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Dr. Sadiq A. Gill
Editor-in-Chief

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Turkish Influence on Muslim Politics of Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent and Establishment of Pakistan

DR. SADIQ A. GILL*

After defeating Shah Ismail of the Safavid dynasty of Persia in 1514, Sultan Saleem of the Ottoman Empire, routed the Mamluk rulers of Egypt in 1517, relieved last of the Abbaside Caliph of all his symbols of spiritual and temporal authority and transferred the seat of Caliphate from Cairo to Constantinople. Thus in the beginning of the 16th century, the Ottoman Empire changed into Ottoman Caliphate and the Ottoman Sultans became traditional Supreme Heads of the Muslim World.

In Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent, Ibrahim Lodhi, last of the Sultans of Delhi had come to power in 1517, and was under pressure from Babar since 1525 and was finally defeated in the battle of Panipat in 1526. "Babar was a Turk from his father's side and Mongol from his mother's side. Turki is therefore a more accurate term of Babar's dynasty, than Mughal, which is the Persian and Indian form of Mongol" The Turkish dynasty of Babar, first Persianised and then Indianised, ruled over India. Being independent of the Ottoman Caliphs he did not establish any relations with them. Though the Ottomans ruling from Arabia to Hungary were the most powerful rulers in the 16th century, but they could not annex the Safavid Kingdom of Persia as they fought their main battles in Europe. Babar's successor Humayun obtained material and moral support from Shah Tahmasap of Persia in return to establish good neighbourly relations with Persia. Akbar, the

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great Mughal, under influence of Abul Fazal, Faizi, Rajputs and Portuguese missionaries deviated further from orthodox Sunni beliefs and established Din-e-Ilahi cult at his court. This explains the non-existence of any contact between successors of Sultan Saleem founder of the Ottoman Caliphate and successors of Babar Padshah, founder of the Mughal dynasty in the subcontinent.

The continuous fighting of the Ottomans with the Portuguese for Naval Supremacy in the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean with the Mughal Emperor siding with the Portuguese proves that the Mughals of Indo-Pakistan subcontinent did not recognize the Ottoman Caliphs as their spiritual Heads and like Persians remained outside the field of the Turkish Caliphate. Jahangir the successor of Akbar, cultivated friendly relations with Portuguese, the English, and the Persians; but not with the Ottomans. During Shah Jahan's reign, relations with Persia deteriorated and the Mughals and Persians fought a number of battles for Kandhar. The Persians also were at the same time fighting with the Ottomans. The last warrior sultan of Turkey Murad IV marched to retake Baghdad, which the Persians had recovered since its capture by Suleyman the Magnificent. But what is interesting is, that the two enemies of Persia at that period; the Mughals and the Ottomans did not join hands nor did they establish any contact for developing a common strategy. Even the last great Mughal King Aurangzeb, though an orthodox Sunni, did not cultivate any relations with the Ottoman Caliphate which remained engaged with Western powers. Aurangzeb had neither the time nor felt the need to acknowledge Ottoman Caliphate as a binding force for the glory of Islam. After Aurangzeb, a downward trend marked the Mughals, and during this period the Ottoman Caliphate also felt its downward slide.

In the Eighteen Century, European nations were gaining fresh ground at the cost of the Ottomans and the Mughals, and when in 1787, Tipu Sultan, the arch enemy of the British in the subcontinent, sent his envoy to Constantinople to muster support against the British, the Ottoman Caliph, Sultan Abdul Hamid I engaged with the Russians could only give a "Promise of future help with no active assistance for the present". That was the first political contact between an Ottoman Caliph and a Muslim Sultan of the subcontinent. These were the days when glory of the Muslim World was fading and European powers

were establishing their supremacy on land and Seas.

The first Indian Muslim to travel to Turkey in the beginning of the 19th century, when Mughal Emperor Shah Alam had become a pensioner of East India Company, was Abu Talib Khan, who recorded his impressions of Turkey, Italy, France and England in his Persian work "*Masir-i-Talibi-fibilad-i-Afrangi*". He found Turks friendly, hospitable and persons of honour. In his opinion they were religious and pious and he observed that Turkish women enjoyed greater freedom than their Persian or Indo-Muslim sisters. Abu Talib Khan was received in audience by Sultan Salim III who bestowed upon him a role of honour. But Abu Talib Khan had no political mission in Turkey, therefore his work "*Masir-Talibi*" is only important as concerning the impressions of an Indian Muslim about the Ottomans, recorded in a lucid and complimentary style.

Political History of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries give no clue of the love, labour or loss between the Muslims of the subcontinent towards their Turkish brothers. Decline of the Mughal power resulted in the emergence of a powerful religious movement, founded by Shah Waliullah (1703-62) "who was determined to bring about a moral resurgence among his Muslim countrymen. His emphasis on "*Ijtihad*", is a great contribution to the thinking of Muslim India". Shah Waliullah's teaching changed the course of thinking not only among the Ulema; but also among the common Muslims. The religious revival in the subcontinent was mainly due to the intellect, zeal and labour of Shah Waliullah rather than any other individual. Although Shah Waliullah believed in the necessity of a Universal Caliphate; but he drew a significant distinction between two kinds of successors of the Prophet of Islam: the inheritor of political functions and those exercising religious authority. Though Shah Waliullah did not take up the cause of the Ottoman Caliphates, but due to his teachings, a sense of Pan-Islamism began to develop among the Muslims of India. In the last half of the 18th century and in the beginning of the 19th century the Muslims of the subcontinent accepted the interpretation of Quran, Hadith, Ijtihad and Jihad, as given by Shah Waliullah of Delhi. "War of Independence of 1857" laid the foundations of the Seminary of Deoband, the Aligarh Movement by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and the Jihad of Syed Ahmed Shahid Brelavi against the Sikhs. All these were

the different manifestations of the Waliullahi Movement and Muslim India gave up its inactiveness after 1857.

A grandson of Shah Waliullah, Shah Muhammad Ishaque after migrating to Hijaz in 1841, began to take a keen interest in the teachings of Ottoman Caliphate and because of his influence over Ulema of Waliullah's School of thought belonging to Deoband and Nadwatul Ulema, the Ottoman claim to the Universal Islamic Caliphate was accepted in the subcontinent. The British too encouraged feelings of Pan-Islamism in a way. During the "War of Independence of 1857", the British obtained a "Farman" from Sultan Abdul Majid for the Muslims of the subcontinent to remain loyal to the British against the Russians.

Pro-Turkish attitude developed among the Muslims of the subcontinent due to the influence of Shah Muhammad Ishaque, Crimean War of 1853, and the encouragement of the British Government. During that period huge sums of money were contributed by Indian Muslims for Ottoman Turks. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan showed his pro-Turkish attitude, through his paper *Tehzibul-Akhlaq*, in which he congratulated the Ottoman Sultans for their reforms and large heartedness. In 1894 Sir Syed made the decision to adopt Turkish dress as College Uniform.

With the accession of Sultan Abdul Hamid II in 1876, a new phase in the History of the Ottoman Caliphate started. Sultan Abdul Hamid wanted to enlist the support of the Muslims all over the world for his Caliphal claims and therefore he sent some of his agents to Muslim India to gain their support. Meanwhile there was a shift in the British Policy towards Turkey and instead of supporting her against Russia, the British Government became a party to the Treaty of Berlin in 1878 and "announced a protectorate over Asiatic Dominions of the Sultan." Because of the "Treaty of Berlin", Algeria and Tunisia were incorporated with France. Egypt became a protectorate of Great Britain, Austria annexed 40,000 miles of territory in Eastern Europe, Rumania took over 46,000 miles of the Ottoman Empire, Russia regained several of her territories on the coast of Black sea, and in Asia. Naturally Sultan Abdul Hamid II was unhappy with the "Treaty of Berlin", which was termed as "Peace with honour" by British

Diplomats.

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan realizing the change in British Policy towards the Ottoman Caliphate produced writing under "The Truth About Khilafate" in which he asserted that "We are devoted and loyal subjects of the British Government, we are not the subjects of Sultan Abdul Hamid II. He neither had, nor can have any spiritual jurisdiction over us as a Khalifa. His title of Khalifa is effective only in his own land and only over the Muslims under his sway." Thus Sir Syed Ahmad Khan became an opponent of the Caliphal claims of the Ottomans and also of Pan-Islamism, hardly realising that later, his M.A.O. College, Aligarh would become a Centre of Pan-Islamism. Though Sir Syed Ahmed Khan had great influence in Muslim India, but his sympathetic tendencies towards the British Government concerning the Ottoman Caliphate were acceptable to the educated as well as illiterate masses of Muslim India. In the last decade of the 19th century, Turkey was in the news. The English and the Vernacular Press in India gave it wide publicity.

The disintegration of the Ottoman Caliphate which started after the Treaty of Berlin in 1878 and culminated with the "Treaty of Sevres in 1920" (After First World War) attracted the attention of Muslim India to a great extent, so much so that preservation of the Ottoman Caliphate became a political issue in the subcontinent, and the Sunnis, the Shias and the Hindus participated in the Khilafat Movement, which was anti-British and anti-West.

The Indian National Congress, the National Muhammadan Association of Justice Syed Amir Ali, the Jamiat-e-Ulema-i-Hind, and the All India Muslim League supported the cause of the Ottoman Caliphate and though some of the critics say that the Khilafat Movement of Maulana Muhammad Ali and Maulana Shaukat Ali was an outcome of sentimentalism, it is however a historic fact that Khilafat Movement was a move towards Swaraj of India and establishment of Pakistan.

Pan-Islamism of Muslim India was much influenced by Jamal-ud-Din Afghani, about whom Allama Iqbal writes: "The man who fully realised the importance and immensity of this task (i.e., re-thinking of the whole system of Islam without completely breaking with the past)

and whose deep insight into the inner meaning of history of Muslim thought and life, combined with a broad vision engendered by his wide experience of men and manners, would have made him a living link between the past and the future was Jamaludin Afghani". Jamaluddin Afghani, and his Egyptian Associate Sheikh Mohammad Abduh, nullified Sir Syed's anti-pan-Islamism and anti-Turkish attitude towards Muslim India.

Maulana Shibli Noomani, breaking with Sir Syed's Aligarh Movement joined Nadwat-ul-Ulma of Lucknow which was more sensitive towards Pan-Islamism. Shibli Noomani had visited Istanbul in 1893 and had received an audience with Sultan Abdul Hamid II. He also visited Damascus and Cairo where he came in contact with Sheikh Mohammad Abduh. Noomani gave a new direction to Muslim Historiography which created a lasting impression on the minds of Muslim India for recapturing the glorious past of Islam.

While Muslims of India thought of Sultan Abdul Hamid II as the lawful Caliph of Islam, the committee of Union and Progress founded in 1908 in Turkey, forced Sultan Abdul Hamid to abdicate in 1909 and replaced him by his aged brother Sultan Mohammad V as the Ottoman Caliph. In 1911, Italy forced Tripoli war on Turkey and in 1912, four Balkan States crossed the Frontiers of the Ottoman Empire and started the invasion of the last of the European possessions of the Caliphate. The Tripoli and Balkan Wars created extraordinary sentiments for Turkish people and as England supported European States against Turkey, support for Turkish cause grew tremendously in the subcontinent. Maulana Muhammad Ali, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan and Allama Iqbal, "touched a peculiar chord in the sub-consciousness of Muslim India, the chord of Religion, as the Ruler of Turkey was considered Khalifa or successor of the Prophet and Amirul Mominien of the faithful".

Maulana Muhammad Ali's "*Comrade*", Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's "*Al-Hilal*" and Maulana Zafar Ali Khan's "*Zamindar*", pleaded the cause of the Turkish people which deeply stirred the Muslims of India. During the Balkan War, Maulana Muhammad Ali, made moving appeals for Funds through his paper "*Comrade*" and organised a medical mission to go to Turkey to help wounded Turkish

soldiers. The Medical Mission headed by Dr. Ansari had five qualified Doctors and 16 other members which reached Istanbul in November 1910, established their medical camp at Omerli, 60 miles away from Istanbul, (just two miles behind the War Front). In the Medical Mission were six students of Aligarh College of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, including Ch. Khaliqz Zaman and Abdur Rahman Siddiqui, both of whom later occupied important positions in Pakistan Movement. In the Balkan wars Turks were hard pressed by European armies, but the names of some young Turks, participating in Balkan wars caught the imagination of the Muslim World, especially of Anwer Beg, Hero of 1908-9 Revolution, and the Tripoli War. He was regarded as a hero of Turkish Nationalism as well as a hero of Islam and a source of inspiration for Muslim India.

In 1914, when World War I started, Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent were very perturbed, because, there were general feelings that Turks would join Germany against the British and the French and this would put Muslims of the subcontinent in a difficult position. Maulana Abdul Bari Frangi Mahli sent a telegram to the Ottoman Sultan on 31st August, 1914, requesting him "either support the English or remain neutral" in the War. Maulana Muhammad Ali wrote his famous article "Choice of the Turks" which was published in the issue of "Comrade" dated 26th September, 1914 which was a complete and effective reply to an editorial of *London Times* under a similar caption, in which the editor had warned Turkey to remain aloof in the war between Germany and Britain. In his article Maulana Muhammad Ali advised the English to make amends to the wrongs they had inflicted upon Turkey, if they wanted Turkey to remain neutral in the war, also asking for withdrawal of the British troops from Egypt which was part of the Ottoman Empire. But as soon as that article was published the British government forfeited the security of the Press where *Comrade* and *Daily Hamdard* were printed with the result that both the papers of Maulana Muhammad Ali ceased to come out, which was a heavy price to pay for his love and regard for the Turks by Maulana Muhammad Ali and the entire Muslim India which they suffered willingly.

Here another important development may be mentioned. The Ottoman Caliphate was an Orthodox Sunni Caliphate, but its cause was

also taken up by the Shias of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent and eminent Shia leaders like Justice Syed Amir Ali and H.H. The Agha Khan who worked for the preservation of the Ottoman Caliphate, its glory and the unity of the Muslim World. During Tripoli War, Justice Syed Amir Ali organised the British Red Crescent Society and sent Medical Missions, which gave relief to the sick and wounded soldiers of Turkey. The Society also worked during the Balkan War and took care of thousands of sufferers.

Writing in his memories, Justice Syed Amir Ali says "The Caliphate is a spiritual dignity which has existed since the early days of Islam..... It commands respect even among Muslims who are not strictly orthodox and who give spiritual allegiance to other pontiffs". When Turkey joined the 1st World War, on the side of Germany, sympathies of Muslim India towards Turkey further increased due to the efforts and the increasing influence of Maulana Muhammad Ali. The British Government arrested him and his "elder brother" Maulana Shaukat Ali, and both the brothers remained in jail for five years. Writing about his long internment Maulana Muhammad Ali says "It was our sympathy for Turkey that prevented our release during the war. When finally Ali Brothers were released from long imprisonment, in December, 1919 they rushed towards Amritsar, where the Indian National Congress, the Muslim League and recently organized Khilafat Conference were holding their respective sessions. Maulana Muhammad Ali was selected to lead the Khilafat Delegation to England and plead the cause of Turks and the Caliphate with the British Government.

From that time on, Maulana Muhammad Ali and Maulana Shaukat Ali became acknowledged leaders of the Khilafat Movement in the subcontinent, and the younger of the brothers emerged as the more dynamic and influential leader of Muslim India. The Khilafat Movement gained momentum, as the peace settlement in Europe lingered on, Khilafat Conferences were organised in length and breath of the subcontinent. The Indian National Congress under Mr. Gandhi also joined the Khilafat Movement. The Congress and the Khilafat Conference jointly decided to launch a "non-violent and non-cooperation movement" alongwith thousands of their workers who were arrested by the government, which brought the whole

subcontinent in a state of turmoil.

The end of the First World War brought great miseries upon the Ottoman Caliphate, all the Arab lands were occupied either by the Allies or by their stooges, and even a number of cities and vilayats of Turkey were surrendered to the Allied Armies. Constantinople was also taken under control by the Allied Army. On 15th May, 1919, Smyrna was captured by the Greeks and by that time 4 lakh Turkish soldiers were killed and more than one lakh soldiers were taken prisoners of war by the allied powers. The allied imposed the "Treaty of Sevres" on Turkey which was extremely humiliating, but it also resulted in the emergence of Ghazi Mustafa Kamal Pasha as Saviour of Turkey.

Mustafa Kamal Pasha Atta Turk called the first National Assembly at Angora in 1920 and from that date on the National Assembly became the symbol of sovereignty of Modern Turkey. A war for safeguarding the national interests of Turkey was started under Atta Turk and the Greeks were not only checked near Angora, but routed and Smyrna was re-occupied by the Turkish forces again. The victories of Mustafa Kamal Pasha made him a Ghazi and a hero in the eyes of Muslim India and he was also recognised as an undisputed leader of modern Turkey by the allied powers. Ghazi Mustafa Kamal Pasha was elected as the first President of the Republic of Turkey on 29th October, 1923. On 18th November, 1923 the last of the Ottoman Caliph, Sultan Abdul Majid was given the status of a spiritual head, without any temporal authority by the National Assembly of Turkey. Before that Turkey had abrogated the Treaty of Sevres and signed another treaty with the British government known as "Treaty of Lussane" in July, 1923, which was more on terms of Turkey than on the terms of the British Government. "Treaty of Lussane" was a victory for Mustafa Kamal Pasha, as according to this treaty, integrity of Turkey was recognised, limitations on political, economic and legal sovereignty of Turkey were waved and instead of "Sickman of Europe", Turks were accepted as a living force in International Politics.

All these events were followed keenly by the Muslims of the subcontinent, though apprehensive of the fact that the institution of Khilafat was going to be abolished, their admiration for Mustafa Kamal

continued. A realistic approach in politics was advocated by Allama Iqbal and when finally the institution of Caliphate was abolished by the National Assembly of Turkey on 3rd March, 1924 there was no adverse reaction in the subcontinent, as people were mentally prepared to accept the realities of time. Allama Iqbal distinguished between Caliphate and Pan-Islamism as two separate issues, he was of the opinion that Islam could only survive as a multi-national association and the administration of Muslim States is vested in the community and not in an individual. Allama Iqbal, after seeing the emergence of a dynamic Turkey under Mustafa Kamal Pasha, and abolition of the institution of the Caliphate by the Turks themselves evolved the conception of Pakistan in his Presidential Address of the All India Muslim League in 1930. He said "I would like to see the Punjab, North West Frontier Province, Sindh and Balochistan amalgamated into a single state--- I, therefore, demand the formation of a consolidated Muslim State in the best interest of India and Islam".

Iqbal's conception of Pakistan, and Kamal Atta Turk's conception of Modern Turkey are realities of today as both of them, along with Iran believe in Pan-Islamism, due to which the call of Islam is again being heard in the Muslim World in accordance with the eternal law of action and reaction.

Broadcast Media in the Cyclonic Disaster Preparedness: The Realities in Coastal Region of Bangladesh

MOHAMMAD SAHID ULLAH*

Introduction

Bangladesh is one of the most disaster-prone countries in the world. Poverty forces about 20 million people in Bangladesh to live on low-lying land or coastal islands where cyclones threaten life and livelihood every year. Millions of poverty-stricken people crowd along the high-risk areas of Bangladesh's southern coastline that has experienced as many as 64 severe cyclonic storms and tidal surges in the past 200 years since 1789¹. Moreover, it is a country where about 7.5 million people are so vulnerable that they have little or no resistance to cyclonic disasters. On an average, of the dozen tropical disturbances that originate in the Bay of Bengal each year, at least five are capable of developing into cyclonic storms to hit the Bangladesh coast². Some of these at times turn out to be national catastrophes. The fiercest killer cyclone lashed the Bangladesh coast on 12 November 1970 and took a toll of half a million lives with property losses amounting to over a billion US dollars. Within a little over two decades, Bangladesh was hit by another cyclone of catastrophic magnitude on 29th April 1991, claiming lives of about 0.138 million people and inflicting extensive damage to property worth more than two billion US dollars. The cyclones of 1876, 1919, 1941, 1942, 1961, 1963, 1985 & 1997 were also severe in nature³. Meteorological evidences have shown that no two tropical cyclones take the same route, and their erratic nature makes warning both difficult and necessary. But warning has been more successful than prevention⁴. Forecasting and tracking has improved in

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the developed world, but Bangladesh has had less success in supplying the information to the exposed population. Peasants either do not receive the warnings, or have no way of evacuating the area, or both. In Bangladesh at least 65 percent of the coastal people have either the land or property right over the land they live on. Millions live in object poverty and illiteracy in huts without health or sanitation facilities in high-risk low-lying island and coastal inlets. They await calamity virtually defenseless: for survivors, recovery can be fragile, leaving them more vulnerable to the next cyclone⁵.

Realizing the cyclone is among worst risks to the security of individuals and communities, broadcasters of Bangladesh do firmly feel the need to improve broadcasting at the various stages of cyclone spectra. Like the general people and experts in disaster management, broadcasters also believe that broadcast media, both radio and television, is a part and parcel in the process of disaster mitigation in the form of preparedness, evacuation and sheltering. With just two to four days of effective early warnings of a potential cyclonic disaster, media can help in lessening the casualties and losses of properties. However, the harsh reality is that precautionary measures to safeguarding the valuable lives of thousands people during the cyclonic-disaster remain absolutely inadequate due to poor preparedness, low access of radio and television in the coastal region, lack of public confidence in the state-run broadcast media, confusing warning signals, poor transportation and telecommunication facilities, inadequate reporting skills of broadcasters and lack of proper motivation, and so on claiming the lives of tens of thousands of people during cyclones in the 710 km coastline of the country. To prevent or at least mitigate the scale of deaths in cyclone and tidal surges, it is expedient to examine how the two medias could guide the inhabitants properly and find out the ways to fill in the gap between information and decision-making in order to take due precautionary measures; like evacuation and shelter.

Rationale of the Study

Public response is at its most critical juncture when the broadcast media functions as a vehicle for disseminating information about disaster warning, because accurate and timely warnings can be vital in protecting lives and property.⁶ The Tampere Declaration of 1991 recognised the critical role of mass media in providing public information to

communities at risk and their broader role in education and opinion formation. In Bangladesh, poverty and illiteracy place millions of isolated coastal people beyond the purview of conventional mass media, and certainly from the every printed word. A survey in 1996 by the Press Institute of Bangladesh – reveals that immediately before a cyclonic disaster, newspapers cannot play a significant role as the radio, television and Newspapers cannot cover or even reach in time at the remote islands of the coastal region during emergencies⁷. Broadcast media, therefore, can play a crucial role in information dissemination during cyclonic disaster in Bangladesh. Considering this, the Government of Bangladesh has given due priority to its broadcast media for playing their role during disaster preparedness and mitigation process. Different studies and surveys carried out by the Community Development Library – CDL: 1991 PIB: 1996 Oxfam 200 and Ullah 2000 showed that cyclone warning transmission through radio and television played a catalyst role in limiting the number of deaths by cyclone and tidal bore as the people take proper preparedness after hearing announcement from radio bulletins. However, the CDL survey – The April Disaster-1991 – revealed that many people in the coastal area cannot afford to use radio due to high cost of batteries. It has been found that 84% of the respondents (sample 720) do not own any radio They are depending on radio-owners and Bangladesh Red Crescent Society (BDRCS) Cyclone Preparedness Programme (CCP) volunteers for special weather bulletins among the respondents, 45.69% people heard warning signals first from radio announcement. The other sources of information relating to cyclone are neighbors (17.16 %), CPP of BDRCS (14.58 %). Only 0.83 % of the respondents knew of warning from television announcement⁸.

PIB study at the Sandwip Island – *The Effects of Media in Facing Disaster in Coastal Area* (1996) revealed that radio is a significant medium in disseminating information during cyclonic disaster and helps lessen the mass tragedy. According to the survey, majority (51.8%) of the families (sample size 108) in this off-shore island had radio sets and almost everybody had the opportunity to listen to radio's special weather bulletins.⁹ Another survey (Feb-2000) by Massline Media Center reports that 74.82% of the fishing boats that sail in the Bay of Bengal, one of the most vulnerable cyclone breeding zones in the world, have radio(s).¹⁰ It is well-known that state-owned radio and television channels have limited credibility to the public. A Bangladesh

Unnayan Parisad (BUP) survey in 1995 said only 15% of the total population believes in the news of these public service broadcasting agencies¹¹. However, in the coastal region around 69.7% of the droplet have confidence in radio announcement relating to cyclone¹². Radio is becoming of mass use in rural Bangladesh. According to the UNICEF (1998) each village, where 81 percent of country's population lives in, has at least one radio set. The total land area of the country is under the purview of the state-run radio channel Bangladesh Betar – with its six full-fledged station and relay centers. In 1995 the number of radio sets in the country was 3,230,000. Television covers 90 percent area with two full-fledged and 13 relay stations. There were 635,025 television sets in the country in 1995. Besides, a number of unlicensed radio and television sets have been in use. But television is not available everywhere due to its high price and inadequate infrastructure facilities for power.¹³ According to Bates Asia (1995) 10.4% of a total of 19.4 million households had television and 37% owned radio sets. Besides, the CDL survey said, access to radio (ownership) is only 15.97 percent in the coastal area of Bangladesh. Survey (1995) by the Johns Hopkins University Center for Communication Programmes in Bangladesh found that only eight percent of the households, three rural and 40 urban, have their television sets (sample size 5,884, rural 4499 and urban 1385). After 1995, there is no clear-cut data yet available regarding media access in Bangladesh.¹⁴ Since, the coastal regions of Bangladesh are frequently affected by devastation cyclones and catastrophic tidal bore and storm surges, a systematic study in this region could offer better understanding of the situation and as well as determine the role and effect of media during the time of cyclonic preparedness.

Objectives

People in the coastal region believe that cyclones with tidal bore may affect them any time. Therefore, a full time preparation is needed to deal with the natural killer. Considering the situations, the survey study has been undertaken with some broad objectives to examine the overall media situation, critically review and analyse the access and role of mass media in disaster preparedness throughout the coastal region with special emphasis to cyclonic disaster and influence policies for an appropriate and better management plan for the poor people living in the high-risk

coastal areas, off-shore islands and chars in the Bay of Bengal. This study has been aimed to:

- (a) Know the existing mass media, their types and access throughout the coastal areas;
- (b) Examine the people's awareness and participation in cyclonic-disaster preparedness and acceptance of the role of broadcast media; and
- (c) Recommend guidelines for broadcast media in mitigating the losses from cyclonic disaster.

Study Area

The areas near the Bay of Bengal and those situated one to three meters above the sea levels that usually submerge with tidal bore from the coastal region of Bangladesh also includes the estuary of the river Meghna. To ensure proper representation in information collection, seven districts were selected, located in both coastal and off-shore island covering 710 km. coastline, which starts from the river Naaf, separates Bangladesh from Myanmar and falls in the Bay of Bengal in the south east of the country to Raimangal river along the Indo-Bangladesh border in the West. The study was conducted in *Upazila* (sub-district) of Cox's Bazar in the East to Barguna in the West. The selected areas were Kutubdia of Cox's Bazar, Banshkhali and Sandwip of Chittagong. Char Alexander of Ramgati, Hatiya of Noakhali, Charfashon of Bhola, Galachipa of Patuakhali and Pathargata of Barguna Districts.

Methods

The study mainly depends on information and data derived from primary sources through a well-defined set of questionnaires. The questionnaire, on which responses have been collected from 400 household, consisted of a total of 67 questions relating to personal, cyclone and media. Available literature review has been done in examining the concurrent socio-economic condition of the people and coping system with the cyclonic disaster including media's role in disaster preparedness. Proportional Allocation of Sampling method (Proportional to the total number of household in respective areas) was considered for selecting the number of households in different areas and Random Sampling method has been followed during information

collection from the households of different areas. SPSS pc Software was used for data analysis.

Barriers and Limitation

Initially it was planned to review available literature relating to cyclonic disaster preparedness, but it is a harsh reality that no adequate information is available regarding cyclonic disaster or even preparedness before the catastrophe of 29th April 1991. Most of the studies and literature cover the relief work that usually follows a catastrophe. So the study faced difficulty in understanding previous measures relating to preparedness, evacuation and shelters. The questionnaire for householders media-men and administrative personnel were supposed to be enough for serving the purpose but it was difficult to manage the unlettered people in the coastal region particularly women, during information collection the researcher believes that if it could be possible to stay longer with the people in the coast the coping system during pre-cyclone period may be studied easily and it would be more convenient to examine the media's, role in motivating evacuation – the main cause of deaths and losses.

Basic Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

Among the 400 respondents, 67.5% (270) are male and 32.5% (130) are female and their ages range from 15 years to 60 plus years. Among the respondents 361 (90.3%) are Muslims, 36 (9%) Hindus and the rest 0.7% belong to other religions. The respondents' monthly income ranges from below TK. 1,000 (\$20 approx.) to above TK 10,000 (\$200 approx). Most (62.5%) of the respondents' monthly income is around Tk 1,000 to Tk 4,000 with an average family size of six to eight. The principal occupation of the people is cultivation (39.8%), followed by small trade (14.5%), day laborers (13.0%), and fishing (7.3%). Most of them (48.8%) have no formal education and 11.5% have education of the secondary grade, 8% of higher secondary grade and 4.8 % undergraduates.

Findings

Access of Mass Media – Generally it is believed that people in the coastal region do not have any radio and television due to poverty. Therefore, the access to mass media is very low in the coastal region.

The study tries to find the real situation of mass media access among the people. It is found that some 51.1% of the households own radio sets. Among the respondents some 47% informed that they have no radio or television set. The overall media access is shown in Table 1.

(Table-1)
MEDIA Ownership

| Type of Media | No. of Respondents | Percentage |
|----------------------------------|--------------------|------------|
| Newspapers | 3 | 0.8 |
| Radio | 144 | 36.0 |
| Television | 3 | 0.8 |
| Radio and Television 27 | 6.8 | — |
| Radio and Newspapers | 2.8 | — |
| Newspapers and Television | 2 | 0.5 |
| Newspapers, Radio and Television | 22 | 5.5 |
| None | 188 | 47.0 |
| Total | 400 | 100 |

In Table-1, it is observed that the access of mass media is not so significant in the coastal region. Only 9.6% have access to newspapers and 12.8% possess television sets. Therefore, it is seen that radio has more access among coastal people. The null hypothesis experiment indicates that the correlation between media access and income level is $2=242.697, df=80, P<000$. Therefore, it is evident that the access of mass media depends much upon the income level of coastal people.

News regarding Preparedness

Broadcast media has an important role in pursuing the people. However, it is widely believed that community people play the role of catalyst to inform and motivate the common people for taking measures to face cyclonic disaster. Therefore, the study considers the broadcast media as very much a part of disaster preparedness and tries to examine the role of media in preparedness. People in the cyclone-prone coastal regions come to know the appropriate method of disaster preparedness from the sources mentioned below.

(Table-2)

Preparedness Information Sources

| Information Sources | No. of Respondents (Yes) | No. of Respondents (No.) | No Response |
|---------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------------|
| Poster | 32 (8.9%) | 246 (61.5%) | 122 (30.5%) |
| Bill Board | 15 (3.8%) | 256 (64.0%) | 129 (32.2%) |
| NGO Workers | 85 (16.8%) | 211 (52.8%) | 122 (30.5%) |
| Radio | 301 (75.3%) | 54 (13.5%) | 45 (13.5%) |
| Television | 211 (52.8%) 83(20.3%) | 106 (26.3%) | — |
| Red Crescent 323. | 35 (8.8%) (80.8%) | 42 (10.5%) | — |

From Table-2, it is observed that 80.8% of the respondents consider the CPP 'volunteers' campaign as genuine for preparedness measures. They also mention that radio is another source of information (75.3%) regarding appropriate preparedness methods before cyclone. The other sources of information are television (20.3%), NGO workers (16.8%), posters (8%), and billboard (3.8%). The relationship between media and preparedness measure is very strong as null hypothesis rejected at $\chi^2 = 284.005$, $df = 56$, $p < .000$ level. Therefore, it is apparent that broadcast media has played a strong role in taking preparedness measures.

NEWS SOURCES BEFORE CYCLONIC HIT

Earlier studies indicated that radio bulletin is the main source of news regarding cyclonic disaster among the coastal people. Considering this fact, it was tried to judge the reliability of earlier studies. According to the survey report, people consider a number of news sources for cyclonic depression. The main sources are radio, neighbors' CCP volunteers, signal flags and previous experience. Considering all these sources, respondents were asked to give name of every source

(Table-3)

**FINDINGS ARE PRESENTED IN THE TABLE BELOW
NEWS SOURCES**

| Name of the Source | No. of Respondents (Yes) | No. of Respondents (No) | No Response |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|-------------|
| Neighbors | 295 (73.8%) | 44 (11.0%) | 61 (15.3%) |
| Experience (55.5%) | 103 (25.8%) | 77 (19.3%) | _____ |
| Sea Condition | 165 (41.3%) | 138 (34.6%) | 97 (24.3%) |
| Radio | 288 (72.0%) | 69 (17.3%) | 43 (10.8%) |
| Newspapers 44 (11.0%) | 248 (62.0%) | 107 (26.8%) | _____ |
| Red Crescent CPP | 331 (82.2%) | 38 (9.5%) | 31 (7.8%) |
| Television 76 (19.0%) | 227 (56.8%) | 97. (24.3%) | _____ |
| Signal Flags 186 (116.5%) | 142 (35.5%) | 72 (18%) | _____ |

From Table-3 it is found that among the respondents, 82.2% receive cyclone warning news from CPP volunteers, 72% from radio, and interestingly 55.5% of the people inform that they can guess the upcoming cyclone from their earlier experience. Regarding broadcast media and news sources the null hypothesis result is $\chi^2 = 5.418$, $df = 35$, $P < .112$. Therefore, the relationship between these two variables is not

media and news sources the null hypothesis result is $\chi^2 = 5.418$, $df = 35$, $P < .112$. Therefore, the relationship between these two variables is not so strong and it is proven that people does not only get warning news from the mass media but also from other sources.

Confidence to the Sources

People in the coastal region hardly or never wish to move to safer places earlier from their own houses for a number of causes. One of the major causes is that they have less confidence on the media news on cyclonic disaster. It is believed that mass media has poor reliability among the affected people. Considering this, a question was administrated relating to confidence. Response on the overall reliability of the news sources is shown in table=4.

(Table - 4)

RELIABILITY IMPORTANCE OF SOURCES

| Agency or Sources | No. of Respondents | Percentage |
|----------------------------|--------------------|------------|
| Red Crescent - CPP | 166 | 41.5 |
| Radio | 157 | 39.3 |
| Television | 12 | 3.0 |
| NGO | 1 | 0.3 |
| Red Crescent-CPP and Radio | 36 | 9.0 |
| CPP and Television | (2) 0.5 | — |
| Radio and Television | (12) 3.0 | — |
| No Response | 10 | 2.5 |
| Total | 400 | 100 |

Table-4 indicates that 41.5% of the respondents have confidence on the announcement by CPP volunteers while 39.3% rely on radio, 3% on television announcement and 2.5% did not respond about their confidence on warning news. The relationship between confidence level

and broadcast media is $\chi^2=21.521$, df 14, $P < .089$. Therefore, the null hypothesis may not be rejected and it is evident that people have not taken warning bulletin by the broadcast media so seriously regarding evacuation and sheltering during cyclone.

UNDERSTANDING OF NEWS BULLETIN

The dissemination cyclonic disaster warning signals through radio and television are very important. However announcement of warning signal on the broadcast media are criticized widely by the disaster management agencies both at home and abroad for using highly technical language. Therefore, it is believed in Bangladesh that people in the coastal region do not understand the meaning of disseminated warning signals properly as most of them are illiterate. Keeping this fact in mind, a question regarding the cause of partial or non-understanding of the news bulletins was also administered. However, 65.3% of the respondents informed that they understood the signal, 22.3% told that they could understand partially and only 9.3% said they fail to understand signals. The reasons behind their non-understanding are cited below.

(Table-5)

CAUSES OF FAIL TO UNDERSTAND OR PARTIAL UNDERSTANDING

| Causes | No. of Respondents (Yes) | No. of Respondents (No) | No Response |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|-------------|
| Technical Language | 77 (19.3%) | 295 (73.8%) | 28 (7.0%) |
| Sea and River confusion | 57 (14.3%) | 33 (8.3%) | 310 (77.5%) |
| Confusing Signal | 96 (24.0%) | 295 (73.8%) | 9 (2.3%) |
| Radio Noise 25 (6.3%) | 62 (15.5%) | 313 (78.3%) | — |
| Not Believe 29 (7.3%) | 301 (75.3%) | 7 (17.5%) | — |
| Careless | 32 (8.0%) | 67 (16.8%) | 301 (75.3%) |

In a multiple question-answer 19.5% of the respondents informed that they were not familiar to the language of cyclone warning announced by the radio and television. They think that the bulletin's language is very much technical to them. Some 14.3% said they fail to mark the difference between a sea and river port clearly during announcement. 24% of them are in confusion regarding signals, while 8% are very careless about radio warning signal. The correlation evidence level is $\chi^2=33.947$, $df=15$, $P < .003$. Therefore, it is proved that educational status leads person to better understand warning signal through broadcast media.

Expectation From Mass Media

It is claimed and aftermath proved that illiterate people fail to understand warning news fully due to some technical aspects of announcement. Therefore, it is necessary to ask for the requirements of the respondents regarding the announcement of the warning signal under the study. The requirements from mass media are presented below.

(Table-6)
EXPECTATION

| Demand Criterion | No. of Respondents (Yes) | No. of Respondents (No) | No Response |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|-------------|
| Frequent Broadcast | 305 (76.3%) | 22 (5.5%) | 73 (18.3) |
| Broadcasting Local Language | 309 (77.3%) | 28 (7.0%) | 63 (15.8%) |
| Broadcast Direction and Movement | 257 (64.3%) | 41 (10.3%) | 102 (25.5%) |
| Signal in Easy Language | 278 (69.5%) | 31 (7.8%) | 91 (22.8%) |

Table-6 shows that 77.3% interviewees are keen to hear the warning signals from radio and television in their local dialects – those of Chittagong Noakhali and in Barisal. Some 76.3% respondents demanded that bulletins be broadcasted more frequently, while 69.5% say that they wish to listen to the warning in a very easy and understandable language. Among the respondents 77.3% urged the authorities concerned to inform them the probable track of depression in easy language before cyclones with tidal bore.

Discussion and Conclusion

The analyses lead us to draw the conclusion that poverty-stricken people who live in the coastal region have very limited access to the media depending upon their income level. Illiterate and less educated radio and television transmitted cyclones warning signals are not needed for a number of reasons. People fail to understand warning announcement properly as warning are announced in polished language with technical jargons. People in the cyclone-prone areas consider Red Crescent-CPP volunteers' campaign as more important than radio bulletins of the time of preparedness and sheltering. People who are used to listen to or expose themselves to warning signal regularly over radio, follow the guidelines for preparedness measures. But coastal inhabitants who usually depend upon God's mercy and follow the 'Wait and see' rule do not give importance to cyclone warning signal broadcasts by the media, mainly radio. Besides, a significant trend is that people are not aware of cyclone related warning signals and fail to take due measures for preparedness. However, people who know of warning signals through radio or television relatively earlier than others, could make preparations better than those who get the message just before the cyclonic-hit. It is evident that people living in the highly cyclone-prone areas, consider Red Crescent volunteers' campaign or other interpersonal channel seriously in motivation to evacuate and take shelters. Most of the coastal people believe that successful public awareness program with the aim of changing the mind-set and developing the capacity and skills of the high-risk population will hopefully lower the loss of life and property sustainability in any cyclone and storm surge. Therefore, media is very essential to link experts, disaster mitigation officials and finally the suffering public. We should educate them about preparedness, track approaching cyclonic hazard, alert authorities, warn the poor and

illiterate inmates most likely to be affected, assess damage, collect information, supplies and other resources, coordinate rescue and relief activities, accounting for missing people, and motivate the public.

During catastrophic situations the broadcast media generally acts as a link between the common man and the technical information about the risk and the hazard. It absorbs and transforms technical information provided either by experts or mediators and relays the information to the public in a simple manner. Because, the strength of the mass media lie partly in their independence from the government or other agencies and partly in their ability to attract large audiences who regard them as reasonably credible information sources. The broadcast media, both radio and television, reflection of great public interest and concern, can provide extensive coverage of cyclonic disasters. As forecasters have increasingly gained the ability to predict, the media has covered the near-them predication phase of the event. The broadcast media has significantly improved the level and sophistication of their pro-and post-disaster coverage in recent years by using new technology and consulting technical experts, who are better able to analyse the causes and mitigation measures for cyclonic disaster. But a rational approach for media involvement in disaster preparedness would depend on how much it makes itself familiar with the preparedness measures, the disaster management action plans, role and responsibilities and strengths and limitations in respect of administrative capabilities. These all will prepare the ground for utilizing the technological and human resources available with the mass media. Taping the mass media's potentials can and will improve the preparedness and response to cyclone disasters. Conversely, studies and application of cyclone related disaster mitigation techniques can enhance the quality of interest in the services that the media can provide. The media has the definitive opportunity to play a leadership role in the transition of thinking and action from preparedness to mitigation during any cyclonic disaster

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Popular Culture, Heritage and Environmental Conservation in Bangladesh : An Overview

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INTRODUCTION

In the recent years, Bangladesh has witnessed an unprecedented rise in public interest in *environmental* conservation and associated issues. A substantial body of literature has emerged, focusing on the governmental and non-governmental programmes and initiatives towards environmental management and development (see, e.g., Abedin et al. 1990, BARC 1983, Alam et al. 1997, Anon. 1991, FMP 1993). However, there has been very limited research to explore issues of environmental conservation within the context of and in relation to the popular culture, heritage, religion and indigenous knowledge of common people. The traditional cultural and religious practices, which are deeply rooted in the socio-economic fabric of the country, provide for and underpin many informal and formal environmental conservation measures. To analyse the impact and influence of culture and heritage on the formation, nature and function of institution and legislation for environmental protection within the limits of this brief article is a Herculean task by any standard. In what follows, I shall attempt to focus on a few selected aspects of our culture and heritage in the broad context of environmental conservation and management.

Traditions, Practices and Indigenous knowledge in the fields of Agriculture and Popular Medicine

Agricultural and ethno-medicinal practices in rural Bangladesh demonstrate a rich interplay of cultural influence, heritage and

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Indigenous Knowledge. Farmers are found to be intelligent managers of their ostensible resources and adopt varied survival strategies. The traditional crop varieties produce modest but dependable yields on soils with minimum management (BARC 1983:3-4). The agriculture sector accounts for about 35% of Gross Domestic Product of the Country and employs about 62% of the labour force. The net cultivated area of Bangladesh encompasses 60% of the total land area, the highest percentage in Asia (WRI 1990:57). Farmers depend on a highly diversified strategy of homestead gardens, horticultural production, forestry product collection, livestock raising, and fishing in addition to rice cultivation. The traditional agricultural farming systems in Bangladesh can broadly be classified as plain land and Hill systems. Farming in the plain lands involves ploughing by animals, sowing, casting of seeds, transplantation of seedlings and use of organic manure. Plain lands can be of two types in terms of degrees of elevation; the lands which remain submerged for a considerable period (upto a maximum of six months) and the relatively elevated lands. The first type of land is specially found in the (low-lying *Haor*) areas of the greater districts of Mymensingh, Sylhet and parts of Barisal and Pabna. Usually, crops grown in these lands are harvested once a year. The lands are replenished annually by alluvial soils and warrant little or no artificial manure. The relatively elevated lands can be utilized throughout the year for cultivation, and can support upto three crop harvests. The traditional Hill farming system, comprising mainly of shifting cultivation (*Jhum*) is practiced in the mountainous terrain of Chittagong, Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHTs) and Cox's Bazar.

There are a considerable number of institutions and policies concerning the development of Agriculture in Bangladesh. The primary public agencies include Department of Agricultural Extension, Bangladesh Rural Development Board, Bangladesh Agricultural Development Corporation, Department of Livestock Services, Department of Fisheries, and Department of Forests. Besides, there are many non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and commercial traders and input suppliers operating in the agriculture sector. The current Agricultural Policy's principal objectives include "increasing food supplies for the growing population, providing income and jobs for rural people, and protecting the environment" (MoA 1995:1). The National Agricultural Extension Policy 1996's main goal was to "encourage the

various partners and agencies within the national agricultural extension system to provide efficient and effective services which complement and reinforce each other, in an effort to increase the efficiency and productivity of agriculture in Bangladesh" (MoA 1996). The national agricultural research system is composed of over 1200 scientists working at ten primary research organizations: Bangladesh Agricultural Research Institute (Gazipur), Bangladesh Rice Research Institute (Gazipur), Bangladesh Jute Research Institute (Dhaka), Bangladesh Fisheries Research Institute (Mymensingh), Bangladesh Livestock Research Institute of Nuclear Agriculture (Mymensingh), Sugarcane Research and Training Institute (Ishurdi), Bangladesh Tea Research Institute (Moulovi Bazar), and Soil Resources Development Institute (Dhaka). The Bangladesh Agricultural Research Council (Dhaka) is the apex institution, which coordinates agricultural research activities in the country. Rural people have traditionally used plants and herbs against various diseases from time immemorial in Bangladesh. The earliest use of plants can be traced back to the Hindu epic of Rigveda (1500 BC) "which is one of the oldest repositories of human knowledge" (Rashid 1998:67). The traditional folk based medicinal system, known as the Ayurvedic, is still popularly used by rural communities. A number of public institutions, such as the Bangladesh Forest Research Institute, Bangladesh Council for Scientific and Industrial Research and National Herbarium, have attempted to conduct surveys and record the medicinal plants and herbal practices in Bangladesh. Some pharmaceutical companies, for example the Sadhona Oushadhalaya (Dhaka), Kundeshwari Oushadhalaya (Chittagong) and Mohazer Oushadhalaya (Chittagong), maintain a network for collection and marketing of medicinal plants and medicines. There are public and private academic institutions in Sylhet, Chittagong and Dhaka which offer diploma and graduate level courses on herbal medicines. A Herbal Medicine Centre has been recently established in the district of Rangamati. Research on ethno medicinal practices, especially of the tribal communities, has intensified lately (see, e.g., Alam 1992, Khisa 1996, Rashid 1988, 1998, Siddiqui 1998). Ara et al. (1990) have documented the phenology, distribution and habits of as many as 220 species of medicinal plants. Table 1 offers a list of selected medicinal plants of Bangladesh.

Table 1

A Selected List of the Major Medicinal/Herbal Plant Species of Bangladesh

| Scientific name | Local Vernacular name | Family | Availability | Principal medicinal usage |
|--|-----------------------|----------------|---|---|
| <i>Terminalia arjuna</i> W. & A.) | Arjun | Combretaceae | Commonly found along the highways, especially in the western districts (e.g. the Rajshahi-Natore highway) | Heart diseases; Blood dysentery; palpitation; Asthma. |
| <i>Calotropis gigantea</i> Linn. | Akand | Asclepiadaceae | Throughout Bangladesh | Asthma; Skin diseases; Blood dysentery; Headache. |
| <i>Solanum xanthocarpum</i> Schn. | Continari | Solanaceae | Throughout Bangladesh as weed | Cough; Hooping cough; Stomach diseases; Tooth ache. |
| <i>Datura metel</i> Linn. | Kalo Dhutura | Solanaceae | -Ditto- | Dog or Fox bite; Mental diseases; Diarrhoea; Baldness; Bodily pain, Asthma. |
| <i>Andrographis paniculata</i> Nees | Kalomegh | Acanthaceae | Throughout Bangladesh, especially in loamy soil. | Paediatric diseases; Liver diseases; Anthelmintic. |
| <i>Acacia catechu</i> Willd. | Khair | Legumiosae | Especially in the North Bengal | Boils; Cough; Fever; Elephantiasis Fatness; Diarrhoea. |
| <i>Ocimum sanctum</i> Linn. | Tulshi | Labiatae | Grown by the Hindu Population in household premise as sacred tree, also grows naturally in waste and road-side lands. | Paediatric diseases; Malarial fever; Heart rash; Indigestion. |
| <i>Cenitella asiatica</i> Linn. | Thankuni | Umbelliferae | Throughout Bangladesh | Used as general health |
| | | | | Tonic; In treatment of fresh wounds; Rheumatic diseases; Dysentery. |

| | | | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------|--------------|---|--|
| Acorus calamus Linn. | Boch | Araceae | Throughout Bangladesh especially in the low lying areas of Dinajpur | Breathing difficulties; Paediatric diseases; Indigestion; Diarrhoea; Gastric Pain. |
| Terminalia bellirica Roxb. | Bohera | Combretaceae | Chittagong, CHTs and Mymensingh | Cough; Dry cough; Asthma; Baldness; Diarrhoea; Eyesore; Bodily swelling or repture. |
| Adhatoda vasica Nees | Basak | Acanthaceae | Not widely found. Seen in the homesteads, especially as a living fence. | Heart diseases; Blood pressure; Breathing difficulties; Malaria; Rheumatic diseases; Phthisis. |
| Aegle marmelos Corr. | Bell | Rutaceae | Throughout Bangladesh | Cough; Fever; Palpitation; Stomach diseases. |
| Lawsonia alba Linn. | Mendi | Lythraceae | Throughout Bangladesh but not in great number; Grown especially in homestead premises and along the boundaries. | Pain and stiff neck, In treating fresh wounds; Skin diseases; Baldness |
| Adenanthe pavoni - na Linn. | Rakto Kambal | Leguminosae | Found in very limited number, No systematic or organized cultivation. | Rheumatism; Bodily pain; Skin rash. |
| Mimosa pudica Linn. | Lajjaboti | Leguminosae | Grown freely as weed throughout Bangladesh | Piles; Dysentery; Diarrhoea. |
| Rauwolfia serpentine benth. | Sarpogond -ha | Apocynaceae | In the forested tracts of Dinajpur, Mymensingh, Chittagong etc. | Fever; Stomach pain; Blood Pressure. |
| Moringa oleifera Lam. | Sojina | Moringaceae | Throughout Bangladesh especially in the Northern Bangladesh as vegetable. | Chicken pox; Cough; Indigestion; Rheumatic diseases. |
| Terminalia chebula Ret. | Horitoki | Combretaceae | Grown naturally in the forest of Chittagong, Chittagong Hill Tracts and Mymensingh. | Piles; Breathing difficulties; Used as general health tonic; Eyesore |
| Abroma augusta Linn. | Thankuni | Umbelliferae | Throughout Bangladesh | Used as general health |

Note: Key sources of information include Rashid et al. 1988, 1990, Rashid 1998 and Khisa 1996.

Of late, there has been a growing awareness among the academics and development practitioners about the need for a systematic exploration and documentation of IK concerning agriculture, ethno-medicine and other resource systems. The Bangladesh Resource Centre for Indigenous knowledge (Dhaka), for example, regularly organize seminars and training workshop on IK.

Homestead based Production and Environmental Conservation

Homesteads are the building blocks of rural Bangladesh. Although there are regional differences in nature, size and composition, a homestead connotes a complex interaction among a household, its (physical, natural and human) resources, and surrounding society and environment. In the context of rural Bangladesh, a household is typically built around a nuclear family. The household members have a joint budget, and a single unit for production and consumption, each acting as a decision-making unit. Normally, the oldest male, the father or the eldest brother, acts as the head of household (Ahmed 1993:17, also see Khan 1998).

Homesteads, of which households are the key functionaries, are significant for a number of reasons; including their role as the basic unit of production and consumption, as a focus for socio-economic linkages and interaction, and as a generator of day-to-day survival and coping strategies. Homesteads are responsible for nurturing major environmental resources in the rural areas along with their various management techniques. Key examples include homestead forestry and agroforestry, wood lot plantation, indigenous practices associated with soil and nature conservation etc. Homestead forestry/agroforestry is a supplementary production system by and for members of households which involve intensive land management surrounding a house on which a mixture of annual and perennial plants are grown together with/without animals for the respective household's domestic or commercial consumption (Millat-e-Mustafa 1997). Homestead flora accounts for about 70% of all wood consumed and 90% of all fuel wood and bamboo in the country (Abedin et al. 1990). Some 10 million households, in over 85,650 villages, annually supply about 5m cubic metre of wood and 0.53m air-dry MT of bamboo (FMP 1993:77). Das (1990) has observed as many as 149 village tree species in Bangladesh. There are empirical evidence that "woody vegetation at homesteads has a positive effect on improvement

in soil moisture through shading and mulching process" and on the reduction of soil erosion (see, e.g., Khan and Alam 1996:2). Homesteads are also the seats of traditional handicrafts, cottage industries, aqua culture and post-harvest operation of crops. Rural household members have demonstrated indigenous technical knowledge concerning environmental conservation and resource use (see, e.g., Alam et al, 1997, Millat-e-Mustafa et al. 1996, Khan 1998). Although the significance of homesteads is unequivocally established, there is hardly any specific or exclusive legislation or institution for ensuring the improvement of the status of rural homesteads. The rural development strategies, especially the poverty alleviation schemes, however, have focused on homesteads in the recent years as a key locus of intervention. There has been increased awareness about the importance of homestead and associated resources among the academic and development activists. For example, it has been suggested the homestead forests should be managed by an integrated and participatory Management Plan and there needs to be more action oriented, exploratory research on the potentials and problems of homestead resources (see, NAWG 1999:6). The Forestry Master Plan (FMP 1993:78) has underscored the need for providing regular extension support, credit, and market facilities to the homestead production systems, especially homestead forestry.

Institutional Framework for the Protection of Monuments, Religious Artifacts and Antiquities

There are a number of constitutional provisions and legislation, which have significant implications for the preservation and maintenance of monuments, religious artifacts and antiquities (see Table 2).

(Table-2)

A summary of the concerned key legislation along with their principal relevant provisions

| Relevant legislation | Concerned major provisions |
|---|---|
| The Constitution of Bangladesh | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (Article 23) The State shall adopt measures to conserve the cultural traditions and heritage of people, and so to foster and improve the national language, literature and the arts that all sections of the people are afforded the opportunity to contribute towards and to participate in the enrichment of the national culture. • (Article 24) The State shall adopt measures for the protection against disfigurement, damage or removal of all monuments, objects or places of special artistic or historic importance or interest. |
| The Antiquities Act 1968 (as amended by the Antiquities Amendment Ordinance 1976) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • If the government has reasonable grounds to believe that any land contains any antiquity, it may direct to acquire such land or any part thereof under the Land Acquisition Act 1894 as for a public purpose, the government (Director) may purchase, or take lease or accept a gift or bequest of any antiquity. • If the government apprehends that a protected immovable antiquity is in danger of being destroyed, injured or allowed to fall into decay, it may, after consultation with the Advisory Committee, acquire such antiquity or any part thereof. • Subject to the provisions of this Act or of any agreement, no person shall... destroy, break, damage, alter, injure, deface or mutilate, or scribble write or engrave any inscription or sign on any antiquity.... • No person shall make on any land excavation for archaeological purpose except under and in accordance with a license granted by the Director. |
| The Environment Conservation Rules 1997 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The government can declare, vide Clause 5(1) of the Act I of 1998, Ecologically Critical Area (ECA) in respect of any ancient monument and/or archeological site(s). |
| The Bangladesh Wildlife Preservation Act 1973 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The government may declare any area to be a national park for protection and preservation of resources. |
| The Bangladesh Jatiya Jadughar Ordinance 1983 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establishment of a national museum to be called the Bangladesh Jatiya Jadughar. • Collection, preservation and/or display of the antiquities, works of art, ethnological specimens, relics, artifacts and any such objects and items related to the cultural and natural heritage of Bangladesh. |
| The National Archives ordinance 1983 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establishment of a central repository, to be called the National Archives, with a view to protecting and preserving the public records and manuscripts of cultural, historical and/or national interest. • Restoration and conservation of regional public archives. • Prohibition of export of certain documents of historical, cultural or literary value. |
| The 21 st UNESCO General Conference, Belgrade 1980 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A resolution was passed authorizing the government of launch an International Campaign for the Buddhist monastery at Paharpur and the historic Mosque City of Bagerhat. |
| Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, Paris 1972 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bangladesh accepted (on 3.8.1983) and ratified (on 3.11.1983) the core philosophy and purposes of the Convention. |

Note: The Principal information sources include EDA 1999, Ferooq and Hasan 1996, Ahmed 1984.

As suggested by the above list of legislation, the activities of a number of public offices have a bearing on the preservation and protection of monuments, religious artifacts and other historical and cultural heritage sites and specimens. The concerned institutions include the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Bangladesh Jatiya Jadughar, Department of Environment, Department of Forest and Bangladesh Parjatan Corporation (the National Tourism Organization), Department of Archaeology, which is immediately concerned with the preservation of monuments, artifacts and archaeological sites, carries out regular winter archaeological excavation and conducts countrywide survey of all ancient monuments and heritage sites. During the early 1980s, a Master-Plan was prepared, with the assistance from the UNESCO, for conservation and preservation of the Buddhist Vihara at Paharpur and the Muslim monuments at Bagerhal -- the two sites which represent the two most important periods in the country's long history (Ahmed 1984:238-239). Of late, the Department of Environment has been considerably strengthened and renovated in terms of personnel, executive power and logistic resources. It has been entrusted with the responsibility of implementation and execution of the environmental legislation, including the aforesaid regulations, which have a bearing on the preservation and protection of monuments and artifacts. The Bangladesh Parjatan Corporation publicises and caters to demands of tourism in the country's renowned places of attractions, which include archaeological sites and monuments. It maintains hotels, catering and tour services in major districts of tourist and archaeological interests, including Dhaka, Chittagong, Cox's Bazar, Rangamati, Rajshahi and Bogra (GoB 1987, BPC undated).

Because of the low literacy level and ineffective public extension and campaigning services, mass awareness about environmental issues has been considerably low in Bangladesh until recently (Billal et al. 1998, Schroll 1995, Khan 1998). Since the mid 1980s, there has been an increased awareness and enthusiasm about environmental conservation and management in --the country. However, organized and systematic movements or struggle by the public are still conspicuous by their very limited presence, if not a total absence. There have been reports of sporadic and occasional citizen's protest against particular issues related to environmental degradation. In 1995, for example, a group of common villagers in Sirajgonj district lodged a united appeal to the concerned

authorities to close down eighteen chemical processing and dyeing industrial plants for causing pollution in the locality. Another public response was observed in Natore district, where local people forced the government to take measures against two sugar mills and one distillery responsible for the contamination of the river Narad (*The Daily Observer* 29-3-1995). Similar public protest was also seen in Joypurhat against the local Sugar Mills (*The Financial Express* 28 August 1985). Moreover, different professional and citizen groups have come forward in recent years to collectively campaign for environmental protection. The Bangladesh Environmental Lawyers Association (BELA) and Bangladesh Environmental Journalists Association (BEJA), for example, regularly arrange seminars and symposia to increase public awareness about environmental issues. Some Voluntary associations have also attempted to facilitate and organize local villagers to stand against specific local cases of environmental degradation. In recent months, for example, a local voluntary association (called the Uttaran) has led a villagers' movement against the adverse environmental effects of commercial shrimp culture in the coastal district of Satkhira. Another organization, known as the Rupantar, has facilitated the formation of a study group, comprising of a cross section of local people including politicians, academics and farmers, to raise mass awareness about awareness about the alarming degradation of the famous Sundarbans mangrove eco-system. There has been another public protest in Rooppur against the government's plan to resurrect the 36 / year / old Nuclear Power Project in the locality (*The Bangladesh Observer* 6-9-1999). Currently, the whole country seems to be gripped by the so-called 'Osmang Udyan Controversy' (see, Rahman 1999). The Osmang Udyan is a public garden in the heart of the capital city of Dhaka. There has been a vigorous citizen protest, spearheaded by a group of leading intelligentsia of the country, against the government's decision to construct a huge conference centre (for the forthcoming Non-Amidst highly charged debates and discussions, reflecting the respective arguments of the parties for and against the desolation of trees, the issue still remains unresolved. Thus, it seems that peoples collective awareness and movements towards environmental issues, albeit in a limited scale, are up-and-coming.

Plantation on Sacred and Religious Places

Traditionally, religious beliefs and culture has had a major influence on forest resource generation and use in the Indian sub-continent. (Documentation, scripture, seals and paintings from the Indus valley civilizations) showed that forests were adored as a "collection of celestial plants and were supposed to be inhabited by divine spirits" (Dwivedi 1980:3). Some analysts have gone as far as to argue that the ancient culture of this sub-continent had its very origin in Aranyas (forests) and Ashrams (religious centers, mostly located in woods) (see, FRI 1961:72, Dwivedi 1980:2-5). Major Indian philosophies and preaching, for example, found expression in the thoughts of Rishies and Gurus (saints and hermits), who mostly lived in the serenity and obscurity of forests (Dwivedi 1980:3, Anon 1991:2).

The literature on early forest-use situation in this sub-continent suggest that, local people had a religious and spiritual affinity with forests (see, e.g., Padhi 1982, Dwivedi 1980, FRI 1961). The studies shed light on the fact that there was great reverence for Vans (forests) amongst ancient races and religious literature. As early as 1500 BC, Rigveda, for example, preached: "Plant, Thus I haid Thee -- The Divine Mother of Mankind" (Rig-X-97-4, cited in Padhi 1982:31). Similarly, the Puran considered "plantation of trees and maintaining them were good acts" and suggested that, for "those who do not have sons, trees are their sons" (Dwivedi 1980:7). Later the Aryans, basically a pastoral community and one of the most dominant races of ancient India, revered forests and "maintained all their big institutions in the sylvan surroundings of the forest" (FRI 1960:71). The Prophet of Islam also preached that "if any of you plant a single seed or plant whose fruits are eaten by animals, birds or men, it will be considered an act of piety" and "do not tear even a single leaf of any plant unnecessarily" (cited in Chowdhury 1996:57). The Muslim rulers of India (including Bengal), for example the Mughals, also demonstrated a "utilizational and aesthetic approach towards forests" (Dwivedi 1980:12). For the rulers, forests served the 'imperial hunthing' and 'ornamental' purposes.

On the basis of the proceeding brief review of history, one can feel that religion and culture have traditionally played a pivotal role in forestry in this part of the world. Worshipping of trees was commonplace (Dwivedi 1980:7). This, coupled with spiritual preaching by some rulers, most likely instilled among people some consciousness and interest in

forest preservation and propagation. Customs and religion, for example, forbade the use of sickles or axe in certain areas; while in other areas forests were treated as *Devaranya* (gods' grove) from which only twigs and fallen branches could be fetched without causing and damage to trees (Khan 1998). The rulers also fostered the linkage between forests and religious culture. There were forests exclusively "for the study of religion" under some ancient Indian kingdoms (FRI 1961:72).

There is hardly any systematic information on plantation and forestry on religious and sacred places in Bangladesh at present, except the occasional references made in a few studies. From his ethnographic field work in selected areas of Kaliakair (in the central part of the country) and Rangunia (in the south-eastern part), Khan (1998:146 and 184), for example, observed the following:

There was a popular belief that during epic days, the Hindu deities, Krishna and Radha, had their legendary romance under the serene surroundings of forests in a place called Gupta Brindaban, north of Atia forests in the Dhaka-Mymensingh tracts – not far from my study-site of Chandra. As I have found during the fieldwork, these forests of religious value are still preserved and worshipped by the local Hindu population. In parts of the forests in (Ranguma) there is a large Hindu temple and community centre in the locality, called the Jagatpur Ashram, which (has traditionally) held control over a vast area of land (including forests). Similarly, at least five Mazars (graveyards of saints; religious seminaries) of Muslim priests are still seen in the area; all situated in the forests. My informants reported that these saints lived amidst these forests and preached religion to neighbouring villagers. Forests were their most-loved rendezvous for practising and teaching religion. Therefore, it seemed that forests and religion, like in many parts of the Indian sub-continent, had been closely related; and saints attempted to convey the message of this relationship to the locals. Interviews with some elderly villagers suggested that the preaching had, at least to some extent, influenced the conservation and propagation of forests.

Even from a general and cursory observation, one can find plantation and gardens within the territorial boundaries of many religious institutions in the country. In recent years, there have been attempts to carry out afforestation activities within the premises of religious institutions and seminaries by some public and voluntary organizations

including the Chittagong City Corporation and the Forest Department. It is believed that trees are less likely to be subjected to pilferage or illicit felling within the boundaries of a sacred institution, in view of the general reverence for religion in the country. The National Forest Policy 1994 has prescribed "tree plantation on the courtyards of rural organizations such as Eidgah (open prayer field), mosque-maktab, temple, madrassa (seminaries) etc..." (MoEF 1994).

Epilogue

The above discussion alludes to the fact that there exist a wide range of popular practices and institutions, which are embedded in the socio-cultural and religious heritage of the country, which contribute to better management and conservation of the environment. Analysing environmental issues within the framework of popular culture and heritage is a relatively less-explored area of research, which deserves immediate academic attention,

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Martin Luther King, Jr. and Gandhi – A Comparison

AKHTER HUSSAIN SANDHU

Through this article, an effort has been made to defy the myth in the American society that Martin Luther King, Jr., an Afro-American and apostle of non-violence, is a disciple of Gandhi. The historical documents contain sufficient material to disprove the misunderstanding consciously made by the American media at the very outset of Dr. King's struggle for black-Americans in the early 1950s. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. is an American civil rights leader who played remarkable role in the black struggle of equal rights during the 1950s and 1960s. Basically he was a clergyman but the plight of the Afro-Americans motivated him to enter the national politics to redeem his community from the racial discrimination. He adopted 'non-violent resistance' or 'passive resistance' to confront the injustice. He experienced this way of protests successfully during his civil rights drive, firstly at Montgomery, Alabama, in 1955. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was an Indian nationalist who contributed a lot to the freedom movement against the British rule in the mid-twentieth century. Philosophically Christianity, classical Hindi literature and Quran inspired him to struggle non-violently to achieve his political objectives. Dr. King and Gandhi have similarities in many respects. Both were religio-political personalities. Both struggled for their oppressed communities and confronted with the white ruling authorities. Both the ruling nations thought themselves superior racially to the coloured people. Both the leaders declared the racial discrimination and launched a crusade against it. The most important common aspect of their struggle was that both adopted the philosophy of non-violence to assault the racial prejudice. Both derived the philosophy of non-violence primarily from their religions. King

possessed more powerful leadership qualities than Gandhi. King was a realist, constitutionalist and integrationist. Gandhi posed to be an integrationist but in reality he was a Hindu theocrat and civilisationist. His utmost endeavor was to infuse Hinduism in the Indian society. On the contrary, Dr. King's drive was against injustice by the ruling authorities. He sought to get the American Constitution implemented in the real and practical sense.

The United States is a multinational and multiethnic society. All came to the New World willingly except the Africans, which were brought forcibly to the Continent in 1619. Here they were enslaved and kept backward and in an ocean of sorrows, pains, despair, disappointment and tears. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. resigned from his pastoral responsibilities and rightly asserted that the equal status in America was the blacks' constitutional and undeniable right.

The success of the Montgomery Bus boycott elevated King to national leadership but the movement, as a whole, "remained unorganized, *diffused* and still without an articulate philosophy." King, ignoring the traditional legalism of NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) and separatism of Marcus Garvey that could not attract the black Christians, organized his "constituency around the black churches"¹ knowing rightly that the churches were the only place from where a sincere, confident and sensible support could be achieved. Therefore, the mass movement of 1950s and 1960s was mostly based on the black churches.

After assuming leadership, Dr. King showed his intellectual lines with commitment to root out the racial discrimination from the American society. His ideas of struggle were based on the philosophy of non-violence. He believed that violence breeds more violence. Therefore, the way of protest must be non-violent in any situation. When he was arrested under a seldom-enforced law to prohibit boycott. King said: "If we are arrested every day.... We must use the *Weapon of Love*." On another occasion he said: "We must meet violence with non-violence. We must meet hate with love." He liked persuasion rather than coercion. He also believed that most whites were decent and would respond to love positively.

Nigel Richardson says that King was deeply influenced by Walter Rauschenbusch who believed that the clergymen should try to make the people happier and fairer. But a many historians have tried to prove that King was a disciple of Gandhi (1869-1948) a Hindu nationalist. King had respect for Gandhi as he said during his visit to India, "To other countries I may go as a tourist but to India I come as a pilgrim."⁴ Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi struggled against the racial discrimination in South Africa. In India, he named his struggle, "*Satyagraha*," (pronounced as *sat-gar*). He explained that 'Truth' (*Satya*) is 'love' and 'Firmness' (*graha*) is a 'force,' and synonym for force with love.

Gandhi said that *truth* and *love* produce *force*. He believes that in *Satyagraha*, physical action or reaction is not allowed even in the favourable situation.⁵ He asserted that *Truth* is the most favourite word to God. Jesus and Muhammad (PBUH) were supreme "because they saw and expressed Truth"⁶. Non-violent resistance was a non-cooperation with injustice. He got this idea from Thoreau's essay on Civil Disobedience. Henry David Thoreau, in turn, studied the *Bhagavad-Gita* and several Hindi *Upanishads*. Retrospectively, if we observe King as a child, he conceived a lot from his parents and church. As a student, he seems much interested in intellectual works of the philosophers of different ages. In his courses at Morehouse College, Crozer Theological Seminary, the University of Pennsylvania, Boston University and Harvard University, he read the works of Plato, Aristotle, Augustine, Aquinas, Kant, Hegel, Marx and Nietzsche. This study enabled him to examine critically the programmes of social change by the black intellectuals and reformists e.g. Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. Du Bois, Marcus Garvey, Stokely (Stokeley) Carmichael, Elijah Muhammad and Malcolm X. Since King was convinced that "oppressed people have a moral obligation to resist non-violently the evil system that dehumanizes them."⁷

Dr. King, at the Seminary, studied Christianity that taught him to oppose bloodshed. He concluded that Christian belief of 'Turn the other cheek' and 'Love your enemies' is practicable only in conflicts among individuals but not effective in resolving conflicts among racial groups and nations. Dr. King considered mere love a sign of weakness that could not bring change in society. So the Christian philosophy was

inspirational but it left many questions unsettled in his mind. One day in Philadelphia, King attended a lecture by Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, President of Howard University. Johnson evaluated the moral power of Gandhian non-violence, which he argued, could improve race relations in America too. The name of Gandhi was much familiar among Americans and Abraham Johannes Muste, a well-known pacifist and Executive Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, was known as the American Gandhi who had impressed King already during his lecture at Crozer. The Johnson's discussion about Gandhi's protest inspired King who rejoiced that Christianity had granted him with spirit and now Gandhi had exposed how it could work. "Even in conflicts between groups and nations, you could use the Christian ethics, Love your enemies, Turn your other cheek." He had discovered the *Christian activism*. "When love pervades non violent methods, far from being a symptom of weakness it becomes a potent force for social transformation."⁸

George M. Fredrickson does not concede that Gandhism impressed King. He justifies his contention that he (king) never discussed Gandhi in his writings or sermons before 1955. On the other hand, he absorbed enough of the *moral realism* of Reinhold Niebuhr who has doubts about *unconditional pacifism*. Taylor Branch, a historian of the civil rights era, believes that King "allowed the media and others to portray him as disciple of Gandhi for the sake of public relations." King was a Niebuhrian rather than Gandhian. Niebuhr says that non violence is usually the best way of expressing goodwill. It is a "type of coercion" that offers opportunities for a harmonious relationship. Niebuhr argued in the case of Gandhi's struggle in India there was contradiction between the philosophy and the power politics.⁹ Gandhi was against every kind of violence because his sect, Jainism, did not allow the killing of "the most trivial insect." Despite this, he campaigned during World War I to recruit "sergeant for the British" to fight so that the Hindu community might be armed.¹⁰

King tended to recognize that *coercion* and *moral force* were part and parcel to practicalise the philosophy of non-violent resistance. His philosophy of "creative crisis" seems synonym to *coercion*. Its main objective was to compel the rival to come to talks. But this *coercion* was to be restrained and kept at a minimum level. *Coercion* was to settle

down the problem or to aggravate the situation in which the oppressors could take brutal action against the oppressed people. Such circumstances would result in sympathetic sentiments and favourable propagation for the oppressed.

Protest is always a threat or *coercion* for privileged. It is true that the Montgomery Bus boycott was an economic threat. King used it as an instrument to compel the whites for mutual dialogue as he said during Birmingham Campaign: "It is a historical fact that privileged groups seldom give up their privileges voluntarily."¹¹

Time magazine, at the end of the 20th century, declared Dr. King a disciple (child) of Gandhi that is not fair analysis. It is coincidence that King had acquaintance with Gandhian ideas. Gandhi's *satya* (truth as love) was already present in Christianity and King had used it as force (Gandhi's *garah*) during his boyhood and the Montgomery Bus boycott. Love as moralism and force, King inherited from his parents and church as he stated: "It is quite easy for me to think of God as love, mainly because I grew up in a family where love was central and where relationships of love were ever present, and most of our neighbours were deeply religious." The Montgomery Bus boycott was an economic threat, coercion and damage to the bus company; Niebuhr calls such threat *realism* and *coercion*; this is to compel the oppressors to come to talk, dialogue or bargaining. King calls this strategy 'creative crisis' or 'direct action.' He was well aware of love, force, protest, and other instruments of non-violent campaign. If King has admired Gandhi's struggle, it is not fair to declare him 'child' or 'disciple' of Gandhi, I am sure that Nkrumah and the Indian Premier Nehru have not become 'the children of Dr. King' if they admired King's struggle during his visit to Ghana and India. Taylor Branch, a historian, believes that because of public relations, King did not object to media and others that were presenting him as disciple of Gandhi. Nevertheless, he once responded to query about Gandhi's influence: "As a matter of fact, no..... I have read some statements by him...I will have to truthfully say.....that I know very little about the man."¹⁴ King, on the other hand, cannot be a disciple of all whom he studied: Marx, Hegel, Rauschenbusch, Reinhold Niebuhr and other European thinkers and American Protestant theologians. Because "King interwove ideas from the sources into the fabric of his experience."¹⁵

Dr. King seems a greater leader than Gandhi. To gauge King and Gandhi's leadership, there is a problem of entirely diverse political and social set-up of America and India. Racial and political problems were not similar in India and the United States. The British government itself initiated to motivate the Indian people for political activities. On the other hand, Negroes had been slaves for centuries and they were discouraged at every move for social mobility. So, the social and political atmosphere in India was favourable but the American social and political conditions were not conducive and sympathetic for civil rights movement. Malcolm X has another style of such comparison: "Gandhi had succeeded because he was a big black elephant sitting on a small white mouse; but King was a small black mouse on top of a big white elephant. He could not win."¹⁶ King seems more powerful, practical and competent leader than Gandhi because Gandhi led a majority against a small and outlandish ruling minority. King was leader of a small, untrained, unorganized and severely depressed minority against a ruling majority¹⁷ that considered blacks inferior racially, historically and religiously. The antagonism between Indians and the British was not deep-rooted as the black and white communities had in the United States. So, the only similarity between the two leaders was that both decided 'to confront the unjust rule non-violently.' It is undeniable reality that there was contradiction in Gandhi's non-violence philosophy and its implementation during his entire British campaign in India. Dr. King¹⁸, in such unfavourable circumstances, struggled non-violently and redeemed his community from the white tyranny extended over centuries. Gandhi could do nothing in the partition of India but King's voice suffocated all the separatists in his country.

To King, 'crisis' is only to invite the oppressors for dialogue. It contains no damages, no physical reaction and aggressive retaliation from the protesters. Therefore, it is considered as a 'creative crisis' — such crisis that breeds positive changes. Dr. King demanded no major constitutional or systematic changes but change, he sought, in the white behaviour that had been hurdle incessantly, for centuries, in the implementation of the existing constitutional rights. The black Americans were not striving to snatch something precious from whites but they were longing for the acceptance of their citizenship rights. After centuries they were still requesting the white people to accept their rights to get a cup of coffee from the point where the whites got from and go to

the same parks, restaurants, drinking fountains, schools etc. where the whites went. When King was sure that mere love was a weakness and not effective to bring a change, he turned to Niebuhrian interpretation of Christianity – *Christian Realism*, which he hinted at in his *Letter from Birmingham Jail* that privileged groups always tend to protect their privileges unless they are forced to give up. Rights are always 'demanded' by the oppressed. He, during his entire life, utilized this philosophy of non-violence to achieve his goals. He was humiliated in courts and jails, kicked by police, slapped, stabbed and even his house was bombed. The militant black groups tried continuously to defame him. The FBI tried its best to knock him down but he accomplished his commitment successfully. No doubt, he was a man of commitment but what is commitment? involvement + patience = commitment.¹⁹ And commitment produces 'change.'²⁰ Dr. King made a major shift from tradition to revolution. When, in 1955, others were talking to leave the South and live up North, King was the only person who dared to lead the depressed community and accomplished the commitment.²¹ His movement removed fear from the hearts of blacks. It also suffocated all kinds of separatist movements, created racial harmony and stabilized the American future. Unlike him, Gandhi always consoled the Muslims verbally but appreciated practically every strife that was to pave the way to Hinduism. Due to the Hindu theocratic threat and suppression under the leadership of Gandhi, the Muslim separatists succeeded to achieve their goal, Pakistan.

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Delegation: The Missing Link in the Development Process of South Asia

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Scope

Delegation is one of the key concepts in management, yet it means something different to everyone. The lack of clarity in meaning and the tendency to prescribe its use as a cure-all have caused it to become a curse for managers.

Much of this is due to the manager's fear about what delegation is and how its use or nonuse will affect their job effectiveness.

To overcome the fear of delegation, managers need:-

- (a) A working definition of delegation;
- (b) To understand the assumptions underlying its effective use and
- (c) To develop a strategy for successfully delegating decision-making responsibility to their subordinates.

Definition

Delegation is usually defined as "The assignment of decision-making responsibility to a subordinate in an organizational setting, involving the assignment of jobs and the necessary authority to get them done".

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The process begins at the top of each organization. The Chief Executive being responsible for the company's operations, delegates certain portions of his responsibility along with necessary authority to various managers. Although one may delegate authority, but he can never relieve himself of the accountability that he has to his boss.

A key to good delegation is to transfer only that much authority which is necessary to complete the responsibility he is assigned i.e., if an individual is assigned the responsibility of ensuring that safety rules are followed then he must have the authority to enforce these rules in situations where violation occurs.

The Delegation Payoff

A supervisor who has learnt to delegate properly enjoys :-

- (a) Increased results. Delegation expands the area of results to encompass not only what a supervisor can do himself; but also what he can oversee and control. Added tasks can be accomplished through delegation.
- (b) Time for more important work. Delegation allows time for activities that only a supervisor should do.
- (c) Knowledgeable subordinates. Delegation improves subordinate's initiative, skill, knowledge, and competence. A primary task of supervisor is to develop his subordinates: through delegation, he has the opportunity to observe them in action and coach them where necessary.
- (d) Increased motivation. New and challenging assignments tend to satisfy the higher psychological needs of the workers. Thereby increasing their motivational levels.

Without delegation, the span of the supervisor's responsibility is limited to the results of his personal efforts. With delegation, his responsibilities can expand to cover his, as well as the output of his subordinates. Thus his value to the organization is increased.

This expanded responsibility does not mean being overworked. Actually, the reverse happens. When he delegates routine duties and

administrative decisions to his subordinates, he has additional time for more critical jobs and decisions. It also enable him to devote more time to the duties that result in an improvement in the quality of his own performance.

Delegation not improves his performance, but also the ability of his subordinates. When a subordinate is delegated authority and responsibility for a job, he is given an opportunity to apply what he has been taught. The individual might make a few mistakes, but these mistakes should be converted into learning experiences. Hence through the subordinate delegation, increase his skills and the confidence needed to deal with problems.

Employee motivation and job satisfaction also increases with effective delegation. Employees normally want opportunities to handle new problems and increase their skills. By delegation they are provided with such an opportunity.

A Strategy For Delegation

A manager wishing to delegate must develop a strategy. Many managers know and understand the use of successful delegation but they fear it's consequences.

To overcome this fear, they must look at what is meant by the term "delegating decisions".

The term "decision-making" can be broken into various components such as :

1. Problem identification – Seeing the need for undertaking decisions.
2. Alternative search – Finding potential connections or remedies for the problem.
3. Alternative evaluation – Weighing the pros and cons of each alternative.
4. Choice – Picking the best alternative.
5. Implementation – Communicating the choice and obtaining acceptance by affected employees.

6. Follow-up.

A manager, fearful of losing control over the ultimate choice through delegation has a number of alternative points in the decision-making process in which he can make delegation, such as:

- (a) A subordinate or group of subordinates can be given the responsibility to identify a problem area.
- (b) Generate potential solutions to a problem already identified.
- (c) To evaluate alternatives specified.
- (d) To develop means for implementing a choice already made, or
- (e) To investigate the outcome of a solution made.

A manager having concern for his personal security, may retain the right of final choice while delegating the remaining art of the decision process. He may thereby gain the benefits of delegation without suffering the consequences.

Manager unfamiliar with subordinates or working in new area, may gradually breakdown the process of decision-making and slowly transfer it. As subordinates gain skill or experience or the manager gains confidence in his subordinates, he may start delegating larger areas in the decision making process. Thus allowing trust to be built up in their subordinates decision-making ability along with confidence in their own ability to handle whatever insecurity they might be feeling about delegating.

Barriers To Delegation

Most failures in delegation occur because supervisors are not aware of the barriers to effective delegation that exist in :-

- (a) Themselves;
- (b) Their subordinates; and
- (c) The job situation.

As a supervisor, one needs to realize that his personal attitude towards delegation will limit the amount of payoff he gets from delegation.

Some supervisors are afraid that will lose power and prestige if they delegate. Others are concerned about the experience and ability of the subordinates. Again others are hindered by a misbelieve that people are unwilling to accept delegation.

Even when you are willing and know how to delegate, the attitude of subordinates may restrict the ability to delegate. Due to lack of experience and confidence, subordinates may avoid delegation of responsibility. Some may feel they already have more work than they can handle and be reluctant to accept more. At this stage you have to prove to your subordinates that they have the ability and time to accept more duties.

Understanding your attitude and that of the subordinates is an important step in successful delegation.

The urgent nature of a job may be a barrier to delegation. Critical situations call for critical decision and these decisions cannot be delegated. You must always analyze a situation and then decide whether to delegate or not.

Reverse Delegation

Often supervisors may feel that they are delegating authority and responsibility; but still aren't catching up. If this is the situation, then they are suffering from reverse delegation -- the practice of subordinates delegating back to their supervisor much of the work that has been delegated to them.

Reverse delegation is difficult to spot because it occurs so naturally. As a supervisor, you expect people to seek your help and advice when they have problems, but over a time this advice giving may grow to a point where you are making and performing duties that you had delegated,

There are various types of reverse delegations -- subordinates are not prepared to handle delegation because:

- (a) They wish to avoid the risk of criticism.

- (b) They lack the self-confidence required to do a job.
- (c) The supervisor may himself be the source of problem. He fails to provide adequate resources to the employees for doing the assigned job. Over a period of time, subordinates get into the habit of returning to the supervisor to get all the supplies they need. In this process, they shift the work back to the supervisor.

Forcing subordinates to be dependent on them gives some supervisors a feeling of importance. On the other hand, there are supervisors who are capable and secure but don't know how to say "no".

More Effective Delegation

Despite the barriers to delegation, a manager can still make it work, provided he follows the guidelines stated below:

1. Give clear instructions so that employees know exactly what is expected.
2. Grant sufficient authority for the job. It is difficult to hold a person responsible if he doesn't have enough authority to get the job done.
3. Pick the right person for the job and make sure that he is not working above or below his potential.
4. Keep lines of communication open with the employee so that there is a two-way flow of information.
5. Establish proper controls so that you are kept informed of the subordinate's progress.
6. Develop self-confidence and willingness among employees to accept delegation by rewarding those who are able to carry out the tasks delegated.

Guide For Self-Evaluation

The under-mentioned statements may give you an insight into your delegating habits.

1. I'd delegate more, but the job I delegate never seem to get done the way I wish. Set clear standards and goals for the output expected.
2. I don't feel I have the time to delegate. Are you so involved in doing things yourself that you don't have time to get the work done through other people? If so, you may not be managing. The manager's job is to get things done.
3. I carefully check the subordinates work without letting them know, so I can correct their mistakes if necessary before they become a problem. Are you hovering over subordinates and not allowing them to use their initiative and ability.
4. I delegate the whole job giving the subordinate the opportunity to complete it without my involvement. In order to grow, the subordinate needs to make an occasional mistake.
5. When I have given clear instructions and the job isn't done right, I get upset.
Do you set proper goals and guidelines? Getting upset means that you are not emotionally mature.
6. The staff lacks the commitment that I have. So the Job I delegate won't get done as I'd do it.

Your assumptions about your people may be wrong. Few staff members intentionally do a poor job; most desire to do a good work and to achieve something worth while.

7. I'd delegate more. But I feel I can do the task better than the person I delegate it to.
As a manager you are responsible for accomplishing things through other people. You may do the task better than any individual you might delegate it to. But are you doing the right thing.
8. I'd delegate more. But if the individual delegated the task, does an incompetent job, I'll be criticized.

Delegation involves risk. The ultimate responsibility for the outcome of a delegated task remains with the person delegating it.

9. If I were to delegate the task, my job wouldn't be nearly as much fun. It's natural to hold on to things that are familiar to us especially those that are interesting and enjoyable.

People grow, by testing their own abilities. If you continue to do the same things repeatedly, and fail to take on new and challenging responsibilities, you fail to grow.

10. When I delegate a job, I find the outcome is such that I have to do the job all over again.

The outcome of a delegated job may be exactly what you expect; but the subordinate may not be entirely responsible. Did you set clear standards at the beginning. Were you available during the completion of the delegated job.

11. I find that delegation does not save time.

Time isn't the issue; if your job is to get things done through others, you don't have much choice, so you have to develop your subordinates.

12. I delegate a task clearly and concisely, explaining exactly how it should be done.

Merely assigning work and explaining how it should be done, does not allow a subordinate to grow.

Delegation implies freedom for the individual to make decisions about how the job is to be done.

13. I can't delegate as much as I'd like to, because my subordinates lack the necessary experience.

Catch-22? It's obvious that experience cannot be gained without practically do the job.

14. I feel that when I delegate I lose control.

Possibly you fear failure. You need to follow-up during the course of the delegated tasks.

15. I would delegate more but I'm a perfectionist.

"Perfectionists" often have unrealistic and unnecessarily high expectations.

16. I work longer hours than I should.

If you are not delegating what you should, You may be attempting things that you enjoy.

17. I can give subordinates the routine tasks, but I feel I must keep the non-routine tasks.

Do you merely dump a lot of inconsequential work on to subordinates. This may not give them the opportunity to grow. If you're doing all the non-routine work, you are not fulfilling your responsibility of developing your staff.

18. My own boss expects me to keep very close to all details of the work.

You and your boss should define the ground rules and the goals for developing the staff. Delegating the job without any follow-up is abdication. But staying too close to the job while it's being done may actually be no delegation.

A Self-Help Experiment

If you consider that tomorrow you have a flue, and you may not be in the office for a week. You have a phone next to your bed. Think what you need to accomplish and how you well get it done when you are unable to attend office? Use that phone; delegate.

No one is indispensable, yet many of us behave as though we are. Remember, the better your subordinates, the better you look. Proper delegation and supervision makes everyone look their best.

Conclusion

Many supervisors feel that delegating simply means to assign a part of their work to someone else.

But good delegation is more than just "dumping" your problem into the lap of your Junior.

To delegate properly, a supervisor must know:

- Which tasks to delegate.
- The right person to delegate.
- The amount of authority that should be delegated.
- How to exercise control after delegation.
- The need to avoid "short-circuiting" the flow of authority when delegating.

A good supervisor will distinguish between things that he must do himself and the things his subordinates should do. Some of the activities that can be delegated are:-

- Problems requiring only routine, technical or mechanical skills.
- Tasks that help develop subordinates through exposure to new problems and situations.
- Tasks that the subordinates are expected to do in your absence.

Some of the activities and problems that a supervisors should not delegate are;

- An emergency or short-term task, when there is no time to explain or train.
- Morale problems.
- An assignment given by the superior that she expects you to do personally.
- A job that no one else is qualified to do.
- The hiring, firing, or discipline of subordinates.

These lists should give you some general idea of what you should and should not delegate.

Hence, delegation is not merely assigning work or providing all the detailed instructions for doing it, which it does not offer a subordinate much opportunity to grow. Delegation implies some freedom for the individual to make decisions and even a few mistakes.

(ANNEXTURE-A)

WHAT TO DELEGATE OR NOT TO DELEGATE

Typical responsibilities which may be delegated to operational management:

- Management and control of operations.
 - Preparation and implementation of strategic and operational business plans.
 - Development of company structure and organization.
 - Managing the personal function.
 - Quality control and safety regulations.
 - Environmental compliance and community relations.
- Functions of parent company that are not to be delegated to subsidiary management:

- Allocation of corporate resources to individual subsidiaries.
- Decisions regarding the articles of incorporation or by-laws of subsidiaries.
- Appointment or dismissal of subsidiary managers.
- Appointment or dismissal of subsidiary directors (Board Members).
- Appointment of auditors.
- General supervision of subsidiary management.

Typical transactions by operational management that require prior approval:

- Additions or disposals of fixed assets.
- Changes in the organizational structure.
- Local regulations, such as pension schemes.
- Defined financial transactions.
- Fundamental changes in plans and policies.
- Conclusion of important agreements with third parties.
- Major transactions beyond the normal scope of business.

(ANNEXURE B)

HOW TO TEST YOUR DELEGATION HABITS

| S. No. | Description | Strongly Agree | | Strongly Disagree | | |
|--------|---|----------------|---|-------------------|---|---|
| 1 | I'd delegate more, but the jobs I delegate never seem to get done the way I want them to be done. | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 2 | I don't feel I have the time to delegate properly. | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 3. | I carefully check on subordinate's work without letting them know I'm doing it, so I can correct their mistakes if necessary before they cause too many problems. | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 4 | I delegate the whole job -- giving the opportunity for the subordinate to, complete it without any my involvement. Then I review the end-result. | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 5 | When I have given clear instructions and the job isn't done right, I get upset. | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 6 | I feel the staff lacks the commitment that I have. So any job I delegate won't get done as well as I'd do it. | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 7 | I'd delegate more. But I feel I can do the task better than the person I might delegate it to. | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 8 | I'd delegate more. But if the individual I delegate the task to does an incompetent job, I'll be severely criticized. | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

| | | | | | | |
|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 9 | If I were to delegate the task, my job wouldn't be nearly as much fun. | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 10 | When I delegate a job, I often find that the outcome is such that I end up doing the job over again myself. | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 11 | I have not really found that delegation saves my time. | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 12 | I delegate a task clearly and concisely, explaining exactly how it should be accomplished. | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 13 | i can't delegate as much as I'd like to because my subordinates lack the necessary experience. | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 14 | I feel that when I delegate I lose control. | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 15 | I would delegate more but I'm pretty much a perfectionist. | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 16 | I work longer hours than I should. | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 17 | I can give subordinates the routine tasks, but I feel I must keep non-routine tasks myself. | | | | | |
| 18 | My own boss expects me to keep very close to all details of the work. | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

Social Mobility and Changing Settlement Pattern of the Displaced Persons in Riverine Bangladesh

A STUDY ON DISASTROUS ENVIRONMENT

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INTRODUCTION:

Riverbank erosion devastates recurrently the socio-economic settlement of riparian people in Bangladesh. This environment disaster contributes directly to the process of rapid pauperization for the people as it displaces annually millions people from their riparian tract (*cf.* Elahi and Rogge 1990) and claims many lives and properties as well. The disaster often dislocates cultivable land and human settlements, and also destroys standing crops, roads and communications, while the majority of rural people do not have access to food, housing, and medical facilities, the disaster of riverbank erosion further intensifies this alarming condition every year.

It is estimated that 85 percent of the people of Bangladesh lived below the poverty line in 1970s (see FAO 1989, GPRB 1980). At present an additional 54 percent barely manage to meet their basic minimum needs (BBS 1981a). The hunger situation indicates that 60 to 80 percent households are compelled to spend their entire amount of income on food at the cost of their health and educational needs. It is found in recent time that an average Bangladeshi household deserves the economic standing for spending its less than one percent income on health and education (GPRB 1992). In such adverse situation, an estimated one

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million persons displaced by riverbank erosion¹ join this population every year (cf Elahi and Rogge 1990).

Since land which is the principal source is very scarce in Bangladesh and, its disaster aggravates the rate of landlessness, homelessness, and under-employment of thousands of landless rural population. Thus the over-all social and economic development of the country receives a serious setback in this alarming condition. The enormous socio-economic loss and immense sufferings induced by riverbank erosion cause a drastic change and consequent mobility in the socio-economic status of the displaced persons. This disastrous environment impels¹ the displaced millions to shift their socio-economic settlement from the riparian tract to a peri-urban area. It is noteworthy that their socio-economic capacity in social hierarchy is remolded in deterioration by the disastrous environment of riparian tract.

This paper is designed to employ various types of social mobility that the displaced persons of two Bangladeshi villages — Sehala and Kaloni — received in their changing socio-economic settlement pattern. Finally, the paper concludes with some recommendations which the policy planners and implementers may consider for their future planning of rural development.

Study Locale and Data Sources

Sehala and Kaloni – two medium-sized villages of Nawabganj District in the northwestern region of Bangladesh – are selected as study locate. These villages are covered by same *mauza*.² They are located in the same physiographic and ecological setting. They have identical culture area and regional economy as they are adjoining each other. The geographical features of this *thana*¹ indicate that more or less half of the *thana* area amounting to 91039 acres is charland⁴. The unstable characteristics of the Ganges (see Hossain 1991, Kalam and Jabbar 1991) and the Mahananda indicate that the north bank of the Ganges (Bangladesh) and the both banks of the Mahananda are more susceptible to erosion. It is one of the worst erosion affected *than* as in the country (see Currey 1979, Nazem & Elahi 1990).

The principal rationale for selecting Sehala and Kaloni as study locate is that a sizable number of displaced persons from different erosion-affected area of Nawabganj district have settled in these villages in order to search for food, shelter, and employment. These two villages adjoin Nawabganj town and the Barind Tract⁵ as well. Both the villages provide the dispossessed persons with access to the labor market of Nawabganj Town and also to the agricultural employment of the Barind Tract. The catastrophic effects of riverbank erosion in Nawabganj and the sheer lack of social studies on this problem in the Ganges-Mahananda floodplain establish another point of rationale for selecting these study locates. It is quite disappointing that despite such devastating conditions of Nawabganj and adjacent areas, no socio-economic research has, to date, been carried out on the problem. The choice of Sehala and Kaloni is thus justifiable from the methodological point of view.

The sample size of Sehala is 36 displaced households (20.34% of the total) and its displaced population is 233 (23.49% of the total). Another village Kaloni contains 104 displaced households (55.03% of the total) with a population of 533 (57.68% of the total). The displaced households from different erosion-affected villages of Nawabganj Sadar Thana moved to Sehala and Kaloni and finally settled there. The present study considers all the displaced households of both the villages as the appropriate primary sampling units. The heads of the families of displaced households were directly interviewed. Thus the respective household head represents each sampling unit.

The principal tools for collecting the primary data are questionnaire and interviewing two techniques of survey method. The major sources of primary data, in addition, include observation, informal interview, case histories, and case studies of selected persons and notable issues. Additional sources of data used in this study are collections and analyses of local level office reports, evaluation of government and semi-government projects, programs and census reports, published reports and articles, etc. The nature of this study is based on an extensive fieldwork in two phases for a period of 12 months in 1991-92 and again in 1994-95.

Social Mobility and Changing Settlement Pattern

Riverbank erosion displacement is the independent catalyst in occurring changes and mobility in the socio-economic settlement pattern of the dislodged persons of Sehala and Kaloni. The displacees were compelled to grapple with various odd situations. This confrontation was to recover the loss induced by riverbank erosion to maintain the basic needs for survival and/or to increase the quality of life in the disastrous environment. Their efforts are modded into a sustained manner at adequate values (cf. Gallopin 1980). They invested their capacity in full range to procure natural and social goods and services. They formulated various indigenous strategies for adapting to their changing riverine environment, as they did not have any alternative choices. It is worthy to note that they did not receive any responses from institutional sources for their socio-economic settlement in the new social arena.

Location Change

The dislocation of agricultural land and homestead plots deserted the employment market in their original riparian villages. Consequently, they were pushed towards the nearby peri-urban centers and safer places in search of food, shelter, and alternative employment.

They did not have any assistance from institutional sources for their socio-economic recovery and survival on their original riparian tract (cf. Elahi 1987). In formulating survival strategies by their own, they found the location of Sehala and Kaloni suitable for their socio-economic settlement. This is, firstly, because of the availability of *Khasland* and lower price of land in these villages.

The locational facilities of the villages signify that Sehala and Kaloni occupy adjoining location to both the Barind Tract and Nawabganj Town. The Barind Tract is a bank of agricultural activities and related employment. The uprooted population of the study villages found easier access to the non-farm job market of Nawabganj Town. Moreover they received the most needed cooperation and moral support of their relatives, *sama*⁶ members, and other displaced counterparts who had already settled there earlier.

Marital Status

The displaced persons have faced very odd situations and dislocations in their marital status due mainly to riverbank erosion and the resultant displacement. Their age structure indicates that Sehala and Kaloni have 4.73 percent of unmarried females each.

Table-1

| Marital Status | SEHALA Population : N – 148 | | KALONI Population : N=317 | |
|-----------------|--------------------------------|------|------------------------------|------|
| | n | % | N | % |
| Uumarried Women | 7 | 4.73 | 15 | 4.73 |
| Divorcee Women | 1 | 0.68 | 4 | 1.26 |
| Widow | 3 | 2.03 | 22 | 6.94 |
| Widower | 10 | 6.76 | 26 | 8.20 |

The desolate state of their livelihood constrained 1.35 percent of displaced women of Sehala and 1.28 percent from Kaloni to remain unmarried although they had attained the marriageable age.

Case # 1

Amiran Khatun of Sehala is 38 years old. She lives with her widow mother and is still unmarried. After the erosion of riverbank she was displaced alongwith other members of her family. Later, her father expired due to a massive heart attack and her brothers started to lead their nuclear family life. She has no schooling. Nobody of her kin group and neighbours undertake any effort to arrange her marriage. It is because of her desolated economic standing due to riverbank displacement. She has a sewing machine and along with her mother lives on it. She earns less than US\$ 0.50 per day.

Sehala has 1 (0.68%) divorced women and Kaloni 4 (1.26%) among its displaced women. Their parental families have been rendered destitute after the displacement caused by the erosion of river bank. Such a situation compels their parental families to be unable to satisfy their husband's demand for dowry. As a matter of fact 2 (0.63%) of 20-44 age group from Kaloni are divorced by their husbands.

One of the widows from Sehala of the widowers of Kaloni lost their conjugal partner due to the sudden riverbank erosion. The widow's husband expire after being shocked by the riverbank erosion and displacement. The widower's wife on the other hand was victimized by the attack of riverbank erosion.

Case # 2

Rezaul Karim is a man of 40. He has received education upto higher secondary level. His wife was victimized by the attack of riverbank erosion when she was bathing in the Mahanandar River. He has two sons who have been receiving schooling. He is now a member of the family of his divorced sister of 50. He heads this joint family and takes care of agricultural activities and his sister rears and takes care of his sons. In this way they reciprocate each other.

The field data attests the fact that the preponderant majority of the displaced persons who have suffered immensely are women whose marital status has been disturbed due to the riverbank erosion.

Land Ownership

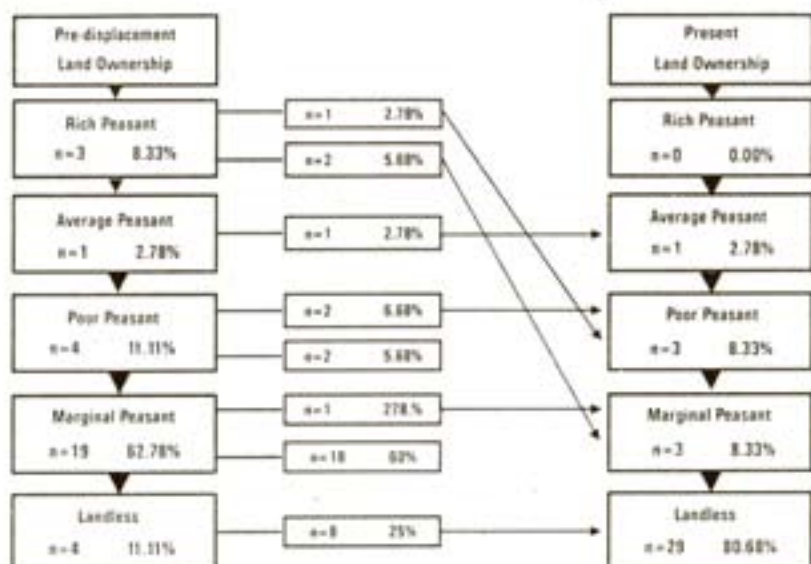
The environmental disaster of riverbank erosion is the only catalyst of mobility in the land ownership status of the displaced persons. This mobility indicates a radical change from their pre- to post-displacement status in landholding (see Figure 1). It is their intra-generational mobility. It also shows the horizontal and downward vertical mobility but no upward one.

Land is the primary but very scarce resource in rural Bangladesh. Nevertheless, agricultural land provides about 90 percent rural population (Jansen 1987) or more than 80 percent of the total population (Hall 1991) with employment and sources of income. The majority of Bangladesh continue to depend in one way or another, upon the rural land resources (Elahi & Rogge 1990). The land ownership ascribes the requirements of survival and social status and privilege to the members of an agrarian society like Bangladesh.

Figure 1 INTRA-GENERATIONAL MOBILITY IN THE DISPLACEDS' LAND OWNERSHIP

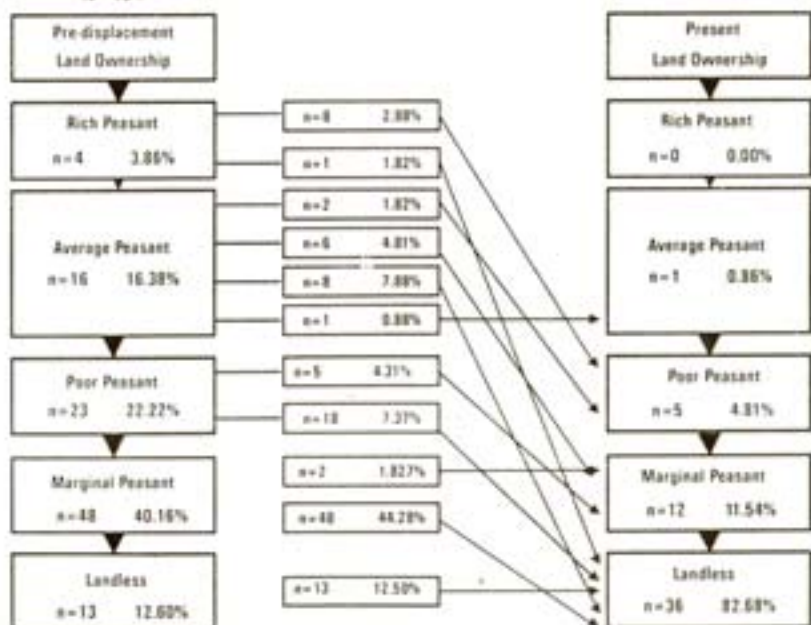
Sehala

N = 36



Kaloni

N = 104



Following the national classification of land ownership (BBS 1981a, 1984, see also Abdullah, Hossain, & Nations 1976, Alamgir 1975), the land ownership pattern of displaced persons of Sehala and Kaloni is stratified into five strata: (i) a landless peasant has no agricultural land but he may have homestead plot, (ii) marginal peasant occupies upto 1.00 acre of land; (iii) poor peasant owns land between 1.01 and 2.50 acres, (iv) average peasant holds 2.51 to 7.50 acres of land; and (v) rich peasant has land up to 7.51 acres and above.

It is found that, in spite of riverbank erosion and displacement, some of them find themselves capable somehow or the other to maintain their land ownership status. This signifies their horizontal mobility. The field data reveals that 2.78 percent from average, 5.56 percent from poor, and 2.78 percent from marginal peasants and 25 percent from landless households of Sehala did not receive any change in their land ownership. In Kaloni, 0.96 percent from average and 1.92 percent from marginal peasants and 12.50 percent from landless remain in their respective landholding status though they receive displacement due to erosion.

The cataclysm of riverbank erosion engulfed the agricultural land and homestead plot of the displaced persons on their riparian tract. Consequently, they received downward vertical mobility in their land ownership status. The field data indicate that in Sehala, 5.56 percent from rich peasants and 50 percent from marginal peasants are compelled to join the displaced landless. For Kaloni, 0.96 percent from rich peasants, 7.69 percent from average peasant, 17.31 percent from poor peasants, and 44.23 percent from marginal peasants inflated the existing landless (12.50%) population into the preponderant majority of 82.69 percent. While only 5.56 percent from poor peasants of Sehala joined the population of marginal peasant, 4.81 percent each from average and poor peasants increased the marginal peasants of Kaloni. Also it is found that 2.78 percent from rich peasants of Sehala and 1.92 percent from average peasants of Kaloni were rendered poor peasants.

The calculation indicates that nearly 64 percent of displaced persons from Sehala and 84.62 percent of Kaloni are impelled to join the lower strata of landholding. The mobility pattern signifies that in Sehala. The rich peasants have decreased from 8.33 to 0 percent; the poor peasants are from 11.11 to 8.33 percent, and the marginal peasants are from 52.78 to 8.33 percent. For Kaloni, the rich peasants have decreased

from 3.85 percent, the average peasants are from 15.38 to 0.96 percent, the poor peasants are from 22.22 to 4.81 percent and the marginal peasants are from 46.15 to 11.54 percent. Another alarming situation for this agrarian community is that the proportion of landless households of Sehala and Kaloni have tremendously increased from 25 to 80.56 percent and 12.50 to 82.69 percent, respectively. On the other hand, in spite of erosion, more than 36 percent of displaced persons of Sehala and 15.38 percent from Kaloni) horizontally remain in their respective stratum of land ownership status.

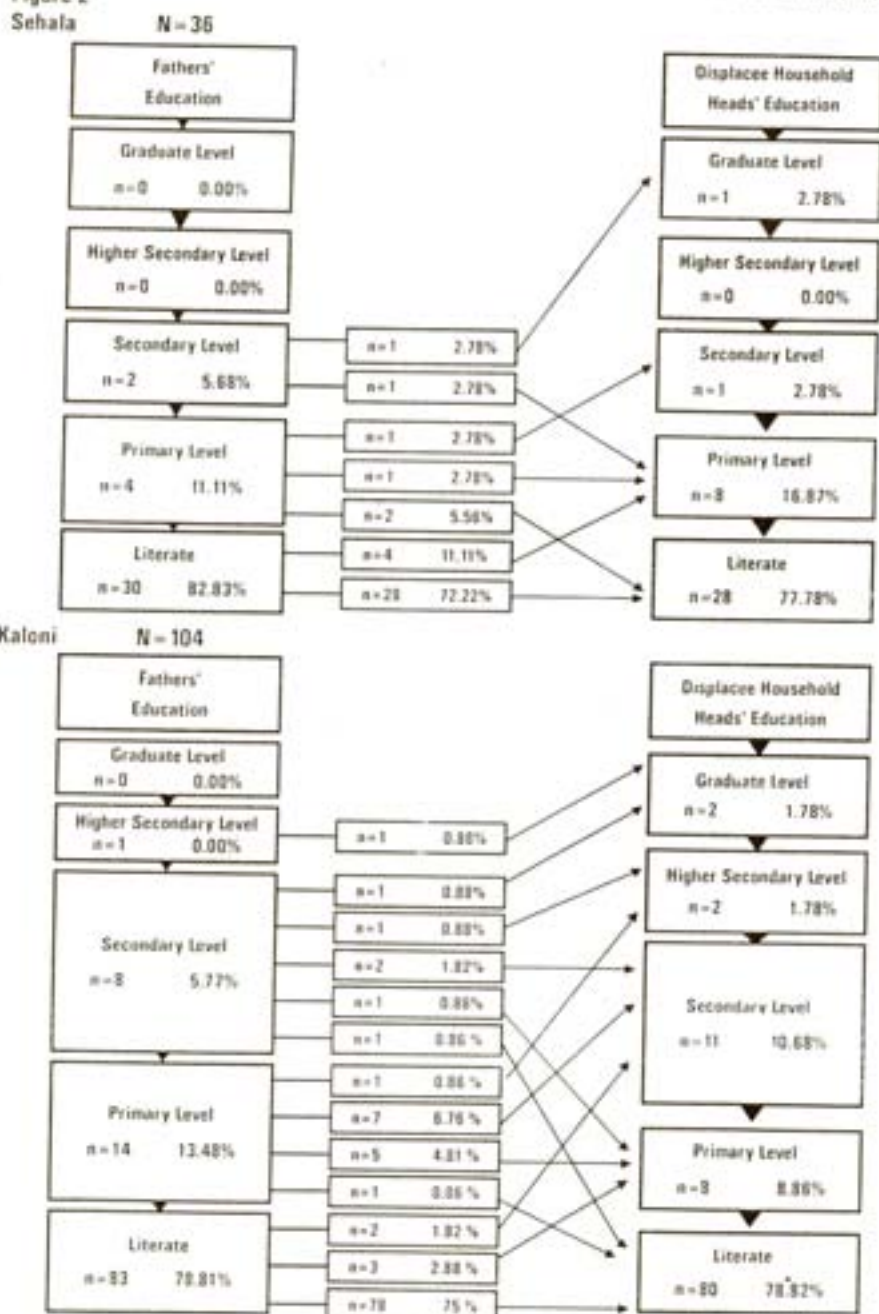
Educational Status

The inter-generational mobility is found in the educational status of the displaced persons (see Figure 2). The educational mobility has occurred at the family level. The educational attainment of father is one of the crucial factors in determining their children's educational status. The preponderant majority (75% of Sehala and 81.73% from Kaloni of this displaced population has received horizontal inter-generational mobility in their educational status. In Sehala, it is 72.22 percent from illiterate fathers to illiterate sons or daughters, and 2.78 percent from primary to primary level. Among their displaced persons of Kaloni, the horizontal inter-generational mobility of illiterate to illiterate is 75 percent and that of primary to primary and of secondary to secondary are 4.81 percent and 1.92 percent, respectively

Also an upward vertical mobility has occurred in the educational status of 16.67 percent displaced families of Sehala and of 15.38 percent from Kaloni. It is more than 11 percent from illiterate to primary, 2.78 percent from (secondary to graduate level in Sehala. For Kaloni, it is 2.88 percent) from illiterate to primary, 1.99% percent from illiterate to secondary; 6.73 percent from primary to secondary, 0.96 percent each from secondary to higher secondary and to graduate, and 0.96 percent from higher secondary to graduate level.

The downward vertical mobility has also occurred in the educational status of 8.33 percent displaced persons of Sehala and of 2.88 percent from Kaloni. In Sehala, it is 2.78 percent from secondary to primary; and 5.56 percent from primary to illiterate. For Kaloni, it is 0.96 percent each from secondary to primary and to illiterate and another 0.96 percent from primary to illiterate. The downward vertical mobility in the educational status has a positive association with the riverbank erosion displacement experienced by the displaced persons themselves.

INTRA-GENERATIONAL MOBILITY IN THE EDUCATION LEVEL OF THE DISPLACEE HOUSEHOLD HEADS
Figure 2



Case # 3

Abdur Rahman of Kaloni is a man of 40. He is an illiterate, while his father has had his education up to secondary level. His family faced riverbank erosion displacement at two times. The desolate state of his family did not provide him with any opportunity of receiving education.

The riverbank erosion displacement affected tremendously the educational status of the displaced household heads of Sehala and Kaloni. It caused inter-generational mobility among the displaced in different ways. It is found that upward vertical mobility stands for a positive change and achievement in educational status from one generation to another. On the reverse, the downward vertical mobility stands for a negative change and achievement in that respect. The horizontal mobility on the other hand, from one generation to another, indicates a static condition in educational status. It is because that their educational skills directly shape their survival pattern.

Occupational Status

The occupations of the heads of displaced households are ranked on the basis of their socio-economic status in the social hierarchy of community. Agriculture is at the top of this rank-order. It is followed by teaching, business, service, sharecropping, tailoring, building, construction, hiring out bullock cart, rickshaw-pulling, agricultural labour, non-farm labour, hair cutting, and maidservantship. The downward vertical mobility and horizontal mobility have occurred in their occupational status (see Figure 3). It is due to riverbank erosion and consequent perennial loss of homestead, and cultivable land. This precarious situation causes the fall of their economic standing and compels them to accept any type of odd job for their subsistence.

The horizontal mobility has occurred in the occupational status of 41.67 percent displaced households of Sehala and 40.38 percent of Kaloni. In Sehala, three (8.33%) displaced families of agriculture, one (2.78%) each of teaching, business, service, two (5.56%) artisans of building construction, four (11.11%) agricultural laborers, and three (8.33%) non-farm labourers remain in their status quo. For Kaloni, it is eight (7.69%) displaced of agriculture, six (5.77%) traders, eleven (10.58%) service-holders, two (1.92%) tailors, five (4.81%) each of artisans of building construction, of agricultural laborers and of non-farm laborers.

MOBILITY IN THE DISPLACEDS' OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

Figure 3

Sehala N=36

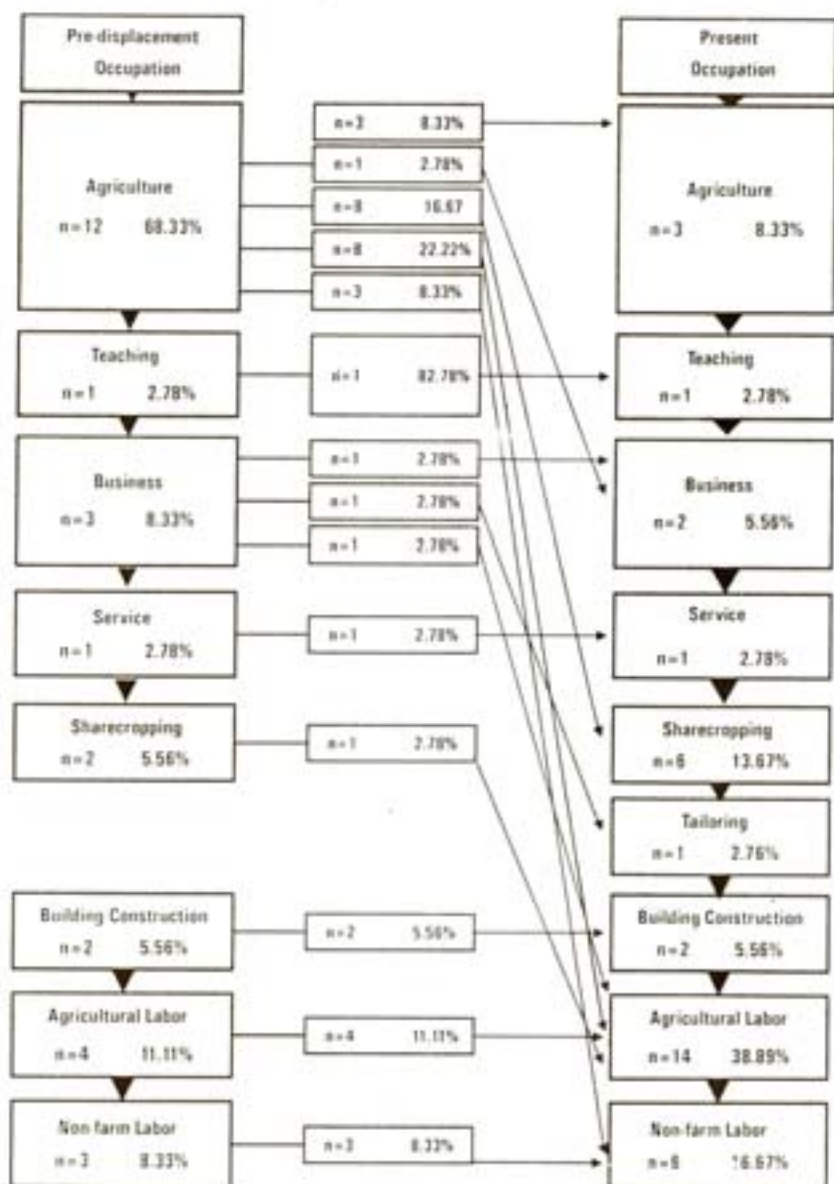
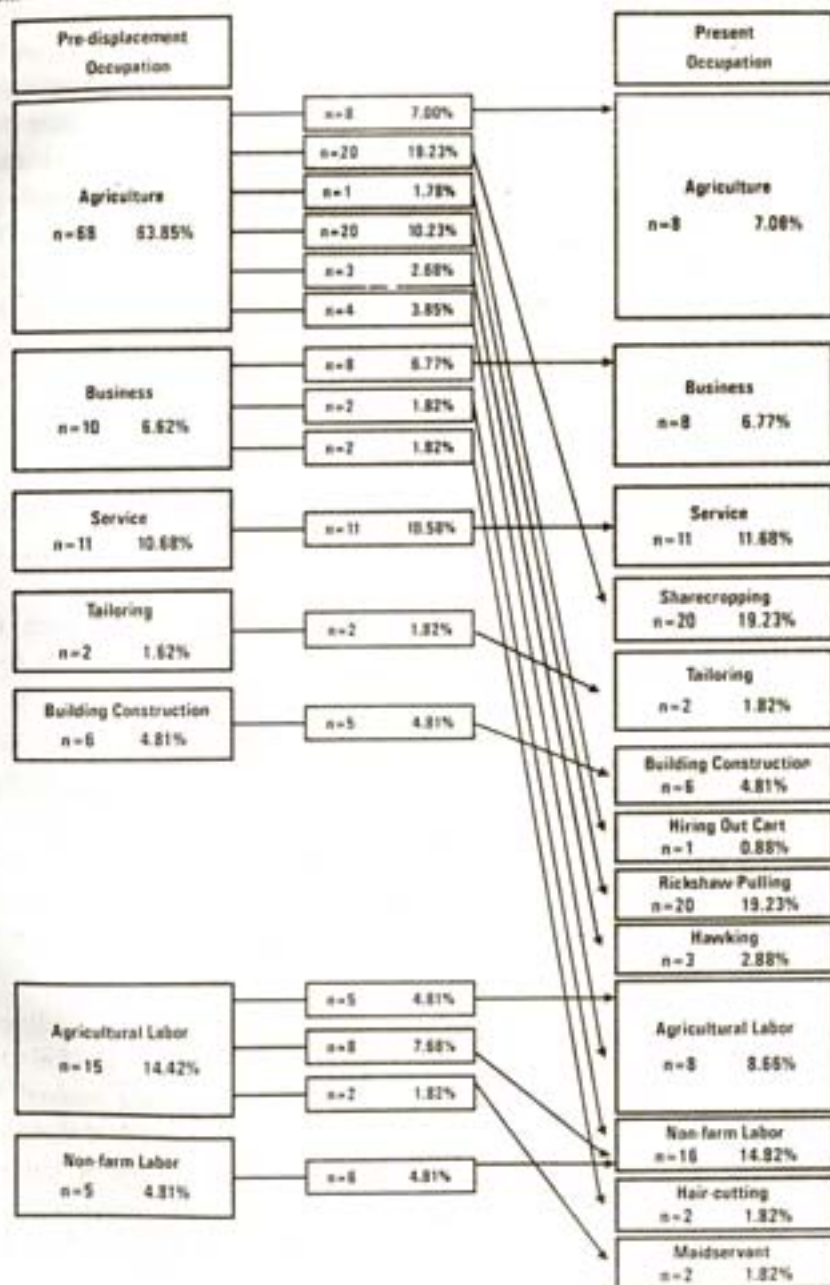


Figure 3 (contd.)

Kaloni N = 104



The displaced persons from both the villages have suffered downward vertical mobility in their occupational status. They account for 58.33 percent of Sehala and 59.62 percent of Kaloni. Among the uprooted persons of Sehala. It is 2.78, 16.67, 22.22, and 8.33 percent respectively, from agriculture to business, to sharecropping, to agricultural labor, and to non-farm labor. One (2.78%) each from business have been compelled to resort to tailoring and agricultural labour as occupation and another one (2.78%) from sharecropping to agricultural labor. In Kaloni, the downward mobility is 19.23, 0.96, 19.23, 2.88, and 3.85 percent from agriculture to sharecropping, to hiring out bullock cart, to rickshaw pulling, to hawking, and to agricultural labor, respectively. From business, 1.92 percent each of the displaced persons have mobilized to non-farm labor, and to hair cutting. Other proportions of them are 7.69 percent from agricultural labor to non-farm labor, and 1.92 percent from the same group to maidservantship.

The displaced families lost their homestead plot, cultivable land, and other tangible goods due to riverbank erosion. Consequently, they are compelled to receive a great fall of their economic standing. After displacement, they have migrated to Sehala and Kaloni from their original places on the riparian tract. In order to survive, they are forced by disastrous environment to receive any odd and/or low-paying job.

It is revealed that 27.78 percent of Sehala and nearly 26 percent displaced persons from Kaloni were engaged in occupations based on manual labor before their displacement. These proportions have now raised to 80.58 percent for Sehala and more than 66 percent for Kaloni after their displacement. The present proportions are 2.9 times multiple for Sehala and 2.56 times for Kaloni. In comparison with their pre-displacement status of manual labor based occupations.

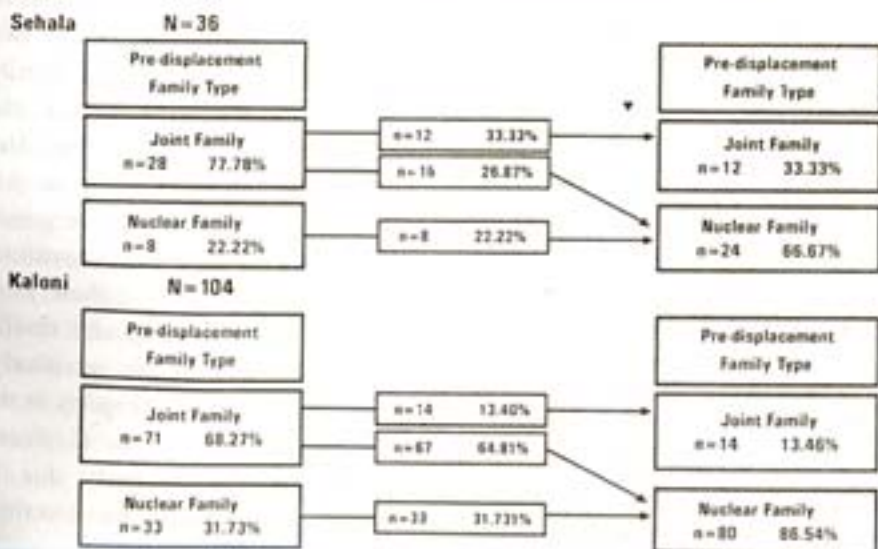
These findings are empirically supported by the findings of Lomnitz (1977) in the Mexican socio-economic context. He found that the marginal are engaged in unaffiliated and low-paying manual labor unpaid family labor, and small-scale family enterprises. Nevertheless, the findings of his study do not correlate with Lewis' concept of 'culture of poverty'. Lewis (1966) inferred that in Latin America, urban poor cause their own poverty as they use deviant behavior and attitudes in socio-economic interaction.

The nature of mobility in occupational status of the displaced families of Sehala and Kaloni indicates a wide diversity of occupations. The uprooted persons of Sehala were engaged in 8 different occupations before displacement, while after displacement they are now compelled to engage in 9 types of different occupations. For Kaloni, the number of occupations were 7 before and now it is 13. Most of their present occupations are physically rigorous and/or low paying. The tasks of these occupations are really big. They are compelled to do those odd jobs in order to grapple with the disastrous hardship in view of their poor economic plight.

Family Type

Bangladesh is a society of agricultural structure. It is closely conjoined with the joint family organization since in this organization all the family members jointly enjoy a suitable opportunity of having affable support to perform different types of works. These works are mainly associated with agriculture and other agricultural occupations. The joint family organization has, from times immemorial, been the dominant one in agricultural Bangladesh, especially in its rural setting. It is noteworthy that the riverbank erosion caused structural mobility in the family type of displaced persons in Sehala and Kaloni (see Figure 4).

Figure 4 STRUCTURAL MOBILITY IN THE DISPLACEDS' FAMILY TYPE



It is found that the displaced persons of Sehala had 77.78 percent joint and 22.22 percent nuclear families. Nearly 33 percent from joint and all the nuclear families (22.22%) did not receive any structural change but achieved horizontal mobility in their structure. In Kaloni, the displaced persons had 68.27 percent joint and 31.37 percent nuclear type families. Nearly 19.72 percent from joint and all the nuclear families (31.73%) receive horizontal mobility after displacement as they are in the status quo.

Moreover, 26.67 percent from joint families, of Sehala and 54.81 percent of Kaloni are structurally rendered nuclear families. It is because the displaced persons started to lead nuclear family life, as they have to confront with economic hardship caused by erosion. In nuclear family life, the family heads have to bear the liability of only a few members and they found it easier to shoulder the responsibility of a small family, a task which would have been difficult had the old joint family system been maintained.

The findings of this study however, don't associate with what Arensberge (1955), Gore (1961) and Orenshtein (1961) had argued for the shift to family living from the joint to nuclear type. They considered that the emergence of modern industrial economy leads the way to nuclear family. Bailey (1963) found the penetration of market economy and the emerging modern occupations in Orissa village as the catalysts of such a change in family typology Epstein (1962) observed in her two study villages of South India that the breakdown of the joint family organization among peasants is nothing but the outcome of the conversion of their subsistence economy into cash economy. Her observation is the reverse of the findings of the present study in this respect. The displaced families lost their land and other tangible goods due to riverbank erosion and consequently they were rendered destitute. Their desolate state of livelihood led to the breakdown of their joint family organization in order to grapple with their hardship and finally they were motivated to lead the nuclear family living. It can, positively, be associated with the observation of Shahani (1961) that property is the principal pre-requisite for the existence of joint family, the displaced persons of Sehala and Kaloni lost their land and property due to riverbank erosion as stated earlier and lost their joint family bond in their

hardship as well.

Residential Pattern

The study villages of Sehala and Kaloni are located in the north of Nawabganj-Rajshahi highway and in the proximity to the Nawabganj Town. Nevertheless, the residential pattern of these families has not significantly molded by their new urban environment. The populations under study are migrants to these villages. The preponderant majority of them are compelled to reside in the traditional structure of house made of mud and straw.

A tremendous change has also occurred in the structure of their residence (see Figure 5). This change was a natural result of the riverbank erosion displacement of the simple population. Their residential pattern in the pre-displacement period was enriched with the following status. While Sehala had 11.11 percent concrete (wall constructed of bricks and roof of rod cement concrete), 36.11 percent mixed (partially concrete with the non-concrete portion), and 52.78 percent non-concrete (constructed of mud-dough, straw, bamboo, wooden plank, tile, corrugated Iron sheet, etc.) structure of houses. Kaloni had 5.77 percent concrete, more than 41 percent mixed, and nearly 53 percent non-concrete houses. The displaced persons lost their original structure of houses as the attack of riverbank erosion engulfed it almost suddenly.

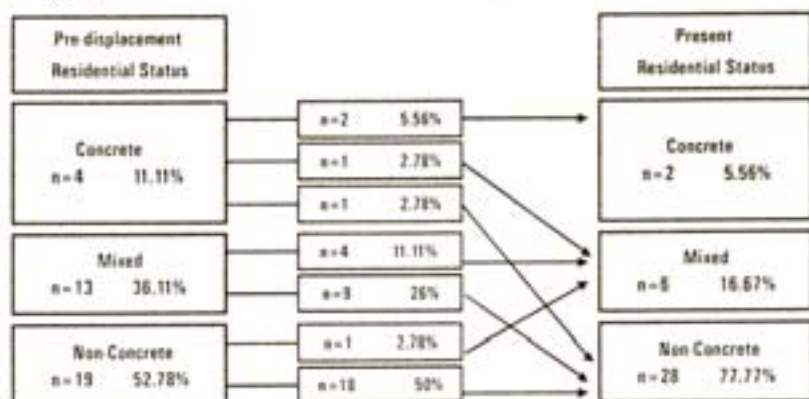
In settling in Sehala and Kaloni the displaced persons failed to maintain their pre-displacement residential pattern and it was adjusted in accordance with the changed circumstances. It is found that 5.56 percent uprooted of concrete, 11.11 percent of mixed and 50 percent of non-concrete houses from Sehala and 0.96 percent of concrete, 13.46 percent of mixed, and 5.96 percent of non-concrete houses from Kaloni effected no change in the structural pattern of their residential houses. It is also found that 2.78 percent each of concrete, and of non-concrete houses from Sehala are compelled to rebuild their residential houses in mixed structure. Moreover, another proportion of displaced ones (2.78%) of concrete and one quarter of mixed houses are forced to change their houses into non-concrete structure due to economic exigencies. For Kaloni, 1.92 percent displacements of concrete and 0.96 percent of non-concrete houses were rebuilt with mixed structure. In spite of

displacement, one each non-concrete house-owner from Sehalá (2.78%) and Kaloni (0.96%) are found capable of rebuilding their houses with mixed structure and another one (0.96%) non-concrete house-owners of Kaloni also rebuilt their houses in concrete structure. These households have good economic standing based on service and even the effects of riverbank erosion failed to destroy their economic standing.

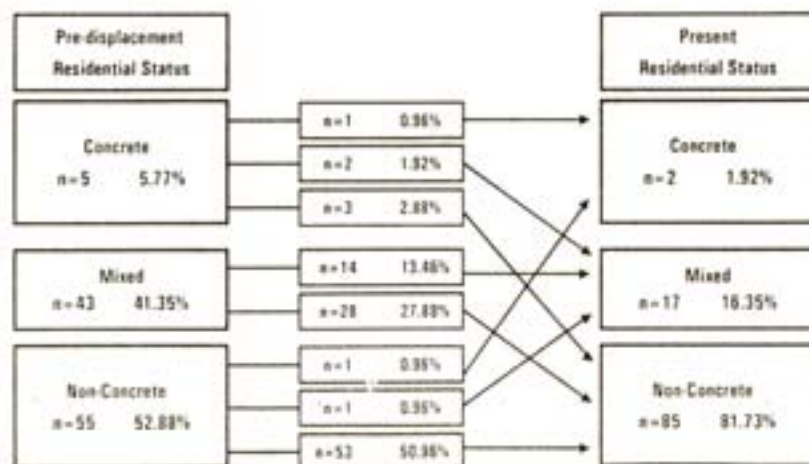
STRUCTURAL CHANGE IN THE DISPLACEDS' RESIDENTIAL STATUS

Figure 5

Sehalá N=36



Kaloni N=104



Case # 4

Jahanara Khatun of Kaloni is a widow of 50. Her only son is employed in Saudi Arabia and earning a handsome amount of money per month. In addition to that, she is the only average peasant among the displaced persons of Kaloni. She had houses of non-concrete structure of her original homestead as the susceptible nature of riverbank constrained her to build concrete structure. After displacement and migration to Kaloni, she built her houses with concrete structure.

Case # 5

Abdur Rahman of Sehala is a man of 55 years. His four sons have been earning money through service. He is a poor peasant and a school teacher as well. He maintains a good economic standing in spite of riverbank erosion and displacement. He had houses of non-concrete structure in his original place. In Sehala, he has built his houses with mixed structure.

Number of Houses

The displaced persons of Sehla and Kaloni underwent another change in the number of their residential houses due to the cataclysm of erosion (see Figure 6). It is observed in Sehala that 2.78 percent displaced persons of more than three, 5.56 percent of three, 22.22 percent of two, and 30.56 percent of one houses respectively have remained unchanged in their respective statuses even after displacement. Kaloni shows similar evidences. Nearly 4 percent of the displaced ones of more than three, 5.77 percent of three, 21.15 percent of two and 37.50 percent of one house category have not changed in their number.

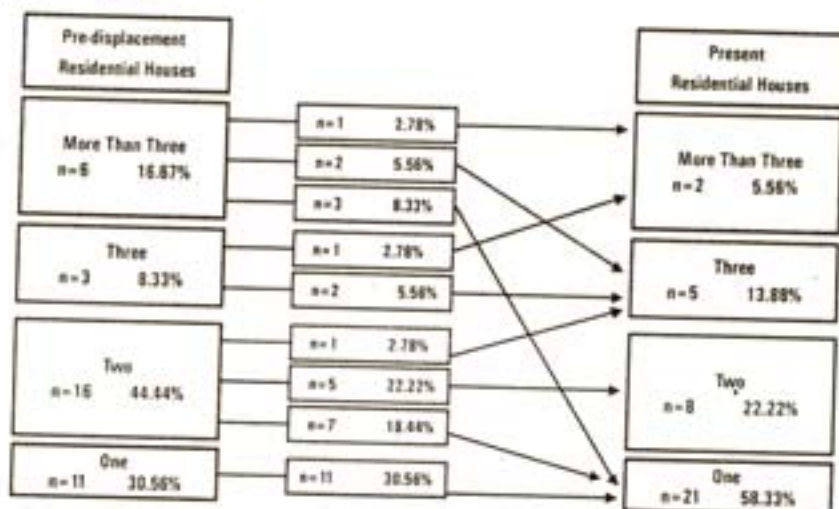
The displaced families principally underwent downward structural change in their number of houses. In Sehala, 5.56 percent displaced with more than three houses have changed into the category of three houses, 8.33 percent more than three into one, and 19.44 percent of two houses into one house category. For Kaloni, 8.65 percent displaced of more than three houses are compelled to reside in two residential houses. Another 1.92 percent of the same group was forced to reside in one house due to their perennial loss by riverbank erosion. Nearly 5 percent of three and 16.35 percent of two houses dwell in single residential house with an embarrassing familiar environment. Sehala

shows an exception to this finding. Nearly 3 percent displaced of two houses built three houses in Sehala and their same proportion of three houses category owned more than three residential houses as they have service and/or business-based economic standing.

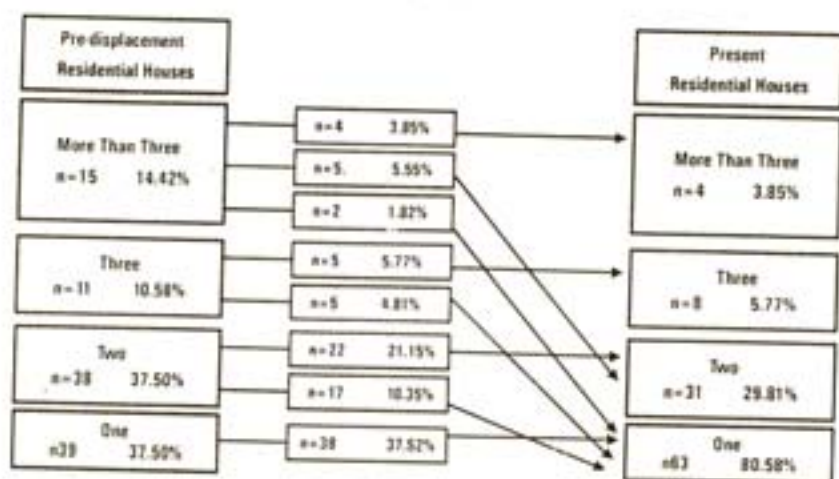
NUMERAL CHANGE IN THE DISPLACEDS' RESIDENTIAL HOUSES

Figure 6

Sehala N=36



Kaloni N=104



Concluding Remarks

All the displaced families have transmigrated from their riparian tract to Sehala and Kaloni. This type of locational mobility from rural to peri-urban area has occurred at the family level, they were directly pushed by the riverbank erosion displacement, of the one hand. On the other, they were attracted by the low price of homestead plot in Sehala and Kaloni for resettlement and locational facilities for employment in both the farm and non-farm sectors. Because of such migration, they lost the social network on their riparian tract and they have to grapple with many odd situations in adapting to the new social environment of Sehala and Kaloni.

Riverbank erosion has dislocated cultivable land enormously and in the end, the source of employment and income of the riparian people have been reduced to a very great extent, the displaced persons were dependent on land and agricultural activities in respect of getting employment and of earning income. Almost all of them were cultivators and agricultural laborers in their original setting on the riparian tract. Since they have lost their cultivable land due to erosion, the former landholder became landless or compelled to become peasants in return for a paltry sum of money. The new employers, were unable to employ agricultural laborers. The agricultural production and income of the landless migrants had been reduced even in their original riparian tract. As a matter of fact, their employment market and income level tremendously deteriorated by the cataclysm of riverbank erosion.

The rural economic structure of Bangladesh is vitally based on a system of very uneven distribution of land. While land is the best index of visible wealth and it generates power and influence in the community, the downward vertical mobility in the land ownership rendered the preponderant majority of those displaced landless or equivalent to being landless. Consequently, they were compelled to be client in the asymmetrical patron-client ties.

The mobility and changes in socio-economic settlement of the displaced persons tremendously mold the formulation and undertaking of strategies for their survival in the new precarious environment. It usually limits their skills and opportunities of employment in one way or another. The riverbank erosion presents a plethora of prodigious needs to

the displaced people and they have been accordingly compelled to meeting these needs in their own ways being devoid of institutional response. Because of the downward vertical mobility in their socio-economic settlement, they have lost their socio-economic capacity in the social structure.

Policy Recommendations

The findings of this research claim some policy implication. The government and non-government organizations should respond to the prodigious needs of these almost homeless and uprooted people with regard to their socio-economic settlement. This response should be made due to the immediacy of their displacement for aiding them in their new environmental adaptation on their riparian tract and finally in their socio-economic settlement in the safer places as well. The research findings therefore, suggest some recommendations for future planning which are as under :-

- (a) The measures for prevention of riverbank erosion require a large-scale engineering works, and huge financial cost. Since it is not possible for the individual to undertake effective measures, the government should do the job well in time.
- (b) The displaced persons need to be sheltered at any cost in the immediateness of erosion. The government should provide adequate assistance of shelter to them.
- (c) They expect that the food rationing should immediately go into service by the government in the immediacy of riverbank erosion attack. Since the displaced people have to grapple with food crisis, the emergency food ration will certainly lessen their sufferings.
- (d) They are subjected to health hazards and the epidemic is its ultimate result. The government should provide health care and low-cost houses with sanitary latrine and clean drinking water facilities for them. This assistance will help them in adapting to their new riverine environment and finally in formulating their socio-economic settlement.

- (e) The government should provide them with employment and minimal housing facilities with infrastructure network for their socio-economic settlement in any safer places.
- (f) They, however, received the meager financial and physical assistance for their fresh socio-economic settlement from their neighbors and/or relatives but not from any institutional sources. The displaced persons expect that the government and/or non-government organizations should be the viable sources of such assistance, in order that some of their sufferings are mitigated.

Acknowledgments

The fieldwork of this research was funded by the Institute of Bangladesh Studies (IBS), University of Rajshahi, Bangladesh. We would like to appreciate its financial assistance and assiduity of a sound and stimulating environment of library facilities for carrying this research.

Endnotes

- 1 The riverbank erosion displaced persons are those unfortunate people who are displaced due to riverbank erosion at least once a year. The present study designates them as a distract category of riparian people in Bangladesh. They have already lost their dwelling unit of homestead and have experienced at least one more attack of erosion since the writing of this paper. This concept is used in this study to mean the displaced population and the displaced households as well. The displaced who face this calamity almost regularly are categorized into four classes: once, twice, thrice, and more than three times. This categorization is based on the frequencies of their displacement from the riparian tract due to the attack of erosion.
- 2 It is a geographically defined land revenue unit. The land revenue survey undertaken by the government of British India coined the term *mauza* for revenue purposes. *Mauza* was the unit of this survey. This was defined in the note of directions for Settlement Officers, 1849 as a parcel of land which had a

separate name in the revenue records, *i.e.*, practically a local subdivision of an estate or *mahal* (Nelson 1923, Wilson 1855) *Mauza* is nothing but the lowest revenue area for which the settlement records were prepared in 1850. One *mauza* may comprise one or more villages.

- 3 It is a higher tier of the local government administration in Bangladesh. It is positioned in the third step of administration, *e.g.*, Division, District, and then *Thana*. *Thana* comprises two or more unions and district is comprised of two or more *thanas* and finally division consists of two or more districts. It is estimated that the administrative area of a *thana* is about 181 sqkm on an average and an average of 176,000 population live under its administration.
 - 4 It is a mid-channel islet in the riverbed. It is any accretion in the river, which may be seasonal or may survive for several decades. *Char* lands are abundantly found in the large rivers of Bangladesh, such as the Ganges. The intense competition among floodplain inhabitants for cultivating these *char* lands and/or settling on it creates social clash in terrible form. These lands were regulated in the British India by Bengal Regulations XI, 1825 (Wilson 1855).
 - 5 It is a tract called *Varendra* in the Sanskrit literature which means a part of Bengal north of the Ganges, designating especially one great division of the *Brahmans* of Bengal (Wilson 1855). This tract is one of the terrace areas of Pleistocene age within the Bengal Basin. It has two terrace levels – one at 39.7m and the other between 19.8m and 22.9m (Rashid 1977). The district of Nawabganj includes parts of the West-Central Barind and of the Western Barind.
 - 6 It is an indigenous village social organization. It is not organized by the government. It is a village council which may be compared with *parea* of Punjabi village in Pakistan (Eglar 1960). *Samaj* performs religious, ritual, ceremonial, and adjudicative functions (for more, see Karim 1990).
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Review of Three Years Rule of President Pervez Musharraf (Oct. 1999 – Oct. 2002)

WHITE PAPER PUBLISHED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN
REVIEW BY PROF. DR. SADIQ ALI GILL*

The white paper, published by the Government of Pakistan is a very frank and honest narrative of the realities that led to the exit of the Nawaz Sharif Government and the achievements of the 3 years of present Government. People of Pakistan heaved a sigh of relief at this change due to poor governance and management.

The so-called democratic Govt. with heavy mandate undermined the basic imperatives of Federal Polity leading to politicization of civil services and dragging the armed forces in their struggles for political power. Simultaneously using the economic, fiscal and development planning for personal expediency, thus violating the ethics and norms of constitutional governance.

According to the intelligence, the military takeover was the saving grace for Pakistan as the nation was virtually on the edge of a precipice, with its very survival at stake.

The white paper very succinctly and honestly deals with the state of affairs on 12-10-1999 and the arduous steps taken by the Military regime to bring the state and its affairs on an even keel; which not only stopped the slide towards the withering away of the state; but also opened new vistas

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towards economic, political, social and administrative progress and sustainable development.

The white paper sums the conditions prevailing at the time of takeover by the army, which in the words of General Pervez Musharraf were: "Pakistan today stands at the cross-road of its destiny. We started with a beacon of hope and today that beacon is no more We have reached a stage where our economy has crumbled, our credibility is lost, state institutions lie demolished, provincial disharmony has caused cracks in the Federation... We have lost our honour, our dignity, our respect in the comity of nations".

The Chief Executive though faced with the herculean task, did not for a moment hesitate in his efforts to lead the nation out of the morass. He outlined his future course of action in a Seven Point National Agenda which in fact was road-map of reform and reconstruction for putting Pakistan on the road to political stability and economic and social progress:-

- Rebuild national confidence and morale.
- Strengthen the Federation, remove inter-provincial disharmony and restore national cohesion.
- Revive the economy and restore investors confidence.
- Ensure law and order and dispense speedy justice.
- Depoliticise state institutions.
- Devolution of power to the grass-roots level.
- Ensure swift and across the board accountability.

The impact of the implementation of the above seven points is for history to judge: but it is clear that these were planned and implemented with the best of intentions for the welfare and betterment of the people of Pakistan by the Chief Executive. Their immediate impact was that:

- External debt and foreign exchange liability was reduced from \$38 billion in 1998-99 to \$ 36 billion in 2001-2002.

- Fiscal deficit was reduced from an average of 7% GDP in 1990s to 5%.
- Foreign exchange reserves crossed \$8.54 billion.
- Exports increased to over \$9 billion in 2000-1 from \$8 billion through 1994-5 to 1998-9.
- Foreign direct investment escalated from \$31 million a month in 1998-99 to \$54 million in 2002.
- Inflation was reduced to 3.5% from 10.4% during the 1990s

In brief, the Musharraf Government in its brief rule of three years achieved it through honest hard work and dedication, more than what the Civil Governments were able to achieve during their tenures.

President Musharraf's Government aimed to:-

- Develop a political culture characterized by sustained democracy, federalism, transparency, accountability and empowerment of the people.
- Reconstruction of the institutions of State to establish genuine and sustainable democracy in the country.

Reconstruction and reorientation of Police and Civil Service towards service to the people.

Accomplishment of the aim lead following objectives:

- (a) People's representatives at the lowest level are answerable to the people they are meant to represent.
- (b) Government functionaries at all operational levels are answerable to the people's representatives.
- (c) Officers of the Civil Service with merit have a chance to better their future careers and provide superior service to the people and the state.

- (d) District administration and its components having greater power and are less encumbered with interference from higher levels of administration.
- (e) A constitution suitably fortified against threats to stability that emanates from political expediency and insecurity.

In conclusion it may be said that the change-over was a blessing in disguise for Pakistan and its people, and put the common man on the road to economic, social, political and administrative progress with a ray of hope for deliverance through a process of accountability at all levels.

President Pervez Musharraf came as a deliverer of the common man and set the stage for the political Government to continue the reformed agenda. His three years' rule in history is likely rebirth of Pakistan following Quaid's motto of Unity, Faith and Discipline, with the intent to create an environment of Justice, Fairplay and Impartiality.

My Boss & I

WHEN I TAKE A LONG TIME--

I AM SLOW,

WHEN MY BOSS TAKES A LONG TIME,

HE IS THOROUGH,

WHEN I DON'T DO IT,

I AM LAZY,

WHEN MY BOSS DOESN'T DO IT,

HE IS TOO BUSY,

WHEN I DO SOMETHING WITHOUT BEING TOLD,

I AM TRYING TO BE SMART,

WHEN MY BOSS DOES THE SAME,

THAT IS INITIATIVE,

WHEN I PLEASE MY BOSS,

I'M APPLE-POLISHING,

WHEN MY BOSS PLEASES HIS BOSS--

HE'S CO-OPERATING,

WHEN I DO GOOD, MY BOSS NEVER REMEMBERS,

WHEN I DO WRONG, HE NEVER FORGETS.

Notes to Contributors

Manuscripts, articles, book reviews or letters on themes of contemporary or historical interest, with particular reference to South Asia, are welcome.

Manuscript should be clearly typed on one side of the paper only, and should be double-spaced. Two copies should be submitted.

Bibliographies and footnotes should be placed at the end of the article. Footnotes should be numbered consecutively, and bibliographies should be arranged alphabetically. Foreign words should be underlined.

Bibliographical references in respect of the title of the book, the name of the author, the year and the place of publication should be given.

Utmost care should be taken to prepare statistical data for publication. All headings, columns, rows, symbols, units of measurement, periods, political and geographical areas, and sources should be clearly stated in each statistical table, instead of giving such explanations in the text.

Tables, maps, and diagrams should be numbered and given at the end of the article, each on a separate sheet of paper. They should be clearly drawn so that they are suitable for photocopying as submitted.

Abstracts

Authors should submit abstracts of their articles, not exceeding 100 words. The first page of the paper should include the title of the paper as well as the name and institutional affiliation of the author.

The Editor reserves the right to make editorial revisions.