTURE IN BANGLADESH, 1984.*

Administrative Structure		Representative bodies		Rural Administration		
<u>Old</u>	<u>New</u>	<u>National Parliament</u>	Member	Chairman UCCA	Supervision UNO Non voting members	Upazila Officers Agri Engr. Health & FP Ede. Coops Livsteel Fisahery S. Welfar Rural dev. Mass. Revenue Police
Dhaka	Dhaka	3 nominated				
	Division (4)	women				
	District (64)	1 nomination				
	Upazilla (460)					
	Union (4300)	Directly elected Chairman Upazila Parishad		KSS		
	Revenue Village (68k)					
	Citizen (95m)	Members		Member		
	Thana (460)					
	Union (4300)					
	Revenue Village (68k)					
	Citizen(95m)	Voters				

(Numbers indicate units in entire country)

Some changes were initiated at the administrative system. The Upazilla Nirbahi Officer and technical officers were placed under the control and supervision of the concerned Upazila Parishad Chairman. The Upazila Parishad Chairman was to write the personnel evaluation report i.e. Annual Confidential Report (ACR) of the Nirbahi Officer and he would do the same for the Upazilla technical officers.

The elected heads of the Union Parishads were to be the members of the Upazila Parishad. In addition, there were three nominated women members and one

* H. W. Blair, "Rublic Policy, Political Eonomy and Development in Rural Bangladesh, 1958-85" in World Development. Vol. 13, No. 12. 1985, P. 1234.

nominated members with the voting rights. The upazila Nirbahi Officer and most of the other technical officers were to be the members of Upazila Parishad, but they did not have voting rights. This was in the contrast to the earlier systems, in which official members always had at least half the votes; the upazila system was dominated by the elected union parishad chairmen.

After the parliamentary election '86, when the civilianization process of the regime was completed, the government lost its interest in the upazilla programme. Though from the very beginning, many of the shortcomings started to surface, government made no effort of rectify those shortcomings. Moreover, without changing the structure and functions of this body the grant for it was drastically reduced from 5 lakh to 1 lakh.¹⁸ Because by that time, political priority of the government and its political leadership had been shifted elsewhere.

In December, 1990 Ershad Government was overthrown by a mass movement; the chief justice Shahabuddin Ahmed was nominated by all political parties to be the Acting President for the interim government. In 1991, an elected government formally took over the power from the interim government. From the beginning, Khaleda Zia government was against the upazila system of the Ershad regime. As a result, by an Ordinance on the 23rd November, 1991 Upazila Parishad was abolished.

Successive Four Schemes

It should be clear by now that each of the four regimes initiated some schemes of local government suiting their own interests. Ayub began his cautious Basic

¹⁸ K. M. Tipu Sultan & T. Ahmed, "The Comilla Rural Administration Experiment And Decentralized Administration in Bangladesh", in Md. Abdul Quddus (ed.), Rural Development in Bangladesh: Strategies and Experiences. (Comilla, BARD, 1993), pp.224-231.

Democracies with some drops of power at the union, thana and higher levels. All these were in operation under the increasing tutelage of bureaucracy. Then came Sheikh Mujib with his 1972 constitution, promising directly elected local self-governing bodies. Third was Zia, who promised direct elections at the union and district level. The regime afterwards proceeded to set up the Gram Sarkar scheme. Ershad introduced his Upazila system, with a bit of a decentralization and devolution of power to the local political institutions.

Ayub's Basic Democracies turned into a massive patronage network in a futile move for building a support base among rural elites. The voters rejected too many of Mujib's Awami Leaguers in the union parishad elections in 1973. In response to this unexpected results, he left the system to stagnate, and eventually opted for his highly centralized but ill-fated one party scheme in 1975. Zia also held union parishad polls but never went to his pledge to have direct elections at the district level. Though details of the Gram Sarkar were incorporated in the Second Five Year Plan (1980-85), it hardly made any linkage with the rest of the local government structure before it faded into oblivion with his demise.

President Ershad officially upgraded all the thanas to upazila and held union parishad and Upazila Chairman elections. Though there were considerable hesitations and vehement opposition by the major opposition political parties with the Upazila Chairman elections, Ershad went ahead with the upazila polls which were ultimately held in May 1985. The new system, virtually was in function in the countryside upto December 1990.

Problems of Participation

It has been observed that a kind of reluctance on the part of the political elite has always been associated with the local institutions's role in involving people in larger number.

Two explanations may be stated in this connection. First, the powerful bureaucracy has always viewed with great apprehension any such effort to interfere with their direct departmental lines of authority. Personnel evaluation, posting and career advancement of the functionaries in the local bodies, all were viewed with suspicion. Moreover, the conflict between the generalist and technical officers also became pronounced. From time to time, the central government tried to impose generalist control over the technical field officers. But such actions never succeeded. In 1977, the Zia government withdrew the deputy commissioner's coordinating authority over technical officers at district level.¹⁹ On the other hand, Shawkat cites a number of government orders of the same period emphasizing that kind of authority.²⁰ In any event the bureaucrats appeared never to have been taken these changes seriously.

Moreover, the bureaucrats were not in a mood to co-operate with the elected representatives, though this kind of accountability is indispensable at the local level for the people oriented development.²¹

They did like the Chinese officials performed in Cultural Revolution of the 1960s when they were sent down to countryside. It is clear that there is a great deal of scope here for the kind of "bureaucratic re-orientation" towards rural development.

Second : A more important reason behind the reluctance of dominant political elite of the regime was a fear that if there were really openness at that level the

¹⁹ Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh (GPRB), Report of the Committee for Administrative Reorganization/Reform (Dhaka, 1982), pp. 4 (53-54).

²⁰ A.M.M. Shawkat Ali, Field Administration and Rural Development in Bangladesh, (Dhaka : Centre for Social Studies, 1982), P. 82.

²¹ Mohammad Faizullah, "Rural Development in Bangladesh: Problems and Issues" in M. M. Khan and H. M. Zafarrullah (ed.), Rural Development in Bangladesh: Trends and Issues, (Dhaka : Centre for Administrative Studies, 1981), P. 10.

opposition might get some measure of control. It was particularly an issue at thana and district levels where control by an opposition party or coalition might develop wherefrom they might defy the central government. Ayub detested and feared the politicians. He was reluctant to give them any chance for a come back. After he took over the power in 1958, he banned some former elected office bearers from political life by Elective Bodies Disqualification Ordinance (EBDO),²² and strengthened his 'electoral college' of Basic Democrats with a lavish patronage. He barely came through with a majority from 80,000 Basic Democratic members of Pakistan in the Presidential polls in 1965. He believed that any more decentralization of power would have been dangerous.

The reluctance of Mujib, Zia and Earshad on their devolutionary promises can be explained similarly. Each one of them feared that opposition elements would gain an important platform from which they might launch future political offensives against those in power at the centre. The Khan Committee put the matter briefly in its 1982 report. It is stated in the Report : "It has been amply demonstrated that it is the ruling political elite since 1972 which was the chief tumbling block to a meaningful devolution of authority to popular and representative councils at the local level."²³

Third : There are particular quarters who do not want the rural political institutions to grow. Besides the bureaucrats, some members of the Parliament also do not want to see the local political institutions to actively work. The members of

²² The Elective Bodies Disqualification Ordinance (EBDO) was Promulgated shortly after martial law, and was used to disqualify politicians from participating in politics for a period of eight years.

²³ GPRB (1982), P. 93.

the parliament want to be in sole control of the situation particularly in the geographical area constituting their constituencies.²⁴

THE DOMINANCE OF RURAL ELITES :

What sort of power did the previous regimes transfer to the elected local bodies? What did the Ershad government do after the elections of the Upazilla chairmen? Didn't the dominant rural elite, who had long controlled village life just take control anyway? Did they not enhance their dominance in the new upazilla structure? Admittedly, the evidence from the village level is corroborative. Studies that have been done on rural social and political structure have invariably shown a pattern of local elite control. * Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC) has shown this in its analysis of 10 contiguous villages. BRAC has properly titled it, 'The Net'. Data at the national level also confirm the existence of the elite control pattern. According to the land Occupancy Survey, done in the late seventies, there are four main stratifications prevailing in the countryside. First, there are a large land holding elements with holdings in excess of 5 acres. They account for perhaps 6% of rural households with 45% of the cultivable land under their control. Second, there is a middle farmer group (2.5 - 5 acres) constituting about 16% households, owning 33% of the land. They produce a considerable surplus for the market.

Thirdly, the small farmers (0.5 - 2 acres), constitute roughly 30% of the households and own 20% of the land. They take land on share from the large land owning stratum. Finally, there are the landless and near landless (up to 0.5 acres), of approximately 50% rural households and owning about 2% of the cultivable land.

²⁴ Just Faland & Parkinson, Bangladesh: The Test Case of Development, (Dhaka : UPL, 1976), P. 157.

* (e.g. , Wood, 1976; Jahangir, 1979; BRAC, 1979; Barman, 1983).

Household income for this last group obviously comes from wage labour. At present the number of landless people in the rural areas is more than 56% and this trend is rapidly increasing.

With this socio-economic structure at the village level, it is not surprising that elections for local representative bodies have favoured the rich and well born gentry. A study of all the union parishad chairmen, elected in 1973 in Comilla district revealed the same pattern.** A number of field surveys of all the candidates and winners in the 1977 union parishad polls disclosed the pattern of local elite control.*** This elite control pattern indicates that something should be done to encourage the poorer sections of the society to make the local bodies participatory.

A case from India :

The Panchayat Raj Programme in India, a participatory system, was set up in 1960 in the state of Bihar. The Panchayat Raj system has initially suffered much from all the shortcomings of elite domination. But it has also had considerable success as an engine of rural change. These changes have not been particularly noticeable in the short run of five years, or even in the more intermediate term of 10 to 12 years. But over a 20 + year period some genuine changes have emerged. This kind of shifts in the rural political economy can be related to the Panchayat Raj System.

A case from Bangladesh :

Several programmes already undertaken in Bangladesh promise considerable hope that social transformation through participatory development enterprises may indeed be possible over a longer timeframe. The best known among these is the

** (M.M. Alam, op. cit.,)

*** (Alam, 1982)

work of Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC). This non-government organisation has started its development activities concentrating on one thana in the district of Sylhet in 1972.

Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee deals with the four major activities in the countryside. **First**, The Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee has focused on adult - literacy efforts. People must think of exploitation and its possible remedies lie with themselves. So people should be educated for consciousness raising. It is possible only through the expansion of education among the people, though it needs a long time. **Second**, it has started organizing the poor for manual work projects, and consciously tried to avoid any direct confrontation with local power structure. **Third**, there is a strong emphasis on questioning and requestioning i.e. interaction with the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee approach on discovering deficiencies and changing methods. Both the participants and Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee staff are expected to engage in this continuous learning process. Finally, supporting the first three factors, it is recognised that these development strategies are going to take a long time; there is no hope of quick results.

In Bangladesh about 70% people severely suffer from ignorance, laziness, burden of debt and lack of initiative in the rural areas. In order to remove all the obstacles which have been the accumulation of several centuries, beginning must be made at some point and result can be expected only after careful nursing and patient-waiting.²⁵ In order to accelerate the gigantic task of rural development, it has necessitated the involvement of several Ministries in Bangladesh. Besides, several dozens of national / international voluntary organizations are also working for rural development. A look of such Ministries and non government organisations may be had from a table in appendix.

²⁵ M. Amisuzzaman, "Choice for Rural Development Strategy: The Rhetorio and Reality in Bangladesh" in Anwarullah Chowdhury et, al., Sociology of Bangladesh: Problems and Prospects (Comilla : BARD, 1986), P. 154.

**Table showing the Organization involved in the
Rural Development process in Bangladesh**

Government Organizations

Voluntary Organisations*

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1. Ministry of Agriculture</p> <p>(a) Directorate of Agriculture</p> <p>(b) Directorate of Plant Protection</p> <p>(c) Bangladesh Agricultural Research Corporation</p> <p>(d) Bangladesh Agricultural Development Corporation</p> <p>(e) Bangladesh Rice Research Institute</p> <p>2. Ministry of Local Govt. Rural Development & Co-operatives</p> <p>(a) Directorate of Co-operatives</p> <p>(b) Bangladesh Rural Development Board (BARD, Dhaka)</p> <p>(c) Bangladesh Academy for Rural</p> <p>(d) Rural Development Training Institute (RDTI, Sylhet)</p> <p>(e) Rural Development Academy (RDA, Bogra)</p> <p>(f) National Institute of local Government (NILG, Dhaka)</p> <p>(g) Bangladesh Co-operative</p> | <p>1. Association for Development Agencies in Bangladesh (ADAB).</p> <p>2. Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC).</p> <p>3. The Asia Foundation (TAF).</p> <p>4. Co-operative for American Relief Everywhere (CARE)</p> <p>5. Australian Baptist Missionary Society.</p> <p>6. Bangladesh Red Crescent Society(BRCS)</p> <p>7. Voluntary Health Services Society(VHSS)</p> <p>8. Association for Social Advancement (ASA)</p> <p>9. Proshika.</p> <p>10. Caritas - Bangladesh.</p> <p>11. Christian Commission for Development in Bangladesh (CCDB)</p> <p>12. CONCERN</p> <p>13. Bangladesh Volunteer Service.</p> <p>14. The Ford Foundation</p> <p>15. Family Planning International Assistance (FPIA)</p> <p>16. Gono Umayan Prochesta (GUP).</p> <p>17. Gono Shaistha Kendra (GK).</p> <p>18. HEED - Bangladesh.</p> |
|---|---|

* Source : ADAB Directory, 1995.

- College, Comilla.
- (h) Department of Public Health Engineering
3. Ministry of Forest, Fishery & Livestock.
- (a) Directorate of Livestock
- (b) Directorate of Fishery
- (c) Directorate of Forests
- (f) Forest Industries Development Corporation.
- (g) Fisheries Development Corporation.
19. International Union for Child Welfare (IUCW)
20. International Voluntary Services (IVS).
21. Friends in Village Development, Bangladesh (FIVD, B).
22. Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA)
23. Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA).
24. Under-privileged Children's Education Programme (UCEF).
25. World Vision of Bangladesh.
4. Ministry of Health, Population Control & Family Planning
- (a) Directorate of Health
- (b) Directorate of Family Planning.
5. Ministry of Power, Flood Control & Water Resources
- (a) Power Development Board
- (b) Water Development Board
6. Ministry of Labour and Man-power
- (a) Directorate of Labour
- (b) Directorate of Youth Development
7. Ministry of Social Welfare
- (a) Directorate of Social Welfare

8. Ministry of Finance
 - (a) Bangladesh Samabaya Bank
 - (b) Bangladesh Krishi Bank
 - (c) Rajshahi Krishi Development Bank
 - (d) Nationalized Commercial Bank
(Rural Branches).

9. Ministry of Commerce
 - (a) Sadharan Bima Corporation
 - (b) Export Promotion Bureau
(Marketing of Handicrafts)

10. Ministry of Industry
 - (a) Bangladesh Small & Cottage
Industries Corporation

About ten ministries and many non-government organizations, national / International are partly or fully devoted to the gigantic task of rural development. Besides, non-government voluntary organizations with different approaches are working side by side with the governmental organisation towards improving the socio-economic conditions of the rural poor. It is admitted that there is a wide gap of coordination between the government organisation and non-government voluntary organizations. An organised and well-planned direction guided by the political elite with strong commitment towards change in the rural areas will surely help in accelerating the process of rural development in Bangladesh.

Rural Leadership :

Rural leadership is very important in this respect. It acts as changing agent. It is generally traditional and conservative in nature. The Union parishad chairman,

members, village matbars, sardars, big farmers, imams, school teachers, local tradesmen and half-educated people constitute the rural leadership.

In the process of rural development project implementation it has been observed that for various reasons, some of the rural leaders tend to block or disturb the progress for no rational reason. A study has identified that some villages, which appear to be the most natural of human communities, have proved to be the cockpit of bitterness, struggle and factionalism.²⁶

A further analysis shows that union parishad chairman and members, very often take too much time to be convinced about the utilities of various rural development projects.²⁷ A restructuring of the rural power system will be a positive attempt towards materialization of many rural development strategies.

Conclusion :

Viewed from the above, a case can be made for participatory rural development enterprises in the countryside even in the face of all the dismal evidence just cited. The rural participatory institutions show little hope for success within a short time; it may however, promote significant rural transformation over a long time frame.

At the outset, the rich may dominate the new institutions, just as they have dominated elsewhere; but once the mechanism is ready, and if it continues for a longtime, other strata will also learn to use and even take it over to make local participatory institutions in meeting their needs.

²⁶ Ralph Niokolas, "Social Science Research in Bangladesh" (Mimeo), (Dhaka : The Ford Foundation, 1973), P. 26.

²⁷ Prof. M.A. Hameed accorded with this view while studying the Asian Survey of Agrarian Reform and Rural Development (ASARRD).

CHAPTER - FIVE

**Case Studies of Three Rural
Political Entrepreneurs**

In previous chapters attempts have been made to examine the roles of dominant political elite in rural development activities. Here I concentrate on the roles of some leading individuals leading to social and political changes in the rural areas. I would like to focus on the clash of interests between the people's representatives and bureaucrats which has influenced social actions and affected the outcomes in the countryside.

I have examined the cases of three rural political entrepreneurs, namely Miazuddin, Mirzapur Upazilla Chairman, Tangail; Mir Enayet Hussain, Gorai Union Parishad Chairman, Mirzapur and Md. Abdul Latif, Kaliakair Upazilla Chairman, Gazipur.

What is the innovative role of a rural political leader ? How far can he be innovative? The innovative individual plays his role within the existing political structure.

Mirzapur is the fourth largest Upazilla¹ in the district of Tangail. It is situated about fifty miles north-east of Dhaka. Road is the only means of communication to and from Dhaka. It is connected with Dhaka city by bus services. Mirzapur Upazilla occupies an area of 373.sq. km. with a population of 337496, of which 169803 are male and 167693 are female.² On the other hand, Kaliakair is the second smallest Upazilla of Gazipur district in respect of both population and area. It is situated about forty miles north-east of Dhaka. It is connected with Dhaka city by bus services.

¹ The word Upazilla is a special choice of the regime. Upazilla is next important administrative unit after district.

² Bangladesh Population census, 1991: Community series. Zila Tangail. (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, March, 1996), P. 37.

The purpose of the chapter is to examine the role of rural political entrepreneurs who have held offices in the rural local bodies. This attempts to analyse the contradictions faced by the local political leaders leading to social and political changes in the rural areas.

With purposive sampling method we have selected the two Upazilla Parishad's Chairman and one union Parishad chairman for case studies, The data for the study have been collected during the period from 6 August 1995 to 25 August 1995. Interviews and participant observations have been the method of data collection.

Case Study : 1

Miazuddin, Chairman, Mirzapur Upazilla Parishad

Miazuddin was born in 1950. His father Ahsanuddin was a mid level farmer owning twenty bighas of land at Rajabari village under Gorai Union of Mirzapur thana, in the district of Tangail. He has a son and three daughters.

Miazuddin, the only son of his father, was matriculated from Bingoraj High School of Kaliakair thana in 1966. He passed the Intermediate Examination in 1968 from Kaliakair College and graduated from Saadat Karotia College, Tangail in 1970. He was the first graduate in his village. He took part in the Liberation War in 1971. During the war period he did not leave the country; rather he assisted the freedom fighters from inside the country as a volunteer in different forms. He played an active role through organizing the local volunteers in strengthening the Liberation War.

Immediately after Independence, the Awami League came to power and set up relief committees at the union level with its party members. Accordingly, Miazuddin was made chairman of the relief committee of Gorai Union Parishad. In

the early seventies he set up a high school at Rajabari village. He wanted to establish this institution near the Rajabari Primary School, which was adjacent to the Mirzapur Cadet College. The Principal of the Cadet College did not like any other parallel institution to be set up in the neighbourhood. The college authority feared that the environment of cadet college might be affected with student politics. So the Principal, at one stage, opposed the initiative.

Miazuddin and the villagers were not disappointed at this. Miazuddin mobilized the villagers and convinced them about the necessity of the high school. He purchased one acre of land at the proposed area and established Rajabari high school. He became the founder head master of this school.

The Principal of Mirzapur Cadet College made a fence of barbed wire between the Rajabari high school and the cadet college. This fence was replaced by a high boundary wall later on. The villagers used to come and go throughout the cadet college for easy communication. This thoroughfare was blocked by the boundary wall. There is a village market attached to the northern side of Rajabari high school. It sits twice a week. The College employees use the market for necessary goods, fish and vegetables with a narrow passage through the boundary wall.

In the Union Parishad election, held in 1973, Miazuddin was elected chairman of Gorai Union Parishad uncontested. He continued his teaching up to December 1974 and side by side performed the responsibilities of the Union Parishad chairman. The school is now financed by a government grant and by the tuition fees of the students. As chairman of the governing body of the school, Miazuddin is responsible for appointment of the teachers.

Miazuddin was married to a local girl. The marriage was arranged by his father. Miazuddin has three sons and two daughters. All are minor. His father died in 1983. Miazuddin owns a motor cycle. He uses it whenever he goes outside the

village. Miazuddin is the president of Krishak Samabaya Samity (KSS) at Rajabari village. Mir Enayet Hussain (Montu) is the current Chairman of Gorai Union Parishad. Miazuddin resigned this post when he contested the Upazilla Parishad election in May 1985. In the same year Mir Enayet Hussain (Montu) was elected chairman of the Gorai Union. Miazuddin's political rival is Mir Enayet Hussain of Nazirpara. In 1989, Miazuddin joined the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) and till now he belongs to BNP. He is known to the local people as honest and sincere people's representative.

Miazuddin has two storied building at his house. This is semi pucca house built in special way. His "Kachari ghor" (drawing room) is also semi pucca and founded in front of the main house. There is a courtyard between the two houses. In his "kachari ghor" there are sofa set, two arm chairs, two simple chairs and two benches at the corridor of 'Kachari ghor. There is a ceiling fan just over the sofa set. Sofas are for the gentlemen and officials. A few chairs are for the village 'Murrobbis' (respectables) and benches are for the ordinary people. When some one comes to see him, Miazuddin takes his seat on the single sofa.

During the Zia regime, the Union Parishad Polls were held in January 1977; Miazuddin was re-elected chairman of the Gorai Union Parishad. He was involved with the self-reliant movement, specially the "Barnali" Tangail project. He played an active role to make the project a success. Thus he became familiar with Mahbubul Alam Chashi, who was the fore-runner of the self-reliant programme and adviser to President Ziaur Rahman. When Mahbubul Alam Chashi used to visit Tangail Project he went to Miazuddin's house. Thus Miazuddin gradually became familiar and popular among the people.

During the Ershad regime the Union Parishad election, was held in January 1984, Miazuddin was elected Union Parishad chairman for the third time. Thus he

gathered much experiences in rural development affairs as an elected chairman of the Union Parishad. The Upazilla chairman elections were held in May 1985. The Chairmen of all union parishads under Mirzapur thana selected Miazuddin, chairman of Gorai UP, to participate in the Upazila election. Thus Miazuddin was elected chairman of Mirzapur Upazilla and held the post upto May 1990.

During the period (1985 - 1990), Miazuddin as a chairman of Upazila Parishad came in direct contact with the local government machineries and rural development affairs in his Mirzapur Upazila. He led the upazila administration for five years. He gathered pleasant as well as bitter experiences regarding local government policies and rural development strategies adopted by the central government. The Upazila Nirbahi officer became the Upazila Executive officer with the rank and status of additional deputy commissioner and acted as the member-secretary of the parishad. Miazuddin presided over the meetings.

From the beginning, Miazuddin did not find any cooperation from the Upazila Nirbahi Officer (UNO). He observed a tendency of grouping led by Upazila Nirbahi Officer by the non-voting members of the Upazila Parishad against the chairman. Some of the voting members were also found lobbying with the Upazila Nirbahi Officer occasionally. According to Upazilla manual, the Upazila Parishad is empowered to formulate the annual development scheme of the Upazila. But in fact, the development fund which is received from the central government comes here sector-wise. Miazuddin rarely could do anything about the said allocation of resources directed by the secretariat. He had only to follow the central direction.

Miazuddin deeply feels that a mutual understanding should be there between the Upazila Nirbahi Officer and officer-in-charge of the thana. The Upazila Nirbahi Officer is directed by the deputy commissioner who receives necessary instructions

directly from the secretariat. He has noted that Upazila Nirbahi Officer is more loyal to deputy commissioner than to the chairman.

Miazuddin is sincere. He maintains good terms with all members of the Upazila Parishad. He also maintains good relationship with the members of the Sangsad elected from the local constituency. So he seldom faced serious situation, which could be generated from the disagreement either with the member of the Sangsad or Upazila Nirbahi Officer, whereas Md. Abdul Latif, Chairman of Kaliakair Upazila Parishad had to face such an undesirable situation.

However, Miazuddin is of the opinion that UNO's attitude towards people's representative i.e. Upazila Chairman, should be changed. The government officers should be trained in such a way that they should think themselves as the servants of the people. They should honour people's representatives whoever they might be. For law and order situation at the Upazila, he is of the opinion that it should be more strictly controlled and frequently supervised by the senior officials. Miazuddin finally opines that the Upazila Parishad should be made powerful so that it could implement the sectoral schemes on priority basis with the resources allocated for Upazilla. Sector-wise allocation of resources from the secretariat does not answer the local needs.

In sum, Latif, Enayet and Miazuddin come from the mid level farmer families. They are elected chairman of different local institutions. They are not only elected representatives but also very important individuals in decision-making and decision implementing in the rural areas. Latif did not like any interference on his official activities from out side. But his rival Motiur Rahman thought that it was his duty to look into the problems of his constituency. Miazuddin was liberal. He accomodated some interests of the member of Sangsad in the decisions taken by the Upazila Parishad.

Case Study : 2

Md. Abdul Latif, Chairman, Kaliakair Upazilla Parishad

Md. Abdul Latif was born in 1954. His father Ehsanuddin Munshi is an upper class farmer owning 100 bighas of land at Mehdiassulai village under Chapai Union of Kaliakair thana in the district of Gazipur. He had four sons and five daughters. Md. Abdul Latif is the second son of his father. He matriculated in 1970. from Baraibari High School He passed the intermediate examination from Kaliakair college and graduated from Bhawal college, Gazipur in 1982. In the late sixties, each national Political parties had a student front. As a school student, Md. Abdul Latif Joined the student front of the National Awami party. He actively took part in the liberation war in 1971. As a freedom fighter, he still feels proud.

In the Relief Committee, which was set up at the union in 1972, Md. A. Latif was appointed a member. In 1973, he was elected chairman of Kaliakair Union Parishad. In the late seventies, M.A. Latif joined the Bangladesh Nationalist party (BNP). He was elected chairman of Kaliakair Upazilla Parishad as an independent candidate in 1995.

As the chairman of Upazilla Parishad, Md. Abdul Latif initiated some employment oriented schemes in his Upazilla like the Rickshaw Project: Its purpose was to provide some unemployed rural people of Kaliakair Upazilla jobs for earning their livelihood by pulling rickshaw . In return rickshaw pullers were to pay some amount of money. A good number of people received benefits by this project. The type writing scheme was initiated by him for literate unemployed students so that they could learn type writing, which might be helpful in getting a job. Many students were trained with type writing in this way .

Md. Abdul Latif used to preside over the Upazilla Parishad meetings and Upazilla Nirbahi Officer (UNO) worked as the member -secretary of the Parishad. Since M.A. Latif came in contact with the Upazilla administration, he closely observed that a negative attitude of Upazilla Nirbahi Officer was developed towards the Upazilla Chairman. According to him, Upazilla Nirbahi Officer is directly guided by the instructions of the Deputy Commissioner. Upazilla Nirbahi officer naturally tends to be loyal to the Deputy Commissioner. On the other hand, M.A. Latif was empowered to write the Annual Confidential Report (ACR) of Upazilla Nirbahi officer. In spite of that, the Upazilla Nirbahi officer did not spontaneously respond to the needs of Upazilla Parishad Chairman. In the Parishad meeting, Upazilla Nirbahi officer hardly agreed with the opinion of the chairman. Upazilla Nirbahi officer more often tried to oppose the decisions made by the Upazilla Parishad by raising questions of rules and technical difficulties.

The Upazilla Nirbahi officer of Kaliakair Upazilla use to report to the higher authority against the chairman. However, after a few days Upazilla Nirbahi officer was transferred. Motiur Rahman, who was a rival of M. A. Latif in the Upazilla election in 1985, was elected a member of the Jatiya sangsad in 1986, from Kaliakair constituency. From the beginning there were no good relations between Motiur Rahman, and M.A. Latif. Motiur Rahman sometimes interfered with the decisions and normal activities of Upazilla Parishad.

Centering on a transfer case of a school teacher, the disagreement became extreme between M.A. Latif and Motiur Rahman. The school teacher was transferred from Kaliakair government primary school to a village school with the consent of M. A. Latif. But Motiur Rahman wanted the transfer orders of the school teacher to be cancelled. This gave rise to a conflict between them. This conflict was reported to the higher level.

At one stage, Matiur Rahman became adamant for taking action against M. A. Latif. This situation became worse. Ultimately M.A. Latif was suspended from the post of Kaliakair Upazilla Chairman. This suspension continued for more than a year. However, he was reinstated later on. M.A. Latif opined that this kind of interference on the normal activities of Upazilla Parishad is neither desirable nor acceptable. He thought that a member of the Sangsad was supposed to concentrate his role on policy- formulation and law- making process. A member of the Sangsad has been elected with a view to formulating policies, rules and regulations as the state requires. A member of the Sangsad is expected to involve himself with the legislative functions by putting his well-considered opinion in the law making process. He was not supposed to obstruct the formulation of the development scheme in the Upazilla Parishad. The Upazilla Parishad is headed by the chairman who is directly elected by the people. He is there to formulate the annual development scheme or any other development scheme in consultation with other members of the Parishad. Latif emphasized the importance of the voting members of the Parishad, who actually represent the needs and demands of the rural people. So it would be more realistic if Upazilla Parishad initiated the development plan of the Upazilla without any interfere from outside. M.A. Latif viewed that the Jatiya Sangsad is the highest body for law-making. The policies and laws which are formulated and passed by the Sangsad would be the guidelines for the local level institutions. This should be the norm in the political system.

Motiur Rahman, however, thinks that a member of the Sangsad side by side has to fight for the allocation of resources for his constituency. Motiur Rahman is of the opinion that the selection of sectoral priority in the annual development scheme of Upazilla is obviously related to the functions of the member of the Sangsad. Consequently, a member of the Sangsad has got every right to supervise the development programme and proper utilization of resources in his constituency.

But M.A. Latif differs from Motiur Rahman on this point. Motiur Rahman considers that his role is related not only with the approval of Upazilla development schemes but also with supervision of the utilization of resources allocated for the scheme.

M.A Latif feels that the supervision of the development work in his Upazilla constitutes the responsibilities of Upazilla Chairman and not of the member of the Sangsad. It is the role of the Upazilla Chairman to conduct and control the development activities in the Upazilla. The role of an honourable member of the parliament is specially related to the legislative function. Accountability might be ensured if the rural institutions perform the assigned duties without any intervention from the other.

Case Study : 3

Mir Enayet Hussain, Chairman, Gorai Union Parishad

Mir Enayet Hussain alias Monto was 36 years old in 1990. He is known to the people of Gorai Union as Monto Chairman. His father Mir Sadat Hussain, a rich farmer, owns one hundred and fifty bighas of land at Nazir Para village of Gorai Union under Mirzapur thana in the District of Tangail. He had four sons - Mir Dawlat Hussain, Mir Enayet Hussain, Mir Sharif Mahmud and Shawkat Hussain.

Mir Enayet Hussain matriculated in 1971 from Golam Nabi High School,. He passed the Intermediate Examination from Kalikair College in 1973. His elder brother Mir Dawlat Hussain is a president of labour union of Gorai Cotton Mills. His immediate younger brother, Mir Sharif Mahmud, is a businessman. He deals in waste cotton. He is a proprietor of Fatema Traders, which is named after his mother. Enayet's youngest brother, Mir Shawkat Hussain, is a student of B.A. class in Mirzapur college. These four brothers belong to a joint family. Mir Enayet

Hussain has two sons and a daughter. His son is a student of Intermediate class in the Mirzapur College.

Mir Enayet Hussain was elected chairman of Gorai union Parishad in 1985. As the previous chairman Miazuddin was elected Upazilla Parishad chairman in the same year, the Union Parishad election was held in the Gorai Union and Mir Enayet Hussain was elected. From the beginning, he tried to initiate the rural infrastructural development, particularly communication network in the rural areas. He preferred road construction, repairing, setting up of culvert and bridges. In the late eighties he made a pucca feeder road inside Nazirpara towards the Dhaka - Tangail main road. This feeder road passes between Mir Enayet Hussain's house and his garden of jackfruits and Mehgoni trees. There is a tomb of 'Hazrat Shah Sufi Syed Azam Rah : Kabari Shah Shayeb' along the road side in front of his house. No attention was paid to this tomb for a long time. A small sign board is written where the saint's name has been inscribed and hung with a bamboo stick by the side of the tomb. Enayet Hussain and his family members believe that the said saint is one of the companions of Hazrat Shahjalal (R), whose tomb is in sylhet.

Regarding the title of his family, he has stated that the word Mir was derived from the close relationship of their predecessors with that Saint, 'Kabari Shah'. However, Enayet Hussain has made another pucca feeder road toward the Dhaka - Tangail highway. This road has been constructed up to the river "Bangshai". This road is about two kilometres long and eight feet wide. Besides this, many pipe culverts and small bridges have been laid down throughout in the area of Gorai Union by the initiatives of Mir Enayet Hussain. His initiative towards rural infrastructural development reminds of the effective role of a leading person in the countryside.

Mir Enayet Hussain is married to a local girl of the village Salimmagar under Mirzapur thana. The marriage was arranged by his father. Economic considerations

played a major role in the selection of the bride. His father wanted to boost his status through favourable marriage linkages. Enayet Hussain's wife comes from a rich business family. The marriage linkage aimed at strengthening the prestige and status of both the parties. Enayet Hussain's father-in-law lives in Dhaka. He is a first class contractor and owns a construction farm in Dhaka. He has a big house in Dhanmondi residential area. By the right of inheritance, Enayet Hussain's wife owns a plot of land in Dhaka city. Enayet Hussain has made a construction on this plot. Since Enayet Hussain had been elected chairman of Gorai Union Parishad his wife's family considered the marriage as a good social connection.

Mir Enayet Hussain is the president of Bangladesh Union Parishad Chairmen Samity. In this connection he goes to Dhaka twice a week and communicates with some central political leaders as well as other members of the Samity. Moreover, he attends the Union Parishad Office and supervises the on-going development works in his area.

Mir Enayet Hussain has a modern house at Nazirpara village. The house is beautiful. Besides this, a colourful boundary wall with a gorgeous gate makes the house more impressive. Mir Enayet Hussain is well aware of politics and conscious of the socio-economic problems in the rural areas as well as of the nation. He supports a political party, Bangladesh Awami League. I have asked him about the future of his son. Enayet Hussain replied : "I want my son to be a businessman; of course, I will educate him. He takes over population problem in Bangladesh as the number one problem.

Summing Up

If we go through the above case studies we find that the local political entrepreneurs faced many problems. These problems originated from the faulty policies undertaken by the government in the name of rural people's participation in the decision-making and decision-implementing phases. Problems are, for example, (1) Continuous interventions on Upazila Parishad activities by the Jatiya Sangsad member, (2) Lack of orientation of lower level bureaucrats to work with people's representatives in rural areas, (3) Paucity of budget, and (4) Tendency of sectoral allocation of resources from the secretariat disappointed the local initiatives.

The above case studies reveal the shortcomings of rural development policies pursued in Bangladesh. Chairman of upazila parishad emphasised on the need of confinement of the supervisory activities of a member of the Jatiya Sangsad. The domineering supervision from outside, do not encourage local initiative. The bureaucrats are not oriented to respond to the demands of rural institutions. So, rural development policies related to the participatory institutions must be reshuffled limiting the the role of the Jatiya Sangsad member.

Autonomy for the effective rural institutions leading to accountability and transparency is needed. The case studies have suggested that the dominant political elite should come ahead with strong commitment in reshuffling the policies for progressive changes in the rural areas.

CHAPTER SIX

Findings & Conclusion

FINDINGS :

- * The rural development is a process, which implies the progressive qualitative and quantitative changes in the rural society resulting in alleviation of poverty of the rural poor through their participation in the decision - making and decision - implementing areas in the socially desirable direction. It is a policy oriented study. The main findings indicate that the dominant role of political elite is not adequate for the purpose of rural development. It requires more autonomy at the rural institutions leading to accountability and transparency.

- * The number of landless people is not only increasing in the rural areas but the dimensions of poverty is also deepening. It is neither desirable nor acceptable in an independent country like Bangladesh. The number of extreme poor was 41% in 1975; the number became 56% in 1985 and in 1995 it was 60%. On the other hand, the absolutely landless, who neither own homesteads nor any cultivable land, constitute 11.7% of all rural households in Bangladesh today. The functionally landless including those who have homesteads but no cultivable land and those who have less than a half an acre of cultivable land constitute 48.08%.* On an average, population has increased approximately at the rate of 2.2% every year. This worsening situation is not only threatening but also alarming for the nation.

* Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, Summary Report of the 1977 land occupancy survey of Rural Bangladesh, (Dhaka : Ministry of Planning, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, 1978), Data collected from the table showing landlessness in Bangladesh.

- * In the sixties, Pakistan Academy for Rural Development at Comilla through its experimental programmes, developed a system of two-tier co-operatives and that became the main vehicle for rural development. At the same time, The Basic Democracies were introduced to ensure the people's participation. In the early seventies, the integrated rural development programme was launched with a view to replicating the two-tier co-operative system throughout Bangladesh. This programme was transformed into a national programme known as the Bangladesh Rural Development Board. Besides this, Rural Development Training Institute at Sylhet, Rural development Academy at Bogra and National Institute of Local Government at Dhaka have been in operation to expedite the rural development efforts.
- * There were four such programmes beginning with Ayub's Basic Democracies, Mujib's district governors, Zia's gram sarkar (village government), and Ershad's Upazila, which were initiated as the local participatory institutions. Each regime found it necessary to put into effect a new system designed to secure popular participation at the local level. But the programme of each regime was cut short when the regime came to an end.
- * Political elites have not yet been oriented to provide autonomy to the rural political institutions. The central leadership has not favoured any effective decentralization of power. As a result, rural institutions have become dependent and passive.
- * The dominant political leadership has always been afraid of role differentiation and structural autonomy. Besides, the members of the

Jatiya Sangsad always wanted to be in control of every thing within their constituencies.

- * Local participatory institutions with autonomy and financial security are the demand of time to be effective instruments of change.
- * The lack of strong commitment on the part of the political elite and political instability have been found as major hindrances both for the planning, functioning and effective role of these institutions.
- * Local government administration is hardly found helpful and co-operative towards the peoples representative in the rural areas.
- * Political elite are more inclined towards the central planning, control and co-ordination of the rural development activities.
- * Bureaucratic elite have always been dominant in these institutions.

It has been obvious that the ruling elite have perceived rural development measures as strategies for building new political support bases for the regimes. The ruling elite used agricultural loans and rural works programme to reduce popular unrest by arresting migration from the villages to the cities and obtain foreign aid. Side by side, the bureaucratic elite have perceived rural development measures as devices to extend the spheres of their actions and influences.¹

¹ Emajuddin Ahamed, Bureaucratic Flites in Segmented Economic Growth : Bangladesh and Pakistan (Dhaka : University Press Limited, 1960), p. 10.

Conclusion

From the foregoing discussions, we may conclude that the policies adopted in Bangladesh for the rural poor, have not benefited them. The vast majority of the people have remained alienated . These policies have neither helped strengthen rural institutions nor any prospect of rural development .

We have tried to focus on some particular rural development efforts undertaken by the government. We have attempted to highlight the increasingly growing landlessness ; and it is true that landlessness is a severe problem, deepening rural poverty and causing rural unemployment. We have found that urban biased policy of development has not been helpful for rural development.

The centralized bias of development strategies guided by the dominant political elite has failed in Bangladesh. In the Second Five Year Plan, the failure has been admitted; the apprehension has also been expressed that the process, if it continues, may widen further the gap between the rich and the poor.

We have also attempted to high light the imperatives of participation of the rural poor because it might create new momentum for development and weaken the traditional power structure. Consequently, the bargaining power of the poor might be increased.

The approach, adopted in the First Five Year Plan and Second Five Year Pain, has remained sectoral in nature; that has ultimately fallen short of required resources for consistent development in the rural areas. The approach should be multi-component in nature. The Third Five Year Plan recognized the shortcomings of sectoral allocation from the centre; but on the

matters of allocation of resources, sectoral approach has been maintained. Production in agriculture has increased; but it could not prevent the growing rate of poverty and landlessness in the rural areas.

Political elite have not been in favour of providing autonomy to the rural institutions. They have always been biased to the industrial development in the urban areas. As a result, the development strategies pursued in Bangladesh has not resulted in balanced economic growth in class and sectoral terms.

The improvement of village and small scale industries side by side with urban based big industries should be an important factor in the national development strategy. The attention of political elite should be drawn towards the expansion of labour intensive small scale industries providing employment to the growing unemployed in the rural areas.

The dominant political elite have utilized the rural institutions for their political support bases. As a result, these institutions became passive and dependent. These institutions should be developed as participatory institutions so that they can assess their local needs and can satisfy the same with their own efforts.

Under the circumstances we can suggest the following for the purpose.

(a) A policy should be evolved at the micro level for strengthening the rural institutions with full autonomy aimed at helping the rural people in preparing and implementing the plans relating to public services and economic development.

(b) The basic needs of the rural poor should be properly assessed by the rural institutions. Arrangement should be made for generating employment of the poor in the cottage and small scale rural industries.

(c) Political elite should have strong commitment towards real changes in the rural areas.

The most important imperatives in Bangladesh, must refer to the growth of rural participatory institutions with required accountability and transparency. A substantial share of national resources should be reserved for these rural institutions for balanced development in the countryside.

The central tenet of the argument is that democratic institutions must grow as the effective instrument of changes in the rural areas, and their participatory nature would transform the traditional power structure. In this process the rural poor might be empowered. This empowerment the rural poor would ultimately be the real engine of changes in the rural areas.

The bureaucratic elite should also be oriented to work with the peoples representatives in the rural areas. The rural participatory institutions like 'Upazila' must be allowed to continue for a long time. The most important imperative to the dominant political elite is that rural development policies related to the participatory institutions must be re-structured limiting any intervention from outside.

Appendix - 1

Some efforts both at the private and government levels were made for rural development by the previous regimes. Though it was in a limited scale, some ideas may be had from the list of works undertaken since the later part of the last century to date (Appendix-1).¹

Year	Actions	Political Entrepreneurs	Tenets
<u>British Period</u>			
1870	Chowkidari Panchayet Act. ²	Government	Maintain peace & Security, Village Information, Tax Collection.
1880	Establishment of department of Agriculture in the Government.	Government	Peasants problems enquiry and raising production.
1885	The Bengal Local Self - govt. Act.	Government	Establishment of local Self-government Institute, training and Research on effective self-govt.
1890 -1922	Self-help and Self-reliance Movement, Research & Extension Work; Planned Approach. ³	Rabindranath Tagore	Better farming, Plantation, Adult education, Irrigation, Poultry farming, Cottage & Handicraft, etc.
1904	Co-operative societies Act.	Government	Mutual help, group spirit, team work and going togetherness.
1911	College of Co-operatives.	Government	Training, Research on Co-operatives as a means of Rural Development.

¹. Md. Azizur Rahman Khan, "Rural Credit For Rural Development in Bangladesh ; Some Issues" The Dhaka University Studies, Part C, 1(1), Dhaka, 1980, p. 16 - 22.

². D.C. Barman, "Local Self - Government", in Sirajul Islam (ed.), History of Bangladesh 1704 - 1971 (Dhaka : Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, 1992), p. 480.

³. M. Nurul Haq, Pioneers of Rural Development in Bangladesh : Their Programmes and Writing, (Bogra : Rural Development Academy, May, 1978), pp. 3 - 5.

Year	Actions	Political Entrepreneurs	Tenets
1916	Organization of Youths for Voluntary Work.	G.S. Dutta	Bratachari Movement, Jungle and Water-Hyacinth Clearance.
1931-49	Pally Mangal Samities Village Development).	T.I.M. Nurunnabi Chowdhury	Use improved seeds, build Village halls, night schools, etc.
1934-35	Voluntary Labour	N.M.Khan	Eradicating Water-hyacinth and reexcavation of canals.
1935-40	(1) Bengal Agriculture debtors Act, 1935.	Govt. at the personal initiative of Shere-Bangla A.K.Fazlul Huq.	Aimed at giving minimum education, reforming land tenurial system, relieving indebtedness and above all mutual development.
	(2) Primary Education Bill of 1938.		do
	(3) Land Revenue Commission of 1938.		do
1935-40	(4) Tank Improvement Act of 1938	Govt. at the personal initiative of Shere-Bangla.	Aimed at giving minimum education, reforming land tenurial system, relieving indebtedness and above all mutual development.
	(5) Establishment of Rural Reconstruction Department, 1938	A.K.Fazlul Haq	do
	(6) Bengal Tenancy Act of 1938.		do
	(7) Bengal co-operative Societies Act, 1940		do
	(8) Bengal Co-operative Societies Act, 1940.		do
1936	Better house and better villages, Voluntary Labour.	H.S.M. Ishaque	Adult and children education, sanitation, library, etc.

Pakistan Period

Year	Actions	Political Entrepreneurs	Tenets
1950	East Bengal State Acquisition and Tenancy Act (EBSATA). ⁴	Government	Tillers of the land to be direct tenants under the control of government.
1952	Irrigation Model	Government	Facing droughts and bring more land for cultivation.
1953	Village Agriculture and Industrial Development (V - AID)	Government	Improving farm productivity, Multiply Community services through self-help and more involvement in cottage and handicrafts.
1959	Basic Democracy System	Government	To effect democratic decentralization, Improving Local Self-Government.
1959	Establishment of Comilla Academy	Government	Research on Rural Problems, farm productivity, training etc.
1960	Establishment of Thana Council	Government	Introducing Thana Level Rural Planning.
1960	National Development Organization	Government	Same as above.
1960	Rural Works Programme (RWP)	Government	Rural employment, build road, Bridge, Culvert, Canals, etc.
1961	The Comilla Model	Akhter Hameed Khan	A two-tier Co-operative instead of three-tier one. Develop local leadership, innovation adoption of Co-operative.
1963	Thana Training and Development	Government	Counseling and Training of the

⁴ . Kamal Siddiqui, "Land Reforms Since 1950", in Sirajul Islam (ed.), History of Bangladesh 1704 - 1971, Political. (Dhaka : Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, 1992), pp. 664 - 676.

Year	Actions	Political Entrepreneurs	Tenets
1963	Thana Training and Development Center (TTDC)	Government	Counseling and Training of the rural workers co-operative societies.
1967	Rangunia Replication	M.A.Chashi	Co-operative Societies, Develop local leadership.
1969	Accelerated Rice Production Programme	Government	Grow More Food Campaign.
1970	Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP)	Government	All out rural development of the villages (credit and other assistance's).

Bangladesh Period

Year	Actions	Political Entrepreneurs	Tenets
1973 - 74	Swanirvar Movement	Govt. at the influence of M.A. Chashi	Spirit of Nationalism, Self-reliant attitude, local planning and local leadership for over all agree-industrial development.
1974	Sabuj Biplab	Government	Grow More Food.
1974	Establishment of Regional Academy for Rural Development at Bogra.	Government	Research on rural problems innovations, training, etc.
1975	Work Camp	Private initiators	To demonstrate the objectives of the Swanirvar Movement.
1976	Village Defence Party	Government	To maintain Law and order in the village, supervising adult education and FP. programme.



Year	Actions	Political Entrepreneurs	Tenets
1977	Area Development Programme	Government	To work for the area development by the union Parishad, Thana Parishad and the Divisional Development Boards together.
1980	Gram Sarkar	Government	Self contained Village govt. with direct linkage with the upper echelons of the government.
1983	Upazilla Programme	Government	Taking the administration nearer to the people, ensure the participation of the people, maintain accountability of the administration to the people, ensure RD activities, etc.
1984	Bangladesh Land Reforms Ordinance	Government	Legitimizing the replacement of elected govt. by Martial Law, Donor Pressure for some minimum land reforms, 'Land' 'Labour', 'Inputs' equal share, and Daily wage of Agri, Labour - 3.5 Kg's rice price, etc. ⁵
1988	Agriculture Research Council Act.	Government	Research and training on Agriculture.
1988	Local Govt. (Union Parishad) (Amendment) Act.	Government	Strengthening the functions of Union Parishad.
1988	Rural Electrification (Amendment) Act.	Government	Electrify all the villages, ensure irrigation and more feed Production.
1989	Village Council Act.	Government	To ensure relief and Food For Work, Maintain Law & Security, etc.
1990	Irrigation water Rate (Amendment) Act.	Government	To accelerate irrigation facilities in the rural areas.

⁵. Ibid.

List of Governors General, Presidents and Prime Ministers

Governors General

Sl. No.	Name	Duration
1.	Mohammad Ali Jinnah	August, 1947 -- September, 1948
2.	Khaja Nazimuddin	September, 1948 -- October, 1951
3.	Ghulam Mohammad	October, 1951 -- September, 1955
4.	Iskander Mirza	September, 1955 -- March, 1956

Presidents

1.	Iskander Mirza	March, 1956 -- October, 1958
2.	Mohammad Ayub Khan	October, 1958 -- March, 1969
3.	Yahya Khan	March, 1969 -- December, 1971

Prime Ministers

Nature of Government

1.	Liaquat Ali Khan	August 15, 1947 -- October 16, 1951 (Muslim League Party)
2.	Khaja Nazimuddin	October 17, 1951 -- April 17, 1953 (Muslim League Party)
3.	Mohammad Ali	April 17, 1953 -- August 11, 1955 (Muslim League Party)
4.	Chowdhury Mohammad Ali	August 11, 1955-- September 12, 1956 (Muslim League plus Joint Front Coalition Government)

5. H.S. Suhrawardy September 12, 1956--October 18, 1956.
(Awami League plus Re-publican Party - Coalition)
 6. I.I.Chundrigar October 18, 1956 --December 16, 1957
(Muslim League plus Re-publican Coalition)
 7. Malik Feroj Khan Noon December 16, 1957 -- October 7, 1958
(Re-publican plus Awami League Coalition)
- On October 7, 1958, General Mohammad Ayub Khan assumed Power (the advent of Military in Politics). End of parliamentary system of government.
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Source : Mustafa Chowdhury, Pakistan : Its Politics and Bureaucracy, (New Delhi : Associated Publishing house, 1988), PP. 37 - 38.

Presidents in Bangladesh

SL No.	Name	Duration
1.	Sheikh Mujibur Rahman	April 17, 1971 -- January 11, 1972 (Presidential form of Government)
2.	Syed Nazural Islam ³	April 17, 1971 -- January 9, 1972 (Presidential form of Government)
3.	Justice Abu Syeed Chowdhury	January 12, 1972 --December 23, 1973 (Parliamentary form of Government)
4.	Mohammad Ullah	December 24, 1973 --January 25, 1975 (Parliamentary form of Government)
5.	Sheikh Mujibur Rahman	January 26, 1975 -- August 14, 1975 (Presidential form of Government)
6.	Khondakar Mostaq Ahmed	August 15, 1975 -- November 5, 1975 (Presidential form of Government)
7.	Abu Sadat Mohammed Sayeem	November 6, 1975 -- April 20, 1976 (Presidential form of Government)
8.	Major General Ziaur Rahman	April 21, 1976 -- May 29, 1981 (Presidential form of Government)
9.	Justice Abdus Sattar	May 30, 1981 -- March 23, 1982 (Presidential form of Government)
10.	A.F.M. Ahasanuddin Chowdhury	March 27, 1982 -- December 10, 1983

³ Syed Nazural Islam was Acting President during Liberation war in 1971, While Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was in the prison in Pakistan.

- | | | |
|-----|--|-------------------------------------|
| | | (Presidential form of Government) |
| 11. | Hossain Mohammad Ershad | December 11, 1983--December 5, 1990 |
| | | (Presidential form of Government) |
| 12. | Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed ⁴ | December 6, 1990 -- October 8, 1991 |
| | | (Presidential form of Government) |
| 13. | Abdur Rahman Biswas | October 9, 1991 -- October 8, 1996 |
| | | (Presidential form of Government) |
| 14. | Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed | October 9, 1996 -- |
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Source : Azker Kagoj, 10th October, 1996.

⁴ Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed was Acting President during that period.

Statistical Appendix - 2

Table 1.1. Shows the evolution of the population in the area of the Sub-Continent of India that now forms Bangladesh.

Table :1.1

Population of Bangladesh

Year	Millions
1881	24
1891	27
1901	29
1911	32
1921	33
1931	36
1941	42
1951	42
1961	51
1974	77
1981	90
1991	111.5
2000	150

Source : Just Faaland and J.R. Parkinson, Bangladesh : The Test Case of Development, (Dhaka : C.Hurst Company and University Press Ltd., 1976) PP. 96-98 ; Government of the Peoples Re-public of Bangladesh, Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, Bangladesh Census Report, 1981, (Dhaka : Planning Commission, 1981), P. 2; Bangladesh Census Report, 1991, (Dhaka : Planning Commission, 1991) P. 3.

A Comparative Evaluation of different plans adopted by Governments in Bangladesh is shown in table 2.1.

Table : 2.1

Comparison of Different Five Years Plan

Objectives	1st Plan	2nd Plan	3rd Plan	4th Plan
1. To reduce poverty	√	√	√	√
2. To continue and complete the work of reconstruction	√	-	-	-
3. To increase the rate of growth of Gross Domestic Product	√	√	√	√
4. To institute effective programme for population Control	√	√	√	√
5. To encourage achievement of self-reliance	√	-	-	-
6. To attain higher self sufficiency	-	√	√	√
7. To ensure wide and equitable distribution of income and employment opportunities	√	√	√	√
8. To consolidate gains of socialist transformation	√	-	-	-
9. To expand state sector consistent with management ability	√	-	-	-
10. Human resources development	-	√	√	√
11. Participation of people in development through administrative devolution	-	-	√	√

12. To accelerate the economic development	-	-	√	√
13. To promote self-employment through skill development	-	√	√	√
14. Elimination of illiteracy	-	√	√	√
15. To increase teaching & training standard of all health personnel	√	√	√	√

(√) and (-) signs indicate similarities and dissimilarities respectively

Source : Bangladesh Journal of Political Economy, Vol. IX, Dhaka : Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies, 1989; Government of the Peoples Re-public of Bangladesh, the Fourth, Five Year Plan, (1990 - 1995).

Table : 3.1

Sectoral Growth Rate of Gross Domestic Product during the First Five Year Plan & its target and achievement are shown in table 3.1 (in percent)

Sectors	Target	Achievement
Agriculture	4.6	3.7
Manufacturing	7.9	(-) 0.3
Construction	12.1	7.8
Energy & Gas	11.0	22.3
Housing	4.1	3.6
Trade, Transport & Other Services	6.2	5.6
Gross Domestic Product	5.5	4.0

Source : Government of the Peoples Re-public of Bangladesh, Finance Division, Ministry of Finance, Bangladesh Economy Survey, 1989/1990.

Table 4.1

Sectoral Growth Rate of Gross Domestic Product during the Second Five Year Plan & its target and achievement are shown in table 4.1 (in percent)

Sectors	Target	Achievement
Agriculture	5.0	3.5
Industry	8.4	4.8
Services	5.2	3.8
Gross Domestic Product	5.4	3.8

Source : Government of the Peoples Re-public of Bangladesh, Finance Division, Ministry of Finance, Bangladesh Economy Survey, 1989/1990.

Table : 5.1

Sectoral Growth Rate of Gross Domestic Product during the Third Five Year Plan & its target and achievement are shown in table 5.1 (in percent)

Sectors	Target	Achievement
Agriculture	4.00	1.72
Industry	10.10	4.02
Electricity, Gas, Natural Resources	9.60	17.39
Construction	4.90	7.06
Trade and Others	6.40	4.91
Transport	6.90	5.92
Housing and Services	3.70	3.25
Services	4.60	8.30
Gross Domestic Product	5.40	3.81

Source : Government of the Peoples Re-public of Bangladesh, Planning Commission, The Fourth Five Year Plan (1990 - 95), P. 11-2 ; Bangladesh Economic Survey, 1990/1991.

Table : 6.1

Sectoral Growth Rate of Gross Domestic Product during the Fourth Five Year Plan & its target and achievement are shown in table 5.1 (in percent)

Sectors	Target	Achievement (1993-94)
Agriculture	3.6	1.9
Manufacturing	9.1	9.1
Construction	8.8	5.5
Industry	9.1	9.1
Energy, Gas	11.4	
Trade	5.1	4.8
Transport & Services	5.4	4.6
Gross Domestic Product	5.0	

Source : Government of the Peoples Re-public of Bangladesh, Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, Statistical Pocket Book, 1994, P. 242.

Table : 7.1 - Shows the size of the successive Plans, actual outlays and Gross Domestic Product growth rates.

Table : 7.1

Plan Size, Actual Outlay and GDP Growth

(At Respective Base-Year Prices)

(In Crore Taka)

Plans	Plan size	Actual Outlay	GDP Growth Rate (%)	
			Target	Actual
First Five Year Plan (1973-78)	4,455	2,074	5.5	4.0
Two Year Plan (1978-80)	3,861	3,359	5.6	3.5
Second Five Year Plan (1980-85)	17,200	15,297	5.4	3.8
Third Five Year Plan (1985-90)	38,600	26,928	5.4	3.8
Fourth Five Year Plan (1990-95)	62,000	-	5.0	-

Source : The Fourth Five Year Plan 1990-95, Chapter III, PP. 1-6.

Table : 8.1 The erstwhile Upazilla Parishads had been receiving development assistance funds on grant basis since 1983/84. Table 8.1 shows yearwise Upazila block allocations and expenditures during the Third Five Year Plan period.

Table : 8.1

**Erstwhile Upazila Block Allocations and Expenditures
during the Third Plan (1985-90)**

(In Crore Taka)

Year	Erstwhile Upazila intrastructure grant	Erstwhile Upazila Development grant	Total	Expenditure on Development grant
1985-86	225.00	200.00	425.00	168.00
1986-87	175.00	160.00	335.00	135.00
1987-88	170.00	200.00	370.00	120.00
1988-89	130.00	70.00	200.00	37.00
1989-90	150.63	50.00	200.63	37.00(P)
Total :	850.63	780.00	1,530.63	497.00

Source : The Fourth Five Year Plan (1990 - 1995)

Table : 9.1

Implementation Performance of the ADPs (At Current Prices)

(In Crore Taka)

Year	ADP Allocation (Revised)	Actual Expenditure	No. of Schemes under taken	No. of Schemes Completed
1979-80	2,330	2,188	1,406	359
1980-81	2,369	2,466	1,520	160
1981-82	2,715	2,391	1,675	133
1982-83	3,126	2,688	1,178	166
1983-84	3,858	3,006	992	245
1984-85	3,498	3,167	938	323
1985-86	4,096	3,628	816	103
1986-87	4,513	4,439	842	108
1987-88	4,651	4,150	880	99
1988-89	4,595	4,622	929	88
1989-90	5,103	5,717	925	198

Source : The Fourth Five Year Plan, Chapter III, P. 3.

Table : 10.1

Development Scenario 1975 to 2000
(Values in Approximate 1974 Prices in US\$ Equivalent)

A. Population and Major National Accounts Magnitudes

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000
1. Population (million)	80	93	106	121	136	150
2. Gross Domestic Product (million.\$)	6400	8170	10930	14630	19610	26140
3. Gross Investment "	550	1225	1965	2635	3530	4710
4. Net Capital Import "	800	980	1310	1465	1570	1570
5. Domestic Savings "	-250	245	655	1170	1960	3140
6. Consumption "	6650	7925	10275	13460	17650	23000
7. Gross Product Per capita (\$)	80	88	103	121	145	174
8. Consumption Per capita (\$)	83	85	97	111	130	153
9. Domestic savings Per Capita (\$)	-3	3	6	10	15	21
10. Gross Investment as Percent of GDP	8	15	18	18	18	18
11. Capital Import as Percent of GDP	12	12	12	10	8	6
12. Domestic Savings as Percent of GDP	4	3	6	8	10	12

Contd.

B. Annual Growth Rates and 25 Year Growth Index

	1975 - 80	1980 - 85	1985 - 90	1990 - 95	1995 - 2000	1980 - 2000	Total growth Index 1975 - 2000
13. Population	3.0	2.8	2.6	2.3	2.0	2.4	187
14. Gross Domestic Product	5.0	6.0	6.0	6.0	6.0	6.0	401
15. Gross Investment	17.4	10.0	6.0	6.0	6.0	7.0	855
16. Gross Product Per Capita	2.0	3.1	3.3	3.6	3.8	3.5	218
17. Consumption Per Capita	0.6	2.5	2.9	3.2	3.3	3.0	184

C. Selected Ratios

18. Capital- Output Ratio	(2.0)	2.7	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	n.a.*
19. Marginal Overall Savings Rate(Per cent)	(28)	15	14	16	14	16	n.a.
20. Marginal Per capita Savings Rate(per cent)	(62)	32	24	20	22	21	n.a.

* Not Available.

Source : Just Faaland and J.R. Parkinson, "A Development Perspective for Bangladesh" The Bangladesh Development Studies, Vol. IV, Dhaka : Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies, (January 1976). P. 50.

Table : 11.1

World Land Utilization Statistics.

	(Million Hectares)		
	1986	1988	1989
Total area	13391	13382	13390
Land area	13078	13069	13076
Arable & permanent crops	1474	1475	1477
Arable land	1373	1373	1373
Permanent crops	100	102	103
Permanent pasture	3213	3212	3304
Forest & woodlands	4087	4049	4087
Other lands	4314	4333	4208

Land Utilization in Bangladesh

	1986	1988	1989
Total area	14	14	14
Land area	13	13	13
Arable & permanent crops	9	9 (F)*	9 (F)
Arable land	9 (F)	9 (F)	9 (F)
Permanent crops	0.2 (F)	0.2 (F)	0.2 (F)
Permanent Pasture	0.6 (F)	0.6 (F)	0.6 (F)
Forest woodlands	2	2 (F)	2 (F)
Other lands	1.5	1.2 (F)	1.1(F)

* F = Food and Agriculture Organization Estimates

Source : Food and Agriculture Organization Year Book, 1990; Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, Statistical Pocket Book, 1992, P. 331.

Table : 12.1

**Income Distribution and Poverty
Indicators in International Comparisons.**

		1973- 74	1881- 82	1983- 84	1985- 86	1988- 89	1991- 92
I Income Distribution :							
Percent of Income accruing to : Bottom 40%	Rural	19.10	18.82	19.24	19.95	18.02	17.89
	Urban	17.80	16.07	17.84	19.20	17.52	17.59
	National	18.30	17.36	18.95	19.35	17.53	17.41
Lower middle 40%	Rural	38.40	38.77	38.06	36.21	36.80	38.36
	Urban	38.00	36.02	37.91	37.87	35.74	36.34
	National		37.32	37.67	35.80	36.28	37.72
Upper middle 15%	Rural	26.50	25.64	24.56	22.48	25.37	25.95
	Urban	25.60	27.02	27.32	24.89	26.72	26.65
	National	65.30	26.37	25.08	23.50	25.68	26.02
Top 5%	Rural	16.00	16.78	18.14	21.36	19.81	17.80
	Urban	18.60	20.89	16.93	18.04	20.02	19.42
	National	16.40	18.95	18.30	21.35	20.51	18.85

Contd.

		1973- 74	1881- 82	1983- 84	1985- 86	1988- 89	1991- 92
II Poverty Incidence :							
Percent of Population with daily calorie intake per person below : 2122							
calories	Rural	93.03	74.00	56.97	51.04	47.80	47.61
	Urban	81.16	65.98	66.36	56.00	47.73	46.58
	National	91.84	73.15	58.05	51.66	47.79	47.47
1805 Calories							
	Rural	49.76	52.37	37.94	22.06	29.52	28.27
	Urban	28.99	30.93	35.51	19.20	20.45	26.03
	National	47.67	50.11	37.66	21.70	28.37	27.97
Numbers of people with daily caloria intake per person below (millions) :							
2122 calories	Rural	93.03	74.00	56.97	51.04	47.80	47.61
	Urban	81.16	65.98	66.36	56.00	47.73	46.58
	National	91.84	73.15	58.05	51.66	47.79	47.47
1805 calories							
	Rural	49.76	52.37	37.94	22.06	29.52	28.27
	Urban	28.99	30.93	35.51	19.20	20.45	26.03
	National	47.67	50.11	37.66	21.70	28.37	27.97

Source: The world Bank , Country Department, South Asian Region, Bangladesh July, 1996. Economic update: Recent Economic Development Agenda , P. 35.; Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, Household Expenditure Survey, 1989, P. 47.

The core problems of rural development in Bangladesh is rural poverty. The increasing trend of rural poverty may be highlighted in Table - 12.2. It shows that -

Table : 12.2

The Extent of Rural Poverty in Bangladesh

Dimensions of Poverty :

Year	Number of Extremely Poor
1963	5%
1968-69	25%
1975	41%
1985	56%
1990	60%

Source : Stephen de Vylder, *Agriculture in Chains : Bangladesh ; A Case Study in Contradictions and Constraints*. New Delhi, Vikas 1982. a ; Bangladesh Economic Survey Report, BBS, 1985; Md. Motiur Rahman, *Poverty Issues in Rural Bangladesh*, (Dhaka : UPL, 1994), P. 40,

Table:13.1

Growth Rate of Gross Domestic Product (at constant prices, 1994/95)

(In Percent)

	84/85	85/86	86/87	87/88	88/89	89/90	90/91	91/92	92/93	93/94	94/95
1 Agriculture	0.7	3.3	0.4	-0.8	-1.1	7.7	1.6	2.2	1.8	1.8	0.2
a) Food grains	0.8	3.4	0.0	-1.8	-1.9	9.2	1.2	1.7	0.8	0.5	-2.0
b) Forestry	-5.2	4.2	-2.1	7.8	2.3	2.3	2.1	2.4	3.0	3.0	4.5
c) Livestock	3.3	2.9	5.5	0.9	3.3	3.4	2.2	3.6	6.2	6.2	9.0
d) Fisheries	2.5	1.6	2.2	1.1	0.4	2.1	5.8	6.5	6.6	8.7	8.5
2 Mining & Quarring	-	-	-	-	-	-	21.2	17.5	13.8	13.1	13.1
3 Industries	-1.6	2.6	7.9	0.6	2.8	7.2	2.4	7.3	9.1	9.3	10.0
a) Large scale	-3.8	3.8	13.6	0.7	2.7	8.3	4.2	10.5	13.2	13.2	13.0
b) Small scale	1.1	1.3	1.3	0.5	2.9	2.9	2.9	2.9	2.9	2.9	5.0
4 Construction	12.2	1.7	6.8	12.3	4.9	3.2	4.5	4.5	4.8	5.5	6.5
5 Electricity, Gas, Water & Sanitary Services	8.5	12.5	21.8	16.4	21.8	15.3	20.3	17.5	13.4	14.4	15.0
6 Transport & Communication	4.9	3.2	11.1	3.7	4.3	4.3	3.1	4.1	4.8	4.8	6.0
7 Trade Services	7.5	1.5	2.6	3.2	4.8	3.0	3.9	4.0	4.3	4.5	6.0
8 Housing Services	3.3	3.1	3.3	3.2	3.3	3.3	3.4	3.4	3.8	3.3	5.0
9 Public Admin. & Defence	32.6	20.5	7.8	7.9	6.9	2.6	9.7	8.3	8.5	8.8	9.0
10 Banking & Insurances	3.4	26.3	5.5	1.4	1.1	1.1	2.4	2.5	3.0	3.0	4.0
11 Miscellaneous Services	4.7	8.0	6.9	11.1	6.2	6.3	6.2	6.4	6.8	6.8	10.0
GDP (at constant market prices)	3.9	4.3	4.2	2.9	2.5	6.6	3.4	4.2	4.5	4.6	5.1

Source : Government of the Peoples Republic of Bangladesh, Finance Division, Ministry of Finances, Economic Samikkha, June 1995. P. 74.

**Commitment and Disbursement of Foreign Economic Assistance
Implemented in Bangladesh are shown in table 14.1.**

Table : 14.1

(In million US \$)

Year	Commitment			Disbursement		
	Grants	Loans	Total	Grants	Loans	Total
1971/72	512	98	610	245	26	271
1972/73	483	395	878	486	65	551
1973/74	107	448	555	218	243	461
1974/75	245	921	1266	375	526	901
1975/76	380	578	958	234	567	801
1976/77	400	326	726	256	279	535
1977/78	433	714	1147	392	442	834
1978/79	936	824	1760	505	528	1033
1979/80	485	668	1253	650	573	1223
1980/81	550	1009	1559	593	554	1147
1981/82	805	1117	1922	654	586	1240
1982/83	837	685	1522	587	590	1177

Contd.

1983/84	859	836	1695	733	535	1268
1984/85	875	1105	1980	700	569	1269
1985/86	874	787	1661	546	760	1306
1986/87	894	709	1603	661	934	1595
1987/88	881	648	1529	823	817	1640
1988/89	661	1212	1873	672	996	1668
1989/90	884	1291	2175	766	1044	1810
1990/91	485	885	1370	831	901	1732
1991/92	1140	775	1915	817	794	1611
1992/93	734	540	1274	818	857	1675
1993/94	466	1947	2413	710	849	1559
1994/95	326	404	732	514	606	1120
Total	15352	18922	34376	13786	14641	28427
Percentage	45	55	100	48	52	100

Source : Bangladesh Economic Survey, 1992/93, P. 342; Finance Division, Ministry of Finance, Bangladesh Economic Samikkha, June 1995, P. 85.

15.1 : Financial Utilization of the funds allocated for the Upazilla has not been Satisfactory : This is given in Table 15.1.

Table : 15.1

Utilization of Development Grant.

(in core taka)

Year	Allocation	Utilization rate %
1983-84	170.95	74
1984-85	200.00	81
1985-86	200.00	84
1986-87	160.00	79
1987-88	200.00	53
1988-89	70.00	66
1989-90	75.00	-

Source : The Fourth Five Year Plan (1990 - 95), Chapter XXIII, P. XIX.

According to department of social services, 89 foreign and 210 national Non Government Organizations are engaged in educations, health relief, women development and child welfare programmes in Bangladesh. Self-employment programmes carried out by five major Non Government Organizations are given in table 16.1.

Table : 16.1

Non Government Organization's Beneficiaries

Name of Organization	Number of Beneficiaries (in lakh)	Number of Districts
Grammeen Bank	5.18	50
Swanirvar Bangladesh	4.74	29
BRAC	1.65	16
Proshika	1.03	22
Rangpur-Dinajpur Rural Services	3.42	5

Source : International Labour Organization Report, Dhaka, June 1990; the Fourth Five Year Plan 1990-95, June 1995.

Tabel : 17.1

South Asia : Area, Population and Poverty

	Area	Population		Poverty	
	000 km ²	Mid 1990 (million)	Growth rate (%)	Number of population	% of population
Bangladesh	144.0	115.6	2.5	100.0	86.5
Bhutan	47.0	1.5	-	-	-
India	3,288.0	853.1	2.3	410.0	48.0
Maldives	1.1	0.2	-	-	-
Nepal	141.0	19.1	2.7	11.6	60.7
Pakistan	796.0	122.6	3.1	36.7	29.9
Sri Lanka	66.0	17.2	1.8	-	-
Total	4,483.1	1,129.3	-	558.3 ¹	50.3 ¹
World total	133,609.0	5,280.0	-	-	-
Total for the developing world	-	4,070	-	1,200.0	-

Source : UNDP, Human Development Report 1992, (New York : Oxford University Press 1992), PP. 132-133.

Data on area (except for Maldives) have been taken from World Bank, World Development Report 1991, (Oxford University Press, June 1991), PP. 204-205.

1. For Four Countries for which data are available.

Table : 18.1

Sector-wise composition of Gross Domestic Product in Bangladesh.



	1990-1991		1993-1994
	%	-	%
Agriculture	38	-	35
Large Scale Industries	6	-	7
Small Scale Industries	4	-	4
Construction	6	-	6
Trade & Construction	21	-	21
Others Services	25	-	27

Source : Government of the People's Re-public of Bangladesh, Ministry of Finance, Bangladesh Economic Sammikha (Report), June 1995, P. 15.

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Glossary

Asram	-	Asylam
Baddi	-	Village eye surgeon
Bargadar	-	Share cropper
Bastuhara	-	Destitute
Boromiah	-	Eldest male member of the family
Chowkidar	-	Village police
Chula	-	Hearth
Ghor	-	Residential house
Gram Sarkar	-	Village government
Gusthi	-	Lineage
Geafat	-	Feast
Jotedar	-	Big landowner
Khana	-	Household
Langar Khana	-	Public gruel kitchen
Bangsho	-	Status lineage
Mohajon	-	Money lenders
Murubbi	-	Respectable persons
Maatbar	-	Village leader
Paker ghor	-	Kitchen
Pally mangal Samities	-	Village welfare societies
Pir	-	A member of a religious order with a following
Raiyat	-	Tenant
Salish	-	Rural Court
Sardari	-	Traditional high status
Swanirvar	-	Movement for self-reliance in Bangladesh
Tahsildar	-	Revenue collector
Talukdar	-	Semi landlord
Union Parishad	-	Smallest administrative unit of Bangladesh.
Uthan	-	Courtyard
Zamindar	-	Landlord
Ziarat	-	A visit to Shrine