

**PARTICIPATION IN FORESTRY: A STUDY OF PEOPLE'S
PARTICIPATION ON THE SOCIAL FORESTRY POLICY
IN BANGLADESH: MYTH OR REALITY?**

Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
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Dedicated...

To my parents

M.A Taher Chowdhury

And

Hasina Akter Chowdhury

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE THESIS

ADB	Asian Development Bank
BFRI	Bangladesh Forest Research Institute
BRAC	Bangladesh Agricultural Research Council
BRAC	Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee
CMI	Christian Michelsen Institute
ECNEC	Executive Committee on National Economic Council
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organization
FD	Forest Department
FMP	Forestry Master Plan
GOB	Government of Bangladesh
MAF	Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry
MIT	Massachusetts Institute of Technology
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NPCC	National Project CO-ordination Committed

PLA	Participatory Learning and Action
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
RRA	Rapid Rural Appraisal
SF	Social Forestry
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UP	Union Parishad

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ABSTRACT

This study is an attempt to study and explore the extent of people's participation in the SF policy of Bangladesh and what are the roles of the main stakeholders: bureaucrats, Union Parishad and NGOs in ensuring the expected level of people's participation in this policy. In this regard, several hypotheses are developed and for answering these questions, a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods has been adopted. These questions can be explained or analyzed on the basis of some independent and dependent variables. The dependent variable in this study is people's participation, which is believed to be dependent upon certain actors and factors such as political and classical bureaucrats, patron-client relationship between the participants, bureaucrats and local elites of SF policy, and socio-economic background of the SF farmers. It was assumed that variables would influence and affect who participates in SF programs and their level of participation. The above mentioned questions are addressed in the light of political and classical bureaucrats as concept analyzed by Putnam (1975, 87), as well as on the basis of patron-client relationship, and theories of social capital.

In the study it is found that the people's participation in the SF policy illustrates the dissonance between myths and reality. SF's performance in achieving the participatory goals was poor. A number of common institutional and social problems seemed to have shaped the performance. Participation of the main target group the landless, women and disadvantaged class of the society is minimal in the project. The selection of the members in the SF policy is the responsibility of the local Union Parishad Chairman. But no certain rules were followed in selecting SF members. Classical nature of the

bureaucrats (role-orientation), patron-client relationship among the stakeholders, poor socio-economic background, NGOs ineffective role, lack of trust to the institutions like Union Parishad and bureaucracy are the main reasons for lack of people's participation in the SF project. Among these factors patron-client relationship among the stakeholders is found as the most dominate because this vicious network impede the extent of people's participation from the very beginning of the SF project to the last and demolish that objectives of the government dreadfully.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTORY DISCUSSION

1.1 Introduction:

The purpose of this study is to analyze the extent of people's participation in the social forestry¹ (later mentioned as SF) policy of Bangladesh² and what are the roles of the main stakeholders: bureaucrats, Union Parishad³ and non-governmental organizations (NGOs)⁴ to ensure the expected level of people's participation in this policy.

'People's Participation' in community development is a much discussed and debated issue. This is because participation enhances democracy and at the same time allows people to decide their own fate. Across the world, as new democratic experiments meet with and transform older forms of governance, public engagement in governance is widening. In this regard, a renewed concern with rights, power and difference in debates about participation in development has focused greater attention on the institutions at the interface between publics, providers and policy makers (Cornwall, 2004: 1). Increasing people's voice and influence in the SF policy in Bangladesh is believed to be an effective way of improving the condition of the forest sector by increasing access to services of the most vulnerable and disadvantaged groups.

In recent times, we have come to witness many new forms through which the state has sought to engage people in processes of governance. Among them, the creation of local institutions for representation, deliberation and decision making at the village level is perhaps most important. In a society like Bangladesh, a sense of control and feeling of being useful and able to contribute, essential for participating in developmental programme and it is strongly linked to access to material resources like land and education and to non-material resources like position and authority within the community. The poor and

¹ Social Forestry can be broadly defined as a people oriented forestry programme or activity. Sometimes it is simply described as "forestry for and by the people". Others define it as "any forestry activity aimed at providing goods and services for the benefit of rural communities" (Magno, 1986: 1).

² Bangladesh is a South Asian country emerges as an independent state in 1971.

³ A Union Parishad is a rural local government unit at the union level and headed by an elected people's representative. A union consists of 10 to 15 villages on an average. At Present, there are 4451(rural) unions (Statistical Yearbook of Bangladesh 1997) and about 70,000 villages in Bangladesh.

⁴Here non-governmental organization means all organizations that are participating in the name of NGOs in the social forestry policy.

marginalized are understandably very risk averse and unlikely to behave in ways that violate traditional norms and common practices.

The high and rapidly growing population in Bangladesh is placing great strain on all resources. The legal government forest is only some 16 percent of the total area of the country. It has been suffering from various problems for more than two decades. About half of that has been deforested. Government was not able to check the process of deforestation. It was difficult to save the forest resources from the over exploration by local people. In order to stop further deforestation a project was designed in which local people were involved in planning and managing of the forest resources, and whatever project being approved by the people, must be implemented. It focuses on people rather than on trees. It was assumed that local people will give full support to what they have approved and if the local people were encouraged to protect and nurture forest through some benefit sharing agreement then the level of deforestation would diminish substantially.

As a result SF projects have been running in Bangladesh for more than a decade. The question can be asked to what extent this project has ensured people's participation. In other words, can it be claimed that the programme is democratic?

1.2 Background of the Study:

In 1987, a national Task Force while evaluating Bangladesh forestry warned that unless some "decisive actions" were taken in the forestry sector, "the situation would soon deteriorate from crisis to catastrophe" (Task Force, 1987: 24). Between 1971 and 1980, deforestation occurred at an annual rate of 8000 hector. FAO recent estimates in the Forestry Master Plan suggested that between 1981 and 1990 the annual loss of forests has been 37,600 hector and has predicted, with great concern, that if this rate is contained, the forest of Bangladesh will not last through the period of 20 years (FMP 1992: 19).

Most of the deforestation has occurred in the government forests (ADB, 1992), underlying the inadequacy of the bureaucratic-custodian approach to forest management. The Task Force of 1987 noted that forestry sector policy was ineffective in maintaining the sector's contribution to the national economy. The departmental manuals offered little room for public involvement in forestry.

Many analysts argue that there is very limited scope to increase and develop the forests under traditional forest management by the government. The forest department with their paramilitary orientation had been trying to police their territories from local people with an uncompromising zeal. In the process, there has been a prodigious growth of conflict between the government and local communities. The Bangladesh government has consistently blamed population increase and local people for the destruction of forests.

The failure of state efforts in forest conservation and regeneration and the widening mistrust between state foresters and local people directed the government to think about alternative measures for the development of the forestry in Bangladesh. Government designed a new framework called "Social Forestry" and proposed the involvement of local people in the forestry policy of Bangladesh. Since the early 1980s, Bangladesh forestry has witnessed the vigorous march of social forestry programme to make room for wider participatory environment for people and government officials within which to cooperate in meeting the needs of local people. Government invited local people to participate in planning, implementing and managing the programme.

1.3 Significance of the Study:

A number of researchers have been initiated over the years on the issue of people's participation. Scholars like Oakley; Norman Uphoff etc are very interested to use the concept of people's participation in developmental policies. They perceive that local people have a better understanding of local problems and if they get an opportunity to involve in the decision-making process then the policy is likely to be more people-oriented. This study aims to map if this is the case then what is the relevance of it in people's participation in SF policy in Bangladesh.

SF policy is a well-known government derived program not only in Bangladesh but also in most of the developing countries and this is because of its nature of including rural local people to solve their own problem. Different stakeholders of this policy are bureaucrats, local elites especially the Union Parishad Chairman, SF farmers, NGOs. My study will highlight the roles of those stakeholders and try to give some idea about their functions in reality. Most of the studies on this policy in Bangladesh have tried to measure the economic state of this policy especially political economy. There is no significant study conducted in Bangladesh highlighting the concept of people's participation, which is the prime objective of this policy. This lack of attention on people's participation is a major driving force to conduct this study.

This study is carried out only to meet the academic purpose. But I think future researchers of this field will get some ideas to enhance their further understanding regarding the role of bureaucrats, Union Parishad and NGOs in rural development programme.

1.4 Research Problem:

SF policy was designed to achieve many objectives, such as participation of women, youth and other disadvantaged sections of the society, the creation of people's organization, reorientation of the values and practices of state foresters, the creation of a participatory environment for people and government officials within which to cooperate in meeting the needs of local people, increased living standard and social status of the participating farmers, fostering social equity etc. In this study I will focus on the stakeholders' role in fulfilling the objective of people's participation. This focus enlarged by analyzing rule oriented and

program oriented bureaucracy, patron-client relationship of the farmers with the bureaucrats and local elites and poor socio-economic background of the farmers in ensuring people's participation.

Traditionally in implementing any policy the bureaucrats mainly play the vital role. But the nature of bureaucracy in Bangladesh is more towards rule orientation. Bureaucratic practices do not encourage them to work with the local people in implementing any policy. People's participation is a new concept to the farmers. In carrying out this they need active help from the bureaucrats in understanding the concept and organizing them. But if bureaucrats are less interested in doing so then the running of the project may run into trouble.

Bangladesh is a hierarchic society. The hierarchic relationship often leads to the emergence of vertical relationships. This hierarchical relationship is often characterized as patron-client relationships (Jamil, 1995:8). In this hierarchy those who are in the bottom act as the client. They receive various benefits i.e., money, security, power, status from the top and in return give some benefit to the persons who are at the top. In most of the time the local elites, bureaucrats and the local people make an alliance and such type of patron-client relationship hampers the programme objectives. So this study analyzes whether the patron-client relationship of the farmers with the bureaucrats and local elites has any role in impeding people's participation.

Moreover, the socio-economic background of the landless farmers is very modest. They are mostly dependent on the local elites for work and are not in a state of affair that allows them to bargain with the local elites and bureaucrats. So the study also analyzes the impact of socio-economic background of the SF farmers on their level of participation.

1.5 Participation:

“Participation” is a splendor word, which means different things to different people and there seems to be little consensus as to the meaning of people's participation (Khan, cited in Karim, 2000:5). As noted by Suzuki (2000: 3), some researchers associate the notion of participation with *influence*, while others contend that participation means *empowerment* or *democracy*.

During 1960s participation was usually meant as political participation and activities that were mainly related with the electoral and decision-making processes. But this view of political participation may be termed as narrow, because it largely excludes other development efforts initiated by the community (Samad, 2003: 49). By the late 1960s, a USAID sponsored workshop conference at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) put together a set of recommendations for enhancing people's participation in the planning, implementation and benefit stages of development projects (Hapgood, cited in Samad, 2003:52). Since the late 1960s and 1970s, social scientists, development practitioners and development agencies have attempted to conceptualize the term people's participation as an essential element of

development strategy (Samad.2003: 53). Participation first caught the attention of mainstream development agencies, grappling with how to make their interventions more effective, in the mid-1970s (Cohen and Uphoff, cited in Cornwall, 2002: 52). By the early 1980s, "community participation" had come to be associated with the sharing of benefits by the poor, project efficiency and effectiveness, and cost sharing (Bamberger cited in Cornwall, 2002, 52). The 'projects with people' (Oakley et al. cited in Cornwall, 2002, 53) era of the 1980s gave rise to the establishment of new local-level institutions that continued to multiply over the following decade, crowding the local institutional landscape.

"Participation" in its simplest of meanings means people taking part, sharing, or acting together. For most of the time people have been participating in the development of their own cultures through the sharing of tasks and responsibilities in their own small communities. The participation of local communities can range from local people providing labour for a project, to the involvement of local people in major decisions about a project. The World Bank (1996) defines the concept of participation as "a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives, decisions, and resources that affect them".

People's participation in governance is widely accepted as an expression of people's rights (Mahmud, 2004:11). The freedom of citizens can only be truly realized if they are enabled to participate constructively in the decisions that affect their lives (Blunkett, cited in Cornwall, 2004: 6). People's participation is viewed as means of addressing the "democratic deficit" by strengthening liberal democratic institutions, urging politicians to listen more to his voter and bureaucrats to become more responsive to those they are meant to serve (Cornwall, 2004: 1). Others raise concerns about them as forms of co-optation, and as absorbing, neutralizing and deflecting social energy from other forms of political participation (Cornwall, 2004: 1).

Community support for development programme is often considered an essential building block in the democratisation of societies. It provides forums for weak and strong voices to be heard, and legitimises collective decision-making processes (Tietjen 2001: 115). In the context of community-driven development, participation refers to community group authority and control over decisions and resource allocation including financial resources. Information dissemination and consultation are essential preconditions for effective participation. Participatory processes through which community groups are enabled to make informed decisions lead to strengthening local organizational capacity and further problem solving beyond the lifetime of particular projects and programs (Narayan & Pritchett, 1999: 269).

According to the definition of the United Nations (1975), people's participation entails three interrelated but distinct processes. First, the involvement of the people in decision-making, second, the eliciting of their contribution to development programs, and finally, their participation in sharing the benefits from the development process.

Oakley (1988: 4-5) identified two broad but different interpretations of participation i.e. a) Participation as a means and b) Participation as an End. As a means participation is seen as the means to achieve some established objective or goal. In this form of participation, the results of the participation in terms of the predetermined targets are important than the act of participation.

Participation as ends sees participation as an end in itself. In this view the emphasis is upon participation as a process in which confidence and solidarity between people are built up. As a process, participation is seen as a permanent feature of development and a technique to facilitate people to have a more direct involvement in development.

Participation can be better understood in terms of its practical use. A study undertaken for the UN Panel on People's Participation in 1982(cited in Oakley, 1988:6) reviewed the practice of participation in rural development and suggested four different, but not mutually exclusive, forms of participation:

1. Participation as Collaboration: Whereby rural people are involved in rural development programs and projects and their collaboration is sought, but they have no direct control over the project activities.
2. Participation through Organization: Whereby organizations are set up which ostensibly have the objective of facilitating participation.
3. Participation in Community Development Activities: Whereby the direct and active involvement of local people is sought to undertake and complete a whole range of physical improvements at the community level. Local people have a meaningful say in their planning and execution, but the dynamic of participation is limited to the task at hand and does not extend beyond the completion period of the physical improvements.
4. Participation as a process of Empowering: Whereby a group of people who previously had no basis from which to intervene in or influence rural development activities, achieve this basis and use it for their continued involvement in these activities. The approach of this process is educational and the building up of the basis for participation is the objective of the process.

Norman Uphoff (cited in Khan 1993:111) identified four main kinds of participation, which are distinct but interrelated. They are as follows:

- a. Participation in decision making in identifying problems, formulating alternative planning activities, allocating resources etc.;
- b. Participation in implementation in carrying out activities, managing and operating programs;
- c. Participation in economic, social, political or other benefits individually or collectively; and
- d. Participation in evaluation of the activity and its outcomes for feedback purposes.

Higgins (cited in Mahmud, 2004:12) writes of the importance for participation of having a sense of full citizenship, being defined as having equal status by being accorded rights. Some authors have argued that community participation requires transforming the passive client into active citizen, first by empowering people with citizenship as a formally ascribed political status, and next by mobilizing people to act collectively.

There are various levels of participation of stakeholders in a development programme. Passive participation is one of its levels. It means powerful stakeholders will make all the decisions and the other stakeholders 'participate' by being told what is going to happen or has already happened. In participation by consultation stakeholders 'participate' by being consulted. Here decision-makers consider their knowledge and interests. Outsiders define both problems and solutions but they may modify the problems or the solutions based on the people's responses. There is also interactive participation where stakeholders participate in joint analysis, leading to action, formation of new local groups or strengthening of existing ones. Here stakeholders take control over local decisions and giving them an incentive in maintaining structures or practices. In functional participation, stakeholders participate by forming groups to meet pre-determined objectives of a programme. Here involvement is not normally at the planning stage but after major decisions has been made. At the end, self-mobilisation involves stakeholders participating by taking initiatives independent of external institutions to change systems; external agents may play a facilitating or catalytic role (<http://www.un.org.kh>).

The literature suggests several pre-requisites for effective community participation in development. First, participation requires some degree of individual empowerment reflected in a sense of control over one's life and individual agency, the feeling that one can contribute by participating. Second, participation also requires a sense of community empowerment or the belief that the collective voice will be more likely to be heard and have greater influence than individual voices. Thus, participation and empowerment is interdependent (Mahmud, 2004:12). Moreover, people are not willing to participate if they do not feel that they are able to make a difference, if the mechanism and procedures for participation are unfamiliar or too costly, or if they feel they are not in control (Mahmud, 2004:12).

Moreover, Alfonso (1983: 47) from his experience of the Laur project pointed out a number of requirements that are basic to a participatory process. First, Social and technical specialists must be able to work together as a team. Second, Farmers must be involved as full partners in the development process. Third, Institutional organizers must be able to assess data as a basis for developing intervention strategies suited to individual communities. Fourth, Engineers must be able to provide technical designs appropriate to the needs of each situation.

Significant efforts have been aimed at initiating and introducing participatory processes into the development policy arena in rural Bangladesh. Mostly, in response to external donor conditionality, there has been a plethora of forms of public participation in policy and strategy formulation, ranging from

stakeholder analysis and consultations to public dialogue and community workshops for exchange of ideas and opinions between local residents and service providers, particularly during the preparation of the Poverty (Mahmud, 2004:14).

In this study, participation has been taken as an end as well as means. It is understood as a process of empowerment. Using Uphoff's classification of participation, the focus of this study has been on the following stages of participation i.e. 1) in decision-making, 2) implementation of the SF activities 3) participation in social and economic benefit sharing.

In this study woman, youth and other disadvantaged sections and the landless farmers of the local area who joined in SF project will be termed as "people".

1.6 Objectives of the Study:

The main objective of this study is to examine the level of people's participation in SF programme. In this regard, the study addresses how and to what extent the roles of main stakeholders: bureaucrats, Union Parishad and NGOs ensure expected level of people's participation in SF policy. This study also tries to examine the deviation between what the SF project paper said and what is in reality and the reasons behind it.

The objectives of this study are as follows:

- 1) To study and explore the main constraints of people's participation in the SF policy.
- 2) To examine policy output in order to understand the extent of success or failure of people's participation in the policy.
- 3) To explore the attitudes of the bureaucracy to enhance people's participation.
- 4) To find out the impact of patron-client relationship in the policy implementation of the SF policy.
- 5) To find out the role of NGOs in enhancing people's participation.

1.7 Research Question:

The study in particular aims at answering the following questions:

- 1) What is the extent of people's participation in the SF policy?
- 2) Do bureaucrats' attitude matter to enhance people's participation?
- 3) Do NGOs' involvement helpful in ensuring people's participation?
- 4) Does Patron-Client relationship matter in ensuring people's participation?

- 5) What is the impact of the farmer's socio-economic background on their participation?
- 6) What is the role of social capital in ensuring people's participation?

1.8 Research Hypothesis:

The hypotheses of this study are:

Hypothesis 1: The more the dominance of patron-client relationship in the policy implementation the less the attainment of policy objectives through people's participation.

Hypothesis 2: The less the extent of people's participation in the implementation phase, the less will be the attainment of policy objectives.

Hypothesis 3: The more the bureaucrats are rule-oriented the lower will be the degree of people's participation.

Hypothesis 4: The more the involvement of NGOs in the policy the greater the extent of people's participation.

Hypothesis 5: The more the involvement of farmers with strong socio-economic background the more the opportunity of their participation?

Hypothesis 6: The more the dominance of personal trust than institutional trust the less will be the attainment of participation.

1.9 Theoretical Approach:

In studying an issue it is essential to establish an approach upon which the situation that one wants to study may be conceptualized. This approach also provides a framework for research. In this study the focus is given on some major theoretical frameworks.

As I mentioned before that participation is a complex issue and the interplay of various actors and factors are involved in ensuring its application properly. My first group of questions is aimed to map the role of bureaucrats in this concern. In discussing this, Putnam's (1975, 87) discussion on classical versus political bureaucrats has been made use of. Putnam's discussion on classical and political bureaucrats is based on two polar syndromes of attitudes toward politics and political actors. Classical bureaucrats operate with the interest of the state. He believes that public issues can be resolved in terms of some standard of legality or technical practicality. They tend to be more ordered and act as benevolent autocrat. Political bureaucrats operate with much more pluralistic conception of the public interest. Whereas the classical bureaucrat is 'procedure-oriented' or 'rule-oriented', the political bureaucrat is 'problem-oriented' or 'program-oriented'. If the bureaucrats are more 'output oriented' instead of "rule-oriented" then more participation of people is encouraged.

From this theoretical framework of classical and political bureaucrats I would like to analyze to what extent participation resemble these two polar syndromes of bureaucrats. On the one hand, we can mention about political bureaucrats who are employing their maximum ability for people or programme and thus helpful in ensuring people's participation in the SF project. On the other hand, we can mention about classical bureaucrats who are employing self-interest for their self-gain. I would like to analyze, to what extent political or programme-oriented bureaucrats are helpful than the classical or role-oriented bureaucrats in ensuring people's participation in the SF project.

The second group of questions is intended to map patron-client relationship between the farmers, the bureaucrats, the local elites and NGOs. Patron-client relationship is a relationship between unequal and patron was the person who could provide benefits to those people of lower status and in return clients owed the patron specific duties. SF farmers have to deal with their respective Union Parishad, bureaucrats and NGOs. But different social and economic activities in the SF project involve SF farmers and other stakeholders of this project through a patron-client relationship. I would like to analyze to what extent the patron-client relationship of the farmers, the bureaucrats and the local elites is hampering people's participation.

I also use the concept of social capital in terms of trust especially personal trust versus institutional trust. In personal trust, previous experiences of trust among the actors are important. Thus life-long encounters with persons with whom one has experienced trustful relations are important. It results from experience, of shared norms, interests and between persons. In institutional trust, social capital is viewed in the formalized and the organizational form. Here, it is viewed that organizational life brings memories or experience of trustful relationship among members of the society. Experience of what one institution did when one was young will probably affect the relationship between one and that institution. I would like to analyze that what is the role of social capital in terms of personal and institutional trust in ensuring people's participation.

1.10 Outline of the Thesis:

This thesis comprises eight parts, which are presented in eight chapters.

- **Chapter I: INTRODUCTORY DISCUSSION-** This chapter introduces the study with an overview of the discussion that contains background of the study, significance of the study, research problem, research objectives, research questions, research hypothesis, theoretical approach and outline of the thesis.

- **Chapter II: RESEARCH METHOD AND STRATEGY-** This chapter is about methods used to collect data and analysis of data. This chapter contains data collection approaches and tools, research methods, selection of cases, number of respondents and problems of data collection in this thesis.

- **Chapter III: THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK-** This chapter discusses light on the theories used in the thesis. How the theories have been operationalized has also been discussed in this chapter

- **Chapter IV: SOCIAL FORESTRY IN BANGLADESH: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND-** This chapter gives a brief historical account of the SF policy in Bangladesh. This chapter contains evolution of SF policy in Bangladesh, comparison between traditional and social forestry, social forestry development worldwide, social forestry development in Bangladesh, different initiatives in SF policy in Bangladesh, progress of SF policy in Bangladesh, people's participation in SF policy in Bangladesh.

- **Chapter V: PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION: THE ROLE OF BUREAUCRATS-** This chapter is the study on people's participation and political-classical bureaucrats. Specifically discussions would be made on whether the rule-oriented bureaucrats or the programme-oriented bureaucrats are required to ensure people's participation in this policy.

- **Chapter VI: PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION: THE ROLE OF PATRON-CLIENT RELATIONSHIP-** This chapter sheds light on patron-client relationship and people's participation. The main concern of this chapter is to examine and analyze whether patron-client relationship matter in ensuring people's participation in the SF policy.

- **Chapter VII: PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION: THE IMPACT OF THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF THE SF FARMERS-** This chapter analyses the impact of socio-economic background of the SF farmers on their level of participation in the project. Specifically discussions would

be made on that whether SF farmers' with strong socio-economic background can ensure their extent of participation more than the SF farmers' with weak socio-economic background.

•Chapter VIII: THE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN THE MYTHS AND THE REALITIES OF THE SF POLICY IN BANGLADESH: DISCUSSIONS, FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS- This chapter presents conclusions with a presentation of the findings of this study.

CHAPTER 2 RESEARCH METHOD AND STRATEGY

A research strategy is a way of investigating an empirical phenomenon and it is followed by a set of pre-specified procedures. There are three possibilities for any study. It can have all quantitative data, it can have all qualitative data, or it can combine both types in any proportions. In this study the method, which I used, is a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods. Quantitative method relates to the empirical research where the data are in the form of numbers while qualitative research is empirical research where the data are not in the form of numbers. I used qualitative data because I did not know what I would find in the field and also because the study does not intend to test theory. This type of data would help me in understanding the already existing theories. It is inductive in nature and focuses on specific situations or people. It starts from the research context and develops as the events unfold. I also used quantitative data because it can also be used for exploring an area and for generating hypotheses and theory.

To get data from my main target group (the farmers) I used the quantitative method. I also conducted some unstructured qualitative interviews of the farmers to get more in-depth views of them. For getting data from the bureaucrats, Union Parishad Chairman and members, NGOs personnel I used the qualitative method namely interview. At first I wished to use both this approach to collect data from all of my

respondents. But inadequate time, lack of money, lack of access to situation, lack of gaining cooperation from others did not permit me to pursue such a procedure.

The question might arise why I am using a combination of these methods. Because as Creswell (1994:177) suggests, that it is advantageous to a researcher to combine methods to better understand a concept being tested or explored. Each approach has its strengths and its weaknesses, and I think over reliance on any one method is not appropriate. I think if I combined both quantitative and qualitative research then it would provide a general picture of my study areas. Most of the farmers of my study areas are illiterate. Only using the qualitative method like interview may include descriptive answers, which would be beyond the scope of the study. The combination of both methods may help to collect reliable and valid data.

Moreover, Qualitative methods are flexible, more so than quantitative methods. Therefore they can be used in a wider range of situations and for a wider range of purposes. Because of their great flexibility they are well suited for studying naturally occurring real life situations. These are the best way we have of getting the insider's perspectives, the actor's definition of the situation, the meanings people attach to things and events. They are well able to deal with the complexity of social phenomena (Punch, 1998:243).

I can also argue in favour of this combination of both methods that (mentioned as logic of triangulation by Punch, 1998:247) the findings of my study from one type of method can be checked against the findings deriving from the other type. Here the main aim is to enhance the validity of findings.

2.1.1 Why Case Study?

The study employs a case study approach. Case study provides an opportunity for relating facts and concepts, reality and hypothesis (Wievioka, cited in Roberts, 2001: 9). It helped me to learn more about the phenomenon and general condition. The reason for the choice of case study is related to the difficulty of this study, which is a complex social issue. People's participation in this study is putting the issue in the wider socio-economic and political factors. Variable-oriented statistical method is not suitable in this study because it does not study cases as wholes. It oversimplifies the variables and their interrelations.

Another important aspect that encouraged me to choose the case-study orientation is the fact that in this study the focus is not in demonstrating the validity of some theoretical presuppositions. Case study is also important here because this empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context and which evidence is used will be applicable to make generalizations for several

phenomenons (Yin, 1996:20). Another reason is that it is holistic approach in which cases are studied as wholes (Regin 1987).

2.1.2 Selection of Cases:

This study makes use of two cases. One case is “*Zathila Union*⁵” and another is “*Betaga Union*”. Zathila Union is situated in the Gazipur District that is approximately 120 km north of the capital city Dhaka. The locality where it is located forms a significant part of the central Sal (*Shorea robusta*) and lies in Kaliakair Upazila. This project was launched in 1997. In this locality a huge number of landless people took shelter in government lands and the government could not save the forests from them. It was thought that if the landless were involved in the SF project then it would decrease the extent of deforestation. The population of this union is about 13000 and most of the farmers are landless or small farmers. Near about 563 farmers are involved in the project.

The Betaga Union is situated in the Fakirhat Upazila under the Bagerhat District that is approximately 360 km Dhaka. It is in the Coastal Green Belt project of the Forest Department. This project was launched in 1998-'99. The project was started in both sides of 5 km long roads. The population of this union is about 15000 and most of the farmers are landless or small farmers.

The selection of two cases for the study, from various projects was not an easy task. The selection was based on the following:

1. The projects in these unions are in operation and the time of operation has not been less than three years.
2. The experts' (in the forest department and in academic fields) opinion helped me to find out two projects in two unions in which I expected interesting variations in terms of people's participation.

In this study I took two cases not for a comparative study. The main reason is that I wanted to ensure the validity of my data. Validity is referred to the extent of which an instrument measures the way it is claimed to have measured. Moreover, these two cases are geographically apart and if the same factors affect people's participation, then the hypothesis would be strongly supported which will enhance generalizations of the findings.

2.2.1 Data Collection:

To obtain data for this study I traveled to Bangladesh where I carried out field study to collect primary data and part of secondary data. This was done from the middle of June 2003 to the end of August 2003.

The way the research object is constructed must be coherent with the methods. According to Dolowitz and Marsh's (cited in Roudit, 2003:12) methodology, the researcher has to put the accent on the words (what

⁵ A union is a local government unit at the tertiary level and headed by an elected people's representative. A union consists of 10 to 15 villages on an average.

people say) and the deeds (what people do) through several sources. Usually a researcher goes into a project with some pre-understanding of the phenomenon under investigation. The researcher may have methods by which data about other people's experiences and interpretations are collected. These methods may include observations, interviews, questionnaires, or examination of official and non-official documents. Here I give an account of the process of data collection for this study.

2.2.2 Primary Data:

To collect the primary data for the study I followed several methods such as questionnaire, interview and observation.

Questionnaires:

I collected quantitative data from the farmers (the main target group) by means of a questionnaire. Most of the farmers are not educated, so I asked them about their views and filled up the questionnaires myself. The structure of the questionnaires was initially kept open ended, but it was felt that it would create problems of drawing generalizations from the findings. Therefore, a closed ended questionnaire was designed. The closed ended questionnaires facilitated the respondents to give their immediate ideas and thoughts. It also saved much time in filing a large questionnaire and to cover a large sample size within a short period of time.

In this study, a manageable sample size, which might be treated as "good enough" was targeted. But due to time limit the sample size was curtailed down. All together 52 farmers responded to the questionnaire. I used the simple random sampling method to choose the respondents from a list founded in the local bit⁶ office of the Forest Department. I tried to select the respondents from different villages of the Union Parishads. Therefore, the sample size may be claimed to be representative of both Union Parishads.

The variables in the questionnaire were ordinal. It varied from 'agree completely', 'agree partly', 'disagree partly' and 'disagree completely' where 'agree completely' was coded as 4 and 'disagree completely' as 1 respectively. The gathered data were analyzed and interpreted through statistical techniques i.e. SPSS. I used mainly the uni-variate and bi-variate analysis to interpret the data founded through the questionnaires.

Interviews:

According to Taylor and Bogdan (1984), the interview is a research method designed to understand the informants' perspectives on their lives, experiences or situations expressed in their own words. Primary data were also collected through the interview method. I interviewed some farmers in-depth to get more clear and general picture of the research problem. Bureaucrats, Union Parishad Chairman and members

and NGOs personnel were also interviewed. The interviews were based on an interview guide. But a number of popped up aroused during interview. The participants were allowed to tell their own story about their experience, which allowed further understanding of the phenomenon.

As a researcher it is necessary to follow certain social rules that allow me to create a trustee atmosphere in order to obtain the information I seek (Taylor and Bogdan, 1984: 93). I have tried to act with the interviews as persons rather than merely as instruments for data collection. Because I was an outsider in the locality and the respondents were not willing to discuss with me elaborately their experience in the SF project. I avoided my urban language and tried to create a trustee atmosphere by insuring that I would not disclose any of their information to others.

The interviews were conducted employing the snowball technique. It consists of identifying respondents who are then used to refer researchers on to other respondents (<http://www.soc.surrey.ac.uk>). In order to keep anonymity the names of the person's organizations are not mentioned in the study. It is because only one organization is working there and the number of employees is also very few. I was not able to conduct interview with one of the Union Parishad Chairmen because at that time he was away from his union for participating in a training programme. Particularly I interviewed school teachers as educated members of that locality with the hope that they could answer some of my queries explicitly. I interviewed three researchers of Bangladesh Forest Research Institute (BFRI) to know the overall situation of this research problem in the country and how far this topic was researched. I interviewed 52 SF farmers by a structured close-ended questionnaire. I also interviewed 40 other respondents (including two group interviews) by a structured open-end questionnaire. The interview time for the open-end questionnaire ranged from 30 minutes to 2 hours.

Table 2.1: Interview respondents of the Structured Open-End Questionnaire

Organization/Position	No. of Respondents	
	Zathila	Betaga
Social Forestry cooperative (Farmer)	5	4
High School (Headmaster)	1	1
High School (School Teacher)	3	3
NGOs Personnel	2	2
Union Parishad (Chairman)	1	0
Union Parishad (Member)	1	2
Forester	2	2
Range Officers	1	1
Assistant Conservator of Forest	3	
Divisional Conservator of Forest	2	

⁶ A bit is the lowest level office of the Forest Department.

Chief Conservator of Forest	1
Researcher (BFRI)	3
Total	40

Observations:

Most of the interviews, which I have carried out, took place at the field level. During the process of interviewing I also had the opportunity of observing some of the phenomenon under investigation, i.e. how the bureaucrats were behaving with the farmers, how the farmers were behaving with the Union Parishad Chairman and members. These phenomena gave me an opportunity to observe social relationships among stakeholders and thereby allowed me to form impression of social reality. Some interviews took place in groups. I carefully observed social interactions of my interviewees with others who are related in my study.

These observations were a great way to identify farmers' responses and problems and to brainstorm for ideas. It was sift through some preliminary concepts before selecting finalists to test in-depth and to determine what to ask about and how to ask it in a research survey.

2.2.3 Secondary Data:

Secondary data is used for the reanalysis of previously collected and analyzed data. There are some clear advantages to working with an existing body of data, including cost, time and making difficult populations accessible (Punch, 1998:107). Secondary sources are simply published books and articles by scholars. In this study the use of books, journals, reports, official records and documents have been some of the most important sources of data collection. These official records and documents included organizational documents, reports etc. In order to collect secondary materials I visited Bangladesh Forest Research Institute (BFRI) library in Chittagong, the second largest town of Bangladesh.

The books and published documents relevant to the study are collected from various sources are as follows:

Library, Ban Bhaban , Mohakhali, Dhaka, Bangladesh

Library, Bangladesh Forest Research Institute (BFRI), Chittagong, Bangladesh

Library, Bangladesh Agricultural Research Council, Farmgate, Dhaka, Bangladesh

Library, University of Dhaka, Bangladesh

Library, Social science faculty, University of Bergen, Norway

Christian Michelsen Institute (CMI), Bergen, Norway

Relevant Web sites.

2.3 Problems of Data Collection:

Data collection for the study went through several but difficult processes. First, to select the project area I visited some project with the officials and experts of the forest department. The reason was lack of my knowledge about the different projects running in the country.

Second, the biggest challenge during my data collection was when I visited the field. It was difficult to come in contact with the farmers without getting help from the bureaucrats and one of the important part of questionnaire was designed to get the ideas of the farmers about the bureaucrats' role in ensuring their participation. Bureaucrats summoned those farmers who had good relationship with them and talked in favour of them. I realized the situation when I talked with some other farmers in the village market. Then I realized that it was very difficult to get reliable data in this way. So to ensure the validity of my data I followed a method, which was ethnographic in nature. I talked with different people of this local area, for instance, the driver of the human puller, people in the village restaurants, people in the streets etc. I talked with them in a manner that I had no intention to find out any information from them. I asked them about their opinion regarding people's participation in SF project in the locality.

Third, my main target group comprised of farmers and most of them do not read and write and they were not familiar with the topic of my research questions. It was difficult to make them understand about the complex terms of public administration, for instance bureaucratic rule-orientation, bureaucratic rigidity etc.

Fourth, farmers thought that though I was a person from the capital I could do something for them. So they were mostly interested to talk about their own problems, which were not related to my research questions. It extended the time of interviews and in filling up questionnaires.

Fifth, the farmers were afraid to share their views. They thought that if they told anything against the local elites and bureaucrats they would lose their farming land given by the project. So I had to work hard to make myself trustworthy and convinced them that I would not disclose their views.

Sixth, Carrying out the interviews requires pre-arranged schedules. In most cases the interviewees would not honour their appointments so I had to arrange and rearrange the appointments.

Seventh, I faced problems when I attempted to record the interviews. Sometimes tape recorders drew unnecessary attentions of the respondents. Most of the respondents (farmers) did not feel free to talk when their voices were recorded. They thought that this could create some problem. Most of the bureaucrats also did not give permission to record. So after some interviews I stopped to use the tape recorder and tried to take important notes in a notebook.

Eighth, I faced lot of hurdles in gathering some official records because in Bangladesh, it is not permitted by the law to have access to the official documents and papers. But I was able to collect some official records via informed connections with one officer of the organization.

Ninth, the study was a systematic investigation. Therefore, a time-series or longitudinal study would have been more benefiting. I could only visit a few particular sites in a given period. This has somewhat delimited the scope of the study. Data from the secondary sources and some other first hand data were used to compensate this weakness partially.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction:

The main purpose of this chapter is to develop a theoretical framework to explore and analyze the concept of people's participation in the SF policy. In the first chapter it was mentioned that participation is interplay of various actors and factors. In this chapter various theories are discussed to conceptualize this interplay of various actors and factors in ensuring people's participation.

The stakeholders who are involved in the SF project ensure people's participation, which is shown below:

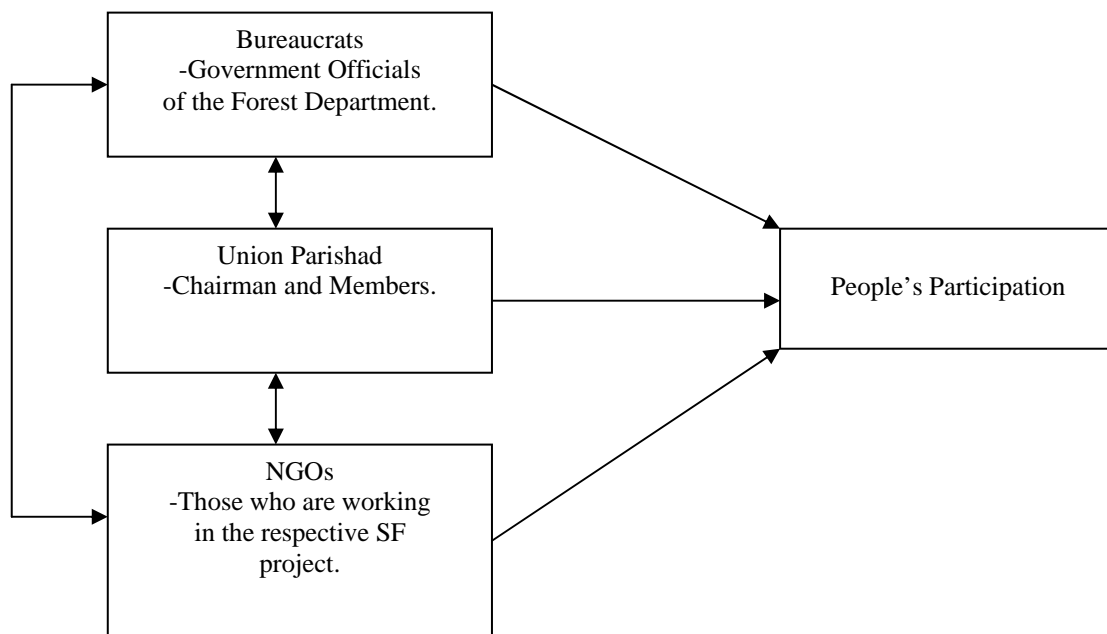


Figure: Stakeholders in the SF Project

3.2 Classical and Political Bureaucrats:

The first group of questions was mapped the role of bureaucrats in ensuring people's participation. In this regard Putnam's (1975: 87) discussion on classical versus political bureaucrats is employed. This discussion is based on two polar syndromes of attitudes of bureaucrats toward politics and political actors.

The main arguments of Putnam has been that bureaucrats vary markedly in their orientation to the world of politics and hence in their responsiveness to social needs and public demands. Political bureaucrats as described here are likely to be more responsive to citizen's need than classical bureaucrats. They act on the

basis of citizens' responsiveness. The "classical bureaucrat" operates with a monistic conception of the public interest- the "national interest" or the "interest of the State". He distrusts or rejects the institutions of politics, such as parliaments, parties, and pressure groups. The opposite polar type, the political bureaucrat operates with a much more pluralistic conception of the public interest. He assumes that there can be legitimately differing interpretations of the public interest, and even genuinely conflicting interests among different groups in society. Political bureaucrat is therefore, more aware of "political realities" and more willing to treat political influences on policy- making as legitimate. He recognizes the need to bargain and compromise, yet at the same time he does not necessarily shrink from advocating and even fighting for his own preferred policies.

Whereas the classical bureaucrat is "procedure-oriented" or "rule-oriented", the political bureaucrat is "problem-oriented" or "program-oriented". Whereas the classical bureaucrat views the politician as a troublesome or even dangerous antagonist, interfering with the efficiency and objectivity of government, the political bureaucrat sees the politician instead as a participant in a common game, one whose skills and immediate concerns may differ from his own but whose ultimate values and objectives are similar. Classical bureaucrats are, more likely than political bureaucrats to agree with the misanthropic view that "basically no one cares much what happens to the next fellow," while political bureaucrats are more likely than classical bureaucrats to endorse the view that "it is social conflicts which brings about progress in modern society". Political bureaucrats are more likely than classical bureaucrats to agree with the proposition that "citizens have a perfect right to exert pressure for legislation which would benefit them personally."

Political bureaucrats are more programmatic in their orientation to policy-making, less legalist and more activists in their interpretation of their own role, more sympathetic to an open, "political" public service, more relaxed about human relations and social conflict, more committed to the values of pluralist democracy. They maintain more frequent contacts with ministers, the office of the prime minister, members of parliament, party leaders, interest group leaders, and ordinary citizens than the classical bureaucrats. Whereas classical bureaucrat depends on the depth of their alienation from pluralistic democracy political bureaucrat depends on the extent of their rejection of administrative neutrality.

In the study, political bureaucrats are considered to be "problem-oriented" or "program-oriented", and classical bureaucrats to be "procedure-oriented" or "rule-oriented". Political bureaucrats are more responsive in ensuring people's participation than the classical bureaucrats. They have more contact with the political leaders and local people and give more importance to the public interest than the classical bureaucrats. For that cause they understand the local socio-economic and political situation and problems of the local people well than the classical bureaucrats. So the role of political bureaucrats will be more helpful in ensuring people's participation than the bureaucrats of their opposite pole.

Hypothesis: The more the bureaucrats are rule-oriented the lower will be the degree of people's participation.

3.3.1 Patron-Client Relationship:

*The Best Patron is one you never see.
You give him gifts; he gives you protection
A good exchange for peace
and security of mind and pocket.
(<http://www.ketherian.org>)*

SF farmers have to deal with the respective Union Councils and bureaucrats. NGOs are also incorporated in the project design to encourage the participation of the farmers. But social and economic transactions in the SF project involve SF farmers and affluent villagers, bureaucrats and NGOs through a patron-client relationship.

Patron-client relationship is not a phenomenon, which exists, only in modern times. It was found even in the earliest days of civilization. In the Roman society there was a network of personal relationship that obliged people to one another in a legal fashion. That society was a hierarchical society based on patronage. In a patron-client system where the wealthy and the powerful with a superior talent and status were the patroni(patrons) and those people who supported and depended on the patrons were the clientes (clients) (<http://abacus.bates.edu>). Patron was the person who could provide benefits to those people of lower status, who then paid him special attention. The clients who, in return for the benefits bestowed upon them, owed the patron specific duties (The History Guide, Lecture 13: 2003).

In the Roman society Political careers and loans on easy terms could all be had with the proper patron-client relationship. Clients had to serve their patrons at all times; this was true whether the issues at stake were legal, financial or political. The clients of a patron would also accompany him to the forum every morning, and the more clients that accompanied the patron, the greater his status and prestige. The patron-client relationship was an important one and was built upon the Roman idea that social stability would result from maintaining the social hierarchy that managed to link all people to one another (The History Guide, Lecture 13:2003).

The relationship between the patron and the client is a personal one. The clients are linked to the patron by personal obligation. This then works in a pyramid fashion. Midlevel patrons know someone higher and they in turn know someone higher. The only way to get something, which is unreachable for him, is to attach oneself to a superior. Patrons may rise and fall in fortune. Clients may switch back and forth between patrons over time and for different needs. The shifting of allegiances is seen as normal (Ledgerwood, <http://www.seasite.niu.edu>).

3.3.2 Features of Patron-Client Relationship:

The powerful patron offers protection and access to resources such as land, jobs to the client; the client in turn provides support and services such as labour, votes, and loyalty to patrons. Patron-client relationships tend to demonstrate the following features:

First, it is an unequal relationship between two individuals or groups, one of which has more status, wealth and influence than the other.

Secondly, the formation and continuation of the relationship lies on an exchange of goods and services.

Thirdly, the relationships are personalized in the form of diffuse brotherhood or any other such imagined and cultivated relationships (Randall and Theobald, Jary and Jary cited in Islam 2000:62). The patron-client relationships could be both horizontal and vertical. Horizontally the political parties create loyalty, allegiance. It emphasizes personalized relationships cemented through extra organizational reward. While in vertical situation, the relationships spreads downward like a chain as a leader-follower manner (Haque, 2003: 60).

3.3.4 Who is a Patron?

In a discussion on patron-client relation of ancient Roman society, patrons were protectors, benefactors, mentors, and power-jockeys, in the sense that they often wrote letters to recommend young clients for public office. Patrons might represent their clients in court, give gifts of food and money, protect the powerless from the abuses of the powerful, and so on. The main thing patrons received in return was honor (<http://www.aquela.com>).

Patron is a term of address that means, "boss" (<http://reference.allrefer.com>). Hyper Dictionary defines patrons in many ways. It says that a patron is a) someone who protects, supports or countenances b) a master who had freed his slave, but still retained some paternal rights over him. c) a man of distinction under whose protection another person placed, d) an advocate or pleader e) a defender (<http://www.hyperdictionary.com>). Patrons are normally elites of the locality. Bottomore (1964:14) defines elites as those functional groups, which have high status for whatever reason in a society. They are groups with considerable social influence who can collectively manipulate the masses.

In my study patrons are counselor, protector, and defender, notable or respected man. Patrons constitute a range of rural elites who, with regional variations of wealth and social status, generally are the incumbents of formal or informal power-positions. Following general characteristics of patrons are found in the study area. First, they have large-scale land. Second, patrons have good connections with the local bureaucracy. Third, Most of them are directly or indirectly related with the local politics. Fourth, they are backed up by client groups. Fifth, patrons are involved in diversified occupational groups.

3.3.5 Who is a Client?

Hyper dictionary also defines clients in many ways. A client is a) someone who pays for goods or services b) a citizen who put himself under the protection of a man of distinction and influence, who was called his patron c) a dependent d) one under the protection of another (<http://www.hyperdictionary.com>).

Clients identified themselves by their patrons' names, spreading the reputation of their generous and beneficent patrons far and wide. Benefactors expected to receive copious recognition for their gifts, including public inscriptions, places of honor at banquets, and the like. In addition, patrons could require services of their clients, in return for some particularly generous gift (<http://www.aquela.com>).

In the study, clients are farmers of the SF project who are dependent on local elites for agricultural work or other kinds of business and put themselves under the protection of his patron.

3.3.6 Defining Patron-Client Relationship:

Patron-client relationship has been widely used to understand Third World politics (Haque, 2003: 60). The foundation of patron-client relationship rests on and between actors of unequal power and status (Maquet, cited in Sellström and Wohlgemuth 1996), reciprocity and personal contact. This relationship grows between someone who is related by ties of ethnicity, locality, kinship, religious affiliation, or class. In appealing to such ties bonds are forged that may be used by the patron or the client in future matters. Such bonds may undercut or reinforce other bonds of class, regional, or ethnic solidarity, depending on the situation (<http://reference.allrefer.com>). This also involved reciprocal bonds of loyalty and exchange of goods and services. It provided a place, a status, within a hierarchical system (Sellström and Wohlgemuth, 1996).

According to one frequently cited definition that of anthropologist Eric Wolf – patronage is a relationship between unequal in which “one partner is clearly superior to the other in his capacity to grant goods and services” while the client receives tangible benefits such as gifts and rewards from the patron, the patrons garner less tangible ones, including information, political support, and “demonstrations of esteem” from the client (Wolf, cited in Romano, 1993: 712-733).

Anthromorphemics, Department of Anthropology, University of California defines Patron client relationship as a mutually obligatory arrangement between an individual who has authority, social status, wealth, or some other personal resource (the patron) and another person who benefits from his or her support or influence (the client) (<http://www.webref.org>).

3.3.7 Patron-Client Relationship in Rural Bangladesh:

There are two conflicting traditions in Bangladesh peasant society, a tradition of participation and a tradition of patronage. A structure of dominance gradually emerges within it from the unevenly developed bases of other social structures: from the economic and political structures. These shape the relations between rich and poor peasants and are sometimes framed in terms of ‘patronage’ idiom. The social position of the patron is based on landholding and on his political linkage. Thus the tradition of patronage reveals the dominating social position of the patron and the dominated social position of the client. This tradition is based on economic dependence (Alavi, cited in 1979) and binds the landless and the poor peasant to the rich peasant (Jahangir, 1979: 2-3).

This 'enforced' dependency relationship appears as one based on mutual help and reciprocity and the rich peasant thinks of himself as a murubbi (protector, patron). In opposition to this paternalistic view, the peasants consider that the relationship is based on exploitation and domination. An analysis of the economic and political relationships of 'patron-client' ties reveals the dominating social position of the patron and the dominated social position of the client. He thinks he is 'murubbi' (patron) and never admits that his relationship with the poor peasants is exploitative (Jahangir, 1979: 242).

The Patrons in a locality have many common interests and privileges to protect; they also compete for the same scarce resources. They compete to obtain the same plots of land from poor peasants, for access to Government favours (credit, tube wells, agencies for distribution of agricultural inputs, political offices) etc. When factions are active it is often the interests of the rich, which are at stake and their supporters, the poor and "small surplus" peasants, rally behind their leader (Jansen, 1983: 151).

The kinship relationship is an important factor for the patrons to choose his clients. Another consideration is in political nature. Often the landowner recognizes that he can gain political support from his tenant. The political support may be support in village affairs, shalishes (local courts), or perhaps be physical protection from attacks by enemies. The sharecropper who wants to give out land on a sharecropping basis has command over an asset for which many tenants are willing to offer other achievements than half of the crop they produce. A dyadic relationship entered into on the basis contributes to develop and maintain a many-stranded patron-client relationship (Jansen, 1983: 173-180).

What are the factors, which generate these patterns and types of patron-client relationships? These are: the individual property rights to land, the multiple inheritance system and the non-corporate character of the patrilineage, the scarcity of sources of livelihood and their unequal distribution. The labour market is therefore far from an "open" market where all the wage labourers compete with each other to obtain work from any employer. Even for the labourers who are working on daily contracts and willing to work for most of the employers, the choice of employer is limited (Jansen, 1983: 191).

The Patron-client relationships are a main feature of rural social organization. It is shown in the study that the nature of the relationships people were involved in as regards credit, mortgage, sharecropping, employment and political protection are to a large extent of a patron-client nature. A limited set of factors, which are crucial for the emergence of these patron-client relationships:

- 1) Multiple inheritance system with many heirs to an estate.
- 2) Individual property rights to land
- 3) Scarcity of land and unequal distribution of land
- 4) Scarcity of employment and other sources of livelihood
- 5) Need for political and physical protection

- 6) Lack of access to resources made available by the Government for the rural areas (Jansen, 1983:305).

Patron-client relationship impedes people's participation. Here, local elites, bureaucrats, NGO personnel all are act as patrons. In this relationship patrons provide benefits and the clients are linked to the patrons by personal obligation. For that cause, farmers who are clients reflect the hope of their patrons mainly local elites. Moreover, patrons have political linkage and good relationship with the bureaucrats. If clients are not obliged to their patrons then they will be suffered in getting benefits from the project. Patrons dictate their clients from project planning to implementation. Thus this relationship impedes in ensuring people's participation in the SF project.

The theoretical framework of this chapter can be shown as below:

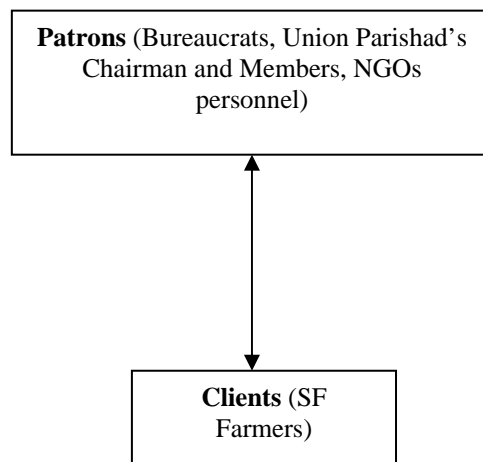


Figure: Patron-Client Relationship in the SF project

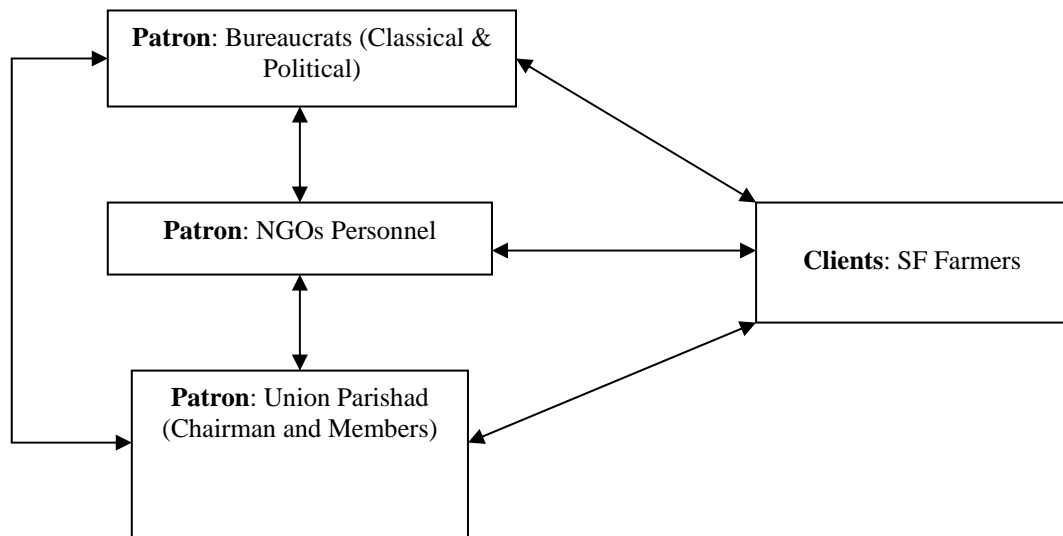


Figure: Patron-Client Relationship in the SF Project

Hypothesis: The more the dominance of patron-client relationship in policy implementation the less the attainment of policy objectives.

3.4.1 Social Capital:

The concept of “social capital” has received considerable attention recently among sociologists, economists, and political scientists (Arrow, 1999: 3). In recent years the concept of social capital is employed to examine and analyse the functioning and performance of different nations, regions and social phenomena. Social capital has become one of the most popular exports from sociological theory into everyday language (Portes cited in Muriisa, 2004:1). Social Capital first gained popularity and analytical teeth in James Coleman’s works. Coleman (cited in Pargal ,Gilligan & Huq, 2002: 189) sees social capital as the “social relationships that come into existence when individuals attempt to make the best use of their individual resources. While Coleman stresses social capital as resources that accrue to individuals, Putnam (cited in Pargal ,Gilligan & Huq, 2002: 189) defines social capital in terms of resources that characterize societies: “Social Capital here refers to features of social organization, such as trust, norms, and networks, that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions” .

Social capital is the shared knowledge, understandings, norms, rules, and expectations about patterns of interactions that groups of individuals bring to a recurrent activity (Coleman, Putnam cited in Ostrom, 1999: 176).

Social capital considered in terms of trust, solidarity, civic engagement, and social inclusion is not only confined with in groups and formal groups but goes beyond formal groups and associations. It is defined as features of social organization such as networks of individuals or households, and the associated norms and values that create externalities for the community as a whole and trust that facilitate cooperation and coordination for mutual benefit (Putnam, cited in Grootaert & Bastelaer 2002:2). James Coleman (cited in Grootaert & Bastelaer, 2002:2) defines social capital as “a variety of entities (which) all consist of some aspect of social structure, and (which) facilitate certain actions of actors-whether personal or corporate actors-within the structure. Social capital originates from relations and these social relations should be trust relations, unless social relations are trust relation, the element of ‘Capital’ in the social relations disappears (Muriisa, 2004:16).

Here by social capital, I am only referring to trust, more specifically personal and institutional trust.

3.4.2 Trust:

Trust is defined as the expectation that arises with in a community of regular, honest and cooperative behaviour based on commonly shared norms. It has elements of confidence, expectation, motivation, cooperation, collaboration, mutual and obligation (Seligman cited in Muriisa, 2004:17). Putnam views trust as the core element of social capital and “trust worthiness lubricates social life (Putnam, 2000), Seligman (1997:75) views trust as a form of social capital that makes the creation of economic prosperity possible. Trust necessarily involves relationships between individuals, organizations and civic structures.

1) Personal Trust:

Social Capital in terms of interpersonal trust is an interrelated but separate type of social phenomenon. In fact, interpersonal trust is perhaps synonymous with sociality. Were there no trust in society, people would not be social. The replicating unit trusting as well as of anticipating trustful encounters in social life, previous experiences of trust among the actors is important. Thus life-long encounters with persons with whom you have experienced trustful relations are important. Thus in general, we should expect less trust in unknown people among those persons who have had to move from one place to another (Åberg & Sandberg, 2003: 27).

It is resulted from experience, of shared norms, interests and between persons. This experience may come as a result of community belongingness of the trusting persons, same work place and belonging to the same club. Trusting persons require enough knowledge of the ones they trust. It is often referred to as ‘knowledge-based’ trust. Such trust is not spontaneous but develops over time through routine contact. Seligman (1997) argues that such trust is a result of ‘face-work’ and that it is an emergent of human

interaction. It is entirely created by an individual through his behaviour and personal relationships with other members of the community (Muriisa, 2004:19).

Personal trust often begins with the small steps, involving few resources until confidence is built. Both confidence and reliability of the other are built on the premise that both the trust or and trustee are faithful in their actions i.e. they disclose any information regarding the relationship and will honour their promises. Personal trust is often exclusive. People tend to build walls around themselves or groups in which they belong, to stop entry of the outsiders. They suspect every one outside their group and can even kill for anything that protects them (Muriisa, 2004:19).

2) Institutional Trust:

In institutional trust, social capital is viewed in the formalized and the organizational form. Here, it is viewed that organizational life brings memories or experience of trustful relationship among members of the society. Experience of what one institution did when you were young will probably affect the relationship between you and that institution. Such life experiences are important for the study of people's trust in institutions in transitional societies (Åberg & Sandberg, 2003: 28).

This is where people enter relationships not because there are shared norms or personal experience as in the two above, but because they have safeguard of the institutions in place. People must have the confidence of the existing institutions before they can have personal relations (Seligman, 1997). Well functioning institutions, like the police and judiciary often facilitate trusting relationships to flourish. Where such institutions are less operative, trusting relationships are minimal, promises are not kept and obligations are not met. Like personal trust, institutional trust, is not spontaneous but develops with time. People are socialized into rules and regulations and come to believe in them. People will therefore follow the rules because they believe the rules are appropriate and expect others to behave in a similar manner. The rules structure people follow rules and expect everyone else in society to follow rules. Institutions are considered to be appropriate therefore social capital depend on the existence of appropriate institutions (Muriisa, 2004:21).

In the study, patron-client relationship between the farmers and local elites is mainly based on personal trust. This relationship derives from experience and interest. This experience may come as a result of community belongingness of the trusting persons. It develops over time through routine contact.

Government projects for the people are carried out through different institutions like bureaucracy, Union Parishad and NGOs. So in ensuring the project objectives, local people needs to trust these institutions. But previous experience of working with different institutions may not make them trustworthy to the local people. For that cause local people may not trust those institutions and instead of it only trust those persons

who are related to these institutions. Such situation impedes the extent of people's participation. Because in the case of personal trust a relationship of patron-client may be developed and clients do what their patrons dictate to do and it impedes in ensuring people's participation.

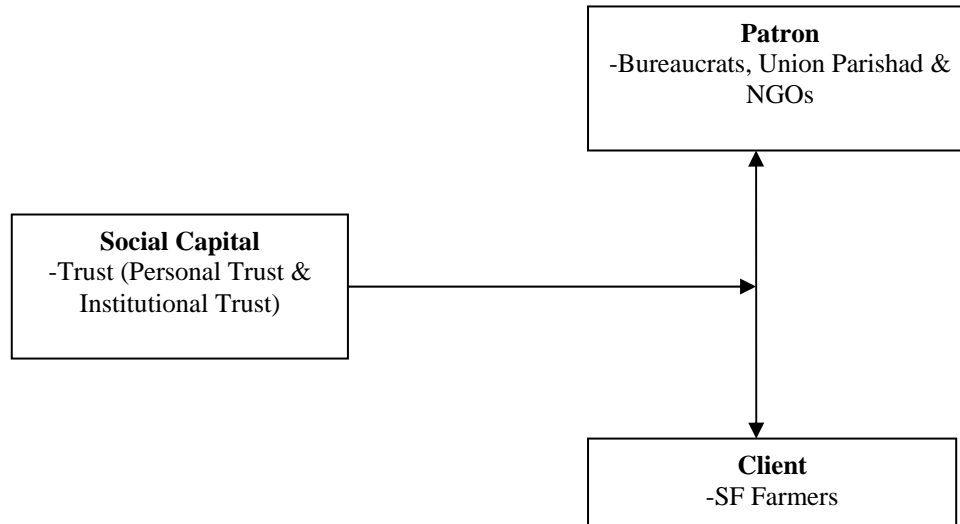


Figure: Patron-Client Relationship & Social Capital

Hypothesis: The more the dominance of personal trust than institutional trust the less will be the attainment of policy objective.

3.5 Conclusion:

The purpose of this chapter was to map how different actors and factors are playing their roles in ensuring people's participation. It helps to conceptualise the role of such actors and factors. In this chapter I pointed out the concept of classical bureaucrats and political bureaucrats, Patron-client relationship and their forms and characteristics, social capital in terms of personal and institutional trust. Some of these concepts are overlapping in theoretical point of view. I tried to operationalize the concepts to fit into my study.

CHAPTER 4

SOCIAL FORESTRY IN BANGLADESH: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

4.1 Introduction:

In order to explore and analyze people's participation in the SF policy in Bangladesh, it is essential to give an account of the development of SF in Bangladesh. The purpose of this chapter is to give an account on the historical background of SF policy in Bangladesh and its present state of affairs highlighting the issue of people's participation.

4.2 The Evolution of SF Policy in Bangladesh:

Social Forestry" (SF) is to mean "the active participation by rural people in the planning, implementation and benefit-sharing of tree growing schemes" (GOB, 1987). Since the mid 1970s, SF programmes, which promote tree growing in rural area, have been initiated in more than 50 countries through out the world. In the last two decades it has become the most important forestry programme of most countries in South-East Asian Region (Sukwong, cited in Huq & Alim, 1995: 1). Over the past decade or so, the government of most developing countries like Bangladesh have been investing large amount of money in tree planting with the cooperation of international agencies because they realized-

"the necessity of taking forestry outside the forests, of involving people through out the country side in growing trees to meet their own requirements, as well as to protect the land on which many of their fellow citizens, town dwellers and farmers alike, directly or indirectly depend" (Johnson, cited in Zashimuddin, 1995: 33).

Social forestry programmes have started to truly involve individual farmers and whole communities in a participatory process, based on local needs and local management capacity. It is an innovative partnership approach between the outsiders (foresters and other technical experts) and the insiders (local experts (the farmers) and other locally knowledgeable people), working together in a creative synergy. SF envisages use of community lands, individual holdings and other public lands for producing what the dependent communities need and also enriching the tree cover for environmental purposes. Here government control is minimal though financial and technical support is assured. The profits that arise after meeting the local demands are to be shared between Government and people (Huq & Alim, 1995: 1).

Various terms have been used to describe social forestry. These are community forestry (village forestry), farm forestry (homestead or household forestry), participatory forestry and rural forestry. In the literature and in many forums, social forestry is often used interchangeable with community forestry, while farm forestry is viewed as one model (a component) of community and social forestry. But it is quite clear with that social forestry is a broader, more encompassing category than community forestry (Hoskins, cited in

Zashimuddin, 1995: 33). Therefore, it would be best to generally view community (Hamilton, cited in Zashimuddin, 1995: 34) and farm forestry as subsystems or components of social forestry (Kirchhofer and Mercer, cited in Zashimuddin, 1995: 34).

4.3 Definition of Social forestry:

SF can be defined as-

Any situation that intimately involves local people in a forest activity, a set of interconnected actions and works executed primarily to by local community residents to improve their own welfare (FAO cited in Davidson, 2003:5).

A branch of forestry which deals with the involvement of people in forestry activities that are designed to promote the socio-economic well-being of the people themselves as well as the conservation of the soil, water and the forest resources (Lantican, cited in Zashimuddin, 1995: 34).

SF is a concept, a programme and a mission which aims at ensuring ecological, economic and social benefits to the people, particularly to the rural masses and those living below the poverty line, specifically by involving the beneficiaries right from the planning stage to the harvesting stage but not only as wage earners (GOB, 1993).

Any activity such as the purposive growing of trees, certain techniques in crop production, soil conservation, improved use of wild forest products, and others, of a culture bearing and symbol sharing social group, which has at its ultimate effect a movement of that group towards self sufficiency in forest resources while at the same time lessening the pressure which that population is applying to the resources of the natural forest through more efficient and more intensive use of land (Ohlsson cited in Huq & Alim, 1995: 2).

Rubugio (cited in Zashimuddin, 1995: 35) defined social forestry "as a sub-system of forestry designed to conserve natural resources and promote social development. It postulates that society, as a system, plays key role in any development endeavours".

SF means people-oriented forestry, with active involvement of local people of all social groups (based on gender, class, caste, ethnicity etc) in key planning and decision-making, in implementation, in full benefit sharing (not just the receipt of wages or food for planting trees) of tree growing and forest resources management, in the overall context of the farming system and sustainable development and in local monitoring and evaluation of the results. It utilizes an extension dialogue for two-way learning and teaching, to establish a true dialogue and partnership between developers (outsiders) and rural people (locals, insiders) at each step of the development cycle (analysis, site selection, diagnosis and design,

planning, implementation, management, monitoring, evaluation, benefit-sharing). In short, it is people-driven forestry (TFDP, cited in Davidson, 2003, 3).

The improved definition of social forestry is: forestry development in which local people are actively involved, assume major parts or all of the responsibility, and through which they derive the benefits from their own efforts. In modern development parlance, this means empowering local people to manage their own affairs, without undue influence and coercion from outsiders. The involvement of local people themselves in planning, implementing, assessing and monitoring SF activities improves effectiveness, increases benefits locally and empowers by instilling local self-confidence and development through a sense of ownership. SF requires that foresters change their roles and rules of engagement with local people from protectors as extension agents at the local level (Davidson, 2003: V).

4.4 Traditional and Social Forestry Compared:

SF envisages a new dimension in forestry management systems by making it participatory. People's participation is a process by which rural people enabled to organize themselves and they will be able to identify their own needs. Rural people can also implement and evaluate their participatory action. They will be able to do so through their own organization (FAO, 1972).

SF approach requires fundamental changes in the role and orientation of professional foresters as well as their technical repertoire. The most important thing is to involve the local people in the decision-making and planning stage in growing trees. The traditional forestry management approach followed top-down approach but the SF brings transformation in this process and followed the bottom up participatory approach by the people.

Social forestry is now seen "as the most viable alternatives to traditional forestry and as the most useful tool to halt deterioration of the natural environment" while significantly contributing to the process of "increase of income opportunities of rural people" (Areekul, 1992 in Huq and Alim, 1995: 4). Central to the philosophy of most of social forestry is that through implementation of these components it is possible to uplift the communities who are poor, disadvantaged and voiceless (Huq and Alim, 1995: 4).

4.5 Other Benefits of SF:

SF is not confined to growing trees only. It has integrated into it sideline occupations and short-term income generating activities. This includes beekeeping, sericulture, bamboo growing, and mushroom growing. These activities keep the community's interests while the trees are growing and likely to benefit them in the long term. They are getting integrated into social forestry. Decentralization of decision-making, enhancing involvement of women and children and other disadvantaged people in general, fostering the role of NGOs and prominent local level organizations, has become part of social forestry.

These are features, which were never included in conventional forestry before. Management systems for social forestry are also different from conventional forestry and this aspect has to be considerably significant (Huq and Alim, 1995: 5).

4.6 Social Forestry Development Worldwide:

Until the early 1970s, it was thought that the development of natural resources by governments would automatically 'trickle-down'⁷ in most forestry projects in developing countries so that the benefits would eventually reach the rural poor. Major development activities were large scale and centrally driven forestry management. Forestry was technically oriented (tree centered) and forest departments were typically mandated to both exploit and 'protect' or 'conserve'. The failure of forestry development programmes proved that 'trickle-down' was not working and would not work. One of the earliest institutional responses to this realization was a programme of the FAO called 'Forestry for Local Community Development' (FAO, cited in Davidson, 2003: 8). This received an international boost with the holding in 1978 of the Eighth World Forestry Congress in Jakarta, Indonesia, with the theme 'Forests for people' (Davidson, 2003: 8).

By the mid 1980s, different governments realized that social forestry projects were benefiting wealthy and powerful individuals rather than rural poor, and that they were not meeting people's needs at 'the bottom'. Moreover it was found in FAO's different monitoring programmes that many governments and aid agencies characterized local villagers as enemies and destroyers of the forest state (Eckholm, cited in Davidson, 2003: 8). Governments were also responding to the pressure of 'structural adjustment' programmes, promoted such bodies as the International Monetary Fund, with dramatic downsizing of government staffing levels. This means that they could no longer conceive of 'protecting' the government forest estate through policing and enforcement activities. It was also recognized that government staff could not provide effective services to rural people without institutional development and support. Many government felt that there was no alternative to involve villagers as active partners with government in the protection, planning, management, utilization and further development of the forest estate and in practices encouraging more trees on farms (Davidson, 2003: 8).

SF programmes then started to truly involve individual farmers and whole communities in a participatory process, based on local needs and local management capacity. The concept of indigenous management was explored and documented by social scientists working alongside foresters. Over time, to speed up the process, special methodologies were developed. The rapid diagnostic and participatory tools inherent in Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) from the mid 1970s onwards, and Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) and Participatory Learning and Action (PLA) from the mid 1980s onwards. These have been found useful in

⁷ Trickle-down refers to the notion that government inputs to development at the 'top' will eventually reach the local poor 'at the bottom'.

facilitating dialogue with local people, and for planning and implementing participatory development (Davidson, 2003: 9).

Today social forestry management partnerships engaging government and local people, together, to varying degrees are found throughout Asia and the World including Africa, Latin America, Australia, the Pacific Islands, North America and Europe. Thus, social forestry is no longer a uniquely 'developing country' paradigm, but global, including some of the most 'developed' countries. In reviewing global social forestry, a striking observation emerges-that programme development and stakeholder involvement are strengthened by the active role of both academic researchers and non-governmental organizations (NGOs, both local and international). Together their combined advocacy and insights have greatly strengthened many national attempts at people-centred development (Davidson, 2003: 9-11).

4.7 Social Forestry Developments in Bangladesh:

Bangladesh lies in the north-eastern part of South-Asia between 20°34' and 26°38' north latitude and 88°01' and 92°41' east longitude. The area of the country is 14.757 million hectares. Here sub-tropical climate prevails throughout the year with distinct rainfall and dry period. Out of the country's estimated total land area, about 5,284 square miles (9.6%) are state forest lands under the control of the Forest Department. Only 60% of these lands support any tree or bamboo cover and the rest is either encroached or barren (Government of Bangladesh (GOB), 1990). In addition to state forest lands, there are some 742,000 acres (1,159 sq. miles) of homestead forest groves on privately-owned lands covered with tree and/or bamboo crops of varying quality and density. Although these privately owned homesteads constitute only 12% of the forest land, they supply almost 80% of the total fuel wood, timber and bamboos consumed in the country. About 75% of the total energy consumed in Bangladesh still comes from the traditional biomass fuels (i.e. straw, fuel wood and cow dung) (Magno, 1986: 60). There has been, as the Task Force noted, "an increasing consensus that forestry sector policy was ineffective in maintaining the sector's contribution to the national economy" (Task Force, 1987:28). Various departmental manuals of the Forest Department offered little room for public involvement in forestry. One evaluation study on Bangladesh forestry also reached the conclusion that; there has been "a clear indication of the very poor condition of the forests under State control" (FMP, cited in Khan, 1998: 3).

The growing stock in all major forests of the country is also drastically declining. The growing stock of Sundarban (the country's largest mangrove forest tract) has depleted from 717 million m cft in 1960 to 542 m cft in 1985; which implies a decline of 35% over 25 years (Chaffey et al., cited in Khan 1998: 1). Similarly, there has been an estimated 17% decline in the resource base in the forests of Chittagong Hill Tracts over last 21 years (Bhuiyan, cited in Khan, 1998: 1). Government has been facing various problems because of this scarcity and declining of forest resources for more than two decades. Moreover government was not able to check the process of deforestation. It was difficult to save the forest resources from the local people. The forest department with their paramilitary orientation had been trying to police "their"

territories from local people with an uncompromising zeal. In the process, there has been a prodigious growth of conflict between the government and local communities. The Bangladesh government has consistently blamed population increase and local people for the destruction of forests (Khan, 1998, 4). Many analysts argue that there is "very limited scope to increase and develop the forests under traditional forest management" by the government (Task Force, 1987, 7). One widely promoted solution to these trends in deforestation and alienation has been Social Forestry. It was assumed that if the local people acted as the saver through some benefit sharing agreement then the level of deforestation was diminished in a remarkable scale. A project was designed in which local people were involved in planning and managing of the forest resource.

Bangladesh emerged as a sovereign state in 1971 after a War of independence. After that the development resources for forestry were targeted at meeting long-term future industrial demands. But the potential of rural and homestead forestry for local community rehabilitation and development was almost totally ignored (Davidson, 2003: 65). A "Forestry Policy" was announced in 1979. It concentrated on "horizontal expansion of the forest area" under the government that was to be "carefully preserved and scientifically managed" by a centralized cadre of forest officers" setting up new forest-based industries.

Deforestation is not new in Bangladesh. It is a global problem especially in the developing tropical countries. Over a long period much of the Government forest-land have been deforested and encroached. It was not practicable and socially acceptable to evict the forest-land encroachers. Therefore, instead of evicting the encroachers, they were involved in tree plantation activities. The encroachers or unauthorized occupants have been transformed from encroachers to usufruct right holders in designed forest areas (GOB, 2003).

SF at first was introduced in Bangladesh in 1967. Primarily the main objectives of this project were to establish two nurseries in Dhaka and Rajshahi and to distribute seedlings from those nurseries. The Community Forestry project, the first of its kind in the country has been launched in 1979 to cover the seven greater northwestern districts of Dinajpur, Rangpur, Bogra, Pabna, Rajshahi, Kushtia and Jessore. The project has a six-year time frame and is funded by the Asian Development Bank (ADB) with a technical assistance from the UNDP and the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) as an associated agency. The executing agency for the project is the Forest Department under the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry (MAF) (Magno, 1986: 60). From 1979 various SF programmes started in this country in ensuring the socio-economic improvement of the rural poor, employment opportunity in rural area etc (De, 1996: 25). Such as:

1. Community Forestry Development Project
2. Betagi-Pomora Community Forestry Project
3. Thana Afforestation and Nursery development Project
4. Expanded Social Forestry Project

5. Forestry Sector Project
6. Coastal Greenbelt Project
7. Coastal Bank Rehabilitation Project
8. Rehabilitated Zumia Family Development and Security Camp Project

An area of 31304.0 hectares encroached and treeless forest land have been brought under plantations. About 31000 families, mostly poor have been integrated in the plantations as beneficiaries or participants. 1(one) hectare forest-land was allotted to each family under written agreement giving usufruct rights only. In 35060.0 km strip plantations, almost 300,000 landless and poor families have been involved as participants also under written agreements (GOB, 2003).

SF is viewed within the broader framework of rural development in Bangladesh and it has become one of the most dominant strategies for both rural development and forest management (Rahman, 1991). One of the major issues in people's participation in this kind of forestry is to ensure that drawing the participants from the same socio-economic and cultural background does group formation. Components of the programme should be discussed with the people and should be remodeled on the basis of their opinion. This will make participation self sustained and eliminate errors in the process of implementation. Conscious, organized and well-informed participation increase the project's efficiency and contribute to its success (Huq and Alim, 1995: 129).

In the past, in conventional forestry, trees were at the center of attention and production, especially of timber was the major objective. This implied that activities were decided according to technical considerations rather than socio-economic needs. In SF, by contrast, people are at the center of attention, and enabling them to manage the biomass resource wisely and sustainably, largely on their own, is a major objective (Davidson, 2003: 85).

4.8 Different Initiatives in Social Forestry:

Betagi-Pomora Community Forestry Project:

The first social forestry programme in Bangladesh was started in Betagi and Pomora – the two villages of Rangunia Thana of Chittagong district in 1979 and 1980 respectively. At that time, the forestry professionals, by and large were not favourably disposed of towards any people oriented programme. They largely felt that the sponsors and patrons would ultimately settle the Government forest land to private individuals which at that time were considered not in keeping with the custodial approach of forestry management. It has been established as a social forestry model to alleviate rural poverty through the combination of barren land and hungry people. These projects have given the land less poor an identity of their own and sense of direction in life. They have created ample employment opportunities for the landless people. Their income and the quality of life improved significantly in both the settlements. These

projects have also created employment opportunities for women. The farmers have not only improved their economic condition but also have become employed. Significant impact on social equity has been achieved through the project (Zashimuddin, 1995: 50, Huq and Alim, 1995: 36).

The most important lessons learnt from Betagi-Pamora project are that (Alim, 1984):

- It requires the understanding of the local needs, and aspirations, enjoying the confidence of the people and building up of new relationship with them to initiate a successful social-forestry programme.
- The initial obstacles created by rural exploiters and land grabbers are significant and the promoters and the participants have got to be tenacious.
- The users should be allowed to form groups of like-minded people through their own choice. If one member of the group does not work properly, assistance to all other members should stop, so that a social pressure is created in inefficient workers by the better workers.
- Participatory land use plan should be prepared in consultation with the participants and given to them before handing over the land.

Bangladesh Community Forestry Project:

Following the success story of Betagi-Pomora social forestry project, the most systematic and planned social forestry project in the country was initiated in July, 1981 in the denuded plain land Sal forests of Northern-districts (Dinajpur, Jessore, Kustia, rangpur, Bogra, Pabna and Rajshahi) with financial assistance from Asian development Bank and technical assistance from UNDP (Bhuiyan, cited in Huq and Alim, 1995: 39). The project activities started in 1982 and completed in 1987. The main objective of the programme was to replenish the depleted forest lands (plain land Sal Forests) with the active participation of the local landless farming community and to augment supply of fuel wood, construction timber and other products (Zashimuddin, 1995: 54,).

The Community Forestry project as the prime social forestry project in Bangladesh was an overall success (ADB: 1993). It was an initiative in the integration of the people in forestry in Bangladesh. As a follow up of the Community Forestry Project and GOB-funded Forest Extension, a unified Project, Named "Thana Bonayan and Nursery Prokalpa" has been drawn up covering the country except the greater Chittagong Hill Tracts and the Sundarbans. This project was supposed to be started from 1987-88 to 1993-94 (GOB: 1988).

The professional foresters particularly those in charge of the project were not in favour of Thana Parishad participation in activities from the very beginning. The Upazila/Thana Parishad was new institutions that motivate the people for participatory development work especially social forestry. But it could not bring people of all political opinions to work jointly for social forestry (Huq and Alim, 1995: 50).

Project Coordination:

The afforestation and replanting activities under the Forestry Sector Project are not only confined to the government forest lands but also extend to marginal lands belonging to various land owning agencies of the government. An apex body has been formed by the government at national level chaired by the Principal Secretary to the Honourable Prime Minister for proper coordination and implementation of the forestry sector project activities. Moreover, in this regard District Coordination Committee (DCC) and Thana Coordination Committee (TCC) have also been formed at district and thana level (GOB: 2003).

Participatory Benefit Sharing Agreement (PBSA):

It is essential to protect the interest of the participants involved in the SF project. It is signed between the Forest Department and the participants in case plantations are raised in the government forest-lands. Long term involvement of participants has been ensured through the PBSAs'. It will provide tenurial sustainability to the project plantations (GOB: 2003).

Incentives and benefits sharing mechanism:

In the "Community Forestry Development Project" located in the North-Western part of Bangladesh it was apparent that without people's active participation and community involvement and provision for reasonable incentive for such participation, the project so designed can not be implemented with desired success. With this end in view, in consultation with the land owning agencies and beneficiaries, a benefit sharing mechanism has been approved by ECNEC on and also adopted by the National Project CO-ordination Committed (NPCC). This new benefit sharing mechanism has introduced the participation of NGOs as organizers of people's participation at grass roots level (Huq and Alim, 1995, 55). Their role is to organize the local SF farmers' and work in ensuring their participation. NGOs will receive 200 taka (3.5 US\$) for giving service to every SF farmer.

The participant beneficiaries would get –

- a) in case of woodlot and agroforestry plantations established on lands under the control of Forest Department-
 - i) Forest Department 45%
 - ii) Beneficiaries 45%
 - iii) Tree farming Fund 10%
- b) in case of Sal Forest-
 - i) Forest Department 65%
 - ii) Beneficiaries 25%
 - iii) Tree farming Fund 10%
- c) in case of strip plantation raised on the lands owned by public or statutory body other

than the Forest department-

- i) Forest Department 10%
- ii) Beneficiaries 55%
- iii) Tree farming Fund 10%
- iv) Land Owning Agency 20%
- v) Local Union Parishad 5%

All the intermediary benefits will go to the participant beneficiaries. Direct and willing involvement and participation of local community in planting and upkeepment is a pre-requisite for the successful execution of the project after the trees are established, their protection from damage due to grazing, illicit cutting etc is of equal importance (Huq and Alim, 1995: 55).

SF Component in Forest Resource Management Project:

A unit of the Forest Department responsible for the SF programme is needed to engage the services with an advisory NGO. Such NGOs have expertise in participatory forestry to formulate strategies and options. The advisory NGOs also undertake socio-economic survey and organize training workshops. The unit will also maintain close contact with Forest Department staff (Huq and Alim, 1995: 59).

SF Groups and Group Formation:

All long-term beneficiaries of the scheme (i.e. those other seasonal labourers) should be members of social forestry groups or cooperatives with a representative democratically elected by the group members. No beneficiary shall be below the age of 14 years. Members in a group should be numbered between 12 and 15. The members should form part of the scheme's original labour pool and should continue to invest their time and effort in the performance of maintenance and other scheme activities throughout the scheme's lifetime. Union Parishad selects the group from the lower-income and/or disadvantaged or vulnerable socio-economic strata of the local population (i.e. landless (0.5 acres), widowed/separated or destitute women) (Huq and Alim, 1995: 61-62).

NGO/GOB agencies are required to seek alternative or additional sources of income generation activities for the group members. They should be encouraged to make regular monthly savings. Preference is given to the selection of women beneficiaries wherever possible. Each scheme shall consist of a minimum of 80% women. In cases where this is not feasible for social or religious reasons, the matter may be referred to Forest Department (Huq and Alim, 1995: 61-62).

National Award for Tree Plantation:

In 1993 the Government of Bangladesh, decided to introduce a national award to encourage mass participation in tree plantation and social forestry activities by all concerned. The award has been named as "Prime Minister's Tree Plantation Award" (Huq and Alim, 1995: 67).

4.10 Sustainability of SF:

SF is people oriented and the programme is in line with National Forest Policy (1994) and Forestry Sector Master Plan (1995). There is political commitment for participatory forestry in this country. As a government organization, Forest Department is responsible for overall supervision and maintenance of the plantations established under the participatory forestry programme. Forest Act of 1927 has been amended in 2000 to support and encourage SF activities in the country. SF rules have been formulated and now waiting for vetting from the Ministry of Law, Justice and Parliamentary affairs. It will provide legal support to participatory forestry. Local Community Organization (LCO) of the participants is an important grassroot level institution responsible for raising, maintenance and protection of plantations. The LCO is to be strengthened by training to be imparted by the Forest Department and the NGOs'. NGOs like Proshika, ASA, Nijera Kori, BASA etc are working in the SF project. Strengthening the LCO is vital for sustainable management of participatory forestry (GOB: 2003).

4.11 Progress of SF:

An evaluation of the progress of activities of the project reveals the following (UNDP, cited in Huq and Alim, 1995: 58). The nature and extent of participation by prospective beneficiaries in afforestation activities has been often limited. In some cases beneficiary groups have not been properly organized. There has been a lack of clarity and follow-up regarding benefit sharing agreements. It appears that the target population-the rural underprivileged (landless labourers, marginal farmers and women) have not been included to the full extent possible in many of the strip plantation groups. Because of top-down managerial approach, the decision-making role of beneficiaries has been minimal. Although the Forest Department has widened the scope of its SF activities, it has yet to engage in most cases rural people as partners in planning, managing, and benefiting from trees.

The land tenure situation is highly complex in many of the places and a number of conflicting laws; regulations and policies apply to this situation. The land tenure issues need to be appropriately resolved within the context of community-based participation. The present situation also suggests that there is a need to further strengthen the institutional capacity of the Forest Department. Women involvement in the programme is minimal but could be improved through the participation of certain NGOs.

4.12 People's Participation:

Participation encourages and enables people to assess their needs and resources, recognize and take opportunities offered by projects, develop partnerships with other stakeholders, share in planning and decision making, provide resources to implement projects, acquire benefits from projects and assess project results (TFDP, cited in Davidson, 2003: 10).

The institutional and social settings in Bangladesh are not conducive to true people's participation and empowerment in SF programmes. The examples implemented to date in several parts of the country are more in tune with the top-down and centralized forest management. It is true in the case of projects that have been promoted as successful such as Chandra and Pomora. The anti-people culture of the Forest Department, inappropriate policies, legislation and rules, patronage, class, caste, the poor law and order situation and related issues in civil society all mitigate against participation and empowerment of villagers to manage their own affairs. The individual on his land remains constrained by personal links vertically to patrons and "strongmen". The only way of breaking these vertical bonds is to substitute stronger horizontal bonds within a community of many individuals. That way intra-community loyalty can become stronger than interpersonal links (Davidson, 2003: VI).

4.13 Conclusion:

People's participation in the SF policy in Bangladesh is yet to take proper shape as the government papers stated. It started in this country long time ago and successive attempts were taken to ensure it properly. But the objective of people's participation is not achieved due to the inappropriate role-playing of concerned authorities and diverse socio-economic factors. That is why, there always remains a question what types of role of those authorities and socio-economic factors of the SF farmers are important in this concern.

CHAPTER 5

PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION: THE ROLE OF BUREAUCRATS

“Bringing forestry to the aid of rural communities”
is not so much a technical problem
as an institutional, social and political one (Magno, 1986: 8).

5.1 Introduction:

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the role of the bureaucrats in ensuring people's participation in the SF policy. It identifies whether the rule-oriented bureaucrats or the programme-oriented bureaucrats are required to ensure people's participation in this policy.

The biggest challenge to effective participation is usually bureaucratic behaviour, which tends to conflict with participatory norm. But bureaucracy has an important role primarily in ensuring people's participation because it is the arm of government intervention in the rural areas (Wallis, 1989: 78). Most government policies relating to the poor must eventually be translated into action through bureaucracies. In too few instances in the past have such efforts reached the poor and induce changes in distributions of power and wealth. The failures should not be surprising because decisions regarding development programming in most developing countries used to be made centrally and far removed from the people and their needs and implemented through structures intended to be more responsive to central direction than local reality (Korten & Alfonso, 1983: 1).

The officials of the Forest Department are one of the main stakeholders in the SF project and it is their responsibility to aware local people about the programme especially about the importance of people's participation. In this project people's participation is to be adopted and practiced by the people as a whole as a new idea and a programme activity. This is the responsibility of the bureaucrats to help the SF farmers in arranging the project meetings and it is also their duty to make sure that proper participation of farmers is ensured. Other benefits of the project are also carried out to the farmers through the bureaucrats. To attain the objectives of the project three basic reorientations of bureaucrats are necessary. There is a need for a different kind and form of knowledge, for promoting creative abilities and innovative attitudes, and for promoting motivation and commitment for changing (Heper, cited in Morshed, 1997: 202).

5.2 Participants' Participation in the Project Meetings:

Mahmud viewed that (2004:14) institutions and systems that implement policy view the people they are supposed to serve more as passive recipients and unquestioning beneficiaries, and at best clients and users, instead of as citizens with rights to claim and dissent. Thus the dominant policy view regarding people's participation is that participation is unnecessary and even viewed with suspicion and hostility. This view is very much similar in the case of SF policy of the study areas.

In the SF projects farmers are gathered in meetings on a weekly or fortnightly basis to discuss their problems in the project, to gather new information from the bureaucrats or to give their suggestions about the project. Bureaucrats, SF farmers and sometimes local Union Parishad Chairman are attending those meetings. Bureaucrats are responsible to help the participants in forming groups and give them necessary direction about how to conduct meetings. But in the field level it was found that they were not playing this role properly. Bureaucrats were classical in nature and had less contact with the local SF farmers. They were less responsive to the demands of the farmers. It was also found that local communities were complex and heterogeneous; the weaker sections virtually had no voice in the committees; and such committees tended to be biased towards the powerful and reflected the local power structure.

Moreover, in the meetings participants' opinion and suggestions are not getting proper attention. From the field data it was founded that, 54% of the respondents viewed that their opinion was not at all important and 44% viewed that their opinion was quite unimportant and 2% viewed that their opinion was less important. It means that most of the respondents viewed what they said about the project got no attention. In the meetings participants were mostly listener. Bureaucrats were classical and gave less importance to the voice of the farmers. In this regard, one participant from the Betaga Union said, "In the meetings Chairman Shab (Sir) and the Shorkari(Government) Sir usually told us what was necessary in the project and what to do".

Here it needs to be mentioned that 85% of the respondents viewed that they participated in the discussion and decision of the project meeting regularly and 15% of them participated often. But when asked about their nature of participation, they told that it was mostly superficial participation. In fact their opinion was given very little importance in the decision making of the project.

5.3 Bureaucrats' Role in Forming SF Farmers Groups:

The central element in SF policy is the formation of self-help groups of the participants as the first step in a long-term institution building process. One of the main responsibilities of field staff of the Forest Department is to help SF farmers in forming groups. Groups are formed around activities designed to satisfy the priority needs of the intended participants. In the study areas it was found that bureaucrats could help the SF farmers in various ways for its diversified advantages; First, Groups are the main bases for development activities. By organizing the SF farmers, they are able to carry out self-help activities. Second, Groups are efficient receiving mechanisms. Well-trained and motivated groups offer government and NGO development agencies cost savings in the delivery of inputs, services and facilities. Third, Groups are learning laboratories. Members learn from their group promoter, and from each other, such skills as managing group enterprises, articulating, discussing and solving problems. Fourth, Groups help empower the rural poor. Groups provide the poor with an effective instrument for participation in local decision-making, helping them to cooperate more fully in the development of their communities.

But bureaucrats in the study areas are not able to play their role effectively in the formation and functioning of SF farmers groups. Group formation is the base of practicing democracy as well as people's participation. But most of the bureaucrats' classical attitude directs them as less responsive to the demand of the SF farmers. The ultimate outcome of this is to manage community groupings in a top-down fashion and it may provide limited opportunities for participatory learning and decision-making. Moreover, bureaucrats in the study areas are more enthusiastic in the activities related to group formation and functioning only in the preliminary level of the project. In one study titled "Social Forestry for the Poor: Proshika's Experience" it was also found that the local administration co-operated at the initial stage of their programme but they remained silent to the appeal of the SF farmers' group to combat social opposition (BCAS, 1989: 7).

5.4 Participation of Bureaucrats:

Bureaucrats' role to help the SF farmers in organizing project meetings is significant. For that cause their presence in the project meetings have special importance. In this regard, when asked about the extent of attending meetings by the bureaucrats they viewed that 48% of them attended regularly, 4% viewed often and 48% viewed sometimes. It means that bureaucrats mostly attended the project meetings. They took it seriously. But their presence were guided less to organize the farmers and to ensure the proper functioning

of the project and they tried to manipulate the decisions in the project meetings. It means, bureaucrats were classical in nature and for that cause with the intention to only follow the rules, they regularly attended in the project meetings but their lack of program-orientation intended them to manipulate the decisions in those meetings.

In the Zathila Union there was a field office of the forest department, which was very near to the project area. Bureaucrats visited those field areas often. In this area bureaucrats had close contact with the local people. But in the Betaga Union there was no field office of the forest department near to the project area, so field officers had to visit from the town. For that reason they visited the project seldom. In this area bureaucrats had less contact with the local people.

It was found that the SF workers faced difficulties in living up to the demands of their new role. They perceived their task as the “guardians of plantations” rather than as “extension workers” and it is the responsibility of the bureaucrats to help the SF farmers to cope with their new role. One of the participant's leaders from the Betaga Union viewed that this project was comparatively a new idea to us. So it would be better if the bureaucrats explained all related terms and condition to us in the very beginning of the programmes. He also viewed that modules of the programme should be discussed with us and should be remodeled on the basis of our opinion. But bureaucrats' who were classical in nature respond to such views rarely.

5.5 Higher Level and Lower Level of Bureaucrats in Emphasizing People's Participation:

Ahmed (1980) in his analysis of bureaucratic elites in Bangladesh and Pakistan identified that bureaucrats were elitist and were isolated from people in terms of their origin, power and life-style. Even the comparatively lower level officials also tended to be elitist in their outlook.

Table: 5.1 Extent of Emphasis for People's Participation by Bureaucrats

Extent of Emphasis for People's Participation by Bureaucrats	Agree
Lower Level Bureaucrats	52%
Higher Level Bureaucrats	52%
	N= 52

Question: Are Higher Level Bureaucrats giving more emphasis for people's participation? Are Lower Level Bureaucrats giving more emphasis for people's participation? To what extent would you answer

them? Please rate them on a scale from 1 to 4 where 4 represent "Agree completely" and 1 "Disagree completely".

When asked about extent of emphasis for people's participation by bureaucrats, 52% agreed for higher level bureaucrats and 52% agreed for lower level bureaucrats. Here there is no significant difference between the respondents' views on higher level or lower level bureaucrats in emphasizing people's participation.

Lower level bureaucrats have direct and close contact with the participants than the higher-level bureaucrats. So, for a great extent of people's participation the role of the lower level bureaucrats is more important than the higher-level bureaucrats. But the lower level bureaucrats are classical in attitude and only reflecting the view of their superior. The significance of the success of the project received less response from them. They are just carrying the orders of the superior and do what their superior asked them to do. Individual role of bureaucrats for ensuring people's participation are mostly hampered in this regard.

5.6 Participants' Perception about the Nature of Bureaucrats in the Project:

The role of the foresters hardly changed and they continued to follow the traditional policing mode of resource management. The project document (ADP, 1989) recognized the need for training to reorient foresters towards their "social role of community developer". But it was observed that, field foresters were not specialists in the areas which they had been given responsibility for, and had difficulties in coming to terms with their new roles through their traditional professionalism. Besides, the forest department suffered from shortage of manpower, logistics and funds to execute their responsibilities. There is no regular incentive and reward system within the department to motivate field staff. The mechanisms for building up communication between the forest department and local communities were ineffective. The group meetings, for example, had been very poorly attended by people. The male forest staffs could hardly communicate with women's groups. We have already mentioned that official's attitude and aptitude towards development programme of the government are important pre-requisites for successful implementation of that programme. It was considered necessary to know from the villagers and their leaders as to how they felt about the aptitude of the officials for development work (Morshed, 1997: 170).

In the hypothesis, it was assumed that the more the bureaucrats are rule-oriented the lower will be the degree of people's participation. It means that the role of the political bureaucrats is more appropriate than the role of the classical bureaucrats in ensuring people's participation. In this regard, it seems necessary to know the perception of respondents about the nature of bureaucrats in the SF project.

Table: 5.2 Participants' Perception about the Nature of Bureaucrats in the Project

Opinion of Farmers about Bureaucrats are	Agree
Afraid of in expressing their views to the bureaucrats	0
Acting as a friend	69%
Flexible to accommodate other ideas	73%
Emphasizing on rules than the success of the project	98%
Bending the rules	35%
	N=52

Question: We would like to ask you some questions about the opinion of SF farmers regarding the nature of bureaucrats in the project. Below we have listed some questions in relevance to this. To what extent would you answer them? Please rate them on a scale from 1 to 4 where 4 represent "Agree completely" and 1 "Disagree completely".

Participants' perception about the nature of bureaucrats' in the project is presented in the table given above. Variables are arranged in such a manner that it will reflect participants' perception about the nature of bureaucrats-political or classical, in the project.

100% respondents viewed that they were not afraid of in expressing their views to the bureaucrats. Participants of a rural development programme were feeling free in expressing their views to them. It seems that bureaucrats are closer to the rural people. But a NGOs member from the Zathila Union viewed differently. He said that the situation was not totally like that. Still farmers were hesitating in expressing their views to the bureaucrats.

In responding to another question, 69% of the farmers responded that bureaucrats were acting as friend. This is a positive evaluation of the bureaucrats. It may mean that bureaucrats are slightly more program-oriented than bureaucrats in other government projects.

Further, when asked about respondents' opinion about the extent to which bureaucrats accommodate others ideas, 73% agreed to this. It indicated that when participants provide any suggestion or ideas regarding the project, these are usually accommodated by bureaucrats.

In responding to another question, about to what extent bureaucrats were emphasizing rules than the success of the project, 98% of the respondents agreed that bureaucrats emphasize rules more than the success of the project. This indicated that bureaucrats seem to be more rule-oriented than programme-oriented. This is a different finding than the previous ones. The respondents viewed that bureaucrats accommodate the ideas of the respondents only in those cases where there are no strict guidelines in applying rules. For instance, if a farmer suggests that it is good for his land to cultivate mango trees than Jackfruit trees, bureaucrats will listen to him. Here it is also mentionable in other government projects SF

farmers received that services from the bureaucrats, which was much below from their expectation level. For that cause bureaucrats' little response in SF project seemed to them a great development.

When asked about what was their opinion about bureaucrats in bending the rules, 35% respondents agreed that bureaucrats do bend rules. Here, it can be said that most of the respondents viewed that bureaucrats were not willing to bend the rules if necessary. They were very concerned in following rules than the success of the project.

From the above responses, it seems that bureaucrats can be termed both classical as well as political. On one hand, bureaucrats are friendly and flexible to accommodate new ideas. These characteristics make bureaucrats closer to the political bureaucrats. On the other hand, bureaucrats are characterized as classical because of their unwillingness to bend rules.

However, from other detailed interviews conducted in the study areas, it was found that bureaucrats were rule-oriented because they were not responding fully to the social needs and public demands.

Moreover, in interviews with the Union Parishad Chairman and members, and the members of the NGOs viewed that bureaucrats were more rule-oriented than programme-oriented. Bureaucrats always mentioned about rules when they were going to do anything in the project.

But in interviews with some of the bureaucrats they themselves characterized them differently. They viewed that it was true that they were working within the boundary of so many rules but in so many occasions they bent the rules if it was necessary for the success of the programme. They themselves wished to call them programme-oriented. For instance, one of the foresters mentioned that in the beginning of the project in his area it was difficult for them to protect the SF project from thieves, robbers etc. At that time they knew that only the involvement of the local powerful class could stop such process of robbery or theft. But it was said in the project paper that only the landless people would be involved in the project. But the bureaucrats incorporated the local elites in the project to protect the SF project from the local thieves and robbers.

From the findings, it may be ascertained that bureaucrats are perceived differently by different stakeholders. Their roles vary depending on the nature of the situation. These roles at different times may also make other stakeholders to perceive them differently.

5.7 No Involvement of SF Farmers from Programme Planning to Implementation and Evaluation:

The organization of foresters at the local level is top-down. The “catalytic, technical and advisory” roles which the forest department was supposed to play in the promotion of SF remained a distant reality. Most staff continued their policing role: trying to maintain some control over the forests, at times apprehending villagers (often the poorer) and harassing them. State officials remained classical that means “tree- oriented” and not “people-oriented”.

Some major problems in planning were observed which were unfavorable to the performance of SF. First, it was noted that local people were rarely consulted during SF project design and planning. If they were consulted, only the voices of the rich and dominant section were heard. Second, field staff was inadequately consulted during project planning. Most of the propositions were imposed from the central authority. Third, higher level officials rarely visited the project area and for that cause most of the time their propositions about the project did not reflect the expectations of the SF farmers. For instance, the Forest Department delivered Mehagani seedlings to the SF farmers of Zathila Union, but most of the farmers were interested to plant Epil-Epil varieties.

Government officials may know far more than the local people about the technology available, but the people know more about the environmental constraints of their own situation. The official is often seen as a stranger on the local scene, he may not speak the local language, and he enjoys a totally different life-style. How can he then take decisions on behalf of the local farmers, which may cause hardship and risks for them?

In discussing with one of the Divisional Forest Officers of the Forest Department, who was going to retire very soon wished to talk about the real situation of the SF project, and in the discussions some important aspects of SF policy came out in light from his views. He said that the Forest Department should change from its traditional bureaucratic attitude to more participatory one. Bureaucrats needed to change their mentality to work with local poor people and to accept and honour their suggestions and decisions. He also said, in the present bureaucratic system, all decisions were taken at the higher level of the department, without involving the participants. From the programme planning stage to implementation and evaluation, decisions must be taken in consultation with local communities. However, programme resources and the higher authority may set guidelines for implementation, but specific decisions should be made at the local levels. In brief, the views of the Divisional Forest Officer reflect that for the success of the SF project bureaucrats need to change their traditional classical attitude and have to act as political bureaucrats.

5.8 Bureaucratic Rigidity and Poor Personnel Policies:

The administrative history of Bangladesh reveals that people's participation in decision-making and development activities even in a limited way were frustrated by excessive central and local bureaucratic control. In the absence of viable institutions, the implementation of SF policy has become bureaucracy dependent both for planning and execution. Moreover, bureaucratic interference sometimes hampers the natural growth of rural institutions i.e. farmers' cooperatives (Morshed, 1997, 189). In the study it was found the organizational culture of the Forest Department was to be rigid and highly hierarchical. There was a lack of mutual trust between and across levels in the organization. Guidelines about various initiatives of SF issued from headquarters were very strict and leave little scope for discretion on the part of field personnel. Moreover, there was a lack of awareness of project goals among field personnel. Communication is uni-directional, from the top-down; and there is a punitive orientation on the part of the management towards the personnel.

Personnel policies are also poor in the Forest Department. For example, very few of the foresters in Social Forestry are fresh recruits. Most of them are promoted from very lower posts i.e. forest guards. But such kind of new initiatives like SF need fresh recruits with energy, communication skills and enthusiasm. The transfer system is also unproductive. Transfers are affected within the Forest Department without consulting project management. Skilled and trained personnel are often transferred to territorial forestry. Training of the project staff aims to introduce them to participatory approaches and procedures and fostering motivation and team spirit. It should teach basic technical skills needed for group development, and experiment with innovative ways to successfully run the SF project.

In an interview with a high official of the Forest Department, he viewed that conventional training methods were didactic and often paternalistic: the trainer viewed the trainee as a near-empty vessel to be filled with knowledge. Participatory training on the other hand needs to be based, instead, on an active dialogue between trainer and trainee that constitutes a learning experience for both. The curriculum should be pragmatic and include work experience presentations by participants. Training topics should include group dynamics, leadership, planning of group activities, monitoring and evaluation of the SF project.

The centralized and bureaucratic planning practices and policies seemed to delimit SF's achievements. The selection of species, for example, represented the government's choice rather than local demand. Moreover, often there were "too ambitious" planning targets, which were far beyond the institutional capacity of the traditionally trained and oriented foresters.

One of the higher-level officers of the Forest Department informed that signing of the benefit sharing agreements between the forest department and the participating beneficiaries took a long time to be finalized. It was due to bureaucratic complications and involvement of different ministries/agencies whose consensus had to be obtained before this was approved by the ECNEC. Even after the approval at the national level, a large number of agreements still remained to be signed at the field level.

5.9 Leadership Quality of the Bureaucrats:

Some participants especially from the Zathila union viewed that bureaucrat's leadership quality is a very important factor for the success of the project. They mentioned the name of one forest officer, Mr. Tozammel Haque as a successful officer from the Forest Department who brought enormous development in the project to make it a successful one. He tried hard in ensuring people's participation in the project and fought against the local elites. He was a programme-oriented leader and can be termed as apolitical bureaucrat. His leadership quality changed the total scenario of the project at that time. Still participants were mentioning his name though he was transferred 5/6 years ago.

Here, it needs to be mentioned that the frequent transfer of staffs affected SF's performance. Skilled personnel were transferred by central authorities from SF projects to more "lucrative" territorial positions, without even consulting the project management.

5.10 Participation of Women in the Project:

Palit(cited in Khan 1998) found that, women were suspicious and shy of field staff, and their role in meetings and discussions was passive. The Indian institute of Bio-Social Research and Development (IBRAD) also concluded that social constraints thwarted women's involvement and they did not participate in decision-making in the presence of men. SF initiatives were taken up with local political Union Parishad members, a host of political problems also surfaced, including elite domination of decisions and factionalism modeled on the local pattern of rural power structure. Participation of different social groups rarely occurred.

Involvement of women in development activities are encouraged by the government and donors. It is argued that almost 50% of the population is women and real development of the society particularly in the rural area cannot really be made without their participation. In the project paper it was said that women and the disadvantaged class of the population would get special attention in this project. It was the responsibility of the bureaucrats to take care of the matter that the women can participate easily and freely in the project. In my selected field women were mostly ignored. They were very small in number in every SF project of the field area. Very few women participated in discussion in the project meetings. Proposals mainly emerge from dominant male users of the project.

Bureaucrats' classical attitude is the main cause of the lack of participation of the women in the SF project. Bureaucrats maintained less contact with the women in the study areas and they were less responsive to the needs of the women. Moreover, local elites also were not so interested in their participation. In Zathila Union a local elite who was member of SF project viewed that we tried to involve the women in the project. But women were less interested in participating in the project. But when I interviewed some

women members in that area, they viewed differently. They said that almost all the women were very interested in joining the project. But the local elites and the bureaucrats had lack of will regarding their participation in the project.

5.11 Conclusion:

In the study areas the bureaucrats are mostly rule-oriented and classical in nature and for that cause they give less importance to the voice of the farmers. Most of the time, in their discussion with the SF farmers they give reference to governmental rules. They have also less contact with the local SF farmers and were less responsive to their demands. Moreover, most of these classical bureaucrats attend the project meetings regularly with the intention to only follow the rules but lack of program-orientation intend them to manipulate the decisions in those meetings. In the study areas, the main cause of lack of participation of the women is also classical attitude of bureaucrats.

Leadership quality of the bureaucrats is important in ensuring people's participation. It is so important that the program-orientation of a leader changed the total scenario of a project. However, participants' perception about the nature of bureaucrats is complex. On one hand, the characteristics of bureaucrats are closer to the political bureaucrats and on the other hand, it is closer to classical bureaucrats. But the bureaucrats wished to call them programme-oriented. Here it needs to be mentioned that bureaucrats are perceived differently by different stakeholders. Their roles vary depending on the nature of the situation. These roles at different times may also make other stakeholders to perceive them differently.

CHAPTER 6

PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION: THE ROLE OF PATRON-CLIENT RELATIONSHIP

6.1 Introduction:

The main purpose of this chapter is to examine and analyze whether patron-client relationship matter in ensuring people's participation in the SF policy or not.

SF project is designed in such a manner to ensure that SF farmers, Union Councils and officials from the forest department cooperate with one another to ensure the successful functioning of the project. As per the donors guideline NGOs are also incorporated in this project design to encourage the participation of the farmers.

In Bangladesh, agrarian structure⁸ governs the relationship among people, land and power. These social relations largely influence the link between people and their entitlement to scarce resources (Jansen, 1986). Wood (cited in Khan, 1998: 112) notes that one dominant phenomenon of the "political order of a peasant society" is the "patron-client relations" which largely influence the "factional pattern of competition" for resources. According to Zaman (cited in Khan, 1998: 113) patrons provide leadership and serve as "brokers" between villagers and the "outside world" including mediating the distribution of governmental goods and services. In distributing such "public goods" patrons exert their influence and control over local governments and other local organizations, and "treat their followers preferentially".

The pattern of relationship between the SF farmers and the political leaders has great influence on the successful functioning of the project. For that cause it is necessary to know how the farmers characterize the political leaders of the locality.

6.2 Characteristics of the Political Leaders Identified by the SF Farmers:

Political leaders are the local elites in the study areas. In the SF project political leaders especially the Union Parishad Chairman is authorized to identify the landless and disadvantaged class in the locality. It is also expected that they will help the local bureaucrats and NGOs in ensuring people's participation in the SF project. The success of the project depends to a large extent on their roles in the project. The characteristics of them identified by SF farmers are given below.

⁸ The term Agrarian Structure denotes all of the existing and lasting production and living conditions found in a rural region. It comprises social, technological, and economic elements and determines the achievable productivity, income and its distribution, and the rural population's social situation. It includes the system of land tenure (social agrarian structure) and the system of land management (technical and economic agrarian structure), (<http://www.professor-frithjof-kuhnen.de>).

Table: 6.1 Characteristics of the Political Leaders Identified by the SF Farmers

Opinions of Farmers about Political Leaders as	Agree
Cooperative	63%
Want to take initiative	50%
Hopeful to the success of the programme	50%
Having new ideas	50%
Concern about the local problems	52%
Skilled in solving local problems	52%
	N=52

Question: What is your experience about the political leaders in the project? Please rate them on a scale from 1 to 4 where 4 represent "Agree completely" and 1 "Disagree completely".

When asked about the characteristics of the political leaders in the locality 63% of the respondents agreed that they were cooperative, 50% agreed that they were wanted to take initiative, 50% agreed that they were hopeful to the success of the programme, 50% agreed that they were having new ideas, 52% agreed that they were concern about the local problems and 52% agreed that they were skilled in solving local problems. Here most of the respondents viewed political leaders as cooperative, concern about local problems and skilled in solving local problems. The most important observation of this table is that respondents had a positive view about the local political leaders. Such kind of views of the respondents may be derived, because they had congenial relationship with the local political leaders and they were benefited through patron-client relationship with them.

6.3 Characteristics of NGOs Identified by the SF Farmers:

NGOs are incorporated in the SF project mainly to ensure people's participation. NGOs like BASA, Proshika, Esho Nije Kori etc are working in the study areas. They are entitled to get financial and technical support from the state so that they can participate effectively in the implementation of this policy (FSMP-ADB, 1993, 27). The successful functioning of the project depends to a large extent on their performance. For that cause it is necessary to know how the SF farmers characterize NGOs in the project.

Table: 6.2 Characteristics of NGOs identified by the SF Farmers

Opinions of Farmers about NGOs as	Agree
Cooperative	21%
Want to take initiative	2%

Hopeful to the success of the programme	2%
Concern about the local problems	0%
Skilled in solving local problems	0%
	N=52

Question: What is your experience about the NGOs in the project? Please rate them on a scale from 1 to 4 where 4 represent "Agree completely" and 1 "Disagree completely".

When asked about their perception of NGOs in the study areas, only 21% of the respondents agreed that NGOs were cooperative, just 2% of the respondents agreed that NGOs wanted to take initiative and NGOs were hopeful to the success of the programme, all of the respondents agreed that NGOs were not concern about local problems and NGOS were not skilled in solving local problems. When asked about their association with NGOs, only 6% of them confirmed that they had association with NGOs. In different studies on the performance of NGOs in different programmes in Bangladesh, NGOs are portrayed as cooperative, concern about the local problems, skilled in solving local problems etc. (Hoque & Siddiquee, 1998: 52). But the findings that we get from the table given above are little bit unusual from those studies on NGOs activities in the rural area. It means NGOs activities were not so noteworthy in the project areas.

A growing number of NGOs are operating in Bangladesh. According to government sources there were only 122 international and 650 national NGOs registered in the country, under the Societies Act of 1860 and the Voluntary Societies (Registration and Control) Ordinance of 1961 (Tvedt, 1998: 50). But there are disagreements that they are functioning to improve the condition of the rural people. The Relationship between the government of Bangladesh and the NGOs has often been uneasy. An interview published in Courier, 11-17 May 1990 with Mohammad Asafuddowlah, the then Secretary of the Ministry of Social Welfare in which he talked about the relationship between government and NGOs. He said, NGOs start accumulating wealth through their own projects then they are no different from multinational companies. And what is the guarantee that the money generated by the project will be distributed among the distressed? Who will supervise it? Such NGOs should instead be registered by 'the Registrar of the Joint Stock Comapanies' (Tvedt, 1998: 184). In this regard the comment of one of the most top level bureaucrats from the Forest Department can be mentioned. He termed NGOs as the "East India Company"⁹ and according to him this was the main reason of non-association with NGOs of most of the SF farmers. Another officer from the forest department said, "At the time of starting the SF project NGOs were notified that they

⁹ The East India Company was chartered by the English government in 1600 to develop trade with India and the Far East. By the mid-1700's, the company had become the strongest trade power in Bengal. In 1757, company forces led by Robert Clive defeated the nawab of Bengal in the Battle of Pawlashee. Clive put a puppet nawab in office, but the East India Company actually ruled Bengal. Corrupt company officials made huge profits on jute production in eastern Bengal, but they did little to improve the welfare of the people. Opposition to the company spread, not only in Bengal, but also in other areas of India the firm controlled. The discontent led to the Sepoy Rebellion in 1857. The revolt failed, but it caused the British

would receive 200 taka service charge for giving service to every farmer in a year. But due to resource constraints government was not able to give it properly. It might be one of the main reasons behind the lack of NGO initiatives in the SF project.”

The NGOs in the study areas, from the classification of Edwards & Hulme (1992: 138) can be termed COME NGOs (fly –by-night NGO entrepreneurs), which see funding as a lucrative opportunity and act to work in ways that will help poor people acquire more power. The findings of the study are contradictory with what Holloway (1998: 73) said. He said, NGOs are offering loans to people on reasonable terms, so that they can escape from the control of the money lenders. One section of empowerment deals with helping people to understand what services government is providing to them, and helping them to acquire such services.

6.4 Who is Most Appropriate to Carry on the Responsibility of the Project? :

The responsibility of the SF project is divided among bureaucracy, NGOs and Union Parishad. But at present, bureaucracy is playing the key role in planning and implementation of the project. In this regard, it is necessary to know according to the SF farmers, who is most appropriate to carry on the responsibility of the project. When asked about the responsibility of the project to be given to whom, 58% of the respondents viewed in favour of elected political leaders of the Union Parishad and 42% viewed in favour of the bureaucrats. It means that respondents were interested to give their service delivery responsibility to their elected representatives. The most interesting part of this data is that no one viewed in favour of the NGOs as their main service delivery organization. Moreover, when the respondents were asked about their opinion about the successful role of NGOs in running the project, 92% of the respondents disagreed completely with this statement. This indicates a great deal of distrust to NGOs showed by the respondents.

The SF farmers thought that among the three actors in the SF programme - bureaucrats, political leaders and NGOs - political leaders were known to them and it would be better for them if the service delivery responsibility of the project was given to the elected political leaders of Union Parishad. In this regard one of the SF farmers from the Betaga Union said “If I trusted more the outsiders from my locality (bureaucrats, NGOs personnel), would not you call me a bekob (stupid). We were always in favour about giving the project responsibility to Union Parishad whose members were known to us. But from our experience it was possible to mention that Union Parishad could play effective role in the SF project if they wanted to ignore nepotism, corruption etc”.

6.5 Relationship between the Bureaucrats and Local Elites as Perceived by Farmers:

Local elites could be termed as the patron in the study areas. Most of them are involved in local politics. They had good relationship with the bureaucrats that were inevitable in the SF project to preserve their

government to take over the company in 1858. All the Indian territory threat the firm had governed became

patron-client relationship. Here it needs to be mentioned that the Forest Department was actually occupied by local people under the patronage of a powerful group of local elites (Davidson, 2003: 75). Social scientist Thoden Van Valgen argument is relevant in this situation. He said local officials and rich peasants are so closely allied that they form a “dominant coalition” and thereby excluding the mass of peasantry from the variety of privileges (Morshed, 1997: 197).

Table: 6.3 Opinions of SF Farmers about the Relationship of Bureaucrats and Local Elites

Opinions of Farmers	Agree
Bureaucrats are hampering the functions of Political Leaders	0%
Political leaders are hampering the functions of the bureaucrats	2%
Good relationship with the bureaucrats and people's representatives is helpful for the project	100%
	N=52

Question: What is your opinion about the relationship of bureaucrats and local elites? Please rate them on a scale from 1 to 4 where 4 represent “Agree completely” and 1 “Disagree completely”.

When asked about whether bureaucrats were hampering in the working of political leaders, all of them disagreed to this view. On the other hand, it was also reported by all respondents that political leaders were not hampered in their work by the bureaucrats. When asked about whether good relationship between bureaucrats and people's representatives was helpful for the project, all of them agreed to this view. It means that bureaucrats and the political leaders are not in conflict with each other and the farmers believed that their close relationship will be helpful for the project. They are the two main stakeholders in the project and such kind of attitude was really necessary for the successful running of the SF project.

My experience from the field areas showed that bureaucrats and local elites do have close relationship with each other regarding the SF project. Local elites maintain such kind of relationship with the local bureaucrats to ensure benefits for themselves and their clients. For that cause those SF farmers who are clients of local elites especially the supporter of the Union Parishad Chairman were receiving more benefits from the local bureaucrats. On the other hand, bureaucrats have some sort of illegal practice in the project area i.e. taking monetary benefits from the SF farmers when they sell their trees, selling of trees from the government forest etc. If they have antagonistic relationship with the local elites then it is difficult for them to continue such kind of illegal practice. For that cause local bureaucrats tended to be biased towards the local political leaders and wealthier members of the village community and it is the main reason of such kind of close relationship. They were working together in order to monopolize the flow of the government resources to the village (Adams, cited in Morshed, 1997: 192).

known as British India (<http://www.geocities.com>).

6.6 Relationship between the Bureaucrats and NGOs Perceived by the SF Farmers:

Bureaucrats are assigned to the project to delivery services and the NGOs are assigned to ensure people's participation. They also have a duty to watch over the activities of the bureaucrats.

It was assumed that the organizational cultures of government institutions are usually portrayed as "keep aloof" from the people, as well as rigid etc. Such culture has isolated them from the grassroots level of society. NGOs will work to fill the gap. They will become extension agents and able to mobilize extension workers on a much larger scale than government organizations. They have been used already in SF in Bangladesh, and should have a stronger role in the future in ensuring people's participation in forest planning and management.

Table 6.4 Opinions of SF farmers about the Relationship between the Bureaucrats and NGOs.

Opinions of Farmers	Agree
Bureaucrats are hampering in the working of the NGOs.	0%
NGOs are hampering in the working of bureaucrats.	2%
	N=52

Question: What is your opinion about the relationship between the bureaucrats and NGOs? Please rate them on a scale from 1 to 4 where 4 represent "Agree completely" and 1 "Disagree completely".

When asked about whether bureaucrats and NGOs were hampering each other work, almost all the respondents disagreed. This indicate that the two main stakeholders in the project maintain congenial relationship between them and such relationship is necessary for the successful running of the SF project and in ensuring people's participation. NGOs were entitled to monitor the activities of bureaucrats in the SF project.

But in practice the experience from the field showed that most of the NGOs in the study areas are not in a state to monitor the activities of the bureaucrats. Local bureaucrats from the Forest Department were involved in the patronage network of a powerful group of local elites. Most of the NGO personnel who were not the inhabitants of that locality

were not in a state to raise their voice against the bureaucrats. One of the NGO personnel in the Zathila bit said, “we were outsiders and how could we disagree with the bureaucrats and local powerful people who have favourable relationship with each other. If any problem arose who could give us support and provide protection”?

6.7 Relationship between the Political Leaders and NGOs perceived by the SF Farmers:

Table 6.5 Opinions of SF Farmers about the Relationship between the political leaders and NGOs.

Opinion of Farmers	Agree
Political leaders are hampering in the functions of NGOs.	0%
NGOs are hampering in the functions of political leaders:	2%
	N=52

Question: What is your opinion about the relationship between the political leaders and NGOs? Please rate them on a scale from 1 to 4 where 4 represent “Agree completely” and 1 “Disagree completely”.

The relationship between the political leaders and NGOs is important in ensuring people's participation in the SF project. When asked about their relationships, most of the respondents were of the opinion that NGOs and political leaders have a congenial relationship. This indicates that political leaders and the NGOs were willing to cooperate with each other for the successful implementation of the project. However, NGOs activities in the study areas were not found to be noteworthy in ensuring people's participation. They were maintaining good relationship with political leaders through a patron-client network, which was harmful to ensure people's participation. NGOs were involved in the project because of their greater access to the local people and that they understood the problems of the local people well. But their favourable relationship with the political leaders and bureaucrats restrains them to play their assigned role. In order to understand the triangular relationship (NGOs-bureaucrats-political leaders) in a manner that can be termed patron-client I found that the main activities of NGOs in the study areas were related to credit programme. Primarily, they measured their success in terms of disbursement of their credit operation in the locality. To continue such kind of

programme in the locality they obviously needed the support of the local elites. In this regard it needs to be mentioned the case of Proshika in the Zathila Union.

Case: Proshika

Proshika is one of the renowned NGOs in Bangladesh. One of its field offices was in operation in Zathila Union. From the study areas it was found that it was slightly more successful in ensuring people's participation in that Union. But it suffered from lack of favourable relationship with the local bureaucrats and local elites. So they tried to hamper the functions of Proshika in that locality. They convinced the local people that Proshika's credit operation was worse than the functions of the Mohajan (Money-lender) and the condition of the local people would not be improved if they continued such relationship with Proshika. Proshika's interest rate was high compared to any other NGOs in Bangladesh. Local people were convinced by the local elites and bureaucrats. At last Proshika had to terminate their activities in Zathila.

Here it also needs to be mentioned that the local elites in Zathila again are trying to start a credit operation programme with a local NGO named BASA. The local elites have favourable relationship with this NGO and may be they are thinking that it will be helpful for them to get any monetary benefit from that NGO.

NGO's personnel in this project were always struggling to save their job in their respective NGOs. Because employment opportunity is very narrow in Bangladesh. To get a job in NGOs is a very big deal for these people. They do not want to loose their jobs at any cost. In an interview with one of the NGOs personnel in Betaga, some important facts come out. He said,

“ He came from a middle-class family and was the only earning members of his family. He knew that many things were uneven in the running of SF project and he should play his monitoring role in those cases. But he also knew it would be very difficult for him if the local elites were against his NGOs. Even they could stop this

NGO's activities in this locality. If it would happen then he might Loose his job".

6.8 Union Parishad and Party Politics in the SF Project:

Political parties are also an important feature of the social order. Party affiliation gives new dimensions to the structure of power. Party membership provides the villagers with a chance to enter into the network of power, cutting across the boundaries of village, status and class (Ahmed, 1983: 198).

When asked about their political affiliation in any political party, only 31% of them responded that they had membership in a political party. Among the 31% affiliated political members 23% viewed that they were directly involved in the political parties. There was lack of direct involvement of the SF farmers in political parties i.e. attending political meeting, joining in the procession for the political parties. They were less interested in doing so. But most of their patrons from the locality had political affiliation with political parties and SF farmers were their support base. In an interview with the teachers of the Betaga High School it was found that the political leaders who controlled party politics in Betaga were also the patrons of SF farmers in the project. Some of the patrons participated in the Union Parishad election and others were their influential supporters.

When asked whether political leaders were playing an important role in the proper functioning of the programme, 50% of them agreed to this view. Moreover when the respondents were asked whether elected representatives were reflecting the hope of the farmers 50% agreed to this view. It means that half of the respondents did not believe that party politics was hampering the functioning of the project. On the other hand, half of the respondents agreed that elected representatives did not reflect their hope in the SF project. Here it needs to be mentioned that SF farmers in the Zathila were selected as members in the project during the period of the ex-chairman of Union Parishad. When asked about the role of local representative they viewed the present chairman of Union Parishad as the local representative. On the other hand, SF farmers in the Betaga were selected during the period of that chairman who also won in the recent election.

In the study areas it was founded that Union Parishad was the heart of party politics in the locality. This lowest unit of local government has an elite-dominated leadership and scant revenue sources. With these characteristics it is difficult for them to play any favourable function for the SF project. Union Parishad was reflecting the preference of local elites and affluent farmers. Moreover, in some instances they were given responsibilities far beyond their institutional capacities. Its administration was very much against empowerment of local people for patron-client relationship. Local elites who were elected by the local people were trying to favour their established client group organization in selecting the landless farmer for SF project by influencing the bureaucrats and NGOs.

6.9 Patron-Client Relationship and SF Performance:

In the study areas, social and economic transactions among and between SF farmers and affluent villagers, bureaucrats, NGOs were based on a patron-client relationship and such relationship between different stakeholders of the SF project had been identified as a very important factor in influencing people's participation. Hopley's (1991, 116-117) observation on the patron-client relationship in SF project is also true in my case. He observed those farmers who had "personal relations with the patron" and were "closely allied with local power structure" could benefit themselves from SF programmes. SF farmers access in project design, management and benefits were largely regulated by such relations. It also might function as obstacle in the working of local level institutions like the farmer's cooperative. Moreover, SF real farmers (the landless) and women members have very little scope to discuss their views in the project meetings. They have to listen and act according to the prescription of local elites.

In the study it was found that affluent villagers, bureaucrats and NGO personnel acted as the patrons and SF farmers might be termed as the clients in these projects. Moreover, patrons were interlinked in their different functions. Patrons as the affluent farmers and with variations of wealth and social status, generally hold formal or informal power positions. It is not necessary that all of the patrons should have vast land areas but they were invariably rich and influential in the rural power structure. They were widely connected to the local bureaucracy and politics and either directly or indirectly had access to local government positions.

The general characteristics and sources of power of patrons have been widely observed in many other regions of Bangladesh (Ahmed, 1989, 22-23). Khan (1998, 2004) observed the following general characteristics of patrons in his study areas, which was very similar to my study areas. First, they enjoyed large-scale legal and/or de facto possession of land. Second, patrons had wide vertical and horizontal connections in the local bureaucracy and politics. Most of them were directly or indirectly related to local politics, and thereby, to the local government positions. Third, they were in possession of arms and hired cadre of "musclemen". Fourth, they were backed up by support of a large family-lineage and/or clan and client groups. Fifth, patrons were involved in diversified occupational and socio-economic activities.

There are some key factors which foster and sustain patron-client relations in the study areas.

1. Unequal pattern of ownership of land was founded in the study areas. A very few local elites have vast lands and other people in the locality have small lands or landless. Therefore, most farmers depended on the patrons for work as agricultural labourers and sharecroppers in the patrons' fields.

2. There were different groups of local elites. If any farmer did not belong to any group then it would be difficult for them to fight against all the groups. So they belong to different groups where they could get some protection.

3. Most of the farmers in the study areas were illiterate. Government officials might take advantage of this when they were delivering services. So farmers need political and physical protection from the harassment by government officials i.e., in receiving agricultural loans, in receiving seedlings for the SF project etc. A patron could protect them from possible oppression by the government officials.

4. Employment was not much available in these localities. The income from SF did not cover farmers' annual expenses. Patrons control the limited employment opportunities. Therefore, farmers competed for the limited employment provided by the patrons to supplement their income.

5. Farmers' had limited access to the government forest offices. A patron could help him in getting information from this office.

6. Most of the farmers in SF project were very poor. They had limited access to resources. It is easier for them to lend money from those patrons with whom they have good relationship.

In the study it was found that patrons exert infavourable influence and control over SF projects. The selection of project farmers was largely facilitated through patronage networks. Patrons were not helping their clients unconditionally. Through the patronage links, patrons could ensure a loyal work force, which they could use in times of labour scarcity. They could also demand assistance in household chores and various other unpaid services. More importantly, patrons had a political support base in their respective clients during elections and during times of competition and contention with fellow elites (patrons). Patrons were very aware about his clients' communication with his rival groups. He did not want to lose a more influential farmer fearing that he might join the rival group and contribute to strengthen his opponent's position.

The majority of farmers were dependent on patrons for work as agricultural labourer and share-cropper in their (patron's) field. Moreover, there was an acute scarcity of employment opportunities in the localities. Patrons were in control of the limited employment sources including agriculture and other businesses. Moreover, the real landless farmers and disadvantaged women members of the locality were also dependent on their patrons who were the local elites for work in their fields or for other employment opportunities. For that cause, they had no voice against the malpractice of the Union Parishad and bureaucracy even they were ignored in the SF project. In addition, the farmers appealed to their respective

patrons to resolve to factional conflicts among themselves or with other elites. They also seek help from patrons who had regular contact with local officers to approach government officials who otherwise remain inaccessible to the farmers. For this reason farmers competed among themselves to offer a variety of services to their interested patrons to be in their good books.

Most of respondents from the Zathila bit (or their forefathers) had been associated with one Chairman who was the ex-chairman of the Union Parishad for generations as family servants, workers, share-croppers and political party workers. Similarly most of the respondents from the Betaga Union also had been associated with the Shawpon Chairman for generations regarding those functions. During land distribution and the selection of farmers for the SF project, that Chairmen recommended many of their long-acquainted clients for lands (the farming plots). In this process a big number of fake 'landless' people also entered in the project. For example, In the Zathila Union Zainal Abedin (village quack who claims to be a doctor) who had a big dispensary (medicine shop) in the village market and owner of huge land managed to get a plot in the project through the local Chairman by virtue of his long affiliation with the family. In the Betaga Union Molin Pal who was not a landless also got the same opportunity through his connection to the Union Parishad Chairman.

The main patrons (with their respective factions) competed among themselves to establish control over the SF projects. They tried to share the benefits of the SF project with the farmers i.e. collecting fuel woods from the SF project, cutting trees to make furniture etc. This caused conflict inside the projects and led to the emergence of corresponding factions among the project farmers. Each patron used his associated group in the project to support him in factional conflict and village power struggles. The patrons consciously attempted to hamper the growth of any collective activity or institution among the farmers in the project areas. Patrons prevent any kind of group formation in the locality. If any group initiated to form they attempt to make factions among them. Because they know unity of people is power and it may be threatened their dominance in the rural local power relations.

Patron-client relationship helps to benefit the bureaucrats and local elites instead of the SF farmers in the study areas and a vicious circle formed by the rural rich and the touts who dominated the rural scene. Besides exploiting the farmers as a support-base and as contract labourers, the patrons also captured some of the benefits especially designed for the SF projects. In the study areas patrons drew off most of the government provided free inputs of the SF farmers. Patrons also took up some forestry-based technology from the farmers. It was facilitated by mutual understanding between patrons and clients. Patronage relations had partially benefited the better-off sections of farmers in terms of increased status and opportunities for additional income, although patrons had extracted many more benefits from this unequal exchange.

Social Capital:

Patron-client relationship between the stakeholders in the SF project is mainly based on trust. It is important because this relationship involves reciprocal bonds of loyalty and exchange of goods and services. Trust provides the necessary foundation of participatory development and lack of trust stifles it. In the hypothesis it is assumed that the more the dominance of personal trust than institutional trust the less will be the attainment of participation. This personal trust of SF farmers to the stakeholders especially the local elites derives patron-client relationship among them.

In an interview with a SF farmer from the Zathila Union who is a group leader in the project it was found that they had lack of trust to the institutions like Union Parishad and Bureaucracy. He told that at first he did not believe that shorkari lok (bureaucrats) in the name of the government would share the benefit from the project with them. He viewed that bureaucrats were committed to many benefits and services before but they failed to keep most of their commitment. But when SF farmers from other projects were getting benefits then he realized that this time might be the situation was different.

In the study areas it was found that to the SF farmers the person is trustworthy to them instead of the institution. The Union Parishad is mostly related with the functions of the Chairman. Their personal relationship with the chairman reflected their views to the Union Parishad. If the role of the chairman is in favour of an individual farmer then he views that the role of the Union Parishad is satisfactory and the functioning of this organization is necessary. On the other hand, if their relationship with the Union Parishad is antagonistic in nature then they also view that the functions of the Union Parishad is not acceptable. In this regard, one SF farmers from the Zathila Union viewed that if the ex-chairman of the Union Parishad would be elected again then the Union Parishad could play its role effectively, now its role was not up to the mark. Here it needs to be mentioned that this farmer was selected as a landless farmer (mentioned his occupation as small businessman) by the ex- chairman of Union Parishad and joined the SF project at that time. Now he was facing some sort of conflicts from the present chairman. He also mentioned that if the project would start at the time of the present chairman then he confirmed that he would not get an opportunity to join in the SF project.

The main reason of lack of trust to the local institutions like the Union Parishad is that in the rural areas in a developing country like Bangladesh have been not playing their deserved role for a long period. The history of such kind of institutions in the rural area has been portrayed as an institution vested with corruption, nepotism, with a slow decision-making process. Nevertheless, the rural people have been

maintaining a trustworthy relationship with their patrons in the locality. Trust is the backbone of this relationship. Though patrons are in a relative powerful and commanding position than his clients but he does not want to destroy this relationship fearing that the client may join his rival group. Clients also know that they have to depend on patrons to survive in the rural power politics, so it is better for them to continue the trustworthy relationship with his present patrons.

A key element for the success of participatory development is trust and confidence towards local capacity and ability, as expressed by higher authorities. This important notion of "trust" is fundamental (Davidson, 2003:107). In the study areas it was found that SF farmers had congenial relationship with bureaucrats but not with the bureaucracy. Local elites had congenial relationship with the bureaucrats and worked in a patron-client network. For that cause SF farmers had faith only in those bureaucrats who had close contact with their patrons. But they did not trust bureaucracy. Like the Union Parishad, their experience in working with bureaucracy was not pleasant. They rarely received services from the bureaucracy and they experienced that bureaucracy kept their promise only in words but not in practice. In an interview with a SF farmer in the Betaga Union, he viewed that he did not trust bureaucracy but he mentioned the name of some of the bureaucrats who could be trustworthy. In favour of his opinion he also added that he knew those bureaucrats personally and it was important to him to believe in someone.

In discussions with other farmers in the study areas, it can be said that SF farmers have trust in persons but not in institutions. Different institutions like bureaucracy, Union Parishad etc are responsible to carry out government programmes to the people. For that cause for the successful running of those programmes institutional trust of the local people is very important. If there is dominance of personal trust than the institutional trust than it will affect the functioning of that programmes. In the case of SF project farmers lack of trust to the institutions direct them to go for personal trust. Such personal trust is derived from patron-client relationship and it will affect in ensuring people's participation in the SF project. Institutions like bureaucracy and Union Parishad are almost failed to play their role in ensuring the participation of the SF farmers.

6.10 Conclusion:

In the study areas, SF farmers' access in project design, management and benefits were largely regulated by patron-client relations. The Union Parishad Chairman had local power base and supporter group. To uphold his political position he was giving benefits to his supporters. For that cause when he was going to select the members (who tend to be landless or disadvantaged class of the society) for the SF project, he was usually selecting those people with whom he had close personal relationship and from whom he would be benefited in future. The clients also were dependent on patrons for work as agricultural labourer and share-cropper in their (patron's) field.

To carry out his activities in the locality without any trouble Union Parishad Chairman was keeping good relationship with the local bureaucrats. So he along with the powerful local elites was impeding people's participation. SF real farmers and women members had very little scope to discuss their views in the project meetings. They had to listen and act according to the prescription of local elites. Moreover, most of the NGOs in the study areas were not in a state to monitor the activities of the bureaucrats. Local bureaucrats from the Forest Department were involved in a patronage network with a powerful group of local elites. For that cause, most of the NGO personnel who were not the inhabitants of that locality were not in a state to raise their voice against the bureaucrats. The bureaucratic culture in the study areas was based more on a client and patron relationship than on work performance. Bureaucrats were engaged with different corrupt practices. To maintain such activities they had to keep close relationship with the local powerful class. Local elites were also maintaining congenial relationship with the local bureaucrats with an expectation that it would help them and their clients to get benefits from the bureaucrats. These relationships in the study areas restricted the growth of cooperation and collaborative initiatives and thereby frustrating one of the major goals of SF.

In the study it was also found that that SF farmers distrusted institutions like bureaucracy and the Union Parishad but they have trust to the persons like the Union Parishad Chairman and the bureaucrats. This lack of trust to the institutions like Union Parishad and bureaucracy is one of the reasons to push the SF farmers to go for personal trust from which patron-client relationship was derived and it impeded the extent of people's participation in the SF project.

CHAPTER 7
PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION: THE IMPACT OF THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND
OF THE SF FARMERS

7.1 Introduction:

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the extent to which the relationship between SF farmers' socio-economic background and their extent of participation vary between cases? It also identifies the impact of socio-economic background of the SF farmers on their level of participation in the project.

In my first and second chapter I have given a brief description of my two cases, Zathila Union and Betaga Union. These two unions of Bangladesh are not different from other unions of Bangladesh. The socio-economic profile of the SF farmers of these unions reflects most of the characteristics of rural Bangladesh as portrayed in earlier chapters. The impact of socio-economic background of SF farmers on their participation in the project is discussed below on the basis of different factors.

7.2 Who Participates?

SF policy is especially designed for the landless farmers, women and other disadvantaged sections of the locality. It was hoped that the socio-economic condition of these classes will be changed through some benefit sharing mechanism and at the same time government forest can be saved. But my experience from the study areas showed that the real situation reflects less than the defined project objectives. In most of the cases landless farmers, women and disadvantaged people are ignored in the projects and in cases where they involved have limited opportunity in designing and implementing this policy.

I collected data on the basis of a simple random sampling method from the list of the SF farmers found in the local forest offices. These data are considered to reveal real socio-economic background of the participants and its impact on their participation in the SF project. In this regard, the gender distribution of the respondents may be useful.

Table: 7.1: Gender Distribution of the Respondents

Gender	Zathila	Betaga
Female	19%	15%

Male	81%	85%
Total N=52	N=26	N=26

Among the respondents 19% was female and 81% was male from the Zathila union. 15% was female and 85% was male from the Betaga union. This means that SF project are male driven. Here it should be mentioned that the SF project was specially designed to improve the socio-economic condition of the rural poor especially the women. But a different reality was discovered in the study areas. In interviews with the local elites and bureaucrats it was identified that in Zathila Union and in Betaga Union hardly 12%-13% women are involved in the SF project. The opportunity of the involvement of other disadvantaged groups was also minimal.

Lack of participation of women members in the SF projects is due to various reasons. The overload of household works of women refrain them in this regard. The work of women in rural Bangladesh can be divided in broad categories. The "household work" which include cooking for the whole family, child care, cleaning house and utensils, firewood collection, livestock and poultry rearing, handicraft etc. The "agroforestry activities" include managing home and horticultural gardens, and processing harvested crops (mainly paddy). They also help male (family) members in various forest plantation works. Women are generally illiterate and have virtually no access to technology and inputs (Khan, 1998: 248). This picture also reflects the scenario of the work of women in the study areas except slight variations in nature. Women activities occur in a male dominated surrounding where their works are often unseen and undermined (Ahmed, 1991:1).

In the study areas it was found that women are less likely to participate on an equal footing or to the same extent as men or the non-poor. Women members were generally silent members and attributed their silence to lack of education and knowledge. Women are not accorded due honour by the powerful and elite. The low value placed on women by society impinges upon the ability to believe one has rights. To claim one's rights there has to be prior belief in one's right to have rights and the ability to act upon them that is to have belief in one's agency.

Movements of women are restricted in the project areas like any other villages of Bangladesh and for that matter they have few opportunities to work with the male outside their houses. Women are expected to remain at the homestead and are subordinate to men. Women's access to and control over resources (financial services, land inputs for production, output and income) or direct marketing of produce and exchange of information is extremely limited or has to be facilitated by male family members.

The religion of most of the population of Zathila union is Muslim but in Betaga union the religion of 60% of the population is Hindu and 40% is Muslim. Both these religions have strong purdah (cover) culture for the women and discourage them to work with the unknown men. Government officials deal with male members only. When asked about what was her feelings when she joined the project one of the women

members from Betaga told that “At first it was not so easy to join the project and working with the men. She had to convince her husband. Her husband agreed to her in one condition that she could only attend the project meeting”.

In SF project the presence of women members in the project meeting is minimal. Women SF farmers are part of a family and their husbands, fathers or brothers are not encouraging them to attend the project meeting. In this regard one husband of a woman SF farmer told that it was not possible for his wife to attend project meetings because she had to do lot of household works. Women seem to be quite comfortable in working around their farms within purdah rules. They themselves consider purdah as a symbol of social status and therefore, “typically choose to work within their own homesteads (White cited in Khan, 1998: 252). Women tend to be complacent, arguing that whatever decisions their fathers, husbands or other male members in the family or village ask them to take will eventually prove beneficial. This hides the critical and dangerous consequence that their mere presence without voice can be used to legitimate decisions.

When it comes to their awareness about the programme and its components, most women were not aware of the Social Forestry scheme in all its components. Some women were not aware that this is a government scheme that was mainly designed to improve their situation. Even some of the women viewed that local Union Parishad Chairman gave them lands because their husbands were the supporter of the chairman's political party.

SF intervention has brought little qualitative change in the general pattern of women's life and status. Women in the study areas now do not have to go to rural elites forests to collect fuel wood. They are earnings money by selling fuel woods. Some of them invest this money to other projects like poultry, dairy etc. These extra incomes give them some opportunity to express their views in family related matters. But in most of the cases male dominance in different working environments and women's unequal status has remained the same.

7.3 Level of Education:

It is believed that level of education helps to improve one's socio-economic position and also facilitates to enhance interpersonal skills and reduce exposure to exploitation. In Mahmud's study on “citizen participation in the health sector in rural Bangladesh” education is seen as key to individual and collective empowerment, and to gaining voice rather than being silent or silenced by fear (Cornwall, 2004: 3).

Table: 7.2 Level of Education of the Respondents in Zathila and Betaga

Level of Education	Zathila	Betaga
No Education	8%	0%
Can Sign	57%	0%
Primary Level	31%	16%
Secondary Level	4%	42%
Higher Secondary Level	0%	42%
Total N=52	N=26	N=26

Question: What is your education level? i. No education, ii. Can Sign, iii. Primary Level, iv. Secondary Level, v. Higher Secondary Level.

The above mentioned table shows that from the Zathila union 8% of the respondents received no education, 57% only could sign, 31% passed the primary level and 4% passed the secondary level. From the Betaga union 16% passed the primary level, 42% passed the secondary level and 42% passed the higher secondary level. Here the table shows that the respondents from Betaga union were more educated than the respondents of Zathila union. In Zathila union, the majority of the respondents received no education from any educational institution. But in Betaga the majority of the respondents passed the secondary and higher secondary level.

The data from the Zathila union reflects a typical picture of the level of education of the farmers in rural Bangladesh. But in the case of Betaga union the picture is different. Betaga is a union where the inhabitants have a long tradition of receiving education. They perceived the importance of education long ago. Almost 60% of the inhabitants are Hindu and they are educated. The present Union Parishad chairman of that union is also an educated person. It was learnt that he was selected to join the Bangladesh Civil Service (education cadre) but he did not join there.

In Betaga a big number of SF farmers were in strong social positions in the locality before joining the project and it was because of their level of education. Such social position makes them important in the rural power structure and party politics. Moreover, the majority of the SF farmers are not landless. They have big houses and they have lands. Most of the farmers who have secondary and higher secondary level of education are also involved in other occupations (i.e. fishing, business etc). But in the SF project they were identified as the landless because of their strong social positions and close relationships with the local Union Parishad chairman.

In the study areas it was found that the respect of SF farmers in the project meetings to the bureaucrats and local elites is higher in Betaga than in Zathila. Level of education may be one influencing factor in this regard. Farmers' opinions were given more importance in Betaga in comparing to Zathila. Moreover, higher level of education is related to a better learning ability. From my field experience it seemed to me that the learning ability of SF farmers of Betaga about different project components is higher than the farmers of Zathila. Their organizing capability in the project meetings and way of running cooperatives are better than the SF farmers in Zathila union. In Zathila the bureaucrats tried hard to make the farmers understand about the project. In this regard a Headmaster from the local high school of Zathila told, "at first the farmers did not believe that government really started a project like SF and they would be benefited for their participation in the project. They did not understand the importance of attending the meetings. Their lack of education was the barrier in this regard".

7.4 Occupation:

Occupation is another important factor that reflects one's socio-economic position. For that cause it is necessary to discuss about occupation to compare SF farmers' socio-economic background.

Table: 7.3 Occupations of the respondents' Father from Zathila and Betaga

Father's Occupation	Zathila	Betaga
Farmer(Having No Land)	61%	8%
Farmer(Having Land)	39%	88%
Businessman	0%	4%
Total N=52	N=26	N=26

Question: What is your Father's Occupation? i. Farmer (Having no land), ii. Farmer (Having land), iii. Fisherman, iv. Working in local offices, v. Other (specify).....

Among the respondents from Zathila 61% mentioned that their fathers' occupation was farming and they did not possess land and only 39% was farmer having land. In Betaga among the respondents 8% mentioned that their fathers' occupation was farming and they did not possess land, 88% was farmer having land and 4% was businessman. This table shows that the majority of the respondents from Bataga viewed that they inherited better economic position than the farmers of Zathila.

Table: 7.4 Occupations of the Respondents in Zathila and Betaga

Occupation of the Farmers	Zathila	Betaga
Farmer(Having No Land)	65%	31%
Farmer(Having Land)	4%	23%

Businessman	12%	0%
Housewife	19%	4%
Fisherman	0%	27%
Politician	0%	15%
Total N=52	N=26	N=26

Question: What is your Occupation? i. Farmer (Having no land), ii. Farmer (Having land), iii. Fisherman, iv. Working in local offices, v. Other (specify).....

Among the respondents from Zathila 65% viewed that they were farmers having no land, 4% viewed they were farmers having lands, and 12% viewed them as businessman and 19% housewife. From Betaga 31% viewed that they were farmers having no land, 23% viewed that they were farmers having lands, 4% viewed them as housewife, 27% viewed them as fisherman and 15% viewed them politician. This table shows that in Zathila farmers those who have no land are involved more in the SF project than Betaga. A few businessmen are also involved in Zathila. The most important aspect of this table is the involvement of more landless farmers in the SF project in Zathila than Betaga. It means that the participation of original target group (the landless farmers) is more fulfilled in Zathila. Here it needs to be mentioned that in Betaga the present chairman elected for two consecutive terms. In the case of Zathila the situation was opposite. So it can be said that the chairman in Bataga would get more opportunity than the chairmen of Zathila to manipulate his power and position and selected mostly those people for the SF project who were not landless.

The major rural economic activity in Zathila is agriculture and in Betaga fishing and agriculture. In both study areas, the majority of the farmers is totally dependent on income from or paid work in agriculture. A few rich families own more than half the land, while a big number of families have nothing, thus being dependent on paid agricultural work, in fierce competition with the small holders.

The Chairman and members of Betaga Union Parishad Chairman and members are also the members of SF project. In this regard one of the members of the union parishad told “we are the local powerful class and if we are not involved in the project, the SF farmers cannot save their trees from the local touts and thieves”. In Zathila a headmaster of one local high school and few businessmen were involved in the project. The project was started in the tenure of the ex-Union Parishad chairman and he identified who was the landless in the locality to join in the SF project. Those people were selected as landless for the project that had close relationship with that chairman, no matter either he was a landless farmer or not.

7.5 Level of Income:

Level of income is a commonly used poverty indicator elsewhere and it is relevant to the study areas too. The discussion about level of income of SF farmers is given below.

Table: 7.5 Level of Income of the Respondents from Zathila at Present and before Joining the Project

Yearly Income level (In US\$)	Zathila(Before Joining the SF Project)	Zathila(At Present)
Up to 170	19%	0%
171-335	8%	15%%
336-500	42%	4%
501-665	27%	31%
666-Above	4%	50%
Total N=52	N=26	N=26

Question: What is your yearly income level before joining the project and at present? i. Up to 10000 taka (upto170 US\$), ii. 10001-20000 taka (171-335 US\$), iii. 20001-30000 taka (336-500 US\$), iv. 30001-40000 taka (501-665 US\$), v. 40001 taka - above (666 US\$-Above)

Table: 7.6 Level of Income of the Respondents from Betaga at Present and before Joining the Project

Yearly Income level (In US\$)	Betaga Betaga(Before Joining the SF Project)	Betaga(At Present)
Up to 170	4%	0%
171-335	11%	0%
336-500	8%	12%
501-665	19%	15%
666-Above	58%	73%
Total N=52	N=26	N=26

Question: What is your yearly income level before joining the project and at present? i. Upto 10000 taka (upto170 US\$), ii. 10001-20000 taka (171-335 US\$), iii. 20001-30000 taka (336-500 US\$), iv. 30001-40000 taka (501-665 US\$), v. 40001 taka - above (666 US\$-Above)

The tables mentioned above shows that the level of income of SF farmers increased after joining the project both in Zathila and Betaga. Before joining the project in Zathila most of the respondents were in

the 336-500 US\$ income category and in Betaga most of the respondents were in the 666-Above income category. After joining the project both in Zathila and Betaga most of the respondents were 666-above income category. Here it seems that after joining the project the SF farmers of Zathila can more positively change their level of income.

After joining the project the level of income of SF has improved but still they are living below the poverty line. Several common reasons in both the study areas could be identified from the study regarding poverty situation. Most significant reasons among them were:

- Dependence on the income of one or two family members
- Resource degradation
- Lack of alternative employment opportunities
- Lack of technical knowledge about agriculture
- Poor knowledge in financial management
- Over dependence on luck

Poor socio-economic background of the SF farmers pushes them to involve in the patron-client network of the locality that affects their participation in the SF project to a large extent. The strong socio-economic background of the SF farmers in Betaga pushes them less to this patron-client network than in Zathila. Most of the SF farmers have not managed to generate a fixed source of income sufficient for meeting the subsistence needs of the family. So they have to depend on alternative employment opportunities (i.e. sharecropping, daily labourer etc). The local elite and powerful class are the providers of such kind of alternative work. These powerful people are also involved in local politics and close relationship with local bureaucrats. So SF farmers have no other way to ignore their words regarding the project and reflect the hope of the local elites in the project meetings.

7.6 Causes of Joining the Project:

SF farmers joined in the project for various reasons. For that cause it is necessary to discuss about the variation of causes in joining the project.

Table: 7.7 Causes of Joining the Project of the Respondents from Zathila and Betaga

Causes in joining the project(Zathila)	Important(Zathila)	Important (Betaga)
Economic Benefit	100%	100%
Environmental Benefit	69%	100%
Social Status	39%	8%

Future Savings	100%	58%
Total N=52	N=26	N=26

Question : Why did you join the project? (In terms of economic benefit, environmental benefit, social status, and future savings). Please rate them on a scale from 1 to 5 where 5 represents Very Important, 4 represents Quite Important, 3 represents Less Important, 2 represents Quite Unimportant and 1 represents not at all Important.

Among the respondents from Zathila as a cause in joining the project 100% viewed economic benefit, 69% viewed environmental benefit, 39% viewed social status and 100% viewed future savings. From Betaga 100% of the respondents viewed economic benefit, 100% viewed environmental benefit, 8% viewed social status and 58% viewed future savings. The above mentioned table shows economic factors have been the major reasons for joining the SF of the farmers. In Betaga the SF farmers viewed economic and environmental benefits as the two main reasons of their joining the project. Respondents from both the unions viewed social status as less important in joining the project.

The SF farmers from Betaga have a little bit different view from the SF farmers of Zathila especially in the case of environmental benefit. The high level of education of the SF farmers from Betaga can be one of the reasons behind this. Farmers from both the areas are living below the poverty line, so they viewed economic benefits and future savings as important causes. Moreover, high level of education of SF farmers in Betaga has already given them strong social position. So they did not conclude that joining the SF project would change further their social position in the locality.

7.7 Poor Socio-Economic Background as a Constraint:

It is necessary to know the views of SF farmers whether they viewed poor socio-economic background as a constraint in expressing their views in the project meetings or not. Among the respondents in identifying poor socio-economic background of the SF farmers as a constraint from Zathila Union 100% viewed it as important and from Betaga union 42% viewed it as important. From the socio-economic description of the SF farmers it is found that the socio-economic condition of the SF farmers from Betaga is comparatively better than the SF farmers from Zathila. The farmers from Zathila may perceive that if they acquire a better position in the locality in terms of socio-economic condition they can raise their voice more and it will be helpful for them in ensuring their participation in the project. On the other hand, SF farmers from Betaga are thinking that their present socio-economic position is providing them with better position in the local power structure.

7.8 Conclusion:

From the discussions above it was found that heavy work loads of women often left them with little energy for "participation. Poverty posed a very real challenge to citizen agency and restricted the boundaries of participation in the study areas. Low level of education of the SF farmers cut them off from progressive ideas. In the study areas it was also found that the socio-economic background of SF farmers in Betaga was stronger than the SF farmers in Zathila in terms of level of education, occupation, level of income etc and it influences the extent of their participation in the SF project. The respect of SF farmers in Betaga to the bureaucrats and local elites was more than in Zathila. In Betaga SF farmers' opinions were got more importance and their participation in project planning and implementation was also noteworthy in comparing to SF farmers in Zathila.

CHAPTER 8

THE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN THE MYTHS AND THE REALITIES OF THE SF POLICY IN BANGLADESH: DISCUSSIONS; FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

The objectives of this research were to study and explore the extent of people's participation in the SF policy of Bangladesh and what are the roles of the main stakeholders: bureaucrats, Union Parishad and NGOs in ensuring the expected level of people's participation in this policy.

Participation has been taken as an end as well as means in this study from Oakley (1988: 4-5) concept of participation. From a UN study on people's participation it is understood as a process of empowerment. I also use Uphoff's concept of participation wherein he identified four distinct but interrelated kinds of stages of participation. I used the (i)

decision-making, (ii) implementation and (iii) social and economic benefit sharing stages as my area of focus.

While conducting the study, I have attempted at the beginning to develop hypotheses (identified and described in the introductory chapter), which I think implicit in the entire description and analysis of the thesis. Although the hypotheses may not appear as scientifically tested in the study, at least they show the relationships, effects and influence between and among independent and dependent variables. In order to explore the factors that influence people's participation of this policy I have tried to answer the following questions:

- 1) What is the extent of people's participation in the SF policy?
- 2) Do bureaucrats' attitude matter to enhance people's participation?
- 3) Does Patron-Client relationship matter in ensuring people's participation?
- 4) Do NGOs involvement helpful in ensuring people's participation?
- 5) What is the impact of the farmer's socio-economic background on their level of participation?
- 6) What is the role of social capital in ensuring people's participation?

For answering these questions, a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods has been adopted. These questions can be explained or analyzed on the basis of some independent and dependent variables. The dependent variable in this study is people's participation, which is believed to be dependent upon certain actors and factors such as political and classical bureaucrats, patron-client relationship between the participants, bureaucrats and local elites of SF policy, and socio-economic background of the SF farmers. It was assumed that variables would influence and affect who participates in SF programs and their level of participation.

In chapter three, I presented a theoretical framework of my study in order to study how the stakeholders of the SF project are influencing to ensure people's participation and to understand why discrepancy exists between ideals and realities of the policy. In that chapter the above mentioned questions are addressed in the light of political and classical bureaucrats as concept analyzed by Putnam (1975, 87), as well as on the basis of patron-client relationship, and theories of social capital.

The first question of this study was *what is the extent of people's participation in the SF policy?* In the project paper of SF policy it was mentioned that local people must be involved in the planning, and implementation of the project. It was also thought that if the priority needs of the people are met, and if they are involved in planning and decision-making, they will give full support to what they have approved. SF farmers' participation comes when the farmers create an organization to manage their resources better at some level, and as this organization represents their interests in larger development discussions and decisions

In my study area I found discrepancy between what the project paper said and what the reality is. Landless farmers, women and disadvantaged class of the rural area are the main target group of this policy. But in reality I have witnessed that the target groups were on the whole left out of the project. The selection of the members in the SF policy is the responsibility of the local Union Parishad Chairman. But no certain rules were followed in selecting SF members. A few landless, disadvantaged women were selected. In most of the cases Union Parishad Chairman tried to select those persons with whom he had close personal relationships. For this reason the main target group was pulled out from the project. In some cases Union Parishad Chairman along with his members of the Parishad selected themselves as the member of the SF project.

The nature of participation was also remote from the stated goals. Local people were still doubtful about the SF programme and they worried that the Government might not give them the benefit of the project. Participation of real users in general meetings is always very poor. The "Village SF Committees" seldom functioned according to plan and the "target groups" hardly participated in such committees. In many instances, women were simply unaware of the SF programme in all its components and they seldom took active role in the committees. Women were also suspicious and shy of field staff and their roles in meetings and discussions were passive. Proposals mainly emerged from dominant users. Social constraints thwarted women's involvement and they did not participate in decision-making in the presence of men.

8.1 Do Bureaucrats' Attitude Matter to Enhance People's Participation?

In order to explore the role of political and classical bureaucrats as a major variable to explain people's participation, we have delineated different initiatives and activities of bureaucrats in the SF project. In the project paper it is said that as one of the main stakeholders bureaucrats are responsible in ensuring people's participation. In the discussion we have tried to explain whether the program-orientation or rule-orientation of bureaucrats is helpful in the fulfillment of this objective of SF policy.

SF policy was designed in top level of the government without giving adequate consideration to the diversified social and economic problems of different local areas. Government thought that if it was possible to involve the local people in the project planning, decision making and implementation then the extent of success of the project would be higher. But due to different factors (i.e. bureaucrats' classical attitude, patron-client relationship etc) there is a great inconsistency between the government's will and real situation.

Despite the repeated official emphasis on "participation", the extent of popular involvement in SF was insignificant. Following their long ingrained, orientation and experience, foresters found their new role as "community developers" at odds with their values, training and perceptions. SF policy is running under the existing institutional and organizational structures of the Forest Department. The project planning of this policy is not so difficult. The implementation however, is much more difficult. Bureaucrats are assigned to implement SF project along with the participants.

In the study areas the bureaucrats are mostly rule-oriented and classical in nature and for that cause they give less importance to the voice of the farmers. Most of the time, in their discussion with the SF farmers they give reference to governmental rules. They have also less contact with the local SF farmers and were less responsive to their demands. Moreover, most of these classical bureaucrats attend the project meetings regularly with the intention to only follow the rules but lack of program-orientation intended them to manipulate the decisions in those meetings. In the study areas, the main cause of lack of participation of the women is also classical attitude of bureaucrats.

Leadership quality of the bureaucrats is important in ensuring people's participation. It is so important that the program-orientation of a leader changed the total scenario of a project. However, participants' perception about the nature of bureaucrats is complex. On one hand, bureaucrats are friendly and flexible to accommodate new ideas. These characteristics make bureaucrats closer to the political bureaucrats. On the other hand, bureaucrats are characterized as classical because of their unwillingness to bend rules. But the bureaucrats wished to call them programme-oriented. From the findings of the study, it may be ascertained that bureaucrats are perceived differently by different stakeholders. Their roles vary depending on the nature of the situation. These roles at different times may also make other stakeholders to perceive them differently.

Bureaucrats in the study areas mostly maintain their traditional classical nature and their lack of program-orientation impede a lot in ensuring the participation of the participants. Bureaucratic formalities, unnecessary and lengthy reporting system, top-down mode of communication and information flow, shortage of manpower are some of the limitations of the forest department which were inimical to SF. It was found that the SF workers faced difficulties in living up to the demands of their new role. They perceived their task as "guardians of plantations" rather than as "extension workers.

The project was designed in keeping the bottom-up approach in mind. But in the implementation, a top-down approach was followed. The planning process within the government, especially in the Forest Department is essentially top-down, with little room for accommodating local and contextual demands. These included the lack of inadequacy of decentralized planning process especially at the Range and Bit levels; inadequate data bases on local demands, bureaucrats' lack of consultation in the planning, design and implementation stage of the project. They just imposed the decision of the top. They are not willing to cope with the rural situation to ensure the success of the project. In applying rules and regulations from the top is getting importance than their program-orientation.

The existing Forest Department with its conventional and custodial approach to forestry management is proving inadequate and out of date to the needs of SF programmes and to cope with the emerging problems of protecting and expanding forest resources with the participation of the people. The positive change of attitudes of the bureaucrats is very necessary if the government intend to see their policies being successfully implementation.

8.2 Does Patron-Client relationship matter in ensuring people's participation?

In the study areas I have observed that patron-client relationship matters in ensuring people's participation in the SF policy. Social relations and power structure greatly influenced the performance of SF in Bangladesh. SF farmers' access in project design, management and benefits are largely regulated by such relations. It also might function as obstacle in the working of local level institutions like the farmer's cooperative.

SF is working under the weighty influence of local political institutions, especially the Union Parishad. But the malpractice of this institution often delimited the development orientation and "welfare" purpose of SF. Patron-client relationship provides the patrons with an avenue to appropriate a substantial share of the benefits from SF and to exclude the more deprived. The Union Parishad Chairman have local power base and supporter group. To uphold his political position he is giving benefits to his supporters. For that cause when he is going to select the members (who tend to be landless or disadvantaged class of the society) for the SF project, he is usually selecting those people with whom he has close personal relationship and from whom he will be benefited in future. The clients also are dependent on patrons for work as agricultural labourer and share-cropper in their (patron's) field. Moreover, there is an acute scarcity of employment opportunities in the localities. Patrons are in control of the limited employment sources including agriculture and other businesses.

Local elites are the main power base of the Union Parishad Chairman. To carry out his activities in the locality without any trouble Union Parishad Chairman are keeping good relationship with the local bureaucrats. So he along with the powerful local elites is impeding people's participation. Domination of decision-making by elites and factionalism in the rural power structure were observed in the field areas. SF

real farmers and women members have very little scope to discuss their views in the project meetings. They have to listen and act according to the prescription of local elites. Participation in the form of cooperation among different social groups and factions rarely occurred. SF intervention has brought about little change in the nature, patterns and implications of the patronage network. The SF farmers are still under the heavy influence of the patrons; and they have to perform within limits set by the patronage network. SF has done little to free the farmers from manipulation by the network.

Most of the NGOs in the study areas are not in a state to monitor the activities of the bureaucrats. Local bureaucrats from the Forest Department are involved in a patronage network with a powerful group of local elites. For that cause, most of the NGO personnel who are not the inhabitants of that locality are not in a state to raise their voice against the bureaucrats. The present bureaucratic culture in the study areas is based more on a client and patron relationship than on work performance. Bureaucrats are engaged with different corrupt practices. They get the share from the stolen trees of the government forest. To maintain such activities they have to keep close relationship with the local powerful class. Local elites are also maintaining congenial relationship with the local bureaucrats with an expectation that it will help them and their clients to get benefits from the bureaucrats. These relationships in the study areas restrict the growth of cooperation and collaborative initiatives and thereby frustrating one of the major goals of SF.

8.3 Do NGOs' involvement helpful in ensuring people's participation?

About the helpfulness of the involvement of NGOs in ensuring the participation of SF farmers, I have seen that there is no positive relationship between these two variables. Moreover, NGOs seem to be more aligned to a patron-client network with the local elites and bureaucrats.

Donor agencies are emphasizing on the involvement of NGOs in the SF project. But in study I have not seen any positive impact of their involvement. Moreover, new NGOs are established to get the service charge and other benefits from the government and the donors. They work in their respective area under different pressures from the local elites and bureaucrats and in this situation it is possible to assume how far they can raise their voice in ensuring people's participation in SF project where local elites are so dominant. On the other hand, in the study areas I have seen that NGOs have not been gainfully used by Forest Department so far. They can play better role if the bureaucrats are willing to cooperate with them.

I have seen in the study areas that the experience from NGOs' micro credit has a negative image among the SF farmers. A few of them suffered in returning their micro credit loan due to high service charge of the NGOs. So farmers do not wish the active functioning of the NGOs in this project.

However, with the limited samples in this study, it is difficult to generalize the above mentioned trend of NGOs in other cases.

8.4 What is the impact of the farmer's socio-economic background on their participation?

About the impact of the socio-economic background of the SF farmers on their participation, I have seen that socio-economic factors have positive impact on the participation of SF farmers. Using five socio-economic features i.e. Gender, education, occupation, father's occupation, Level of income of the SF farmers, I have seen that they have positive relationship with their participation.

Poverty poses a very real challenge to citizen agency and restricts the boundaries of participation in the study areas. Low level of education of the SF farmers cuts them off from progressive ideas. Moreover, it is found that the socio-economic background of SF farmers in Betaga is stronger than the SF farmers in Zathila in terms of level of education, occupation, level of income etc and it influences the extent of their participation in the SF project. The respect of SF farmers in Betaga to the bureaucrats and local elites is more than in Zathila. In Betaga SF farmers' opinions get more importance and their participation in project planning and implementation is also higher in comparing to the SF farmers in Zathila.

8.5 What is the role of social capital in ensuring people's participation?

Trust provides the necessary foundation of participatory development and lack of trust stifles it. About the role of social capital especially trust I have observed that at the outset SF farmers were slightly distrustful of SF initiative of the government. They were not sure whether the government would share the benefit of the project with them or not. But now the situation is changing. After receiving money, some SF farmers from other projects, which started long ago, the level of confidence on this government programme, increased among farmers.

In the study it was found that that SF farmers distrust institutions like bureaucracy and the Union Parishad but they have trust to the persons like the Union Parishad Chairman and the bureaucrats. This lack of trust to the institutions like Union Parishad and bureaucracy is one of the reasons to push the SF farmers to go for personal trust from which patron-client relationship was derived and it impeded the extent of people's participation in the SF project.

Institutions like Union Parishad are mostly related with the functions of a person, the Chairman. SF farmers' personal relationship with the chairman reflected their views to the Union Parishad. If the role of the chairman is in favour of an individual farmer then he views that the role of the Union Parishad is satisfactory and the functioning of this organization is necessary. On the other hand, if their relationship

with the Union Parishad is antagonistic in nature then they also view that the functions of the Union Parishad is not acceptable. Moreover, SF farmers had faith only in those bureaucrats who had close contact with their patrons. But they did not trust bureaucracy. The main reason of that lack of trust to the institutions like Union Parishad and Bureaucracy is that their experience in working with those institutions is not pleasant.

8.6 Major Findings:

Findings of this study are indicative rather than conclusive. In the study it is found that the people's participation in the SF policy illustrates the dissonance between myths and reality. SF's performance in achieving the participatory goals was poor. A number of common institutional and social problems seemed to have shaped the performance. Participation of the main target group the landless, women and disadvantaged class of the society is minimal in the project. Classical nature of the bureaucrats (role-orientation), patron-client relationship among the stakeholders, poor socio-economic background, NGOs ineffective role, lack of trust to the institutions like Union Parishad and bureaucracy are the main reasons for lack of people's participation in the SF project. Among these factors patron-client relationship among the stakeholders is found as the most dominate because this vicious network impede the extent of people's participation from the very beginning of the SF project to the last and demolish that objectives of the government dreadfully.

In a society like Bangladesh that is steeply hierarchical and beset with resource scarcity and lack of access to gainful employment, people's participation is an illusion. Here wrestle for scarce resources; access to power and links to powerful networks will dominate most projects targeted for the poor, women and the landless. This situation is not unique for SF projects but a picture in general.

8.7 Implications for Further Research:

This study concentrates broadly to explore the extent of people's participation in the SF policy in Bangladesh and what are the roles of the main stakeholders in ensuring the expected level of people's participation. Collected data on the different theories and concepts of classical-political bureaucrats, patron-client relationship and social capital were in general. The scope of the future study can be narrowed down to one or two theories/concepts and more in-depth analysis can be done with relevant specific data. Comprehensive data of those theories/concepts can be collected to better portray the role of stakeholders in ensuring people's participation. These theories/concepts can also be useful to discuss the extent of success of other government projects designed for the rural poor.

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Appendix

Interview Guide

Title of the Thesis :

Designed and

Conducted by : **Saber Ahmed Chowdhury**, Lecturer, Department of Public Administration, University of Rajshahi, Bangladesh (Now on study leave for pursuing M. Phil in Public Administration, University of Bergen, Norway).

Supervisor : **Dr. Ishtiaq Jamil**, Associate Professor, Department of Administration and Organization Theory, University of Bergen, Norway.

Name of the Respondent:

Occupation:

Office/Department:

Position:

Date of Interview:

Appendix: 1

(Information that will be gathered through this questionnaire will be used only for academic purpose and strict confidentiality will be maintained by the researcher).

Questionnaire for the Farmers:

1. Gender : M..... F....
2. Age:
3. What is your education level?
 - i. No education
 - ii. Can Sign
 - iii. Primary Level
 - iv. Secondary Level
 - v. Higher secondary Level
4. What is your Occupation?
 - i. Farmer (Having no land)
 - ii. Farmer (Having land)
 - iii. Fisherman
 - iv. Working in local offices
 - v. Other (specify).....
5. What is your Father's Occupation?
 - i. Farmer (Having no land)
 - ii. Farmer (Having land)
 - iii. Fisherman
 - iv. Working in local offices
 - v. Other (specify).....
6. What is your yearly income level?
 - i. -10000
 - ii. 10001-20000
 - iii. 20001-30000
 - iv. 30001-40000
 - v. 40001-
7. What is your yearly income level before joining the project?
 - vi. -10000
 - vii. 10001-20000
 - viii. 20001-30000
 - ix. 30001-40000
 - x. 40001-
8. Are you a leader of your cooperative? Yes.... No....
9. What is the distance of your project area from the Thana Head quarter?Km.
10. Do you think that it affects your participation in the project? Yes.... No...
11. What is the distance of your project area from the Union Parishad office?.....Km.
12. Do you think that it affects your participation in the project? Yes.... No...
13. Are you a member of any political party? Yes.... No...

14. If yes, what is the type of your involvement? Directly..... Indirectly....

15. Are you associated with any NGOs? Yes... No....

16. Who play the most important role in the project?

	Very Important	Quite Important	Less Important	Quite Unimportant	Not at all Important
Bureaucrats	5	4	3	2	1
Political Leaders	5	4	3	2	1
NGOs	5	4	3	2	1
Other,specify	5	4	3	2	1

17. More responsibility of the programme should be given to whom?

i. Bureaucrats ii. Political Leaders iii. NGOs iv. Other, Specify....

18. Are the leaders of the farmers play their roles effectively? Yes.... No....

19. Are you feeling proud being a farmer of the project? Yes.... No...

20. Given your experience with the project, do you encourage others to join the project?
Yes.... No...

21. Why did you join the project?

	Very Important	Quite Important	Less Important	Quite Unimportant	Not at all Important
Economic Benefit	5	4	3	2	1
Environmental Benefit	5	4	3	2	1
Social, such as status	5	4	3	2	1
Future Savings	5	4	3	2	1
Others	5	4	3	2	1

22. Do you feel that your opinion is given any importance in the project meetings?

i. Very Important ii. Quite Important iii. Less Important iv. Quite unimportant
v. Not at all Important

23. I would like to ask you some questions about your participation in the project meetings.

Below we have listed some questions in relevance to this. To what extent would you answer them? Please rate them on a scale from 1 to 4 where 4 represent "Regular" and 1 "Never".

		Regular	Often	Sometimes	Never
A	What is the extent of your attending the project	4	3	2	1

	meetings?				
B	What is the extent of your participation in the discussion and decision of the project meetings?	4	3	2	1
C	What is the extent of your visiting the project area?	4	3	2	1
D	What is the extent of attending meetings by the bureaucrats?	4	3	2	1
E	What is the extent of visiting project area by the bureaucrats?	4	3	2	1
F	What is the extent of attending meetings by the Union Parishad Chairman and employees?	4	3	2	1
G	What is the extent of visiting project area by the Union Parishad Chairman and employees?	4	3	2	1
H	How often are you informed about various information of the project?	4	3	2	1
I	How often you keep contact with NGOs?	4	3	2	1
J	How often you keep contact with the bureaucrats?	4	3	2	1
K	How often you keep contact with the political leaders?	4	3	2	1

24. I would like to ask you some questions about your opinion about the bureaucrats in the project. Below we have listed some questions in relevance to this. To what extent would you answer them? Please rate them on a scale from 1 to 4 where 4 represent "Agree completely" and 1 "Disagree completely".

		Agree Completely	Agree Partly	Disagree Partly	Disagree Completely
A	Farmers are afraid to express their views to the bureaucrats.	4	3	2	1
B	Bureaucrats act as a friend.	4	3	2	1
C	Bureaucrats say what to do.	4	3	2	1
D	Farmers accept what bureaucrats say.	4	3	2	1
E	Bureaucrats are flexible to accommodate other ideas.	4	3	2	1
F	Bureaucrats give more emphasize on the rules than the success of the program.	4	3	2	1
G	Bureaucrats bend the rules if necessary.	4	3	2	1
H	Higher level of bureaucrats is giving more emphasis for people's participation.	4	3	2	1
I	Lower level of bureaucrats is giving more emphasis for people's participation.	4	3	2	1
J	Bureaucrats play an important role to achieve the satisfactory progress of the programme.	4	3	2	1
K	Bureaucrats hamper in the working of the political leaders.	4	3	2	1
L	Bureaucrats hamper in the working of the NGOs.	4	3	2	1
M	Bureaucrats need training to run the project.	4	3	2	1
N	Bureaucrats give recognition to your	4	3	2	1

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	work.				
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25. I would like to ask you some questions about your opinion about the political leaders in the project. Below we have listed some question in relevance to this. To what extent would you answer them? Please rate them on a scale from 1 to 4 where 4 represent "Agree Completely" and 1 "Disagree completely".

		Agree Completely	Agree Partly	Disagree Partly	Disagree Completely
A	Political leaders play an important role to achieve the satisfactory progress of the programme.	4	3	2	1
B	Political leaders think more about individual and party interest than the interest of the farmers.	4	3	2	1
C	Political leaders hamper in the working of the bureaucrats.	4	3	2	1
D	Political leaders hamper in the working of the NGOs.	4	3	2	1
E	Political leaders play an important role in the proper functioning of the programme.	4	3	2	1
F	Local government is necessary to achieve the success of the programme.	4	3	2	1
G	Political leaders give little emphasis on rules.	4	3	2	1
H	Elected representatives reflect the hope of the farmers.	4	3	2	1
I	Political leaders give recognition to your work.	4	3	2	1
J	Bureaucrats and People's representatives have good relationship with each other.	4	3	2	1
K	The good relationship between the political leaders and the bureaucrats is helpful for the project.	4	3	2	1

26. I would like to ask you some questions about your opinion about the functioning of the NGOs in the project. Below we have listed some questions in relevance to this. To what extent would you answer them? Please rate them on a scale from 1 to 4 where 4 represent "Agree Completely" and 1 "Disagree completely".

		Agree Completely	Agree Partly	Disagree Partly	Disagree Completely
A	NGOs are playing an important role for the success of the programme.	4	3	2	1
B	NGOs give recognition to your work.	4	3	2	1
C	NGOs can run the programme most effectively	4	3	2	1
D	NGOs give less importance to rules	4	3	2	1
E	NGOs are hampering in the working of the bureaucrats.	4	3	2	1
F	NGOs are hampering in the working of the political leaders.	4	3	2	1

27. What are the main constraints that you think in running the project?

		Very Important	Quite Important	Less Important	Quite Unimportant	Not at all Important
A	Resource constraints	5	4	3	2	1

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B	Too many rule orientation of the bureaucrats	5		3	2	1
C	Lack of initiative of the bureaucrats	5	4	3	2	1
D	Lack of information from the bureaucrats	5	4	3	2	1
E	Too many hard and fast rules	5	4	3	2	1
F	Political interference	5	4	3	2	1
G	Lack of cooperation of the farmers	5	4	3	2	1
H	Patron-client relationship of the bureaucrats and the political leaders	5	4	3	2	1
I	Poor socio-economic background of the farmers	5	4	3	2	1
J	Lack of political will of the government	5	4	3	2	1
K	Others, specify	5	4	3	2	1

28. What is your experience about the bureaucrats in the project?

		Agree Completely	Agree Partly	Disagree Partly	Disagree Completely
A	Cooperative	4	3	2	1
B	Friendly	4	3	2	1
C	Want to take initiative	4	3	2	1
D	Hopeful to the success of the programme	4	3	2	1
E	Having new ideas	4	3	2	1
F	Concern about the local problems	4	3	2	1
G	Skilled in solving local problems	4	3	2	1

29. What is your experience about the political leaders in the project?

		Agree Completely	Agree Partly	Disagree Partly	Disagree Completely
A	Cooperative	4	3	2	1
B	Friendly	4	3	2	1
C	Want to take initiative	4	3	2	1
D	Hopeful to the success of the programme	4	3	2	1
E	Having new ideas	4	3	2	1
F	Concern about the local problems	4	3	2	1
G	Skilled in solving local problems	4	3	2	1

30. What is your experience about the NGOs in the project?

		Agree Completely	Agree Partly	Disagree Partly	Disagree Completely
A	Cooperative	4	3	2	1
B	Friendly	4	3	2	1
C	Want to take initiative	4	3	2	1
D	Hopeful to the success of the programme	4	3	2	1
E	Having new ideas	4	3	2	1
F	Concern about the local problems	4	3	2	1
G	Skilled in solving local problems	4	3	2	1

31. Give some comments about the project?

Appendix 2:

Questionnaire for the Bureaucrats, Union Parishad and NGOs :

Name: Organization: Designation:
Date: Place:

Do you know about the project?

What is your responsibility in the project?

Do you think that bureaucrats are flexible to accommodate others ideas?

Do you think that farmer's opinion is given importance in the project?

What are the problems that you faced in implementing the project?

What is your opinion about the extent of people's participation in the project?

Do you encourage farmer's participation in the project?

Do you think that rule-orientation of the bureaucrats hamper people's participation in this project?

Do you think that if bureaucrats are more output oriented then it will change the extent of people's participation?

Do you think that bureaucrats act as a friend of the farmers in this project?

Do you think that bureaucrats bend rules if necessary?

How do you help the farmers in organizing groups?

How often do you visit the project area?

What is your opinion about the other stakeholders of this policy in ensuring people's participation?

What is your opinion about the participation of women in the project?

In your opinion more responsibility of the programme should be given to whom?

Do you think that other stakeholders of this policy are hampering your functions?

What is your type of relationship with other stakeholders of this policy?

In your opinion what initiatives should be taken for the success of people's participation in the project?

Appendix 3:

List of the Important Interviewees:

- Mr. Anwar Faruque, Chief Conservator of Forests, Bangladesh, 15 August 2003
- Mr. Jalal Uddin Ahmed, Divisional Forest Officer, coastal Green Belt Project, Bagerhat, 29 July, 2003
- Mr. Zahir Iqbal, Assistant Conservator of Forests, Bangladesh, 12 August 2003
- Mr. Mustafa Shah Alam, Assisstant Conservator of Forests, Bangladesh, 14 July 2003
- Mrs. Rokeya Begum, Assisstant Conservator of Forests, Bangladesh, 15 July 2003
- Mr. M.A. Kashem. Forest Ranger, Zathila bit, Kachighata range, Gazipur, 11 July 2003
- Mr. Sheikh Sadi, Project Officer, Banagladesh Association for Social Advancement (BASA), 11 July 2003
- Mr. Md. Humayan Kabir, Forester, range, Zathila bit, Kachighata range, Gazipur, 9 July 2003
- Mr. Mizanur Rahman, Forester, Zathila bit, Kachighata range, Gazipur, 9 July 2003
- Mr. Sheikh Abdus Sattar, Forester, Coastal green Belt Project, Bagerhat , 30 July 2003
- Mr. Swapan Das, Chairman, Betaga Union Parishad, Bagerhat, 1 August 2003
- Mr. Md. Alamgir Hossain, Treasurer, Betaga Agrogami Banyan Samiti & Ex-Member, Betaga Union Parishad, Bagerhat, 1 August 2003
- Mr. Anil Tarafdar, Headmaster, Betaga United High School, Betaga, Bagerhat, 2 August 2003
- Mr. Md. Shahidullah, Research Officer, BFRI, Chittagong, Bangladesh, 19 August 2003
- Mr. Mohammad Zashimuddin, Senior Research Officer, BFRI, Chittagong, Bangladesh, 20 August 2003.