

# THE JOURNAL OF THE INSTITUTE OF BANGLADESH STUDIES

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MAHMUD SHAH QURESHI  
Executive Editor

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RAJSHAHI UNIVERSITY

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# Women, Development, and Values: Some Reflections on Policy Implication

Muhammad Hasan Imam

## 1. Introduction

Recent exploration into the thoughts on women's role, participation, and integration in the larger socio-economic development process suggests various issues which have important policy implications for the countries concerned. The most important discoveries include the way women's contribution in everyday life-situation has been re-evaluated; the feature of sexual division of labor across the societies and cultures; the impact of economic and technological development on rural womenfolk; and the political-ideological question as to the integration of women in development. This paper attempts to: (i) highlight the value-perspective and ideological questions concerned with women's integration in development; and (ii) reflect upon the policy implication of the first objective.

## 2. Women's Work Re-evaluated

Women's role is quite inseparable from the development issue in the Third World countries. It is so because both women's development and women in development bear immense importance. Few years ago such an important factor of development was simply unknown to the knowledgeable section. The female population in development strategy has been recognized in the very recent. In planning national reconstruction they were less-emphasized while males were the focal point. It is being said that men and women are all together subject to economic exploitation while women are victim of dual exploitation: economic as well as social. Sociologists are now more concerned about the social and economic value of women's labor, their sufferings, and the potential of women in context of social progress and social justice.

To address the women's issue of participation in development process as beneficiaries, scholars encounter one common problem, both in industrialized and non-industrialized countries, that arises in defining women's work and its socio-economic value. All nations irrespective of their level of development failed to evaluate women's productive role outside the so-called 'productive participation'. Because, what the women do traditionally has not been calculated as 'productive'.<sup>1</sup> In time budget studies and commonsense observation in current literature on work of women suggests that across economic and social organization and geographical regions, women work longer hours in market and non-market activities, in industrial countries and the urban sector of developing countries, and more obviously in the rural areas of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.<sup>2</sup> Tinker maintains that there are two roadblocks to the inclusion of women as equal partner in development. The first is the continued perception of a dichotomy between men's 'productive work' and women's 'unproductive work'. The second is the stereotype of 'appropriate roles' for women.<sup>3</sup> According to Buvinic, poverty-oriented research utilize certain techniques to avoid the tendency to undervalue women's work. Accordingly, individual and household surveys manifest women's contribution to market production, the sexual division of labor within the home and in the market place, the conditions of women's participation in agriculture and informal sector, and contribution to home-production.<sup>4</sup>

However, it is recognised that no development efforts could be successful without the participation of fifty per cent labor force of a particular country. In the mid-seventies, the development experts started to conceptualize economic development in terms of sex-specific roles, thus providing policy implications of women's issues. Recently, there has been growing consciousness among specialists, researchers, and government policy-makers of the potential of women sector in socio-economic upliftment programs. Three new ideas or priorities in economic development policy in 1970s promoted women's question:<sup>5</sup> (a) realizing women as important

<sup>1</sup>UNCSTD, Role of Women: UNCSTD Background Discussion Paper, in Roselyn Dauber and Melind L. Cain (eds.), *Women and Technological Change in Developing Countries*, Westview Press, Inc., Boulder, Colorado, 1981, p. 237.

<sup>2</sup>ILO, Office of Women, Technology and the Development Process, in Dauber and Cain (eds.), *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36.

<sup>3</sup>Irene Tinker, New Technology for Food-Related Activities: An Equity Strategy, in Dauber and Cain (eds.), *Ibid.*, pp. 52-65.

<sup>4</sup>Mayra Buvinic, Women's Issues in Third World Poverty: A Policy Analysis, in Mayra Buvinic et al. (eds.), *Women and Poverty in the Third World*, The John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1983, pp. 14-24.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 23.

actor in determining population trends; (b) realizing 'trickle down' approach to development as a failure; and (c) realizing the utility of a 'basic needs strategy' against poverty.

Thus, the shift of idea and priority reasonably enhanced the interest in women because of their traditional importance in satisfying many of these basic needs.<sup>6</sup> The more we moved deeper into the understanding of barriers to development the more we go close to the fact of women's unequal partnership. In Asia 40 per cent of agricultural labor force is female; women do much of the work involved in producing and processing rice.<sup>7</sup> Women are involved in weeding crops, harvesting, and post-harvest processing and storing. Women also shoulder the time-consuming task of feeding and caring for poultry, goats, rams, etc. These features are almost common in all Asian countries. This view is also supported by a number of studies in Bangladesh. It is reported that rural women in Bangladesh spend 12 to 14 hours in a day in different activities, while men do only 10 to 11 hours.<sup>8</sup> They do not directly participate in buying and selling their produce in the market as social values suggest male-dominance outside the household affairs. Social discouragement

<sup>6</sup>Ingrid Palmer, "The Basic Needs Approach to Integration of Rural Women in Development: Conditions for Success", cited in, Mayra Buvinic, *Ibid.*, p. 24.

<sup>7</sup>FAO, World Food Day, *Feature*, Rome, October 16, 1974.

<sup>8</sup>See for Bangladesh situation: A Farouk, *Time Use of Rural Women*, Bureau of Economic Research, Dacca University, 1980; R. H. Chaudhury and N. R. Ahmed, *Female Status in Bangladesh*, BIDS, Dhaka, 1980; R. I. Rahman, *The Wage Employment Market for Rural Women in Bangladesh*, BIDS, Dhaka 1986; J. Arens and J. Van Beurden, *Jhagrapur*, Ganaprakashani, Dhaka, 1980; M. A. Quddus *et al.*, *Rural Women in Households in Bangladesh*, BARD, 1985. UNICEF, *Situation of Women in Bangladesh*, Dhaka, 1979; M. T. Cain, *Class Patriarchy and Women's Work*, 1979; A. Germain, *Women's Roles in Bangladesh—A Program Assessment*, Ford Foundation, Dhaka, 1976; G. M. Von Harder, *Women in Rural Bangladesh*, Institute of Rural Development, University of Gottingen, 1981; Women for Women, *Economic Activities of Women in Bangladesh*, Dhaka, 1979, F. E. McCarthy, *Pattern of Involvement and Participation of Rural Women in Post-harvest Processing Operation*, Ministry of Agriculture, Dhaka, 1981; M. E. Marum, *Women in Food for Works Projects in Bangladesh*, USAID, Dhaka, 1981; Saleh Sabah, *Grameen Sramjibi Nari*, Patripaksha Prakashani, Dhaka, 1987; G. M. H. Verlag, *Women in Rural Bangladesh*, Breitenbach Publisher, Port Landerdah, 1981; K. Westergaard, *Pauperization and Rural Women in Bangladesh—A Case Study*, BARD, 1983; Z. R. Khan, "Women's Economic Role: Insights from a Village in Bangladesh", *The Journal of Social Studies*, No. 30, 1985; A. M. Singh and A. Kalles-Viitanen (eds), *Invisible Hands: Women in Home-Based Production*, Sage Publication, New Delhi, 1987.

ment is primarily responsible for low level of participation in broader social interaction and exchange. Women's wage labor participation is still slow in Bangladesh as they are overwhelmingly occupied in domestic activities.

Therefore, in view of the above facts, we may conclude that:

- i) Womens' work did not receive appropriate appreciation both from economic and social point of view.
- ii) Their contribution in economic sector is mostly unpaid and thus undervalued.
- iii) Their labor, care, and love in supportive manner should not be kept invisible when it comes to consider their real contribution. It certainly involves the social value of the female role.
- iv) Again, valuation of existing male-female role in a normatively-conditioned social system at large is of crucial importance when any attempt to planned change is intended.

### 3. Sexual Division of Labor, Culture, and Valuation

Present as well the past of human society witnessed distinctive nature of work for men and women. In the primitive-communal system, mutual division of labor between men and women took place. The men, who were physically stronger became the hunters, supplying all the other members of the commune with meat and hides, while the women, the gatherers, collecting various edible roots, fruits, berries, shellfish, etc. The specialization of men as hunters and women as gatherers and home-makers brought about a further rise in the productivity of labor.<sup>9</sup> A patterned division of labor is also observable in present societies with some variations along culture line. Despite the incidence of variations women are charged invariably with the myriad of duties required for daily maintenance and care.<sup>10</sup> Even in industrialized countries it happens that women perform those work which basically represent the extensions of their old traditional tasks.<sup>11</sup> It is interesting to note that in societies where 'equality' is a declared policy, women are not always occupying the same profession

<sup>9</sup>D. K. Mitropolsky *et al.* *An Outline of Social Development* (Part One), Progress Publishers, Moscow, pp. 23-24.

<sup>10</sup>Zerenbeworke Tadessee, "Women and Technology in Peripheral Countries: An Overview" in P.M. D'Onotrio-Flores and S.M. Pfafflin (eds.), *Scientific-Technological Change and the Role of Women in Development*, Westview Press Inc., Boulder, Colorado, 1982, p. 77.

<sup>11</sup>Marid Bergom-Larson, "Women and Technology in the Industrialized Countries" in P.M. D'Onotrio-Flores and S.M. Pfafflin (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 29.

with same degree as their men do. Besides the strict sense of differentiated work style, the psychological elements of female life-style confirm a different culture of their own. Larson describes it as 'women culture'. According to Larson,<sup>12</sup> while men's value system prevails in the working economy and society at large, the women's value system has been dominant in private life and the family. It seems that men's private life is the working area for women. Reproducing labor is perceived as an important task for women along with subsistence production.<sup>13</sup> Two culture of men and women faced off against each other. One is responsible for production, the other for reproduction. One U.S. study shows that women prize aesthetic, social, and religious criteria; men favor political, economic and technological criteria. Women have learned loving things. They have learned not to waste resources but to use left-overs.<sup>14</sup> Women's time and men's time have also been perceived differently. Women's time is used to make and maintain social ties. It is unsold time. It is difficult to ascertain its value quantitatively. Women's time is shared by various activities and marked by indistinct scheduling. On the other hand, men's time is used for objective economic interests. It is sold time and separated time. It is marked by strict scheduling and more visible in quantitative sense.<sup>15</sup> In Bangladesh sexual division of labor is more distinct. It "is not merely a technical division of labor but a social division allocating women to inferior position."<sup>16</sup> If the tasks are not inferior, these are perceived as inferior to that of men.

However, there is also discontent and rebellion against such division of labor or any attempt to enhance women's condition within such conceptualization of women's time and labor. Even it is stressed that the concepts of 'household', 'housework', and 'housewife' were absent in precapitalist societies. It is questioned whether the traditional value of marriage as an institution to provide love for love exists in actuality. It is opined that sometimes "... women ... experience sexuality more as housework than pleasure"<sup>17</sup> and a medium of love. Protest raised against

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup>Z. Tadessee, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

<sup>14</sup>Z. Tadessee, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-37.

<sup>15</sup>Cited in *ibid.*, p. 37. Citing Liljestrom, Tadessee says, the qualities detached women's culture are: (1) horizontal organizational model without a leadership stratum or elite; (2) valuations based on aesthetic, social, and religious criteria; (3) an organic conceptualization of time; (4) a multidimensional, complex conception of causality; (5) an orientation in terms of persons instead of machines.

<sup>16</sup>K. Westergaard, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

<sup>17</sup>Gisela Bock and Barba Duden, "Labor of Love — Love as Labor: On the Genesis of Housework in the West," in *Development: Seeds of Change*, 1984; 4.

the male version of love throughout the world. The concept of housework is considered, though not by all, as an outcome of bourgeois exploitation of women's labor and love by men.<sup>18</sup> It is maintained that women's role as a homemaker, wife, and even mother is only a recent discovery.<sup>19</sup> Pandey's exploration into historical-Intellectual legacy argued that a great many renowned scholars were biased against female status. According to her, it is only in the world perspective of cognition, the ideology of women's redemption gained ground. She found deficiencies in Marx's thought, position, and prediction of female sex-role.<sup>20</sup>

The consideration of core value system of a given society and its importance in development policy-making is no less significant any more. The consideration of value-question regarding male-female relationship and adjustment are important for more than one reason. In our attempt to change women's condition the following value-positions can be summarized:

- i) What women do is supposed to be insufficient, sometimes inferior, and unproductive in economic sense.
- ii) Their low status is a function of their economic dependence and unequal right and access to resources.
- iii) We want to initiate change in their present role and status. A new structure of male-female relationship and adjustment is expected to emerge.
- iv) In the process of desired change the value system is expected to be substituted by a new one.

However, we need know more exactly the extent of inferiority involving women's present role. We must have to visualize the structure of relationship desired, replacing the present one. In inviting new value system we might be more cautious in conceptualizing and scrutinizing the 'ideal' one. Castillo made a unique comment in this regard:

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>20</sup>Rekha Pandey, "The Shifting of Paradigms of Primordial Unit of Social Reality and the Swerving Ideologies on Women's Situation in Society: A Cognitive Analysis," *Sociological Bulletin*, Vol. 36, No. 1, 1987. Citing from Oaklen's ideas, she says: since the starting point for Marx lay in the conditions of production and it was mostly men who took part in production, all homemaking women's lives fell outside politics. Marx's theory of surplus value threw light on the factory assembly line, but did little to illuminate women's exploitation as unpaid-workers in the home.

... What happens to men, family and children and to society in general when traditional roles of wife, mother, and family are altered, reduced or the differences even eliminated? To minimize role conflicts, a woman can forego being a mother; she does not even have to become a wife. What is the impact of this on the woman herself? To an incurable romantic (and one hopes that romance has not gone completely out of style), it is small comfort to a woman to be economically independent, gainfully employed, fully integrated, equal and liberated, if in the middle of the night she wakes up cold and alone.<sup>21</sup>

As Mukherjee conceived, women's question in development "is not of equality of sexes but of complementarity of sex-roles in society ... thus the issue is not 'Toward Equity,' which is emotionally conceived, but the creation of optimal condition for complementary sex roles in society."<sup>22</sup> Sadik's comments in this respect is also most recent and noteworthy: "... what is 'equality'? Does it refer to performance of similar tasks? Does it mean performing comparing tasks? What if the tasks performed were similar or comparable, but the recognition were different? As with 'development' and 'integration', the term 'equality' remains a confusing one."<sup>23</sup> Thus, what we really want women to do still needs further conceptual clarity.

#### 4. Policy Implications

Appraisal of women's work as productive (if not always economically) is a landmark as far as an appropriate strategy for development and proper understanding of the female role in society are concerned. The sexual division of labor as perceived by the scholars substantiate the question whether the existing division of labor can be rationalized; whether it regards role-complementarity between male and female in society; whether the service rendered by women (household work, housewifery, homecare) can be reduced or managed by any other fruitful means; whether women's situation is required to be changed; what direction and what objective are to be achieved. Inquiry into women's situation in other developing countries and social consequences of western modernization can provide more information for appropriate policy formulation. Since the horizon of working

<sup>21</sup>Gelia T. Castillo, *The Changing Role of Women in Rural Societies: A Summary of Trends and Issues* (Seminar Report No. 12), Agricultural Development Council Inc., New York, February, 1977.

<sup>22</sup>Ramkrishna Mukherjee, "Women's Problem: Toward Equality?", *Bangladesh Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1983.

<sup>23</sup>Nafis Sadik, "Integration of Women in Population and Development Programme," *Asia-Pacific Population Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1986.

women is unfolding in our country, more information on their income, expenditure, and liberation is to be explored. More studies on women may reveal their adjustment issues, factors affecting work outside home, and barriers to their upliftment thrust. Bringing women to formal sector is to comply with the characteristics of western 'modernization'. There are many things to do before opening avenues for women to 'productive' sector. For instance, we cannot avoid the task of ensuring minimum security of life and properties as a prerequisite to any meaningful development. We can have the opportunity to assess the already launched programs so that social mobility of womenfolk in future could be ensured. The information on the already educated women in urban setting, their job-satisfaction, home-life, social security enjoyment might be useful to expedite action for the rural women. The profile of value-conflict among working women who are forced to participate wage employment owing to 'family survival strategy' is also important no doubt.<sup>24</sup> How mothering became time-consuming, even for the town dwellers, is a matter of grave concern for all today.<sup>25</sup>

Everybody concedes that change is ubiquitous whether we desire it or not, but planned change requires strong desirability and consensus even power-coersion. Any intended change in the present structure thus involves ideological consideration that eventually stresses the nature of action. According to Lenin "If a woman is to be completely freed and to be really equal to a man, it is necessary to establish socialist economy and for her to take part in common productive work."<sup>26</sup> Again, socialist society is not without role-conflict.<sup>27</sup>

Social inequality in terms of income distribution and justice is an important dimension of the underdevelopment in Bangladesh. While minimum level of living for all members of the society is not ensured, how for a sex-specific development policy is feasible; how much would it be justified to take up the matter of female population as separate target group; how a separate policy of women's development could be compatible with the general policy applicable to inseparably tied human beings.

Javanese experience inspired Hull to suggest the need to evaluate whether changing pattern represent 'progress' or 'regress' in relation to development goal and to the specific integration of women into the

<sup>24</sup>Cf. S. Begum and Martin Greely, "Rural Women and the Rural Labour Market in Bangladesh: An Empirical Analysis," *The Bangladesh Journal of Agricultural Economics*, II (2), December, 1979.

<sup>25</sup>Cf. Padmini Swaminathan, "State and Subordination of Women," *Economic and Political Weekly*, October 31, 1987.

<sup>26</sup>Cited in G.T. Castillo, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 4.



development process. Whether integration can only be accomplished if large numbers of women work outside the house. Whether there is no other way to define equal sharing in material/psychic benefits 'development' offers.<sup>28</sup> These questions implies that women's integration in the broader economic activities of the society may not always comply with the goal of achieving societal well-being. There is need for extensive examination of situations in developing countries before formulating a viable policy. The case of socialist countries are also required to be reconsidered. Such integration also involves strength of ideological commitment and the socio-political cost to be paid for that as well.

The value consideration has immense importance as the subjective element of any culture are concerned. The socialization of men and women within a particular value-system defines how they expects the roles from each other, what attitude they have towards the role-performance, and how much they are prepared to accept any change in the existing male-female relationship. A vivid examination of the sources of values might be more useful to understand the deep-rooted perspective of valuation in Bangladesh. For instance, scholars usually mention the segregated profile of womanhood in Bangladesh. Now, two things are of crucial importance: whether the 'purdah' as prescribed in Islam is obstructive to the integration/participation of women in productive activities; what it actually mean and how is it practised. Secondly, how the elimination (if necessary) of purdah is possible and what socio-political cost is essential to overcome the problem? What our experiences from other developing Muslim countries suggest? Such questions do not mean that a traditional-religious value can not be changed or need not be changed. The question is to envisage the feasibility with due consideration to our ideological attachment to the values. It will manifest the degree of desirability of a new ideology to replace the old one. People of Bangladesh is predominantly inclined to Islamic values. In public policy its reflection should be well-considered. It may raise contradictions in integrating western concept of women's liberation. Public policy has to face challenging task as far as the 'all-encompassing nature' of Islam is concerned. Again, people have to be vigilant towards populist interest of the rulers hidden in religious politicking.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>29</sup>Cf. Gordon Means, "Women's Rights and Public Policies in Islam," *Asian Survey*, Vol. XXVII, No. 3, March, 1987.

## 5. Conclusion

The issue of women's upliftment and gradual participation in the development process are not free from ideological concern. Ideological and political considerations of women's problem is not yet flourished in Bangladesh.<sup>30</sup> Concern for women is still a welfare activity. Without a conceptual frame all the actions of Government toward the betterment of women appear to be superfluous and contradictory. Any attempt towards combating the impediments to their development eventually involves conscientization, re-orientation of the existing value-disposition of the masses, and ensuring of minimum socio-economic security for both sexes. Needless to say, 'only the economic variable does not suffice to solve the real issue in any consideration.'<sup>31</sup> It is suggestible to come on a general consensus with respect to sincere ideological basis with strong political commitment to planned change at the very outset. In fine, we remember Sadik's statement that: there is a continued tendency to keep women's issue out of the political area. It is still treated as a 'social issue' with some economic overtones.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>30</sup>Cf. Z.R. Khan, "Women's Economic Role: Insights from a Village in Bangladesh," *The Journal of Social Studies*, No. 30 (October), 1985, Rahnuma Ahmed, "Women's Movement in Bangladesh and the Left's Understanding of the Woman Question," *Journal of Social Studies*, No. 30 (October), 1985. Meghna Guhathakurta, "Gender Violence in Bangladesh: The Role of the State," *The Journal of Social Studies*, No. 30 (October), 1985.

<sup>31</sup>M.A. Chen, *A Quiet Revolution: Women in Transition in Rural Bangladesh*, BRAC Prokashana, Dhaka, 1986, p. 14.

<sup>32</sup>Nafis Sadiq, *op. cit.*

# The Silk Industry in the District of Rajshahi in the Nineteenth Century

Wazifa Ahmed

Before the appearance in India of machine made goods from Europe Bengal was famous for the manufacture of textile fabrics. Different parts of the province specialised in different textiles. East Bengal produced cotton goods while North Bengal manufactured silk.<sup>1</sup> The district of Rajshahi was one of the important centres of silk industry in North Bengal. The present article deals with the silk industry in the district of Rajshahi in the nineteenth century.

There are a number of scholarly works on silk industry of Bengal.<sup>2</sup> But they analysed the silk industry of the province in general. They seldom deal with this industry in the districts of Bengal. On the silk industry of Rajshahi there are two scholarly works — those of K. M. Mohsin and W. W. Hunter.<sup>3</sup> But Mohsin's work was based on published official papers and secondary sources while that of Hunter on the reports of the district officers. The present work is different from others in that it uses sources which other writers did not use. It is based on published

<sup>1</sup>The North Bengal districts which produced silk were Malda, Murshidabad, Rajshahi, Rangpur, Dinajpur and Nadia. See M.W. Ali, "Cash Crop's of Bengal: A Study of their Cultivation and Economic Impact on Peasant Society," *Journal of the Institute of Bangladesh Studies*, Seminar Vol. 2, 1981, p. 168.

<sup>2</sup>Among the works on Bengal silk mention may be made of J.C. Sinha, *Economic Annals of Bengal* (London, 1927), pp. 35-36, 88-89, 175-176, 253-255; N.K. Sinha, *The Economic History of Bengal*, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1965), pp. 189-199; G.N. Gupta, *A Survey of the Industries and Resources of Eastern Bengal and Assam* (Shillong, 1908).

<sup>3</sup>K.M. Mohsin, "Silk Industry of Rajshahi District : Its Decline under the East India Company Rule," *The District of Rajshahi: Its Past and Present* (Rajshahi, 1983), pp. 261-270; W.W. Hunter, *Statistical Account of Bengal* (Delhi, 1974), Vol. VIII, pp. 82-86.

as well as local unpublished sources. The use of the local sources makes it possible for an in-depth analysis of the silk industry of the district of Rajshahi.

As already stated Rajshahi was an important centre of silk industry. In 1893 Livingstone, the then Principal of the Rajshahi College, wrote to the Director of Public Instruction of Bengal, "Rampur-Boalia has been the great emporium of silk for the last two thousand years."<sup>4</sup> Grant also in his *Analysis of the Finances of Bengal* states, "The Rajshahi Zamindari produced within the limits of its jurisdiction at least four-fifths of all the silk, raw or manufactured, used in or exported from the effeminated luxurious empire of Hindustan ..."<sup>5</sup>

All the factors congenial to the growth of silk industry were present in the district.<sup>6</sup>

- (a) Mulberry grows well on lands where water does not stand. So high lands are suitable for the cultivation of that crop. Thus the high lands of the *Barind* with sticky and hard soil was most suited for mulberry cultivation.
- (b) The skill needed for manufacture of silk was also easily available at Rajshahi because the families which were engaged in this profession handed it over to next generations.
- (c) The Maratha raids in West Bengal which were frequent in mid-eighteenth century gave an additional stimulus to this availability of skill and craftsmanship. The horrors and devastation caused by the Marathas led the silk weavers, rearers and winders of West Bengal, especially of Murshidabad, to swim across the Ganges and settle in Rajshahi and its neighbouring districts. The facility for production of mulberry helped them to re-engage themselves in their old profession. So Boalia in the Rajshahi district and other neighbouring areas developed into silk centres.
- (d) The patronisation of the Subadars and Nawabs of Bengal together with native princes, chiefs, zamindars and bankers for this beautiful handicraft added further encouragement to its manufacturers.

<sup>4</sup>Letter of the Principal, Rajshahi College to the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, Letter No. 9, 7th April, 1893, File of 1893 (Rajshahi College Records, unpublished).

<sup>5</sup>James Grant, *Analysis of the Finances of Bengal*, quoted in W.K. Firminger, *The Fifth Report*, Vol. 3 (London, 1812), p. 194.

<sup>6</sup>For details see K.M. Mohsin, *op. cit.*, pp 262-264.

Hence the mulberry cultivation and the silk industry thrived easily in and around the district of Rajshahi and in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the production of silk became quite an interesting occupation for the people. South and south-east of Tanor, Bagmara, north of Puthia and Boalia *thanas* were noted for the production of silk. Cocoons were raised there in sufficient quantities to supply not only to the neighbouring factories but also to those "at a considerable distance."<sup>7</sup> The manufacture of silk being a profitable business thousands of people took up either the cultivation of mulberry plants or rearing of silk worms or both together as their means of livelihood. And they were "more prosperous than the manufacturers of any other industry."<sup>8</sup>

The silk industry had four distinct branches, viz.,

- (1) cultivation of mulberry,
- (2) rearing of worms,
- (3) reeling of thread and
- (4) weaving of thread into cloth.<sup>9</sup>

Thus the cultivators grew mulberry plants, the leaves of which were used as food for the silk worms, the cocoon growers reared silk worms and the reelers or winders spun yarn. Lastly, the weavers wove the yarn into cloth.

The rearing and seasoning (killing, drying, etc.) of cocoons were generally carried on by the women of the family while the male members supervised the process when they got less pressure from the field.<sup>10</sup> Then the same family or a separate one might spun yarn from cocoons. Though the weavers formed a separate class, a single family might do all the operations — growing of mulberry, rearing of cocoons, reeling of thread and weaving the thread into cloth.

The process of sericulture was partly founded on advances. The factories gave advances to the *paikars* (middlemen) and they to the rearers of cocoons and they in turn sometimes advanced money to the cultivators.<sup>11</sup> Every *paikar* supplied his specified quantity of cocoons in

<sup>7</sup>From the Collector of Rajshahi to the Secretary, Government of Bengal, Scarcity and Relief Department, Letter No. 2032, dated Boalia, 12th August, 1874, cited in *Proceedings on Scarcity and Relief* (Calcutta, 1874), p. 1.

<sup>8</sup>K. M. Mohsin, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

<sup>9</sup>For details of the whole process of sericulture production see Robert Knight (ed.), *Agricultural Gazette of India*, Vol. V (Calcutta, 1874), pp. 121-24; see also W.W. Hunter, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-86.

<sup>10</sup>*Memorandum on the Revenue Administration of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1873), hereafter *Memorandum*, Appendix XXV.

<sup>11</sup>Knight, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

proportion to the amount of advance received.<sup>12</sup> There were also cultivators, cocoon rearers, winders and weavers who conducted their business with their own capital.

The value of silk as an article of trade was highly appreciated by the East India Company at an early period of its existence. It carried on a considerable trade in Indian silk till about the middle of the eighteenth century when the cultivation of domesticated kinds of silk worms prevailed in some districts of Bengal, such as Rangpur, Dinajpur, Purnea, Rajshahi, Murshidabad, Beerbhumi and part of Hooghly, Midnapore and Howrah.<sup>13</sup> The East India Company devoted special attention to the development of silk trade in Bengal.<sup>14</sup> Efforts were made to extend the cultivation of mulberry, the planting of which was urged upon the zamindars and the landholders. Encouragement was given to the clearance of lands for this purpose.<sup>15</sup> In 1772 advertisement was published inviting the ryots to cultivate mulberry on previously unused lands in addition to their actual holdings and a declaration was made to the effect that the new and the waste lands laid out or reclaimed for this purpose would be held rent free for two years.<sup>16</sup>

In 1773 again the importance of encouraging the cultivation of mulberry and winding of silk was urged upon the Government by the Court of Directors.<sup>17</sup> At the same time, in order to improve the quality of yarn, the company established factories in silk manufacturing districts of Bengal including Rajshahi. In this district the first silk factory was established in the eighteenth century.<sup>18</sup> In 1832 the Company had two factories at Rajshahi — one in the town of Rampur-Boalia and the other at Sardah.<sup>19</sup> Subsequently another factory was established at Shahebganj in Atrai thana.<sup>20</sup> These factories were managed by the Company's *Gomastas* (Managers).

The East India Company gradually lost its commercial character, got involved in local politics and consequently had to give up the trade on silk in India. By 1837 all the filatures were sold off to private

<sup>12</sup>Memorandum, Appendix XXV.

<sup>13</sup>J. Geoghan, *Silk in India* (Calcutta 1880) pp. 1-2.

<sup>14</sup>L.S.S. O'Malley, *Bangladesh District Gazetteers, Rajshahi* (Calcutta, 1916), p. 105.

<sup>15</sup>Geoghan, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>18</sup>W.W. Hunter, *op. cit.*, Vol. VIII, p. 82.

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup>General Administration Report for Naogaon Sub-division for 1896-97, File of 1896-97 (Rajshahi Collectorate Records, unpublished).

hands.<sup>21</sup> Most of the filatures were purchased by a European firm, i.e., Messrs Robert Watson and Company. The Collector estimated that this firm invested from sixteen to eighteen lakhs of rupees as capital every year in the manufacture of raw silk and provided employment to eight to nine thousand persons and the annual outturn of raw silk from different filatures were supposed to be two thousand maunds or 73 tons.<sup>22</sup> But towards the close of the nineteenth century Robert Watson and Company sold off almost all its filatures except one at Seroil.<sup>23</sup> Bengal Silk Company and Messrs Lyons Payen and Company had taken its place. They had their filatures at Kazla, Khozapur and Shahebganj and they purchased Robert Watson and Company's factories of Sardah, Motihar, Dakrah, Chattaria, Punnagar, Durgapur, Belgharia and Mirzapur.<sup>24</sup>

The silk produced whether in European or native filatures were mainly raw silk and the bulk of the silk were exported, mostly to the European countries.<sup>25</sup>

Although the bulk of the silk yarn was exported, a small part of it was used to weave *matka* (native wound silk) mainly for local sale. *Matka* weaving was confined to Charghat and Paba thanas.<sup>26</sup> In 1918 there were 69 *matka* weavers belonging to 51 separate families. Almost all of them were wholetime weavers. They were *Jugi*, *Bairagi* and *Pundari* by caste. They bought yarn from the local spinners. The weavers wove four kinds of *matka* cloths. These were *dhutis*, *chadars*, *saris* and *thans* of about 10 yards long and 1½ yards wide for making coats, shirts, etc.

The weavers sold their cloths to the *paikars* who in turn sold those to dealers at Charghat, Nator and Rampur-Boalia *bazars* (market places). They also sent their articles to the firms in Calcutta, Murshidabad, Benares and the Punjab. There were two local firms which exported *matka* to foreign countries. At the beginning of the present century this industry was declining because of the lack of capital of the weavers and the consequent difficulty in obtaining raw materials.

<sup>21</sup>Memorandum, Appendix XXIV.

<sup>22</sup>W.W. Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

<sup>23</sup>O'Malley, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

<sup>24</sup>Letter from F.G. Ricely, General Manager, Bengal Silk Company Limited, Sardah Silk Concern to F.G. Sachsely, Assistant Magistrate, Rajshahi, dated Sardah the 8th March, 1903 (Rajshahi Collectorate Records, unpublished).

<sup>25</sup>Memorandum, Appendix XXVII.

<sup>26</sup>Informations about *matka* weaving has been obtained from Revenue General Administration File, Collection No. XXXIII, File 3 of 1918, Subject: Development of Home Industries (Rajshahi Collectorate Records, unpublished).

No complete statistics of silk reeled in the factories of the district are available. However, we have some figures for few years which would show the quantity of silk produced in Rajshahi in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.<sup>27</sup>

Year	Quantity in Maunds
1870	4,878
1881/82	1,343
1883/84	2,077
1884/85	1,818
1887/88	1,244
1888/89	1,112
1889/90	1,380
1890/91	1,204
1910/11	521

The table shows that the production of silk in the district was gradually declining. Whereas the yield was 4,878 maunds in 1870, it came down only to 521 maunds by 1910/11. Indeed the industry which was so thriving and flourishing came almost to a virtual collapse by the late nineteenth century. This was due to certain causes the principal of which was the foreign competition. Bengal silk was much inferior to those of other countries particularly of Japan and Italy. So it failed to make its place in the competitive European market of the late nineteenth century. The inability of the Bengal silk producers to apply greater skill and higher technology also contributed to the decline of the industry.<sup>28</sup>

The Government noticed this decline but did not take any active step till 1882. In that year the Government of India took up the question of (a) extension of the mulberry cultivation and (b) distribution of silk eggs. With a view to improving the breed of silk worms and promoting the silk industry of the province, eggs had been obtained from Dehradun, China and Kashmir. Experiments were made with both the multivoltine (which gave several crops in a year) and univoltine species (which gave only one crop) at the Central Jail of Rampur-Boalia. Cuttings of the '*Morus multi-canlis*' which was the special food of the univoltine worms had been obtained

<sup>27</sup>For 1870 and 1881/82, General Department File. Collection No. XXI, Statistics, File No. 5 of 1901/02, File Sub: Revision of the Imperial Gazetteer of India and for other years General Administration Report for Rajshahi District for the respective years (Rajshahi Collectorate Records, unpublished).

<sup>28</sup>N.K. Sinha, *History of Bengal (1757-1905)* (Calcutta, 1967), p. 250.



from Shahranpur and planted in the jail compound. Ground has also been prepared for cultivating indigeneous mulberry shrub for the multivoltine variety. A breeding house for the worms had been established in the jail and the service of trained rearers from Dehradun had also been secured. But all these produced very little effect.<sup>29</sup>

In 1896, the Bengal Government made a special grant of Rs. 3,000/- for sericulture and two more nurseries were opened at Rajshahi.<sup>30</sup> In 1898 the Bengal Silk Committee was formed and it received considerable subsidy from the Government.<sup>31</sup> With a view to arresting the decline of the local silk industry it was proposed to hold an exhibition of cocoons at Behrampur in January, 1884. A sericulture school was also established at Rampur-Boalia in 1898. The school was established on the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria. In that institution rearing and reeling of silk and the use of microscope for the detection of diseases in insects were taught to the pupils who were generally the sons of the professional rearers in the district. They were trained from six months to one year. After passing the annual examination they were usually employed by the Bengal Silk Committee.<sup>32</sup> A seed house had also been erected for the school at a cost of Rs. 2,000/- granted by the Government of India.<sup>33</sup>

However, the attempt of the Government to improve the quality of the Rajshahi silk failed altogether due to the inadequacy of the measures adopted, and hence the decline could not be arrested.

The growth and decline of silk as an industry had a tremendous effect on the economy of the district. In the days when silk was a flourishing industry it gave employment to thousands of people and since, like other industries it was a profitable industry, it improved the material condition of the people. With the decline of this industry towards the close of the nineteenth century, the entire economy of the district collapsed. Livingstone has summed up the ruinous effects of the decline of silk industry of Rajshahi in the following words: "The ruin of the silk trade has ... more or less ruined nine-tenths of the people of Rajshahi ... The district

<sup>29</sup>The information about the attempt to improve silk industry is taken from *Bengal Administration Report* for 1882-83, p. 225.

<sup>30</sup>Before that time nurseries for the rearing of pure seed were established in different silk districts including Rajshahi.

<sup>31</sup>G.N. Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

<sup>32</sup>Letter from Deputy Inspector General of Schools to the Superintendent of the Imperial Gazetteer of India, Letter No. 662 of 1903, Sub: Revision of Imperial Gazetteer (Rajshahi Collectorate Records, unpublished).

<sup>33</sup>Report on the Working of the District Boards in Bengal during the year 1898-99 (Rajshahi District Council Records, unpublished).

is ruined by the ruin of silk."<sup>34</sup> It had also affected the zamindar class. "The awful ruin of the silk and indigo trades in the Rajshahi district has so impoverished all classes that even zamindars here are unable to give that help to students which they would like to do."<sup>35</sup> "The style of the zamindar's house and family had been fixed when his lands brought in mulberry rents and it was difficult or almost impossible for him to cover that style."<sup>36</sup>

It is evident that as a result of the decline of silk industry in the district of Rajshahi in the late nineteenth century the producers' income from it was reduced. But, since many silk manufacturers were also mulberry cultivators, the loss caused to silk producers by the decline of silk industry was partially recovered by the growth of jute cultivation. The development of the cultivation of jute coincided with the decline of the growing of mulberry. Peasants began to convert mulberry lands to jute lands.<sup>37</sup> By the end of the nineteenth century ten per cent of the cultivated lands of the district were put under jute.<sup>38</sup> This shift from mulberry to jute could, to some extent, ease the economic depression caused by the collapse of the silk industry.

<sup>34</sup>Letter of the Principal, Rajshahi College to the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, Letter No. 9, dated 7th April, 1893 (Rajshahi College Records, unpublished).

<sup>35</sup>Letter of the Principal, Rajshahi College to the Manager, Estates of Maharani Surnamoyee Devi, Letter No. 92, dated 18th September, 1893 (Rajshahi College Records, unpublished).

<sup>36</sup>Letter of the Principal, Rajshahi College to the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, Letter No. 9, dated 7th April, 1893 (Rajshahi College Records, unpublished).

<sup>37</sup>M.W. Ali, "Jute Cultivation in Bengal (1870-1914): A Study of its Growth." *Journal of the Institute of Bangladesh Studies*, Vol. I, No. 1, 1976, p. 59.

<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 66, Appendix 4, Col. 2.

# Education for Rural Masses in Colonial Bengal : Growth and Development of Primary Education in Rangpur District, 1870-1919

M. Mahbubar Rahman

## Historical Development

During the Muslim rule and even till the beginning of primary school system in the early 1870s, the indigenous rural schools were the only source of education for the rural masses. In Rangpur, as in other parts of rural Bengal, there were two kinds of indigenous rural schools, viz., *maktabs* and *patshalas*.<sup>1</sup> The *maktabs* were Muslim schools in which the *Quran*, the *Hadith* and religious learnings were taught. They were often held in the village mosque or in the house of well-to-do villagers, who could afford to keep teachers and to let his neighbours' sons come and learn with his children.<sup>2</sup> The teachers were known as *mouvie* or *munshi*. They were allowed free board and lodging by the village headmen, and besides the fees that were occasionally levied, they got small sums by way of subscriptions. They also earned money by leading prayers and reciting passages from the *Quran* at marriages, burial ceremonies and other festivals.<sup>3</sup>

In the *patshalas*, 'simple arithmetic and bazar account keeping were taught in the vernacular'.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>J.A. Vas, *Eastern Bengal and Assam District Gazetteers, Rangpur* (Allahabad: Pioneer Press, 1911), p. 131.

<sup>2</sup>*Adam's First Report on the State of Education in Bengal* (Calcutta: G.H. Huttman, Bengal Military Orphan Press, 1835), p. 71.

<sup>3</sup>*Report on Public Instruction in Bengal 1887-88* (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1888), Para-234.

<sup>4</sup>J.A. Vas, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

There also existed some Sanskrit schools called 'Tols', 'in each of which a few men are trained in Sanskrit and in the sacred writings of the Hindoos.'<sup>5</sup>

The number of students attending a village school varied with the village population. Although the attendance was not very regular, and the standard of education was extremely low, the students at these indigenous village schools could acquire 'enough knowledge of reading, writing and arithmetic'. This proved very useful to them 'in the ordinary affairs of their lives',<sup>6</sup> although these schools had no graded class system.

The earliest efforts of the company's educational policy was mainly directed to 'higher instruction in Oriental learning of the influential class of its subjects.'<sup>7</sup> But the situation changed after 1835 when the debate between the Anglicists and the Orientalists ended in the victory of the former and English became the official language in India. The government became interested in the dissemination and encouragement of English education among the same class of people.<sup>8</sup> The object behind the spreading of 'English Education' was to create a class of English educated Indians who would help them in running the administration. The British Government, therefore, emphasized secondary and higher education. Ultimately, mass education was left neglected.

However, efforts in the direction of founding common schools of instruction in the vernacular had for the most part emanated from the missionaries.<sup>9</sup> Among them, William Carey's name stands foremost. He was responsible for the introduction of elementary vernacular and English education. He and his friends set up schools and published Bengali translations of the Bible. Carey's example was followed by other missionaries and liberal Indians like David Hare and Raja Rammohan Roy. They established several English schools including the Hindu College.<sup>10</sup> But as the activities of these missionary societies were 'confined to the narrow limits of Calcutta' the results of their efforts did not reach the interior districts of Bengal.

<sup>5</sup>Bengal Annual Administration Report 1871-72 (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1872), p. 216.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>A.R. Mallick, *British Policy and the Muslims in Bengal 1757-1856* (Dacca: Bangla Academy, 1977), p. 323.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

<sup>9</sup>See J. Long, *Brief View of the Past and Present State of Vernacular Education in Bengal* (Calcutta: Home Secretariat Press, 1868), pp. 1-9.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid.; M.M. Ali, *The Bengali Reaction to Christian Missionary Activities 1833-1857* (Chittagong: The Mehrub Publications, 1965), pp. 56-74.

Meanwhile, the utilitarians' influence in the India House became prominent. The result was manifested in the appointment of William Bentinck as the Governor General of India. Bentinck came to India with a mind filled with utilitarian ideas of reforms. It was against this background that William Adam, who had been working in Bengal as a missionary, drew Bentinck's attention to the need for having a further knowledge of the educational system of Bengal primarily with a view to initiating some sorts of reforms best suited to India. Bentinck readily responded to Adam's proposal and Adam was asked to undertake the job of making a full survey of the state of education prevailing in Bengal. Adam worked for three years and collected 'a mass of valuable materials' on the state of education in some of the districts of Bengal and Bihar, including Rangpur. He submitted three reports<sup>11</sup> between 1835 and 1838 in which he illustrated that the traditional system of education was in a state of decay owing to want of patronage. He, therefore, recommended that the Government should use these indigenous schools as 'instrument for the communication for pure and sound knowledge'. Adam suggested that the grants should be made available to village school teachers. According to him, the possible sources of income to raise education fund might be contributions from zamindars, the existing religious endowments and some part of the general revenue to which, he believed, the poor and the ignorant had a claim. He estimated that the total expenses for each district would not exceed Rs. 10,000 a year. He advocated for special consideration for the Muslims who were 'the poor and uneducated' and formed the 'most numerous portion of that population'.<sup>12</sup>

Adam's suggestions were not considered by the Government and their educational policy remained unchanged for the time being and therefore, the 'rural masses were left to themselves and Government effects were directed to the perfection of the system of instruction in central colleges and *Zillah* schools meant for the upper and middle classes.'<sup>13</sup>

In October 1844, the question of educating the masses was again taken up by Cecil Beadon, Under-Secretary to the Government of Bengal. He

<sup>11</sup>Adam's First Report was based on the government records and papers of private societies. It dealt with the existing indigenous institutions and the early efforts made by Missionaries and other organisations. His second Report depicted the result of an enquiry made in the Natore Sub-division (now district). The Third Report narrated the results of his survey, conclusions and suggestions.

<sup>12</sup>*Adam's Third Report on the State of Education in Bengal and Bihar* (Calcutta: G.H. Huttman, Bengal Military Orphan Press, 1838), Chapter II, Section IV, pp. 213-220.

<sup>13</sup>A.R. Mallick, *op. cit.*, p. 342.

prepared a note on the subject and made recommendations for the establishment of 101 Vernacular schools in 36 districts of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Accordingly, the Governor General Lord Hardinge (1844-48), established 101 Vernacular schools in several districts of Bengal, Bihar and Cuttack and placed them under the care of the Board of Revenue. A teacher was appointed in each school to give instruction in Vernacular regarding reading and writing, arithmetic, geography and the histories of India and Bengal.<sup>14</sup> It was decided that the students of these schools would have to pay tuition fees. But this attempt proved futile. The failure was due to the lack of local interest and the government's inadequate supervision.

In Rangpur three schools were established in the year 1846, one in Perganah Coondee, 12 miles away from the Rangpur town, the other at Pooraulbhaug, 40 miles off from the seat of administration at Rangpur and the third one at Bagoorah in Perganah Patiladaha, about 50 miles from the town.<sup>15</sup> The first two institutions after a trial of more than two years were closed. The third one stopped functioning in 1853.<sup>16</sup>

While explaining the causes of the closure of these institutions, the Collector of Rangpur highlighted three aspects: location, encouragement and government supervision. He argued that these institutions were evidently set up in areas far off from the Rangpur town where government officials resided. It became difficult for them to give adequate attention to the smooth working of these schools. Again the rural masses left to themselves were generally unenthusiastic about their children's education and hence school attendance became poorer.<sup>17</sup> This explained the speedy shrinkage in the number of schools established under the scheme. It was found in 1852 that out of 101 schools, only 34 were functioning. To stop further deterioration and for better management, the government transferred these schools from the Board's control to that of the Council of Education.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 343.

<sup>15</sup>From A.G. Macdonald, Offg. Collector to A.I. Moffatt Mills, Judge of the Sudder Court on deputation, Rungpore (Rangpur District Records, National Archives of Bangladesh, Vol. No. Rangpur - 350) Letter No. 77, 23 April 1853, Para 8.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup>The Council of Education was constituted on 12 January 1842. This was the successor of the Committee of Public Instruction, which was the first authority in the history of administration of education in Bengal. The Committee of Public Instruction was established in 1823 to promote education and to give assistance and encouragement to the private schools in any way it considered suitable. (For details on Committee of Public Instruction see A.F.S. Ahmed, *Social Ideas and Social Change in Bengal 1818-35* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1965), pp. 136 ff.

In the meantime, the India Office in London formulated general policy for education in India. The Wood's Despatch of 19 July, 1854 directed the Governor of Bengal to make some plan for the encouragement of indigenous schools and for the education of the lower classes in the vernacular.<sup>19</sup> The Council of Education was dissolved and in its place a Department of Administration for education was constituted on 26 January, 1855.<sup>20</sup> The Department was placed under an Officer called the Director of Public Instruction.

The government desired to establish a network of graded schools all over the country. At one end of this gradation were to be the university and the affiliated colleges, below whom would come the high schools giving instruction, the medium being either English or the Vernacular and at the bottom would come the indigenous primary schools.<sup>21</sup>

### Growth of Primary Stage Institutions

In response to the desire of the Court of Directors as reflected in Wood's Despatch increased attention was given to mass education. A system was begun to institute or aid village *patshalas* at a cost of Rs. 5 a month for each *patshala*. Side by side, 'circle school system' was tried, 'whereby four *patshalas* were formed into one Circle, over which was placed a trained teacher, whose business was to visit and teach at each *patshala* in turn, and to direct the teaching of the indigenous schoolmasters'.<sup>22</sup> The government *patshalas* and the Circle-school system had been introduced in only six districts of Bengal. The district of Rangpur and the majority areas of Bengal could not be covered because of the paucity of funds.<sup>23</sup> The government, therefore, suggested that supplementary funds might be raised by local taxation. This point was discussed at a meeting of top government officials. But no taxation for education could be agreed upon. The Bengal government had to find extra funds for making a special grant. Initially a grant of Rs. 50,000 was made in

<sup>19</sup>J.A. Richey (ed.). *Selection from Education Records, II, 1840-1859* (Calcutta, 1922), p. 70; The occasion of the Despatch was the renewal of the Company's Charter by Parliament in 1853. The Despatch was sent by Sir Charles Wood, the then President of the Board of Control. It is also known as Wood's Education Despatch. For details on this despatch, see J.P. Naik and S. Nurullah, *A Student History of Education in India 1800-1973* (Delhi: The Macmillan Co. of India Ltd., 1974), pp. 132-146.

<sup>20</sup>*Selection from Education Records, II*, p. 70; Mr. William Gordon Young, a civilian was appointed the first Director of Public Instruction.

<sup>21</sup>J.P. Naik & S. Nurullah, *op. cit.*

<sup>22</sup>*Bengal Annual Administration Report 1871-72, op. cit.*, p. 218.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*

1871. Next year the amount was doubled. In this year, a scheme for systematically extending government primary schools in all districts and of localising their administration was framed, and a further yearly grant of Rs. 300,000 was allotted to primary education — thus bringing the total allotment of Government money for primary education to Rs. 530,000 a year.<sup>24</sup> It was intended that this money would be used to 'teach ordinary village boys enough to enable them to take care of their own interests in their own station of life.'<sup>25</sup> This was how the primary education system began to develop in Bengal. All the existing indigenous schools were searched out and brought under the state system and all the schools were given a common name — primary school. As the allotment offered (Rs. 530,000) was not encouraging enough to draw up any comprehensive scheme to reach every school, George Campbell, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal (1871-1874) framed some rules. Firstly, grants were given to those indigenous schools which were efficient according to native standard; secondly, teachers of some selected schools were provided with training, and thirdly, a system of scholarship was introduced 'which would enable a clever boy to climb from the lowest to the highest at the public expense.'<sup>26</sup>

#### Further Development

Development of primary education was emphasized by the Indian Education Commission (1882) which was constituted to enquire into 'the present state of elementary education throughout the empire and the means by which this can everywhere be extended and improved'.<sup>27</sup> According to the recommendations of the Commission, the responsibility, control and administration of primary education were entrusted to local bodies — the District Board in rural areas and the Municipalities in urban areas. Although both secondary and higher education was also included into their activities, it was laid down that the first duty of the local boards was to look after primary education.

With the growth of the nationalist movement, the public leaders as well as the government officials began to speak of the importance of primary education. Lord Curzon, the Governor General (1899-1905), wanted

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 219.

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 220.

<sup>26</sup>R.R. Kabber, *Administrative Policy of the Government of Bengal 1870-1890* (Dacca: National Institute of Public Administration, 1965), p. 30.

<sup>27</sup>*Eighth Quinquennial Report on the Progress of Education in Bengal* (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press) Chapter I.



the spread of primary education through the vernacular. He clearly outlined his government's attitude in the following words:

Primary education is the instruction of the masses through the vernacular, in such subjects as will best stimulate their intelligence and fit them for their position in life. The government of India fully accept the proposition that the active extension of primary education is one of the most important duties of the state.<sup>28</sup>

The Government of India not only urged the provincial government to pay more attention to the spread of education among the rural masses, it also took steps to back it by laws. Accordingly, the Primary Education Act of 1919 (Act VI of 1919) was passed. It provided for the extension of primary education to all municipal and union areas constituted under the Bengal Local Self-Govt. Act of 1885. The Education Act of 1919 'was the first effective step towards making primary education free and compulsory'.<sup>29</sup>

### **An Overview on the Progress of Primary Education in Rangpur Villages**

In view of the foregoing discussion we see that in Rangpur the primary school system showed a good start. While in 1872, the number of primary schools was only 81 with a total of 1595 students,<sup>30</sup> in the following years there was a rise in the number of aided primary schools. Thus in 1875, 422 schools were brought under the state system of primary education<sup>31</sup> and in 1883 the number of schools under inspection rose to 860 with an attendance of over 17,000.<sup>32</sup> It was due to the patronisation of the District Board that the number of primary schools increased every year.<sup>33</sup> Thus it was found in the 1910s that 25.5 per cent of the boys and

<sup>28</sup>*Progress of Education in India (1897-1902)* (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1902), pp. 462-63.

<sup>29</sup>B.R. Purkait, *Administration of Primary Education in West Bengal* (Calcutta: Firma KLM Pvt. Limited, 1984), p. 45.

<sup>30</sup>W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. VII (London: Trubner & Co., 1876), p. 342.

<sup>31</sup>*Report of the Director of Public Instruction 1875-76* (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1877).

<sup>32</sup>N.I. Khan, *Bangladesh District Gazetteers, Rangpur* (Dacca: Bangladesh Government Press, 1977), p. 217.

<sup>33</sup>There was no pre-primary school in Rangpur. Muslim children of pre-primary stage in the rural areas were generally taught by the *Imams* of the respective mosques in the mosques or in the houses and were mainly acquainted with the Bengali and Arabic alphabets only.

2.6 per cent of the girls attended schools. In 1911 there was one primary school for 7 villages, i.e., one per 3.4 square miles of the area of the district.<sup>34</sup>

Since the formation of the Union Committees in 1913,<sup>35</sup> progress was all the more noticeable in the field of primary education. The District Board had increased its expenditure on primary education from Rs. 39,762 in 1911-12 to Rs. 96,116 in 1915-16.<sup>36</sup> (The expenses on education was 28 per cent of the District Board's total income). Consequently, the number of primary schools increased from 1,074 in 1913-14 to 1,362 in 1916-17.<sup>37</sup> During this time, the number of students had also increased from 40,329 in 1913-14 to 48,256 in 1916-17.<sup>38</sup> Thus the area served by a primary school was 2.5 square miles in 1916-17 against 3.4 in 1911-12.<sup>39</sup>

### Conclusions

It is true that from numerical point of view the spread of primary institutions was considerable. But whatever facilities for primary education were available, they were not properly utilised. 'Poverty, illiteracy, and conservatism of the average parent which made him slow to appreciate the advantage of education, unwilling to send his children to a school or, to keep them there for a sufficiently long period...' caused low attendance in the schools.<sup>40</sup> Nevertheless, the picture would have been a bit better if the existing schools were better staffed and well housed. As one contemporary writer had put it: 'unsatisfactory character of existing schools due to inefficient teaching staff, inadequate equipment and unsatisfactory housing of existing schools' largely account-

<sup>34</sup>J.N. Gupta, *Rangpur Today: A Study in Local Problems of a Bengal District* (Calcutta: Temple Press, 1918), pp. 79, 83.

<sup>35</sup>For details on the Growth of Union Committees see *Report on Bengal District Administration Committee 1913-1914* (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1915), Chapter VII.

<sup>36</sup>J.N. Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

<sup>37</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 83.

<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup>J.P. Naik and S. Nurullah, *op. cit.*, p. 345; the District Magistrate reported in 1916-17 that only 32.5 per cent of the total number of boys and 6.4 per cent of the total number of girls of school-going age were attending primary schools. See J.N. Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

ted for the lack of better show in primary education.<sup>41</sup> Teachers were ill-paid and consequently efficient and capable men were not willing to join teaching service in primary schools.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>41</sup>J.N. Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 80; Most of the school buildings were constructed of split bamboo-walls with C.I. sheet roof. There were also thatched roofs in many cases. The buildings were originally constructed with local efforts and as such very few of them could satisfy educational needs well. For details see, Annual Education Report of Rangpur District, 1952-53 (Rangpur Zilla Porishod Records) File No. 2 of 1952-53.

<sup>42</sup>This is corroborated by the District Magistrate in his report of 1918:

It has been calculated that the average pay of the primary school teachers under private management in this district is Rs. 7-8-0 (Tk. 7.50), and the average for all classes of primary schools is Rs. 8-5-0 (Rs. 8.31), payment is uncertain and the prices of all articles of consumption are steadily on the increase and the contribution of villagers in the form of doles is steadily on the decrease. It is a matter of great urgency, therefore, to devise some means for increasing the remuneration of village teachers.

Thus the teachers had to fall back on some of the avocations in order to supplement their small income. Consequently, they were left with little time to make class preparations. See J.N. Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

The first of these was the fact that the United States was a young nation, and its people were not yet accustomed to the idea of a national government. The second was the fact that the United States was a large country, and its people were not yet accustomed to the idea of a national government.

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# Mortgages in three Villages of Bengal, 1920-1947: A Study of the Trend of Mortgages and Causes of Fluctuations\*

Md. Wazed Ali

## Introduction

Mortgages are loans given on the security of land, the loan documents being registered under the Indian Registration Act, 1908. In Bengal mortgage loans formed about fifty per cent of the total credit in 1929/30.<sup>1</sup> Over time mortgages may increase or decrease. The existing literature on this aspect of Indian Economic History is scanty. Only two scholars dwelt on the subject, but they discovered two opposite findings. B.B. Chaudhuri, dealing with Bengal, found that in the period 1930-1942 mortgages declined.<sup>2</sup> But he did not analyse what the decline indicated. On the other hand, T.G. Kessinger, writing on Vilyatpur village (Punjab), asserted that mortgages increased during the years 1885-1966 and attributed this to the prosperity of the area.<sup>3</sup> The present article deals with the trend of mortgages in the three villages of Bacharigaon, Sikarpur and Jharira in the district of Rajshahi (Bengal) and analyses the causes of the fluctuations of mortgages over time.

\*This article is a revised version of a part of the author's Ph.D. thesis. The author acknowledges his debt to Dr. A.G. Thompson of the Department of Economic History, University of Melbourne and to Dr. A. M. Vicziany of the Department of Economic History, Monash University for their helpful suggestions and criticisms on an earlier draft.

<sup>1</sup>*Report of the Bengal Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee, 1929/30* (Calcutta: Bengal Govt. Press, 1930), Vol. 1, Para 129.

Note: The other fifty per cent of the credit consisted of loans without security, on the security of jewellery and on the pledge of labour.

<sup>2</sup>B. B. Chaudhuri, "The Process of Depeasantization in Bengal and Bihar, 1885-1947", *Indian Historical Review*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (July 1975), p. 138.

<sup>3</sup>T.G. Kessinger, *Vilyatpur, 1884-1968* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1974), p. 205.

### Reason for the selection of three villages

Three villages with different economic conditions — Bacharigaon, a rich village, Sikarpur, a village of medium prosperity and Jharira, a poor village — have been selected for study in order to see whether oscillations of mortgages vary from village to village.

### Description of the villages

Bacharigaon is a new alluvial (*pali*) village.<sup>4</sup> Its soil is highly fertile. It produces at least two crops in a year. It cultivates rice, jute, *ganja* (*Cannabis sativa*) and various vegetables. The yield of every crop is also very high. Thus of the three it is the most prosperous village.

Sikarpur is an old alluvial (*barind*) village. Its soil is less fertile than that of Bacharigaon. It produces only one crop of rainfed *aman* (winter) rice and its yield is low. Hence it is poorer than Bacharigaon.

Jharira is a floodland (*bhar*) village. It produces two varieties of rice on two types of land — a rainfed long-stemmed *aman* rice on relatively high land and an irrigated *boro* (summer) rice on relatively low land. The former is an uncertain crop. In some years a young crop is destroyed by sudden flooding. In some others flood partially damages it. As a result, except in good years there can be no full crop. Moreover, the only full crop which it enjoys — *boro* rice — has low yields. Hence it is a poor village.

### Source for the number of mortgages

The number of mortgages for each village in every year between 1920-1947 have been obtained from Index II, an unpublished document of the office of the District Registrar of Deeds, Rajshahi (Bengal). It is a catalogue of various kinds of deeds (mortgage, sale, etc.) for each year by villages. I have consulted Index II of every year and collected the number of mortgages recorded for the villages of Bacharigaon, Sikarpur and Jharira for all the years in the period 1920-1947.

### Trend of mortgages

As obtained from Index II there were a total of 775 mortgages in Bacharigaon, 148 in Sikarpur and 143 in Jharira covering the period 1920-1947.

In order to study the trend of mortgages graphically the number of mortgages in each year in each village and a four-year moving average of the number of mortgages in each village have been plotted in Fig. 1 and Fig. 2 respectively.

<sup>4</sup>For details about the description of the villages see M.W. Ali, "Rural Credit and Land Transfers in three Villages of Bengal, 1920-1947", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Melbourne, 1986.

TREND OF MORTGAGES IN BACHARIGAON, SIKARPUR AND JHARIRA IN THE PERIOD 1920 -- 1947

[DATA OF APPENDIX 1, COLS. 2, 3 & 4]

BACHARIGAON ● - - - ●  
 SIKARPUR ○ - - - ○  
 JHARIRA ● - - - ●

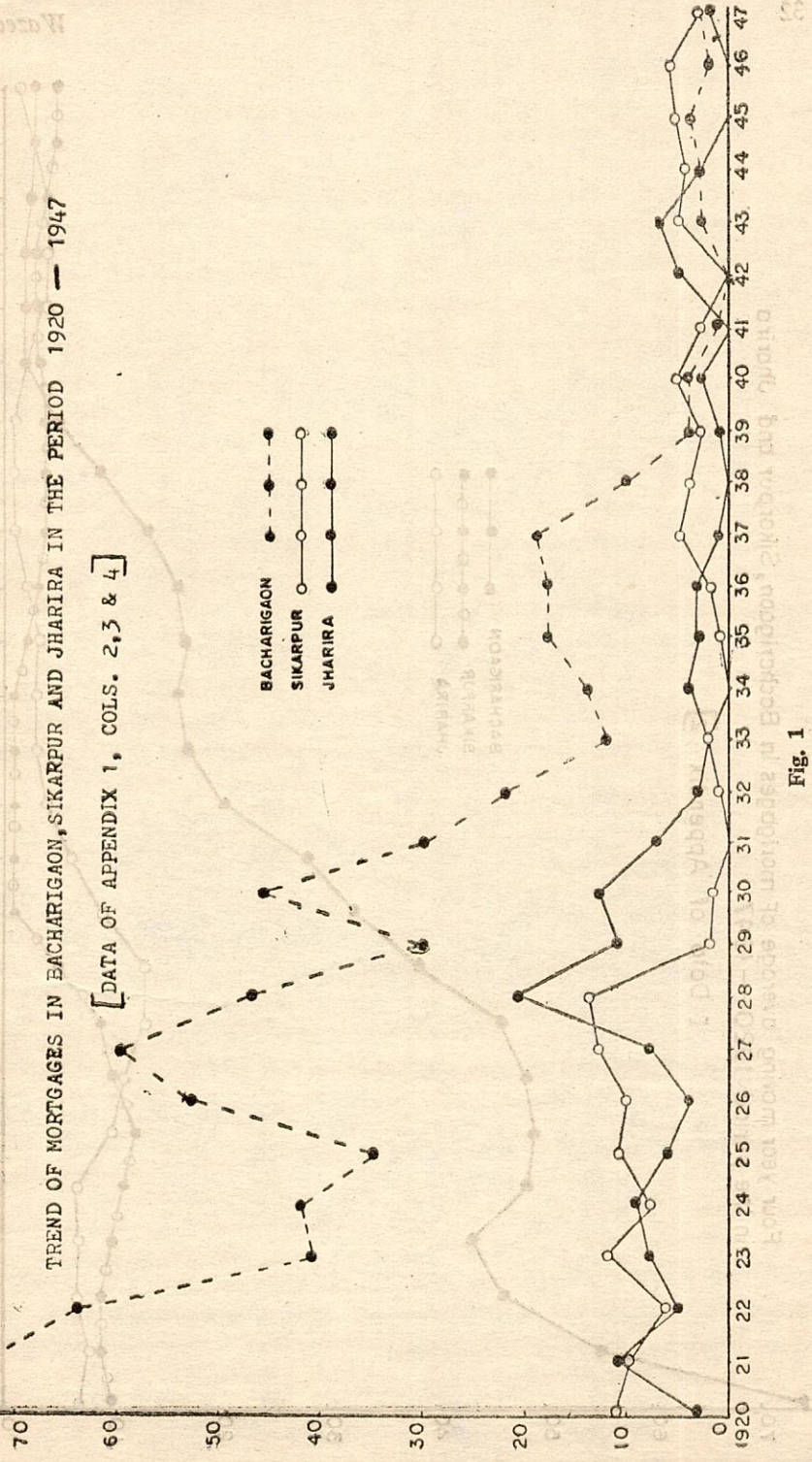


Fig. 1

Four year moving average of morigages in Bacharigaon, Sikarpur and Jharira in the period 1920—1947

[ Data of Appendix 2 ]

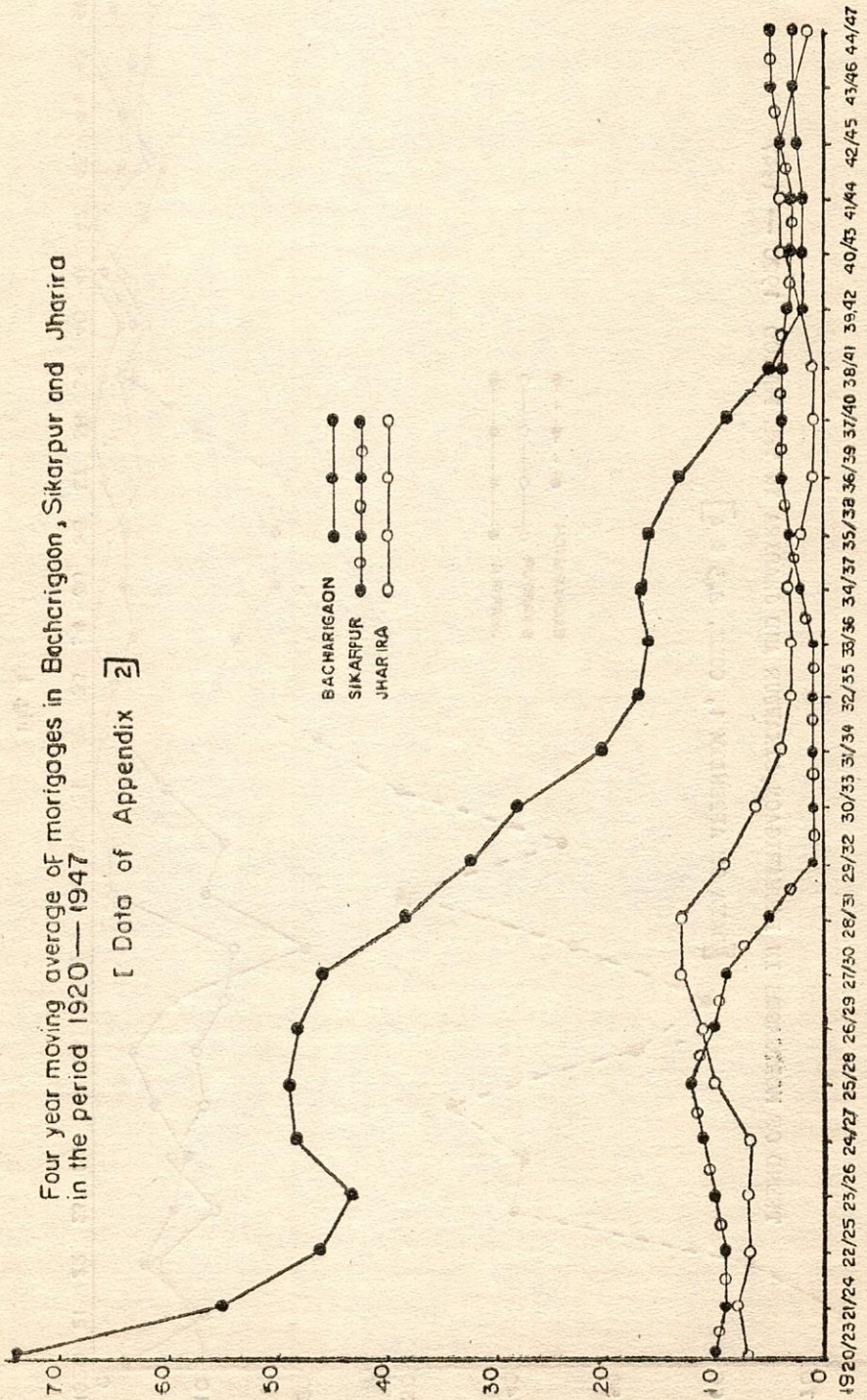


Fig. 2



Figs. 1 and 2 show that in all the three villages mortgages generally declined in the years under study. In Bacharigaon mortgages began at a higher level than in other two villages. The reason for this variation is the varying degrees of prosperity of the villages. It is now a recognized concept that prosperity and indebtedness go together.<sup>5</sup> As Bacharigaon was more prosperous it had a larger number of mortgages at the beginning of the period. Not surprisingly, in Bacharigaon the decline of mortgages was more rapid than in other two villages.

Fig. 2 show that upto 1926 in Bacharigaon mortgages declined while in Sikarpur and Jharira they remained at about the same level. Both Figs. 1 and 2 show that for a few years, between 1927 and 1930, mortgages in all the three villages increased, but in Sikarpur decline set in earlier than in Bacharigaon and Jarira. In the 1930s a general decline set in. It was more dramatic in Bacharigaon whilst in Sikarpur and Jharira mortgages fell from an already low level to an even lower one. Throughout the 1940s there were few mortgages in all the three villages. In the three villages mortgages were at a high level in the 1920s and at a low level in the 1940s.

#### Causes of the decline of mortgages

It is not easy to find out the causes of the fluctuations of mortgages, because there is no adequate direct data to explain the decline. However, the reasons can be found out by using indirect data.

T. G. Kessinger saw the increase in mortgages in Vilyatpur village (Punjab) as an index of the prosperity of the village.<sup>6</sup> Earlier M. L. Darling had already suggested that the prosperity of the Punjabi peasants was associated with debt and that poverty implied little or no indebtedness.<sup>7</sup> F. D. Ascoli regarded the indebtedness of the peasants of the district of Dhaka as an indicator of their prosperity.<sup>8</sup> F. G. Bailey approaching the subject from a different angle attributed the low level of borrowing in Bisipara village (Orissa) to the poverty of the hill region in which his village was situated.<sup>9</sup> Thus the Kessinger-Darling-Ascoli-Bailey model implies an intimate connection between prosperity and indebtedness on the one hand and between poverty and little or no indebtedness on the other.

<sup>5</sup>For a discussion of such concept see pp. 7-8.

<sup>6</sup>Kessinger, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

<sup>7</sup>M. L. Darling, *The Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt* (Columbia: South Asia Books, 1978, reprint of 4th edn., 1947, first published in 1925) Chapter XII.

<sup>8</sup>F.D. Ascoli, "The Economic Conditions of the Agricultural Population in the Dacca District", *Bengal Economic Journal*, Vol. I, No. 3 (Jan. 1917), p. 286.

<sup>9</sup>F. G. Bailey, *Caste and the Economic Frontier* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, reprint 1971, first published in 1957), p. 81.

This model, when applied to the villages under study, predicts that mortgages were declining because the peasants were growing poorer. By implication, this would mean that the peasants of Bacharigaon were getting poorer more rapidly because mortgages were declining by leaps and bounds. In the following pages I shall prove, by using various data, that the conditions of the peasants of the three villages worsened during 1920-1947.

Whilst there is no village level data to show that the economic conditions of the peasants in the three villages deteriorated in the period under review, the movement in agricultural prices in Calcutta together with the work of a number of major writers on the effects of the Great Depression on Bengali agriculture leaves little room to doubt the "deterioration hypothesis".

Both K. N. Chaudhuri<sup>10</sup> and B. B. Chaudhuri<sup>11</sup> (writing on India and Bengal respectively) concluded that the economic conditions of peasants worsened during the depression of 1929-39.<sup>12</sup> During the slump the price of agricultural commodities fell very low. Consequently, rich peasants got less than what they used to get before by disposing of their surplus grain whilst poor peasants had to sell more grain to obtain cash for buying essential articles such as clothes and salt.<sup>13</sup> Hence the conditions of peasants deteriorated. The peasants of the three villages must have been similarly affected because they could not have escaped the impact of an event as monstrous and far-reaching as the depression.

But this accounts for the impoverishment of peasants only in the period of the depression. It does not explain the pre-depression and post-depression periods. The only way of providing a long-term view of the economic plight of peasants in Rajshahi is to consider the movement of the prices of agricultural commodities for the period 1920-1947. Once again we are hampered by the absence of price data at the village or district level. However, the index numbers of annual average prices in Calcutta<sup>14</sup> are available and can be used as a proxy for local information. Although the actual Rupee prices in Calcutta would differ from those in the villages, over time fluctuations in Calcutta would reflect wider trends throughout Bengal.

<sup>10</sup>K. N. Chaudhuri, "Economic Problems and Indian Independence", C.H. Philips and M.D. Wainwright (eds.), *The Partition of India* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1970), p. 295.

<sup>11</sup>B.B. Chaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-118.

<sup>12</sup>Although the recovery in the economy of the industrialized countries took place since 1935, the deflationary forces in India continued up to 1939.

<sup>13</sup>Poor peasants made up the deficit of foodgrain resulted from sale by selling labour to rich peasants.

<sup>14</sup>The data about the index numbers of wholesale prices of cereals and jute (annual average) in Calcutta from 1920-1940 are available in the *Statistical Abstract for British India* (Parliamentary Papers). The base year was 1914 (1914=100).

The analysis of prices for the years 1920-1947 has been divided into three periods: the pre-depression period (1920-1928), the depression period (1929-1939) and the post-depression period (1940-1947). The index numbers of the prices of cereals and jute<sup>15</sup> have been plotted in Fig. 3. The graph shows that both series move downward from the base year. Within this general trend, there were short periods when prices improved; the cereal price index displays a brief upward movement between 1924 and 1929 and after 1939 and the jute price index moves similarly between 1922 and 1926 and from 1939 onwards. But a general decline of prices is discernible from both curves in the pre-depression as well as depression periods. Jute prices affected only the village of Bachari-gaon. The cause of the fall in prices in the 1920s was the overproduction of agricultural products. In the 1920s agricultural overproduction became a grave problem in the international economy.<sup>16</sup> The Great Depression affected the prices in the period 1929-1939.

We assume that, like the Calcutta prices, the prices in the villages declined causing the deterioration of the conditions of peasants. Applying the Kessinger-Darling-Ascoli-Bailey model to the villages it can be argued that the impoverishment of the peasants caused the decline of mortgages.

If falling prices brought poverty and this in turn caused mortgages to fall, one would expect a strong correlation between mortgages and prices. We now analyse this relationship. The prices in any particular year could influence mortgages in the same year.<sup>17</sup> Hence in Fig. 4 the index numbers of cereal prices<sup>18</sup> in Calcutta have been plotted against the mortgages of the three villages in the same years. Fig. 4 shows that the mortgage curve generally follows the cereal price curve. This suggests that the price movements determined the oscillation of mortgages.

But a graphic correlation is less precise than a statistical correlation. For this reason the statistical correlation between the index numbers of cereal prices in Calcutta and the number of mortgages in the three

<sup>15</sup>The prices of cereals and jute have been taken for our analysis because Bachari-gaon produced jute and rice and Sikarpur and Jharira rice.

<sup>16</sup>For a discussion about the agricultural overproduction in the 1920s and its effects on prices see C.P. Kindleberger, *The World in Depression, 1929-1939* (London: Allen Lane The Penguin Press, 1973), Chapter IV.

<sup>17</sup>It is in the way that K.M. Mukerji established relationship between prices and mortgages and sales in Faridpur District. See K.M. Mukerji, *Problems of Land Transfer: A Study of the Problem of Land Alienation in Bengal* (Santiniketan: Santiniketan Press, 1951), pp. 81-103, 109-110.

<sup>18</sup>Cereal prices have been taken because all the three villages produced cereals. In a later section the relation between jute prices and mortgages of the village of Bachari-gaon has been discussed.

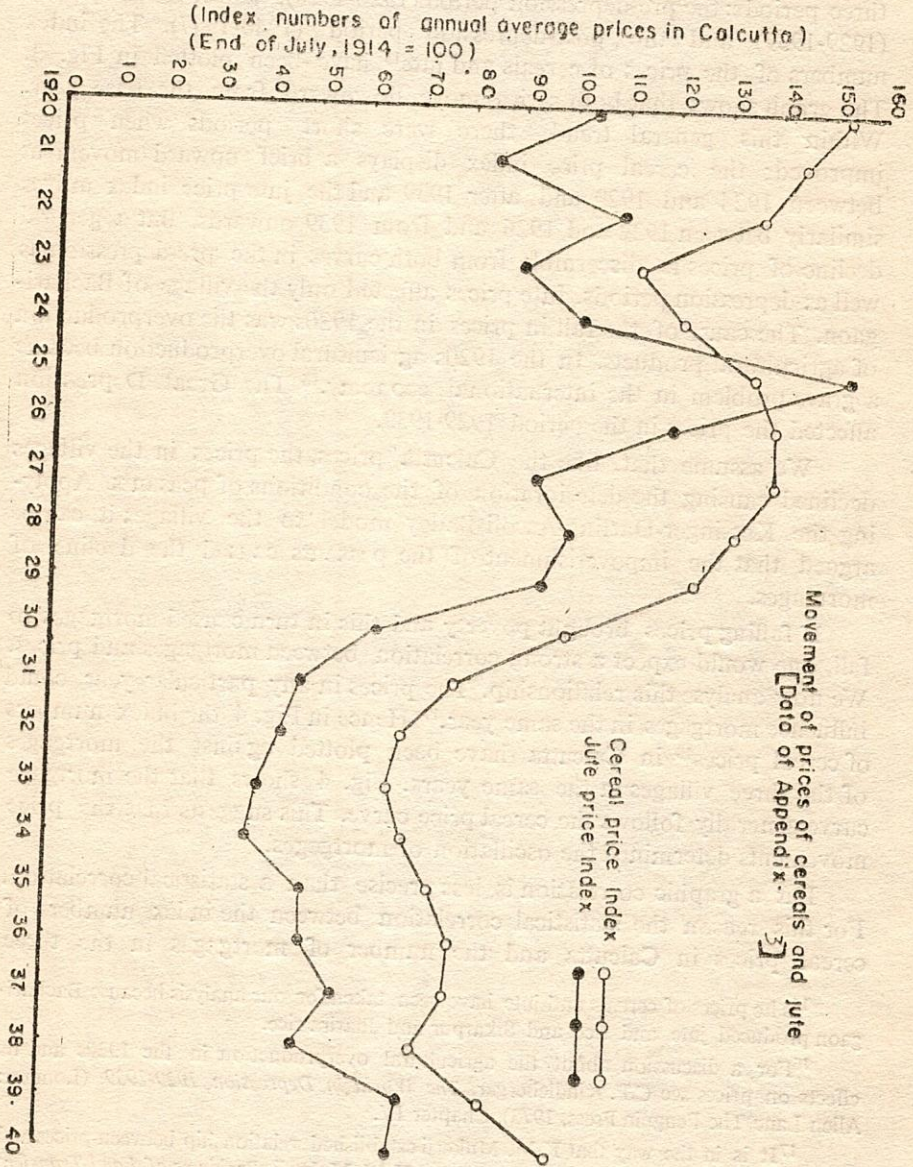


Fig. 3

( Index numbers of annual average prices in Calcutta. End of July, 1914=100)

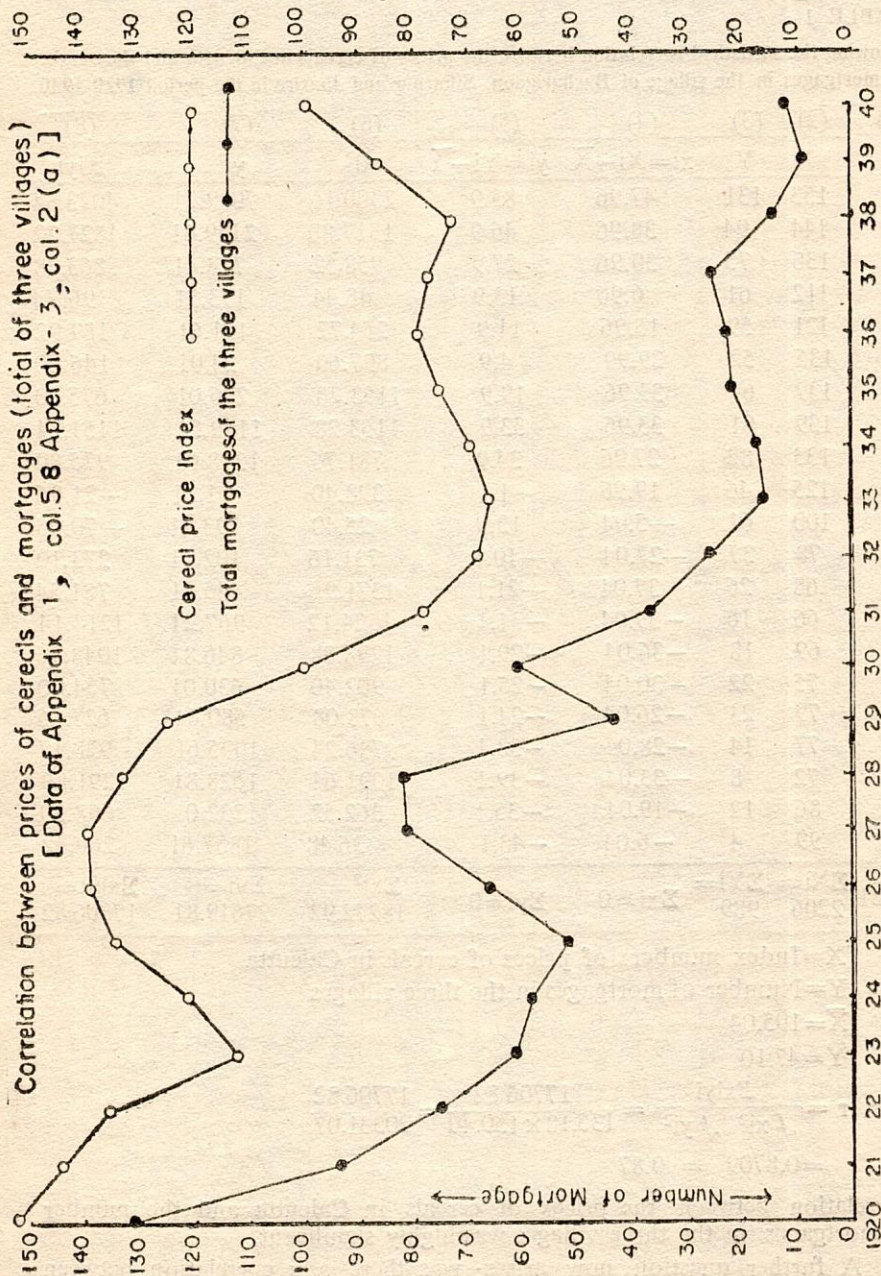


Fig. 4

villages has been calculated. Table 1 shows that the value of the correlation coefficient,  $r$ , is 0.87. Thus we are justified in concluding that the

TABLE 1

Showing the statistical correlation between the prices of cereals in Calcutta and the number of mortgages in the village of Bacharigaon, Sikarpur and Jharira in the period 1920-1940

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	X	Y	$x_i = X_i - \bar{X}$	$y_i = Y_i - \bar{Y}$	$x_i^2$	$y_i^2$	$x_i y_i$
1	153	131	47.96	83.9	2300.16	7039.21	4023.84
2	144	94	38.96	46.9	1517.88	2199.61	1827.22
3	136	75	30.96	27.9	958.52	778.41	863.78
4	112	61	6.96	13.9	48.44	193.21	96.74
5	121	59	15.96	11.9	254.72	141.61	189.92
6	135	52	29.99	4.9	897.60	24.01	146.80
7	139	67	33.96	19.9	1153.28	296.01	675.80
8	139	81	33.96	33.9	1153.28	1149.21	1151.24
9	133	82	27.96	34.9	781.76	1218.01	975.80
10	125	46	19.96	-1.1	398.40	1.21	-21.96
11	100	61	-5.04	13.9	25.40	193.21	-70.06
12	78	37	-27.04	-10.1	731.16	102.01	273.10
13	68	26	-37.04	-21.1	1371.96	445.21	781.54
14	66	16	-39.04	-31.1	1524.12	967.21	1214.14
15	69	18	-36.04	-29.1	1298.88	846.81	1048.76
16	75	22	-30.04	-25.1	902.40	630.01	754.00
17	79	23	-26.04	-24.1	678.08	580.81	627.56
18	77	14	-28.04	-33.1	786.24	1095.61	928.12
19	72	8	-33.04	-39.1	1091.64	1528.81	1291.86
20	86	12	-19.04	-35.1	362.52	1232.01	668.30
21	99	4	-6.04	-43.1	36.48	1857.61	260.32
$n=21$	$\Sigma X_i = 2206$	$\Sigma Y_i = 989$	$\Sigma x_i = 0$	$\Sigma y_i = 0$	$\Sigma x_i^2 = 18272.92$	$\Sigma y_i^2 = 22619.81$	$\Sigma x_i y_i = 17706.82$

X=Index numbers of prices of cereals in Calcutta

Y=Number of mortgages in the three villages

$\bar{X} = 105.04$

$\bar{Y} = 47.10$

$$r = \frac{\Sigma x_i y_i}{\sqrt{\Sigma x_i^2} \sqrt{\Sigma y_i^2}} = \frac{17706.82}{135.18 \times 150.40} = \frac{17706.82}{20331.07} = 0.8709 = 0.87$$

correlation between the prices of cereals in Calcutta and the number of mortgages in the three villages was highly significant.

A further question now arises; was there any correlation between the movement of jute prices and the mortgages of Bacharigaon, the jute

growing village? In Fig. 5 the index number of jute prices in Calcutta have been plotted against mortgages of Bacharigon in the same years.

Fig. 5 shows that in ten out of twenty years jute price curve runs parallel to the mortgage curve. Thus jute prices and mortgages in Bacharigaon are 50 per cent correlated. The statistical correlation between the prices of jute and mortgages in Bacharigaon has been calculated in Table 2. It shows that the value of  $r$  (correlation coefficient) is 0.52. This

TABLE 2

Showing the statistical correlation between the prices of jute in Calcutta and the number of mortgages in Bacharigaon in the period 1920-1940

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	X	Y	$x_i = X_i - \bar{X}$	$y_i = Y_i - \bar{Y}$	$x^2$	$y_i^2$	$x_i y_i$
1	104	117	27.33	80.86	746.94	6538.34	2209.90
2	83	73	6.33	36.86	40.47	1358.66	233.32
3	110	64	33.33	27.86	1110.89	776.18	928.57
4	90	41	13.33	4.86	177.89	23.62	64.78
5	102	42	25.33	5.86	641.61	34.34	148.43
6	154	35	77.33	-1.14	5979.93	1.30	-88.16
7	120	53	43.33	16.86	1877.49	284.26	730.54
8	93	60	16.33	23.86	266.67	569.30	389.63
9	100	47	23.33	10.86	544.29	117.94	253.36
10	95	30	18.33	-6.14	335.99	37.70	-112.55
11	63	46	-13.67	9.86	186.87	97.22	-134.79
12	49	30	-27.67	-6.14	756.63	37.70	169.89
13	45	22	-31.67	-14.14	1002.99	199.94	447.81
14	41	12	-35.67	-24.14	1272.35	582.74	861.07
15	39	14	-37.67	-22.14	1419.03	490.18	834.01
16	50	18	-26.67	-18.14	771.29	329.06	483.79
17	50	18	-26.67	-18.14	771.29	329.06	483.79
18	55	19	-20.67	-17.14	427.25	293.78	354.28
19	49	10	-27.67	-26.14	765.63	683.30	723.29
20	80	4	3.33	-32.14	11.09	1032.98	-107.03
21	79	4	2.33	-32.14	5.43	1032.98	-74.89
					19693.70	14560.58	8799.04

X=Index numbers of prices of jute in Calcutta

Y=Number of mortgages in Bacharigaon

$$r = \frac{\sum x_i y_i}{\sqrt{\sum x_i^2 \sum y_i^2}} = \frac{8799.04}{\sqrt{19693.70 \times 1456.58}} = \frac{8799.04}{16933.74} = 0.52$$

(Index numbers of annual average prices in Calcutta. End of July, 1914 = 100)

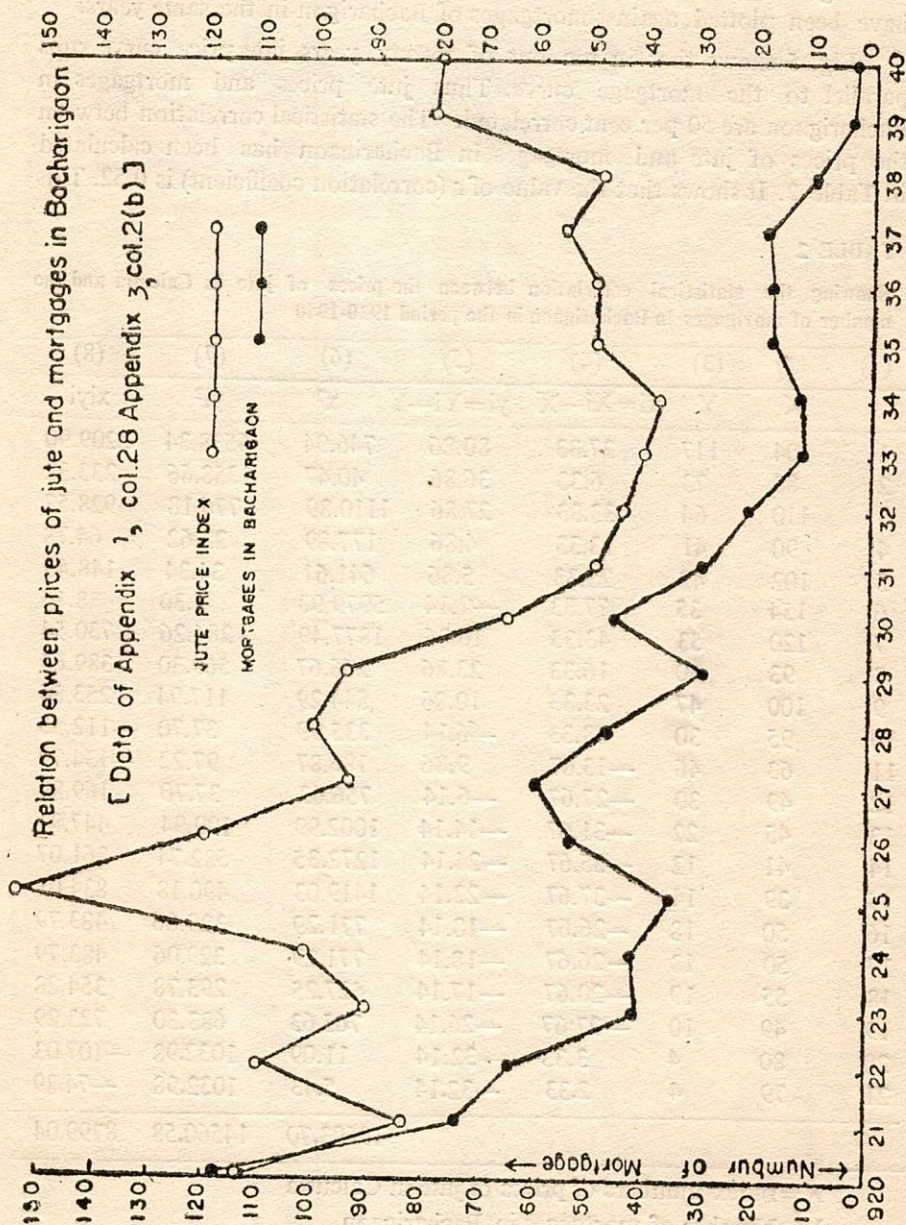


Fig. 5



indicates the existence of a more or less medium type of direct correlation between jute prices and mortgages in Bacharigaon. Hence jute prices did not always determine mortgages; they were partial determinants of borrowing. The probable reason for jute prices not generally influencing borrowing is that since the yearly fluctuations of jute prices, specially in the pre-depression period (see Fig. 3), were so great, rapid and unpredictable fluctuations could not have determined the decision to either borrow or lend, because borrowers and lenders would not anticipate the future — not even in the short-term.

Thus in the pre-depression and depression periods the conditions of peasants of the three villages deteriorated due to the fall in prices. After 1939 the prices of agricultural commodities in Bengal again increased. Prices rose between 1939 and 1943, reaching an unprecedented level in 1943.<sup>19</sup> This was caused by the famine of that year. The conditions of peasant life after 1939 generally improved except in the famine year when peasants were compelled to buy food at famine prices. But in the post-depression phase the gradual increase in prosperity was not associated with increased mortgages. Figs. 1 and 2 show that mortgages remained at low level from 1939 onwards. This is to be explained by the operation of the Bengal Agricultural Debtors Act of 1935. Debts were now settled through Debt Settlement Boards.<sup>20</sup> The chief result was that rural credit became restricted.<sup>21</sup>

In the situation of deteriorating economic conditions, perhaps peasants in need of money were willing to borrow, but lenders were not always available. In times of prosperity lenders expected that their debtors could repay the principal and interest because of their prosperity. But in times of increasing poverty lenders could not expect to recover loans from their poverty-stricken debtors and thus they were unwilling to give loans. Even when peasants' conditions improved after 1939 creditors were reluc-

<sup>19</sup>*Famine Enquiry Commission on Bengal* (Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1945), pp. 27-28.

<sup>20</sup>For details about the operation of the Bengal Agricultural Debtors Act of 1935 see M.W. Ali, *op. cit.*, pp. 263-281.

<sup>21</sup>The Bengal Administration Enquiry Committee, 1944-45 stated that as a result of the operation of the Bengal Agricultural Debtors Act of 1935 rural credit dried up. See Government of Bengal, *Report of the Bengal Administration Enquiry Committee, 1944-45* (Calcutta: Bengal Govt. Press, 1945), p. 50.

tant to supply credit because they were handicapped by state intervention in rural credit.<sup>22</sup> Hence the decline of mortgages from 1939 onwards.

### Conclusion

In a peasant economy prices determine prosperity and prosperity, in turn, influences borrowing. This is true of laissez fair economy. State intervention in credit relations creates a different situation; it disrupts credit mechanism. In the latter case, the economic plight of peasants knows no bound, if the government fails to provide institutional credit.

<sup>22</sup>For details about state intervention in rural indebtedness in Bengal see M.W. Ali, *op. cit.*, pp. 234-284.

## APPENDIX 1

Number of mortgages in Bacharigaon, Sikarpur and Jharira in each year between 1920 and 1947

1	2	3	4	5
Years	No. of mortgages in Bacharigaon	No. of mortgages in Sikarpur	No. of mortgages in Jharira	No. of mortgages in three villages together
1920	117	11	3	131
1921	73	10	11	94
1922	64	6	5	75
1923	41	12	8	61
1924	52	8	9	59
1925	35	11	6	52
1926	53	10	4	67
1927	60	13	8	81
1928	47	14	21	82
1929	30	2	11	43
1930	46	2	13	61
1931	30	0	7	37
1932	22	1	3	26
1933	12	2	2	16
1934	14	0	4	18
1935	18	1	3	22
1936	18	2	3	23
1937	19	5	1	25
1938	10	4	0	14
1939	4	3	1	8
1940	4	5	3	12
1941	1	3	0	4
1942	0	0	5	5
1943	3	5	7	15
1944	3	4	3	10
1945	4	5	0	9
1946	2	6	0	8
1947	3	3	2	8
Total	775	148	143	1066

Source: Collected from Index II of Naogaon and Mahadevpur Sub-Registry Offices for the respective years (Records of the District Registrar of Deeds, Rajshahi).

## APPENDIX 2

Four-year moving average mortgages in Bacharigaon, Sikarpur and Jharira in the period 1920-1947

1	2	3	4
Years	No. of mortgages in Bacharigaon	No. of mortgages in Sikarpur	No. of mortgages in Jharira
1920/23	74	10	7
1921/24	55	9	8
1922/25	46	9	7
1923/26	43	10	7
1924/27	48	11	7
1925/28	49	12	10
1926/29	48	10	11
1927/30	46	8	13
1928/31	38	5	13
1929/32	32	1	9
1930/33	28	1	6
1931/34	20	1	4
1932/35	17	1	3
1933/36	16	1	3
1934/37	17	2	3
1935/38	16	3	2
1936/39	13	4	1
1937/40	9	4	1
1938/41	5	4	1
1939/42	2	3	2
1940/43	2	3	4
1941/44	2	3	4
1942/45	3	4	4
1943/46	3	5	3
1944/47	3	5	1
Total			

Source: Calculated from the Appendix 1.

## APPENDIX 3

Index numbers of wholesale annual prices of cereals and jute in Calcutta in the years 1920-1947

(Prices in July 1914=100)

Years	Index numbers	
	(a)	(b)
	Cereals	Jute
1914 end of July	100	100
1920	153	104
1921	144	83
1922	136	110
1923	112	90
1924	121	102
1925	135	154
1926	139	120
1927	139	93
1928	133	100
1929	125	95
1930	100	63
1931	78	49
1932	68	45
1933	66	41
1934	69	39
1935	75	50
1936	79	50
1937	77	56
1938	72	49
1939	86	80
1940	99	79

Source: *Statistical Abstract for British India* (Parliamentary Papers), 1941-42, Vol. VIII, pp. 424-425 & 1942-43, Vol. X, pp. 476-477.

Some comments on the use of the term "statistical significance" in the social sciences

by David A. Freedman

Year	Volume	Page
1995	100	1
1994	99	1
1993	98	1
1992	97	1
1991	96	1
1990	95	1
1989	94	1
1988	93	1
1987	92	1
1986	91	1
1985	90	1
1984	89	1
1983	88	1
1982	87	1
1981	86	1
1980	85	1
1979	84	1
1978	83	1
1977	82	1
1976	81	1
1975	80	1
1974	79	1
1973	78	1
1972	77	1
1971	76	1
1970	75	1
1969	74	1
1968	73	1
1967	72	1
1966	71	1
1965	70	1
1964	69	1
1963	68	1
1962	67	1
1961	66	1
1960	65	1
1959	64	1
1958	63	1
1957	62	1
1956	61	1
1955	60	1
1954	59	1
1953	58	1
1952	57	1
1951	56	1
1950	55	1
1949	54	1
1948	53	1
1947	52	1
1946	51	1
1945	50	1
1944	49	1
1943	48	1
1942	47	1
1941	46	1
1940	45	1
1939	44	1
1938	43	1
1937	42	1
1936	41	1
1935	40	1
1934	39	1
1933	38	1
1932	37	1
1931	36	1
1930	35	1
1929	34	1
1928	33	1
1927	32	1
1926	31	1
1925	30	1
1924	29	1
1923	28	1
1922	27	1
1921	26	1
1920	25	1
1919	24	1
1918	23	1
1917	22	1
1916	21	1
1915	20	1
1914	19	1
1913	18	1
1912	17	1
1911	16	1
1910	15	1
1909	14	1
1908	13	1
1907	12	1
1906	11	1
1905	10	1
1904	9	1
1903	8	1
1902	7	1
1901	6	1
1900	5	1
1899	4	1
1898	3	1
1897	2	1
1896	1	1

Some comments on the use of the term "statistical significance" in the social sciences. David A. Freedman. Journal of the American Statistical Association, 1995, Vol. 100, No. 1, pp. 1-11.

# Population Pressure and Intensity of Cropping in Rajshahi Division

Jafar Reza Khan  
Md. Zahidul Hassan

## Abstract

Rajshahi Division covers a total geographical area of 34,62800 hectares and in 1974 and 1983 she had a total population of 17.3 million and 22 million respectively. Of them about 91 per cent were rural. Bulk of the rural population earn their livelihood from agriculture. Out of the total area about 77 per cent is available for cultivation. Such high proportion of cultivated land signify that almost all available land for cultivation has been brought under plough. The per capita net sown area (NSA) of the rural population declined from 0.16 hectares to 0.14 hectares during 1974-1983 period. Thus it can be said from the above facts, that there is a tremendous pressure of population on agricultural land. An attempt is made here to study the pattern of the density of population and the tremendous pressure of population on land during 1974-83. The main objectives of this study is to examine the relationship between population pressure and intensity of cropping.

$$\text{Here intensity of cropping} = \frac{\text{Gross cultivated area (GCA)}}{\text{Net sown area (NSA)}} \times 100.$$

## Introduction

The foundation of the economy of Bangladesh is based on agriculture and about ninety per cent of the people of this country are living in rural areas (Preliminary Report, 1981). People maintain their livelihood in some way or other through agriculture. As a member of the less developed nations, the importance of agriculture in the life and economy of Bangladesh can not be overemphasized. In this connection Folk Doving (1964) points out that economically less developed countries are predominantly agricultural and almost all of their population are engaged in agriculture or depending upon it for their subsistence. This means that the dependence on land will increase automatically with the growth of population. Though ninety per cent of the rural population of Bangladesh are dependent on agriculture, technical know-how for the development

and improvement of its agriculture has not yet been applied on a larger scales (Obaidullah Khan, 1985). High birth rate in the rural areas has, however, compelled the farmers to use HYV seeds and chemicals for higher productivity.

The area under study is a north-western part of Bangladesh known as 'Rajshahi Division'. Like other areas of Bangladesh, this region also has inherited an agricultural economy. As the population of this region is equally growing fast, the pattern of agriculture for crop production is no more simple affair. Rather it requires a scientific approach for higher productivity. However, the position of food in Rajshahi Division is somewhat satisfactory because it produces just enough food for the people. Unfortunately, the situation of food in Bangladesh is precarious and suffers from shortage. The present gap between food demand and food production in Bangladesh is already over 2.5 million tons (Islam N., 1989).

Rajshahi Division popularly known as 'North Bengal' is situated between 24° and 26°45' north of latitude and 88°4' and 88°50' east of longitude. Geographically, it is a "doab" region lying between two of the mighty rivers — the Ganges and the Brahmaputra (Fig. 1 at p. 50). Topographically, the region is broadly divided into two distinct zones — (a) the Barind tract of comparatively high land surface of old alluvium and (b) the areas of recent flood plains of the Brahmaputra and the Ganges (Johnson B.L.C., 1977).

Rajshahi Division or North Bengal covers a total geographical area of 342800 hectares. In 1974 and in 1983 she had a total population of 17.3 million and 22 million respectively. Of them about 91 per cent is rural and bulk of the rural population earn their livelihood from agriculture. Out of the total area, about 77.2 per cent was available for cultivation in 1983. Such a high proportion of cultivated land signifies that almost all available land for cultivation has been brought under plough in Rajshahi Division. The rural population density in Rajshahi Division during the period 1974-83 has increased from 472 to 569 persons per square km (against national average of 518 and 615 persons respectively during 1974-83). The per capita net sown area (NSA) among agricultural population in Rajshahi Division declined from 0.16 hectares to 0.14 hectares during 1974-83 period as against Bangladesh average of 0.13 hectares and 0.12 hectares respectively. The area sown more than once as a percentage of net sown area in Rajshahi Division was 48 per cent in 1983. Thus it can be inferred from all these facts that there is a tremendous pressure of population on cultivated land. In this study, the pressure of population have been expressed in terms of



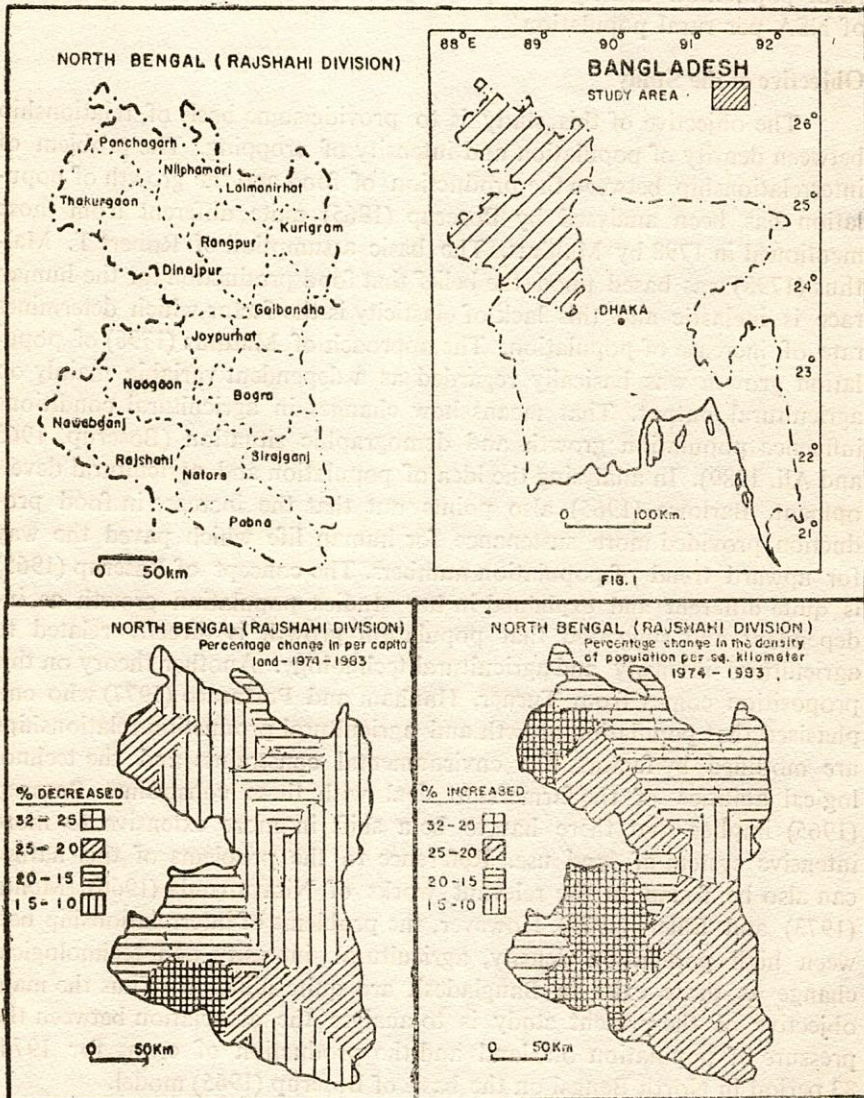
rural population density and per capita availability of cultivated land of NSA per rural population.

### Objective of the Study

The objective of this study is to provide some basis of relationship between density of population and intensity of cropping. The problem of interrelationship between the production of food and the growth of population has been analysed by Boserup (1965) quite different from those mentioned in 1798 by Malthus. The basic assumption of Robert T. Malthus (1798) was based upon the belief that food production for the human race is inelastic and this lack of elasticity is the factor which determines rate of increase of population. The approach of Malthus (1798) of population growth was basically regarded as a dependent variable mainly on agricultural output. That means how changes in agricultural conditions influence population growth and demographic situation (Boserup, 1965 and Ali, 1989). In analysing the idea of population and agricultural development, Barlowe (1965) also points out that the increase in food production provided more sustenance for human life which paved the way for upward trend of population numbers. The concept of Boserup (1965) is quite different and explained in her studies population growth as independent and suggested that population growth is directly related to agricultural intensity and agricultural technology. Another theory on this proposition comes from Turner, Hanham and Portararo (1977) who emphasised that population growth and agricultural production relationships are modified by factors, like environmental constraints and the technological abilities of the farmers to deal with these constraints. Boserup (1965) implies that there has to be a shift in more extensive to more intensive system of land use. Reference to the problems of this nature can also be found in the relevant works of Nitayananda (1966), Mehta (1973) and Ehlers (1979). However, the problems of interrelationship between high population density, agricultural intensity and technological change as those exist in Bangladesh are quite different. Thus the main objective of the present study is to analyse the association between the pressure of population on land and the production of crops for 1974-83 period in North Bengal on the basis of Boserup (1965) model.

### Methods of Study and Data Sources

In this study informations were mainly collected from the official records of government publications. These are processed and analysed in the paper. In order to analyse the patterns of spatial variation of the change in population density and the change in per capita agricultural land per rural population for 1974-83 period, two maps are drawn (Figures 2 and 3). Then simple cross-table and bivariate analysis were used to measure the



Source: Upazila Statistics, Vol. 1, 1983

Source: Upazila Statistics, Vol. 1, 1983

association between population pressure on land and intensity of cropping. In order to have an idea about the pattern of relationship between the variables, Pearson product moment co-efficient of correlation is obtained. Again for the purpose of analysing the spatial variations and measuring the degree of dependence, the technique of scatter diagram and regression are employed. The hypothesis, are then tested in the course of the

analysis in accordance with the Boserup model of agricultural growth. The objectives of this study are justified by formulating the hypothesis in the following manner: (a) that the density of population is directly related to the cropping intensity and the area under irrigation; and (b) that the per capita agricultural land per rural population is inversely related to the area sown more than once.

### Land Use Pattern

Land is one of the important natural resource, used by man for various purposes. Few relationships in life are more fundamental or more significant than that between man and land and the natural environment (Barlowe, 1965). Land use 'is any kind of permanent or cyclic human intervention on the natural resource environment to satisfy human needs' (Rao and Vaidhyaradhan, 1981). The land use suitability is the potential capacity of a given tract of land to support different types of land utilization under given cultural and socio-economic conditions (Vink, 1975). Agriculture remains the major land use in terms of area even in highly industrial countries (Whitby, 1974), Das (1979) suggested that the supply of land resources may be physically limited, but there is a wide scope for human choice, initiative and skill to expand functionality of land resources to an indefinite degree. In this study however, the emphasis is laid only on the aspect of agricultural land use. As mentioned earlier that compared to other regions of Bangladesh Rajshahi Division is equally densely populated where land becomes scarce and assume a complex problem of demand and supply. Thus the most rational and economic use of land is inevitable. The pattern of agricultural land utilization is shown in Table 1. According to Table 1,

TABLE 1

Land Utilization (Comparative Study) Percentage of the Total Area

	Not available for cultivation		Forest		Culturable waste		Current fallow		Net cropped areas	
	1974	1983	1974	1983	1974	1983	1973	1984	1974	1983
Rajshahi Division	14.8	16.2	.42	.39	2.7	2.5	7.7	3.5	74.3	77.4
Bangladesh	18.6	19.0	15.7	15.3	1.9	1.75	4.8	4	59.0	60

- Source : 1. Basic Statistics of Bangladesh Agriculture, Statistical Series No. 2, Ministry of Agriculture, Dhaka, 1975, p. 31.  
 2. Statistical Pocket Book of Bangladesh, Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, Dhaka, 1981, pp. 158-159.  
 3. Upazila Statistics, 1979-83, Vol. One, Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, Dhaka, 1985, pp. 8-72.

it may be said that the proportion of land under crop production in Rajshahi Division increased from 74.3 per cent to 77.4 per cent during

the period 1974-83. In Bangladesh, during the same period the proportion of cultivated land increased from 59 per cent to 60 per cent only. This shows that the proportion of land under cultivation is very high in North Bengal, compared to the position of the country. Forest covers only 0.39 per cent and the area not available for cultivation in Rajshahi Division increased from 14.8 to 16.2 per cent during 1974-83 period (Table 1). In this connection, it may be mentioned here that a significant amount of land is going out of cultivation every year due to the rapid sprawling of high ways, roads, high growth rate in rural areas, constructions of canals, development of industries and urban expansion. As a result, there is a little scope for physical expansion of cultivated land in the country as a whole and in North Bengal in particular. Therefore, the only alternative lies in its intensification and diversification of cropping pattern and the use of HYV seed, insecticide and pesticide in order to increase productivity.

### **Population Pressure**

The relationship between population numbers and land resources is often stated quantitatively in terms of population density (Barlowe, 1965). As mentioned, a major objective of this paper is to correlate the number of persons per unit area with the capacity of land resources for the productivity of agricultural crops in Rajshahi Division. A scientific study of the relationship of the environment with the density of population highlighting the pressure of population on land is very essential in a region having predominant rural economy (Nityananda, 1966).

Density of population in Bangladesh is higher than most of the countries of the world. Nafiz Ahmed (1968) proposed that variety of geographical conditions have exerted the most potent influence in bringing about the density of population higher e.g., the matchless fertile soil, the richness of the country, the cheapness of food and easy going life. But the most important factor for the high density of population in Bangladesh is the high rate of birth. The total population increased from 22.0 million in 1872 (Haroon E. R., 1965) to about 110.0 million in 1988 (PRB 1988). The present rate of population growth is about 2.23% and the rapid growth is a major problem to her geographical area and land resources. In fact, Bangladesh shows little sign of reduction of high birth rate since time immemorial. Thus a reduction in the present rate of population growth is of overriding importance if the economic development of the country is not to be retarded (Patel A. M., 1968).

However, as explained earlier, the extremely high pressure of population in Rajshahi Division during the study period is also noticed. Although, this region has slightly lower densities than the other regions of Bangladesh, yet recent trend of population growth shows that they are fast making up this lag (Haroon E.R., 1981). The districtwise density

of population is given in Table 2 and the percentage change in the spatial pattern of rural population during 1974-83 period is explained in Figure 2. The most interesting feature of the trend of population density (Table 2) is that the percentage change in all the districts are higher during 1974-83 period. The average rural population density per square km in Rajshahi Division increased from 472 persons in 1974 to 569 in 1983 (Table 2). Highest rural population density are found in Bogra, Jaipurhat, Gaibandha, Nilphamari and Rangpur on account of fertile loamy soil (Table 2). It has also been found that high percentage of cultivated land and irrigated lands generally corresponds with areas of rural density. It may be explained from Table 2 that with the increase in the number of people per unit area in Rajshahi Division, the proportion of per capita cultivated land of NSA per rural population declined from 0.16 hectare in 1974 to 0.14 hectare in 1983. This reflects the alarming situation of 'man-land ratio' of this region. If the present rate of population growth continues, the per capita cultivated land will no doubt reduce in near future drastically and the agrarian economy of Rajshahi Division will further lead to jeopardy.

### Intensity of Cropping

The rural density can more closely be studied by correlating it with the cultivated area and the pressure of population on land can be better studied through this method. In order to explore the relationship between the density of population and the cropping intensity, it may be said that the increase in rural population leads to the decline in per capita agricultural land and this trend has to be balanced by increasing the yield of crops from the same parcel of land through intensification. Thus land use intensity implies extracting maximum output from a particular parcel of land by growing more crops than once a year (Suresh S., 1973). The land use intensity, in simplest form, is an outcome of the interaction of physical environment on one hand and socio-economic factors on the other (Reddy, P.V., 1983 and Turner, Hanham and Portraro, 1977). Boserup (1965) suggested that the concept of intensification in agriculture in a way, implies to the gradual change towards patterns of land use which make it possible to crop a given area of land more frequently than before for additional food production in response to population growth. Haroon (1981) points out that the above can be assessed through their intensity of cultivation.

The most marked feature of land use in Rajshahi Division is the intensive pattern of land use. The pattern of land use intensity for the period 1974-83 in Rajshahi Division is documented in Table 3. It can be seen from Tables 2 and 3 that percentage of area sown more than

TABLE 2  
RAJSHAHI DIVISION  
Rural Population, Rural Population Density and Pressure of Population on Land

Districts	Area in SKM		Rural population		Density per SKM as rural pop.		Per capita land of NSA per rural population in hectare		Area sown more than once as a percentage of NSA	
	1974	1983	1974	1983	1974	1983	1974	1983	1974	1983
Bogra	2919	2022682	1656288	2022682	567	693	.13	.11	54.77	58.64
Joypurhat	969	577333	492054	577333	508	693	.16	.14	28.3	32.8
Dinajpur	3543	1685018	1378077	1685018	389	479	.19	.17	32.7	31.21
Panchagarh	1404	554746	466423	554746	332	395	.20	.17	58.9	31.6
Thakurgaon	1810	787550	617812	787550	341	435	.19	.15	46.7	32.5
Pabna	2435	1392791	1149792	1392791	472	572	.15	.13	42.7	51.4
Serajganj	2502	1761417	450324	1761417	580	704	.14	.12	46.2	49.2
Naogaon	3434	1662168	1269367	1662168	367	484	.21	.17	13.3	14.6
Natore	1906	1033794	337566	1033794	440	542	.17	.13	29.3	30.9
Nawabganj	1735	867913	743743	867913	432	500	.16	.13	32.5	30.2
Rejshahi	2368	1373605	1045755	1373605	438	576	.16	.14	16.4	23.2
Gaibandha	2157	1531691	1330591	1531691	617	710	.12	.10	74.2	77.9
Kurigram	2173	1220293	1060094	1220293	487	562	.14	.12	75.8	77.6
Lalmonirhat	1303	764331	651200	764331	500	587	.15	.13	75.0	77.0
Nilphamari	1639	992727	863691	992727	520	606	.14	.12	72.3	73.0
Rangpur	2313	1547403	1307794	1547403	566	659	.13	.11	70.4	74.4

- Sources: 1. Bangladesh Population Census, Bulletin 2, 1974 Census Commission Dhaka, pp. 13-22 and 172.  
 2. A Preliminary Report on Population Census, 1981, Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, Dhaka, 13-48, 1981.  
 3. Thana Statistics Volume One, Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, pp. 115-130, 1981.  
 4. Upazila Statistics, (1979-1983), Volume One, Basic Statistics, January 1985, Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, Dhaka, pp. 58-77.

TABLE 3  
RAJSHAHI DIVISION  
( Land Utilization Area in 1000 hectares )

Districts	Total area		Current fallow		Single cropped		Double cropped		Tripple cropped		Net sown area		Gross cropped		Intensity of cropping as % of NSA		Area-land under irrigation	
	1974	1983	1974	1983	1974	1983	1974	1983	1974	1983	1974	1983	1974	1983	1974	1983	1974	1983
Bogra	296		7	3	99	90	92	98	25	31	216	220	358	378	166	173	32	77
Jaipurhat	99		3	3	46	39	28	34	6	8	80	80	120	128	150	161	9	15
Dinajpur	359		27	13	174	194	60	74	24	14	257	282	365	383	140	136	14	29
Pranchagarh	142		11	5	65	65	27	25	8	5	56	95	138	127	144	137	10	13
Thakurgaon	183		20	10	64	79	47	33	9	5	120	117	186	160	154	137	23	23
Pabna	230		16	10	103	90	66	80	10	14	178	183	262	289	148	158	21	21
Serajganj	247		6	7	107	94	65	71	26	21	197	187	312	301	159	161	11	23
Naogaon	348		11	8	235	240	31	38	5	2.5	270	281	310	324	115	115	52	56
Natore	194		3	3	99	96	35	36	6	5	140	136	187	181	133	133	11	12
Nawabganj	176		9	6.4	77	82	40	34	.41	.82	118	116	159	152	135	130	17	13
Rajshahi	242		5	14	121	103	22	02	5	4	165	155	215	194	130	125	33	33.4
Gaibandha	220		6	7	39	33	96	97	19	23	155	154	290	299	187	194	15	31
Kurigram	220		7	9	37	35	99	97	17	17	153	147	287	278	187	189	12	20
Lalmonirhat	134		5	6	25	23	65	67	10	11	100	100	184	186	184	188	15	11
Nilphamari	167		5	6	33	32	69	74	17	15	119	122	222	226	186	186	10	28
Rangpur	232		5	4	50	44	101	97	18	28	169	168	306	324	181	190	17	37

Sources : 1. Thana Statistics, Vol. 1, Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 1981, Dhaka, pp. 115-130  
2. Upazila Statistics (1979-1983), Volume One, Basic Statistics, January 1985, Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, Dhaka, pp. 8-72.

once is higher in Kurigram, Lalmonirhat, Gaibandha and Rangpur districts where per capita NSA is lower than other districts. The average intensity of cropping in Rajshahi Division increased from 155 to in 1974 to 157 in 1983 as against 152 and 155 in Bangladesh. Higher intensity of land use in this part of Bangladesh has been achieved by raising production per unit area and by using the land more effectively. An increase within cultivation intensity in the study area during 1974-83 period has also been achieved by scientific improvement of technology i.e., by increasing irrigation facilities. The spatial variation of the intensity of cropping in the study area is shown in Table 3 which is very significant. It may be noted that highest intensity of cropping and high percentage of irrigated lands are found in Rangpur, Nilphamari, Gaibandha, Bogra and Kurigram generally corresponds with high rural population density (Tables 2 and 3).

#### **Association between Population Pressure and Intensity of Cropping**

It is curious to examine whether there is any significant association between pressure of population and intensity of cropping within the districts of Rajshahi Division. The result of a simple cross-classification of sixteen districts of Rajshahi Division in terms of rural population density and intensity of cropping is shown in Table 4.

TABLE 4

**Bivariate analysis of Relationship Between Rural Population Density and Intensity of Cropping in the Districts of Rajshahi Division, 1983**

Rural Population Density	Intensity of cropping	
	Above median	Below median
Above median	6	2
Below median	2	6

Source: Based on Tables 2 and 3.

Of the eight districts with above values of rural population density, six had higher intensity of cropping, the two exception are Pabna and Natore district. Incidentally, the intensity of cropping in these two districts were originally below the median value. Again six out of eight districts with relatively lower population density also had lower cropping intensity except Dinajpur and Thankurgaon. Rural population density in both these districts was marginally above the median value. Thus there seems to be a positive association between rural population density and intensity of cropping.



The bivariate analysis of relationship between per capita NSA per rural population and the intensity of cropping (1983) is shown in Table 5.

TABLE 5

Per capita land of NSA per rural population	Intensity of cropping	
	Above median	Below median
Above median	2	6
Below median	6	2

Source: Based on Tables 2 and 3.

According to Table 5, out of eight districts with above median values of cropping intensity, six had relatively lower value of per capita NSA per rural population except Nawabgonj and Rajshahi. In these two districts, per capita land per rural population was only marginally above the median value. Again six out of eight districts with below median values of intensity of cropping had relatively higher values of NSA per rural population. The two exceptions are Dinajpur and Thakurgaon where intensity of cropping was only marginally below the median value. Thus there seems to be a negative association between per capita NSA and intensity of cropping supports Boserup (1965) if technology is inelastic.

### Correlation and Regression Analysis

As explained, this study attempted to measure the relationship between (a) the density of rural population per square km and area sown more than once as a percentage of net sown area, (b) the density of rural population and irrigated lands and (c) between per capita land (in hectare) of net sown area per rural population and area sown more than once as a percentage of net sown area.

Therefore, in order to explain the above hypotheses the degree of cropping intensity and the area under irrigation (dependent variable) have been correlated separately with the independent variables such as density of rural population per square km. and the per capita (in hectare) NSA with the data of 1974 and 1983. It has been stated earlier that the pressure of population on land has compelled the peasants to increase the productivity of crops through intensification of cultivation (Boserup, 1965). This hypotheses has been tested statistically.

In first step, the Pearson product Moment Correlation Coefficient between variables of the districts of Rajshahi Division was calculated. The coefficient of correlation between rural population density and the area sown more than once as a percentage of NSA and between rural popula-

tion density and the area under irrigation are  $r=+0.45$ ,  $+0.63$ ,  $+0.48$  and  $+0.60$  for both 1974 and 1983 seems to be quite high. At the same time correlation coefficient between per capita NSA and the area sown more than once as percentage of NSA are also high ( $r=0.62$  and  $-0.79$ ) for both the years i.e., 1974 and 1983. All these hypotheses are tested at 0.05 per cent level of significance. Therefore, it may be suggested that the population pressure on land and the intensity of cropping is significantly correlated. This hypotheses correspond with the conception of Boserup (1965) and she says that an increase in the rate of population growth must increase in cultivation intensity if it is supplemented by technology.

The strength of the assumption for determining the relationship between the density of rural population and intensity of cropping, between density of rural population and the area under irrigation etc. was further measured by the use of straight line. This known as regression line and describes the linear relationship between the dependent and independent variables and confirms the hypothesis. The appropriate regression line for this study are shown in Figures 4, 5 and 6. It may be stressed from the figures that these regression lines are best estimates of the relationship between the variables (Gregory, 1987; Walpole, 1965 and Walker and Lev, 1967). Then the standard errors of estimate was calculated to assess the accuracy of the data.

In this study the hypotheses are also measured by the coefficient of determination i.e., the coefficient of correlation squared ( $R^2$ ). Thus  $R^2$  of the variation in the values of the y may be accounted for by the linear relationship with the variable x (Yeates, 1974). A correlation of  $+0.63$  and  $0.60$  (for 1983 data) the value of  $R^2$  i.e.,  $0.39$  and  $0.36$  are obtained to measure the explained variation of y. That means 30% and 36% of the variation of the variable y is accounted for by difference in the variable x. Therefore, it can be determined that 39% change in the intensity of cropping and 36% change in the irrigated lands in 1983 were due to the change in rural population density and the remaining was due to other independent variable.

X = Density of rural population per Square Km.  
 Y = Area Sown more than once as a percentage of NSA.

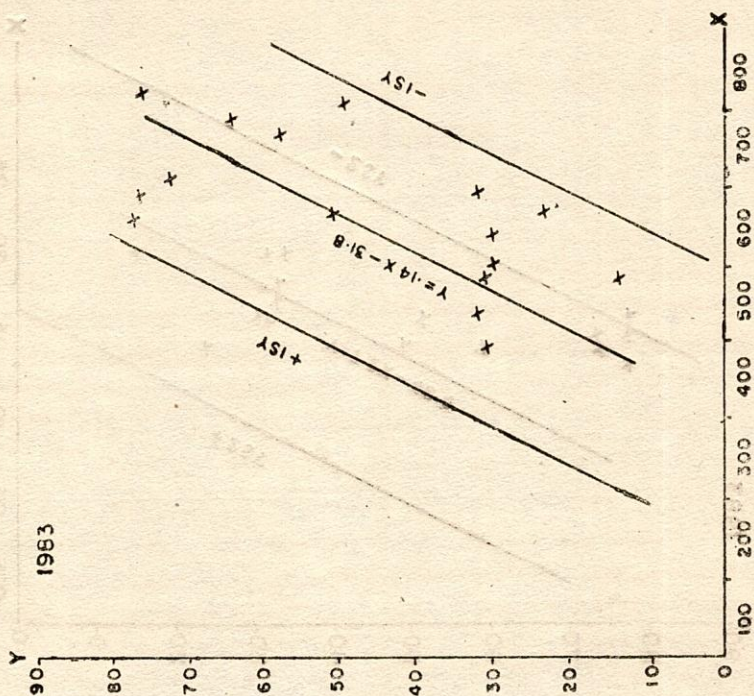
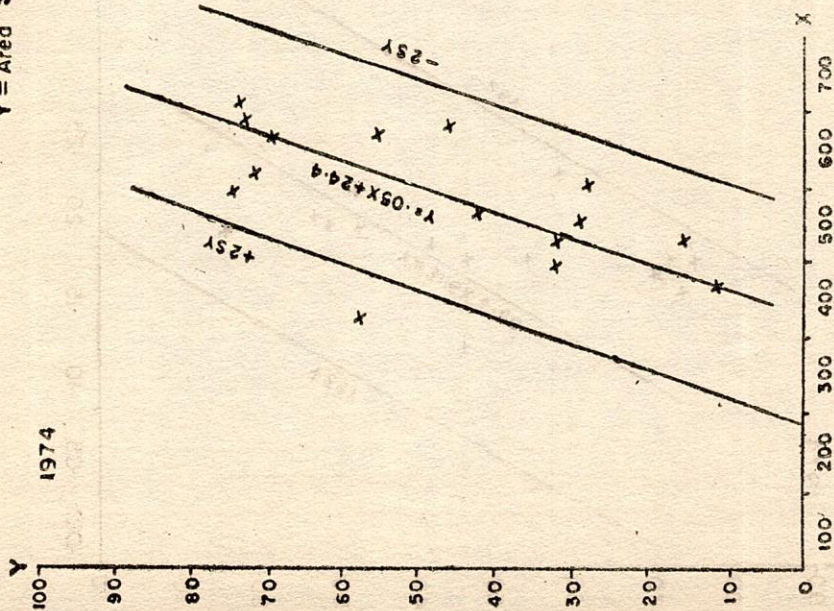


Fig. 4

X = Per Capita Land (in hectares) of NSA per Rural Population.  
 Y = Area Sown more than once as a percentage of Net Sown Area.

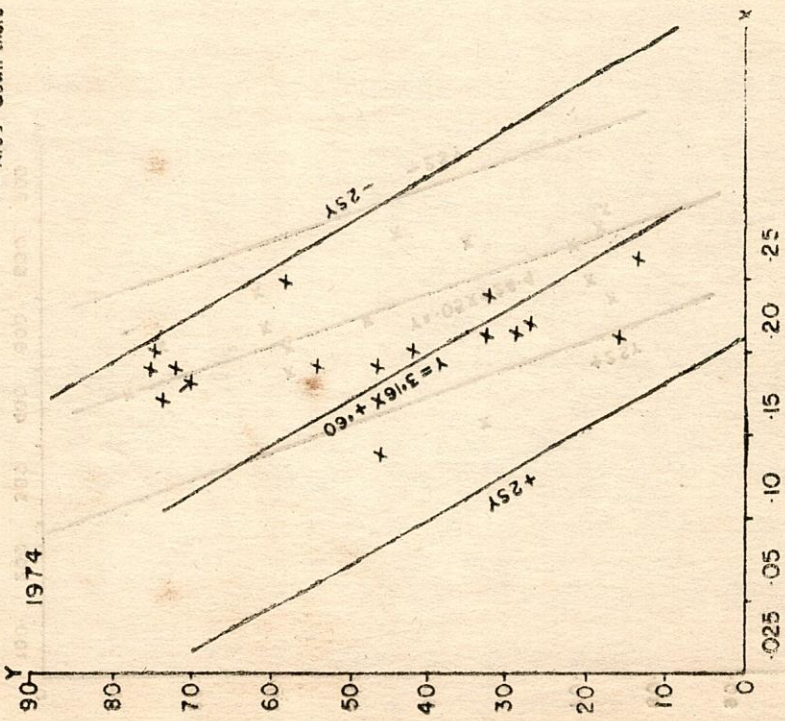
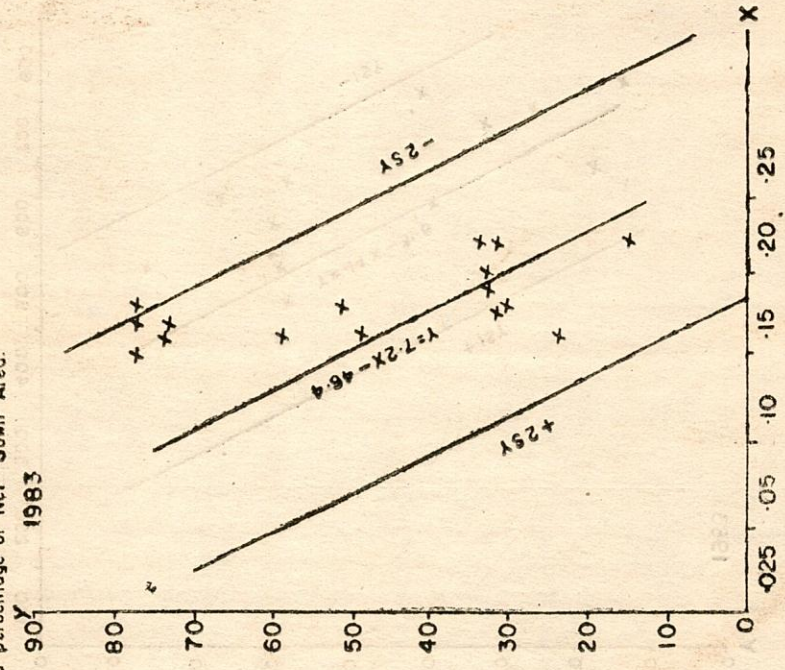


Fig. 5

Y = Area Sown more than once as a percentage of Net Sown Area.  
 X = Per Capita Land (in hectares) of NSA per Rural Population.

X = Density of Population  
Y = Area under Irrigation (in hectare)

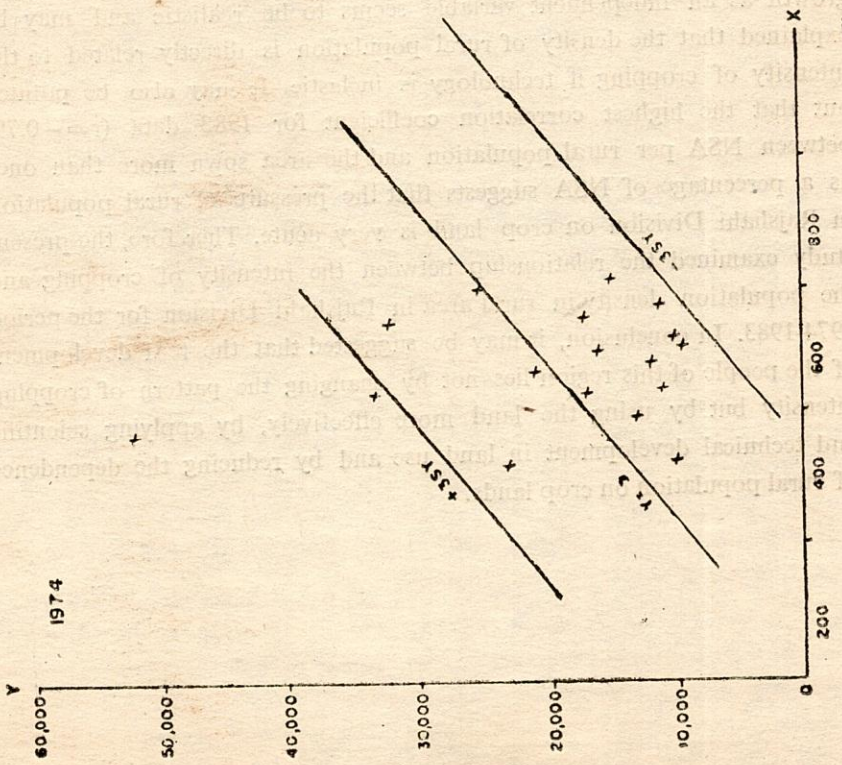
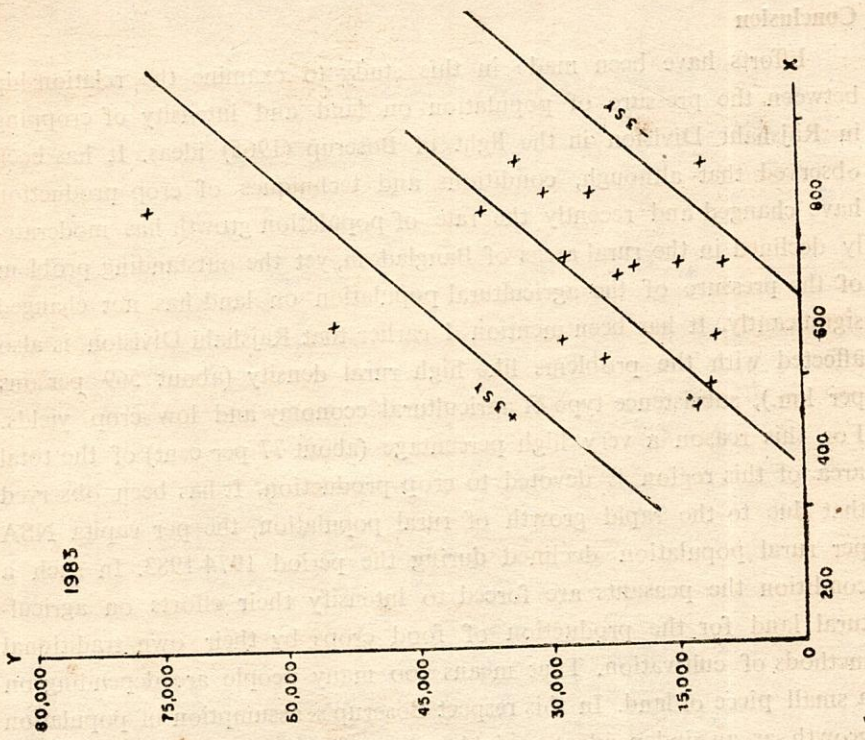


Fig. 6

### Conclusion

Efforts have been made in this study to examine the relationship between the pressure of population on land and intensity of cropping in Rajshahi Division in the light of Boserup (1965) ideas. It has been observed that although, conditions and techniques of crop production have changed and recently the rate of population growth has moderately declined in the rural areas of Bangladesh, yet the outstanding problem of the pressure of the agricultural population on land has not changed significantly. It has been mentioned earlier that Rajshahi Division is also affected with the problems like high rural density (about 569 persons per km.), subsistence type of agricultural economy and low crop yields. For this reason a very high percentage (about 77 per cent) of the total area of this region is devoted to crop production. It has been observed that due to the rapid growth of rural population, the per capita NSA per rural population declined during the period 1974-1983. In such a condition the peasants are forced to intensify their efforts on agricultural land for the production of food crops by their own traditional methods of cultivation. That means too many people are depending on a small piece of land. In this respect Boserup's assumption of population growth as an independent variable seems to be realistic and may be explained that the density of rural population is directly related to the intensity of cropping if technology is inelastic. It may also be pointed out that the highest correlation coefficient for 1983 data ( $r = -0.79$ ) between NSA per rural population and the area sown more than once as a percentage of NSA suggests that the pressure of rural population in Rajshahi Division on crop land is very acute. Therefore, the present study examined the relationship between the intensity of cropping and the population density in rural area in Rajshahi Division for the period 1974-1983. In conclusion, it may be suggested that the real development of the people of this region lies not by changing the pattern of cropping intensity but by using the land more effectively, by applying scientific and technical development in land use and by reducing the dependence of rural population on crop lands.

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# Rationale, Genesis and Development of the Six Point

Syed Humayun

The Six Point Formula is the net aggregation of grievances and demands of the Bengalis. It is, in fact, the logical culmination of a process of demands articulated by the Bengali regional elites ever since the birth of Pakistan. "It is", to quote the author of the Six Point, "a growth." The author adds: "It is spontaneous because these demands are no new points invented afresh by me or any individual but are in reality long-standing demands of the people and pledges of their leaders awaiting fulfilment for decades."<sup>1</sup> Treated below is the pointwise evolution of the Six Point Formula.

Both geography as well as history demanded that Pakistan should be a federal state. The demand for a Federal form of Government had universal appeal in the East Wing since, even before, the partition. The Objective Resolution, passed by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan in March 1949, upheld this demand. It laid down that, "territories now included in or in accession to Pakistan shall form a Federation, wherein the units will be autonomous."<sup>2</sup> Article 1 of the 1956 Constitution laid down that 'Pakistan shall be a Federal Republic.'<sup>3</sup> The preamble to the 1962 Constitution also stated that, "the territories now and hereafter included in Pakistan should form a Federation with the provinces enjoying such autonomy as is consistent with the unity and interest of Pakistan as a whole."<sup>4</sup> One may ask as to why did

<sup>1</sup> Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, *6-Point Formula: Our Right to Live* (Dacca: Published by Tajuddin Ahmed, General Secretary, East Pakistan Awami League, Pioneer Press, 1966), p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Government of Pakistan, Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, *Debates* (Karachi: 1949), Vol. V, No. 5, pp. 100-1.

<sup>3</sup> See Article 1 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, 1956. Safdar Mahmood, *Constitutional Foundations of Pakistan* (Lahore: Publishers United Ltd., 1975), p. 216.

<sup>4</sup> See The Preamble to the Constitution of the Republic of Pakistan 1962, Safdar Mahmood, *op. cit.*, p. 503.

the Six Point Formula focus on this demand when the basic constitutional documents had already recognized the fact? This may be explained with reference to the fact that there had been a wide divergence between the theory and practice of federalism in Pakistan. In fact, the early phases of political evolution of federalism in Pakistan witnessed a strong urge for centralism. This was justified, at the initial stage, maintaining that without a strong and powerful centre the problems of post-independence days could not be tackled effectively. However, this tendency was accentuated to such a point where the provinces were subordinated to the dictates of the Centre. Federal crisis in the body-politics of Pakistan thus emerged from the very beginning.<sup>5</sup> When the 1956 Constitution was being framed, the Bengali regional elites, especially the Awami Leaguers, vociferously opposed the move to establish a powerful Federal Government. On the other hand, they insisted that the Constitution must adhere to the 21 Points Manifesto of the United Front<sup>6</sup> which in effect would have reversed completely the swing of federalism towards 'peripheralization.' As their point of view was not accommodated by the final draft of the Constitution they came out in the streets to register their protests. A Resistance Day was observed in East Wing. Maulana Bhashani, the chief of the Awami League in East Wing, had even threatened secession.<sup>7</sup>

A cursory look at the operation of the 1956 Constitution shows that the Federal Government was not only powerful in its own rights but it unnecessarily and treacherously interfered in provincial politics.<sup>8</sup> This in effect produced serious confidence crisis in Pakistan's federal system. Ayub Khan's authoritarianism — devoid of any genuine Bangali participation — also suffered similar confidence and legitimacy crisis in East Wing.<sup>9</sup> Indeed during Ayub Khan's regime centripetal forces were

<sup>5</sup>See Dr. Manzooruddin Ahmed, "The Nature of Federal Crisis in Canada and Pakistan", *Pakistan Political Science Review* (Karachi: Autumn, 1973), Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 17-29.

<sup>6</sup>G.W. Choudhury, *Constitutional Development in Pakistan* (London: Longman, 1969), 2nd eds., p. 98.

<sup>7</sup>*The Round Table*, Oxford, March, 1966; Also quoted in G. W. Choudhury, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-99.

<sup>8</sup>See M.A. Chaudhury, *Government and Politics in Pakistan* (Dacca: Puthighar Ltd., 1968), pp. 237-244; Also see Report of Asir Commission, *The Dacca Gazette*, Registered No. Da. I, May 9, 1959, pp. 607-10 and p. 669; Inamur Rahman, *Public Opinion and Political Development in Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1982), pp. 211-234.

<sup>9</sup>Rounaq Jahan, *Bangladesh Politics: Problems and Issues* (Dacca: University Press Limited, 1980), pp. 13-14.

carried to the extreme.<sup>10</sup> The provinces hardly enjoyed any autonomy. They were made to function as a mere extension of the central administrative apparatus. The governors were nothing more than President's agents in the provinces.<sup>11</sup> Governor Monem Khan<sup>12</sup> could best be regarded as its classic example.<sup>13</sup> The President was so dominant in provincial affairs that even the appointment of provincial ministers and their relation with the provincial assemblies were conditioned by the instruction of the President. The Report of the Standing Organization Committee (1962) conveyed clearly how much biased the Ayubian System was towards centralism.<sup>14</sup> It is interesting to note that the framers of the 1962 Constitution carefully avoided the use of the term 'Federation' in the text of the Constitution.<sup>15</sup> A glance at the Constitution suggests that the 'Federation' was changed to 'Centre', the 'Federal Government' to the 'Central Government' and the 'Federal Legislature' to the 'Central Legislature.'<sup>16</sup> Sayeed rightly observes that 'it would be difficult to describe Pakistani federalism as even quasi-federal because one can see that the Central Government is not only strong in its own right but can lay down policy even in matters which have been allotted to the provinces.'<sup>17</sup> Such being the circumstances, the Six Point Formula reiterated that there should be a genuine Federal Form of Government<sup>18</sup>

<sup>10</sup>D.N. Banerjee, *East Pakistan: A Case Study in Muslim Politics* (Delhi: Vikas Publications, 1969), pp. 173-74.

<sup>11</sup>Mizanur Rahman, *Emergence of a New Nation in a Multi-Polar World: Bangladesh* (Dacca: University Press Limited, 1979), p. 35.

<sup>12</sup>He was appointed Governor of East Wing in 1962, a post which he faithfully served till the end of his master's fall.

<sup>13</sup>Rounaq Jahan, *Pakistan: Failure in National Integration* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972), pp. 160-61. Also see Mushtaq Ahmed, *Government and Politics in Pakistan* (Karachi: Space Publishers, 1970), pp. 225-26.

<sup>14</sup>See Government of Pakistan, Establishment Division, *The Report of Standing Organization Committee on the Reorganization of the Functions and Structure of the Central Government in the light of the New Constitution* (Rawalpindi: Central Army Press, 1962).

<sup>15</sup>The term 'Federation' occurs only once in the Preamble in the following from... "Pakistan should be a form of Federation..." See *The Constitution of the Republic of Pakistan 1962*. Safdar Mahmood, *op. cit.*, p. 503.

<sup>16</sup>S.A. Akanda, *East Pakistan and Politics of Regionalism*, Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Denver: University of Denver, 1970), p. 240.

<sup>17</sup>K.B. Sayeed, *The Political System of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 111.

<sup>18</sup>Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

and the advocates of the Six Point made it clear that mere lip-service to Federation was not enough. They demanded that in order to fully satisfy the Bengalis' urge for complete provincial autonomy, a genuine federal structure should be created in strict adherence to the Lahore Resolution.<sup>19</sup> There was special reason for invoking the Lahore Resolution because the Bengali elites believed that the Lahore Resolution had visualized an extremely loose Federation. And that arrangement was most suitable for the geo-political situation of Pakistan.<sup>20</sup> It is also interesting to note that afterwards many Bengali politicians had even demanded independence or a confederal relationship between East and West Wings on that basis.<sup>21</sup>

The demand for Parliamentary Form of Government is another demand consistently raised in East Wing since independence. It was motivated by historical as well as political considerations. It was the prevalent mode of government in undivided India. The Bengali politicians were quite familiar and in fact had practical experience of the system in undivided India.<sup>22</sup> After independence they, therefore, demanded that this system should be retained. But there was another important factor which induced the Bengalis to demand parliamentary form of government. They knew that being a majority and cohesive group, they could better exercise their political strength in a parliamentary democracy than in any other form of government. Hence they stressed intensely on the need for having Parliamentary System. The demand was further motivated by the realization that two important state institutions namely bureaucracy and armed services were already being exclusively controlled by the West Pakistanis. Thus by exercising their democratic control over the central legislature under Parliamentary Democracy, they expected to counter balance the influence of the bureaucracy and army. It is significant to note that inspite of dominating position of East Bengal in the First and Second Constituent

<sup>19</sup>Ibid.

<sup>20</sup>In K.B. Sayeed's opinion a looser confederal form of government and a consociational type of executive should have been the model for Pakistani society. K.B. Sayeed, *Politics in Pakistan: Nature and Direction of Change* (New York: Praeger, 1980), p. 68.

<sup>21</sup>See *The Pakistan Observer* (Dacca) December 6, 1970. Also see Talukdar Maniruzzaman, *The Bangladesh Revolution and its Aftermath* (Dacca: Bangladesh Books International Limited, 1980) p. 76.

<sup>22</sup>In undivided India, Bengali politicians like A.K. Fazlul Haq, Suhrawardy and Nazimuddin had successfully run many parliamentary governments.

Assemblies<sup>23</sup> the Bengali political elites had, however, utterly failed to exercise their authority over the central executive.<sup>24</sup> The 1956 Constitution, by incorporating the principle of parity of representation between the two wings and by unifying the four provinces in West Wing into One-Unit, had undermined to a great extent the privileged position of East Wing. Nevertheless, the Bengali political elites did their best for the smooth

<sup>23</sup>The seats in the First Constituent Assembly were distributed as follows:

East Bengal	44
West Punjab	22
Sind	5
N.W.F.P.	3
Baluchistan	1
Baluchistan States	1
Bahawalpur	1
Khairpur	1
N.W.F.P. States	1
Total	79

Source: G.W. Choudhury, *Democracy in Pakistan* (Dacca: Green Book House, 1963), pp. 35-36.

The position in the Second Constituent Assembly was as follows:

East Pakistan	40
The Punjab	21
N.W.F.P.	4
Sind	5
Baluchistan	1
Baluchistan State Union	1
Frontier States	1
Tribal Areas	3
Khairpur States	1
Bahawalpur State	2
Karachi	1
Total	80

Source: G. W. Choudhury, *Constitutional Development in Pakistan* (London: Longmans, 1969), p. 91.

<sup>24</sup>Dr. Rashiduzzaman, *Pakistan: A Study of Government and Politics* (Dacca: Ideal Library, 1967), p. 92 ; Also see the speech of Malik Mohammad Feroz Khan Noon delivered before the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. Constituent Assemb[ly] of Pakistan, *Debates*, Official Report, 25 August 1955, p. 317.

running of Parliamentary Democracy.<sup>25</sup> But the conspiracies and palace-intrigues engineered mainly by West Wing's vested interests brought a sudden death to the Parliamentary System.<sup>26</sup>

The end of Parliamentary System and the subsequent imposition of Martial Law shattered all hopes of Bengali political elites to assert their democratic rights in the country's affairs after the expected 1959 general elections.<sup>27</sup> The demand of Parliamentary Democracy was, thus, vigorously pressed by the Bengali elites ever since the beginning of Ayub Khan's Martial Law Regime. A number of factors were responsible for making the demand so intense during this period. Ayub Khan established, what Sayeed calls, a 'constitutional autocracy',<sup>28</sup> which was highly distasteful to the Bengali elites.<sup>29</sup> The Ayubian System was marked by complete domination of West Pakistanis in every sphere.<sup>30</sup> The bureaucracy and the army, consisting mainly of West Pakistanis, had reached the zenith of power during this time.<sup>31</sup> The Ayubian System thus provided least opportunity to the Bengali elites to effectively participate in the affairs of the state.<sup>32</sup> Parliamentary Democracy thus appeared to the Bengali elites as the only way to their "political salvation." The politically articulate people of East Wing were aware and the politicians of the province never let them forget that they could hope of, "assuming any position of strength only in a system of Parliamentary Democracy."<sup>33</sup> Nurul Amin, a veteran Bengali politician, was of the opinion that Parliamentary Government had not failed in Pakistan for it was hardly given any chance to work. In his disposition before the Constitution Commission, Nurul Amin was said to have observed that the Parliamentary pattern of Democracy had failed in Pakistan would be too hasty a verdict because the Constitution (1956)

<sup>25</sup>Talukdar Maniruzzaman, *The Politics of Development: The Case of Pakistan 1947-58* (Dacca: Green Book House Limited, 1975), p. 136.

<sup>26</sup>K.J. Newman, "Pakistan's Preventive Autocracy and its causes", *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. XXXII No. 1, March 1959, p. 31.

<sup>27</sup>Mizanur Rahman, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

<sup>28</sup>K.B. Sayeed, *Political System of Pakistan, op. cit.*, pp. 101-26.

<sup>29</sup>In order to appreciate fully the attitude of Bengali elites one may observe that the dislike of absolute authority have been an essential ingredient of Bengali political culture.

<sup>30</sup>T. Maniruzzaman, *Bangladesh Revolution and its Aftermath, op. cit.*, p. 9.

<sup>31</sup>K. B. Sayeed, *Politics in Pakistan, op. cit.*, p. 70. According to Sayeed, "This group made all the major decisions that were on the whole dysfunctional toward the stability and maintenance of the political system."

<sup>32</sup>G. W. Choudhury, *Constitutional Development in Pakistan, op. cit.*, p. 247.

<sup>33</sup>Safar A. Akanda, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

was not given a fair trial.<sup>34</sup> Ataur Rahman, another Bengali politician, pointed out that the great distance between the two wings of Pakistan made it impossible to have a Presidential System. He further observed:

“When a President is elected from one Wing, the other Wing will surely feel that its people have not been represented in the government. Active and effective participation by the people in the affairs of government is a sine qua non of an ideal pattern of government, that is only possible in a Parliamentary System of Government and impossible in any form of Presidential Government.”<sup>35</sup>

Since the beginning of the decade of Sixties, when limited political activities were allowed, the demand for Parliamentary Democracy was pressed with increasing vigour.<sup>36</sup> The platform of the National Democratic Front, a conglomeration of opposition forces organized by Suhrawardy to challenge Ayub Khan's system gave new life to the slogan of Parliamentary Democracy.<sup>37</sup> Agitations in the form of strikes, processions and public meetings became widespread for pressing the demand for restoration of the Parliamentary Democracy.<sup>38</sup> Political parties, regional elites and students voiced the demand from various platforms.<sup>39</sup>

Closely connected with the above demand was another demand i.e. the Legislature must be sovereign.<sup>40</sup> This demand has special significance in the context of politics in United Pakistan. In a Parliamentary Democracy, the parliament is geneally a sovereign body. It is the parliament that decides the formation of political executive, i.e. the cabinet, and the political executive in turn is accountable and responsible to the parliament.<sup>41</sup> But in Pakistan's Parliamentary Era (1947-58), the Parliament hardly enjoyed any power. During this period the Governor-Generals and the

<sup>34</sup>*The Pakistan Observer*, Dacca, June 27, 1960.

<sup>35</sup>See Ataur Rahman's reply to the questionarie issued by the Constitution Commission, June 1960.

<sup>36</sup>Edgar and Kathryn Schuler, *Public Opinion and Constitution Making in Pakistan, 1958-62* (Michigan: Michigan University Press, 1967), pp. 61-73; Also see the statement of nine Bengali politicians issued on June 24, 1962. *The Pakistan Observer*, *The Ittefaq*, June 25, 1962.

<sup>37</sup>See *Asian Survey*, Vol. III, No. 2, February 1963, p. 111.

<sup>38</sup>Edgar and Kathryn Schuler, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-73; D. N. Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

<sup>39</sup>See *The Pakistan Observer*, March, 11, 13, 16, 23, 26, 27 and May 4, 1966. *The Daily Ittefaq* (Bengali) June 18, 1965.

<sup>40</sup>Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

<sup>41</sup>Herman Finer, *The Theory and Practice of Modern Government* (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1965), pp. 529-533, and p. 593; Also see H.J. Laski, *Parliamentary Government in England*.

President who were supposed to act as titular heads, were in fact the real sovereigns. Governor-General Ghulam Mohammad dismissed Prime Minister Khawaja Nazimuddin who enjoyed confidence of the majority in the Assembly. Muhammad Ali Bogra was called from abroad and installed as new Prime Minister by Governor-General although the former was not even a member of the Assembly. Subsequently when the Assembly tried to assert its own supremacy, the Assembly itself was dissolved by the Governor-General.<sup>42</sup> The same practice was continued by President Mirza.<sup>43</sup> Thus it was the Governor-General or the President who were the maker and unmaker of ministries in the Parliamentary Era of United Pakistan. The Legislature was relegated a secondary position both during the Parliamentary and Ayubian eras.<sup>44</sup> Indeed the Legislature under Ayub Khan's regime was nothing more than a rubber-stamp parliament for even in money matters it had no say.<sup>45</sup> To restore the sanctity of the Legislature, the Six Point Formula thus declared, "the legislature must be supreme."<sup>46</sup>

Indeed the demand that the legislature must be supreme and that representation in the legislature should be organized on the basis of population had always been popular in East Wing. The demand had emerged from the fact that East Wing had 54.2 per cent of the total population of the country and hence should have more representation than the West Wing in the Central Legislature. The First Report of the Basic Principles Committee (1950) was opposed in East Wing, as we have already observed, on the ground that it had not provided that province with an overall majority in the Federal Legislature on the basis of population. The Report, in fact, recommended reduction of the Bengali majority into a minority in a joint session of the two houses. Hence, as an alternative to the Basic Principles Committee's proposals, the Grand National Convention, held at Dacca, demanded that the Central Parliament should be organized on population basis.<sup>47</sup> The Second Report (1952) of the Basic Principles Committee was very much influenced by the popular slogan of more representation for East Wing. Thus instead of treating the provinces equally in the composition of House of Units, — a usual practice in every federal system—the Report provided half representation of that House to one

<sup>42</sup>K.B. Sayeed, *The Political System of Pakistan*, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

<sup>43</sup>G.W. Choudhury, *Democracy in Pakistan* (Dacca: Green Book House, 1963), pp. 110-116; D.N. Banerjee, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-104.

<sup>44</sup>See Mushtaq Ahmed, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-4; Dr. M.A. Chaudhury, *op. cit.*, pp. 179-81.

<sup>45</sup>Dr. Rasiduzzaman, "The National Assembly of Pakistan under the 1962 Constitution", *Pacific Affairs*, XLII, 1969-70, pp. 481-93.

<sup>46</sup>Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

<sup>47</sup>*The Pakistan Observer*, Dacca, November 6, 1950.



province only i.e. East Bengal. The Bengalis were still unsatisfied, because their majority was not recognized in the composition of the Lower House—the real powerful organ in the new set-up. The deadlock on this issue continued. Even the Muhammad Ali Formula which also designed to appease the Bengalis, was criticised as undemocratic in the East Wing.

Given the state of affairs, the calling of the Constituent Convention by Governor-General Ghulam Mohammad on the basis of parity of representation between East and West Wings produced an adverse reaction in East Wing. Fazlul Haq, the leader of the United Front, threatened to boycott the convention on the ground that it had not given East Wing majority of seats on the basis of its population. Though, later the principle of parity of the 1956 Constitution was accepted by the Bengali political elites. But it was accepted with certain reservations. It was accepted after a hard bargain and compromises.<sup>48</sup> Sheikh Mujib states about it in his booklet *6-Point Formula* : “We sacrificed our majority and accepted parity on your (West Pakistanis’) assurance that you would concede parity in all respects.”<sup>49</sup> But as the spirit of the principle of parity was not followed the Bengalis’ resentment against the principle increased slowly but steadily. The Ayubian Constitution did nothing to rectify the position. East Wing’s majority was reduced to equality in the composition of the National Assembly. Worse still, the powers of Assembly were drastically curtailed. The demand for powerful Legislature, organized on population basis was thus reiterated by the Six Point Formula.<sup>50</sup>

Again, the demand that the Legislature must be directly elected was the logical outcome of the resentment against Ayub Khan’s Basic Democracy. The Bengali political elites were convinced that so long as the basic democrats continued to act as electors for the selection of different state institutions, nobody could dislodge Ayubian System. This fear of the Bengali political elites was partly wrong and partly right. It was wrong in the sense that Ayub Khan’s regime could not score more than 50 per cent votes in three consecutive elections (1964-65) in East Wing.<sup>51</sup> The overall results of the Presidential Elections, however, confirmed their apprehension.<sup>52</sup> Had there been a direct elections, the Bengali elites believed, Miss Jinnah, a formidable contestant, would have defeated

<sup>48</sup>See *Dawn*, July 8, 1955; Also see Mushtaq Ahmed, *op. cit.*, p. 53; and D.N. Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

<sup>49</sup>Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>50</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>51</sup>K.B. Sayeed, *The Political System of Pakistan*, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

<sup>52</sup>S.A. Akanda, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

Ayub Khan.<sup>53</sup> The Election results thus had only deepened frustration among the Bengalis. They were convinced that a solution had to be sought through using some alternative system. Thus came increasing emphasis on direct elections.<sup>54</sup>

Likewise, the demand of a weak or limited subjects-centre had also been a very well-known phenomenon in the political history of United Pakistan. Indeed the Muslim Freedom Struggle in undivided India was intimately connected with the demand for a weak centre. At that time the Muslims feared that the Hindu dominated (the Hindus being three-fourth of the total population of the undivided India) centre would be detrimental to Muslim interests. As such, even the famous Lahore Resolution (1940) which laid down the foundation of Pakistan, seemed to have visualized a confederal structure between the North-West and North-East Muslim areas of the Indian subcontinent. It proposed that the various region should possess, "all powers such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary."<sup>55</sup>

The Cabinet Mission Plan (1946) and the subsequent political developments may also be mentioned here. The Plan proposed for a limited-subjects centre. It recommended that there should be an Union of India, embracing both the British India and states, which should deal with the following subjects: foreign affairs, defence and communications.<sup>56</sup> The Muslim League accepted these proposals not only because it had provided for a weak centre, but more because there was sufficient scope of Pakistan. The reaction of the Congress to the proposals was negative. Though it did not completely reject the Plan, its subsequent actions, in effect, meant that it was against it.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>53</sup>Rounaq. Jahan, *Pakistan, op. cit.*, p. 155; K.B. Sayeed, *The Political System of Pakistan, op. cit.*, p. 220.

<sup>54</sup>Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

<sup>55</sup>See the text of the Lahore Resolution. The Lahore Resolution reads: "This Session further authorizes the working committee to frame a scheme of Constitution in accordance with these basic principles, providing for the assumption finally by the respective regions of all powers such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary." Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada (ed.), *Foundations of Pakistan: All India Muslim League Documents, Vol. 2* (Karachi: National Publishing House, 1970), p. 341; Also see Latif Ahmed Sherwani, *Pakistan Resolution to Pakistan: 1940-47* (Karachi: National Publishing House, 1969), p. 21.

<sup>56</sup>See Sir Maurice Gwyer and Appadorai (ed.), *Speeches and Documents on the Indian Constitution 1921-47* (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), 2 Volumes, p. 581; Also quoted by M.A. Choudhury, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-45.

<sup>57</sup>Sir Maurice Gwyer and Appadorai (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 612. Pandit J. Nehru was reported to have commented on the Cabinet Mission as such: "The first thing is we have agreed to go into the Constituent Assembly and we have agreed to nothing else. What we do there we are entirely and absolutely free to determine. We have committed ourselves on no single matters to any body."

Curiously enough when Pakistan was achieved, the proposal for the weak centre came from the province which had majority of the population of the country. Certain factors were responsible for the development of this attitude even at the initial stage of the nation's history. These factors, as points out by Akanda, were as follows:

“Centre's apathetic and indifferent attitude towards Bengali language and culture; the regional elites dissatisfaction with their existing under-representation in the national power structure; resentment over the regional imbalance in the economic development between the two regions; and an increasing disenchantment with the constitutional division of powers between the Centre and the province of East Bengal.”<sup>58</sup>

Thus the Grand National Convention, held in 1950 at Dacca, demanded that only three subjects namely, defence, foreign affairs and currency should be given to the Centre and all other subjects should be vested in the provinces.<sup>59</sup> Another attempt for a 'limited subjects-centre' was made during the East Bengal provincial elections in 1954. The United Front fought the Elections against the ruling Muslim League, on the basis of 21 Points Election Manifesto. Point 19 of the Manifesto committed the Front to 'secure full and complete autonomy and bring all subjects under the jurisdiction of East Bengal leaving only defence, foreign affairs, and currency under the jurisdiction of the Centre.'<sup>60</sup> The two Constituent Assemblies also witnessed, as referred to earlier in Chapter 3, an intense debate between the supporters of strong Centre and autonomous province. However, since the 1956 Constitution accommodated the Centralist viewpoint, the autonomists especially the Awami Leaguers outrightly rejected the Constitution.<sup>61</sup> Again, even if Fazlul Haq, another champion of the autonomy cause and leader of the United Front, had supported the draft Constitution, he, however, stated: "We have given effect to as much of the 21-Points Programme as has been possible in the circumstances, but we propose to give effect to all the 21-Points in the future."<sup>62</sup> It is tantamount to saying that he had accepted the Constitution with certain reservation and desired the Constitution be so amended that ultimately only three subjects would be with the

<sup>58</sup>S.A. Akanda, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

<sup>59</sup>*The Pakistan Observer*, Dacca, November 6, 1950.

<sup>60</sup>*Dawn*, April 4, 1954.

<sup>61</sup>S.A. Akanda, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

<sup>62</sup>Fazlur Rahman, *Pakistan One and Indivisible* (Karachi: Pakistan Educational Publishers Ltd., 1960). p. 85.

Centre.<sup>63</sup> The Awami League seemed to have taken a similar stand. Although they acquiesced to the 1956 Constitution but the issue of weak centre was again revived when they assumed power in East Wing. The East Pakistan Assembly reaffirmed the demand for a weak centre confining its jurisdiction to the three subjects, defence, foreign affairs and currency<sup>64</sup> early 1957. But the Awami League had to soften its stand on complete regional autonomy at the central level to appease its coalition partners from the West Wing who were opposed to it. Soon after the Parliamentary Democracy met a sudden death and Martial Law was imposed. The slogan of three-subjects centre, however, did not die down. It was very much in the air in East Wing. The Constitution Commission appointed by President Ayub Khan could not avoid the issue. However, it rejected the view that the centre should have only three subjects, viz. defence, foreign affairs and currency<sup>65</sup> and recommended strong Central Government which suited Ayub Khan's demands. That's why the Ayubian Constitution heavily tilted towards central authority.<sup>66</sup> The provincial subjects were not only insignificant but even in these matters the provinces did not have exclusive authority. By invoking Article 131, the Central Government could interfere in every aspects of provincial life.<sup>67</sup> Such a highly centralized political structure was naturally an anathema to the Bengali counter elites.<sup>68</sup> The Six Point Formula thus wanted to reverse completely the swing of federalism towards decentralization and greater provincial autonomy by proposing only two subjects for the centre.<sup>69</sup>

Another major grievance that the Bengali elites articulated was that economic development suffered in East Wing due to the concentration of all financial institutions in West Wing and also because of centre's control of trade and commerce, which favoured West Wing. These factors, the Bengalis feared, were largely responsible for the flight of capital from East to West Wing. The issue was quite tactfully exploited to the full by the Bengali economists and bureaucrats in the

<sup>63</sup>See Fazlur Rahman's speech before the Constituent Assembly, on January 25, 1956. The Government of Pakistan, Constituent Assembly, *Debates*, Official Report, Vol. 1, January 25, 1956, p. 2110.

<sup>64</sup>*The Morning News*, April 4, 1957.

<sup>65</sup>See Government of Pakistan, *Report of the Constitution Commission* (Karachi: Manager of Publications, Government of Pakistan Press, 1961), p. 42.

<sup>66</sup>S.A. Akanda, *op. cit.*, pp. 239-40.

<sup>67</sup>See Article 131 of the 1962 Constitution. Safdar Mahmood, *op. cit.*, p. 551.

<sup>68</sup>Rounaq Jahan, *Pakistan, op. cit.*, p. 145.

<sup>69</sup>Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

Ayubian period,<sup>70</sup> though way back in 1956 the doctrine of 'Two Economies' — the fore-runner of the Six Point — was mooted to redress the economic maladies infecting East Wing.<sup>71</sup> The major thrust of the Two-Economy thesis was twofold: first, because of its peculiar geography, Pakistan in fact had two distinct economies; and second, the one economy policy pursued by the various Pakistani governments worked to East Wing's disadvantage and resulted in economic disparity between the two wings.<sup>72</sup> The doctrine of two Economies soon gained political currency. It appealed the masses. It was developed, improved and presented in a very convincing manner by Bengali economists like A. Sadeque,<sup>73</sup> Rehman Sobhan,<sup>74</sup> Mohammad Anisur Rahman,<sup>75</sup> and Dr. Aleem 'Al-Razee.<sup>76</sup> Through debates, discussion, seminars, platforms of political parties and the press, the Bengali intellectuals were able to popularize the doctrine of 'Two Economies' at the masses' level. In reaction Ayub Khan was constrained to warn the Bengalis that 'the concept of Two Economies' would lead to the disintegration of the country.<sup>77</sup> The emphasis of the Six Point Formula on the maintenance of two separate currencies in Pakistan was a logical outcome of the doctrine of the 'Two Economies'.<sup>78</sup>

Ever since the partition (1947), the Bengali political elites had been demanding larger allocation of funds and other financial resources from the Centre for the development of their province.<sup>79</sup> The province had reasons to be worried. It had started its new political life in 1947

<sup>70</sup>K.B. Sayeed, *The Political System of Pakistan*, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

<sup>71</sup>The doctrine of Two Economy was first propounded in 1956 at a special conference of economists meeting in Dacca to discuss the First Five Year Plan. Rounaq Jahan, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

<sup>72</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 86.

<sup>73</sup>A. Sadeque, *The Economic Emergence of Pakistan Part II* (Dacca: Provincial Statistical Board, 1956).

<sup>74</sup>Rehman Sobhan, "The Two Economies in Pakistan," *Morning News*, Dacca, 22 March 1971; "Imbalance in Economic Development in Pakistan", *Asian Survey*, July 1962, pp. 31-37; "East Pakistan Demands her Due". *The Times*, August 14, 1963.

<sup>75</sup>*The Logic of Regional Investment Allocation*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, 1962; "Disparity Ascendant", *Forum*, November 22, 1969, p. 7; *East and West Pakistan: A Problem in the Political Economy of Regional Planning* (Cambridge: Centre for International Affairs, Harvard University, 1986).

<sup>76</sup>Dr. Aleem Al-Razee, *Process of Economic Disparity* (Dacca: Firdous Publications).

<sup>77</sup>*The Pakistan Observer*, May 24, 25, 1961.

<sup>78</sup>Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

<sup>79</sup>Dr. Rasiduzzaman, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

with a liability of Rs. 14.16 crores.<sup>80</sup> The annual revenue receipt of the province with a population of 4.19 crores was estimated at Rs. 16.91 crores for 1948-49. In sharp contrast, the revenue receipt of West Wing was estimated at Rs. 27.95 crores with a much lesser population.<sup>81</sup> To meet its growing needs, East Wing should have received more help and grants from the centre. This was a legitimate and fair demand. But the East Wing could not get its due shares while the West Wing's shares grew larger.<sup>82</sup> Hence, resentment against Central Government grew right from the very beginning<sup>83</sup> and the Grand National Convention held at Dacca in 1950 demanded a substantial reduction in the central revenues.<sup>84</sup> The Centre could, the Convention reiterated:

“Levy taxes on certain specified subjects and no addition to these subjects could be made without the consent of the regions.”<sup>85</sup>

It was at this stage that Nurul Amin, the Chief Minister of East Bengal, protested against increasing concentration of financial powers with the Centre and accused it of ‘building its castle on the carcasses of the provinces.’<sup>86</sup> The election campaign of 1954 also provided an opportunity to the Bengali elites to voice the demand for complete financial autonomy.<sup>87</sup> In the Constituent Assemblies, especially in the second one, the Bengali delegates pressed the demand again and again that the Constitution should ensure a fair and equitable distribution of the resources.<sup>88</sup> Without this financial autonomy, they feared, the provincial autonomy would be meaningless.<sup>89</sup> Their efforts, however, proved futile, and the 1956 Constitution tipped heavily in favour of the Centre.<sup>90</sup> The autonomists were most aggrieved who continued to press the demand for more

<sup>80</sup>G.W. Choudhury, *Democracy in Pakistan*, *op. cit.*, pp. 236-37.

<sup>81</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 237.

<sup>82</sup>Upto 1958-59, whereas East Wing received Rs. 26.52 crores from the Centre, West Wing got Rs. 52.58 crores. *Ibid.*

<sup>83</sup>Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, *Debates*, Official Report II, No. 1, February 24, 1948, pp. 6-7; Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, *Debates*, Vol. 1, January 16, 1956, pp. 1818-19.

<sup>84</sup>*The Pakistan Observer*, November 6, 1950.

<sup>85</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>86</sup>Pakistan Constituent Assembly, *Debates*, Official Report, Vol. 1, March 21, 1951, p. 54.

<sup>87</sup>See *The Pakistan Observer*, January-March 1954.

<sup>88</sup>See The Pakistan Constituent Assembly, *Debates*, Vol. 1, No. 52, January 17, 1956, pp. 1846-49, and p. 1843; Pakistan Constituent Assembly, *Debates*, Vol. 1, No. 56, January 1956, p. 2051.

<sup>89</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>90</sup>G.W. Choudhury, *Constitutional Development in Pakistan*, pp. 108-109.

financial autonomy. Even the Martial Law regime felt the pinch of the issue, Ayub Khan thus announced at the public meeting held in Dacca on October 18, 1961, that a Commission of impartial people would be appointed to look into the equitable allocation of revenues between the Centre and provincial governments for a balanced development of both East and West Wings.<sup>91</sup> The Commission was subsequently appointed in December 1961. It was divided into East and West Pakistani sections due to regional differences among the members.<sup>92</sup> The Bengali member demanded that distribution of resources be made on "the basis of population weighted by the inverse ratio of per capita income."<sup>93</sup> Though the final award of the National Finance Commission rejected the Bengali plea, it was very much influenced by the Bengalis' objections. Thus the provincial shares in the central revenue were increased and they were allocated according to the following percentages:

i) 50 per cent of the income tax including corporation tax (as compared to the 50 per cent of the income tax, excluding corporation, under the previous arrangement);

ii) 60 per cent of the sales tax (as against 50 per cent under the previous arrangement);

iii) 60 per cent of the excise duties on tea, tobacco and betel nut (as compared to the previous 50 per cent);

iv) 100 per cent of export duties on jute and cotton, to be shared by the two provinces (as compared to the previous 62.5 per cent of jute duty allocated to East Pakistan alone);

v) 100 per cent of estates and succession duties on agricultural land and 100 per cent of the tax on capital value of immovable property.<sup>94</sup> Furthermore, 30 per cent of the sales tax was allocated on the basis of collection and 70 per cent on the basis of population. Estates and succession duties were allocated on the basis of collection. Many other taxes were also allocated on the basis of population.<sup>95</sup>

The 1962 Award, however, could not satisfy the Bengali elites,<sup>96</sup> nor the 1965 Award<sup>97</sup> could come upto the expectation of the Bengalis.

<sup>91</sup>The *Pakistan Observer*, October 19, 1961.

<sup>92</sup>The *Morning News*, Dacca, January 20, 1962.

<sup>93</sup>K.B. Sayeed, *Political System of Pakistan*, op. cit., p. 202.

<sup>94</sup>Rounaq Jahan, *Pakistan*, op. cit., p. 70 ; G. W. Choudhury, *Constitutional Development in Pakistan*, op. cit., p. 227.

<sup>95</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>96</sup>See Edgar and Kathryn R. Schuller, op. cit., pp. 146-47.

<sup>97</sup>The Award of 1964-64 recommended that out of the net proceeds of taxes like income tax, corporation tax, sales tax, excise duty on jute and cotton 65% would be assigned to the provinces and 35% should be retained by the centre. See Government of Pakistan, *The Report of the National Finance Commission, 1964-65* (Rawalpindi: Government of Pakistan Press, 1965), p. 11,

The Bengali elites thus turned from demanding a greater share in central taxes to demanding an increase in the provincial government's power of taxation.<sup>98</sup> The Fourth Point of the Six Point Formula thus presented the proposal that the power of taxation and revenue collection should vest in the federating units and the Central Government should have no such power.<sup>99</sup>

The Six Point Formula also refers to the foreign exchange earnings of the provinces. The Bengalis were very much conscious from the very beginning that their province earned more foreign exchanges. Their jute had already earned the title of "Golden Fibre" for being the major foreign exchange earner of the country.<sup>100</sup> During the Korean War (1952), exports, especially jute from East Wing, increased manifold. But most of the foreign exchanges thus earned was not utilized for the benefit of East Wing. Almost all the export-import traders were non-Bengalis who preferred to invest their money in West Wing.<sup>101</sup> Perhaps this fact prompted the United Front to incorporate a provision in their 21-Points Manifesto that demanded, "the nationalization of Jute trade."<sup>102</sup> The demand for nationalization of jute trade grew stronger in later years also.

A considerable economic development took place in Pakistan by the middle of the 1950s. West Wing, however, benefitted most from this development. The Bengalis thus began to blame the Centre, for what they called, 'the step-motherly attitude towards East Wing'.<sup>103</sup> It was alleged again and again that since West Wing was a chronic deficit area in foreign trade, its development was made possible by exploiting the surplus foreign exchange and capital resources of East Wing.<sup>104</sup> The

<sup>98</sup>Rounaq Jahan, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

<sup>99</sup>Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

<sup>100</sup>See Government of Pakistan, *Report of the Jute Inquiry Commission* (Karachi: Government of Pakistan Press, 1961), p. 17; Government of East Pakistan, *Economic Survey of East Pakistan* (Dacca: Finance Department, 1966), p. 32; Government of Pakistan, *Pakistan Economic Survey, 1967-68* (Rawalpindi: Ministry of Finance, 1968), p. 93.

<sup>101</sup>See Rehman Sobhan, "The Two Economies in Pakistan", *The Morning News*, March 22, 1971, p. 8.

<sup>102</sup>See Point 3 of the 21-Points Manifesto of the United Front, *Dawn*, April 4, 1954.

<sup>103</sup>See The Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, *Debates*, No. 1, 1955, p. 530.

<sup>104</sup>S.A. Akanda, *op. cit.*, p. 180.



issue of alleged transfer of foreign exchange<sup>105</sup> of East Wing to West Wing, soon became the burning problem in the mid-fifties. It received a positive response during Suhrawardy's Prime Ministership (1956-57). The Bengali Prime Minister was wise enough to realize the Bengali sentiment over the issue and for the first time 'an attempt was made to allocate foreign exchange on a parity basis to East Wing traders.'<sup>106</sup> Certain other decisions of momentous importance — later championed by the Six Point Formula — were also undertaken during his tenure. The Commerce and Industries Minister, another Bengali, announced, in response to demands made by East Wing commercial interests, that separate offices of the Controller of Imports and Exports would be set up for the two provinces under the Central Ministry of Commerce.<sup>107</sup> The Minister also assured that the Government, from now on, would encourage new traders, particularly from East Wing and other commercially backward areas of West Wing.<sup>108</sup> All these measure were resented by the West Wing business and industrial communities who began to press President Mirza for Suhrawardy's removal.<sup>109</sup> Suhrawardy was ultimately removed from office which further reinforced Bengali conviction that West Wing was bent on exploiting East Wing. Even the Martial Law regime of Ayub Khan had to take note of the Bengali resentment over the issue of alleged transfer of resources from East Wing to West Wing. Ayub Khan thus had to admit at the press conference on May 23, 1961, that in the past some of East Wing's foreign exchange earnings from jute was utilized in East Wing.<sup>110</sup> Ayub Khan instructed his administration to undertake certain measure to improve the situation. Sub-

<sup>105</sup>As to the question how East East Wing's foreign exchanges had been utilized in West Wing, the Bengali elites presented a very simple analysis. "Total exports of East Pakistan, for example, during the years 1947-62 amounted to Rs. 13.08 billion. Whereas those of West Pakistan during the same period amounted to Rs. 9.9 billion. Total imports to East Pakistan during the same period amounted to Rs. 7.9 billion while those of West Pakistan amounted to Rs. 18.7 billion. Thus West Pakistan which had exported less than Eastern Province, imported much more during the same period. The payment for this surplus imports of West Pakistan was made from the surplus foreign exchange earnings of East Pakistan." See Dr. Muzaffar Ahmed Chaudhury, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20.

<sup>106</sup>K. B. Sayeed, *The Political System of Pakistan*, *op. cit.*, p. 192; Also see T. Maniruzzaman, *The Bangladesh Revolution and its Aftermath*, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

<sup>107</sup>K.B. Sayeed, *The Political System of Pakistan*, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

<sup>108</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 193.

<sup>109</sup>See T. Maniruzzaman, "Group Interests in Pakistan Politics", *Pacific Affairs*, 1966, pp. 89-91.

<sup>110</sup>See *The Pakistan Observer*, May 24, 25, 1961.

sequently the import figures of 1862-63 showed an unward trend in the case of East Wing. At the same time West Wing's import curve had increased at double the rate of East Wing.<sup>111</sup> All this prompted Sheikh Mujib to put forward his 'fifth point of the Six Point Formula.'<sup>112</sup>

Another important contributory factor heightening the prevailing sense of discontentment and frustration in East Wing and paving the way for the formulation of Section 5 of Point 5, was the relatively smaller allocation of foreign aid and loans to East Wing. This particular grievance was well articulated by the Bengali financial experts. According to A. Sadeque, a Bengali economist, Pakistan received external aid upto the tune of Rs. 884.6 million during 1951-55, of which East Wing received barely 17.4%.<sup>113</sup> According to another Bengali source, East Wing's share of foreign aid upto 1961 was between twelve and fifteen per cent.<sup>114</sup> According to Dr. Muzaffar Ahmed Chaudhury, "Upto 1960 the total foreign loans and aids received by Pakistan was Rs. 951 crores. Out of this Bangladesh received Rs. 222 crores and West Pakistan received Rs. 729 crores."<sup>115</sup> Though this debate was confined largely to the circle of academicians, bureaucrats and politicians, it also generated commotion among the politically conscious Bengali masses.<sup>116</sup> And the Six Point Formula had duly reflected that sentiment in its Point Five.<sup>117</sup>

Defence was another irritant in the East-West ties. The poor share of East Wing in the defence of the country had caused considerable strain in the inter-wing relationship. From the very beginning the politically articulate elites of East Wing voiced the demand to make East Wing self-sufficient in its defence requirements. Way back in 1948, Ghiyasuddin Pathan, a Bengali member, pleaded in the Constituent Assembly that in respect

<sup>111</sup>Government of Pakistan, *Foreign Trade Statistics of Pakistan* (Karachi: Economic Affairs Division, 1960), p. 1; *Pakistan Exports*, Vol. XVII (Karachi: Export Promotion Bureau, November 1966).

<sup>112</sup>Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

<sup>113</sup>A. Sadeque, *op. cit.*, Part II, p. 48; According to another source West Wing received a dollar development loan of \$ 12.8 million during the fiscal year of 1958. Whereas East Wing received none. K.B. Sayeed, *The Political System of Pakistan*, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

<sup>114</sup>Rehman Sobhan, "The Indivisibility of National Economy", *The Pakistan Observer*, October 23, 1961.

<sup>115</sup>Dr. Muzaffar Ahmed Chaudhury, "Problem of Constitution Making", Bangladesh Supplement, *The Morning News*, March 22, 1971, p. 11.

<sup>116</sup>G.W. Choudhury, *Democracy in Pakistan*, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

<sup>117</sup>Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.

of defence East Wing should not be treated like any other unit of Pakistan, and in view of its peculiar geo-political situation, it must be regarded as a separate unit of defence. He strongly argued for establishing an ordnance factory in East Wing.<sup>118</sup> Against the discriminatory recruitment policy of the Central Government, he strongly raised his voice as such:

“As regared recruitment in the Air Force, East Bengal has been treated in a step-motherly way. There are six or seven recruiting offices in West Pakistan, whereas there is only one in East Pakistan.”<sup>119</sup>

Khwaja Nazimuddin, then Chief Minister of East Bengal, had also raised his voice and demanded that “East Pakistan ... must have a fair and proper share in the Armed Froces of Pakistan.”<sup>120</sup>

The demand to make East Wing a self-sufficient defence unit gradually gained momentum in East Wing. The 21-Point Election Manifesto (1954) of the United Front reaffirmed this demand in point 19 which said:

“in the matter of defence, arrangement shall be such as to have the headquarter of the army in West Pakistan and the headquarter of the Navy in East Bengal.”<sup>121</sup>

The Manifesto also pledged to establish ordnance factory in East Bengal and to convert the present Ansars (semi-military organization) into a full-fledged militia.<sup>122</sup>

The Second Constituent Assembly, in particular, became the main forum for registering Bengali protests against Central Government's discriminatory defence policy. Complaining against the recruitment policy in the armed forces, Abul Mansur Ahmed, an Awami Leaguer, observed that during the first four years of Independence only 810 persons had been recruited from East Wing in the defence forces.<sup>123</sup> The Bengali members also alleged that a policy of discrimination was being pursued against those Bengalis who were already in military services.<sup>124</sup> The

<sup>118</sup>The Pakistan Constituent Assembly, *Debates*, Vol. 1, March 1, 1948, p. 90.

<sup>119</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>120</sup>*Ibid.*, March 2, 1948, p. 127.

<sup>121</sup>See The 21-Point Manifesto, *Dawn*, April 4, 1954.

<sup>122</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>123</sup>The Pakistan Constituent Assembly, *Debates*, Vol. 1, January 17, 1956, p. 1845.

<sup>124</sup>See speeches of Abul Mansur, Zahiruddin. Pakistan Constituent Assembly, *Debates*, Vol. 1, January 17, 23, 1956, p. 1845 and p. 1943.

pressure on this issue was so intense that the Constituent Assembly felt constrained to accommodate the Bengali point of view in the proposed Constitution. The Constitution, under its Directive Principles of State Policy, proposed:

“Endeavour shall be made by the State to enable people from all parts of Pakistan to participate in the defence services of the country.<sup>125</sup>

Even a dictator like Ayub Khan could not disregard the pressure of Bengali opinions. His Constitution thus proposed:

“Persons from all parts of Pakistan should be enabled, to serve in the defence services of Pakistan.”<sup>126</sup>

Despite these assurances, nothing substantial was done to improve the defence requirements of East Wing. The defence issue regarding East Wing became a burning issue during Ayub Khan's rule. During this period hardly a session of the National Assembly ended when the Bengali member did not press the demand for an ordnance factory or a military or a naval academy for East Wing.<sup>127</sup> In the course of a speech in the National Assembly on July 11, 1965, Shah Aziz-ur-Rahman, a Bengali member, refuted the well-known theory of West Wing military strategists that “the defence of East Pakistan lies in West Pakistan,” on the ground that it was quite inconsistent with the geographical realities of Pakistan.<sup>128</sup> Two months later the Indo-Pak War (1965) proved the absurdity of Pakistani military strategists' theory when East Wing felt absolutely defenceless and was cut-off completely from the rest of the world. The subsequent statement of Pakistan's Foreign Minister before the National Assembly that East Wing was saved because of ‘Chinese ultimatum’ further reinforced the Bengalis' conviction that for a vital issue like defence they could no longer depend on West Wing. The Indo-Pak War (1965) thus added a new impetus to the demand that East Wing be made self-sufficient in its defence requirements. Nurul Amin, a prominent Bengali leader presented an ‘eight point programme’ for the defence of East Wing.<sup>129</sup> He demanded that at least one army division should be

<sup>125</sup>See The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan 1956. Safdar Mahmood, *op. cit.*, p. 513.

<sup>126</sup>See The Constitution of the Republic of Pakistan, 1962. Safdar Mahmood, *op. cit.*, p. 513.

<sup>127</sup>S.A. Akanda, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

<sup>128</sup>*The Pakistan Observer*, July 12, 1965.

<sup>129</sup>*Ibid.*, November 27, 1965.

raised in East Wing immediately. He also asked for the establishment of defence industries and a Military Academy in East Wing.<sup>130</sup> Other Bengali leaders also voiced similar demands. In these background, the Six Point Formula demanded 'the setting-up of a militia or a para-military force for East Pakistan.'<sup>131</sup> It also recommended that East Wing be made self-sufficient in the matter of defence; that an ordnance factory, a Military Academy and the Naval Headquarter be set up in East Wing.<sup>132</sup>

<sup>130</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>131</sup>Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

<sup>132</sup>*Ibid.*

raised in East Wing immediately. He also asked for the establishment of defence industries and a Military Academy in East Wing. Other Bengali leaders also voiced similar demands. In these paragraphs the Six Joint Formula demanded the setting up of a military force for East Pakistan. It also recommended that East Wing be made self-sufficient in the matter of defence, that an ordnance factory, a Military Academy and the Naval Headquarters be set up in East Wing.

12/11/54  
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# Administrative Elite in Bangladesh: A Study of Their Attitudes Towards Administrative Development

M. Shamsur Rahman

## Introduction

The attitudes of the elite in the administrative sector is instrumental to the whole process of changes and development in a country like Bangladesh where in other segments of population have not yet started playing a meaningful role. However, an attempt has been made in this paper to find out the attitudes of elite towards issues of administrative development.

## CONCEPTS DEFINED

### Administrative Elite

Normally it is the 'bureaucratic elite' which is in wide use in the literature of Public Administration. But the 'bureaucratic elite' is now used in pejorative sense. Hence, the word 'administrative elite' has been used. It refers to civil servants, both generalists and specialists, at the top and middle levels, who occupy offices in the secretariat, attached autonomous and field units. In short, they are the civil officers incharge of policy making and implementation.

### Administrative Development

The achievement of development goals requires a sound administration to design policies and programmes and to implement them. These call for effective management of human resources in administration. Thus, administration cannot be improved without enhancing the management capability of the administrators. This, in fact, is the key concern of administrative development. "Administrative development" has, therefore, been defined as "a pattern of increasing effectiveness in the

utilisation of available means to achieve prescribed goals".<sup>1</sup> It, therefore, involves both quantitative and qualitative changes in bureaucratic policies, programmes, organisational structures, staffing patterns and procedures and methods of work.<sup>2</sup>

The ability of the administrators is closely related to structural as well as behavioural contents of administration. The structural issues refer to dichotomy between attached and secretariat offices; decision making; delegation of authority; service structure; public service commission; service security (through constitutional provisions); promotion; administrative accountability; and administrative reforms. Here we are concerned with structural issues only.

### Methodology

The study has been conducted through a survey of opinions of 100 administrative elite occupying institutional positions right from policy making to policy implementations at the field level. This method has been further supplemented by the analysis of reports of various commissions, public documents published by the Government of Bangladesh from time to time, and secondary sources.

## ISSUES OF ADMINISTRATIVE DEVELOPMENT

### Secretariat and Attached Departments

There are two trends of thought on the dichotomy between the secretariat and attached departments.<sup>3</sup> The first trend of thought favours the retention of dichotomy between the secretariat and the attached departments as this is a standard practice which allows the secretariat to concentrate on policy formulation, control and monitoring. If the policy making units are not directly involved in the fields of operation, they remain free and get adequate time to think over policy matters in terms of their proper formulation on which, in turn, their successful operation depends.

The other trends of thought view that the arguments given in favour of the dichotomy are traditional, conservative and obsolete. It is very

<sup>1</sup>John D. Montgomery, "Royal Invitation: Variation on Three Classic Themes" in Montgomery, John D. and Siffin, William J. (eds.), *Approaches to Development: Politics, Administration and Change* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1966), p. 230.

<sup>2</sup>J.N. Khosla, "Development Administration — New Dimensions" in *Indian Journal of Public Administration* (IJPA), (New Delhi: XIII : 1 (1976), 20-21.

<sup>3</sup>We notice two trends of thought among our elite in this study. The elite belonging to specialist and functional cadres advocate abolition of dichotomy while generalist (administrators) elite favour retention of dichotomy.



difficult to distinguish policy planning from policy implementation. Again a policy is not framed in a vacuum. The unit which frames policy must have field experience or otherwise the policy will not be goal-directed.

On a close examination of the functions of the attached department it would appear that policy-execution separatism does not exist any more.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, the ministries have taken away the powers from the directorates relating to recruitment, posting, transfer and promotion of field officers after the introduction of unified civil service structure.<sup>5</sup>

The rationale for retention of dichotomy can not be supported for the following reasons:

- a. Bangladesh is a poor country and 85% of the development expenditure is being funded by external sources. In such financial stringency the country can not support the empire building tendencies of both the secretariat and the directorates engaged in performing functions of overlapping nature.
- b. The dichotomy is a source of jealousy between generalists and functionalists/specialist and hence its abolition may end controversy.
- c. The system of intercorrespondance between the two makes the whole process cumbersome, dilatory and often delays the decision making. For this delay one blames the other.

It may be re-called here that the Committee on Administrative and Services Reorganisation<sup>6</sup> suggested that in regard to promotional and regulatory services the present system of the co-existence of secretariat and the attached departments should continue but in the field of developmental functions this division should cease to exist, and for supervision of technical aspects a post of technical advisor may be created. The committee, further, recommended an integrated structure with a single head and maximum decentralisation of power at different levels of hierarchy. For policy making, it suggested a 'Policy Advisory Council', consisting of generalists and specialists to act as 'think tank' for overall policies of the ministry and be responsible also for monitoring of execution of policies.

<sup>4</sup>For functions of an attached department see Government of Bangladesh *Guide to Investment in Industries* (Dhaka: Department of Industries, 1980).

<sup>5</sup>Ali Ahmed, *Basic Principles and Practices of Administrative Organisation: Bangladesh*, (Dhaka: National Institute of Local Government, 1981), pp. 63-64.

<sup>6</sup>Government of Bangladesh, *Report of the Administrative and Services Reorganisation Committee*, Part I: The Services (hereinafter cited as Report of ASRC).

It was against this theoretical background that our respondent were asked whether they considered the policy-execution dichotomy as incongenial to development. The information contained in Table 1 provides that 64% answered in favour of the dichotomy, while 36% were against it. Those who favoured dichotomy, of them 19% did not provide any reason, while only 17% mentioned a few causes, which can be seen in a summary form in the table itself. It may be mentioned here that most of the generalist administrators in our sample favour the dichotomy.

TABLE 1

## Is Policy-Execution Dichotomy Incongenial to Development Administration?

Opinion	Response Percentage
Yes with no comments	19.0
Decision is unduly delayed	13.0
Increases bureaucratic tension and jealousies	3.0
Creates overlapping of functions	1.0
Not incongenial to development	18.0
Dichotomy—a standard practice, provides checks and balances	46.0
Total	100.0

**Decision Making**

Decision making is the heart of administration and one of the primary functions of a senior administrator. In a development-oriented administration, administrators are to take a number of decisions both in simple and complex situations. While administering a new programme the administrator might face new problems for which they did not have previous experience. Hence, it is a very challenging job.

To what extent governmental decisions in Bangladesh are really "participative" in nature? The participative decision making is an essential component of development administration because it is democratic in essence and ensures participation of subordinates or the persons who are affected by a decision. Participation also makes implementation of the decision both easier and speedier. However, *prima facie*, it would appear that the decision making approach in Bangladesh is highly centralised and authoritarian and this is borne out by the procedures involved in taking a decision at the level of the secretariat.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup>M. N. Safa, "Decision Making: Problems and Processes with reference to the National Government of Bangladesh" (Mimeographed). (Dhaka: Administrative Staff College, 1980), 22.

It was against this background that the respondents were asked whether administration suffered from slow decision making process. Notably 93% elite replied that decision making process was slow. They assigned various reasons for it. Elite's perception on this issue has been cross-tabulated with their ex-service cadres. Of the several causes mentioned for slow decision making the most important had been past legacy by which they meant that the decision making was highly centralised since the days of the British rule. This tendency had led every one in administration to pass the buck to the highest point of decision-making. For the rest we can turn to Table 2. It will be noted there that the elite of all cadre services and non-cadre services were of the opinion that decision making was slow. There, however, existed some differences among the members of service cadres in pointing out causes for delayed decision making. The members of Civil Service of Pakistan (CSP), East Pakistan Civil Service, (EPCS), Bangladesh Civil Service (BCS), East Pakistan Professional Service (EPPS) mentioned the past legacy, while majority of the people belonging to Police Service of Pakistan (PSP), Central Superior Services (CSS) of Pakistan and the non-cadre services stated the lacunae in training as the main cause for a slow decision making.

### **Delegation of Authority**

Delegation has been defined by the Bangladesh Secretariat Instruction as "Conferring of authority for disposal of certain business at certain different levels".<sup>8</sup> Delegation of power may take place at (i) intra-organisational and (ii) inter-organisational levels. Within the Secretariat, intra-organisational delegation implies delegation from a minister to a secretary, from a secretary to additional or joint secretary from joint secretary to deputy secretary and from deputy secretary to assistant secretary. Each category of officers should have full authority and power to deal with cases at respective levels. There may also be delegation of power and authority from the secretariat to the attached departments and subordinate offices—this is technically known as inter-organisational delegation. The policy planning posts in the secretariat begins from the post of deputy secretary and above. The assistant secretary does the routine work only.

It is clear from the Secretariat Instructions that delegation has been clearly spelt out and is expected to be practised both in and out of the secretariat organisation but the fact is that it is not applied to the desired extent. In actual practice, real delegation of power is neither present at intra-organisational or inter-organisational level. In the first

<sup>8</sup>Government of Bangladesh, Cabinet Secretariat, Establishment Division, *Secretariat Instructions*, 1976, pp. 19-20.

TABLE 2  
Reasons for Slow Decision Making Juxtaposed with Service Cadre

Reasons	Decision making slow because of past legacy	Lack of training rules	Out-moded	Political interference	Lack of Account-ability	Decision making not slow	Total
Civil Service of Pakistan (CSP)	11 (36.7) (26.8)	9 (34.6) (22.0)	5 (26.3) (12.2)	9 (90.0) (22.0)	5 (63.0) (12.1)	2 (28.6) (4.9)	41 (41.0) (100.0)
Police Service of Pakistan (PSP)	1 (3.3) (25.0)	2 (7.7) (50.0)	1 (5.3) (25.0)	—	—	—	4 (4.0) (100.0)
Central Superior Services (CSS)	1 (3.3) (10.0)	5 (19.2) (50.0)	2 (10.0) (20.0)	—	2 (25.0) (20.0)	—	10 (10.0) (100.0)
East Pakistan Civil Service (EPCS)	10 (33.3) (41.7)	5 (19.2) (20.8)	5 (26.3) (20.8)	1 (10.0) (4.1)	1 (12.5) (4.1)	2 (28.6) (8.3)	24 (24.0) (100.0)
*East Pakistan Professional Services (EPPS)	2 (6.6) (33.3)	1 (3.8) (16.7)	2 (10.5) (33.3)	—	—	1 (14.3)	6 (6.0) (100.0)

(Continued)

Reasons	Decision making slow because of past legacy	Lack of training rules	Out-moded	Political interference	Lack of Account-ability	Decision making not slow	Total
**Bangladesh Civil Service Administration	3 (10.5) (50.0)	1 (3.8) (16.7)	1 (5.3) (16.7)	—	—	1 (14.3) (16.7)	6 (6.0) (100.0)
***Non-Cadre Services	2 (6.7) (22.2)	3 (11.5) (33.3)	3 (15.8) (33.3)	—	—	1 (14.3) (11.1)	9 (9.0) (100.0)
Total	30 (100.0) (30.0)	26 (100.0) (26.0)	19 (100.0) (19.0)	10 (100.0) (10.0)	8 (100.0) (8.0)	7 (100.0) (7.0)	100 (100.0)

Note: The two figures in parentheses under the frequency denote percentages with respect to the column total and row total respectively.

\*East Pakistan Professional Services include the members belonging to East Pakistan Health Services (upper), East Pakistan Senior Education Service, East Pakistan Senior Engineering Service and East Pakistan Agricul-tural Service. There were 24 Constituted Services under the Government of East Pakistan.

\*\*Bangladesh Civil Service refers to those who were recruited as deputy magistrate and collectors and who are now absorbed in Bangladesh Civil Service (Administration).

\*\*\*Non-cadre services include the Members of Planning Commission, Chairman, Public Service Commission, Chairman of Boards and other top specialists from Planning Commission and Corporations.

category, the administration still remains too much centralised. In the case of inter-organisational delegation the Secretariat Instructions are not specific. As a result many of the executive functions of the attached departments are also being exercised by or interfered with by the secretariat and this slows down effective implementation of programmes.

The administrative elite comprising our sample were asked if there was any clear delegation of authority in administration. Notably 79% elite reported that theoretically there was delegation of authority but in practice there was a tendency for the higher authorities often to exercise the delegated power. The responses in favour of delegation of power are shown in Table 3.

TABLE 3  
Is there any Delegation of Authority ?

Opinion	Response Percentage
Yes	79.0
No	21.0
Total	100.0

In the case of delegation of authority, the elite were further asked whether the delegates could perform their functions effectively. Notably 70% of the respondents answered in the negative. They mentioned several causes for it. Most important factor to them was that the delegates were not properly trained to handle higher responsibilities conferred upon them. It was pointed out by 15% elite that the delegates were found incompetent to face new challenges of the situation or problems. The incompetence reflects both poor base of recruitment as well as lack of training to prepare them to cope with the problems. The third highest mention (12%) was about interference from above. However, 30% elite expressed their opinion that the delegates performed their job well but no reason was offered by them. Table 4 gives the details of the data on the subject under discussion.

TABLE 4  
Can Delegates Perform The Job Well ?

Opinion	Response Percentage
No delegates are poorly trained	25.0
No delegates are incompetent	15.0
No interference from above	12.0
No fear causes one to pass the buck	10.0
No superior wants to be consulted	8.0
Yes with no comment	30.0
Total	100.0

### **Position of the Service Structure vis-a-vis Administrative Elite**

In the former state of Pakistan there were three main categories of regularly constituted services<sup>9</sup> namely (i) All Pakistan Civil Service and Police Service; (ii) the Central Superior Services; and (iii) Provincial Civil Services.

In Bangladesh the status of the officers is determined by the gradation of pay as suggested by the Pay Commission, 1977. Presently Officers from grade I to X are treated as a Class I whose maximum pay is Tk. 6000/- and at entry point is Tk. 1650/-.

The administrative elite belonging to different cadre services were divided into hostile and conflicting groups since the liberation of Bangladesh. One dimension of jealousy was the rivalry between the members of former Civil Service of Pakistan and the members of Provincial Civil Service. The latter (whose total strength was 950) thought that they would be turned into National Civil Service of Bangladesh by virtue of the fact that their services were created for general administration and most of them had their working bases throughout the territory.<sup>10</sup> The Civil Service of Pakistan (CSP) members had argued that they were top students of the University and had got into the service by dint of their academic excellence and fitness in the open competitive examinations. This qualifies them to man the apex administrative structure of Bangladesh.

There was also a cleavage between the generalist and specialists over the Secretariat positions. The former would not allow the latter to man the policy posts in the secretariat. But the Mujib government appointed a number of specialists and academicians at the top policy making positions in the secretariat, planning commission and corporations.

The bureaucracy also sharply split into 'collaborators' and 'patriots'. Those who had left the country during the liberation struggle and joined the exile government in India were known as 'patriot' bureaucrats. The Awami League government always had a soft corner for the officials who had worked with the exile government. The result was that the rest of the employees became frustrated and critical of the Awami League government.

<sup>9</sup>Muzaffar Ahmad Chowdhury, *The Civil Service in Pakistan* (Dhaka: National Institute of Public Administration, 2nd ed. 1969), p. 12.

<sup>10</sup>Talukder Maniruzzaman, "Administrative Reforms and Politics within Bureaucracy in Bangladesh in the *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, XVII: 1 (1979), 49.

With the fall of Mujib, the new government in 1975 reinstated some of the officers who had lost their jobs. A 'Review Committee' was set up under the chairmanship of a civil servant belonging to former CSP to inquire into the causes of dismissal of employees by the Mujib government.

The Awami League government appointed an 'Administrative and Services Reorganisation Committee' (ASRC) in 1972, headed by a University Professor Muzaffar Ahmad Choudhury, to reorganise the administrative structure which was colonial both in framework and content and to create a specialised professional cadre. The Committee recommended a single classless ten grade structure for all civil servants with different pay scales matching the level of skill and responsibility.<sup>11</sup>

The regime headed by late General Ziaur Rahman appointed in 1976 a new 'Pay and Services Commission. (PSC) under the Chairmanship of M.A. Rashid, a retired civil servant.<sup>12</sup> The commission observed that each functional group would play an important role in the overall functioning of the government as the "limbs of human body, however, small or insignificant, play an important role in the healthy functioning the body".<sup>13</sup> The main recommendations of PSC were: creation of functional cadres at the administrative and executive level; equal terms and conditions for all services, no reservation of policy posts in the secretariat; and creation of a senior policy pool posts drawing people from different functional cadres on the basis of tested merit and ability.<sup>14</sup> The Committee had also recommended 29 cadre services with two cadres at levels 'A' and 'B'.

The recommendations of the Commission were, however, put under meticulous examination by a Committee appointed by the late President Ziaur Rahman. The Establishment Minister, Major General (Retired) Majedul Haq, assured that the administrative system would be reorganised in such a manner so as to accommodate all generalist, professional and specialist employees on an egalitarian framework of service conditions.<sup>15</sup> On this principle a Senior Services Pool (SSP) for manning the policy planning posts from the rank of deputy secretary and above from all functional cadres was introduced on March 1, 1979. Subsequently a fresh order was issued on August 23, 1979 in supercession

<sup>11</sup> *Report of the ASRC, op. cit.*, pp. 30-31.

<sup>12</sup> Government of Bangladesh, *Report of the Pay and Services Commission, 1977*, p. 50 (hereinafter cited as Report of the PSC).

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> *The Bangladesh Times* (Dhaka), 12 November 1979.



of the previous notification which revalidated the constitution of SSP.<sup>16</sup> Also a unified cadre service was officially announced on September 1, 1980.

### **Senior Services Pool (SSP)**

It is an apex body of senior administrators. The constitution and recruitment of SSP has been spelt by the pool order. At the time of its constitution all the officers working as deputy secretary (DS), joint secretary (JS), additional secretary (AS) and secretary were encadred as pool members. Initially the cadre strength was fixed at 625. As of 1968 membership to the pool increased to 779.<sup>17</sup> The SSP order, however, kept 10% post reserved for the post of DS for the member of Bangladesh Secretariat Service; 50% post in the rank of DS and above in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the members of BCS (Foreign); and 50% pool posts in the Ministry of Law for the cadre officers working in the same ministry. The pool order provided that those who had completed 10 years of service in the erstwhile class I service could compete for pool post and they would be recruited by Public Service Commission (PSC). Until June 15, 1981 the members were recruited to this Pool by two committees which consisted of political persons and whose integrity in recruitment was doubted by the BCS (Administration).<sup>18</sup> The last date of encadrement into SSP without appearing before PSC expired on January 31, 1985. The PSC has already framed syllabus carrying 600 marks for recruitment to PSC. The government has decided to fill up 30 posts to SSP in November 1988.

There exists different views about the constitution of SSP. One view is that it is an open structure system and the rationales for its existence depend upon number of factors. First, it provides new vistas of opportunity to all functional cadres to compete for policy planning posts in the secretariat; second, the recruitment base has become widened and modalities of recruitment are open and democratic; third, it bridges the generalist and specialist gap by providing them a joint forum in policy

<sup>16</sup>Government of Bangladesh, Establishment Division, "Senior Services Pool Order" (1979). (Dhaka: Government Press, 1979).

<sup>17</sup>*The Bangladesh Observer* (Dhaka), 27 October 1986.

<sup>18</sup>Syed Giasuddin Ahmed, *Public Personnel Administration in Bangladesh* (Dhaka: University of Dhaka), p. 189.

formulation ; and fourth, it offers a scope to new entrant to judge his aptitude for policy making.

The other view is that once the cadre is complete, none will be allowed to enter into the secretariat, however brilliant he may be. The non-cadre civil servants also feel that they have been relegated to the position of 'outcast'.<sup>19</sup> Hence, they call the structure "closed" and "super elite". There is also feeling among the specialists that there are little chances for them enter into policy posts as most of them are manned by generalist administrators since initial cadrement. There are also examples where some officers from functional cadres had entered into the pool posts as deputy secretary but did not find much charm and opted out for their parent cadre even before their probation period in the pool was over.

It was against this background the administrative elite were asked if they would call the senior services pool a forward looking step. Unlike the service structure most of the elite (72%) treated it in that way. Of them 62% held that theoretically it was a good step but in practice the selection was unfair, the political pulls and pressures got precedence over merit in the selection process. The rest of 10% elite stated that the pool provided a scope for cross section of functionalists and specialists to enter into the arena of policy formulation. It may be pointed out that 28% elite did not consider the idea of the pool as theoretically sound. They provided several reasons. It was a closed shop. There existed no scope for lateral entry of the competent and talented man from the directorates and the personnel working in business, industry, and the University, who fall outside the unified civil service structure. Again 11% of the elite were also of the view that the appointment of the specialists in the pool might lead to the depletion of the specialists. The opinion of the elite has been further cross tabulated with the data on service cadres. The results which can be seen in Table 5 bring out that majority of the cadres except that of East Pakistan professional services would acclaim the senior policy pool as a forward step.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 174.

TABLE 5  
Service Cadre by Senior Services Pool

Senior Services Pool	Forward step but selection not fair	Cross Fertilisation of ideas	Closed shop	Depletion of skilled people	Not a forward step	Total
CSP	27 (43.5) (65.9)	1 (10.0) (2.4)	4 (40.0) (9.8)	5 (45.5) (12.2)	4 (57.1) (9.8)	41 (41.0) (100.0)
PSP	3 (4.8) (75.0)	1 (10.0) (25.0)	—	—	—	4 (4.0) (100.0)
CSS	17 (11.3) (70.0)	1 (10.0) (10.0)	2 (20.0) (20.0)	—	—	10 (10.0) (100.0)
EPCS	18 (29.0) (25.0)	—	1 (10.0) (4.2)	4 (36.4) (16.7)	1 (14.3) (4.2)	24 (24.0) (100.0)
Provincial Professional Service	3 (4.8) (50.0)	—	—	1 (9.1)	2 (28.6) (33.3)	6 (6.0) (100.0)
BCS: Administrative	2 (3.2) (33.3)	3 (30.0) (50.0)	—	1 (9.1) (16.7)	—	6 (6.0) (100.0)
Non-Cadre Services	2 (3.2) (22.2)	4 (40.0) (44.4)	3 (30.0) (33.0)	—	—	9 (9.0) (100.0)
Total	62 (100.0) (62.0)	10 (100.0) (10.0)	10 (100.0) (10.0)	11 (100.0) (11.0)	7 (100.0) (7.0)	100 (100.0)

Note: The two figures in parentheses under the frequency denote percentages with respect to the column total and the row total respectively.

### Unified Cadre Service

On 1 September 1980, the government formally introduced the unified cadre service with 14 main functional cadres and out of this 8 main cadres were further split into 2 to 4 cadres and thus bringing a total of 28 services. As on September 1986 two more services such as Bangladesh Civil Service (BCS): Co-operative and BCS: Health were created. In fact the BCS: Health and Family Planning was divided into two main cadres. The other notable feature of BCS is that all cadres are now known as main cadres. The cadre service has been designed to create a 'classless bureaucracy' providing uniform pay and perks and the end of domination of one service over the other as the erstwhile CSP had enjoyed.

However, the controversy whether the new bureaucratic structure is egalitarian or elitist has persisted.<sup>20</sup> The elite in our study were asked whether the unified cadre system would reduce the intra-bureaucratic feud. It may be pointed out that 72% elite held the view that it had not resolved the controversy among the various service groups. For the rest of the opinion profiles and reasons therefore, Table 6 speaks for itself.

The BCS: Administration submitted a 19-point memorandum to the President of Bangladesh on 13 July, 1981 in which they pointed out that their pay, promotion and other privileges were much less as compared to other cadre services under new service structure. They listed a number of specific demands to get back their old privileged position.<sup>21</sup> As against this, the twenty two service cadres submitted a counter memorandum to the President demanding the abolition of BCS: Administration and calling the generalist officers as Land Revenue Officer or Magistrate. Further, they favoured the elected persons for providing general leadership and co-ordinating developmental functions at all levels.<sup>22</sup> Thus, it appears that the service structure is in doldrums.

<sup>20</sup>Emajuddin Ahmed, *Development Administration: Bangladesh*, (Dhaka, Centre For Administrative Studies, 1981), p. 54 and also see M. J. Abedin, "Classification System in Bangladesh in A Raksasataya and H. Siedentopf (eds.), *Asian Civil Service: Technical Papers*, Vol. 1, Kualalumpur, APDAC, 1980, p. 17.

<sup>21</sup>For full text of memorandum see *Ittefaq* (Dhaka), 9 September, 1981.

<sup>22</sup>*Ittefaq* (Dhaka), 4 October 1981.

TABLE 6  
Ex-Service Cadres and Unified Cadre System

Unified Cadre System	Yes with no comments	Yes, it provides equal opportunities	No, without comment	Privileges are not uniform	A total mess	No recognition of merit	Total
Ex-Service Cadre							
CSP	4 (26.7) (9.8)	1 (7.7) (2.4)	11 (45.8) (26.8)	17 (51.5) (41.5)	6 (60.0) (14.6)	2 (40.0) (4.9)	41 (41.0) (100.0)
PSP	2 (13.3) (50.0)	2 (15.4) (50.0)	—	—	—	—	4 (4.0) (100.0)
CSS	2 (13.3) (20.0)	3 (23.0) (30.0)	1 (4.2) (10.0)	4 (12.1) (40.0)	—	—	10 (10.0) (100.0)
EPCS	3 (20.0) (12.5)	3 (23.0) (12.5)	5 (20.8) (20.8)	8 (24.2) (33.3)	4 (40.0) (16.7)	1 (25.0) (4.2)	24 (24.0) (100.0)
EPPS	2 (13.3) (33.3)	2 (15.4) (33.3)	—	1 (3.0) (16.7)	—	1 (20.0) (16.7)	6 (6.0) (100.0)
BCS	—	—	4 (16.7) (66.7)	1 (3.0) (16.7)	—	1 (20.0) (16.7)	6 (6.0) (100.0)
Non-Cadre	2 (13.3) (22.2)	2 (15.4) (22.2)	3 (12.5) (33.3)	2 (5.7) (22.2)	—	—	9 (9.0) (100.0)
Total	15 (100.0) (15.0)	13 (100.0) (13.0)	24 (100.0) (24.0)	33 (100.0) (33.0)	10 (100.0) (10.0)	5 (100.0) (5.0)	100 (100.0) (100.0)

Note: The two figures in parentheses under the frequency denote percentages with respect to the column total and the row total respectively.

### Public Service Commission

The importance of an impartial body in observing appropriate standards of recruitment and thus ensuring efficiency in administration cannot be overstressed. The body is given constitutional status in order to select objectively capable and competent candidates. Bangladesh Public Service Commission came into being under the President Order No. 34, 1972. Under this order two Commissions were set up. These were: Bangladesh Public Service Commission (First) and (Second). Bangladesh Public Service Commission (First) was entrusted with the responsibility of selecting first and second class gazetted officers, whereas Commission (Second) was given the task of selecting non-gazetted staff. On 28 November 1977 under the President Order No. 57 the two commissions were amalgamated into one. This order came into effect in December of the same year and since then the Commission has come to be known as Bangladesh Public Service Commission and has been undertaking the functions of Commission (First) appointed earlier. The recruitment of PSC (Second) is now left with the concerned ministries departments or whatever organisation exist under a ministry. The basic functions of the PSC have been described in Article 140 of the Constitution of Bangladesh. It appears that the PSC is constrained from discharging its functions effectively owing to non-compliance of rules and this attitude also undermines the prestige of PSC.

The respondents of our study were asked to comment on the following statement: 'Though it is generally held that Public Service Commission maintains neutrality but there is a lurking suspicion that the Public Service Commission does not always do so'. As Table 7 brings out, in-

TABLE 7  
Neutrality of Public Service Commission

Opinion	Response Percentage
1. Not maintained but no reason provided	34
2. Not maintained because members are not of high calibre	11
3. Not maintained because of the inherent weakness in human nature	6
4. Maintained but the calibre of the candidate is poor	34
5. Partially maintained	15
Total	100

terestingly enough a bare majority of our elite (51%) thought that the Public Service Commission had failed to maintain neutrality. Of them

(N-51), 66.6% did not give any reason, while 21.5% opined that the members of the commission had only average calibre and were, therefore, susceptible to pulls and pressures. For the rest of the data the table speaks for itself.

An allied issue relates to the provision for the security of service of the civil servants. The constitution provides that government servants will hold office during the pleasure of the President.<sup>23</sup> No person would be dismissed or reduced in rank by an authority subordinate to that by which he was appointed and that also until he has been given reasonable opportunity to explain his conduct for the action which proposed to be taken against him. But if the concerned authority was satisfied, for reasons recorded by that authority in writing, that it was not reasonably practicable to give the person an opportunity of showing cause or if the President was satisfied that in the interest of the security of state it was not desirable to give the person such an opportunity, the man concerned could be dismissed, removed or reduced in rank. The constitutional provision of removing any person even without showing any cause is a break from the past tradition. It can be re-called here that in the former Pakistan constitution of 1956 and 1962 there was no provision to this effect.<sup>24</sup> Save this provision, there are adequate Constitutional and extra-Constitutional safeguards to protect the service rights of the civil servants.<sup>25</sup>

Though the constitutional provisions do not provide for as much security for the civil servants as they used to enjoy earlier and this should naturally demoralise them, yet it is equally true that too much security of service would make them sterile, inefficient and arrogant. This is truer in the case of civil servants in a country like Bangladesh where there is no counter elite or institution to check their undefined discretionary powers.

The respondents of our study were asked to comment whether they felt secure about their jobs. The data as presented in Table 8 provided that 66% elite were of the view that they felt secure about their job but they did not explain why they said so. On the other hand 34% elite opined that they felt insecure about their job. The causes they mentioned related to chances of political victimisation, lack of constitutional guarantee and absence of fundamental rights as provided in the constitution. Further, the periodical military rule also poses a threat to secu-

<sup>23</sup>The Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh (hereinafter cited as The Constitution of Bangladesh) Article 134.

<sup>24</sup>The 1956 Constitution of Pakistan, Article 180, and The 1962 Constitution of Pakistan, Article 177.

<sup>25</sup>Syed Giasuddin Ahmed, *op. cit.*, pp. 266-271.

rity of service. It is also stated by 6% elite that there was no constitutional guarantee of their job. Further, the disciplinary action for the civil servants have been specified in the Government Servants Rules issued in 1976 (Discipline and Appeal). The explanation for their comment is however, based on the evidence that some punitive statutory measures were taken against the civil servants through President's Order No. 9 (1972) and Government Servants (Special Provisions) Ordinance, 1979 and through the measures the aggrieved civil servants were denied the judicial redress. We can now turn to the Table 8 itself for rest of the data.

TABLE 8

**Do You Feel Secure about Your Job?**

Opinion	Response	Percentage
Yes with no comment		66.0
Do not feel insecure		7.0
Chances of political victimisation		19.0
Lack of constitutional guarantee		6.0
Absence of fundamental rights		1.0
Contract nature of job causes insecurity		1.0
Total		100.0

**Promotion**

Still another allied aspect relates to promotion. In precise official terminology, promotion is defined as advancement of an official from lower to higher post or grade against a vacancy specifically reserved for such advancement under the relevant recruitment rules.<sup>26</sup>

All Class I posts which are meant to be filled by promotions (as opposed to direct recruitment or transfer from other services or departments) fall within the category of "Selection" posts and so are most of the Class II posts. According to the new recruitment rules issued in January 1981 the promotion to the post of DS and its equivalent post is determined by a superior Selection Board which is headed by the Cabinet Secretary. It consists of 8 top level administrators. For promotion to joint secretary and above there is a Council Committee which consists of Ministers only. Of these two bodies, the first one is more desirable as it is less prone to political pressure. As per the rules of the government the promotion is to be based on seniority-cum-merit for non-selection posts but in practice nothing but seniority is stressed and overstressed. The annual confidential report (ACR) which is taken as yard-

<sup>26</sup>Government of Bangladesh, *Establishment Manual*, Chap. XX.



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stick for judging performance has become a mere formality.<sup>27</sup> A study reports that in some cases it is used as an instrument for nepotism and favouritism.<sup>28</sup> In many cases it is not taken objectively and a good or a bad ACR depends to a great extent upon the degree of equitation a subordinate maintains with his superior.<sup>29</sup>

It also happens that in many cases ACR is not properly maintained by the concerned department and consequently ACR is not sent by the department to the PSC while asks for to consider cases of promotion. This is further borne out by the administrative elite whose opinion is presented in Table 9.

Notably 89% of the elite held the view that the evaluation was just a formality while 9% of the elite held a contrary view.

TABLE 9  
Is Evaluation a Mere Formality?

Evaluation just a formality	Response Percentage
Yes	89.0
Nearly but not wholly	2.0
Do not agree	9.0
Total	100.0

Though government emphasises that selection posts should be manned by persons selected on merit, but the criterion is not always followed in practice. The Senior Services Pool states that no officer will be eligible for appointment to a post of Joint Secretary, Additional Secretary and Secretary (which are to be filled up by an officer encadred in the Pool) unless he has completed 14, 18 and 20 years of service respectively in the erstwhile regularly constituted class I service as existed prior to 16th day of December 1971 or unless he has held a class I post for the respective period as specified above. Though these are purely selection posts, the seniority of specific length of service seems to have an edge over ability and excellence of performance.

The administrative elite were asked what rationale they considered appropriate for determining promotion. The opinion on the issue has been further cross-tabulated with their length of service in order to ensure whether the length of service has any bearing on the attitude of the elite on this issue. The data provided in Table 10 suggest that the

<sup>27</sup>Mawdudur Rahman, "New Policies, Development and Trends in the Asian Civil Service of Bangladesh" (Unpublished Report), (Kualalumpur: Asian and Pacific Development Administration Centre, 1979), p. 41.

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*

TABLE 10  
Bases of Promotion and Length of Service

Opinion on Promotion Length of Service of Administrative Elite	Competence by Objective test	Competence by personal qualities	Competence by Seniority-cum- objective test	Total
Upto 8 years (Zia Period)	—	—	4 (6.3) (100.0)	4 (4.0) (100.0)
9—11 (Mujib Period)	2 (7.1) (25.0)	2 (25.0) (25.0)	4 (6.3) (50.0)	8 (8.0) (100.0)
12—16 years (Pak Period)	5 (17.9) (23.9)	2 (25.0) (9.5)	14 (21.9) (66.7)	21 (21.0) (100.0)
17—21 years (Pak Period)	12 (42.9) (42.9)	2 (25.0) (7.1)	14 (21.9) (50.0)	28 (28.0) (100.0)
22—25 years (Pak Period)	5 (17.9) (29.4)	2 (25.0) (11.8)	10 (15.6) (58.8)	17 (17.0) (100.0)
25 years—above (Pak Period)	4 (14.3) (18.2)	—	18 (28.1) (81.8)	22 (22.0) (100.0)
Total	28 (100.0) (28.0)	8 (100.0) (8.0)	64 (100.0) (64.0)	100 (100.0)

Note:—These two figures in parentheses under the frequency denote percentages with respect to the column total and the row total respectively.

majority of the elite (64%) belonging to different classifications of length of service held the view that seniority-cum-objective test should be criterion for promotion.

### Towards Administrative Accountability

There has been a massive expansion of governmental activities in all the states of the world; this phenomenon has been termed governmentisation by Pfiffner and Presthus.<sup>30</sup> With increasing state intervention in various spheres of life, the power and discretion of administrators have also increased.

The emergence of Bangladesh with a war-ravaged economy and with constitutional obligation of establishing an exploitation-free society calls upon the government to take up numerous activities in the fields of industry, agriculture and other socio-economic activities through development plans. That these powers must be protected by a network of controls is equally important.

By administrative accountability we mean that administrators are liable to give a satisfactory account of the exercise of powers that were vested in them. It is through constitution, statutory, administrative and judicial rules and precedents and the established norms of conduct that public officers are made answerable for the performance of their official action. It refers to the "formal or legal locus of responsibility".<sup>31</sup>

The Constitution in 1972 introduced parliamentary form of government. The Council of Ministers was collectively responsible to parliament. Through parliamentary questions, adjournment motions, budget discussion the parliament could bring out gross inefficiencies and irregularities in administration and criticise it for executive lapses.<sup>32</sup> With the introduction of presidential form of government in 1975, the control of the legislature over the executive is reduced to a great extent. Parliamentary control has been weak in Bangladesh for several reasons. They are: short lived parliament due to frequent military intervention, overwhelming majority of one party in parliament, refusal of ministers to answer in parliament on ground of security reasons or public interest, built-in limitation of the members of parliament owing to their lack of experience and lastly irregular constitution and lack of seriousness of Public Accounts Committee.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>30</sup>J.M. Pfiffner and R. Presthus, *Public Administration* (New York: Ronald Press, 5th ed., 1967), p. 425.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup>Government of Bangladesh, Bangladesh Jatiya Sangsad, *Rules of Procedures of Parliament of the People's Republic of Bangladesh* (1973), Rules No. 41, 60, 61, 68 and 71.

<sup>33</sup>Ali Ahmed, *op. cit.*, pp. 177-179.

As regards the administration itself the control devices like written reports, inspection, supervision, government servant conduct rules and audit seem ineffective due to structural defects inherent in them or willful negligence in implementation by the respective administrators.<sup>34</sup>

Like the USA and India, the Supreme Court of Bangladesh can examine the validity of any administrative law or directive and can declare it ultravires if it is found against the constitution. Besides, a suit can be filed in the High Court Division against any executive officer or an authority in order to enforce fundamental rights as provided in the constitution.<sup>35</sup> The High Court can also employ extra-ordinary devices in writs under mandamus, Habeas corpus, prohibition and quo-warranto.

However, judicial control suffers from serious limitations. Judiciary cannot intervene on its own accord. Judicial control becomes operative only when the considerable damage has already been caused. Besides, the process is very slow, cumbersome and incredibly costly which a common man can hardly afford.

It was on account of these limitations of above formal methods that the institution of ombudsman was treated as a better control device against the tyranny of the officials for the protection of the rights of common man.

*The Case of Ombudsman:* The institution of Ombudsman has had its origin in Sweden, the office being created in 1809. The Article 77 of Bangladesh Constitution provides for the establishment of the office Ombudsman. The ombudsman shall exercise such powers and perform such functions as Parliament may, by law, determine, including the power to investigate any action taken by a ministry, a public officer or statutory public officer or statutory public authority.<sup>36</sup>

Accordingly, the parliament passed in April 1980 an act for the creation of ombudsman.<sup>37</sup> Yet the office has not begun to function. However, according to provisions of the act the ombudsman shall be appointed by the President on the recommendation of Parliament. He shall be a person of high legal and administrative ability and integrity.

*Administrative Tribunal:* The increasing proliferation of governmental activities in the welfare sector and also the technical, complex and diversified nature of work are largely responsible for the growth of

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 181-183.

<sup>35</sup>*The Constitution of Bangladesh*, Article 144.

<sup>36</sup>*Ibid.*, Article 77.

<sup>37</sup>*Bangladesh Gazette, Extraordinary*, Act No. XV (April, 1982).

administrative tribunals. The administrative tribunal has been defined by Blachly and Oatman as "authorities outside the ordinary court system which interpret and apply the laws when acts of public administration are attacked in formal suits or by the established methods."<sup>38</sup>

The Bangladesh Constitution provides that Parliament is empowered to set up administrative tribunals to exercise jurisdiction in matters relating to (a) the terms and conditions of persons in the service of the Republic, appointment, tenure of office, reward and punishment and revoking any condition of service; and (b) the acquisition, administration, management and disposal of any property vested in or managed by the government by or under any law, including the operation and management of, and service in any nationalised enterprise or statutory public authority.<sup>39</sup> While an administrative tribunal is dealing with any particular case, no other court can entertain any proceedings or make any order in respect of any matter falling within the purview of the tribunal. On May 28, 1981 Parliament finally passed Administrative Tribunals Act and the Administrative Tribunals comprising two benches known as Administrative Tribunal and Appellate Tribunal were set up on January 1, 1987. The Appellate Tribunal is now functioning and deciding matters arising out of employee's petition.<sup>40</sup>

### Informal Means of Control

Besides the foregoing discussion on formal control, there are informal means of control over administration. These are code of ethics, love for democratic values, public opinion, press and the religious practices. But these devices are not showing effectiveness partly because administrators do not strictly adhere to code of ethics nor do they always show respect for people's rights, despite repeated caution and warning given by the political elite.<sup>41</sup> Besides, public opinion is not sufficiently articulate owing to massive illiteracy and the absence of continuity of democratic rule.

In the light of the above discussion the administrative elite were asked three questions on three dimensions of administrative accountability.

<sup>38</sup>Blachly and Oatman, *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, Vol. III (New York: Macmillan Co., 1954), p. 529.

<sup>39</sup>*The Constitution of Bangladesh*, Article 177.

<sup>40</sup>*Weekly Bichitra* (Dhaka), 25 November 1988, p. 63.

<sup>41</sup>Late President Ziaur Rahman said in an address to the officials that they are the servants of the people and they must not behave like elite as they did during colonial period. See *The Bangladesh Observer* (Dhaka), 9 November, 1978.

The first question was with regard to administrative control. They were asked to comment whether governmental rules were adequate for the purpose. Of them 52% observed that what was needed was strict enforcement of rules and modification of rules respectively. It may be mentioned that 17% who answered in affirmative did not provide any reason for their answer. Those who emphasized strict enforcement of rules, were of the view that the pressure of various groups like trade unions of non-gazetted staff and political interference stood as main barriers to rule enforcement. This finding is also being supported by Ahmed's study.<sup>42</sup> Those who observed that adequacy of rules was absent were only 15%. Out of them only 5% remarked that all job should have been performance-oriented in order to fix specific accountability. But now most of the jobs are not directly related to fixed target or performance of whatever the types they may be.

TABLE 11

## Are Rules Adequate Enough to Hold Administration Accountable ?

Opinion	Response Percentage
YES: Yes with no comment	17.0
Yes but strict enforcement is needed	52.0
Yes but modification is needed	18.0
NO: Without comment	8.0
No performance-oriented job	5.0
Total	100.0

The second dimension of accountability is related to the question of ombudsman and administrative tribunals as a remedy for peoples' grievances. A very large majority (87%) of the elite were conscious of the existence of these institutions and rated them as highly fruitful steps for protecting people from arbitrary decisions of the officials and also officials from the officials while 11% were not very sure about the success of the institution. They contended that the institution of the ombudsman was a highly personalised system and it depended upon the unquestionable-integrity of an individual man who would head the institution. Table 12 is relevant in this context.

<sup>42</sup>Ali Ahmed, *op. cit.*, p. 182 and also see Muhammad Shirajuddin, *Institutional Support for Planning and Project Management* (Dhaka: Study Group, 1982), p. 116.

TABLE 12  
Desirability of Ombudsman and Administrative Tribunal

Responses	Response Percentage
Yes	87.0
May be tried	11.0
Refused answer	2.0
Total	100.0

From the above discussion it appears that a state of 'fool proof' administrative accountability has not been achieved in the context of administration in Bangladesh. However, the structural inadequacies of the control devices must be coupled with consciousness of the people, the association of people's representative in different spheres, and people's control over regional basis of administration.

Thus we find at the national level and recently at the base level i.e. upazila level the administration is subject to the control of political executive but there is no such control mechanism at the district level and divisional level.

A question was, therefore, posed to the administrative elite whether the century old district should be placed under the direct control of the political executive and would the efficiency and responsiveness increase if this arrangement was brought about. Majority of elite (70%) answered that administration would improve where as 28% elite replied in the negative and 20% non-committal. Among these who replied favourably, 33% emphasised on the importance of ability as well as integrity of the politicians; thus their replies were in a way conditional. Of those who answered in negative, 19% remarked that politicians were incompetent and dishonest and they would not deliver the goods in the context of efficiency and improvement of field level administration. Table 13 speaks for itself.

TABLE 13  
Should District Administration be Accountable to People?

Responses	Response Percentage
Yes with no comments	36.0
Conditionally yes	33.0
Responsiveness may increase	1.0
No without comment	9.0
No politicians are incompetent and dishonest	19.0
Refused answer	2.0
Total	100.0

### Administrative Innovation and Reforms

Any discussion of administrative development is incomplete without a reference to innovation and reform. Both the concepts are complementary to each other. Innovation as defined by Victor A. Thompson involves the generation, acceptance and application of new ideas, processes and services.<sup>43</sup> Caiden views it as "artificial inducement of administrative transformation against resistance."<sup>44</sup>

Opinions are divided among the scholars about the principles of administrative reform, though most of them reject the general principles and advocate adoption of reforms to suit particular needs of the case. In fact, every administration is culture-bound and no general administrative principles can be transported directly. Much of the debate revolve round structural (mechanic-formal) *versus* behavioural (organic-informal) strategies of reform. A general consensus is that a strategy of mixed structural behavioural character is a better alternative to administrative reform.<sup>45</sup>

### Administrative Reforms in Bangladesh

At the time of partition in 1947, Pakistan inherited a system of administration from the British which was designed to suit the interest of the rulers. Hence it felt the need of reorienting its administration to suit the purpose of developmental functions in socio-economic fields. Following its creation Pakistan appointed a number of committees with foreign experts as their members for reorganisation of administration.<sup>46</sup> Yet no significant improvement took place.<sup>47</sup> Since independence the Government of Bangladesh had appointed six major committees which were as follows:

- (a) The Civil Administration Restoration Committee, 1972.
- (b) The National Pay Commission (NPC), 1972.
- (c) The Administrative and Services Reorganisation Committee (ASRC), 1972.
- (d) The Pay and Services Commission (PSC), 1976.

<sup>43</sup>Victor A. Thompson, "Administrative Objectives For Development Administration" in *Administrative Science Quarterly* (June 1969), 93.

<sup>44</sup>Gerald Caiden, *Administrative Reform* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1969), p. 65.

<sup>45</sup>Arne F. Leemans, "Aspects of Administrative Change" in *Administrative Issues*, p. 126 as cited in Faisal S.A. Al-Salem, *The Ecological Dimensions of Development Administration* (New Delhi: Asia Publishing House, 1977), p. 200.

<sup>46</sup>M.A. Rahman, *Administrative Reforms in Pakistan — An Annotated Bibliography*, (Lahore: Administrative Staff College, 1969).

<sup>47</sup>*Ibid.*



(e) The Committee for Administrative Reorganisation/Reform (CARR), 1982.

(f) The Martial Law Committee on Organisational Set up, 1982.

First, three committees/commissions were appointed by Mujib Government. The fourth committee was appointed by Ziaur Rahman and the rest of the committees were set up by Ershad Government. The present government also appointed a committee termed as National Implementation Committee for Administrative Reform and Reorganisation (NICARR), 1983. This Committee was essentially for implementation purpose. Its function was to accelerate the process of implementation of the recommendations by CARR.

The terms of reference, major recommendations and the implementation part of the committees have been critically discussed by Mohammad Mohabbat Khan.<sup>48</sup>

On the whole the reforms or reorganisation introduced so far substantially were towards structural dimension. As it has been discussed earlier that the newly constituted service structure could neither satisfy the generalists nor the specialists. In the light of the above observations, the elite were asked what type of reforms they considered essential for development. All the elite pleaded for reforms in different directions. Table 14 speaks for itself in this regard.

TABLE 14

Reforms Suggested In Administration

Types of Reform	Response Percentage
Structural Reforms	22.0
Functional Reforms	28.0
Attitudinal Reforms	15.0
Combination of all	32.0
Management by Objectives	1.0
Active Local Government	2.00
Total	100.0

By structural reforms the respondents meant organisational changes in the form of pattern of positions, principles and practices and while by functional reforms they implied proper classification of nature of duties to be performed. The attitudinal reform refers to the belief and beha-

<sup>48</sup>Muhammad Mohabbat Khan, "Major Administrative Reforms and Reorganisation Efforts in Bangladesh — An Overview" in *Indian Journal of Public Administration* (New Delhi), XXXI: 3 (1985), 1016-1040.

viour of the elite. The elite (15%) who advocated behavioural changes held the view that their behaviour was anti-developmental in two respects. Some of them were authoritarian and as such attached less importance to the peoples' aspirations and believed that they understood the welfare of the people better than the people themselves. Others were indifferent to the people and were concerned only about their career. Though an insignificant minority has mentioned about management by objectives and active local government but these are very important from the angle of administrative reform.

### An Overview and Conclusion

There are two trends of thought on the dichotomy between the secretariat and the attached department on which majority of them (55%) considered the dichotomy congenial to development. The major argument was that it provided standard practice in terms of checks and balances.

Decision making is the key function of the senior administrators. *Prima facie* it appears that administration is highly centralised and authoritarian which makes the decision making process rather slow. This view is held by an overwhelming majority (93%) of the elite.

A large majority of elite believed that there was delegation of authority on paper but in practice there was a tendency for the higher authority often to exercise the delegated power. A large percentage of elite (72%) held the view that the service structure had not ended the inter-bureaucratic feuds rather it had generated fresh controversies.

On the structure of senior services pool a very large percentage of elite (72%) considered the constitution of the 'pool' as a forward looking step but they regretted that the selection to the pool was not free from political pull and pressures. The administrative elite of Bangladesh are found sceptical about the integrity of the public service commission in maintaining neutrality in its recruitment procedures.

The civil service in Bangladesh enjoys the constitutional guarantee of its job but the sense of security of service becomes very uncertain with occasional imposition of military rule. Majority of our respondents (66%) thought that way. But not the guarantee which was granted to it by the Constitutions of 1956 and 1962 during the Pakistan period.

With regard to promotion majority of the elite were of the view that seniority-cum-merit should be treated as criterion for promotion.

Regarding administrative accountability, more than 80% elite believed that rules were adequate enough to hold administrators accountable but this could not be done due to the lack of enforcement of rules, which they wanted.

Since the emergence of Bangladesh some administrative reorganisations have taken place but the elite considered that these were not enough to meet the requirements. They would, therefore, suggest that further reforms should be introduced in the structure, functional and behavioural contents of administration.

In sum, administrative development is a continuous process. In Bangladesh there has not been any systematic efforts towards coherent and logical development in the desired directions. Only sporadic attempts were made to overhaul the administration. Hence, Bangladesh is to go a long mile in this direction. However, one good thing about the administrative elite is that they are not very allergic to major changes leading to administrative development.



# Evolution of Commercial Banking and its Theories

Zainul Abedin

This article deals with the definition and functions of commercial banks, with a brief historical survey of their evolution and finally with the theories of commercial banking. As an aid to understanding the theories, it is necessary to have a clear idea of the production function of a commercial bank. So a section of this article is devoted to a brief statement of commercial banks' production function.

## 1. Definitions

The word 'bank' is derived from the Italian words 'banco' or 'banaca' which means a bench. The early bankers, the Jews in Lombardy, transacted their business at benches in the market place. When a banker failed, his 'banco' was broken up by the people and from this the word 'bankrupt' originated.<sup>1</sup> The etymology of the word 'bank' also reveals that it was originated from the French word 'banque' which means 'chest'.<sup>2</sup> The Italian word 'banco' or 'banaca' signifies the transaction functions of commercial banks, while the French word 'banque' indicates the importance of their safe keeping function. These early understandings of the word 'bank' were elaborated by Sir John Paget when he put four tests of banking business. These are: (a) taking of deposits, (b) taking of current accounts, (c) payment of cheques and (d) collection of cheques.<sup>3</sup> But these tests define a bank in a very narrow sense.

The British Parliament defined a bank as any firm or institution doing a bonafide banking business.<sup>4</sup> This definition though incomplete, signifies that a firm to be a bank should carry on bonafide banking busi-

<sup>1</sup>F.R. Ryder and D.B. Jenkins (eds.), *Thomson's Dictionary of Banking*, (London: Pitman, 1978), p. 47.

<sup>2</sup>Joseph F. Sinkey, Jr., *Commercial Bank Financial Management*, (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1983), p. 2.

<sup>3</sup>Ryder and Jenkins (eds.) *op. cit.*, p. 48.

<sup>4</sup>Geoffrey Crowther, *An Outline of Money*, (Delhi: Universal Book Stall, 1977 (reprint), p. 77.

ness which is something of great importance. According to Geoffrey Crowther the closest approach to define a banker is to look upon him as a 'dealer in debts — his own and other people'.<sup>5</sup> Professor R. S. Sayers says "Banks are institutions whose debts — usually referred to as 'bank deposits' are commonly accepted in final settlement of other people's debts."<sup>6</sup>

The earliest successful attempt of the legislators at defining a bank was made by the U.S. Congress which described it as follows:

"By 'banking' we mean the business of dealing in credits and by a 'bank' we include every person, firm or company having a place of business where credits are opened by the deposit or collection of money or currency, subject to be paid or remitted on draft, cheque or order, or money is advanced or loaned on stock, bonds, bullion, bills of exchange or promissory notes, or where stocks, bonds, bullion, bills of exchange or promissory notes are received for discount or sale."<sup>7</sup>

This definition appears to be the description of the main function of a commercial bank, i.e., "dealing in credit". But it ignored other aspects. Almost in the same fashion, though in a very concise way, the Japanese Bank Act of 1927 defined 'bank' as 'institutions' which carry on operations of giving as well as receiving credit.<sup>8</sup>

The Negotiable Instruments Act of 1881 (XXVI of 1881) amended in 1962 by Ordinance XLIX of 1962 and also effective in Bangladesh states: "banker means a person transacting the business of accepting, for the purpose of lending or investment, of deposits of money from the public, repayable on demand or otherwise and withdrawable by cheque, draft, order or otherwise".<sup>9</sup> This definition also is not a very helpful one to explain the activities of a bank. The Hilton Young Commission (1926) in its report recommended that "the term 'bank' or 'banker' should be interpreted as meaning every person, firm or company, using in its description or its title 'bank' or 'banker' or 'banking' and every company accepting deposits of money subject to withdrawal by cheque, draft or order".<sup>10</sup> Under the Banking Companies Act 1949, a

<sup>5</sup>Crowther, *Ibid.*, p. 77.

<sup>6</sup>R. S. Sayers, *Modern Banking*, (7th ed., London: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 1.

<sup>7</sup>M.L. Tannan, *Banking Law and Practice in India*, (11th ed. Bombay: Thacker and Co., Ltd., 1965), p. 36.

<sup>8</sup>Tannan, *Ibid.*, p. 37.

<sup>9</sup>K.B. Abbas (Compiler), *The Negotiable Instruments Act (XXVI of 1881)*, (4th ed., Lahore: All Pakistan Legal Decisions, 1963), pp. 2-3.

<sup>10</sup>Quoted in Tannan, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

'banking company' in India has been defined as one which transacts the business of banking by accepting, for the purpose of lending or investment, of deposits of money from the public, repayable on demand or otherwise.<sup>11</sup> It follows from the above statement that a bank must perform two cardinal functions of (1) accepting of deposits from public, and (2) lending or investing the deposits.

Most of the shortcomings of the above definitions are absent in the definition of a bank by a French author, Roger Orsingher, who says, "Bank: derived from the Italian word 'banco', bench or counter: public or private credit institution, whose function is to receive money on deposit, to employ it profitably and to facilitate its circulation in the form of notes, bonds or bills of exchange."<sup>12</sup> A more useful definition of commercial banks is given by M. C. Vaish who says that in addition to dealing with credits (including advances and investment) "commercial banks not only issue and transfer deposits through cheques but they also operate savings deposit accounts, act as under writers, to new equity issues, deal in foreign exchange, provide locker facilities, handle tax matters on behalf of clients, etc."<sup>13</sup> Today as a matter of fact the commercial banks are more than what have been described in the above paragraphs. These are the most important financial intermediaries which mediate between the savers in the community (households and corporations) and the users of these savings (individuals, corporations and government). This is all the more true of the developing countries where the capital markets are not very developed yet. The commercial banks are essentially very vital socio-economic institutions for moving forward the wheels of human civilization and progress.

## 2. Banking Systems

Two important banking systems which gained popularity and significance over the ages are branch banking and unit banking. In a branch banking system, a single bank operates in a national boundary through a countrywide network of branches. The branch banking system was first developed in England and then spread in most of the countries around the Globe. This system of banking is advocated for its economy, efficacy,

<sup>11</sup>Cited in A.K. Basu, *Fundamentals of Banking Theory and Practices*, (4th edn, Calcutta: A. Mukherjee and Co. Private Ltd., 1962), p. 4.

<sup>12</sup>Roger Orsingher, *Banks of the World* (translated by D. S. Ault, (London: Macmillan, 1967), p. 1.

<sup>13</sup>M.C. Vaish, *Modern Banking*, (New Delhi: Oxford IBH Publishing Co., 1978), p. 5.

diversification and the mutual benefits among the branches. This system is, however, disliked by many for its oligopolistic and monopolistic conditions.<sup>14</sup>

On the contrary, unit banking exists when banking services are provided by single office institutions. It was developed in the United States of America and by now nearly a third of American banking offices are unit banks.<sup>15</sup> This system of banking is more responsive to the local needs than the large national branch banking system. Because of being small, its strength remains too limited to overcome unanticipated crisis.

Two more concepts relating to banking system need to be discussed briefly. These are correspondent banking and mixed banking. Generally, small banks serving small communities place deposits in nearby city banks which, in turn, hold deposits in the giant banks located in large cities. As a result, a web network of banking interrelationship is created whereby ultimately every bank in the country is connected with every other bank. This system is highly developed in the U.S.A. Mixed banking system is developed in the European countries like Germany, Belgium, Hungary and the Netherlands. Under this type of banking the commercial banks make long term loans to industry. This is a departure from the traditional British styled commercial banking.<sup>16</sup>

### 3. Functions

Commercial banks perform very important functions without which the economy of any nation cannot run for even a day. Their functions are increasing over the years and add to the components of their service mix. The vital ones are stated below.

#### 3.1 Creation of Money

Money is defined as anything that actually functions as a generally acceptable medium of exchange for goods, services, assets and repayment of debts. The aggregate money supply comprises the currency and the demand deposits that are created in the economy by the commercial banks. Commercial banks' ability to create and to destroy money distinguishes them from other financial institutions. This function of commercial banks is of a great economic significance for the operation of an elastic credit system that is necessary for economic progress at a relatively steady rate of growth.

<sup>14</sup>Vaish, *Ibid.*, pp. 28-30.

<sup>15</sup>Edward W. Reed, *et al.*, *Commercial Banking*, (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1976), p. 15.

<sup>16</sup>Vaish, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-34.



### **3.2 Payment Mechanism**

With the increasing uses of commercial banks' cheques and credit cards, their function of payments mechanism or transferring of funds increased significantly. A large percentage of transactions are now-a-days settled by cheques of commercial banks.

### **3.3 Pooling of Savings**

Commercial banks through their financial intermediation pools or collects savings from those who have surplus funds and make the same available to those who are in need of funds. The savers are rewarded by the payment of interest on their savings while investors pay interests to the banks out of their higher income generating from their expanded productive capacity ensured by their borrowed funds. Thus the saver, investor and the banker — all are benefited from this function of commercial banks.

### **3.4 Financing of Foreign Trade**

Commercial banks finance the foreign trade through the issuance of a commercial letter of credit (L.C) which is a written statement on the part of a bank to an individual or a firm guaranteeing that the bank will accept and pay a draft, upto a specified sum, if presented to the bank in accordance with the terms of the letter of credit. This L.C. protects both the purchaser by specifying the type and condition of the goods, and the seller by substituting its credit for purchaser's fund.

### **3.5 Safekeeping of Valuables**

This is one of the oldest functions of commercial banks. It includes the facilities of safe deposit boxes on which the customers have full control and for which they pay rents to the banks. Safekeeping also means that the banks act as the custody of the valuables and as agents of the customers.<sup>17</sup>

### **3.6 Development Functions**

With the growing need for accelerating the economic development of the developing countries, greater responsibilities are placed on the commercial banks to do their best with all the available armours for the development of the national economy as well as the country-sides. To gain more public control on banks' resources, the giant commercial banks have been nationalised in both developed and developing countries of the world. Commercial banks of all countries of the Globe have

<sup>17</sup>Reed, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-8.

now been developed more as public institutions for protecting public interests than as private institutions to serve private interests only.

### 3.7 Other Functions

The commercial banks also provide the customers with trust and various kinds of other services. Thomson in his Dictionary of Banking rightly remarks, "A banker also discounts bills and promissory notes, and makes advances either by way of a loan or of an overdraft. He undertakes the agency of other banks, and of foreign banks, effects purchases and sales of securities, collects cheques, dividends, coupons and foreign bills, makes periodical and other payments, pays customers' acceptances, issues drafts, circular notes and letters of credit, conducts foreign exchange business and remits funds to almost any part of the world; accepts bills for customers, undertakes the office of the executor and trustee, and takes charge of securities and other valuables for customers".<sup>18</sup> A banker often acts as treasurer for a local authority or for a national government, or even for a corporation or company.

## 4. Evolution of Commercial Banks

Commercial banks are very old socio-economic institutions. Their importance in human society is so great that no portion of humanity either in the capitalist or in the socialist world can survive without their influence. In the long development of human race, bankers have at times profoundly influenced the course of history. In Bengal the fall of the Nawabs in 1757 would not perhaps, have been so fast, if the great banking house of Jagat Seth would not betray with them. Even today the third world countries can achieve higher growth rates, if the multinational banks assist them properly. On the other hand, today's industrial development and maintenance of the level of mass consumption would not be possible in the absence of the banking systems. So the banks remain an essential element in the civilisation of antiquity of the middle ages and of modern times. The following sections briefly describe their evolutionary processes.

### 4.1 Banks of Antiquity

Two events are important landmarkers in the history of banking of the world of antiquity. The first one is the drawing up of the code of king Hammurabi, the true founder of Babylonian Empire (1728-1886 B.C.). During his reign bank operations by temples and great landowners were so numerous and so important that he inscribed standard rules of

<sup>18</sup>Ryder and Jenkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-48.

procedure on a block of diorite, 2.25 metres tall. About 150 paragraphs' code deals with nearly all banking aspects of loans, interests, pledges, guarantees, the presence or absence of evidence, natural accidents, theft, etc. Secondly, Gyges, the king of Lydia caused electrum "to be cast in ingots of identical shape and of a uniform weight, and a triple emblem to be engraved on the ingots; one of the emblems was the effigy of a fox, the great Lydian god; this emblem was an official guarantee of value".<sup>19</sup> Thus money came into use.

#### 4.1.1 Babylon

By 1000 B.C. deposit accounts in the banks of Babylon became almost current practice which gave rise to issuing of receipts for goods and articles of all kinds like grain, cattle, agricultural instruments, fruit and eventually precious metals. Through a natural process of evolution, the existence of these deposits gradually led to transfers to the order, not of the deposit or, but of a third party. In this way loan business originated and reached a high stage of development in Babylonian civilisation.<sup>20</sup>

#### 4.1.2 Ancient Greece

From the fourth century B.C. onward banking practices developed in ancient Greece. The first Greek bankers were called 'trapezites' who would accept deposits for safe keeping and acted as agents in the settlement of claims. They also invested the deposits of their clients in commercial enterprises. From the speeches of orators of the fourth century B.C., it is known to all that the famous Greek banker, Pasion of Athens invested his own funds and those of his depositors to whom he paid interest. Later on, in the Hellenistic period banks became so developed that transactions in cash were replaced by real credit operations with receipts and payments made by simple written instructions, with accounts kept for each client. The 'Bank of Delos' was a renowned banking establishment of the time.<sup>21</sup>

#### 4.1.3 Ancient Egypt

After Alexandrian conquest, the ptolemies introduced coinage into Egypt. Following Greek tradition trapezites developed banking here under state patronage. Like Babylon, private individuals could also deposit their crops in state depositories of Egypt. Both payments and receipts in kind could be affected by documents authorising either with-

<sup>19</sup>Orsingher, *op. cit.*, p. VIII.

<sup>20</sup>Orsingher, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-2.

<sup>21</sup>Orsingher, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

drawals or transfer — resembling the cheques and clearing functions of those depositories. When Egypt came under the control of the Romans private banks rapidly increased in number and importance. The typical Egyptian bank derived in part from the Greek trapezites and in part from the oriental organisations.<sup>22</sup>

#### 4.1.4 Rome

In the Roman Empire, originally the state departments would provide banking services by a 'college of officials' (*virī mensarii*) who accepted money on deposit from the citizens and who were authorised to use the same in making loans. During the third century B. C. when money changers set up in Rome, they were brought under state supervision which continued without lapse.<sup>22</sup> The liberal policies of the state allowed banking operations to develop and flourish in Rome. With the expansion of the Roman Empire, prosperity attained and then the Roman bankers essentially became dealers in money in every sense of the word. They discharged functions of money changers, discounters and credit institutions of all kinds.

#### 4.1.5 Ancient India

Evidence regarding the existence of money lending operations in India is found in the literature of the Vedic times, i.e. 2000 B. C. to 1400 B.C. Ancient Hindu scriptures of this period also depicts some such evidences. But no detail information on those instances is available today. From 500 B.C. onwards, money lending as a profession of a section of the community had been developed into a more or less stable banking system for several centuries and proved very beneficial to the people of Indo-Pak-Bangladesh sub-continent.<sup>23</sup> "Manu, the great law giver of the time, speaks of the earning of interest as the business of *Vaishās*".<sup>24</sup> In the Smriti period also the banking was so developed in the sub-continent that the bankers performed most of the banking functions of today. The literature of the Buddhist period supplies ample examples of the existence of 'sresthis' (bankers) in all the important trade centres of the empire and their widespread influence in the life of the community. They would lend money to traders, to merchant-adventures who went to abroad, to kings who were in difficulties due to wars or other reasons, against the pledge of movable or immovable property or personal surity.

<sup>22</sup>Orsingher, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>23</sup>Mongia, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

<sup>24</sup>Vaish, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

#### 4.2 Banks of the Middle Ages

The Middle age is specially significant for the rise of a class of professional money-lenders and the rise of a system of trading by bills of exchange from place to place.

The Jews were the first professional money-lenders. Initially their loans were consumer credits involving considerable risks and therefore high rates of interest. For long the Italians were the only competitors of the Jews in this branch of business. The Lombards (of Italian origin) were the first professional agents for credit operations in France, England and in Germany. They formed private companies (like modern partnership companies) and would set up in business only where they were granted exemptions from taxation and other privileges. Some of the most important Lombard companies of the time were the 'Acciaioli', the 'Bardi', the 'Boccaci', the 'Tolomei', the 'Ugolini', the 'Guidegni', the 'Peruzzi', the 'Scotti', the 'Scali' etc.<sup>25</sup>

Other Italian master bankers like the Tuscans (in the 13th century) and the Florentines (in the 14th century) entered into competition with the Lombards and established subsidiary companies in all big towns of Europe. The huge deposits they received allowed them from the fourteenth century on to make loans to the kings of England and France. One example of such bank was the 'Casadei Medici' at Florence and another was 'Casa di San Giorgio' at Genoa.

By the end of the fourteenth century a French city Lyons became the principal French discount market because of the establishment of some important German and Italian banks and merchants from all other parts of France were obliged to deal with the Lyons bankers. Even the kings of France were the best clients of the Lyons bankers specially the foreign bankers. In fact Lyons became the true financial centre of the kingdom of France because of its four annual 'settling fairs' which made it a veritable capital market. In the sixteenth-century Lyon's banking operations like money changing, deposits, transfers and current accounts, foreign exchange and arbitrage, loans and borrowings, and discounting were practised.

#### 4.3 The Development of Modern Banking

In the ancient and medieval periods the development of commercial banking was closely associated with the business of money changing. Another factor for their development was the exigent financial requirements of the monarchical governments, of the day, who granted banking privileges

<sup>25</sup>Orsingher, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

in exchange for loans. As Adam Smith observed, The earliest banks of Italy, where the name began, were finance companies ... to make loans to and float loans for the governments of cities in which they were formed ... After these banks has been long established, they began to do what we call banking business but at first they never thought of it.<sup>26</sup>

At dawn of modern times banking as a public enterprise made its first beginning around the middle of the twelfth century in Italy. The first public bank of the world, the Bank of Venice, was founded in 1157. Its path was followed by the establishment of the Bank of Barcelona (in 1401) and the Bank of Genoa (in 1407). Both the bank of Venice and the Bank of Genoa continued their operation until the end of the eighteenth century. The famous Bank of Amsterdam was founded on 31 January, 1609. These early banks served the community by furnishing it with a uniform standard of value through the medium of bank money and by settling mercantile payments through the book entries. The Bank of Amsterdam, however, rendered very great services to Netherland's trade and commerce, and subsisted more or less intact till 1795.<sup>27</sup>

During the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, goldsmiths and other enterprisers, money-lenders and exchange specialists, were equally important for the development of banking in England. But the goldsmiths assumed extraordinary prominence after the seizure of large gold hoards of the merchants of London from the famous tower of London by King Charles I in 1640. Though later on, the seized deposits were returned, the London merchants looked elsewhere for the safe deposit of their surplus funds and finally deposited their surplus bullion with the goldsmiths. With the passage of time goldsmiths issued receipts, acknowledging the deposits which was payable to the bearers of the receipts on demand. These enjoyed considerable circulation and the goldsmiths' note became the precursor of the modern bank note. But their business suffered a great set-back as a result of the ill treatment they received at the hands of the government of Charles II (1672) under the Gabal Ministry. The government shut up the goldsmiths' Exchequers and paid none. Thus the goldsmiths were ruined.<sup>28</sup>

Following the crisis of 1672, several attempts were made to establish a public bank like the Bank of Amsterdam but in vain. Lastly, on 24 July, 1694 the Bank of England was founded by the initiative of William

<sup>26</sup>Adam Smith, *An Inquiry Into The Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* 1776, (London: Everyman's Library Edition, Vol. 1, book IV, Chap-III, Part 1), p. 423.

<sup>27</sup>Orsingher, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

<sup>28</sup>Vaish, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.

Paterson. This bank is the first modern bank of issue since it was the first in human history to issue true bank notes and to combine issue with the discounting of bills of exchange.<sup>29</sup>

With the experiences of the three ancestors of a modern banker; the merchant, the money-lender and the goldsmiths,<sup>30</sup> the bank of England thus began its long and perilous existence. But the world had to wait for another century and four decades to see the development of modern commercial banking institutions which finally emerged in 1833 by the famous Banking Act that allowed the establishment of Joint-stock banks in England.<sup>31</sup> Since then, following the English style, hundreds and thousands of commercial banks were established in different countries around the Globe.

### 5. Commercial Bank Production Function

The best way to conceptualise the production process of a commercial bank is to analyse it by means of a production function (Fig. 1). It simply indicates the physical relationship between a firm's physical inputs and outputs depending on a given state of technical knowledge. For a commercial bank, this input output relationship can be established in the following way. Commercial bank's inputs are land, labour, physical capital and financial liabilities. Its outputs are its earning assets in the form of loans to households, business firms, corporations and government (in the form of securities also). "Given the state of the art in bank technology, the bank production process can be viewed as one in which inputs are combined in some optimal and efficient way to produce bank output".<sup>32</sup>

Traditionally, the commercial bank production function is a labour-intensive one, but in recent years technological advances have led to the substitution of physical capital (in the form of computers and electronic funds transfer equipment) for labour. This change is, however, still a phenomenon of the developed economies. In the developing economies it is also penetrating slowly due mainly to the demonstration effects. But no doubt in the coming days, the electronic impulses will continue to replace both paper and labour in the bank production process.

Figure 1 illustrates how the flow of inputs generate the flow of outputs through a production process. Given the level of technology, the organization or management will manage and combine the inputs in

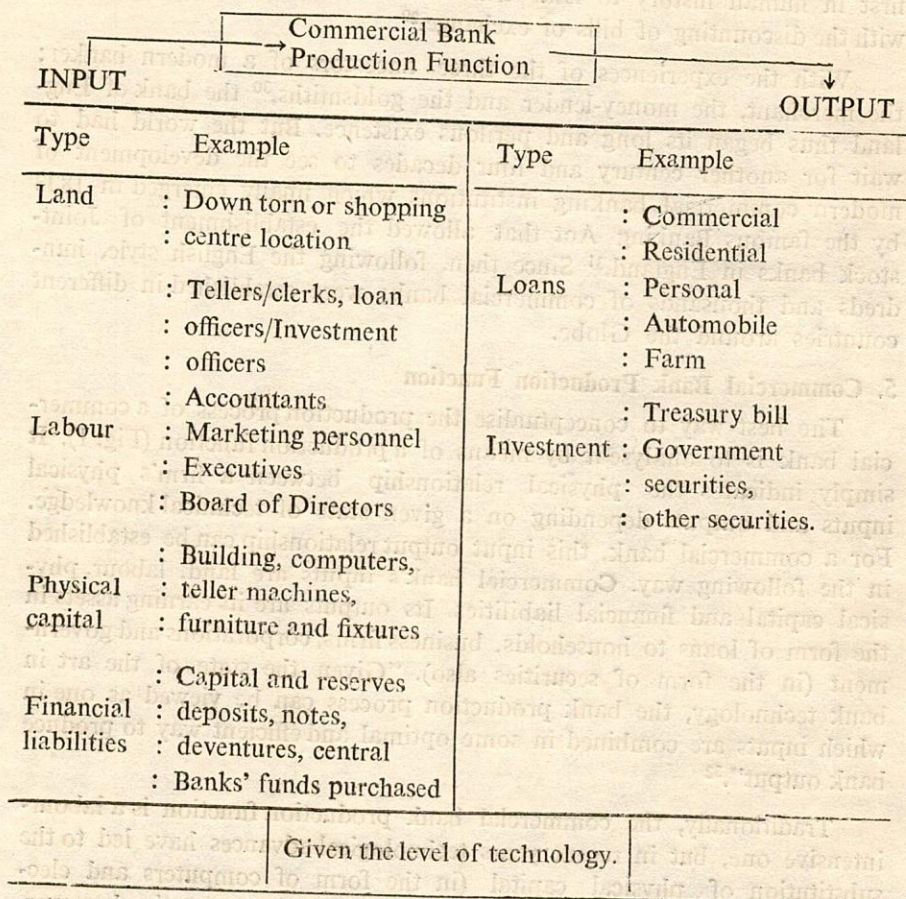
<sup>29</sup>Orsingher, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-44.

<sup>30</sup>Crowther, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

<sup>31</sup>Vaish, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

<sup>32</sup>Sinkey, Jr., *op. cit.*, p. 7.

FIGURE 1  
The Commercial Bank Production Function<sup>33</sup>



such an optimal and efficient way that the level of bank output will be maximised. Maximisation of bank output (or its earning assets) leads to the maximisation of bank profits. For maximisation of their profits, commercial banks require to satisfy two conditions: minimisation of inputs' cost and maximisation of earnings from the optimum level of outputs.

## 6. Evolution of Commercial Banking Theories

It has just been stated how commercial banks maximise their profits. But it is not as easy as stated above. Maximisation of output means

<sup>33</sup>Sinkey, Jr., *Ibid.*, p. 10.



maximum utilisation of inputs or banks' resources, the lion's share of which is the deposits of the public. Some deposits are withdrawable at any time. So a bank must know from its experiences how much cash is required to meet the day to day needs of the public. This means that it has to make a compromise between the liquidity and the profitability. Here lies the crux of the problem. A bank needs certain principles or theories which may guide it for making this compromise in the best alternative ways.

### 6.1 The Real Bills Doctrine

This doctrine was the out growth of English banking practices during the eighteenth century. The commercial loan theory of banking or in other words the real bills doctrine states that the commercial banks should make only short term, self-liquidating, productive loans. This should be followed strictly because of the nature of their liabilities. Since the bulk of commercial bank liabilities are payable on demand, it was argued that its assets should similarly be as short-term as possible. The short-term business loans for working capital purposes with a maximum maturity of about three months, were considered as ideal assets. It was forbidden to make loans or investments for longer duration except to the extent of a banks' capital accounts. "The 'self-liquidity' aspect of the commercial loan theory meant that the funds for a borrower to repay a loan were supposed to arise out of the very transaction being financed by that particular loan. A loan to finance inventories, the classic example, would be repaid by the businessmen out of his receipts from the sale of those very inventories. The sale proceeds from the transaction being financed would give rise to the automatic self-liquidation of the bank's earning assets."<sup>34</sup>

The expression of Professor S. K. Basu is very brief but pinpointing. According to him, "loans secured by physical goods in process of production in a factory or in the process of shipment or of orderly marketing and repayable out of the price fetched by their sales were considered to liquidate themselves automatically"<sup>35</sup> and were called self-liquidating loans.

But the fundamental fallacy in the real bills doctrine is that no loan is, by itself, self-liquidating. There enters a third party—the retailers, between the lender (bank) and the borrower, and their behaviour is not

<sup>34</sup>Lawrence S. Ritter and William L. Silber, *Principles of Money Banking and Financial Markets*, (3rd edi., New York: Basic Books, Inc, Publishers, 1980), p. 130.

<sup>35</sup>S.K. Basu, *A Survey of Contemporary Banking Trends*, (2nd. edi., Calcutta: The Book Exchange, 1961), p. 279

under the control of the first (lender) or second (borrower) party. So automatic liquidation is absurd. For this reason bankers began to by pass this age-old doctrine since 1930s and gradually diversified their loan portfolios. Apart from suffering from theoretical defects the doctrine proved impractical, as it has failed to meet borrower's changing needs. As regard the impracticability of this doctrine and its adverse consequences Professor R.S. Sayers says, "If the bankers in a misguided attempt to liquidate their assets were to refuse to take back any new bills and sit back in their parlour and wait for the maturities of the bills in their portfolio, there would be a fall in purchasing power and a fall in prices sufficient to make it impossible for debtors to meet bills out of the process of their operations."<sup>36</sup> These shortcomings of the real bills doctrine led to the development of more realistic views as to how a bank might best provide for its liquidity needs.

## 6.2 The Shiftability Thesis

The shiftability thesis simply states that the best way to safeguard liquidity is to buy assets which can be readily sold to others when funds are needed. Professor S. K. Basu says, "According to this theory, the problem of liquidity is not so much a problem of maturing loans but one of shifting assets to other banks for cash at satisfactory prices. So long as a bank can get accommodation in time of trouble, it need not rely upon maturities. What is essential in maintenance of a substantial quantity of assets which can be shifted on to other banks before maturity in case of necessity. Thus liquidity is tantamount to shiftability".<sup>37</sup> A more elaborate analyses is made by four American authors who says, "The shiftability theory is based on the proposition that a bank's liquidity is maintained if it holds assets that could be shifted or sold to other lenders or investors for cash. If loans are not repaid, the collateral from secured loans (marketable securities, for example) could be sold in the market for cash ; if funds are needed, loans could be shifted to the central bank. Thus the individual commercial bank should be able to meet its liquidity needs, provided it always has assets to sell; similarly, the banking system would be liquid provided that the central bank stands ready to purchase assets offered for discount".<sup>38</sup> Thus the extent of bank liquidity is measured by the degree of ability of the commercial banking system to shift their assets to the lender of last resort — the cen-

<sup>36</sup>R.S. Sayers, *Modern Banking*, (3rd edi., London: Oxford University Press, 1951), p. 230.

<sup>37</sup>Basu, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

<sup>38</sup>Read, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 127. The names of four authors are Edward W. Reed, Richard V. Cotter, Edward K. Gill and Richard K. Smith,

tral bank. In other words bank liquidity is vitally related to the eligibility canons of the central banks. In the last few decades because of flexible rules imposed by the central banks, the opportunity of shifting assets has been considerably expanded and enabled the commercial banks for longer term lending.

But this shiftability thesis has also great limitations. When one or some banks shift their liquidity to others, it works nicely ; but when everyone wants to shift ones' liquidity to others at a time, it creates problems. Again, when the market price of securities fall, banks find that the loans can only be liquidated at a loss which is suicidal to them. So this shiftability thesis was replaced, in turn, by the doctrine of anticipated income.

### **6.3 The Doctrine of Anticipated Income**

According to the doctrine of anticipated income, the borrower is obliged to save and repay his debt out of his earnings. All loans, in one way or another, get repaid out of the future income of the borrower, income that arises from a number of sources, some of which may be only remotely connected with the activity being financed by the loan itself. Thus loans are not inherently self liquidating, but rather are paid off out of the earnings that accrue to the borrower from transactions with numerous third parties. So "a bank's liquidity can be planned if scheduled loan payments are based on the future income of the borrower".<sup>39</sup> Recovery of loans on instalment basis also contribute regularly to a bank's liquidity.

All these enable the bankers to see that consumer loans, mortgage loans and term loans to business are no different from the traditional short-term business loan that finances inventories. The latter is repaid in a lump sum at the maturity of the loan while the former loans being repaid in instalments ensure continuous cash inflow or bank liquidity.

The major shortcoming of this doctrine stems from the difficulty in accurately predicting what the future income of borrowers will be. Again, the anticipated income does not fill the entire bill. Human behaviour pattern may also change. So recovery of loan from anticipated income may not be as easy as stated above. Though instalment payments provide a regular stream of liquidity, they are not adequate to meet extraordinary emergency cash needs of a bank. In practice, it is not very different from the other two theories discussed above with regards to solution to the problem of liquidity of a bank.

<sup>39</sup>Reed, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

#### 6.4 Liability Management Theory

This theory states that the banks can meet liquidity requirements by bidding in the market for additional funds. Thus the trend of looking for liquidity entirely on assets' side of a balance sheet has been changed and the liabilities' side of the balance sheet has been attaining prominence since 1960s. The banks now increasingly draw their liquidity from the liabilities side of the balance sheet. "Instead of taking their liability structure as given and tailoring their assets to fit in, they began to take a target asset growth as given and adjust their liabilities to suit their needs".<sup>40</sup> Thus a bank can borrow from the central bank and the other commercial banks to meet its liquidity needs in times of emergency. It, however, goes well so long the central bank is accommodating.

But when the central bank is not very much accommodating, the commercial banks face difficulty in managing their liquidity. Again, heavy dependence of commercial banks on the liabilities sides of their balance sheets may also lead to the unexpected rise of loan to deposit ratio with all its evils.

#### 6.5 Theory of Discretionary Funds Management

The discretionary funds management theory is a modified version of the liability management theory. "It revolves around the strategic employment of interest-sensitive funds—whether liabilities or assets that can be increased or decreased at the bank's initiative."<sup>41</sup> Whether a discretionary item is an asset or a liability is relatively unimportant in the bank's financial decision. Here the only consideration is to raise funds at minimum cost or to allocate a surplus to maximize profit. Thus, while the liability management theory looks into the liabilities side of the balance sheet for bank's liquidity, the discretionary funds management theory depends on both the assets' and liabilities' sides of the balance sheet for the same. Practically, these alternative sources of funds all stand on a common footing in that each of them can—at a price—supply a dollar of liquidity which is just as good as a dollar of liquidity acquired from any other source.

So, at any one time a choice exists among an array of alternatives as to how liquidity might be acquired. It is argued that it will be more profitable to make this choice in terms of relative costs and risks than to follow over simplified theories blindly. This is now considered to be the most realistic and pragmatic guideline for maintaining bank liquidity.

<sup>40</sup>Ritter and Silber, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

<sup>41</sup>Ritter and Silber, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

### 6.6 Bank Management Practices with Models and Computers

The use of computers to aid bankers in their decision making had started its ever staying journey since 1960s. Unlike the theories of bank liquidity which changes over the years, the computer models have come to last for long. From the preceding analysis one conclusion can clearly be drawn that no single decision rule is applicable, with considerable stability, for a general approach to bank portfolio selection. The use of computers and linear programming models has put some order into the procedure for allocating bank funds, and has also made explicit the cost of high liquidity (in terms of foregone income).

“Linear programming is a general mathematical procedure that can be used wherever it is desired to maximize something subject to constraints. In the case of a bank, the objective is to maximize profits subject to the constraints imposed by liquidity requirements and regulatory framework. It is possible to express this profit objective and the constraints in formal mathematical equations. Solving this system of equations provides the bank with actual numbers for how much to invest in (say) Treasury bills, commercial loans, and other assets, and how much to pay for savings deposits, CDs, and so on”.<sup>42</sup>

The use of these sophisticated mathematical techniques has no doubt contributed much to efficient bank management. But these alone cannot ensure any success. Actual numbers (data) must be put into a linear programming model detailing, for example, prospective yields on alternative bank investments, for attaining the desired results. But to supply these information (data) the services of financial experts and economists are highly required. In conclusion it can be stated that linear programming is an aid to sophisticated bank management, but not a substitute for it.<sup>43</sup>

Use of computers at a large scale in bank management is still a phenomenon of the developed countries. The banks of the developing world are not yet capable of making wide use of this sophisticated equipment mainly because of three reasons: paucity of finance, lack of technology and employment problems. But even then, though very limited way computers are coming in the third-world countries for use in their growing banks and other institutions. It is, however, important to note that the computers do not come alone but with a higher technology which is very much needed for the development of the third world countries.

<sup>42</sup>Ritter and Silber, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

<sup>43</sup>Ritter and Silber, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

## 7. Summary and Conclusions

The word 'bank' was originated from 'banco' or 'banaka' which means a bench. It signifies a bank's counter activities. John Paget defined a bank as a business that takes deposits, opens current account, makes payments of cheques and collects cheques on behalf of customers. From the definitions of a bank applied by various laws of different countries, it appears that a bank perform two major functions: accepting of deposits and lending or investing of the deposits. However, it performs some other important functions like safe keeping of valuables, acting as trustees for others, etc.

Broadly banking system is of two types: branch banking and unit banking. The former originated in England while the latter originated in the United States of America. Both have advantages and disadvantages.

Pooling of savings and deployment of funds are the two main functions of the commercial banks. By this process the banks create money which ensures an elastic credit system for a developing economy. The banks provide the economy with various kinds of payment mechanisms, finance foreign trade, development activities and the priority sectors.

Banking practices developed in ancient Babylon during the reign of king Hammurabi by around 2000 B. C. In a different way (through money lending) these also developed in ancient India by around the same time. Babylon began to experience many of the banking practices of today even from 1000 B. C. Similar developments took place in Greece in the 4th century B. C., in Egypt and Rome by 3rd century B.C.

In the Middle Ages the Jews were the pioneers in developing modern banking practices. During this period the Lombards of Italian origin were the first professional agents for credit operations in Europe.

At dawn of Modern Times, the first public bank of the World, the Bank of Venice was founded in 1157 A. D. Following its path many other banks were established in Europe during 1300 A.D. — 1700 A.D. The Bank of England, established in 1694, was the first in human history to issue true bank notes and to combine issue with the discounting of bills of exchange. The Banking Act of 1833 allowed the establishment of Joint Stock banks in England and this event was a landmark in the history of banking. In the Bangladesh regions the first joint-stock Commercial Bank was founded in 1846 as the "Dacca Bank". From then onward the modern commercial banks began to grow in this part of the world as well as in other parts of the Globe.

The banks are multi-product business organizations. Instead of physical outputs they produce services. This led to the complexity of de-

fining a bank's production function. Generally Commercial banks' inputs are land, labour, physical capital and financial liabilities while their outputs include the earning assets like loans and investments. For maximization of profit the banks are required to select low cost inputs' combination and high yielding output mix. Since these banks do business with other people's money, they are to reconcile between liquidity and profitability. In order to solve this problem various banking theories have been developed over the last few centuries.

The real bills doctrine, which states that the banks should give only short-term advances, is the oldest theory of commercial loan. As an improvement on it the shiftability thesis developed later on. It states that the banks can borrow from other banks to solve its liquidity problem at the time of need. Anticipated income theory claims that a borrower may payback his loans from other sources of income also. So he may be given long term credit. Liability management theory wants to solve the problem of liquidity through liability management, while the theory of discretionary funds management attempts to solve liquidity problem by the management of both the assets and liabilities of the banks. For taking quick decisions and forecasting the future business prospects, the banks now use models and computers. All these enabled the banks to grow their business at the levels of national and international horizons. The working methods and procedures of the banks are now changing at a rate faster than ever before. It is expected that these changes will bring goodness to eradicate human sufferings.

In Bangladesh the banks are at the early stage of their development. They are required to move along the country-sides for assisting the economic development of this land. In this regard the Government and the monetary authority should formulate and implement necessary policies and guidelines.

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# Technological Changes and Factor Productivity in Bangladesh Agriculture: Some Micro Level Evidences

Md. Abdur Rab

## Background

Seed-fertilizer-water technology package has been taking place in Bangladesh since the mid-60s. There has been growing interest among the policy makers, planners, development administrators and social scientists in finding a wider diffusion of the technological change in agriculture. The reasons may be two-fold. Firstly, technological change in agriculture is very much likely to result in significant increase in output and secondly, such technological dynamics bring profound changes in the society both in economic and social terms.<sup>1</sup> The economy of Bangladesh demands to create new avenues of employment opportunities and to increase productivity efficiently to feed the explosively increasing population at the rate of 2.2% per year. The interest on the part of the economists and social scientists is to see how far the new technology has been successful in boosting up production and employment.

Several studies were undertaken in Bangladesh to show the socio-economic affects of the above mentioned technologies. Among these mention may be made of the studies by Abdullah et. al. (1974), Ahmed (1975), Muqtada (1975), Asaduzzaman and Islam (1976) and Rahman (1979). These reveal that the whole package of modern technologies caused an increase of output by between 15% and 50% and of employment by between 50% and 150%. The extreme seasonality in agricultural employment has also somewhat been smoothened. Clay and Khan (1977) indicate the output elasticity of demand for labour is ge-

<sup>1</sup>Asaduzzaman, M. *Socio-economic Impact of New Technology: A Case Study of Agricultural Mechanisation in Bangladesh*, Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies, Dhaka, March 1986.

nerally between 0.2 and 0.5 for transitions to improved cropping patterns. Some of the studies show demand for labour per acre increasing by 50-60% (Hamid, 1982) and significant increases in total man-days of employment with irrigation.

Studies to date in Bangladesh, have attempted to cover the information gap to some extent. But they have as well generated some controversies to be resolved by more intensive investigation along this line. This paper is an attempt in this direction and will endeavour to analyse in-depth to what extent the changes in technology effect productivity and employment.

### **Issues and Hypothesis**

It has been argued by the scholars that the new seed-fertilizer technology in association with mechanized irrigation, weeding and line planting has been bringing about significant changes in productivity of paddy, wheat, jute etc. As the techniques of production and degrees of mechanization tend to vary considerably within the farm households, it is most difficult to isolate and measure the effects of modern technological innovations per se. Despite these limitations attempt is made to judge the proportion that the technological innovations have been contributing to achieve the goal of increased production. But however, degrees of such increasing productivity might vary depending on the land group and/or social position of the farmers. Moreover, the modern technology and its controlled nature of irrigation have achieved a significant increase in employment which is possible by way of multiple cropping, changing cropping pattern and intensive care.

### **Data Base and Classification of Households**

To test the above hypotheses data was collected through surveys (conducted personally by the author in 1986) from two purposively selected villages of Comilla district. These are Alekdia in Comilla sadar upazila (henceforth referred to as Alekdia) and Sreepur in Barura upazila (henceforth referred to as Sreepur). The number of households surveyed in two villages are 45 and 36 respectively.

The village Alekdia may be termed as modern where long established institutional framework and motivation has been going on regarding adoption of modern technology such as improved seed varieties, fertilizer, deep tube well (DTW) irrigation, line planting, cooperative organization etc. Moreover, the village is under the laboratory area of Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development (BARD) where the concept of "Green Revolution" originated and all sorts of modern practices have been experimented. Sreepur is traditional as there is no institutional

setting of joint decision making, no use of modern method of irrigation. Their cultivation practices are traditional bound. In a limited extent they cultivate HYVs but the method of cultivation of these are traditional. Hence, in keeping with the objectives of the study the selection of villages are just to make a comparative assessment of the effects of using modern technology.<sup>2</sup>

The households in the sample have been grouped into various categories for analytical advantage. First, the owner farmers have been divided into three sub-groups on the basis of the area of owned land: marginal (whose land does not exceed 1.00 acre); medium (whose owned land is more than 1.0 acre but less than or equal to 4.00 acres); and the large (whose owned land is more than 4.00 acres). Second, the households have been grouped into owner farmers and tenants (the latter group contains owner farmers).

### Land Use and Cropping Pattern in the Study Villages

Before looking into the impact of new technologies on production and employment, let us examine the variations in the utilization of land between the villages. Penetration of modern technology may change the land utilization pattern. Due to controlled irrigation, cropping pattern may be changed and intensity of cropping should be increased by way of multiple cropping. Table 1 gives average amount of land allocated for two major crops by social classes in both the villages.

TABLE 1

Average land allocated for major crops by social classes (in acres) in the study villages

Social classes	Alekdia		Sreepur	
	Amon '84	Boro '85	Amon '84	Boro '85
Marginal	0.57	0.56	0.88	0.72
Marginal (tenant)	1.53	1.53	1.47	1.45
Medium	1.89	1.73	1.69	1.61
Medium (tenant)	2.23	2.79	2.53	2.53
Large	6.09	5.29	4.56	4.56
All	3.07	2.86	1.96	1.94

<sup>2</sup>The details of the survey methodology, area characteristics, and the questionnaire have been reported in Rab (1988).

It is evident from the table that the average land allocation for the major two crops—aus and amon are equal in Sreepur. But in Alekdia it is higher for amon than boro. Medium and large farmers allocate more land for aman than boro which reveals the fact that they rent out some of their lands during boro crop to make their holdings both physically and financially manageable.<sup>3</sup>

In Tables 2 and 3 cropping pattern of Alekdia and Sreepur are presented. Comparing these tables one can easily find that the farmers of traditional village Sreepur practice multiple cropping and farmers of Alek-

TABLE 2  
Cropping pattern in Alekdia

Social classes	Percent of gross cultivated land under				
	Amon	Boro	Wheat	Mustard	Vegetable
Marginal	49.09	48.49	—	—	2.41
Marginal (tenanat)	49.42	49.42	—	—	1.15
Medium	48.16	46.64	0.69	1.04	3.47
Medium (tenant)	44.24	52.87	0.54	—	2.35
Large	50.83	43.70	0.28	3.51	1.68
All	49.50	45.88	0.32	2.37	1.93

dia which is termed as modern, depend mainly on two major crops boro and amon. A negligible percentage of their lands have been allocated for vegetable and wheat. In Sreepur, besides the two major crops—aus and amon, pulse and wheat are less important crops. Cropping intensity in Sreepur is 2.27 and it is 2.01 in Alekdia.

These findings do not support the usual hypothesis that the changes in technology will bring simultaneous increase in cropping intensity. One possible explanation of this situation may be that the farmers of Sreepur are trying to compensate their losses due to non-adoption of modern technology by way of multiple cropping, which is possible perhaps due to topographical conditions.

<sup>3</sup>For details see Rab, M. A. "Stratification of the Peasantry and Choice of Technology in Bangladesh Agriculture: A Case Study of Madhupur Village", Unpublished M. Phil thesis, University of Chittagong, August, 1985.

TABLE 3

## Cropping pattern in Sreepur

Social classes	Percent of gross cultivated land under					
	Amon	Boro	Pulse	Wheat	Vegetable	Mustard
Marginal	39.28	41.60	5.34	11.39	1.16	1.22
Marginal (tenant)	46.23	45.60	2.51	5.66	—	—
Medium	43.31	41.10	4.74	7.56	1.75	1.45
Large	44.61	44.61	3.52	4.03	8.64	2.59
All	44.07	43.60	3.76	6.04	0.98	1.55

## Technological Change: Factor Productivity and Efficiency

In this section attempt has been made to examine to what extent productivity and farm efficiency has been enhanced by the use of new technologies and also attempt will be made to give causal explanations is to the differences in productivity and farm efficiency between the traditional and the modern farmers.

Economic efficiency implies both technical and price efficiency. If farm A uses the same quantities of a given quality of input to produce more output than does farm B, A is technically more efficient. If farm A and B are equally efficient technically but given input price, if A uses a factor combination that is more expensive to produce a given amount of output then A is price inefficient and hence economically inefficient. In any analysis of comparative efficiency the above points need to be borne in mind.

## Land Productivity

Usually productivity is measured as the ratio of output to associated inputs. In a land scarce and labour surplus country like Bangladesh a major way to generate agricultural growth is by increasing land productivity and henceforth, productivity of land may be used as a measure of technical efficiency. There are different ways of measuring productivity of

land.<sup>4</sup> In this paper we have measured crop-specific productivity (output per unit of net cultivated land<sup>5</sup>) from the disaggregated data as follows:

$$Q_p^s = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^n \sum_{j=1}^n Q_{ij} r_j}{\sum_{i=1}^n L_i}$$

Where  $Q_p$  = Land productivity in a particular class P;

$Q_{ij}$  = Output of the  $j$ th crop grown by the  $i$ th farmer of class P;

$L_i$  = The size of the cultivated land in acre of the  $i$ th farmer of that class P;

$r_j$  = Imputed average price of crop  $j$ .

Table 4 presents incidences of land productivity by social classes. Overall land productivity in Alekdia 117% higher than Sreepur. Comparing these productivity figures between the individual crops of the two villages, we find 200% and 47% higher figures for boro and amon respectively in Alekdia than Sreepur. Although it is clear from the presentation that the technological changes have positive effects on production inter-class differences are not clear. No specific differential trend in productivity indices has been observed between the social classes. To ascertain the specific relationship between size of cultivated holding and output let us estimate the following equation of Cobb-Douglas Variety.

<sup>4</sup>Hossain (1974) enunciated two measures of land productivity according to two definitions of land used, i.e., output per unit of gross cultivated land and output per unit of net cultivated land. Alam (1982) defined land productivity in two senses such as overall land productivity and crop-specific land productivity. The former includes the effects of individual crops, cropping pattern and relative price ratios of the crops and the later is the value of total output of a crop on a unit of agricultural land.

<sup>5</sup>Net cultivated land includes the amount of land cultivated during the year irrespective of the number of uses of a particular piece of land (similar definition was also adopted by Hossain, 1974; Masum, 1981; Bharadwaj, 1974).

TABLE 4  
Land productivity per acre by social classes (in taka)

Social classes	Alekdia			Sreepur		
	Boro	Amon	All crops	Aus	Amon	All crops
Marginal	8499	6296	14795	2950	3223	6173
Marginal (tenant)	7551	4079	12030	2637	4145	6782
Medium	8248	5579	13827	2781	3474	6255
Medium (tenant)	8282	3527	11799	2550	3475	4325
Large	7392	4115	11507	2524	3416	5940
All farmers	8074	4717	12791	2688	3207	5895

$$Q = AL^B \text{ or } \ln Q = A + B \ln L$$

Where, Q represents output in physical unit (quantity per acre)

L is the net cultivated land for each crop

The co-efficient of the equation will provide us with output elasticity of land that is for one unit increase in land, how much increase in output will result.

Table 5 shows the negative trend in all crops though it is not significant for amon crop in Sreepur and boro in Alekdia. These results support the inverse relationship hypothesis<sup>6</sup>. This inverse relation may be attributed to differences in intensity of cultivation. The small farms

TABLE 5  
Output elasticity of land by crop in the study villages.

Crops	Sreepur			Alekdia		
	A	B	R <sup>2</sup>	A	B	R <sup>2</sup>
Amon	18.84	0.02	.000	31.78	.143*	.22
Boro	—	—	—	34.43	.069	.008
Aus	17.43	0.088*	.13	—	—	—

Note: \*Significant at 5% level of significance.

<sup>6</sup>Bharadwaj (1974), Chattapadhyaya and Rudra (1976), Hossain (1974) Quadir *et al.* (1977) found similar results.

use more family labour per acre than the large farms<sup>7</sup> and the implicit price of family labour is lower than the price of hired labour on which large farmers usually have to depend.

### Fertilizer Productivity

This sub-section reports some results on fertilizer productivity obtained by both tabular presentations and econometric technique. Table 6 exhibits a wide differential productivity with the social classes in both the villages with hardly any systematic trend. Small farmers registered the highest average productivity and the large farmers registered the lowest average productivity of fertilizer use. Average productivity of fertilizer does not differ significantly for boro and aus but it differs significantly for amon between the villages under observation.

TABLE 6

Average productivity of fertilizer by social classes

(In taka per acre per seer)

Social classes	Alekdia		Sreepur	
	Boro	Amon	Aus	Amon
Marginal	57.19	87.75	59.01	37.37
Marginal tenant	48.91	57.62	49.33	70.04
Medium	45.73	82.83	54.02	51.25
Medium tenant	47.22	42.20	56.25	20.59
Large	41.22	51.94	33.53	37.45
All	45.80	61.05	43.95	40.35

TABLE 7

Output elasticity of fertilizer by crop in Alekdia and Sreepur

Social classes	Alekdia			Sreepur		
	Constant	B	R <sup>2</sup>	Constant	B	R <sup>2</sup>
Aus	—	—	—	26.11	-.112 (.18)	.05
Amon	17.06	.12* (.038)	.28	13.05	.088 (.053)	.20
Boro	14.98	.123* (.048)	.23	—	—	—

Note: Figures in parentheses represent standard error.

\*Significant at 1% level of significance.

<sup>7</sup>For empirical evidence see Rab, M. A. *Technological Changes and Its Impact on Production, Employment and Income Distribution*, pp. 18-19.



Using the Cobb-Douglas methodology output elasticity of fertilizer has been found .121 and .088 in Alekdia and Sreepur respectively for amon crop. It is .123 for boro crop in Alekdia and -.112 for aus in Sreepur which is not significant, and correspondingly output response rate at the mean level has been calculated as 1.43 and 1.78 for boro and amon respectively in Alekdia and in Sreepur it is .86 for amon. These are extremely low for all crops. One maund of additional application of fertilizer would produce more than a maund of output but in Sreepur it gives less than unitary result.

It is expected that the incremental output-fertilizer ratio would be higher in Sreepur as there is lower level of fertilizer application. But the situation is reverse for Sreepur. Such a situation may be explained by the fact that more physical application of fertilizer does not necessarily ensure technical efficiency in crop production. Application of fertilizer should be accompanied by timely irrigation and other modern inputs in appropriate quantity at the appropriate point of time. The farmers of Sreepur are lacking in this respect.

### **Technological Change: Labour Productivity and Employment**

It has been observed from the preceding chapter that the new technological package has widened the scope for increasing agricultural production and productivity at a desirable rate. The new agricultural inputs are also considered to be land augmenting and labour using which is capable of increasing employment in a considerable extent specially in the context of widespread unemployment in Bangladesh. In this section we shall look into its impact on employment and labour<sup>8</sup> productivity.

Labour productivity by social classes have been computed and presented in Table 8. Labour productivity has been found 67% higher in Alekdia than Sreepur with the exception of very small farms. Labour productivity is observed to be inversely related to farm size in Alekdia but no systematic relationship is attributed in Sreepur. Lower productivity of labour in Sreepur may be explained by the fact that without ensuring the application of other inputs only labour input cannot contribute much to increase productivity.

<sup>8</sup>Labour is measured in mandays of work done by the family as well as the hired casual labourers. Usually the labourers work from dawn to dusk in both the villages. Eight hours mandays was taken as the standard. It is assumed here that there is no quality differences among the labourers.

TABLE 8  
Labour productivity by social classes

Social classes	Alekdia			Sreepur		
	Boro	Amon	All crops	Boro	Amon	All crops
Marginal	70.23	102.79	81.17	57.06	49.28	52.72
Marginal tenant	89.71	85.57	88.26	46.43	64.97	56.24
Medium	85.03	91.08	87.37	49.66	49.21	49.41
Medium tenant	83.65	97.42	87.33	76.12	43.08	57.90
Large	80.35	84.15	81.67	52.69	60.35	56.84
All farmers	85.71	81.58	84.14	53.67	52.88	50.50

It is expected that elasticity will be higher in the technologically developed village Alekdia due to adoption of modern inputs such as HYV seeds and chemical fertilizer. But the estimated elasticity (following Cobb-Douglas method) show reverse results (Table 9) for boro crop in Alekdia. For other crops output elasticity of labour are found to be sig-

TABLE 9  
Output elasticity of labour by crop

Social classes	Alekdia			Sreepur		
	Constant	B	R <sup>2</sup>	Constant	B	R <sup>2</sup>
Aus	—	—	—	.206	1.156* (.503)	.256
Amon	.671	0.978* (.148)	.26	1.93	0.568*** (.301)	.098
Boro	1.10	0.186 (.148)	.04	—	—	—

Note: Figures in the parantheses represent standard error  
 \*Significant at 1% level of significance  
 \*\*Significant at 2% level of significance  
 \*\*\*Significant at 5% level of significance

nificant and positively high. Interestingly, in Sreepur the aus crop has the highest elasticity of labour. The insignificant labour coefficient in Alekdia may probably be due to maximum utilization of labour per acre to yield additional returns.

It has been observed that overall productivity in the modern village is 2.17 times of the productivity of the traditional village. Such increases in productivity is attributed largely to modern methods adoption and not to multiple cropping practices as it is evidenced by most of the studies. As the new technologies are labour using it is expected that the increasing productivity will be accompanied by increasing labour employment. Employment indices in Table 10 show that maximum utilization of labour per acre is in HYV boro crop of Alekdia. Comparing this with the parallel crop aus of Sreepur, it gives us an employment figure which is 88% higher in Alekdia than that of Sreepur. It is interesting to note that labour utilization is somewhat less for amon crop in Alekdia than Sreepur. Labour utilization for all crop have been found 37% higher in Alekdia than Sreepur. This lends support to our hypothesis that technological change is a basis for expanding agricultural employment. But the rate of increase in employment is far less than the rate of increase in the level of output. To increase output by 117% requires only 37% increase in employment. Ground water irrigation in association with high yielding varieties, proper balance of chemical fertilizer and use of pesticides, thus brought about a significant changes in labour requirements.

TABLE 10  
Labour utilization per acre by crop in the study villages

Social classes	Alekdia		Sreepur	
	Boro	Amon	Aus	Amon
Marginal	121.01	61.25	51.70	65.40
Marginal tenant	88.63	47.67	56.80	63.80
Medium	97.00	61.25	56.00	70.60
Medium tenant	99.00	36.10	33.50	41.20
Large	92.00	48.90	47.90	56.60
All	94.20	57.82	50.08	60.65

### Conclusions

In this paper attempts have been made to examine the factor contribution to production due to adoption of modern technology. Observations on the basis of a few households of two purposively selected villages cannot provide adequate ground for general conclusion for the country as a whole. However, results of this study may help one to realise the actual situation regarding current agriculture of Bangladesh.

Technological changes have enabled to increase productivity of land by approximately 117%. Inverse relationship between farm size and productivity is observed in both the modern and traditional set ups. This inverse relation may be attributed to differences in intensity of cultivation.

Although a little inter class variations are observed with respect to fertilizer use it exhibits a wide differential average productivity within the social classes in both the villages without any systematic trend. Output elasticity of fertilizer has been found .12 and .088 in Alekdia and Sreepur respectively for amon crop. It is .123 for boro crop in Alekdia and no such significant figure has been observed for aus in Sreepur. Due to technological changes per acre labour utilization in Alekdia for both the crops have been increased by 37%. But the rate of increase in employment is far less than the rate of increase in the level of output. Only 37% increase in employment have been brought about with the increase of output by 117%. Technological change not only leads to increased labour absorption, but also the higher proportion of hired labour.

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# Language Universals: An Exploration on the Frontiers of Anthropological Linguistics

Kazi Sadrul Hoque

## Introduction

In many anthropological literature language, an aspect of culture, was discussed as one of the major adaptive advantages of the genus *Homo*. Yet we do not know for certain whether the communication system, more refined than a call system, that emerged in the *Homo erectus* stage of human evolution would qualify as language. As of now, all statements concerning the origin of language are speculative, although recent research in this area has led to particularly significant advances in our understanding of the human and animal communication systems, speech and brain mechanisms, language acquisition by children, and universals of human language.

Since the 1960s, there has been a growing interest in the study of the common features of human language and in discovering its underlying principles. Anthropological interest in this regard can be found in the work of Greenberg (1963), and that of Greenberg (1975). According to Greenberg, the term most commonly applied for the study of the common basis of all human language is "language universals". This notion provides a fundamental shift of emphasis from a more relativistic view which tended to stress that each language is a completed system of symbols and abstractions; each is a structured whole or functional system in its own right. The implication of such a relativistic view is that languages are relative entities; each one has to be seen in its own terms. True, any language is a self-contained system having many local and/or regional dialects reflecting variations in sound and word usage patterns. Yet, there are some features which are common to all known languages, and indeed some among these are unique in their characteristics. The prime concern of this paper is to explore and understand some

of these common features of human language from an anthropological perspective, especially from the point of view of linguistic anthropology.

### Language Universals: An Anthropological Exploration

The question of the universals of human language, like the question of the universals of culture, has drawn the attention of many anthropologists and linguists in recent years. It may be worthwhile to mention here that the most recent and representative approach concerning the typology and universals of language will be found in Greenberg (ed., 1963), and that of Greenberg (ed., 1978) which includes a series of "Working Papers on Language Universals", published in four volumes. Each of these volume deals with a specific set of acquisition universals. Volume 1 gives an introduction to other volumes, and is a collection of papers on the theory and methodology of typological and universal research in linguistics. The other volumes consist of papers devoted particularly to an inquiry into generalizations concerning specific aspects of language universals based on cross-linguistic data. To put it more specifically, volume 2 deals with phonology; volume 3 with morphemes and word structure; and volume 4 includes papers mostly about syntax. Each of these specific features of language holds a special place in the attempt to arrive at empirically valid generalizations across languages. In Greenberg's own word,

There are three main directions in which to look for a broadened basis for phonological generalizations. These are the diachronic or, more inclusively stated, the processual dimension of phonological systems, the syntagmatic plan of sound sequencing, and the relation between phonology and the grammatical and semantic aspects of language (Greenberg ed., 1978:2, volume 2).

This, however, does not mean that interest in language universals was lacking prior to Greenberg's writings. It was there, and the term was first employed in the late forties by the Aginskys' (1948), where they pointed out that in language one finds general traits and specific details that recur everywhere. However, Aginskys' article did not become widely used until 1961. Since the early 1960s, language universals received interdisciplinary attention from linguists, anthropologists, and psychologists like Hockett (1963), Osgood (1963), Jakobson (1963), Casagrande (1963), and Chomski (1965), to name a few. The "Memorandum Concerning Language Universals" by Greenberg, Osgood, and Jenkins (1963), presented at the Dobb Ferry Conference in 1961 also serves as a basis for theoretical investigation in this area. According to them (p. 255):



Underlying the endless idiosyncrasies of the World's language there are uniformities of universal scope. Amidst infinite diversity, all languages are cut from the same pattern ... Language universals are by their very nature summary statements about characteristics shared by all human speakers ... Since language is both an aspect of individual behavior and aspect of human culture, its universals provide both the major point of contact with underlying psychological principles (psycholinguistics) and the major source of implications for human culture in general (ethnolinguistics).

It appears from the above that although languages in themselves are isolable, unique, and idiosyncratic, but at the same time language is language — in itself a common human phenomenon. Languages are everywhere different, but the difference is one of degree rather than of kind. All languages employ sounds, and all accord meaning to symbolic utterances. Certain sound change into other sounds, but never in the opposite direction due to language universals. Sound and symbol may differ significantly from society to society and from group to group. But individuals speak, which is universally true.

#### **Formal Versus Substantive Universals**

We can substantiate our discussion here by distinguishing two kinds of universals. The first could be called "formal" or "implicational universals", while the other kind is "substantive" or "unrestricted universals". The former lend themselves to interpretations of sequence in terms of the differentiation of categories—be these phonological, grammatical, lexical, or socio-linguistics. The latter include definitional characteristics which specify the nature of the first stage after glottogenesis. More specifically, a "substantive" universal would be a particular thing, a particular rule, and a particular distinctive feature all languages have. This means that all languages have nouns and verbs as well as adjectives and adverbs. All languages can turn decorative sentences into questions, commands, and negatives. Moreover, all languages have color terms, kinship terms, pronouns, place-names, terms for the body parts, terms for plants and animals, and many other lexical classes. Finally, all languages have two or more vowels and eight or more consonants, and all have syntactic rules for hierarchically grouping linear strings of morphemes.

A "formal" or "implicational universal" is some element of language design that each language fills in with a distinctive content. Thus, a lexicon, transformational rules, and phonological rules would be formal universals according to transformational theory, just as phonemes and morphemes would be in the descriptive linguistics. More precisely, "impli-

cational universals" involves a relationship between two characteristics, neither of which has to be present in all languages. For example, if a language has feature X, then it will also have feature Y, but not necessarily vice-versa. That is to say, if a language has nasalized vowels, then it will also have oral or non-nasalized vowels, and this will hold true for all human languages. Similar implicational universals may be found in the realms of linguistic expression, from phonology to socio-linguistics, although little work has been done in the area of socio-linguistic universals (Dell Hymes, Erving Goffman, John Gumperz, and Susan Ervin-Tripp—all have, however, done the most promising work in the general development of socio-linguistics).

However, it should be reiterated that the most obvious type of language universals is the "unrestricted" or "substantive universals", the property of which are possessed by all known human languages. Greenberg (1963, 1975) has explored statistically the potential universality of such features (e.g., parts of speech, vowels on the phonetic level, predicational constructions, and CV syllables) that predictably go together (so that if a language has X characteristic, it will also have Y). He argued that a mode of binary contrast where one feature is "marked" and the other is "unmarked" is used frequently in languages, in semantics, in phonology, and in syntax. Another source of unrestricted universals is the theory of distinctive features in phonology which entails that there is a limited set of possible distinctive features of contrast between sounds, out of which any particular language uses a particular subset. This has led Chomsky (1965) to argue that there probably is a universal set of semantic distinctive features in every language. Chomsky further argues that the rules producing "deep structure" in every language are the same or very similar. He goes on to say that, there is a universal grammar underlying the distinctive characteristics of each language. The language diversity is created by the transformational rules that change the deep structure into surface structure, and by the varying phonological features.

Similarly, Hockett (1963) with reference to his "theory of blending" has suggested 16 "design features" that are common in any communication system, all of which are present in human speech and some of which occur in non-human communications. Due to space limitations, I could not explain these "design features" in this paper following Hockett's ordering. However, since the early 1960s it has become increasingly clear that most of Hockett's design features are not all-or-nothing features. There are degrees of arbitrariness, degrees of semanticity, of displacement, openness, prevariation, reflectiveness, and so on. Moreover, within human language we find surviving subsystems such as gesture, touch, and para-linguistic phenomena which do not fully meet Hockett's design feature propositions.

In another way, some non-definitional characteristics of human languages such as allophony, nasal consonants, and syllable structure are difficult to evaluate. Because these characteristics turn out to be near universals when one or more languages in various parts of the world are found lacking them. The question obviously arises why do just a few languages lack such characteristics that are otherwise universally present in all human languages? The answer to this question is not clear to me.

### Conclusion

What seems convincing to me is that there are many types of language universals—universals in form, content, and function. The progress in our understanding and delineation of these universals will surely contribute clues towards a better understanding of language evolution as well as the diachronic and synchronic analysis of the universals of human language. The study of language universals, thus, is of practical significance not only for the development of behavioral sciences, but also for the establishment of scientific laws regarding the linguistic aspect of human behavior. Last but not the least, the importance of the study of language universals lies in the fact that this leads to a whole series of empirical generalizations about language behavior, some well established, some as yet tentative.

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## Mahbub-ul-Alam 1898-1981\*

This short biography of an important Muslim writer of twentieth-century Bengal has two unequal chapters: (1) the story of life (55 pages) and (2) an estimate of achievement (12 pages). The longer chapter has four sections: birth and family; education; youth, marriage and battle-field; service and literary career. This last section and the brief second chapter together constitute the most important part of the book.

The first chapter follows a linear chronological structure from Mahbub-ul-Alam's birth in May 1898 through his death in August 1981. The first section briefly deals with the family's immediate history and gives a lively description of Mahbub's parents and brothers as well as the literary environs at their home. The next section is full of interesting information about Mahbub's early encounter with the concept of God, the tension between his modernity and growing religiosity, and also the tremors of adolescence and early youth. It also contains elements of social history such as the rude rusticity of school teachers, their high-handed method of teaching, and their involvement in Hindu-Muslim acrimony of the day. The third section consists of short reports on Mahbub's early marriage and conjugal frustration, his joining the British Indian army, the Platoon's journey to Iraq and participation in fighting.

The next section, the last and the longest, mainly deals with Mahbub-ul-Alam's long literary life spread over six decades between 1920 and 1981. The report, following a chronological order, gives a precise and authentic account of M's important writings as well as seeks to form an honest opinion about their worth often with the help of learned observations by others. The narrative is lucid and dependable, and is fitted with supporting quotations. As is usual with biographies, the author treats his subject most sympathetically. With a rare love of objectivity, however, Professor Qureshi draws our attention to certain weaknesses of Mahbub-ul-Alam's writings (pp. 40, 46, 47, 49, 73, 75).

\**Mahbub-ul-Alam 1898-1981* (in Bengali) by Mahmud Shah Qureshi. Jibani Granthamala: A series of literary biographies. Dhaka: Bangla Academy, 1988. pp. 97. Price: Tk. 15.00/US \$ 1.50.

Two important topics that Qureshi has treated at some length in this section deserve particular mention. One is the long and meaningful dialogue between Mahbub-ul-Alam and Annada Sankar Roy on the Hindu-Muslim question (pp. 51-56). The other is M's treatment of and opinion on history. Qureshi finds in him a chronicler rather a historian (pp. 61, 62, 68). It is to be noted that M. was a believer in the progressive philosophy of history (p. 75). Qureshi's depiction also clarifies M's position on such questions as the place of Urdu in Pakistan (pp. 38, 53), student politics and 21 February of 1952 (pp. 38, 53), and Bengali identity for Muslims of East Pakistan (pp. 53, 54). It is interesting to note that Mahbub-ul-Alam seems to have anticipated in his idea of "Neo-Bengalism" (p. 54) the present ruler's "Natun Bangla" concept. On the whole, author Qureshi has been successful in drawing a neat and fair portrait of Mahbub-ul-Alam as a Muslim intellectual who lived through the realities of British rule, Pakistan and Bangladesh constantly facing the elusive question of identity.

A few unclarities however are likely to baffle the reader at places. While it is not hard to accept that M's *Paltan Jibaner Smriti* [Memoir of a Soldier] was an *abismaraniya samjojan* [unforgettable addition] to Bengali literature, it remains to be clear why it should be also considered a 'great creation' when judged by the standard of the 'whole of world literature' (p. 43). Another thing that needs elucidation is how 'fruitful in the history of our literature' was M's acquaintance with Qazi Abdul Wadud (p. 44). [The result of M's similar relationship with Annada Sankar Roy has been amply illustrated. [A third issue that deserves fuller treatment is M's queer anti-intellectualism (pp. 49, 63, fn. 118). Again, Qureshi's bewilderment at the sight of *mangalik drabya* [Hindu auspicious objects] (p. 40) in a Muslim house would have been less bewildering if put in the proper perspective along such facts as M's use of Hindu myths in his writings (p. 58) and the use of such addresses as "Bābā" and "Mejdā" in M's own family (p. 45). The theme could be pursued a bit further for fuller exposure.

The second chapter attempts an evaluation of Mahbub-ul-Alam as a creative writer. The author concentrates on the originality of *Mo'mener Jabanbandi* [Confessions of a Believer] and *Paltan Jibaner Smriti* [Memoir of a Soldier] for evidence of M's creativity and genius. He finds in them the two sides of the same coin—a "grand fiction of the twentieth century" unique in content and full of autobiographic material (p. 69). In an attempt to define the literary artist in Mahbub-ul-Alam author Qureshi finds his like in the novelists Tara Sankar Banerji (1898-1971) of India (p. 68) and Marcel Proust (1871-1922) of France (pp. 71, 73). He objectively detects anachronism and conservatism in M's short stories but ap-

appreciates their depth and liveliness quoting poet Jasimuddin's estimate of them (pp. 73-74). For M's thoughtful and historical writings Qureshi has one complaint — tendency to jump quickly over topics. He however assigns an eternal value to them for their literary qualities, for the poetry in them (p. 75).

Apart from unavoidable printing mistakes, there are some stray discrepancies such as the year of M's retirement from Government service (1953 on p. 58) and 1954 on p. 87) and that of his visit to the United States (1969 on p. 60 and 1959 on p. 88). Certain references are also lacking. For example, Annada Sankar Roy's opinion on *Mofizon* (p. 46), the "much-used old" definition of genius (p. 64), Roy's and M's own opinions on *Mo'mener Jabanbandi* (p. 68), the one-line indented quotation on p. 72, and Proust's realization that he was laying eggs like a hen (p. 73) — all need documentation. A few lapses are noticeable in the footnotes too.

The strengths of the book however definitely subdue the few infirmities that are due more to the Bangla Academy's stipulations of space and time than to the lack of anything on the author's part. His achievement consists in reconstructing Mahbub-ul-Alam's biography before it is too late and opening a serious discussion of his contributions. This is more than what Director-General Abu Hena Mustafa Kamal of Bangla Academy expects of the volumes of the series: viz. to partially satisfy the need of researchers and historians of Bengal literature (p. 5). We earnestly hope that the Academy will take care so that the deficiencies are fulfilled and an index is appended to a revised and enlarged edition next time. The volume's production is however admirable. The paper is good and the printing pleasant.

Priti Kumar Mitra





# Socio-Economic Background of Deviants in Slums of Rajshahi Town\*

M.A. Rahman

The study was an attempt to examine the factors that contributed to wide-spread juvenile deviant activities in the slums of Rajshahi town. It was designed: (a) to examine the nature and extent of juvenile deviant behaviour, (b) to analyse the individual characteristics and family-background of the juvenile deviants, and (c) to examine the process of becoming a deviant.

The field work of the study was completed through a long period of three years. The core data were collected from the identified juvenile deviants and personal observation. Supplementary data were obtained from community leaders, school teachers and other "respectable" local persons. The local police officials were also consulted.

In identifying juvenile deviants and deviant activities we were guided by *community labeling process*, supplemented by personal observation and self-admission of the deviants themselves. The study covered the major offences which the community respondents considered to be "serious". Most of the identified juvenile deviants were not convicted and hence, we avoided the term juvenile delinquent.

We identified 144 juvenile deviants coming from 94 families from selected 4 slums where about 3,000 households took shelter. If we consider the number of the total households and the number of total juveniles we may say that the extent of juvenile deviance in slums of Rajshahi was not as wide-spread as it was suspected.

Most of the slum-dwellers came from different parts of the country as well as from India. They were very poor and were engaged in variety of occupations. A significant number of them were floating population.

\*M.Phil/1982/Sociology

The community life in the slums was disorganised and naturally, the means of social control were ineffective. The police paid inadequate attention to the offenders of the slums and the slum-dwellers were reluctant to invite the police in their affairs. It appeared that both the deviance sub-culture and the sub-culture of deviance had sustained and reinforced the juvenile deviance in the slums. The life in community was full of deprivation, frustration and intense struggle for sheer survival. Under such circumstances well adjusted family life and behaviour pattern as consistent with the middle class value system could not be expected. Most of the juvenile got involved in deviant activities not because of any special motivation, defying or rejecting the general social norms. The nature and extent of juvenile deviance cannot be solely explained by social disorganisation or ineffective social control. Most of the deviants seemed to have drifted towards deviant pattern of life style as a way of survival.

The study was an attempt to examine the factors that contribute to the development of juvenile delinquency in the slums of Dhaka. It was designed: (a) to examine the nature and extent of juvenile delinquency, (b) to study the individual characteristics and family background of the juvenile delinquents, and (c) to examine the process of becoming a deviant.

The field work of the study was completed through a long period of three years. The case data were collected from the identified juvenile deviants and personal observation. Supplementary data were obtained from community leaders, school teachers and other "respectable" local persons. The local police officials were also contacted.

In identifying juvenile deviants and delinquent activities we were guided by community labelling process. Information was gathered by personal observation and self-administration of the deviant activities. The study covered the slums in which the community respondents considered the juvenile delinquency as a serious problem. The identified juvenile deviants were not convicted and hence we avoided the term juvenile delinquents.

We identified 144 juvenile deviants coming from 94 families from selected 4 slums which about 2,000 households and 10,000 people. If we consider the number of the total households and the number of total juveniles we may say that the extent of juvenile deviance in slums of Dhaka was not as widespread as it was suggested.

Most of the slum-dwellers came from different parts of the country as well as from India. They were very poor and were engaged in variety of occupations. A significant number of them were leading population

# Socio-Economic Background and Expenditure Pattern of University Girl Students in Bangladesh: A Case Study of the Resident Students of Munnujan Hall, Rajshahi University\*

Hasina Banu

In this study of Socio-Economic background and expenditure pattern of University girl students the data were obtained from a sample survey of 250 students — 175 resident girl students, and, for a comparative study, 25 non-resident girls and 50 male resident students. The Hall of residence for the female students was selected purposively, while the respondents were selected by adopting a random sampling design.

It has been observed that the majority of the girl students at the University come from the urban areas. Most of the parents are educated even though the level of education for the mothers as a whole is not strikingly high. The girl students in the sample came of a relatively affluent section of the society. Few of them, however, are observed to have an exceedingly prosperous background. Though the majority of the students on the sample hail from urban areas, some 56% of them have land-based interests with about 15.43 per cent having farming as the principal occupation.

The expenditure pattern of the students of Munnujan Hall appears to show a direct variations with the expendable funds available to them; but is found to be little related to the pattern of income distribution or occupations of the guardians. The expenditures of non-resident girl students are, however, found to vary directly and quite pronouncedly with the levels of the incomes of their guardians. The male students, on the whole, are observed to spend more than the girl students.

# Rural Elites and their Role in Rural Development: A Case Study in Kushtia District\*

Syed Nesar Ahmed Rummy

This study endeavours to find out the elites' activity in village development, their socio-economic status and political affiliations.

It is revealed that rural elites are generally dominated by their self-interest in every step of their lives. By and large, they can be characterised as opportunists in respect of their political affiliations. The major factor of becoming elite in the villages is land ownership. For the development of the villages, most of them try to do something, but their initiatives are mainly derived from self-interest in view of keeping intact their position in the villages. Devotion for the development of the villages normally gets less importance to them. Though it is also the reality that the majority of elites have limited scope to participate in the different development programmes effectively. So for the sake of their position in the villages they at least try to do something on voluntary basis and self-less terms.

While maintaining contact or linkage with local level government officers, they also try to consolidate their position in the villages, but it does not mean that all of them are to maintain contact with the government officers. Elites' consciousness on different issues is not unnoticeable. Yet their consciousness cannot help the development of the villages positively for their diversification of thoughts on different developmental issues.

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