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## **A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ENGLISH AND BENGALI SYNTAX : Simple Declarative Sentences**

Md. Ator Ali\*

### **Abstract**

The article is an attempt at an analysis and discussion of English and Bengali syntactic structures with reference to their similarities and dissimilarities. We have discovered that almost all the English syntactic structures have their corresponding structures in Bengali. The exceptions are only the structures which begin with 'There' and 'It'. Some of the English Structures require certain modifications for being used as the corresponding Bengali structures. Bengali verbs may also need some modification to be used in the corresponding English structure in Bengali.

### **Introduction**

Syntax is a popular topic in books on language and linguistics. Bloomfield (1980; pp. 184-206), Hockett (1976; pp. 183-198 & 214-220), Gleason (1968; pp. 149-170) and Chomsky (1957) are among the most eminent linguists who have paid close attention, in some way or other, to the study of syntax. Syntax has always been discussed in any grammar books. Nesfield (1973), Allen (1965) and Corder (1972) are a few examples of many important grammarians who have taken great interest in the analysis of English syntax. Even the linguists who have attached importance to the study of syntax have principally concerned themselves with the syntax of a particular language, specially English. If there is any attempt on their part to compare syntactically English with any other language (cf. Bloomfield op.cit. pp. 188-189), it is not unfortunately detailed, analysing each clear-cut structure of English and comparing it with that of

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the other language. This is perhaps because linguists are interested in evolving a syntactic theory (e.g. Chomsky's T.G. Grammar, Hockett's 'endocentric' and 'exocentric' 'construction-types', or Bloomfield's 'included position' and 'absolute position') rather than formulating clear-cut syntactic rules for a particular language as we have in grammar books, or comparing syntactic structures of one language with those of another. In the case of grammarians they are concerned with the analysis of the language they are writing about so that the people interested in learning the language might be amply benefited. This is why there is still a large gap in the field of comparative syntactic study of languages. The article is merely a modest attempt to fill up this gap by comparing English and Bengali syntax.

While talking about sentence structures we shall confine our discussion to both 'endocentric' and 'exocentric' constructions (Hockett, 1976; pp. 183-198) which are subsumed as well under 'included' positions, in total disregard of 'absolute' positions (Bloomfield, 1980, p. 170). Though both English and Bengali declarative sentences provide good examples of 'included' positions, they have very obvious differences in their syntactic structures. Bengali belongs to that group of languages which has syntactic structures of the SOV pattern, while English demonstrates the syntactic structures of the SVO pattern. But even in the case of declarative sentences in English there are also many exceptions. When a sentence begins, for example, with 'There' or a prepositional phrase, the position of the subject is transposed to that of the verb. 'He likes sweets' is a normal English declarative sentence, but 'there are many people in the street' and 'Among the new comers were two men' are the sentences showing the transposition of the subject to the position of the verb. However, the SVO rule holds good in the case of the majority of English declarative sentences.

The sentence patterns 'ami age khakhono take dekhini'/'ami take age khakhono dekhini'/'ami age take khakhono dekhini' 'I have never seen him before' show that one sentence may be changed into another without changing the meaning. Such interchangeable sentences are frequently used in Bengali which



shows similarity to Russian in this respect. The rule which admits of such free variation among sentence patterns is known as scrambling, and Bengali makes use of this rule very liberally. But this rule does not normally apply to English because English, unlike Bengali, does not have the freedom to interchange the positions of the various parts of its sentence. In English the structure of the sentence is more or less fixed.

### **Structures of English Declarative Sentences**

English declarative sentences can be divided into nine groups (Ahmed et al., 1987) :

- (1) Subject + Intransitive Verb
- (2) Subject + Linking Verb + Noun Complement
- (3) Subject + Linking Verb + Adjective Complement
- (4) Subject + Linking Verb + Adverbial Complement
- (5) Subject + Transitive Verb + Noun (object)
- (6) Subject + Transitive Verb + Noun (object) + Adjective Complement
- (7) Subject + Transitive Verb + Noun (object) + Noun Complement
- (8) Subject + Transitive Verb + Noun (Indirect object) + Noun (Direct object)
- (9) There + Verb + Noun (subject)

The classification provided by Ahmed et al. (op. cit.) appears very simplistic, when we compare it with the classification of Hornby et al. (1973; pp. xiv-xxviii) who list 25 principal structures depending on the way the verb occurs in an English sentence. They also sub-classify many of these principal structures on the basis of the usage or meaning. Verb patterns 11, 12, 15 and 16 deal with complex sentences and nevertheless, the number comes down to 21 which is more than twice the number of structures Ahmed et al. (op. cit.) have posited. However, Ahmed (1986) has attempted to discuss all these structures under these nine principal heads.



## **Comparison of the Structures of Simple Declarative Sentences of English with those of Bengali**

### **(1) Subject + Intransitive Verb**

The pattern 'Subject + Intransitive Verb' (Hornby et al, op. cit. vp. 21) occurs in Bengali as well. The English sentence 'Birds fly' very aptly corresponds to the Bengali sentence 'pakhi ode'. But any extension of the sentence with the addition of an adverbial will not fit the same structure in Bengali and English. The English sentence, when extended, takes the form 'Birds fly in the sky' showing that the adverbial has been used after the verb at the end of the sentence. But in Bengali the adverbial occurs in the middle of the sentence, immediately before the verb, and consequently the corresponding Bengali sentence becomes 'pakhi akashe ode'. The Bengali sentence\* 'pakhira ode akashe' is unacceptable. But in Bengali there are some adverbs which may precede the object and the verb, while the same adverbs in English must come between the auxiliary and the principal verb or before the principal verb (Allen 1965; p. 98). The Bengali sentence, 'ami age khakhono take dekhini', for example, corresponds to the English sentence 'I have never seen him before', showing that the adverb 'khakhono' occurs before the object in Bengali. The adverb 'never' occurs between the auxiliary and the principal verb in the English sentence. Thus it is very evident that the position of adverbs in English varies from that in Bengali.

### **(2) Subject + Linking Verb + Noun Complement**

The English structure 'Subject + Linking Verb + Noun Complement' (Hornby et al., VP. 22) also exists in Bengali with the exception that the linking verb does not occur in the present indefinite tense in Bengali, reducing the structure to 'Subject + Noun Complement'. The Linking verb in English can also be used as an intransitive or an auxiliary verb. 'Go', for example, can be a linking verb as in 'He went mad', as well as an intransitive verb as in 'He went home yesterday'. In Bengali the verb 'be' which is a linking verb in English is used as a linking verb, particularly in the present perfect tense. This verb is never used in the surface



structure in the present indefinite tense in Bengali, though it is present in the deep structure. Thus the English sentence 'He is my teacher' changes to 'tini amar shikkkhak' in Bengali, dropping entirely the linking verb. In Bengali the verb 'be' also occurs as a linking verb in the present indefinite tense only in negative sentences.

But when the indication of time seems important, its use is optional in the present indefinite tense. Thus the Bengali sentences 'tini ækhono amar griho shikkkhak' and 'tini ækhono amar griho shikkkhak achen', 'he is still my private tutor' are acceptable. But in negative sentences its use is obligatory. The Bengali sentences 'tini amar griho shikkkhak nan', 'he is not my private tutor' and 'tini ar ækhon amar griho shikkkhak nan', 'he is no longer my private tutor' are perfectly consistent with Bengali sentence structures. 'nan' in the sentence 'tini amar griho shikkkhak nan', 'he is not my private tutor' is a combination of 'na', 'not' and 'han', 'be'. The word 'nan' is actually developed from 'nahan' which combines both the negative adverb 'na', 'not' and 'han', 'be', used as an honorific. The negative honorific linking verb 'nan', 'is not' is a must in negative sentences. But the use of the verb 'be' in the Bengali sentence 'tar aekta kichu hoeche' which is rendered into English as 'something has happened to him' shows the use of 'be' as an intransitive verb. 'Be' is never used in English as an intransitive verb.

### (3) **Subject + Linking Verb + Adjective Complement/ Adverbial Complement**

Two other structures with the linking verb (Hornby et al. VP. 22) 'Subject + Linking Verb + Adjective Complement' and 'Subject + Linking Verb + Adverbial Complement' also occur in Bengali. Thus we have the Bengali sentences 'tini asustha'/'tini asustha achen', 'he is ill' and 'he is ill'. But what is interesting to note is the position of the linking verb in the examples. The structures become 'Subject + Adjective Complement + Linking Verb' (optional) and 'Subject + Adverbial Complement + Linking Verb'. The first sentence shows the use as well as the omission of the linking verb. Thus in Bengali the structure 'Subject + Linking verb



+ Adjective Complement' can have two forms: 'Subject + Adjective Complement', and 'Subject + Adjective Complement + Linking Verb'.

Hornby et al. (1973) include the structures 'Subject + Linking Verb + Noun Complement/Adjective Complement' under VP 22 and refer a lot of verbs besides the verb 'be' to this category. As many as seven verbs 'be, get, become, turn, feel, prove and come' occur as linking verbs under VP 22, even though they do not label them linking verbs. Ahmed (1986; pp. 49-50) gives an elaborate list of such verbs consisting of as many as twenty verbs, and he refers to them as linking verbs, though he does not mention the sources which he has consulted to prepare the list. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* treats only the verb 'be' as a copulative verb, excluding many others which function like the copulative verb 'be', and including them merely as intransitive verbs. Thus the *Dictionary* appears to be a little bit erratic in classifying copulative or linking verbs. However, the linking verbs listed by Hornby et al. in their *Dictionary* (op. cit.), which is an improvement upon *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* in respect of the classification of verbs, outnumber overwhelmingly Bengali linking verbs.

The only linking verbs in Bengali other than 'be' include 'mane haoa', 'seem', 'hoe pada', 'fall', 'hoe jaoa', 'go', 'thaka', 'stay'/'keep'/'remain' and 'dekhano', 'look'. The most interesting feature of these linking verbs is that with the exception of 'dekhano', 'look' they are all formed with the verb 'haoa', 'be' inserted either before or after the other verbs. In the second and third examples the verb 'be', 'haoa' appears in its non-finite form, 'hoe', 'being'. Such verbs in Bengali may be termed compound verbs since they are formed by the combination of two verbs. However, what draws or attention is the similarity in meaning between 'hoe pada' and 'fall', or 'hoe jaoa' and 'go'. In Bengali the sentence 'tini asustha hoe padechen' corresponds to the English sentence 'He has fallen ill', and the Bengali sentence 'se pagol hoe geche' is the same in meaning as the English sentence 'he has gone mad'. And like the English verbs 'fall' and 'go' the



Bengali verbs 'pada' and 'jaoa' can also be used as an intransitive verb, showing that both the verbs in English and Bengali are similar in usage as well, if we disregard the differences in the syntactic structures of English and Bengali sentences which we have already mentioned. The English linking verb 'prove' is replaced by a passive construction 'pramanita haoa' in Bengali, which indicates that it is also related to the linking verb 'haoa' in Bengali. The English sentence 'The security measures proved highly effective' is rendered into Bengali as 'nirapatta baebastha ottanto karjokar pramanito holo'.

The English structure 'Subject + Linking Verb + Adverbial Complement' is fixed as it is in Bengali. The Bengali structure 'Subject + Adverbial Complement + Linking Verb' occurs only with the adverbial of place or 'sthanadhikaran'. The same is true of the corresponding English structure. The Bengali 'sthanadhikaran' is usually translated into English as a prepositional phrase which acts as an adverb. The Bengali sentence 'amra gharer maddhe' has its English counterpart 'we are in the room', showing that 'gharer moddhe' is rendered by the prepositional phrase 'in the room'. The use of the verb 'be' as a linking verb in Bengali is restricted in the present indefinite tense in the structure 'Subject + Noun Complement', which we have already discussed. But with the adjective complement and the adverbial complement 'be' can be used in Bengali as a linking verb. The Bengali sentences 'amra naukay achi'/'amra bhalo achi' corroborate this fact. The exact English equivalents of these Bengali sentences will be 'we are on the boat' and 'we are well' respectively, which show only the syntactic differences between English and Bengali sentences which we have already mentioned.

#### **(4) Subject + Transitive Verb + Noun (object)**

The structure 'Subject + Transitive Verb + Noun (object)' (Hornby et al. VP. I) occurs in both Bengali and English, though the structure becomes 'Subject + Noun (object) + Transitive Verb' in Bengali because structurally Bengali belongs to SOV type languages. Thus the English sentence 'I drink water' is converted



to 'ami pani khai', 'I water drink', in Bengali. In English there are many verbs which can be used both as a transitive and an intransitive verb. The verb 'burn', for example, is an intransitive verb in the sentence 'fire burns' or 'the house was burning', and a transitive verb in the sentence 'He burnt his hand' or 'he burnt a candle'. But in Bengali the same verb cannot be used both as a transitive and an intransitive verb. Normally the intransitive verb in Bengali is changed to the transitive verb by adding the suffix '-ano', 'jala', 'burn', for example, becomes 'jalano/jalano' 'cause to burn', when it is used as a transitive verb. The verb in the sentence 'batita jalche', 'the lamp is burning' is intransitive, while the verb in the sentence 'se batita jaliyeche', 'he has burnt the lamp', is transitive. Thus, whether a verb is transitive or intransitive in English cannot be ascertained unless we look at the verb in a sentence. But the verb in Bengali shows the use of a suffix indicative of the transitive verb making the category of the verb clear, even though it is not used in a sentence.

However, this is not true of all Bengali verbs. There are certain verbs which do not show any verbal suffix. They can be identified only when we meet with them in the sentence, 'gaoa', 'sing', 'upabhog kara', 'enjoy', 'caoa', 'want', for example, are all transitive verbs in the sentences, 'ami gan gai', 'I sing a song', 'se upannasta upabhog koreche', 'he has enjoyed the novel', and 'ami aek glass pani chai', 'I want a glass of water' respectively, though they are devoid of the transitive sign. But all of them can be turned into causative transitive verbs by adding the suffix '-ano'. However, the intransitive verbs in Bengali, unlike those in English, can be used transitively only by changing them to causative transitive verbs.

The structure 'Subject + Transitive Verb + Noun (object)' uses two other grammatical items as objects besides the noun. The grammatical items that are usually used as the object include the infinitive and the gerend which we use in the following ways : as (a) the infinitive (VP-2 in Hornby et al., op. cit.), (b) the infinitive with a subject (VP-3 in Hornby et al., op. cit.), (c) the bare infinitive with a subject (VP-5 in Hornby et al.,



op. cit.), (d) the infinitive with an interrogative conjunctive (VP-13 in Hornby et al., op. cit.), (e) the gerund (VP-17 in Hornby et al., op. cit.) and (f) the gerund with an object (VP-17 in Hornby et al., op. cit.).

The infinitive is used in Bengali as an object. Thus the sentence, 'ami gan shunte bhalabasi', 'I love to hear songs' illustrates (a) showing that it is an exact counterpart of its English translation with the exception that the object precedes the verb producing the structure 'Subject + Infinitive + Verb Transitive'. Regarding the infinitive with an object, it is to be noted that like a SOV type language Bengali prefers the object before the infinitive, as in 'gan shunte' where 'gan', the object precedes the infinitive 'shunte'. The English sentence 'I want him to do the work' which illustrates (b) gets translated into Bengali as 'ami cai je (optional) se kajti koruk'. In the Bengali sentence '... him to do the work' is changed to a clause in which 'him', the object of the verb 'want' acts as the subject. The sentence 'I saw him laugh' illustrates (c) and shows that 'him' is actually the subject of the bare infinitive 'laugh'. But the infinitive with a subject occurs in Bengali as an object of a transitive verb. The Bengali equivalent of the above English sentence 'ami take haste dekhlam' 'I saw him laugh', is illustrative of the infinitive with a subject, though the English sentence shows the use of (c), i.e. the bare infinitive with a subject. (d) i.e., the infinitive with an interrogative conjunctive does not occur as an object in Bengali which prefers a clause to the infinitive phrase with an interrogative conjunctive. Thus the English sentence 'I know how to do the work', finds, the Bengali counterpart 'ami jani ki kore/ki bhabe kajta korte hay' which fits the structure 'Subject + Transitive Verb + a Noun Clause'. This structure also occurs in English producing sentences like 'I know how the work is done' or 'I know who he is' (VP-15 in Hornby et al., op. cit.).

The gerund in (e) and (f) does not occur as an object in Bengali sentences. The gerund is usually replaced by an infinitive or a noun. The English sentences 'He stopped talking', and 'he hates meeting people' have the Bengali counterparts 'se



katha thamalo/bahdha korlo' and 'se lok-janer sathe daekha karatake ghrina kare'. The second Bengali sentence can quite legitimately replace the noun 'dekha karatake' by an infinitive, producing the sentence, 'se lokjaner sathe dekha korte ghrina bodh kare'. The mere 'ghrina kare' does not perfectly fit this structure. The structure in Bengali is ultimately reduced to 'Subject + Infinitive/Intinitive with an Adjunct + Transitive Verb'.

### **(5) Subject + Transitive Verb + Noun (object) + Adjective Complement**

The English syntactic structure 'Subject + Transitive Verb + Noun (object) + Adjective Complement' (Hornby et al. VP-4 & 7) occurs in Bengali as well with the transposition of the object to the verb position, giving the structure, 'Subject + Noun (object) + Adjective Complement + Transitive Verb'. Thus the English sentence, 'I found the box empty' is paralleled by the Bengali sentence 'ami bakshata khali dekhlam'. In Bengali only a few verbs (e.g. dekha, 'find', or paoya, 'find') are used in this structure, in comparison with a large number of English verbs that fit this structure. Many verbs in English which are used in this structure fit a different structure in Bengali. The English sentence, 'He does not get his clothes dirty everyday, fits the structure 'Subject + Object + Transitive Verb' in Bengali producing the Bengali sentence 'se dainik tar kapad nohgra kare na'. 'nongra' in the Bengali sentence is not an adjective but part of the compound verb 'nongra kara', 'dirty' formed by the combination of the adjective 'nongra' and the verb 'kara', 'do'. Similarly the English sentence 'he has washed the shirt clean' becomes in Bengali 'se tar jamata dhuye parishkar koreche'. In the Bengali sentence the phrase 'dhuye parishkar kara', 'wash clean' is a compound verb formed by the combination of the gerund 'dhuye', 'washing', the adjective 'porishkar', 'clean' and the verb 'kara', 'do'.

Present participles and past participles can also be used in this structure in place of adjective complement, simply because participles function like adjectives. With participles the structure becomes 'Subject + Transitive Verb + Object + Present / Past



Participles', giving sentences like 'He kept me waiting' or 'The disease left him emaciated' (VP-6 and 9 in Hornby et al., op. cit.). This structure does not occur in Bengali, and English sentences fitting this structure are translated into Bengali sentences with different other structures. For example, the English sentence 'he kept me waiting', when translated, gives the Bengali sentence 'tini amake apekkha karalen', 'he made me wait' which fits the structure 'Subject + Object + Transitive Verb'. But the sentence 'the disease left him emaciated' cannot be translated even into a single sentence, far from translating it into the sentence that fits the same structure as we have already mentioned. In this case a good Bengali translation would be, 'tini rogmukta hoechen, tabe kahil hoye gechen', 'He has recovered, but he has been emaciated', showing that the two sentences follow a different pattern. The structure that obtains in this case is 'Subject + Linking Verb + Adjective Complement' which we have already discussed.

**(6) Subject + Transitive Verb + Noun (object) + Noun (complement)**

The English structure 'Subject + Transitive Verb + Noun (object) + Noun (complement)' (VP-8 in Hornby et al., op. cit.) also occurs in Bengali only with the transposition between the object and the verb, giving rise to the structure 'Subject + Noun (object) + Noun (complement) + Transitive Verb'. The objective complement (Nesfield, 1973, p. 50) in English which follows immediately the object occurs similarly after the object in Bengali as well. The Bengali sentence directly parallel to the English sentence 'we made him captain of our class' is 'amra take amader klaser captain banalam', which fits the structure we have already assigned to a Bengali sentence. The English verbs that are used in this structure never take either 'to be' or 'as' after them. But the Bangali verbs never follow the English verbs in this regard except in a few cases, taking, - in majority of the cases, 'hishabe'/'bole' after them. Thus the English sentence 'we nominated him a member of the committee' is translated into Bengali as 'amra take kamitir shadashsha hishabe manonayan



dilam'. In this case the structure follows closely the English structure 'Subject + Transitive Verb + Object + Adverb or Adverbial Phrase' (VP-10 in Hornby *et al.*, op. cit.).

The Bengali verbs that fit the structure 'Subject + Noun (object) + Noun (complement) + Transitive Verb' are limited in number. The same is also true of the English verbs which mostly include 'elect', 'nominate', 'choose', 'crown', 'call', 'name', 'label', 'appoint', 'think', 'consider', and 'prove' (Hornby *et al.*, op. cit.). The last three verbs 'think', 'consider' and 'prove' can take or drop 'to be' before the complement. Thus the English sentence 'we consider him (to be) the best boy in the class' shows that the use of 'to be' is optional before the complement. Herein lies the difference between the English structure for which 'to be' is optional and the Bengali structure for which 'to be' is obligatory. But what interests us is the peculiar similarity between the number of the English words and that of the parallel Bengali words that fit this structure. Perhaps the Bengali verbs that are appropriate for this structure are even much fewer than their English counterparts.

The Bengali verbs 'mononayan deoa' and 'beche neoa', whose English counterparts are 'nominate', and 'choose' respectively cannot be used in this structure, because they require to be followed by the adverbial 'bole'/'hishabe', 'as' in Bengali sentences, assigning to them the structure 'Subject + Object + Adverbial/Adverbial Phrase + Transitive Verb' which we have already mentioned in the preceding paragraph. The only verbs that fit this structure 'Subject + Object + Complement + Transitive Verb' in Bengali are 'nam deoa', 'bala' 'nirbachan kara', 'mononito kara' and 'mane kara/bhaba' the English counterparts of which are 'name'/label' 'call', 'elect', 'nominate' and 'think' respectively. Thus the English sentence 'they called them cowards' is the exact translation of the Bengali sentence 'tara taderke kapurush bolechilo', and the sentences show that they are alike as regards the structure in both English and Bengali. The verbs 'nirbachan kara', 'elect' and 'mononito kara', 'nominate', can also be used in the structure 'subject + Noun (object) + Noun



(complement) + Transitive Verb' in Bengali. Thus the Bengali sentence 'amra take kamitir sadassa mononito/nirbachan korlam', 'we elected or nominated him a member of the committee' is also acceptable. If we disregard these two verbs because they fit both the structures, 'Subject + Noun (object) + Noun (complement) + Transitive Verb' and 'Subject + Noun (object) + Adverb/Adverbial Phrase + Transitive Verb', we see that there are only three verbs in Bengali which fit this structure, whereas the English verbs which fit this structure are at least eleven in number.

**(7) Subject + Transitive Verb + Object + Adverbial/Adverbial Phrase**

Subject + Object + Adverbial/Adverbial Phrase + Transitive Verb' which parallels the English structure 'Subject + Transitive Verb + Object + Adverb/Adverbial Phrase' (Hornby et al. VP. 10) in English is very frequent to occur in Bengali. Many English verbs which occur in this structure also fit the corresponding Bengali structure. Moreover, many English verbs which fit the structure 'Subject + Transitive Verb + Object + Noun Complement', which we have already demonstrated, also occur in the structure 'Subject + Object + Adverb/Adverbial Phrase + Transitive Verb' in Bengali, demonstrating that the Bengali verbs occurring in this structure are very large in number. Thus the English sentence 'I know him to be a thief' which belongs to the structure 'Subject + Transitive Verb + Noun Complement' and the sentence 'I described him as a smart young man' which fits the structure 'Subject + Transitive Verb + Object + Adverbial Phrase' are translated into Bengali as 'ami take aekta cor hishabe jani' and 'ami take aekta catpote jubak hishabe barnana korlam', both of which belong to the same structure, 'Subject + Object + Adverbial Phrase + Transitive Verb'.

**(8) Subject + Transitive Verb + Object (indirect) + Object (direct)**

The English structure 'Subject + Transitive Verb + Object (indirect) + Object (direct)' (VP. 19 in Hornby et al., op.cit.) exists in Bengali as well. The only difference between the English and



the Bengali structure is marked by the mutual exchange of positions between the verb and the object which produces the Bengali structure 'Subject + Object (indirect) + Object (direct) + Transitive Verb'. The English sentence 'He gave me a book' can be translated into the Bengali sentence 'se amake aekta boi diechilo' which follows the same structure as English.

But the English verb 'give' along with many other English verbs can also be used in a different structure 'Subject + Transitive Verb + Object (direct) + a Prepositional Object (object with a preposition)' (VP. 18 in Hornby et al., op.cit.) which occurs in Bengali as well. But all the English verbs occurring in this structure may not be used in the same structure in Bengali. 'Give', for example, can be used in this structure to produce the sentence 'he gave a book to me'. But the Bengali counterpart of the verb 'give' cannot be used in this structure. Similarly some Bengali verbs which are used in this structure cannot be used in the structure 'Subject + Object (indirect) + Object (direct) + Transitive Verb'. In Bengali we can use the verb 'kena' 'buy', for example, only in the structure 'Subject + Prepositional Object (indirect) + Object (direct) + Transitive Verb' producing the sentence 'se tar strir janne aekta ghadi kinlo', 'he bought a watch for his wife', while in English the verb can fit both the structures producing the sentences 'he bought a watch for his wife' and 'he bought his wife a watch'.

But the Bengali verbs which are used in the structure 'Subject + Object (indirect) + Object (direct) + Transitive Verb' exhibit a special characteristic. All the verbs belonging to this structure can fit the structure 'Subject + Prepositional Object (indirect) + Object (direct) + Transitive Verb', if the verb 'deoa' is added to them. 'Kena', for example, can also fit this structure if we turn it into a compound verb by combining it with 'deoa', producing the verb 'kine deoa'. Thus the Bengali sentence 'se tar strike aekta ghadi kine dilo' 'he bought his wife a watch' is perfectly all right.



### (9) **There + Verb + Subject**

The structure 'There + Verb + Subject' (Note under VP. 23 in Hornby et al.) never occurs in Bengali. All English sentences fitting this structure are usually translated into Bengali sentences of the structure 'Adverbial + Subject + Verb'/'Subject + Verb + Adverbial' (which occurs rarely). The English sentence 'There are forty students in the class', is parallel to the Bengali sentence 'klaese callish jan chatra ache'. The English sentence shows the use of the linking verb with 'there'. But besides the linking verb intransitive verbs are also used with 'there'. 'There follow below guidelines on paragraph writing' is an English sentence showing the use of intransitive verbs with 'there'. The Bengali counterpart of the sentence is 'nice paragraph lekhar janne nirdeshabali roeche'. The Bengali sentence uses 'roeche' for 'follow'. But it does not mean that Bengali sentences cannot make use of verbs other than the linking verb. The Bengali sentence 'darajay aekjan lok dadiye chilo' which is the counterpart of the English sentence 'There stood a man at the door' demonstrates the use of the intransitive verb in this structure.

### (10) **It + Linking Verb + Adjective or Noun Complement + Prepositional Object (optional) + Infinitive/It + Intransitive Verb**

Along with 'there', there is another structure in English which begins with 'it', giving the formula 'It + Linking Verb + Adjective Complement + Infinitive' (Hornby et al. p. 523, meaning 2(a) under 'it'). This structure does not occur in Bengali and is replaced by the formula 'Adverbial (optional) + Subject + Adjective Complement' which we have already discussed. Thus the sentence. 'It is impossible to attain perfection in human life' is translated into the Bengali sentence, 'manob jibone purnata arjon kara ashambhab'. The Bengali sentence actually represents the English structure 'Infinitive (as the Subject) + Linking Verb + Adjective / Noun Complement' (Corder 1972; p. 53; Nesfield, 1973; p 65) if we disregard the position of the adverbial. We have discussed this structure earlier. In Bengali infinitives can never



occur as a subject. The infinitive is always turned into a noun/noun phrase. The same English sentence with the infinitive as the subject will be 'To attain perfection in human life is impossible', but its translation into Bengali must be done with the same Bengali sentence 'manab jibane purnata arjan kara ashambhab'. The Bengali sentence makes it clear that the infinitive phrase which has been used as the subject in the English sentence has been translated into the noun phrase 'manab jibane purnata arjan kara' in the Bengali sentence which uses this noun phrase as the subject. The structure with the noun complement never takes a prepositional object after the noun complement in English. The English sentence 'It is my duty to help him' is translated into Bengali as 'take shahajja kara amar kartabba' which follows the structure 'Noun Phrase (used as subject) + Noun Complement'. We have already discussed this structure. The Bengali sentence also demonstrates the transformation of the English infinitive phrase into the noun phrase for use as the subject in Bengali. The other structure in which 'It' occurs with an intransitive verb (Hornby et al. p. 523, meaning 4; Nesfield 1973; p. 98) does not exist in Bengali. The English sentence 'It rains/snows' cannot be translated into Bengali without disturbing the English structure. Thus the corresponding Bengali sentence becomes 'bristi hay/baraf pade'. The two Bengali sentences fit a different Bengali structure. The Bengali sentences follow the structure 'Subject + Intransitive Verb'. The sentence 'bristi hay' is also an example of the linking verb 'hoa' 'be' being used as an intransitive verb in Bengali.

### (11) Negative Sentences

Negative sentences in English differ from those in Bengali. In English there are four negatives 'no', 'none' 'not' and 'never', while Bengali attests five negatives 'na', 'nei', 'nai', '-ni' and 'nay'. The negative 'no' is an adjective in English and used before a noun, while the negative 'none' is itself a pronoun frequently used as a subject or an object. These two negatives do not occur in Bengali, but the third negative 'not' is similar to the only



Bengali negative 'na', as both 'na' and 'not' are used adverbially, and as single words.

The use of other four negatives in Bengali is related to the tense, and they are invariably translated as 'not' in English. Thus the sentence 'she badi jay nai'/'she badi jayni' indicates that the tense of the verb is past or perfect, and its English translation is 'he has not gone/did not go home'. '-ni' is actually a modified less formal form of 'nai'. 'nei' is a colloquial form of 'nai' which is more formal than 'nei'. Thus the Bengali sentence 'she badi/badite nai' is more formal than 'she badi nei', though both of them have the same English translation 'he is not (at) home'. Moreover, 'nei' can never be used in place of 'nai' when 'nai' is used with the verb as in the sentence 'she khay nai', 'he has not eaten/did not eat'. '-ni' is the appropriate substitute for 'nai' in this case, and thus the less formal sentence will be 'she khayni'. 'nay' is indicative of the present tense as in the Bengali sentence 'she dhani nay', 'he is not rich'. 'nay' changes into 'nan' when second and third personal subjects are respectable, into 'noi', when the subject is first person, and into 'nao' when the second personal non-honorific is used as the subject.

The use of 'not' does not differ widely with different types of verbs in English. But there is still a little difference in the use of 'not' with different types of verbs. The linking verb 'be' alone uses 'not' immediately after it, as in the English sentence 'I am not happy'. A transitive or an intransitive verb cannot take 'not' directly before it, unless it is preceded by an auxiliary or a modal. In this case the negative 'not' is inserted between the auxiliary or the modal and the principal verb, as the sentences 'I am not going home' and 'I cannot help it' show. In the present and past indefinite tenses where there is no auxiliary, the formation of the negative sentence requires the use of 'do' as an auxiliary, or what Gleason (1968, p. 175) calls 'mere position makers', and the principal verb. The sentences 'I do/did not eat breakfast before 8 a.m.' illustrate the use of 'not' in the present and past indefinite tenses. The common feature that arises out of the examples is that the adverbial 'not' is used always after the auxiliary, the



modal, and the linking verb. But 'not' can never occur after the principal verb.

The use of 'not' in English manifests a marked difference from the use of 'na' in Bengali, even though they are both adverbials. In Bengali there is not an auxiliary or a linking verb or any modal, and as a result, Bengali verbs never need the auxiliary or the modal to form a negative sentence. In Bengali the adverbial 'na', unlike 'not' in English, is always used at the end of the sentence. If there is a verb in the Bengali sentence, the negative adverbial 'na' follows immediately the verb forming the last part of the sentence. If there is no verb, the adverbial follows the complement. Thus the English sentences 'He is not ill', and 'He does not play' have the Bengali sentences 'Se asustha na/nay' (a variant of 'na') and 'She khaela kare na/khaele na' as their counterparts. A variant of the adverbial sometimes combines with the verb producing forms like 'dekhini' as in 'ami take dekhini', 'I have not seen him'; and even in this case the variant occurs finally, i.e., at the end of the sentence.

The negative 'never' never occurs in Bengali as a single word. It occurs as 'kakhono ... na', showing that there are other words intervening between 'kakhono' and 'na'. The English sentence 'I never go there' is translated into Bengali as 'ami kakhono sekhane jaina'. From the Bengali sentence it is clear that perfectly in keeping with the normal usage of 'na', the negative occurs immediately after the verb, though the other part 'kakhono' occurs before the verb.

### **Conclusion**

The analysis points out that almost all English structures occur in Bengali, though some of them assume a modified form in Bengali. Moreover, the verbs that occur in a particular English structure may not be fit for use in the same Bengali structure. Sometimes a modification of the Bengali verb enables it to be used in the same structure in which its English counterpart occurs. Only a few English structures have nothing to do with any corresponding Bengali structure.



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## AGRARIAN SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF RUNGPUR UNDER THE KOCH REGIME

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The objective of the study is to explain the agrarian social structure in the northern British Rungpur district<sup>1</sup> during the Koch regime. This region remained under the political control of the Koch kings of Kamata-Bihar for nearly two centuries, i.e. XVI and XVII centuries. The Mughal annexed this part to their empire in the beginning of the XVIII century and, by the end of that century, its administration passed in the hands of the East India Company.

Agrarian social structure of any region in any historical period would be based on organisation and production relation of agriculture prevailing at that period of consideration. The political regime introduced machinery for extraction of agricultural surplus. Form of this machinery developed a superstructure upon organisation and production relation of agriculture. This surplus was distributed among the different socio-political groups according to their weights. Change in the political regime had relatively little impact on organisation and production relation; what changed was the relative share of the various socio-political groups as their weights changed. Each political regime gave birth to a typical agrarian social structure of its own. Any particular region might exhibit different types of agrarian social structure for different political regimes controlling the territory.

Evolution of polity in this region began with the formation of segmentary state under the ritual sovereigns titled *Kamateswar*. This form of polity was succeeded by the unitary state established by the political sovereigns - the Koch kings of

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Kamata-Behar. The tract was ceded to the Mughal empire and remained under their control for a century. Finally this area became a part of the Company's territory. In this respect the northern region of the British Rungpur district provided a good illustration for the evolution of different agrarian social structures under different political regimes. At present the scope is confined to the period when this region was under the political jurisdiction of the Koch kings of Kamata-Behar.

Physiographically<sup>2</sup> the area was a part of the paradeltaic region of the piedmont alluvial fan. It was a vast alluvial flat marked by the topographic changes associated with the numerous shifts and diversions of channels of rivers. Geomorphologically the paradeltaic zone belonged to the Recent Alluvium of the Quaternary Age. Hydrographic changes of the river systems coupled with variation of soil texture and surface pattern had important bearing on the historical geography and settlement pattern of this region. Historical pattern of settlement lent support to the antiquity of this part of the British Rungpur district. Settlement was concentrated on the flood plain of the old course of the Teesta-Karatoya river system lying in the north-western part of the region. The historical remains of the early medieval period - Dharmapal's palace, Harish Chandra's palace, Mainamat's fort etc. etc. - were all situated in this part of the country<sup>3</sup>. After 1787 the river Teesta changed its course and the present channel became the principal water course of the rivers Teesta-Karatoya. Thus began population dispersal away from this region. The material evidence available in the form of extant historical remains and the communitywise population data available from the Census pointed to the Hindu dominance of this part even in the twentieth century which was an indirect evidence of the impact of the Koch polity in this area. From the Report of the Census of India 1931, it appeared that the distribution of the population in the northern part of the British Rungpur district was highly skewed in favour of the Hindus<sup>4</sup>. This part was controlled by the Koches and gradually annexed by the Mughals.



## II

No semblance of a central kingship appeared in this part of the country before the emergence of the Koch power towards the close of the XV century. There persisted in the pre-koch period a fragmented political system in the form of petty autochthonous chiefdoms and the palatinates of the land controllers styled as *bhuyan*. Before the consolidation of the *bhuyan* polities and autochthonous chiefdoms by military power into a unitary state by the princely family of the Koch, an intermediate stage of segmentary state under the ritual sovereigns titled *Kamateswar* prevailed in the early medieval period. *Kamateswar*<sup>5</sup> was a ritual title assumed by one of the *bhuyans* or chiefs who was strong enough to demand allegiance from others by virtue of his ritual authority secured with the help of the brahmans. The last in the lines of successive *Kamateswars* was defeated by Alauddin Hussein Shah of Gour in 1493 and the territory was temporarily annexed to the Gour Sultanate. When the Sultanate became weak and its influence declined, the Koches seized the opportunity and created successfully the only enduring unitary state by military power exercising political sovereignty over the territory. In this sense the emergence of the Koch state was a watershed in the political history of this region.

The Koch Kingdom was founded by Viswa Singha<sup>6</sup> (1496-1533). He carved out this kingdom in northern Bengal and Assam extending from the Karatoya-Mahananda rivers in the West to the river Barnadi in Assam in the east and from the foothills in the north to Ghoraghat in the south. Taking advantage of the weakness of the Ahoms in the east and the Pathan-Mughal struggle for control in the central and south-eastern part of Bengal, the second Koch king Naranarayana<sup>7</sup> (1533-1587) had occupied most of the petty chiefdoms in the northeast India. Towards the end of the XVI century the Koch-Mughal struggle for control of the southern part of the Koch Kingdom began. this struggle continued from the fifth King Prannarayana (1632-1665) to the ninth king Rupnarayana (1704-1714)<sup>8</sup> and it was finally terminated in 1711. The territory



which was ceded to the Mughal empire was administratively divided into two parts. The southern part constituted Sarkar Kochwara under the control of the fauzdar of Rungpur consisting following three chaklas - Fatehpur (eastern part of the Rungpur Sadar Subdivision), Kakinah (northern part of the same subdivision) and Karjeehat or Kajeekat (Nilphamari subdivision). Three more chaklas were also annexed-Boda (Southern part of Baikunthapur Raj estate), Patgram (south eastern part of Koch state) and Purbabhaug (north western part of Kurigram) but subsequently farmed out to the Koch king. From 1765 this territory became a part of the dewani of the East India Company and brought under the administrative control of Rungpore collectorate.

The political setting of this region in the early medieval period was characterised by two features : secular authority and function of the brahmans and narrow territorial segmentation of the political relationship. In these segmentary polities a simple revenue system of these localities existed. There was hardly any evidence that resources being legally and regularly transferred from local unclear areas to the ritual central power.

The Koch state had succeeded in developing an administration supported by military power for regular extraction and mobilisation of agricultural surplus from an extensive territory. A new ruling class emerged through the redistribution of the claims on the share of the agricultural produce. From the view point of the agrarian society and economy consequence of the new political regime was manifested in reorganisation of the apparatus for extraction and distribution of agricultural surplus and creation of various strata of socio-economic groups in the rural society based on this organisation.

### III

In the prekoch period it can be conjectured that the agrarian society consisted of two classes. The upper class consisted of land controllers, village headmen and the brahmans who enjoyed superior socio-political status among the constituents of this



class. They were the intelligentsia-cum-elite class supporting the ritual hegemony. No identifiable intermediate social class was present. Such a stratum owed its origin to the administrative machinery developed for regular appropriation of agricultural surplus. Neither the fragmented politics of the local chiefs nor the segmented state of the ritually sovereign *Kamateswar* possessed the prerequisite martial strength or bureaucratic organisation for building up such a super structure. Lower level of the society was occupied by those who were engaged in agricultural production, cultivating landpossessors, known as *giri*<sup>9</sup>, and their associates and helpers of various descriptions such as *praja* (dependent cultivator), *bandha* (bonded labour), *golam* (slave-labourer) etc. Status of a *giri* was equivalent to chief cultivating raiyat. Concept of tenureship had not been developed distinctly at that time, nor did develop subinfeudation below *giri* for the obvious reason of absence of objective factors, such as scarcity of land relative to raiyats, ambition for enjoying 'rentier' status, etc. etc.

In spite of the two-strata society conjectured above intrastrata differentiation and mobility could not be ruled out. For example, differentiation among the *giris* existed and references of *patgiri* (head *giri*) was mentioned in the contemporary Assamese literature. Differences among the *giris* due to various economic factors, such as size of the holding, crop rotation, marketing facilities of agricultural surplus, yield difference due to differential fertility of soil etc. etc., could have been present creating sub-stratification at the *giri* level. Similarly a *praja* might have scope for elevation to the status of the cultivating raiyat if he could manage capital and manpower to reclaim jungle or waste land. One important index of higher social status was alienation from the personal involvement in the manual-work of cultivation. The brahmans set this status-symbol and the affluent *giris* emulated this behavior and attitude to elevate themselves from those who were engaged manually in agricultural operation. This possibility opened the scope for interstrata mobility in the contemporary rural society.



## IV.

From the fragmentary evidences available of the agrarian economy, machinery for appropriation and system of redistribution of agricultural surplus of the Koch state in the XVII-XVIII centuries, a conjectural reconstruction of the society could be possible assuming that the production relations and politico-administrative infrastructure remained generally unchanged during the regime<sup>10</sup>.

The ownership of land was vested on the king and the land was divided into two broad categories - *Khariza* or *Khiraz* and *lakhiraj*. *Lakhiraj* lands were those lands which remained tax free and the following different classes of *lakhiraj* tenures prevailed in the Koch state : *Khangi* (land earmarked for the maintenance of the princely family of the King). *Petbhata* (maintenance land allowance for relatives of the king) *Jagir* (land grants equivalent to salary and perquisites of the state *amlahs*), *Chakran* (land grants to lower grade employees including militia or pykes) and special land grants customarily given by a Kshatriya king to the brahmins (brahmattur) and maintenance of Hindu deities (debuttar) including pirpal (similar grants for the maintenance of Muslim places of worship). The *Khiraz* land was classified as *Khalsa* which included, besides the formally assessed lands *mokruri* (land whose assessment was permanently fixed) and *Upanchawki* (land which paid one-fifth amount of the normal assessment (*panchwak* = one-fifth). The last category was typical of the privileged class of land holder in the British Rungpur district created by the Koch kings.

For assessment of tax, land was classified into two major categories - *ropit* (low land which was sown) and *faringati* (high land, literary meaning field on which grass hoppers jumped). Only *ropit* land was taxed, and initially the tax was proportional to the area under cultivation of *aman* or *haimanti* or autumn rice which was grown on this low land the word *ropit* signifying the area under sown. Each personal holding was called *jote* and the holder *jotedar* whose possession was vaguely demarcated; the demarcation frequently became obliterated due to changing



courses of the innumerable streams and rivers after each heavy monsoon.

Agricultural tax had three parts - *asal* (principal), *abwab* (cess) and *saranjami* (collection expenses). Influential persons would be lightly taxed and weaker persons often bore the disproportionately heavy burden. This practice was very old and was one of the factors contributing to the economic differentiation in the production level of the rural society. Taxes were paid in cash by *naraini* coins and these coins were supplied by the merchants who visited the country during fair weather to purchase the surplus from the producers. Circulation of *naraini* coins was scanty and shortage of cash often forced the *jotedar* to be a defaulter. The fiscal year was the Bengali calendar year though the account remained customarily open for two more months in the following year, i.e. Baisakh (April-May) and Jaistha (May-June). Large *Lakhiraj* grants were settled with the cultivating *jotedars* and some of them, such as *Khangi*, *Petbhata* and *Jagir*, maintained a private revenue administration in a small scale.

No record of *Khangi* land was available at present, but it could be assumed that considering the distance from the capital, difficulties to be experienced in realising revenues and exercising control *Khangi* lands were largely located in the Behar proper. Some of the *Khangi* lands bore the prefix *andarān* (*andar* meaning inner court or ladies court in the palace) signifying the allotment to the queens and respectable ladies of the princely family of the Koch. *Khangi* lands were not personal holdings of the members of the princely household; he who succeeded the *gaddi* (throne) would enjoy them and his family had the same privilege. After the death of the present incumbent to the throne, the queens and other dependents of the deceased king would be given *petbhata* land allowance by allotting a portion from the *Khalisa* land. Generally, superior quality of lands in advantageous positions were earmarked as *Khangi* land. Administration of *Khangi* land was run by maintaining a *Sherista* under the control of a *dewan*. Usually such posts were



purchased by the immigrant caste Hindus from Bengal known to the autochthones by the generic name *bhatia* (who came from downstream; *bhati* = down stream).

Next comes the territorial assignment<sup>11</sup> of land to fief holders. The earlier Koch kings pursued a diplomatic policy of such assignments to the potential contenders of the throne and allotted such territories which had the notoriety of being troublesome for the purpose of control and administration. Often such assignments were given in distant places intentionally - to keep them off from the political arena and to make good the trouble from revenue administration. Viswa Singha assigned the western most part of his territory to the west of the river Teesta to his younger brother Shiswa Shingha and installed him as Raikot (Commander of the Fort). His fief was known as Baikunthapur Raj estate. Nara Narayana assigned distant territories in eastern and southeastern parts of his kingdom bordering the Ahoms and other rival's to his brothers and other relatives. Luxminarain assigned the southern part of his kingdom to the son of one of his relative minister.

*Jagir* and *Chakran* lands were given to the state *amlahs* and servants including pykes of the army. Theoretically these *jagir* and *chakran* lands were granted for the term of office of the *amlahs* and servants; in practice these grants were enjoyed hereditarily. The resumed *jagir* lands to the Khalisa was identified by prefixing "*jagir*" before the name of the revenue unit. The influential *amlahs* obtained large areas of high quality lands for their *jagir* and farmed it out. By creating *jagir* and *chakran* lands, control of considerable amount of agricultural surplus was placed in the hands of numerically small but politically influential autochthone people who completely alienated them from any form of involvement in local society and economy; their sole objective was the extraction of maximum surplus from lands allotted to them. Few *amlahs* and state servants other than those who were recruited from cognate social groups of the Koch kings had lived permanently over generations in the state.



Special *Lakhiraj* grants, such as debattar, brahmattar and pirpal, were numerous though the total area under such grants might be relatively insignificant. A few illustrations of brahmattar grants<sup>12</sup> of late XVII century were available. Pran Naraina (1632-1665) granted a village (grama) to a brahman named Siromoni Bhattacharjee at Ghugumari near capital of the State. Moda Naraina (1665-1680) granted brahmattar lands comprising ten talooks in Gitaldaha area (wilayet Gitaldah) to Indra Naraina Chakraborty, Chakladar of Kakina in northern Rungpur. In the early XVIII century, Rup Naraina settled Kamrupi brahmans near his capital at Coochbehar by granting five lakhiraj villages. These brahmans were distinguished as the *Panchagrami* brahmans in Coochbehar. Large debattar grants were earmarked for the maintenance of the goddess Kamateswari, Madan Mohan Thakoor, Baneswar and Jalpesh Sivas, and several other such temple grants dated back to the XVII century<sup>13</sup>. Such grants were also sanctioned by the Chakladars, state ministers and members of the princely family. Privileged groups of brahmans also received personal grants at concessional rates. For example, one Murari Bhattacharjee<sup>14</sup>, forefather of the Zamindar family of Tushbhandar in northern Rungpur, received an upanchowki grants. Large talooks were settled with big landholders on *mokurari* terms in payment of heavy amount of *nuzzur* to the Rajah and *selami* to the revenue amlahs.

Lowest unit of revenue administration was a talook consisting of jotes of several jotedars. Few talooks formed a higher revenue unit of *toupe*; few *toupes* formed the highest revenue unit known as *chakla*. Local revenue administration was under the charge of a *chakladar*. The *sherista* of the *chakladar* was manned by *tehsildar*, sarker, *jemadar*, pykes and other menials. Reference of *gomastah*<sup>15</sup> was also found and often he was given the charge of settling raiyats in a talook.

At talook level the revenue officials were *patwaris* and *hisabeahs*. *Patwari* maintained all the land records of the *jotedars* and *hisabeahs* kept all accounts of payments. These positions were hereditarily occupied by the antochthonous



people and the designations, later on, become family title. Revenue collection was left on the headman of the talook who was referred to by various designations, such as *pradhan*, *basuneah*, *thakuria*, *mondal*, *muquddum* etc. etc. They were overcompensated for the hazards of their jobs by means of preferential treatment they received in case of incidence of land tax and exemptions from various imposts.

The cultivating raiyat, in case of any class or subclass of land holding, was *jotedar*. He was the principal cultivator and was directly engaged in production of surplus. In those days of abundant supply of land there was hardly any necessity of competing for an intermediate tenancy position below a *jotedar*. A *jotedar's* establishment consisted of his *praia*, *bandha*, *golam* or *das* and his poor relatives with a subordinate relationship.

All lands - *Khalsa*, *Khangri*, *petbhata*, *jagir* etc. - were farmed out to izaradars on the basis of annual contracts. An izaradar should produce collateral security on his behalf and they were often asked to pay an advance and the balance in kists though their collections did not follow the schedule of payments. In this situation appeared in the scene the money lenders or indigenous bankers. Probably this arrangement provided the scope for the shroffs in Rungpur revenue administration. Izaradars sublet to *toupedars* and they, in turn, sent *sezuwals* who would collect revenue from the headmen of talooks. In case of *Khangri* or *Betbhata* lands the holders of the grant often took advances from the *Kuthis* or indigenous bankers hypothecating the revenue of his holding. Eventually the banker became the izaradar as the borrower had no other means to meet his liability.

## V

The amount of total surplus extracted from the agricultural sector was very difficult to ascertain. Records of collections of revenue were not available for earlier years; an approximate estimate was arrived at in order to determine the moiety of the Company in terms of the Anglo-Koch treaty of 1772<sup>16</sup> in the late eighteenth century. This estimate was based on the realisation



from the Khalisa lands; no quantitative information was available for other lands. It was also a matter of speculation how much revenue was transferred from the *chaklas* to the State treasury. Most of the *chakladars* of the southern part of the kingdom virtually behaved as the independent chiefs; this was the reason for weak resistance they offered to the invading Mughal army and, ultimately, sided with them for personal gain. Right down from *patwaris* and *hisabeahs* upto *chakladars* each and everyone had an informal cut in the revenue paid by the *jotedars* and the gross receipt was many times larger than the net amount, the difference being unauthorised appropriation by the revenue *amlahs*. Though *saranjami*, *talabana*, *nuzzur* and *selami* were made authorised realisation<sup>17</sup>, the ignorant and illiterate *jotedars* paid the unauthorised heavy excess amount as it was custom.

So far as the relative weights of the surplus appropriating groups were concerned the princely family and the *Raigans*<sup>18</sup> enjoyed the heaviest one. *Khangi* and *Petbhata* lands were their shares. In reality they were fully dependent on their revenue *amlahs* for appropriating surplus because the management of realisation was controlled by these people. In case of large holdings, a parallel *sherista* was maintained comprising *dewan*, *gomasta* or *naib*, and other personnels including *tehsilder*, *jemadar* and pykes. Over time the *Betbhata* land-holders increased in number as all the relatives and family-members of the deceased kings were to be granted maintenance allowance. As the superior quality cultured areas were already divided among the previous *Betbhata* holders, the new claimants were given relatively inferior lands and in inaccessible areas. Over generations, a single *Betbhata* grant was partitioned into smaller parcels depauperising the descendant of the original grantee. Similar was the condition of the king as his *amlahs* managing the *Khangi* land ate up the lion's share of revenue. All the incumbents to the *gaddi* were perpetually in debt for this reason.



The *amlah* groups - central as well as local - ranked next in theory but exercised supreme control in the affairs of revenue administration. In reality they constituted the most powerful political group in the kingdom by virtue of their controlling position and scope of misappropriation of resources to enrich themselves. No wonder such positions were purchased at heavy *nuzzur*. As these revenue *amlahs*, barring those who were employed at the lower grade at unit level, were all immigrant caste Hindu adventurers, they constituted a separate ethnic group with higher socio-ritual status in the contemporary society of Kamata-Bihar. They even claimed superiority over the *Kamrupi* brahman community, highest social group among the autochthonous people in that region. Similarly placed, but in a relatively lower rung, were the revenue *amlahs* of local unit - *patwaris*, *hisabehs* and head men. The headmen was placed in this group because of privileges and concessions they received in terms of incidence of land tax and imposts for their positions. They held key positions among the *jotedar* class and the appropriating groups maintained a good rapport with these people for smooth working of their exploitation.

Thus, on the whole, the revenue *amlahs* in general, and its upper echelon in particular, formally and informally, appropriated, legally and through clandestine method, the largest share of the surplus. They always encouraged expansion of cultivation and settlement of waste land because that would increase their current receipts in terms of *nuzzurs* and *selamis* at the cost of the state exchequer. Seldom they themselves invested in agricultural expansion as most of them had a temporary interest in their offices; they maintained their office at the pleasure of the superior authority which pleasure any one could purchase through *nuzzur* and *selami*. In theory share of the absolute king should be largest; in practice his position was no better than that of the permanently indebted cultivating raiyat.

The revenue *amlahs* were all immigrant caste Hindus because the revenue administration of Kamata-Bihar was organised in the line of the Muslim rulers of neighbouring part of



Bengal and adventurous people from that part with expertise and experience came to seek fortune here. All the *chakladars* of the British Rungpur region belonged to this class<sup>19</sup>. Indranarayana Chakraborty was *Chakladar* of Kakina and Ramnath was *majumdar* of that *Chakla*. Mahadev Roy, Khasnavees of king Rupnarayana, became *Chakladar* of Tapa. *Chakla* Boda was divided into several *perganas*, each in charge of a *gomasta*; Benode Behari Chakraborty was one of the *gomastas*. Similarly, Ramgobinda Sharma, a *Kamrupi* brahman, was *gomasta* of Patgram which was later on upgraded to the level of a *Chakla*. During the Mughal regime they were rewarded for their cooperation appointing as Chowdhuri of their respective revenue units and finally turned into Zamindars when the Company introduced the Permanent Settlement.

The immigrant caste Hindu *amlahs* formed a separate ethno-cultural group and maintained a social distance from the autochthones including the *Kamrupi* brahmans. These autochthones were insignificant numerically but dominant in their influence upon the King. Seldom they settled in the state, and except those who assumed similar dominant socio-economic positions in the succeeding political regimes, all of them or their descendants left the state as soon as their objective was fulfilled or the situation went against them. In the autochthonous society this *bhatia* social group maintained their autochthonous social, cultural and religious behavior and did never form an integral part of the agrarian social structure of Kamata-Bihar.

In the then contemporary autochthonous society of Kamata-Bihar under discussion the highest socio-ritual status was held by the *Kamrupi* brahmans. Among them the most prestigious sub-group was the *panchagramis*<sup>20</sup> followed by those who hailed from Nalbari (Assam) and their associates. Their social distinction at that time was not so pronounced but later on the assumed different titles for maintaining this distinction - *panchagramis* took the title of *bhatta-charjee*, Nalbari subgroups *chakraborty* and their associates *adhikari*. The royal court recognised the *bhattacharjees* and *chakrabortys* most of whom stayed around



the court. From them were recruited all household officials and religious positions such as Bhandar Thakoor, Duar Buxi, priests of the state deity of Madan Mohan, dharmadhikari, legal advisers to king to impart justice according to the shastras etc. etc. Below them were the king and his family and *Rajgans* who enjoyed the status of the nobility in the Koch kingdom. Matrimonial relatives of the princely family also enjoyed the status of the nobility - *Karjee* and *Ishore*<sup>21</sup>. Many of them were given important administrative positions. The *Rajgans*, the *Karjees* and *Ishores* lived among the rural folks in their *petbhata* or *jaqir* lands and enjoyed highest social status in autochthonous society. They formed the true rentier class and a symbol for status - aspiring affluent cultivating class before the caste movement illegitimised their superior social status. Such families were very few in the British Rungpur District except the descendants of Coor (Kumar) Anirudha, son of Bhabanath Karjee, a minister of King Luxminarayana, who was given fief to what was later on known as Panga in the central part of the British Rungpur. The zamindar family of Panga was the descendent of Coor Anirudha who was killed in the Koch-Mughal struggle.

## VI

The seniormost position in the unit of fiscal division was held by headmen known by the various designations such as *pradhan*, *mandal*, *thakuria*, *pramanik*, *basuneah* etc. They formed a superior class holding the dominant position in their respective unit. They would collect the land tax either at rates fixed by themselves or distributing the total assessment on various *jotedars* in their units. They also constituted a privileged small sub-stratum in the upper peasantry because of the various concessions they enjoyed in case of incidence of tax and *jagir* grants.

Basic unit of cultivation was *jote* and *jotedar* was the keyperson in generating the surplus for appropriation. Whatever might be the form of distribution and appropriation of this surplus it was this group on whom the rentier class depended. A



*jotedar's* possession right, by custom, was permanent, heritable and transferable. They constituted the landholding community in the state and held the higher social status next to the headmen and revenue officials in the unit level. The stratum of the *jotedar* was subdivided due to various economic factors, such as size of each holding which varied from a few bighas to few square miles, soil texture (*bala* or sandy, *doash*, or mixed, sandy loam), position (*danga* or high land and *dahla* or low land) cropping pattern, scope for marketing the surplus etc. etc. All these factors tended to create differentiation among the *jotedars* in a talook. The big *Jotedars* had alienated themselves from manual work of cultivation and elevated themselves to the supervisory position, actual cultivation being done by his associates, mostly the poor relatives, *praja* and other menial and servile classes. Thus big *jotedars* had acquired a status similar to the rentier class.

On the face value the factors of differentiation among the *jotedar* stratum were very much in existence but objectively the differentiation was more apparent than real. Hardly was their any property right. In absence of a land market and scope of disposal of marketable surplus the differences in the size of the holdings did not create any substantial inequality of wealth among *jotedars*. Nonagriculture sector was quite insignificant in size and these people also enjoyed *jagir* and *chakran* for their maintenance; hence there was hardly any demand from local non-agricultural sector. Neither there was any chance of largescale purchase by the local traders for local consumption by the agriculturists. No compact village site was observed. A cluster of few huts of of subordinates built around that of the *jotedar* and constructed by the same materials, i.e. bamboo poles, mat-walls and thatched roofs, constituted a hamlet known by the name of the *jotedar*, viz. Dukhia's *Kuthi* or Shibu Thakuria's *tart*<sup>22</sup>. Such hamlets were few square miles apart. Such a thinly distributed settlement scattered over vast territory could hardly provide centre for local markets. Incentive for increasing production by means of horizontal expansion of cultivation or crop variation or introducing new crop was killed by discouraging



politico-administrative environment as the long hands of the revenue officials would appropriate the reward for enterprise. In such an economic environment production hardly rose above the petty level of subsistence.

Payment of rent in cash necessitated monetisation of the economy to a little extent. Monetisation provided scope for further differentiation among the *jotedars* including headmen and petty village officials at unit level. Cash was difficult to obtain in absence of an exchange economy in the rural areas. The *bhatia* grain merchants brought coins current in areas outside the Koch state and exchanged them for *naraini* coins<sup>23</sup> which was legal tender currency in the Koch kingdom and its adjacent territories. The *jotedars* received *naraini* coins in exchange of crop and paid the currency as land tax. In absence of the visiting merchants, the petty revenue officials, village headmen and big *jotedars* played the role of the wholesale grain traders and advanced cash as loan to the tax payer. As all sorts of labour rent and rent in kind were commuted to cash rent the demand for cash continued to increase in spite of scarcity of *naraini* coins. Thus developed the lucrative business of usurious capital by the affluent section of the upper echelon of the rural society at unit level, creating further economic differentiation.

Formal subinfeudation below *jotedars* had not been created because of absence of objective conditions. For example, land was so abundant that no one would seek subtenancy in order to be a landholder; what was the limiting factor was capital and manpower. Absence of these factors often forced an aspirant to begin as a *prais* and then rose to the status of a petty *jotedar*.

A *jotedar's* establishment in general, except for a petty one, consisted of his poor relatives who assisted him in agricultural operation as *prais*, filed assistants known by the generic name of *halua* (ploughman), bonded labour (*bandha*) and *golam* (slave labour). The difference in socio-economic status of the last two elements was of degree rather than kind. On the other hand, a



*praja* was definitely superior to *halua* who was placed above the *bandhas* and *golams*.

On the whole stratification was more apparent than real in the region under study during the Koch regime. The consciousness of economic class division had not developed because of the paternalistic environment prevailed under the absolute kingship. The *jotedar-praja-halua* relation did not encourage a mode of production marked by economic exploitation by the *jotedars* of his subordinates. The settlement pattern, consumption habit and standard of living in the scattered hamlets had created a mono-cultural non-differential life style for the autochthonous rural society. In those days of scarcity of cultivating raiyats, a *jotedar* tried to keep his *prais* and *haluas* and village officials tried to keep *jotedars* in the talook lest they migrated to elsewhere which happened frequently resulting desertion and loss of revenue and extraction of formal and informal surpluses.

The rationale behind this apparent stratification in the agrarian social structure lay in the fact that different groups and categories of the autochthonous society were not mutually exclusive. Underlying these loose stratification was the ethno-cultural ties which kept dormant the economic aspects of inequality. Moreover, criteria based on wealth and income were hardly manifested in a society which was yet to emerge as full fledged commodity-producing economy paternalistic conception of relation in social hierarchy with a mono-cultural social base created little opportunities for objective conditions necessary for class consciousness in economic sense.



### Notes and References

Principal source of reference for Koch period is *A History of Cooch Behar* (Bengali) compiled by Khan Chowdhury Amanatullah Ahmed and published by Cooch Behar State in 1936. All boundaries and jurisdictions of Provinces and districts referred to in this article are as on or before 14-15 August 1947.

HC = *A History of Cooch Behar*.

1. By British Rungpur district we refer to that jurisdiction of the district which existed before partition of Indian subcontinent on 14-15 August 1947. At present the British Rungpur district is referred to as Greater Rungpur.
2. For general physical feature, physiography of land formation, geomorphology of soil and configuration of Rungpur see J.P. Morgan and W.G. McIntira, "Quaternary Geology of the Bengal Basin, East Pakistan and India" in the *Bulletin of the Geological Society of America* vol 70 (March 1959) pp. 319-342; *Final Report of the Rungpur Survey and Settlement Operations, 1931-38* by A.C. Hartley, Alipore, Bengal Government Press, 1940 pp. 4-7.
3. For location and descriptions of pre-koch historical remains see HC pp. 43-45; *District Gazetteers of Eastern Bengal and Assam-Rungpur* (1911) pp. 18-31; M. Martin, *Eastern India*. Vol. V pp. 441-451.
4. For distribution of population, see *Census of India 1931*, Vol V Bengal and Sikkim, part II Tables, Provincial Table I and II. In Kaliganj, Hatibandha and Kotwali police stations in Rungpur sadar subdivision. Hindu population constituted 51%, 50% and 33% respectively in 1931. In Domar, Dimla and Jaldhaka police stations in Nilphamari subdivision Hindus constituted 58%, 47% and 44% respectively. Lalmonirhat and Bhurungamari police stations of Kurigram had Hindus constituting 38% and 42% of total population. The district percentage of the Hindus in Rungpur was 30%.
5. For history of Kamateswar, see HC Chap. IV.
6. For history of Viswasingha *op. cit.* Ch. VIII.
7. For history of Naranarayana *op. cit.* Ch. IX.
8. For Koch-Mughal Treaty of 1711, *op. cit.* Ch. XI.
9. For earliest reference of *girt-prata* see *Kaha Guru Charit* (in Assamese) ed. by U. Lekharu, Gauhati, 1965, Ch. I.
10. For a short description of land revenue administration of Cooch Behar in XVIII Century see H.N. Chowdhury, *The Cooch Behar State and its land Revenue Settlement*, Cooch Behar, 1903 part IV Ch. I.



11. For Viswa Singha's assignment, see HC p 91, for Naranarayana *op. cit.* p. 102-103; for Luxmi Narayana *op. cit.* p. 134.
12. Details of Bramottar grants of Prannarayana are given in HC pp. 164-65; of Modnarayana, *op. cit.* p. 172 and footnote; Roopnarayana's grant of five villages to brahmans mentioned in *op. cit.* p. 181 and footnote.
13. For various temple grants see HC Ch. IX pp. 125-27, Chap X, p. 152 and pp. 165-166.
14. Reference of Murari Bhattacharjee's Grant is given in HC p. 270.
15. *Gomastahs* were often entrusted for settlement of new raiyats. See HC p. 134, footnote.
16. The text of the Anglo-Koch treaty 1772 is given in H.N. Chowdhury *op. cit.* pp. 245-46. The relevant articles is IV : "That the Rajah further agrees to make over to the English East India Company one half of the annual revenues forever."
17. Revenue Departments proceeding No. 4 dated 28 July 1790. The Commissioner at Cooch Behar gave an account of Cooch Behar land Revenue Administration as was found in 1790 in his letter to the Revenue Department dated May 29, 1790.
18. Agnatic relatives of the Koch princely family is known as *Raigan*.
19. For history of *Chakladars*, *Toupedar* and other revenue *amlahs* who later on became chowdhuris under the Mughals, see HC pp. 267-74; E. Ghazier, *Report on Rungpore*, Appendix A. No. 2. p. 58.
20. King Roopnaraina (1704-1714) had shifted capital of the state to its present location and settled a group of *Kamrupi* brahmans near his new capital by offering five villages - Khagrabari, Takagach, Guriahate, Mainaguri and Kaminir Ghat. These brahmans were known as *panchagrami* brahmans.
21. *Karjee* is the title given to those tribal nobility from among the Koch, Mech and Kachari from whom the Koch Kings accepted brides; *Ishore* title is used by similar groups who accepted bride from the primarily family of the Koch.
22. For typical names of revenue mauzas still extant, see The Village Directory in Census 1961, West Bengal, *District Census Handbook - CoochBehar* pp.366-67. In Cooch Behar Sudar Subdivision, police station CoochBehar (Kotwali), there are following mauzas still bear the suffix *Kuthi* along with the name of original *jitedar* : Dharambores Kuthi, Elajaner kuthi, Giriar kuthi, Gokuler kuthi, Hilar kuthi, Tajnanarainer kuthi, Jibramer Kuthi.
23. For naraini coin, see HC Ch. XV pp. 279-95.







## LAND USE AND ENVIRONMENT - A MICRO LEVEL EXPERIENCE

Abul Hossain A. Bhuiyan\*\*

If *Homo sapiens* is to continue as the dominant species of life on Earth, modern man must come soon to a better understanding of the Earth and of what he has been doing to it (Ehrlich/Ehrlich ; 1970, p. 1)

### Abstract

Due to severe loss of forest cover in Bangladesh, various efforts are underway to increase the area of forest land. One such effort started in 1979 in Pomora and Betagi villages in Rangunia Thana of Chittagong District. The objective was to expand existing forest areas and regenerate the denuded hills. The idea became operation in 1979 with the settlement of 72 landless families on hilly *khas*<sup>1</sup> land in Betagi and settlement of 96 families on protected hilly forest land in Pomora. Each family received a plot of 4 acres on an annual lease basis, extended to 25 years lease in Betagi. Families in Betagi and Pomora, respectively. Farmers in these two settlements have developed an unsustainable land management system (more so in Pomora than Betagi) which has led to water sources drying up and soil erosion increasing. This is the result of their lack of knowledge of suitable agricultural practices on hilly land and tenurial insecurity especially in Pomora as well as their desire for short term profits from the sale of vegetables and root crops grown on plain land of which there is a shortage. This study recommends to provide the farmers with knowledge about appropriate farming techniques and tenurial security to protect the environmental degradation.

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## Introduction

To maintain ecological balance a country needs at least 25 percent of the total land under forest. Various statistics manifest that the forest areas of Bangladesh cover from 9 to 16 percent only of the total land. To minimize the gap a number of efforts have been made by the government and non-government agencies. One such effort was made in 1979 in Pomora and Betagi, two villages of Rangunia Thana<sup>2</sup> of Chittagong District to protect and expand the existing forests and to regenerate the denuded hills. In the process of regeneration, because of the lack of natural resources management knowledge, settlers of both villages were using the land in such a way that though in the short-run, return in terms of cash was very high, in the long-run the practice was overshooting the limits resulting in a silent ecological disaster. The aim of the present paper is to evaluate the trend on land use patterns and its effect on natural water sources in the project areas and to capture the lessons learned from this process.

## Background of the Project

Betagi and Pomora, two settlements in Rangunia Thana of Chittagong District, are about fifteen miles away from Chittagong city, on the Chittagong-Kaptai road. (Figure 1) Betagi is on hilly *khas* lands under the control of Ministry of Land and Pomora is on hilly forest lands under the protection<sup>3</sup> of the Forest Department. Because of the illegal use by the timber contractors and local elites as grazing land for their cattle the forest areas came under heavy pressure and turned into denuded hills. The process caused a great deal of soil erosion and degradation of both forest and adjacent agricultural lands effecting badly both forest and agricultural products. To address the problem in the mid-1970's an idea of "naked man to naked hill" was developed by some internationally known national experts.<sup>4</sup> The idea was to rehabilitate landless peasants on the denuded hills, to regenerate hills by planting trees and to protect the naturally grown tress from the illegal felling. After several phases the idea became operational in 1979 with the settlement of 72 landless families on hilly *khas* land of Betagi and 96 on protected hilly forest land of

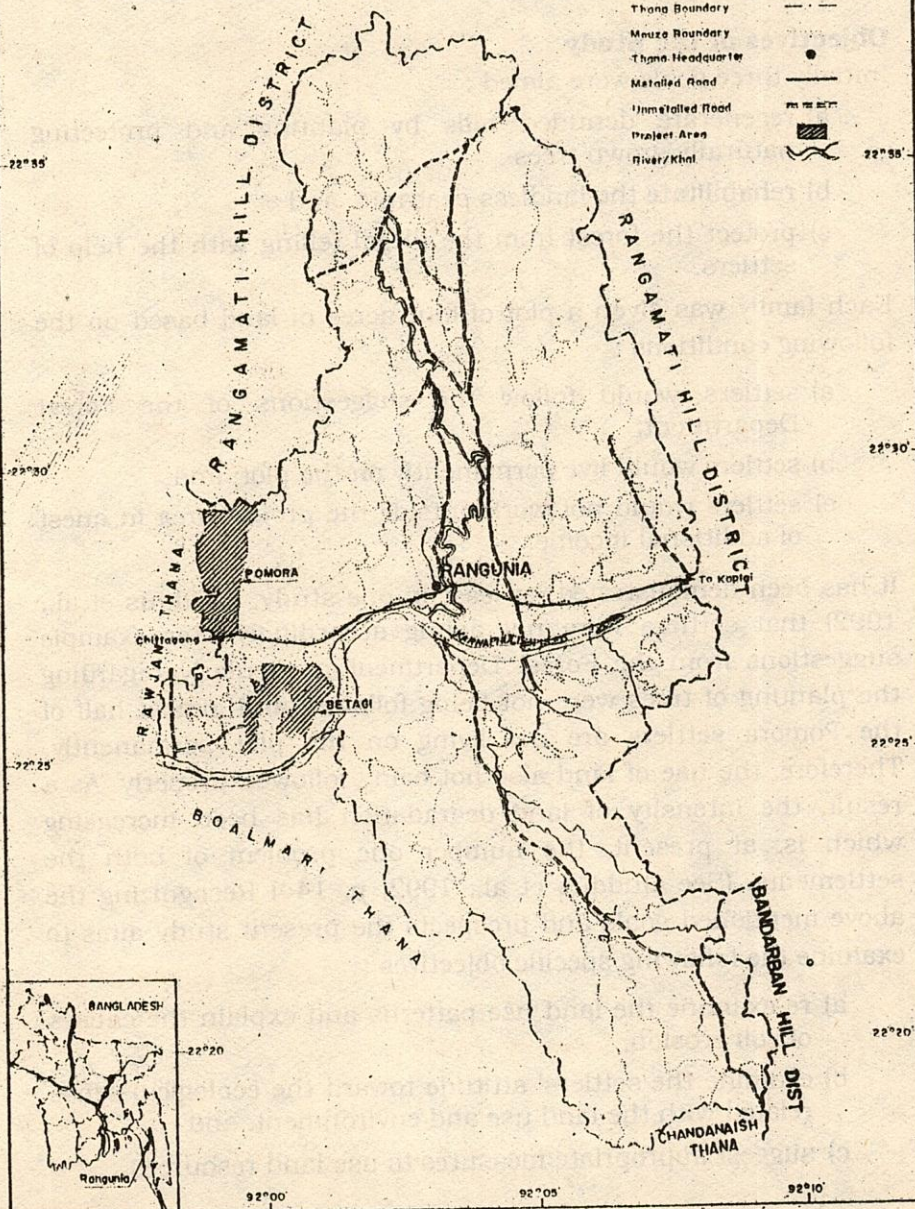


Figure 1: BETAGI AND POMORA PROJECT LOCATION MAP

0 1000 2000 Meters

LEGEND

- District Boundary
- Thana Boundary
- Mouza Boundary
- Thana Headquarter
- Metalled Road
- Unmetalled Road
- Project Area
- River/Khal





Pomora providing each family a plot of 4.00 acres (1.6 hectares) land on one year lease basis. Later in 1987 only the Betagi settlers received a semi-permanent lease (a lease of twenty five years) from the then government. By the year 1993 the number has increased to 82 and 152 in Betagi and Pomora respectively.

### **Objectives of the Study**

Initially three goals were aimed :

- a) regenerate denuded hills by planting and protecting naturally grown trees.
- b) rehabilitate the landless peasants, and
- c) protect the forest from the illegal felling with the help of settlers.

Each family was given a plot of four acres of land based on the following conditions :

- a) settlers would follow the suggestions of the Forest Department,
- b) settlers would live permanently on the plot; and
- c) settlers would not work outside the project area in quest of additional income.

It has been demonstrated, at least in one study, (Quddus et al., 1992) that settlers were not acting accordingly. For example suggestions from the Forest Department particularly regarding the planting of trees were not being followed and almost half of the Pomora settlers are not living on the plot permanently. Therefore, the use of land also not being followed properly. As a result, the intensity of land degradation has been increasing which is, at present, the number one problem of both the settlements. (See Quddus et al., 1992, p. 144) Recognizing the above mentioned goals and prospects the present study aims to examine the following specific objectives :

- a) re-examine the land use patterns and explain the causes of soil erosion,
- b) examine the settlers' attitude toward the ecological sense related with the land use and environment, and
- c) suggest appropriate measures to use land resources.



## Methodology

Nowadays, a combination of methodological approaches and procedures is recommended in conducting any sociological investigation. (FAO ; 1983, p. 76) Keeping this in mind the present study used multiple methods to collect various primary information. Data for the study was collected at four levels : secondary data, spatial data, time-related data and social data. To collect these four levels of data, several methods, such as, observation, indebted interview, case study, group discussion, discussion with key informants and document study were followed. In addition to the primary information, secondary information was also used from a field level study (Quddus et al., 1992) as the present author himself was related with the study. Sampling, level of data gathering along with the methods are discussed in brief below.

## Sampling

A total of 15 households were sampled purposively from the total population of both settlements. To make the selection process representative, of the 15 cases, 6 were selected from Betagi and 9 from Pomora. Only those who had carved-out land from their plot and had been using the plots for more than 12 years were included in the sampled list. According to Grandin's Wealth Ranking Technique, among the settlers, in terms of wealth position, all selected cases belonged to the upper strata group.<sup>5</sup>

## Data Gathering and Analysis

For an initial overview of the study area and to acquire general information on the resource base, land use patterns, water resources, experience in natural resource management, secondary literature were discussed. Based on Revenue Survey of 1927 and Bangladesh Survey of 1970<sup>6</sup> and through direct observation maps and sketch maps of the village, water resources were drawn. To measure the area and amount of soil that had been carved-out from the plots a local *amin* (local surveyor)



having good knowledge in measurement was employed with an assistant. Two to three days were required to measure the area and amount of carved-out soil of a plot. Series of group discussions and discussion with the key informants were applied to collect time-related information. In addition to group discussions old census of the villages were also compared to present the comparative land use patterns, particularly, extension of agricultural lands adjacent to the hills within project areas. A semi-structured interview schedule was prepared and conducted indepth interview with the selected households to collect social data. Also a number of socio-economic information regarding the settlers in general, was drawn from a base-line study conducted previously. (Quddus et al., 1992) Without losing the essence of each set of data, a supplemented process of one method by another was followed rather than comparing. For limited survey data, simple statistics were used, for qualitative data, implicit as well as explicit meanings of observed phenomena were emphasized. Presentation has been made in two ways — general background and selected cases in simple graphs, charts, maps and reports.

## **Findings**

### **General Background**

The mean age of Betagi-Pomora family head's ranges from 45 to 50. Wives in both areas are relatively younger. More than two-thirds of the settlers migrated from the nearby villages where they were living for about three generations. Of the total of migrated people more than ninety-five percent were from plain land background. Only a couple of families have hilly land use background. Only one-third of the settlers had receive training on agroforestry, but they did not have any knowledge related to hilly land use practice. More than one-third of the settlers of Pomora are not living on the plot day and night while the figure in Betagi is much lower. The absentee settlers cared for their plots either through hired laborers or people living around. (Quddus et al., 1992, pp. 21-40) In terms of profession,



agroforestry — the joint production of perennial woody species and agricultural crops, sometimes in association with livestock — stands top (more than ninety percent) among the settlers of both villages. Before moving on the settlement areas this was the profession of only three percent of them. The rest were engaged in agricultural day-laborer, agriculture, service and small business. Of the total production of plot, short rotation crops (vegetables) cover thirty-six percent and forty-nine percent in Betagi and Pomora respectively followed by horticulture (thirty percent in Betagi and seventeen percent in Pomora). Short rotation crops are grown on relatively plain land and are more labor-intensive than the horticulture and forest trees. It is clear from the figure 2 that Pomora people earn more from short rotation crops than the Betagi people. Since Pomora people are on a year to year lease basis, they give little importance to horticulture and forest trees, because horticulture and forest species do not provide quick cash like short rotation crops do. In contrast, the Betagi people, who have semi-permanent tenure, (25 years lease) concentrate less on the short rotation crops to achieve the long term goals of ensuring stable income and protecting the soils through planting and protecting horticultural and forest trees. In a way, Betagi settlers are practicing more sustainable agroforestry than the Pomora settler by using natural resources the way it was meant to be. Figure 3 indicates that Pomora always fell behind Betagi in planting and protecting horticulture and forest trees.

### **Selected Case's Background**

The average family number in Pomora (9.22) is higher than in Betagi (8.83). The adult female labor of each family in Pomora is 2.33 while the number in Betagi is 2.5. The ratio of adult male-female member is the same (2.5). Although average age of the family member of Pomora is slightly higher than in Betagi (Pomora-23.45, Betagi-22.36) but the average age of the head of the household of both settlements is about 55 years. The number of child labor in Pomora (4.33) is significantly higher than in



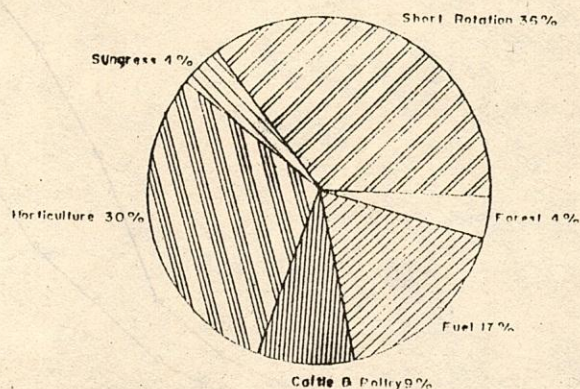
Betagi (2.89). Members of both settlements have almost same years of schooling. (Table 1)

**Table 1 : Selected Characteristics of the Selected Cases (on average)**

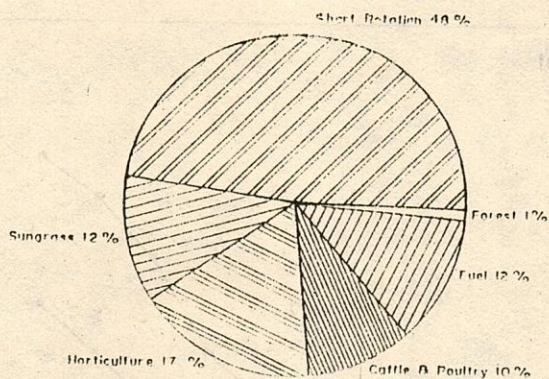
Characteristics	Betagi N = 6	Pomora N = 9
Number of family members :	8.83	9.22
Male :	3.83	5.22
Female :	5.00	4.00
Age of family members :	22.36	23.46
Male :	27.79	25.03
Female :	19.29	24.65
Age of head of the family :	55.83	55.22
Number of adult labor/family		
(15-16 years) :	5.0	6.11
Male :	2.5	3.78
Female :	2.5	2.33
Number of child labor/family		
(4-14 years) :	2.89	4.33
Years of schooling/family member		
(over 5 years) :	2.46	2.89
Carved-out area/acre (%) :	16.0	27.0
Carved-out soil/acre :	17,000.0 cft	20,000.0 cft
Total labor that utilized for carving-out soil (in man-days):	900.0	946.0
Family labor :	552.0	828.0
Hired labor :	348.0	118.0
Duration of plot use :	14 years	14 years
	(semi-permanent lease)	(one year lease)



Figure 2: Proportion of Income from Different Sources  
(Based on Wealth Ranked Cases)



Betagi (N = 9)

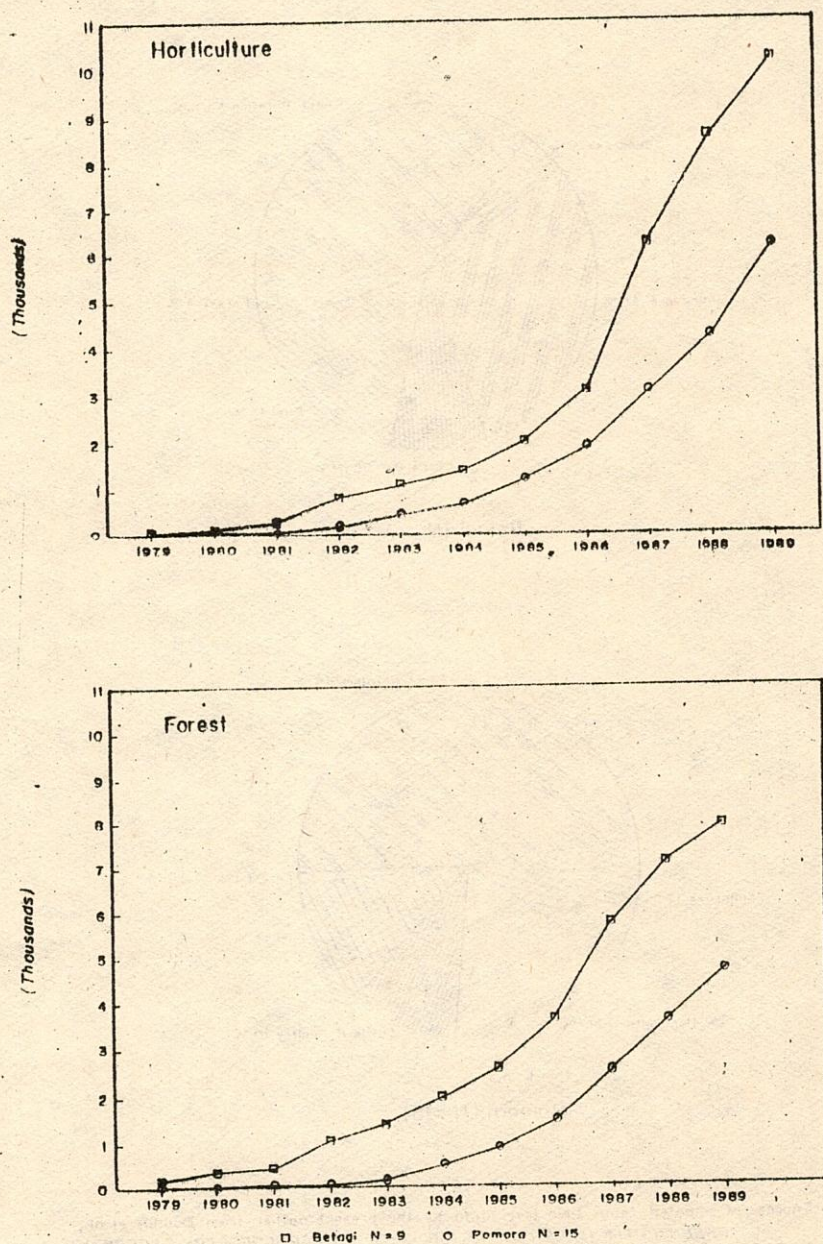


Pomora (N = 15)

Source : Computed from field level data by the present author from Qudus et.al.,  
GREENING THE HILLS: THE BETAGI-POMORA AGROFORESTRY EXPERIENCE,  
(Dhaka: BARC-Winrock International, 1992)



Figure 3: Average Number of Trees by Year/Plot  
(Based on wealth ranked cases)



Source: Computed from field level data by the present author from Qudus et.al.,  
*GREENING THE HILLS: THE BETAGI-POMORA AGROFORESTRY EXPERIENCE*,  
(Dhaka: BARC - Winrock International, 1992).



Settlers of both settlement have been living on the plot for about fourteen years. Of the settlements the Betagi people were living on plots based on semi-permanent lease — which they had received in 1987 while the Pomora settlers were living on the plots based on one year lease. The ratio of absentee plot owners in Pomora is significantly higher than in Betagi. This tenurial position is further resultant in the attitude of plantation and preservation process and carving-out of land as well.

Like the general background of the settlers of both villages the selected cases also represent almost the same characteristics. This is true in the case of institutional activities, production process, involvement of women and children in agroforestry, credit and its repayment, marketing the products, litigation and conflict, social connection etc. Therefore, we will discuss more specific issues for example land-use patterns, water sources etc. by giving less importance on general issues which already have been discussed. (Quddus et al., 1992).

### **Land Use Patterns**

#### **General Background of the Settlement**

The Betagi-Pomora agroforestry project is located in Chittagong District of Bangladesh. Both the projects areas are on hilly lands. Height of the hills range from 60 to 120 feet. Pomora plots are relatively higher and drier than Betagi. Plots in Pomora are scattered while in Betagi they are more concentrated.

Three distinct patterns of agroforestry have been evolved in the project areas. These are lemon-based agroforestry, guava-based agroforestry and banana-based agroforestry. Lemon-based agroforestry in Betagi is almost double to that of Pomora. Guava-based agroforestry is only found in Betagi. Plain land activities such as direct agriculture i.e., paddy associated with other short rotation crops (vegetables) is higher in Pomora than in Betagi. In addition to vegetables and paddy, in plain land, the Pomora



settlers grow root crops such as ginger, arum etc., while in Betagi only vegetables are grown on plain land as short rotation crops.

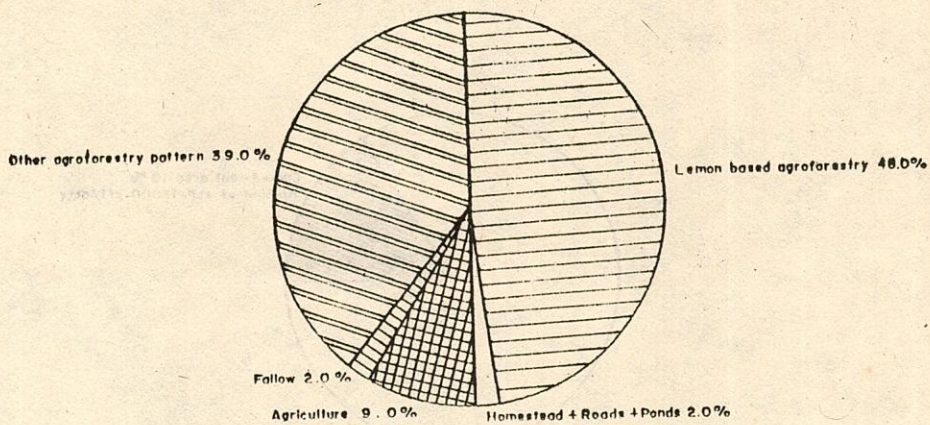
Out of seventy-one types of agroforestry species combined, fifty-five types are lemon-based agroforestry occupying 49 and 23 percent of plot land in Betagi and Pomora respectively. In Pomora eight types of quava-based agroforestry, occupying 8.3 percent and seven types are banana-based agroforestry occupying 3 percent of plot areas. Agriculture occupies almost 15 percent of plot areas. In Betagi agriculture occupies one-tenth of the areas. Other agroforestry covers almost half of the selected plot areas includes several types of agroforestry patterns in both Betagi and Pomora. Each of the other types covers less than one percent of the selected plot areas. The amount of fallow land in Pomora is double that of Betagi. (Figure 4)

### **Selected Cases**

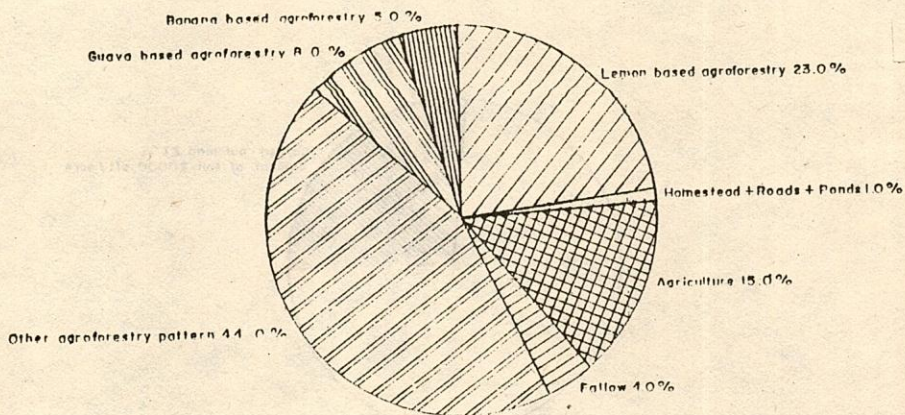
Since 1989, the agroforestry patterns in the project areas have not changed markedly, but the plain-land based agricultural activities have been increasing. This in Pomora is much higher than in Betagi. Pomora settlers are increasingly carving-out soils from the hills and preparing some plain land for short rotation crops. This is because the short rotation crops provide quick and good amount of cash. the average area of land that is carved-out from each selected plot in Pomora is more than one-fourth of the total area, while in Betagi it is less than one-fifth. The average amount of soil that was removed from each acre (.405 ha) in Pomora is almost 20000 cft., while in Betagi it is 17000 cft. (Figure 5) These evidences indicate that the Pomora people are using their plots more for the plain land activities by changing the natural settings of the soil.



Figure 4 General Land Use Patterns In Betagi and Pomora  
(Based on wealth ranked cases)



Betagi (N=9)

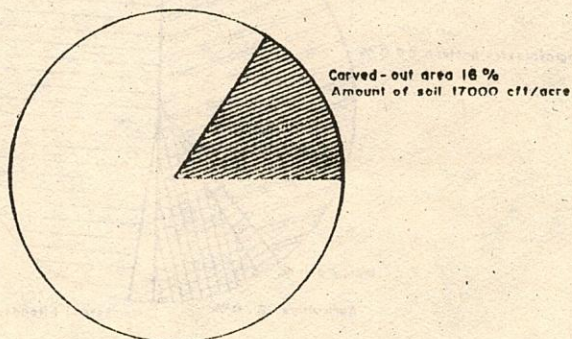


Pomora (N=15)

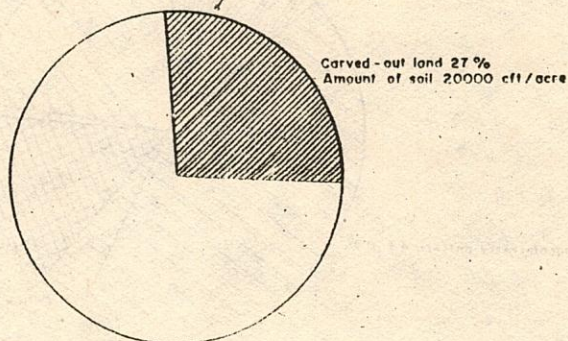
Source : Computed from field level data by the present author from Ouddus et al.,  
*GREENING THE HILLS: THE BETAGI-POMORA AGROFORESTRY EXPERIENCE*,  
(Dhaka: IARC-Winrock International, 1992)



**Fig: 5 Average Area per Plot and Average Amount of Soil per Acre that Carved - out In Betagi - Pomora**



Betagi (N = 6)



Pomora (N = 9)

Source : Field Survey



## Change

Before the Second World War both Betagi and Pomora were covered by deep forests and were full of wild life. Because of densely populated wildlife people living around the hills were scared to use the forests areas. Not only the forest areas, but also the lands adjacent to the forest. With the growth of population, fallow unutilized land in between the hills came under pressure. Till the Second World War these lands had not been utilized by any body. After the birth of Pakistan (1947) the plain land in between the hills were allotted to the then government. Since then the people who were using the land have been extending the areas by cutting the lower part of the hillsides and side-lines of the allotted plain land. As a result, the areas of the agricultural lands in between the hills have been expanding by affecting the actual settings of the soil. (Figures : 6 & 7)

In addition to plain land extension, part of the hilly lands which had been allotted to the settlers for agroforestry activities were also under pressure for agricultural activities. Each plot of the selected cases shows that more than one-fourth of the area in Pomora had been turned into plain land by over-cutting the topsoil. In the case of Betagi the area is less than one fifth. In other words, this information indicates that the settlers of both the areas were using the lands in a way that caused enormous soil erosion.



Figure 6 : EXTENSION OF AGRICULTURAL LAND IN BETAGI

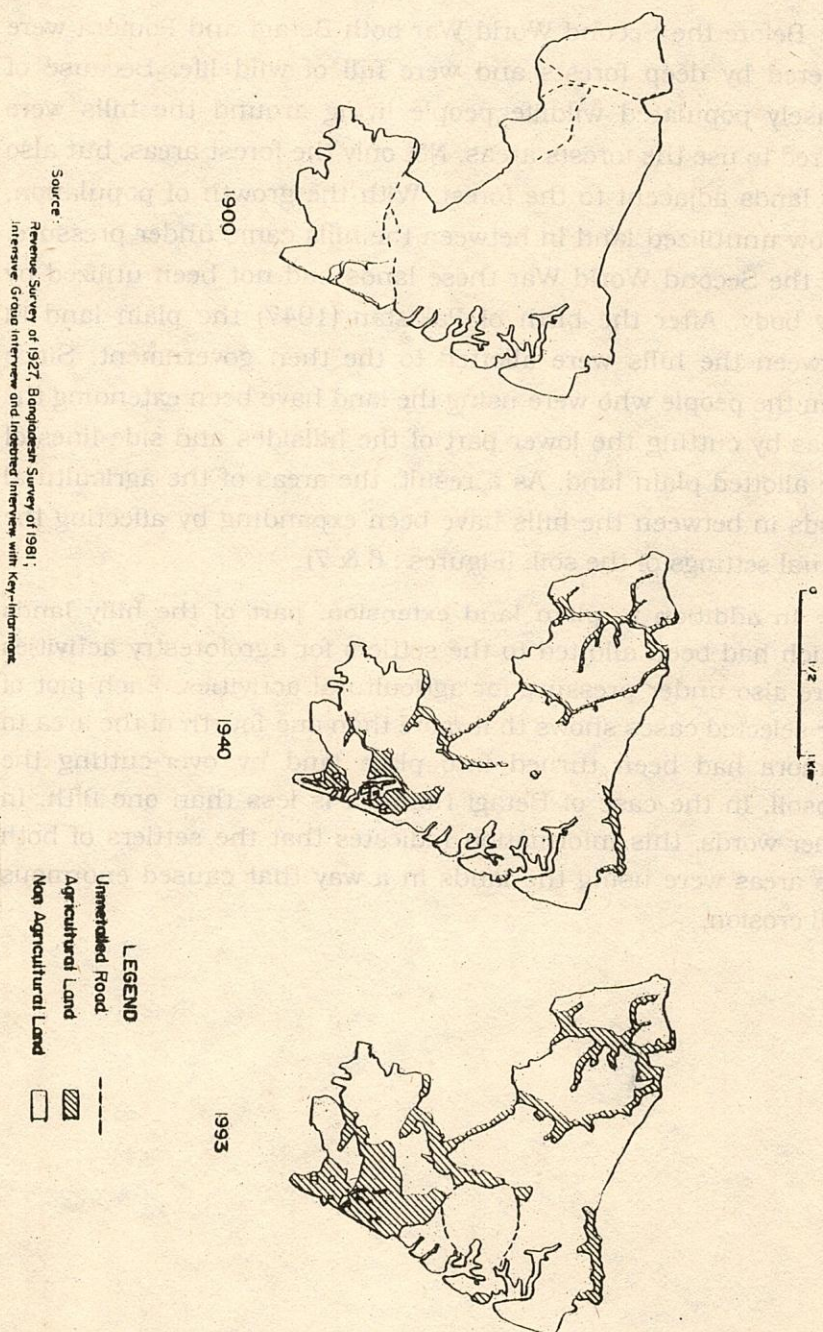
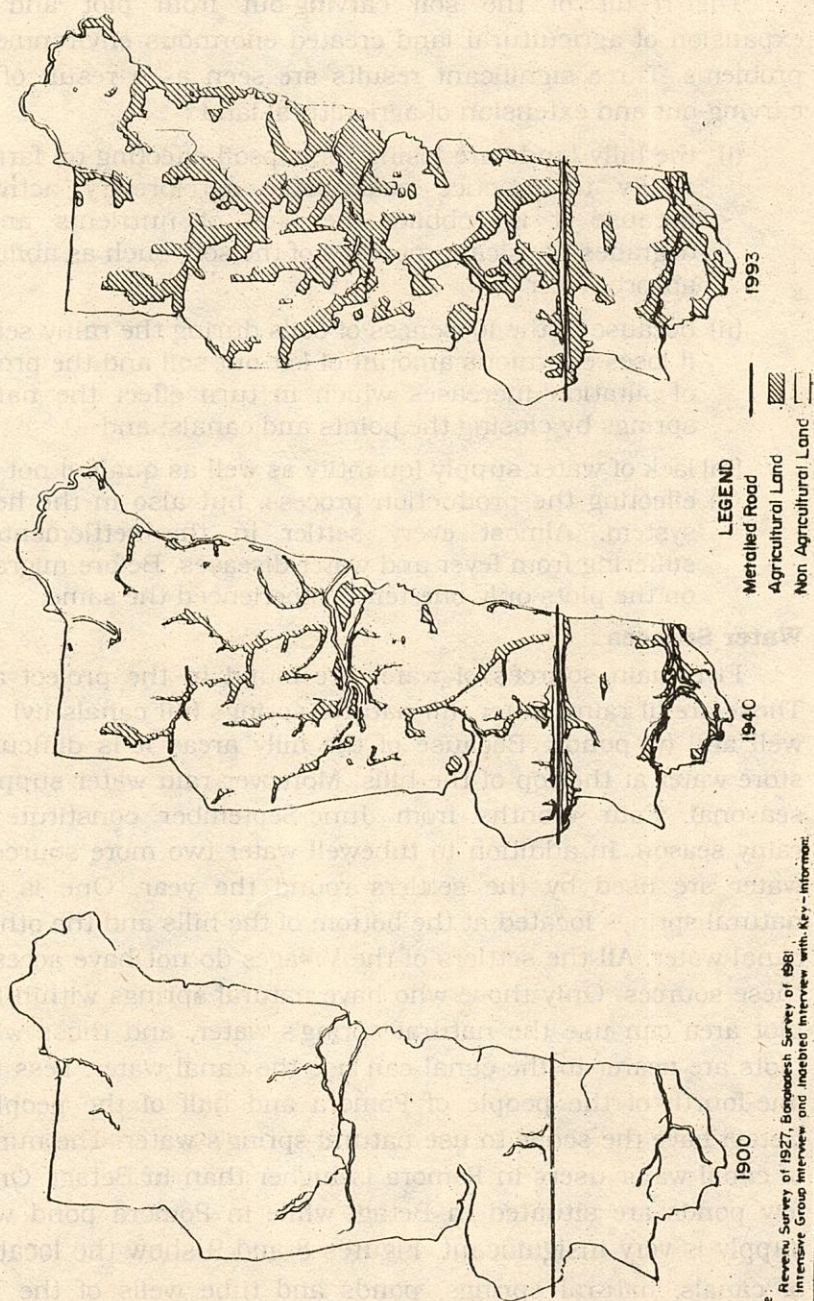




Figure 7 EXTENSION OF AGRICULTURAL LAND IN POMORA

0 1/2 1 km



Source: Revenue Survey of 1927, Bangladesh Survey of 1981, Intensive Group Interview and In-depth Interview with Key-Informant.



## Results

The result of the soil carving-out from plot and the expansion of agricultural land created enormous environmental problems. Three significant results are seen as a result of soil carving-out and extension of agricultural land :

- (i) the hilly lands are losing the topsoil effecting on farmers ability to practice sustainable agroforestry activities because it is robbing the land of nutrients and it degrades physical properties of the soil, such as ability to absorb water ;
- (ii) because of the looseness of soils during the rainy season it loses enormous amount of left-out soil and the process of siltation increases which in turn effect the natural springs by closing the points and canals; and
- (iii) lack of water supply (quantity as well as quality) not only effecting the production process, but also in the health system. Almost every settler in the settlements is suffering from fever and water diseases. Before migration on the plots only one-tenth experienced the same.

## Water Sources

Five main sources of water are found in the project area. Those are (i) rainy water, (ii) natural springs (iii) canals (iv) tube well and (v) ponds. Because of the hilly areas it is difficult to store water at the top of the hills. Moreover rain water supply is seasonal. Four months from June-September constitute the rainy season. In addition to tubewell water two more sources of water are used by the settlers round the year. One is from natural springs located at the bottom of the hills and the other is canal water. All the settlers of the Villages do not have access to these sources. Only those who have natural springs within their plot area can use the natural spring's water, and those whose plots are nearer to the canal can use the canal water. Less than one-fourth of the people of Pomora and half of the people of Betagi have the scope to use natural spring's water. The number of canal water users in Pomora is higher than in Betagi. Only a few ponds are situated in Betagi while in Pomora pond water supply is very insignificant. Figures 8 and 9 show the locations of canals, natural springs, ponds and tube wells of the both settlements.



Figure 8 SOURCES OF WATER IN JUNGLE POMORA

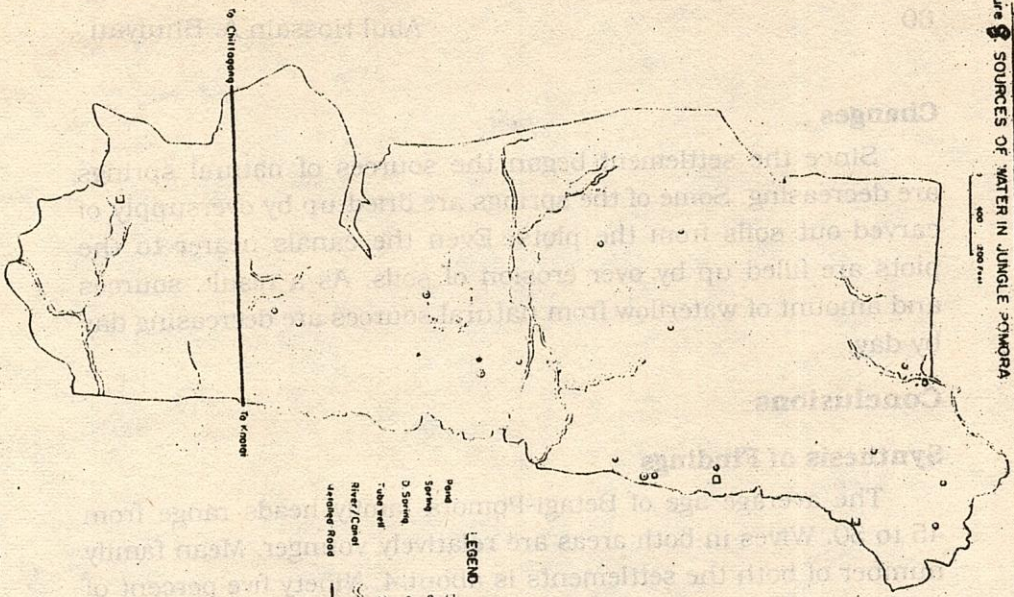
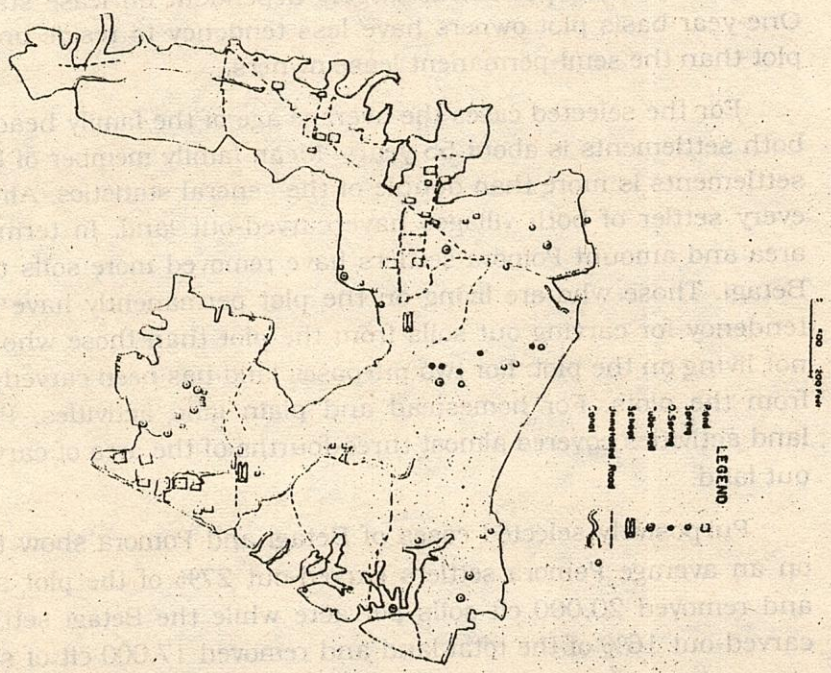


Figure 9 SOURCES OF WATER IN BETAGI





## **Changes**

Since the settlement began the sources of natural springs are decreasing. Some of the springs are dried-up by oversupply of carved-out soils from the plots. Even the canals nearer to the plots are filled up by over erosion of soils. As a result, sources and amount of waterflow from natural sources are decreasing day by day.

## **Conclusions**

### **Synthesis of Findings**

The average age of Betagi-Pomora family heads range from 45 to 50. Wives in both areas are relatively younger. Mean family number of both the settlements is about 4. Ninety five percent of settlers of both villages are from plain-land background. One-third of the settlers received agroforestry training, but they did not receive any knowledge related to hilly land use. More than one-third of the settlers of Pomora are not living on the plot day and night, while the figure in Betagi is much lower. Either family members or people living around are looking after the absentee's plots. Residential position is largely dependent on lease status. One-year basis plot owners have less tendency to reside on the plot than the semi-permanent lease owners.

For the selected cases the average age of the family heads of both settlements is about 55 years. Mean family member of both settlements is more than double of the general statistics. Almost every settler of both villages have carved-out land. In terms of area and amount Pomora settlers have removed more soils than Betagi. Those who are living on the plot permanently have less tendency for carving out soils from the plot than those who are not living on the plot. For two purposes land has been carved-out from the plots. For homestead and plain land activities. Plain land activities covered almost three-fourths of the area of carved-out land.

Purposively selected cases of Betagi and Pomora show that on an average Pomora settlers carved-out 27% of the plot area and removed 20,000 cft soils per acre while the Betagi settlers carved-out 16% of the total land and removed 17,000 cft of soils



per acre. For carving soils from plot Pomora settlers on an average used a total of 946 man-days while Betagi settlers used 900 man-days. In both cases the utilization of family labor is much higher than the hired labor.

Almost half of the income of Pomora settlers is derived from short rotation crops while the statistics in the case of Betagi settlers is much lower (36%). Short rotation crops are labor intensive and requires plain land. Horticulture, which is one of the sustainable agroforestry activities is practiced in Betagi covering an average of almost one-third of the plot land while the figure in the case of Pomora is much lower, only 17%.

Observations show that persons living on the plot permanently have planted and protected more forest trees than those not living on the plot permanently. In addition to residential positions proper land use background also contributed to the process of unplanned land carving-out and plantation.

Over carving-out of soils from hills creating enormous soil erosion resultant in the loosing of capacity to absorb rain water. As a result, waterflow from natural springs are deteriorating. Some natural springs dried up too. Shortage of water supply effected the production process and health system. If it continues, the cumulative result will lead to an ecological disaster in the long-run.

### **Policy Implication**

1. Lack of hilly-land use knowledge has emerged as one of the contributing factors for over carving-out of soils from the plot. In addition to lack of land use knowledge the demand for plain land which is suitable for short rotation crops and which provides quick cash also encouraged them for over carving-out land. This can be stopped through providing the settlers modern land use knowledge by some non-governmental technical organizations having technical facility on land use, forest and environment.
2. Tenurial security has emerged as one of the major contributing factors to the success of agroforestry in Betagi. With secured tenurial status (a semi-permanent lease),



Betagi settlers have demonstrated sustainable agroforestry by practicing horticulture and forest plantation and preservation. On the other hand, the insecurity of tenurial status (one year lease) Pomora settlers has been a major constraint on the development of sustainable agroforestry practice. This has to be sorted out at the policy level through arrangements between the Ministry of Land and the Ministry of Forest and Environment.

3. Root crops now being grown by settlers (ginger, arum etc.) on the slopes caused heavy soil erosion detrimental to the growth of long rotation forest and horticulture species. Appropriate agroforestry patterns should be introduced to stop the soil erosion on these slopes.

### **Replicability**

It follows from the findings that the replicability of the community agroforestry models would largely depend on the following :

1. In terms of physical condition this approach has been introduced on hilly land areas. It can be replicable while such hilly lands are lying barren. The hills of the east and south-eastern part of the country can be used for utilizing this approach of development. Because of the non-availability of land, instead of distributing four acres of land two acres would be suitable. It will also help more landless people to come under the system.
2. Tenurial security emerges as one of the major problems. Replicating this approach on suitable lands would be possible if settlers are given a tenurial security in the form of permanent or long lease.
3. Lack of appropriate land use and agroforestry knowledge hampered the development process and caused environmental problems. A non-government organization having technical knowledge on appropriate hilly land use practice is a precondition for the successful replication of the project.
4. The success of project will largely depend on regular monitoring through some non-government developmental organization.



### Notes

1. Khas lands are situated in the hill tracts and under control and management of the District Administration; most are deforested and those abandoned by shifting cultivation revert to scrub vegetation. (Government of People's Republic of Bangladesh, 1987: 20)
2. Thana is the lowest administration of civil administration with a police station. The population of thana usually vary from 100,000 to 300,000.
3. Protected forests are the forest which are demarcated and notified under Forest ; certain rights of the local people are recognized. (Government of People's Republic of Bangladesh, 1987 : 20)
4. Dr. M. Yunus the founder of the Grameen Bank, Mahbubul Alam Chashi the then Secretary and Professor A. Alim, the former conservator of forest in Chittagong.
5. For details see Barbara E. Grandin, *Wealth Ranking in Smallholder Communities* : A field manual, (Rugby : Intermediate Technology Publications, 1988).
6. R.S. refers to Revenue Survey of 1927 and B.S. refers to Bangladesh Survey of 1970.



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## **SPATIAL PATTERN OF AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN BANGLADESH**

Md. Zahidul Hassan\*

### **Abstract**

Rural development in Bangladesh is, in fact, an euphemism for the development of agriculture which continues to be the most premier industry of the country engaging 54.63 per cent of its working population (excluding household works) in 1991 (BBS, 1994) and contributing 34.47 per cent of GDB (at current price) during 1991-92 (BBS, 1994a). It also provides more than 60 per cent of our export items directly or indirectly (Hamid, 1991) and a major source of industrial raw materials. Therefore, since 1960s several package schemes and new strategies were adopted for the development of agriculture in the country (Vyllder, 1982). But the process of agricultural development is not uniform all over the country both in space and time. This is because of the lopsided progress in infrastructural facilities and use of modern technology in agriculture. Keeping this fact in mind the present paper attempts to measure disparities in the levels of agricultural development in Bangladesh by taking twenty greater districts as spatial units of investigation. Seventeen indicators representing four major elements of agricultural development, viz. land use, productivity, farm technology and infrastructural facilities (physical and human) have been selected to measure the Synthetic Index (a form of composite score). The study concludes that there are strong spatial differentiations in the levels of agricultural development. It has also been found that profile of agricultural development is higher in the Bogra-Dhaka-Comilla-Chittagong axis and lower in the south and extreme corners of the country.

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## Introduction

Agricultural development is multi-dimensional in nature and it forms an important field of study in Agricultural Geography, Agricultural Economics and other allied subjects. There are significant studies on the problems and issues of agricultural development (See among others Hill and Mosher, 1963; Schultz, 1964 and 1967, Johnston and Southworth, 1967, Mellor, 1967). But the diversity of agricultural conditions - and of the general economic situation in different developing countries and within different farming regions of an individual country - makes it quite impossible to formulate universally valid policies or prescriptions for promoting agricultural development (Johnston and Southworth, 1967). Implicitly or explicitly, agricultural development is equated with the processes of agricultural modernization (See among others Schultz, 1964; Mellor, 1967; Banerjee, 1986; Bhagabati, 1987).

Bangladesh has a long history of colonial rule (British and Pakistani Colonial forces) for more than 200 years. The British involvement in Bangladesh agriculture was mainly limited to the changes in revenue administration and little attention was given by the government in agricultural development (Rumi, 1985). Throughout the Pakistan period (1947-1971) agriculture remained a neglected sector and was assigned the passive role of supplier of foreign exchange (Ahmad, 1984). However, during the 1960s some attention was given to the official policy of Pakistan (Vylder, 1982). Consequently, research institutes and agricultural university were established, and experiments were being made in the field of co-operatives where farmers and development administrators could work together (Khan, 1974). The use of farm technology began as early as 1960s but an outstanding breakthrough in its diffusion could be achieved after the independence of the country when several package schemes and new strategies were adopted for the development of agriculture (Vylder, 1982). But the lopsided progress in infrastructural facilities and the use of modern technology in agriculture caused disparities in the pattern of agricultural



development. In the present study, an attempt has been made to show the present spatial pattern of the levels of agricultural development in Bangladesh, and to explain the pattern in terms of seventeen explanatory indicators.

### **The study area :**

Bangladesh ( $20^{\circ}35'-26^{\circ}38'N$  and  $88^{\circ}01'-92^{\circ}41'E$ ) is relatively a small country covering only 147570 sq km (BBS, 1994) in the subtropical zone (fig. 1.a). The land is mostly flat except the hill ranges in the eastern part and two patches in the central and north-western part of the country. In the eastern part there are long hill ranges which are more or less longitudinal. These ranges are the western outlier of Arakan Yoma mountain chain of Burma (Myanmar) which covers the most part of the Chittagong Hill Tracts and Chittagong districts. Some of the hill ranges continue north through the Indian state of Tripura and reappear in Sylhet district. Some hillocks of this northward continuation are found in Comilla district. There are two high terraces known as Barind Tracts in the north-west and Modhupur Tracts in the central part of country in Tangail district. These terraces have ancient rocks below the vast alluvium mass.

A network of rivers of which the Ganges, the Brahmaputra, the Teesta, the Meghna, the Surma and the Karnaphuli are important, and their distributaries number 230 with a length of about 24140 km covering the country flow down to the Bay of Bengal (BBS, 1994a). The alluvial soil is thus continuously being enriched by heavy silts deposited by the rivers during the rainy season.

Bangladesh enjoys generally a subtropical monsoon climate. In winter temperature ranges from a minimum of  $7^{\circ}$  to  $12^{\circ}$  celcius to maximum of  $23^{\circ}$  to  $31^{\circ}$  celcius. The maximum temperature in summer month is  $37^{\circ}$  celcius although in some places this occasionally rises up to  $40^{\circ}$  celcius or more. The monsoon period of June to September (rainy season) accounts



for 80 per cent of the total rainfall. The average annual rainfall varies from 120 to 145 centimetres.

Abundant rainfall and warm temperature coupled with rich alluvial soil that allows cultivation of a wide range of crops explain largely the historical traits of the country's dense population (Alam, 1989). In 1991 the country's total population stood at about 106 million (BBS, 1994) which gives a density of about 720 persons per sq km to be exceeded only by some city states of the world.

The economy of the country is predominantly agrarian in character and agriculture continues to be the most premier industry of the country engaging 78.7, 58.8 and 54.63 per cent of the working population (excluding household works) in the years of 1974, 1983-84 and 1991 respectively (BBS, 1994 and 1994a). Similarly, agriculture remains the single largest contributor to the GDP of the country and contributed 50.9, 48.4 and 34.47 per cent of the GDP (at current price) during the periods of 1976-77, 1983-84 and 1991-92 (BBS, 1982, 1986 and 1994). The declining trend in the proportion of agricultural labour force may be explained by the growth of non-agricultural activities in the rural areas (Ahmad, 1984), while the declining trends in the proportion of GDP contributed by agricultural sector can be explained by its slower growth rate compared to other sectors of economy such as transport, trade, construction, energy, public administration and defence etc. (for sectoral growth rate see among others BBS : 1986, 1994a).

The agriculture in the country is under tremendous population pressure with an agricultural density of 915 persons per sq km of agricultural land in the year of 1991. The scope for horizontal expansion of arable land in the country is extremely limited and only way left boosting the crop production up is the large scale adoption of multiple cropping (Khan and Hassan, 1989) for which there is necessity of creating sufficient irrigation potential, making fertilizer and other modern agricultural



facilities available and the development of human resources involved in agricultural operation.

### Methodology :

Agricultural development in the present study operationally means the results of the interplay of aspects like agricultural land use, agricultural productivity, farm technology and infrastructural facilities. In order to determine the present spatial pattern of agricultural development in the country at the district (greater district) level, the following indicators are selected on the basis of importance and availability. The indicators are :

#### A. Land use -

- 1) Percentage of net cropped area (NCA) to total geographical area.
- 2) percentage of area under culturable waste and current fallow (CWCF) to total geographical area.
- 3) intensity of cropping (total cropped area/NCA X 100).

#### B. Agricultural productivity -

- 4) per hectare (ha) productivity of rice (HYV and local) in quintal.
- 5) amount of value added (in current price) from agricultural crops, livestock and poultry per ha of agricultural land (arable land including fallow + perennial crop + permanent grass land) in 1000 taka.
- 6) Per capita (rural population) amount of value added from agricultural crops, livestock and poultry in 100 taka.

#### C. Farm technology -

- 7) application of fertilizer (NPK + gypsum + zinc) in kg per ha of NCA.
- 8) percentage of HYV rice to total rice area.
- 9) application of pesticide in kg per sq km of agricultural land (AL).



#### D. Infrastructural facilities -

- 10) percentage of net irrigated area to NCA.
- 11) road density per 100 sq km of geographical area.
- 12) storage capacity (local supply depot. + central supply depot. + silos + coldstorage) in metric tons per sq. km of NCA.
- 13) formation of agricultural co-operative societies under Bangladesh Rural Development Board (BRDB) in number per 1000 rural households.
- 14) disbursement of agricultural credit (by Bangladesh Krishi Bank + Rajshahi Krishi Unnayan Bank + Bangladesh Rural Development Board) in taka per ha of AL.
- 15) number of demonstration (field + homestead) under Agricultural Support Service Project (ASSP) per 100 sq km of AL.
- 16) density of trained farmers (under ASSP) in number per 100 sq km of AL.
- 17) literacy rate for rural persons aged 7 years and above.

For the proper understanding of their importance the indicators need clarification.

**A. Land use :** The pattern of land use directly or indirectly reflects the level of agricultural development. The components of land use such as NCA, culturable waste, current fallow and intensity of cropping are directly related to the level of agricultural development and, therefore, these are taken as indicators. The NCA indicates the horizontal extension of crop land which is basically limited by physical environmental conditions. The land under CWCF has positive relationship with the prospect of agricultural development but a negative relationship with the level of agricultural development (Bhagabati, 1987). Intensity of cropping (IC) is one of the most



important indicator of agricultural development in an agrarian economy in the sense that it indicates the extent to which the practice of double and multiple cropping is adopted in the NCA.

**B. Agricultural productivity :** The efficiency of agriculture ultimately gets expressed through productivity (Dayal, 1984). The productivity of dominant crop is a major component of agricultural development. Here, per hectare productivity of rice has been considered. Value added from agricultural crops, livestock and poultry per hectare of Al is an important indicator of agricultural development as it indicates the spatial extent of land productivity. Besides, value added from agricultural crops, livestock and poultry per capita of rural population is also considered as an indicator because it indicates the general welfare standard of the agrarian people.

**C. Farm technology :** The impact of modern technology in agriculture is well known. Traditional technology stagnates development and, therefore, a positive change in it is more important. Three important indicators viz. inputs of fertilizer, pesticide and adoption of HYV rice are taken into account to represent the technological achievements in the agriculture of the country.

**D. Infrastructural facilities :** Although the broad limits of agricultural activities are determined by physical setting of an area, the individual farmer conducts his enterprise within a framework of infrastructural facilities available to him which may favour or restrict agricultural development. Eight important indicators of infrastructure (physical and human) such as irrigation, road density, storage facilities, agricultural co-operatives, agricultural credit, demonstration of agricultural extension service, farmers training and rural literacy are considered while examining the level of agricultural development in Bangladesh. The need of irrigation and its importance may easily be understood by observing the variability of monsoon



rainfall. The major concentration of rainfall in the four months (June to September) of the year necessitates artificial supply of water for raising kharif-I and rabi crops.

Road density is one of the important indicators of accessibility. Poor roads and communications have an adverse effect on the efficiency of government development programmes (e.g. the mobility of extension workers, interactions among organizations working at different levels, the supply of inputs), the functioning of the rural factor markets and the incentive of farmers to grow for the market (Ahmad, 1984).

Under the monsoon condition, it is difficult to store properly the agricultural products without adequate storage facilities. As a result, a significant quantity is wasted or lost due to various causes and damaged by pests, rats etc. The position of proper storing capacity (local supply godowns, central supply godowns, silos and cold storages) per sq km of NCA has also been taken as an indicator while determining the level of agricultural development.

Agricultural co-operative is one of the important indicators of organizational framework for agricultural development. According to experts on rural development administration, the main problem with respect to agricultural development programmes in Bangladesh is the absence of the village level institutions through which majority of the people can express their needs and interests (Ahmad, 1984). Therefore, the formation of agricultural co-operative societies under BRDB in number per 1000 rural households has been considered as an indicator of agricultural development. Similarly, the disbursement ratio of institutional (BKB, RKUB and BRDB) agricultural credit and AL is also an important indicator of agricultural development because adequate credit help peasants to overcome economic constraints of investment in agriculture.



The density of ASSPs as demonstration (field and homestead) and farmers training per 100 sq. km of AL are very important indicators of government development programmes for agriculture. Demonstration works encourage farmers to take advantage of modern farming technique while training improves their managerial skills.

Last but not the least indicators is rural literacy which indicates the overall progress of human resource development among the agrarian people of the country.

The data used in this study were collected from secondary sources (for data sources see BBS, 1982, 1986, 1991, 1993, 1993a, 1994, 1994a; Head office, RKUB; Directorate of Agricultural Extension, 1992, 1993, 1994; Hamid, 1991). Triennial average data for the years of 1988-89, 1989-90 and 1990-91 have been considered for most of the indicators (except road length, agricultural co-operative societies, rural population, literacy and ASSPs. For road length and number of agricultural co-operative societies the position of 30.6.92, for rural population and literacy census figures of 1991 and for ASSPs total number for the year of 1992, 1993, and 1994 have been considered) in the present study. The data for the seventeen indicators (table 1) have been used to calculate the Synthetic Index (a form of composite score) for each district as was applied by Mudiar and Das (1976) and subsequently used by Bhagabati (1987).

The scores for national average, the lowest and the highest values among the districts for each indicator (except percentage area under CWCF) are respectively allotted as 50,0 and 100. In the case of CWCF as it has negative relationship with the level of agricultural development, scores for the lowest, medium and highest values are 100,50 and 0 respectively. On the basis of such scores and their corresponding values with respect to each indicator, graphs are drawn by plotting the scores on the X-axis and data for the indicator on Y-axis. A curve is then drawn



through the three points already obtained and with the help of such curves, the district-wise scores for each indicator are found out. The synthetic index for each district is, thus, calculated by adding scores for all the indicators.

The synthetic indices are then grouped with standard deviation (SD) method (based on national index i.e.  $17X50=850$ ) for proper visualization of the levels of agricultural development (fig. 1.b). Accordingly, five groups have been set and these are very low (below -1.5 SD), low (-0.5 to - 1.5 SD), medium ( $\pm 0.5$  SD), high (0.5 to 1.5 SD) and very high (above 1.5 SD).

### **Spatial pattern of the levels of agricultural development :**

The magnitude and importance of the indicators used for assessing the level of agricultural development vary spatially (table 1). These variations ultimately give rise to spatial disparity in the levels of development (table 2 & fig. 1b). The levels of agricultural development in different districts vary from very high to very low.

Very high level of agricultural development is found in two districts (Bogra and Chittagong) forming two pockets in the mid north-west and western margin of the south-eastern part of the country. These two districts altogether contribute 6.60 and 6.56 per cent of the NCA and AL respectively. Bogra district shows above average score for 13 indicators (except agricultural credit, rural literacy and ASSPs) and scores very high (80-100) for the indicators of irrigation, land productivity, rice productivity, IC, NCA and HYV. Chittagong district also shows above average score for 13 indicators (except agricultural co-operative, per capita productivity, NCA and road density) and also scores very high for the indicators of farm technology, storage and agricultural credit.



Two districts (Comilla and Dhaka) located in the middle and mid-eastern part of the country represent high level of agricultural development. This unit accounts for 10.37 and 11.24 per cent of the NCA and AL respectively. Comilla district shows above average scores for 14 indicators (except per capita productivity, CWCF and agricultural credit) and score very high for the indicators of road density and IC. While Dhaka district shows above average score for 14 indicators (except per capita productivity, NCA and CWCF) and also scores very high for the indicators of ASSPs and road density.

Medium level of development is spread over the larger number of the districts (8) and most of them are located in the northern halves of the country. This unit covers 40.96 and 41.08 per cent of the NCA and AL respectively. In this category all districts show above average score for most of the indicators (9-11) and except Pabna all other districts score very high in one indicator only. The most common aspects of this unit are irrigation and HYV rice cultivation for which all the districts score above average for these two indicators.

Low level of agricultural development is found in six districts and most of them (4) are located in the south except Dinajpur and Chittagong Hill Tracts forming two isolated pockets in the north-western and south-eastern margin of the country. This unit accounts for 30.19 and 28.74 per cent of the NCA and AL respectively. In this unit all districts show below average scores for most of the indicators (10-12) and also score very high for at least one indicator. The most common aspect of this unit is irrigation for which all the districts score below average.

Patuakhali district in the mid-south and Sylhet district in the north-eastern part of the country emerge as the worst areas in terms of agricultural development. These two districts altogether represent 11.88 and 12.38 per cent of the NCA and AL respectively. Patuakhali district shows below average score for 10 indicators (except agricultural co-operative, road density,



literacy, per capita productively, input of pesticide, NCA and CWCF) and scores very low (below 20) for the indicators of irrigation, ASSPs, land productivity, rice productivity, HYV, IC and the input of fertilizer. While Sylhet district shows below average score for 14 indicators (except road density, agricultural credit and HYV rice cultivation) and also scores very low for the indicators of ASSPs, storage and the input of fertilizer. Here in this unit both the districts score below average for the indicator of irrigation also.

### **Conclusion :**

This study not only depicts the present spatial pattern of agricultural development in Bangladesh but indirectly indicates the potentialities of different areas in respect of development also. The imbalances in the intensity of land use, productivity, application of inputs, infrastructural facility especially irrigation etc. have given rise to distinct spatial variation in the levels of agricultural development. The profile of agricultural development is higher in the Bogra-Dhaka-Comilla- Chittagong axis. While northern halves and western part of the country comprising eight districts namely Tangail, Rangpur, Kushtia, Mymensingh, Jessore, Pabna, Jamalpur and Rajshahi show medium profile of agricultural development. This area needs attention for further improvement. The extreme corners and southern part of the country also comprising eight districts viz. Dinajpur, Faridpur, Chittagong Hill Tracts, Barisal, Khulna, Noakhali, Patuakhali and Sylhet show lower profile of agricultural development. This area needs special attention and treatment in order to remove its agricultural backwardness. Moreover, a tendency in the recent years to practise modern farming, has been seen to grow among the farmers in different parts of the country which will definitely have great bearings on the future agricultural development of the study area. Proper assistance, guidance and incentive by the Government from rational spatial perspectives will, perhaps, go a long way in its further development in a balanced manner.



**Table 1.** District-wise data for the indicators of agricultural development.

Name of the districts	Serial number of the indicators as listed in the text								
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Bartsal	69.75	6.06	142.87	13.66	17.75	23.22	19	12.91	40
Bogra	69.58	5.94	188.77	25.09	36.20	33.21	143	71.91	76
Chittagong	33.12	9.32	177.55	19.79	30.79	24.89	229	85.44	129
Chittagong H.T.	6.36	8.00	132.37	19.85	18.39	51.40	34	68.50	31
Comilla	68.63	14.74	194.47	17.09	29.90	21.62	53	58.34	85
Dhaka	52.68	20.28	175.73	17.65	25.75	22.19	88	56.33	47
Dinajpur	71.33	8.74	168.99	16.55	24.38	35.08	78	35.93	39
Faridpur	77.90	4.67	181.58	11.49	23.03	25.95	19	18.94	19
Jamnapur	63.01	14.50	195.78	16.26	27.38	25.90	69	42.58	-
Jessore	76.44	10.49	175.58	20.36	26.60	34.36	29	49.93	48
Khulna	34.49	2.82	132.99	14.82	19.92	23.99	184	20.51	26
Kushtia	67.40	16.38	189.32	16.36	26.69	31.63	94	43.25	47
Mymensingh	62.42	14.93	179.64	17.83	24.98	26.33	43	51.40	45
Noakhali	61.28	8.48	171.46	15.34	21.82	21.67	31	44.60	66
Pabna	54.04	21.81	182.74	17.34	22.62	22.22	136	43.81	45
Patuakhali	71.19	7.95	137.57	13.40	13.15	27.39	11	6.99	49
Rajshahi	69.02	9.57	145.97	20.61	24.83	32.24	54	50.86	37
Rangpur	65.85	11.68	196.98	18.01	28.19	28.74	56	42.25	29
Sylhet	49.03	15.63	154.83	14.33	18.80	24.02	21	51.45	35
Tangail	73.14	7.98	171.60	16.82	26.19	25.82	50	45.30	90
Bangladesh	55.43	10.49	169.43	16.97	24.14	26.61	50	42.21	45

Contd. ....



Name of the districts	Serial number of the indicators as listed in the text									
	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)		
Barisal	11.74	12.26	15.83	4.41	398	59	94	37.5		
Bogra	75.82	9.65	39.01	4.25	205	65	106	25.9		
Chittagong	49.40	8.70	60.81	2.20	2611	90	147	31.1		
Chittagong H.T.	15.55	5.96	19.92	3.98	261	80	128	21.9		
Comilla	45.82	12.47	26.21	4.85	564	87	140	30.8		
Dhaka	44.92	14.30	40.46	4.71	1678	120	196	29.7		
Dinajpur	26.52	9.24	23.05	3.22	378	44	71	16.9		
Faridpur	23.46	9.66	13.91	4.15	430	74	119	28.1		
Jamalpur	57.03	9.79	14.93	3.81	476	80	131	18.5		
Jessore	42.52	8.94	10.84	3.47	398	59	96	28.4		
Khulna	12.31	5.08	39.45	3.68	749	52	84	35.2		
Kushtia	52.56	10.77	14.63	2.40	510	76	122	21.7		
Mymensingh	49.11	8.56	15.90	5.86	381	72	120	22.4		
Noakhali	15.67	10.83	15.10	2.28	349	50	81	35.7		
Pabna	47.46	9.83	29.34	5.22	452	68	112	24.2		
Patuakhali	2.88	9.84	14.57	6.63	375	42	66	36.3		
Rajshahi	41.85	9.17	16.04	4.75	477	51	82	24.6		
Rangpur	46.64	8.12	14.17	4.20	578	73	119	22.2		
Sylhet	35.10	9.79	11.32	3.51	664	41	64	25.7		
Tangail	49.16	9.17	13.35	3.90	461	65	109	27.7		
Bangladesh	36.24	9.19	17.89	4.17	624	66	107	27.9		

Source : Statistical Yearbook of Bangladesh, 1991, 1992 and 1993; Bangladesh Population Census 1991, National Series, Vol. 1 (Analytical Report), Vol. 2 (Union Statistics); Head Office, Rajshahi Krishi Unnayan Bank; Intensive Kharif-I Crops Production Programme (in Bengali) 1992-93, 1993-94 and 1994-95; Intensive Kharif-II Crops Production Programme (in Bengali) 1992-93, 1993-94 and 1994-95; Intensive Rabi Crops Production Programme (in Bengali), 1992-93, 1993-94, and 1994-95.

— means nil.



**Table 2.** District-wise synthetic indices indicating the rank and level of agricultural development.

Name of the Districts	Synthetic index	Rank	Level of agricultural development
Barisal	662	16	low
Bogra	1155	1	very high
Chittagong	1149	2	very high
Chittagong H.T.	676	15	low
Comilla	1037	3	high
Dhaka	1034	4	high
Dinajpur	744	13	low
Faridpur	743	14	low
Jamalpur	814	11	medium
Jessore	824	9	medium
Khulna	660	17	low
Kushtia	856	7	medium
Mymensingh	854	8	medium
Noakhali	648	18	low
Pabna	821	10	medium
Patuakhali	581	19	very low
Rajshahi	805	12	medium
Rangpur	886	6	medium
Sylhet	522	20	very low
Tangail	905	5	medium

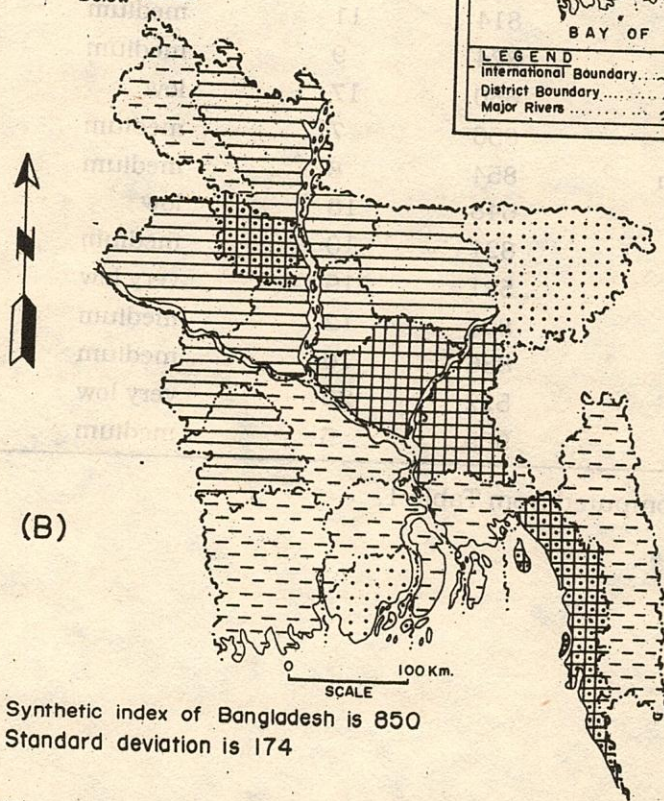
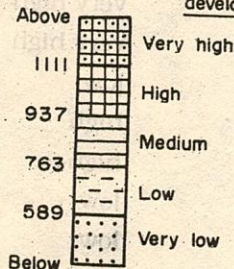
Source : Computed from Table 1.



# BANGLADESH SPATIAL PATTERN OF AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Synthetic indices

Levels of agricultural  
development



Note: Synthetic index of Bangladesh is 850  
Standard deviation is 174

Fig. 1



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## REORGANIZATION OF THE SECRETARIAT IN BANGLADESH

A.T.M. Obaidullah\*

### Introduction

The Government of Bangladesh has a single central Secretariat as the state is of unitary character. The Ministries and Divisions of the government are collectively referred to as the Secretariat. The executive authority of Bangladesh is vested in the President and is exercised by him, on the advice of the Prime Minister, in accordance with the provisions of the constitution. The administrative policies are discussed and framed in the meetings of the Council of Ministers where the Prime Minister presides. After the change over of government in 1991 the prime Minister turns into the head of the government in place of the President under the presidential system and started presiding over all cabinet meetings. Nevertheless actions and policies of the state are expressed in the name of the head of the state, the President. He, by rule, specifies the manner in which orders and other instruments made in his name are to be attested or authenticated, and the validity of any order or instrument so made or authenticated is not to be questioned in any court of law on the ground that it is not duly made or executed.<sup>1</sup>

Below the cabinet there is the Secretariat comprising of civil servants who aid and advise the cabinet ministers in the formulation of policy. Bangladesh Secretariat is the highest level sub-system of the government system, with both upward and downward linkages. It underlies various government departments, autonomous, semi-autonomous, and public statutory bodies and subordinate agencies. On the top, the Secretariat is linked with the Council of Ministers and ultimately

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with the President.<sup>2</sup> Politically each Ministry is under the headship of a Minister/Prime Minister. But business of the government is distributed among the Ministers in accordance with Rules of Business made by the President.<sup>3</sup> Structurally, a Ministry is divided into Divisions, Wings, Branches, and Sections under the joint direction of political and administrative headship. Below the political head of a Ministry there are administrative heads like Secretary, Additional Secretary, Joint Secretary, Deputy Secretary, and Assistant Secretary with their respective duties. It is the nerve centre of the entire administrative organization and the mainspring of governmental activities. It is here that all the administrative policies are conceived of and thought out, take their final shape and issued to the heads of departments for execution. It is responsible for collection, analysis, evaluation and synthesization of the data, facts and figures, and evidence on which the Ministers form the policy. The administrative set up of the Government of Bangladesh is divided into Ministries amongst which the various subjects of governmental activity are distributed according to the following criteria :

- function or purpose (most Ministries all over the world are function- or purpose-based) ;
- work processes (Ministry of Public Health and Family planning, Ministry of Public Works and Urban Development, etc.) ;
- clientele (Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation, etc.) ; and
- geography, administrative convenience, and manageability.<sup>4</sup>

The Secretariat structure that Bangladesh inherited at independence was a direct legacy of the colonial rule of British India and Pakistan, a citadel of generalist bureaucrats which relegated the technical experts to the permanent secondary status and made total bifurcation between policy making and policy implementation. Professor *Egger* observed that

"...numerous communications related to final approval of high policy matters were handled by generalists with no background, experience, or competence in the technical areas.<sup>5</sup>



Egger suggested that highest technical posts in the Secretariat be opened to officials from technical services such as engineering, agriculture, medicine, etc. Bernard Gladieux also found fault with the Secretariat system, "of which the politicians and technicians were the prisoner".<sup>6</sup> But no reform measure in Pakistan came into effect which could jeopardize the unfettered position of generalist civil servants, CSP. However, in Bangladesh, a number of specialists have been appointed Secretaries to the Government by virtue of their Senior Service Pool membership Bangladesh since its independence major Commissions/Committees such as Civil Administration Restoration Committee (1972), Administrative and Service Reorganization Committee (1972), Pay and Service Commission (1977), Martial Law Committee (1982), Martin Committee (1989) to streamline the Secretariat structure and establish it on an egalitarian philosophy which will leave opportunity open to the specialist services to move up to the top position of policy making in the Secretariat and render proper service to the nation. Most of the Commissions/Committees aimed at curbing the untrammelled predominant authority and position of the generalist civil servants and establishing an open structure of the Secretariat for all cadres of Bangladesh civil servants. In this paper an attempt is made to highlight how the recommendations of the various Commissions/Committees with regard to the Secretariat are implemented and reveal the actual state of affairs in the secretariat in the name of reorganization as such.

### **Policy Formulation vs. Policy Implementation Dichotomy**

The role of the Secretariat, according to Martial Law Committee (MLC) should be policy formulation, planning, evaluation of the executed plans, assisting the Ministers in the discharge of their duties and responsibilities, personnel management of the top level officers of public statutory corporations, attached departments and subordinate offices, and such other matters as may be determined from time to time.<sup>8</sup> For the execution of the policies and programs formulated in the Secretariat, the government has to set up a number of Attached Departments, Directorates, and Subordinate Offices as executive



agencies headed by specialists. The Secretariat is "responsible for framing of the government policies" and the directorates are "responsible for carrying out these policies".<sup>9</sup> In practice, however, the functions of the Directorates do not remain confined only to the execution of government policies. On the basis of their technical knowledge they are supposed to advise the Secretaries in framing policies.<sup>10</sup> The specialist head of the Directorate felt that he was the main source of supplying the essential data and information for policy-making. But he could not take the credit by being the direct advisor to the Ministers. He was always obliged to play second fiddle to a generalist head who took part in policy making mainly with the help of the Head of the Directorate.<sup>11</sup> Thus it is always emphasized that there should be joint participation and two-way traffic between the policy making and the executive agencies.<sup>12</sup>

The principle of sound administration demands that the Ministers should be advised by one person at a time. Otherwise, he may be ill-advised and there may be confusion. The problem may, however, be solved in several ways. As a temporary measure, the Minister may ask the generalist Secretary and the specialist Head of the Directorate, especially in case of disagreement between the two, to come to a conference with him. Or the head of the Directorate may see the Minister, but must tell the Secretary about the contents and developments of discussions because the Secretary will be responsible ultimately for the departmental affairs. In fact, this provision has already been made in our administration.<sup>13</sup> But this temporary solution does not satisfy the specialist heads of the Directorates who aspire to become the direct advisors to the Ministers occupying the positions now basically by the generalist civil servants. But this claim of the specialists is not supported by the generalist administrators on the basis of the following arguments :

- First, the heads of the Directorates who are usually specialists may be able to ensure the technical soundness of a scheme but the remaining aspects of it can be examined appropriately only by the generalist administrators.



- Second, generalists can relieve scarce and expensive specialists of non-specialized work and thus permit the most economic use of the specialists in the performance of the duties of the latter efficiently.
- Third, the scrutiny made by the generalists provides the necessary objectivity essential for dealing with personal cases which cannot be effectively ensured if left to the heads of the Directorates who are apt to be influenced by departmental prejudice developed over the years.
- Fourth, when more than one type of specialists is involved, the necessary coordination can be done effectively by the generalists.
- Fifth, generalists have the fluency and skill needed to synthesize and summarize the views of the specialists in a form on which policy can be properly based.<sup>14</sup>

Some of the arguments are reasonable, although, on the whole, they lose weight when we hear the arguments of the specialists :

- First, generalists cannot save the scarce time of the specialists in the practical field rather the former make waste of the latter's valuable time. Delays and inefficiencies result from dividing the responsibilities for Directorates and generalist heads of the Ministries; misunderstandings arise, papers are sent to and fro for clarification, unnecessary time is taken by giving explanations.
- Second, the generalists change jobs more frequently than specialists. There is sure waste of time of specialists in explaining and in making understanding the technical background of the development projects which cannot be easily understood specially by the newly-arrived generalist administrators.<sup>15</sup>
- Third, there is no evidence to suggest that specialists are unsuited to the role of policy matters in their own specialist fields. In addition, there can be no denial of the fact that the specialist scrutiny will render better and sounder advice to the Minister concerned. The Minister also needs the service of a specialist because he himself is usually a generalist.



- Fifth, the generalist heads of the Ministries borrow practically all the ideas from the specialist heads of the Directorates and advise the Ministers on their basis.
- Sixth, that the specialists are suited to the posts of Secretaries of different Ministries has been clearly proved in Bangladesh when after liberation some of them have been given opportunity to occupy the posts of Secretary, Additional Secretary, Joint Secretary, Deputy Secretary, etc. breaking the colonial practice which preached that those can be occupied only by a special class of generalist civil service.<sup>16</sup>

Having considered the arguments put forward by the generalists and specialists in their contention we find no reason why the heads of specialist departments should not be given the role of an adviser to the Minister now being performed basically by the generalist officers. For the better utilization of their technical knowledge, expertise and experience, the Ministries which perform functions of technical nature should be headed by veteran specialists both for national development and for professional justice as well. And in the Ministries where Heads of the Directorates are not likely to be made administrative heads of the Ministries their status should be considered at par with the generalist Secretaries as they not only implement decisions of the Ministry but also take part in formulating decisions by supplying fact, figures, and technical advice required for the decision.<sup>17</sup> Giving due recognition and higher status to the specialists in administration need not mean to imply that there is no need for general administrators. What is needed is parity of esteem, opportunity, and emoluments between the specialists and generalists in comparable positions.<sup>18</sup>

### **Inception of the Bangladesh Secretariat British and Pakistan Period**

Bangladesh leaves behind a long history of the growth of Secretariat from the British rule in India to the present days through Pakistani neo-colonial rule. The British colonial administration provided the framework of organization and operational procedures. The functions of the British Secretariat



system were strictly regulatory in nature. The central administrative structure in British India was created for the first time by the Regulating Act (1773) with Governor General and four Councilors. The Charter Act (1833) created a supreme government with Governor General of India in Council. The business of the government carried out by a number of Departments such as Revenue and Finance, Judicial, General and Secret, Law, Military and Trade — each under a secretary. Secretaries were responsible for careful observance of rules and orders for transaction of business in the Secretariat. The creation of new Departments, amalgamations and abolitions were made almost throughout the nineteenth century in order to ensure efficient administration and transaction of business.

An important aspect in the growth of Secretariat system in British India was the development of procedures for the transaction of business under the Charter Act. Under this system every Councillor or member was required to give his view on each case requiring decision by the Governor General. This system caused much delay in the procedure and was changed later on to make members individually responsible for the departments placed under them.<sup>19</sup> In order to save the Governor General for his decision. Routine cases were disposed of by the Secretaries without reference to the Governor General. Another important stride was made by the enactment of India Act (1861) which authorized the Governor General to make rules from time to time for more convenient transaction of business in the Council. Under the new system except for the matters of great importance routine papers were disposed of by the relevant members to whom the subject was allotted. The duty of the Secretary was to bring to the notice of the Governor General any matter which he thought desirable. In the event of difference of opinion between the Governor General and the members, the case would be placed before the Council for decision. This arrangement introduced a system of collective responsibility and inter-departmental consultation.



The Secretariat procedure was elaborately scrutinized by Lord Curzon in 1899 who substantially pointed out the differences and weaknesses in the system of noting in English and in India. Based on the observation of Lord Curzon the first Secretariat Instruction was issued on July 10, 1899. The Secretariat Instructions aimed at reduction of excessive noting and encouraging personal communication. In order to check the incidence of *missing files*, the Secretariat Instructions laid down that every department must maintain a list of procedures such as

- (a) unanswered communication from the Secretary of the State ;
- (b) unanswered communication to other departments, personal or local government ; and
- (c) unofficial reference which had not been returned.<sup>20</sup>

The local governments were also instructed to follow the same procedure.

In 1935, the Government of India appointed a Secretariat Committee to suggest changes in the organization and procedure in the Secretariat in view of constitutional reforms. In order to ensure strict observance of rules the Committee suggested supervision of office by a trained, experienced and superior Secretariat officer instead of by the Superintendent. Another noticeable change was to give the Joint Secretary a specified sphere of duty to avoid too many layers in decision-making. Another committee under Maxwell was set up to draw the relationship between Secretaries and Ministers. The relationship defined was that the Secretary would be principal adviser to the Minister. The Secretary would be responsible to the Minister and through him to the Ministry for implementation of ministerial policy. Another committee (1945) under Tottenham was constituted to suggest reorganization of departments, allocation of business and staffing.<sup>21</sup> The significant recommendation made was to clearly delineate the spheres of responsibility for Secretary, Additional Secretary, Joint Secretary and Deputy Secretary. The Secretary was to be in charge of Department, Additional Secretary or Joint Secretary in charge of one of the



Wings and Deputy Secretary in charge of a Branch. A Section of a Branch was to be under a Section Officer.

Following the partition of India in 1947 two new independent states - India and Pakistan were born. Both these states inherited their administrative structure from the British colonial rule. The Secretariat system of both the countries remained more or less intact after partition. Pakistan adopted a federal form of government where there were two provincial Secretariats and one central Secretariat for the central government. The provincial government in East Pakistan was more or less a replica of the central government. It had a provincial Secretariat similar to that of central Secretariat consisting of departments and respective attached directorates and subordinate offices patterned along the lines of central government. The administrative units in the provincial Secretariat were known as *Departments* while these were termed as *Ministries* at the level of central Secretariat. The provincial Secretariat was headed by the Chief Secretary who was the principal adviser to the Governor of the province. Besides the Chief Secretary, there were two additional Chief Secretaries. Only these three Secretaries were given the status of the Central Secretaries.<sup>22</sup> There were 16 Departments, 72 attached offices/directorates, 10 corporations, 4 boards, 19 autonomous bodies in the East Pakistan provincial Secretariat until the dismemberment in 1971.<sup>23</sup> The central Government of Pakistan was organized into 12 Ministries under the charge of ten Ministers between the time 1962 to March, 1969.<sup>24</sup> The provincial administration and provincial Secretariat were created as field units organized hierarchically on a geographical basis such as division, districts, sub-divisions, and thana/development circle. The provincial Secretariat was responsible for field administration and execution of plans and policies as opposed to policy formulation which was the main responsibility of the central government.<sup>25</sup>



### Bangladesh Period

Until the formal achievement of independence on December 16, 1971, erstwhile East Pakistan was a province of federal Pakistan despite its dismemberment in March 1971 with proclamation of independence. From March 25 to December 18, 1971 two sets of government at home and in-exile administered this territory.

A parallel (provisional) Bangladesh Government in-exile was formed at Mujibnagar on the date of the proclamation of independence issued on April 12, 1971, with Sheikh Mujib as the President (albeit in absentia - he was under detention in a West Pakistan jail). Syed Nazul Islam, Vice-President, was made acting President and a cabinet of 4 Ministers with Tajuddin Ahmed as Prime Minister was formed.<sup>26</sup> An improvised Secretariat was also reported to have been set up with some top-level officials to assist the government-in-exile in transacting its business and war of independence.

**Table 1.** Improvised Secretariat set-up at Mujibnagar (Calcutta)

Name of officials	Designation (Ministry)
Ruhul Quddus (ex-CSP)	Secretary General
Noorul Quader Khan (ex-CSP)	Secretary, Establishment
Abdul Khaleque (ex-PSP)	Secretary, Home Affairs
Abdus Samad (ex-CSP)	Secretary, Defence
Anwarul Haque Khan (ex-EP)	Secretary, Info. & Broadcasting
Mahbubul Alam (ex-PFS)	Secretary, Foreign Affairs
Taufiq Imam (ex-CSP)	Secretary, Cabinet Affairs
T. Hussain (ex-surgeon)	Secretary, Health
Nooruddin Ahmed	Secretary, Agriculture
Muzaffar Ahmad Chaudhuri (DU)	Chairman, Planning Board
Asaduzzaman Khandkar	Secretary, Finance
A. Hannan Chowdhury (ex-Judge)	Secretary, Judicial Affairs

Source : Muhith (1978 : 254-275).



The growth of the civil Secretariat was without a coordinated plan. On many occasions, posts have been created to accommodate influential individuals.<sup>27</sup>

Acting President Syed Nazrul Islam, all cabinet members, including many other important political leaders holding administrative posts at Mujibnagar formally returned to Dhaka and took over their effective charges of the administration of independent Bangladesh with effect from December 18, 1971.<sup>28</sup> Immediately the cabinet was enlarged with five new Ministers.<sup>29</sup>

However, with the return of Sheikh Mujib from Pakistani Jail the interim Bangladesh Government was dissolved on January 12, 1972, in order to usher in, under the Provisional Constitution of Bangladesh Order (1972)<sup>30</sup> a parliamentary form of government with Sheikh Mujib as Prime Minister.

By and large, the initial Secretarial set-up in Bangladesh was organized around 19 Ministerial portfolios held by 15 Ministers. But as time passed, new Ministers were appointed, and additional portfolios were created to accommodate the newcomers. Similarly many new Secretariat Departments were created to make room for the surplus top-level officials most of whom got rapid promotion through undue favour.<sup>31</sup> For example, "an ex-EPCS officer, a brother-in-law of Mujib, who not only secured extraordinarily rapid promotions for himself but boosted the career opportunities of his ex-EPCS colleagues in expected disregard of the claims of the ex-CSP officers".<sup>32</sup> Again some officers who had not joined Mujibnagar government in-exile or stayed in Pakistan during the liberation war in 1971, felt harassed, humiliated, and inconvenienced by inquiries into their links with Pakistani rulers, by delay in clearance and placement, and also by suspension.<sup>33</sup>

In consequence, duplication and/or overlapping of functions, diffusion of responsibility, lack of coordination, and wastage of manpower became general features of Secretariat administration of Bangladesh after liberation.



### **Reform Efforts after Independence**

Immediately after the liberation the main concern of the new government was to devise appropriate measure to transform the existing structure of the provincial administration into a national government administration. Overnight change of Provincial Secretariat into Central Secretariat of the national government entailed difficult problems. A serious problem arose with regard to all those East Pakistan-based officers of the former central government of Pakistan and the Bangladeshi officials and employees recruited and controlled by the central government.

In order to remove this problem the Awami League government formed a committee named Civil Administration Restoration Committee under the chairmanship of M.M. Zaman, Cabinet Secretary, to examine and suggest ways and means for

- absorption of the officials and employees of the various Ministries/Departments of the former Central Government of Pakistan ; and
- amalgamation of the officers of the former central government with comparable Ministries/Departments of the new government of Bangladesh built upon what had previously been parts of a provincial government.<sup>34</sup>

The Committee submitted its report in January 4, 1972. The Committee was in the nature of an interim administrative reorganization to put back on the rails, in the context of changed political situation, the structure and organization of the government pending detailed examination of the complexity of the issues relating to the administrative system by another committee named Administrative and Service Reorganization Committee (ASRC) 1972 to be appointed by the Prime Minister.<sup>35</sup> Under the recommendations of CARC the national Secretariat was organized into 20 Ministries with related Directorates/Departments and Corporations.<sup>36</sup> The immediate challenge confronted by the nation being over the government appointed ASRC depicted a grim picture of the existing Secretariat system grown on the legacy of the British and Pakistani rule.



ASRC expressed the view that incorrect assessment of the needs and improper approach to problems led to the proliferation of Departments which in turn led to overlapping of work, wastes of resources, inefficiency and confusion in the administration. The allocation of functions among operative Departments and Divisions and their grouping in Ministries have been dictated in many cases by political exigencies rather than by the criterion of administrative efficiency and economy.<sup>37</sup> The unplanned growth and changes in the Ministries have resulted in an oversized Secretariat unable to function efficiently.<sup>38</sup>

With a view to examining the Secretariat system in proper manner the ASRC has discussed some of the basic organization principles in the following paragraphs :

- Homogeneous functions of the government should be consolidated into Divisions and Ministries. The basis for coordination has always been the major purpose. The Division and organizational units of administration at all levels reasonably be discrete and self-contained.
- The activities and responsibilities which will be assigned to these units should be functionally interrelated.
- There should be clear erection of responsibility and accountability in terms of both organization and position through a pyramidal scale of descending responsibility, coupled with adequate authority and responsibility in a straight line of command extending throughout.
- There should be maximum delegation of responsibility with adequate matching authority to appropriate points of competence in the hierarchy so that decisions can be made within the framework of approved policies without constant reference to higher levels.
- There should be effective institutional arrangements for coordination and control at the top level to ensure balanced implementation of overall goals, both horizontally and vertically, within approved administrative norms and fiscal limits.
- Systematic efforts need to be made to differentiate line function from staff work.



- More emphasis needs to be placed on the organization of the agencies directly concerned with developmental activities. These should be fully strengthened in organization, personnel, and status.<sup>38</sup>

Judged in the light of the principles outlined above, the organizational structure of Bangladesh Secretariat appears to suffer from the following shortcomings :

- The development Ministries and Departments of the government are not adequately staffed. This restricts their activities and the scope of development work they can undertake.
- The Ministries do not generally provide any coherent functional grouping of Divisions and, Offices. Anomalous combinations of this kind do not make for a strong and unified administrative structure dealing with sizeable sectors of governmental business, but, on the contrary, lead to unnecessary strains and stresses and inner conflict.
- Frequent and unplanned changes in the organizational structure are not desirable as these retard the growth of a sound administration.
- Many of the Ministries, Divisions and Departments which are directly involved in development programmes are still accorded a subordinate status. Their requirements very often receive inadequate attention with the result that the development work suffers.
- Responsibility does not always accompany authority in commensurate terms.

The ASRC recommended that the executive branch of the Government of Bangladesh should be reorganized on the basis of minimum number of functional Ministries, the operating units of which should be the functional Divisions. The responsibilities and functions assigned to the Divisions and Ministries should be capable of discrete operations.<sup>40</sup> The size of the cabinet should not be too large to impose an undue burden of coordination on the Prime Minister. Instead of increasing the size of the cabinet, the situation can be met by appointing Ministers of State or Deputy Minister to assist the Cabinet Ministers in the



performance of their increasing functions.<sup>41</sup> The basic principles in this respect are that the closely inter-related and homogeneous functions should be grouped together, but the size of the organization should not be so large that principle of effective span of control is violated.<sup>42</sup>

The most comprehensive and invaluable recommendations with regard to the Secretariat reorganization made no impact on the government of the day and the report was shelved as classified document. The scrapping of the ASRC recommendations may be attributed to the unfavourable time of the Awami League regime. The government, in the face of tremendous intra-party feud, overt threats from the left political parties determined to oust Awami League government, unprecedented bankruptcy following devastating famine in late 1974, did not dare to go for implementation.<sup>43</sup> In order to stay in political power of the country the government fell back upon many repressive measures and resorted to one-party presidential system with authoritarian overtone. But the August coup of 1975 brought the end of Sheikh Mujib era and ushered in a new regime under the leadership of General Ziaur Rahman.

The government of Ziaur Rahman brought a drastic change in the structure of Secretariat organization and consistently reduced the number of Ministries/Divisions and Attached Departments which had unnecessarily proliferated in the latter part of the Awami League rule. The notable feature of the reorganization scheme in the Secretariat set-up during Zia regime was the introduction of *Classless Unified Civil Service* and the constitution of Senior Services Pool (SSP) under the recommendation of Pay and Service Commission (P&SC) 1977 which had attempted to make the Secretariat a representative institution of all cadres of Bangladesh Civil Service. Of the total recommendations of the P&SC here we will refer to SSP only\*as it directly relates to the reorganization of the Secretariat.



### **Senior Services Pool (SSP) Order, 1979**

SSP based on the recommendations of the P&SC 1977 was designed to constitute a new apex cadre with talented, efficient and experienced officers of proven quality drawn from all branches of Bangladesh Civil Service on the basis of merit and ability to be tested in an objective manner. According to this Order, members of the SSP would ultimately fill all posts of Deputy Secretary, Joint Secretary, and Secretary in the Secretariat, except for (1) 10 per cent of the posts of Deputy Secretary which should be filled by promotion from among Section Officers belonging to the erstwhile Secretariat Services, (2) 50 per cent of the posts of Deputy Secretary, Director and Director General and above in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and (3) 5 per cent of the posts of Deputy Secretary and above in the Ministry of Law.<sup>44</sup> According to Section 4 of the Order, all officers who have at any time before March 1, 1979 held the posts of Deputy Secretary in the Secretariat, or the post of Director and Director General in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, are to be considered automatically encadred as SSP officers from March 1, 1979. In addition SSP order also provides that 5 per cent of the senior posts in Attached Departments and autonomous bodies and up to 75 per cent of the Deputy Commissioners would be filled by the SSP officers having training, qualifications, and experience appropriate for these posts.<sup>45</sup>

Despite the egalitarian flavour of the SSP Order which apparently brings an open structure in the Secretariat functionally it did nothing but to precipitate the generalist versus specialist rivalry to an alarming extent.<sup>46</sup> The method of induction in the SSP by two politically constituted committees was vehemently opposed by Bangladesh Administrative Service (BAS) officers in their memorandum to the President in July 1981.<sup>47</sup> The memorandum cited glaring instances of suppression of many senior officers with good service records. Specialists contended that the SSP was the repletion of the old elitist structure of CSP and EPCS in disguise.<sup>48</sup> Automatic



encadrement of the BAS officers in SSP who held the posts of Secretary, Additional Secretary, Joint Secretary, and Deputy Secretary before March 1, 1979 left hardly few opportunities for other cadre officers to be represented in the SSP. Because, CSPs and EPCSs monopolized the top administrative positions in the Secretariat. As early as 1980, 520 out of 523 officials were automatically inducted in SSP with 15 years of service without having selection test by the Public Service Commission (P/SC) as indicated in the SSP Order 1979. They were all BAS officers. Only three specialists with average experience of 20 years could get into the SSP.<sup>49</sup> In fact the generalist officers always maintained a united front whenever the technocrats and specialists have tried to lay hands on the crucial posts in the Secretariat.<sup>50</sup> In the face of a crescendo of protest and massive grumbling from the civil services, both specialists and generalists, the government was to abolish the SSP in July 1989.

### **Rejection of SSP and New Arrangement of Representation in the Higher Posts of Secretariat**

In order to do away with the anomalies caused by introduction of the SSP government constituted a special committee under the chairmanship of Navy Chief in 1985 to examine the structural pattern of SSP. The President accepted in principle the recommendations put forward by the Special Committee and constituted a Cabinet Sub-Committee regarding higher appointment, promotion and structure of services under the convenership of Dr. M.A. Matin, the Deputy Prime Minister of Ershad Government, to devise the implementation mechanism of the recommendations with regard to representation to higher posts of the Secretariat from all cadres of BCS.

### **Recommendations of the Matin Committee Report (MCR) 1989**

In order to combat the problem of inadequate promotion expectancy in various cadre services and in view of the demands put forward by various cadres, the MCR considered it necessary that SSP be abolished. On dissolution of the Pool, the posts,



including reserves, of Joint Secretary (159 posts) and Deputy Secretary (377 posts) belonging to it may be distributed among all the cadres in accordance with their respective quotas. The quota under reference may be fixed after due consideration of manpower, nature of job, and opportunities for promotion or prospects of higher scale of pay at the same level of each individual cadre. Allocation of quota to various cadre services for Secretariat posts will render the Secretariat more representative. Posts of Secretary and Additional Secretary will not be allotted by way of quota to any cadre whatsoever.

A further 60 per cent (75 posts) and 65 per cent (245 posts) of Joint Secretary and Deputy Secretary respectively in the Secretariat, including reserve, may be allocated to the BCS (Administration) as their quota. Including all reserves, 10 per cent (16 posts) and 15 per cent (57 posts) respectively of the Secretariat posts of Joint Secretary and Deputy Secretary, and the 26 non-pool posts of Deputy Secretary as exists at present may be earmarked for the BCS (Secretariat) cadre. After allocation of the proposed quota to BCS (Administration) and BCS (Secretariat) cadres 48 posts of Joint Secretary and 75 posts of Deputy Secretary will remain vacant. No quota reservation is necessary for BCS (Foreign Service) and BCS (Judicial) as they have already reserved quota of Secretariat posts. After abolition of the SSP all posts of Joint Secretary and Deputy Secretary (including reserves) may be shown as posts of different cadres according to their proposed quota.

### **Solution of Inadequate Promotion Expectancy in Various Services**

On detailed review of the report of the Special Committee on the issue of inadequate promotion opportunities in the cadre services the MCR recommended to the effect that in those cadres where the present number of posts above Senior Scale (Modified National Scale @ MNS 3, 4 and 5) amounts to less than 12 per cent of the total manpower, promotion facility should be made at



least 12 per cent by allotting the reserve quota of Joint Secretary and Deputy Secretary to these cadres.<sup>51</sup>

### **Solution of Problems Arising from the Abolition of the SSP**

The most important problem visualized after abolition of the SSP relates to the position of officials of various cadres who were serving in the Pool. Officials working as Joint Secretary and Deputy Secretary under the Pool whose posts are now in excess of the proposed quota may be retained in their present positions. It may be considered whether Pool officials working in such excess posts may be justifiably reverted to their original cadres. Such excess officials in Secretariat positions who might have been superseded by junior officials of the same cadre elsewhere due to relatively scant promotion opportunities and resultant quota system for Secretariat positions may be considered for promotion with retrospective effect from the date of promotion of the junior officials and be allowed to return to their own cadre.<sup>52</sup>

In filling up Secretariat vacancies priority will be given to the least privileged officials who cannot be immediately appointed to their due quota of Joint Secretary and Deputy Secretary positions in the Secretariat due to lack of posts.<sup>53</sup>

On implementation of these recommendations, the anomaly and grievances that exist with regard to promotion to higher posts in various cadre services in and outside the Secretariat will be removed to a great extent.

### **Reactions on the Matin Committee Report**

The reservation of 60 per cent posts of Joint Secretary and 65 per cent posts of Deputy Secretary for BCS (Administration) in the Secretariat by Matin Committee created tremendous discontentment and simmering frustration among the other cadres of BCS. SSP was based on seniority plus merit. The quota system under MCR threw seniority and merit to the winds. As a result Bangladesh Secretariat has turned into a repository of BCS (Administration) employed so far, the prevention of which was the basic objectives of all Commissions/Committees. The



situation as stands today is that BCS (Administration) holds 37 posts of Secretary out of 49 and 28 posts of Additional Secretary out of 42 in the Bangladesh Secretariat.

In view of this disappointing situation the 28 cadre services (other than BCS Administration) presented a memorandum to the Prime Minister in 1991 which put forward strong demands for uplifting the position of specialist services as against BCS generalist cadre.

In the memorandum they expressed the views that like the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the functions of different Ministries should be undertaken by the members of its own cadres. Only the posts of the Ministry of Establishment, Cabinet Division and President/Prime Minister's Secretariat should be filled by the members of all cadres in the interest of proper management of different Ministries.<sup>54</sup>

In the present administrative set-up a parallel administration has been built up through the network of Cabinet Secretary, Divisional Commissioner, District Commissioner, Upazila Nirbahi Officers (now Thana Nirbahi Officer) ignoring the activities of functional officers under all Ministries. Virtually, this dual administration is the basic cause of weakness in the administrative system and barrier to national development.

In order to restore contentment of the specialist services and discrimination done by the Matin Committee Report, the BCS Coordination Committee put forward strong recommendations for active consideration of the government. The recommendations are :

- To reject all the recommendations of the MCR and action taken on the basis of that report.
- Abolition of BCS (Administration) cadre and creation of BCS (Land) and BCS (Magistracy) and determination of the number of cadres at the field level on the basis of functions.
- All irregular and discriminatory promotions and appointments of BCS (Administration) cadre in the



Secretariat posts should be stopped and all appointments and promotions of this cadre should be withheld until the discrimination and imbalance between the BCS (Administration) cadre and all other cadres in the Secretariat Services are removed.

- Taking together the members from each cadre and BCS (Secretariat) posts of equal status, an extended Senior Services Pool be created on the basis of horizontal and vertical movement between the concerned Ministries and field level posts.
- To prepare a seniority list of the Pool members as was done in 1981 and fill the higher Secretariat posts on that basis.
- Provision has to be made to appoint members from all cadres in the posts of Secretary, Additional Secretary, Joint Secretary, and Deputy Secretary of Cabinet Division, Establishment Division, and Prime Minister/President's Secretariat.
- In accordance with the declaration of P&SC (1977) the highest post of each cadre be paid the highest scale of salary and at the same time the head of the departments of concerned Ministries be made responsible to the Minister directly for the responsibilities entrusted to them.
- "Pay scale is the only determinant of status of the officials working under various cadre services" — the principle that has been declared accepted by the government has to be implemented in the real sense of the term. Accordingly, each pay scale be declared as grade and officials wherever placed be identified in accordance with their grade.<sup>55</sup>

Stagnant conditions in respect of promotion to the higher posts of Secretary, Additional Secretary, Joint Secretary, and Deputy Secretary in the Secretariat in nine years of personal rule of General Ershad made careers of many competent officials jeopardized. The Prime Minister of democratically elected government feel the urgent necessity of streamlining the deadlock in the Secretariat Administration and promoted 654 officials to the various posts of Secretary, Additional Secretary, Joint Secretary, and Deputy Secretary in a hasty manner.<sup>56</sup>



But the hasty process of promotion resulted in violation of established rules, regulations and orders and in some cases even Constitutional provisions and Supersession of 716 senior, competent officials by the juniors.<sup>57</sup> For promoting officials from the various cadres to the Secretariat posts government issued SRO No. 28 on February 8, 1992. But before the notification was issued all the interviews for promotion had been completed.<sup>58</sup> Interview was taken for promotion to the posts of Joint Secretary and Deputy Secretary, but no interview was considered necessary for promotion to the post of Secretary and Additional Secretary. This is how two parallel principles were followed having violated the Constitutional Provision 27 of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

A few glaring violations are being cited to make the allegation conceivable.

Article 140(2)(b) of the Bangladesh Constitution makes it obligatory on the part of the government to consult Public Service Commission (PSC) prior to making any rule determining any person's promotion or transfer in the service of Bangladesh. An official who secures 65-80, 81-90, and 91-100 marks in Annual Confidential Reports (ACR) is considered to be good, very good, and excellent respectively for promotion. And officials securing 65 per cent marks in the ACR are considered eligible for promotion. But the Ministry of Establishment determined 60 per cent marks of ten years' ACR and 40 per cent marks for oral test of which 25 and 75 per cent in total for eligibility was made not in consultation with PSC.

Out of 427 posts of Deputy Secretary only, 278 and 63 posts have been given to the BCS (Administration) and BCS (Secretariat) cadres respectively. This is done in the light of the MCR, i.e. 65 and 15 per cent posts of Deputy Secretary be allocated to the BCS (Administration) and BCS (Secretariat) cadre respectively as their quota. The viva voce was totally farce — 33 candidate were interviewed in 40 minutes. One female candidate who secured 39 marks out of 60 of the ACR had been given 36



out of 40 in the viva voce examination to make it 75 so that she can avail the promotion. But there was no quota fixed for female candidates.

Another glaring example is that of Personal Secretary of the Establishment Secretary who got senior scale about six months ago, was given promotion to the rank of Deputy Secretary. On the other hand, who attained senior scale 4 years back have not been called for interview on the ground that they did not complete five years in the senior scale posts, which is the minimum requirement for promotion in the next higher scale.<sup>59</sup>

It has also been alleged that pro-Awami League and anti-BNP were given the least marks so that they do not qualify. As a result many senior, honest, and competent officials have been deprived of promotions. Moreover, even before finalization of the promotion list new names were inserted. For example, in the promotion list of Deputy Secretary one new name, 176(a), was inserted in between 176 and 177.<sup>60</sup>

In order to restore contentment and ensure dynamic administration BAS Memorandum presented a strong recommendation to the Prime Minister for kind consideration. The major recommendations are :

- Promotions to the posts of Joint Secretary and Deputy Secretary be made only against the vacant posts in pursuance of the existing rules/regulations, principles of seniority and merit and the service records to establish justice.
- With regard to the promotion to the posts of Deputy Secretary and Joint Secretary the whole situation has to be reviewed and the cases of superseded officials have to be reconsidered immediately on the basis of their seniority, merit and service records.<sup>61</sup>

Causes underlying the anomalies and nepotism in respect of promotion to the higher Secretariat posts is the political influence of Ministers and Members of Parliaments (MPs) and the gratification of the officials at the top level (See national dailies



like *Banglar Bani*, March 3, 1992, and *Ajker Kagoj*). The State Minister for the Ministry of Establishment admitted that 20-25 per cent irregularities have been committed in the processing of hasty promotion while clearing the backlog of nine years' personal rule by General Ershad. The Establishment Minister assured the aggrieved officials that the decision of promotion for 654 officials to the various Secretariat posts be reconsidered as soon as possible.<sup>62</sup>

### Conclusion

The foregoing discussion of the Secretariat reorganization in Bangladesh makes it evident that the objectives which the various reform Commissions aimed at could not be achieved. The pitfalls in the Secretariat organization pointed out by ASRC were never taken into consideration and invaluable recommendations with regard to Secretariat restructuring were thrown away in total disregard. SSP based on the recommendations of Pay and Service Commission was undertaken in letters, not in spirit. The august intention of establishing SSP was totally nullified at the implementation stage for improper induction in the SSP by two politically constituted committees which did not care for normal rules and procedures of promotion in the Secretariat posts. Despite implementation of SSP order the Secretariat in Bangladesh remained as it were — a closed elitist structure of the generalist bureaucrats as it was in the Pakistani days. Matin Committee in the name of enhancing promotion opportunities and creating an open representative character of the Secretariat for all cadres of Bangladesh Civil Service virtually preserved the privileged position of BCS (Administration) cadre by reserving highly discriminatory quota system for them. As such, all the top decision making positions in the Secretariat are still held by the generalist bureaucrats and specialists remained where they had been in the colonial days, except for a few exceptions. In order to do away with the deadlock in the Secretariat structure and jeopardized career prospect of many senior officials due to nine years' personal rule of General Ershad, the present government



promoted a large number of officials to the post of Secretary, Additional Secretary, Joint Secretary and Deputy Secretary in the Secretariat. But the promotion process created simmering frustration and heart-burning among many competent senior officials. Promotion was made effective in total disregard of the rules, regulations, procedures and even constitutional provisions. Nepotism and political influence prevailed over objective criteria, merit and seniority of the candidates. Consequently, the Secretariat has become a haphazard institution of separate and distinct entities instead of being an organized articulate institution of policy-making for national development. The irony is that Bangladesh still carries over the stigma of colonial administration in its Secretariat system which should have been purged off in more than two decades of independence and constant endeavours.



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## **WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN TEACHER'S POLITICS OF THE ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY, BANGLADESH**

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In Bangladesh, traditionally a woman's sphere of activities has been her home. Her functions cluster around reproduction and the attendant occupations. e.g. child rearing and household management. Since men perform the role of the bread earner, their status is universally held to be superior to that of women, whose work, though vital for the maintenance of family and consequently for the entire society, is not recognized for its true significance.<sup>1</sup> From this realization, women in Bangladesh are getting educated and entering into professional fields. But our society's point of view on women's job is that it is not absolutely necessary.<sup>2</sup> Although, well-to-do educated women give priority to respectable professions like doctors and teachers, they could not at all overcome the prevalent man-woman inequalities in these jobs. Till now women have been under-represented in both these profession.<sup>3</sup> Male dominance in the field of politics has rendered politics a masculine profession.<sup>4</sup> In Rounaq Jahan's opinion, "One major factor that shapes the patterns of women's political Participation in Bangladesh is purdah, the cultural norm that is also present in other Muslim countries. Purdah in the strictest sense of the term involves keeping women confined within the four walls of home and putting them in veil when they move out of home. In a wider context purdah refers to women's modesty and restrictions on their interactions with males who do not fall in the specific categories with whom contact is permitted by the religion. Purdah thus results in the segregation of the sexes and create two separate worlds for men and women."<sup>5</sup> In this way the

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purdah system keeps women away from education and job. Her participation in politics is becoming even more limited than her participation in the area of education and job. Most of those who come to politics are part-time politicians.<sup>6</sup> Are education and economic self-sufficiency giving women real freedom? Have they ensured their participation in various fields? Particularly when the place of work has a religious garb? This article will show the state of affairs of women teachers in a University with religious association. And the problems and possibilities of women's participation in teacher's politics.

The main campus of the Islamic University is situated at Shantidanga-Dulalpur about 25 km. south-east from the township of Kushtia; In 1982, the University was shifted to Gazipur, then suburb of Dhaka by a Presidential Order. New buildings came up and the academic work of the University started in the session 1985-86 primarily with four Departments, 200 students and 10 teachers. Again in December 1989, the University came to its original location at Shantidanga-Dulalpur by another Government Order.<sup>7</sup>

Initially female students and non-Muslims were unlawfully denied admission and no female teacher was given appointment in Islamic University. The first female teacher was taken in 1990 and female and non-muslim students were being allowed for admission since 1991. There are three politically oriented groupings among teachers such as shapla, shabuj (Green) and Zia Parishad centering around University Teacher's Association Politics. Shapla is known to be progressive and Green is known to be fundamentalist. Of the 17 members of the Zia Parishad 2 believe in the spirit of the liberation War and are supporters of Shapla group. The remaining 15 leagued up with the fundamentalist Green in the election for the Executive committee of the Teachers Association and in the '94 election the Green group carried the full panel. In '92 election the progressive group won full panel and in the '93 election they secured 12 posts. The



fundamentalist group got the post of president and 2 membership posts.

A look at the position of women at the two panels of the progressive and the Fundamentalist groups in the three elections will reveal that only in the '92 election a female teacher contested from the progressive panel and made it to the executive committee. Since then no female teacher participated from any panel, though the number of female teachers was six then. In spite of not participating in the subsequent elections that lone female teacher has always attended group meetings and participated in election campaigns.

As in our national politics, in the elections of Islamic University teachers Association both the groups used religion. In the '93 election it was claimed by the Fundamentalist group that they had many in their fold who had performed hajj many times. So they should be elected. The Fundamentalist group also said in their campaigns that all members of the progressive group were atheists. On the otherhand some members of the progressive group in a bid face this campaign said now and again "I have just finished my prayers." Some of them even went to the extent of publicizing how many fasts they had observed the previous year. The progressive group did not put up a strong campaign during the 94 election for they had a foreknowledge of defeat. During this election, the Fundamentalist group, in their party meeting made all members vow in the name of Allah that they would not cast a single vote outside their own panel. In this way the Fundamentalist group acted against the ethics of electioneering, in the name of religion, which goes against the fundamental rights of the individual.

### **Methodology**

In this context of teachers politics in the Islamic University 50% of the teachers from various groups and 4 out of the 6 female teachers were interviewed. The teachers were divided into four groups-Shapla or the progressive group, Green or the



fundamentalist group, Zia-Parishad and "the non-active" group comprising those who are not active members of any group and vote for candidates from the two panels. But it was seen in the 94 election that one of them contested from the Shapla panel and two contested from the Green panel. A total of 40 teachers were interviewed from September through December 93. Among them, 12 from Shapla, 11 from Green, 9 from Zia Parishad, 4 from 'non-active' group and 4 female teachers.

The subjects on which opinion was sought are : 1) Equal rights for man and woman 2) Competency of female teachers in the University; 3) Separate University for women; 4) Required qualification for a teacher in the Islamic University; 5) Female teachers visit to the University Culb; 6) Participation of women in the group politics of the University; 7) Competency of women as President or General Secretary of the Teacher's Association; 8) Hindrances in the way of women's participation in teacher's politics and means of overcoming these.

#### Socio-economic and political Background of Teachers

Out of 40 teachers 28 are Lecturers and 12 Assistant Professors. Among the lectures 8 belong to the progressive group, 8 to the Fundamentalist group, 6 to the Zia Parishad and 2 to the "non-active" group and 4 female teachers. Among the Assistant professors 4 belong to Shapla, 3 to Green, 3 to Zia Parishad and 2 to the "non-active" group. Of the 40 respondents 27 sometimes held or are still holding administrative posts in the University. Only one of the female teachers is a house tutor of women's Residential Hall. No other woman holds an administrative post. 9 out of the 12 Shapla members, 7 out of 11 Green members, 6 out of 9 Zia Parishad members and all the 4 members of the 'non-active' group sometimes held or are still holding administrative posts. Of the 40 respondents 15 are with Madrasha background and 25 are with Bengali medium school background. None of the 12 respondents from the Progressive group has Madrasha education. On the otherhand, 9 of the 11 members of the fundamentalist group and 4 of the 9 members of Zia Parishad



studied in Madrasha. None of the female teachers has madrasha education. On the otherhand, 2 out of the 4 members of the "non-active" group studied in Madrasha. 30 out of the 40 respondents had their schooling in the village and the remaining 10 had their schooling in the town. Of the 4 female teachers 3 had their schooling in the village and 1 in the town.

A look at the political background of the respondents from the progressive group shows that 7 of them i.e. majority of them were supporters of left- leaning politics in their student life. 3 of them were supporters of Awami League and only one was a supporter of BNP and one of them was neutral. 9 respondents of the Fundamentalist group were supporters of Jamat-e-Islami. 1 was a supporter of Awami League and one of them was neutral. Of the 9 respondents from Zia Parishad only 3 were supporters of BNP in their student life. Of the remaining 6 two were supporter of Jamat-e-Islami and 1 was a supporter of Islami Dal. 1 did not support any party. None of the female teachers told which party they supported in student life. All those who were supporters of left leaning parties in student life are now supporters of Awami League. But a member of the progressive group though he was a supporter of Awami League in his student life, is at present a supporter of Jatiya Party. In his opinion "Erashad was an autocrat but not a Rajakar (Collaborator). There is a difference between an autocrat and a Rajakar".

A member of the progressive group who did not support any party in student life is now a supporter of BNP. On the otherhand a respondent from the Fundamentalist group who was a supporter of Awami League is now a supporter of Jamat. 5 out of 9 respondents from Zia Parishad think that from the Islamic point of view no woman should be President or Prime Minister. They could give no convincing reply to the query as to why they still are members of Zia Parishad when Khaleda Zia is the Prime Minister.



### 1) Equal Rights of Man and Woman

Although equal rights of man and woman has been enshrined in the constitution of Bangladesh, it is not reflected in practice. When members from the progressive group were asked if they believed in equal right for man and woman 11 out of 12 members answered in the affirmative. The other opined that he did not believe in equal right of man and woman in sharing household works. Household activities are in the domain of the woman. 5 of the fundamentalist group said that Islam gave equal rights to man and woman. 4 of them said that they did not believe in equal rights because man was the head of the family, he would guide woman. 2 of them commented, "Islam has given more rights to woman than to man. 2 out of the 9 members of Zia Parishad believe in equal rights of man and woman. One of them commented "Since woman is inferior to man both physically and mentally, Islam made woman subservient to man. Of the "Non-active" group 3 believe in equal rights, 1 believes in legitimate rights because Islam does not speak of equal rights. Of the female teachers 2 said that they believed in equal rights. They added "however much we talk of equal rights its not translated into reality." 1 of them said, "I don't believe in equal rights in every field-for example in distribution of property. Because after marriage I cannot contribute towards the expenses of my fathers family. But my brother looks after our fathers family as well. "Another female teacher commented," "women should spend more time for the family. So, I don't favour equal rights."

From the opinion poll regarding equal rights of man and woman it transpires that out of the 40 respondents 23 i.e. more than 50% of them are in favour of equal rights. Out of 12 members from the progressive group 11 voted positive on the issue. But the most surprising thing is that only 2 out of 9 respondents from Zia Parishad an organization formed with the patronage of Begum Khaleda Zia - believe in equal rights.



## **2) Competency of female teachers in the University**

Are the female teachers as competent as their male counterparts at the University level? In this regard 11 of the progressive group, 9 of the Fundamentalist Group, 8 of the Zia Parishad and all of the "Non-active" group and female teachers are of the opinion that female teachers are as competent as their male counterparts. That shows that 36 out of 40 respondents consider female teachers at par with men. In the opinion of only 4, female teachers are not as competent as male teachers. By way of explanation 2 of them said that female teachers cannot give time and energy as their male counterparts can. One of them commented "female teachers have a stronger tendency to shirk duty." One member of Zia Parishad thinks women to be less brainy.

## **3) Separate University for women**

On the question of the necessity for separate University for women, all members of the progressive group, 3 of Zia Parishad, 3 of the 'non-active' group and 3 of the female teachers-a total of 21 think it unnecessary to have a separate University. All members from the Fundamentals group, 6 from Zia Parishad and 1 from 'non-active' group a total of 18 think it necessary to have separate University for women. It will ensure women's security and independence. A female teacher strongly feels that a University for women would create more opportunity for the education of woman. But it does not mean the girl-students will not go to general Universities. This opinion poll shows that more than 50% of the teachers are not in favour of separate University for women. It reflects the real attitude of shapla, shabuj and Zia Parishad towards women. The members of shabuj Group and majority of Zia Parishad, by favouring separate educational institutions for women, are trying to limit the horizon of women's knowledge. Because exchange of views is very important for the acquisition of knowledge.



#### **4) Required qualification for a teacher in Islamic University**

It is nowhere codified in the Islamic University Act that the teachers must practice Islam or that female teachers should maintain purdah besides or that they should be married.<sup>8</sup> But candidates are sometimes asked questions about prayers fasting and suras.<sup>9</sup> At the initial stage female teachers had to wear aprons. The authorities had a plan to introduce scarves alongside aprons at a later stage.<sup>10</sup> But the new Vice Chancellor could not be attentive to female teachers and student's purdah in the prevailing atmosphere of anarchy and everybody started attending classes in his/her usual dress. But in the face of student's demand at a function of "Dawa & Islamic studies" Department, the V.C. said that he would introduce purdah for female teachers and students when the situation became favourable. Not to speak of Purdah, at the early stage unmarried teachers were advised to get married.<sup>11</sup>

In this context my question was whether it was compulsory for all teachers, male and female, to practice religion. 11 from the Progressive Group, 2 from Zia Parishad, 2 from 'non-active' Group and 2 female teachers in all 17 respondents opined that practice of religion and religious faith are personal matters; so there should be no compulsion on these. 1 from Progressive Group, all from Fundamentalist Group and 5 from Zia Parishad - a total of 17 think that teachers in Islamic University should practice religion. 2 from Zia Parishad, 1 from 'Non-active' Group and 1 from the female teachers i.e. 4 respondents think, "there is no compulsion regarding practicing religion but all must have knowledge of Islam". 1 from the 'Non-active' Group said that the teachers in the Islamic University should be theists and they should practice their own religions. One of the female teachers said 'Mere faith in any religion will do.'

All these opinions show that a sizable number of I.U. teachers are in favour of imposing the faith in and the practice of religion on the individual - which goes against the Islamic University Act and Fundamental rights.



On the question of maintaining Purdah for female teachers all members from progressive group, 1 from Zia Parishad, 3 from non-active group and all female teachers - a total of 20 think that there should not be any compulsion on maintaining Purdah because it is totally a personal matter. On the otherhand 4 from fundamentalist group. and 1 from Zia Parishad opined that female teachers should maintain Purdah and whole-body should be covered except eye. 5 from fundamentalist group, 3 from Zia Parishad and 1 from "Non-active" group are of the opinion that female teachers can uncover face only. One from fundamentalist group also mentioned aprons with scarves. 1 from Zia Parishad did not remark anything for not recognizing the necessity of female teachers at all.

From this opinion regarding Purdah we can say that out of 40 teachers, 20 that is half of the respondents think that there should not be any compulsion in maintaining Purdah. But those who think that Purdah should be maintained have differences in defining it.

3 from the Fundamentalist group, 1 from Zia Parishad and 1 from 'Non-active' group think that it is better if the female teachers are married. 1 of them thinks that it is better still if they are elderly as well. 1 from Zia Parishad declined to comment further on his not accepting the necessity of having female teachers. It transpires from this opinion poll that few teachers think that female ought to be married.

#### **5) Female teacher's visit to the University Club**

There is a close relationship between Club-going and teachers politics. Because participation in teachers politics presupposes communication with all teachers. The University Club is a means of communicating with all teachers.

Commenting on whether female teachers should go to the Club 11 from the Progressive group, 1 from the Fundamentalist group, 1 from Zia Parishad, 3 from "Non-active" group and 4 of the female teachers-a total of 20 said that female teachers have



the right to go to Club. 3 from the Fundamentalist group and 1 from Zia Parishad- a total of 4 are in favour of their going to the Club in Purdah. One from Zia Parishad is of the opinion that women should go to club, however, with the permission of their husbands.

1 from progressive group, 7 from the Fundamentalist group, 6 from Zia Parishad, 1 from the non-active group - a total of 15 respondents think that female teachers should not go to the Club. There should be a separate Club for them. This opinion poll shows that 50% of the teachers directly admitted female teacher's right to go to Club.

#### **6) Participation of women in the group politics of the University**

The group politics of University teachers is only a micro version of national politics. Like national politics teachers group politics is also considered as men's business by many University teachers. It has been observed that when female teachers gossip, they rarely talk of teacher's politics. On the otherhand, male teachers also think it to be a masculine subject in which ladies should not be involved. In this context my questions to the teachers were should ladies get involved in the university group politics? Is teacher's politics an affair of the male teachers only or. Is it an affair for both men and women ?

In this regard 11 from the Progressive Group, 5 from the Fundamentalist Group, 3 from Zia Parishad. 3 from the "Non-active" Group and 3 from the female teachers - a total of 25 respondents consider teacher's politics to be an arena of both men & women. Apart from the lone exception of a member of the progressive Group, all expressed their views in favour of female teacher's participation in teacher's politics. That members comment was "Women have the right, but I don't like it personally." Another member of the Fundamentalist Group favours active participation of female teachers provided that they maintain Purdah. 1 from the Progressive Group. 6 from the Fundamentalist Group. 6 from Zia Parishad. 1 from "Non-active



Group and a female teacher - a total of 15 teachers consider it to be the domain of men and think that women should not be actively involved in it.

In this context women were asked why they themselves did not engage actively in group politics. 2 of them were not involved in it because of their lack of interest in politics since childhood. One of them commented, "although most members of the Progressive Group give lip service to Women's Lib, most of them still think that teachers politics in the University is an exclusive domain of Men."

### **7) Competency of women as President or General Secretary of the Teacher's Association**

Women's participation in teacher's politics is almost nil. In that case can a woman be qualified for the post of President or General Secretary of the Teacher's Association. And even if she is qualified will she be given nomination from the Group ?

In this regard 12 members from the Progressive Group, 9 from the Fundamentalist Group, 5 from Zia Parishad, 3 from the "Non-active" Group and 3 female teachers - a total of 32 members think women can be eligible for the post of President or General Secretary. 22 of them opined that women should be given nomination if they are qualified. 6 members of the Fundamentalist Group and 1 member of the Progressive Group have said that a woman should not be nominated if there also a competent male candidate. 3 Members of Zia Parishad say "We won't give women nomination even if they are capable. For this is not women's job."

On the otherhand, 2 members from Shabuj, 4 from Zia Parishad and 1 from "Non-active" Group and 1 female teacher - a total of 8 do not consider women fit for the posts of President and General Secretary. So the question of giving them nomination does not arise.



### **8) Hindrances in the way of women's participation in teacher's politics and means of overcoming these**

Different People have spoken of various hindrances in the way of women's participation in teacher's politics for example; Patriarchal social system, lack of capability of female teachers, religious dogmatism, house-hold work, lack of political awareness, non-cooperation of colleagues etc. But the majority have blamed women's lack of interest in this field. So, with a view to clearing these hindrances, most respondents have laid emphasis on women's active initiative alongside increasing men's awareness, curbing religious dogmatism and changing our values.

2 members from the Fundamentalist Group, 3 from Zia Parishad and 1 from the "Non-active" group - a total of 6 have not thought on the matter.

### **Conclusion**

Summing up we can say although education and economic self reliance improves a woman's lot, these don't ensure her participation in every sphere of activity. Moreover, if the place of work has a religious garb, a woman's participation becomes more limited. A large chunk of the teachers in the Islamic University are against female teachers participation in teachers politics. On the otherhand, almost all teachers of the Progressive Group are in favour of women's participation. But a female teacher opined "Although most members of the Progressive Group give lip service to women's lib, most of them still think that teachers politics in the University is an exclusive domain of Men." But it has been observed that a female teacher was elected to the Executive committee of Islamic University Teacher's Association in 1992. That was not the end of it, that female teacher always participated in group meetings and election campaigns. So we can conclude that women's active participation in teacher's Politics depends only on their coming forward.



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## URBAN POVERTY ALLEVIATION : A STUDY OF DINAJPUR AND SIRAJGANJ MUNICIPALITIES UNDER SLUM IMPROVEMENT PROJECT

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### 1.1. Introduction

The rate of urban growth in Bangladesh ranks among the highest in Asia. Presently about 20 per cent of the population live in urban areas. By the end of this century the urban population may rise to 26 per cent of the total.

The most alarming fact is that the fastest growing sections of these rapidly increasing population live in urban slum areas, which house over 50 per cent of the total urban population. These areas have little or no services considered basic to health. The poor are not capable of creating those out of their own resources.

According to the census of 1991, there were 95 municipalities in Bangladesh with a population of 10,776 thousand. Rajshahi Division had 24 municipalities inhabited by a population of 1,753 thousand. Among those the most densely populated municipalities were : Nawabganj, Naogaon, Pabna, Dinajpur, Rangpur, Rajshahi, Sirajganj, Bogra, etc. Consequently the problems of slums and related delinquencies are also heavy on those densely populated municipalities.

As a part of UNICEF's worldwide socio-economic upliftment programme, it took a slum improvement project in Bangladesh in 1985-86 financial year in collaboration with the Bangladesh Government. During the first phase, five municipalities were included in the project. These were Dinajpur, Mymensingh, Kushtia, Sylhet, and Noakhali. In 1987 the Government UNICEF strategy meeting decided to extend the slum improvement project

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(SIP) in the slum areas of 20 municipalities. During the second phase, the Rajshahi Divisional unit of SIP included the slum areas of Rangpur, Sirajganj, Lalmonirhat, Rajshahi and Pabna. Later the project was extended to Bogra also. The project implemented by individual municipalities, is coordinated at the national level by the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development (LGRD).

Besides the General objectives, the project specially aims at the following : organizing women beneficiaries into groups; providing loans to women beneficiaries for income generation; providing leadership training to women group leaders; giving training to selected slum women as community health workers and providing primary health services, etc.; teaching women how to read, write and keep simple accounts; installing certain physical facilities (tubewell, sanitary latrine, footpath, street light, drainage etc.) for the beneficiaries. The project was over five years old in at least 4 municipalities (Dinajpur, Lalmonirhat, Rangpur and Serajganj) of Rajshahi Division in 1993.

At that stage it was appropriate to study impact of the SIP, in terms of socio-economic upliftment and empowerment of the beneficiaries. This can help formulate future policy direction. Naturally there arise some questions : Who are the actual beneficiaries of SIP? What real benefits do they derive from SIP? What sort of empowerment do the beneficiaries really acquired by joining this project? What problems do they face? How those can be overcome? How the results of this project can be used by policy makers? A modest attempt is made in the following sections to answer the above questions.

The specific objectives of this study are stated below :

## 1.2. Objectives

1. To analyse and review the progress of SIP activities, specially in organizing the urban poor ;
2. To verify the extent to which the stated objectives of project document are realized ;
3. Find the levels of income and asset generation for the beneficiaries ;



4. See the extent of awareness (about health, population problem, education, etc.) created among the beneficiaries ;
5. To identify the major problems of implementation and to suggest measures for future improvements.

### 1.3. Methods of the Study

Survey method was used for collecting primary information from the beneficiaries. Both random and stratified sampling techniques were used for selecting the areas as well as the beneficiaries. Regions were stratified according to the years of inclusion in SIP and variations in geographical, ecological and socio-economic conditions of different regions of Rajshahi Division. Following this method Sirajganj was selected from the South Eastern part while Dinajpur was selected from the North Western part. On 30 June, 1993, there were 1693 member families organized in 111 groups of 10 slums in Sirajganj while on the same date there were 1543 member families organised in 117 groups of 13 slums in Dinajpur Municipalities. Of those member families, 674 members of Dinajpur Municipality representing 8 group; and 228 members of Sirajganj Municipality representing 6 groups constituted the universe because they completed the cycle of at least one income generating activity each with the help of SIP's loans. In total the population stood at 902 (674+228) and a sample of 14.41 per cent of them becomes 130 (82 from Dinajpur + 48 from Sirajganj) who were randomly selected for interview. However, more than proportionate sample were purposively drawn from Sirajganj Municipality with a view to having a reasonable and meaningful number of interviewees.

A set questionnaire was used for interviewing the beneficiaries. Another set was used for interviewing the community organisers. Besides, the author had discussions with UNICEF officials, project managers, deputy project managers, local elites and chairmen of the respective municipalities. Moreover, the author himself visited the slum areas, met individual beneficiaries, discussed with them with a view to have more indepth information and insights about the project. He also worked as the interviewer.



Secondary sources of data available at UNICEF Rajshahi Office and at different regional project offices were also used here. These also include published materials of different agencies of Bangladesh Government and of other organizations.

## **2. Progress of SIP in Rajshahi Division**

### **2.1. Organizational Structure and Management of SIP**

SIP is the only UNICEF supported project in the slum areas of Bangladesh. It is designed as a community based programme centred around the women of the slums, providing a package of basic services including income generation, primary health care, clean water supply, sanitation and nutrition.

The implementation, supervision and management of SIP are conducted through a project management cell (PMC) at the centre and four tiers of committees from the national level at the top to the group level at the bottom. These include : (1) Central Coordination Committee (CCC) at national level, (2) Project Implementation Committee (PIC) at municipality level, (3) Sub-project Implementation Committee (SPIC) at the slum level, and (4) Working Women Group (WWG) at the level of the families. The PMC works as the secretariat of CCC of SIP. The task of PMC is to expedite and facilitate implementation of the various components of the project. This is done through continuous project monitoring, field visits, and quarterly/half yearly reviews of the progress of the project jointly with the Ministry of LGRD and UNICEF. All UNICEF assistance (supply and cash) goes to the Municipalities through this cell.

The CCC sits once in three months to review the progress and constraints of the project and gives policy decisions on the implementation and management of the project. The Joint Secretary (development), local government division acts as the Chairman of CCC and Project Director of PMC works as its member secretary. Other members of CCC are Engineering Advisor, LGEB, Chief Engineer, Department of Public Health Engineering (DPHE), Superintending Engineer, WASA, Chief Engineers of City Corporations, representatives from the



Ministries of Health, Education and Works, and from Power Development Board (PDB), Urban Development Directorate, National Institute of Local Government and UNICEF.

Each Municipality has a Project Implementation Committee (PIC). It is responsible for overall implementation, monitoring and management of the project. The funds are channeled to this committee, and the Chairman and local project manager jointly handle the funds. PIC meets once in every two months. Chairman of the Municipality acts as Chairman of PIC, while an Assistant Engineer of the Municipality works as its Member Secretary and Deputy Project Manager of SIP. Other members of PIC are, Executive Engineer, LGEB, Executive Engineer, DPHE, Civil Surgeon, District Health Education Officer, Representatives of UNICEF, PDB and SPICs.

Each slum community has a sub project implementation committee (SPIC). It has one Chairman elected by the beneficiaries of the slum and a Secretary who is a staff (community organiser) of the Municipality. Group leaders of the slum are its members. It meets once in a month. The SPIC is responsible for the implementation of the project in the slum community. The funds are channeled through the PIC to the SPIC, to be handled jointly by the Chairman and Secretary of SPIC.

Usually 10 to 15 like-minded women constitute a group which sits once a week for meeting, discussing and solving their problems, mobilizing savings and for approving loan proposals. Each group selects a leader, a Secretary and a Community Health Worker (CHW). Community Organiser (CO) monitors and supervises the works of the group.

## **2.2 Progress of SIP**

This section deals with the progress of SIP in Rajshahi Division since its inception in 1986. The project started in the slum areas of Dinajpur in the first phase (1985-88) and then it was extended in five other municipalities during the second phase (1988-93). Another municipality was included in the third phase. In Rajshahi Division SIP is now operating in Rajshahi City Corporation, and in six other municipalities (Table 1).



**Table 1 : Progress of SIP in Rajshahi Division (30 June, 1993)**

Project Activities	Municipality						Total
	Dinajpur	Serajganj	Rangpur	Lalmoinhat	Rajshahi	Pabna	Bogra
<b>I. Community Organisation</b>							
1. No. of slums	13	10	4	7	8	4	4
2. No. of Groups	117	111	66	91	75	61	40
3. No. of Families	1543	1693	879	1513	1486	1042	775
<b>II. Physical Development</b>							
4. Tubewell installed	114	34	61	30		24	n.a.
5. Latrine installed	553	157	101	139	255	90	n.a.
6. Drains constructed (mtr.)	3457	1273	536	2756	1912	1072	n.a.
7. Footpaths constructed (mtr.)	3185	1852	1244	3708	2013	2031	n.a.
8. Dustbin installed	23	5	3	19	10	3	n.a.
9. Light post installed	42	14	n.a.	21	11	12	n.a.
<b>III. Income Generation</b>							
10. No. of Loanes	907	590	229	429	314	308	n.a.
11. Loan disbursed (laes Tk.)	13.6	10.0	3.7	4.4	6.0	4.4	n.a.
12. Savings (laes Tk.)	7.0	1.6	1.0	3.0	1.5	1.6	n.a.
<b>IV. Health Care</b>							
13. Distribution of essential drug (last yr.)	1100	900	586	430	147	154	n.a.
14. Immunization : Women (last yr.)	58	82	309	74	79	27	43
children (last yr.)	126	100	309	113	54	73	66
<b>V. Project Management</b>							
15. No. of COs	3	3	3	3	3	3	2
16. No. of CHWs	29	19	13	16	37	12	7

Note : n.a. = not available.

Source : UNICEF Rajshahi Office and field survey data of Dinajpur and Sirajganj.



### **2.2.1 Community Organisation**

By 30 June, 1993, the SIP organised 8931 families into 561 groups in 50 slums of 7 Municipalities. The largest number (1693) of families were included in Sirajganj while the second highest number of families were organised in Dinajpur. But the number of slums organised was the highest (13) in Dinajpur.

### **2.2.2 Physical Development**

SIP so far installed 263 tubewells, 1295 latrines, 63 dustbins and 100 street lights in the slum areas of concerned municipalities. It also constructed 11006 meters of drains and 14033 meters of footpaths for the slum dwellers (Table 1).

### **2.2.3 Loans for Income Generation and Savings**

The project extended loans to 2777 families for various types of income generating activities. The total amount of loans disbursed was Tk. 42.1 lac and the recovery rate was one hundred per cent. Besides, the groups mobilised a total financial asset of Tk. 15.7 lac in the form of savings deposited in the banks. This is a great success of SIP in Rajshahi Division.

### **2.2.4 Health Care**

The CHWs distribute Vitamin - A and essential drugs to the beneficiaries. Last year 3317 essential drugs were distributed among them. In addition, 841 children and 672 women were immunized in the same year. Besides, 20 COs and 133 CHWs were trained on health education for disseminating knowledge on health care among the beneficiaries.

### **2.2.5 Training of COs**

All the COs received in-service training on health care, leadership, human development and group management. All of them reported that their main incentive for working in SIP is drawing salary from regular jobs. But they have a strong feeling of doing something for the poor and are proud of that. They also claim that they are loved by the poor slum people with whom they work day and night.



### **3. Generation of Income, Employment and other Benefits**

#### **3.1 Income Generation**

Generation of income through various economic activities for the slum dwellers is a major objective of SIP. Accordingly, the project advanced Tk. 206 thousand to 130 members under study for operations of various income raising activities. These poor families not only made cent per cent utilisation of those loans but also invested more than Tk. 421 thousand (67%) from their own sources. Table 2 exhibits the structure of cost benefits of different income raising activities. Columns 4, 5 and 6 show the components of costs according to sources. Column 7 displays the volumes of income flows from the operations of different activities as well as the benefit-cost ratios. As these ratios are more than 1 in all cases, these support that "small is beautiful" i.e., small selective projects are quite profitable.

The gross income generated from 130 small projects was nearly Taka 25 lac against a gross cost of more than Tk. 6 lac only. Generation of total net income was nearly Tk. 19 lac. Net income generation per family per year was Tk. 14,384.

A look over the table reveals that the highest amount (Tk. 2278) of net income per family per month was generated from miscellaneous income raising activities yielding the benefit-cost ratio as high as 5.49. Naturally, these activities deserve special mentioning. Some activities requiring special skills are mostly run by male members of the families. These include running saloon, making metal boxes, carrying wheelbarrow, providing with net for fishing, etc.

The second important income generating activity is small business. This includes wide range of small trading activities conducted in urban areas. Some of these are grocer's shops; tea stalls, cobbler's stalls, potters' shops, selling of clothes, garments, old clothes, vegetables, firewoods, leather goods in open places of urban markets, hawking of sharees, garments, papers, toys, almond, fried gram, sauce, biscuits, icecreams, fried



**Table 2 : Cost Benefit Analysis of Income Generating Activates. (Figs. in taka)**

Sl. No.	Name of activity	No. of members	Total Cost	Own Investment	Credit received & used	Total Income	Net Income		
							Total	Per member Per year	Per Member Per month
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1.	Small Business	60	3,52,800 (100%)	2,54,300 (72%)	98,500 (28%)	15,54,800 (4.41)	12,02,000	20,033	1,669
2.	Tailoring (Garments)	11	43,000 (100%)	25,500 (59%)	17,500 (41%)	1,50,700 (3.50)	1,07,700	9,791	816
3.	Cottage Industry	8	31,700 (100%)	21,700 (68%)	10,000 (32%)	1,46,800 (4.63)	1,15,100	14,388	1,199
4.	Cow rearing	16	70,100 (100%)	43,100 (61%)	27,000 (39%)	1,97,600 (2.82)	1,27,500	7,969	664
5.	Cattle Fattening	2	6,000 (100%)	3,000 (50%)	3,000 (50%)	12,000 (2.00)	6,000	3,000	250
6.	Goat rearing	12	22,900 (100%)	6,900 (30%)	16,000 (70%)	62,950 (2.75)	40,050	3,338	278
7.	Pig rearing	3	4,600 (100%)	1,600 (35%)	3,000 (65%)	13,120 (2.85)	8,520	2,840	237
8.	Poultry rearing	3	7,400 (100%)	3,400 (46%)	4,000 (54%)	26,700 (3.61)	19,300	6,433	536
9.	Rickshaw Pulling	9	52,100 (100%)	34,100 (65%)	18,000 (35%)	1,31,800 (2.53)	79,700	8,856	738
10.	Miscellaneous	6	36,500 (100%)	27,500 (75%)	9,000 (25%)	2,00,500 (5.49)	1,64,000	27,333	2,278
Total		130	6,27,100 (100%)	4,21,100 (67%)	2,06,000 (33%)	24,96,970 (3.98)	18,69,870	14,384	1,199

**Note : 1.** Percentages in the parentheses show the components of costs according to sources while the ratios in Column 7 displays the benefit cost ratios.

Source : Field survey data.



rice, vegetables, rice cakes, sweets, etc. in the streets of urban residential areas. On an average, a member earned Tk. 1,669 per month from these activities.

The third important activity is cottage industry which includes various types of handicraft like bamboo, cane and niddle works. On an average a member earned Tk. 1199 per month from these activities. Tailoring is another important income raising activity in which a woman has special advantage. She can make garments at her own house at a very low cost. But she faces marketing problems. Even then a member earned Tk. 816 per month from this activity. Rickshaw pulling is also a very profitable activity in almost all parts of Bangladesh, irrespective of urban and rural areas. In our survey areas of the two municipalities, a rickshaw-puller on the average earned Tk. 738 per month. Cow rearing (dairy), cattle fattening, goat, pig and poultry rearing are other income raising activities conducted by the respondents under the survey areas.

### **Employment Generation**

On the average each member of the 130 respondents earned Tk. 1199 per month from the above income raising small projects. Miscellaneous works, rickshaw pulling, small business, tailoring, cottage industry, etc., generated almost full time employment for the urban poor, while cow, goat, cattle, pig and poultry rearing generated part time employment opportunities for them. Except miscellaneous works and rickshaw pulling, women members participated in all other activities. In the above cases, the loans of women were utilised by male members of the family like husbands or sons. The earning capacity of women undoubtedly empowered their positions in the families as well as in the society.

### **3.2 Structure of the Strata of Monthly Incomes Generated from the Projects**

Table 3 shows the structure of the strata of additional monthly incomes generated from various project activities. More



than 42 per cent of the respondents earned additional monthly incomes upto Tk. 500. Over 16 per cent of them could generate monthly incomes varying from Tk. 501 to Tk. 1000. About 13 per cent of them were able to generate monthly incomes between Tk. 1001 and Tk. 1500. The remaining 28 per cent of the respondents earned monthly incomes of over Tk. 1500/- from different project activities. The table gives an over all picture of the average monthly earning capacities of the respondents from various SIP financed small income generating projects. No doubt, such flows of additional monthly incomes into the small springs of their incomes increased their economic status to some extent.

### 3.3 Changes in Nominal and Real Income

Some years (3 to 5 years) after joining the SIP project, there was an upward movement of the average monthly family incomes of the respondents. The income generating activities of SIP contributed to the increase in the income flows of the respondents.

**Table 3.** Structure of the Strata of Additional Monthly Incomes Generated from the Small Projects.

Strata of Additional Monthly Incomes (in Tk.)	No. of Respondents	(June, 1993) Percentage
1	2	3
Upto 500	55	42.31
501-1000	21	16.15
1001-1500	17	13.08
1501-2000	12	9.23
2001-2500	11	8.46
2501-3000	6	4.62
3001 and above	8	6.15
Total 130	100.00	



Table 4 gives a picture of the rising average monthly family incomes of the respondents. The average monthly family incomes of the respondents rose from Tk. 1751 to Tk. 2809 in Dinajpur slums while the same increased from Tk. 1645 to Tk. 2526 in the slums of Sirajganj. On the whole, the average nominal monthly income of the respondents of both the areas jumped from Tk. 1712 to Tk. 2705. In terms of percentages, the increase in monthly income was 58 per cent on the whole; 54 per cent in Sirajganj and 60 per cent in Dinajpur. However, adjusted for inflation rates of 15 per

**Table 4.** Increase in Monthly Family Incomes After Joining the SIP Groups.

Municipality	Present Monthly Income (1993)	Monthly Income before joining the groups	Increase	
			Total	%
1	2	3	4	5
<b>Dinajpur</b>				
Sub-Total (for 82 families)	2,30,335	1,43,600	86,735	60
Average	2,809	1,751	1,058	60
<b>Sirajganj</b>				
Sub-Total (for 48 families)	1,21,260	78,950	42,310	54
Average	2,526	1,645	881	54
<b>Grand Total</b>				
(for 130 families)	3,51,595	2,22,550	1,29,045	58
<b>Average</b>				
Nominal	2,705	1,712	993	58
Real	2,397	1,712	685	40

Source : Field Survey data.

cent to 20 per cent during the last five years, the net increase in real monthly incomes in both the areas was not less than 40 per cent under any reasonable estimate. In that case the average



real monthly family income of the respondents of both the cases stands as Tk. 2397 instead of Tk. 2705 in nominal terms (Table 4).

A more indepth analysis of rising monthly incomes of the beneficiaries is presented in Table 5. The percentage of the beneficiaries belonging to the lowest income group (upto Tk. 1000 per month per family) went down from more than 18 per cent to less than 2 per cent after joining the SIP groups and implementing income raising projects with SIP loans. Before joining the SIP groups more than 78 per cent of the respondents had monthly family income upto Tk. 2000/00. Within three to five years since their joining the groups and implementing the income generating projects with SIP loans, only about 35 per cent of the respondents had monthly family income upto Tk. 2000. Again, before joining the groups, only less than 22 per cent of respondents had monthly family income of above Tk. 2000 (between Tk. 2001 and Tk. 3000) while some years (3 to 5 years) after joining the SIP groups, about 65 per cent of the respondents could raise their average monthly family income levels between Taka 2001 and Taka 6000. This is a significant upward movement of the levels of monthly family incomes of the respondents.

#### **3.4 Increase in Other Benefits**

All the 130 respondents reported that they received one tubewell for each group of 10 member families and everybody was covered under this program. Each group of 10 families paid Tk. 500 only for the installation of one tubewell. The rest of the costs of tubewell installation was borne by the UNICEF. The members not only regularly drink tubewell water but also use it for all other washing and bath purposes. They confirmed it at the time of interviews.



**Table 5.** Upward Movements of the Families From Lower Income Strata to Higher Income Strata.

Income Strata (in Tk.)	No. of Families before joining the groups	%	No. of Families after joining the groups (1993)	%
1	2	3	4	5
Upto 1000	24	18.46	2	1.54
1001-1500	46	35.38	19	14.62
1501-2000	32	24.62	25	19.23
2001-2500	15	11.54	22	16.92
2501-3000	13	10.00	22	16.92
3001-3500	-	-	14	10.77
3501-4000	-	-	14	10.77
4001-4500	-	-	2	1.54
4501-5000	-	-	2	1.54
5001-5500	-	-	5	3.85
5501-6000	-	-	3	2.31
Total	130	100.00	130	100.00

Source : Field Survey data.

The most significant effect of the SIP was on children enrollment in primary and secondary schools. The total number of school age (6-14) children of the respondents was 219. Of them 106 were boys while 113 were girls. On the whole 89 per cent (195) of the children, 90 per cent (95) of the boys and 88 per cent (100) of the girls were going to school. These are very important and encouraging results of SIP. The following section deals with some other very significant benefits of SIP.

#### 4. Formation of Financial, Real and Capital Assets

Savings deposited in the banks' accounts by 130 respondents are very important financial assets for them. Before joining SIP, they never visited the banks for the purposes of either depositing or borrowing money from those. But SIP had empowered them with the authority to deal with the banks. Now they have access to the banks. By now 130 respondents jointly accumulated total financial assets of Tk. 58,888. On an average, each family saved nearly Taka five hundred (Tk. 453).



The range of the formation of financial assets begins from Tk. 50 to Tk. 3000.

Table 6 displays that nearly 44 per cent of the respondents (of the table) saved between Taka 201 and Taka 400 while about 22 per cent

**Table 6.** Formation of Financial Assets (Savings).

Class Interval of formation of savings in Taka	Frequency	%
Upto Taka 200	28	21.54
201-400	57	43.85
401-600	16	12.31
601-800	13	10.00
801-1000	8	6.15
1001-1200	3	2.30
1201-1400	1	0.77
1401-1600	1	0.77
1601-1800	1	0.77
1801-2000	1	0.77
2001 and above	1	0.77
Total 130	100.00	

Source : Field Survey.

of them saved upto Taka 200. More than 12 per cent respondents saved between Taka 401 and Taka 600. The remaining 22 per cent saved various amounts ranging from Taka 601 to Taka 3000.

Formation of real assets includes purchase of furniture like tables, chairs, bed-steads, fans, tins for the roofs of kacha houses, buying of gold ornaments, etc. The members bought those real assets out of their additional income earned from the project and of other sources of income. About 47 per cent (61) respondents could buy one or two types of real assets after joining the project. The value of their total real assets stood at Tk. 2,94,020/- and the same of per member was Tk. 4,820. The



range of formation of real assets begins from Tk. 500 to Tk. 12,000.

Formation of their capital assets includes the buying of sewing machines, rickshaws, cows, mechanical shops, etc. About 28 per cent (37) of respondents could own at least one capital asset each for the use of further production purposes of goods or services. On 30 June 1993 those members owned capital assets valuing Tk. 1,59,300. They earned those after joining the groups of SIP project. On an average each member formed the capital asset of Tk. 4305. The range of the values of the capital assets varies from Tk. 1,000 to Tk. 15,000.

Table 7 displays that nearly one third (29.73%) respondents formed capital assets of values ranging between Tk. 2,001 and Tk. 3,000. More than 16 per cent of them formed capital assets for the values upto Tk. 2,000. The rests (54%) obtained capital assets for the values ranging from Tk. 3,001 to Tk. 15,000/-.

**Table 7.** Formation of Real Assets and Capital Assets.

Class intervals showing real assets and capital assets in Taka	Real Assets		Capital Assets	
	Frequenc y	%	Frequenc y	%
Upto 1000	10	16.38	2	5.41
1001-2000	17	27.87	4	10.81
2001-3000	15	24.59	11	29.73
3001-4000	4	6.56	7	18.92
4001-5000	5	8.20	4	10.81
5001-6000	2	3.28	3	8.11
6001-7000	2	3.28	1	2.70
7001 and above	6	9.84	5	13.51
Total 61	100.00	37	100.00	

Source : Field Survey.



On the other hand, more than 52 per cent respondents were able to form real assets of the values between Tk. 1001 and Tk. 3000. Over 16 per cent of them formed real assets bearing values upto Tk. 1000, while the rest 32 per cent formed real assets of values ranging from Tk. 3001 to Tk. 12000. All these are very important contributions of SIP.

## 5. **Conclusions and Recommendations**

The achievements of SIP certainly deserve its continuation and further expansion.

1. With the sustaining of health care education programmes through the COs and CHWs, it is necessary for taking some measures for the treatment of common diseases, specially of the children and women. One way of tackling this problem is to link the COs, CHWs and Chairmen, SPICs with local hospital authority who may authorize one or two female doctors for this purpose. However, the matter has to be resolved at the top levels of the Ministries of Health, LGRD and UNICEF.

2. Physical improvement programmes are highly desirable and necessary. These are very much popular among the slum dwellers. But the expansion process of these are slow and some times inadequate in relation to the requirements of the slums. Attempts may be made for ensuring adequate supply of those and complete the works quickly.

3. The problem of the maintenance of physical facilities like footpaths, street lights and dustbins has to be solved immediately. The concept of maintenance of these by the community itself does not work at this stage of community development. The municipalities may take these responsibilities.

4. Since the average monthly family incomes still remain at low levels, the slum dwellers may be provided with further credit facilities for income generation purposes. Those who availed loans once or twice may again receive it against profitable proposals. This is necessary for sustaining their present standards of living.



5. Withdrawal of savings at this stage may be discouraged. However, new loan against the amount of savings may be disbursed if it is found very urgent and necessary.
6. The supply of loans for house building is a popular demand of the slum dwellers. The claim is not unjustified. However, the SIP authority may talk to Grameen Bank and to other banks on this issue. The SIP may seek the help of the banks in this regard since it alone can not solve this problem. But before seeking the help from the banks, it is necessary to sign long term land agreements with land owners who are private owners, municipalities, railway authority, government, etc.
7. The idea of business plan or production plan has to be introduced immediately. A proforma of it may be borrowed from Grameen Bank or Small Farmers' Development Project (SFDP) and may be improved further for better execution in SIP. Each loan proposal may be submitted along with a simple business plan. The COs, CHWs and group leaders may be trained on how to prepare a business plan.
8. The character of multifarious package programme including health, nutrition, physical development, education, organisational development and credit supply of SIP has to be continued under the administrative umbrella of the Municipality. In the long run the municipalities may adjust these with their own systems.
9. The COs are the most necessary components of SIP. Some of them observed that SIP will disappear in their absences. The claims have a lot of truths. So, the amount of frustrations already developed among the COs have to be removed by resolving their grievances. In addition, the COs showing better performance should be admired and awarded with prizes while punishment should be given for negligence of duties.
10. Exchange programmes for COs, CHWs and group leaders between the municipalities may be introduced for the exchange of ideas and experiences. This will help the process of learning from the field itself.



11. Currently the groups are not meeting regularly. The record keeping is also very poor. So instead of weekly meeting, monthly or fortnightly meeting may be introduced and followed strictly. Training on leadership, record keeping, simple accounts and on business plans for the group leaders should be strengthen further.

12. The adult literacy programme in collaboration with the government or with the NGOs should be started again. Many slum dwellers showed their disappointment for stopping this programme. They also showed their keen interest in this programme. Implementation of this programme will keep long run community development effects for the beneficiaries.

13. Training for the development of skills is a widely demanded issue of the beneficiaries. But so far nothing could be done in this regard. Arrangements may be made with Small and Cottage Industries Development Corporation or with the NGOs for offering skills development trainings to the beneficiaries.

14. To make the project financially viable in future, each CO will have to supervise the activities of at least 500 families or 30 to 32 groups. So, the COs are not yet over loaded with heavy works as they reported to the author.

15. A full time coordinator cum accountant is necessary at each municipality level for better performance of and effective implementation of SIP.



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## **BACKGROUND OF THE ENTREPRENEURS : A STUDY ON THE NORTHERN DISTRICTS OF BANGLADESH**

Md. Nasim Anjum\*

### **Introduction**

Bangladesh is a land of agriculture but due to increasing population and economic crisis, rapid industrialisation is the crying need for the economic emancipation of the people. In spite of the liberal fiscal incentives and other infrastructural facilities for the entrepreneurs in the northern districts since 1982, there is no significant development in this vital sector in the area mentioned. The financial institutions expressed their worries and frustration regarding the absence of the good entrepreneurial class in the North Bengal. This necessitated the proper assessment of the background of the entrepreneurs in the northern areas in Bangladesh.<sup>1</sup>

Entrepreneurs background is an important factor to the development of entrepreneurship. The background of entrepreneurs or individuals depend on socio-cultural environment. The social environment consists of the attitudes, desires, expectations, degrees of intelligence and education, beliefs and customs of people in a given group or society.<sup>2</sup> The cultural environment prescribes and teaches what does individual learns and accepts.<sup>3</sup> That is why Professor Habibullah pointed out that entrepreneurship requires a few social and cultural elements.<sup>4</sup> He also expressed that Bangladesh has a lot of entrepreneurial timber. These youths can perform entrepreneurship task if environmental conditions are favourable.<sup>5</sup> Faruk stated that our young entrepreneurs class in Bangladesh have all the qualities needed to industrialise the

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country quickly.<sup>6</sup> Professor Rahman also stated that Bangladeshi entrepreneurs have some qualities which are not less significant than the qualities of entrepreneurs of industrially developed countries.<sup>7</sup> But our social attitude toward business as a career is responsible to the less development of entrepreneurship.<sup>8</sup>

### **Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of the study is to evaluate the background of some of the selected entrepreneurs in the northern districts during 1970-94. The specific objectives are :

- i) To find out the age of involvement of the entrepreneurs in the business;
- ii) To find out the educational level of the entrepreneurs;
- iii) To find out parents occupation; and
- iv) To find out the attitude of the entrepreneurs towards the involvement in business.

### **Methodology**

North Bengal consists of greater five districts - Rajshahi, Pabna, Bogra, Rangpur and Dinajpur. The study includes 70 industrial units of greater districts. The entrepreneurs are selected on the basis of the availability of information and cooperation of the entrepreneurs. So purposive sampling was done.

In this study, entrepreneurs' background includes entrepreneurs' educational level, age, family background and desire. Educational level means general literacy level of entrepreneurs. Family background means parents occupation. The last factor i.e. desire of the entrepreneur or willingness to be an entrepreneur has also been examined.

### **Findings**

**1. Age of entrepreneurs while starting business :** The age wise classification of the entrepreneurs shows that majority of entrepreneurs started business at the age of 21 to 30 i.e. 36



followed by 19 in the age group of 31 years to 40 years, 5 entrepreneurs are found at the age of 20 or less, while another 5 are found at the age groups of 41 to 50. But only 3 entrepreneurs are in between 51 to 60 age group whereas 2 entrepreneurs are of 61 or above years old. The largest number of entrepreneurs organising the enterprises belong to the age group of 21 to 30 years. It indicates that one significant element of the entrepreneurial development that is the students leaving the university or college belong to this age group and as such they may be encouraged to enter in entrepreneurship.<sup>9</sup> The details of the age group of entrepreneurs emerging out of the sample are shown in Table 1.

**Table 1.** Distribution of Entrepreneurs by Age at the Time of Starting Business

Age	Number of entrepreneurs	Percentage
Upto 20	5	7.14
21-30	36	51.43
31-40	19	27.14
41-50	5	7.14
51-60	3	4.29
61 and above	2	2.86
Total :	70	100.00

**2. Educational status of the entrepreneurs :** The educational background of entrepreneurs has been analysed in terms of level of education under the different categories. Table 2 shows the educational status of the entrepreneurs. It indicates that 23 entrepreneurs i.e. 32.86 per cent of the sample are Matriculates and another 23 are Graduates, 11 entrepreneurs are Intermediate i.e. H.S.C. passed, 4 are non-Matric and 5 entrepreneurs have Master's degree. The large number i.e. about 60 per cent entrepreneurs are under graduate.



**Table 2.** Distribution of Entrepreneurs According to Educational Status.

Level of Education	Number of Entrepreneurs	Percentage
Non-Matric	4	5.71
Matric	23	32.86
Intermediate	11	15.71
Diploma	4	5.71
Graduate	23	32.86
Masters	5	7.15
Total :	70	100.00

**3. Family Background of Entrepreneurs :** The entrepreneurs' family background is classified into four categories i.e. business, government service, private service and farming. Table 3 shows the distribution of entrepreneurs according to their parents occupation. From the distribution, it is found that 54.29 per cent of the entrepreneurs come of business background of their parents. Parents of 14 entrepreneurs were in government service while those of 13 entrepreneur's parents were engaged in farming activities. Only parents of the 5 entrepreneurs were found to have private service. The largest number of entrepreneurs came from the business family background, in such cases family has almost inherited the entrepreneurial pursuits.

**Table 3.** Distribution of Entrepreneurs According to Parent's occupation/Family Background

Nature of Parents/Family occupation	Number of entrepreneurs	Percentage
Business	38	54.29
Government service	14	20.00
Private service	5	7.14
Farming	13	18.57
Total :	70	100.00



**Parents' occupation and educational level of the entrepreneurs :** Here an attempt is made to show whether there is any effect of parents occupation on the level of education of entrepreneurs. The Table 4 shows that the highest number of entrepreneurs come from business group i.e. 38 entrepreneurs. Out of 38 entrepreneurs, 39.48 per cent are Matriculates, 23.68 per cent are graduate, 18.42 per cent are Intermediate, 7.90 per cent are diploma and both non-Matric and Masters groups have 5.26 per cent.

Government service group supplies 14 entrepreneurs. Out of which 57.14 per cent are Graduate. Other 21.43 per cent are Intermediate, 14.9 per cent are Masters and 7.14 per cent are Matriculates.

The private service occupation group has 5 entrepreneurs. Both Matric and Graduate entrepreneurs have the same number i.e. 40.00 per cent and Master Degree holder entrepreneurs is 20.00 per cent.

**Table 4.** Distribution of Entrepreneurs According to Parent's Occupation and Educational Status of the entrepreneurs

Parent's Occupation Level of Education	BUSINESS No. of Entre- preneurs	%	GOVT. SERVICE No. of Entre- preneurs	%	PRIVATE SERVICE No. of Entre- preneurs	%	FARMIN G No. of Entre- preneurs	%
Non-Matric	2	5.26	-	-	-	-	2	15.39
Matic	15	39.48	1	7.14	2	40.00	5	38.46
Intermediate	7	18.41	3	21.43	-	-	1	7.69
Diploma	3	7.90	-	-	-	-	1	7.69
Graduate	9	23.69	8	57.14	2	40.00	4	30.77
Masters	2	5.26	2	14.29	1	20.00	-	-
Total :	38	100.00	14	100.00	5	100.00	13	100.00



Farming occupation group has 13 entrepreneurs. Out of which 38.46 per cent are Matriculates, 30.77 per cent are Graduates, 15.39 per cent are non-Matric and both Intermediate and Diploma education levels have 7.69 per cent entrepreneurs. In this group there is no Master degree holder entrepreneurs.

The entrepreneurs whose parents occupation is government service, they have higher level of education i.e., highest per cent of educated entrepreneurs come from government service occupation group. The second highest group of educated entrepreneurs fall under the private service occupation group. The entrepreneurs whose parents occupation is farming have low level of education. The entrepreneurs whose parents occupation is business have least education or most lower level education. In short, entrepreneurs who come from business background has lower level of education and who come from government service group has higher level of education.

**4. Entrepreneurs' Desire :** The entrepreneurs' desire or willingness to involve in business is very important factor to the success of entrepreneurship. Some earlier studies show that the youths are even ready to take clerical work in government office rather than starting a business of his own, despite its high financial rewards.

Table 5 shows that 54 (77.14%) entrepreneurs were willing to enter in business. Only 11.43 per cent that is 8 entrepreneurs entered into the business due to family and other reasons. Also the same number that is 8 entrepreneurs had no plan about future, somehow they had to involve in business. The result is encouraging because more than three fourths of the respondents of the sample were willing to perform entrepreneurial jobs. Therefore, one can draw conclusion that the socio-cultural and economic environment has been changed. The new generation comes forward to take business as a career.



**Table 5.** Distribution of Entrepreneurs According to the Willingness to be an Entrepreneur

Category	Number of entrepreneurs	Percentage
1. I had plan to be an entrepreneur	54	77.14
2. For family or other reasons to be an entrepreneur	8	11.43
3. Did not have any plan about future	8	11.43
Total :	70	100.00

### Conclusion

The analysis and interpretation facilitates the conclusion that majority of the entrepreneurs' educational qualification are below graduate level. Out of 70, only 28 entrepreneurs are graduates, others are non-graduates. Most of the entrepreneurs' family background is business oriented. The entrepreneurs whose family occupation or parents' occupation is government service, they have higher level of education. It is interesting to observe that educated entrepreneurs are coming forward to take the initiative. That is significant number of graduates and Master degree holders are showing interest for business. Another interesting finding is that the most of the entrepreneurs were willing to perform entrepreneurial jobs. Immediate steps should be taken to provide necessary environmental and other facilities for the entrepreneurship development. Training and counseling to the entrepreneur will be more effective.



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## **EFFECTIVENESS OF PROCUREMENT MANAGEMENT OF RAJSHAHI SUGAR MILLS : AN EVALUATION.**

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### **Prelude**

Procurement management is defined as to decide whether the product should be purchased or whether it should be produced, correlating procurement with sales, selecting vendors from whom purchases should be made and selecting general processes to be followed in production. It's an important tool in the hands of management to facilitate right production through collecting right materials in right time, in right quantity, from right sources and in right price. The cost control, production efficiency, marketing of products, cash flow of a business and in otherwords the overall success of a business relies on smooth procurement management.<sup>1</sup>

Rajshahi Sugar Mills is situated in Paba P.S. of Rajshahi district. The distance of the mill from Rajshahi town is about 6 miles. The selection of site for this mill has proved to be the best as the cane zone area of the mill is very suitable for cane cultivation. Previously the cane from this area was crushed by North Bengal Sugar Mills, located at a long distance and the growers faced difficulties in delivering cane to such a mill with daily crushing capacity of only 1,200 tons. To remove the difficulties of the growers, the then PIDC proposed to set up a sugar mill in this area. Accordingly the erection work of this sugar mill was taken up in the year 1963 and completed by October, 1965. The mill went into trial crushing in the year 1965-66.<sup>2</sup>

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The initial capacity of the mill was 10,000 tons of sugar per year by crushing 1,000 tons cane per day. With the increases in production of sugar cane around the mill area, it was felt necessary to increase the capacity of the mill and subsequently the capacity was increased from 10,000 to 15,000 tons of sugar per year. In the year 1976-77, the mill crushed 205,080 tons of cane to produce 18,303 tons of sugar.<sup>3</sup>

The purpose of this study is to evaluate the existing procurement policy of the Rajshahi Sugar mills. The specific objects of the study are as follows :

- a) To know the characteristics of the procurement management of the Rajshahi Sugar mill during 1980-81 to 1993-94.
- b) To trace the procurement problem of the sugar mill and its effect on production volume, earnings and managerial success of the sugar mills.
- c) To know the causes of the procurement problems and suggest to control it for the improvement of the performance of the mills.

### **Justifications of the study**

We know that 16 sugar mills in Bangladesh produce about 2 lakh tons of sugar annually, we need 3 lakh tons of sugar to satisfy our annual minimum needs for sugar.<sup>4</sup> Our sugar mills fail to produce more due to shortage of quality cane. There is idle capacity and low recovery rates in many of our sugar mills due to non-availability of quality cane. BSFIC<sup>5</sup> holds the idea that diversion of cane for gur production, inability of mill management to provide incentive cane prices, are mainly responsible for cane shortage. Our sugar mills can't sell their available sugar due to availability of smuggled sugar in our local market.<sup>6</sup> We need to minimise cost of production of sugar to maintain sugar prices at a minimum level. This needs, the creation of opportunity of collecting quality cane for full capacity utilisation of the sugar mills. For this, the topic is taken. Rajshahi sugar mill is taken for the study as the researcher feels



that this mill has to encounter with difficulties in procuring its needed cane. This study will help the identification of the inherent problems in procurement management and its steps to be taken for its removal.

### **Preview of the research works**

Dr. Shah Alam<sup>7</sup> wrote an article on "Procurement policy of sugar cane of Rajshahi Sugar Mills". He identified delayed harvesting, inadequate financial facilities, anomalies in Purjee distribution, low price of cane, poor variety of sugar cane and its effect on the recovery rate, etc. as the major flaws of the procurement functions of the Rajshahi Sugar Mills. He put suggestions for increasing price of cane, development of transport facilities, welfare measures, reward system, etc.

Prof. B.H. Khandakar's<sup>8</sup> article on "Some Thoughts on the development of the sugar industry in Bangladesh : problems and possibilities" also identified the problems of procurement of quality cane due to diversion of cane for gur production, low recovery rates, lack of incentive price rates etc. Prof. D.D. Bhattacharjee<sup>9</sup> gives the idea that the variations in the supply of sugar cane, sugar recovery rates create problem in earnings and growth of the sugar mills.

Sugar Commission<sup>10</sup> Govt. of Bangladesh gave the idea that major problem of the sugar mills is the shortage of cane supply which is due to procurement constraints faced by the sugar mills.

### **Methods used**

The researcher selected Rajshahi Sugar Mill as his field of study as the mill is located within the easy reach of researcher. Purchase Manager/Agriculture Managers, CDA, etc. were asked to narrate their difficulty and characteristics of the procurement policy. Major information was collected from the Annual performance Reports of the mills and other departmental records. These were made available by personal discussion with the selected officials of the mills.



Target procurement, actual procurement of cane, price rates, target production, actual production at the mill level, sources of cane supply, procedures of purchase of cane, loans and other facilities given for cane development, ways and procedure of Purjee distribution, cane cultivation in experimental farm, average production and cost, profit and loss, problems of procurement, causes and probable measures to be followed are inserted in a meticulous way.

### **Findings, interpretation and major observations :**

In Table 1, it is available that volume of cane crushed was 87.16 percent of its target in 1989-90. It was 122.18 percent in 1990-91 but these were 74.05 percent and 75.71 percent in 1991-92 and 1992-93 respectively. It was 113.14 percent in 1993-94. It is clear that the Rajshahi Sugar mill failed to procure necessary amount of sugar cane. This had an adverse effect on capacity utilisation, volume of production, cost of production and the business success of the mill. The mill failed to have target production in 1991-92 and 1992-93. Recovery rates were also changing from year to year. Average cost of production also fluctuated very rapidly. This was unusually increasing in 1991-92 and 1992-93 but we see decrease in cost of production in 1993-94. The Rajshahi Sugar Mill had sustained net loss of Tk. 709 Lakh, 956 lakh, and Tk. 377 lakh in 1991-92, 1992-93 and 1993-94 respectively. The mill procures sugar cane from its 25 different purchase centres through Tracks, Railway and gate purchase. Major share is brought through road ways. There is problem of transport for it.<sup>(Tab-2)</sup> The mill has its own farm producing about 1000 tons of cane. Out of these, major portion is supplied to the mill and certain percentage is given to the cane growers for seeds.<sup>(Tab-3)</sup> However, the mill had advanced 3.22 crore in 1989-90 to the cane growers and recovery was 71 percent. The recovery rates were 80 percent, 71 Percent, 72 percent and 81 percent in 1990-91, 1991-92, 1992-93 and 1993-94 respectively. Normally in each of the years about Tk. 3 to 4 crore are given to the cane growers.<sup>(Tab-4)</sup>



The major characteristics of the procurement policy of the Rajshahi Sugar Mill are that sugar cane is procured at the mill's gate, purchase centres from the local cane growers through specific terms and conditions. These are as follows :

- a) Sugar cane supply permission is given to the cane growers i.e. known as purjee.
- b) Each of the cane growers is given pass book where volume of cane cultivation and loan given by the sugar mill are recorded. For the convenience in cane purchase, Mill Zone has been divided into 10 Sub Zones. 52 purchase Centres are there having 104 Units. The officer in charge of the purchase Centre purchases the available cane on the basis of the given purjee. 30 mds of cane are sold per purjee. After weighing of the cane, the growers are given weight receipt on the basis of which payment is made. For the convenience of Cane procurement, representatives of the growers are nominated by them for each of the Unit/Centre/Sub Zone and Zone. Their tenure is for 2 years. These nominated representatives maintain liaison with the mill executives/employees for the purchase of cane. Each unit is grouped in to 5-9 segments. Group leaders are elected by the cane growers for each group. All the group leaders elect one unit chairman. Unit Chairman becomes the Chief of coordination Centre. In the similar way, Chairman of the Centre/Sub Zone and Zones are elected and they facilitate the purchase of cane and the payment of Cane price to the cane growers in time. Mill management mentioned the following cane price for the 1993-94 and 1994-95 crushing seasons :

Mill Gate per md. Tk. 37.50

Out side Centres Tk. 37.00

Estimation of production of cane is made by the mill around August and September by CDA through the Co-operation of Assistant cane procurement officer or ACDO. Programme for cane



purchase is made keeping into consideration the requirements of cane for the crushing season i.e. November to March, daily needs for crushing and the characteristics of the available cane around the mill areas. Daily purchase schedules are made for the purchase Centres and gate purchase. Purjee is given to the cane growers to buy the available cane in scheduled date. According to the terms given in purjee, growers sell their cane to the centres. Two purjee committee each consisting of 5 to 7 members are to work i.e. one at the mill level and other at the centre level.

### Conclusions

Procurement management of the Rajshahi Sugar Mill is affected by the short fall in procuring required volume of cane, inspite of the sincere efforts of mill management and BSFIC. Loans are given to the cane growers but there arises problem in its recovery. The cane growers are reluctant to sell the available cane to the mill authority. Although cane growers demand for more cane prices, immediate payment of bill, more loans and advances, prompt collection of cane and other facilities or incentives for growing more cane, practically mill management fails to meet up their bill due to shortage of working fund. We know that the mill has difficulty inselling their sugar and advances given to the cane growers are also insufficient to their needs and requirements. Thus, we feel that cane growers should be given more encouragement to grow more cane and sell it to the mill authority. Liberal facilities for purjee distribution, increasing funds and well communication among the cane growers and mill management are needed.



(Operational information of RSM during 1989-90 to 93-94)

	89-90	90-91	91-92	92-93	93-94
Target Crushing Achievement (%)	87.16	122.18	71.05	75.71	113.14
Sugar production achievement	93.41	115.43	64.26	71.34	102.81
Recovery rates Target (%)	8.50	8.75	8.75	8.68	8.70
Actual achievement	9.11	8.26	8.06	8.13	7.91
% of achievement	107.18	94.42	92.19	94.17	90.92
Cost of production per ton	Tk. 23128	22742	27844	28438	25802
Net profit/loss (Tk. Lakh)	385.88	222.38	709.00	(956.25)	(377.88)

Source : Annual reports of RSM for the years 1993-94. P. - 4

**Table -2.**

Details of cane procurement of the RSM during 1987-88 to 1993-94.

**M. Ton.**

	1987-88	1988-88	1989-90	1990-91	1991-92	1992-93	1993-94
Total Purchase	1,63,399	63,818	1,73,853	2,46,884	1,71,004	1,68,027	2,53,977
Mill Gate	32,821	12,309	27,420	38,927	30,694	26,995	32,257
Purjee from Centres (Track)	4,427	1,812	1,083	1,649	1,494	-	1,332
Road & Rail Centre	-	4,024	14,415	17,095	-	-	-
Railway Centres	23,394	8,745	24,156	30,159	-	-	-
Road Centre	95,387	36,582	1,05,459	1,58,674	1,36,383	1,38,760	2,03,720
Ex Farm	631	342	696	377	437	558	648
NBSM	6,911	-	610	1,629	1,994	1,904	2,232
NSM796	-	10	-	-	-	-	-

Source : Annual Reports of the RSM for the year 1993-94.



**Table -3.**  
Details of experimental cane production farm of the RSM during 1987-88 to 1993-94.

	1987-88	1988-89	1989-90	1990-91	1991-92	1992-93	1993-94
Area under farm (acres)	110	110	110	110	110	110	110
Cane cultivable area	83.74	83.74	83.74	83.74	83.74	83.74	83.74
Area under cane cultivation	46.05	44.00	52.88	42.87	47.06	43.00	50.00
Cane production M.T.	1056	1045	1341	977	953	927.70	1119.81
Crushing at the Mill	631	343	693	377	437	358.34	648.79
Use as seed	115	196	151	183	298	177.68	195.03
Seed to the cane growers	306	482	490	400	288	387.23	260.55
Seed to other mills	-	22	2.5	14	7	3.51	14.44
Miscellaneous	22.95	24	25	23	20.00	.93	1.00
Per acre production (metric ton.)	22.95	23.76	25.34	22.81	20.26	21.57	22.39
Cost per acre Tk.	9637	9132	9160	11501	12224	13623	14341
Cost per ton Tk.	420	384	361	501	603	631	640
Net loss lakh Tk.	7.47	5.97	4.68	6.02	7.54	+3.46	+4.08

Source : Ibid



**Table - 4.**

## Financing of Cane Growers

	89-90	90-91	91-92	92-93	93-94
Total Recover able debt (Tk.Lakh)	322.92	403.85	366.18	312.51	338.93
Recovery (Tk. Lakh)	259.05	324.47	262.38	227.44	250.74
% Rate	71.58	80.34	71.56	72.28	81.16

Source : Ibid P. 34

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## **MARKETING STRATEGY OF THE RAJSHAHI SILK FACTORY (RSF) - A CASE STUDY.**

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### **Abstract**

The Rajshahi Silk Factory (RSF) has failed to make any profit since its inception. The researcher assumes that due to lack of appropriate Marketing Strategy the Factory is a losing concern. In this study the business system of the factory and rules of the game have been analysed and evaluated. It is observed that the factory has failed to create important values to its products as desired by the consumers. The nature of competition is lower price of silk fabrics accompanied by decorative designs and attractive prints. The management of the factory can not coordinate the activities in the business system in terms of money, men and technology. The suppliers of silk cocoons and dealers of the silk fabrics put pressure on the business system due to lack of optimum cooperation. Reviewing all these issues the Researcher has suggested a marketing strategy and an action programme which is vital for the factory to stay in the business.

### **Introduction**

Sericulture as a whole has three dimensions viz. agriculture, industry and commerce. Mulberry is cultivated and silkworm nourished in almost all the districts of Bangladesh from the time immemorial and among those the greater Rajshahi district is the most congenial in this respect. Butterfly, a species of fly, is the originator of silk. This species, in the form of larva, lives on the leaves of mulberry and castor plants. Later on, thread like saliva (viscid) of the larva makes an oval shaped small ball. This small ball is called silk cocoon which afterwards, resulted into silk fabrics through the various process of reeling, throwing, weaving and printing. From ancient time silk fabrics are favoured

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amongst the higher and higher-middle class people of Bangladesh and abroad as a prestige luxury item. Thus silk industry plays a vital role in our economy through consumption of locally available cocoon, providing employment opportunities, producing quality silk fabrics as import substitutions and providing incentives for cocoon cultivation to thousands of rural people<sup>1</sup>. Silk fabrics are produced both in public and private sector. Rajshahi and Thakurgaon Silk Factories are in the public sector under the direct management of Bangladesh Sericulture Board. There are 141 hand looms and 42 power looms operating in 27 units in the private sector and 32 hand looms and 46 power looms in the public sector units.<sup>2</sup> Like other silk manufacturing enterprises, the Rajshahi Silk Factory (RSF) is engaged in procurement of silk cocoon, reeling, throwing, weaving, printing and sales of silk fabrics.

#### **IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY :**

Since erection, the RSF was notable to make any profit. Every year the factory incurs loss lakhs of Taka (appendix-1). From the year 1986-87 to 1991-92, the average loss of the factory was Tk. 47.68 lakhs and total loss was Tk. 2.86 crores. No business organization can survive for a long period of time with heavy amount of losses. Several researchers identified various reasons behind the problem. The present study hypothesizes that due to lack of appropriate marketing strategy the factory is not able to make any profit. So this study will contribute, to a greater extent, to formulate and implement the appropriate marketing strategy which is vital for the survival of the factory. However, the present study may help the RSF to achieve the following issues categorically :-

- (i) The factory would save time, money and executive talent in day to day operations.
- (ii) The RSF will be able to set definite rules to guide and search for new growth opportunities.
- (iii) Project decisions of the factory will be of higher quality. Competent business analysis for recognising outstanding opportunities will be ensured.



- (iv) The factory may escape from the danger of either premature over commitment of resources or of failure fully to utilise the resources available within a budget period.
- (v) The RSF will be able to anticipate any change in the field of marketing environment and take appropriate measures to adjust itself to the changing conditions. Control and appraisal system will be strong.

### **REVIEW OF RELATED STUDIES :**

The issues involved with the marketing strategy of the RSF are extremely complex. There are no easy solutions. Research on marketing strategy of this factory might throw some light on the adjustment of the factory with the marketing environmental issues like business system, nature of value added, perceived value of the consumers and nature of competition etc. But unfortunately, to the best of my knowledge no studies have been done on these specific issues. Some studies have been done on the general marketing and production problems of the RSF. Among the studies on this sector, research done by Professor Hamid<sup>3</sup>, Shil<sup>4</sup> and Saha<sup>5</sup> are significant. These studies outlined some marketing and production problems like availability of insufficient quantity of silk cocoons. Poor quality and high price of cocoons, power failure, absence of modern sales techniques, lack of communication, lack of registered trade mark etc.

In internal evaluation paper Bangladesh Sericulture Board outlined some major problems of RSF. These were over-staffing in the reeling section, crisis for superior quality of cocoons, underutilization of capacity etc.<sup>6</sup>

Ofcourse, various research on effective marketing strategy have been done in American and European countries. White examined 69 business units and found that firms with both cost and price advantage had the highest ROI. The highest sales growth was achieved by those business employing a pure differentiation strategy. White also examined the relationship of environmental context to these strategies and firm performance, and found that, indeed, a positive relationship appears to exist.<sup>7</sup> Additional research by Dess and Davis also supports the view



that having generic strategies lead to higher performance than not having generic strategies on an intra-industry basis.<sup>8</sup>

### **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS :**

A marketing strategy is a consistent, appropriate and feasible set of principles through which a company hopes to achieve its longrun customer and profit objectives in a particular competitive environment.<sup>9</sup> Thus marketing strategy determines how a company will compete within each business which is entitled as "Competitive Strategy", because a single business' major concern is to develop a strategic advantage which allows the firm to beat the competition in the market place.<sup>10</sup> Thus the fundamental basis of above average performance in the longrun is sustainable competitive advantage.<sup>11</sup> Competitive advantages are those values which are greatly perceived by the consumers, but are not offered by the competitors. Competitive advantages grown fundamentally out of value of firm is able to create for its buyers that exceeds the firm's cost of creating it. Value is what buyers are willing to pay, and superior value stems from offering lower prices than competitors for equivalent benefits or providing unique benefits that more than offset a higher price.<sup>12</sup> It stems from many discrete activities a firm performs in designing, producing, marketing, delevering and supporting its product. A systematic way of examining all the activities a firm performs and how they interact is necessary for analysing the source of competitive advantage. So identifying which strategies can lead to competitive advantages in an industry may be done in three main steps.<sup>13</sup>

1. Industry definition - It includes the following issues :-

a) **Business system** : All activities that are necessary to deliver a product or service that meets the expectation of a market.

b) **Rules of the game** : Each activity in the business system adds perceived value to the product or service. Value, for the customer, is the perceived stream of benefit that accrue from obtaining the product or service. Price is what the customer is willing to pay for the stream of benefits. If the price of a good or



service is high, it must provide high value, otherwise it is driven out of the market. If the value of a good or service is low, its price must be low, otherwise it is also driven out of the market. Hence, in a competitive situation, the price customers are willing to pay for a good or service is a good proxy means of its value. Thus the game is to create a disequilibrium between the perceived value offered and the price asked by either increasing the former or by reducing the latter.

In addition, the intrinsic logic of the business system must also be taken into account. This logic is dictated by the fact that the business system activities must be coordinated to provide a specific final product. This requirement is best examined at the level of the resources needed for each activity : People, technologies and money.

**c) Identifying the other players :**

"Players" in a business system do not consist only of competitions; they may be other participants in the business system that perform vital activities. For the provider of a product or service, managing the business systems can be complicated by players up-and down-stream in the business. These participants may suboptimize the whole business system and put pressure on other activities.

**2. Identification of possible competitive Moves :**

Competitive advantages are built on the ability to utilize the business system to provide final customers with the desired perceived value, at the lowest delivered cost. This leads to analyse the following issues :-

**(a) Competitive Advantages offered by the Business system :**

Superior profitability requires higher perceived value and / or lower delivered cost than the competition. This is achieved either through superior performance in at least one of the business system activity, or through a creative and innovative



combination of several activities. Such competitive formulas are the basis of all successful strategies.

**(b) Stage of development of the industry :**

The effectiveness of high perceived value and low delivered cost advantages varies with the stage of development of the industry.

**(c) Identifying strategic group :**

To identify the competitors and their generic moves at a given time for assessing how the competitors may affect evolution of the industry.

**3. Selecting among generic strategies**

The significance of any strength or weakness a firm possess is ultimately a function of its impact on relative cost or differentiation. Thus the two basic types of competitive advantage combined with the scope of activities for which a firm serves to achieve them lead to three generic strategies for above average performance in an industry : cost leadership, differentiation and focus.<sup>14</sup>

**a) Cost leadership :**

Cost leadership is perhaps the clearest of the three generic strategies. In it, a firm sets out to become low-cost producer in its industry. The firm has a broad scope and serve many industry segments, and may even operate in related industries the firm's breadth is often important to its cost leadership.

**b) Differentiation :**

In a differentiation strategy a firm seeks to be unique in its industry along some dimensions that are widely valued by the buyers. It selects one or more attributes that many buyers in an industry perceive as important, and uniquely positions itself to meet those needs. It is rewarded for its uniqueness with a premium price. The logic of the differentiation strategy requires that a firm choose attributes in which to differentiate itself that are different from its rivals'. A firm that can achieve and sustain



differentiation will be an above-average performance in its industry if its price premium exceeds extra costs incurred in being unique. A differentiator can not ignore its cost position, because its premium prices will be nullified by markedly inferior cost position. A differentiator thus aims at cost parity or proximity relative to its competitors, by reducing cost in all areas that do not affect differentiation.

**c) Focus :**

This strategy is quite different from the others because it rests on the choice of a narrow competitive scope within an industry. The focuser selects a segment or group of segments in the industry and tailors its strategy to serving them to the exclusion of others. By optimizing its strategy for the target segments, the focuser seeks to achieve a competitive advantage in its target segments even though it does not possess a competitive advantage overall. The focus strategy has two variants :- a) in cost focus a firm seeks a cost advantage in its target segment, b) while in differentiation focus a firm seeks differentiation in its target segment.

**PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVES.**

The purpose of the present study is to investigate the nature of marketing strategy to be followed by the RSF. Considering this purpose, the present study sets the following specific objects :

- (i) To analyse the business system of the RSF.
- (ii) To find out the relationship between perceived value and price of silk fabrics produced in RSF and examine the activities in the business system in terms of level of resources employed by the factory.
- (iii) To identify the competition and their moves.
- (iv) To prescribe the appropriate strategy to be followed by the RSF.
- (v) Action programme necessary to implement the strategy.



## **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND TECHNIQUES**

As a case study the study is limited to the RSF due to convenience in data collection. The study is based on the official records and information of the factory which are collected through personal visit. For the collection of primary data, there was open discussion with the officers of production and Marketing division and planning section of Bangladesh Sericulture Board and officers of the RSF.

## **TECHNIQUES OF ANALYSIS**

The following analysis have been done :

- (i) Requirements for raw materials (silk cocoons) and actual procurement.
- (ii) Production capacity, Target for production and actual production of silk yarn and silk fabrics.
- (iii) Total cost of production, fixed and variable cost (section wise). The volume of net profits or net losses from the year 1986-87 to 1991-92.
- (iv) Sales proceeds of the silk fabrics from the year 1988-89 to 1992-93.

## **MAJOR FINDINGS**

### **A. Business system :**

The final product of the RSF is silk fabrics. In order to manufacture it, the factory is to perform the following business functions.

#### **(a) Procurement of raw materials**

The primary raw material of the RSF is silk cocoons which are produced in the country in four seasons namely, Agrahayan, Chaitra, Jaisthya and Vadra. In addition to silk cocoons, various dyes and chemicals are required to produce silk fabrics which are imported from abroad. The main issue in the procurement of raw materials is the purchase of silk cocoons at the right price, at the



right quantity as per requirement at the right time. It involves the following activities :

(i) **Price fixation** : In each season price of silk cocoons is fixed by the standing committee. To fix up the price of silk cocoons factors like rendita (quantity of green cocoon required to produce one kilogram of silk yarn), current market price of silk yarn, reeling cost and profit, are considered.

(ii) **Purchase system** : Silk cocoons are purchased directly from the Basnies (growers) by the purchase team of the factory at the purchasing centres located in the various cocoon growing areas. The factory maintains ware house for the preservation of silk cocoons. The factory is to purchase cocoons in open competition with the various reelers in the private sector. It is not able to procure the required quantity of cocoon. In the appendix-II, it is clear that from the year 1987-88 to 1992-93, the factory could not procure required quantity of silk cocoons, the highest quantity in 1989-90 being 65% of total requirement and lowest quantity in 1987-88 being 32.4%. Average actual procurement of silk cocoons during the period is 0.51 lakh kg i.e., 45.92 percent.

(b) **Production of silk yarn :**

Silk yarn is produced in Reeling section of the factory comprising 90 reeling machines out of which 77 machines are in working conditions. 110 workers are engaged in the production of silk yarn in reeling section. The factory had severe shortage in actual production of silk yarn. From the appendix III, it is found that it was 20.02 percent in 1984-85 and 71.80 percent in 1989-90 and 32.21 percent in 1991-92. The average achievement was 43.63 percent during the years 1981-82 to 1991-92 in reeling section. It is also observed more than 56 percent of the idle capacity in the reeling section during the study periods which has obviously adverse effect on the unit cost and earnings of the silk yarn produced in the RSF (appendix-IV).

(c) **Twisting of silk yarn :**

Twisting of silk yarn is done in the throwing section where there are five machines of different kinds. In this section 68



workers are engaged in twisting the silk yarn. This section also failed to achieve the target production. From the appendix-V, it is found that it was 12.66 percent in 1987-88, 38.12 percent in 1989-90 and 21.52 percent in 1990-91. It is also observed about 75 percent of the idle capacity in throwing section during the periods 1987-88 to 1991-92.

**(d) Weaving :**

The main activity involved is to form the silk yarn produced in the reeling section into silk fabrics. There are 56 looms in the RSF, out of which number of powerlooms is 43 and 13 being handlooms which are operated by 71 workers. To perform this activity the RSF failed to achieve the target production. On average there had been 46 percent of target production during the study period. 54 percent of production was not possible to be achieved by the RSF. Such a high rate of idle capacity can never give production efficiency. This is shown in appendix-VI.

**(e) Dyeing and Printing :**

The activities involved in this stage are Degumming, Dying, printing, Designing and finishing of silk fabrics. 4 types of designs are made namely, block print, brush print, batic print and screen print.

In the year 1992-93 target production of dying and printing was 60,000 meter, but the actual production was 32,693.44 meter. So the 54.34 percent of the target was achieved and the idle capacity was 45.66 percent in the year 1992-93.<sup>15</sup> Detailed information on target production and actual production of this section was not available.

**(f) Sales of silk fabrics :**

This is the last activity of the business system by which the RSF is able to send its products to the ultimate consumers. In order to perform the job, the RSF uses both direct and indirect channels. The direct distribution channel comprises 4 sales and Display centres located in Dhaka, Rajshahi, Khulna and Thakurgaon. The indirect channel consists of sales



representatives, wholesalers / Distributors / Dealers and Silk Retail Traders. Target sales and actual sales of Sales and Display centres are shown in appendix-VII.

The information in the appendix-VII gives a clear sign of shortage in actual sales compared to target sales. Actually there was the highest variation in RSH. Its value was Tk. 37.82 laks. In DSH, difference was for the amount of Tk. 28.23 lakhs. In KSH and TSH, the difference in sales was for Tk. 5.24 lakhs and Tk. 5.25 lakhs respectively. The aggregate variation in sales had been for Tk. 213.42 lakhs during the last 5 years. Actually one third of the target sales was not made available which have affected seriously the financial condition of the factory.

## **8. Rules of the game**

### **a) Perceived value**

The finished products of the RSF are silk saree of different prints, shirtings and fabrics of Punjabi. The consumers of silk fabrics give values of new attractive designs, colour-combination and the price with in the purchasing capacity. Unfortunately, the RSF is not able to create all these values to its produces. The sarees are old design, less attractive to the consumers and the price of most of the items are not within the limit of purchasing power of the consumers. So the RSF can not create any logical value of its products as perceived by the consumers of the silk products. The price of the silk products produced in the RSF is higher than that of its competitors, because cost of production per unit is increasing. The factory is not able to utilise its production capacity fully. The unutilised capacity of the reeling, throwing and weaving section is 56.36 percent, 56 percent and 54 percent respectively. Consequently, the fixed cost of production is increasing which is 47.76 percent in the reeling section, 90 percent in throwing section and 91 percent in the weaving section (appendix-IV). Due to these factors the factory can not reap the advantage of economies of scale in the production process.

As a result, its cost of production per unit is getting higher which is influencing in the same direction to fix up the price of



silk products. Thus the price of the silk products produced in the RSF cannot remain within the purchasing limit of the consumers. The factory cannot create appropriate values to its products as desired by the consumers in one hand, its price is remaining beyond the purchasing power of the consumers on the other hand. Consequently, the silk products produced in the RSF is losing the acceptance of the consumers day by day.

#### **(b) Coordination of activities in the business system**

The rules of game can yield strength of the organisation if various activities in the business system are coordinated properly in terms of money, man and technology. The RSF also lacks in this aspect. It has no capacity to generate working capital from the internal sources. Since its erection, it could not make any profit. It incurs loss lakhs of Taka every year. The average loss of the factory was Tk. 47.68 lakhs during the periods 1986-87 to 1991-92 (appendix-I). It also failed to achieve the sales target (appendix-VII). So the factory has no other alternatives except loans and debts from external sources for working capital. For this purpose it has to depend on Government subsidy and bank loan. But the problem is timely sanction and release of required amount of fund. So the factory cannot, often, purchase required quantity of silk cocoons. Lack of fund also hinders coordination of other business activities of the factory. The factory lacks skilled, well-trained and promising designers and salesmen. Reeling basins are old and out-dated. Due to this, productivity of the Reeling section is affected which influences adversely on the entire production process of silk fabrics. Above all, communication system is not very strong. There is no communication with the consumers in real sense due to lack of market study and marketing research. Interdepartmental communication system is not effective which causes to delay the fixation of price of silk cocoons in every season.

#### **(c) Identifying the other players**

The participants in the silk industry are basnies (growers of silk cocoons) and dealers of silk fabrics. Theoretically the basnies



should sell the silk cocoons directly to the RSF. But in practice, it does not always happen. The small and marginal basnies, due to lack of capital, take loans from the dealers to whom the silk cocoons are sold. These dalals are very powerful and financially strong. They exert undue influence in the normal stream of supply of cocoons in the purchasing centre. Cocoon production in the country is not sufficient. About 6 to 7 lakh kgs of silk cocoons are produced in the country, whereas annual demand is about 15.50 lakh kgs.<sup>16</sup> So the dalals possess strong bargaining power over the RSF. As a result, the factory could not procure required quantity of superior quality of silk cocoons which affects the production efficiency of the reeling section of the factory. In addition, incentive prices are offered for silk cocoons to maintain the mulberry cultivation in the country. At this the price of silk cocoons becomes higher in comparison to quality. As a result, the reelers in the private sector do not purchase cocoons in this situation. The factories in the public sector (including the RSF) are to digest all those silk cocoons of inferior quality at higher prices.<sup>17</sup>

The dealers are not very much interested to sell the silk products of RSF due to lower sales, lower profit and lack of attractive commission. At present the RSF authority grants commission to the silk dealers at the following rates :

Sales in Tk.	Commission in percentage
10,000 - 25,000	5.00
25,000 - 50,000	7.50
50,000 - and above	10.00

Source : Sales and Display Centre, Rajshahi.

#### D. Competitive moves :

The dominant competitors of the RSF are the silk manufacturing units in the private sector. These units are located in Rajshahi, Dhaka and Tangail areas. Some of them are



not engaged in the reeling and weaving functions. Rather they purchase silk from the weavers in the private sector, make print on them and sell as silk saree in the market. The weavers and silk factories in the private sector do not use twisted silk yarn to weave the silk fabrics. Their administrative and establishment costs are lower than these of the RSF. The silk manufacturing enterprises in the private sector uses low cost silk yarn produced in the private sector or the smuggled silk yarn. The Banarashi and Jamdani weaver group use imported silk yarn of superior quality to produce decorative banarashi and jamdani sarees.<sup>17</sup> The imported silk yarn is superior quality and less costly due to decrease in duty and tax (appendix-VIII). The information gives the idea that from the year 1989-90 to 1993-94 duty and tax on twisted silk yarn have been decreased by 20 percent and 5 percent respectively while on untwisted silk yarn the duty and tax have been decreased by 42.5 percent and 20 percent respectively during the same period. So in logical sense, these manufacturing units in the private sector are the low cost producer offering attractive designs of silk sarees and fabrics at lower price than those of the RSF. Thus in the business system the competitive advantages achieved by silk manufacturing units in the private sector are the lower cost of production combined with attractive and decorative designs of the silk products. Their target segments consist of middle and lower middle class of the society. The image of "Rajshahi Silk" attached to the silk products has been desired by a wide cross section of the market. The benefits of this image have been achieved more by the silk manufacturers in the private sector than the RSF and the silk products of Rajshahi Silk Factory, inspite of being cent percent pure silk, has failed to be perceived as the industry standard to the silk consumers. The facts of low-cost production and setting of industry standard by manufactures in the private sector have forced the silk industry to reach maturity stage of the life cycle. As a result, the silk manufacturers in the private sector are engaged to find out new users of silk which may be termed as "Industry Rejuvenation". Thus the competitive moves of the



competitor are low-cost production, lower price, decorative and attractive designs and finding new uses of the silk fabrics like garments.

### **E. GENERIC STRATEGY**

The uniqueness of the RSF is cent percent pure silk manufacturer under the public sector in the country. It uses twisted silk yarn in the production of silk fabrics which increases the strength and softness of fabrics. These special features of silk fabrics are not available in the silk fabrics produced in the private sector. Thus above discussion on various issues prescribes that the RSF may adopt the strategy of 'Differentiation focus' in the short run and 'Differentiation' strategy in the long run.

### **ACTION PROGRAMME**

To implement the above strategy, the RSF may launch the following marketing programme :

#### **a) Product :**

It should produce cent percent pure silk fabrics of unique and decorative designs. Since the industry has reached maturity stage, it should go with product diversification into ready-made garments. It should offer ready-made shirt, Punjabi, Tie, Blouse, 2-piece, 3-piece, Maxi, Frock, Bedshetts etc. It should also offer window and door screens as per order. Its products should have registered trademark.

Along with the products, it should provide the following customer services in the sales and display centres :

- (i) Consumer complaints and adjustments of silk products,
- (ii) Laundry facilities to wash and calender the silk fabrics and
- (iii) Information service to provide information on competitive features, expected price change etc.



**(b) Place :****(i) Target Market**

The target market should be selected in consideration of the product positioning and the competitors' existence in the segment. The silk products of the RSF featured by unique in quality and decorative designs are positioned to satisfy the need of upper class consumers in the market. In this segment the existence of competitors is not significant. The manufacturers of silk products in the private sector are, mainly, exploiting the segments of middle and lower middle class of consumers in the market. So the target market should consist of higher income, highly educated, authoritarian and aristocrat group of consumers. It should target some of the dignified institutions like foreign diplomatic offices, Ministries, Sonargaon and Sheraton hotel, our state-guest houses etc. for window and door screens, of course, the factory is now supplying silk sarees to Bangladesh Biman as per their specifications and designs.

**(ii) Distribution channel**

Considering the unique features of the silk products and the aristocracy of consumers, the distribution channel should be costly, accompanied with above mentioned customer services. For this purpose the RSF should use both direct and indirect distribution channels. The factory should make retail sale through its sales and Display Centres (Resham houses). The indirect channel should include well-established cloth dealers and adorning retail cloth stores of the country.

**(c) Pricing**

Products satisfying the high perceived value of consumers should have higher price. So the RSF should follow premium price policy. It should, of course, take every possible measure to cut down cost of production. For this purpose, the factory may take following steps :

Full utilization of capacity in all sections and increase in production to achieve economics of scale.



Procurement of high quality silk cocoons of required quantity. For this purpose timely management of required amount of fund is very urgent.

The old reeling basins should be replaced by the new ones. This will enhance productivity of the reeling section. If the RSF is able to take at least the above steps, it will cut down the fixed costs of all the sections which will, ultimately, reduce the total cost of production of silk fabrics.

**(d) Promotion :**

The RSF may follow both personal and impersonal techniques of promotion in order to attain the satisfactory coverage of the target market. Personal selling should be used to contact the institutional buyers. Advertising programme in Television should be launched targetting the consumers of silk sarees and garments. The advertising appeal should be like this : "The RSF is the manufacturer of cent percent pure and decorative silk sarees and garments". This will disseminate the image and tradition of the factory among the silk consumers.

**LIMITATION OF THE STUDY**

Selection of appropriate marketing strategy is a wider range of study that requires various information. This study lacks many information such as, information on market share of the silk manufacturers, industry demand, sales of competitors, financial statement, cash and fund flow statements etc. which are vital to diagnose the actual problem and prescribe the appropriate marketing strategy for its solution. But, unfortunately these information are not available from any source. Thus this study is a very little effort within these limitations. Further research is required for this purpose.



### Foot Notes

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**Appendix - I****Total Loss of the RSF**

Year	Amount of Loss (in Taka)
1986-87	63,53,872.91
1987-88	69,63,504.88
1988-89	30,15,631.41
1989-90	36,95,859.81
1990-91	43,54,843.17
1991-92	44,24,850.59
<hr/>	
Total -	2,86,08,562.77
Average -	47,68,094.00

Source : Accounts Section, RSF.

**Appendix - II****Procurement of silk cocoons of the RSF**

Year	Requirement for	Actual procurement in lakh kg.	Rate of procurement in percentage
1987-88	1.48	0.48	32.4
1988-89	1.48	0.65	44.3
1989-90	1.20	0.78	65.0
1990-91	1.20	0.47	39.0
1991-92	0.70	0.23	32.8
1992-93	0.73	0.45	62.0
Average	1.12	0.51	45.92

Source : Reeling Section, RSF.



**Appendix - III**

Target production and actual production of the RSF during 1981-82 to 1991-92 (Reeling) in kg.

Year	Target	Actual	Achievement (in percentage)
1981-82	11910	6109	51.29
1982-83	13400	6835	51.01
1983-84	13400	6543	48.83
1984-85	13400	2683	20.02
1985-86	7440	2572	34.57
1986-87	7440	3718	49.97
1987-88	7440	2633	35.39
1988-89	7440	3613	45.58
1989-90	5946	4269	71.80
1990-91	5946	2337	39.30
1991-92	3464	1117	32.21
Average	-	-	43.64

Source : MIS Report Vol. 3. Nov. 1992, Bangladesh Sericulture Board.



## Appendix - IV

Rajshahi Silk Factory  
(A Project under B.S.B.)

Calculation of Cost Showing variable and Fixed cost (sections wise) for the year 1988-89

Sl. No.		Total Cost	Reeling	Throwing	Weaving	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A. Variable costs :						
1.	Raw materials (cocoons)	4591938.93	4591938.93		-	
2.	Furnace Oil	514828.00	514828.00	-	-	$= \frac{880350}{14576667} \times 100 = 60.40\%$
3.	Power & Electricity	391545.36	130515.12	130515.12	130515.12	
4.	Cartung Expenses	27010.30	4477.15	17343.15	5189.20	
5.	Repaired & Maintenance	7979.10	2659.70	2659.70	2659.70	$= \frac{5772616}{14576667} \times 100 = 39.60\%$
6.	Other labour charges	58551.60	39034.40	9758.60	9758.60	
7.	Stor consumption	180030.74	90015.37	22503.84	67511.53	
8.	Welfare Expenses	732.80	168.00	563.80	-	
		5772616.83	5373636.67	183346.01	215636.15	



## Appendix - IV (Contd.)

Rajshahi Silk Factory

(A Project under B.S.B.)

Calculation of Cost Showing variable and Fixed cost (sections wise) for the year 1988-89

Sl. No.	Total Cost	Reeling	Throwing	Weaving	Remarks
1. Fixed cost :					
1. Wages	5865560.47	3259764.52	1049342.80	1556453.15	
2. Salaries	466935.64	268588.57	74477.46	123869.61	
3. Insurance	40630.87	26290.57	7170.15	7170.15	
4. Bank Interest	352267.60	278106.00	37080.80	37080.80	
5. Depreciation	121849.82	60924.90	30462.46	30462.46	
6. Workshop & Boiler	328901.31	205563.32	82225.33	41112.66	
7. Administrative & Selling	1626904.96	823452.48	406726.24	406726.24	
Total Fixed Cost :	8803050.67	4912690.48	1687485.24	2202875.07	

Total Production Cost(A+B) 14576667.50 10286327.03 1870831.25 2418509.22

Percentage of F.C. - 60.40 47.76 90 91

" V.C. - 39.60 52.24 10 9



**Appendix - V****Production in the Throwing section**

Year	Target in lac kg.	Actual production in lac kg.	Achievement (in percentage)
1987-88	200	25.32	12.66
1988-89	1000	160.46	16.05
1989-90	1500	571.83	38.12
1990-91	1500	509.78	34.00
1991-92	1500	322.75	21.52
Average	-	-	24.49

Source : Office of the Senior Accounts, RSF.

**Appendix - VI**

Target production and actual production of the RSF during 1981-82 to 1991-92 (Weaving in lakh meter).

Year	Target	Actual	Achievement (in percentage)
1981-82	1.10	.64	58.18
1982-83	1.10	.70	63.64
1983-84	1.10	.68	61.82
1984-85	1.10	.54	49.01
1985-86	1.10	.37	33.64
1986-87	1.10	.46	41.82
1987-88	1.10	.55	67.27
1988-89	1.10	.74	62.73
1989-90	1.10	.69	45.45
1991-92	1.10	.38	39.58
Average	-	-	46.04

Source : MIS Report, Vol. 3, Nov. 1992. Bangladesh Sericulture Board.



## Appendix - VII

Target sales and actual sales of sales and Display centres during last 5 years (in lakh taka)

Year	RSH		DSH		KSH		TSH		TOTAL	
	Target	Actual	Target	Actual	Target	Actual	Target	Actual	Target	Actual
1988-89	120.00	117.28	22.00	21.26	3.00	2.80	3.25	3.01	148.25	114.35
1989-90	120.00	114.26	25.00	20.80	3.50	3.01	3.50	3.21	152.00	141.28
1990-91	125.00	117.44	25.00	21.36	4.00	3.75	4.00	3.28	158.00	145.79
1991-92	125.00	114.28	35.00	24.35	5.00	2.72	5.00	3.06	165.00	144.41
1992-93	130.00	122.42	35.00	26.00	5.00	2.98	5.00	2.98	175.00	154.38
Total	620.00	585.00	142.00	113.77	20.50	15.26	20.75	15.50	789	730.21

Source : Office Statement of Bangladesh Sericulture Board

RSH - Rajshahi Silk House

DHS - Dhaka Silk House

KSH - Khulna Silk House

TSH - Thakurgaon Silk House.



### Appendix - VIII

Import Duty and Tax on Silk cocoon, silk yarn, Raw silk and silk waste.

	1989-90		1990-92		1993-94	
	Duty	Tax	Duty	Tax	Duty	Tax
Silk cocoons -	150%	20%	10%	Nil	7.5%	Nil
Silk yarn (Twisted yarn) -	50%	20%	30%	20%	30%	15%
Raw silk (untwisted yarn) -	50%	20%	20%	10%	7.5%	Nil
Silk waste -	50%	20%	20%	10%	7.5%	15%

Source :- Mollah Md. Abdul Gafur and Kamal Mostafa, Problema and Method of solution of Marketing of silk cocoons and yarn (Paper presented to the National conference on silk, p. 68).



## Appendix - VIII

Import Duty and Tax on Silk cocoon, silk yarn, Raw silk and silk waste.

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Source: - Mollah Md. Abdul Gafur and Kamal Moslefa, Problems and Method of solution of Marketing of silk cocoons and yarn (Paper presented to the National conference on silk, p. 68).



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