

M. Phil Thesis
on
**Changing Patterns of Rural Leadership and Power
Structure: An Anthropological Study**

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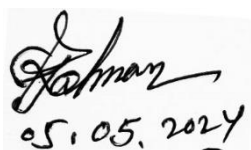
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May 2024

Declaration

I hereby declare that this M.Phil thesis titled **Changing Patterns of Rural Leadership and Power Structure: An Anthropological Study** is carried out by me for the degree of Master of Philosophy in Anthropology, University of Dhaka under the guidance and supervision of Professor Dr. S.M. Arif Mahmud.

The work presented in this thesis is based on original work and has not previously been submitted for any other degree or qualification. The nature and extent of my work is carried out, or in conjunction with others, has been acknowledged by references.

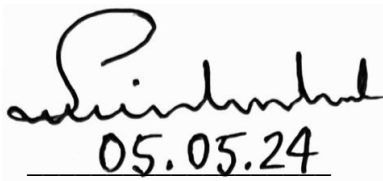


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05.05.2024

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Certificate

This is to certify that Jamsedur Rahman bearing Registration No. 243/2013-2014 has carried out the research work entitled “Changing Patterns of Rural Leadership and Power Structure: An Anthropological Study” for the fulfillment of his M.Phil degree from the Department of Anthropology, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Dhaka, Bangladesh under my supervision. This is his original work.



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Acknowledgement

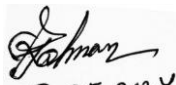
The research work titled **Changing Patterns of Rural Leadership and Power Structure: An Anthropological Study** was carried out under the supervision of Professor Dr. S.M. Arif Mahmud, Department of Anthropology, University of Dhaka. I owe a very considerable debt to him for his affection and tolerance during the day when this research work was under preparation. Without his sympathetic supervision this work would not have been possible.

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25.05.2024

Jamsedur Rahman

Abstract

This study investigates the changing patterns of rural power structures and leadership. The present study tries to find out the changing pattern of rural leadership in Gazaria upazila, Munshiganj district based on comprehensive investigation of Bhabar Char, Bausia and Imampur union parishad. A full household survey of Nayakandi, Chhota Alipur, Pakshiarpar, Faragikandi, Monairkandi, Bhkterkandi, Imampur, Char Sahebani and Soloani village in Gazaria upazila of Munshiganj district was performed to identify rural respondents. Positional, reputational, and issue participation approaches led to the identification of 149 participants in total. Focus group discussions, participant observation, and participant storytelling were used to gather data on the changing structure of rural power structures and leadership consideration. A pattern of important characteristics have been used to historically analyze the changes in rural leadership including caste, class, gender, education, political affiliation, occupation and income. For the time period between 1971-2021 evaluates of rural power structures since independence, the cultural ties that bind political leadership to the countryside, as well as how these changes have affected in study area. The results of the study are non-political rural leaders who dominated the people of Gazaria upazila in Munshiganj district before union parishad was implemented in Bangladesh, which were landowners, moneylenders and traders. Rural leadership has changed a generational changed since 1991. In this consequence, about 91.28% general people have no interest in local elections and 63.09% people appear that national politics changed the rural leadership. Moreover, 48.99% elected people in the local election by their personal popularity.

Furthermore, local people 53.69% believed that national politics influence in changing the rural leadership and power structure. Regression outcome on rural leadership impact by group of ancestors are ruled ($p \cong 92\%$). Key findings show the power structure in rural Bangladesh underwent a significant change in the decade that spanned 1971 to 2021. Through *gram shalishi*, the unity parishad in Gazaria upazila is accepted as a way of life. It is essential that communities become ruling party shelters in order for union parishads to take root in their areas. Effective rural leadership is crucial to the long-term success of *gram shalish* and the achievement of people's ambitions to participate in and contribute to village development activities. Among the elites such as the younger ones were controlling the villages, whereas, the older ones were losing the elite status, because of their lack of positional prestige and power. Rural leaders changed their approach in order to create and keep power, such as housing business, dredging mining, forming party networks including various government and nongovernment groups and maintaining a good contact with upazila chairman and member of parliament. There appears to be a specific significance to rural leadership at the local level, given that it is tasked with running the union parishad apparatus and bringing politics to the grassroots. The new socio-economic dynamics generated by massive scale the conventional values and attitudes as well.

Lastly, it should be noted that the ruling party had been actively promoting the youth leader in hopes that he or she would be loyal to the party's interests. They hoped that the youth leader, in his role as parishad election chairman would vote for their candidate for union chairman. Defections and new alliances among members of the union parishad are encouraged by political leaders in order to bolster their own party. The member also has some ties to national authorities, which support him in indirectly maintaining control over rural leaders and power structure.

Table of Contents

Serial No.	Heading	Pages
	Declaration	i
	Certificate	ii
	Acknowledgment	iii
	Abstract	iv
	Table of Contents	vi
	List of Tables	viii
	List of Figures	x
	List of Photographs	xi
	List of Maps	xi
	List of Abbreviations	xii
	Glossary of Local Terms	xiii
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION		1-14
1.1	Introduction	1
1.2	Objectives of the Study	2
1.3	Methodology of the Study	2
1.4	Research Questions	4
1.5	Rationale and Importance of the Study	4
1.6	Ethical Considerations	5
1.7	Literature Review	5
CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS		15-27
2.1	Theoretical Framework	15
2.2	Conceptual Framework	18
CHAPTER 3: PROFILE OF THE STUDY AREA AND PEOPLE		28-44
3.1	Profile of the Study Area: Gazaria Upazila	28
3.2	Profile of the Study People	39
CHAPTER 4: RURAL LEADERSHIP AND POWER STRUCTURE IN GAZARIA UPAZILA: PATTERN OF CHANGES		45-73
4.1	Leadership, Power, and Political Socialization in Munshiganj District	45
4.2	Rural Power Structure and Inequality	49
4.3	Role of Non-Political Voluntary Organization for Change	56
4.4	Participation of Local Youth in Power Structure	60
4.5	Changing Rural Leadership Pattern of Gazaria Upazia: An Overview	62
4.6	Correlation and Significance among the Variables Associated Changing Rural Leadership and Power Structure	68
4.7	Test of Variables Associated with Rural Leadership and Power Structure through Statistical Tools	70

Serial No.	Heading	Pages
CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION		74-77
5.1	Conclusion	74
References		78-85
Appendix-I: Sample Size Determination		86
Appendix-II: Household Questionnaire		87
Appendix-III: Key Informants Interview Checklist		92
Appendix-IV: Focus Group Discussion Guidelines		94
Appendix-V: Letter of Recommendation for Data Collection		97
Appendix-VI: Descriptive Statistics (External Data)		98
Appendix-VII: Photographs		101

List of Tables

Serial No.	Title	Pages
Table 1.1	Techniques of Data Collection	3
Table 1.2	Distribution of Population	4
Table 3.1	Gazaria upazila union Geo-code and Population (BBS, 2014)	31
Table 3.2	Population by Religion, Age group and Residence (Rural Area of Gazaria upazila)	33
Table 3.3	Literacy of Population aged 7 Years & above by Age Group, Sex and Residence (Rural Area of Gazaria upazila)	34
Table 3.4	General Household by Drinking Water, Electricity, Main House Structure, and Residence (Rural Area of Gazaria upazila)	35
Table 3.5	Household by Type, Tenancy and Residence (Gazaria upazila)	36
Table 3.6	Distribution of Head of Households by Residence and Main Occupation (%)	36
Table 3.7	Rural Household by Size of Land (Owned and Operated), 2005-2016	37
Table 3.8	Sex distribution	39
Table 3.9	Educational Qualification	40
Table 3.10	Religion of Respondents	41
Table 3.11	Profession was ancestor involved in study area	42
Table 3.12	Selected study area population size	44
Table 4.1	Social changes take place under the influence of local leadership	46
Table 4.2	Changing Pattern of Leadership	46
Table 4.3	Respondents' Feeling about Government Bureaucracy	50
Table 4.4	Attitude toward Political Parties in General	50
Table 4.5	Changes occur under the power of leadership	51
Table 4.6	Linkage between politicized parental family and Respondent's sense of political competence	52
Table 4.7	Elite families have a role to play in leading local area	53
Table 4.8	Noble family's village election primitivism	53
Table 4.9	Zamindari customary has an acceptable effect on leadership	53
Table 4.10	Current and previous party affiliations of respondents	54
Table 4.11	Role of an elite family in inspect in the election of leaders in village area	54
Table 4.12	Authority Structure in the Parental Family of the Respondents	55
Table 4.13	Family comes with more leadership in Gazaria Upazila	55
Table 4.14	Respondents' Membership in Non-Political Voluntary Organization	56

Serial No.	Title	Pages
Table 4.15	Rural leaders expect on integrating government agencies for community linkage and development	56
Table 4.16	Political competence and non-political volunteering	57
Table 4.17	Main reason of leadership ossification in Gazaria Upazila	58
Table 4.18	Changes society under the influence of national leadership	59
Table 4.19	Respondents' Membership in Political Parties	59
Table 4.20	Respondents' Party Membership Party Wise	59
Table 4.21	Respondents Participation in Political Movements	61
Table 4.22	Leadership changes the structure with social reform	64
Table 4.23	Correlation and Significance among the Variables Associated Changing Rural Leadership and Power Structure (N=149)	69
Table 4.24	Summary of Rural Leadership Changes and Power Structure	71
Table 4.25	ANOVA of Rural Leadership Changes and Power Structure	71
Table 4.26	Coefficients of Rural Leadership Changes and Power Structure	72

List of Figures

Serial No.	Title	Pages
Figure 1.1	Primary Data Collection Methods	3
Figure 1.2	Secondary Data Collection Source	3
Figure 3.1	Randomizing study area selection	31
Figure 3.2	Gazaria upazila in Munshiganj district, population (both sex) wise literacy rate (%)	32
Figure 3.3	Age year wise distribution	39
Figure 3.4	Martial Status of respondents	40
Figure 3.5	Occupational status of the respondents	41
Figure 3.6	Classes of ancestors are ruled by	42
Figure 4.1	Change of leadership that is having the most impact in Gazaria Upazila	45
Figure 4.2	Education has its roots in leadership	47
Figure 4.3	Everyone who leads the election collectively	48
Figure 4.4	Party influence in local elections in village	49
Figure 4.5	Local leadership is commonly observed	52
Figure 4.6	National politics change the rural leadership	58
Figure 4.7	Economic, social, cultural, and political progress has transformed rural power systems	64
Figure 4.8	Leadership changes occur in the study area	67

List of Photographs

Serial No.	Caption	Pages
Photograph 1	Key Informant Interview with Sajjad Hossain (pseudonym), Member, 3 No. Ward, Bhaberchar Union, Gazaria, Munshiganj district.	101
Photograph 2	Key Informant Interview with Zafar Mahbub, Secretary, Bangladesh Human Rights Commission, Greater Munshiganj Region.	101
Photograph 3	Key Informant Interview with Delower Hossain, Vice-Chairman, Gazaria Upazila Parishad, Munshiganj district.	102
Photograph 4	Local respondent, Harun Munshi, Imampur union, Gazaria upazila of Munshiganj district.	102
Photograph 5	Key Informant Interview with Mr. H. Khan, Chairman, Imampur union, Gazaria upazila of Munshiganj district.	103
Photograph 6	Key Informant Interview with Mr. Shafiq, Environmentalist, Babherchar Union, Gazaria upazila of Munshiganj district.	103
Photograph 7	Key Informant Interview with Mr. Anis Mia, Member, Baberchar union parishad, Gazaria upazila of Munshiganj district.	104
Photograph 8	General interview with local people, Md. Alam, Baberchar union, Gazaria upazila of Munshiganj district.	104
Photograph 9	Group discussion with local people, Baberchar union, Gazaria upazila of Munshiganj district.	105
Photograph 10	Key Informant Interview with Mr. Amjad Bepari, Chairman, Bausia union parishad, Gazaria upazila of Munshiganj district.	105
Photograph 11	Interview on general people with Dr. Nazarul Islam, Bausia union, Gazaria upazila of Munshiganj district.	106
Photograph 12	Key Informant Interview with Mr. Golam Kibria, Member of Bausia union parishad, Gazaria upazila of Munshiganj district.	106

List of Maps

Serial No.	Title	Pages
Maps 3.1	Gazaria upazila, Munshiganj district map (Satellite view)	29
Maps 3.2	Selected Study Area	30

List of Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Elaboration
ANOVA	Analysis of Variance
BAL	Bangladesh Awami League
BBS	Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics
BCC	Behavior Change Communication
BNP	Bangladesh Nationalist Party
CD	Community Development
CHT	Chittagong Hill Tracts
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GIS	Geographic Information System
HSC	Higher Secondary School Certificate
KII	Key Informant Interview
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (<i>Bangladesh knows as 3rd Gender</i>)
LGED	Local Government Engineering Department
MFI	Micro-Finance Institutions
MP	Members of Parliament
NGO	Non-government Organization
SBC	Social Behavior Change
SD	Standard Deviation
SE	Standard Error
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Science
SS	Sample Size
SSC	Secondary School Certificate
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UP	Union Parishad

Glossary of Local Terms

Local Terms	Meaning
<i>Bargadar</i>	Sharecroppers
<i>Bishasto</i>	Trusted
<i>Chowdhury</i>	Hereditary title of honour in Indian subcontinent
<i>Ghonishtho</i>	Belong strong relationship
<i>Goshti</i>	Clan
<i>Gram Sarkar</i>	A system of rural administration
<i>Gram shalish</i>	Village legislative
Gram	Village
<i>Grameen</i>	Living in a village
<i>Jhupri</i>	A small cottage made of tree-leaves
<i>Kamla</i>	Landless labors
<i>Khondokhar</i>	Surname used by some respectable Muslim families
<i>Kutchaghor</i>	Mud house
<i>Malik</i>	landowners
<i>Nakshal</i>	A member of an extreme Maoist
	group in Indian subcontinent
<i>Neta</i>	Leader
<i>onugoto</i>	Loyal
<i>onushari</i>	Follower
<i>Pradhan</i>	Hereditary title of honour in Indian subcontinent
<i>Pramaniks</i>	Authentic
<i>Provabshali Mohol</i>	Powerful group
<i>Pucca</i>	Building
<i>Samaj</i>	Society
<i>Sarder</i>	Headman
<i>Semi-Pucca</i>	Semi-building
<i>Shalish</i>	The judicial system in rural area
<i>Zamidar/Jamidar</i>	Landlord
<i>Zamindari</i>	A system of Landownership

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Decentralization of power to the grassroots stage makes new power habitats in rural areas. In a way of decentralization, village leadership has been laid out in Bangladesh after independence. Notwithstanding, before the legitimate execution of rural leadership in British Bengal (1757-1947), as well as in Bangladesh, it is observed that non-political rural leaders who were land masters, cash tenders, and capital administrators governed the rural individuals. Insightfully the favored and compelling classes ruled the rural individuals. After the proper implementation of panchayat structure of 1971 to 1978, a new generation of leadership in rural Bangladesh has originated.

Every social relationship is equations and every social group or system is an organization of power (Hawley, 1963). In his recent work on the history of social power, Wrong (1979) asserted that societies are constituted of multiple overlapping and interacting sociological networks of power. Hence, power is the capacity to modify the conduct of individuals through the real or threatened use of punishment and rewards (Dye, 1975). Power is thus the ability of individuals and groups to exercise their will top of these in human affairs, even if it involves overcoming the resistance of others. Power brings about changes in people attitude, behavior and motivation direction.

The historical analysis of the pattern of leadership in rural Bangladesh indicates us that no single variable is responsible for the creation of the leaders in rural area. Member of a strong lineage or descent group, control over agricultural land, right over human power, technological skills, and demographic strength constitute the background of a leader (Teguh & Fitriyah, 2020). Financial and political status of any people has significant impact in the local areas. In rural Bangladesh, customarily, people who have had higher rank and sound financial background heavily influenced the leadership positions. Economically, where lopsided dissemination of abundance wins, the rich segment of society ruled over the poor. Political system of any society determines who rules whom and how. And likewise political system of any society does not deny financial bases of any society.

Since the introduction of voting, the rural leaders' socio-economic background shifted the previous style of leadership. However, the party officials do not acknowledge the decision-making role played by the elected members of the union parishad, formerly known as the Panchayat (Jahagirdar, 1992). Left-leaning party leaders aim to ensure that the policies of their elected representatives are implemented in accordance with their wishes. Moreover, the elected members of the union parishad who are well off, educated, and from an upper caste (Ahmed & Islam, 2013) influence the impoverished, lower caste, illiterate, and female members of the union parishad.

For true and meaningful study of rural leadership and power structure, the topography, demography, history and culture of any area cannot be disregarded. The pattern of rural leadership of any region is significantly affected by the socio-economic and political background. There is a close relationship between leadership and power structure and it is important to know the context of Gazaria upazila, Munishiganj district of Bangladesh.

The objective of the present study is to find the changing pattern of rural leadership in Gazaria upazila. In this regard, the study has been conducted in Bhaber Char, Bausina, Imampur union parishad in Gazaria upazila. It is comprised with the accompanying mouzas such as Nayakandi, Chhota Alipur, Pakshiarpar, Faragikandi, Monairkandi, Bhakterkandi, Imampur, Char Sahebani and Solani. The study has attempted to know the socio-economic and political establishment of union parishad heads of nine wards (village community of panchayat). Using a mixed method, an attempt has been made to know the background of the participates and their perspectives about rural leadership.

1.2 Objectives of the Study

Broad Objective

The broad objective of this study is to understand the changing pattern of rural leadership and power structure in Gazaria upazila of Munshiganj district.

Specific Objectives

The specific objectives are:

- i. To assess the changing pattern of rural power structure in independence Bangladesh.
- ii. To examine the relationship between political leadership and rural power structure.
- iii. To evaluate the determinants of changes in rural power structure and its impacts on rural area from 1971-2021.
- iv. To understand the historical aspects of rural power structure and its continuity.

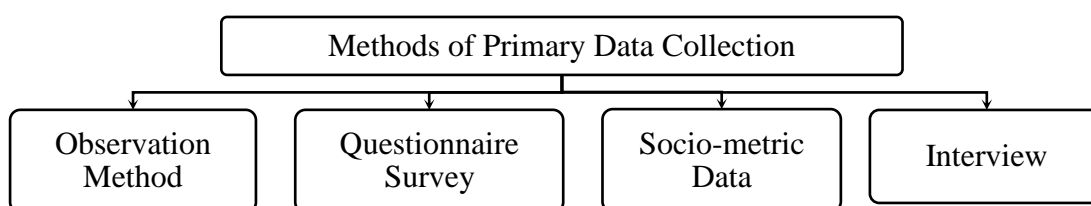
1.3 Methodology of the Study

This study has followed a mixed method approach which combines both the qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection and analysis. Following discussion shows the methods in detail.

Methods of Data Collection

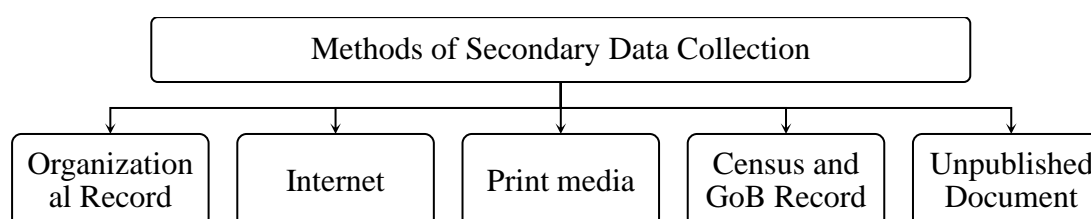
Primary Data: Primary data has been collected from direct interaction with the respondents. Figure 1.1 shows the primary data collection methods.

Figure 1.1: Primary Data Collection Methods



Secondary Data: Different books, journal, article, company annual publishing report and websites are mainly used to collect relevant secondary data for this particular study. Different articles of many renowned scholars are also used as a source of secondary data source. Figure 1.2 shows the secondary data collection source.

Figure 1.2: Secondary Data Collection Source



Techniques of Data Collection and Study Materials

Following table 1.1 shows the techniques of data collection and study materials for the study area.

Table 1.1: Techniques of Data Collection

Techniques	Activities
Surveys Questionnaire	Used to collect quantitative data on the population statistics.
Key Informant Interview (KII)	A key informant has been used to get historical and most significant data and information.
Focus Group Discussion (FGD)	Conducted focus group discussions to get in-depth information about the changing pattern of leadership in the study area.
Observations	Observed dynamic situations in the study area to get additional information about a particular group or groups of people.
Documents and Records	Analyzed documents and used records of data and information.
Materials	Carried pencil, laptop, pen, sheet, glass and other research elements of fieldwork in the study areas.

Source: Fieldwork, 2022

Data Analysis Procedures

Case study and life history analysis have been used for qualitative data. While descriptive and linear regression analysis have been used for quantitative data analysis. Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS, version 28) has been used to analyze filed survey data.

Sample Size and Sampling Technique

The total population in selected study area is 13550. The sample size for this study has been determined following Krathwohl's (1993) statistical model. For the total population of the study area (N), the Z-score is 1.96 (for 95% confidence level), margin of error is 0.08, and standard deviation is 0.5. After calculation with Krathwohl's statistical model, the sample size of the population 13,550 has been 149 (see Appendix I: Sample Size Determination). Using purposive sampling the distribution of population of the study area is shown in table 1.2.

Table 1.2: Distribution of Population

Gazaria upazila, Munshiganj district	Union Name	Population	Village Name	Population	Sample Dist.
	Bhaber Char	17440	Nayakandi	988	11
			Chhota Alipur	1619	18
			Pakshiarpar	1966	22
	Bausia	28229	Faragikandi	1904	21
			Monairkandi	1661	18
			Bhakterkandi	1020	11
	Imampur	21422	Imampur	997	11
			Char Sahebani	1589	17
			Soloani	1806	20
Total	67091	9	13550	149	

Source: BBS, 2014; Fieldwork, 2022

1.4 Research Questions

1. What was the quality of changing pattern of power structure and its leadership in Bangladesh as well as in Gazaria upazila, Munshiganj district after the independence?
2. What was the nature of rural leadership system in 1971-2021 and the leadership pattern in Gazaria upazila, Munshiganj district before the implementation of The Local Government (UPs) Ordinance in 1983?
3. What are the socio-economic background of the leaders from 1971-2021 village Panchayat election in Bangladesh and what has the changed in leadership pattern?
4. What has been the impact of party ideology upon the rural leadership pattern?

1.5 Rationale and Importance of the Study

Moderate democracies have been widely criticized for being dominated by the rich and powerful. Development of the rural population's socio-economic status will be

impossible until they are governed through their own class or group. Rural leaders were identified in this study as people who had been elected to serve in a local union. Consequently, rural leaders have been selected for this study in the context of a larger picture. In addition to examining the socio-economic backgrounds of village leaders, the current study examines how these leaders are perceived as leaders and how they make their leadership choices. This study further examines how those leaders judge the quality of leadership and how they make their leadership choices. All studies have, to some extent, ignored the issue of how people perceive leadership. A comparative study of the leadership patterns of three unions of Gazaria upazila in Munshiganj district has been conducted. This comparison helped in determining whether or not the leadership pattern is influenced by religion or geography. Thus, this study attempts to cover a wide range of aspects of rural leadership by employing a comprehensive framework.

1.6 Ethical Considerations

This study addresses following ethical issues.

- Interviews, data collection, and evaluation have been conducted with integrity and honesty. There has been no tampering with the raw data.
- In this study, pseudonym of the respondents has been used.
- No harm has been done to the sentiments of the study people.
- No plagiarized work has been done. Copyrights, patents, and other types of intellectual property are highly maintained (Fluehr-Lobban, 2013).
- I followed Digital Security Act, 2011 and Copyright Act 2000 to protect the respondent's data. The Contract Act, 1872 has restrictedly applied to the issue of respondent information on the data collection.

1.7 Literature Review

Anthropology and social science scholastics, authors and columnists have written books, papers and articles on the changing patterns of rural leadership and power structure in Bangladesh. In this section, a review of literatures on the power structure in Indian subcontinent and the pattern of rural leadership has been done.

Jenneke Arens and Jos van Beurden (1977) took a brave and anti-traditional research work in Bangladesh in the decade of the last century. The couple came from far off the Netherlands and spent a year in a remote village of present-day Meherpur (formerly Kushtia) district. The objective was to understand and analyze the rural society and stratification of Bangladesh. Jenneke Arens has assumed a study on a village named Baniapukur (which she named Jhagrapur as a pseudonym) in two stages: first in 1974-75, and then between 1998 and 2009.

Chowdhury's (1978) is an intensive study of a village in Bangladesh with a focus on social stratification. He described the pattern of social stratification in Meherpur, a village in Dacca district. Bangladesh is predominantly an agrarian society where villages are the basic units of social organization. It is not possible to understand the

social system of rural Bangladesh without proper investigations into the social structure of its villages. So far there have not been many studies on Bangladesh villages which could provide a solid foundation for the growth of Sociology in Bangladesh. It would be interesting to know the present pattern of social structure in rural Bangladesh which has undergone so many changes since the time of Mukharjee and Karim (2000) studies. The study of a particular village structure may not give us a total feature of the social system of rural Bangladesh.

The main concern of this study is to show the present pattern of social stratification by an analysis of present class, status and power relations in Meherpur. Because, the present stratification pattern in the village can be the best be analyzed by the analysis of these three dimensions: class, status and power relations in the village. The emergence of Bangladesh was an independent nation. The changes initiated by the wider society of Bangladesh have affected the pattern of relations in small communities like Meherpur Upazila. This study shows that the village is stratified into classes on the basis of ownership and non-ownership of the means of production. The principal means of production in the village is land. So, the three classes in the village, which can be arranged hierarchically on the basis of ownership and non-ownership of land and on the basis of their relationships in the organization of production. These are: landowners (*malik*), sharecroppers (*bargadar*) and landless labors (*kamla*). Land is the principal means of production in the village. The author also discussed about the status and caste systems in the village. The Muslim status groups and the Hindu castes are also arranged hierarchically. The Muslim status group is based on the traditional ownership and control of land and education, whereas the caste hierarchy is mainly based on the ritual purity and pollution. Moreover, every status group and caste is characterized by a particular style of life.

Jenneke Arens and Jos van Beurden (1980) set up a berth for the research in *Jhagrapur* village. In the last forty years, many of the rural communities of Bangladesh have changed and *Jhagrapur* is not outside of it. Not only that, the gross wealth and population have not only grown in both directions but there have been many other changes. It also challenges the traditional campaign of life of minority society as well as many changes in the independence-answer society in Bangladesh. In this study, the authors did more than writing down observations of relations between poor and rich peasants, women and men, villagers and big merchants, rural people and the government etc. They had the interest of the poor peasant's families or women at heart. This stands to reason if one realizes that on the one hand, these groups are the most exploited ones among the rural population and that? On the other hand, most productive work is done by them. Without their sweat and sun-brunt backs, their exploiters and society as a whole could not survive much longer.

At the outset, the authors make their position clear that land would be the effective asset for the women's agency to come out of their subordinate position and could play a role in structural social transformation. Despite decades of struggle by women

against male domination and discriminating patriarchal norms, gender inequalities are still prevailing and there is a great gender imbalance in our society and about ownership of land. The central issue of debate on women and land rights is the demand for women's equal access to and ownership of land as the most important resource and source of livelihood security for households in rural agrarian societies. Land rights for women have been advocated in particular by feminists and scholars from countries in the South with largely rural agrarian economies. However, many women still do not own any land, although it is often difficult to assess to what extent land is owned by women. Arenas the creditably tempers her views by essentially taking recourse to the convergence-divergence model of societies and politics: those societies converge in some arenas, diverge in others.

Arens and Beurden's (1980) discussion on land and economic transformation are important for a few unconventional views that might be contested well. It explains in detailed analysis that the introduction of the green revolution has led to greater class and gender differentiation. More people have become landless, creating a larger male wage labor force with more income earning opportunities, while poor women have lost their main source of income. Throughout the book it takes up the cudgel for women's rights. The authors continue that men, machines and the market have replaced women in their productive tasks and this has further strengthened the patriarchal belief that women play no role in the production process. The authors are particularly critical of microfinance. They argued that microfinance empowers people and the solution to end, poverty is highly debatable. In practice, microfinance strengthens existing inequalities.

They further argued that the class and gender systems are interrelated and both concern power hierarchies and subordination of the less powerful. The position of women in gender and class relations determines the advantage or disadvantages and the choices that women have as individuals and collectively within these structures. Their position also largely determines the amount of power that women have to change or maintain social structure.

Rahman (1981) studied the structure of rural power. The study was taken on the local level leaders who are exercising their power locally. Development policy and practice requires a detailed understanding of the ways that power operates at the local level. The study was conducted in early 1980s. There has been a big shift in the development strategy of the third world countries during last decades. As reflected in their plan documents "rural developments" appears to be the panacea for all of their development problems. However, these policy shifts are not independent of what is being planned from them by the donor agencies, who area launching decades of development one after the other in order to achieve a new international economic order for the majority of the underprivileged people of the world. It failed making a head way in the sphere of industrialization in the third world countries through the import substitution or exported growth models. This international donor agencies led

by the World Bank now insist that third world countries should go for a basic needs oriented strategy in which the need for rural development must be made the central element.

The need for such a fundamental policy shift for the third world countries, as viewed by the donor agencies has been essentially to contain the growing rural unrest arising out of the fast differentiation in the rural areas concomitant with the stagnating productive forces. In spite of the so called “green revolution”, the productive forces could not develop much because of adverse production relations or in other words the institutional arrangement. Hence, at least to create enough “social surplus” to be expatriated by the agents of the neocolonial state, the donor agencies are putting heavy pressure to the governments of the developing countries to make the institutional reforms, law and order situation as the central elements of the new strategy. The donors agencies feel that due to the neglect of the agrarian sector in the past, the masses have been virtually cut off from the central authority and this might have grave consequences. On their own words, “the economic and administrative elites in the developing countries are too often cut off from the masses one of the key problems for the advocates of rural development policy is how to bridge this gap between the central authority and the masses.” In other words, the international finance, Capital wants the dependent structure to perpetuate. In order to realize this goal, the governments of the third world countries have changed their development perspectives. They are developing new institutions or remolding the pre-existing ones so that an intimate link could be established between the rural base and the center.

The planning from the grass roots or the creation of the “local agents of change” are therefore, a few of the standard phrases one would very often come across the contemporary plan documents of the third world countries. Keeping in total conformity with the above global strategy, the government of Bangladesh too has put greater priority to the rural development. The emphasis on rural institution building points out to how keenly the government of Bangladesh is following the strategy. It is taken as read that a change of rural power refers to holistic changes of power structure. It is not an isolated part from the impact of new world order. Technological innovation, scientific expansion, political polarization, international migration, globalization are the new determinants of rural power. First cash, leadership feature, convincing capability, active affiliation with political party, religious education, spirituality, higher education and muscle power are things those affect power relation and its practice in rural level.

Rahman (1986) showed the agriculture structure of Bangladesh, the peasant society and their development. As Bangladesh is an agriculture country, the development of this country is not imagined without the development of agriculture. About 80% people are related to agriculture production. So, this book is unique about agriculture structure of the country (Rahman, 1986). Here he has not given any definition of the terms used in the discussion of peasantry. He said that the agricultural system of

Bangladesh is semi-feudal. He provides the concepts about land ownership system of Bangladesh. Once there was *Jamindari* system in Bangladesh. After 1950s, this system was abolished. The lands were divided in small pieces. Small ownership in agriculture have kept a large number of families separated from each other, consciously conservative and superstitious, and this is what worked as the basis for the survival and expansion of religious communal and fundamentalist politics in the society. Rather, they have adopted various strategies at different times in order to use the small productive farming community. The main aspects of the financial activities of governments were to collect huge revenue by establishing control over the country's import-export trade every year. This revenue policy created imbalance with the value of the products produced in neighboring countries, and the expansion of smuggling widely with the scope of this imbalance was the net result of government regular financial activities. However, this study is very helpful to know the structure of agriculture in Bangladesh.

Jansen (1986) did extensive fieldwork among peasants in the rural areas of Bangladesh and dealt with the problems facing the rural population due to scarcity of land ownership and work opportunities. He discussed about different kinds of competitions for scarce resources that take place among the rural population. There is general consensus in western industrialized countries that conditions of living have improved over the years, particularly in the field of economy. A comparison of standards of living in the 1980s with those of the 1880s and 1780s show a vast improvement. In Bangladesh, however, the complete opposite is the case. This study deals with the problems the rural population of Bangladesh faces as a result of scarcity of land and employment opportunities. It takes up the various ways in which ownership of land changes, and how those without land have to compete on the job market and for obtaining land. The majority of rural people in Bangladesh do not have the basic needs outlined by the international aid organizations, e.g. suitable living conditions, medical services, political rights. These things they consider luxuries which take second place to such basic needs as enough food survival. The study also describes and analyses the different strategies rich and poor peasants pursue, and the complex nature of the relationships which exist between them. It discusses why patron-client relationships as a form of alliance between rich and poor peasants are a more typical form of adaptation than alliances based on class interests.

Karim (1990) did a comprehensive study on the pattern of rural leadership in an agrarian society of Bangladesh and took two villages in the north-western Bangladesh as study areas – *Dhonojyopara* and *Gopalhati*. He showed that leaders in traditional non-government organizations are compared to those in newly-created government organizations. Although government-funded programs and a project have altered the structures through which leaders can exercise power, the research shows that the essential structure of leadership has not changed. The new arena is dominated by the well-educated descendents of the community leaders. After describing the social and economic settings of two villages, the author examines the altering leadership pattern

in rural Bangladesh in order to understand their patterns of traditional political leadership as exercised through a non-governmental organization known as *samaj*. ‘*Samaj*’ is an informal political organization organized along kinship lines within adjacent localities. Land rich persons from important ‘*goshti*’ (lineages) become the leaders of ‘*Samaj*’. The first ‘*Samaj*’ in both villages were organized around the richest families, who then worked for the Hindu Jamindar. The history of the present ‘*samaj*’ is traced in both villages, showing the fissions of previous *samaj* as families sought their own leadership roles. Moreover, not all *samaj* are equally powerful, with those with wealthy members and leaders exercising greater power in the communities than those composed of poorer lineages and families. Further, some families have attempted to claim “*khandan*” status as their families have been able to gain new power during the past four decades. These are contrasted to the leaders in newly instituted governmental agencies such as the Union Parishad, KSS cooperatives and social welfare organizations. The study reveals a change in the institutions through which leaders can exert power due to government funded programs and projects, but shows that the basic structure of leadership remained unchanged. The educated sons of old leaders are the leaders in these new programs. These new programs provide a further resource for giving out benefits to supporters and the powerful leaders have been quick to control the benefits.

Mashreque (1995) discovered a new high class family that was less wealthy than the old but best in rural society and stressed that the lower classes had yet to overthrow their own leaders, despite the fact that power had been shifted from the old stakes. On the basis of the findings of many studies, Mashreque (1995) concluded that the Bangladesh top class family was not *Khondokhar* dominated by the largest land owners, despite gross inadequacy of the landless in this group. Although *Khondokhar* and *Chowdhury* titled families appeared to be successful in Bangladesh during left front rule, Mashreque observed that the overall dominance of elites over rural power structures remained uncontested.

Hossain (2006) argued that the leaders of Bangladesh's upper layers were found to be older and more knowledgeable than the leadership of lower tiers, according to an empirical research on political authority in Bangladesh. 49% of rural village leaders interviewed by social science researcher Abul Hossain claimed that caste and land ownership carry on playing a significant influence in determining village leadership, and that a significant portion of these leaders are members of rural elite groups. However, the researcher identified examples of leaders from low-income and low-caste stratum as well as those from high-caste and elevated groupings.

In their article Mozumdar et.al. (2008) argued that for democratization of Bangladesh culture, recognizing the potential of rural power structures is critical. The authors found that the historical analysis of the pattern of leadership in rural Bangladesh informs no single variable is responsible for construction of the leaders in rural area. Member of a strong lineage or descent group, control over agricultural land, right over

human power, technological skills, demographic strength constitute a general background of leader (Daldal, 2014). They showed three approaches of leadership – positional approach, reputational approach and issue-participation approach. In this study, the authors try to find the factors that influencing rural leadership. They divided rural power structure and leadership pattern and its changing aspects into following four phases.

Phase-I (1971-1980) illustrates that the chairman and members of Union Parisad rose to prominence as the primary movers and shakers in the rural politics. They frequently enlisted the help of relatives and friends who were involved in community development initiatives. The first generation of informal leaders were the chairman and members of UP. It was not until 1976 that the Union Parishad instituted the salish adalat, a new type of local court system. An additional darbar was held in this court. Phase-II (1981-1990) shows that when the Gram Sarkar (Village Government) was introduced in October 1980, it was merely a new institution that changed the power structure of Sutiakhali Namapara. There was no major reshuffle in the ranks of local government officials. Those who served as Gram Sarkars were also descended from traditional informal authorities. Gram Sarkar's existence was short-lived due to a lack of national coordination and a variety of internal and external conflicts. Adjudicative activities in the studied area were significantly altered by the establishment of the Upazila Court in the mid-80s. Phase-III (1991-2000) demonstrated that the power structure of Sutiakhali Namapara and rural Bangladesh saw considerable transformations from 1991 and 2000, and the identifies some key was no exception. Democracy was the most significant event of this decade. Finally, phase-IV (2001-2007) shows that Sutiakhali Namapara and rural Bangladesh had a major transition in power between 2001 and 2007, when the rural people and the country as a whole underwent a very different leadership shift.

In his study on rural power structure, Lewis and Hossain (2008) presented new qualitative data to assess the evolving formal and informal institutions that regulate the lives of people in one rural district of Bangladesh. Researchers examined the strategies used by those who are disadvantaged to grow their power and advance their societal aspirations. It investigates the existing limits of local change processes and documents the obstacles and challenges that residents in poverty confront. The findings of this study are based on in-depth interviews with residents of three distinct villages in Greater Faridpur District and are primarily qualitative in nature. To demonstrate how marginalized individuals or groups in Bangladesh are trying to take advantage of the power structures already in place and use them to further their own economic and social ambitions, this study synthesizes previous research with new data collected at the village level and case studies conducted at the individual level. Local administrative institutions, as articulated by Lewis and Hossain (2008), are complicated and constantly changing.

Clegg (2013) made a critical analysis of sociological theorizing and power which enables the reader to grasp fully the nature of power, rule and domination in organizational life. By attracting the readers with the use of the discussions, the author recorded at a formation site, he brings the reader into contact with everybody social world in which he locates his analysis of power and authority at both a structural and phenomenological level. The analysis is complemented by the author's review of the literature on theorizing by writers such as Clegg et al. (2013) examined the "community power debate" between author such as Dahl (1957) and a survey of the literature on power. Clegg argued that we might have power but the truth is how we can use this power. He also discussed about rule and domination in village.

Kraalingen (2016) observed that conventional leadership is gradually losing its hold; nevertheless, in spite of this, it still maintains some command over the sources of power in Andhra Pradesh in relation to the shifting structure of leadership. The contributions that the sociologist Monirul Islam Khan (2013) made to the study of leadership were both conceptual and methodological in nature. Khan (2013) believed that the concept of dominant rank was of very little assistance, because only a handful of people or family members in a standing hold the splendor of superficial points of interest, capital instruments, and position of impact within and without the station bunch, which gets further weakened as a result of town factionalism. Khan felt that the concept of dominant rank was of very little assistance. Kraalingen, on the other hand, realized that the dominant standing was necessary for the upkeep of the town local region, and it also act as a reference point for the lower ranks, allowing them to improve their condition in terms of both social and economic standing.

Lewis and Hossain (2017) focused on answering two primary questions such as how the pattern of local power structure look like and what enables people who are living in poverty to make stronger claims on rights and entitlements. The purpose of the study is to provide additional context for more traditional macro-level analyses of power at the country level. The researcher talked about previous research and the goals of the study while situating it within the backdrop of developments that have taken place in both the economic and political spheres. The rural power structure in our nation is significantly influenced by political and economic factors. In every scenario, the influence of the economy had an effect on the power and dominance of the rural areas. The persistent importance of patron-client interactions as a crucial component of the power structure is explained, and the benefits and risks that such ties and arrangements present for persons with lower socioeconomic status are examined.

Lewis and Hossain (2008) concentrated the majority of their attention on five distinct groups of institutions that together constitute the local power structure. To begin, there is the three different administrative systems that are used by the local government. In the second portion of the meeting, they talked about political institutions after discovering several ineffective political institutions and an opposing

party. In the third place, they talked about the function of NGOs. Development work conducted by right-based NGOs with the poorest has, for the most part, died out. Local associations of civil society are likewise subject to a greater degree of political influence. Fourthly, they discovered that the conventional forms of various informal civil societies in the research area, such as the institutions at the local level, have continued to deteriorate with time. At last, a cursory overview of the evolution of the judicial system is presented, covering topics such as the shifting function of the *shalish* and the ongoing demise of the traditional village courts.

The study was conducted in light of the terms of reference, and the researchers attempted to determine the current state of the power structure in the area, as well as how this state has evolved over the past decade. According to what they discovered, women's relationships to the power structures in their communities are continuously changing in ways that can result in either beneficial or unfavorable effects. There is no doubt that the participation of women in the UP, UPZ, and several other forums for the making of municipal decisions is growing. In conclusion, the research found some modest but potentially significant ways in which new institutional spaces were opening up, which made it possible for some low-income women and men to improve their circumstances. This centered on improvements to the functioning of local government structures, the evolving inclusivity of some local institutions, and forms of civil society action and coalition building that produced "win-win" outcomes for both poor and non-poor people when viewed from an anthropological perspective.

In their article, Daize and Sultana (2019) corroborated the *dalit* women picture that was the outcome of a previous survey conducted in the Munshiganj area of Bangladesh. This district is located in Bangladesh. In addition to this, they made the observation that the results of the recent study suggested that the nature of acceptance of women had shifted. Peasants living in poverty and agricultural *dalit* women who work the land are often overlooked by local families from the middle class. Thus, Daize and Sultana attempted to identify the class of rural women who were able to emerge as rural leaders as a result of the Women's Property Act of 1874 as well as their own characteristics.

According to Islam (2015), from a sociological and anthropological point of view, it was revealed that the local institutions were still operating along traditional lines, with the power impact of caste and kinship. Siddiqui (2005) investigated the dynamics of the power structure that exists within the municipal governments of Bangladesh. He talked about the differences between the patterns of traditional rulers and emergent leadership.

Findings from the literatures on Bangladesh refers to local power structure as the configuration of the local elite (Hossain, 2006), their networks and resources and links with both formal institutions (such as local government structures) and informal institutions (such as social control systems) (Rahman, 1986). Rahman (1981) argued that the primary economic strength and social status of local leaders depended on the

extent of land ownership. However, level of education was also an important asset for attaining leadership and education had a direct correlation with land ownership patterns. Arens and Beurden (1997) presented their study in Banipukur village, which was mainly importance of poor peasants and women. However, the arguments of these literatures indicate to the fact that in the context of rural Bangladesh. Leadership is connection with multiple issues. Among these, education, political ideology, values and morality, carry important support and strength.

CHAPTER 2

Theoretical and Conceptual Frameworks

2.1 Theoretical Framework

This study explores socio-political context of rural leadership and rural power structure. Following theories are helpful to understand this research work.

Vilfredo Pareto: "Circulation of Elite Theory"

According to Pareto (1968), with a few exceptions, the masses are always ruled by elites. He does not believe that history and social change can be understood as a linear, progressive, and evolutionary process. He believed that "History of men is the history of the continues replacement of certain elites as one ascends another declines, such is the real phenomenon, though to us it may often appear under another form" (Pareto, 1968).

It is generally agreed that the most interesting part of Pareto's sociology is his discussion of the movement of elites. Pareto theorized that people have vastly varying natural talents and learn a wide variety of specialized skills throughout their lives. Since Pareto believed that all societies contained strata of society, he concluded that all societies were inherently diverse. Mental, moral, physical, and cultural differences all contribute to this diversity, which in turn aids in the preservation of social order and stability (Lopreato, 1973). People are physically, mentally, and morally unequal, as Pareto argues. Some people have more natural abilities than others. According to Pareto, the top achievers in any group are the elite. Simply put, "elite" refers to "a class of the people who have the highest indices in their branch of activity." The administration is of direct and indirect concern to the ruling elite. They are vital to society and are afforded a prominent position because of it. Although they are not directly involved in government, non-governing elites wield enough power in society to affect policymaking.

Gaetano Mosca: The Ruling Class Theory

Mosca (1939) asserts that there are two classes of people in any society at any point in history: the ruling class and the ruled class. The former consists of a small number of individuals and possesses all political power and privileges, whereas the latter consists of a large number of individuals, is subject to the rule of the former, and provides essential instruments for political organization (Mosca, 1939).

According to Mosca, in order to analyze the relationship between ruling class and ruled class, two political facts must be considered. The first fact is that the political organization of the ruling class is always led by a single individual. According to the law, this person does not necessarily hold the highest political position. Even he is not necessarily recognized by all. This person, for instance, can be prime minister of the king or president, or the person who elects the president. Under certain circumstances,

this supreme power can be held by more than one individual. The second fact is that masses exert pressure on the ruling class and its policies, regardless of the type of political organization. Therefore, in order to gain the support of the masses, the ruling class or the head of state must be sensitive to their thoughts and emotions; otherwise, he cannot rule. Due to this, at least a sizable portion of the populace is formed to support the ruling class and the system (Mosca, 1939).

For Mosca, the logic of the ruling class is straightforward: the capacity to be efficiently organized. Minorities are always well-organized; therefore, they have the ability to defeat majorities. According to Mosca, this connection and its results are inevitable.

Karl Marx: Power and Domination

According to Karl Marx (1867), power and dominance are based on the current economic conditions. The industrial and agricultural system primarily produces two distinct social classes: the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The concept of social class can be used to illustrate dominance. This theory links the origins of power to its formation through labor as a cost of production, establishing the relationship between labor and power. On the summit of the proletariat class, Karl Marx's ideology propelled the Soviet Union to global superpower status. However, the demise of the union in the 1990s was a result of the Marxists' failure to sustain his beliefs that production means must be rapidly improved.

Those who control the economy have power over the rest of society, according to Karl Marx (1911). This control of the economy is held by the elite class, who therefore hold the authority in the capitalist system. Marx's conception of power, in this respect, is that it structures society based on the nature of the economy. A class, rather than an individual, exerts dominance over another as a result of exercising concentrated power. Economic power can also take the form of political power, leading to the subjugation of one class (the proletariat) by another (the bourgeoisie). The authority of the capitalists is derived from the labor of the workers. Marxist theories posit that the production of commodities by workers under capitalism is synonymous with the production and reproduction of power that is provided to capitalists, and that in turn, the workers make their own exploitation possible. Marx also discusses the employees' labor power, which they must surrender to capitalists in exchange for commodities. This power appears weak because the proletariats are compelled to sell it to the governing class in order to survive. In other words, the bourgeoisie's authority is sufficient to dominate the working class. The economy of the capitalists depends on the labor of the workers, and since the workers must sell their labor to survive, there is a dominance by the capitalists; even the produced products are the property of the capitalists, and workers have no control over them. By exploiting the proletariat, the bourgeoisie increases its capital and, consequently, its influence. The power is also used to convince the working class that the ideology of the governing class is universal, also known as "false consciousness." Today's

mainstream media exemplifies Marx's theory that the ruling class attempts to control and dominate society by presenting its own interests as the common interest of society. Few wealthy individuals control the mainstream media by endorsing their views that capitalism is advantageous and labor exploitation is normal.

According to Karl Marx (1867), the only way to liberate the proletariat is to abolish capitalism. They will no longer be exploited when the governing class's power (in the form of wealth and property) is transferred to them through revolution, also known as redistribution. Marxism stresses that emancipation of the oppressed working class is conceivable if the working class seizes power from elites in order to overthrow capitalism. Marx and Engels contend that when the proletariats defeat capitalism, a society will be created in which wealth, land, industry, and labor will be shared among all people, liberating them from oppression.

Max Weber: Power, Society and State

The definition of domination (authority) provided by Max Weber (1978) is more specific. It only applies to those instances in which an actor obeys a specific command issued by another. Weber distinguished between power and dominance (authority) to propose two types of solutions to the problem of order. Power is the likelihood of success despite opposition and resistance from those to whom it is applied. This solution is typically found in warfare and class conflict, but it is unstable as a source of order over the long term. In contrast, legitimate dominance requires some element of voluntary compliance from those to whom it is applied, and thus encompasses the issue of meaningful action. Dominance can be legitimized by appealing to various principles, including tradition, national legality as embodied in enacted law, and charisma.

Weber's notions of class, status, and party, as well as his analysis of the state and bureaucracy, form the core of his theory of power. Each grouping is centered or oriented around power as a distinct source of conflict. Each represents a facet and foundation of power. Weber (1994) identifies 'class,' 'status,' and 'party' as three dimensions of social stratification, each of which is conceptually distinct from the others and specifies that, on an empirical level, each may have a casual influence on the others. Weber did not disregard economic sources of power and class, considering them to be among the most significant, particularly in capitalism. For Weber, class is a manifestation of economic order; more precisely, it is determined by an individual's market circumstance. Here, a class refers to the collection of individuals who share the same Market circumstance. According to the correlation between class situation and market situation, there could be as many class divisions as there are minute gradations of market position. Weber, power is associated with the property class in the sense that they enjoy greater social status and privileges. In a position of disadvantage, the acquisition classes consist of workers of the various principal types. They have less influence in society. Weber considers membership in both class and status groups to be the basis of social power. But political party formation has a

greater impact on power in modern society. For Weber, a party is any voluntary association that seeks directive control of an organization in order to implement specific policies within the organization. Parties are organizations as opposed to communities or groups, and they engage in strategic goal-seeking.

2.2 Conceptual Framework

Power Structure

A power structure is an overall system of influence between any individual and every other individual within any selected group of people. In Anthropology, power structure is something that orchestrates the systemic interaction within and among societies, directing economic and political forces on the one hand and ideological forces that shape public ideas, values, and beliefs on the other (Dwyer & Walker, 1981).

Rural Power Structure

Anthropologists tend to highlight the dynamic, relational and contextual nature of leadership as something processual and performance rather than simply a matter of institutional position holding or a mode of domination. In anthropology, rural local leadership is generally understood as a system of social relationships involving authority, charisma or other forms of personal or institutional power, but whose rules are specific to and embedded within a particular context. Anthropologists have long recognized that leadership as an institution hinges on culturally specific and relational understanding of authority or as put it, "leadership is a creation of followership" acquired by demonstrating that the leader "possesses the kind of skills that demand respect" noted by Pietraszewski (2020).

Leadership

A leader is someone who can convince a group to accomplish a particular objective. One who guides, inspires, or governs others is a leader. Jean Blondel (1987) defined leadership as "the power exercised by one or a few individuals to direct members of a nation toward action," whereas Joseph Rost (1991) calls it "an influence relationship among leaders and followers who intend real changes that reflect their purpose," and Robert Burns defines it as the mobilization of "institutional, political, psychological, and other resources" to "arouse, engage, and satisfy the motives of followers." In leadership and politics, the significance of individual personality differences emerges in the majority of credible accounts. Leadership is an all inclusive peculiarity. Since man is social being and takes part in gatherings, he really wants constant guidance and bearing; and these are given by the leader. In regard of meaning of leadership, we track down absence of consistency and thus, comprehensiveness in elucidation. Weber considered magnetism to be one among different styles of mastery; as a matter of fact generally powerful leaders command some proportion of commitment. Somehow leader should appear to be godlike" (Horner, 1997). Jean Blondel (1987) characterized a leader is an individual who can alter the course of occasions. Political leadership is a unique sort of power in that it is practiced over a wide range of topics.

While many of us have power over a gathering, maybe for generally extensive stretches, and might be leaders accordingly, political leaders practice his power over an area containing international concerns, protection, the financial and the social prosperity of the resident, and even culture and the arts" by Blondel (1987).

Leadership is standardizing idea in light of the fact that verifiable in individuals' ideas of leadership are pictures of common agreement. Leadership is connected with activating individuals to handle extreme issues. Ronald A. Heifetz contends that the normal personalistic direction to the term leadership with its supposition that "Leaders are conceived and not made," is very dangerous. We should zero in on leadership as an action of a resident from any social status activating individuals to do something." (Heifetz, 1994).

Leadership assumes a significantly more important part in changing over monetary and social assumption into political demands, that is to say, explicit demands maintain firmly against government. What individual's demand of government will be impacted by leadership in more ways than one. Leaders at the grassroots educators, clerics, local area activists, town seniors will intently impact people's impression of their own necessities, as against 'objective' meaning of their requirements by spectators. Political dissident and experts will start to lead the pack in activating help behind specific demands and behind others (contingent upon the aspiration and philosophy of those activists and politicians) and in organizing support that can be changed over into pressures on government and in government in assorted ways and for different goals (Burns, 1977).

Formal and Informal Leaderships

People who are steadfast on any official basis, such as the enrollment in the panchayat body, take great pride in their ability to hold formal leadership positions in a town. These guys, from a purely administrative point of view, are the heads of the town in every sense of the word. It is important to note, however, that just because a public authority refers to a particular person as the head man (*Pradhan*), this does not necessarily mean that the people of the town will refer to him as the leader. The citizens attach a greater significance to the town's casual leaders than they do to the town's formal leaders as a result of the relative dominance of essential, and in some cases personal, ties and early stage linkages within the town's social structure (Khan, 1976).

If a guy is in a position of authority in the town and is regularly sought out to answer questions or provide insight on important matters, others will perceive him as a de facto leader in the community. He achieves this state of affairs by becoming a "big man," that is, by giving up his capacity to bring things to a successful conclusion. He achieves commands and influence over others as a result of his financially stable position and his ability to advance loans to the impoverished, to give occupations or work to the jobless or jobless, and to extend security to the individuals who run around him against badgering by the adversary groups or the police or organization

and other entities of a similar nature. He speaks in front of a significant gathering, and the others in the gathering have the impression that he has unusual insight and impartiality. His followers will follow him because they genuinely believe in his capability, because they trust him, because he loans them money, because he is an individual from their own family gathering and position, or because they all face or need to fight a common opponent or enemy. His followers will follow him because of the reasons listed above (Khan, 1976).

Rural Leadership

Leadership in rural communities necessitates specific characteristics. It's a fascinating social phenomenon. High levels of interaction exist between village leaders and villagers. Various organizations within villages determine the leadership structure of villages. In rural areas, leadership is exercised within small organizations. Leadership has been a topic of interest to historians and philosophers since ancient times, but its scientific studies began only in the twentieth century.

Passive and Active Leaders

One fundamental distinction between active and inert leadership styles is that the former entails proactivity, whereas the latter involves reaction. Passive leaders wait for events to transpire before responding, whereas active leaders demonstrate initiative and effect change. They start or forestall, actuate or preclude exercises and their entitlement to do the equivalent is sanctioned by the larger part, however their choice might be in opposition to the cravings and necessities of many (Orenstein, 1971).

Social Class and Status

A social class is a group of people of similar status, rank, or common characteristics (i.e. lifestyle) and commonly sharing similar levels of power and wealth. This set of people is known on the evidence of their link to the means of production (economic) who have differential access to wealth, power, and some styles of life. Although the two main criteria such as wealth and occupation together were considered to create social classes, other criteria such as education, hereditary prestige, skills, and recognition by others also play an important part in class formation (Whitty, 2001).

Karl Marx has divided society economically into the capitalist and proletariat classes. In sociological interpretation, a class should not only be defined as an economic class but also as a social class. The social structure encompasses various classes through which a society is stratified. We can see people considered as black or white as per color, rich or poor as per their economic status, and upper or lower as per their caste. Thus a group of people affiliated with certain characteristics is called class. According to Giddens (2000), "a class is a large-scale grouping of people who share common economic resources, which strongly influence the type of lifestyle they are able to lead".

On the other hand, the definition of social status is the position of an individual in a group or a society. This is defined by, and can also affect, how they are treated by other members of society. Analyzing a group by the social status of its members can shed light on the intra-group dynamics. Social status affects all parts of life and the occurrences in communities of various types (religious, workplace, political, etc.). The social standing definition is the perspective of others on one's social status, and how that perspective affects how they treat each other. A person's social status and social standing have drastic effects on how they can and cannot function in their society. Social status was strongly supported by Max Weber, a prominent German sociologist who developed numerous theories on social stratification.

Social Acceptance

It is very important term for changing pattern of power structure and rural leadership. Social acceptance means that other people signal that they wish to include their groups and relationships (Van Schendel, 2020). Social acceptance occurs on a continuum that ranges from merely tolerating another person's presence to actively.

Political Society

A political society is a group of people who live in a certain area and have rules to follow. This group is called a state and it helps keep things fair and peaceful. Sometimes, a state can be made up of smaller parts called states too. There are different types of states, like ones where the government controls everything and ones where the people have more say. When someone does something wrong, the state is the one who tries to make things right by punishing the person who did wrong. The phrase political society can be traced to the political philosopher John Locke who used it synonymously with civil society, but with a broader meaning than that term usually has today (Waldron, 1989). A political society, for Locke, was one that men entered voluntarily through a social contract, as contrasted to governments established by monarchs who claimed a divine right to govern or by autocrats who governed through dictatorial power.

Infrastructure Development

The infrastructure development changed aims to propose urgent rehabilitation and development of social infrastructure based on formulation of a rural area for Gazaria upazila, Munshiganj district with a target year of 1947-2021. Social infrastructure can broadly define as the construction and maintenance of facilities that support social services. Types of social infrastructure include healthcare (hospitals), education (schools and universities), public facilities (community housing and prisons) and transportation (railways and roads).

Educational Development

Educational development impact on social changing pattern, recently the literacy rate of Bangladesh has improved as it stands at 73.9% as of 2018 due to the modernization of schools and education funds (World Bank, 2016). In Bangladesh, all citizens must undertake twelve years of compulsory education which consists of eight years at

primary school level and four years at high school level. Primary and secondary education is financed by the state and free of charge in public schools.

Pattern of Rural Agrarian Society in Leadership and Power Structure

Small, open villages with a dispersed and linear pattern of settlement characterize Bangladeshi villages, which are distinct from those in other South Asian countries. People in Bangladesh do not divide themselves into administrative groups by village. In some regions, the only officials present are watchmen. The settlement is built around a group of hamlets called the para. There are many definitions of "institution" in the sciences of ethnology and sociology. Having a long-lasting status and role, as well as jointly shaping patterns, impeded the tight integration of popular behavior within a group of individuals (Khan, 1989). To put it more succinctly: Institutions are regarded, stable, which is why this phrase was coined, as well as how it has been used in the past. However, this does not imply that (Mozumdar, 2008). Only the game that regulates human interactions may be seen in the structural qualities (Lewis, 1991). An informal village institution refers to tiny, indigenous groups with a defined role and status within the larger social context of the village. In rural areas, people's behavior is shaped by the prevalence of informal institutions. According to studies, informal institutions in Bangladesh were seen as a relic of the past that would be lost to modernity's triumph (Rahman, 1981).

Samaj is a moral nexus made up of people strewn across the floodplain and forest clearings. *takdir* and *tadbir*, or divinely-ordained fate and human agency, are the two most important normative idioms in this cosmos (Khan, 2013). Those who live as peasants are subject to the will of Allah, to whom they must submit completely. *Tadbir* (individual striving and achievement) is an expression of Bengali culture's developed sense of individualism. Action that is goal-oriented and opens the peasant up to the possibility of power is what this alludes to. In rural Bangladesh, a faction is a common form of collective solidarity, alongside the *samaj*. According to this definition, *Samaj* is a moral universe that includes all of the members who willingly subscribe to the idea of collective identity and activity, whereas factions are places where power is expressed through leader follower or elite-subordinate relationships. Members of the faction are under the influence of a single individual or a group of individuals, who exercise their *khamata* (power) on them and cast a shadow over non-members. When I was younger, I was a (2013). *Samaj* has been criticized by some for its perceived lack of social control in rural areas, leading them to argue that its image as a model of togetherness should be downplayed instead. According to current research, the *samaj* appears to be resilient in the face of social change. According to Adnan (1987), the *samaj* system in the ten villages he visited had remained remarkably stable during the previous decade. In 1985, the majority of the *samaj* groupings that had been identified in 1975-76 were still extant. Some of the 1940s-era groups had also lasted. They also had internal problems and factionalism that caused them to break up because they grew too large. There were ten Muslim *samaj* in each

of the villages in 1947. In 1975-76, there were 17 of them, and in 1985, there were 34 of them. *Samaj* in Boringram was first located within the village, and the richest man was the village headman. After the death of the headman, the *samaj* split into 10 new *samaj* groups in the village due to a lack of leadership. *Samaj* in the Kurigram char land was divided into two types: a lineage group and one that included people of their immediate neighborhood (Hossain, 2000). In the char lands, the *Samaj* played a crucial role in resolving conflicts and offering support in times of crisis, a sector that was mostly ignored by the State.

The patron-client relationship in rural Bangladesh was established and nurtured by the *zamindari* system during colonial times, according to Jansen (1988). After the 1950s, farmers with extra land were able to exercise patronage over their neighbors. Multiple inheritance, individual property rights to land, scarcity and unequal distribution of land, scarcity of employment and other sources of livelihood, the need for protection and the lack of access to resources provided by the State were all factors that led to the patron-client relationship, according to Jansen (1988). Rural society is so dependent on *shalish* that it merits its own section. One of Adnan's finest descriptions of it is that it is like a village legal system in which a panel of judges adjudicates on disagreements (1997).

In pre-colonial Bangladesh, the *zamindar* and/or his officials, religious leaders, caste leaders, and lineage elders were all in charge of rural society. With their primary responsibility being to collect taxes, the *zamindars* rarely interfered in local autonomy. *Zamindars* had increased decision-making power in the village between 1757 and 1869, save on matters of religion. In the same way, the roles of the other groups were unchanged. This difference between formal and informal organizations at village level was brought about by the establishment of Union Boards in 1870. Since then a new sort of leadership has emerged, backed by the Raj (Rowlands, 1995). Formal authority could still be gained through the traditional *samaj*. The establishment of political parties in rural areas led to the rise of party leaders at the local level. The wealthy families held the keys to the kingdom. Comilla and other parts of Bangladesh saw a new style of leadership emerge, which included cooperative managers and model farmers as well as schoolteachers and tractor drivers, as well as those with high land holdings, seniority in age, education and rhetorical talent. Many leaders and institutions can be identified for each of these domains by people. Public spirit was mobilized and leadership initiatives were spurred on by the 1998 flood disaster, which demonstrated the local community's ability to govern itself (Rowlands, 1995). The gradual acknowledgement of women as leaders through union parishad membership is a significant development.

Rural society's rules of the game can be modelled in two ways (the actual rules are much more complex) following Bertocci (1996). The first type of peasant solidarity is based on trust, reciprocity, deference, and equality. As he redistributes his tangible possessions, a person raises his social rank and accumulates wealth. The concept of

common property is strong and property regulations are widely dispersed. In the realm of power, there is a second set of rules. It refers to a social environment where people compete for scarce resources in order to maintain their lives. Because it doesn't have its own normative framework, it undermines the world of peasant solidarity. People are forced to compete and use violence to gain access to resources, creating an anomic landscape in which society is split. In Khan's ethnography (1989) and the current study's fieldwork, these game rules and their intricacy in Bangladesh's lived peasant world may be seen more carefully. In 1947, Maniknagar had three distinct *samajs*. New groups have formed out of the existing ones; now there are 10. Old *samaj* groupings disintegrated due to internal feuds, rather than a lack of unity. Elders' moral influence has waned dramatically. More and more persons under the age of 30 are taking on leadership roles. As a result of the country's political divide, which is characterized by distrust and conflict between the country's two major political parties, the village has been affected. Building a community based on the Islamic umma and upholding traditional Islamic norms is being done with considerable effort (Hasan, 2020).

In the face of external pressures, the institutional space is constantly being formed and reformed. People are beginning to realize that informal institutions can have a big impact on their lives. The most important approach is to alter the game's rules. There is a governance crisis in Bangladesh. As a result, rural communities find informal institutions extremely relevant. Building institutions from the ground up is a difficult process that requires a thorough understanding of the current normative and institutional framework in addition to the development of effective intervention techniques that can alter the game rules to benefit more people. Another possible area of policy action is the creation of crisis-coping strategies in communities. A third avenue of potential intervention is community policing, which has anthropological data to support it, especially in rural places where law and order is deteriorating. To achieve synergy between official and informal institutions, policymakers must intervene. They're helping to establish shalish and institutions for rural communities, including party and labor union leaders. Reforming the game's rules for efficiency and equity by training formal leaders to develop informal institutions may be a subject worth exploring. Training and participation of women in the shalish community are vital. Development of informal institutions in Bangladesh may be critical to ensuring good governance and reducing poverty.

Power, Rule and Domination

In management theory and research (Mozumdar, 2008), power is frequently still described in a limited manner; nevertheless, in a major body of study, academics have recognized the broad range of forms that power may take inside organizations. Clegg (1975) research findings on power that highlights two distinct modes in which it operates: systemic and episodic. In addition, Clegg (1975) argues that each mode has its own unique implications for the learning that occurs inside an organization. The

term "episodic power" refers to discrete, strategically significant political activities that are launched by players with self-interest. This form of power has traditionally been the primary focus of organizational study and theory, with an emphasis placed on determining which actors inside organizations have the most potential to have an impact on the organization's decision-making processes (Akram, Lodhi et al., 2009). Instead than being held by autonomous individuals, systemic forms of power are disseminated throughout the social systems that compose organizations. This is because systemic forms of power work through the everyday, continuous behaviors of organizations. The socialization and accrediting procedures are two examples of examples of systemic forms of power (Lechman and Kaur, 2015). This distinction between episodic and systemic forms of power can help us understand how the transmission of ideas from people to groups to the organization and from the organization back to individuals is impacted by organizational politics. The interpretation process, which enables individuals' thoughts to be communicated to other people, is the means through which ideas are transmitted from one person to another.

According to Lawrence et al. (2005), the results of this process are highly contingent, meaning that they are dependent not only on the persons who participate in the process but also on the environment in which the process takes place. These improbabilities draw attention to the precarious nature of the process, which entails that only some interpretations will be acknowledged by others as being valid or worthwhile. In this paper, we suggest that the concepts that are effectively changed into such interpretations will depend heavily on the episodic power of the ideas' sponsors, or their capacity to impact the thoughts, feelings, and behaviors of individuals who are in their immediate environment. In a similar vein, we contend that the process of integrating also includes power struggles between various interested parties at various stages of the process. Crossan et al. (1999) argue that once an idea has been translated into a legitimate interpretation, it is then available in a form that has the potential to be integrated into the activities of a group. Once an idea has been translated into a legitimate interpretation, it has the potential to be integrated into the activities of a group. However, in order for individuals' interpretations to take hold at the group level and, as a result, be integrated into the activities of the group, they need to be championed at opportune moments and affirmed during moments of doubt. Stories need to be told, revised, and retold in a way that inspires collective action, affirms the identities of coworkers, and captures the imaginations of those coworkers. In addition, in order for these same innovations to move up to the level of the organization, they need to be brought to the attention of senior management by the appropriate individuals at the appropriate times and, in many cases, revisited on numerous occasions. Only then will they be able to make it to the level of the organization. Therefore, we contend that comprehending new ideas and incorporating them into existing systems will be made easier by episodic forms of power and will essentially depend on the existence of such forms (Rahman, 2011).

Leadership and Power in Local Community

Political parties, in their view, may look formal but their ‘institutional profile resembles a traditional dal (faction, group) comprising leaders and followers bound together by highly personalized, multiplex ties of obligation, favor and dependence as well as interdependence’ (Karim & Noy, 2020). These many forms of middlemen represent a confusing array of levers and tactics that confound our understanding of local political configurations. In this narrative, the central figure of the political leader is not sufficiently highlighted because he is lumped together with the rest as another middleman. The term *neta*, meaning leader, adds confusion by being applied to both powerful leaders and local aspirants.

The political leader is at the centre of this game and dominates it. Members of Parliament (MPs) and UP chairman in the ruling party are powerful in terms of both political clout and statutory powers, and their men are powerful by extension. Contracts and the work afterwards are secured through their agreement. As one of the contractors said, ‘If you do not have political power you cannot drop the bid or at least not successfully. So, for any major contract, the political leader will be invited into the negotiations or will himself encourage the negotiations. ‘I will send my man to help you’ was how a contractor said the political leader muscled in. In the private negotiations, the leader or his agent will lay out the conditions. The political leader’s contribution is to manage the negotiations in the selection committee where UP officials as well as the relevant engineers are represented. His job continues after the contract has been awarded. It is on his authority that the work goes ahead and that crucial people remain in on the game including rival contractors, officials and bureaucrats, the engineers, union leaders, party workers, activists, allies and journalists. They need to be managed. An angry and dissatisfied local councilor may see his right-hand man beaten up in a dark alley. Losing contractors look forward to the next round of bids. Questions such as ‘who is close enough to the political leader to get positive attention’ and ‘whose fortunes are taking a dip’ are continuously being asked by anyone. Hearsay, gossip and rumors any kind of information become necessary for survival (Michelutti et al. 2018). Terms often used to denote clandestine collaboration include ‘mafia’ and ‘syndicate’. Both terms in colloquial speech refer to collaboration between people involved in an illegal business and who share common privileges. Typically, a ‘yaba business’ will be run by a syndicate. The term mafia is often used to explain a situation in which prices of certain commodities are unexpectedly high (sand, eggs, onion, milk) or monopolized. Traders, police, officials and drivers are often suspected of collaborating on prices or on supply, for instance. A slight difference between the two terms is that mafia tends to be used for less concrete cases, for allegations of a criminal band with a useful police protection, while syndicate refers to more elaborate forms of criminal activity. Typically, the term syndicate indicates that several people with political connections are involved, including political leaders themselves. In the Bangladesh colonial context ‘syndicate’ refers essentially to ‘low-level cartels’ that offer ‘services’ to builders and property

developers while also enjoying political patronage (Das & Maiorano, 2019). In the Bangladesh context, the term encompasses the political masters.

Provabshali Mohol is a term used to describe collaboration between people who are already powerful, who through common bonds choose to collaborate in order to protect their businesses, their interests or their families. The difference between the 'syndicate' in Barisal and the *Mohammadpur* provabshali mohol lies in the more business-like feature of the syndicate. The provabshali mohol has an element of emotional attachment or at least mutual sympathy the kind of sympathy that may derive from a common class identity, distant family relations or childhood, school or college friendships. Individuals typically said to be members of a *provabshali mohol* would often belong to large, educated and well-established families, in a position to draw a wide range of favours from other rich and powerful locals. Like anybody else, politicians in Bangladesh have people who are regarded as close to them. These are known by a variety of terms. *Ghonishtho* or *ghonishtho* lokjon suggest someone close. They are also known by terms such as *kacher lok*, *shongobongo* or *ashepasher lokjon* all of which mean people close, near-by. The terms not only indicate closeness to someone powerful, but close with a sense of temporariness, affectionate but less permanent than family bonds. Other related terms used include *bishasto* (trusted), *onugoto* (loyal) and *onushari* (follower). These indicate slightly different relationships but are used interchangeably. The *ghonishtho* of an MP are often activists and upcoming leaders from affiliated organizations such as the student wing or the youth wing. They often come from the lower rungs but have shown promise and are ambitious. Pankaj and Tankha (2010) defined the origin of their relationship with the leader can vary from ideological and political closeness to individual closeness. Someone known as member of a *ghonishtho* mohol is valuable to know because he has the ear and trust of the leader. If you want to meet the leader, it makes sense to contact someone known as his *ghonishtho*.

CHAPTER 3

Profile of the Study Area and People

3.1 Profile of the Study Area: Gazaria Upazila

Gazaria anchal under Bikrampur was the political and cultural centre of ancient Bengal. It was officially known as Bikrampur until 1986 and was part of Dhaka District. The remains of the city of Bikrampur, the capital of the ancient kingdoms of southeastern Bengal, are lost and its location can only be guessed on the basis of available data. Gazaria anchal comprising the sub-district of Munshiganj stretching on the west of the Meghna and Dhaleshwari had been included in the kingdom of vikramapura in the ancient period. During the Sena rule Vikramapura in East Bengal had been the second capital of the Senas in addition to their capital at Nadia. After the fall of Nadia in the hands of bakhtiyar khalji (1204) the Sena King lakshmanasena fled to Vikramapura and began to rule East Bengal (Islam, 2003). Gazaria is mainly composed of alluvial land around the Meghna river. The locality became a part of Tippara Thana under the Assam District during British rule. Gazaria became the part of Munshiganj Thana in 1946 and the independent Gazaria Thana was established in 1954 (Rashid, 1990).

History of the war of liberation on 9 May 1971 the Pak Army, in collaboration with the local razakars, launched attack in different places of the upazila and killed 360 innocent persons. On 14 May the freedom fighters destroyed the Bhatar Char Bridge by explosive and disrupted the communication between Dhaka and Chittagong. The Pak army burnt most of the houses of the village Bausia on 22 May. Nine freedom fighters were killed by the Pak army on 3 December while they were destroying the Bhatar Char Bailey Bridge. On 8 December the Pak army killed 10 boys at Bhabar Char. An encounter was held between the freedom fighters and the Pak army on 9 December in which one freedom fighter, Jahangir Hossain was killed. On 14 December the allied forces conducted air raid on the Pak army in which two Pak gun-boats were damaged. On this day Gazaria was liberated (Ghosh, 2012).

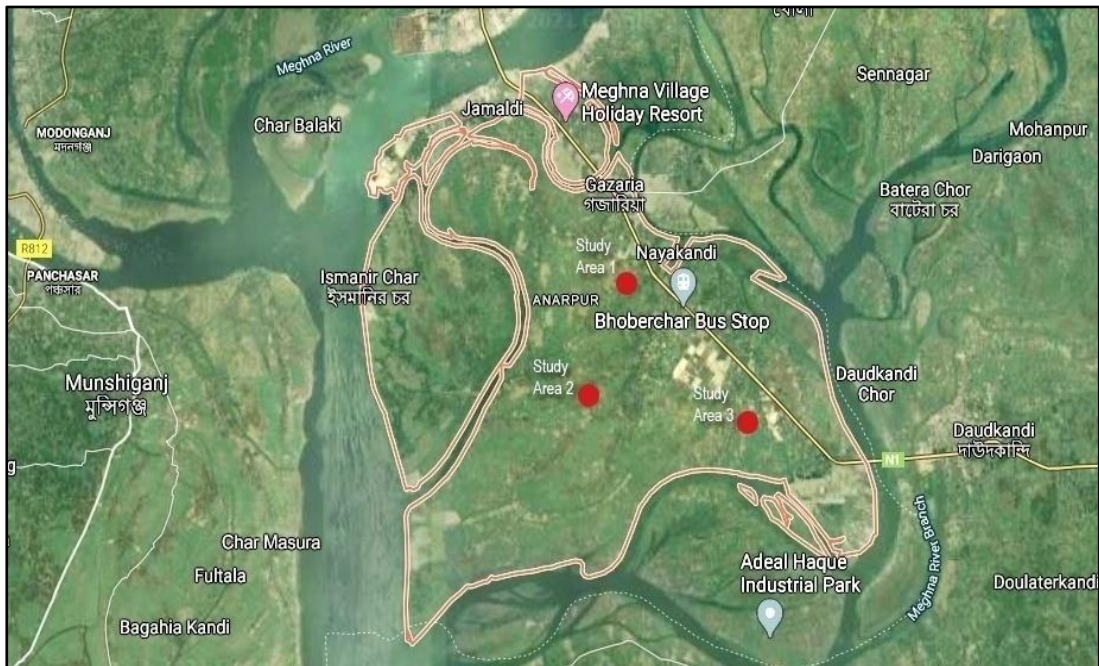
Specific Study Area Profile

I desired to select a study area smaller than the entire watershed and land area, it next had to determine where to locate the study area. I considered two potential strategies to address that question. The first strategy that I measured consisted of running the GIS data through an initial, large-scale prioritization scheme. Based on those results, I would select the highest-ranking portion of the watershed as the study area. The second strategy involved selecting the study area based on external factors, such as the needs of changing pattern area of leadership and power structure, rather than through a computational analysis of the GIS data. Both approaches had strengths and weaknesses. The selection of the study area using a computational data analysis could be view as more objective. In addition, by analyzing data for the entire watershed, I would presumably not overlook areas of potential interest or legitimate importance. This strategy had weaknesses. However, if I analyzed data for the entire watershed,

the analysis would have had to be fairly coarse and there was no guarantee that one or two areas would emerge as clear priorities.

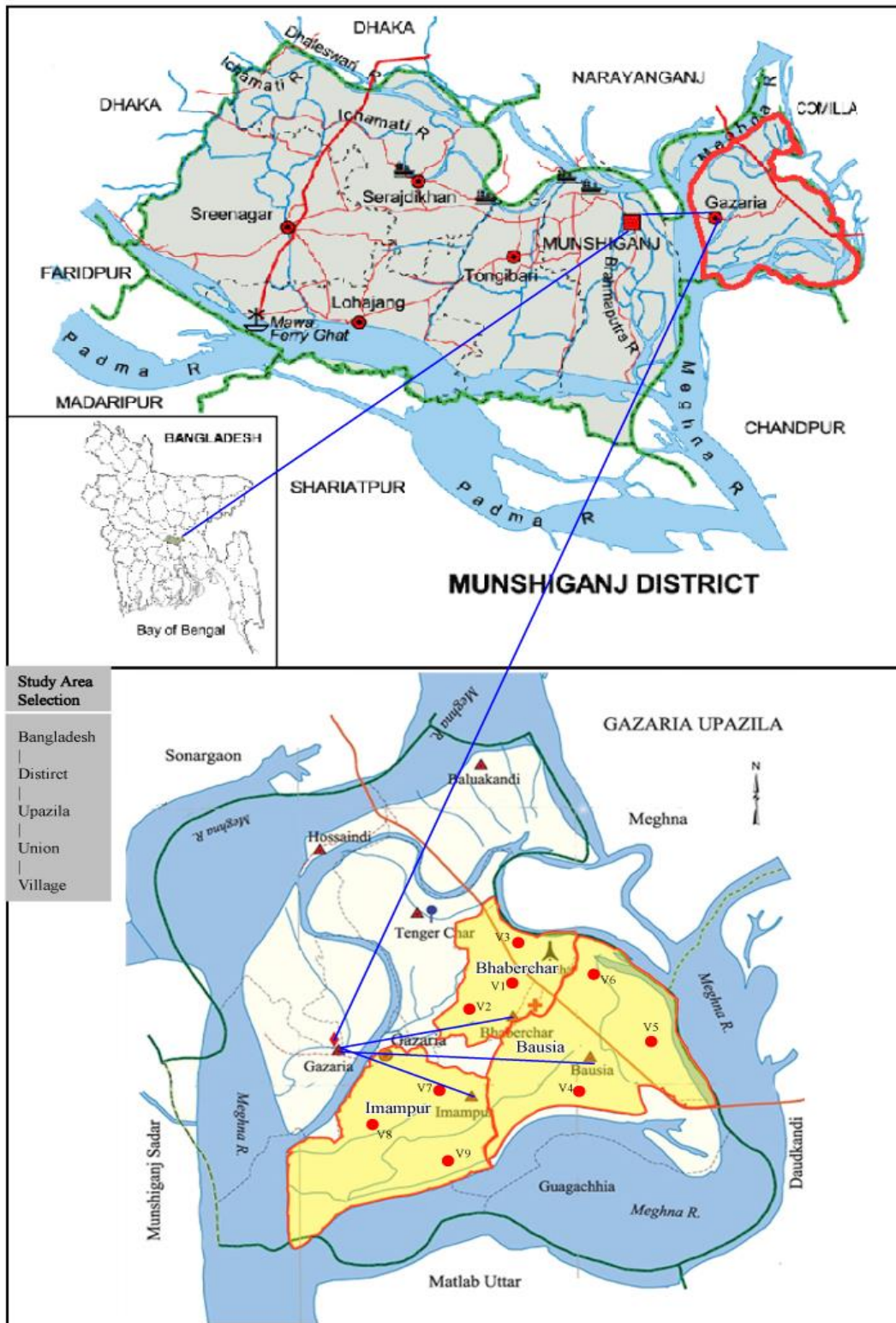
Once I agreed to locate the study area in the upper reaches of the Gazaria upazila of Munshiganj district, it next had to delineate definite boundaries. There are a variety of ways to delineate a study area. Following Maps 3.1 and 3.2 shows the selected study area.

Maps 3.1: Gazaria upazila, Munshiganj district map (Satellite view)



Source: Google Satellite Image, TerraMetrics Map Data, January 2022
(Latitude: 23.5570669, Longitude: 90.5670064)

Maps 3.2: Selected Study Area

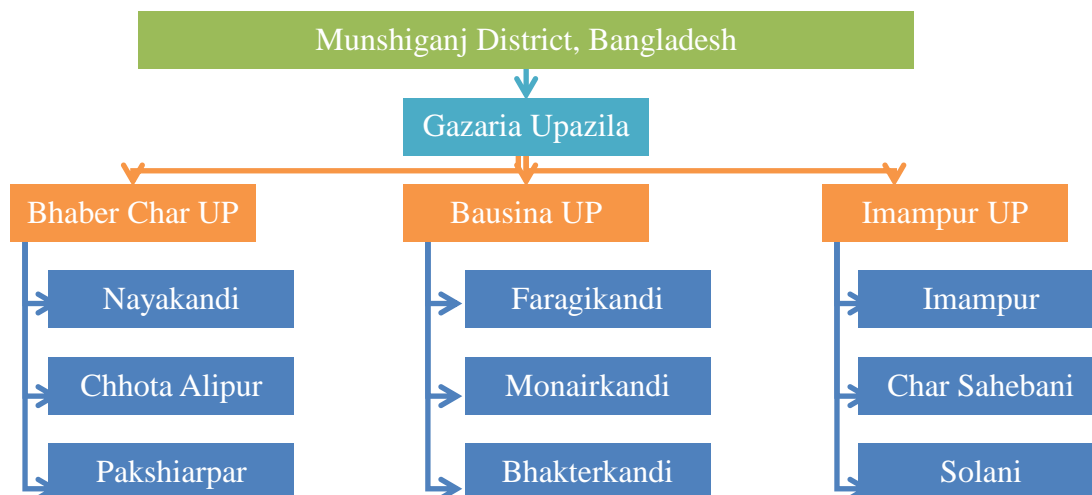


Source: LGED, 2018

Combining these three factors produced the following compromise sampling and the final delineation of the study area. In keeping with the research original emphasis on

planning at the land, the researcher defined the study area using landfill. I selected 9 villages of Gazaria upazila. Following Figure 3.1 show the randomizing study area selection.

Figure 3.1: Randomizing study area selection



Source: Fieldwork, 2022

The total population of Gazaria upazila is about 157988 (BBS, 2011) that the highest population increase during the decade 2001-2011 has taken place in Serajdikhan upazila of Munshiganj zila with the highest variation of 19.15% followed by Gazariaupa zila with 14.39%. The major contribution to the total population of zila is made by Munshiganj Sadar followed by Serajdikhan upazila with 26.51% and 19.93% respectively. It is noticed that urban population of Lohagang upazila has decreased by (-)5.59% in 2011 compared to 2001. This particular situation has happened mainly due to definitional change and exclusion of other Urban Area and Growth Center from 2011 Census (BBS, 2014). The geo-code and population of Gazaria upazila are shown in Table 3.1.

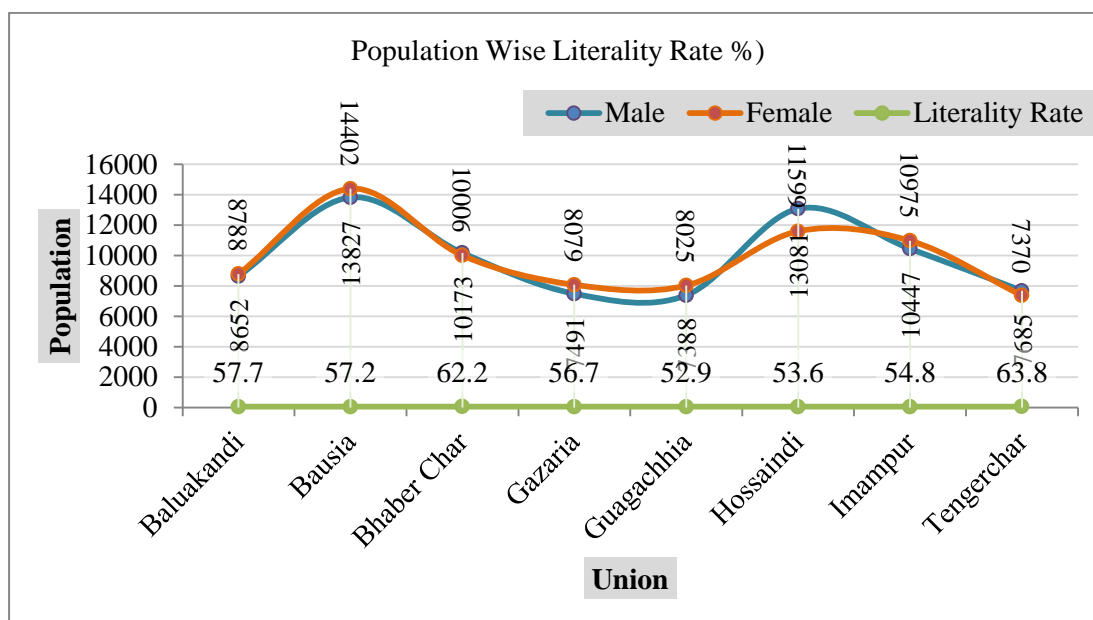
Table 3.1: Gazaria upazila union Geo-code and Population (BBS, 2014)

Geo Code	Union Name	Total Population			Literality Rate Both Sex (%)
		Male	Female	Total	
10	Baluakandi Union	8652	8788	17440	57.7
21	Bausia Union	13827	14402	28229	57.2
31	Bhabar Char Union	10173	10006	20179	62.2
42	Gazaria Union	7491	8079	15570	56.7
52	Guagachhia Union	7388	8025	15413	52.9
63	Hossaindi Union	13081	11599	24680	53.6
73	Imampur Union	10447	10975	21422	54.8
84	Tengerchar Union	7685	7370	15055	63.8

Source: BBS, 2014

Table 3.1 shows that the majority of people living in the Bausia union are 28229 and the lowest living in the Tengerchar Union is 15055. Table 3.1 indicates both sexes are found in Bausia Union and most inferior females live in the 7370 of the Tengerchar Union between the lowest 7388 of the Guagachhia Union.

Figure 3.2: Gazaria upazila in Munshiganj district, population (both sex) wise literacy rate (%)



Source: BBS, 2014

Most of the education rate of the population is 63.8% of the Tengerchar union of the Gazaria upazila in Figure 3.2.

Religion

Where a multi-communal plural society emerges, it is critical to investigate the leadership's religious-communal make-up. In a society that has seen the dividing effects of communal cleavages, it is critical to look at the year-by-year dispersion of rural leaders in terms of religion. As a result of the divisions of Bengal in 1947, which were based on religious differences, the Bengali mind has been permanently scarred. Is there any impact on leadership development from having recollections of the community's riots? (Bates, 1989). In addition, if we look at current Bengali politics, we see that the election system was dominated by the communalization of politics. East Pakistan's assembly elections are likewise marked by a strong influence of the communal card. Communal politics play a role in the voting process for unions (Gupta, 2006). In countries where the Muslim community is large, Muslim candidates run for office from a wide range of political parties. As a result, religion cannot be overlooked when looking at how rural leadership patterns are developing.

Table 3.2: Population by Religion, Age group and Residence (Rural Area of Gazaria upazila)

Age Group & Residence	Religion					
	Total	Muslim	Hindu	Christian	Buddhist	Other
Total	151429	146674	4707	16	5	27
0-4	14939	14534	399	1	0	5
5-9	18621	18045	572	1	1	2
10-14	17286	16783	500	0	0	3
15-19	14004	13545	456	2	0	1
20-24	13810	13369	436	1	1	3
25-29	14118	13654	455	4	1	4
30-34	10781	10428	349	1	1	2
35-39	9704	9352	348	1	1	2
40-44	8504	8226	277	0	0	1
45-49	6731	6501	227	2	0	1
50-54	6161	5961	200	0	0	0
55-59	3650	3547	101	0	0	2
60-64	4787	4645	141	1	0	0
65-69	2372	2303	69	0	0	0
70-74	2906	2815	89	2	0	0
75-79	1075	1047	27	0	0	1
80 +	1980	1919	61	0	0	0

Source: BBS, 2011

In Gazaria upazila of Munshiganj district, most of the people are young, according to the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics report (2011). The majority age group of 5-10 is 18621, and the minimal age range of 75-79 people is 1075 religious believers of the total population. Most of the Hindu believers are 2419 people and their 5-29 age range. Besides, the majority Muslim 5-29 age group is 77839 of the population in Table 3.2.

Education

Education plays a crucial part in developing the leadership pattern in a democratic polity, as democracy is not fought through the use of firearms but rather by the casting of ballots. Education is an extremely important factor in the development of rational public opinion. Education is yet another extremely significant factor that plays a role in determining the caliber of a leader. Despite the fact that education is not the only path to acquiring knowledge, it remains one of the most important vehicles for this type of information. Someone gains respect from society as well as increased levels of self-confidence as a result of their level of education. In this way, education appears to be a significant role in the development of qualities associated with leadership. A rural leader who has received proper education will have no trouble comprehending

and appreciating the importance of the legal and bureaucratic aspects of local administration (Nemerowicz & Rossi, 2014).

Table 3.3: Literacy of Population aged 7 Years & above by Age Group, Sex and Residence (Rural Area of Gazaria upazila)

Age Group & Residence	Male				Female			
	Total	Literacy		Illiterate	Total	Literacy		Illiterate
		Literate	% of total			Literate	% of total	
Total	64008	38038	59.43	25970	65134	35665	54.76	29469
7-9	5782	1427	24.68	4355	5491	1503	27.37	3988
10-14	8868	6553	73.89	2315	8418	6759	80.29	1659
15-19	6999	5804	82.93	1195	7005	6164	87.99	841
20-24	5930	4586	77.34	1344	7880	6310	80.08	1570
25-29	6435	4660	72.42	1775	7683	5432	70.7	2251
30-34	5212	3448	66.16	1764	5569	3091	55.5	2478
35-39	4699	2720	57.88	1979	5005	2105	42.06	2900
40-44	4251	2129	50.08	2122	4253	1452	34.14	2801
45-49	3570	1689	47.31	1881	3161	958	30.31	2203
50-54	3237	1427	44.08	1810	2924	724	24.76	2200
55-59	2029	999	49.24	1030	1621	370	22.83	1251
60-64	2504	1037	41.41	1467	2283	349	15.29	1934
65-69	1297	519	40.02	778	1075	163	15.16	912
70-74	1578	492	31.18	1086	1328	140	10.54	1188
75-79	622	230	36.98	392	453	53	11.7	400
80 +	995	318	31.96	677	985	92	9.34	893

Source: BBS, 2011

Table 3.3 reveals that most of the 15-19 age group of 5804 male (82.93%) and female 15-19 age group are 6164 (87.99%) literate found in the BBS report 2011.

Literacy rate and educational institutions

University 1, college 2, engineering staff college 1, vocational institutions 1, secondary school 12, primary school 67, madrasa 5. Noted educational institutions: Gazaria Government College, Bhaberchar Wazir Ali High School (1937), Gazaria Pilot High School (1947), Gazaria Pilot Girls' High School (1977), Baluakandi Dr. Abdul Gaffar' High School,' Osdown Academy Junior High School, Gazaria Batenia Senior Madrasa.

Main sources of income

Agriculture 44.63%, non-agricultural laborer 1.72%, industry 0.40%, commerce 17.02%, transport and communication 3.49%, service 6.80%, construction 1.52%, religious service 0.21%, rent and remittance 2.25% and others 21.96% (BBS, 2015).

The study of income background is not free from some shortcomings, because, the respondent does not like to speak the real income of him. However, in rural Bangladesh, it is seen that the villagers, generally respect those possessing high income. They become the informal leaders by virtue of their income. Therefore, there is no doubt that money is one of the important factors contributing to the emergence of a leader. Still now, it is believed in rural Munshiganj district that money power influences the voting behavior of rural poor people. From the field study, it can be analyzed that what income group of leader contests in the union parishad election in various years.

Households and Lifestyle of Gazaria Upazila

The sort of housing a person lives in is a key indicator of his or her economic status in a village. While a house provides protection from natural disasters, it also enhances one's psychological well-being and social prestige. People's social status is determined by the style of house they live in in our rural community. In addition, the rural leaders' usage of a motorbike as well as their use of radio, television, and the reading of the newspaper indicates their level of wealth. Folks in rural areas hold these people in high esteem. Respondents were asked if they had either a Kutcha (mud) house or a Pucca (brick) house and Jhupri/bullock in the questionnaire. We also inquired if the responder had access to radio and television, and whether or not he or she read the newspaper. In the following Table 3.4, the Gazaria upazila's living type dispersion will be examined.

Table 3.4: General Household by Drinking Water, Electricity, Main House Structure, and Residence (Rural Area of Gazaria upazila)

Type of Structure of the Main House and Residence	General household				
	Source of Drinking Water				Electricity Connection
	Total	Tap	Tube-well	Other	
Total	33333	1309	30045	1979	25780
Pucca	2623	818	1791	14	2421
Semi-pucca	3988	198	3738	52	3473
Kutcha	26462	292	24335	1835	19787
Jhupri	260	1	181	78	99

Source: BBS, 2011

Table 3.4 data shows that the maximum drinking water source found is 3988 in semi-pucca houses, and there is an electricity connection of 3473. The minimum safe drinking water source is 260, and 99 electricity connections are found in Jhupri houses, according to BBS 2011. Maximum people of Kutcha are drinking water from a tube-well which is 24335.

Table 3.5: Household by Type, Tenancy and Residence (Gazaria upazila)

Residence	All Household	General household			Institutional Household	Others Household	Ethnic Household
		Owned	Rented	Rent-free			
Total	34994	31227	2637	896	31	203	6
Rural	33542	29966	2504	863	26	183	6
Urban	1452	1261	133	33	5	20	0

Source: BBS, 2011

The data of table 3.5 expose that the type of general household is 31227 owned and rented and 2637 in Gazaria Munshiganj district. The lowest resident houses are rent-free and are 896 of a total of 34994.

Occupation

Another component in rural leadership structure is occupation. Only those who have a lot of free time and can afford to live in the village can be leaders (Whiteford, 2009). It is only possible for those with traditional occupations like farmers, agricultural workers, rural blacksmiths, cowherds, quacks, small company owners and teachers, homemakers, and those employed by private and public sectors, to remain in the rural area. The aforementioned occupation is, of course, where the majority of rural leaders hail from. However, even in British India, the majority of rural elites were moneylenders and landowners in the ancient time. In addition, we can discover primary and secondary school teachers participating in rural government in the current rural administration.

Table 3.6: Distribution of Head of Households by Residence and Main Occupation (%)

Major occupation	National	Rural	Urban
Professional, technical & related workers	7.92	7.40	9.20
Administrative & managerial works	0.65	0.17	1.83
Clerical & related works and government executive	14.31	10.42	23.88
Sales workers	13.95	11.29	20.48
Service workers	9.95	8.58	13.31
Agricultural, animal husbandry, forestry & fisheries	37.82	49.01	10.32
Production & related workers and transport workers	15.25	13.00	20.79
Head not working	0.16	0.14	0.19
Total	100.00	100.00	100.0

Source: Household Income Expenditure Survey, Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (2016), Ministry of Planning, Bangladesh Government

Table 3.6 data findings are agricultural, animal husbandry, forestry, and fisheries occupation people are 49.01% in rural areas and the lowest profession found are heads not working (unemployed) is 0.14% of Gazaria upazila. Through occupational status can indicate the class background of the persons concerned. A study of the occupational background of the rural leaders is the studies of class of rural leaders. Through the study of occupational background of rural leaders, study analyze that

what classes rule the local people (Dyk, 2009). In addition, from the year wise distribution of rural leaders in terms of occupation, it can be defined about the changing occupational background of the rural leaders.

Land holding

Land lies at the very core of Bengal's agrarian social system. Land is the most important possession which is linked with power over man. Having control of land is essential to gaining power. A person's socioeconomic standing and, thus, his or her potential for leadership are determined by their ownership of property (Ravallion & Sen, 1994). With regard to classifying cultivators, we can mention that there is a class of persons known as landlords in the most third-world countries who don't actually work on or manage the land, but who nevertheless make money off of it. Some rural residents, known as land laborers, make a living solely by selling their labor in farming. Furthermore, they are illegitimate workers who have no access to land. Many families, both in the upper and lower strata, have some claim to the land's bounty as owners, managers, renters, and so on.

East Pakistan's land ownership classification necessitates the mention of some land reform legislation. Zamindari was outlawed in 1953, and in 1972, the Bangladesh Land Reforms Act began a series of land reforms in the country (Shamsuddoha, 2014). An attempt was made to enforce the cap on family size in the Bangladesh Land Act 2020, which was drafted in early 2017. Priority was given to distributing the vested land to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes' landless and land-poor families.

Table 3.7: Rural Household by Size of Land (Owned and Operated), 2005-2016

Land size (in acre)	2016	2010	2005
Owned land			
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Landless	7.7	4.6	5.3
0.01-0.49	66.9	60.5	55.2
0.50-0.99	11.1	11.6	12.4
1.00-2.49	10.4	14.6	17.6
2.50-7.49	3.4	7.6	8.7
7.50 and above	0.6	1.1	1.6
Operated land			
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Landless	6.4	3.6	4.1
0.01-0.49	64.5	55.4	52.9
0.50-0.99	13.1	14.2	14.2
1.00-2.49	12.4	18.3	19.1
2.50-7.49	3.1	7.8	8.6
7.50 and above	0.6	0.7	0.9

Source: Household Income Expenditure Survey, Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (2016), Ministry of Planning, Bangladesh Government

Table 3.7 exposes that land owned a maximum of 66.90% (0.01-0.49 acre) and 0.06% (7.50 and above acre) in 2016. Ultimate land was less than 4.60% in 2010 (owned land), comparatively found 3.60% in 2010 of operated land.

Agricultural Structure and Development

In the late twentieth century, some theorists pronounced the demise of the peasantry as if it were a foregone conclusion. Historian Hobsbawm and Wrigley (1999) noted even penned an obituary of the peasantry, saying, ‘The most dramatic and far reaching social change of the second half of this century (twentieth) and the one which cuts us off forever from the world of the past, is the death of the peasantry’ (Hobsbawm & Wrigley, 1999).

Marx (1867) approach to the study of the peasantry hinges on his deployment of the concept of ‘so-called primitive accumulation’. In this process, landlords and rural capitalist classes used violent means to expropriate agricultural land the principal means of peasant production from peasant producers. This process led to peasants’ transformation into industrial proletariats. Zarembka (2000) compared by his study Marx and Friedrich. Later, Kautsky and Lenin further advanced Marx’s theory of primitive accumulation and argued that by creating a greater need for wage labour, industrialization in the late nineteenth century had largely commodified agricultural production in Western Europe and Russia and, in so doing, eroded the material basis of the peasant economy (Stenson, 1991). Kautsky and Lenin contended that the intensification of industrialization and the penetration of capital in the rural economy had a two-pronged effect on peasantry: it transformed large peasants into surplus producers for capital (Willoughby, 1979) and small peasants into wage labourers, since they were unable to compete with the market forces (Akram-Lodhi et al., 2009). It is important to note that, as Akram Lodhi and Kay (2009) remind us that is, a deterministic model of agrarian change.

It is difficult to explain these apparent contradictory trends of simultaneous expansion of small peasant and agricultural labour holdings amidst a capitalist restructuring, the very purpose of which is to depeasantize the economy. The people belief that population growth leads to fragmented farm sizes, the growth of small sizes and small peasantry only offers a partial account. It is true that population growth accounts for some of the subdivision of agricultural holdings. Nonetheless, theoretically, it fails to explain why the numbers of both peasant and overall farm households have gone up, considering that the reforms promised to reduce the size of the agrarian population by creating employment opportunities in the formal sector and absorbing them there. More importantly, had population growth truly been the main cause, we would not have seen the heightened state of inequality in landownership over the years. Many researchers, as well as the Pitt and World Bank (1996), report a higher concentration of landownership among big landowners in rural areas of Bangladesh, which they argue has led to a polarization within the landholding agrarian classes. These

researchers attribute the fragmentation of farm sizes to this polarization of landownership.

Land Reforms

The post independent Gazaria upazila took step, under the land reforms act, for abolishing zamindari class and other subordinate classes which were created during the British period (Wood, 1981). In accordance with the Bengali Zamindari Acquisition Act of 1953, all small and major zamindaris, as well as all intermediate classes, were eliminated beginning in the year 1954. In the district that was formerly known as Bikrampur but is now called Munshiganj, the vested land was divided up as follows up to 1983 thanks to the efforts of the land reforms administration.

3.2 Profile of the Study People

Sex of the respondents

Following table 3.8 shows the sex distribution of the respondents.

Table 3.8: Sex distribution

Variable	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Male	106	71.14	71.14
Female	43	28.86	100.00
Total	149	100.00	

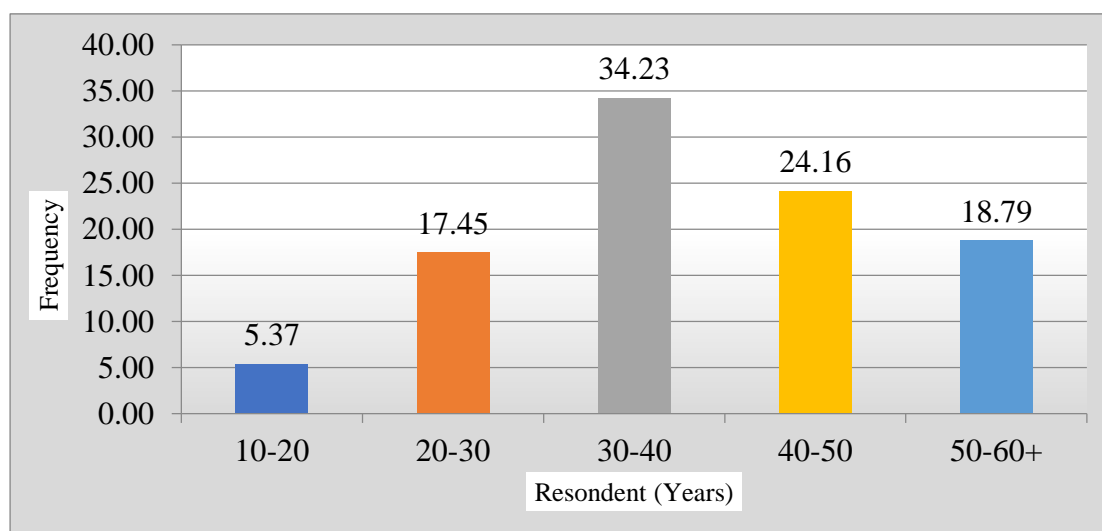
Source: Fieldwork, 2022

Table 3.8 shows that 71.14 percent of the respondents are male and 28.86 percent of the respondents are female.

Age (years) of the respondents

Following figure 3.3 shows the age (year) distribution of the respondents.

Figure 3.3: Age year wise distribution



Source: Fieldwork, 2022

Figure 3.3 shows that 5.37 percent of the respondents are within the age group of 10-20 years, 17.45 percent are within 20-30 years, 34.23 percent are within 30-40 years, 24.16 percent are within 40-50 years and 18.79 percent are above 50 years.

Educational qualification of respondents

Following table 3.9 shows the educational qualification respondents.

Table 3.9: Educational Qualification

Variable	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
informal education	34	22.82	22.82
Up to primary	45	30.20	53.02
Up to SSC	23	15.44	68.46
Up to HSC	15	10.07	78.52
Graduate	13	8.72	87.25
Post graduate & above	19	12.75	100.00
Total	149	100.00	

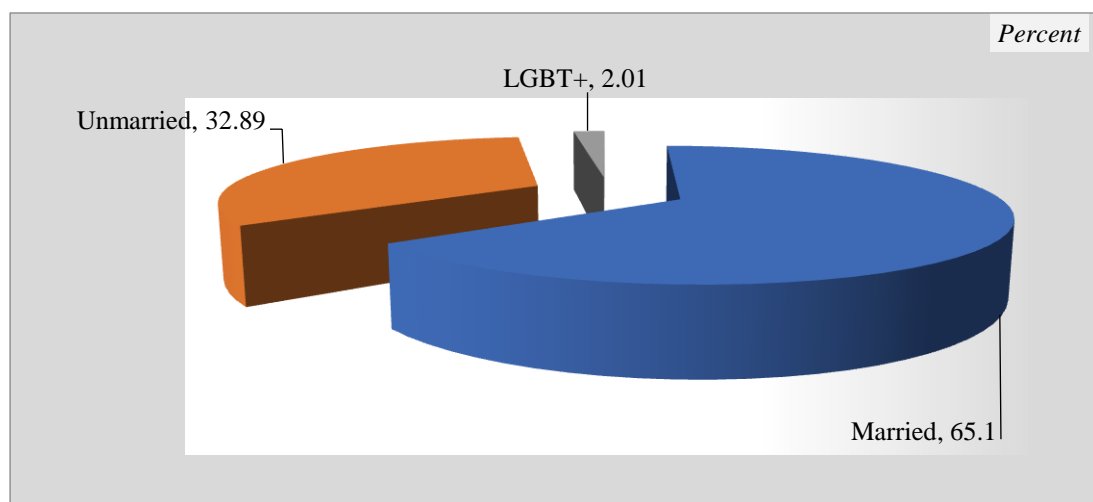
Source: Fieldwork, 2022

Table 3.9 reveals that about 22.82 percent respondents do not have any formal education, 30.20 percent respondents have primary level of education, 15.44 percent respondents have secondary level of education, 10.07 percent respondents have higher secondary level of education, 8.72 percent respondents have graduation and 12.75 percent respondents have post-graduation and above.

Marital status of respondents

Following figure 3.4 shows the marital status of respondents.

Figure 3.4: Marital Status of respondents



Source: Fieldwork, 2022

Notes: LGBT (January 26, 2014, the Bangladesh cabinet announced the recognition of a third gender)

Figure 3.4 exposes that 32.89 percent respondents are unmarried, 65.1 percent respondents are married and 2.01 percent are LGBT.

Religion of respondents

Following table 3.10 shows the religion of respondents.

Table 3.10: Religion of Respondents

Variable	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Muslim	121	81.21	71.81
Hindu	28	18.79	100.00
Buddhist	0	0.00	100.00
Christian	0	0.00	100.00
Other	0	0.00	100.00
Total	149	100.00	

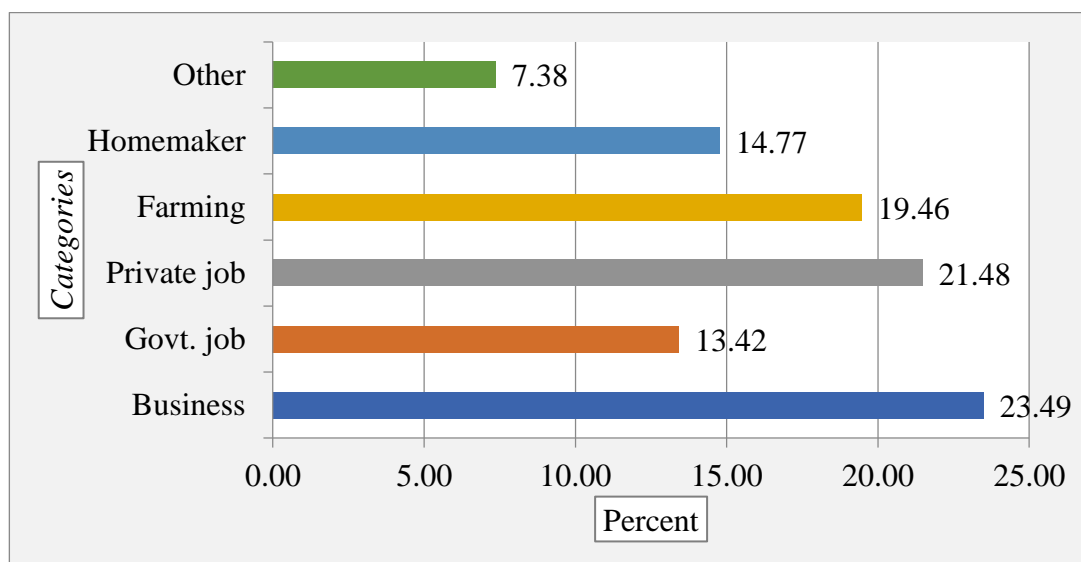
Source: Fieldwork, 2022

Table 3.10 exposes that 81.21 percent of the respondents are Muslim, 18.79 percent of the respondents are Hindu and the other religion people are not lived in this area.

Occupational status of the respondent

Following figure 3.5 shows the occupational status of respondents.

Figure 3.5: Occupational status of the respondents



Source: Fieldwork, 2022

Figure 3.5 shows that 23.49 percent of the respondents are Businessman, 13.42 percent of the respondents are Govt. employee, 21.48 percent of the respondents are private job holder, 19.46 percent of the respondents are Farmer, 14.77 percent of the respondents are Homemaker and 7.38 percent of the respondents are others.

Profession was ancestor involved in study area

Following table 3.11 shows the Profession was ancestor involved in study area.

Table 3.11: Profession was ancestor involved in study area

Variable	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Agriculture	66	44.30	44.30
Private service	30	20.13	64.43
Artisan	4	2.68	67.11
Govern employee	9	6.04	73.15
Non-agriculture labour	26	17.45	90.60
Trader	12	8.05	98.66
Rent Receiver	1	0.67	99.33
Other	1	0.67	100.00
Total	149	100.00	

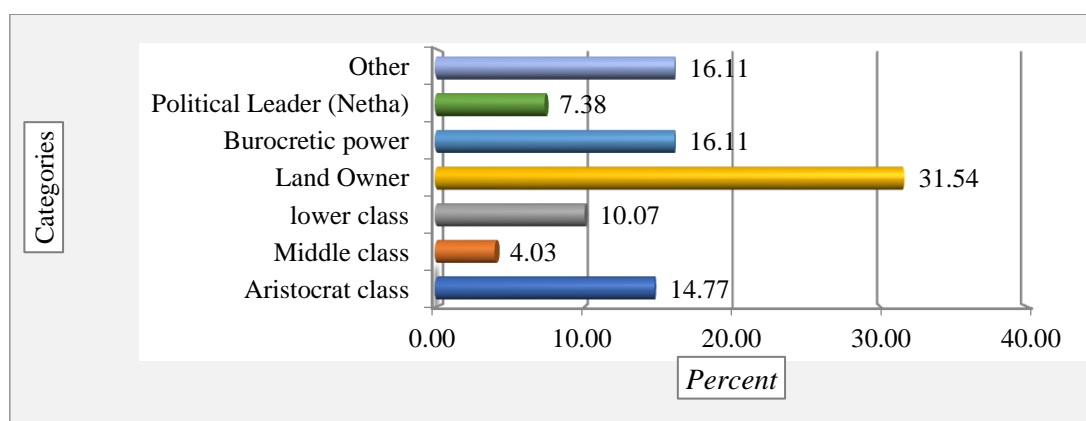
Source: Fieldwork, 2022

Table 3.11 exposes that 44.30 percent ancestor is involved with Agriculture, 20.13 percent ancestor is involved with private service 2.68 percent ancestor is involved with Artisan , 6.04 percent ancestor are Govern employee, 17.45 percent ancestor is involved with Non-agriculture labour, 8.05 percent ancestor are Trader, 0.67 percent ancestor are Rent receiver and 0.67 percent ancestor is involved with Other.

Class of ancestors are ruled

Following figure 3.6 shows the classes of ancestors.

Figure 3.6: Classes of ancestors are ruled by



Source: Fieldwork, 2022

Figure 3.6 presents that 31.54 percent are Land Owners, 16.11 percent are *Jamidars*, 14.77 percent are Aristocrats, 10.07 percent are Royals, 7.38 percent are political leaders, and 16.11 percent are from other families. We also have 31.54 percent of our ancestors who are Land Owners.

Party Affiliation

In 1978, the local administration encouraged and supported the open participation of political parties in the union election. Since the UP chairman election in 1982, Bangladesh has used this system. At first, the people who were responsible for drafting the Local Government (Union Parishads) Ordinance, 1983 believed that it ought to be free from party politics as well as party-less democracy and ought to be based on consensus. After some time had passed, a fresh viewpoint emerged, and it argued that this viewpoint was untenable. It is impossible to shield village administration from the influence of political parties if that administration is intertwined with the overall administrative structure of the country. It was discovered in the past that representatives, despite the fact that they were not permitted to compete in elections using the insignia, were nonetheless affiliated with various political parties. Therefore, when the report from the Bangladesh Government was finally published, the Bangladesh Government made the decision to hold elections based on party affiliation.

The political party has been in complete control of the union election every year since 2010. However, previous to 1978, the elections that took place between 1957 and 1969 at the level of Gram Chowkider and block, as well as the election that took place in 1964 at the level of Zilla Parishad, revealed that Bangladesh Awami League had an overwhelming presence. The purpose of this study is to determine the political affiliation of rural leaders on a year-by-year basis, beginning in 2010, and continuing up to the present.

Village and Population

The population size of study area defined as the number of individuals present in a subjectively designated geographic range. Despite the simplicity in its concept, locating all individuals during a census (a full count of every individual) is nearly impossible; usually estimate population size by counting individuals within a small sample area and extrapolating that sample to the larger population. Regardless of the challenges in measuring population size, it is an important characteristic of a population with significant implications for the dynamics of the population as a whole.

Table 3.12: Selected study area population size

Gazaria upazila, Munshiganj district	Union Name	Population	Village Name	Total Household	Population
	Bhabar Char	17440	Nayakandi	211	988
			Chhota Alipur	347	1619
			Pakshiarpar	528	1966
	Bausia	28229	Faragikandi	382	1904
			Monairkandi	374	1661
			Bhakterkandi	215	1020
	Imampur	21422	Imampur	230	997
			Char Sahebani	334	1589
			Solani	421	1806
Total	67091	9	3042	13550	

Source: BBS, 2015

Table 3.12 data shows that the Bhabarchar union had a total population of 17440 in 1996 in Paksharpar. In addition, the 28229 population of Bausia Union, and the maximum population size is 1904 in Faragikandi. The total population of Impampur union is 21422, and the majority population found in Solani village is 1806, according to table 3.12.

A more complete description of a population's size includes the population household and the size of a population in relation to the amount of people. Density is usually expressed as the number of individuals per unit area or volume by BBS (2015), Total household 22113 of 128,368 the number of people are living in 130.92 km² in Gazaria upazila, Munshiganj district (BBS, 2001). Like all population properties, density is a dynamic characteristic that changes over time and impact on rural leadership power structure from the population (BBS, 2015).

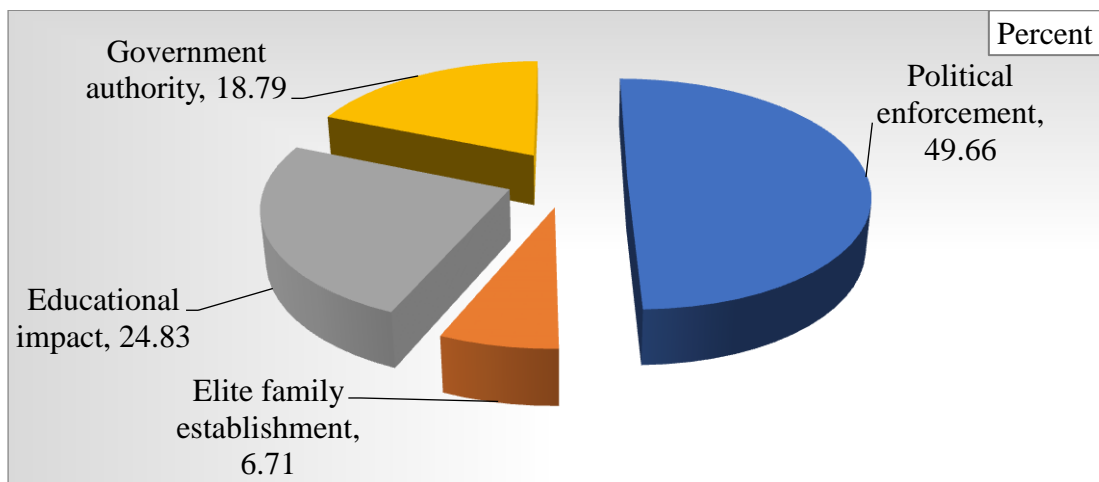
CHAPTER 4

Rural Leadership and Power Structure in Gazaria Upazila: Pattern of Changes

4.1 Leadership, Power, and Political Socialization in Munshiganj District

The leader's personality qualities, which seem to be based on his or her psychological orientations, have a considerable impact on the way he or she leads. Fundamental views and values about the national and one's place in it, as well as how one interacts with other people, are defining characteristics. This psychic-organization or mind-set tends to govern not only what the person accomplishes but also how he does inter-act with his fellow human beings. Thus, all roles and conduct of the individual and his or her inter-personal connections in the society including those in the sphere politics appear to be dictated by his or her specific pattern of psychological organization. To fully grasp how people behave politically and how the political system works, it is crucial to look into the patterns of political society that leader's exhibit. This is because the successful achievement of societal goals relies on leaders' ability to fulfill their leadership responsibilities, which in turn is influenced by their personal patterns of political society. Following figure 4.1 shows the change of leadership that is having the most impact in this area.

Figure 4.1: Change of leadership that is having the most impact in Gazaria Upazila



Source: Fieldwork, 2022

Figure 4.1 reveals that 49.66 percent of the respondents think Political enforcement is the main cause for changing of leadership, 24.83 percent of the respondents think educational impact is the main cause for changing of leadership, 18.79 percent of the respondents think government authority is the main causes for changing of leadership and 6.71 percent of the respondents think elite family establishment is the main causes

for changing of leadership. Following table 4.1 shows the social changes take place under the influence of local leadership.

Table 4.1: Social changes take place under the influence of local leadership

Variable	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Socio-economy	25	16.78	16.78
Agricultural Land	34	22.82	39.60
Jurisdiction/Local government	67	44.97	84.56
Education	23	15.44	100.00
Total	149	100.00	

Source: Fieldwork, 2022

Table 4.1 exposes that 16.78 percent of respondents believe that socio-economic changes are influenced by local leadership, 22.82 percent believe that agricultural land changes are influenced by local leadership, 44.97 percent believe that jurisdictional changes are influenced by local leadership, and 15.44 percent believe that education changes are influenced by local leadership. Following table 4.2 shows the changing pattern of leadership.

Table 4.2: Changing Pattern of Leadership

Variable	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Elected by Personal popularity	73	48.99	48.99
Bureaucracy effect	16	10.74	59.73
Elected by ruling party	39	26.17	85.91
Ruled by the administration	21	14.09	100.00
Total	149	100.00	

Source: Fieldwork, 2022

Table 4.2 exposes that 48.99 percent of the respondents think leadership are changed in Gazaria by personal popularity, 10.74 percent of the respondents think leadership are changed by bureaucrats, 26.17 percent of the respondents think leadership are changed by ruling party and 14.09 percent of the respondents think leadership are changed in Gazaria by the administration.

Case Study-1: Interpretation of Local Political Process

It was determined that Sajjad Hossain, 43, a member of ward 3 of the Bhaberchar Union Parishad, had passed away. Since his time as a student, he has actively participated in volunteer work related to development. Following his lengthy exile and subsequent return to the country, he maintained cordial relationships with prominent regional politicians, including *Bandumahal*. Notably, he was motivated to run for public office and became involved in initiatives pertaining to social development. Consequently, he was elected to serve as the local UP public representative. Mr. Hossain responded, "Activists and members of contemporary local

associations are encouraged to participate in politics by adopting and implementing civil and conscious activist agendas" when asked about the current local political process.

Case Study-2: Role of the Family

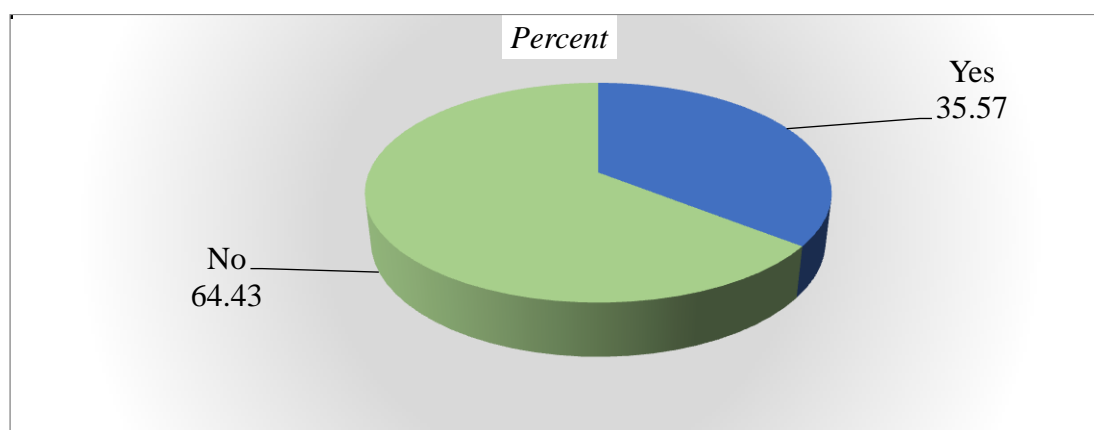
Gazaria upazila is part of Munshiganj district, and Hritu Sarkar, who is 34 years old, serves as the vice-chairman (female). Her father had a long and distinguished career as a respected community member. This led Ritu Sarkar to follow in her father's footsteps in politics and public service. Simultaneously, he felt compelled to follow in his father's political footsteps, so she became actively involved in politics and spearheaded efforts to empower women. She stated, "My father's political identity and family's generosity played an acceptable role in my coming to politics and helped me to some extent to win as a public representative." The case study illustrates how families play a vital role in rural leadership.

Case Study-3: Role of Education

Chairman of the Bhaberchar Union Parishad, for the second time, was engineer Ripon (45 years old). The populace's election to local leadership has been significantly impacted by his esteemed academic credentials and admirable character. This behaviour signifies his openness to scholarly inquiry, political engagement, and rural administration. In the words of Ripon, "It is not possible to bring positive changes in the society without implementing an educated society and education-friendly programmes". As a consequence, education remains the sole viable means of imparting sustainable leadership.

Enhancing the ability of education in rural regions necessitates an intricate procedure that relies heavily on the use of numerous approaches. This may involve forming alliances with local associations and other entities that share the goal of enhancing the educational standards in rural areas, which are considered to be a political factor influencing outcomes. Following figure 4.2 the education has its roots in leadership.

Figure 4.2: Education has its roots in leadership



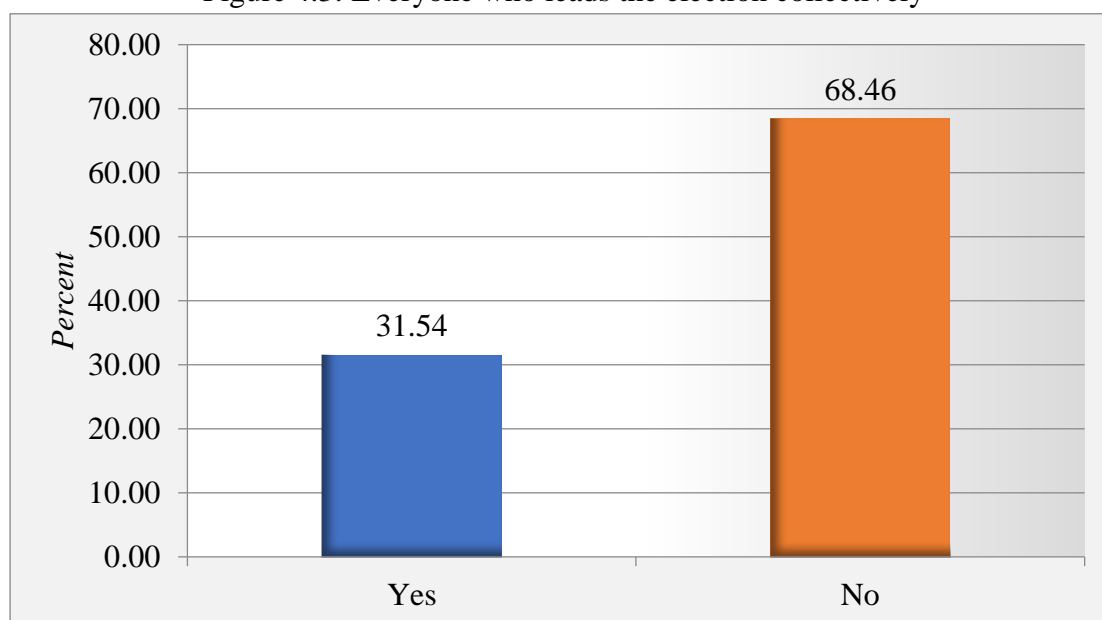
Source: Fieldwork, 2022

Figure 4.2 that just 35.57 percent of respondents believe education derives from leadership, whilst 64.43 percent of respondents believe education does not derive from leadership. Following case study 3 express the role of education in rural leadership.

Case Study-4: Role of National Politics

Amjad Bepari (45) was elected chairman of the Gazaria upazila Baushia Union Parishad. He assisted the local business community in the development of industrial zones. Consequently, he experienced financial gains and gained recognition within society as an eminent entrepreneur. Subsequently, he became involved in civic engagements and harbored ambitions of assuming the role of a public representative. He sustained correspondence and empathy with the preeminent political figures in order to safeguard the party emblem. As a consequence of this, he was bestowed with the emblem of the governing political party in 2016 and emerged unseated to the position of chairman in the local union council election. He stated, "We have taken various steps for the old and young people and provided financial assistance, as a result of which I have been elected chairman of the Union Parishad unopposed." "The cooperation of national level organizations and central leaders in participating in the election is undeniable," he continued. Upon reviewing the aforementioned case study, it becomes evident that national politics serves as the party emblem in the instance of Mr. Bepari assuming the position of chairman. Following figure 4.3 the everyone who leads the election collectively and Figure 4.4 Party influence in local elections in village.

Figure 4.3: Everyone who leads the election collectively

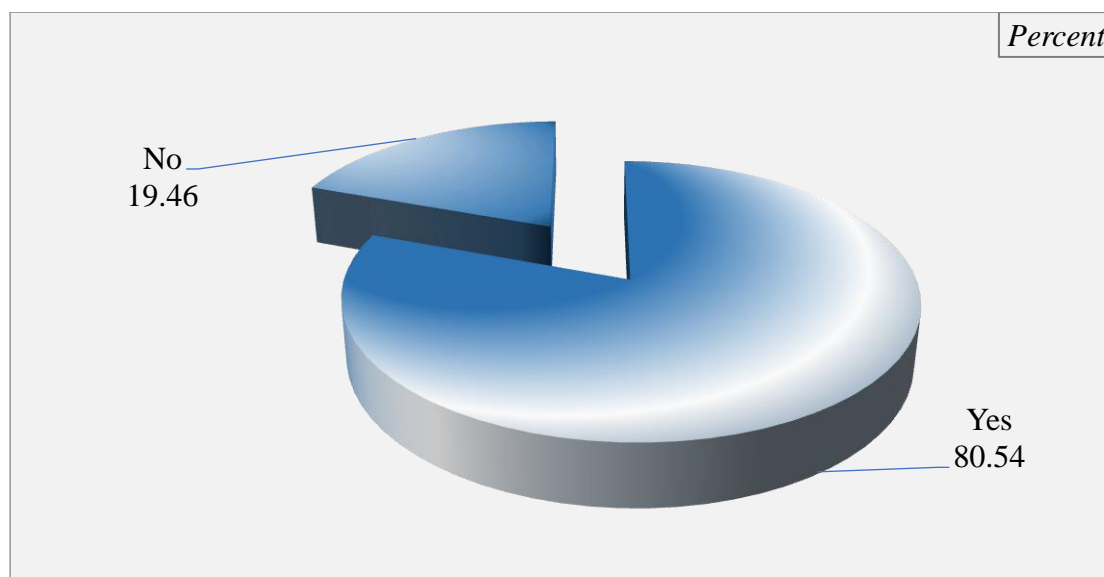


Source: Fieldwork, 2022

Figure 4.3 finds that 31.54 percent of the respondents think Everyone who leads the village vote collectively and 68.46 percent of the respondents think Everyone who

leads the village don't vote collectively. Following figure 4.4 the party influence in local elections in village.

Figure 4.4: Party influence in local elections in village



Source: Fieldwork, 2022

Figure 4.4 exposes that 80.54 percent of the respondents think national party have influence on local election and 19.46 percent of the respondents think national party have not influence on local election.

4.2 Rural Power Structure and Inequality

The political system of Bangladesh ensures that all residents of Munshiganj District, including both ordinary citizens and their elected officials, are able to fulfill their civic responsibilities. Following discussion shows the respondents' understandings about bureaucracy, political party, and situation of minority in Gazaria Upazila.

Respondents' Feeling about Bureaucracy

Many respondents believe that bureaucrats support local election candidates, particularly those for the Union Parishad, Upazila Parishad, and MP, either directly or indirectly. In pursuit of leadership, politicians and candidates exert particular endeavors to secure the cooperation of these administrators. Furthermore, the intervention and collaboration of the candidates' close relatives are evident. Following table 4.3 shows people feeling about government bureaucracy.

Table 4.3: Respondents' Feeling about Government Bureaucracy

Respondents who expect	Frequency	Percentage	Cum. Percent
Equality of Treatment	79	53.02	53.02
Don't expect equality of Treatment	70	46.98	100.00
Total	149	100.00	

Source: Fieldwork, 2022

Table 4.3 expose that 53.02 percent of respondents anticipate equal treatment in government offices, whilst 46.98 percent of respondents do not expect equal treatment. Thus, a majority of the respondents in the sample were found to have been favorably orientated toward the public bureaucracy.

Attitude toward Political Parties

The people of Gazaria upazila of Munshiganj district think that different political parties give manifestos and promises before the election. After winning the election, the leaders of the political parties do not take many actions, according to the election manifesto. Rural development requires dedicated and committed politicians. Following table 4.4 shows attitude toward political parties in general.

Table 4.4: Attitude toward Political Parties in General

Respondents who favor	Frequency	Percentage	Cum. Percent
Retention of Parties	113	75.84	75.84
Abolition of Parties	36	24.16	100.00
Total	149	100.00	

Source: Fieldwork, 2022

Table 4.4 discovered that 75.84 percent of the respondents advocate retention of political parties, whilst 24.16 percent of the respondents advise for elimination of political parties. As a result, the vast majority of those polled had a favorable opinion of political parties as essential pillars of a healthy democracy.

Impact of the Political Trend

It has been demonstrated that the political trend in which the respondents of the sample play their roles provides a tremendous amount of room for them to obtain participatory experiences. These experiences can be gained by voting in elections, engaging in election campaigns, and participating in political activities. A Focus Group Discussion (FGD) has been conducted among the respondents. Following case study is presented from that FGD.

Case Study-5: Changing Leadership Pattern

A remarkable change occurred in the power structure of rural Bangladesh during the last decade, more specifically from 2001 to 2007. Among the elites, the younger ones were dominating the villages, whereas, the older ones were losing the elite status, because of their lack of positional status and power. It also revealed that the rural leaders changed their policy to create and sustain power, such as building business associations, forming party networks involving with different government and non-government organizations and maintaining a good link with local Member of Parliament etc. Finally, it can be said that a significant change occurred in leadership pattern and power structure of rural Bangladesh. The dramatic change occurred in the power structure of Gazaria Upazila as well as rural Bangladesh during 2001-2007, when the rural people as well as the nation also, experienced a quite different leadership shifting. The respondents said that the actual and diversified implementation of parliamentary system of government changed the national and rural political structure. Again, they expressed that the implementation of micro-credit and income generating development programs in the study village by the NGOs and government organizations created a significant cash earning class in the village. The expansion of education for all also created a new opportunity to participate in the formal and informal local power structure. Young and educated persons were participating in the decision-making procedures of Gazaria Upazila. The local level leaders were sitting in the parliament as honorable lawmaker in one hand, and a good link between Member of Parliament (MP) and local leaders created unprecedented change, in the rural power structure on the other. A local party was more powerful than the UP chairman, members or higher lineage group, if these people had warm relations with local ruling party leaders and MP. Following table 4.5 shows the changes occur under the power of leadership.

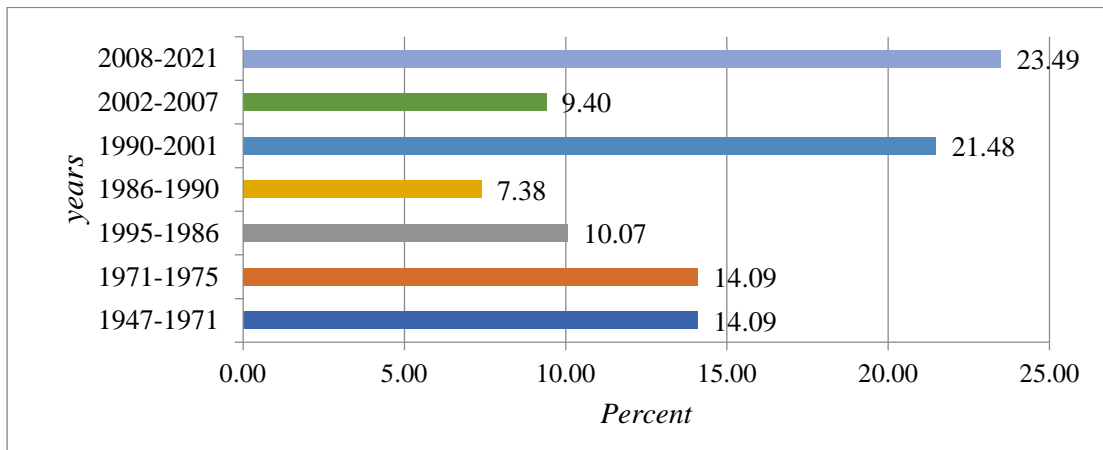
Table 4.5: Changes occur under the power of leadership

Variable	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Social power	53	35.57	35.57
Leadership culture	30	20.13	55.70
Created elite group	34	22.82	78.52
Educational changed	32	21.48	100.00
Total	149	100.00	

Source: Fieldwork, 2022

Table 4.5 reveals that 35.57 percent respondents think under the power of leadership change, social power changed, 20.13 percent respondents think under the power of leadership change, leadership culture changed, 22.82 percent respondents think under the power of leadership change, elite group created and 21.48 percent respondents think under the power of leadership change, education system changed. Following figure 4.5 shows the local leadership is observed.

Figure 4.5: Local leadership is commonly observed



Source: Fieldwork, 2022

Figure 4.5 represent that 23.49 percent respondents think local leadership are most commonly observed at 2008-2021, 21.48 percent respondent are thinking rural leadership changed in 1990-2001, 9.40 percent local leadership pattern changed in 2002-2007, 7.38 percent respondent are 1986-1990 and 1947-1975 leadership power structured are 14.09 percent has been changed.

Parental Politicization and Respondents' Sense of Political Competence

The Faraji, Sarkar, Shikdar, and Dhali clans of the Bhaberchar union were renowned for their significant influence during that period. The literate individuals within the clan assumed the role of local leaders and were responsible for dispensing justice inside the village-salish. They were deprived of their leadership due to the implementation of the Local Government Ordinance. Currently, the local populace often assesses these families, but their structural impact is not observed. The renowned clans of Imampur Union, namely Khan, Shikdar, Mia, and Dorji, exerted significant influence through the Dadan system. The Khan dynasty recently exerted significant influence over local elections and leadership. The Huda, Faraji, Shikdar, and Bepari tribes in the Baushia Union of Gazaria Upazila have acquired significant power. Currently, the prominence of the Huda and Farazi families' leadership is observed. The results are summarized in Table 4.6, which can be seen down below.

Table 4.6: Linkage between politicized parental family and Respondent's sense of political competence

Level of Politicization	Frequency	Percentage	Cum. Percent
Politicized Parental Family	109	73.15	73.15
Non-Politicized Parental Family	40	26.85	26.85
Total	149	100.00	

Source: Fieldwork, 2022

Table 4.6 reveals that linkage between politicized parental family were 73.15 percent politicized parental family and non-politicized parental family were 26.85 percent found on sense of political competence. Therefore, there is a very significant correlation observed of politicization of parental family and the feeling of political ability of the respondents in the sample. Following table 4.7 shows the elite families have a role to play in leading local area.

Table 4.7: Elite families have a role to play in leading local area

Variable	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Yes	82	55.03	55.03
No	67	44.97	100.00
Total	149	100.00	

Source: Fieldwork, 2022

Table 4.7 discovers that 55.03 percent of respondents believe elite families do have a role to play in leading the local region, while 44.97 percent of respondents believe elite families do not have any role to play in leading the local area. Following table 4.8 shows the noble family's village election primitivism.

Table 4.8: Noble family's village election primitivism

Variable	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Yes	75	50.34	50.34
No	74	49.66	100.00
Total	149	100.00	

Source: Fieldwork, 2022

Table 4.8 reveals that 50.34 percent of the respondents think Primitiveness of the noble family observed in the village during the time of election and 49.66 percent of the respondents think Primitiveness of the noble family do not observed in the village during the time of election. Following table 4.9 shows the *Zamindari* customary has an acceptable effect on leadership.

Table 4.9: Zamindari customary has an acceptable effect on leadership

Variable	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Yes	105	70.47	70.47
No	44	29.53	100.00
Total	149	100.00	

Source: Fieldwork, 2022

Table 4.9 reveals that 70.47 percent of the respondents think *Zamindari* customary have an acceptable effect on leadership and 29.53 percent of the respondents think *Zamindari* customary have not acceptable effect on leadership.

Party affiliation of parents and respondents

Party affiliation of the parents of the respondents of the sample has been examined in relation to the present party-affiliation of the respondents. This has been done for assessing the impact of the politicized family on the socializes in the context of their manifest political socialization. The findings are presented in Table 4.10 given below.

Table 4.10: Current and previous party affiliations of respondents

Parental Party Affiliation	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Bangladesh Awami League	83	55.70	55.70
Bangladesh Nationalist Party	32	21.48	77.18
Jamaat-e-Islami	16	10.74	87.92
Jatiya Party	11	7.38	95.30
Socialist and Others	7	4.70	100.00
Total	149	100.00	

Source: Fieldwork, 2022

Table 4.10 shows that 55.70 percent of respondents whose parents were members of the Bangladesh Awami League, 21.48 percent of respondents whose parents were members of the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP), and 7.38 percent of respondents whose parents were members of the Jatiya party are members of the parties they were raised in. In calculating these percentages, we used the political leanings of the respondents' own parents. 4.70 percent of those polled who were born to parents who did not identify with either major political party elected to identify as socialists party or other political parties. We may infer from the high degree of correlation that the respondents' present political views are closely linked to the political views of their parents. Following table 4.11 shows the role of an elite family in inspect in the election of leaders in village area.

Table 4.11: Role of an elite family in inspect in the election of leaders in village area

Variable	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Yes	99	66.44	66.44
No	50	33.56	100.00
Total	149	100.00	

Source: Fieldwork, 2022

Table 4.11 represents that 66.44 percent of the respondents think Role of a elite family are seen in the election of leaders in village area and 33.56 percent of the respondents think Role of an elite family are not seen in the election of leaders in village area.

Family Authority Structures

The authority structure of the parental family of the respondents has been identified on the basis of their interactions with the parents. Table 4.12 shows authority structure in the parental family of the respondents.

Table 4.12: Authority Structure in the Parental Family of the Respondents

Those who interacted and discussed their personal problems	Frequency	Percentage	Cum. Percent
Freely with Parents (Democratic Authority Structure)	136	91.28	91.28
Not free With Parents (Authoritarian Authority Structure)	13	8.72	100.00
Total	149	100.00	

Source: Fieldwork, 2022

Table 4.12 exposes that 91.28 percent of the sample's respondents remembered that they had freely interacted with their parents and discussed their personal problems with them freely during their childhood and adolescence. On the other hand, 8.72 percent of the sample's respondents reported that they had never freely interacted with their parents. As a result, it was discovered that the vast majority of the people who made up the sample were brought up in a parental home that had a democratic parental authority structure. Following table 4.13 shows the family comes with more leadership in Gazaria Upazila.

Table 4.13: Family comes with more leadership in Gazaria Upazila

Variable	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Lower class	74	49.66	49.66
Aristocrat class	47	31.54	81.21
Middle class	20	13.42	94.63
New Elite class	8	5.37	100.00
Total	149	100.00	

Source: Fieldwork, 2022

Table 4.13 represents that 49.66 percent respondents think leadership in Gazaria upazila are come from lower class 31.54 percent respondents think leadership in Gazaria upazila are come from aristocrat class, 13.42 percent respondents think leadership in Gazaria Upazila are come from middle class and 5.37 percent respondents think leadership in Gazaria Upazila are come from new elite class.

4.3 Role of Non-Political Voluntary Organization for Change

The respondent of the study area believes that there is a role for non-partisan volunteers and organizations that focus on service in the field being studied. The Friends Association, Jagrata Manobata, Ekota Bandhu Sangha, Gazaria Janakalyan Samity, Samriddhi Gazaria Samity, and others are notable organizations. The rich Gazaria Samiti stands out among these non-political groups for its positive impact on rural leadership and development. Following table 4.14 shows that respondents' membership in non-political voluntary organization.

Table 4.14: Respondents' Membership in Non-Political Voluntary Organization

Respondents who are	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Members of Non-Political Voluntary Organization	101	67.79	67.79
Not Members of any Voluntary group	48	32.21	100.00
Total	149	100.00	

Source: Fieldwork, 2022

Table 4.14 discovers that 67.79 percent of the respondents of the sample are members of non-political voluntary organizations, whereas 32.21 percent of the respondents are not members of any non-political voluntary organization. Thus, a substantial majority of respondents of the sample is found to be members of nonpolitical voluntary groups. Following table 4.15 shows the rural leaders expect on integrating government agencies for community linkage and development.

Table 4.15: Rural leaders expect on integrating government agencies for community linkage and development

Variable	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Rural leaders performed the task of integrating agencies operating in the village	54	36.24	36.24
Rural leader performed the task of reviewing impact of community	95	63.76	100.00
Total	149	100.00	

Source: Fieldwork, 2022

Table 4.15 discloses that 36.24 percent of the respondents think rural leaders performed the task of integrating agencies operating in the village for community linkage and development and 63.76 percent of the respondents think rural leader performed the task of reviewing impact of community for community linkage and development.

Membership in Non-Political Voluntary Organization and Respondents Feeling of Political Competence

The relationship between respondents' engagement in non-political volunteer organizations and their present feeling of political competence has been explored since they may contribute to the individual's latent political learning and development of his politically relevant attitudinal pattern. The findings are provided in Table 4.16 below.

Table 4.16: Political competence and non-political volunteering

Respondents who are	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Members of Non-Political Voluntary Organizations	127	85.23	85.23
Not Members of any Non-Political Voluntary Organization	22	14.77	100.00
Total	149	100.00	

Source: Fieldwork, 2022

Table 4.16 exposes that 85.23 percent of those respondents who are members of non-political voluntary organizations have established a high feeling of political competence, however, only 14.77 percent of those who are not members of any non-political voluntary group have a high sense of political competence. Thus, in the overall sample, a high correlation is established between respondents' participation in non-political volunteer groups and their feeling of political ability.

Impact of Non-political Voluntary Organizations

Voluntary Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO) were shown to be influential in the development of participants' attitudes and orientations, particularly in the development of a strong belief in one's own political competence. In the context of development of the sense of political competence of the respondents of the sample, non-political voluntary organizations, therefore, seem to be a very important socialized as evident from high co-relationship between Respondents' membership in these organizations and their sense of political competence. Successive case study-4 asserts the impact of non-political voluntary organization on leadership: Following table 4.17 shows the main reason of leadership ossification in Gazaria Upazila.

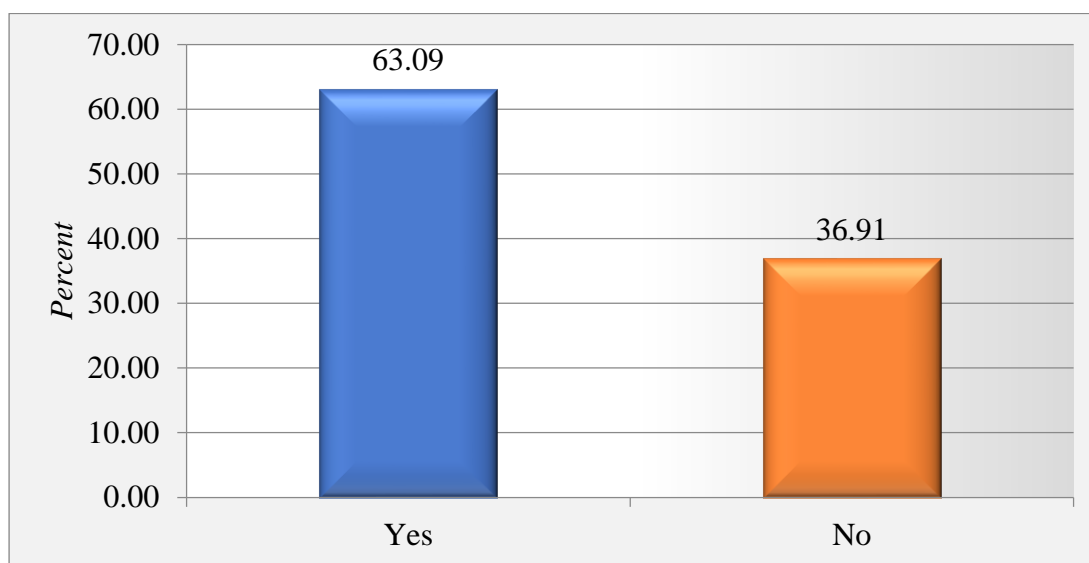
Table 4.17: Main reason of leadership ossification in Gazaria Upazila

Variable	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Social violence	54	36.24	36.24
Community rioting	40	26.85	63.09
Government politics	23	15.44	78.52
Impact on geographical obsession	32	21.48	100.00
Total	149	100.00	

Source: Fieldwork, 2022

Table 4.17 exposes 36.24 percent of those polled believe that social violence is the primary cause of leadership in Gazaria Upazila, 26.85 percent believe that community rioting is the primary cause, 15.44 percent believe that government politics is the primary cause, and 21.48 percent believe that the impact on geographic obsession is the primary cause. Following figure 5.6 the Bangladesh national politics change the rural leadership.

Figure 4.6: National politics change the rural leadership



Source: Fieldwork, 2022

Figure 4.6 finds that 63.09 percent of the respondents think Leadership have an impact on village with the change in national politics and 36.91 percent of the respondents think Leadership have not any impact on village with the change in national politics.

Following table 4.18 shows the changes society under the influence of national leadership.

Table 4.18: Changes society under the influence of national leadership

Variable	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Yes	107	71.81	71.81
No	42	28.19	100.00
Total	149	100.00	

Source: Fieldwork, 2022

Table 4.18 finds that 71.81 percent of the respondents think society are changing under the influence of national leadership and 28.19 percent of the respondents think society are not changing under the influence of national leadership.

Membership in Political Party

Following tables 4.19 and 4.20 show the membership and activity of the respondents in different political parties.

Table 4.19: Respondents' Membership in Political Parties

Respondents who are:	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Members of the Political Parties	114	76.51	76.51
Not Members of any Political Party	35	23.49	100.00
Total	149	100.00	

Fieldwork, 2022

Table 4.19 finds that 76.51 percent of the respondents of the sample are members of different political parties whereas only 23.49 percent of the respondents are not members of any political party. A large majority of the respondents, thus, is found to have party membership.

Table 4.20: Respondents' Party Membership Party Wise

Political Parties	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Bangladesh Awami League	42	28.19	28.19
Bangladesh Nationalist Party	38	25.50	53.69
Jamaat-e-Islami	22	14.77	68.46
Bangladesh Jatiya Party	28	18.79	87.25
Socialist Party	13	8.72	95.97
Others	6	4.03	100.00
Total	149	100.00	

Fieldwork, 2022

Table 4.20 reveals that pattern of distribution 28.19 percent support of Bangladesh Awami League, opposing 25.50 percent of belong to the Bangladesh Nationalist Party, 14.77 percent of them are found to belong to the Jamaat-e-Islami, 18.79

respondent are belonging Bangladesh Jatiya Party, 8.72 percent support socialist Party and 4.03 percent of them are found not to belong to any party. Thus, at present a majority of them is found to belong to the Bangladesh Awami League followed by the rolling government. Following case study-5 is about member in political party:

Case Study-6: Member in Political Party

Delower Hossain (46) is a Vice-Chairman of Gazaria Upazila Parishad in Munshiganj. He believes organizational skills are required to enter politics, which is why student politics plays a significant role in becoming people-friendly. Where leaders have a responsibility to the people. Mr. Hossain believes that grassroots leaders should be elected as representatives of the people, serving as public servants. This is because via public engagement, they may have a deep understanding of the needs and concerns of the people, enabling them to effectively enact policies that benefit the public. It should be emphasized that being a member of a political party provides an opportunity to serve the public.

4.4 Participation of Local Youth in Power Structure

As conditions vary from rural area to rural area, it is essential to reflect on the experiences and cases of youth participation across different unions of Gazaria upazila. This effort contributes to a better understanding of the local election experiences of youth and the extent of youth participation in local government. This provides additional insight into the obstacles faced by young men and women when utilizing existing participatory structures. It assists rural communities in establishing youth structures and procedures that ensure meaningful youth participation in Upazila Porishad decision-making. Thus, a consideration of the Upazila Parishad's experiences can aid others in adopting effective youth participation strategies.

Participation of Local Youth in Power Structure

Respondents in the studied area perceive the current involvement of young people in rural politics as highly unsatisfactory. The primary factor contributing to the decrease in political engagement can be attributed to the prevailing political culture at the rural level. Furthermore, older people are not inclined to disseminate their dance; instead, they aim to maximize its exemplification.

Voting at the Elections

Voting in elections is a participatory activity that fosters an individual's feeling of civic engagement and political expertise. Therefore, respondents' frequency of voting during Union Parisad Elections, national Assembly Elections, and Local Elections has been inquired into. Inquiries reveal that every one of the sample's participants claims to have voted in every election for the Union Parisad, the nation's legislature, and its many local entities. Because ninety percent of the respondents are discovered to have voted regularly at all of elections experiences of voting at the elections in the context

of growth of their high feeling of political competence is difficult to determine. It seems that experiences of voting at the election results regularly by the respondents would have helped contribute a great deal toward growth of their sense of political competence.

Participation in Election Campaigns

Participation in election campaigns may enable the individual to gain participatory experiences directly as a consequence of which he may come to acquire a high sense of political competence and participant orientations. Therefore, the respondents' frequency of participation in election campaigns has been enquired into. All the respondents of the sample are, however, found to have reported that they have participated regularly in election campaigns. Since cent percent of the respondents of the sample are found to have participated regularly in election campaigns, it becomes difficult to assess the extent of impact of such participatory experiences in the context of development of their sense of political competence. However, it appears that experiences of participation in election campaigns would have contributed a great deal in forming and fostering the sense of political competence of developed a high sense of political competence.

Participation in Political Movement

Participation in Political Movement may entail participatory experiences for the individual and may, consequently, help develop his sense of political competence and participant orientations. Therefore, in case of the respondents of the sample, their experiences of participation in political movement have been enquired into, and examined in relation to their sense of political competence for ascertaining the extent of impact of such participatory experiences upon them in the process of formation of their political attitude and orientations. They have been asked the following question: Have you ever participated in any Political Movement? Please name it. The findings as to the pattern of participation of the respondents in political movements are presented in Table 4.21 given below.

Table 4.21: Respondents Participation in Political Movements

Respondents who report that they have	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Participated in Political Movement	96	64.43	64.43
Not participated in any Political Movements	53	35.57	100.00
Total	149	100.00	

Source: Fieldwork, 2022

Table 4.21 exposes that 64.43% of respondents who said they had been involved in political activities, while 35.57 percent of respondents said they had not been involved in any political movements at all. Thus, it is observed that a huge majority of the

respondents in the sample is found to have received participatory experiences through their engagement in political activities.

4.5 Changing Rural Leadership Pattern of Gazaria Upazia: An Overview

I. Central Politics Influence Changing Rural Power Structure

In the context of Bangladesh's general growth, progress, and modernization, rural political leadership appears to be of enormous importance. An equal society can only be achieved through an egalitarian political system in Bangladesh, which has been established by the country's polity. With its three tiers of government, from the National Government to the union parishad, Bangladesh's democratic framework allows for widespread engagement by the people. Goals set forth in the nation's founding document are intended to be achieved through the various forms of government now in use. To achieve constitutional goals, however, the roles of political leaders who operate these three levels of government national, provincial, and local seem critically important because these leaders have a significant impact on society due to their superior knowledge, skill and access to society's most valuable assets. As a result, achieving Bangladesh's democratic and equitable aims may be difficult unless the country's political leaders adopt democratic and egalitarian attitudes, dispositions, and interpersonal interactions. Political leaders at all three levels of government are important, but those who lead rural local governments and run them have a special place in Bangladesh's polity because the country's development, modernization, and democracy cannot be achieved without their active and dedicated efforts on the ground. As a result, the phenomena of Rural Political Leadership appear to need more study and investigation. Rural political leaders are important in the context of Bangladesh's democratic, development and modernization. This is why a little effort was made to investigate the shifting leadership patterns in Gazaria upazila of Munshiganj district.

The Gazaria upazila in Munshiganj district was chosen as the focus of this study because it is one of the district's most "backward and underdeveloped" areas. Before the country gained its independence, it was a princely state in the British Bangladesh. In 1949, it was incorporated into the province of Munshiganj and became a district of Bangladesh after the country's independence. As a result of the lengthy reign of princes, the inhabitants of this area have not yet been freed from a sense of feudal ancestry, and the rate of social modernization is observed to be slow. In addition, the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes predominate in the area, making it home to people who are not only economically impoverished but also ignorant and hostile to modernisation. As a result, the many rural residents of this district, many of whom are socially backward, resistant to change, economically poor, and educationally illiterate should be guided, motivated, and led by leaders at the rural level of the local government who are also expected to be egalitarian, democratic and progressive. As a result, we looked into and examined Munshiganj District's rural political leadership pattern. A total of 159 rural political leaders and local residents at the Block level,

including Charbaushia and other elected union members in the 1992 union elections, comprise the sample for this study. As a result of the greatest population at the Block level, these four locals Samitis have been picked from each of Munshiganj District's four subdivisions.

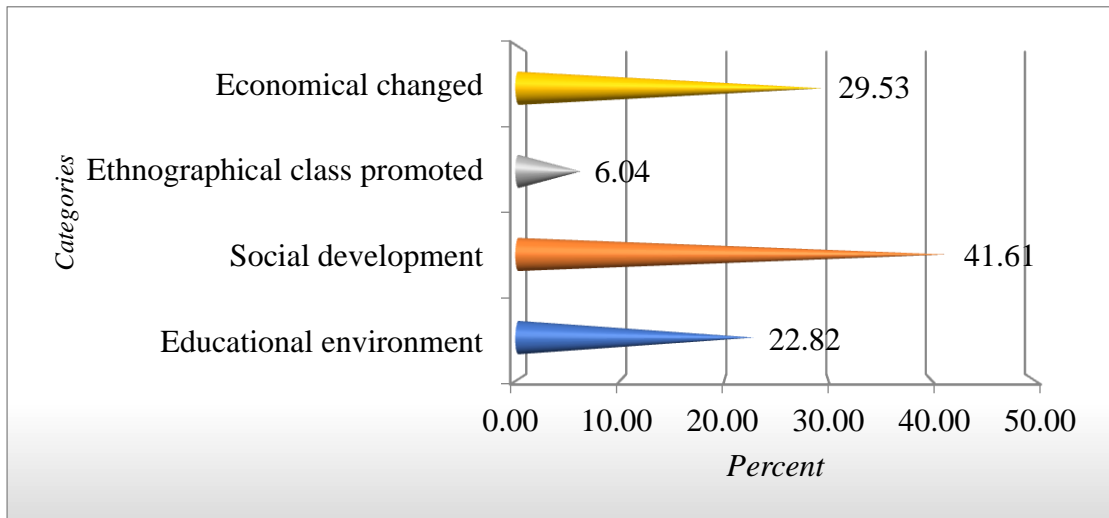
II. Local Culture involved in Leadership Power Structure

This study used a predetermined interview schedule to conduct interviews with the sample's participants. Many of them have been given a variety of questions in order to get a better understanding of their socio-economic background, their views on politics, and the Bangladeshi political system. The primary goals of this psychological investigation are to determine the socioeconomic profile of the respondents and thus the socioeconomic base of the rural power structure, to inquire into their political orientations and to typify the pattern of their political culture, and to investigate the process of their political socialization for ascertaining the impact of some important political socializes in the context of the formation of their political culture. A socio-cultural viewpoint on rural leadership in Gazaria upazila of Munshiganj district will be examined in this academic work.

Age, sex, caste, education, income, occupation, and religion have all been examined in relation to the sample's socio-economic background. According to the results of an investigation, the sample is dominated by the middle-aged males in terms of age, the lower castes in terms of caste, secondary-educated individuals, middle-income earners, and agricultural workers. Although the sample's Panchayat Samiti leaders were drawn from a wide range of socioeconomic backgrounds, a study found that those from the Middle-Income Group, Agriculturists, and Low Caste Groups dominated the sample. This may be due to the fact that Munshiganj is mostly inhabited by Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes, two of the most marginalized groups in the country.

To better understand both local political party leadership and the Panchayat Samiti power structure in Gazaria upazila, this pattern of socioeconomic background among political party leaders is forming. Furthermore, it is useful to understand the political culture of the Panchayat Samiti Leaders, because political culture and orientations tend to be driven to a large extent by the socioeconomic profile of the individual. Following figure 4.7 shows the economic, social, cultural, and political progress has transformed rural power systems.

Figure 4.7: Economic, social, cultural, and political progress has transformed rural power systems



Source: Fieldwork, 2022

Figure 4.7 explores that 29.53 percent of respondents think economic changes have brought radical change in rural power structures, 6.04 percent think ethnographical class promotion has, 41.61 percent think social development has, and 22.82 percent think education. Following table 4.22 shows the leadership changes the structure with social reform.

Table 4.22: Leadership changes the structure with social reform

Variable	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Raise political leadership	37	24.83	24.83
Local leadership shrink	41	27.52	52.35
Agricultural land reformation	13	8.72	61.07
Ethnographical class discrimination	58	38.93	100.00
Total	149	100.00	

Source: Fieldwork, 2022

Table 4.22 reveals that 24.83 percent of the respondents think leadership infrastructure raise political leadership, 27.52 percent of the respondents think leadership infrastructure make local leadership shrink, 8.72 percent of the respondents think leadership infrastructure brought agricultural land reformation and 38.93 percent of the respondents think leadership infrastructure minimize ethnographical class discrimination.

III. Local Politics and Community Influence on Leadership and Power

Since the Bangladesh Political System as a general object, its output and input, and the self as a participant in this process have been examined in this study, the Panchayat Samiti Leaders' views on these four broad types of political objects have also been examined. They have been asked about the current form of Parliamentary Democracy in Bangladesh, the government's policy and bureaucracy, the prevailing electoral system, political parties, right and franchise, freedom of expression and tolerance of minorities, state secularism, and trust in human nature and their sense of political competence. The political mindset of the Panchayat Samiti Leaders might be deduced from their answers to these questions.

Upon further study, it was discovered that the vast majority of the participants in this research were in fact women. According to their allegiance to Bangladesh's parliamentary form of government, their positive attitude toward Government policy and the public bureaucracy, and their positive affect and favorable attitude toward the prevalent Electoral system, in general, they have positive political orientations and attitudes toward our country's political system. Furthermore, it is discovered that the vast majority of them have grown to have a high level of political ability. Most of the people in the sample have established an allegiant participatory political culture, as seen by their answers to these four main categories of political objects. Civic culture, according to Almond's theory of political culture, is an emergent pattern of political culture defined by an allegiance participation orientation. Rural leadership may be described as "democratic" or "allegiant participant" in nature based on this pattern of allegiant participation in political culture.

IV. Democratic System Reduced Pre-Leadership Power

For example, it is likely that the leaders of the sample village were exposed to a wide range of political socialization experiences throughout their lives, resulting in their democratic and allegiant participant orientations. In light of the fact that socializes tend to carry out both manifest and latent political socializations of individuals by transmitting explicitly political orientations as well as non-political orientations with political implications at various stages of life from childhood to adulthood, an effort has been made to determine the extent to which socializes influence the individual's political self and his political propensities.

This study indicated that all of the socializes contributed considerably to the development and growth in participants' democratic attitudes and participation orientations. The village leader's parents have been discovered to have engaged in both visible and covert political education. When it comes to the transmission of parental party preferences, there has been a strong correlation discovered between parental party preferences and the current party allegiances of local political leaders in the context of evident political socialization done through the parental household. A substantial correlation has also been discovered between the extent of 'politicization

of the parental family and a village leader' perception of political competence (Mattabar). The democratic power structure in the family and the political leaders' perception of competence have been found to be strongly correlated in the setting of latent political socialization through the paternal family. Children of politically impacted leaders owe a great deal of their participation inclinations and feeling of political ability to their school, their instructors, and other adults outside of their immediate families. Schoolteachers' democratic authority patterns have been found to have a substantial association with group leaders' feeling of political competence.

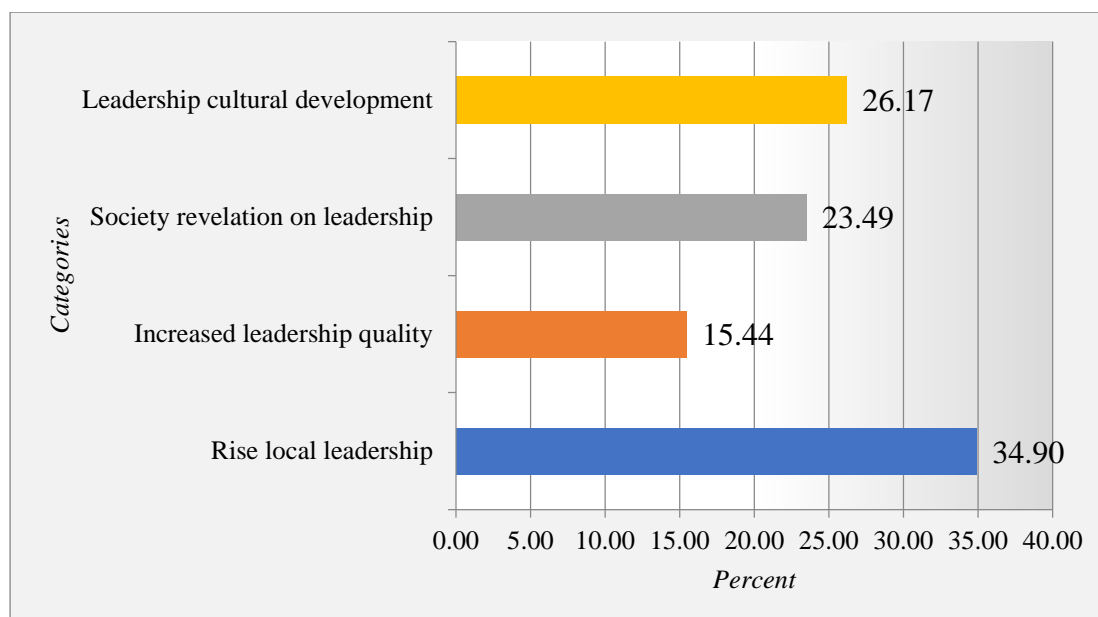
The role of peer groups, non-political volunteer organizations, political parties, and the political environment have all been investigated and evaluated in the process of developing politically relevant attitudes and orientations in future party leaders. Membership in a peer group and the politicization of that group have both been associated with rolling party leaders' growing confidence in their own political abilities. As evidenced by the substantial association between participation in non-political voluntary organizations and respondents' feeling of political competence, non-political voluntary organizations have a positive impact on the development of participatory orientations of the rolling party leaders. Furthermore, it has been found that participation in political parties, voting in elections, and participating in election campaigns on a regular basis have greatly contributed to the development of participant orientations and the sense of political competence of the leaders of rolling party organizations. By providing them with opportunities to gather participatory experiences, these crucial interactions have a major influence on survey respondents who are members of the union parishad, helping them to develop a democratic attitude, participant orientations, and a feeling of political competence. Nearly all participants had non-political participation experiences with their families; their peers; their non-political volunteer organizations; their political parties; and the broader political sphere. A strong feeling of political competence is likely to have resulted from their participation in non-political as well as political activities. It has also been observed that the more nonpolitical and political sectors in which local koram leaders have participated in, the more confident they feel about their ability to lead their communities.

V. Rural Leadership in Munshiganj District: Democratic Attitudes

As a result, rural leaders of Gazaria upazila of Munshiganj district, in general, have democratic attitudes and allegiant participant orientations that have been formed, developed, and fostered in them as a result of participation experiences gained through exposure to, and interactions with various socializes in the life-long process of political socialization. 'Democratic and Allegiant Participant Leadership' may thus be characterized as the emergent pattern of Rural Leadership from a psycho-cultural and socio-cultural standpoint. This shift in rural leadership in Gazaria upazila appears to be in line with the country's democratic political system. We may predict that this rural leadership pattern will most likely help to the implementation of our rural

society's democratic ideals as well as the long-term survival of rural local governments. Following figure 4.8 the leadership changes occur in the study area.

Figure 4.8: Leadership changes occur in the study area



Source: Fieldwork, 2022

Figure 4.8 represent that 34.90 percent of the respondents believe that the quality of leadership in the current society has increased, 15.44 percent believe that the quality of leadership has increased, 23.49 percent believe that society's revelation on leadership has increased, and 26.17 percent believe that leadership culture has been developed.

The essence of Vilfredo Pareto's (1968) circulation of elite theory is 'history is the graveyard of aristocracy'. One elite class falls to another elite. Changes in rural power structures can be observed according to Pareto's theory. In the Union Parishad elections, young, talented and clean people are defeating a veteran party candidate through popularity and taking the lead in politics. After all, the person who has been elected as the chairman cannot come to power later due to his controversial activities and declining popularity. On the other hand, those who are in opposition or clean political persons take united movements and innovative strategies and mass bandhan programs to gain public support, which can lead to a change in the rural power structure. Pareto's theoretical contributions play a consistent and significant role in the area under study.

According to Gaetano Mosca "The Ruling Class Theory" in 1939, the Rural Power Structure is being changed. Ruling class and ruled class are current in the research area. The ruling class constantly controls the exploited classes through repression, oppression and deprivation. The ruled class does not have the opportunity to organize

any kind of agitation or program. The ruling class questions the electoral process and adopts various strategies to come to power and leadership. Moscow's theory is more important in analyzing rural politics and power structures.

Karl Marx's (1867) 'Domination and Power Theory' can analyze the Gazaria rural social structure and the social structure of Bangladesh. Of the five social systems described by Karl Marx, there are two classes in each social system except primitive societies (Bourgeoisie class or capitalist society or owner class and Proletariat class or labour class). The bourgeoisie, that is, the owning class, remains well-off. Basically, they continue the process of exploiting the proletariat class, that is, the proletariat, in order to become capitalists. An analysis of the social structure of Gajaria upazila shows that all those who are capitalists are occupying some political party or political identity. After all, they are at the top of the rural power structure and leadership and controlling the exploited class in the abuse of power.

In 1978 Max Weber's theoretical contributions to power, society and state are extensive. Max Weber is called the father of bureaucracy. It is clear how bureaucrats are usurping the administration and power of the state. The influence of bureaucrats can be seen in every sector of the state, both rural and state. Bureaucrats have authority and influence in every rural society. In addition, his ideas for the development of capitalism have an impact on the military, civilian, religious, business elites. The desire of bureaucrats to participate in politics is particularly noticeable. They are occupying important positions in the state. It can be said that Max Weber's concept has something to do with the power structure in rural society.

The villagers' political power base was stoked by the leadership of the rural areas. It appears that leadership has had a particularly positive leadership on the traditionally dormant individuals and groups in Gazaria upazila, Munishiganj district, despite the fact that social, economic, and political changes in the country have weakened the status of traditional power holders in the village. While the village's political system is still mostly dominated by the power's wealthiest residents, a shift is occurring within the community's political system as a whole. The transition of political power from the historically important groups to the new ones is itself a crucial step in the process of transformation. The new leadership cannot afford to ignore the plight of the village's poorer and more populous residents. The traditional aristocracy still holds control over some of the resources of power, however their influence over the village is undoubtedly on the decrease. This chapter reveals that the rural leadership power structure in the period 1971-2021 must solve substantial research shortcomings and exchange results, as shown.

4.6 Correlation and Significance among the Variables Associated Changing Rural Leadership and Power Structure

The correlation coefficient measures the strength of the link between shifts in leadership and the power structure. Between -1.0 and 1.0 is the range of the

correlation coefficient. Following table 5.25 shows the rural leadership changes and power structure correlated with independent variable:

Table 4.23 Correlation and Significance among the Variables Associated Changing Rural Leadership and Power Structure (N=149)

Independent variable	Dependent Variables (Rural Leadership Changes and Power Structure)	
	Corr.	Sig.
Problems do the lower caste groups in your upazila have in taking part in direct elections	Corr.	.004
	Sig.	.001
Local leadership most commonly observed	Corr.	.030
	Sig.	.000
Family comes with more leadership in Gazaria upazila	Corr.	.020
	Sig.	.003
Change of leadership that is having the most impact in Gazaria upazila	Corr.	.079
	Sig.	.002
Groups of ancestors are ruled	Corr.	.093
	Sig.	.000
Influence of leadership most commonly observed	Corr.	.044
	Sig.	.000
Party influence in local elections in village	Corr.	.074
	Sig.	.001
Social changes take place under the influence of local leadership	Corr.	.010
	Sig.	.000

Source: Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS), version 27

Table 4.23 exposes that exists positive correlation between Rural Leadership Changes and Power Structure and lower caste group direct participation in elections. The correlation is significant, because the significance value is .001, which is lower than the standard significance level 0.05. Dependent variable Rural Leadership Changes and Power Structure are 0.40% correlated with independent variable lower caste group direct participation in elections.

There exists positive correlation between Rural Leadership Changes and Power Structure and Local leadership most commonly observed. The correlation is significant, because the significance value is .000, which is lower than the standard significance level 0.05. Dependent variable Rural Leadership Changes and Power Structure are 3% correlated with independent variable Local leadership most commonly observed.

There exists positive correlation between Rural Leadership Changes and Power Structure and Family based leadership. The correlation is significant, because the significance value is .003, which is lower than the standard significance level 0.05.

Dependent variable Rural Leadership Changes and Power Structure are 2% correlated with independent variable Family based leadership.

There exists positive correlation between Rural Leadership Changes and Power Structure and Change of leadership. The correlation is significant, because the significance value is .002, which is lower than the standard significance level 0.05. Dependent variable Rural Leadership Changes and Power Structure are 7.9% correlated with independent variable Change of leadership.

There exists positive correlation between Rural Leadership Changes and Power Structure and Groups of ancestors. The correlation is significant, because the significance value is .000, which is lower than the standard significance level 0.05. Dependent variable Rural Leadership Changes and Power Structure are 9.3% correlated with independent variable Groups of ancestors.

There exists positive correlation between Rural Leadership Changes and Power Structure and Influence of leadership. The correlation is significant, because the significance value is .000, which is lower than the standard significance level 0.05. Dependent variable Rural Leadership Changes and Power Structure are 4.4% correlated with independent variable Influence of leadership.

There exists positive correlation between Rural Leadership Changes and Power Structure and Party influence. The correlation is significant, because the significance value is .001, which is lower than the standard significance level 0.05. Dependent variable Rural Leadership Changes and Power Structure are 7.4% correlated with independent variable Party influence.

There exists positive correlation between Rural Leadership Changes and Power Structure. The correlation is significant, because the significance value is .000, which is lower than the standard significance level 0.05. Dependent variable Rural Leadership Changes and Power Structure are 1% correlated with independent variable Social changes.

4.7 Test of Variables Associated with Rural Leadership and Power Structure through Statistical Tools

Changes in leadership and power structure are reflected in the parameter (the regression coefficient), which indicates how much a unit increase in x affects an average change in the independent variable. As a result, it shows how steep or steeply the line is sloping the correlation between rural leadership and power structure has been analyzed through regression, ANOVA test, standard deviation and co-efficient of correlation. These tests helped to understand the existing nature of deferent variables associated with rural leadership and power structure.

Overview of Rural Leadership Changes and Power Structure through Model Summary

Table 4.24: Summary of Rural Leadership Changes and Power Structure

R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
.993a	.986	.983	.013750
a. Predictors: (Constant), Problems do the lower caste groups in your upazila have in taking part in direct elections, Local leadership most commonly observed, Family comes with more leadership in Gazaria upazila, change of leadership that is having the most impact in Gazaria upazila, Groups of ancestors are ruled, Influence of leadership most commonly observed, Party influence in local elections in village, Social changes take place under the influence of local leadership			

Source: Statistical Package for Social Sciences, 2022

Table 4.24 discovers that strength of the correlation is measured by the square of the multiple correlation coefficients R^2 . When R^2 is larger then, the correlations between the independent variables are low. Here the adjusted R square is 98% that means the independent variables can explain 98% of the total variance of Rural Leadership Changes and Power Structure with the standard error of 1.37%.

Table 4.25: ANOVA of Rural Leadership Changes and Power Structure

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Regression	.171	3	.057	301.762	.000b
Residual	.002	13	.000		
Total	.174	16			
a. Dependent Variable: Rural Leadership Changes and Power Structure					
b. Predictors: (Constant), Problems do the lower caste groups in your upazila have in taking part in direct elections, Local leadership most commonly observed, Family comes with more leadership in Gazaria upazila, Change of leadership that is having the most impact in Gazaria upazila, Groups of ancestors are ruled, Influence of leadership most commonly observed, Party influence in local elections in village, Social changes take place under the influence of local leadership					

Source: Statistical Package for Social Sciences, 2022

Table 4.25 discovers that test the null hypothesis to determine the validity of the model, which is set to determine the factors affecting Rural Leadership Changes and Power Structure. If the level of significance is less than .005 then null hypothesis is rejected and the model is significant. Here we can see from the ANOVA table that the level of significance is .000. So that we can say that null hypothesis is rejected and the model is significant.

Coefficients of Rural Leadership Changes and Power Structure

Table 4.26: Coefficients of Rural Leadership Changes and Power Structure

Variable	Unstandardized Coefficients		Std. Coefficient	t-test	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	.722	.003		4.496	.000
Party influence in local elections in village	.097	.002	.032	.378	.000
Groups of ancestors are ruled	.050	.002	.077	.925	.000
Change of leadership that is having the most impact in Gazaria upazila	.030	.002	.030	.368	.000
Influence of leadership most commonly observed	.013	.004	.107	1.288	.000
Social changes take place under the influence of local leadership	.034	.003	.105	1.241	.000
Local leadership most commonly observed	.026	.001	.044	.520	.000
Family comes with more leadership in Gazaria upazila	.037	.003	.027	.323	.000
Problems do the lower caste groups in your upazila have in taking part in direct elections	.094	.003	.190	2.286	.000

a. Dependent Variable: Rural Leadership Changes and Power Structure

Source: Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS), 2022

By the coefficients table, we can drive the following equation:

$$\text{Rural Leadership Changes and Power Structure} = 0.722 + 0.097 \cdot F1 + 0.050 \cdot F2 + 0.030 \cdot F3 + 0.013 \cdot F4 + 0.034 \cdot F5 + 0.026 \cdot F6 + 0.037 \cdot F7 + 0.094 \cdot F8$$

Here,

F1 = Party influence in local elections in village

F2 = Groups of ancestors are ruled

F3 = Change of leadership that is having the most impact in Gazaria upazila

F4 = Influence of leadership most commonly observed

F5 = Social changes take place under the influence of local leadership

F6 = Local leadership most commonly observed

F7 = Family comes with more leadership in Gazaria upazila

F8 = Problems do the lower caste groups in your upazila have in taking part in direct elections

Table 4.26 indicate that all of the variables are controlled or constant without F1, then one unit change in variable F1, Rural Leadership Changes and Power Structure will rise by 0.097 unit. If all of the variables are controlled or constant without F2, then one unit change in variable F2, Rural Leadership Changes and Power Structure will rise by 0.050 unit. If all of the variables are controlled or constant without F3, then one unit change in variable F3, Rural Leadership Changes and Power Structure will

rise by 0.030 unit. If all of the variables are controlled or constant without F4, then one unit change in variable F4, Rural Leadership Changes and Power Structure will rise by 0.013 unit. If all of the variables are controlled or constant without F5, then one unit change in variable F5, Rural Leadership Changes and Power Structure will rise by 0.034 unit. If all of the variables are controlled or constant without F6, then one unit change in variable F6, Rural Leadership Changes and Power Structure will rise by 0.026 unit. If all of the variables are controlled or constant without F7, then one unit change in variable F7, Rural Leadership Changes and Power Structure will rise by 0.037 unit. If all of the variables are controlled or constant without F8, then one unit change in variable F8, Rural Leadership Changes and Power Structure will rise by 0.094 unit.

The research region that encompassed the Gazaria upazila in Munshiganj, Bangladesh, was examined in great detail. The existence of hypothetical data was demonstrated by means of descriptive statistics, correlation analysis and regression modeling. This chapter covers all there is to know about descriptive data analysis, including the distribution of percentiles and qualitative data. It is widely accepted in Gazaria, especially by the union parishad, that as Gazaria goes, all upazilas in Munshiganj district are affected as well. Many Munshiganj intellectuals predict that rural Gazaria would vote against the Bangladesh Awami League in the 1976 elections since Gazaria upazila voted against it in the 1972 elections. It is clear from the facts shown here that the political influence of Gazaria's low class is growing, especially in rural regions. Alternatively, they may have to revise their highly logical plans based exclusively on economic reasons and implement authoritarian tactics to reduce the effect of these political forces. Industrial planning's influence on the rural leadership structure may have a significant impact in the near future.

These numbers summarize the study's participants' replies in plain language. According to an appendix of 149 respondents, groupings of ancestors (mean = 4.17, standard deviation = .018) are regulated in the upazila. The vast majority of those polled (mean = .014, standard deviation = .0202) believe that politics has evolved in our time. The majority of those polled (mean = .012, standard deviation = .0152) believe that leadership is changing in Gazaria upazila at the moment. Most of the respondents of the study think Farmers and the lower family have been governed in this area by the local political leaders (mean = .011, standard deviation = .0133). The majority of the study's participants (mean = .010, standard deviation = .0114) believe that agricultural goods are more susceptible to political influence. The majority of survey participants (mean = .011, standard deviation = .0136) believe that leadership change has the capacity to bring about many types of changes. The majority of those polled (mean = .088, standard deviation = .0786) believe that the royal family of Gazaria upazila has less influence today than it had in the past. Most of the participants in the research believe that lower caste groups in your upazila face a variety of problems when they participate in direct elections (mean = .011, standard deviation = .0140) (See Appendix-VI: Descriptive Statistics (External Data)).

CHAPTER 5

Conclusion

5.1 Conclusion

Disruptions in power among leaders also include a revolving door between those who have positions of authority and those who do not. The developing village leadership is marked by structural persistence, continuity, and unity, as has been the case in the past. In the early days of panchayat development, the number of people who were literate and well educated increased gradually. Agriculturists, workers, and middle-aged people over illiterates and literates, as well as agriculturalists and middle-aged and elderly leaders. In the past, education or occupation was seen as a means of culturally contaminating individuals, whereas old age was seen as a source of knowledge. Structural persistence and cultural change can therefore go hand in hand, and in such a circumstance, social change progressively emerges through a cultural front over structural persistence. Union parishad's ruling party group. Traditional leadership was not only upset by the union parishad's politically charged workings, but it was also pushed far from the formalization of operations. It has been a progressive liberation of official leadership from the parishad's customary control over the last few decades. In the union parishad of Gazaria, where rural leadership and modern politics meet, we see a political history marked by structural persistence, politicization, and transformation. When you look at the political and personality forms of leadership, you can see that the process is much localized in that it combines contemporary elements with rural institutions throughout a three-decade span. Politics have been mediated by some rural structures, such as poribar, gotra and phala in the village in their genesis but continuity of power and unanimity at elections of the rising rural leadership in the village.

The new leadership itself has been going through many transitions recently. The leadership of Bangladesh throughout the late 18th century and the early 20th century that was a part of the Bangladesh Awami League and Bangladesh Nationalist Bangladesh.

During the national election of 2014, significant shifts in rural power structures occurred. Because of Bangladesh Awami League, the national election no longer relied on union symbols and industrial progress, and instead adopted a new style that reflected this shift in national character. When it comes to 20th century rural leadership Gazaria upazila's model union was not solely responsible. When a new generation of leaders emerges from areas outside the upazila's core, their geographic origins and socioeconomic backgrounds have an important role in the types of political disputes and public policies that arise. Pressure from rural organizations may be possible to withstand by the government, as it has successfully rejected pressure from numerous urban groups in the past. There are, however, more onerous demands

coming from within the Bangladesh Nationalist Party. Disputes between rural and urban populations in several states have taken the shape of Nationalist Party government conflicts in Charbaushia union, for example. Increasing rural political influence has the consequence of straining center peripheral connections. A large portion of Gazaria's industrial area is affluent, yet the city's central government has the power to tax the sector. A growing number of members of the upazila parishad seek financial assistance from the center. Because of this, rising upazila demands are diverted into conflict.

The competing political dynamics demonstrate that the previous leadership is being replaced by more educated, agriculturist-cum-laborers and adults. Changing cultural and ideological preferences have resulted in a shift in leadership attributes, which has led to a new form of leadership. Structural persistence was a major factor in this cultural shift. Finally, the structural persistence, politicization, and transformation that took place in the Gazaria upazila demonstrated conclusively that the dichotomy between tradition or tribalism and modernity is untenable, at least in the context of Bangladesh.

Leadership is inevitable and indispensable in every society, as decision-making on societal goals and their effective realization tend to depend mostly on them. They are the influential in the society by virtue of possession and skill-full exploitation of its vital resources, and they tend to influence the people to abide by their decisions on societal issues and policies. Stability, viability, and development of the socio-political order seem to be dependent upon and determined by the pattern of its leadership. A study of the leadership phenomenon may become imperative for appreciating the dynamics of the political society.

Rural leadership and power structure at the local level appears to have special significance as it is entrusted with the task of operating the apparatus of the union parishad and thereby, taking democracy to the grassroots. In the context of the phenomenon of rural leadership at the local level, the present research work is concerned with the study and analysis of rural leadership. The new socio-economic forces generated by large-scale development plans have shaken up the rural social structure and this end to alter the traditional values and attitudes as well. In this context, we used qualitative and quantitative method in the rural areas of Gazaria upazila, Munshiganj district of Bangladesh. Nine villages of three unions were taken from cluster sampling. Total 149 respondents used by random sampling of population. Besides, KII and FGD sample and purposive sampling.

Rural leaders are entrusted with the task of operating the rural local political system, and the people, in general look toward them for guidance and direction. Rural Leaders, therefore, seem to have tremendous potentiality' for influencing the belief values, and dispositions of the people. Consequently, they may play significant roles in the process of socio-political modernization of the society and may contribute a lot toward realization of the goals of an egalitarian society. It is intended to be a socio-

cultural study of the members of the Panchayat Samities of Gazaria upazila of Munshiganj district. In this study, an endeavor has been undertaken to find out and delineate the pattern of political culture of the gram shalish leaders, to examine it in relation to the democratic structural arrangement of the Bangladesh polity, and to enquire into, and examine the roles of some important socializes in the process of political socialization of these rural leaders.

There are six chapters in this study. Chapter-1 focused on emphasizing the importance of the problem statement and the lack of relevant literature, as well as outlining the study's goals and identifying the sample and methodology. Chapter-2 presented the theoretical and conceptual understandings of leadership and the patterns of political culture, political socialization and the shift in power structure that are related to it. Gazaria upazila of Munshiganj District is introduced in chapter-3 which provides an overview of the socioeconomic characteristics of the study sample. Chapter-4 discussed the rural leadership and political society while, Chapter-5 explored the demographic characteristics, socio-economic and ethnographic factors certain significant rural leadership and power structure. Finally, overall findings and discussions are summarized in chapter-6.

By the time of the upcoming elections in Bangladesh's rural areas in early 1971-2021, the village's leadership had taken a drastically different turn. There were three groups in the village at the end of the third grameen elections the local jamidar (land-lord), the village munshi and aristocratic family. Its members are divided into two groups, one led by the son of the rural aristocratic family, and the other led by the national political shelter-based young leader. Six out of nine members of the union parishad belong to the political sheltered leader.

Lastly, it should be noted that the ruling party had been actively promoting the youth leader in hopes that he or she would be loyal to the party's interests. They hoped that the youth leader, in his role as parishad election chairman would vote for their candidate for union chairman. Defections and new alliances among members of the union parishad are encouraged by political leaders in order to bolster their own party. The member also has some ties to national authorities, which support him in indirectly maintaining control over rural leaders, however small that authority may be. It is no secret that those who are financially or kinship-connected to Awami League and the Bangladesh National Party have power through the youth group the young leader retains influence.

Most respondents think politics has changed day-by-day, some respondents think politics has changed slowly and some respondents think politics has changed Portion wise. Most of the respondents think Political enforcement is the main cause for changing of leadership and some of the respondents think educational impact is the main cause for changing of leadership. It is found that local politics and bureaucratic effects are responsible to the changing pattern of leadership and power structure.

Education, personal qualities and affiliation with major political parties were more important factors influencing rural leadership. A remarkable change occurred in the power structure of rural Bangladesh during the last decade, more specifically from 2001 to 2021. Finally, it is concluded that the younger ones are dominating in the villages and significant change occurred in leadership pattern and power structure of rural Bangladesh.

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Appendix-I: Sample Size Determination

$$\text{Sample Size} = \frac{\frac{Z^2 \times P(1-P)}{e^2}}{1 + \left(\frac{Z^2 \times P(1-P)}{e^2 N} \right)}$$

$$= \frac{\frac{(1.96)^2 \times 0.5(1-0.5)}{(0.08)^2}}{1 + \left\{ \frac{(1.96)^2 \times 0.5(1-0.5)}{(0.08)^2 \times 13550} \right\}}$$

$$= \frac{\frac{3.8416 \times 0.25}{0.0064}}{1 + \left(\frac{3.8416 \times 0.25}{86.72} \right)} = \frac{\frac{0.9604}{0.0064}}{1 + \left(\frac{0.9604}{86.72} \right)}$$

$$= \frac{150.0625}{1 + 0.0110747232}$$

$$= \frac{150.0625}{1.01107472}$$

N = Population Size	13550
Z = Z-Score	1.96 (for 95% Confidence)
e = Margin of Error	0.08
P = Standard Deviation	0.5

Total Sample size = 148.418803

Grand Sample Size = 149

Therefore, the sample size of this study is 149.

Appendix-II: Household Questionnaire

Changing Pattern of Rural Leadership and Power Structure: An Anthropological Study

Greetings, I am conducting an academic research on the changing pattern of rural leadership and power structure, Gazaria Upazila, Munshiganj district. This research is conducted to justify and changing the rural power structure and leadership into the social settings. You are a respectable local inhabitant or research related person. Further, your opinion will helpfull to critical analyze about the changing pattern of rural leadership and power structure in the study area which is Gazaria upazila under munshiganj district.

I am Jamsedur Rahman and conducting a research under the supervision of Professor Dr. S.M. Arif Mahmud, Department of Anthropology, University of Dhaka, for the degree of Master of Philosophy.

The data will be used only for Master of Philosophy program. All your answers will be kept confidential. This will take 30 minutes. Thank you so much for yourvaluable contributions.

a) General Information

- a) Name of the Respondent: _____
b) Address: _____
c) Email/mobile no: _____

Signature

(Jamsedur Rahman)
M.Phil (Researcher)
Registration no.: 243
Session: 2013-2014
Department of Anthropology
University of Dhaka

Date: _____

• **Household Survey Questionnaire**

Question	Code: option by tick (✓) mark
1. Sex	a) Male b) Female
2. Age (Years)	a) 0-10 b) 10-20 c) 20-30 d) 30-40 e) 40-50 f) 50-60 ⁺
3. Educational Qualification	a) No formal education b) Up to primary c) Up to SSC d) Up to HSC e) Graduate f) Post graduate & above
4. Marital Status	a) Married b) Unmarried c) LGBT (January 26, 2014, the Bangladesh cabinet announced the recognition of a third gender)
5. Religion	a) Muslim b) Hindu c) Buddhist d) Christian e) Other
6. Occupational Status	a) Business b) Govt. job c) Private job d) Farming e) Homemaker f) Other
7. What profession was your ancestor involved in?	a) Agriculture b) Agriculture labor c) Artisan d) Govern employee e) Non-agriculture labour f) Trader g) Rent Receiver h) Other

Question	Code: option by tick (✓) mark
8. What groups of your ancestors are ruled by?	a) Aristocrat Family b) Elite Family c) Royal Family d) Land Owner e) Jamider (<i>Talukder</i>) f) Political Leader (<i>Netha</i>) g) Other
9. How do you think politics has changed in today's time?	a) Changed in day by day b) Slowly changed c) Portion wise changed d) Dividend wise e) Every year's increase
10. What is the change of leadership that is having the most impact in Gazaria at present?	a) Political enforcement b) Elite family establishment c) Educational impact d) Government authority
11. What kind of leadership change do you see in Gazaria upazila at present?	a) Elected by symbol based b) Elected by government c) Bureaucracy effect d) Ruled by the appointed master
12. How do you think the farmers and the lower family have been governed in this area?	a) Ruled by the landlord b) Ruled by an elite family c) Ruled by a political family d) There is government interference
13. Whose influence is more visible in the case of agricultural products?	a) Local leader b) Political family c) Local businessman d) Local brokers
14. Where is the influence of leadership most commonly observed?	a) Agricultural community b) Society c) Justice and jurisdiction d) Politics and Authority
15. What kind of social changes take place under the influence of local leadership?	a) Socio-economy b) Agricultural Land c) Jurisdiction d) Education
16. What kind of changes can happen to people under the influence of leadership in your opinion?	a) Behavioral Changed b) Cultural and Educational Changed c) Jurisdictional changed d) Economical changed
17. What kind of Changes occur under the power of leadership?	a) Social power b) Leadership culture c) Created elite group

Question	Code: option by tick (✓) mark
	d) Educational changed
18. When was the local leadership most commonly observed?	a) 1947-1971 b) 1971-1975 c) 1995-1986 d) 1986-1990 e) 1990-2001 f) 2002-2007 g) 2008-2021
19. According to you, which family comes with more leadership in Gazaria upazila?	a) Aristocrat group b) Elite group c) Middle class family d) lower class family
20. What kind of problems do the lower caste groups in your upazila have in taking part in direct elections?	a) Group disdain b) Uncooperative behavior c) Does not give nomination d) Abuse by high family system
21. What are Rural leaders expect on integrating government agencies for community linkage and development?	a) Rural leaders performed the task of integrating agencies operating in the village. b) Rural leader performed the task of reviewing impact of community.
22. Which ethnic group is the most vulnerable to persecution under the impact of leadership?	a) Hindus family b) Small ethnic groups c) Lower class family d) Horizon community
23. What is the Main reason of leadership ossification in Gazaria Upazila?	a) Social violence b) Community rioting c) Government politics d) Impact on geographical obsession
24. Economic, social, cultural and political development has brought about any kind of radical change in the leadership of rural power structures?	a) Educational environment b) Social development c) Ethnographical class promoted d) Economical changed
25. How has the leadership infrastructure changed with social reform in your area?	a) Raise political leadership b) Local leadership shrink c) Agricultural land reformation d) Ethnographical class discrimination
26. What kind of leadership changes do you see in the current society?	a) Rise local leadership b) Increased leadership quality c) Society revelation on leadership d) Leadership cultural development

• **Open-ended questionnaire for local people**

Question	Box by tick (✓) mark	
	Yes	No
1. Do you think there has been a change of leadership in the current country?		
2. Do you think that education has its roots in leadership?		
3. Does an elite family have a role to play in leading your area?		
4. What impact does external leadership have on your area?		
5. Is the same change seen in your area with a change in the leadership of the surrounding area?		
6. What role does the government party play in changing the leadership in your village?		
7. Is the role of an elite family seen in the election of leaders in your area?		
8. What leadership grows in your village from a low-income family?		
9. Are lower families exploited by the influence of leadership in your area?		
10. Does everyone who leads the village vote collectively?		
11. Is the primitiveness of the noble family observed in the village during the time of election?		
12. Do low-income people get a place in local elections?		
13. Is there any government interference in local elections in villages?		
14. Is there any party influence in local elections in your village?		
15. What impact does the local leadership have on agriculture?		
16. Does leadership have an impact on your village with the change in national politics?		
17. What changes do you have in your society under the influence of national leadership?		
18. What do you think is that people from lower communities are affected due to rural leadership?		
19. What influences land politics leadership in your village?		
20. Does the <i>zamindari</i> customary have an acceptable effect on leadership?		

Appendix-III: Key Informants Interview Checklist

Changing Pattern of Rural Leadership and Power Structure: An Anthropological Study

SL	Type	Institution	Person
1	Anthropologist	Dhaka University, Jagannath University, Ministry of Cultural Affairs	3
2	Sociologist	Dhaka University, Bangladesh Social Science Research Council	3
3	Ancient researcher	Department of Archaeology, Ministry of Cultural Affairs	2
4	environmentalist	Dhaka University, Ministry of Environment and Forestry	1
5	Archeologist	Department of Archaeology of GOB, Archaeology Department of Jahangirnagar University	2
6	Elected Chairman	Three (3) Union chairman of Gazaria Munshiganj district	3
7	Elected Member	Nine (9) Village chairman of Gazaria Munshiganj district	9
8	Political Leader	Ministry of Parliament (MP), Major Divisional Leader of political party of the Bangladesh	5
Total Sample			28

Date: _____

General Information

- a) Name of Expertise: _____
- b) Institute: _____
- c) Designation: _____ Mobile: _____
- d) Address: _____
- e) Email (if any): _____

b) Checklist

Question	Comments
1) Do you think economic, social, cultural and political development made the radical change in the rural power structure and the leadership pattern?	
2) What are the important sources of influence in the rural area?	
3) What are the important factors in case of holding the rural leadership?	
4) Do you think the expansion of education for all created a new opportunity to participate in the formal and informal local power structure?	
5) Do you think old aged and middle educated person leadership are shifting into young aged and higher educated person leadership?	
6) Why modern leaders are more influential than traditional leaders?	
7) Why modern leaders are more involved with national political parties than traditional leaders?	
8) Why rural power structures are massively influenced by the national ruling party?	
9) Why the traditional leaders failed to compete with modern younger leaders?	
10) How you differentiate the role of traditional leaders from modern leaders in society?	

Signature

(Jamsedur Rahman)
M.Phil (Researcher)
Registration no.: 243
Session: 2013-2014
Department of Anthropology
University of Dhaka

Appendix-IV: Focus Group Discussion Guidelines

Changing Pattern of Rural Leadership and Power Structure: An Anthropological Study

A total attendee 61 people in cluster 5 group (A-E) of focus group discussions (FGDs) are conducted in the selected union and institution. In village local inhabitant, anthropological researcher, policy maker, political leader, sociologist, economist and elected member of Gazaria upazila, Munshiganj district of Bangladesh are participated in the focus group discussions. They express their own perception and condition about their different studies which are provided by the previous investigator. They focus on rural leadership may arise due to prestige of any sort, social or economic status, heredity, seniority, election and recognition of training or technical ability. Before Independence, there were informal leaders, who belonged mostly to the higher privi-legged castes, which do not have numerical strength but were dominant in all aspects of life. This group occupied an important position in the social and political fields, we are discussed about it. Each focus group discussions are conducted by researcher, guided by a checklist with proper documentation.

Date: _____

Name	Address	Mobile No.
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		
5.		
6.		
7.		

Discussion Date: _____ Starting Time: _____ End time: _____

Guidelines Keyword

Question	Code: Box by tick (✓) mark
1) Economic, social, cultural and political development made the radical change in the rural power structure and the leadership pattern. a) Leadership pattern change by social culture b) Economic issues c) Infrastructural development d) Political power	
2) Important sources of influence in the rural area a) Education b) Public opinion c) Family member enforcement d) Political activist e) Social changed f) Cultural changed g) Economy	
3) Important factors in case of holding the rural leadership a) Elite class b) Political group c) Bureaucracy d) NGO's or social community activity e) Elected representative f) Cultural development	
4) Expansion of education for all created a new opportunity to participate in the formal and informal local power structure a) Social mobilization b) Socio-political relationships c) Motivational direct action d) Information on preparedness	
5) Old aged and middle educated person leadership are shifting into young aged and higher educated person leadership. a) Social distance b) Political distance c) Leadership activities d) Popularity	
6) Modern leaders are more influential than traditional leaders	

Question	Code: Box by tick (✓) mark
e) Formal leadership position f) Dimensional attitude change g) Leadership activities	
7) Why modern leaders are more involved with national political parties than traditional leaders.	
8) Rural power structures are massively influenced by the national ruling party.	
9) Traditional leaders failed to compete with modern younger leaders. h) Political activity i) Local mended j) Previous reaction	
10) Differentiate the role of traditional leaders from modern leaders in society.	

Signature

(Jamsedur Rahman)
 M.Phil (Researcher)
 Registration no.: 243
 Session: 2013-2014
 Department of Anthropology
 University of Dhaka

Appendix-V: Letter of Recommendation for Data Collection

Date: _____

LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION FOR DATA COLLECTION

With reference to the above matter, I am writing to certify that Mr. Jamsedur Rahman, Student's identification or registration no. 243, session 2013-2014 is a registered student of Master of Philosophy at the Department of Anthropology, University of Dhaka. He is conducting a research entitled " **Changing Pattern of Rural Leadership and Power Structure: An Anthropological Study**" A case study on Gazaria upazila, Munshiganj district of Bangladesh, under my supervision. In this regard, he needs data collection from local people, employee or staff in your organization. The data collection is paramount to the completion of his research. On that note, I humbly plead for your consent on his behalf for administering his questionnaire on your organization or areas. Enclosed with this letter is copy of the questionnaire he wants to administer. Your cooperation on his scholarly engagement will be sincerely acknowledged and highly appreciated.

Best Regards,

Dr. S.M. Arif Mahmud
Professor
Department of Anthropology
University of Dhaka

Appendix-VI: Descriptive Statistics (External Data)

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics of Survey Data Results

Variable	Mean	Std. Error	Median	Mode	SD	Variance
Sex	1.29	.037	1.00	1	.455	.207
Age (Years)	4.34	.093	4.00	4	1.131	1.279
Educational Qualification	2.90	.138	2.00	2	1.680	2.821
Marital Status	1.37	.043	1.00	1	.524	.275
Religion	1.47	.077	1.00	1	.941	.886
Occupational Status	3.15	.133	3.00	4	1.621	2.627
Profession was ancestor involved in study area-	2.62	.156	2.00	1	1.901	3.615
Groups of ancestors are ruled-	4.17	.153	4.00	4	.018	.349
Politics has changed in current situation	2.58	.117	3.00	1	.014	.0202
Change of leadership that is having the most impact in Gazaria upazila-	2.13	.100	2.00	1	1.221	1.490
Leadership changed by-	2.19	.101	2.00	1	.012	.0153
Farmers and the lower family have been governed in this area-	2.25	.095	2.00	1	.011	.0133
Influence is more visible in the case of agricultural products-	2.55	.088	3.00	3	.010	.0114
Influence of leadership most commonly observed-	2.35	.094	2.00	2	1.150	1.323
Social changes take place under the influence of local leadership-	2.59	.077	3.00	3	.944	.892
Changes can happen to people under the influence of leadership in your opinion-	2.44	.091	2.00	3	1.105	1.221
Changes occur under the power of leadership-	2.30	.096	2.00	1	.011	.0136
Local leadership most commonly observed-	3.93	.170	4.00	2a	2.072	4.293

Variable	Mean	Std. Error	Median	Mode	SD	Variance
Family comes with more leadership in Gazaria upazila-	1.74	.073	2.00	1	.088	.0786
Problems do the lower caste groups in your upazila have in taking part in direct elections-	2.28	.097	2.00	1	.011	.0140
Rural leaders expect on integrating government agencies for community linkage and development-	1.64	.040	2.00	2	.482	.233
Ethnic group is the most vulnerable to persecution under the impact of leadership-	2.70	.088	3.00	4	1.076	1.158
Head of leadership ossification in your area-	2.22	.095	2.00	1	1.156	1.336
Economic, social, cultural and political development has brought about any kind of radical change in the leadership of rural power structures-	2.44	.094	2.00	2	1.136	1.289
Leadership infrastructure changed with social reform in your area-	2.62	.101	2.00	4	1.234	1.522
Leadership changes see in the current society-	2.41	.099	2.00	1	1.214	1.473
Change of leadership in the current country	1.28	.037	1.00	1	.448	.201
Education has its roots in leadership	1.64	.039	2.00	2	.480	.231
Does a elite family have a role to play in leading local area	1.45	.041	1.00	1	.499	.249
Impact external leadership has on your area	1.39	.040	1.00	1	.489	.239
Change seen in your area with a change in the leadership of the surrounding area	1.43	.041	1.00	1	.497	.247
Role does the government party play in changing the leadership in your village	1.32	.038	1.00	1	.466	.217
Role of a elite family seen in the election of leaders in village area	1.34	.039	1.00	1	.474	.224
Leadership grows in village from a low-income family	1.78	.034	2.00	2	.417	.174
Lower families exploited by the influence of leadership in local area	1.38	.040	1.00	1	.488	.238

Variable	Mean	Std. Error	Median	Mode	SD	Variance
Everyone who leads the village vote collectively	1.68	.038	2.00	2	.466	.217
Primitiveness of the noble family observed in the village during the time of election	1.50	.041	1.00	1	.502	.252
Low-income people get a place in local elections	1.91	.023	2.00	2	.283	.080
Government interference in local elections in villages	1.44	.041	1.00	1	.498	.248
Party influence in local elections in village	1.19	.033	1.00	1	.397	.158
Impact the local leadership on agriculture	1.43	.041	1.00	1	.497	.247
Leadership have an impact on village with the change in national politics	1.37	.040	1.00	1	.484	.234
Changes do you have in your society under the influence of national leadership	1.28	.037	1.00	1	.451	.204
People from lower communities are affected due to rural leadership	1.32	.038	1.00	1	.466	.217
Influences land politics leadership in village	1.46	.041	1.00	1	.500	.250
<i>Zamindari</i> customary have an acceptable effect on leadership	1.30	.037	1.00	1	.458	.210
N=149						

Appendix-VII: Photographs



Photograph 1: Key Informant Interview with Sajjad Hossain (pseudonym), Member, 3 No. Ward, Bhaberchar Union, Gazaria, Munshiganj district.



Photograph 2: Key Informant Interview with Zafar Mahbub, Secretary, Bangladesh Human Rights Commission, Greater Munshiganj Region.



Photograph 3: Key Informant Interview with Delower Hossain, Vice-Chairman, Gazaria Upazila Parishad, Munshiganj district.



Photograph 4: Local respondent, Harun Munshi, Imampur union, Gazaria upazila of Munshiganj district.



Photograph 5: Key Informant Interview with Mr. H. Khan, Chairman, Imampur union, Gazaria upazila of Munshiganj district.



Photograph 6: Key Informant Interview with Mr. Shafiq, Environmentalist, Babherchar Union, Gazaria upazila of Munshiganj district.



Photograph 7: Key Informant Interview with Mr. Anis Mia, Member, Baberchar union parishad, Gazaria upazila of Munshiganj district.



Photograph 8: General interview with local people, Md. Alam, Baberchar union, Gazaria upazila of Munshiganj district.



Photograph 9: Group discussion with local people, Baberchar union, Gazaria upazila of Munshiganj district.



Photograph 10: Key Informant Interview with Mr. Amjad Bepari, Chairman, Bausia union parishad, Gazaria upazila of Munshiganj district.



Photograph 11: Interview on general people with Dr. Nazarul Islam, Bausia union, Gazaria upazila of Munshiganj district.



Photograph 12: Key Informant Interview with Mr. Golam Kibria, Member of Bausia union parishad, Gazaria upazila of Munshiganj district.