

বাংলাদেশ গ্রামী উন্নয়ন সমীক্ষা
THE BANGLADESH RURAL DEVELOPMENT
STUDIES

খণ্ড ১
Volume 1

কাঙ্ক্ষিক ১৩২৫
October 1988

সংখ্যা ২
Number 2

প্রবন্ধ
Articles

Training for Rural Development in Bangladesh

Abdul Mueeed Chowdhury

Village Development in Bangladesh

M. A. Hakim

The Utilization of and Accessibility to Accretion Lands
by Displaced Populations.

SK. Zahrul Ferdous

A. T. M. Altaf Husain

গ্রামীণ ভূমিহীনদের আর্থ-সামাজিক সমস্যা

কলতাপাড়া গ্রামের ভূমিহীনদের উপর একটি সমীক্ষা

টি. আই. এম. জাহিদ হোসেন

গ্রাম উন্নয়নে সমবায় ও সেচ

আটাইল গ্রামের অভিজ্ঞতা

মো: নজরুল ইসলাম খান

মো: ফিরোজ ইমাম

মাহমুদ হোসেন খান

Improved Technique for Sugarcane Planting

Dr. Md. Amzad Hossain

১৯৮৭-৮৮ সালের বোরো মৌসুমের বোরো ধান, গম ও আলু

উৎপাদনের আয় ও ব্যয়ের তুলনা

বাংলাদেশের বগুড়া জেলার একটি নির্দিষ্ট এলাকায় গবেষণা

এস. এম. কামরুল হাসান

Prevalence of Dowry

M. A. Hamid Chowdhury

Miss. Nargis Jahan

পুস্তক পর্যালোচনা
Book Review

পল্লী উন্নয়ন একাডেমী, বগুড়া-এর নামসিঁকি

Journal of
Rural Development Academy, Bogra

বাংলাদেশ গল্পী উন্নয়ন সমীক্ষা
**THE BANGLADESH RURAL DEVELOPMENT
 STUDIES**

খণ্ড ১	কালিক ১৩৯৫	সংখ্যা ২
Volume 1	October 1988	Number 2

Advisory Board : *R. L. Sarker*

Rafiqul Islam Bhuiya

Dr. Md. Amzad Hossain

M. A. Mannan

০০-০১

১১

১১

০০-০২

১২

১২

Editorial Board : *M. A. Hakim*

A. H. M. Nizamuddin Chowdhury

A. T. M. Altaf Husain

Nasimul Ghani

Executive Editor

Asstt. Editor

Member

Member

Printed by

Kamal Printing Press

Kamal Printing Press

Kamal Printing Press

Kamal Printing Press

Kamal Printing Press

প্রকাশক

পল্লী উন্নয়ন একাডেমী

THE BANGLADESH RURAL DEVELOPMENT ACADEMY

বগুড়া-৫৮৪২।

Published by : Director General
Rural Development Academy
Bogra—5842.

সংখ্যা	১৬৩৬	ফাইল	১
Number	8891	October	Volume 1

মূল্য : টাকা ৭০.০০
মার্কিন ডলার ৩.০০
Price : Tk. 70.00
US \$ 3.00

Printed by : Reza Ahmed Rubel
Kamal Litho Press
Khaza Market
Kabi Nuzrul Islam Road
Bogra.
Phone : 5373

সূচী Contents

	পৃষ্ঠা
Training for Rural Development in Bangladesh	১
<i>Abdul Mueeed Chowdhury</i>	
Village Development in Bangladesh	১২
<i>M. A. Hakim</i>	
The Utilization of and Accessibility to Accretion Lands by Displaced Populations	৩৬
<i>S. K. Zahrul Ferdous</i>	
<i>A. T. M. Altaf Husain</i>	
গ্রামীণ ভূমিহীনদের আর্থ-সামাজিক সমস্যা	৫৪
কলতাপাড়া গ্রামের ভূমিহীনদের উপর একটি সমীক্ষা	
টি, আই, এম, জাহিদ হোসেন	
গ্রাম উন্নয়নে সমবায় ও সেচ ; আটাইল গ্রামের অভিজ্ঞতা	৭৫
মোঃ নজরুল ইসলাম খান	
মোঃ ফিরোজ ইমাম	
মাহমুদ হোসেন খান	
Improved Technique for Sugarcane Planting	৮৮
<i>Dr. Md. Amzad Hossain</i>	
১৯৮৭-৮৮ সালের বোরো মৌসুমের বোরো ধান, গম ও আলু	
উৎপাদনের আয় ও ব্যয়ের তুলনা	১০০
বাংলাদেশের বগুড়া জেলার একটি নির্দিষ্ট এলাকায় গবেষণা	
এস, এম, কামরুল হাসান	
Prevalence of Dowry	
A Case Study in Rural Community	১০১
<i>M. A. Hamid Chowdhury</i>	
<i>Miss Nargis Jahan</i>	
পুস্তক পর্যালোচনা/Book Review	১২০

10

[illegible]

Training For Rural Development in Bangladesh

An Inside View

Abdul Mueyed Chowdhury*

The emergence of Bangladesh as an independent country has changed the focus of development activities in the country. The policy of industrial development based on the 'trickle down theory' pursued by the erstwhile Government of Pakistan has been rightly considered inappropriate in a country where about 80% of the population live in sleepy villages with little or on basic amenities of life. Thus it is no surprise that the Government of Bangladesh has been giving priority attention to the rural areas in order to achieve meaningful and total development of the country and its people.

In a populous country with poor communication network, very low rate of literacy and overwhelming poverty it is not possible for the national government to directly reach the teeming millions or to implement various development programmes in the far-flung villages. An institution with people's participation is a pre-requisite for speeding up the development process. The Local Government system automatically offers itself for such a role. The present Government has introduced historic changes in the Local Government area through the introduction of the Upazila Parishad (UZP) system. Unprecedented funds and authority have been given to the UZP or sub-district councils (there are 460 Upazilas in the country now) composed of an elected chairman, representative members and non-voting official members.

Production oriented economic activities cannot be undertaken by the people in the villages because of very poor resource base as well as absence of improved skills. In order to bring about improvements in these

*When the article was selected for publication, the author was the Director General, Rural Development Academy, Bogra. At present he is Joint Secretary (Political), Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of Bangladesh. The views expressed in this article are those of the author's.

areas it is necessary to set up people's organizations in the rural areas. Cooperatives have come up as the natural choice for such an institution,

*xindw0D beayM lubDA

Local level institutions Local Govt, or Cooperatives can not be expected to function effectively or to deliver the goods without necessary trained manpower. Elected public official need training in administrative and financial management as well as in planning and implementation of development programmes and projects. Similarly the cooperators need training in the areas of organizational management, production planning, bank loan procedures, marketing of products and other related matters. The permanent bureaucracy also needs training for bringing about attitudinal changes and for enhancement of capacities of perception and communication so that it can facilitate development by shedding its previous regulatory role. The need for such training is aptly stated in 'The Assault on World Poverty' (a World Bank publication, 1975, p/9) in the following words :

The shortage of trained manpower is perhaps the most serious obstacle to large-scale rural development efforts. An intensified training effort, particularly directed toward the needs of local level institutions, and calling for greater efforts focused on training in the local environments where people work, must also be pursued.

The Rural Development Academy (RDA), Bogra was set up in 1974 as an autonomous training and research institution against the preceding background to lighten the burdens of the previously established Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development (BARD), Comilla. Amongst other things the prescribed functions of RDA include the following :

- i) To provide training to personnel of different nation building departments and agencies connected with rural development.

To conduct research in rural development and offer facilities for such research work. The academy is run by a Board of Governors with the Minister of Local Government, Rural Development and Cooperatives as the ex-officio Chairman. The Board is appointed by the Government. The academy is under the administrative jurisdiction of the Rural Development and Cooperatives Division of the Government. It receives 100% financing through annual budgetary grants from the Government. However, specific programmes or activities are sometimes funded through the assistance of donor agencies like UNDP, UNICEF, USAID, etc. The RDA started functioning (in hired premises in 1974 in Bogra, a township in the northern part of the country. In 1980 it has shifted to its own campus located in a village 10 miles away from the town on the highway linking Bogra with the national capital, Dhaka. The academy now has residential accommodation for 225 trainees along with other ancillary facilities.

The actual training activities of RDA commenced in July 1975 after the founding formalities were completed and minimum personnel recruitments done. Since then a total number of 175 training courses of various types and durations have been run covering 11,471 trainees and 3,456 training days. The RDA faculty, drawn from agricultural and social sciences, bears the main training load. Occasionally prominent persons from the Government or the Universities are invited to take classes or to participate in panel discussions on specific topics according to their respective specializations.

Training of Elected Public Representatives

The RDA training programmes for the elected public functionaries cover the Chairmen of UZP and the Chairmen of the Union Parishads (UP). The UP is the lowest tier of Local Government (LG) each covering 10-15 villages on an average. The Chairman (CUP) is elected by the people. CUPs are the ex-officio representatives members of their respective UZPs. The CUPs play a very crucial role in the rural development efforts in Bangladesh because of their direct link with the villages.

The training programme for the CUPs covers the following subject areas:

- a) Relevant laws, rules and procedures relating to LG system in Bangladesh and prescribed role of the UP.
- b) Concepts, approaches and skills in LG, local level planning and implementation, elementary financial and administrative management and mobilization of local resources (both human and material) for attaining self-reliance.
- c) Cooperatives for socio-economic development.

The trainees are also exposed to various rural development experiments in Bangladesh through lectures followed by field visits to nearby projects.

The UZPs usually cover 8-15 UPs with the average size around 150 square miles. Their fairly annual development budget, independent decision making process for spending it and the fact that officials of all nation building departments and agencies at that level have been placed on permanent deputation under them make the UZP the most important LG body in the

country. A Chairman of UZP (CUZP) has tremendous responsibilities in matters of development administration, supervision of a large number of career officials and in providing leadership to the people of the Upazila.

Immediately after elections and oath-taking of CUZPs in May, 1985 they were sent to RDA (half went to BARD, Comilla) for an initial short orientation course dealing with significance and functioning mechanism of the newly introduced decentralized system of administration and their own role. Subsequently they have come in batches for two week regular courses where following subjects have been covered through lecture-group

discussion-field trip format :

- a) Socio-economic situation of rural Bangladesh;
- b) Historical perspective of LG in Bangladesh;
- c) Upazila system and its rationale;
- d) Local level planning and implementation for physical infrastructures; and
- e) Target-group oriented socio-economic development.

The CUZPs are now brought to the academy from time to time for short and specific training programmes on subjects like community forestry, irrigation management etc. As elected public leaders they are expected and required to promote such programmes in the interest of the people. The purpose of such training is to involve them in the activities through orientation and motivation.

The academy has now taken up a research project to study the actual workings of 30 UZPs to ascertain the felt training needs of the Chairmen and the officials. Training courses will be developed on the basis of research findings to further improve the efficiency and capabilities of all concerned functionaries that over time UZP can become a very strong institution.

Training of Civil Service Officers

Training programme for the Government officials, belonging to the

civil service cadres follows a set pattern. They undergo a four month foundation training at the Bangladesh Public Administration Training Centre (BPATC). As a part of this training half of the trainees of each batch comes to RDA (others go to BARD) for three week rural development training. They spend two weeks at the academy when lectures and group/panel discussions are arranged on the following subjects :

- a) Socio-economic situation of rural Bangladesh;
- b) Field administration;
- c) LG system;
- d) Poverty focussed development strategies;
- e) Rural development experiences of Bangladesh and countries like China/South Korea/India/Srilanka; and
- f) Rural research methodology.

Trainees are taken out to see nearby rural development experiments of the academy, Grameen Bank, Bangladesh Rural Development Board (BRDB) and other agencies during this period.

They spend the third week in small groups of 2-4 persons, with previously selected host families in various villages within a radius of about 40 miles from the academy. The academy initially obtains lists of possible host families from different sources. Faculty members of the academy then visit these households to select host families fulfilling the following criteria:

- a) Willingness of the family;
- b) Accommodation (under village conditions);
- c) Availability of drinking water from hand tubewell; and
- d) Location within one mile from the nearest all weather road;

Heads of selected host families are brought to the academy for a day for briefing and introduction to the trainees. Each host spends some time with his group for familiarization. The trainees are taken by the supervising faculty members to the villages next day in academy vehicles. At the end they are again brought back the same way. During their stay in the villages trainees are required to pay only for food. The academy realizes the money from them which is handed over to the host-families by the supervisors.

Training for the Cooperative Sector

The trainees are sent to the villages for following reasons:

- To familiarize them with the socio-economic conditions through personal exposure and unhurried interaction with the villagers.
- To help them make indepth study of rural institutions e.g. primary school, cooperative of women/landless, family planning programmes, projects under Food for Works etc.

The trainees go to the villages with previously designed research assignment including questionnaires. They work as teams to collect primary data and to prepare short reports. These reports are presented by each group to a plenary session of all trainees and faculty members on their return to the academy. Every group from a course studies the same institution in different rural locations for this reason.

The host-family system has eliminated commuting time of the trainees since they temporarily reside in a village within the command area of the project institution under study. Some trainees initially show reservations about this programme but after the attachment most of them say that they have been benefited by the exposure. So far very positive soundings have also been received from the host-families and the villagers. They feel that

civil servants from all functional areas of the government will shape up better because of such exposure to rural life and its problems and institutions. The academy has a plan to create a pool of about 250-300 host families. So that trainees can be attached to them by rotation to avoid unnecessary strain on any one. The host family system is establishing a close link between the academy and a large number of villages. Contemplations are afoot to utilize this link for conducting different researches by the academy.

Training for the Cooperatives Sector :

The academy runs separate training programmes for officials of the Bangladesh Rural Development Board (BRDB) and the cooperative leaders. BRDB officials receive their post-entry foundation training at BARD and RDA. The duration varies from 8-16 weeks according to the level of the officials. Separate short courses are also conducted as a part of their in-service training. The foundation training invariably includes 2-4 weeks, group attachment with rural cooperatives for doing case studies and for practical training.

Theoretical portion of the training intends to build up the trainees as effective motivators and organizers of cooperatives and as good managers of programmes and projects. The following subject areas are, therefore, covered in such courses :

- a) Socio-economic picture of rural Bangladesh;
- b) Cooperatives as vehicle for development;
- c) History, principles and practices of cooperative movement;
- d) Motivation and training of target population for group actions;
- e) Communication;
- f) Basic administrative, and financial management;
- g) Planning collective efforts and income-generating activities;

- h) Principles and practices of bank financing; and
- i) Inspections and audit.

Training programmes for cooperative leaders are short (4-7 days) and covers subjects like leadership, group building, principles and practices bank financing procedures, meetings of cooperatives and maintenance of records. Separate course (2-3 days) are also arranged on specific programmes like literacy, health and family planning, social-community forestry etc. to involve the cooperatives in such activities.

Special Training Programme of RDA :

a) The RDA is the only institution in the country which has been entrusted with the responsibilities for training under the Irrigation Management Programme (IMP) of the Government. Under IMP all out efforts are being made to ensure optimum utilization of all irrigation equipments through expansion of their command areas to the maximum possible limit. Simultaneously through improved agronomical practices and management of farmers cooperatives (KSS) food production is to be increased to achieve self-sufficiency in food. Except shallow tubewells (STW) other irrigation equipments are with the KSS which are under the BRDB. Irrigation equipments and supply of fertilizers and improved seeds are dealt with by the Bangladesh Agricultural Development Corporation (BADC). Agronomy, plant protection etc. are the responsibility of the Department of Agricultural Extension (DAE). Crop loans are handled by a federation of farmer's cooperatives in each upazila known as the Upazila Cooperative Association (UCCA). The IMP training, therefore, is a multi-dimensional programme with emphasis on inter-agency coordination. Mixed groups of trainees representing all involved agencies are brought to the academy for the training. Implementation level functionaries go through a four week

course. But courses for Upazila and District level supervisory officials are for one week and four days respectively. Institution building (strengthening of KSS), improved agronomical practices, operation and maintenance of irrigation equipment and command area development through better conveyance system and water distribution routine are covered by each course with special emphasis on coordination and team work. Classroom lectures are kept to the minimum to facilitate field visits and practical training. The academy has done action research at its own 84 acre demonstration farm in the campus and at various locations in the neighbouring Upazilas for this purpose. Different types of conveyance systems (compacted earth channels, lined channels using cement-concrete/pre-fabricated asbestos and buried pipe systems) have been set up for this. Considering its importance IMP has been receiving active support and assistance from donor agencies. RDA has been doing its best to make the IMP training effective and useful.

b) The RDA has now taken up a programme of running courses for cooperators and the rural poor including distressed women to give meaning to their lives. Development of various skills for income generation is aimed at by this programme. Already few courses on subjects like tailoring for women, machine repairing, agro-forestry and nursery raising for men and women have been run on experimental basis. RDA intends to build on these experiences and expand its activities in this area.

Conclusions :

Rural development efforts in Bangladesh have not yet passed the experimentation stage. Newer ideas, principles and methods are being continuously tried out by the Government with its own resources as well

as with assistance from donor agencies and countries. So far the two-tier cooperative system known as the 'Comilla Model' has been adopted for the whole country. Even this programme is seriously handicapped by the absence of trained and committed officials and workers. Rural development training is thus an area where a lot of work will have to be done in the days to come. RDA is fully aware of its responsibilities in this regard. Strengthening of the faculty and further development of campus facilities are being vigorously pursued so that RDA can effectively discharge its obligations to the rural people for whom it exists.

Village Development in Bangladesh

Policies and Programmes

M. A. Hakim *

Introduction:

Bangladesh lives in her sixty eight thousand villages. This statement is substantiated by the facts that about 85 per cent of her population live in the villages, and village economy accounts for about 46 per cent of gross domestic product (GDP), 75 per cent of all employment and about 80 per cent of total export earnings. As it is to-day, so in the past too, the economy of Bangladesh was dependent on the villages. But there is a great difference between the present and the past. The villages to-day are poor and those in the past were affluent and prosperous-so affluent and prosperous that the country used to be called 'Sonar Bangla' (the golden Bengal). The travellers and the historians in those days testified the existence of golden Bangladesh. They spoke highly of the riches and wealth of the country. According to Bradly Birt¹, "It was a wonderful land, whose richness and abundance neither war, pestilence, nor oppression could destroy". The subsequent turn of events, however, went against Birt's prediction. More than two centuries of colonial exploitation has ruined the village economy of Bangladesh. To-day the villages of Bangladesh are among the poorest in the world. The poverty in the villages is so vast in magnitude and so glaring in fierceness that one is easily appalled

*The author is a Joint Director, Rural Development Academy, Bogra. The views expressed in this article are those of author's.

1. Quoted in Nafis Ahmed, A New Economic Geography of Bangladesh. Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1976.

by the very sight of it. Sitting in poverty-stricken Bangladesh villages of to-day, the story of their past prosperity sounds like fairy tale. They appear to be hopeless cases for development. The point made here is that the villages of Bangladesh, like the villages of many third world countries are poor to-day not because they were poor in the past, but because of the ruthless exploitation by the colonial powers of various types.

Development Problems of Villages:

Most development problems of villages are both immediate causes and manifestations of poverty and they have their origin in the past and have accumulated over the years in the absence of measures to solve them. In the present paper some major problems will be discussed in brief and Government policies and programmes to solve these problems will be presented.

The overwhelming majority of village population depend on land for their livelihood. But in Bangladesh there are several problems of village development associated with land. Firstly, Bangladesh has a very limited land area compared to its population. It has a total area of 143998 sq.km. for a total population of 102.9 million (1986 estimate)- population density thus being 714 per sq.km. Population density in the villages would be slightly lower but would be still high because the majority of the people

2. Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, Statistical Pocket Book of Bangladesh, 1987, Dhaka, 1987.
3. F, Tomsson Januzi and James T. Peach, Report on the Hierarchy of Interests in land in Bangladesh, Agency for International Development, Washington, 1977.
4. Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, op. cit

live in the villages. The high population density is reflected in very low per farm and per capita land cultivated in the villages. According to 1983-84 agriculture census per farm and per capita cultivated land were respectively 2.00 acres and 0.25 acres only⁵. Secondly, the ownership of the limited land available for cultivation is concentrated in the hands of a small minority of families with serious implications for productivity and equity⁶. It has been found that only 10 per cent of the village households own about 50 per cent of land. As against this 50 per cent of the rural households are functionally landless (owning cultivable land from 0.01 acre to 0.50 acres). Thirdly, as a result of high rate of growth of population and in the absence of very limited opportunities for employment in the urban and industrial sectors, the pressure of population on land is increasing every day. This has resulted in the continuous decline in the sizes of all categories of farms over the years. Over a period of 7 years, from 1977 to 1984, the average farm size has fallen from 3.5 acres to 2.3 acres⁷.

Access to capital becomes an essential requirement with the advent of the Green Revolution in Bangladesh. Farmers, especially the average type, could not on their own finance the required inputs necessary for the adoption of the new technology without the help of credit or farm financing system. Working against the interest of the farmers are the following features of rural credit system in Bangladesh. First, the institutional sources of credit in the country meet only a small portion of the total credit requirement of the farmers. Second, the repayment rate of institutional credit is very low and credit institutions have to increasingly rely on government

5. Just Faaland and J. R. Parkinson, Bangladesh the Test Case of Development, C Hurst and Company and University Press Limited, Bangladesh, 1976.

support and subsidies. And last, the small farmers' share of the institutional credit is relatively small. The inability of institutional sources of credit to supply the needs of farmers, forces the farmers to borrow from non-institutional credit sources at an interest rate ranging from 80 to 200 per cent. Obviously, this rate of interest could not be justified by the rate of returns in agricultural production. Furthermore, because in general it is the poor farmers who have no collateral required by institutional credit, nor have the position in the rural power structure to take advantage of government programmes, their situation will continuously deteriorate.

The prevailing consensus is that Bangladesh villages have one of the richest soil in the world. Further climate here is highly favourable to the above subject advanced that rice production in the country could be increased four times the current level by year 2000 by using only currently known technologies plus the gradual development of irrigation and drainage facilities and adequate institutional support. Thus, Bangladesh target for self-sufficiency in food grains was not unrealistic. Unfortunately however, the village economy exhibited very low agricultural productivity. On the average, yield per acre of rice and wheat was only about half of the Asian average during the 1865-66 to 1969-70. The country has not been able to achieve self-sufficiency in food grain production. Inequitable distribution of ownership of land, adverse terms and conditions of cultivation of land under various forms of tenancy (land cultivated under tenancy constitutes about 25 per cent of the total cultivated land), limited and differential access to sources of credit, inadequate irrigation coverage, poor fertilizer and pest management are some of the major causes of low productivity.

6. Planning Commission, The Third Five Year Plan, 1985-1990, Ministry of Planning, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, Dhaka, 1985.

Among the resources that the villages in Bangladesh can employ in their development effort is their vast human resource. In development, however, the population variable is a double-edged sword, it speeds development if properly utilized but serves as a powerful constraint if underutilized and unproductive. This is critical in Bangladesh where an estimated 23 per cent of the total labour force of 31 million (who mostly live in the villages) was unemployed in 1935⁶, and where the productivity of labour is low. This implies that the productive potential of 7 million man-year labour was lost by the economy. The effective utilization of the vast human resources of Bangladesh will, to a large extent, depend on the access of the country's labour force to complementary productive resources, i. e. Land capital.

Village development in Bangladesh is by and large fully complemented by an array of Government institutions. These institutions provide services like extension, training, infrastructure support, seasonal employment and others. They also supply vital agricultural inputs like irrigation equipments, seeds, fertilizers and credit. These institutions may be termed as delivery institutions. Two major problems of these institutions are :

- a) The local people are not sufficiently involved in the planning and implementation of their programmes and
- b) There is a lack of coordination among these institutions on both planning and implementation of their programmes and projects. These two problems lead to wastage of scarce resources.

7. S. A. Quadir and K.S. Ahmed, Role of Education Projections in Educational Planning in Bangladesh: National Contribution, National Foundation for Human Resources Development, Dhaka, 1980.

8. I. B. I. D.

Besides the Government institutions, there are some organisations of the villagers which were created and have been being patronised by the Governments in various ways. They are local Government institutions (Union Council) and cooperative organisations (Farmers, Weaver's and Fishermen's cooperatives). These institutions too suffer from some serious weaknesses. One is that they have not become truly peoples organisations and have been increasingly depending on the Government support and services for their survival. The other major problem is that, by and large, access of the village poor to these institutions is limited.

Access to social services generally leads to the upliftment of the standard of living of the poor. Also, because of the income distribution effect of social services Government plans usually placed a high priority on social services programmes. The village economy of Bangladesh, at present however, is characterized by inadequate social services and infrastructure development. Access to education and health services in the villages in particular is limited. For example, in 1978 in the villages there were only 2.73 primary schools per 1,000 school age population, and one primary school can take only 200 pupils⁷. This problem was further compounded by low school enrolment rate, only 174 per primary school in villages, and a very high dropout rate of 80 per cent⁸. The long run implications of these figures in terms of manpower skills and participation of the citizenry in the affairs of the country were certainly serious to be overlooked.

Health services in the villages are also very inadequate. Before the Second Five Year Plan only less than 10 per cent of available doctors (numbering 8,500) worked in the villages and out of 15,485 hospital beds in the

9. Planning Commission, The Second Five Year Plan, Ministry of Planning, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, Dhaka.

country only 3,800 were available for the rural sector where 92 per cent of the population lived. The available health services in the villages were also generally poor arising from poor management and technical inefficiency coupled with gross inadequacy of supply of drugs, medical and surgical requisites.

The villages also suffer from inadequate roads, communication and transport. Although roads have been built in the village areas, they are of low quality and most are not suitable for heavy axle loads and mechanized vehicles. A large portion of village roads are also under water during the monsoon.

Policies and Programmes :

The response of the Government of Bangladesh to the problems of village development in the country is varied as well as extensive. Certainly, the country has not been wanting of policy makers and experts to formulate innovative policies and strategies for the development of the rural sector. A full understanding of the various policies and programmes for the rural development of Bangladesh therefore necessitates an examination of these policies evolution.

To start on a more recent period, it is noted that the roots of the policies and programmes for rural development in Bangladesh extends to the rural reconstruction concept introduced by the British during the colonial days of the country to the village. Agricultural and Industrial development Programme (V-AID) developed by Pakistan. The basic concern of these policies, which still continue upto the present, is the alleviation of rural poverty and the realization of the production potential of the rural sector.

The Comilla Model which might be considered as the most recent precursor of rural development policies in Bangladesh is essentially an

offshoot of the V-AID programme. And the integrated rural development model of Bangladesh is, by and large, a derivative of the Comilla experiment. It is noticed that the basic principles of IRD express the configuration of rural development policies that permeates the present rural development programmes of the country. These principles are :

- a) The introduction of technological and organizational innovations and upgrading of rural physical infrastructure;
- b) The organization of peasants and government workers for collective action;
- c) Bottom-up and participatory planning and implementation;
- d) Training at the local level for local leaders and field level officials of government agencies; and
- e) Public accounting of development activities.

There were other policies complementary to the tenets of Comilla and IRD. These policies are on land reform, input subsidy, seed procurement, plant protection, rural infrastructure, credit, price, education and training, and employment. The programmes that derive from these policies address the problems of village development in the country. These programmes will be discussed in brief in this section.

To tackle the problems associated with land Government has undertaken several programmes. To cope with the problem of limited land area the Government Programmes, among other things, include the following :

- a) Increasing the gross cropped area through the rapid expansion of area under modern irrigation in the winter season because in the winter season land in Bangladesh remain fallow for want of water. In appendix table 1, it can be seen that the total area irrigated by modern method has increased over the years. The area irrigated in 1973-74 was 1833 thousand acres which increased to 4286 thousand acres in 1985-86.

- b) The Government is trying to reclaim land through flood control, drainage and afforestation programmes.
- c) To ease the burden of population on land, Government has taken up vigorous industrialisation programmes at both established industrial centres and newly emerging growth centres of the country on the one hand and, taken up population control measures seriously. These measures are showing some success. Village people are now moving away from their homes to take jobs in urban centres and growth rate of population has fallen from 3.3 per cent in 1983 to 2.5 per cent in 1986¹⁰.

To ease the problem of inequitous distribution of ownership of land, the successive Governments in the country have taken land reform measures. The land reform programme undertaken by the present Government has the following major components :

- a) A limitation of 60 bighas has been imposed on future acquisition of agricultural land without prejudicing the existing holding sizes.
- b) Prohibited benami transaction (purchase or transfer of land in the name of another person to defeat the legal provisions regarding ceiling on land holding) which was very much in vogue and protected by law.
- c) Eviction from homestead land in the rural areas under all laws has been forbidden except in case of lawful acquisition. Thus such land has been exempted from all legal processes including seizure, distress, attachment or sale by a court or any other authority.
- d) The land Reforms Ordinance of the Government for the first time recognized the Bargadar or share-cropper and has provided

10. Statistical Pocket Book of Bangladesh. 5op. cit.

for protection of his rights under a Barga contract. The ordinance has made definite provisions for three way distribution of the produce of Barga land whereby the land owners would get one-third for his land, the Bargadar would get one-third for his labour and the remaining one-third would go to the land owner and Bargadar in proportion to the cost of cultivation (inputs excluding labour) borne by each. The Bargadar has also been given the first right of purchase if an owner intends to sell land covered by a Barga contract. However, land reform has restricted the Bargadar to 15 bighas (5 acres) of land inclusive of his own land and land held by him under usufructuary mortgage.

The failure of the past land reform measures are explained by, among other things, the inadequacy and inefficiency of the land administration system. The present Government appears to be aware of this fact and therefore, have taken up bold and massive action programme to strengthen the land administration machinery of the country. The programme includes spread of the land administration institution at the grass-root level. The institution will have qualified and trained personnel. Another factor accounting for the failure of the land reform programme of the past was the lack of political will of the Government in power. The present Government through its various policy pronouncements have expressed its firm determination to implement the reform programme. Only future can tell if the poor peasantry of the country will get benefit from the programme.

To meet the capital requirement of the generally poor villagers of the country the Governments of the country over the years have under taken

11. TK. is abbreviation for Bangladesh currency 'Taka' Tk 31.00 US 1.00 (at official exchange rate).

12. Planing Commission, Third Five Year Plan.

various programmes. In the past only the Agricultural Development Bank and the Cooperative Banks used to supply institutional credit to the farmers. Considering the inadequacy of these two institutions to meet the growing demand for credit the Government has involved the country's Commercial Banks in the rural credit business and has taken up various special credit programmes. The Government efforts have met with some success. As can be seen in appendix Table 2 the volume of institutional credit has increased significantly over the years. From TK. 153.00¹¹ million in 1970-71, the institutional credit has increased to TK. 12750.00 million in 1985-86. The Government has a plan to increase the volume of institutional credit to TK. 2483.000 million by 1989-90¹².

The Government is also aware of the poor access of the landless, tenants and small farms and other poor self-employed groups of villagers to institutional sources of credit. In order to increase their access to institutional sources of credit, the Government has taken up a number of measures which include, among other things :

- a) Replacement of land collateral (against credit) with crop/goods hypothecation and group guarantee;
- b) Encouragement and patronisation of creation and growth of specialised institutions and launching of credit based special projects. The specialised institutions and projects include the famous Grameen Bank, Small Farmers Development Project, Rural Poor Programme, Swanirvar (self-reliant) credit programme and various credit based programmes of a host of non-government organisations like Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC) and Proshikha. The Grameen Bank alone, which has 295 branches all over the country, has disbursed TK. 1469.5

13. Annual Report 1986, Grameen Bank, Dhaka, 1987.

million among the rural poor over a period of 10 years from 1976 to 1986¹⁴. The other special credit programmes for the poor have also distributed considerable amount of loan.

Increase in total production can be achieved through two major ways;

- a) Increasing area under cultivation and
- b) Increasing yield. Given existing limited land area and impossibility of exploitation of new land for cultivation, the Government programmes for increasing production concentrated on increasing yield and intensive cultivation (increasing cropping intensity). To increase cropping intensity, the Government relied on the programme for expansion of area under irrigation. This expansion has been planned to be done in two ways :

- i) Installation of new small scale irrigation equipment and construction of large scale irrigation projects and
- ii) Ensuring optimum utilization^{of} existing irrigation facilities through improved management system (like Irrigation Management Programme).

The achievement in this respect, as can be seen in appendix Table 1 is encouraging but much remains to be done because area irrigated in 1985-86 constituted about 43 per cent of the total irrigable area in the country. For increasing yield, Irrigation, HYV seeds and use of fertilizers have been encouraged by the Government. It can be seen in appendix Table 3 that total use of fertilizers have increased over the years. In terms of nutrient contents, in 1973-74 total amount of fertilizers used was 174.5 thousand tons which increased to 538.4 thousand tons in 1985-86. With the increase in use of total quantity, per acre use has also increased from

14. Atiq Rahman, Development Strategies and Productivity in Bangladesh, (Research Report No 42), BIDS, Dhaka, 1985.
15. Ibid.

2.0 pounds per acre in 1960-61 to 36 pounds in 1984-85¹⁴. As a result of these measures the Government efforts towards raising production has met with some success. The total production of rice and wheat has increased over the years. As can be seen in appendix Table 4, total rice production in 1973-74 was 11.72 million tons which increased to 15.16 million tons in 1986-87. Similarly production of wheat has increased to 1.03 million tons in 1983-84 from an insignificant quantity of only 0.09 million tons in 1973-74. The production increase, it has been found by one research study, has come mainly from yield increase which accounted for nearly three fourths of total production increase over the seventies and up to 1983¹⁵.

It may be mentioned here that in the seventies the Government heavily subsidised irrigation equipment and other agricultural inputs (subsidy in some case being 100%) to popularise their use. But recently the Government has adopted a policy of gradually withdrawing subsidies. Also in contrast to the past practice Government has started privatisation of sale of these inputs. These shifts in policy have received mixed reactions from the researchers and scholars in the field. Some apprehend that such shifts in the policy will adversely affect Government's production programmes and will also accentuate the problem of in-equity in the village society.

The Government is aware of the unemployment problem in the villages of Bangladesh and has taken up several programmes to solve the problems. The major programmes for creating employment in the rural areas may be enumerated as follows :

- a) Irrigation-seed-fertilizer technology in crop production, specially, food production has been found to have significant impact on increasing employment. Therefore the Government has taken

up programmes to increase the area under the technology from the present level of 25 per cent of net cropped area to 40 per cent. Food production under the new technology alone is expected to create over a million jobs by 1990.

- b) Another major programme for creating employment in the villages is the rural infra-structure building through food for works programme and rural works programme. The food for works programme alone has created 107 million man-days of employment in 1984-85 (appendix Table 5). Given added emphasis on infra-structure building through this programme, it is expected to play greater role in future in employment generation in the villages.
- c) The Government has programmes to increase employment in the non-farm sector in rural areas through the organisation of groups of unemployed people, giving them training and providing them with credit to take up jobs so that the unemployed people become self-employed. The Bangladesh Small and Cottage Industries Corporation (BSCIC) the Rural Social Services Programme (RSS), and the Upazilla Training and Development Center (UTDC) are providing skill training to the rural unemployed. Also the country's Vocational Training Institutes are giving training to school-drop-out educated young people to take up jobs of their own. The Government has also a plan to set up Employment Resource Centre (ERC) at every upazila to provide various services to the rural unemployed to become self employed. The ~~Green~~ Bank and various NGOs in the country are also helping the rural unemployed to become self-employed. All these efforts to date, it may be pointed out

have not been able to address the problem of village unemployment sufficiently. In future, the programmes in this field should be taken up more extensively and seriously.

In order to ensure coordination among various development agencies working at the field level on the one hand and guarantee participation of the local people in the planning and management of the development programmes of these organisations on the other, the Government has created upazila system. The Upazila Parishad is headed by a local leader directly elected by the local people. Its voting-members (who are the Chairmen of the Union Parishads) are also elected by the people. All heads of Government officers at the upazila have been placed under the Parishad and they are also members of the Parishad but do not have voting right. The upazila plans, manages and implements its development programmes with the grants-in-aid received from the Government and with its own resources (for the mobilisation of which it has been given sufficient powers). The upazilas during the period from 1983-84 to 1986-87 have received grants-in-aid amounting to Tk. 7709.5 million¹⁶. The country now has 460 upazilas. Side by side the upazilas, the Union Parishads are also functioning to implement their own programmes for building rural infra-structure, maintaining law and order and administering justice. To support and strengthen the activities of the upazilas, the Government has recently reconstituted the Zila Parishads with elected representatives of the people the heads of the Parishads. To ensure maximum participation of the people in the development activities the Government has a plan to set up Gram Parishad in each of the villages of the country.

16. SK. Abdur Rashid and Zisan-Ara-Arafunnesa, Upazila Parishad Evolution of a long Needed Local Govt. Institution, The Bangladesh Rural Development Studies, vol-1, Rural Development Academy, Bogra, April, 1988.

In the cooperative sector the Government is providing full support to the Bangladesh Rural Development Board (BRDB) which is mainly responsible for promoting cooperative movement in the country for the economic and social development of the villagers. The Government is aware of the fact that the landless and the poor women do not have access to farmers cooperatives and so it has asked the BRDB to organise special cooperatives for the landless and the women. The BRDB, as can be seen in appendix Table 6 has so far organised 64201 farmers cooperative societies having 23, 83, 796 members, 12,609 Bittahen Societies (Societies for the poor) having 358076 members and 10,167 women's cooperatives having 2,83, 144 members. These societies have accumulated substantial amount of savings and share-capital, have received considerable amount of credit (appendix Table 6).

Besides the BRDB, the Directorate of Cooperatives also have organised farmers cooperatives in the villages. The Government also encourages the NGOs to organise informal groups of the poor villagers so that poor can improve their socio-economic conditions. At present more than one hundred national and international NGOs are working in the villages.

In the field of education the Government has taken up elaborate programme to achieve universal primary education by the end of the century and thus free the villages from the curse of literacy. In the field of health also, Government has undertaken various programmes to achieve the objective of "Health for All by the year 2000 "

With the introduction of upazila system and food for works programme conditions of rural roads have improved both in terms of quality and quantity.

Conclusion :

As is evident from the discussions carried out in this paper, the programmes for village development implemented by the Government have attained their objectives to a reasonable extent. But most of the achievements of the programmes have been eaten up by rapid population growth and a substantial portion is washed away by natural calamities like floods and cyclones. Also it has to be remembered that benefits of development programmes have not been distributed equitably among various social and economic groups of the village community. In order to address the production and poverty problems of village development sufficiently in future the Government has to make much more investment to increase production, strengthen the existing programmes for ensuring access of the poor to productive resources and undertake new programmes in this respect, vigorously pursue its present programmes for population control and industrialisation and take up measures for controlling floods. Instead of depending heavily on foreign sources for resources for investment, Government should explore ways to mobilise resources from domestic sources.

Notes and References :

1. Quoted in Nafis Ahmed, A New Economic Geography of Bangladesh, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1976.
2. Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, Statistical Pocket Book of Bangladesh Dhaka, 1987.
3. F. Tomosson Januzi and James T. Peach. Report on the Hierarchy of Interests in Land in Bangladesh, Agency for International Development, Washington, 1977.

4. Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, op. cit.
5. Just Faaland and J. R. Parkinson, Bangladesh the Test Case of Development, C. Hurst and Company and University Press Limited, Bangladesh, 1976.
6. Planning Commission, The Third Five Year Plan, 1985-1990, M/O Planning, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, Dhaka, 1985.
7. S.A. Quadir and K. S. Ahmed, Role of Education Projections in Educational Planning in Bangladesh National Contribution, National Foundation for Human Resources Development, Dhaka, 1980.
8. Ibid.
9. Planning Commission, The Second Five Year Plan, M/O. Planning, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, Dhaka.
10. Statistical Pocket Book of Bangladesh. op. cit.
11. Tk. is abbreviation for Bangladesh currency 'Taka'. Tk. 31.00 = US 1.00 (at official exchange rate).
12. Planning Commission, Third Five Year Plan.
13. Annual Report, 1986, Grameen Bank, Dhaka, 1987.
14. Atiq Rahman, Development Strategies and Productivity in Bangladesh, (Research Report No. 42), BIDS, Dhaka, 1985.
15. Ibid.
16. SK. Abdur Rashid and Zisan-Ara-Arafunnesa, Upazila Parishad-Evolution of a Long Needed Local Govt. Institution, The Bangladesh Rural Development Studies, Vol-I, Rural Development Academy, Bogra, April, 1988.

Appendix

Table 1 : Area irrigated by modern methods (thousand acres) :

Year	Area irrigated by modern methode (Area in thousand acres)
1973-74	1833
1974-75	1948
1975-76	1855
1976-77	1731
1977-78	1930
1978-79	2076
1979-80	2283
1980-81	2565
1981-82	2814
1982-83	3258
1983-84	3626
1984-85	4216
1985-86	4286

Source : Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, Statistical Pocket Book of Bangladesh, 1983-84 and 1987.

Appendix

Table 2: Trend in the supply of agricultural credit from institutional sources, 1970-86

Period	Amount of credit disbursed (million Tk.)
1970-71	153
1973-74	307
1975-76	467
1977-78	1569
1979-80	2821
1980-81	3734
1981-82	6788
1983-84	10087
1984-85	11500
1985-86	12750

Source : M. Hossain, 'Institutional Credit for Rural Development'. The Bangladesh Journal of Agricultural Economics, Vol-III, No.—1 (June, 1985)

Mushtaq Ahmed, 'Bangladesh Agriculture : Towards Self Sufficiency, External Publicity Wing, Ministry of Information, Government of Bangladesh (March, 1988).

Appendix

Table 3 : Use of fertilizers (thousand tons) :

Year	Nutrient contents
1973-74	174.5
1974-75	129.7
1975-76	208.4
1976-77	231.0
1977-78	333.2
1978-79	327.6
1979-80	395.2
1980-81	408.9
1981-82	390.6
1982-83	451.0
1983-84	540.0
1984-85	583.3
1985-86	538.4

Source : Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, Statistical Pocket Book of Bangladesh, 1985, 1989 and 1987.

Appendix

**Table 4 : Domestic production of rice and wheat in Bangladesh
(in million tons)**

Year	Domestic Production	
	Rice	Wheat
1973-74	11.72	.09
1974-75	11.11	.11
1975-76	12.56	.12
1976-77	11.56	.22
1977-78	12.76	.26
1978-79	12.23	.57
1979-80	12.54	.81
1980-81	13.66	1.97
1981-82	13.42	.95
1982-83	13.91	1.07
1983-84	14.28	1.19
1984-85	14.39	1.44
1985-86	14.80	1.03
1986-87	15.16	N.A.

Source : Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, Statistical Year Book of Bangladesh, 1983-84 and 1987.

Note : N A. = Not available.

Appendix

Table 5 : Employment generation under Food For Works Programme

Year	Number of implemented project	Distribution of wheat (000 tons)	Excavation/re-excavation of river, canals, tanks and construction and repair of embankments and roads.					Man-days (millions)
			River/canals (mile)	Embankment (mile)	Roads (mile)	Tank (Nos)	Road repair (mile)	
1975-76	1554	209	1001	774	900	-	-	56
1976-77	2328	223	1674	1906	1074	326	-	60
1977-78	2087	275	2261	2303	1470	198	-	74
1978-79	2113	230	1915	2167	1103	210	-	62
1979-80	2124	227	2617	2027	2051	181	-	61
1980-81	3927	358	4159	3147	3095	197	-	96
1981-82	3431	288	803	4000	4294	301	-	77
1982-83	3923	379	1071	5333	5725	-	90	101
1983-84	4292	390	2071	1566	13722	73	4088	107
1984-85	6769	456	2530	971	18830	40	26610	107

Source : Abdul Mueyed Chowdhury : Local Level Planning and Peoples Participation (A Case of Food For Works Programme in Bangladesh) BPATC, 1987.

Appendix

Table : 6 Performance of Bangladesh Rural Development Board
at a glance

	1986-87	Cumulative progress
	1969-70 to 1986-87	
1. Upazilas		449
2. Central Cooperative Association (Nos.)	11	449
3. Primary Cooperatives Societies (Nos.)		
a) Farmers Cooperatives	709	64,201
b) Rural Poor Cooperatives	750	12 609
c) Womens Cooperatives	733	10 167
Total	2192	86,977
4. Membership in Cooperatives Societies (Nos.)		
a) Farmers Cooperatives	50369	2383796
b) Rural Poor Cooperatives	23174	358076
c) Womens Cooperatives	27171	283149
Total	100714	3025021
5. Share capital (in million TK.)		
a) Farmers Cooperatives	16.71	185.65
b) Rural Poor Cooperatives	5.52	18.27
c) Womens Cooperatives	2.17	12.42
Total	24.40	216.34
6. Saving (in million TK.) :		
a) Farmers Cooperatives	18.96	21.84
b) Rural Poor Cooperatives	6.73	27.41
c) Womens Cooperatives	8.47	31.28
Total	34.16	277.53
7. Credit given to Farmers Cooperatives Societies (in million TK.)		
a) Short terms loan	527.62	3949.45
b) Medium term loan	111 15	1217.94
8. Credit given to Womens Cooperatives (Societies in million TK.)	11.72	61.93

Source : Bangladesh Rural Development Board, Annual Report, 1986-87.

THE UTILIZATION OF AND ACCESSIBILITY TO ACCRETION LANDS BY DISPLACED POPULATIONS

SK. Zahrul Ferdous *

A.T.M. Altaf Husain

1. Introduction :

Rivers have been playing the game of both destruction and construction since they came into existence. Through the change of their course they change the fate of people-make fortune for some while rendering others homeless and destitute. Thus rivers are blessing for those who are benefitted by them and curse to those who become victims of their whims.

Bangladesh, the largest delta in the world, has a good network of rivers. The delta of Bangladesh has been created by three major rivers (the Padma, the Jamuna and the Meghna) and their tributaries and distributaries. These rivers of Bangladesh exercise an ambivalence impact upon the socio-economic life of the country. And thus the rivers are both assets and liabilities of the nation.

The rivers are assets because of the fact that they help fertilizing land by carrying nutritious silt-laden water. According to the World Bank Report published in 1972, the annual silt-load carried down to the estuary in Bangladesh stands at 2.4 billion tons. Secondly, in early days and even to-day big businesses within and outside the country took/take place

* The authors are respectively Director, (current charge) Agricultural Science and Joint Director, Rural Business Management of Rural Development Academy Bogra. Views expressed in this article are those of the Authors.

through river route. This is why business centres are built up by the river side. Thirdly, the rivers of Bangladesh offer a good source of livelihood to thousands of fish population.

But the negative role played by the rivers outweigh the Positive role. Natural calamities and hazards like floods, tidal bore and bank erosion are the outcome of the river system of the country. These calamities cause a lot of losses to lives and crops, destruction of lands, roads and embankments, and dislocation of settlements. They make thousands of people landless, homeless and eventually beggars. The negative impact of river through bank erosion has got more permanence over the others. And what is more devastating is the combined effect of floods and river bank erosion on both private and national life. The ADAB NEWS¹ in its editorial has rightly noted. "But what is indeed harmful in broader socio-economic and demographic terms is the combined effect of floods and river bank erosion. In fact it is the very incidence of river bank erosion which is particularly proving hazardous in Bangladesh to-day. River bank erosion does not merely end up destroying lives or damaging crops or dislocating communications; it also intensifies the existing process of landlessness and impoverishment in rural Bangladesh".

All the three major rivers of Bangladesh are characterized by bank erosion. But the degree and magnitude of erosion is the highest for the Jamuna. According to the statistics provided by the Bangladesh Water Development Board (BWDB), the erosion of the Jamuna has affected as many as 43 places (length of erosion 533,280 feet); that of the Padma 26 places (length of erosion is 303,820 feet) and the Meghna has affected 8 places (length of erosion is 219,960).

One of the apparent reasons of this high degree of bank erosion as mentioned by Haq² is the indifference towards proper maintenance of our

river resources. After 1947 dredging of these big rivers has been stopped. Negligence in the maintenance of the rivers brings in its wake damaging consequences of sandy-silt-deposits on the river beds leading to the formation of Char lands (accreted lands) and deformed ecology and resist the normal flow of the rivers. The rivers make their own courses and intensify the pressure on the bank and start eroding.

One of the most disastrous effect of bank erosion is displacement of population. The displaced people face acute problem of food and shelter and in most cases their way of life is changed. They build their houses on nearby embankment and other's land and some migrate to the urban areas. Their social and economic status undergo a great change. In most cases they are to depend on the mercy of the government or the people who give them shelter.

The land of the displaced people remains under water for an indefinite period of time. The riverbed continues to be silted year after year and in course of time the Char land emerges is from the river. - It takes a few more years to make the Char land ready for habitation. The displaced people start moving towards the Char land for settling there.

A lot of questions regarding the settlement in and utilisation of the accreted lands by displaced populations arise. Do all the displaced people migrate to the accreted lands? Is there any unauthorised occupants in the Char? How do the displaced people get into the possession of their lands? What are the procedures involved in the distribution of accreted lands? How do the displaced people utilize the accreted lands? Do there arise any conflicts among the displaced people in respect of ownership and utilization of lands and harvesting of crops? These questions need to be answered and explained. All these issues may be clarified only through research studies in the relevant field. It is in this against this background that the RDA: Bogra undertook this research study.

2. Objectives :

The broad objective of the study was to see the socio-economic impact of river bank erosion on the displaced population and the problems that lie with their settlement in and the utilization of the accreted lands. The specific objectives of the study were :

- a) To identify the socio-economic status of the displaced populations before erosion and after their settlement in the accreted lands;
- b) To study the frequency of migration;
- c) To know the actual state of affairs of the distribution of accreted lands in the field;
- d) To see the utilization of accreted lands by the displaced population;
- e) To study the conflicts, if any, among the displaced people in respect of settlement and utilization of accreted lands.

3. Need And justification :

River bank erosion is a common feature in Bangladesh and through it thousands of people are made homeless and displaced. These people take shelter in nearby embankment and other's lands and start moving to the Char lands (when the Char lands are accreted from the river) for having settled there. But there arise a lot of problems in respect of accessibility to, settlement in and utilization of the accreted lands by the displaced populations. A few studies have so far been conducted in this field to investigate the problems and the solutions thereof. The present study tried to find out the problems and suggest probable solutions relating to

the settlement in and utilization of accreted lands by the displaced populations. Since population displacement through bank erosion is a national problem the findings of the study may help the planners and policy makers to formulate pragmatic policies and adopt appropriate strategies for the displaced segment of population. The findings of the study may also be used as the reference materials by the future researchers.

4. Methodology Of The Study :

A. Location of the Study Area :

For the study two Chars of Shariakandi Union under Shariakandi Upazila of Bogra district were selected. Shariakandi is located on the western side of the river Jamuna and seriously affected by river erosion. There are 9 Chars in the Union which are already occupied by displaced people. A complete list of the Chars with their ages was collected from the Upazila Revenue Office. Then two Chars namely, Gazaria which is 9 years old and Daruna which is 4 years old were selected for the study. These two Chars of different ages were taken to get a comparative picture. The Chars were selected purposively taking into consideration of accessibility.

B. Collection and Analysis of Data :

All the heads of the settler families of the two Chars were interviewed through structured questionnaire. A total of 68 heads of households 44 of Gazaria and 24 of Daruna were interviewed. Upazila officials such as Upazila Nirbahi Officer and Upazila Revenue Officer, Public representatives such as Upazila Chairman and Union Parishad Chairman and a few local Knowledgable persons were also interviewed for necessary information. Besides, related records and documents were consulted.

The authors along with two investigators collected the data after pretesting the questionnaire. To reach the Chars everyday they had to walk

on foot and cross the river by country boat from the Upazila headquarters.

After collection of Data, these were tabulated and analysed in the research section of the Rural Development Academy, Bogra. The study was conducted during September-November 1987.

5. Limitation Of The Study :

- i) The settlers did not keep any records of their income and expenditure. They tried to answer the questions on income and expenditure from their memory where which leads to a possibility of inaccuracy.
- ii) We could not provide previous socio-economic information of 14 households of Gazaria and 6 households of Daruna. This is because of the fact that they were 'not grown up' and attached to joint family at that time.
- iii) Survey work by the government has not been done in these chars. For this, the actual area of the Chars could not be ascertained. As such cropping intensity of the Chars could not be calculated.

6. Findings of The Study :

A. Socio-Economic Status of the Displaced Population.

The analysis of socio-economic characteristics of the displaced population is important to study the accessibility to and utilization of accreted lands by them.

In this section socio-economic characteristics of the displaced population in terms of landholding, occupation, family size, income and housing quality are discussed. Here we have tried to present their socio-economic

information before river erosion and after their settlement in the chars. It should be mentioned here that 20 household-heads, 14 of Gazaria Char and 6 of Daruna Char, were 'not grown up' and attached to the joint families before river erosion and their previous socio-economic information are not Provided,

Landholding :

It has been found that the number of landless² and small farmers⁴ has increased while the number of medium⁵ and large farmers⁶ has decreased in both the Chars. The probable reason for this is that all the lands of displaced population have not emerged from the river.

Occupation :

Farming was the main occupation of most of the households both before river erosion (92%) and after their settlement (85%) in the Chars. But their involvement in farming has declined by 7% by this time. On the otherhand the percentage of day labourers has increased from 6% to 15%.

Family Size :

The highest number of households of both the chars had family members between 4 to 6 before river erosion. At present the highest number of households have the same family members at Gazaria while at Daruna the highest number has 7 to 9. The average family size of the households in the Chars was 6.56 before erosion and now it is 5.90.

Income :

It is found that the maximum number of people had income between Tk. 5001/-to Tk. 10,000/-in Gazaria Char and between Tk. 10,000/-to Tk. 15,000/-in Daruna Char before river erosion. After their settlement in the chars, maximum people of both the chars have income upto Tk. 5,000/- only. Again, before erosion three people had income above Tk. 25,000/- while none has the same level of income at present. The average income of the households in both the chars was above Tk. 7690/- before river

erosion, but it has become Tk. 4533/- after their settlement in the chars. This reveals that the condition of the settlers has deteriorated in both the chars. However, the condition is more deteriorating in Daruna Char. This is because of the fact that this char is still at formative stage and the soil is less fertile.

Housing Quality :

It is found that total number of houses in both the chars have decreased after their settlement in the chars though more households have been taken into consideration than before erosion. Again the number of tin shed and tinshed plus attached houses has decreased while the number of only attached houses has increased in both the chars. This reveals that the socioeconomic conditions of the displaced people have deteriorated.

B. Migration Of Displaced Population :

Migration is very much related to river erosion. Erosion affected people take shelter either on the embankment, relatives house or migrates to outside areas. There is no exception in case of these two villages as well. When these two villages went into the river most of the people initially took shelter on the BWDB embankment and the rest in their relatives houses. After sometime a few families migrated to outside Bogra District. There is no record in the Upazila level offices regarding the migration of displaced population. However, we have collected some information on migration from the local knowledgeable people. It is found that 14 and 40 families of Gazaria and Daruna Chars respectively migrated to outside Bogra District. It is reported that these families migrated to some areas of Rangpur and Dinajpur Districts. It should be mentioned here that out of 14 migrated families of Gazaria Char 4 families have come back and settled at the char. But none of the migrated families of Daruna has come back to the char.

Most of the displaced population have not returned to the chars. They are still residing on the BWDB embankment. The percentage of settlement in the char land is higher in case of Gazaria than that of Daruna Char. The main reason is that major portion of land of Gazaria Char is ready for cultivation and the soil is fertile. On the otherhand, the Daruna Char is still at the formative stage, most of its land is uneven and covered with grasses and weeds.

C. Actual Stage Of Affairs Of Land Distribution :

One of the objectives of the study is to know the actual state of affairs of distribution of accreted lands in the field. To reach in this objective it is imperative to know the existing government rules regarding distribution of accreted lands and the practices which are normally followed by the occupants. An attempt has been made to collect information from the government official, specially Revenue Department, and the displaced people in this regard.

Government Procedures :

For explaining the government procedures regarding distribution of accreted land we have to look back to the provisions mentioned in different acts beginning from 1950. Under section 86 of the State Acquisition and Tenancy Act of 1950 it has been said that the displaced people would get permanent ownership of the accreted land paying four years rent if the land emerged from the river within 20 years. In 1962 the act of 1950 was amended where it has been said that since the chars had no permanence they could not be given on permanent basis. The previous owners would get the land on one-year-lease basis on payment of Tk. 20/per acre. The act of 1950 was further amended in 1972 through promulgation of the President

Order No. 135 where it has been said that the government would be the owner of the river eroded lands, i.e. any land went into the river would be treated as Khas property of the government. However, the provisions of one-year-lease on payment of TK. 20/- per acre was restored. In 1984 per acre yearly rent has been raised to TK. 300/- to TK. 400/- in place of TK. 20/- This rate was too high (even more than the local value of land) and people were reluctant to pay the rent. They started utilizing the lands without paying any rent. It was a great loss of revenue and the government revised the provision in 1986. The government has decided to give 2 acres of land to the previous owners on permanent basis at a token Salami⁷ of Tk. 1.00 per acre plus usual rent. The government has also taken decision to distribute the excess lands among the landless people. The provisions of 1936 is not in implementation as the survey work has not been done either by revenue or settlement departments in the chars till today.

Local Practices :

The displaced people of Gazaria and Daruna surveyed the chars with the help of local surveyor and settled there in 1930 and 1985 respectively. They did not face any adversity in identifying their own lands. The Matbars (Local elites) played a vital role in settling the issues related to distribution of and accessibility to the accreted land. The people were very loyal to the decisions of the Matbars. So there was no dispute and conflict among the settlers. It should be noted here that they did not feel any necessity of taking help from the government officials at the upazila level.

The settlers of Gazaria char started paying rent at the Tehsil Office⁸ following the rent (Tk. 20/-) of 1972 set by the government. But they stopped paying rent when it was raised to Tk 300/- to Tk. 400/- per acre per annum in 1984.

Though the provision of 1984 has been revised in 1986 and rent has been reduced to Tk 1.00 per acre people are not still paying rent. The officials of Revenue Department are not also pressing for rent as the survey work has not been done.

The people of Daruna Char settled in 1985 when the rate of rent was Tk. 300 to Tk. 400/-. They never paid any rent at the Tehsil Office. The survey work by the government is also yet to be done there and they are also enjoying the land without paying any rent like the people of Gazaria.

The settlers of the chars are the original inhabitants of the village Gazaria and Daruna. There is no unauthorised occupants in the chars who did not have lands in Gazaria and Daruna Mouzas⁹.

Since the entire land area of Gazaria and Daruna has not been accreted all the displaced people have not got all their lost lands. Some have got their total lands, some have got half and some less than half. In Gazaria maximum number of people have got land more than half while in Daruna maximum number have not less than half. The lands of 3 people in each char have not emerged from the river as yet and as such they have not received any land.

D. Utilization Of Accreted Lands :

It has already been mentioned that Gazaria Char is completely ready for cultivation while Daruna Char is still at the formative stage and covered with grasses and weeds. However, the settlers of Daruna Char have also started cultivation scatteredly cleaning the grasses and weeds. It has also been mentioned that all the displaced people have not settled down in the chars. Majority of them are still living on the BWDB embankment. Those

who are settled down in the chars cultivated their own lands and also lease in lands on share-cropping and cash lease basis.

The displaced people who are still on the embankment and have lands in the chars mostly lease out their lands to the settlers of these two chars. Very few of them do agricultural operation crossing the river. The displaced people who have migrated to outside and have lands in the chars follow the practice of leasing out land on cash. The total number of share-croppers and lesses is 22 in Gazaria char and 5 in Daruna char.

The people in the chars normally grow rice, millet, pulses, wheat and jute. There is hardly any change in the cropping pattern. Only millet is grown more widely than before. There is no irrigation facilities and no extension work in the chars. One shallow tubewell has been installed which is not still commissioned. Modern practices of agriculture are almost absent in the chars and people do not cultivate HYV crops there except Sonalika wheat. Both the chars especially, the Daruna char has a lot of pasture lands. These pasture land provide the people an opportunity to rear cattle and goats easily. Because of this opportunity they own 3 cattle and 6 goats on an average.

The lands in the chars particularly Gazaria char are quite fertile and suitable for planting any trees. But we have not found single tree except hundreds of banana plants.

Daruna char is covered with a special type of weeds known as kans (*Saccharum spontaneum*). These weeds are used as fuel stick and fencing materials of the houses of the settlers. They also earen a good amount of money by selling this weeds in the market.

Area and Yield of Crops:

Total area under various crops grown in Gazaria are 208.25 acres of which 50.25 acres are under broadcasted aman and 50.17 acres under millet. There are two major crops in this char. Next to these crops, broadcasted aus, jute and transplanted aman are cultivated in 26.10, 25.31 and 23.81 acres of land respectively. The other crops which include wheat, chilli, potato, pulses and mixed crops are cultivated in little areas. Though these are mostly local varieties but the yields of these crops are found satisfactory.

The area under various crops grown in Daruna is 59.38 acres. Like Gazaria, Daruna have also more area under millet, broadcasted aman rice and broadcasted aus rice. Similar varieties are also cultivated in Daruna. But the yield of these crops are less in Daruna than Gazaria except wheat.

F. Conflicts And Disputes In The Chars.

There is a general belief that chars are often characterized by chaos, conflicts and disputes in connection with occupation of lands and harvesting of crops. We have also heard of a severe clash occurred in 1980 in Pakuria char which is located about 6 km, east of these two chars. It was a clash between the inhabitants of two chars centring harvesting of crops. In this event three persons were murdered and many were injured. Exemplary punishments were given to 17 accused persons.

But an exceptional picture has emerged in case of these two chars. After accretion of Gazaria and Daruna chars in 1978 and 1983 respectively the settlers identified their lands calling local surveyor and about by the decisions of the Matbars in taking possessions and settling down in the chars

Till today there arose no conflicts among the settlers as regard possession and utilization of lands and harvesting of crops.

In this connection the criminal records in the Upazila Police Station since 1980 have been consulted to verify the statement of the settlers. They could not show any evidence of disputes in these two chars.

7. Observations

1. People in both the chars were cooperative in and eager to giving interview. They took us as officials of relief giving agencies and thought that their exclusion in interview might lead to deprivation of relief goods.
2. The chars are located at a distance of about 6 km. from the upazila headquarters and separated by the river Jamuna which takes half an hour to cross by country boat. Facilities like marketing, education, medical and recreation are completely absent there. For everything the people have to take the trouble of crossing the river to reach Shariakandi which is sometimes really a difficult task. The river deprives them of the support and services of the government departments. Despite all the inconveniences they are seemed happy with what they have.
3. The people in the chars hardly care for any government rules in respect of distribution and possession of lands. They perform the survey work calling the local surveyor and abide by the decisions of the Matbars.
4. There is no permanance of the chars. These two chars have already started eroding. Non-permanent character of the chars is one of reasons of the cheapness of land.
5. Except a large number of banana plants there is no other type of trees in the chars. People do not plant trees mainly because of non-permanance.

of the char and secondly, because of flooding in almost every year. However, plenty of kans are found which they use as fuel and fencing materials of their houses. They also earn some money by selling these at Shariakandi bazar.

6. People do not practise HYVs of crops in the lands. This is mainly due to lack of irrigation facilities and extension work.
7. Chars are not formed in a year. These have to pass through several stages and takes a few years to be ready for cultivation purposes. However, Char Gazaria took only two years to be ready for cultivation. Char Daruna has emerged from the river in 1933 and it is not still ready for cultivation in true sense.
8. In the initial stages the char lands are mostly sandy. Crops like millet, grass pea which do not require much water are grown in these lands. These are profitable crops considering their cost of production. People just broadcast and harvest these crops, and no cost in between is required.
9. The lands in the Gazaria Char is very fertile. Mixed and relay cropping are highly practised in this char. These are also practised in Daruna. However, crops are damaged by floods in some year.
10. The people in the chars are peace-loving. They have no connection with the national as well as local politics. They grow vegetables in their lands catch fishes in the river and procure fuel sticks (naturally grown) from the fields and lead an anxiety-free life.
11. There is a lot of pasture lands in the char. These pasture lands provide the people an opportunity for rearing cattle and goat.
12. The concerned upazila officials do not keep any records of the chars. They have even failed to provide correct information about the age of the two chars-when the villages went into the river and when they have emerged as chars.

13. The people in the chars maintain a very good relationship among themselves. Till today there is no conflict among the people in respect of settlement, utilization of lands and harvesting of crops. They are very much loyal to the decisions of the Matbaras.

8. Suggestions And Recommendations

On the basis of the findings and observations the following suggestions can be made :

1. The government should undertake immediate survey work to ascertain the actual areas of accreted lands and avoid loss of revenue. This may also help distribution of the lands according to the government rules.
2. Extension services should be strengthened to motivate people in introducing high yielding varieties. For this purpose visits of officials of Agricultural Department should be increased.
3. Irrigation facilities should be created in the chars. Emphasis should be given on low lift Pump (LLP) since the chars are bounded by the river Jamuna and easy to lift water from the river.
4. The soil in the char is suitable for vegetables cultivation and the people can earn more income by bringing more land under vegetables cultivation.
5. The pasture land in the chars provides ample opportunity of rearing cattle and goats. Projects on cattle and goat rearing can be undertaken.
6. The people in the chars should be provided with minimum facilities of marketing, health care and education.

গ্রামীণ ভূমিহীনদের আর্থ-সামাজিক সমস্যা

(কলতাপাড়া গ্রামের ভূমিহীনদের উপর একটি সমীক্ষা)

টি আই এম জাহিদ হোসেন *

সূচনা :

বাংলাদেশের বর্তমান জনসংখ্যা ১০ কোটি ৫৫ লক্ষ এবং মোট জমির পরিমাণ ১৪৩৯৯৮ বর্গ কিলোমিটার। এই জনসংখ্যার সাথে ভূমির বণ্টন করলে মাথাপিছু গড় জমির পরিমাণ দাঁড়ায় ২০ শতাংশ। বর্তমান সরকারের গঠিত ভূমিসংস্কার কমিশনের রিপোর্টে স্বীকার করেছেন যে, গ্রাম বাংলাদেশের ৪৮% গৃহস্থলী বা পরিবার কার্যতঃ ভূমিহীন। এর মধ্যে রয়েছে (১) ভূমি ও বাসস্থানবিহীন গৃহস্থলী যারা সকল গৃহস্থলীর ১১.৭% (২) কেবল মাত্র বাসস্থানের মালিক গৃহস্থলী, যারা সকল গৃহস্থলীর ২১.৩% এবং (৩) বাসস্থান এবং অনুধ' অধ' একর চাষ বোগা ভূমির মালিক গৃহস্থলী, যারা সকল গ্রামীণ গৃহস্থলীর ১৫%। ভূমিহীনদের এই সংখ্যা অত্যন্ত দ্রুত গতিতে বৃদ্ধি পেয়ে চলেছে। যার ফলে গ্রাম বাংলাদেশের এই চরম দারিদ্রের একটি অংশ প্রতিবছর শহরে ভাসমান জনগোষ্ঠীর সংখ্যা বৃদ্ধি করছে। গ্রাম এবং শহরের এই সর্বহারা ও আধা সর্বহারা জনগোষ্ঠীর প্রকৃত আয় (যদি থাকে) প্রতি বছরই কমছে। অর্থনৈতিক ও বিপর্যয়ের পাশাপাশি তারা রাষ্ট্রীয় সকল সুযোগ হ্রাবিণ (শিক্ষা, চিকিৎসা, আশ্রয়, আইন) থেকেও বঞ্চিত। ভূমিহীনদের সম্পর্কে উল্লেখিত আলোচনা সত্ত্বেও একথা সত্য যে, এদের প্রকৃত সংখ্যা এখনও পর্যন্ত নির্ধারণ করা সম্ভব হয়নি। তবে ভূমিহীনদের সংজ্ঞা নির্ধারণ করে এই বিশেষ গোষ্ঠিকে চিহ্নিত করা ও এদের সমস্যার প্রকৃতি নির্ণয় করা সহজতর হবে।

জাতিসংঘের খাদ্য ও কৃষি সংস্থা ১৯৮৭-র বিশ্বখাদ্য দিবস উপলক্ষে প্রকাশিত "Farmer's without Land" নিবন্ধে ভূমিহীনদের চিহ্নিত করতে গিয়ে উল্লেখ করেছে—
A Fisherman without water, a lumberjack without forest, a farmer without Land all the basic means of production, the resource upon which their lives depend.^৩

* লেখক পল্লী উন্নয়ন একাডেমী, বগুড়া-এর সহকারী পরিচালক। এ প্রবন্ধে প্রকাশিত মতামত লেখকের ব্যক্তিগত।

এর মাধ্যমে যে সত্যটি স্বীকৃত হয়েছে তা হলো ভূমিহীন মাত্রই ভূমিহীন কৃষক নয়, প্রকৃত অর্থে ভূমি বলতে যেমন কৃষকের চাষের জমি বোঝায় তেমনি সংস্রাজীবির ক্ষেত্রে জল বা কাঠুরিয়ার ক্ষেত্রে বনাকলকে বোঝায়। অর্থাৎ ভূমিহীনদের আলোচনার শুধু মাত্র ভূমিহীন কৃষকই নয় ভূমি (ব্যাপক অর্থে) থেকে বঞ্চিত বা নিঃস্বকরণ প্রক্রিয়ার পতিত যার কৃষি থেকে পেশা পরির্তন করেও দারিদ্রের চক্রে আবদ্ধিত হচ্ছে, সেইসব পেশাজীবী জনগোষ্ঠীও এর অন্তর্ভুক্ত হবে।

‘ভূমিহীন’ এর যেসব সংজ্ঞা দেয়া হয়েছে তার মধ্যে সহজ এবং গ্রহণযোগ্য সংজ্ঞাটি হলো “যাদের বসতভিটা ছাড়া অথকোন বিষয় সম্পত্তি বা কোন কোন ক্ষেত্রে যাদের বসত ভিটাও নাই তাদেরকেই ভূমিহীন বলা হবে”।^১

বিশ্ব খাদ্য ও কৃষি সংস্থা এবং বার্ড এর প্রদত্ত সংজ্ঞার ভিত্তিতে বর্তমান গবেষণায় ভূমিহীনদের প্রধান দুটি ভাগে বিভক্ত করা হয়েছে,

- (১) যাদের বসতভিটা নেই এবং আবাসযোগ্য জমিও নেই,
- (২) যাদের নিজস্ব বসতভিটা আছে কিন্তু কোন আবাসযোগ্য জমি নেই।

এছাড়া ভূমিহীনদেরকে তাদের পেশার প্রকৃতির উপর ভিত্তি করে দুই শ্রেণীতে বিভক্ত করা হয়েছে।

(ক) খামারভুক্তঃ যাদের জীবিকার প্রধান অবলম্বন বা প্রধান পেশা চাষাবাদেয় সাথে সম্পর্ক যুক্ত। যথা বর্গাচাষ, ক্ষেতমজুর ইত্যাদি।

(খ) খামার বাহিরাতেঃ যাদের পেশা বা আয়ের উৎস অকৃষিভুক্ত ক্ষত্র থেকে আসে এরা হলো ক্ষুদ্র ব্যবসায়ী, রিক্সাওয়ালার, শ্রমিক কামার, কুমার, তাঁতী, জেলে ইত্যাদি।

গবেষণা জরীপে সংগৃহীত উপাত্তসমূহ পর্যালোচনার পূর্বে আমাদের দেশের অতীতে ভূমি ব্যবস্থা, ভূমিহীনতার প্রকৃতি ও নিঃস্বকরণ প্রক্রিয়ার ঐতিহাসিক প্রেক্ষাপট সম্পর্কে সংক্ষিপ্ত আলোচনার প্রয়োজন। এতে বর্তমান অবস্থার অন্তর্নিহিত করাও এর ক্রমবিকাশের ধারা সম্পর্কে ধারণা করা সহজতর হবে।

- ১। দেখুন ভূমিসংস্কার কমিটি প্রতিবেদন, গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী বাংলাদেশ সরকার, জানুয়ারী, ১৯৮৩, পৃষ্ঠাঃ ৩১।
- ২। উন্নয়ন প্রসংগে, উন্নয়ন বিভাগ, প্রথম বর্ষ প্রথম সংখ্যা ১৯৮১, বাংলাদেশ উন্নয়ন পরিষদ, ঢাকা, পৃষ্ঠাঃ ৩।
- ৩। Farmers without Land ১৬ অক্টোবর ১৯৮৭, বিশ্বখাদ্য দিবস উপলক্ষে প্রণীত বিশেষ ত্রোড়পত্র FAO, Rome, 1987.

পাঁচাত্তরের রাজতনৈক পট পরিবর্তনের পরও এক্ষেত্রে পরিবর্তনের কোন উদ্যোগ নেয়া হয়নি। মাঝে মাঝে ভূমি সংস্কারের কথা বললেও বাস্তবে এ সময়েও বিদ্যমান উৎপাদন সম্পর্কের পটভূমিতেই কৃষি উন্নয়নের জন্ত উপকরণ সরবরাহ গ্রামাঞ্চলে বৈষম্য সৃষ্টির প্রক্রিয়াকেই হ্রাসিত করেছে।

১৯৮২ সালে বর্তমান সরকার ক্ষমতা গ্রহণের পর ভূমিহীনদের মাঝে সরকারী খাস জমি বন্টনের উদ্যোগ গ্রহণ করে। তবে এর সাফল্য-ব্যর্থতা সম্পর্কে মন্তব্য করার সময় এখনও আসেনি।

ভূমি ব্যবস্থা এবং সামাজিক ও অর্থনৈতিক শোষণের বদৌলতে যে বৈষম্য সৃষ্টি হয়েছে তার ফলে গ্রামাঞ্চলে ভূমিহীনের সংখ্যা ক্রমশঃ বৃদ্ধি পেয়েছে। নিম্নে এ সম্পর্কে গত তিন দশকের তথ্য তুলে ধরা হলো।

সারণী - ১

বছর	গ্রামাঞ্চলে ভূমিহীনদের সংখ্যা : কৃষিকাজের সাথে প্রত্যক্ষ ভাবে জড়িতদের মধ্যে শতকরা কত ভাগ ভূমিহীন	ভূমিহীন শ্রমিকের সংখ্যা ১০ লক্ষে
১৯৫১	১৪.৩	১.৫১
১৯৬১	১৭.৫	২.৪৭
১৯৬০-৬৪	১৭.৮	২.৭১
১৯৬৪-৬৫	১৭.৫	২.৭৫
১৯৬৭-৬৮	১৯.৮	৩.৪০
১৯৭৭—	৩৩.০০	৩৫.৩২

সূত্র : ১৯৭৭ সালের ভূমি মালিকানা জরীপ রিপোর্ট

বর্তমান সরকারের ভূমি সংস্কার কমিশন তার রিপোর্টে স্বীকার করেছেন, গ্রাম বাংলাদেশের শতকরা ৪৮ ভাগ গৃহস্থালী বা পরিবার ভূমিহীন এবং ভূমিহীনতার এই প্রবণতা দ্রুত বৃদ্ধি পেয়ে চলেছে।

ভূমিহীন সমাজের আর্থ-সামাজিক অবস্থা সম্পর্কে ধারণা লাভের জন্য বর্তমান গবেষণা জরীপটি পরিচালিত হয়। এতে ভূমিহীনদের পরিবারের আকার, শিক্ষা, পেশা, আয়ের উৎস ও পরিমাণ এবং গবেষণা এলাকার ভূমিহীনদের অবস্থা উন্নয়নের কি ধরনের সরকারী বা বেসরকারী উদ্যোগ নেয়া হয়েছে ইত্যাদি বিষয় সম্পর্কে তথ্য সংগ্রহ করা হয়।

গবেষণার উদ্দেশ্য :

এই গবেষণার মূখ্য উদ্দেশ্য সমূহ যথাক্রমে নিম্নরূপ :

- (১) একটি নির্দিষ্ট এলাকার ভূমিহীনদের আর্থ-সামাজিক অবস্থা সম্পর্কে ধারণা লাভ।
- (২) ভূমিহীনদের বহুতর গোষ্ঠীর সার্বিক অবস্থার সাথে গবেষণা এলাকাভূক্ত গ্রামটির ভূমিহীনদের অবস্থার পর্যালোচনা।
- (৩) একাডেমীর ল্যাবরেটরী এলাকার অন্তর্ভুক্ত, বিশেষ করে একাডেমীর পাশ্বেবর্তী গ্রাম সমূহে বসবাসকারী ভূমিহীনদের সমস্যা সম্পর্কে তথ্য সংগ্রহ করা এবং প্রাপ্ত তথ্য হতে সমস্যার প্রকৃতি নির্ধারণ ও তার সমাধানের উদ্দেশ্যে প্রায়োগিক গবেষণার কৌশল নির্ণয়ের জন্য সুপারিশ প্রণয়ন করা ও এই গবেষণার অচ্যুতম উদ্দেশ্য।

গবেষণার পদ্ধতি :

গবেষণা এলাকা ও উত্তর দাতা নির্বাচন :

গবেষণার তথ্য সংগ্রহের জন্য বগুড়া জেলার শেরপুর উপজেলার অন্তর্গত গাড়ীদ ইউনিয়নের কলডপাড়া গ্রামকে নির্বাচিত করা হয়। এলাকা নির্বাচনের ক্ষেত্রে একাডেমীর পাশ্বে অবস্থিত গ্রাম সমূহের প্রতি অগ্রাধিকার দেয়া হয়েছে। কলডপাড়া ডেমনি একটি গ্রাম। এর আয়তন ১২৫'১৭ একর। বগুড়া শহর হতে এটি ১০ মাইল দক্ষিণে বগুড়া-ঢাকা মহাসড়কের পূর্বপার্শ্বে অবস্থিত। গ্রামের মোট জনসংখ্যা ১৯০ জন। এর মধ্যে পুরুষ ১০০ জন এবং মহিলা ৯০ জন। মোট পরিবার বা খানার সংখ্য ৩৮ এর মধ্যে ভূমিহীন পরিবারের সংখ্যা ৯৬ (৪২'১%) এবং ভূমিহীনের সংখ্যামোট জনসংখ্যা ২৯'৫৩ ভাগ। এই ১৬টি পরিবারের প্রধানকে উত্তর দাতা হিসাবে নির্বাচিত করা হয়েছে। ভূমিহীন পরিবারের প্রকৃত সংখ্যা যাচাই এবং পরিবার সমূহ চিহ্নিত করনের ক্ষেত্রে একাডেমীর প্রায়োগিক গবেষণা প্রকল্প গ্রামীণ শিশু ও দুঃস্থ মহিলা উন্নয়ন প্রকল্পের সম্প্রসারিত গ্রাম সমূহের উপর ১৯৮৬ সালে পরিচালিত গ্রাম জরীপের প্রাপ্ত তথ্যের সাহায্য নেয়া হয়েছে।

তথ্য সংগ্রহ পদ্ধতি :

তথ্য সংগ্রহের ক্ষেত্রে সামাজিক জরীপ (Social Survey) পদ্ধতি ব্যবহার করা হয় এবং উত্তর দাতাদের নিকট হতে তথ্য সংগ্রহের জন্য একটি প্রশ্নপত্র প্রদান করা হয়। এ উদ্দেশ্যে পরিবার সমূহের একটি তালিকা প্রস্তুত করা হয়। তথ্য সংগ্রহের সময়কাল ছিল আগষ্ট ১৯৮৭ থেকে সেপ্টেম্বর ১৯৮৭ পর্যন্ত। এছাড়া পরবর্তী পর্যায়ে গ্রামের বিভিন্ন ব্যক্তির সাথে আলোচনা ও সাক্ষাৎকারের মাধ্যমে প্রয়োজনীয় ও সম্পূরক তথ্য সংগ্রহ করা হয়। গবেষক ব্যক্তিগত ভাবে তথ্য সংগ্রহ ও সাক্ষাৎকার গ্রহণ করেন এবং একাডেমী গবেষণা সেলের দুই জন তথ্য সংগ্রহকারী (Field Investigator) তাঁকে সাহায্য করেছে। তথ্য সংগ্রহের সময় একটি ভূমিহীন পরিবারের সদস্যগণ অন্যত্র অবস্থান করার ফলে তাদের সম্পর্কে কোন তথ্য সংগ্রহ করা সম্ভব না হওয়ায় গবেষণা পত্রে মোট ১৫টি পরিবারের তথ্য সংকলিত হয়েছে।

তথ্য বিশ্লেষণ পদ্ধতি :

জরীপের মাধ্যমে প্রাপ্ত উপাত্ত সমূহ বিশ্লেষণের জন্য শুমারাত্মক সরল গাণিতিক গড় পদ্ধতি ব্যবহার করা হয়েছে।

কলতাপাড়া গ্রামের ভূমিহীনদের আর্থ সামাজিক অবস্থা :

কলতাপাড়া গ্রাম :

কলতাপাড়া গ্রামটি বগুড়া জেলার শেরপুর উপজেলাধীন গাড়ীদহ ইউনিয়নের ১নং ওয়ার্ডে ভুক্ত একটি গ্রাম। গ্রামের মোট জমির পরিমাণ ১২৫.১৭ একর। শেরপুর উপজেলাটি উত্তর দক্ষিণে প্রবাহিত করতোয়া নদী দ্বারা স্তম্ভিত দুই অংশে বিভক্ত। এর পূর্বাঞ্চল করতোয়া নদীর পলিবাহী সমতল ভূমি। প্রতি বছর এ অঞ্চলে নিয়মিত মৌসুমী বৃষ্টি হয়ে থাকে। পশ্চিমাঞ্চলে লালমাটি সমুদ্র বরেন্দ্র ভূমি। মৌসুমী বৃষ্টির উপর এ অঞ্চলের কৃষি ব্যবস্থা নির্ভরশীল, জমির প্রকার এক বা দুই ফসলী এবং একমাত্র উৎপাদিত ফসল ধান। কলতাপাড়া গ্রামটি বরেন্দ্র ভূমির প্রান্তসীমা ও করতোয়া নদীর পশ্চিম পাড়ে অবস্থিত। অর্থাৎ বিভক্ত রেখার ঠিক মধ্যবর্তী স্থানে এই গ্রামের অবস্থান। অবস্থান গড় কারণে এই গ্রামের মাটি ও সমাজ জীবনে মিশ্র বৈশিষ্ট্য বিদ্যমান। উদাহরণ স্বরূপ বরেন্দ্র এলাকার মৃত এ গ্রামের অধিকাংশ ঘরবাড়ীর দেয়াল মাটির ভৈরী এবং এতে

লালমাটির মিশ্রণ বিদ্যমান অতদিকে এখানকার জমিতে নদী বাহিত পলিমাটি বিদ্যমান থাকায় জমির রক্ষণা লক্ষ্য করা যায় না। এখানে বান ছাড়াও আলু ও অন্যান্য সবজীর চাষ হয়ে থাকে, যা বরেন্দ্র এলাকার হয় না।

একই ভাবে এই গ্রামটির ভৌগোলিক বৈশিষ্ট্য হলো এর পূর্ব প্রান্ত রামনগর গ্রামের সাথে যুক্ত হওয়ায় ভৌগোলিক সীমা নির্দেশের ক্ষেত্রে গ্রাম দুটির মধ্যে দৃশ্যতঃ কোন বিভক্তি দেখা নেই। পশ্চিমে বগুড়া-ঢাকা মহাসড়ক, দড়িপাড়া গ্রাম ও পল্লী উন্নয়ন এলাকায় হতে কলতাপাড়াকে বিভক্ত করেছে। উত্তরে বাঁশের বাড়ি, অনাবাদী জমি এবং ধান ক্ষেত বিক্ষিপ্ত ভাবে জামালপুর গ্রাম পর্যন্ত ছড়িয়ে থাকায় কলতাপাড়া ও জামালপুর গ্রামের সীমানা পূর্বপ্রান্তের মত সরাসরী হুক্ত না হয়েও গ্রাম দুটির স্বতন্ত্র সীমারেখা করেছে। অপরদিকে দক্ষিণে বিস্তৃত ধান ক্ষেত দ্বারা অস্পষ্ট ভাবে কলতাপাড়া এবং গাড়ীদহ গ্রামের প্রান্ত সীমা বিভক্ত হয়েছে। এর ফলে এই গ্রামটি 'ঘনবসতি পূর্ণ কুমিল্লা অঞ্চলের গ্রাম বা বরেন্দ্র এলাকার স্তূনির্দিষ্ট ভৌগোলিক সীমানা দ্বারা চিহ্নিত গ্রামগুলোর' কোনটির একক বৈশিষ্ট্যের অধিকারী নয় অথবা ক্রিস্টেন ওয়েষ্টার গার্ড-এর বারিন গ্রামের মত 'বিভিন্ন ধান ক্ষেত দ্বারা পার্শ্ববর্তী গ্রামগুলো থেকে পরিষ্কার ভাবে বিচ্ছিন্ন নয়।'

ভূমিহীন পরিবার ও জনসংখ্যা :

কলতাপাড়া গ্রামের মোট জনসংখ্যা ১৯৩ জন। এর মধ্যে পুরুষ ১০০ এবং মহিলা ৯৩ জন। এই গ্রামে মোট পরিবার বা খানার সংখ্যা ৩৮ এবং পরিবারের গড় সদস্য সংখ্যা ৫.০৭। ৩৮টি পরিবারের মধ্যে ভূমিহীন পরিবারের সংখ্যা ১৬টি (৪২.১১%) ১৬টি পরিবারের মধ্যে ১৫টি পরিবারের প্রাপ্ত তথ্য হতে দেখা যায় যে এ সমস্ত পরিবারের মোট সদস্য সংখ্যা ৫৭ জন অথবা মোট জনসংখ্যার ২৯.৫৩ ভাগ। সারানী ২এ ভূমিহীন পরিবার সমূহের কার্যকর শ্রম শক্তির অবস্থা লক্ষ্য করা যায়।

সারণী নং-২

বয়স ও নারী পুরুষের ভিত্তিতে বলভাপাড়া গ্রামের ভূমিহীন জনসংখ্যার বণ্টন।

লিঙ্গ বয়স (বৎসর)	পুরুষ (সংখ্যা)	মহিলা (সংখ্যা)	মোট	শতকরা হার
৫ বৎসর পর্যন্ত	৭	৫	১২	২১.৫
৬-১০ বৎসর পর্যন্ত	৬	৫	১১	১৯.৩০
১১-১৫ " "	১	৩	৪	৭.০২
১৬-৩০ " "	৬	১০	১৬	২৮.০৭
৩১-৪৫ " "	৫	—	৫	৮.৭৭
৪৬-৬০ " "	৪	৫	৯	১৫.৭৯
মোট	২৯	২৮	৫৭	১০০

এখানে দেখা যায় মোট সদস্য সংখ্যার মধ্যে ২৩ (৪.৩৫%) জনই শিশু। যাদের বয়স ১০ বৎসর পর্যন্ত। ১১ থেকে ১৫ বৎসর বয়সের সদস্য ৪ জন (৭.০২%)। অবশিষ্ট ৫২ ও ৬৩ ভাগ ১৬ বৎসরের উর্ধ্বে। অর্থাৎ মোট জনসংখ্যার অর্ধেকাংশ কার্যবর শ্রমশক্তির আওতায়। নারী পুরুষের ভিত্তিতে ভূমিহীন জনসংখ্যার ৫৭.৮৮ ভাগ পুরুষ এবং ৪৯.১২ ভাগ মহিলা। অর্থাৎ নারী ও পুরুষের সংখ্যা প্রায় সমান ১৬ বৎসরের উর্ধ্বে মোট জনসংখ্যার মধ্যে অর্ধেকই নারী। প্রাপ্য ভূমি হতে দেখায় যে, বলভাপাড়া গ্রামের ১৫টি ভূমিহীন পরিবারের মোট সদস্য সংখ্যা ৫৭ জন এতে পরিবার পিছু সদস্য সংখ্যা দাঁড়ায় ৩.৮ জন। ১৯৮১ সালের জনসংখ্যা জরীপে বাংলাদেশে পরিবার পিছু সদস্য সংখ্যা ৫.৮ জন দেখান হয়েছে। বগুড়া জেলায় এই হার ৫.৫ জন।^৮ সে তুলনার আলোচ্য গ্রামের ভূমিহীন পরিবারের গড় সদস্য সংখ্যা অনেক কম। তদন্ত সারণীতে দেখা যায়, ৩ সদস্য বিশিষ্ট পরিবারের সংখ্যা শত করা ৪০ ভাগ এবং ৪ থেকে ৬ সদস্য বিশিষ্ট পরিবারের সংখ্যা শত করা ৪৬.৬৭ ভাগ, ৬ উর্ধ্বে পরিবারের সদস্য সংখ্যা শত করা ১৩.৩৩ ভাগ। তবে লক্ষ্যনীয় বিষয় হলো ৪ সদস্য পর্যন্ত পরিবারের সংখ্যা যদি পৃথক করা হয়। সেক্ষেত্রে ১৪ সদস্য বিশিষ্ট পরিবারের সংখ্যা দাঁড়ায় মোট পরিবারের শতকরা ৮০ ভাগ।

৮। কৃষ্ণান ওয়েটার গার্ড, (ইংরেজী), পৃষ্ঠা : ৩।

৯। Salient Feature of Bogra, Zila Statistics, BBS July 1986.

সারণী নং—৩

ভূমিহীন পরিবার সমূহের সদস্যের সংখ্যার ভিত্তিতে পরিবারের আকার।

সদস্য সংখ্যা	পরিবারের সংখ্যা	শতকরা হার
১-৩	৬	৪০.০০
৪-৬	৭	৪৬.৬৭
৬-উর্দ্ধে	২	১৩.৩৩
মোট	১৫	১০০

বাংলাদেশে পরিবার কাঠামো সম্পর্কে ফিল্ডম্যান ও অগ্রহা (১৯৮৯) তাঁদের গবেষণায় যে তথ্য উপস্থাপন করেছেন তাতে পরিবারের সদস্য সংখ্যা সংক্রান্ত উপরোক্ত বক্তব্যের সমর্থন পাওয়া যায়। সচ্ছল পরিবার সমূহের ৮৩ শতাংশ এবং মধ্যশ্রেণীর পরিবার সমূহের ৫৮ শতাংশের ৫ অথবা তার বেশী সংখ্যক সন্তান দেখতে পাওয়া যায়। অন্যদিকে দরিদ্র পরিবার সমূহের ৩৬ শতাংশ এবং অত্যন্ত দরিদ্র পরিবার সমূহের ৯৮ শতাংশের পাঁচ বা তার অধিক সন্তান আছে।

এটি বর্তমানে পরিবারের সদস্য সংখ্যা সম্পর্কে বহুল প্রচলিত যে ধারণা তার সম্পূর্ণ বিপরীত। এতে আরো বলা হয়েছে যে, দরিদ্র ও ভূমিহীন মহিলাদের দীর্ঘদিন সন্তানকে স্তন দানের কারণে গর্ভ ধারণের সন্তাবনা হ্রাস পাওয়া। এ ধরনের জৈবিক কারণ ছাড়াও অপরূপ জন্মের কারণে গর্ভপাত শিশু মৃত্যু ছাড়া আরো, যে সকল সামাজিক অর্থনৈতিক কারণ বর্তমান তা হলো, পরিবারের আয়ের উৎস ও পরিমানে সীমাবদ্ধতার ফলে অসচ্ছলতার কারণে বৃহৎ পরিবার মহিলা ওলো জড় তেজে ক্ষুদ্র ক্ষুদ্র পরিবারে (Nuclear Family) পরিণত হচ্ছে। গবেষণা পরিচালিত গ্রামে পরিবারের কাঠামোগত বৈশিষ্ট্য সম্পর্কে প্রধানতঃ দুইটি প্রক্রিয়া লক্ষ্য করা গেছে।

- ক) পরিবারের প্রাপ্ত বয়স্ক সদস্যদের মধ্যে কেহ উপার্জন করতে শুরু করলে সে তার নিজের সচ্ছলতার জন্য পিতার সংসার (বৌথ/বৃহৎ) হতে পৃথক হয়ে যাওয়া, এবং
- খ) পরিবারের পুরুষ সদস্যদের বিবাহের সাথে সাথে পরিবারের সদস্য সংখ্যা তথা ব্যয় ব্যতিরহাত থেকে রক্ষা পাওয়ার জন্য বিবাহিত সদস্যদের পৃথক করে দেয়ার প্রবণতা।

শিক্ষা :

শিক্ষার ক্ষেত্রে এই গ্রামের ভূমিহীনদের মধ্যে শতকরা ৭৫.৫৫ ভাগ নিরক্ষর স্বাক্ষর জ্ঞান সম্পন্ন ১৫.৫৫ ভাগ এবং প্রাথমিক বিদ্যালয়ে গমন করেছে ৮.৯ ভাগ। ৬ থেকে ১০ বৎসর বয়স পর্যন্ত মোট ১১ জন শিশুর মধ্যে ৪ জন (৩৬.৩৬%) প্রাথমিক বিদ্যালয়ে গমন করেছে। অবশিষ্ট ৬৩.৬৪ ভাগ কখনও বিদ্যালয়ে যায়নি। ১১-১৫ বৎসর বয়স্ক ৪ জন শিশুর মধ্যে ১ জন স্বাক্ষর জ্ঞান সম্পন্ন এবং ৩ জন নিরক্ষর। অবশিষ্ট মোট ৩০ জন প্রাপ্ত বয়স্কের মধ্যে (১৬.৬০ বৎসর) ২৪ জন (৮০%) সম্পূর্ণ নিরক্ষর এবং ৬ জন (২০%) শুধুমাত্র নাম স্বাক্ষর করতে জানে (সারণী নং - ৪)

সারণী নং-৪

ভূমিহীন পরিবারের সদস্যদের শিক্ষার হার বন্টন।

বয়স	৬-১০	১১-১৫	১৬-২০	২১-২৫	২৬-৬০	মোট	শতকরা হার
শিক্ষার মান	বৎসর	বৎসর	বৎসর	বৎসর	বৎসর		
নিরক্ষর	৭	৩	১২	৪	৮	৩৪	৭৫.৫
স্বাক্ষর	—	১	৪	১	১	৭	১৫.৫
প্রাথমিক	৪	—	—	—	—	৪	৮.৯
মোট	১১	৪	১৬	৫	৯	৪৫	১০০

বাংলাদেশে সামগ্রিক প্রেক্ষাপটে ভূমিহীন পরিবারের শিশুদের শিক্ষা বা বিদ্যালয়ে অন্তর্ভুক্তির নিয়মের সম্পর্কে “বাংলাদেশের শিশু পরিচর্যা” শীর্ষক প্রতিবেদনে উল্লেখ করা হয়েছে তাদের (ভূমিহীন) শিশুদের বিদ্যালয়ে না পাঠিয়ে তাদের পেশায় শিশুদের সাহায্য নিচ্ছে। ৬-১০ বছরের ৪০ শতাংশ (শিশু) বিদ্যালয়ে প্রবেশ করে না। বাকী ৬০ শতাংশের ৭০ ভাগ ৫ম শ্রেণীতে পৌঁছার পূর্বেই ফুল ত্যাগ করে।^{১০}

ওয়েস্টার গার্ড একই উপজেলার বরেন্দ্র এলাকার ১৯৭৫ সালে পরিচালিত গবেষণায় ভূমিহীন পরিবারের সদস্যদের শিক্ষার মানকে হতাশা ব্যাঞ্জক বলে উল্লেখ করেছেন।^{১১} উপরোক্ত আলোচনা ও ৪ নং সারণী হতে প্রাপ্ত তথ্যে দেখা যায় যে, শিক্ষার ক্ষেত্রে

টীকা : ৫ বৎসর পর্যন্ত শিশুর সংখ্যা ১২ জন।

১০। বাংলাদেশ শিশু পরিচর্যা, উন্নয়ন বিবর্তক; প্রথম বর্ষ প্রথম সংখ্যা ১৯৮১, ঢাকা, পৃষ্ঠা : ২৯।

ভূমিহীন বা স্বল্প আয়ের পরিবার গুলো অনেক পিছিয়ে আছে যা কার্যত : অস্তিত্বহীন-তাকেই নির্দেশ করে। শিক্ষার নিয়মার সম্পর্কে উত্তর দাতাদের প্রশ্ন করা হলে তারা সকলে একই ধরনের জবাব দেন। তাহলো, অর্থনৈতিক অসচ্ছলতার কারণে ইচ্ছা থাকা সত্ত্বেও সন্তানদের বিদ্যালয়ে প্রেরণ করা সম্ভব হয় না। শিক্ষার প্রয়োজনীয় উপকরণ ও পোষাক পরিচ্ছদ এবং বিদ্যালয়গামী দিশুকে নির্দিষ্ট সময়ে আহ্বারের ব্যবস্থা করার সামর্থ্য তাদের নেই।

পেশা :

কলতাপাড়া গ্রামের ভূমিহীনদের পেশা সংক্রান্ত আলোচনার 'বার্ড' প্রদত্ত সংজ্ঞার ভিত্তিতে ভূমিহীনদের কৃষিভূক্ত ও অকৃষিভূক্ত দুটি প্রধান শ্রেণীতে বিভক্ত করা হয়েছে। এই শ্রেণী বিভাগের ভিত্তিতে প্রাপ্ত তথ্যে দেখা যায় যে, মোট ১৫টি ভূমিহীন পরিবারের মধ্যে ২টি (১৩.৩৩%) পরিবার বর্গা চাষি হিসাবে কৃষির সাথে যুক্ত। যাদের নিজেদের কোন জমি নেই তারা অপরের জমি বর্গা নিয়ে চাষ করে। এই দু'টি পরিবারের আওতায় বর্গাকৃত জমির পরিমাণ '৬৬ শতাংশ।

সারণী-৫

ভূমিহীন পরিবারের সদস্যদের পেশা ভিত্তিক বটন ও পেশা পরিবর্তন বিষয়ক তথ্য

	পেশার ধরন	পরিবার প্রধানের বর্তমান পেশা	শতকরা হার	পরিবারের পূর্বর্তন পেশা (সংখ্যা)	শতকরা হার
কৃষিভূক্ত	বর্গাচাষি	২	১৩.৩৩	৬	৪০
	ক্ষেত মজুর	১	৬.৬৭	৭	৪৬.৬৭
	মোট	৩	২০.০০	১৩	৮৬.৬৭
অকৃষিভূক্ত	ক্ষুদ্র ব্যবসায়ী	১	৬.৬৭	—	—
	রিক্সা চালক	৩	২০.০০	—	—
	দিন মজুর	৩	২০.০০	—	—
	চাকরী জীব	১	৬.৬৭	—	—
	কারিকর	২	১৩.৩৩	২	১৩.৩৩
	অক্ষম	২	১৩.৩৩	—	—
	মোট	১২	৮০.০০	২	১৩.৩৩
	সর্বমোট	১৫	১০০	১৫	১০০

অপর ১টি পরিবার (৬.৬৭%) ক্ষেত মজুর হিসাবে কৃষির সাথে সম্পর্কযুক্ত। অর্থাৎ মোট ৩টি পরিবার (২০%) কৃষিভূক্ত কাজের সাথে জড়িত। অবশিষ্ট ১২টি পরিবার (৮০%) অকৃষিভূক্ত পেশার নিয়োজিত। এর মধ্যে, ১জন (৬.৬৭%) ক্ষুদ্র ব্যবসায়ী, ৩জন (২০%) রিক্রিটাক, ৩জন (২০%) দিন মজুর, ১জন (৬.৬৭%) একটি অফিসে দিন হাজিরা ভিত্তিতে নিয়োজিত কর্মচারী এবং ২জন (১৩.৩৩%) কারিকর শ্রেণীভুক্ত। এছাড়া ২জন (১৩.৩৩%) পরিবার প্রধান যথাক্রমে বার্ধক্য ও অসুস্থতা জন্মিত কারণে শারীরিক ভাবে অক্ষম, এদের পরিবারে অন্য কোন উপার্জনশীল সদস্য নাই। ফলে এ দুটি পরিবার অপরের সাহায্য ও দানের উপর নির্ভর করে চলে। (সারণী ৫)। ডঃ আনোয়ার উল্লাহ চৌধুরী (‘‘এ বাংলাদেশে ভিলেজ’’ ৭৩ পৃষ্ঠা) অকৃষিভূক্ত জনগোষ্ঠী সম্পর্কে আলোচনা করতে গিয়ে পেশাজীবী গোষ্ঠী যথা কুমার ছুতার, কামার, তাঁতী, গোয়াল, ধোঁপা এবং নাপিত ইত্যাদির কথা উল্লেখ করেছেন, এবং ভূমিহীনদের সাথে এদের অবস্থান গত মিল দেখিয়েছেন যারা সাথে বিশ্ব খাদ্য সংস্থার বক্তব্যের সমর্থন পাওয়া যায়। এই সকল অকৃষিভূক্ত ভূমিহীনদের আয়ের পরিমাণ কখনই সচ্ছল বা বিত্তবান কৃষক পরিবার শুলোর রূপ ধারণ ভুক্ত হয় না। (৭ নং সারণী বিশ্লেষণকে এর সমর্থন পাওয়া যায়।)

এই সব ভূমিহীন পরিবারের পেশা পরিবর্তন সংক্রান্ত বিষয়ে উত্থান সম্মান করে দেখতে পাওয়া যায় যে, শতকরা মোট ৭৩.৩৩ ভাগ ভূমিহীন তাদের পিতৃপেশা পরিবর্তন করেছে। প্রাপ্ত তথ্যে দেখা যায় যে, ৮৬.৬৭ শতাংশ ভূমিহীন পরিবারের পিতৃ পেশা ছিল কৃষি খামার ভুক্ত কাজ। কিন্তু মৌসুমী কৃষি শ্রমিক হিসাবে ক্ষেত মজুরের কাজ জীবন যাত্রার মন রক্তির সাথে সাথে ক্রমেই অলপভ্রনক হয়ে পরায় এই পরিবার গুলো বাধ্য হয়ে পেশা পরিবর্তন করেছে। এর অবশ্যজাবী ফল হিসাবে অকৃষিভূক্ত অদক্ষ জনশক্তির ক্রমবর্ধমান চাপ বৃদ্ধি পাচ্ছে। কিন্তু নতুন কর্মসংস্থানের অভাবে, বেকারত্ব এবং একই সংগে অদক্ষ শ্রমিকের সহজ প্রাপ্যতা শ্রমের ন্যায্যমূল্য প্রাপ্তির নিশ্চয়তা প্রদানে ব্যর্থ হচ্ছে।

- ১১। Kristan Westergaard, Boingram (n. d.) P, 31, The very Low Standard of Living among the Landless households is clearly reflected in their lack of ability to send their Children to school. Of the 36 landless families only one had sent a boy to shcool which he left after class 9. Besides, another family had sent one girl to primary school; in none of the other landless families were any of the children attending. Or had ever done so.

ফলে জীবন ব্যতীর রক্তির সাথে সাথে এই সব পেণা পরিবর্তনকারী ভূমিহীনদের অবস্থা ভূমিহীন ক্ষেতমজুরদের তুলনায় ভাল না হয়ে কোন কোন ক্ষেত্রে নিম্নমুখে ধাবিত হচ্ছে।

সারণী - ৬

ভূমিহীন পরিবারের সদস্যদের উপার্জনশীল ও নির্ভরশীলতার ভিত্তিতে জনসংখ্যার বণ্টন

সদস্যদের ধরন	সদস্য সংখ্যা	শতকরা হার
উপার্জনশীল	১৪	২৪.৫৬
নির্ভরশীল	৪৩	৭৫.৪৪
মোট	৫৭	১০০

ভূমিহীন পরিবারের উপার্জনক্ষম এবং নির্ভরশীল সদস্যদের সম্পর্কে আরো যে তথ্য পাওয়া যায় তাতে দেখা যায় ১৫টি পরিবারের ৫৭ জন সদস্যের মধ্যে ৩০ জন প্রাপ্ত বয়স্ক, এর মধ্যে ২ জন শারীরিক ভাবে অক্ষম, বাকী ২৮ জন উপার্জনক্ষম। তবে উপার্জনক্ষমের সংখ্যা ২৮ হলে ও মোট জনসংখ্যার মধ্যে ১৪ জন সদস্য (২৪.৫৬%) বিভিন্ন উপাধনমুখী কাজে নিয়োজিত। অবশিষ্ট ৪৩ জন এর (৭৫.৪৪%) কোন উপার্জন নেই এরা সম্পূর্ণ নির্ভরশীল (সারণী - ৬)।

অর্থ নৈতিক অবস্থা :

আয় :

কলতাপাড়া গ্রামের ভূমিহীন পরিবার সমূহের সাবিক অর্থনৈতিক অবস্থা তুলে ধরার জন্য আয়ের পাঁচটি মাত্রা নির্ধারণ করা হয়েছে (সারণী ৯)। বদিত্ত এর সর্বোচ্চ মাত্রাটিও ১৯৮৭ সালের বাংলাদেশের মাথাপিছু বাষিক আয়ের (৪৪০৭.০০ টাকা) অধে কেরও কম। মোট ১৫টি পরিবারের মধ্যে ৬টি পরিবারের (৪০%) মাসিক আয় ৫০০ টাকার মধ্যে সীমাবদ্ধ। এই ৬টি পরিবারের মধ্যে ২টি পরিবারের আয়ের নিজস্ব কোন উৎস নেই এরা সাহায্যের উপর নির্ভরশীল। অবশিষ্ট ৪টি পরিবারের মধ্যে ১টি পরিবারের আয়ের সূত্র হলো ক্ষেতমজুর। অন্য তিনটি পরিবারে আয়ের উৎস প্রধানত : দিন মজুর। ৫০১ টাকা থেকে ৭০০ টাকা পর্যন্ত আয় মোট ৪টি পরিবারের (২৬.৬৭%) এর মধ্যে ২টি পরিবার

দিনমজুর এবং অবশিষ্ট ২টি পরিবারের মধ্যে একটি কারিকর শ্রেনীভুক্ত, বাকিদের বিভিন্ন দ্রব্য সামগ্রী তৈরী করে থাকে) অল্প পরিবারটির আয়ের উৎস হলো পরিবার প্রধানের একটি অফিসে দিন হাজিরার ভিত্তিতে প্রাপ্ত বেতনের অর্থ। ৭০১ টাকা থেকে ১০০০ টাকা পর্যন্ত আর মোট ২টি পরিবারের (১৩.৩৩%) এই দুটি পরিবারে উপার্জনশীল ব্যক্তির মধ্যে একজনের প্রধান পেশা হলো রিক্সাচালক। তার নিজস্ব রিক্সা না থাকায়, অপরের রিক্সা ভাড়া নিতে হয়, যা সাধারণত এক বেলায় জন্ম হয়ে থাকে। অপর জন প্রধানত দিনমজুর তবে সাধারণত কাজ না পেলে অথবা সুবিধামত ভাড়ায় রিক্সা পেলে সে রিক্সা চালিয়ে থাকে। এ জন্ম তাতে দিনের অনেকটা সময় বসে থাকতে হয়। ফলে নিয়মিত রিক্সাচালকদের তুলনায় এদের আয় কম। ১০০১ টাকা থেকে ১৫০০ টাকার মধ্যে ২টি পরিবারের (১৩.৩৩%) আয় সীমাবদ্ধ এই পরিবার দুটির উপার্জনশীল ব্যক্তি বা পরিবার প্রধানও রিক্সা চালক। যদিও এদের নিজস্ব রিক্সা নেই, মহাজনের রিক্সা তাকে দিন ১৫ টাকা হারে ভাড়া জমা দিতে হয়। এরা নিয়মিত ভাবে রিক্সা চালিয়ে থাকে। এতে অবস্থা ভেদে দৈনিক ২০ থেকে ৭০ টাকা পর্যন্ত আয় হয়। এই গ্রামের ভূমিহীন পরিবারগুলোর মধ্যে শুধু মাত্র একটি পরিবারের মাসিক আয় ১৫০০ থেকে ২০০০ টাকার মধ্যে, ক্ষুদ্র ব্যবসায়ী অর্থাৎ পান বিড়ির দোকান থেকে বিক্রয় লব্ধ অর্থ তার আয়ের একমাত্র উৎস।

সারণী নং-৭

ভূমিহীন পরিবারের মাসিক আয় ও ব্যয়ের মাত্রার পার্থক্যের ভিত্তিতে পরিবারের বন্টন।

টাকার পরিমাণ	আয়ের ভিত্তিতে পরিবারের সংখ্যা	শতকরা হার	ব্যয়ের ভিত্তিতে পরিবারের সংখ্যা	শতকরা হার
৫০০ টাকার মধ্যে	৬	৪০.০০	৫	৩৩.৩৩
৫০১ থেকে ৭০০ টাকা	৪	২৬.৬৭	৫	৩৩.৩৩
৭০১ থেকে ১০০০ ,,	২	১৩.৩৩	২	১৩.৩৩
১০০১ থেকে ১৫০০ ,,	২	১৩.৩৩	২	১৩.৩৩
১৫০১ থেকে ২০০০ ,,	১	৬.৬৭	১	৬.৬৭
	১৫	১০০	১৫	১০০

ব্যয় :

পরিবারের ব্যয়ের ক্ষেত্রে একই ভাবে গণ্য করা হয়েছে। যার ফলে দেখা যায়, ৫টি পরিবারের (৩৩.৩৩%) মাসিক ব্যয় ৫০০ টাকার মধ্যে ৫০১ থেকে ৭০০ টাকার মধ্যে ব্যয় নির্বাহ করে থাকে মোট ৫টি পরিবার (৩৩.৩৩)। ৭০১ থেকে ১০০০ টাকার মধ্যে ব্যয় নির্বাহ করে ২টি পরিবার (১৩.৩৩%) ১০০১ থেকে ১৫০০ টাকার মধ্যে ২টি পরিবার (১৩.৩৩%) এবং ১৫০১ থেকে ২০০০ টাকার মধ্যে একটি পরিবারের (৬.৬৭%) মাসিক ব্যয় লক্ষ্য করা যায় সারনী ৭)। আয় এবং ব্যয় সংক্রান্ত প্রাপ্ত তথ্যে দেখা যায় যে, যেখানে ৬টি পরিবারের আয় ৫০০ টাকার মধ্যে কিন্তু ব্যয়ের ক্ষেত্রে একটি পরিবার ঘাটতির সম্মুখীন হচ্ছে। এই পরিবারটি নিম্নতম কর্তৃক হ্রাসের মাধ্যমে ঘাটতি পূরণের চেষ্টা করে থাকে। আয়ের সীমাবদ্ধতার কারণে এই ঘাটতি পূরণ করা তার পক্ষে কখনই সম্ভব হয় না। ফলে পরিবারটি (৬.৬৭%) অর্থনৈতিক 'নিষ্করণ চক্রের' আবর্তে পতিত। যার অবশ্যাব্যী ফল হলো পরিবারের কাঠামোগত অস্তিত্বের ক্ষেত্রে হুমকি। এতে পরিবারের সদস্যগণ জীবন রক্ষার উদ্দেশ্যে প্রত্ন পরস্পর থেকে বিচ্ছিন্ন হয়ে পড়বে।

অবশিষ্ট পরিবার গুলোর ক্ষেত্রে দেখা যায় তাদের আয় এবং ব্যয়ের মাত্রার একটা সমান্তরাল অবস্থান। যাপ্রকৃত অর্থে সমান্তরাল নয় এ অবস্থা অত্যন্ত ক্ষণস্থায়ী কারণ এই সব ভূমিহীনদের আয়ের সীমাবদ্ধতা এবং ক্রমবর্ধমান জীবন ব্যয়ের ব্যয় বৃদ্ধির ফলে বর্তমানে তারা যে অবস্থাতে আছে তাও রক্ষা করা তাদের পক্ষে সম্ভব হচ্ছেনা। ফলে এদের বর্তমান অর্থনৈতিক অবস্থায় এক সংকটজনক পরিস্থিতি বিরাজমান।

সাম্প্রতি প্রকাশিত বাংলাদেশ সরকারের পরিকল্পনা কমিশনের রিপোর্টে দেখা যায় যে, ১৯৮৭ সালে জন সাধারণের মাথাপিছু বার্ষিক আয় ৪৫০৭.০০ টাকা (১৫৭ ডলার) অথচ গবেষণা এলাকার ভূমিহীনদের মাথাপিছু বার্ষিক আয়ের পরিমাণ হলো ২৪৭৩.৬৮ টাকা। যা জাতীয় আয়ের প্রায় অর্ধেকের সমান। এ থেকে গবেষণা পরিচালিত গ্রামের ভূমিহীনদের অর্থনৈতিক দুরবস্থার তীব্রতা সহজেই অনুমান করা যায়।

বাসগৃহ বা আবাসিক আবাস্তা :

ভূমিহীনদের বাসগৃহের মালিকানাধীন ধরন ও সংখ্যা সংক্রান্ত তথ্য বিশ্লেষণ করে দেখা যায় যে, নিজস্ব বসতবাটি আছে মোট ১০টি (৮৬.৬৭%) পরিবারের। অবশিষ্ট ২টি (১৩.৩৩%) পরিবারের নিজস্ব বসতবাটি নাই। এরা অপরের জমিতে আগ্রস্ত। ১৫টি পরিবারের

সারণী নং-৮

ভূমিহীন পরিবার সমূহের বসতবাটি বা বাসগৃহ সংক্রান্ত তথ্য

বসত বাটির সংখ্যা মালিকনার ধরন	পরিবারের সংখ্যা	শতকরা হার	ঘরের ধরন					মোট বাসগৃহের সংখ্যা	শতকরা হার
			১	২	৩	৪	৫		
নিজস্ব বসতবাটি আছে	১৩	৮৬.৬৭	১	১৫	—	৩	১৯	১৯	৯০.৪৮
নিজস্ব বসতবাটি নাই অপরের জমিতে বাস করে।	২	১৩.৩৩	—	১	—	১	—	২	৯.৫২

মোট	১৫	১০০	১	১৬	—	৪	১৯	২১	১০০
-----	----	-----	---	----	---	---	----	----	-----

বসত বাটির আওতাভুক্ত মোট জমির পরিমাণ ৮৭ একর, অর্থাৎ এর পরিবার পিছু পরিমাণ দাঁড়ায় ৫.৮ একর, এবং মাথাপিছু বণ্টন করলে দাঁড়ায় ০.১৫০ একর। এছাড়া ১৫টি পরিবারের মোট ঘরের সংখ্যা ২১টি। অর্থাৎ পরিবার পিছু ঘরের সংখ্যা হলো ১.৫। এর সবগুলোই বর্ষাশের বেড়া ও খড়ের চাল দ্বারা নির্মিত। সারণী ৮। এক্ষেত্রে ভূমিহীন জনসংখ্যার সাথে বাসগৃহের বণ্টন করলে অনুপাত দাঁড়ায় ১.৫ : ০.৮।

গৃহস্থালী দ্রব্যাদি :

ভূমিহীন পরিবারে সমূহের গৃহস্থালী দ্রব্যাদির হিসাব করলে তাদের দারিদ্রের পর্যায় সম্পর্কে একই ধারণা পাওয়া যায়। এ সংক্রান্ত প্রাপ্ত তথ্য বিশ্লেষণ করে দেখা যায় যে ১৫টি পরিবারে মোট ১টি চৌকি, ১টি চেয়ার ও ১টি টেবিল আছে। কাপড় চোপড় বা অন্যান্য

সারণী নং-৯

ভূমিহীন পরিবারের ব্যবহার্য গৃহস্থালী দ্রব্যাদির পরিসংখ্যান।

দ্রব্যের নাম	সংখ্যা	পরিবার
চৌকি	১	১
টেবিল	১	১
চেয়ার	১	১
বাক্স	৫	৫
হাড়িপাতিল	৪৪	১৫
হারিকেন/কুপি	২৫	১৫
দাঁ	১১	১১
কুড়াল	৫	৫
রেডিও	২	২

প্রয়োজনীয় জিনিস পত্র রাখার জন্য বাক্সের সংখ্যা ৫টি, এর সবগুলোই কাঠের তৈরী। রান্নার সামগ্রীর মধ্যে পাটিল ৪৪টি বার অধিকাংশই মাটির তৈরী। হারিকেন বা কুপির সংখ্যা ২৫টি, দা কুড়ালের সংখ্যা ১৫টি। সৌখিন দ্রব্যের মধ্যে দু'টি পরিবারের কাছে দু'টি রেডিও আছে (সারণী-৯)। এই দু'টি পরিবারের একটি হলো ক্ষুদ্র ব্যবসায়ী অপর পরিবারের গৃহকর্তা রিজা চাকর।

গৃহপালিত পশু পাখি :

গৃহপালিত পশু পাখির মধ্যে মোট ৩টি পরিবারের নিকট ৫টি গরু এবং ২টি পরিবারের ২টি করে ভেড়া এবং ছাগল আছে। এ ছাড়া ১০টি পরিবার মোট ৭৬টি হাঁস মুরগী পালন করে। (সারণী-১০)।

সারণী-১০

ভূমিহীন পরিবারের মালিকানাধীন গৃহপালিত পশু পাখির বিবরণ।

গবাদী পশু ও পাখির নাম	পশু পাখির সংখ্যা	পরিবারের সংখ্যা
গরু	৫	৩
ছাগল/ভেড়া	৪	২
হাঁস/মুরগী	৪৬	১০
মোট	৫৫	১৫

শিশু খাদ্যের অভাব এবং চিকিৎসার অভাবে পশু হত্যা ইত্যাদি কারণে এইসব দরিদ্র পরিবার সমূহে পশু পাখি, পালনের ক্ষেত্রে নিরুৎসাহ লক্ষ্য করা যায়। গবাদী পশুর সংখ্যার এই দৈন্য/কৃষির সাথে ভূমিহীন পরিবার গুলোর সম্পর্কহীনতাকে নিদে শেষ ক্ষেত্রে একটি সূচক হিসাবে উল্লেখ করা যায়।

গবেষনার সারসংক্ষেপ :

“ভূমিহীনদের সমস্যা” বিষয়টির সাথে তিনটি ধারণা পরস্পর যুক্ত। এর মধ্যে প্রথমটি হলো, ‘ভূমিহীনতা’ যা, সন্নাজের একট বিশেষ গোষ্ঠীর নিঃস্ব করনের প্রতিয়াকে বুঝায়, যারা ভূমির মালিকানা থেকে বঞ্চিত হচ্ছে। দ্বিতীয় বিষয়টি হলো, এই বিশেষ গোষ্ঠীর

‘অর্থনৈতিক অবস্থা’ যা তাদের জীবন ধারণের জন্য প্রয়োজনীয় উপকরণের চাহিদা ও তার জোগান দেয়ার ক্ষমতা বোঝায় এবং তৃতীয় বিষয়টি হলো, এদের সামাজিক দিক যা সমাজের অংশ হিসাবে এদের অবস্থানকে নির্দেশ করে।

অতএব, ভূমিহীনদের আর্থ-সামাজিক সমস্যা বলতে যা বুঝায় তা’ হলো, সমাজের এই শ্রেণীর জীবন যা পনের ক্ষেত্রে সামগ্রিক ভাবে বিরাজমান অসুবিধা সমূহ। যা ‘স্বাভাবিক জীবন নির্বাহের শাস্ত : অধিকারকে বাধা প্রদান করার ফলে অতিথি বজায় রাখার ক্ষেত্রে জমকির সৃষ্টি করছে। এ অর্থে বিশেষ ভাবে বলা যায় যে, এই সমস্যাগুলো সমগ্র সমাজের ক্রমবিকাশ বা অগ্রগতির ধারাকে এক সংকটজনক অবস্থার দিকে ঠেলে দিয়েছে।

বর্তমান গবেষণায় কলতাপাড়া গ্রামের ভূমিহীনদের সাংখ্যিক অবস্থা সম্পর্কে যে সকল তথ্য পাওয়া যায় তা’তে দেখা যায় যে, এই গ্রামের মোট ৪২’১১ শতাংশ পরিবার ভূমিহীন। পরিবারের সদস্য সংখ্যার দিক দিয়ে বিচার করলে দেখা যায়, ৩ থেকে ৪ সদস্য বিশিষ্ট পরিবারের সংখ্যা তুলনামূলক অনেক বেশী (৮০%)। বয়সের দিক দিয়ে বিচার করলে দেখা যায়, অপ্রাপ্ত বয়স্ক (১৬ বৎসরের নীচে) সদস্যদের সংখ্যা মোট ভূমিহীন জনসংখ্যার ৪৬’৬০ শতাংশ। এ অবস্থায় যদি, নতুন কর্মসংস্থানের স্রোত সৃষ্টি করা না হয় তবে ক্রমবর্ধমান বেকারত্ব কর্মক্ষম জনশক্তি বৃদ্ধির সাথে আরো তীব্রতর হবে।

অর্থনৈতিক ক্ষেত্রে ভূমিহীন পরিবার সমূহের আয়ের ক্ষেত্রে স্ববিধতা এবং আয় ব্যয়ের ভারসাম্যহীনতা থেকে আতঙ্কিত কৌশল হিসাবে ভূমিহীনদের যৌথ ও মাঝারী পরিবার গুলো দ্রুত ভেঙ্গে পড়ছে। যদিও আপাততঃ দৃষ্টিতে পরিবার পিছু গড় সদস্য সংখ্যা (৩’৮ জন) যা জাতীয় গানের চেয়ে (৫’৭ জন) অনেক কম মনে হলেও প্রকৃত অবস্থা ভিন্নতর। কারণ, এই সব ২ বা ৩ সদস্য বিশিষ্ট পরিবারগুলো অর্থনৈতিক সংকট মোকা-বেলার এক অসম প্রতিযোগীতার ফল। তা হলো এরা যৌথ পরিবার ব্যবস্থা ভেঙ্গে বেড়িয়ে যাচ্ছে। কিন্তু তা সত্ত্বেও লাভজনক কর্মসংস্থানের অভাবে এরা “দারিদ্রের চক্রে” আবর্তিত হয়ে নিম্ন-করণ প্রক্রিয়াকে দ্রুততর করে চলেছে।

শিক্ষার ক্ষেত্রে দেখা যায় ১৩টি ভূমিহীন পরিবারের মধ্যে ৭৫’৫৫ ভাগ শিক্ষার আলো থেকে সম্পূর্ণ ভাবে বঞ্চিত। অবশিষ্ট ১৫’৫৫ ভাগ স্বাক্ষর করতে জানে এবং ৮’৯ ভাগ প্রাথমিক বিদ্যালয়ে গমন করেছে। লিখতে এবং পড়তে জানে এ ধরনের ব্যক্তিকে শিক্ষিতের পর্যায়ে ধরে দেখা যায় যে, কলতাপাড়া গ্রামের শতকরা ৯১’১ ভাগ ভূমিহীন অশিক্ষিত।

পেশার ক্ষেত্রে এই গ্রামের শতকরা ৮০ ভাগ ভূমিহীন কৃষি বহির্ভূত কাজ করে থাকে। মোট ১৫টি ভূমিহীন পরিবারের মধ্যে ১১টি পরিবার তাদের পুর্বর্তন পেশা কৃষি ত্যাগ করতে বাধ্য হয়েছে। পেশায় ক্ষেত্রে এই পরিবর্তনের কারণ হিসাবে এদের প্রত্যেকেরই ক্ষুদ্র চাষী বা ক্ষেত মজুর হিসাবে কৃষি কাজকে অলাভজনক বলে উল্লেখ করেছে।

এই গ্রামের ভূমিহীনদের বাসস্থানের সমস্যা অত্যন্ত প্রকট। মোট ১৫টি পরিবারের পরিবার পিছু বাসগৃহের সংখ্যা ১৫টি। কাঠামোগত দিক থেকে এ গুলোকে অস্থায়ী বাসগৃহ হিসাবে চিহ্নিত করা যায়। যা বাঁশের বেড়া এবং খড়ের চাল দ্বারা নির্মিত।

পরিবারের অর্থনৈতিক অবস্থা পর্য লোচনা করে দেখা যায় যে, ভূমিহীন পরিবার সন্মূহের মাসিক গড় আয় ৭৮৩.৩৩ টাকা। কিন্তু প্রকৃত অর্থে ৭০০ টাকা পর্যন্ত আয় করে ৬৬.৬৭ পরিবার। অবশিষ্ট মাত্র ৩৩.৩৩ শতাংশ পরিবার ৭০১ টাকা থেকে ২০০০ টাকা পর্যন্ত আয় করে থাকে। সামাজিক মর্যাদার ক্ষেত্রে ভূমিহীনেরা যে অত্যন্ত অবহেলিত। এই প্রতিষ্ঠিত সভ্যটি নতুন করে যুক্তি দিয়ে প্রতিষ্ঠিত করা এক্ষেত্রে সময় ক্ষেপন মাত্র। গবেষণা পরিচালিত এলাকার সরকারী পর্যায়ের বা বেসরকারী ভাবে এখনও পর্যন্ত এদের অবস্থার উন্নয়নের কোন কর্মসূচী গ্রহণ করা হয় নি। অতি সাম্প্রতিক (১৯৮৬ ইং) বগুড়ার পল্লী উন্নয়ন একাডেমীর আওতায় পরিচালিত পল্লী শিশু ও দুঃস্থ পরিবার উন্নয়ন প্রকল্পের সম্প্রসারিত এলাকা হিসাবে একাডেমীর পার্শ্ববর্তী ৫টি গ্রামের একটি কর্মসূচী হাতে নেয়া হয়। কলতাপাড়া গ্রামকেও এর মধ্যে অন্তর্ভুক্ত করা হয়েছিল। এই সুবাদে প্রথমবারের মত এই সব ভূমিহীন পরিবার গুলোকে সংগঠিত করার চেষ্টা লে। ফলে এই গ্রামের ভূমিহীন পরিবার গুলোর মধ্যে বহুকে পরিবার সমিতি ভুক্ত হয়। কিন্তু ১৯৮৭ সালের জুন মাসে প্রকল্পের মেয়াদ এই উদ্যোগেও ভাটা পরে। ফলে প্রকৃত অর্থে এই গ্রামের ভূমিহীন মানুষ এখনও পর্যন্ত কোন সংগঠনের আওতাভুক্ত নয় বলে ধরে নেয়া যায়।

উপসংহার ও সুপারিশ

এই গবেষণা কর্মের প্রাপ্ত তথ্য হতে একটি গ্রামের ভূমিহীন তথ্য দরিদ্রতম জনগোষ্ঠীর আর্থ-সামাজিক অবস্থার একটি চিত্র আমাদের সামনে ফুটে উঠেছে। যার সাথে এই শ্রমীর বহুতর অংশের সমস্যা সন্মূহের মিল খুঁজে পাওয়া যেতে পারে। এক্ষেত্রে প্রতিনিধিত্ব শীলতার যুক্তি উত্থাপিত হওয়া অত্যন্ত যুক্তি সংগত। সেক্ষেত্রে একথা বলা যায় যে, গবেষণার প্রাপ্ত তথ্য সমগ্র ভূমিহীন জনগোষ্ঠীর ভয়াবহ দারিদ্রের একটি 'অনুচিত্রে' যা

একত্রিত হয়ে সৃষ্টি করেছে সমস্তার মহীরহ। এ সমস্তার সমাধানে প্রয়োজন স্থানীয় চাহিদার উপর ভিত্তি করে আন্তরিক ক্ষুদ্র ক্ষুদ্র অথচ দীর্ঘ মেয়াদী আপোষহীন কর্মসূচী। কিন্তু দুঃখ জনক হলেও একথা সত্য যে পরিকল্পনা প্রণয়ন ও বাস্তবায়নের ক্ষেত্রে সামগ্রিক ভাবে বিরাজ করছে সীমাহীন দরিদ্রতা।

বাংলাদেশ সরকার তার দ্বিতীয় পঞ্চবার্ষিক পরিকল্পনার উল্লেখ করেছেন যে, দেশের ঐ অংশ জনসমষ্টি তাদের জীবনমাত্রার ব্যয় নির্বাহে অক্ষম। অতএব দ্বিতীয় পঞ্চবার্ষিক পরিকল্পনার মূল লক্ষ্য হবে গ্রামীণ জনসাধারণের অর্থনৈতিক সমৃদ্ধি আনয়ন করা। এ উদ্দেশ্যে কৃষি ও পল্লী উন্নয়নের উপর গুরুত্ব আরোপের কথা বলা হয়েছে। কিন্তু পরিকল্পনা প্রণয়নের ক্ষেত্রে নীতি নির্ধারণ অথচ বাস্তবায়নের ক্ষেত্রে নীতি বিসর্জন। এই পরস্পর বিরোধিতা গ্রামীণ বাংলাদেশে দারিদ্র মোচনের কৌশলের মধ্যে 'মডাডর্শ' ও কর্মের যে বৈপরীত্য। এর মধ্যেই নিহীত আছে ভূমিহীনদের তথা জাতীয় অর্থনৈতিক সংকটের মূল কারণ। কৃষি নির্ভর বাংলাদেশে যা জাতীয় আয়ের শতকরা ৫৫ বা ৫৬ ভাগ আসে কৃষি থেকে অথচ সে দেশে ভূমিহীন পরিবারের সংখ্যা প্রায় ৫০ শতাংশ এবং এ প্রবনতা ক্রমশঃ বৃদ্ধি পেয়ে চলেছে। অতএব সেখানে সমাজের একক রহতম অংশ 'ভূমিহীনদের মৌলিক সমস্যা, সমাধান ছাড়া জাতীয় উন্নয়ন কোন ক্রমেই সম্ভব নয়।

গ্রন্থপঞ্জী :

- ১। গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী বাংলাদেশ সরকার, ভূমিসংস্কার কমিটির প্রতিবেদন, ১৯৮৩।
- ২। বাংলাদেশ উন্নয়ন পরিষদ। উন্নয়ন প্রসঙ্গে, উন্নয়ন বিভর্ক, প্রথম বর্ষা, প্রথম সংখ্যা, ১৯৮১।
- ৩। FAO ; Farmers without Land, Literature prepared for world Food day-1987, Rome.
- ৪। বার্ড. সাধিক গ্রাম উন্নয়নের সংগঠনিক কাঠামো, ১৯৭৫।
- ৫। রায়, অজয়, বাংলাদেশে ভূমি ব্যবস্থা : সংকট ও সমাধান, বাংলাদেশ বুক ইন্টারন্যাশনাল লিঃ ঢাকা, পৃষ্ঠা-৬, ১৯৮৩।
- ৬। ঐ পৃষ্ঠা-৪
- ৭। ঐ
- ৮। Westergaard, Kirsten Boringram, An Economic and Social Analysis of village in Bangladesh, Rural Development Academy, Bogra, (n.d).
- ৯। Government of Bangladesh, Salient Feature of Bogra, Zila Statistics. 1986. Bogra region. B B S, July 1986.

গ্রাম উন্নয়নে সমবায় ও সেচ আর্টাইল গ্রামের অভিজ্ঞতা

মোঃ নজরুল ইসলাম খান *

মোঃ ফিরোজ ইমাম

মাহমুদ হোসেন খান

সূচনা :

বাংলাদেশ মূলতঃ কৃষি নির্ভর দেশ। খরা ও বন্যা সমস্যা এ দেশে কৃষি ব্যবস্থার জন্ত মারাত্মক হুমকি স্বরূপ। তার মধ্যে দিয়েই এগিয়ে চলেছে এ দেশের কৃষি ও পল্লী বাসী সাধারণ মানুষ। দারিদ্র নিপীড়িত মানুষের সংখ্যাও এদেশে কম নয়। বিত্তহীন পরিবারের সংখ্যা ক্রমেই বেড়ে চলেছে। শিক্ষার অগ্রগতি যেন কোন ক্রমেই সাফল্যের দোর গোড়ায় পৌঁছাতে পারছে না। স্বাস্থ্য পুষ্টিহীন মানুষের অবস্থা প্রতিটি বিবেকবান মানুষকেই সচকিত করে। এমন পরিস্থিতিতে এদেশের অর্থনৈতিক ও সমাজিক প্রগতি বাধাপ্রাপ্ত হচ্ছে প্রতিনিয়তই। এই আলোকে আমরা দেখতে পারি একটি গ্রামের অবস্থা। যে গ্রামটি বগুড়া জেলার শেরপুর উপজেলাধীন ভানানীপুর ইউনিয়নের 'আর্টাইল' নামে পরিচিতি। আর্টাইল গ্রামটি রাজধানী শহর ঢাকার সাথে উত্তর বঙ্গের যোগাযোগ মহাসড়কের ছোনকার দক্ষিণে যোগাবটতলা নামক স্থান হতে পশ্চিম দিকে ৩ মাইল দূরে অবস্থিত।

* লেখক ক্রম স্বাক্ষর, সহকারী পরিচালক পল্লী উন্নয়ন একাডেমী, বগুড়া, সহকারী পল্লী উন্নয়ন অফিসার, বি, আর, ডি. বি, শেরপুর, বগুড়া ও সহকারী পরিচালক পল্লী উন্নয়ন একাডেমী, বগুড়া।

গ্রামের উদ্দেশ্য :

- ১। গ্রামের লোকের আর্থ সামাজিক অবস্থা জানা।
- ২। গ্রামের সংগঠন ও সমবায় সম্পর্কে জানা।
- ৩। গ্রামের কৃষি ব্যবস্থা সম্পর্কে জানা।
- ৪। গ্রামের সেচাবাদ সম্পর্কে জানা।

পদ্ধতি :

আর্টাইল গ্রামের সার্বিক অবস্থা মূল্যায়নের জন্য সরাসরি প্রদত্ত পুনের মাধ্যমে তথ্য সংগ্রহ করা হয়। গবেষকদের ৭দিন উক্ত গ্রামে থেকে তথ্য সংগ্রহ করেন।

গ্রামের আর্থ-সামাজিক অবস্থা :

আর্টাইল গ্রামের অধিকাংশ লোকই মোটামুটি অবস্থাপন্ন। গ্রামের মোট ৬৯টি পরিবারের মধ্যে মাত্র ১২টি পরিবার বিত্তহীন বিবেচনা করা যায়। বিত্তহীন পরিবারের উপার্জনক্ষম ব্যক্তিরা ক্ষেত মজুরের কাজ করে জীবিকা নির্বাহ করে। বাকী ৫৭টি পরিবারের লোকেরা মূলতঃ কৃষি জমির উপর নির্ভরশীল। অবস্থাপন্ন পরিবারগুলোর লোকেরা কৃষি জমি উদ্বাবধান করেন এবং প্রান্তিক চাষীরা নিজের শ্রম দিয়েই ফসল উৎপাদন করে। উক্ত ৫৭টি পরিবারের মধ্যে মাত্র ১০ জন ব্যবসা করেন। পার্শ্ববর্তী ভবানীপুর হাটে তাদের মুদিখানা ও মনোহারী দোকান রয়েছে এবং কয়েকজন শূণ্য হাটবারে কাপড়ের দোকান করে থাকেন।

গ্রামের মোট ৬৯টি পরিবারের মধ্যে মাত্র ৮টি পরিবারের ৮জন লোক চাকুরী করেন, তন্মধ্যে ৩ জন শিক্ষকতা করেন। গ্রামের মোট জমির পরিমাণ ৩০০ একর। মাথাপিছু জমির পরিমাণ ২.২৫ বিঘা।

শিক্ষায়তন :

গ্রামে কোন প্রাথমিক বিদ্যালয় বা উচ্চ বিদ্যালয় নেই। শিক্ষায়তন বলতে কেবলমাত্র একটি এফডেদাই মাদ্রাসা রয়েছে। ভবানীপুর প্রাথমিক বিদ্যালয়, ভবানীপুর উচ্চ বিদ্যালয়, ছোনকা উচ্চ বিদ্যালয় ও শেরপুর কলেজে সাধারণতঃ এই গ্রামের ছাত্রের লেখাপড়া করে থাকে।

উপাসনালয় :

গ্রামের লোকেরা সবাই ইসলাম ধর্মাবলম্বী এবং গ্রামে একটিই মাত্র মসজিদ রয়েছে।

সারণী-১

শিক্ষা সম্পর্কে তথ্য।

শিক্ষার পর্যায়	শিক্ষিতের সংখ্যা		
	পুরুষ	মহিলা	মোট
১	২	৩	৪
১ম শ্রেণী থেকে ৫ম শ্রেণী	৯২	৫৮	১৫০
৬ষ্ঠ শ্রেণী থেকে—১০ম শ্রেণী	৩১	১৪	৪৫
একাদশ থেকে—দ্বাদশ	১৮	২	২০
স্নাতক	৫	—	৫
মোট	১৪৬	৭৪	২২০

আটাইল গ্রামে ৪০০ জন লোকের মধ্যে ৫ বছরের উপরের বয়সের লোক সংখ্যা ৩০২ জন। এদের মধ্যে বিভিন্ন পর্যায়ের লেখাপড়া জানা লোকের সংখ্যা ২২০ জন। অর্থাৎ শিক্ষার হার ৬৬.২৬% (ছিবটি দশমিক ছাফিশ)। ২২০ জনের মধ্যে ৮৫ জন বিভিন্ন পর্যায়ে লেখাপড়া করছে। (সারণী-২)।

সারণী-২

স্কুল কলেজে অধ্যয়নরত ছাত্র ছাত্রী সংখ্যা

শিক্ষার পর্যায়	ছাত্র ছাত্রী সংখ্যা		
	ছেলে	মেয়ে	মোট
১	২	৩	৪
১ম শ্রেণী থেকে—৫ম শ্রেণী	৩২	১৮	৫০
৬ষ্ঠ শ্রেণী থেকে—১০ম শ্রেণী	১৭	৮	২৫
একাদশ থেকে—দ্বাদশ	৮	২	১০
স্নাতক	—	—	—
	৫৭	২৮	৮৫

জনসংখ্যা ও পরিবার :

আটাইল গ্রামের মোট জনসংখ্যা ৪০০ জন। পরিবার সংখ্যা মোট ৬৯টি। ১২টি পরিবার বিহীন বাকী ৫৭টি কৃষক পরিবার।

বেকার :

গ্রামের ৯জন উচ্চ মাধ্যমিক পাশ এবং ১০ জন এস, এস, সি, পাশ বেকার রয়েছে। যদিও তারা গৃহস্থালীর কাজে কম বেগী নিয়োজিত রয়েছে। তবুও তাদেরকে জিজ্ঞাসা করে জান যায় যে তারা চাকুরী পেলে করবে।

বাসস্থান :

গ্রামে কোন পাকা বাড়ী নেই। মাটির দেয়াল এবং টিন/খড়ের ছাউনী দিয়ে ঘর তৈরী করা হয়েছে। ৪৯টি বাড়ীতে টিনের ঘর রয়েছে এবং ২০টি বাড়ীতে খড়ের ঘর রয়েছে।

স্বাস্থ্য :

আটাইল গ্রামের পাশ্চাত্যী ভবানীপুর ইউনিয়ন সদরে একটি দাতব্য চিকিৎসালয়, রয়েছে। দূরত্ব ১ মাইল, এবং গ্রাম থেকে ৪ মাইল দূরে ছোনকার মেডিক্যাল সাব সেন্টার রয়েছে। মূলতঃ এই দুটো উৎস থেকেই গ্রামবাসী চিকিৎসা সুবিধা পেয়ে থাকে।

গ্রামে ৪২টি হস্তচালিত নলকূপ আছে। কাজেই পানীয় জলের কোন অসুবিধা নেই। গ্রামের পরিবার সংখ্যা অনুযায়ী শংকরা ৬০৮৬টি বাড়ীতে হস্তচালিত নলকূপ রয়েছে।

জলাবদ্ধ পায়খানার সংখ্যা ৭টি এবং প্রতি বাড়ীতেই রূপড়ি পায়খানা রয়েছে।

পরিবার পরিকল্পনা : গ্রামের প্রায় সকল দম্পতিই জন্ম নিয়ন্ত্রনে আগ্রহী এবং সচেতন হয়েছে। ১০ জন মহিলা ও ৮ জন পুরুষ জন্ম নিয়ন্ত্রনের হারী পদ্ধতি গ্রহণ করেছে এবং প্রায় প্রতিটি সক্ষম দম্পতিই অস্থায়ী পদ্ধতি অবলম্বন করে থাকেন।

গ্রামে কোন কানা বা পঙ্গু লোক নেই।

চিহ্ন বিনোদন ও খেলাধুলা :

আটাইল গ্রামে সাধারণতঃ ফুটবল, ভলিবল, ব্যাটমিন্টন, দাবা ও ক্যারাম খেলা হয়ে থাকে। ১ সেট ভলিবল, ২ সেট দাবা, ২টি ক্যারাম বোর্ড ও ৩ সেট ব্যাটমিন্টন রয়েছে।

যোগাযোগ মাধ্যম ও চিত্রবিনোদনের জন্য ৪০টি রেডিও ৪টি টেলিভিশন আছে।

ଆତ୍ମାର ସ୍ୱାଧୀନତା ଅସମ୍ଭବ ଅଟେ ।

এই গ্রন্থে দুই জন বিখ্যাত ও পণ্ডিতের নাম আছে। বিবাস বিজ্ঞান, গাণী বিজ্ঞান ও

କୃତ୍ରିମତ୍ୱ ଚିହ୍ନିତ୍ୱଦେଖ ଉପକ୍ରମ ସମାପ୍ତ ।

1. உலக அமைதி

: ୨୩୩

“କୃଷି ଓ ଉଦ୍ୟାନ”

“ସଂସ୍କୃତ ଭାଷା”

(ମନୋରଞ୍ଜନ) ପ୍ରକାଶନ ସମ୍ପାଦକଙ୍କୁ ଶ୍ରଦ୍ଧାଂଜଳି

ସ୍ୱରାଜ୍ୟ ଶାସନ (କୃତ୍ରିମ ଶାସନ)

କନ୍ୟା ଗୋପାଳ କୁମାର ଶର୍ମା

சென்னை நகர வட்டாரப் பகுதி

ଆର୍ତ୍ତହୀନ ହୋଇ ସାଥୀ ବିଚାର କରେ ଯେକୌ ଗରିବଙ୍କ 'ସନ୍ତାନ' ସ୍ତ୍ରୀ ଯେଉଁ ଗରିବ

• १८३३ •

ଶ୍ରୀ ୧ ଶ୍ରୀମତୀ ଶ୍ରୀମତୀ ଶ୍ରୀମତୀ : ମିତ୍ରାଃ ୧୯୮୩ ଶ୍ରୀମତୀ, ଶ୍ରୀମତୀ

04.

1. ପ୍ରାଥମିକ	%୦୦୯	୮୭୦ ୮	-/୦୦୦'୭୮	-/୦୦୦ ୦୭	"	୮୭-୦୭୯୯
ମାଧ୍ୟମିକ	%୦୦୯	—	-/୦୦୦ ୦୯	-/୦୦୦'୦୯	"	୭୮ ୮୭୯୯
	%୦୦୯	—	/୦୦୭'୭୭	-/୦୦୭'୭୭	"	୮୭-୦୭୯୯
	%୦୦୯	—	/୦୦୭'୮୮	-/୦ ୭'୮୮	"	୦୭-୮୭୯୯
	%୦୦୯	—	-/୦୦୯'୦୭	-/୦୦୯'୦୭	"	୮୭-୯୭୯୯
	%୦୦୯	—	୯୯/୮୭୭'୯୦	୯୯/୮୭୭'୯୦	"	୯୭-୦୭୯୯
	%୦୦୯	—	-୦୦୭ ୯୯	-/୦୦୭'୯୯	(୧୨୧୭)	୦୭-୯୭୯୯
ଉଚ୍ଚ ମାଧ୍ୟମିକ	ପ୍ରତି ପ୍ରତିଶତ	ପ୍ରତି ପ୍ରତିଶତ	ପ୍ରତିଶତ ପ୍ରତିଶତ	ପ୍ରତିଶତ ପ୍ରତିଶତ	ପ୍ରତିଶତ ପ୍ରତିଶତ	ପ୍ରତିଶତ ପ୍ରତିଶତ

1. ଉଚ୍ଚ ମାଧ୍ୟମିକ ପ୍ରତିଶତ

୭ - ପ୍ରତିଶତ

କ୍ରମେ ଉଚ୍ଚ ମାଧ୍ୟମିକ ପ୍ରତିଶତ କ୍ରମେ ଉଚ୍ଚ ମାଧ୍ୟମିକ ପ୍ରତିଶତ କ୍ରମେ ଉଚ୍ଚ ମାଧ୍ୟମିକ ପ୍ରତିଶତ

କ୍ରମେ ଉଚ୍ଚ ମାଧ୍ୟମିକ ପ୍ରତିଶତ

କ୍ରମେ ଉଚ୍ଚ ମାଧ୍ୟମିକ ପ୍ରତିଶତ

କ୍ରମେ ଉଚ୍ଚ ମାଧ୍ୟମିକ ପ୍ରତିଶତ

କ୍ରମେ ଉଚ୍ଚ ମାଧ୍ୟମିକ ପ୍ରତିଶତ

- : କ୍ରମେ ଉଚ୍ଚ ମାଧ୍ୟମିକ ପ୍ରତିଶତ

କ୍ରମେ ଉଚ୍ଚ ମାଧ୍ୟମିକ ପ୍ରତିଶତ

କ୍ରମେ ଉଚ୍ଚ ମାଧ୍ୟମିକ ପ୍ରତିଶତ

କ୍ରମେ ଉଚ୍ଚ ମାଧ୍ୟମିକ ପ୍ରତିଶତ

କ୍ରମେ ଉଚ୍ଚ ମାଧ୍ୟମିକ ପ୍ରତିଶତ

କ୍ରମେ ଉଚ୍ଚ ମାଧ୍ୟମିକ ପ୍ରତିଶତ

କ୍ରମେ ଉଚ୍ଚ ମାଧ୍ୟମିକ ପ୍ରତିଶତ

କ୍ରମେ ଉଚ୍ଚ ମାଧ୍ୟମିକ ପ୍ରତିଶତ

କ୍ରମେ ଉଚ୍ଚ ମାଧ୍ୟମିକ ପ୍ରତିଶତ

କ୍ରମେ ଉଚ୍ଚ ମାଧ୍ୟମିକ ପ୍ରତିଶତ

କ୍ରମେ ଉଚ୍ଚ ମାଧ୍ୟମିକ ପ୍ରତିଶତ

କ୍ରମେ ଉଚ୍ଚ ମାଧ୍ୟମିକ ପ୍ରତିଶତ

କ୍ରମେ ଉଚ୍ଚ ମାଧ୍ୟମିକ ପ୍ରତିଶତ

କ୍ରମେ ଉଚ୍ଚ ମାଧ୍ୟମିକ ପ୍ରତିଶତ

କ୍ରମେ ଉଚ୍ଚ ମାଧ୍ୟମିକ ପ୍ରତିଶତ

କ୍ରମେ ଉଚ୍ଚ ମାଧ୍ୟମିକ ପ୍ରତିଶତ

କ୍ରମେ ଉଚ୍ଚ ମାଧ୍ୟମିକ ପ୍ରତିଶତ

କ୍ରମେ ଉଚ୍ଚ ମାଧ୍ୟମିକ ପ୍ରତିଶତ

କ୍ରମେ ଉଚ୍ଚ ମାଧ୍ୟମିକ ପ୍ରତିଶତ

କ୍ରମେ ଉଚ୍ଚ ମାଧ୍ୟମିକ ପ୍ରତିଶତ

[illegible][illegible]

पाना-८

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

2A

ପ୍ରତିହାର ଗାନ୍ଧୀ ମୁକ୍ତିଦେଶ ମଧ୍ୟ ୨୦୦୮ । ମଧ୍ୟଭାଗେ ମୁକ୍ତିଦେଶ ମଧ୍ୟ କଥା ରଖ । ଅଧ୍ୟାୟ ୧ ଶୁଦ୍ଧ, କାଗଜ, ଖିରା, ଖିରାକାମ, ଖିର, ଖିରା ୧ କଟି ମୁକ୍ତିଦେଶ ମଧ୍ୟ ଖିରା ଖିରା ।

১৯৮৬ খ্রি: পূর্বের তুলনায় ৫০% বৃদ্ধি ঘটেছে।

ମହାବୀର, ମାମୁଁ ମେଠ, ସମା ଭାଷାମାନେ ଏ ମାୟାବଦନ କରନ୍ତି ସାଧାରଣ ଲୋକ ।

ଆମେ ଏହି ସେ ଯୋଗ ଦାଉ । ଏହି ସମସ୍ତ ଆଦେଶ ଶୁଣିବା ଯୋଗେ । ଏହି

ଶ୍ରୀମଦ୍ଭଗବତଃ ଶରଣାଗତ୍ୟ ନମଃ ।

[illegible]

1. உதவி செய்து தருகிறீர்கள்.

[illegible]

1. 22/10 222.

[illegible]

• 24 •

[illegible]

କେନ୍ଦ୍ରୀୟ ମହାବିଜ୍ଞାନ ଶାସ୍ତ୍ର, ଭୁବନେଶ୍ୱର । ଆମ ଦଳର ସମସ୍ତ ସଭ୍ୟମାନଙ୍କର ଅନୁମତି ପରେ ଏହି ନିଷ୍ପତ୍ତି ଗ୍ରହଣ କରାଯାଇଛି ।

ଭାରତୀୟ ଶିକ୍ଷା ମନ୍ତ୍ରାଳୟ ମାଧ୍ୟମିକ ଶିକ୍ଷା ବିଭାଗ
 ୨୦୮୫ କ୍ର. ମାଲେ ଶେଫି ଆରାବୀୟା ଶିକ୍ଷା

பிள்ளைகள் பற்றி எல்லாம் அறிந்து கொள்ளுங்கள்.

[illegible]

ଆମୀନି ମାଗୁଥିବା ଖୋଜିବା କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ ଆଗରୁ ଗଲାନା ଥାଏ । ଏହି ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ତା'ର ଧୂଳି ୨୦୦ ଟଙ୍କାରେ

ମାର୍ଗଦର୍ଶକ । ମାର୍ଗଦର୍ଶକ । ମାର୍ଗଦର୍ଶକ । ମାର୍ଗଦର୍ଶକ । ମାର୍ଗଦର୍ଶକ ।

ଆଜ୍ଞାପିତମାନଙ୍କର ନାମ ଲେଖାଯାଇଥିବା କ୍ରମରେ ନିମ୍ନଲିଖିତ ଅନୁସାରେ ଉଲ୍ଲେଖ କରାଯାଉଅଛି ।

। ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

ଏ ସନ୍ତାନର କାଳ ସମାପ୍ତି ହେଉ ।

[illegible][illegible]

। १३ अ० प्र० ॥ २७५६९१ प्र० वि० प्र० ॥ २७५६९२ प्र० ॥ २७५६९३ प्र० ॥

பெரிய செய்தி

গণিত গণিতের প্রধান শাখা।

३९

ନାମକରଣ, ବିଧିବଦ୍ଧ ଏବଂ ସାମ୍ବିଧାନିକ : ଶ୍ରୀମତୀ ଲକ୍ଷ୍ମୀବତୀ ସାହୁଙ୍କ ଦ୍ଵାରା

করে। উপাচার্য পদে অধিষ্ঠিত হইলে তিনি পুনঃ পুনঃ
 তদেব সম্বন্ধে বিভিন্ন বিষয়ে প্রস্তাব প্রদান করিতে পারিবেন।

(১৭) সোমবার জীবন কাল বাড়াইবার জন্য উদ্ভাবনের জন্য যত্ন নিয়া

ଶ୍ରୀମତୀ ଶ୍ରୀମତୀ ଶ୍ରୀମତୀ ଶ୍ରୀମତୀ

[illegible]

কোমরভাঙ্গা বৈদ্যনিক মহাবিদ্যালয় কলিকাতা

[illegible]

(୨୫) ସାମାଜିକ ଗୋପନୀୟତା ଓ ଶାନ୍ତିର ସୁରକ୍ଷା ପାଇଁ ଆମେ କି କି କରୁଛୁ ?

(୨୭) ଶକ୍ତିର ଶାର୍ବକୀୟ ଶୃଙ୍ଖଳା ଉପରେ ଆଧାର ରଖିବା ସମ୍ଭବ ନା;

[illegible]

ଅନ୍ତରାଳରେ ଥିବା କଣିକା ଗୁଡ଼ିକର ସଂଖ୍ୟା ଓ ଆକାର ଉପରେ ନିର୍ଭର କରେ ।

(୨୨) ଶକ୍ତି ଯାନ୍ତ୍ରିକାବଳୀର ମୋଟର ଶକ୍ତିର ମୂଲ୍ୟାଙ୍କନ କରାଯାଇଛି ।

(50) ଭାରତୀୟ ମହାବୀର । ଭାରତୀୟ ମହାବୀର । ଭାରତୀୟ ମହାବୀର ।

ഭരതം മറ്റൊരു കഥ.

(২) **কৃত্রিম মনোবৃত্তি** (Artificiality) -

(୫) ବିଭିନ୍ନ ଅଭିଯୋଗର ଅନୁକ୍ରମିକ ପ୍ରକାର;

[illegible]

(୧) ଉପରୋକ୍ତ ସ୍ଥାନ ଶୁଦ୍ଧୀ ଓ ସାମାଜିକ ଆଗମ କଥା ନବୀକରଣ

(৬) এ-সংক্রান্ত বাস্তবায়ন কর্মসূচীতে অর্থনা ও পানিসিদ্ধিতে ক্ষতিগ্রস্ত অগাধ কৃষি প্রযোজনা,

(8) ମୁକ୍ତବିଜ୍ଞାପିତ ସାହ ଚାଷ ମହାତି ମି. କଲିତ ସତ୍ୟା ସାହାୟ,

ପ୍ରାୟଶଃ ସମସ୍ତେ ଏହିପରି କରନ୍ତି । (୧)

(২) প্রায় শূন্য। অতিদূর অল্প অল্প।

(c) ୧୯୫୫ ମସିହା ମାର୍ଚ୍ଚ ୨୫ ତାରିଖରେ (୧)

। १२१५ ७२६ । १२६ ७२६ ७२६

[illegible]

ମନୁଷୀ ଶ୍ରାବେଶ ଚେଷ୍ଟା ଭାବେ ଦର୍ଶାଏ ଏହି ଶ୍ରାବେଶକେ ଶ୍ରୀରାମ ସୁଧାୟା ଏବେ ଭାବେ ଶ୍ରୀରାମାଜିତା

ଆପଣଙ୍କ ଆଗ୍ରହର ଆବଶ୍ୟକତାକୁ ଧ୍ୟାନ ଦେଇ ଏହିପରି ଏକ

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

କାନ୍ତି ସାହି (ମୃତେ ୧୮୫୬) ଉପେକ୍ଷାକୃତ ଉପାଦେୟ ଶିକ୍ଷଣ ସମ୍ପାଦନା ।

[illegible]

ଶ୍ରୀମତୀ ସୁମିତ୍ରା କୁମାରୀ ସିଂହଙ୍କ ଓ ସାମାଜିକ କର୍ମୀଙ୍କୁ ସମ୍ମାନିତ କରିବା ପାଇଁ ଏହି ପଦ୍ମବିଭୂଷଣ ପୁରସ୍କାର ପ୍ରଦାନ କରାଯାଇଛି।

[illegible]

Improved Technique For Sugarcane Planting

* Dr. Md. Amzad Hossain

1. Introduction :

a. Importance :

Sugarcane is a food crop as well as an industrial crop. This is a cash

crop of the farmers of the North-West Bangladesh where rainfall is scanty. The government has planned to make Bangladesh self sufficient in the pro-

duction of sugar and gur (molasses) by 1990. The government target is to raise the per capita consumption of sugar and gur to 3 kg and 6 kg respec-

tively. In order to reach the target, 110 lakh tons of sugarcane are to be produced as against the total present production of 68 lakh tons in the

country. For producing 110 lakh tons of sugarcane from 4.5 lakh acres we need to produce 24.5 tons (650 maunds) of sugarcane per acre¹. At

present sugarcane is cultivated in 4 lakh acres in Bangladesh and the yield of sugarcane per acre is about 17 tons (400 maunds) which is the lowest in

the world². In spite of suitable soil and climate for sugarcane cultivation in Bangladesh it was not possible to increase the yield per acre. Reasons

for this are poor gappy-germination of sugarcane in general field condition which results in lower number of millable cane stalks per unit area and limi-

ted application of improved sugarcane varieties with appropriate production techniques. It is possible to increase per acre yield profitably if the heat-

treated certified seed cane is planted and the production technique in con-

sistent with the required quantity of millable sugarcane stalks is applied.

* The author is Director (Administration) and Head (Faculty of Irrigation Management), Rural Development Academy, Bogra. The views expressed in this paper are those of the author's.

b. Problems :

Sugarcane is planted in the field in three conventional systems : (i)

cane tops planted in slanting position; (ii) cane stalks cut into 3-eyed pieces and planted flatly under soil; and (iii) whole cane stalks also planted flatly under soil. With these systems plenty of gaps in the cane field are created from non-emergence of buds due to their mortality⁵ and the gaps are not filled up. Even if the gaps are filled up, the shoots of the filled up areas come up so late that they can not compete with the growth of nearby timely planted canes. As a result the yield of cane becomes much lower than that is expected. To compensate this (for manufacture of required quantity of sugar) more land is needed to be brought under cane cultivation. But this is not possible. To overcome this problem, research efforts found out a new improved system of transplanting with already emerged buds or setlings in the field. In this system mortality is almost nil and gaps in the cane field cannot be evolved, thus enabling the cane to give much higher yield. This new system is called "Spaced Transplanting" (STP) of setlings obtained from one eyed setts sprouted by placing either in soil bed or in polythene bag.

Again, plantation of setlings in trench system proved to provide better erect stand of sugarcane than that obtained in flat system without making trench resulting higher cane yield. It is another established fact that the production of cane under irrigated condition is much higher than that obtained under non-irrigated or rainfed condition.

After visiting the Indian Sugarcane Research Institute in 1976, Dr. M. Mottubor Rahman, the first Director of the Sugarcane Research and Training Institute (SRTI), now working as Executive Vice Chairman, BARC, recommended STP as one of the means of increasing sugarcane yield per acre. Dr. M. Shahjahan, the Director Sugar and Food Industries Corporation

emphasized in 1981 in a workshop to plant an area of 1.90 lakh acres with STP system to save 3.05 lakh tons seed cane which costs Tk. 12.25 crores; on the other hand, if the same amount of cane is supplied to the mills it will produce 24,207 tons of sugar from which Tk. 50.85 crores may be obtained. Mr. Md. Yasin Ali, the present Director of the SRTI, emphasized the plantation of cane following the STP system⁵.

Inter-plant competition and unevenly distributed solar radiation in conventionally raised crop tends to reduce tillering and results in higher mortality, thereby adversely affecting stalk density. Sugarcane is one of the most efficient converters of solar energy to chemical energy but conventionally planted crop is unable to harvest solar radiation at its optimum capacity. An increased stalk density obtained through spaced transplanting is thus crucial for upgrading productivity.

Considering this, the STP technique for sugarcane crop has been developed and tested in the farmers fields. Field trials were conducted in some mill zones. This innovative agronomical sugarcane research started for the improvement of the existing STP technique in Sreepur and Valuka cane belt of Madhupur tract from 1984-85 planting season by SRTI in collaboration with Bangladesh Rice Research Institute.

Cane crop raised by STP system increases stalk population by 20-25 per cent over conventional method of planting. It has been observed that a reasonable amount of net saving per acre will accrue from this technique till transplantation only. The average yield under the new technique jumps to about double the amount of sugarcane against normal yield in 14-month sugarcane crop⁶.

In the midst of various adverse situations in 1988 the programme of STP plantation has received the approval of Bangladesh Sugar and Food Industries Corporation for application at the field levels of sugar mills zones. The

Director General of the Department of Agricultural Extension (DAE) has included in the extension programme for spreading this technique in whole of the country".

In spite of the above facts, advantages and results of the STP system of sugarcane plantation is not widely applied in all mill zones and locations where sugarcane is being cultivated. It is in the above context that the STP system of plantation will be reviewed and discussed here in order to provide better understanding of the system.

2. Raising of Setling :

a. Preparation of Settlings :

Canes are harvested from the field and de-topped with a sharp knife. The de-topped canes are made free from trashes and cut into one eyed pieces drawn from the upper half of the cane stalks to make settlings. This is done by cutting just 1.5 inches above the growth ring and 3 inches below the internode with good bud. The settlings are then dipped in Aretan-6 solution (0.1 per cent) and are taken out immediately. The settlings may also be prepared by moist hot water treatment of foundation seed cane.

b. Preparation of Nursery :

There are two types of nursery for making the settlings. One type is making soil bed and the other is placing the settis in polythene bags. Settling nursery is raised in a small elevated area with well-preparation of soil to a depth of 6 inches and application of 400 maunds of well-rotten cowdung per acre. This should be about a month before actual plantation. Within the nursery area, beds of 25X4 sq. feet are made. Canals are made in between the beds. In order to control white ants 8 pounds of heptachlor in water per acre should be sprayed on the beds. Before dibbling settis in the nursery beds, Furadan-3 g e 60 gm is applied to the soil of beds. In each small bed nearly 1000 single bud settis, depending upon the thickness of variety, are accommodated. The settis are dibbled vertically keeping the bud and the root bands just at the soil surface of the well-prepared nursery

beds. Trash or paddy straw is spread over the sets. Some dry pulverised soil is spread over the straw and is allowed to grow buds.

In the other type of nursery for making settlings, well pulverised soil mixed with well rotten cowdung are put in the polythene bags of 4"x5" size with 2-3 holes, and then inserting the one eyed sets, after treating in the same way as above, in the bags. These poly bags are placed under shade. Both nurseries as stated above are irrigated frequently so as to maintain optimum moisture level. Water stagnation inside the nursery beds should be avoided. Eighty five per cent of the buds sprout to give 4-5 leaves within 3 to 4 weeks time and are ready for transplantation. Settling of this age has been observed to be best suited for sulvical and better tillering. The lengthy leaves, are to be cut to half size to provide sun shine properly and to make the settlings stronger. Settling attacked with any disease must be removed immediately.

About 10,000 settlings raised in the above manner will be sufficient for transplanting in one acre of the field. A portion of the settlings (about 800 to 1,000) should be retained in the nursery for use in gap filling, if any.

3. Land Preparation :

Land is prepared with all operations performed in the same way as recommended for conventional methods of planting in order to have good tilth and weed free conditions. Cane rows are made trenches in which transplantation of settlings are done. Transplanting of settlings at a distance of 3 feet between rows and 2 feet within the rows is recommended. In case of moderate tillering varieties, or in late planting the spacing between rows and within the rows may be reduced to 2.5 feet and 1.5 feet respectively.

4. Transplantation Procedure :

Under 3 x 2 feet spacing, the number of settlings required per acre will be about 7,700 and for 2.5 x 1.5 feet spacing, the number of settlings

required will be about 11,740. The seedlings are dibbled and covered with soil, leaving about 2 inches portion of the shoot above the ground and given a life irrigation. After about ten days of transplantation, the gaps, if any, due to mortality of transplants, are filled up by the seedlings from the nursery kept in reserve. With normal management practices 5 to 10 per cent mortality i.e. about 800 to 1,000 transplants may take place per acre.

5. Fertilizer Application :

Fertilizer dose and irrigation are done in the same procedure as recommended for conventional method. Phosphatic (100 Kg TSP), potassic (100 Kg MP) and gypsum (75 Kg) fertilizers can be given as per dose recommended in the field at the time of transplanting. Single or split application of nitrogenous fertilizer (150 Kg urea) can be made as per practice. Spot application of nitrogenous fertilizer is preferred because of its efficient uses:

6. Inter-Cultural Operation and Crop Management :

Inter-cultural operations like mulching, weeding, irrigation, spraying insecticides etc. are done frequently following general practice in cane planting. To attain maximum tillering, plots should be kept weed-free and light irrigation should be given as far as possible. Integrated pest management measures should be adopted during elongation phase as per requirement and recommendation of the area. Removal of dry leaves during grand growth period should be done to minimise the incidence of pests and diseases and to protect the crop from lodging. Timely earthing-up and later on, tying up of the crop should be done to save the cost of propping.

7. Performance of STP :

In order to have an idea about the performance (in setting germination, millable cane yield and economics) of STP technique described in this article an experiment of SRTI is reviewed here briefly as an example. The experiment was conducted in different methods for autumn, spring and

summer plantings at Joypurhat Sugar Mills in 1985-86 with ISD-2/54 variety⁸.

i. Requirement of Seed Cane and Primary Shoots: Experiments

reveal that seedlings under conventional method required 3.89, 3.06 and 3.07 times higher quantity of seed cane than those raised from single eyed setts in all 3 seasons autumn (Nov.), spring (February) and summer (April) plantings respectively (Table 1). Besides, among all planting/transplanting techniques the highest number (more than three times) of seed cane per unit area was planted in conventional method and also higher number of primary shoots per unit area emerged from the conventionally planted canes (2.01 to 2.52 times) than that of STP seedlings (polythene bag and soil bed) in all planting dates. This might be due to selected and healthy cane setts containing 3 eye buds. After transplanting no mortality with polythene bag seedlings (PBS), some negligible mortality with those raised under soil bed seedlings (SBS) and significant mortality of seedlings/setts were observed with conventional method. There is no significant difference in the survival of the seedlings under different planting time and methods.

ii. Yield of Sugarcane: Although highest number of primary shoots emerged under conventional method, much higher number of tillers and millable canes per stool and per acre was produced by seedlings from polythene bag followed by those from soil bed (Table 2).

Polythene bag raised seedlings when transplanted in autumn produced the highest yield of 65.44 tons cane per acre (TCA) followed by soil bed seedlings (59.47 TCA). The yield of cane from autumn planting and transplanting was much higher than that from spring and summer plantings. The yield of only cane of autumn transplanted PBS out-yielded all other combinations, techniques and combined yield of cropping methods. Although the total yield of pure stand and potato followed by pure stand cane of spring planting produced considerably high yield but while considering the

cost of cultivation of the two crops (potato and cane), the net income became less. The adjusted yields of cane and winter crops in different crop planting seasons show that spaced transplanting technique (PBS or SBS) was superior to conventional method of cane production. As to the source of seedlings PBS was found superior to SBS.

iii. Economic Analysis : The effect of planting techniques as revealed from Table 3 is that the highest net income (Tk. 31,162/acre) was obtained from PBS in autumn transplanting followed by SBS (28,501/acre) of the same

planting time. This was due to higher number of millable cane, higher weight of individual stalk and ultimately higher yield of cane. The reason of higher net profit was due to less number of seedlings required for transplanting in wider row and plant-spacing resulting less cost involvement of cane production. Highest profit from poly bag seedlings (Tk.8,964/acre) over conventional early (autumn) cane was obtained followed by SBS (Tk. 6,303/acre).

8. Conclusion :

The STP is a more scientific technique of growing sugarcane. This technique requires minimum levels of inputs and is suited to the farmers with relatively small holdings. One of the means for improving productivity of sugarcane will be minimisation of seed rate to about one-third of that required in conventional method. The conventional method is a main constraint to the rapid multiplication and spread of new varieties. The system is easier for rapid multiplication of seeds for plantation. Seedlings raised in one acre in this method are enough to transplant 40 acres of cane field.

The system enables the crop to make the best use of solar radiation. Due to uniform and high density of cane stalks and the best use of solar radiation the yield of millable canes becomes high, as high as 50 tons per acre. With the application of STP technique, not only very high yield is obtained, but also additional employment is generated in agriculture.

Table 1. Row and plant spacing, seed cane requirement and emergence of primary shoot per acre at different times and methods of planting/transplanting.

Transplanting time and method	Row X plant spacing	Seed cane reqd./acre		Emergence of primary shoot/acre		
		(M T)	Seed quantity compared to STP cane	Mortality of transplanted shoot (%)	'000'	Comparison of primary shoot in STP and conv. method.
Autumn Planting (Nov.)						
Poly bag settlings (PBS)	3 ft X 1.5 ft	0.73	1.0	Nil	10.00	1.0
Soil bed settlings (SBS)	3 ft X 1.5 ft	0.73	1.0	0.2	10.00	1.0
Conventional cane sets	3 ft X end to end	2.83	3.89 times	—	21.58	2.16
Spring Planting (Feb.) with Potato						
Poly beg	2.5 ft X 1 ft	1.46	1.0	Nil	17.08	1.0
Soil bed	2.5 ft X 1 ft	1.46	1.0	0.5	17.98	1.0
Conventional	2.5 ft X half overlapped	4.45	3.07	—	36.07	2.01
Summer Planting (April) with Wheat						
Poly bag	2 ft X 1 ft	1.82	1.0	Nil	22.51	1.0
Soil bed	2 ft X 1 ft	1.82	1.0	0.7	22.51	1.0
Conventional	2 ft X half overlapped	5.59	3.07	—	56.68	2.52

Source : Reference No. 2

आरोग्य और २५५ (२५५) २५५

Table 2. Yield of cane and winter crop, adjusted yield of cane & winter crop under different methods and time of planting/transplanting.

Transplanting time and method	Millable cane/stool	No of millable cane acre (000)	Yield of cane (t/acre)	Yield of winter crop (t/acre)	Adjusted yield of canet + winter crop (t/acre)
Autumn Planting (Nov.)					
Poly bag	6	58.70	65.44	—	65.44
Soil bed	5	54.66	59.47	—	59.47
Conventional	3.5	46.56	51.72	—	51.72
Spring Planting (Feb.) with Potato					
				<u>Potato</u>	
Poly bag	3	58.30	44.79	3.24	60.33
Soil bed	3	54.25	41.55	3.24	56.93
Conventional	1.57	56.28	46.28	3.24	61.83
Summer Planting (April) with Wheat					
Poly bag	2	46.96	33.52	1.70	45.09
Soil bed	2	47.77	31.36	1.70	42.92
Conventional	1.22	42.11	31.45	1.70	30.02

Source : Same as Table 1.

Table 3. Economic analysis of cane under different time and methods.

Transplanting time and method	Cost of cultivation (Tk/acre)	Total sale proceed (Tk/acre)	Net income (Tk/acre)	Profit/loss over conventional autumn cane (Nov.)	Profit/loss over respective conventional cane.
Autumn Planting (Nov.)					
Poly bag settlings ((PBS)	12,781	43,943	31,162	+ 8,964	+ 8,984
Soil bed settlings (SBS)	11,373	39,874	28,501	+ 6,303	+ 6,303
Conventional cane sets	12,523	34,721	22,198	—	—
Spring Planting (Feb.) with Potato					
Poly beg	18,850	40,146	21,296	— 902	— 807
Soil bed	17,254	37,704	20,450	— 1,748	— 1,653
Conventional	19,128	41,231	23,103	— 95	—
Summer Planting (April) with Wheat					
Poly bag	15,759	30,109	14,350	— 7,848	+ 2,177
Soil bed	14,201	28,753	14,552	— 7,646	+ 2,379
Conventional	16,580	28,753	12,173	— 10,025	—

Source : Same as Table 1.

Priority should be given in spreading the STP system. The SRTI should arrange massive training programme for concerned staff and officers of DAE and mills under SFIC in this regard. The government should render all possible services including provision of subsidy for polythene bags, furadan and for supplementary irrigation facilities for the mills-farms as well as farmers engaged in sugarcane plantation.

The government should also supervise the implementation of the STP plantation programme from time to time to make the programme a success.

Notes and References :

1. খালী, মোঃ হুসাইন, ইয়াস, সৈয়দ খালী, ও খালী, মোঃ কোরবান। ১৯৮১।
2. রোপা অর্থ গবেষণা (এসটিপি) অর্থ-বৃত্তান্ত। ১৯৮৮। ইক্ষু গবেষণা ও প্রশিক্ষণ ইনস্টিটিউট, ইশ্বরদী, পাবনা।
3. খালী, মোঃ হুসাইন, গুরু উল্লাহ।
4. খালী, মোঃ হুসাইন, গুরু উল্লাহ।
5. খালী, মোঃ হুসাইন। ১৯৮৮। বাংলাদেশ অর্থ গবেষণা ইনস্টিটিউট, ইক্ষু গবেষণা ও প্রশিক্ষণ ইনস্টিটিউট, ইশ্বরদী, পাবনা।
6. Imam, S.A. 1986. Increasing Stalk Density Key to Higher Yield of Sugarcane-Agronomical Aspect, SRTI, Ishurdi, Pabna.
7. Letter, Ref. No SF/wb-PCU/50.08/2500 dated 22.4.86. Extracts from the Tour Notes of Mr. M. A. Jabber, Chief Agril. Counterpart, WBC of his Visit to RJSM & SRTI from 23.4.86 to 26.4.86.
8. রোপা অর্থ গবেষণা (এসটিপি) অর্থ-বৃত্তান্ত, ইক্ষু গবেষণা ও প্রশিক্ষণ ইনস্টিটিউট, গুরু উল্লাহ।
9. Imam, S.A.; Haq, M.A.; Hossain, A.H.M.D.; Ali, Muhammad; and Uddin, M. 1988. Paper presented on "Comparative Performance of Sugarcane Setts and Settlings in Different Crop Sequence", at the Workshop held at SRTI on 15th and 17th April, 1988.

[illegible]

সারণী-২

১৯৮৮-৮৯ সালের বোম্বো মোম্বো ফসল ত্রিতিক উপাদানের একক প্রতি গড় আয়/ব্যয়।

ফসলের নাম	আয়		উৎপাদন ব্যয় (টাকা)				কূল-প্রাপ্ত আয়	
	টাকা	(কুইন্টাল) তালিকায়	পারিবারিক কম্বকৃত খরচ	কম্বকৃত খরচ এছাড়া	মোট খরচ	মোট খরচ হিসেবে	কম্বকৃত খরচ হিসেবে	
ধান	৭৬.৯২	৭৩.৩৮০৪	৭৭.৮০০৯	০২.০৯৪৯	৭৯.৮৯৫৮	০৪.৭৮৪৩	০০.৭৮৪৩	
গম	৩৮.৭	৭৩.৩৮০৪	৭৭.৮০০৯	০২.০৯৪৯	৭৯.৮৯৫৮	০৪.৭৮৪৩	০০.৭৮৪৩	
আম	৭৬.৯২	৭৩.৩৮০৪	৭৭.৮০০৯	০২.০৯৪৯	৭৯.৮৯৫৮	০৪.৭৮৪৩	০০.৭৮৪৩	

Prevalence Of Dowry

A Case Study In Rural Community

M. A. Hamid Chowdhury *
Miss. Nargis Jahan

Introduction :

Historically, the prevalence of dowry is wide spread throughout the world. Generally, it is a sum of money or property that is brought to marriage by a girl given by her family. However it varies from one culture to another. In the western countries it is generally given to the groom who could use it under certain restrictions or even have (under some circumstances) the full disposal of it¹. In contemporary European society dowry is not considered necessary. To them it may only smooth the path towards marriage. A dower system does not substitute a dowry system. It is complementary for a sum given to the bride by the groom's family which is a kind of social security when her husband dies.

Under the feudal system of Europe and England a wife had no right to her husbands' property after the husbands' death nor did she have any right to property from her own family. In Patrilineal African Societies bride price is paid for the children to be born of the mother and other wifely duties. To the contrary, in matrilineal societies—where the children belong to the mother's line, only a nominal or traditional amount is given. If payment is in the form of groom services, that amount would be small. Among the Indian Brahmins, the groom price, or dowry, is taken for granted as a necessity, the amount being higher if the man is well-educated or has a profession. In Hindu society the pattern was enforced by the traditional prescriptions that a girl must be married before puberty. Consequently a girl's family was under some pressure, while a boy's family could wait.

* The authors are respectively Deputy Director and Assistant Director of the Rural Development Academy, Bogra. The views expressed in this paper are those of the authors.

A bride-price system was the pattern followed in China, Japan, Arabic Islam and most of sub-Sahara Africa. Some analyses have suggested that a bride price added as security to marriage since a girl's family would have to return it if she would not stay with the man and if he treated her badly, they would refuse. Thus her family would put pressure on her to confirm, and his family would keep his behaviour within permissible limit.

Islamic Law had one shrinking trait that set the Arab custom apart from most other bride price system, while in the upper middle class families, she was likely to obtain most of it, and in addition the groom's family made gift to her. Whatever the amount of wealth from these two sources, it remained legally with her within the marriage, and her husband could not dispose of it in any way without her permission. If under the marriage agreement he did not pay all the bride price at marriage, he was bound to pay the remainder if she was divorced. This meant that when she returned to her parental home at the time of divorce, she also brought back her wealth with her- once back, she would remain as potential source of further wealth which might come in the form of another bride price from different husband*. The introduction of dowry system in Mohammedan Marriage in the present generation is regarded as the tradition as the upper caste hindus-the Brahmins, Baidays and Kayastha*.

Dowry in Bangladesh now, is no longer a stigma and the demand for suitable dowry from brides is increasingly getting social and moral acceptance as a matter of prestige among so called Bhadrak which was not the case in the muslim society even 50 years back. There goes a saying that "Without dowry you can get a mate for your daughter, but if you want a bridegroom you must pay"*. This is all the more important because among the muslims, payment of bride price obviously is not the dowry, it is the usual rule and there is no restriction about the marriage within the community.

The question naturally arises, whether the demographic balances between the sexes have been seriously upset, or eligible bridegrooms are in short supply? Whatever may be the reason the fact remains that it is becoming virtually impossible to get a daughter married unless her parents can either pay or promise dowries commensurable with the bridegroom's expectations. Failure to comply entails repression of the young wife, harassment by the bridegroom as well as his family, which might even lead to murder or suicide. These causes appear to be multiplying over a period of time. What is pathetic, expectations of handsome dowry are increasing. Even the run away marriages are not free from the risk. No sooner the arduous of first love cool a little, than the bridegroom begins to feel that some how the girl who has abandoned her family on his account, should be able to produce a sum of money. Then the bride faces the risk of being thrown away like an used garment.

The evil is not limited to any particular class or common working class families, (rural or urban) who have great difficulties in making both ends to meet. It is also found among the richer families. The problem is not easy to dispose of either. A bridegroom may have all his expectations met at the wedding, but there is no guarantee that he will not come up with fresh demand.

Under the strain of harassment, a wife may leave her husband's home for that of her parents ; but is usually sent back. Many wife are deserted by their husbands. Some are driven to suicide and a few are killed in the hope that the next wife will bring more money into the family. Short of dowry the parents put both them married and unmarried daughters into danger. Many parents find themselves horribly in debt. Small wonder that a man with many daughters and no sons irrespective of his own social and economic background happened feels himself cursed in the society.

Dowry is a crime, cut across the religious values, caste and wealth. Studies show that it occurs among Hindus, Muslims and Christians, among high-caste Rajputs and Bramins, as well as among the untouchable tribes in India⁵. Dowry has now become a symbol of newly acquired prestige among men. They agree to force it only in case where it is compensated by the marriage into higher status families⁶.

At present, in Bangladesh⁷ is a specific law prohibiting dowry, and immoral suppression of the women. But in practice the custom of dowry is not only still rampant among the upper middle classes but, it has also grown in the economically lower strata of the society to such an extent that even for those section of people who did not indulge in this pernicious custom in the past, has now become a prestige issue to follow⁸. The enforcement of law therefore has become almost obsolete and not at par with the present day problem.

Dowry is often related and confused with immoral suppression against the women in the society. But in reality two are different concepts imbued in one at a broader spectrum-the women and their position in the society is highly linked up with dowry, not as an ends to immoral repression and harassment but all means to an exploitation.

Presently the government has been giving increasing attention to the womenfolk of the country, protecting their rights in the society by means of adopting various legal and administrative measures to prohibit immoral suppression against women, and place their rights in the society on the basis of equality and justice in conformity with the constitutional declaration made in "Section III on fundamental rights, Article No. 28, that nothing in this article shall present the state from making special provision in favour of women or any backward section of citizen"⁸. This is further articulated by enforcement of the essential laws directed to prohibit gender violence.

The most important are as follows :

- i) Dowry Prohibition Act (1980).
- ii) Cruelty to Women (Detarent Puanishment) Ordinance (1983).
- iii) Family Court Ordinance (1985).
- iv) Child Marriage Restriant Act (1929).

The application of the laws by the administration and to grow increasing awareness among the people, living in the rural community are the major problems in our country. The people neither know the existence of such laws and ordinances in detail nor, take benefit out of it. The people of the rural community in this respect are more accustomed to be bound by forms and values practiced by the society than by seeking legal benefits from the court of justice or by the interference of the rural administration for mutation of cases against gender violences in the form of harassment, physical torture, desertion and divorces arise from the demand for dowry. The enforcement of law will continue to fail as long as it would be practised under the pretext of gift.

Objective of the Study :

The broad objective of the study is to discuss the problem into a historical perspective, it's prevalence in the past and at present with different views and notes. However, within this general objective frame work, the study will concentrate it's focus on the following objectives.

- i) To know the pattern of receipt and payment of dowry among the rural community;

- ii) To know the opinion about the consequences of dowry ;
- iii) And finally, to identify the extent of knowledge gap of the people in the rural community on the existing laws against prohibition of dowry.

II. Methodology:

The study^{one} of the villages under Sherpur Upazila of Bogra district. The village is adjacent to the Rural Development Academy, Bogra. After a complete enumeration of the total 96 number of married and unmarried people of the village, 40 married and 10 unmarried people were randomly selected for interview.

Interview schedules were used to collect various information on status of marriage, modality of dowry, effects of dowry, and knowledge about existence of law and ordinances against dowry from the respondents of the village. While collecting data, group interview of the people, and participatory observation methods were followed to check the respondents answers in the village. The study covered the period from August 1987 to September 1987.

III. General Information on the Village :

The village under study is very small by area and population. It is located just by the South Eastern boundary of the Rural Development Academy, Bogra under the Garidaha Union of Sherpur Upazila. The village is hardly $\frac{1}{2}$ k.m. in length and $\frac{1}{4}$ k.m. in breadth. The estimated population of the village is about 200 Majority (18%) of the people hold agriculture as their main occupation in the village. About 16% of the total population, remained as day labourers working as helpers and assistants to the carpenters contractors and welders. Quite a good number of female labourers are also working as maid servants in the faculty quarters of the Academy. The average annual income is about Tk. 16,600 per family which constitute 90% of the total households in the village. Out of the total population, 50% are landless having land from .01-.50 acre, 30% have .51-1.99 acres, 15% have 2.00-5.00 acres and 5% have land more than 5.00 acres in the village. The irrigation facilities in the village are yet to be extended. As a result most of the cultivable land remained under single crop-producing. Aman paddy as the main crop through out the year in the village. In general the people of the village are very poor and do not have much family income to lead a prosperous life.

IV. Selected Socio-Economic Information on about the Respondents.

To perceive magnitude of the problem of sex and the age of the respondents are considered to be very vital. They reflect difference of attitude towards dowry. Sex wise distribution of age in the study are as follows :

Table 1 : Age distribution of the respondents by sex.

Age distribution	Sex		Total Population in the age group
	Male	Female	
15-24	5 (10)	16 (32)	21 (42)
25-34	8 (16)	2 (04)	10 (20)
35-44	5 (10)	3 (06)	8 (16)
55 and above	7 (14)	4 (08)	11 (22)
Total	25 (50)	25 (50)	50 (100)

Table 1 shows that 42% of the total Population fall in the category of age group between 15-24 years, 20% in the 25-34 years, 16% in the age group of 45 years and above. The representation of the respondents by sexes are however, equal in the study.

Occupation :

Table 2 : Occupational distribution of the respondents.

Occupation	No. (%)
House wives	22 (44)
Farmers	9 (18)
Business	8 (16)
Day labourer	5 (10)
Student	4 (8)
Service holders	2 (4)
Total	50 (100)

* Figures in the parenthesis indicate per centage.

Table-2 Shows that of all the respondents 44% are house wives, 18% are farmers, 16% are business-men, 10% are day labourers, 8% are students and 4% are service holders.

Education :

Table 3 : Distribution of education by sex.

Distribution of sex	Level of Education Total Pop - 50				
	Literate		Illiterate		
			Primary level (I-v)	Secondary level (VI-X)	Higher Secondary and above (XI-above)
	Total Literate in (%)				
Male	32.00	9 (18)	8 (16)	5 (10)	3 (6)
Female	22.00	14 (28)	8 (16)	3 (6)	—
Total	54.00	23 (46)	16 (32)	8 (16)	3 (6)

* Figures in the parenthesis indicate per centage.

From Table-3 it appears that 54% of all the respondents under the study are educated, of which 32% are male and 22% are female. In compare to the male respondents the rate of illiteracy of the females are higher which means the majority of female respondents under the study are illiterate. However, in comparsm with the * National literacy rate of the female in the rural areas, the literacy rate of the female respondents in the study village is found much higher.

Income :
Table 4 : Distribution of income of the respondents family
 per annum.

Income per year	No. of family	Percentage
3000 - 7000	7	35
7001 - 11000	5	25
11001 - 15000	3	15
15001 - 19000	3	15
19001 - 23000	2	10
Total	20	100

* According to the BANBEIS - The National Female Literacy rate is 16%, and the rural Female Literacy rate is 13%, Ministry of Education Government of peoples Republic of Bangladesh, Dhaka.

The Table—4 indicates that the estimated mean income of the respondents per annum per family is Tk. 10,600/-, which is much lower than the estimated national average income per family per annum.* It has been further observed in the table that two third of the respondents family have an income of Tk. 7001 - 23000 per annum.

* It has been observed during the field survey that the respondents tend to show a tendency to understate their income. Thus estimated income as shown in the report may be Lower than the actual income.

V. Findings of the Study :

1) Prevalence of dowry in the rural community :

The prevalence of dowry is as old as the history of marriage as a social institution. Dowry is normally given by the members of the bride's (girl's) family as settled earlier as demand for marriage - directly paid through the match makers who plays the role of a middle man on behalf of the bride-groom. Table-5 indicates that out of the total population under study, 72% of the families are found to have received dowry or gifts during their marriage. The common items gold, ornament, watch, bicycle, hard cash and radio. Average of dowry/gifts include estimated amounts of dowry received is Tk.-2140.00 per family.

Table 5 : Recipients of dowry by type and value per unit.

Type of dowry	No. of respondent's family receive dowry (%)		Per unit average value of dowry paid in (Tk.)
	Total		
Dowryless	14 (28)	50 (100)	12850
Radio	4 (8)	72%	600
Hand cash	4 (8)		2650
Bicycle	6 (12)		3000
Watch	16 (32)		600
Gold	6 (12)		6000

The table indicates that most of the married people received dowry in terms of goods and luxury items. On the contrary, the persons who have not received dowry are reported to have married quite a few years back and dowry at that time, was not a considerable factor for marriage. Further, on the basis of the socio-economic condition of the parents, they tend to offer higher amounts or kinds of goods as similar to the amount of dowry

received during their daughters' marriage provided when the socio-economic condition of the bridegrooms' parents are equal. However it is interesting to note that the parents have paid more dowry during their daughters' marriage than what they have received at the time of their own marriage see table—6.

Table : 6 Type of Dowry paid by the respondent families during their daughters marriage.

Type of dowry	No. of respondent family	Per unit average value of dowry paid
Watch	12 (24)	600
Bicycle	9 (18)	3000
Hand cash	7 (14)	1600
Land	4 (8)	4350
* Other goods	18 (36)	2450
Total	50 (100)	12000

* Others includes sewing machine, Gold, Radio, Tape Recorder and Furnitures.

In case of payment of dowry in terms of money during the marriage of their daughters, on average, the respondents paid Tk. 4120. The above tables reveal that the people of the rural community have not only received dowry but also they have paid dowry amounting to double the amount they have received during their own marriage. From this it may be said that dowry is very much prevalent in the form of demand or gifts in the rural community, and the watch is the most common item which 24% of the respondents offer as dowry at the time of marriage of their daughters. There are also a notable number of respondents who offered bicycle, the second highest item as dowry during their daughters' marriage. This indicates

that watch and bicycle are most common and popular items which are considered indispensable for marriages of the daughters in the rural community.

The factors for which the dowry played persistently a vital role in the matrimonial market are reflected in the changing value system of the society, that today dowry is considered as grooms price which in the past was the bride's price. The causes for reverse changes are not always socially and economically planned. But they have been changing almost continuously considering the fact the human being is a social and rational animal, and they tempt to follow the progressive social change due to the so called 'badhraloks' false prestige for offers and adornments of dowry as gifts in the society which in the past social order, was neither a social custom nor a part of the marriage pattern. But it appears from the study that both the practices and the prevalence of dowry is a matter of happiness to a few who enjoys it's direct benefit in terms of money-keeping aside the value of love for the emotional causes of human beings.

ii) Opinion about the consequences of dowry :

The acceptance or nonacceptance of dowry as newly acquired values are not always mutually exclusive. But what makes it to prevail in the society is a set of social forces acting there for value change. In the process of such changes the old cultural traits and social values are gradually lost. Some of these are not fitted in with the economic deterioration which swept away the social life of the people simply in a unbearable and dreary way. But, "Some forces still superseded by acculturation which the newly adopted forces inclined to strengthen the social reaction (e. g. attitude about the dowry system among the Mohammedan is also outmoded and does not fit in with the standard of socio-economic progress". The critical factors responsible for building such attitude towards dowry in the form of presentation of luxury goods, hard cash, fixed assets etc.

are not only the revelation of degraded morality but an expression of social dismay, disaray and harassment that amounts to redress social goals in a perpetual social curse.

The usual practice of dowry is often impounded with a motion to express that all have been offered for the happiness of the daughters to be married at the cost of illis of many gurdians. This is a play to some but death to many.

Under this situation the question of acceptability naturally arises how do the people in the rural community look at dowry ?

Table—7 shows that 36% of the people in the rural community are of the opinion that dowry is accepted because it can provided financial benefits directly to the bridegroom which ultimately is used for the establishment of the newly married couple and rest of their life to go. To the contrary, 12% of the people opined that it was a pre-condition under any circumstances for getting their daughters married. While in most of the cases dowry is accepted in the form of demand or gifts.

Table 7 : Opinion on the acceptability of dowry.

Opinions		
No.	Percentage	
6	12	It is pre-condition for getting the daughter married—i. e. demand.
18	36	It helps the bridegroom to be financially and socially established.
5	10	It is a social custom
21	42	Not known
50	100	Total

Which perhaps by creating pressure on the morality of the people can not cease to exist. It is however, suprising to note that 42% of the people are not aware of the problem and it's consequences in the study village.

Further the study shows in table 8 that the people in the rural community now a days are almost compelled to offer dowry to the bridegrooms mainly for three reasons :

Table 8 : Opinion on offering dowry for marriage.

Opinions			No.	Percentage
Parents are compelled to offer dowry for getting their daughters married off.			24	48
Parents consider dowry as essential to see the daughters married life happy			10	20
Dowry is being offered to raise the social status of the girls from lower to higher			3	6
Not known			13	26
Total			50	100

- a) In the marriage market 48% of the people opined that offering of dowry attracts mostly the bridegrooms for marriage of the daughters in time and thereby lessen the amount of social and moral tension of the gurdians.
- b) While 20% of the people are of the opinion that it will help to make their daughters married life happy and keep the relationship warm with all.

- c) For raising social position high, quite a few number of people offer dowry when two classes (socially and economically) of people are not equal. Normally they come for a negotiation of marriage with the people who are lesser in social status but they are other wise economically high and found to offer dowry to the former to get their sons or daughters married off in terms of family or 'bangsha' tradition than the others in one hand, and the people who are economically better off (but socially lower by status) tend to get their daughters married off with the sons of the former with a higher amount of dowry. Thus

dowry was found to be a problem for those classes who are not financially better off or who would like to get their daughters married into higher stratum families in order to raise their social status.

iii. Consequence of dowry in the rural Community.

The dowry and demand now a days, are understood in synonymous sense. Among the rural people it has both customary and social value with a wide range of moral support. This is of course, considered as financial back up to many who hanker after money and material gains. Some times the unemployed youngmen settle themselves by dowry in terms of hard cash as demand for a profitable business enterprise. Naturally, the value of love human relation and procreation for a greater society to many extent are today not taken into consideration. Consequently, a gap in understanding between husbands and wives are created problems which hampered harmonious, happy and conjugal lives of the spouses. It is further responsible for creating a social conflict, and crisis in the normal social setting with increasing pauperization to make the rich richer and the poor poorer. Table 9 shows the social intricacy and disarray more elaborately. On average the consequence of dowry affects 68% of the rural people, and 71% of marriage of the daughters' of the poor get delayed due to financial hardship.

Table 9 : Consequence of dowry in the rural community.

Consequences of dowry as problems	Ranking order			Total
	High	Low	I (Average %)	
Marriage of the Daughters of the poor get delayed	13 (45%)	11 (62%)	24 (71%)	
Married lives of the couple become unhappy and rise conflict, harassment	9 (31%)	6 (29%)	15 (30%)	
Encourages the prices of dowry high and marriage market most competitive	7 (24%)	4 (19%)	11 (34%)	
	29 (100)	21 (100)	50 (68%)	

The table further shows that on average, 30% of the people in the rural community believe that it does make the conjugal lives of the couple unhappy, create conflict and increases harassment and desertion to many young girls in the rural community. Apart from this, on average, about 34% of the people hold their views that it encourages the prices of dowry to go high and to make marriage market most competitive.

(iv) Knowledge about the existing laws against dowry.

As it has already been mentioned that dowry is considered to be a problem and to eradicate the problem, the solution is perhaps not immediately known to many of the people in the rural community. The people are also not aware of the existing anti dowry laws. As a result, in most of the cases they fall prey easily of the problem and face the had consequences of dowry in the form of social conflict, tension, harassment, which are of ten unsettled due to the fact of the ignorance about the provision of laws for seeking justices from the court. The table 10 indicates that,

Table 10 : Respondents knowledge about the laws against dowry in the rural community.

Category of respondents	Knowledge about the dowry prohibition laws	
	Yes (%)	No (%)
Married	24 (48)	16 (32)
Unmarried	8 (16)	2 (4)
Total	32 (64)	18 (36)

the existing laws against dowry are not known to the least, 36% of the total population, of whom 32% are married. To the contrary, 64% of the population in the rural community are by and large, aware of the existing laws. It may therefore, be expected that the increased knowledge about the existing laws against dowry will help to diminish the repetition of dowry as for demand or gifts from the society. But in the reality, it is not the case always.

v) Conclusion :

The Study reveals that dowry as perceived in the rural community, is no longer a stigma rather it is morally accepted as prestige symbol by the parents who received or paid dowry irrespective of their social stratum in the community. It will continue to prevail in the rural as in other community in the name of 'demand' and 'gifts' as long as the economic condition of the rural people in general does not improve. Moreover, mere enactment of laws against dowry will not be enough to get rid of the problem unless the status of women and their position in the society as value is raised by recognising the fact that the women are not the second sex, and not a subject of subordination in relations to role, function, and expectation of an individual for the greater society either for procreation, or for production.

Notes and References :

1. Dumont, L., Dowry in Hindu Marriage, Bombay, 1959.
2. Goode, T. William, The Family, Prentice Hall of India (Private Limited), New Delhi, 1975.
3. Ibid P. 42.
4. Jahangir B. K. and Khan, Zarina Rahman, Bangladesh-e-Nari, Nirjatan, CSS, D. U. 1988.
5. Kapadia, K. M., Marriage and Family in India, University Press, London, 1958.
6. Mukherjee, R. K., Six Villages of Bengal, Popular prokashani, Bombay, 1971.
7. Ibid P. 45.
8. Ibid P. 280.
9. Michel, Barrett, Women Oppression Today; Problem of Marxist Feminist Analysis, Verso Edition 1984.
10. Ray Renuka and others, Role and Status of Women in Indian Society, Fira KLM (Private Limited), Calcutta, 1978
11. Ibid, P. 2.
12. Srinivas, M. N., Marriage and Family in Mysore, Bombay, 1942.
13. Srinivas, M. N., The Changing Position of Indian Women, Oxford, University Press, New Delhi, 1978.
14. Sandhu, M. K., Indian Journal of Social Work Vol. XLIX, No. 2, (April 1988), P. 155.
15. "Crimes of the heart", Sub-editorial Published in the daily 'The Bangladesh Observer' September, Dhaka, 1987.
16. Child Marriage Restraint Act of Bangladesh (1929).
17. The Constitution of the Peoples Republic of Bangladesh, 1972.
18. Cruelty to women (deterrent punishment) Ordinance (1983).
19. Dowry Prohibition Act of Bangladesh (1980).
20. Family Court Ordinance of Bangladesh (1985).

BOOK REVIEW

Flood Monitoring in Bangladesh *A Study of Responses to the 1984 crisis*

Rob Gallagher

War on want, London, 1988, pp. 57

This is a study on how the severe floods of Bangladesh in 1984 was handled. The study was conducted by war on want-a British charity- against a widespread fear that since some sudden calamities can completely overtake some nations an efficient monitoring system and an emergency preparedness plan should be there. The Ethiopian famine was very vivid in memory. Rob Gallagher made the short but exhaustive study on behalf of the charity.

The book has five chapters, seven appendices, one addendum, one glossary of terms and a number of figures and tables. Given the usual size of a book, the work would surely have assumed at least double its present size. It has been printed on large report size pages with small letters.

Chapter—1, of the book speaks of the areas and limitations of the study. The study may not be all-exhaustive but it will, the author hopes, help evolve an emergency preparedness plan. The NGOs' roles have been dealt with in some length-it is said.

Chapter—2, Background to the Flood Crisis : Events, Responses and Monitoring sheds lights to, e. g. how the crisis emerged, what the extent of loss was, how the donors and NGOs came forward, and whether there was any divergence among the situation assessments.

Excessive rainfalls and flash waters caused the floods to hit the country three times from May to September. The crop loss was estimated to be

1.53 million tonnes and the loss of employment as high as 250 million mandays in July. A significant rise in the price of foodgrains was marked. But the farmers promptly made good of the crop loss through their own recovery strategies. The western governments, with their attention preoccupied with Ethiopia, were largely indifferent to the needs in Bangladesh though the foodgrains stocks in Bangladesh were then the lowest. A possible catastrophe was 'safely' passed largely through timely commercial purchase by the government of Bangladesh. Some of the donor governments were very slow in issuing assistance. Contradictory stories were being circulated. Room was wide open to doubt the credibility of all.

The government's relief and rehabilitation measures as well as its targeting and monitoring mechanisms find place in Chapter-3 (Government Action). The government made use of all the existing relief and rehabilitation apparatus. It sought to widen the range of benefits without actually setting well designed criteria. The number of upazilas affected was told to be 420-91% of the total where ad-hocism in targeting was omnipresent. If there was any targeting it was crude and even the international agencies and NGOs showed significant flaws possibly owing to their dependence on the governmental network. Bangladesh, known for its large bureaucratic paraphernalia had three permanent bodies for crisis monitoring: (1) Food Planning and Monitoring Secretariat (FPMS), (2) the planning cell of the Ministry of Food, and (3) The Central Control Room of the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation. The FPMS, responsible in food situation and food budget forecasts, hardly had any link with the CMLA's Secretariat the pivotal body at that time. The planning Cell produces Monthly Foodgrains Review. As it is always its information was highly unreliable but the govt. seemingly believed and acted on it. Again the Central Control Room, the Secretariat of the National Coordinating Committee (NCC) for emergencies headed by the president, was to receive information from so many bodies.

In February 1984 the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation issued "Emergency Standing Orders for Food". According to it the Central Coordinating Committee (CCC) was to be headed by the Minister for Food while 13 Secretaries were members of it. Coordination committees were to be set up down to the union level. Some attempts were there to define responsibilities of many while sometimes it spoke only about 'doing the needful'. The Orders were actually needed but there were shortcomings. Complex, unclear, incompatible and too much information-3640 reports were to reach the CCR in a week from districts and upazilas alone. overlapping was the order of the day. Though the former CCC was asked to 'sit daily' it carried no great purpose. Since the NCC was sitting in the CMLA's secretariat, none felt much interest in the CCC. Moreover, a Martial Law Flood Cell was created. New the responsibilities were reposed on the Martial Law people. Reports were now procured, channelled, used and responded to by them who were considered better placed.

The known problems of the Bangladesh local government being as they are, there was an air of mistrust. Goods were moagre, targeting defective, and distribution faulty. The majority survived the floods not for any direct government assistance but for their own strategies-reduction of diet, eating famine foods, land sales, disposal of assets and livestock, borrowing, migration, begging, and so on.

In Chapter—4 the author, while studying the role of the NGOs, holds that not withstanding their initial reluctance the NGOs put a lot of money (not less than 16 million dollar) to the cause. After deciding to act they were very prompt in 140 upazilas to launch operation. Favourable attitude of the donors, only—cash principle, and quick government clearance (for the time being) were responsible for that promptness. Cash-for-work found favour with almost all the NGOs. The author holds that the NGOs still had a lot of untapped reserve capabilities.

There were problems too. Except Caritas and RDRS no NGO had any disaster preparedness plan and none had emergency stocks. The governments of Bangladesh and donor countries were equally slow in issuing clearance to NGOs. Even with the efforts of ADAB and VHSS, cooperation among the NGOs was not forthcoming to a meaningful extent.

In Chapter - 5 i. e. the Concluding Remarks the author eulogises the government for its timely procurement of foodgrains and keeping the food prices fairly stable. The need that he felt were a sort of decentralization and an establishment of honest administration. Other things meriting special attention are the realistic modification of emergency diaries, identification and flow of precise, and an improvement in the collection of data on social situations.

The book does not deal with any theoretical subject. What it strives to is assess the actual picture of crisis monitoring in Bangladesh. So, the work may be considered as an exploratory one. The author, in the introduction chapter, very briefly narrates that discussion with relevant personnel, interviewing 12 NGOs and donor agencies as well as some government offices were the methods adopted in the study. Field visits were also stated to be resorted to. The author seems to be aware of the limitations since the study, having its fruition much later, relied heavily on people's recollections.

The study in the first parts tended to postulate that there have been efforts at establishing coherent concert among different donor agencies and government's efforts. But the author ultimately sees that there were wide divergence among the positions and assessments of different bodies. Again, though the author clearly spells that there were three consecutive hits of floods, he did not really assess the relative consequences of them. At the same time, the author presumably did not go for cross-verifying the data received old the loss of crops and employment owing to floods. The

author, again, states that assistance did not reach right people on time. He ascribes it to the 'lead-time' and donors dillying-dallying. But earlier, the author told of his reliance on the recollective memory of people, the fact that does not usually allow such generalization.

The author speaks of the Emergency Standing Orders for Floods and tells that not withstanding their usefulness there were serious short-comings, ambiguity and limitations of the Orders. The author could possibly reproduce some of the salient features of the 51-page document. The author's description of the state of VGF, GR and Food-For-Work programmes is quite informative. But regarding distribution system, the author made some hasty observations. His observation is probably correct that targeting was very crude and defective but when he says that allocation of goods was made in presence of UNO, Upazila chairman and other elites, it raises lot of questions. In fact, UNO's presence is not essential or even usual. And at that time, in 1984, chairmen were not elected for the Upazila Parishads. Regarding the complexity of information and the limitations of monitoring and targeting systems, the author's views are quite pertinent. The government's ad-hocism in handling the floods situation and its bypassing of its own creations did not evade the author's attention. Also appreciated is his emphasis put on the need for establishing an honest administration and delivery system.

The author shed fairly good deal of light on the activities of the NGOs during the 1984 floods. One crucial point as discerned by him is that the NGOs did not increase the quantum of resources available and what they did actually do was try to increase the purchasing power for their clients. The reasons for the NGOs prompt action are also fairly reasoned. He dealt with some of the bottlenecks for desirable functioning of the NGOs. The author's frustration is quite reasonable that there were hardly any meaningful cooperation and sharing of information and resources

among the NGOs and the government. It is so much glaring that the author recommends some action formula for ADAB and VHSS, the coordinating bodies for the NGOs.

The author could have focussed one other point—the areas of NGOs operation before and after the floods. It could then show more accurate picture of NGO's real contribution to the cause. The popular perceptions of the differences in the performances of the NGOs and government agencies could also be studied to some extent. His recommendations are good but on an issue having policy implications he is conspicuously inert. Though he sees so many agencies and instructions created to handle crises like floods, he is not loud enough to recommend an efficient built-in system.

The language of the book is lucid and attractive. The readers may find it quite attractive. The materials used for the book are also very good. But there are a number of misprints throughout the book. And to criticise very frankly, the book is a very belated work. For publication of the book the work should not have taken those more than three years. Possibly the even worse floods of 1987 and 1988 could have been handled more aptly, had this book been available to the policy makers and policy implementors two years earlier. Still, there are certain points in the book that call for permanent attention of the people who matter in a crisis-prone country like Bangladesh. Mr. Rob Gallagher, and with him the sponsor War on Want, merit acclaim. From the mid-level and field-level functionaries also appreciations are due for him.

R. D. A. Bogra.

Sk. Abdur Rashid