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Challenges of Implementing Peace Accord: *The Case of Chittagong Hill Tracts Peace Accord (CHTPA) in Bangladesh*

Muhammad Sazzad Hossain Siddiqui

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

AI	Amnesty International
BBS	Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics
BSs	Bengali Settlers
CHT	Chittagong Hill Tracts
CHTDF	Chittagong Hill Tracts Development Facility
CHTPA	Chittagong Hill Tracts Peace Accord
FGD	Focused Group Discussion
GOB	Governments of Bangladesh
GPF	Global Policy Forum
HDCs	Hill District Councils
IPs	Indigenous Peoples
LDRC	Land Dispute Resolution Commission
MoCHTA	Chittagong Hill Tracts Affairs
NSD	Norwegian Data Protection Official for Research
PAIC	Peace Accord Implementation Committee
PCJSS	Parbattya Chattagram Jano Samhati Shamity
RC	Regional Council
MSSD	Most Similar System Design
MDD	Most Different Design
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
KSU	Khagrachhari Sadar (urban) Upazila
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
SS	Sample Size
UNPO	Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization

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Glossary of the Terms

- Chada:* *Chada* (e.g., extortion) is one kind of illegitimate subscription informally and forcibly collected by some group of people from the public.
- Upazila:* *Upazila* is the lowest administrative and bureaucratic unit of Bangladesh governmental. At this stage the street level bureaucrats work as policy managers in implementing the policy taken by the Government. They function as sub-units of district administration.
- Sadar:* The term '*Sadar*' is a Persian word which means center, town or urban area in Bengali in Bangladesh
- Karbari:* A *Karbari* is commonly known as village headman to deal with the arisen conflicts and other crises in the CHT. Each village there is a *Karbari* appointed from among the villagers by the Raja (King). In fact, The *Karbari* is mostly responsible for all matters relating to that village
- Adibashi/
Pahari:* The Indigenous Peoples living in the CHT are often called as *Adibashi* or *Pahari*
- Khudra Nri-Ghoshti:* Small minority ethnic group living in the CHT and beyond that area
- Jumma peoples:* A collective term for the indigenous peoples of the CHT region

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my son-*Sakafee Shourjo Siddiqui*, whom I left to his mother in Bangladesh in 2014 to attend the MPhil program when he was only two-year-old.

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Abstract

The Chittagong Hill Tracts Peace Accord (CHTPA) was designed to maintain peace and security in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) region. The study examines the extent of policy output of the CHTPA implementation in terms of satisfaction of its targeted people with the post-Accord contexts. The study also isolates the factors that have caused variation in such satisfaction between two most similar areas in the CHT. Though the Accord has already passed nineteen years, still there is acute dearth of empirical research based on primary data in line with the perceptions and reactions of the targeted people about the CHTPA and its implementation. Considering this crucial lacuna, the study gives its focus on examining the challenges of the CHTP implementation and what factors may explain the variation in satisfaction of the beneficiaries between two most similar areas in the CHT. The study was mainly based on survey data which have also been triangulated by the Focused Group Discussions (FGDs) data. The study argued that satisfactions of the CHT people largely depends on proper management of the existing crises and also uprooting the underlying causes of future conflicts. Also better policy performance could be effective in ensuring peace and feeling of security of the targeted people in this post-Accord society. So, the study opts for such practical issues (i.e., policy output, policy performance, peace and security, etc.) relating to the CHTPA and its implementation. The crucial aspects of policy design and target groups' behaviors of Winter's integrated implementation model and the widely used concept of 'trust' provide the basic ideas to develop the framework for analysis of these issues.

The study found that design failure of the CHTPA (i.e., poor design) and little trust of the targeted people in the implementing institutions and the successive governments are great challenges which have resulted in dissatisfactions of the majority of the respondents on policy output of the CHTPA implementation. One important reason behind the design failure was found as its too much concentration in the top-down approach of policy making that largely ignored the targeted groups' opinion, demands and aspirations. The study also found that discrimination in implementation and policy performance have caused variation in dissatisfaction between Panchhari Upazila (PU) Khagrachhari Sadar Upazila (KSU); as a result, for example, the higher tendency of occurrences of conflicts and the incidences of land alienation have been found more at PU than KSU. The study argues that proper accommodation and accumulation of the concerned actors of the CHT crisis in line with inclusive approach of designing the CHTPA could play significant roles in ensuring better policy output of the CHTPA implementation.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The *Chittagong Hill Tracts Peace Accord* (CHTPA) can be regarded as the single most significant peace policy¹ in the recent history of Bangladesh which was signed between Bangladesh Government and *Parbattya Chattagram Jana Samhati Samiti* (PCJSS) in 1997. Because national security and territorial integrity of the country depend largely on proper management of the land disputes and thereby ensuring peaceful coexistence among the CHT people (Mohsin, 1995). The Accord came into existence with a broader objective to ensure peace and security² in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) region through the proper management of land disputes; repatriation and rehabilitation of the indigenous refugees and the belligerents from the CHT borders and the neighboring states of Bangladesh; and the peaceful settlement of the Bengali settlers.

The study shows how the extents of acceptance of the CHTPA policy design, and the extent of citizens' trust of the targeted people affect the policy output of the CHTPA implementation. Due to the nature of the peace Accord and focus of the study, the 'policy output' is understood in terms of the extents of satisfaction of the CHT people with the post-Accord peace and security condition, the role of intermediaries in the resolution of land disputes, and the compensation provided for their alienated/grabbed lands. The study also isolates the factors that explain for the differences of such satisfaction between two most similar areas in the CHT. The present chapter comprises some more subsections: brief profile of Bangladesh and the CHT; significance of the study; background of the study; statement of the problem; research questions; theoretical framework; research methods and the organization of the thesis.

¹ Peace accord is also called as peace policy by many social scientists, like, Joshi, M., & Darby, J. (2013); Baroi (2013).

² The Chittagong Hill Tracts Peace Accord (CHTPA), 1997 aims to elevate the condition of peace and security in the conflict stricken CHT region through the proper management of land disputes; repatriation and rehabilitation of the indigenous refugees and settlement of the Bengali settlers (see the draft of the Accord attached as appendix for detailed).

1.2 Brief Profile of Bangladesh and the CHT

Bangladesh emerged as an independent nation state on 16 December 1971. Other than the CHT region the country is considered as a plain land with an area of 147,570 sq. km. (Islam, 2003). The total population of the country is enumerated as 142,319,000 by the latest national census of 2011 of Bangladesh. The country runs with parliamentary form of democracy. Geographically it is encircled by India from three sides: north, east and west. The Bay of Bengal is situated on the south part of the country. On the other hand, the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT)³ is only extensive hilly area in the south-eastern of Bangladesh that hosts about thirteen⁴ different ethnic tribes. They are traditionally called with different names, like, *Pahari* (hilly people), *Adibashi* (Indigenous Peoples), and tribal people. In addition, the 15th amendment of the constitution of Bangladesh identifies this group of people as *Khudra Nri-Ghoshti* (small minority ethnic group).



Figure 1. Location of the CHT region in Bangladesh

³ Chittagong Hill Tract region is marked with light green color. Source: Chittagong Hill Tracts Development Facility, United Nations Development Programme, Bangladesh. See, <http://www.chtdf.org/index.php/about-us/working-location> (accessed on 19/12/ 2015).

⁴ They are Bawm, Chak, Chakma, Khumi, Khyang, Lusai, Marma, Mro, Pangkhua, Tanchangya, Murung, Khasi and Tripura. But the Section 2 of the Chittagong Hill Tracts Regional Council Act (CHTRC), 1998 (Act No. XII of 1998) does not comprise the *Murungs* and the *Khasis*. http://bdlaws.minlaw.gov.bd/banqla_sections_detail.php?id=822§ions_id=31758, (accessed on 17/03/2015).

However, the present study refers this ethnic minority either as “*Indigenous peoples*” or as “*tribal*” people. Because they are mostly called with these two terms by the right activists, academics, and national and international NGOs. Another non-Indigenous group of people have also been living in the CHT for last many years. They are commonly named as ‘*Bengali settlers*’ or ‘*non-tribal*’ people for the present study. Due to the exclusiveness of the CHT region, there had been a long tradition of administering this area by the Indigenous peoples (IPs) giving priority to their own culture and traditions, full access to the land rights with the aid of the CHT Regulation of 1900⁵. But it is argued that “settling and rehabilitating the large scale of plain land Bengali settlers (BSs) in the CHT has drastically changed the ethnic and demographic composition of the region which has created huge pressure on land and its management system” (Chowdhury, 2014, p.12). As a result, disharmony and conflict between the BSs and the IPs were/are every day’s harsh reality of this region. However, after series of meetings and dialogues between the governments of Bangladesh and the PCJSS the CHTPA came into reality with an objective to resolve the alarming land disputes and thereby ensuring peace and security in the region.

1.3 Significance/Rationale of the Study

Bangladesh has been facing multifaceted challenges in controlling the escalation of conflicts and insurgencies in terms of political unrest, religious terrorism, and ethnic conflict since her independence in 1971. But it is also argued that “the story of contemporary Bangladesh is predominantly the story of the CHT conflict” (CHTDF, 2014, p.1). However, the CHT conflict apparently came to an end in 1997 when the Government of Bangladesh and the PCJSS⁶ signed the Peace Accord. The Accord was mostly aimed at bringing an end to the age-old land disputes and insurgencies in this region and thereby to ensure territorial integrity, national security and overall peace and stability in the region. Although the Accord was signed in 1997, there is no sufficient field studies on the CHT people at the local level which could provide more realistic and scientific feedback about the ground reality to single out the factors that may account for the extent of satisfaction of the targeted people in terms of policy performance and policy output of the CHTPA implementation. Notwithstanding, there are many scholars and researchers who have

⁵ Chittagong Hill Tracts Regulation, 1900 popularly known as CHT manual which was enacted by the then British Government describing how to administer the CHT people.

⁶ PCJSS is the most influential political organization in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) of Bangladesh. On behalf of the CHT community this organization took part officially in this peace process.

contributed a lot in the area of implementation of the Accord. In this regard, the recent studies of Chowdhury (2012); Panday and Jamil (2009); Rashiduzzaman (1998); Mohsin (1998); Islam (2013); Ramasubramanian (2005); Adnan (2010) and Tripura (2008) are inevitably acknowledged and relevant.

For instance, Mohsin (1998, p.114) argues that "to any observer of the CHT it is crystal clear that peace in the CHT is largely dependent upon the resolution of the land issue". At the grassroots level, the main source of disharmony between the indigenous and Bengali settlers is mainly based on the control of land (Rashiduzzaman 1998). However, "the resolution of land disputes in the CHT with the objective of protecting the land rights of the indigenous peoples is a massive and complex task, for which adequate advance preparations need to be made" (Adnan & Dasidar, p.110). Similarly, Islam (2013) argues that the "post-conflict CHT is a 'hybrid land context' apparently where land tenure is insecure, the ownership is contested between tribal and settler households and where large-scale acquisition and incremental land grabbing is occurring in absence of effective tenure governance" (p.1). However, from the thorough study of the charter of the Accord, it is also found that the major objective of the Accord was to ensure land rights of the CHT people with proper management of the land disputes and thereby to ensure peace and security in the CHT region.

However, the peace researchers and the policy experts consider 'peace accord' as an inevitable and integral part of crisis management. An accord usually aims at ensuring collaborative solution and often benefit the parties with a win-win outcome (Wallenstein, 2011). The author also argues that the implementation of such agreement is more ambitious as it requires to disburse the goal incompatibilities satisfying the parties in conflict (ibid). For these reasons implementation of such Accord in many cases becomes more challenging. In this regard, proper identification of the roots of the problem, disbursement of goal incompatibilities' and assurance of greater acceptance of the design of the Accord by the targeted people could be helpful in ensuring greater extent of satisfaction of the targeted people with the policy output of the implementation of an Accord. Otherwise, the dissatisfaction within the policy targeted people may affect the implementation of an Accord.

From such views, perspectives and assessments it seems that none of the studies assesses satisfaction of the CHTPA targeted people in line with analyzing their perceptions and reactions at the local level. The study assumes that the analysis of perceptions and reactions of the policy

targeted people are crucial to identify the factors that might account for implementation of major policy objectives of the CHTPA. It is to be mentioned that the Accord has passed its almost 18 years of journey in achieving peace and security in the CHT region. So the present study is interested to see how far the targeted people accept the policy design of the CHTPA and to what extent they are satisfied with its implementation. To do so, the study collects perceptions and reactions of the CHT people at local levels to examine their extent of satisfaction in implementing the major policy objectives of the Accord. Because empirical evidence regarding implementation of peace accords not only contributes to comparative studies of peace processes, but also helps to advance peacebuilding practice by providing relevant information on the experiences of accords in other settings (Joshi & Darby, 2013).

The study is also hopeful to add new knowledge to the existing implementation literature of peace accord, especially in the case of CHTPA in Bangladesh.

1.4 Background of the Study

Bangladesh inherited a deep rooted crisis in the CHT since her independence in 1971. The country was united with Pakistan with the end of the British colony in the Indian subcontinent in 1947. The successive governments of Pakistan until 1971⁷ were used to impose varied rules and restrictions on Bangladesh and CHT region as well. Most of them are considered as threatening to their inalienable rights and survival. However, different policies were adopted in different political regimes of Bangladesh from 1972 to 1997 marking the CHT conflict. Almost all the successive governments of Bangladesh tried from their own perspectives to bring an end to this conflict and thereby to ensure enduring peace and security. The following discussion may suffice to comprehend the historical background of the CHT peace process and the present research problem.

1.4.1 The era of Mujib (from 1972- '75)

No significant initiative found, from the thorough study on CHT literature, in the post-independent regime (1972-1975) of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the then prime minister of the newly independent country. Rather, for instance, in a large gathering heading the 1973 national election campaign at Rangamati district of the CHT region he declared that “from the day forward they would be

⁷ In 1947 with the partition of India two states came into existence: India and Pakistan. The present Bangladesh was with Pakistan and was named as East Pakistan. This East Pakistan became independent from West Pakistan in 1971 and then named as Bangladesh.

considered as Bengalis” (Shelly, 1992, p. 129). This declaration, in fact, produced a counter sentiment among the CHT non-Bengali speaking people. The government at that time also denied to acknowledge and accommodate the demands and grievances of the Indigenous peoples (IPs) of the CHT. This regime ironically imposed the *Bengali* nationalism (language based nationalism) on the IPs with the aid of constitution. And the IPs identified such issue as to surrender their distinctive identity what instigated them immensely. It is commonly argued that the failure of the state to recognize the identity of the hilly people and their political and economic marginalization led Manabendra Narayan Larma (popularly known as MN Larma) to form the *Parbattya Chattagram Jana Samhati Samiti* (PCJSS—the Chittagong Hill Tracts Peoples’ Solidarity Association) in March 1972 (Chowdhury, 2002). However, following the assassination of Sheikh Mujib in 1975, the insurgency got new shape with aggressiveness which was supposed to be wielded by the then president Ziaur Rahmah who was previously the chief of Army staff of Bangladesh.

1.4.2 The era of Zia (from 1975- ‘81)

The then president Zia regime established the Chittagong Hill Tracts Development Board (CHTDB) in 1976 marking the CHT crisis as an economic one giving priority to the community development works. As part of the peace process Zia also took some other initiatives to hold meetings with the tribal representatives with an objective to negotiating the settlement of the crisis. He appointed Rajmata Benita Roy (the mother of the Chakma king) as advisor to the president to appease the rise of aggressiveness of the insurgents. He also founded the Tribal Cultural Institute at Rangamati in 1978 with a view to elevate and conserve the tradition of tribal culture, customs and practices. But with the assassination of Ziaur Rahman in the mid of 1981 all initiatives towards the negotiated settlement of the crisis and the consensual peace in the CHT were halted.

1.4.3 The era of Ershad (1982- ‘90)

The Hussain Muhammad Ershad government broadly followed Zia’s development strategy which is manifested from his activity. For instance, firstly, he declared the CHT as a Special Economic Area (SEA) in 1985 with an objective to integrate the socio-economically back-warded CHT people with the mainstream of economic activities. The literature review of the study on the CHT affairs found there were six more meetings and dialogues between the government and the tribal

representatives that took place from 1985 to 1989. Furthermore, he also formed a new ministry in 1990 which was named as Special Affairs Ministry. The remarkable development of the peace process in this era is the surrender of some 2,294 insurgents and the return of 30,390 tribal refugees from different camps across the border under the declaration of four general amnesties (Hussain, 1999).

1.4.4 The era of Khaleda (1991- '96)

The government led by Khaleda Zia took several initiatives to restore peace and security in the CHT. For the first time, after the independence of the country, this government formed a nine-member parliamentary committee in July, 1992 to find out the root causes of CHT conflict and to submit policy recommendations to the parliament at their best. As a result, for the first time, the ceasefire came into reality in the early of August 1992. The ceasefire increased the number of returnees from the CHT borders and the neighboring state's India which is identified as the reflection of the confidence of tribal in the democratic government (Chowdhury, 2002). But the author claims that perhaps the instability in the political arena declined the number of refugees and returnees in the beginning of 1995.

1.4.5 The era of Hasina (1996-'01)

The election manifesto of Bangladesh Awami League led by Sheikh Hasina for the seventh national parliamentary election of 1996 committed to resolve the CHT problem on the basis of priority. After winning the election Hasina, the then prime minister, was looking for a political solution of the crisis and formed an eleven-member national committee on September 30, 1996 headed by the then Chief Whip in the parliament, Abul Hasnat Abdullah. The first meeting between this national committee and the PCJSS led by Jyotirindra Bodhipriya Larma (Indigenous leader who is popularly known as Shantu Larma) in December 1996. One year later of the first meeting between the parties the historic Accord was signed on December 2, 1997. However, it is argued that the enduring peace and security of the CHT people in the region is still elusive (ibid).

1.5 Statement of the Problem

There is a common allegation regarding the developing countries that they usually pay more attention to making better policy than its better implementation. For example, the governments of

developing countries tend to formulate “broad, sweeping policies” that often lack the capacity to implement such policies (Smith, 1973, p.197). On the other hand, Winter’s (1990, 1994, 2003) integrated model claims that in the case of developing countries policy design has its impacts on policy implementation. His argument is that the better the design of a policy, the better its implementation. However, from such conflicting positions regarding policy design and policy implementation it can be argued that the contexts of all developing countries are not necessarily same always for what the similar policies experience similar outputs across all the developing countries. However, it is true that developing countries have multifaceted implementation problems and challenges. So, the present study aims at examining these issues whether policy design and policy process matter for ensuring satisfaction in terms of policy output of the CHTPA implementation in Bangladesh. Or is there any other factors that could affect the extent of satisfaction of the targeted people.

While the successive governments of Bangladesh, and the Ministry of Chittagong Hill Tracts Affairs are of the view that condition of the CHT has improved broadly through successful implementation of the CHTPA, many non-governmental organizations (e.g., PCJSS, researchers, and research institutions) are of the different view that the CHT region still lacks peace and security. For instance, *A Brief Report on Implementation of the CHT Accord*⁸, 2015 by the PCJSS claims that although there was a minimum pace in implementing some issues at the earlier stages of the Accord, no effective initiative is taken to implement the major objectives of the Accord for the last six years. On the other hand, the Government Yearly Report, 2015⁹ on the CHT claims that out of 72 provisions of the Accord 48 are already implemented fully, other 15 provisions are implemented partially and only 9 of them remain under implementation.

Moreover, the *Unrepresented Nations and Peoples* (UNPO)¹⁰ claims that as of 2008, not a single land dispute had been resolved by the land commission which was established under the guidance of the Accord (in Panday and Jamil, 2009). However, such contradictory assessments about the Accord regarding its implementation inspire me to carry my MPhil thesis in this area. In fact, the

⁸ Available on <http://www.pcjss-cht.org/implementation-of-cht-accord/>. (Last accessed on 15 October, 2015).

⁹ The report is in Bengali which was published by the Ministry of Chittagong Hill Tracts Affair on January 06, 2015. Available on <http://mochta.portal.gov.bd/site/page/08f1363a-f0ad-47bc-b7d5-76db4765cb25/Implementation-progress-of-Commitments/Directives>. (Last accessed on 30 October, 2015)

¹⁰ The Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO) is an international, nonviolent, and democratic membership organisation. See for more detail: <http://www.unpo.org>. Accessed on 17 March 2014.

study focuses on examining the extent of satisfaction on the implementation of the CHTPA and to find out the factors that may account for the variation of the extent of such satisfaction between two most similar areas in the CHT. To accomplish such work, the study assesses perceptions and reactions of the CHT people in terms of their satisfaction with the post-Accord peace and security condition; satisfaction on implementation of major policy objectives of the Accord; the extents of acceptance of the CHTPA design; and the extents of trust of the CHTPA targeted people in the implementing institutions and the governments.

1.6 Research Questions of the Study

It needs to be mentioned that the Accord has already been passed about 18 years ago. So the study measures satisfaction (i.e, policy output of the CHTPA implementation) of the targeted people on implementation of the CHTPA and explores the factors explain for the variation in such satisfaction in the CHT. The central research question of the study is stated as follows:

RQ: To what extent has the CHTPA been implemented and what factors may explain the variation (if any) of its policy such output between two most similar areas in the CHT?

The research question can be divided into two major parts: first part is about examining the policy output of the CHTPA implementation while the second part is about exploring the reasons behind the variation in such policy output. In order to pursue the answers of the central question, the following operational questions are formulated.

1.6.1 Operational research questions

At the very outset, the study scrutinizes the charter of the CHTPA to single out its major goals, objectives and provisions. Then it collects perceptions and reactions of the people of CHT about the implementation of those goals and objectives to know how far they are satisfied with the implementation of such affairs. Second, the extents of acceptance of the major provisions of the Accord; the context of signing of the Accord; and the level of trust of the CHT people are collected. Thereby it paves the way to see the effects of acceptance of such policy design of the CHTPA and the extent of trust of the targeted people on the policy output of the CHTPA implementation.

Moreover, the extents of satisfaction are compared between two Upazilas in the CHT to see its variation and to find out the probable factors which may explain for such variation. The study assumes that variation in implementation in the region may lead to variation and intensity of conflicts between groups and aggravate peace and security in the region. The very reason is that the Accord was aimed at reducing such incidents in the CHT region. However, the operational research questions are as follows:

1. To what extent the CHTPA targeted people are satisfied with the post-Accord peace and security condition?
2. To what extent the targeted people are satisfied with the role of intermediaries in the resolution of land disputes and conflicts?
3. To what extent the victims of land alienation and land grabbing cases are satisfied with the compensation provided for the alienated lands?
4. Was the policy design of the CHTPA reflected the problems and issues of the targeted groups?
5. To what extent the targeted groups accept (or reject) the context of signing the Peace Accord?
6. How far the case of repatriating the belligerents and providing adequate land to them are accepted by the targeted people? And finally-
7. How implementation performance, service delivery and occurrences of conflicts explain for the variation in satisfaction between two areas in the CHT?

The study also analyzes the responses in line with their socio-demographic profiles in a required manner. It helps for better understanding of the implementation phenomenon of the Accord and variation in satisfaction. Because socio-demographic profiles of the beneficiaries play crucial role in assessing implementation and also to find out responsible factors for the differences of such between two most similar contexts (Kipo, 2011).

1.7 Delimitation of the Study

One important task of a good research is to demarcate the scope of the study (Denscombe, 2014). Since the case of '*policy output*' is wide and pervasive, it needs to be restricted and specified for better understanding of the current study. Otherwise, the data of the study would be scattered and

misleading. Policy output of the CHTPA implementation is understood in terms of overall satisfaction of the targeted people with the post-Accord peace and security condition and their extents of satisfaction with implementation of major land related policy objectives of the Accord. The charter of the Accord implies that its ultimate goal is to ensure enduring peace and security in the CHT region by implementing major policy objectives. Here the major policy objectives include peaceful resolution of the land disputes; management of land crises; repatriation of the PCJSS belligerents/refugees and settling them at their own lands in the CHT at one side. Also the Bengali Settlers are needed to settle and resettle peacefully. These are prioritized issues set by the charter of the Accord to reach its policy goal of peace and security in the CHT region. So, the present study examines the extents of satisfaction of the targeted people on ensuring peace and security through the successful implementation of such major policy objectives of the Accord.

On the other side, the study examines the effect of the CHTPA '*policy design*' and the '*citizens*' '*trust*' on such policy output as well as satisfaction of the CHT people. Here '*policy design*' subtly refers to some crucial aspects: the major provisions of the Accord and the context/process of finalizing the Accord. And citizens' trust is used in this case to see the extent to what degrees the CHT people have confidence and trust in the implementing institutions of the Accord and the successive governments of Bangladesh. Because the study argues that such inclusiveness and accommodation increase the likelihood of satisfaction of the targeted people on implementation and policy performance of the Accord. In the case of finalizing the Accord, it aims to investigate how far the pertinent actors of the CHT conflict were accommodated and included in the peace process. Because in the case of peace accord it is important to see how the major provisions of the charter are adopted and in what process the accord is signed and whether the actors in conflict are adequately accommodated and involved in the process of finalizing such agreement (Lundin, 1989). So, briefly, the issue of policy output is understood in terms of the extent of satisfaction of the CHT people with the post-Accord policy performance of the CHTPA. Because it would be difficult to explore all the factors relating to the Accord within this single framework developed for the present thesis within limited time and budget.

1.8 Theoretical Framework of the Study

The study focuses on examining the influence of the CHTPA design and the citizens' trust on policy output of the Accord in terms of satisfaction of the targeted people on policy performance.

In this regard, the concepts of *policy design*, *citizens' trust* and *policy output* give the basis to develop the analytical framework for the current. The '*Integrated implementation model*' of Winter (2003) and review of relevant literature on '*trust*' work to develop the framework. Because the integrated model gives emphasis on the uses of targeted people's behavior in examining implementation in terms of the extent of satisfaction of the policy targeted people with the implementation and policy performance of the Accord. The study argues that the extent acceptance of the CHTPA policy design and the level of trust of the CHT people in the implementing institutions and the successive governments explain the extent of their satisfaction on policy performance and implementation of the Accord. More about on theoretical framework and variables of the study are discussed in the next chapter (Chapter Two).

1.9 Research Method

The study is mainly based on survey data to respond to the research questions developed in the earlier subsection of this chapter. However, qualitative data have also been used on the basis of holding required number of Focused Group Discussions (FGDs) to substantiate and triangulate the survey data (Yin, 2009). Other relevant secondary sources, like, books, journal articles, newspapers, and academic and research websites also provide data and information that strengthen and triangulate the primary data.

1.10 Organization of the Thesis

The present study is organized under six chapters. "*Chapter One*" is basically introductory discussion which constitutes the foundation of the present study. It presents brief background of the research and research questions; significance and rationale of the study with the scope of the research. *Chapter Two* broadly comprises the "*Literature Review & Theoretical Framework*" of the study. Also, describes conceptual issues related to the present study followed by a discussion on the relevant literature and theoretical underpinning. *Chapter Three* concentrates in *Methodology* of the study focusing on detailed of the research approach, research strategy, unit of analysis, data collection and strategy of analyzing such data with research ethics.

Chapter Four presents about the findings and discussions on dependent variable (i.e., policy output in terms of satisfaction on policy performance) and independent variables (i.e., policy design and citizen's trust) in line with the first part of the central research question and theoretical framework of the study. It discusses how policy design and trust of the beneficiaries' affect the extent of their

satisfaction on implementing the major policy goals and objectives of the Accord. *Chapter Five* finds out the variation in satisfaction between the selected units of the study and also isolates the factors which explain for the prevailing variation of such satisfaction. *Chapter Six* comprises the summary of the key findings of the whole thesis. It shows how the hypotheses developed for the study relate with its empirical findings and admits some limitations focusing on future scope and research implication in the relevant field and finally it encompasses concluding remarks on the whole study.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

The present chapter aspires to develop a framework for analyzing the implementation of the CHTPA in Bangladesh. With the help of implementation models, theories and other relevant concepts and issues are discussed in this this chapter to generate variables and hypotheses of the study. Though the chapter starts with discussion on the issues of policy implementation and implementation challenges in general, it narrowed down such discussion and concentrates in the case of Bangladesh-as a developing country. Finally, the chapter ends up with a framework that guides the study.

2.2 Use of Theories

A theory is considered as a portrait that configures and maps the relation to specific phenomena of a certain issue (Suppe, 2000). In fact, a social science theory is a reasoned and precise speculation about the answer to a research question, including a statement about why the proposed answer is correct (King, Keohane & Verba, 1995). Due to the focus and nature of the present study, it is assumed that a single theory (or model) would not be sufficient to draw the inference about satisfaction of the targeted people on CHTPA implementation and the effect of CHTPA policy design and citizen's trust on such satisfaction. One theory/model may not explain reasonably all the required variables of the study. In this regard, considering the context proximity and relevance with the present focus of the study, the significant parts of the *Integrated Implementation Model* (IIM) of Winter (2003) and the concept of "*citizens' trust*" are combined together and work as point of departure for developing the theoretical framework for the study. However, such framework helps to explore systematically how these factors affect the extent of satisfaction on the CHTPA implementation and also to find out the unobserved factors that may lead to the variation (if any) of such satisfaction between two most similar areas in the CHT.

2.3 Understanding Policy Implementation Discourse

Before jumping into the ‘implementation discourse’ and the ‘implementation challenges’ it is better to comprehend the issues and factors that entail ‘public policy’. Because better understanding about public policies would help to get clear conceptions about policy implementation and its challenges.

2.3.1 What public policy entails

The meaning of public policy is variegated as it is defined by different scholars from different perspectives and contexts. For example, Thomas Dye (1972, p. 2) argues that “public policy is anything a government chooses to do or not to do” (in Howlett and Ramesh 2009, p.4). On the other hand, the prominent policy scientist, Jenkins (1978) defines public policy as “a set of interrelated decisions taken by a political actor or group of actors concerning the selection of goals and the means of achieving them within a specified situation where those decisions should, in principle, be within the power of those actors to achieve”(p.6). However, from this short discussion on public policy it is found that Dye’s definition excludes the other non-governmental factors and actors from the policy process. In this regard, Jenkins’s argument is more scientific in that the author stands in favor of accommodating such actors or group of actors in the policy process. But the limitation of this discussion is that none of them hints on implementation challenges and what matters for satisfaction of the targeted people on implementation of such policy. Because any crucial policy needs to take decision addressing a certain public problem and setting viable means of achieving its goals and objectives. In this regard, Aryee’s (2000) concern is more precise and comprehensive where he defines public policy as a “broad statement of goals, objectives and means” (p.2). The following discussion may help to understand the implementation discourse and implementation challenges broadly.

2.3.2 Policy implementation: Top-down and Bottom-up debate

Implementation is always considered as the most important and challenging phase of the policy cycle. It is true that effective implementation is not based only on a single recipe of a specific cuisine rather it is influenced by various theories, models and frameworks developed by the implementation scholars. Winter (2003) argues that no matter how carefully the policy is

formulated, the success of a policy depends largely on how the policy is implemented effectively. Here effective implementation indicates the extents of satisfaction of the beneficiaries on implementation of the CHTPA.

Winter (2003) argues that policy implementation is “a relatively a young research field in public administration and public policy” (p.221). Howlett et al. (2009) see policy implementation as a process of “translating policy decisions into action” where most policy decisions (be it national or local) contain the means of carrying out goals of the policy (p.160). Van Meter and Van Horn (1975) consider policy implementation from the perspective of the extent of support and volume of change. If the volume of change is small and support is large then there is a greater likelihood of satisfactory implementation. However, the views of Pressman and Wildavsky (1984) mostly resembles the views of Van Meter and Van Horn (1975). Here the idea of implementation is defined as a “process of interaction between setting of goals and actions geared to achieving them” (ibid, p. xxiii). Mazmanian and Sabatier (1983, p.20-1) explain implementation as the “carrying out of a basic policy decision, usually incorporated in a statute but which can also take the form of important executive orders or court decisions, ideally, that decision identifies the problem(s) to be addressed, stipulates the objective(s) to be pursued, and in a variety of ways, ‘structures’ the implementation process” (in Hill and Hupe, 2009, p.9). The essence of Howlett et al. (2009) mostly resembles Sabatier’s (1986) understanding of ‘top-down’ approach to policy implementation. It starts with policy decisions of government and examines how those decisions (objectives) are attained by administrators. Similarly, Howlett and Ramesh (2009) argue that top-down approach assumes the policy process as a series of chain of command where political leaders articulate policy intention and then carried it out by administrative mechanisms. They also supplement this argument by adding that such approach is useful in setting out managerial and organizational principles to generate optimal match between political intention and administrative action (ibid).

Due to some fundamental flaws in top-down approach the critics offer an alternative way for successful implementation (i.e., bottom-up approach). This approach starts with identifying the network of actors involved in service delivery and asks about their goals, strategies, activities, and contacts (Sabatier, 1986). Then it develops a network technique using contacts that identify the actors involved in the planning, financing, and execution of the relevant governmental and non-governmental programs. This provides a mechanism for moving from street-level bureaucrats to policymakers in both public and private sectors (ibid). One major limitation of top-down approach

is that while it focuses more on ‘goal achievement’ as a standard for analyzing delivery performance of implementers, the bottom-up approach gives emphasis more on ‘problem solving’ from the perspective of those affected by the problem (Sabatier and Mazmanian 1980; Hjern and Hull 1987; Elmore 1985 in Peters and Pierre, 2003). Moreover, the top-down approach is also criticized on the ground of focusing too much on top politicians and senior officials at the neglect of lower-level implementers and officials (e.g., street-level bureaucrats), private sector actors, local implementing officials and the general public (Lipsky 1977; Elmore 1978; Berman 1978 cited in Sabatier 1986). From such discussion on top-down and bottom-up approaches to policy and policy implementation the study feels the necessity of a merger that synthesis these two diametric approaches. The following discussion may suffice to such aspiration.

2.3.3 Synthesizing two approaches

There are many attempts to synthesize these two approaches (i.e., top-down and bottom-up). The ‘*Integrated Implementation Model*’ (IIM) of Winter (2003) finds both bottom-up and top-down ignore the significant portion of implementation reality. The author argues that when policy implementation focuses on either of these two approaches stated above then the other vital issues that could facilitate the implementation process might be left out (ibid). Thus, the author feels a merger of these two approaches. His model develops salient variables and shows interactional relationship between policy design and policy output. It also introduces a set of issues and factors that affect implementation performance.

In addition to the Winter’s integrated model, the ‘*Interactive Model of Implementation*’ (IMI) developed by Grindle and Thomas (1991) also tries to merge the top-down and bottom-up approaches. The model argues that without accommodating and accumulating the potential oppositions both at micro (i.e., public arena as well as policy targeted people) and at macro (i.e., policy actors as well as bureaucratic arena) levels, it is most likely difficult to implement a policy reform effectively in the case of developing countries. It is to mention that the interactive model was also developed through rigorous research into twelve developing countries for what the use of this part of the model could be supplementary to the integrated model. In fact, the integrated model of policy implementation provides useful basis for the analysis of implementation of the CHTPA in terms of satisfaction of its targeted people in Bangladesh for its close proximity with the focus of present study.

2.3.4 Understanding implementation challenges

O'Toole (1986) emphasizes on some externalities to overcome challenges for better implementation. He claims that such “external conditions (e.g., economic, social and political) naturally influence the prospects for implementing public measures. This point is trivial from the standpoint of theory, but it is highly significant in practice” (in Rothstein, 1998, p.73). Moreover, DeLeon (1999) and Ferman (1990) argue that “the examination of policy implementation simply implies what happens between policy expectations and policy results perceived by the beneficiaries” (in Hill and Hupe, 2009, p.2). In the case the CHTPA it is highly relevant to measure the extents of satisfaction of its targeted people on policy performance and its implementation to conclude about the CHTPA implementation. In fact, reform builds on existing views that often fail because they do not fit many developing country contexts—looking like square peg in round holes (Andrew, 2013). This argument implies that every context is distinct and has its inherent reality which matters for the extents of satisfaction on implementation of a policy.

However, the implementation understanding of O'Toole (2000) mostly resembles the essence of DeLeon (1999) and Ferman (1990) where O'Toole explains implementation as “what happens between the establishment of an apparent intention on the part of the government to do something, or to stop doing something, and the ultimate impact in the world of action” (in Goel, 2014, p.300). Fritschler (1975) argues that “policy implementation is relatively unproblematic when there is a high degree of consensus among the major actors” (in Sabatier and Mazmanian, 1979, p.481-2). They specify the major actors as policy target group(s); implementing leaders; legislators as well as chief executives etc. Moreover, Sabatier and Mazmanian (1979) offer five conditions to overcome the potential challenges of policy implementation where the first one is positive reactions of the target groups to achieve the desired policy objectives. They argue that diversity of target groups' behavior, percentage and behavioral change of the policy targeted people affect effective implementation. They also supplement that unambiguous and unequivocal policy objectives, directives and structures are inevitable to maximize the likelihood of successful implementation. Because these are most likely to create positive stands within the targeted groups. Moreover, Grindle and Thomas (1991) are also in favour of formulating policy reforms giving much more importance on people's will and their acceptance of such reform. Otherwise they may reject such policy initiative and such rejection may also affect implementation of that policy. From this discussion it is comprehensible that analyzing perceptions and reactions of the CHT people

towards policy design could be a better aspect of understanding the present state of CHTPA implementation.

2.3.5 Implementation challenges: The issues of land crises

Land is traditionally considered as fundamental issue of many of the inter-personal to inter-state conflicts across the world. In most of the cases, it is too difficult to resolve such conflicts without ensuring consensus and building confidence between parties in conflict. In this regard, where land is crucial issue of a conflict the policy requires to give priority in accommodating and accumulating the grievances that prevail in the sections of the targeted community. For example, the rural and relatively few in numbers were sufficiently organized and rejected the agrarian reform (from 1986-1988) and the government retreated from taking risk of alienating them by adopting a land reform in Philippines (Thomas and Grindle, 1990). Moreover, Bleiklie (2006) argues that land has a constitutive role in the formation of a nation-state. Rose (1977) claims that “the land reform legislation in Nepal has done more to hurt ethnic minorities than to help them-the vast majority of landlords have taken advantage of the loopholes in land reform legislation to retain ownership over all their original property. This reform has been a failure due to a gross 'caricature' of the original proposal” (in Cox, 1990, p.1319). The underlying factor that has led to the ethnic violence in Ivory Coast is virgin forested land which was identified by Woods (2003). The author argues that “as available land declined and labor costs increased, a cycle of sharpening conflicts over these assets contributed to the current situation of ethno-regional division and civil war” (ibid, 641). Even the Global Policy Forum (GPF)¹¹ argues that the Oslo Accord (1993) and the Road Map (2003) have failed to bring Israel and Palestine into an agreement since at the heart of this conflict lies the question of land.

From the illustration of the CHTPA and its implementation feedback the common observation is that due to some complex land issues the Accord has been taking so long time in ensuring peace and security in the region. So the major aim of the study is to examine how far the issue of land is account for the present state of the CHTPA implementation.

¹¹ GPF is an independent policy watchdog that monitors the work of the United Nations and scrutinizes global policymaking. See for detailed <https://www.globalpolicy.org/> Accessed on 02/05/15.

2.4 Developing the Framework of the Study

From the implementation literature, models and theoretical argument it is understandable that successful implementation is not dependent only on better design of a policy and heroic¹² style of policy making. But it is argued that well-designed policies are necessary but not always sufficient for improving implementation prospects until and unless the targeted people accept and welcome such policy (May, 1992).

2.4.1 Policy Design and the Integrated Implementation Model (IIM)

Winter's (2003) '*Integrated Implementation Model*' is mostly a "framework for analysis" of implementation which argues that implementation of a policy can best be evaluated in terms of policy output using perceptions of the targeted people about such implementation (Winter 1990, p.27). In this case, the linkage between policy performance and policy output and access to policy goals and objectives by the targeted people impacts on their extents of satisfaction. The model is broadly composed of a set of *four* conditions as well as processes that affect policy output me are mentioned as follows:

- (1) the process of policy formulation prior to the law or final decision to be implemented;
- (2) the disposition of the implementing organizations;
- (3) the policy performance of the implementers; and
- (4) the reactions of the policy targeted people (ibid, pp. 20-21)

The first condition is about the impact of *policy formulation* and *policy design* on policy output in terms of results of a policy. Though there are multifaceted blames for the lack of goal achievement of a policy, the model argues that the roots of implementation problems can best be evaluated from the perspectives of the process of formulating and designing of a policy. The author considers four components/challenges regarding policy formulation stage of the policy cycle. *Conflict* in the time of policy formulation increases the likelihood of negative impacts on implementation. The right *choice of policy instrument* depends on proper adaptation with the changing behavior of the target

¹² The Westminster style of 'winner-take-all-democracy' illustrates what we may call a heroic style of policy making (Kogan and Hanney, 2000).

groups. *Attempt to resolve the arisen problem* is a further challenge of policy formulation stage. Because implementation is unlikely to succeed if there is no proper initiative to resolve the arisen crises. Finally, *attention* is considered as a crucial indicator to ensure support for a policy reform during implementation in that it impacts directly on implementation performance. The second condition of the model focuses on the *implementation process* and it shows how implementation is influenced by such process. The implementation process is mostly influenced by the *organizational and interorganizational* relationships to the programme directives. In the case of organizational and interorganizational behaviors the model argues that the different extents of commitment and coordination affect the implementation results. In this context, policy output depends largely on the harmonious relationships between program objectives and organizational interests, and the co-operation among institutional interests. The third condition of the model emphasizes on the integrating *street level bureaucrats* (in other words policy managers) in the stage of implementation process of policy cycle. The author argues that due to organizational culture the street level bureaucrats have the power to distort the implementation programs in many ways which may also affect the implementation. The fourth condition of the Winter's integrated model is about the behaviors of the *target groups*. This condition plays vital role in examining policy output and policy performance of the policy implementers. In line with Lipsky's (1980) insights on the issue of 'street-level bureaucracy' the model also emphasizes on the behaviors of the *street level bureaucrats* for their discretionary decisions in their direct contact with the policy targeted groups. Such behaviors affect the extent of satisfaction of the targeted groups in terms of policy results. Moreover, the model argues that all these conditions are interrelated and better policy output depends mostly on their better interactions and the reactions of the policy targeted people.

From such discussion it is understood that policy output depends on multifaceted factors and conditions. But using all the factors in analyzing the implementation of the CHTPA in terms of satisfaction of the targeted people with its policy performance using in a single study seems unrealistic. The CHTPA is not like other routine policies rather it is a special type of peace policy that aimed at bringing an end to age-old conflict and thereby ensuring peace and security in the CHT region of Bangladesh. For better understanding about the CHTPA implementation the study opts for three aspects of the model: policy design, target groups' behavior and policy output. The model also argues that the conditions of the model are not isolated rather they are interrelated and

interdependent. Considering the focus of the study it is assumed that these three aspects of the integrated model would readily help to develop the analytical framework for implementation analysis in the case of CHTPA in Bangladesh. So the study analyzes the behaviors (i.e., perceptions and reactions) of the policy targeted groups towards policy design (i.e., major provisions of the charter of the Accord and the process of it signing) and to see their effects on satisfaction of targeted people (i.e., policy output in terms of satisfaction with the post-Accord peace and security condition, satisfaction on implementation of major land related policy objectives).

The first factor of the model focuses on policy formulation as well as policy design and the fourth factor focuses on target groups' behavior. These two aspects of the model are highly inspiring/convincing for their relevance in developing theoretical framework of the study. Using behaviors (e.g., reactions and perceptions) of the policy targeted people towards the design of the CHTPA (formulation process and major provisions of the CHTPA) can best be understood how they affect the implementation of the CHTPA in terms of measuring the extents of satisfaction of the beneficiaries on implementation performance. Because policy design plays an important role not only on the effects of the policy, but also in affecting the performance of the implementers which can be understood by analyzing the behaviors of the policy targeted people (Winter 2003). More importantly, the target groups with different socio-economic, ethno-religious and cultural backgrounds may require special strategies to enhance people's satisfaction on implementation performance. In this regard, the author argues that the target groups are more likely to co-operate with programs when prescriptions are in accordance with existing behaviors and norms (ibid). So the study assumes that if policy design and its process of finalizing make the targeted groups feel that they are discriminated or believe they do not have what they had/deserve then they may reject the policy design and reacts negatively against such policy design. And accordingly it may affect the implementation of the CHTPA. A policy design and its implementation are necessary along with a high degree of learning mechanisms for successful implementation. Since the amount of change is large in the case of CHTPA it could be designed well with contribution from all relevant actors. If not, policy design will not be accepted by those potential opposing actors and consequently the implementation actions will be left unattended. Policy design thereafter should be implemented with political will and collaboration with implementing agency who are committed to implement the policy objectives successfully.

From such views and arguments, the present study assumes that if the policy design (i.e., the context of signing the agreement and the major policy provisions of the Accord) and objectives are set in accordance with the demands of the policy targeted people it is most likely viable to implement the policy initiative successfully. Otherwise they could react and oppose against such policy initiative and its implementation activities which may results in implementation failure. But in many cases it is evident that the tendency of policy formulation and implementation are to neglect the demands, grievances and opinions of the target groups and such neglects most likely to bring implementation failure. So, the target groups' reactions can best be used to measure the extents of satisfaction on implementation of the CHTPA in Bangladesh. For the present study the target groups indicate both the Bengali settlers and the Indigenous peoples living in the CHT area. Because the CHTPA's prime concern was/is to ensure peace and security in this region by creating the environment of peaceful coexistence between these two broader ethnic groups through proper management of the land related crises and peaceful settlement of other forms of conflicts in the CHT. Therefore, the study assumes that if the rational demands and the grievances of the targeted groups are not reflected in the policy process and design of the Accord sufficiently, they could dislike and reject such policy initiatives which also may affect the implementation of the CHTPA negatively. In this case, the hypothesis of the study is-

H-01. *“The extent of acceptance of the policy design of the CHTPA by the targeted people will imply their extent of satisfaction on policy performance and implementation of the Accord.”*

2.4.2 The issue of citizens' trust and confidence

Citizens' trust is another crucial issue in comparative politics and contemporary social science research which very often used in measuring policy output. The study assumes that citizens' trust in implementing institutions and governments matter for the extent of satisfaction on implementation of the policy beneficiaries. Due to varied dimensions about the issue of 'trust' and 'confidence', it is not easy to give its conceptual definition in a single line. For instance, trust depends on good will, accommodation, transparency, accountability, willingness, inclusiveness, vulnerability, cooperation, mutual understanding, information sharing and so on (McKnight & Shervany, 2001, p.28). It is most likely for these reasons the use of trust has been getting popularity and acceptability as an academic concept in social science research. In fact, the concept of 'trust'

is more user friendly in expressing the feeling and reaction when the researchers are interested to analyze implementation and policy performance.

However, citizens' trust largely emphasizes the fairness, just, effectiveness and inclusiveness of political and public institutions (Rothstein & Stolle, 2001). Moreover, trust implies to the capacity and willingness in promoting and fulfilling the needs and reducing the grievances of citizens in an accommodative manner (Crete, Pelletier & Couture, 2006). The study assumes that citizens' trust encourages and increases the quality of policy performance which readily increases the extent of satisfaction on implementation of the CHTPA. Because lack of public trust is often blamed for bad functioning of policy performance which results in implementation failure (Bouckaert & Van de Walle 2003). Empirical evidence shows that satisfaction on policy performance and trust are positively correlated (Kampen, Van de Walle & Bouckaert 2006:389). Kampen, Madden & Vermunt (2003) also find a significant relationship between satisfactions with policy performance and trust in government and implementing institutions. Similarly, Van Ryzin, Muzzio & Immerwahr (2004) have also found strong relationship between overall satisfactions with public services at the local level and trust in government institutions. Trust in government institutions and implementing agencies influence the likelihood of policy performance which also increases the extents of satisfaction of the targeted people with policy output (Asfar, Kahkonen & Lanyi, 1999). Moreover, Jamil & Askvik (2016) argues that trusting relationship between governments and citizens is seen as an indication of good governance where it reflects the government's position in line with citizens' needs and demands. It means that assuming the extents of citizens' trust in the governments it would be possible to trace out the ending result of implementation of a policy.

So, in a conflict stricken region, like the CHT, the study assumes that citizens trust in governments and implementing institutions largely depend on inclusion, accommodation, equality and, of course, proper identification of the problem that satisfy the targeted people. When political and public institutions adopt these key principles efficiently in their working procedures it is more likely to increase citizens' trust in the governments and the implementing institutions irrespective of ethnicity, religion, gender and caste. However, no study is found that has used citizens' trust in examining the CHTPA implementation. The study argues that trust enhances legitimacy and acceptability of an institution more and thereby it reduces the chances of opposition against implementation by the stakeholders. All these are congenial to implement a policy successfully

and to increase the extents of satisfaction on implementation of the targeted people. Based on such arguments and empirical evidences stated above the study finds it relevant to use the issue of trust in examining implementation of the CHTPA. However, in this regard, the study derives the following hypothesis:

H-02. The higher the citizens' trust in implementing institutions and successive governments, the better the implementation of the CHTPA.

In this backdrop, the study explores citizens' trust in the implementing institutions and the successive governments to see their impacts on satisfaction of the CHTPA implementation. The assumption is that if the successive governments are in approach to inclusive, responsive and accommodative in the formulation process of the Accord and implementing its the policy goals and objectives, then it is most likely the citizens' trust in the governments and implementing institutions would be higher. And consequently it ensures the greater extent of satisfaction of the beneficiaries on implementation of the Accord.

2.5 Relevance of the Model and the issue of Trust in Developing the Framework

One important aspect of the integrated implementation model is that it focuses on examination of policy design using the perceptions and reactions of targeted people to see its impacts on the CHTPA implementation. The former two aspects of the model recognize the importance of policy design which is based on top-down approach followed by the latter two conditions based on bottom-up approach to ensure greater extent of implementation (Howlett et al. 2009). Because the latter parts of the model focus more on evaluation of policy performance through analyzing the behavior of the policy beneficiaries. There are many logics behind proper identification of the problem and accommodating the grievances and demands of the policy targeted people. For instance, accommodating the demands and grievances of the targeted people in the policy design is of high importance which is argued by Grindle and Thomas (1991).

The latter two aspects of the integrated model imply the bottom-up approach of policy implementation which give importance to the opinions of local level policy targeted people. In fact, the model makes a bridge between top-down and bottom-up approaches of implementation by connecting policy design and policy output receiving feedback from the beneficiaries at the local level. Such a synthesized model is highly relevant to examine the CHTPA implementation

for its best fit. The important aspect of the model is that it can be used in assessing the output of a policy programme through analyzing the behavior of the policy targeted groups towards the policy design and the role of implementers. Because the model argues that policy design and role of the implementers have great influence on behavior of the targeted people. In addition, this integrated model has also been applied in many international studies, like, Australian domestic politics (Ryan, 1996) and Danish employment policy (Jensen et al., 1991), Ghana's health policy (Kipo, 2011) etc. So far I have explored and found no study is accomplished applying this model in the case of South Asia. Such works and the lacuna in this case encourage and inspire to use this model in developing theoretical framework of the present study in analyzing the implementation of the CHTPA in Bangladesh.

However, though the behaviors of the targeted people are considered as crucial condition by the integrated model for measuring implementation, it does not address specifically the effects of other contemporary vital issues and factors, like-citizens' trust and confidence. In this regard, the framework incorporates the issue of trust in the implementing institutions and the governments of the CHT people. This issue supplements the theoretical framework of the study for better understanding of the CHTPA implementation from the perspective of trust and confidence. Because it is argued that without citizens '*trust*' in the implementing institutions and governments public policies are likely to fail (Rothstein, 1998). So the study argues that the extent of trust and confidence of the beneficiaries of the CHTPA in implementing institutions and governments indicate the extent of implementation of the Accord.

The CHT in Bangladesh provides better scope to examine implementation of the CHTPA using the concept of trust since this area comprises about thirteen more different ethnic groups (though they are broadly two: the Bengali settlers and the Indigenous peoples) with different socio-cultural background. In this regard, it is important to note that the study's prime focus is on exploring the extents of satisfaction on CHTPA implementation (i.e., policy output as dependent variable) and to examine the effects of the CHTPA policy design and citizens' trust (i.e., independent variables) on such satisfaction of the targeted people about the implementation of the Accord. To do so, the study uses target groups' reactions and their evaluations on the CHTPA policy design and the implementation of the Accord. The variables of the study and their operationalization are discussed below.

2.5.1 Policy output of the CHTPA

The study identifies its dependent variable as “*policy output*” of the CHTPA in line with the major research questions stated above. But one major challenge of explaining the degrees of such output is to resist the influences of factors other than the factors designed for the present study. In this regard, the study prefers to explain the CHTPA policy output by measuring the the extent of satisfaction with the post-Accord peace and security condition and also with the implementation of some major land related policy objectives of the Accord. Because prime concern of the CHTPA is to ensure peace and security through the resolution of the land related disputes in the region. Thus, if implementation is successful in the case of the Accord, the beneficiaries would surely reply with satisfaction on the condition of peace and security sustenance of the region. Broadly, the study’s one independent variable is ‘*policy design*’ (e.g., the issues of policy design are major provisions of the Accord and the process of signing the Accord) and another independent variable is ‘*trust*’ of the CHT people. So the study shows how independent variables (i.e., policy design and trust) affect the dependent variable (i.e., policy output) of the study.

This study relates variables to look for corresponding relationships between *policy design* of the CHTPA and *trust* of the CHT people with the *output* of the CHTPA implementation. The perceptions and reactions of the targeted people about *policy design* and *trust* of the CHT people are considered as independent variables where the extent of *policy output* as dependent variable. Under these conditions, the extent of acceptance of such policy design and the level of trust of the targeted people in the successive governments and the implementing institutions imply better implementation of the CHTPA. Because such reactions are considered as congenial to successful implementation of the CHTPA. On the other hand, the extent of rejection (i.e., disagree with the policy design) towards the same aspects of the policy design and the level of distrust in implementing institutions and successive governments imply ineffectiveness of the CHTPA. Because the presence of these issues may jeopardize the implementation process and limit the extent of such policy output of the CHTPA implementation. More specifically, major policy changes are most likely to create some sort of reactions among the targeted community. It depends on the positive or negative changes which may rise from perceived threat or perceived solution to the policy adoption or policy reform. If the targeted community considers the policy change as threat to their prevailing rights and survival then rejections and oppositions are most likely to be

found which may reduce the extent of such implementation. In order to examine the impact of the design of the Accord and the trust of the targeted people on policy output of the Accord the study uses the behavior (e.g., reactions and perceptions) of the CHT people. And all these issues and factors help greatly to develop the conceptual framework of the study.

2.5.2 Operationalization of the dependent variable

Operationalization of variables for this study implies the way in which the study defines the concepts (e.g., policy design, trust, policy output) that have been used in analyzing the implementation of the CHTPA within the theoretical framework developed for the present study. Based on the research questions stated above the study operationalizes policy output (dependent variable) of the CHTPA by measuring the following indicators-

- a) Satisfaction of the targeted people with the post-Accord overall peace and security condition;
- b) Satisfaction of the policy targeted people with the role of intermediaries in resolving the land related disputes in the CHT region; and
- c) Satisfaction with the compensation provided for the alienated/grabbed land.

Broadly, these are the mainstream policy objectives of the CHTPA. The following discussion may help to understand more clearly why such issues are taken into consideration for measuring the dependent variable.

a) Satisfaction of the targeted people with the post-Accord peace and security condition

According to Aryee (2000) the policy output is the degree to which a policy attains its goal and objectives. In the case of the CHTPA its overall goal and objectives was to ensure enduring peace and security in the CHT region. In fact, the Accord was signed with an objective to expedite peacebuilding in CHT by elevating the state of security, human rights, access to land rights, political rights, and justice for all equally which are described in four parts of the Accord elaborately. For this, the present study assumes that if such targets are achieved largely it is most likely the people of the CHT would evaluate the post-Accord situation positively. On the contrary, if such policy objectives are not achieved properly they could evaluate the post-Accord situation negatively. In this regard, the survey question was:

"How do you evaluate the post-Accord situation compared to the pre-Accord times in your locality in terms of peace and security, law and order situations, access to land rights of the CHT people and human rights conditions"? The options were given as – A) Satisfied with the post-Accord peace and security condition; B) Dissatisfied with the post-Accord peace and security condition.

Examining the extent of their satisfaction in this perspective the study measures the extent of policy output of the CHTPA. Moreover, feedback about the implementation of the following specific land related issues also help to measure the extent of policy output of the CHTPA implementation which substantiate the above mentioned broader aspect of overall satisfaction with the post-Accord peace and security condition.

b) Satisfaction on the role of resolution of conflicts

The resolution of conflicts in the CHT is invariably considered as a prime concern of the Accord. Because the Accord aims to ensure peaceful coexistence among the CHT inhabitants through the proper management of conflicts in this area. In this regard, ensuring satisfactory resolution to such conflicts by the implementing institutions (e.g., intermediaries) is crucial. Otherwise the likelihood of recurrence of conflict is higher either in similar or in different forms (Joshi & Darby, 2013). So the study argues that the resolution of such conflicts without satisfying the parties in conflict would no more be effective as per the goal of the Accord.

However, conflict is traditionally managed by two ways: negotiating settlement or mediating settlement. First, it is expected that when people themselves engage in conflict they may try to resolve such arisen conflict based on negotiating settlement. Second, the parties in conflict can also approach the mediating institutions voluntarily to resolve the conflict. These two may happen only when the parties in conflict realize the costs of conflict and want to resolve the arisen conflict. Third, the intermediaries as well as the mediating institutions those who are authorized and recognized to deal with such disputes and conflicts at the local level may approach the parties to conflict. The first approach is known as negotiating settlement of conflict while the latter two are identified as mediating settlement of conflict. In the case of resolution of CHT conflicts by the latter two approaches the organizations, like, *Karbary, land commission, upazila land office* at the CHT local level are given full jurisdiction by the Accord to mediate such conflicts peacefully and

impartially to ensure justice, peace and security in the region. So, it can be assumed that the proper management of such conflicts readily ensures better extent of satisfaction of the person who have this kind of experiences. On the other hand, if these mediating institutions are failed to handle such issues effectively the disputants may show dissatisfaction to those institutions in the CHT. So the extent of satisfaction (or dissatisfaction) signifies the extent of policy output of the CHTPA implementation. In this regard, the first question was posed to the respondents whether they have any experience of conflicts over land with other people living in the CHT to know whether they were satisfied with the role of such mediating institutions in resolving such conflicts. They were given some options to mark their level of satisfaction in these regards.

c) Satisfaction with compensation provided for the grabbed/alienated land

The tendency of land alienation and land grabbing is high in the CHT which is evident from the literature reviewed for the study. The study assumes that if the provided compensation by the respective implementing organizations for such cases is not reasonable this might lead to dissatisfaction to such land victims. On the other hand, the reasonable compensation could increase the level of satisfaction of those land victims. According to the *Acquisition and Requisition of the Immovable Property Ordinance*¹³, 1982 the government of Bangladesh is determined to ensure justice by providing satisfactory compensation and proper rehabilitation to such land victims. The present study argues that the greater the extent of satisfaction with the compensation allotted for their alienated land indicates the greater success in implementation of the CHTPA. Because one crucial policy objective of the Accord is to ensure justice in dealing with the land related issues and crises. So this is the responsibility of the policy implementing institutions in the CHT to ensure justice in terms of satisfaction of the victims by managing and confirming the reasonable compensation for such grabbed and alienated lands. To do so, the survey posed three subsequent questions. First, in order to trace the trends of such land victims and to know the propensity of such land grabbing (or alienation) in CHT area the survey asked:

Have you been experienced the incidences of land alienation or land grabbing by the governmental agencies, non-governmental organizations or by any individual?

¹³ See for detailed, http://bdlaws.minlaw.gov.bd/pdf_part.php?act_name&vol=XXII&id=619 (accessed on 30/03/2016)

Thereafter the victims were requested to share their experiences of receiving compensation (if provided any) and their extent of corresponding satisfaction on it. The study assumes that monitoring and supervision of the CHTPA implementing institutions at the local level could enhance proper and just compensation for the grabbed/alienated lands. And such active services of the implementing institutions impact on the extent of satisfaction of the implementation of the CHTPA.

2.5.3 Policy design and Citizens' trust

Better policy design always encourages both means and mechanisms through which goals are given effective in that goal articulation inevitably involves considerations of feasibility, or what is practical or possible to achieve in given circumstances (Huitt 1968; Majone 1975; Ingraham, 1987). In this regard, the designers of a policy are required to have better understanding of contexts and ability to clearly differentiate between those aspects that must be accepted as given preconditions, or constraints, of the design activity and those aspects that can be changed by their own talent and efforts (Adach, 2011). The present study analyzes how the CHTPA was designed and examines the level of trust of the beneficiaries in the successive governments and the implementing institutions. It helps to see their corresponding effects on satisfaction in terms of policy output of the CHTPA implementation. Here the policy design refers to the major provisions of the Accord which are outlined in the content of the Charter and the process of finalizing (i.e., signing) the Accord. The study argues that the more the accommodation of the demands and grievances of the CHT people by the CHTPA policy designers, the more it is accepted by those people and these also have broaden its chances of being implemented successfully. The study further argues that implementing a policy reform is affected by the kinds of policy objectives are specified, the way in which the policy goals are stated, and how the action programs are designed for the pursuit of those goals and objectives (Grindle and Thomas, 1991). More specifically, for successful implementation of a policy depends on clarity of the goals and objectives of that policy which also increases the likelihood of satisfaction of the targeted groups on such policy output (Pressman and Wildavsky, 1984; Van Meter and Van Horn, 1975).

So, policy design is not merely about choosing the best and effective policy solution but incorporating different views to neutralize the grievances and oppositions to ensure greater acceptance and legitimacy of the targeted people. In this regard, the study argues that policy design

needs to be open, flexible that accommodate different views, opinions and different groups to get more acceptance, and hence it ensures more legitimacy to implement successfully. Without a policy being legitimated in society by stakeholders it is difficult to get support for its implementation. Otherwise the chances of failure in implementation increases. All these prerequisites are to improve the state of trustworthiness about the existing political and implementing institutions. This approach improves the legitimacy of a policy that also helps to implement it successfully. So, the study intends to see how the CHTPA design (i.e., major provisions of the charter of the Accord and its process of signing) and trust of the CHT people in the implementing institutions and the successive governments affect the extent of satisfaction on policy performance of the targeted people.

2.5.4 Operationalization of independent variables

This section operationalizes the issues and factors (as independent variables) that may have influence on policy output (dependent variable) of the CHTPA for this study.

2.5.4.1 Policy design of the CHTPA

It is assumed that the greater extent of acceptance of such policy design by targeted people increases the chances of successful implementation of the CHTPA. So the policy design for this study has been operationalized by examining the extents of acceptance of the major provisions of the CHTPA charter and the context of signing the Accord.

a) Acceptance of the overall land related policy designs of the Accord

There has always been a claim from the CHT experts that the resolution of land disputes and its proper management can only ensure peace and security in the CHT region. The reviewed literature also provides such indication which are discussed and mentioned in the literature review chapter and theoretical framework of the study. Moreover, a thorough study of the charter of the CHTPA reveals that the proper management of land and the land related crises are prioritized policy objectives of the Accord to ensure peace and security in the region. So the study inquires how far this importance reflects the demands and needs of the CHT people and how far such designs are accepted by them.

The assumption of the study is that if the demands and grievances of the CHT people are not sufficiently reflected in the charter of the Accord this may lead to reject such land related provisions. On the other hand, the proper identification and inclusion of the land issues could increase the extent of acceptance of such policy provisions. Because if the proposed reform does not offer clear benefits to the affected people then it is very difficult to mobilize large numbers of people to collaborate in such a big change. Rather they will reject and oppose such policy adoption. However, the nature and intensity of reactions of the targeted people determine whether the CHTPA adoption is accepted or rejected by those people.

So the main survey question was posed to know the extent to what level the CHT people do accept the land related policy objectives of the CHTPA. In this regard the first question was on the overall land-related policy objectives of the Accord as follow-

- ❖ The question asked was: To what extent do you accept and agree with the overall land related policy objectives of the Accord?

This above question was followed by the following specific questions on land related issues of the charter of the CHTPA. These are:

- ✓ The question asked was: ‘According to Part B, Article 3 of the Accord who is not a tribal and possesses land legally in the Hill District and generally lives at a certain address in the Hill District he shall be identified as ‘non-tribal permanent resident’.¹⁴ What is your reaction to such provision of the Accord?

The case of identifying the non-Indigenous peoples as ‘non-tribal permanent resident’ seems sensitive to both Bengali settlers and Indigenous. In one sense the settlers are recognized by the authority to live permanently in the CHT. But usually the Indigenous peoples do not want others to be settled in the CHT. This question will find how this issue is perceived by the Indigenous respondents. In other sense, Bengali settlers are identified with new identity after this Accord signed beyond their Bengali or Bangladesi identities. So it will also help to trace how the Bengali settlers perceive such new identity-whether they accept or not.

However, such strategy initially helps to know the extent of overall acceptance of the land related provisions of the Accord by the CHT people and also helps to know the presence of feeling of threat/security in implementing such policy provisions. Secondly, the reactions about the specific

¹⁴ According to the Part B, Article 3 of the charter of the CHTPA.

land policy provisions of the Accord helps to examine its reliability of the reactions about the overall land related policy objectives of the Accord and to check the consistency between them.

Furthermore, the study argues that the feeling of security or threat of the CHT people in the case of implementing such land provisions is a crucial indicator to see the effect of the land related provisions of the Accord on the policy output of its implementation. For instance, the present study assumes that non-accommodation of the demands and grievances of the targeted people of the Accord could lead to the feeling of more threat to their peaceful and secure life. So, the study inquires the level of security (or insecurity) feeling towards implementing the CHTPA land policy objectives. This strategy helps to explore the extent of feeling of threat or feeling of security and thereby the study relates it to the policy output of the Accord. The extent of threat or security feeling is measured by asking them: *if the land related provisions of the Accord are implemented fully then who will be affected mostly by your evaluation?*

The study argues that if the land related policy design of the CHTPA are based on proper identification of problems of the targeted people and considering their demands and grievances properly they could answer positively and accept such provisions wholeheartedly. Consequently all these may help to implement such policy provisions successfully.

In addition, the Accord was also aimed at bringing back the tribal refugees and belligerents who fled to India's Tripura and borders of the CHT under some facility packages. In this regard, providing two acres of land to each returnee was one of the major commitments of the Agreement. In accordance with the said Agreement the process of repatriation of the refugees initiated on March 28, 1997 (Matrix, 2016). So the study intends to see the effect of reactions of the CHT people about this provision of the Accord. Because repatriating the refugees and rehabilitating them in the CHT is a major policy concern of the CHTPA.

In this regard the question was-

- ✓ The CHTPA (see part D) is committed to repatriate the tribal people from Tripura (province of India) and to provide **two acres** of lands to each landless family who possesses less than 2 acres of lands. Do you accept this provision of the Accord?

So the study argues that the gap between expectation of the targeted people regarding the land management and the policy objectives displayed in the CHTPA will indicate whether they are accept or reject such objectives.

b) Acceptance the context and process of signing the Accord only between the then Government and the PCJSS

Conflict during policy formulation always has impact on the implementation. More specifically, the greater the degree of conflict in the policy formulation stage, the more likely that implementation will be frustrated (Ryan, 1996). It means that if there are conflicts (latent or manifest) that encircle the formulation process of a policy is most likely affect the implementation. In a similar tune Hill and Hupe (2012: p.258) also argue that “a well-designed policy with effective instruments is necessary but not sufficient for improving implementation prospects in that the roots of implementation can often be found in the prior policy formulation process”. However, the administrative and political culture of most of the developing countries are characterized by confrontation, hatred, and retaliation. Bangladesh as a developing country is not exception in this regard. For these reasons, the present study argues that the CHTPA needed to give emphasis more on accommodating and accumulating the potential opposing policy actors in the CHT peace process and its context of signing. Otherwise they could reject or procrastinate in implementing such policy objectives while they or their ideological parties are in power. And in such case the policy output of the Accord may be frustrated. It is evident that ignoring many other crucial national and regional political and apolitical organizations in Bangladesh the CHTPA took place only between the PCJSS and the then ruling party. However, in order to know the extent of acceptance or rejection of this approach by the CHT people the study asked them- *how far the peace process and the context of signing this agreement are accepted by them.*

2.5.4.2 The issue of citizens Trust

The study operationalizes the issue of trust of the CHT people (independent variable) by measuring their extent of trust and confidence in implementing institutions and successive governments. The extent of trust in policy performances of the implementing institutions and the commitments of the successive governments indicate the extent of implementation of the Accord.

a) The extent of trust of the CHT people in the implementing institutions

The study argues in its conceptual framework that trust of the policy beneficiaries in the implementing institutions is an important factor for assessing the implementation. For instance, the presence of higher extent of trust of the targeted people in those institutions implies the greater implementation of the CHTPA and vice versa. Because without citizens trust in the implementing institutions the public policies are likely to be failed (Rothstein, 1998). So the CHT people were asked-

“What is your level of trust in the implementing institutions of the CHTPA in implementing its land related policy objectives”?

For this they were given some options to rank their level of trust in those implementing institutions: A) Lowest level; B) Lower level; C) Low level; D) High level; E) Higher level; F) Highest level.

b) The extent of trust and confidence in the successive governments of Bangladesh

The study also argues in its conceptual framework that trust and confidence of the CHT people in the commitments of the successive governments and their activity in implementing the major policy objectives of the Accord are important for assessing the extent of implementation of the CHTPA. The operationalization of this approach implies that the higher extent of trust and confidence of the targeted people in the successive governments imply the better extent of implementation of the CHTPA and vice versa. So they were asked to know their extent of trust in the successive governments' cordiality in implementing the land related policy objectives of the Accord. In this regard the, the question asked was: What is your level of your trust in the successive governments' claim that they are cordial in bringing an end to the land grabbing cases and ensuring justice in the case of such victims? They were given the options to choose any of these: A) Low level of trust ; B) Lowest level of trust; C) High level of trust; D) Highest level of trust.

2.6 Analytical Framework: Variables and their Relations

Such variables and their operationalization clearly imply that the positive reactions of the CHT people towards the independent variables¹⁵ have positive impacts on its dependent variable¹⁶. On the contrary, if it is found that there is a tendency of negative reactions from the respondents towards the independent variables then it would readily indicate the lower extent of implementation of the CHTPA. The discussion on variables of the study and their interactions can be summarized and depicted as follows:

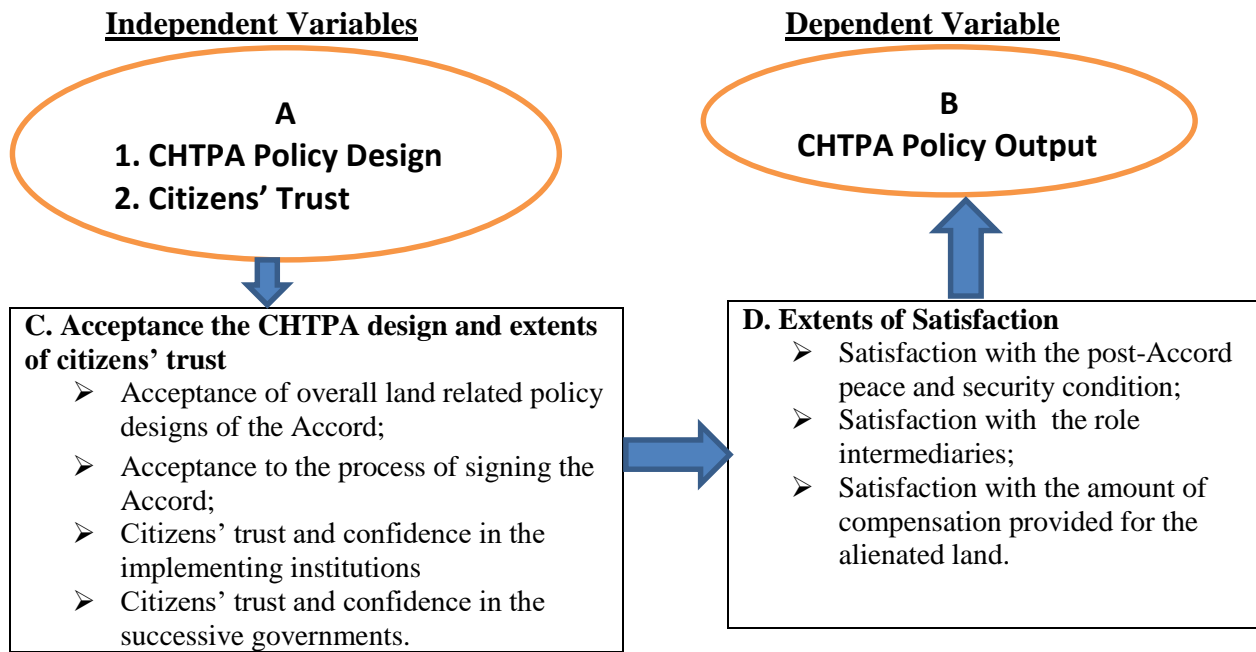


Figure 2. Analytical framework of the study developed and adopted from Winter (2003, p.207) and the reviewed literature of the study

The arrows in above Figure 2 always indicate the forward directions. The perceptions and reactions about the policy goal and policy performance of the CHTPA are broadly considered as policy output (Box B). This policy output is influenced by the CHTPA design and citizens' trust (Box A). Policy output is measured in terms satisfaction of the targeted people with the post-Accord

¹⁵ Independent variables of the study are considered as the CHTPA design (the major provisions of the charter of the Accord and the context of signing the Accord) and citizens' trust in the implementing institutions and the successive governments.

¹⁶ Dependent variable of the study is implementation output of the CHTPA which is measured by the level of satisfaction on the post Accord situation and other specific implementation performance.

peace and security condition and their extents of satisfaction on implementation performance (like, role of the intermediaries, compensation for the grabbed land etc.).

The arrows indicate that the extent of acceptance of the CHTPA design (i.e., acceptance of the land related policy provisions of the charter of the Accord; acceptance of the process of signing the Accord; and the extent of trust of the targeted people in the implementing institutions and the successive governments) (Box-C) affect the policy output of the CHTPA implementation in terms of satisfaction of the targeted people with the post-Accord overall peace and security condition; satisfaction with the role of intermediaries; and satisfaction with the amount of compensation provided for the alienated land (Box D).

For this study, the tendency of majority (in terms of percentage distribution) perceptions of the CHT people about the CHTPA design and its context of signing signify the extent of policy output. For instance, the majority percentages of negative perceptions in the case of these aspects imply the negative policy output of the CHTPA implementation, while the positive tendency stands for better policy output of the implementation of the Accord.

2.7 Conclusion

The chapter has developed the analytical framework mostly with aid of Winter's integrated model and the issue of trust. The framework speculates that the extent of implementation is influenced by the policy design of the CHTPA and the extent of trust of the CHT people. However, a dominating trends of positive responses towards the independent variables and at the same time majority trends of negative reactions towards the dependent variables from the respondents could also be found. Such condition may indicate the presence of some other extraneous variables which might have influence on such trends and relationship. For instance, bureaucratic procrastination, resource limitation and lack of cordial disposition of the policy implementers and the policy actors may work as such extraneous variables in this case. Because politics of most of the developing countries are characterized by confrontation and non-cooperation between the parties in power and the opposition in the parliament. And Bangladesh is not exception in this regard.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The chapter elucidates the research design of the study in terms of research methodology, selecting the study area, sampling design, participants of focused group discussion and the quality assessment of the study in terms of reliability and validity tests.

3.2 Study Area and the Selection of Site(s)

Generally, the researcher gathers information or data up to the point where she/he either has enough answers to the questions that prompted the research or has enough to test the propositions (Layder, 1998). Since the study aims at examining the implementation of the CHTPA in terms of perception of peace and security and resolution of land disputes, the study needs to select a site in the CHT where there is prevalence of disputes and conflicts over land. It also needs the site which has the propensity of settling the plain land *Bengali* people in the CHT so that the findings of the study can best be generalized to the remaining parts of the CHT and similar domain of problem beyond this.

Relying on my prior knowledge of having academic background in peace and conflict studies and based on different reliable secondary sources (UNDP, 2005; PCJSS, 2013; Amnesty International; 2014) it is found that the Khagrachhari¹⁷ is more conflict-stricken compared to other two hill districts. For example, since 1997 (the year of signing the Accord) to 2013, there are about 14 major conflicts over land across the CHT along with other regular incidences of misdemeanors. Seven (7) of them took place in Khagrachhari, six (6) in Rangamati and one (1) in Bandarban (CHTDF, 2014, p.76). On the other hand the tendencies of land grabbing and land acquisition by both governmental and non-governmental organizations for the purpose of industry and eco-park have been increasing in Khagrachhari day by day (Adnan, 2004). Even the land survey was opposed by the PCJSS as many of the indigenous peoples were fugitive having no land document

¹⁷ There are three Hill districts Rangamati, Khagrachhari and Bandarban in the CHT area.

and the land records office in the Khagrachhari district had been burned down (Roy, 2004). Considering all these rationales and proximity with the focus of the study it selects Khagrachhari district as the study site.

3.3 Units of Analysis

It is argued that the ‘*units of analysis*’ is usually identified as “what or whom being studied” (Babbie, 2001, p. 98). In this regard, “selection of an appropriate ‘*unit of analysis*’ will occur when a researcher can accurately specify his primary research question” (Yin, 2003, p. 23). The primary research question of the study is “*to what extent has the CHTPA been implemented and what factors may explain the variation of policy output between two most similar areas in the CHT*”? To examine and explore the probable answer(s) of this research question the study collects and analyzes the responses about the CHTPA and its implementation of the CHT people from local (i.e., *upazila*¹⁸) level at Khagrachhari district. *Upazila* is selected in that it is the lowest administrative tier of formal civil administration in Bangladesh where the implementers (i.e., street level bureaucrats) work as policy managers in implementing the CHTPA along with other governmental policies.

Moreover, *the State of Acquisition and Tenancy Act, 1950* of Bangladesh has given full jurisdiction to the Assistant Commissioner, Land (or, in absentia, the Upazila Executive Officer) who also works at upazila level to deal with the issues of land and the management of land related crises at this administrative tier of Bangladesh. The study argues that the selection of this tier as study unit is more reasonable to examine the policy output of the CHTPA implementation and to find out the factors that may be responsible for the variation (if there is any) in such policy output of the CHTPA. However, Berg & Lune (2009) opine that the ‘*units of analysis*’ is about what the case focusing on—such as an individual, a group, an organization, a city, an administrative area etc. The present study aims at examining the CHTPA implementation at the local levels using the responses of the targeted people. In this case, the focus of this study is apparently centered in Upazila as the lowest formal administrative unit in Bangladesh where both the policy beneficiaries and the

¹⁸ Upazila is the lowest administrative and bureaucratic unit of Bangladesh governmental. At this stage the street level bureaucrats work as policy managers in implementing the policy taken by the Government. They function as sub-units of district administration.

implementers are available at a time. Considering such views and perspectives the selected *Upazilas* are (as administrative area) identified as units of analysis for this study.

3.3.1 Research design and selecting the required units

The study needs to select the required number of units (i.e., *Upazilas*) so that it would suffice for both parts of the central research question. In this regard, the guiding principles of the ‘*Most Similar System Design*’ (MSSD) method seems rational for selecting required number of units due to the nature of the central research question (Mills, Durepos, & Wiebe, 2009). Because the MSSD compares similar cases/units as possible on the assumption that the more similar cases being compared, the more possible it should be to isolate the factors responsible for differences between them (Peters, 1998). In addition to this, Anckar (2006) argues that the applicability of such comparative research design in the contemporary socio-political research has been getting higher importance for its scientific approaches to comparative study that helps to find out the probable causes behind the prevailing differences between two most similar cases.

For these rationales the study is inspired and convinced to follow this MSSD in selecting two separate but most similar *Upazilas* out of eight from Khagrachhari district. It is to be noted that all the *Upazilas* are similar and homogenous in terms of their administrative settings, duty, responsibility, jurisdiction, logistics and number of staffs in implementing the CHTPA. Following the MSSD approach the study gives priority on the following criteria in selecting two units. It needs to be mentioned that the whole CHT is extensively hilly and still considered as conflict zone for what all the spheres of this region are not safe and secure for all the time. Another limitation in the CHT area is that all the connecting roads from the districts to their *Upazilas* are not well-built and also not safe all the time. And Khagrachhari is not exception in this regard. So the study selects the first *Upazila* where the enumerators can stay the required number of days and nights to complete the field work safely.

The study opts the second *upazila* from where the enumerators can collect data and come back every day to the first *upazila* safely. Considering the first criterion the study selects *Khagrachhari Sadar*¹⁹ *Upazila* (KSU). And *Panchhari Upazila* (PU) is selected on the basis of second criterion. The KSU is situated in the center of Khagrachhari district where the security arrangement and

¹⁹ The term ‘Sadar’ is a Persian word which means center, town or urban area in Bengali in Bangladesh.

accommodation are comparatively better due to the presence of military cantonment, office of the superintendent of police and other para military security offices. Before selecting these two upazilas I have also talked with the concerned authorities, like-law and order enforcing agencies, at Khagrachhari district. They assured me that it would be wise to stay the nights at Khagrachhari Sadar Upazila for security reasons. They also suggested that it would be better for the researchers to go to Panchhari Upazila in the day time for collecting data and come back to KSU before the sunset. Because there is no sufficient accommodation facilities and security guarantee. But the infrastructure and transportation from KSU to PU is relatively better and secure than the six other Upazilas at Khagrachhari. I have also triangulated these issues and concerns through consultation with the higher authorities of the Roads and Highways Departments of Bangladesh in Dhaka and other local community representatives at Khagrachhari. The output of conversation with such authorities were almost similar to the conversation with security agencies in Khagrachhari. The following figure indicates the locations of the selected *Upazilas* in Khagrachhari district.

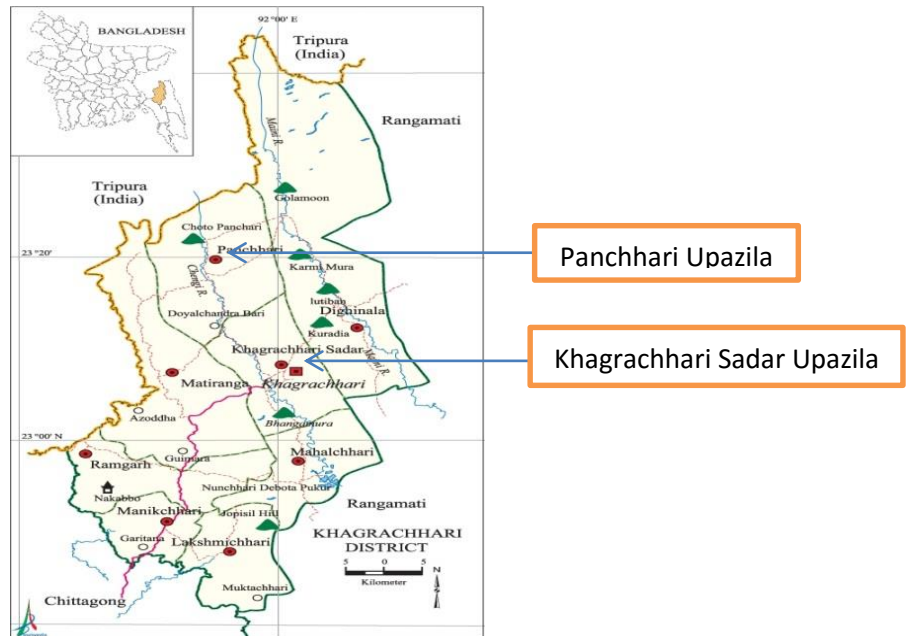


Figure 3. Khagrachhari district of Bangladesh & locations of the units of the study (Source: Islam, 2012)

So it can be argued that the MSSD approach is properly undertaken through careful selection of two matched units (one from center and another from periphery) to examine the policy output of the CHTPA. Also, such strategy seems rationale and acceptable to single out the factors that may be responsible for the differences in such policy output between the selected units.

3.4 Research Approach

Research approach is considered as a “logical sequence that connects empirical data to the research questions and guides the researcher to collect, analyze and interpret data” (Yin, 2003, p.3). To do so, a research approach may be ‘qualitative’ or ‘quantitative’ or ‘mixed’. But the application of only quantitative or qualitative approach may lack the criteria of triangulation in terms of method used in social science research for what Creswell (2013) argues in favor of using ‘mixed method’. In fact, quantitative data provides us with a general picture and trends of the surface of the research field, while qualitative research can be used to drill deep holes into the field yielding the information necessary for in-depth explanations of the general picture of that field (Kelle, 2006, p.309).

Though quantitative and qualitative methods cannot substitute each other, they could help to elucidate different aspects of the surface of the research domain. In a quantitative investigation data may describe the actions/perceptions of a large number of sample of different actors, whereas in-depth qualitative data provide information about possible answers of *why* and *how* these phenomena prevail. In such cases mixed-methods help to answer such *why* questions. For the present study the results of survey data shows to what extents the CHT people are happy on policy performance; to what extent they accept the CHTPA design; and to what degrees they have trust and confidence in implementing institutions and governments. On the other hand, the analysis of qualitative data helps to answer the *why* questions. For instance, for what reasons do the CHT people accept/reject the CHTPA design; why they perceive so about the implementation status of the Accord. Giving priority to such directives of Creswell (2013) and Kelle (2006) the study follows mixed-methods of approach.

3.4.1 Mixed method and tools of data collection

The study collects first hand survey data at individual level from the CHTPA targeted area through a sample survey. The quantitative study mainly based on close-ended data and the focus is on factual information in the form of numbers from survey data, attendance reports and progress summaries, structured interview and scaled data (Creswell & Clerk 2007). In the case of present study and based on Creswell & Clerk (2007), I developed a structured survey questionnaire to capture the trends of reactions and evaluation of the CHT community towards the CHTPA design and implementation of the CHTPA. The questionnaire had two parts: the first part for demographic

questions and the second part for mainstream questions highlights the research questions. This questionnaire helped to get information in the form scales and grades from the targeted people about the CHTPA design and its implementation progress. One main reason for applying survey method is that it allows the researcher to collect data from a wide range of people that ensures greater phenomenon of the research problem. It can be assured that such wide range of coverage of the survey data increases the likelihood of acceptability and external validity of this research.

I assumed that only survey data would not be sufficient to meet all the answers of the aforesaid research questions of this study. Generally the survey data gives the trends about the design of the CHTPA and its implementation update. In order to explain such trends of survey data of the research problem and to ‘*triangulate*’ the survey data the study hold two Focused Group Discussions (FGDs) in the respective two *Upazilas* (Creswell, 2013). This number of FGDs is based on proportionate distribution for the selected two units of the study. Though I planned to hold interviews of some key respondents and stakeholders, I had to change my plan in the time of my fieldwork. I came to realize that in-depth interview is more time consuming and financially overburden for what I opted for FGDs instead of conducting interviews after consulting with the supervisor of this research work. In order to collect required qualitative data these two FGDs were sufficient which were conducted and managed within the limited time and budget. Because FGD is also considered as an excellent way to gather relevant qualitative data to explore a specific set of issues such as people’s views and experiences of certain issues (Barker and Rich, 1992). It also ensures ample of opportunity, like, the in-depth interview, to tell and retell the real life experiences of the target people in a comfortable way which is highly assistive to get insights of the research problem. So the study hopes that such changes would not affect the objective and quality of the research.

Be in accord with the recommendations of using “multiple sources of data” the study collects textual data from the relevant and selected secondary sources (Yin 2009, p.101). The secondary sources are comprised of published books, journal articles and study reports on CHT affairs. Because such “textual documentations offer not only the insights but also a useful method for *triangulation* in corroborating what the research finds from other sources” (Yin, 2003, p.87). However, the *quantitative* approach ensures a wide range of perceptions and reactions from the people of CHTPA targeted area which gives broader spectrum and particular trends about the CHTPA policy design and its implementation. And the qualitative primary data from FGDs and

textual data from the secondary sources supplement the survey data that also help to triangulate the quantitative survey data. So it can be argued that this mixed method of research approach has adequately matched with the type of the present study. For the present study three months were allotted to accomplish the assigned field work which was reasonably adequate to undertake such volume of work within this time.

3.5 Sampling Design and Sample Size for Quantitative Data Using Sample Survey

The objective of sampling procedure for this study is to select samples that will be representative of the demography of the units concerned. Once the district and upazilas are selected, the next step is to select the households of the respondents. Both Indigenous and Bengali settlers are considered as CHTPA targeted people. So proportionate distribution of both type of these households are needed to survey from the selected *Upazilas*. To conduct the survey properly within the time frame I employed two enumerators those who have background in surveying the CHT people. I briefed about the issues of my study and their responsibilities before accompanying them in the field.

The lack of proper infrastructure and transportation are serious inconveniences to reach the furthest (i.e., most peripheral) households of the *Upazilas*. Another significant challenge of surveying these furthest households is ensuring personal security of the enumerators during data collection as the entire CHT is still considered as a conflict zone. Considering all these practical issues I planned to select a rational sample procedure for the proposed survey. I selected the households that are located within 2 km centering the Zero points of each upazila. This implies drawing a circle with radius 2 and point 0 as the center of upazila town that also most likely to cover the whole towns of the respective upazilas. The size of the radius is determined based on the consultation with administrative staffs and security personnel of the study area and some of the researchers who have studied on CHT affairs in the recent times. The following figure can be useful to comprehend the procedure of selecting the households for surveying the required number of respondents-

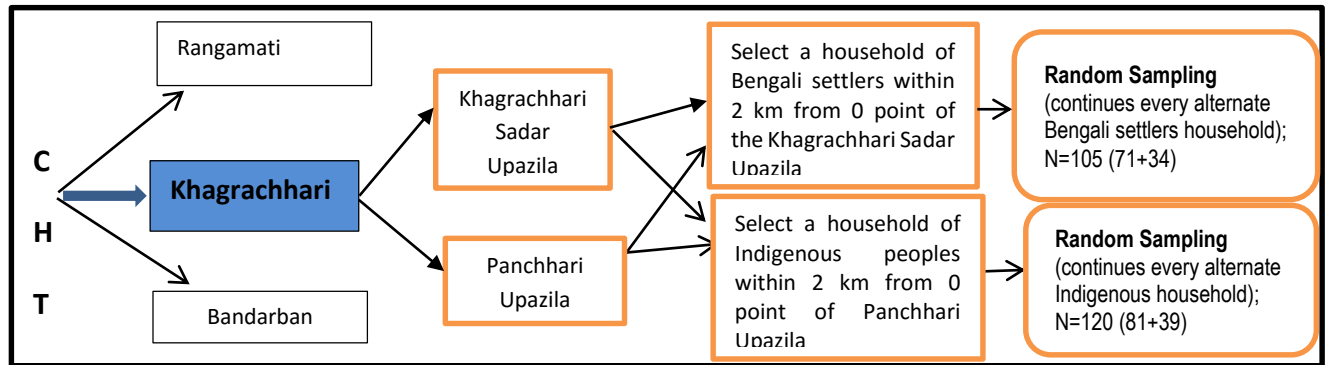


Figure 4. Sampling design for surveying the CHT people

In the case of selecting households of both Indigenous peoples and Bengali settlers I adopted the ‘simple random sampling’ to ensure unbiased and representative data of the study. At this stage, the enumerators (including me) started with a complete list of the households at both Upazilas. The list was collected from the bureau of regional statistics which works under the office of the Deputy Commissioner, Khagrachhari district. Initially, the enumerators selected an Indigenous house randomly for individual level of survey to interview whoever from the household is willing to take parts the survey (Lewis-Beck, Bryman & Lio, 2003). Thereafter it continued on every alternate household of indigenous peoples until the required numbers of interview completed from both the upazilas. Similarly, the study also followed the similar approach in the case of surveying the Bengali settlers. In both cases, the respondents were adult (i.e., minimum required age was 18) within the selected area. It is to be mentioned that when nobody was found within this age limit the enumerators approached the further alternate household to ensure the random procedure in selecting the respondents. So, considering all these rationales and context realities the study follows such sampling procedure. I hope this strategy ensures maximum relevance and significance in selecting both types of respondents to examine the effects of the CHTPA design and the trust of the targeted people’s on its implementation.

3.5.1 Sample size

The total population of these two units of analysis is enumerated as 69984 (where 47278 in *Khagrachhari Sadar Upazila town* and 22706 in *Panchhari Upazila town*) by the latest population census of Bangladesh, 2011. Usually 90% and 95% confidence levels are considered to select

sample size for surveying people to increase the chance of getting more generalizable and acceptable data and to limit the margin of error. For this population of the present study, using a standard calculation of Fox, Hunn, & Mathers (2007), the confidence interval 90% yields a sample size of 68 households (where the margin of error is +/-10). And the confidence interval 95% yields a sample size of 382 (where the margin of error is +/-5)²⁰. It seems that the former number is too small (only 68) to represent the two units whereas the latter one is too large (382) to maintain/cover for such an MPhil study within the limited time and budget. So I decided to select a rational and reasonable sample size of 225 (which is counted as the average of these two extremes: 68 and 382). After that I allocated the sub-samples of 152 households (out of 47278) from *Khagrachhari Sadar Upazila* and 73 (out of 22706) from *Panchhari Upazila* based on the proportionate distribution of their respective total number of population. The ratio between Indigenous peoples and Bengali settlers is 53:47 in the CHT area which was enumerated by the population census of Bangladesh 2011. To make the sample more representative, again, the study distributed the selected sample proportionately within the Bengali settlers and the Indigenous peoples of the Upazilas concerned. The glimpse of the sample design is given below:

Table 1. Target population and sample size

SL. No.	Upazila	Bengali Settlers	Percentage*	IPs	Percentage	Total (%)
1.	Khagrachhari Sadar	71	32	81	36	152(68%)
2.	Panchhari Sadar	34	15	39	17	73(32%)
Total		105	47	120	53	225 (100%)

Note: *Percentages are counted corresponding of sample of each segment and total number of respondents

So, it can be argued that the result of the sampling design and the sample size must reflect the total population of Khagrachhari district with acceptable accuracy for its scientific process of calculation. The survey questionnaires were typed in English and then translated into Bengali with the help of a professional translator to keep the meaning of both the questionnaires same. The

²⁰ Following Fox, Hunn, & Mathers (2007) the $SampleSize(SS) = \frac{N * z^2 * (p) * (1 - p)}{E^2 * (N - 1) + z^2 * p * (1 - p)}$, where, SS=Sample

Size; N= total population size; p=% of picking a choice expressed as decimal and 0.5 is generally used for sample size needed; z=z value (for 95% confidence level the commonly used expressed decimal is 1.96 and for 90% is 1.68); E=accuracy of the sample proportions (%) of margin of error used as confidence interval expressed in decimal (+/-0.05 for 95% proportions of confidence interval).

English version were used in data input and data analysis while the Bengali version helped to collect data accurately from the field. It is to be mentioned that both types of respondents provided the required information in Bengali without facing any problem.

3.6 Response Rate

There are three modes of surveying people. These are face to face survey, telephone survey and mail surveys. But in the case of present study area only few households have their telephone connections like other similar areas in Bangladesh at the district levels. It would be impossible to reach the required number of respondents following the telephone survey strategy. Moreover, Bangladesh is yet to develop the reliable postal services and also the internet is not always available at the district and Upzila levels. Considering all these realities and giving priority to the essence and focus of the study the survey was based on face to face interview. The proportionate and probability sampling design was used for selecting the respondents. The study assumes that such strategy increases the chance of getting unbiased and reliable data. It is to be mentioned that there were very few people who were either uninterested (or disgruntled) in responding to the survey questionnaire. In most of the cases they refused either for their inexperience regarding the issues of the study or for insecurity. In these cases, the enumerators moved to other households to find the required respondents. As a result, the response rate was the same as I calculated and fixed prior to the study. All these efforts and strategies resulted in 100% response rate of the survey. It is to be mentioned that in most of the cases the male persons came forward to respond about the questionnaire compared to the females which resulted in 83% male respondents and only 17% were female. Interestingly, the majority (i.e., 69%) were married, while only 31% were unmarried of the randomly selected respondents.

3.7 Selecting FGD Participants for Qualitative Data

The qualitative data collection from the primary sources is mainly based on two approaches. One follows direct interaction with the respondents on a one to one basis. While the other is on direct interaction a group manner. The former approach is usually more time consuming for what the study opted for the latter one to accomplish the data collection stage within the limited time, manpower and budget (Given, 2008). Since the study collects survey data from the individuals on a one to one basis, it opts for FGDs to comprehend the circumstances, behaviors and opinions of the key informants in a descriptive way following a group setting. Moreover, the study assumes

that the greater insights and interpretation of trends of the survey data may be explored through such group setting.

So the study purposively selects some key informants from different backgrounds giving priority to their relevance and affiliation to hold the FGDs. Because selection of respondents for qualitative data should be done purposively rather than on random basis since the intentionally selected participants' experiences can contribute to the central phenomenon or key concept in a study (Creswell and Clark, 2007). Onwuegbuzie & Collins, (2007) also argue that in mixed-method social science research both random and non-random sampling can be used in collecting quantitative and qualitative data respectively.

Agreeing with such arguments the study purposively selected the required number of participants for these FGDs and followed the guiding principles developed by the Boston College²¹. The study prepared the FGD protocol and consent form with the aid of Boston College's FGD guidelines. Each FGD comprised of six participants and lasted around 60 minutes. Twumasi (2001, P. 64) argues that FGD is a small group about 6-10 people who are brought together to "engage them in a guided discussion" as a way of gathering information on a particular research topic and the researcher needs more than one FGD in a given research in order to ensure the researcher a "reliable insight" into the issue being studied in capturing the ground reality from the group members in their natural setting.

So the study selects the FGD participants who have their real life experiences in the area of the study so that they can contribute to the central research questions by possible explanations about the CHTPA design and its implementation. The discussants were from two broader perspectives. The first three (see the following Table 2) were selected for their direct experiences in dealing with the CHT crises at the local level. The remaining three were selected from the point of neutrality and civil society. It was assumed that they could provide possible neutral evaluation about the CHTPA design and its overall implementation activities. For instance, the local journalists could explain the prevailing CHT law and order situation from their neutral and journalistic point of view. The businessmen could explain whether they are able to run their business activities peacefully and securely. Similarly, the NGO workers could contribute in explaining the challenges

²¹ See for detailed

<http://www.bc.edu/googlesearch/results.html?cx=017979566303760088717%3Ai5wjadpvu2w&cof=FORID%3A11&ie=UTF8&q=FOCUS+GROUP+PROTOCOL&sa.x=0&sa.y=0&sa=Search&siteurl=www.bc.edu%2Fabout%2F&ref=ww.bc.edu%2Foffices%2Fvpsa%2FAssessment.html&ss=9179j4768929j21> . (accessed on 02/05/2015).

of the CHTPA implementation from their grassroots experiences of working with the mass people in the CHT. In fact, the study carefully chose these key FGD participants to increase the value of qualitative data. The following table describes the required number and the category of the participants for each of the two FGDs.

Table 2. List of the FGD participants

Khagrachhari Sadar Union		Panchhari Sadar Union		Total
Category	Participants	Category	Participants	
Union Parishad (UP) Chairman ²²	1	Union Parishad (UP) Chairman	1	2
Karbari ²³	1	Karbari	1	2
Headman ²⁴	1	Headman	1	2
Journalist	1	Journalist	1	2
Businessman	1	Businessman	1	2
NGO Employee	1	NGO Employee	1	2
Total	6		6	12

However, in brief, the UP Chairman, Karbari and Headman provided information regarding implementation challenges based on their working experiences with the policy targeted people in implementing the CHTPA. On the other hand, the journalist, businessman and NGO employee provided information and explanation from an analytical and critical perspective as they are considered as part of the local level civil society. This strategy of selecting the FGD participants inevitably helped to attain the detailed and in-depth information about the research questions and the objectives of the study. In this regard, I prepared five specific questions maintaining an incremental order from general to specific. The enumerators revisited the questions when it needed to yield the kind of information that the study requires more specifically.

3.8 Analysis of data

For the present study, the survey data, FGD data and relevant secondary sources are analyzed to address the research questions and to interpret the findings in accordance with the hypotheses of

²² The elected representative at the lowest-tier of the rural-local government in Bangladesh. Union is composed of some villages.

²³ A *Karbari* is commonly known as village headman in the CHT. Each village there is a *Karbari* appointed from among the villagers by the Raja (King). The *Karbari* is responsible greatly for all matters relating to that village.

²⁴ A number of villages are grouped together to form a territorial unit of jurisdiction called a *mauza*. Each *mauza* has a headman/woman, who is responsible for collection of revenue, preservation of peace, allocation of agricultural lands etc. of that *mauza*.

the study (Creswell, 2013). The descriptive statistics (e.g., frequency distributions) were mostly used for the analysis of data and to see the effects of independent variables on its dependent variables. In addition, cross-tabulations were used to see the reasons behind the variation in satisfaction on implementation performance between the selected Upazilas. It is true that analysis of survey data is very much useful in determining *how many* people think of what they do believe and experience regarding the research questions. In this regard, besides statistical analysis, data from FGDs and other secondary sources were used to substantiate the findings (i.e., *why* they think the way they do). Since the data is in the form of story and language, the study analyzes such data through the use of explanations and narratives of what the FGD participants said and argued.

It needs to be acknowledged that the survey data could be used to see the correlation and regression between the variables. But the characteristics of data (i.e., categorical as well as ordinal data) of the study do not fit for correlation and regression tests. Though the multinomial logistic regression test is generally used in the case of such ordinal data, the sample size of the study is not adequate to get statistical significance from such test. So most of the issues are discussed with the help of descriptive statistics (e.g., percentage distribution). This strategy helps to trace out the trends and extents of acceptance of the CHTPA design by its targeted people and their level of trust in the implementing institutions and the successive governments. Thereafter it shows how such policy design and trust affect the extent of implementation in terms of the level of satisfaction on policy performance of the beneficiaries.

3.9 Quality Assessment of the Study

There are four tests in social science research to ensure the quality of a good research. These are construct validity; internal validity; external validity and reliability (Yin, 2003). The present study employs all these factors to assess its quality.

3.9.1 Construct Validity

Construct validity is about how the major concepts and their operational measures are being studied precisely in an empirical study (Yin, 2003). The major concepts of the present study are *policy output* and *policy design* of the CHTPA and citizens' *trust*. So the study posed research questions and developed conceptual framework considering these issues. The main purpose of the present study is to examine the policy output of the CHTPA. The indicator for measuring the policy

output of the Accord is the assessment of the targeted people about their satisfaction with the post-Accord of peace and security condition and satisfaction on implementing the major policy objectives of the Accord. The policy design is delimited within the major provisions of the charter and the process of signing of the Accord for convenience and better understanding such crucial issues of the CHTPA. The study measures the level of acceptance (or rejection) of the CHTPA design by its targeted people and the context of signing of the Accord. The *citizens' trust* is measured in terms of confidence and trust of the CHT people in the policy implementing institutions and the successive governments of Bangladesh. Furthermore, the study explores the causes behind the variation of such policy output in terms of variation of intensity of conflicts and intensity of land grabbing cases between the selected units to find out the reasons for variation in such policy output in between these two units of the study. This is how the study operationalizes the concepts, like, policy design, trust and policy output, are being studied to measure and gauge the research questions and propositions of the study. So all these efforts readily increase the construct validity of the study.

3.9.2 Internal Validity

The central concern of internal validity is about “the causal relationships among variables where certain conditions are shown to lead to other” (Yin, 2003, p.34). In this regard, the author suggests to see how the variables of a study demonstrate in terms of their correlational and interactional relations. The present study’s dependent variable is the state of *policy output* while the independent variables are broadly *policy design* of the CHTPA and citizens’ trust. The study argues that the better the policy design, the better the policy output. The extent of satisfaction/dissatisfaction with the implementation of the major policy objectives of the Accord and the extent of overall perception of peace and security in the post-Accord situation by the CHT people signify the extent of implementation of the Accord.

On the other hand, the study’s one independent variable is *policy design* of the CHTPA. The study explores to what extent the CHT people are happy and accept such design. The study assumes that if the policy design of the CHTPA fulfills the demands of the targeted people they could accept the Accord wholeheartedly and also feel satisfaction on policy output (dependent variable) simultaneously. Similarly, if the Accord is committed in accommodating the Bengali settlers properly they could also accept the Accord without any reservation and also feel satisfied with

implementation. On the contrary, the study assumes that if they feel victimized and threat with the adoption of the Accord they could react and reject such policy design. This strategy helps to find out the extent to what degree the Accord accommodated and accumulated the major issues concerned. For instance, the case rehabilitation and resettlement of the CHT belligerents, who fled to the neighboring state(s) and borders of the CHT, and the recognition of Bengali settlers who have already been living in the CHT with the aid of successive governments for the last couple of decades are inquired by the study to explore the level satisfaction on policy output and the extent of acceptance of the policy design of the CHTPA of the respective groups of people in this regards. It is to be mentioned that Winter's integrated model is not in the strict sense a traditional causal model. It is rather a framework of analysis presenting key factors and mechanisms that affect policy output (Pierre, 2003). So the study shows the effects of independent variables of the study on its dependent variables. In fact, it shows how the acceptance/rejection of the CHTPA design and the level of trust of the CHT people increase/decrease the extent of implementation of the CHTPA. To do so, the reactions on the independent and dependent variables are juxtaposed with the aid of percentage distribution and traced out their interactional relationship to see the impacts of the independent variables of the study on its dependent variables.

3.9.3 External Validity

“External validity occurs when the researchers can establish the domain to which a study's findings can be generalized to different settings and to other people” (Yin, 2003, p.34). This generalization can be drawn by two ways: “*statistical generalization* and *analytical generalization*. Statistical generalization comes from the sample survey data whereas analytical one comes from case studies and experiments” (ibid, p.37). For statistical generalization, the study collects quantitative data following sample survey from the policy targeted area. Prior to that, the study purposively selects the Khagrachhari district due to its highest propensity of experiencing land disputes and land alienation cases (Layder, 1998). And within Khagrachhari two most similar units were selected considering the center-periphery context. The study argues that selection of such units gives unbiased feedback about the ground reality of these two units regarding the policy output of the Accord. Such rationales in selecting the units of the study and randomly surveying the targeted people of the Accord increase the likelihood of generalizability of its findings to the entire Khagrachhari district, CHT and also other similar settings beyond this.

However, alongside the quantitative approach, the study also collects descriptive qualitative data from some key respondents through FGD and from some selective secondary sources. This kind of data complements and triangulates the findings of the survey data. Such qualitative data also helps to analyze the extent of policy output of the Accord and to purview the findings of the survey data for analytical explanation and generalization for similar other settings. It is true that each setting of the society varies more or less from different contexts. So it can be argued that the findings of similar study will be absolutely same if this framework is applied to other settings. Also, it can be claimed that it will not vary to a large extent for other similar domains and settings. This is how the findings of the study ensure statistical generalization to Khagrachhari district primarily and broadly to the CHT.

3.9.4 Reliability

Reliability is the “process of demonstrating the operation of a study- such as the data collection procedures can be repeated with the same results” (Yin, 2003, p.34). However, data reliability of a study can vary in terms of the *time* data are collected, the *people* are involved in the process of collecting those data and the *setting* from which the data are collected (Begley, 1996, in Hussein, 2009). In order to ensure reliability of the survey data the present study develops scientific FGD protocol. Such structured and systematic technique ensures authentic and detailed data from the FGD discussants. Moreover, to increase the reliability of such data, the study crosschecks the basic information from multiple sources (e.g., journal articles, study reports of different government and NGOs etc.). However, I have discussed elaborately in the methodology chapter about the rationales of selecting the *settings* of data for survey and FGD data.

Considering all the ground realities and rationales I select the study area purposively and choose ‘simple random sampling’ to survey the CHT people. This method helps to select the respondents unbiasedly. The enumerators were also trained and briefed before deploying them in the field which minimizes the chances of error in interviewing the respondents. The survey covers variety of respondents and FGD participants that surely reduce the respondents’ biases in providing information. Such data have been triangulated through the FGD data and the data collected from the secondary sources which also ensures data reliability. Moreover, almost similar studies (e.g., Jensen et al., 1991; Sutton, 1999; Kipo, 2011 etc.) done by with the aid the Winter’s integrated

model which increases the extent of overall reliability of the present study. So, it can be argued that that all these rationales ensure reliability of the collected data and the study overall.

3.10 Conclusion

The question may arise why I have given importance on perception of peace and security and implementation performance to measure policy output of the CHTPA and to isolate the responsible factors behind the variation in such policy output between the said two Upazilas. In the case of the CHTPA, better policy output of the CHTPA depends on the proper management of the land crises and uprooting the underlying causes of future conflicts. And this is how the Accord expects peace and security in the targeted area. With this in mind, the study opts for the issues of peace and security and the implementation of the land related policy provision in the case of measuring the policy output of the Accord.

Then the study tries to follow proper research guideline stated above throughout its process. Every aspect of research approach, sampling design and tools of data collection has done with justification. The questions of validity, reliability and ethical consideration are also tried to address properly for this study. Nevertheless, the study tries to adapt further inclusion or exclusion in its approach and design when it necessitates.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS, FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

(How policy design and trust affect policy output/satisfaction)

4.1 Introduction

This chapter maps how perceptions of the people towards the CHTPA policy design are related with their level of satisfaction with the policy output of its implementation. In this regard, it analyzes to see how independent variables (e.g., policy design and citizens' trust) affect satisfaction of the targeted people (i.e., policy output of the CHTPA implementation). More specifically, it sees how the extents of acceptance of land related policy provisions of the CHTPA, the context of signing the Accord and the extent of trust of the beneficiaries affect the extent of satisfaction of the CHT people. At this stage, the crucial argument of the study is that if the demands of the targeted people are reflected properly in the policy designs of the Accord they will accept such design and it will effect on policy output in terms of their extents of satisfaction on policy performance. Similarly, the extent of trust of the policy beneficiaries in the successive governments and the implementing institutions will also effect the extent of their satisfaction on policy performance and policy output.

4.2 Policy Output and Policy Design Relations

The following discussion shows how the extents of acceptance of policy design of the CHTPA affects the extent on policy output in terms of measuring the extents of satisfaction of the targeted people.

4.2.1 Satisfaction (with overall post-Accord peace and security condition) vs. acceptance (overall land-related policy design of the CHTPA)

The major goal of the Accord was to ensure peace and security in the CHT. So the extents of satisfaction of the targeted people on the post-Accord peace and security situation is considered as a crucial indicator for measuring overall policy output of the CHTPA implementation to see the

influence of the extents of acceptance of the overall land related policy design of the CHTPA on its overall policy output. The following two percentage distributions on these two aspects are given below to see their relation:

Table 3. Satisfaction with the post-Accord peace and security situation: percentage distribution ($N=225$).

Satisfaction with Post-Accord Situation	Percentage (%)
Satisfied with post-Accord peace and security situation	37
Dissatisfied the post-Accord peace and security situation	63

Note: The question asked was: "How do you evaluate the post-Accord situation compared to the pre-Accord times in your locality in terms of peace and security, law and order situations, access to land rights of the CHT people and human rights conditions"? The options were given – A) Satisfied with the post-Accord peace and security situation; B) Dissatisfied with the post-Accord peace and security situation.

Though the above Table 3 shows that only 37% of the respondents were satisfied with the post-Accord peace and security situation, the majority of the respondents (i.e., 63%) were dissatisfied in this regard. On the other hand, the following Table 4 also shows that the majority respondents (i.e., 78%) did not accept the overall land related policy design of the Accord. Correspondingly, only 22% of the respondents accepted such design of the Accord.

Table 4. Overall support to the land related policy designs of the CHTPA: percentage distribution ($N=225$).

Acceptance of Policy Design	Percentage (%)
Accept the land policy designs	22
Do not accept the land policy designs	78

Note: The question asked was: To what extent do you accept and agree with the overall land related policy designs of the Accord? The options were given- A) Accept at lowest extent; B) Accept at lower extent; C) Accept at low extent; D) Accept at high extent; E) Accept at higher extent; F) Accept at highest extent. In the table A, B & C are grouped as '*Do not accept*' and D, E & F are grouped as '*Accept*' to present the data precisely in terms of their extent of acceptance of such policy design of the Accord.

Apparently the Accord generated '*hope*' which aims at ensuring peace and security in the region. In this regard, the study argued that if the land related provisions of the Accord reflect the demands of the beneficiaries adequately then they will mostly accept such provision. And such acceptance

by the majority will impact on policy output positively. But it is perceptible from Table 4 that there is a huge gap between expectation of the targeted people about the design of the Accord and the provided land related provisions in it. It is plausible that there is a positive relation between the said variables (policy design and policy output). Since the majority of the respondents did not accept policy designs of the Accord, it resulted in dissatisfaction of the majority respondents on policy output in terms of their satisfaction with the post-Accord peace and security condition. It also seems that the demands and grievances of the targeted people were not adequately prioritized by the Accord for what the majority respondents do not agreed with such design. Accordingly it has caused such higher extent of dissatisfaction among the respondents on policy output.

However, some explanation which found from the FGD at Panchhari Upazila may explain the reasons behind such greater extent of dissatisfaction on policy output of the CHTPA in terms of perception of peace and security of the people in the post-Accord regime. The answer(s) of why the majority respondents have rejected the land related policy provisions may also be found from this discussion. For instance, one *Bengali* settler (i.e., Businessman) shared his real life experiences and compared between the pre-Accord and the post-Accord periods in terms of his perception of peace and security. It is to be mentioned that this person shared everything from his real life experience as he has been living in this *Upazila* for more than thirty-five years. According to him-

"In the pre-Accord time we were used to pay extortion²⁵ occasionally not to more than one group (he uttered the name as PCJSS). On the way to market for the purpose of selling or buying something (he used an example of selling a cow from his experience) in the pre-Accord time we paid extortion to only one group. But now, in the post-Accord period, we are forced to pay such extortion to three more different groups of extortionists since the PCJSS are now fragmented into three different fractions due to their intra-ethnic conflict and ideological differences. These groups are namely, Parbattya Chattagram Jana Sanghati Samity (PCJSS), United People's Democratic Front (UPDF) and Reformist Group (RG). Another participant cynically uttered that 'before the Accord there had been a tendency of sporadic conflicts between the Pahari (the Indigenous Peoples) and the

²⁵ This is one kind of illegitimate subscription informally and forcibly collected by some group of people from the public in most of the developing countries including Bangladesh. In *Bengali* the term *extortion* is 'chada'

Bengali settlers. But now we live in constant worries and fear of being kidnapped by the belligerents. In brief, we are no more in peace rather standing at peril".

Though the ultimate goal of the Accord was to ensure peace and security in the region, the ground reality implies that peace and security have been absent to a large extent in the post-Accord time. Moreover, in order to ensure the reliability of such perceptions and reactions to the post-Accord situation and overall land related policy design of the CHTPA the study explores the extents of acceptance of some specific land related provisions of the Accord and to see how they affect the extent of overall policy output of the Accord. The following discussion will help in this regard.

4.2.2 Acceptance the provision of identifying the Bengali settlers as ‘Non-Tribal Permanent Resident’ (policy design)

Here the study gives emphasis on seeing the relation between extent of acceptance of a specific land provision (i.e., policy design) of the CHTPA and the extent of satisfaction on overall policy output (Table 3) of the CHTPA implementation discussed above. More specifically, part B, Article 3 of the charter of the Accord asserts that who is not a tribal and possesses land legally in the Hill District and generally lives at a certain address in the Hill District he shall be identified as '*non-tribal permanent resident*' and those who have no such state of position they would be resettled or rehabilitated somewhere else beyond the CHT area. To what extent they agree with this type of provision is presented in the following table.

Table 5. Reactions to the provision of 'Non-Tribal Permanent Resident' for the Bengali Settlers: percentage distribution ($N=225$).

Acceptance of Policy Design	Total(%)
Accept this provision	36
Do not accept this provision	64

Note: The question asked was: According to Part B, Article 3 of the Accord who is not a tribal and possesses land legally in the Hill District and generally lives at a certain address in the Hill District he shall be identified as 'non-tribal permanent resident'. What is your reaction to such provision of the Accord? Options were given- (A) Strongly disagree; B) Partially Disagree; C) Partially Agree; (D) Strongly Agree. In the table A & B are grouped as '*Do not accept*' and C & D are grouped as '*Accept*' to present the data precisely in terms of their extent of acceptance and rejection of such specific policy provision of the Accord.

The overall majority of the respondents (64%) did not accept this provision of the charter of the CHTPA and only 36% accepted such provision which is evident from the above Table 5. The reasons behind such greater extent of rejection to such provision of the Accord can be comprehended with the aid of information and explanation provided by the FGD discussants and other reliable secondary sources mentioned below. The majority (five out of six of two FGDs) of the Bengali settlers in the FGD agreed in a similar tune that 'in spite of having our own permanent residence in the CHT we have to face the identity crisis due to dual statuses. One of them who is the owner of a small grocery shop at his locality explained like following-

"Due to this provision we will be treated as 'non-tribal permanent resident'. I oppose such imposed provision because our identity is either Bengali or Bangladeshi as per the present constitution and culture. But this provision of the Accord introduces us as 'non-tribal' which is highly derogative to our own identity and culture."

Another Bengali settler who was a college teacher (at Khagrachhari Sadar FGD) argued that "this provision is highly contradictory to the present constitution of Bangladesh. The constitution declares all citizens living in Bangladesh as either Bangladeshi or Bengali. Such an imposed identity, I mean 'non-tribal', leads to status quo crisis for all of us who have been living in the CHT and settled here for last many years".

On the other hand, most of the Indigenous participants (three at Panchhari, two at Khagrachhari Sadar) commented against this policy design in different contexts but the tune was almost same (e.g., against recognizing and legitimizing the non-tribal settlers' permanency in the CHT region). The Panchhari Sadar Union Parishad chairman argued that-

"We are the sole ancestor in this hilly area since long back and we had been maintaining our own culture and traditions ourselves. Settling the outsiders (i.e., non-Indigenous peoples) in the CHT has already been causing serious problems to our cultural and traditional practices. For instance, at our childhood there was no religious institution other than our old temples and pagodas in the CHT. Now you will see so many Madrasas (semi-religious educational institutions for Muslims) and mosques which are allegedly responsible for most of the incidences of religious intolerances in our locality. Even I have to wake up from sleeping at the very early of the morning when Azan (call for prayer to

Muslim community) is performed so loudly. Due to high volume it impedes our sleeping as we were not used to hear such sounds in our early childhood. Even these institutions are allegedly used for religious militancy by the settlers in this region. So, if the government gives such permanent status to those Bengali settlers in this area it would vastly affect the survival and our existence and to our next generations. For this reasons, I do not accept this impractical and imposed policy decision of settling permanently the non-Indigenous peoples in the CHT region".

Moreover, Chowdhury (2002) claims that the successive governments of Bangladesh have not taken up the process of rehabilitation of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) at all. The task force, other than compiling a preliminary list, has not taken any other concrete measures for the rehabilitation of the said group of people. So, in this context, it seems that the Indigenous peoples perceive that such provision has violated the unique traditions and customs of the region practiced by them for a long time for what they are unhappy with such provision and reject it fully. On the other hand, the Bengali settlers argue in favor of normal identity as the people have in the plain land not as ‘settlers’ or ‘non-tribal’ rather as Bengali or Bangladeshi.

In fact, in line with bottom-up approach of policy formulation, the policy actors failed to accommodate such state of fear, mistrust and feeling of reciprocal insecurity among between these two ethnic groups. Perhaps, all these have led the majority of the respondents to disagree and reject such provision (i.e., policy design) by both the ethnic groups. Such greater extent of rejection from the CHTPA targeted area can be identified as one of the reasons for such greater extent of dissatisfaction in terms of their perception of peace and security.

4.2.3 Acceptance the provision of providing ‘two acres’ of land to each landless family (policy design)

Since the CHT conflict is mostly characterized with the issue of land, there are so many provisions regarding the management of land disputes and conflicts by settling/resettling the belligerents; internally displaced people; and Bengali settlers. In this case, the CHTPA (according to part D of the charter of the Accord) is committed to repatriate the tribal belligerents and refugees from Tripura (a province of the neighboring state India where they fled and took shelter in the time of arms struggle) and to provide ‘two acres’ of lands to each returnee. So, the survey question

inquired to know whether they accept such provision and think feasible to implement. The following Table 6 shows that though 40% of the respondents accept this provision and marked as 'possible' to implement, the majority of the respondents (i.e., 60%) did not accept and marked 'impossible'. Such finding also comply positively with the policy output in terms of satisfaction of the targeted people with the post-Accord contexts. Because such rejection by the majority of the respondents to policy design hampered the implementation of the CHTPA which resulted in dissatisfaction of the majority of the respondents with post-Accord situation.

Table 6. Reactions to the provision that committed to *provide 'two acres' of land to each landless family*: percentage distribution (N=225)

Acceptance of Policy Design	Percentage (%)
Accept and possible to implement	40
Do not accept and impossible to implement	60

Note: The CHTPA (see part D) is committed to repatriate the tribal people from Tripura (province of India) and to provide **two acres** of lands to each landless family who possesses less than 2 acres of lands. Do you agree with this provision of the Accord or is it implementable? Options were given to choose any of them: A) Accept and possible to implement ; B) Do not accept and impossible to implement.

The findings above are substantiated from the FGD. One key FGD discussant (*Karbari* who deals directly with the CHTPA implementation) at Khagrachhari Sadar Upazila mentioned that-

"The CHT comprises one-tenth of the total area of Bangladesh with only two percent of its total population. It means that the population density is not high as the plain land of the country. It is true that we have sufficient land to resettle the refugees and migrated people and to provide land to such victims as per the commitment of the charter of the Accord. But one major problem I face personally in the time of dealing with the management of such refugee settling in the CHT- many of such refugees and belligerents are yet to come back from where they fled before the Accord signed in 1997".

The discussant also mentioned some other limitations in settling such returnees at their original place where they had been living permanently for long time. The discussant uttered-

"In many cases where they lived has already been alienated or grabbed by someone (or organizations) else which is now creating great difficulties in resettling them successfully

at their own place. Another problem is that such returnees are not interested to settle/resettle them in other places beyond their own places".

The Union Parishad chairman of this area explained the situation from a different point of view which is very important for its relevance. The chairman complained that ‘the local administration is not cordial enough to implement this provision. Most of the victims are Indigenous peoples but the implementation of Accord is maintained by the non-Indigenous people. And most of the lands are illegally occupied by the Bengali settlers, governmental agencies or military. This is really a complex and sensitive issue to implement peacefully’.

In this regard some observation from the secondary sources are also relevant. Chowdhury (2002) argues that most of the CHT Jumma refugee families (around 12,222 of the total number of Jumma refugee) returned to the CHT from the Tripura State of India. But the irony is that almost 50% of them could not return to their own homesteads and native villages because they failed to get back to their homesteads and lands encroached by someone else. Their rehabilitation under present circumstances therefore has become uncertain. Moreover, Peace Accord Matrix (PAM, 2016) argues that this provision is implemented to the minimum²⁶ extent up to 2007.

So this could be one of the major challenges of ensuring peace and security in the post-Accord CHT since Joshi & Darby (2013) argues that repatriation of the belligerents from the neighboring state and providing them two acres of land to each of them in the CHT is crucial to resist further recurrence of conflict. The UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues claimed that around 9,700²⁷ families failed to get back to their land and houses since the properties were encroached by Bengali settlers, military personnel and other governmental or non-governmental organizations. This claim mostly resembles the statements given by one FGD participant at Khagrachhari Sadar. The participant argues that ‘such unwanted and illegal occupation of lands and houses by many agencies in the CHT has become very difficult to settle those refugees and returnees at their own places’.

²⁶The lowest level of implementation is labeled as *minimal* for this study. More specifically, this extent indicates that there has been some effort made by the government and/or parties toward implementation but these efforts remain far short of what could be perceived as viable progress.

²⁷ According to the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), study on status on the implementation of the Chittagong Hill Tracts Accord of 1997

4.2.4 The extent of acceptance the context/process of signing the Accord

The then government, led by Bangladesh Awami League (AL), and the PCJSS were parties in the case of signing the CHT Accord. Though there are many other national and regional political and apolitical organizations other than this two mentioned actors. The respondents were asked whether they accept this context/process of signing. Because it ignores the involvement of other relevant actors to the CHT crisis. The following percentage distribution (see Table 7) clearly indicates that majority respondents (i.e., 72%) of the sample do not accept such exclusive approach towards signing the Peace Accord. Only 28% of the total respondents accepted the process of signing the agreement which took place only between two parties excluding other relevant actors in this peace process.

Table 7. Acceptance to the context of signing the Accord: Percentage distribution, N=225)

Acceptance of Policy Design	Percentage (%)
Accept the context of signing the Accord	28
Do not accept the context of signing the Accord	72

Note: The question asked was: To what extent do you accept and agree with the context of signing the Accord only between the PCJSS and the then ruling party Bangladesh Awami League? The options were given-A) Strongly disagree; B) Partially Disagree; C) Partially Agree; (D) Strongly Agree. In the table A & B are grouped as '**Accept**' and C & D are grouped as '**Do not accept**' to present the collected data precisely in terms of their extent of acceptance and rejection of such context of policy design of the Accord

The explanation of the journalist, at Khagrachhari Sadar Upazila FGD, may substantiate such higher trends of not accepting the context of peace process that excluded other actors. The journalist opined that-

“The politics of Bangladesh is highly characterized by two party majoritarianism where Bangladesh Awamileague (AL) and Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) come to power turn by turn. In our locality the people are also highly divided between these two major parties. The huge number of hilly people belong to the ideology of BNP like the trends of plain land. Since BNP did not acknowledge the Accord, the party supporters also do not accept this Accord cordially. While the Accord was signed between the AL and the PCJSS at that time BNP was opposition party in the parliament and they opposed the Accord. It is assumed that since they were not accomodated in this peace procees they rejected the

process of signing such a crucial agreement. But after assuming power by BNP they procrastinated the CHTPA implementation. In fact, the Accord could be more effective if all the major parties were included in such a big policy initiative”.

The argument provided by the Headman, at Panchhari Upazila FGD, found very relevant in this regard. The gist of the argument is given below-

‘Before signing such a big policy there was no opinion survey regarding the preferences of the CHT people. It could be better if there was such an initiative that could ensure what we like and dislike. In fact the governments did not give any importance to the mass people, rather they always give importance to the political elites of our community who do not have good connection with the the grassroots people’.

Moreover, the then opposition party in the parliament (*Bangladesh Nationalist Party-BNP*) strongly opposed this Accord and termed it as ‘*black policy*’ of the government and also they declared to amend some major provisions of the Accord on assuming the power (Daily Star, 2009). On the other hand, Panday and Jamil (2009) mention that on December 26, 1998 there was a strong opposition within the PCJSS against the Accord whereas the Accord was signed just one year back in 1997. In fact, such finding of the study implies failure in accommodating and accumulating the relevant actors in the peace process which entirely resulted in poor design of the Accord. And due to such policy design failure of the Accord it causes such high extent of dissatisfaction about the policy output and policy performance as per the assumptions of the study. Such analysis and findings validate the hypothesis raised by the study- ***“the more the target groups respond positively towards policy design as well as its context of signing, the more may be their satisfaction on implementation of the CHTPA.”***

To sum up, Bangladesh has been practicing parliamentary form of democracy since 1991 and the Accord was signed in 1997. But the opposition party in the parliament was not involved in the peace process and the process of signing the Accord. Even the visible discordance within some fractions of the CHT people was not accumulated in this process. So, the study argues that proper accommodation and accumulation of the concerned actors and factors of the CHT crisis in line with inclusive approach of policy making could play significant roles in ensuring better policy output of the CHTPA implementation. However, from above discussion it is obvious that the

charter of the CHTPA was not designed under proper consultation with the grass-root targeted people which has resulted in dissatisfaction of the majority of those people.

4.3 Socio-Demographic Variables and the CHTPA Policy Design

The above discussion implies that in all the cases the majority of the respondents in the respective cases did not accept the CHTPA policy design. Here the study intends to see whether the socio-demographic variables of the respondents have any effect on such trends to understand the case of not accepting such policy design. The following discussion may help to understand who were more tended to reject the CHTPA policy design more.

From a quick review the study found 62 as upper age limit and 20 as lower age limit among the respondents. Such ages are divided into two broader age groups: group one identified as relatively young respondents group (e.g., age between 20-45) and group two (e.g., age between 46-65) relatively aged to see whether there is any effect of age on acceptance of overall land related policy design of the CHTPA. Interestingly, the study found that the respondents belong to group one are proportionately more receptive about the policy design of the CHTPA compared to group two. Because 26% of the respondents within group one accepted the CHTPA land related policy design, whereas only 14% of the respondents of the group two accepted such policy design of the Accord. The study also found that educational qualification of the respondents has impacts on perception about the policy design of the CHTPA. For instance, among the respondents who have post-graduation degrees (i.e., Master's) of them 43% (6 out of 14) accepted such policy design, whereas among the illiterate respondents only 4% (2 out of 51) accepted. Moreover, among the respondents who have primary education only 13% (9 out of 61) of them accepted which is also proportionately higher than those who were illiterate. But one exceptional case was found: among the respondents who have passed Higher Secondary Certificate (HSC) only 5% (1 out of 20) of them accepted the CHTPA land related policy design, whereas those who have Secondary School Certificate (SSC) of them 20% (9 out of 44) accepted. However, the study also examines the employment status of the respondents to see whether there is any effect of such status on the trends of acceptance of the CHTPA policy design by those respondents. In line with education and age the study found that the employment status of the respondents also matter for such trends on acceptance of the CHTPA policy design. For example, 63% of the respondents who are employed as teacher in different educational institutions they accepted the land related policy design. On the other hand, among the

farmers (e.g. agro-based employment) only 24% of them accepted the land related policy design. To sum up, the respondents who have better education, occupation and also belong young age group are relative more receptive about the CHTPA policy design.

4.4 Satisfaction and Trust Relations

In line with the analytical framework, and hypothesis of the study this chapter intends to see whether the issue of trust of the CHTPA targeted beneficiaries' in the implementing institutions and the successive governments matter for the policy output of the CHTPA implementation.

4.4.1 Satisfaction on the role of intermediaries vs. trust in the intermediaries

In this case, the study intends to see the extent of trust and confidence of the CHTPA beneficiaries (i.e., conflicting parties) in the local intermediaries and it shows how it affects the extent of satisfaction with the resolution of such conflicts by the implementing institutions. To do so, initially the respondents were asked whether they have any experience of conflicts over land with others in the post-Accord regime. Surprisingly, 78% of the total interviewees marked 'Yes' indicating that they had such kind of experience, whereas only 22% marked 'No' (see Appendix 4). This percentage distribution readily indicates the higher propensity of conflicts over land in the post-Accord regime. Those who marked 'Yes' only they were subsequently requested to respond to what extent they are satisfied with the role of local intermediaries in resolving such conflicts. The following two percentage distributions of the respondents' are juxtaposed below to see the relation between citizens' trust and policy output of the CHTPA in this context:

Table 8. Satisfaction on land dispute resolution: percentage distribution (N=175)

Satisfaction on Intermediaries	Percentage (%)
Satisfied with the role of intermediaries	37
Dissatisfied with the role of intermediaries	63

Note: The question asked was: If you have any previous experience of conflict are you satisfied with the role of intermediaries institutions (like, Karbary, land commission, upazila land office etc.) in resolving such conflicts? They were given the options to choose any of these: A) Satisfied at lowest extent; B) Satisfied at lower extent; C) Satisfied at low extent ; D) Satisfied at high extent; E) Satisfied at higher extent; F) Satisfied at highest extent. In the table A, B & C are grouped as '*Satisfied*' and E, F & G are grouped as '*Dissatisfied*' to present the data precisely in terms of their extent of overall satisfaction and dissatisfaction on such policy performance.

Table 9. Beneficiaries' trust in the intermediaries: percentage distribution (N=175)

Trust in the Intermediaries	Percentage (%)
High level of trust in such intermediaries	14
Low level of trust in such intermediaries	86

Note: The question asked was: What is the level of your trust in implementing the land related policy objectives of the Accord by the implementing institutions? You can choose one option of the following- (like, Karbary, land commission, upazila land office etc.) in resolving such conflicts and implementing other land related policy objectives? They were given the options to choose any of these: A) Lowest level ; B) Lower level; C) Low level ; D) High level; E) Higher level; F) Highest level. In the table A, B & C are grouped as '**Low Level of Trust**' and D, E & F are grouped as '**High Level of Trust**' to present the data precisely in terms of their overall extent of trust in the implementing institutions (i.e., intermediaries).

The percentage distribution of Table 8 shows that overall 63% of the respondents were dissatisfied on those intermediaries for their policy performance. On the other hand, Table 9 represents the distribution of their extent of their trust in the intermediaries where it is evident that 86% of the respondents have low extent of trust in those institutions. Correspondingly, only 37% respondents were satisfied with the role of intermediaries and only 14% of the respondents have high level of trust in those institutions.

First, the aforesaid discussion implies high propensity of incidences of land conflicts in the post-Accord society. The irony is that the implementing institutions (i.e., intermediaries) have failed to manage such conflicts satisfying the concerned parties. Because the majority of the respondents found dissatisfied with the policy performance of the conflict managers. However, the percentage distribution of Table 8 and Table 9 found high positive relation between the variables. Little trust of the majority respondents in the intermediaries has resulted in dissatisfaction of the majority respondents with the role of intermediaries. From such explanation in line with the framework of the study, it can be argued that the lack of trust and confidence in the implementers and the implementing institutions have resulted in such greater extent of dissatisfaction on policy performance in resolving the land related disputes.

4.4.2 Satisfaction with compensation for the alienated lands vs. trust in successive governments

There has always been an allegation that the incidences of land alienation and land grabbing by governmental agencies, non-governmental organizations and individuals in the CHT region are high. In this case, the framework of the study argued to explore whether such land victims are satisfied with the amount of compensation provided for their alienated/grabbed land. Because it is an important indicator for examining the implementation of the Accord in terms their extent of satisfaction with such compensation and policy performance. This strategy helps to see how the extents of trust of such land victims in the successive governments affect the extents of satisfaction of those beneficiaries. The first question was aimed at finding out the total number of such land victims within the sample of the study. Though the majority of the respondents (60%) marked 'No' indicating having no such experience, still 40% marked 'Yes' indicating that they are/were victim in this regard either by governments or NGOs or by individuals (see appendix 5).

Thereafter, they were requested to share their level of satisfaction upon receipt of compensation and their policy performance in order to see the effects of their level trust in the successive governments and the implementing institutions. The following Table 10 reveals that 62% of the land victims were dissatisfied with the compensation and policy performance of the implementing institutions. Correspondingly, only 38% respondents are found satisfied. This percentage distribution implies the failure of the CHTPA implementation.

Table 10. Satisfaction on compensation and other policy performance on land alienation: percentage distribution (N=90)

Satisfaction with Compensation	Percentage (%)
Satisfied with compensation and policy performance	38
Dissatisfied with compensation and policy performance	62

Note: The question asked was- "What is your reaction regarding compensation provided by the respective authority for your alienated/grabbed land"? They were requested to choose any of the options: A) highly dissatisfied; B) partially dissatisfied; C) partially satisfied; D) highly satisfied. In the table A & B are grouped into as '**Disatisfied**' and C & D are grouped as '**Satisfied**' to present the data precisely in terms of their extent of overall satisfaction and dissatisfaction on such policy performance.

On the other hand, the following percentage distribution, Table 11, points that 88% of the total respondents have low level of trust in such claims that the successive governments are cordial in ensuring justice in the cases of land alienation and land grabbing. Correspondingly, only 12% of the respondents have high level of trust which is not significant in terms of proportion with the 88% who have low level of trust in the governments.

Table 11. Confidence and trust of the CHT people in successive governments: percentage distribution (N=225)

Trust in Governments	Percentage (%)
High level of trust in governments	12
Low level of trust in governments	88

Note: The question asked was: What is your level of your trust in the successive governments' claim that they are cordial in bringing an end to the land grabbing cases and ensuring justice in the case of the land have already been alienated or grabbed? They were given the options to choose any of these: A) Low level of trust ; B) Lowest level of trust; C) High level of trust; D) Highest level of trust. In the table A & B are grouped as '**Low Level of Trust**' and C & D are grouped as '**High Level of Trust**' to present the data precisely in terms of their overall extent of trust in the successive governments in implementing their commitments.

However, from the percentage tables (Table 10 and Table 11) stated above found high relation between the variables (i.e., if trust increases in the successive governments, the extent of satisfaction on the implementing institutions in terms of providing compensation for the alienated land also increases and vice versa). It may be for better

It needs to be mentioned that before asking about their extents of satisfaction on such policy performance the study inquired about the amount of compensation that was allotted/provided for each case of land alienation. Then it finds corresponding relation between satisfaction and compensation for the alienated land. In this regard, the question was- "*If your land has been alienated then how did the implementing institutions compensate you?*" The respondents were requested to mark one of the three options: 'adequately compensated', 'partially compensated' or 'not compensated'. Though it is found that there is high positive correlation between compensation and satisfaction, most of the victims left uncompensated (see Appendix 6).

One important responsibility of the governments was to stop illegal land alienation and land grabbing cases in the CHT. The governments and the implementing institutions are also responsible to provide reasonable compensation to the victims whose land has been alienated or

grabbed to ensure satisfaction of such victims. Perhaps, the successive governments' actions (and inactions) in implementing the major policy objectives of the Accord led them to react and evaluate in such a way that the majority respondents do not have their trust and confidence in them. Such higher extent of absence of trust and confidence of the CHT people in the governments and the implementing institutions could be identified as a cause behind the dissatisfaction of such majority respondents. In this regard, hypothesis of the study proved as valid: ***the higher the public trust in implementing institutions and successive governments, the better the satisfaction on policy performance of the CHTPA.*** The departure point of drawing such hypothesis was Rothstein's (1998) argument: "without citizens' trust in the institutions the implementation of public policies is likely to fail" (p.100).

In addition, the study found the absence of mutual trust for each other, i.e., between the Indigenous peoples and the Bengali Settlers. In this case, the respondents were asked to know about who would be affected mostly if the land related provisions of the CHTPA are implemented fully. The cross tabulation (see Appendix: 7) surprisingly found absolute absence of mutual trust for each other in the case of implementing the land related provisions of the Accord. The table shows that none of the Bengali settlers perceived any threat for the Indigenous peoples and vice versa. All the Indigenous respondents marked that they will be affected mostly if the land policies are implemented fully. On the other hand, all the Bengali respondents marked that they will be affected most in these circumstances. However, the overall majority of the respondents (i.e., 68%) perceived either Indigenous or Bengali settlers will be affected if the land policies are implemented which implies to the absence of trust between the ethnic groups in the targeted area of the CHTPA.

The argument of Stojek (2010) supplemented greatly in developing this hypothesis under the framework of the study. The author argues that one crucial activity of the implementing institutions and the governments in the post-Accord environment is giving priority to ensure inclusiveness among the fractions and groups who were in conflict. Because this approach aims to reduce the chances of recurrence of violence and conflict (ibid). Considering these issues, the study argued that reducing mistrust, increasing inter-group affinity, bridging and promoting citizens' trust among the groups and individuals in a post-Accord society could help to increase the likelihood of satisfaction with implementation of the CHTPA. Such finding validate the hypothesis of the study that the lack of citizens trust in the successive governments; implementing institutions; and

absence of trust between groups in the CHT have resulted in dissatisfaction of the majority of the beneficiaries with policy performance. In addition, the post-Accord situation with polarized groups of people and lack of trust between them may reduce the road to peace and stability (Stojek, 2010). This argument largely substantiates the above findings of the study.

4.5 Socio-Demographic Variables and Trust Relations

The above discussion on trust and its impacts on satisfaction of the CHT people with the implementation of the Accord indicates that the majority of the respondents in their respective cases have very little trust which affects the extent of such satisfaction. In this cases the study intends to see whether the socio-demographic variables of the respondents have any effect on such extents of trust in the implementing institutions and the governments. The following discussion may help to understand this issue.

Among the respondents who have comparatively better education it is found that they kept trust in the implementing institutions more than those who have low level of education. For instance, 43% (6 out of 14) of the respondents who have Master's Level of education have high level of trust in the implementing institutions. Whereas, among the illiterate respondents only 4% (2 out of 51) of them have high level of trust in those institutions. Similarly, professions of the respondents also matter for the extents of trust. Those who are employed as teacher 43% (i.e., 7 out of 16) of them have high level of trust. On the contrary, among the respondents who are farmers only 12% (6 out of 50) of them have high level of trust in those implementing institutions. Moreover, comparatively young respondents have better level of trust compared to the aged respondents. The study found that 11% of the respondents those who belong the old age group (age from 46-65) have high level of trust, whereas 15% of the respondents who belong to young age group (age from 20-45) have high level of trust. In fact, such finding implies that those who have relatively better education, better employment they have a tendency of seeing the CHTPA and its implementation positively. Also, the young people are in favor of seeing positively this affairs. Since the education rate is very low in the CHT (like the other rural part of Bangladesh) and employment opportunities are scarce the maximum respondents were illiterate or less educated and unemployed.

4.6 Summary Findings of the Chapter

The following table compares between independent and dependent variables to sum up the aforesaid discussion and to see how the independent variables affect the dependent variables. The majority respondents do not accept the case overall land related provisions (policy design) and at the same time the majority respondents are not satisfied with overall post-Accord peace and security condition.

Table 12. Summary findings of the chapter and the relationship found between the said variables

Independent Variable (IV): Reactions to Policy Design	Dependent Variable (DV): Satisfaction with Policy Output	Dominant Percentage levels between IV & DV		Relations
		IV	DV	
1. Overall Acceptance of the land-related policy provisions	Satisfaction with post-Accord peace and security condition	Do not accept such land-related policy provisions	Dissatisfied with post-Accord peace and security condition	Positive
2. Acceptance the provision of 'Non-Tribal Permanent Resident for the Bengali Settlers	Do	Do not accept this provision	Do	Positive
3. Acceptance the provision to provide 'two acres' of land to each landless family	Do	Do not accept this provision	Do	Positive
4. Acceptance the context of signing the Accord	Do	Do not accept this context of signing the Accord	Do	Positive
Independent Variable (IV) Trust	Dependent Variable (DV) Satisfaction on Policy output	Dominant Percentage levels between IV & DV		Relations
		IV	DV	
4. Trust in intermediaries	Satisfaction on the role of intermediaries	Low level of trust	Dissatisfied on Intermediaries	Positive
5. Trust in governments	Satisfaction on compensation for the alienated lands	Low level of trust	Dissatisfied with compensation and policy services	Positive

Source: Developed from analysis, finding and discussion on dependent and independent variables of the study

The respondents were also requested to know their level of acceptance to the specific cases of land related provisions of the Accord (categories 2, 3 and 4) and it is also found that the majority of them do not accept such provisions which also signifies the extent of overall dissatisfaction of the majority respondents with the post-Accord situation. In the case of citizens' trust (categories 4 &

5) it is also found positive relation between the extents of policy output of the CHTPA implementation and the level of trust of the CHT people in implementing institutions, governments and policy performance.

4.7 Conclusion

The study found that the demands and grievances of the targeted people were not reflected properly in the charter of CHTPA by its designers; trust of the targeted people in the implementing institutions and the governments were not assured; mutual trust and confidence between the Indigenous peoples and the Bengali settlers were not built to reduce rivalry attitudes towards each other. All these factors broadly imply design failure of the CHTPA. The above discussion on dependent and independent variables of the study denotes that the CHTPA was poorly designed and it seems that the design of the CHTPA did not properly integrate the demands and grievances of its targeted people which have led to implementation failure in terms of satisfaction among the majority respondents of the sample drawn for the study.

CHAPTER FIVE: DATA ANALYSIS, FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

(Variation in satisfaction between Upazilas and its reasons)

5.1 Introduction

This chapter analyzes whether there is any variation in satisfaction between Khagrachhari Sadar Upazila (KSU) and Panchhari Upazila (PU). It also unearths the causes behind such variation in satisfaction. The analysis mostly follows cross-tabulation as an analytical tool along with some required percentage table.

5.2 Variation in Satisfaction between two Upazilas

The following table compares and analyzes the extents of satisfaction between two Upazilas based on three indicators discussed in earlier Chapter 4. It shows whether there is any variation in such satisfaction. The indicators are-1. Satisfied with the post-Accord peace and security condition; 2. Satisfied with the role of intermediaries in resolving conflicts; and 3. Satisfied with the compensation provided for the alienated land. In line with the research question of the study it compares only the extents of satisfaction found within the respective Upazilas in the case of implementation of the CHTPA.

Table 13. Variation in satisfaction between two Upazilas: percentage distribution.

Satisfaction with Policy Performance	Upazilas (% within Upazila)	
	KSU	PU
1. Satisfied with the post-Accord peace and security condition	42	27
2. Satisfied with the role of intermediaries	48	15
3. Satisfied with the compensation	35	20

Note: For the first category N was 225 (KSU 152; PSU 73); For the second category N was 175 (KSU 115; PSU, 60); For the third category N was 90 (KSU 60; PS 30).

To see the variation in satisfaction of the CHT people in terms of their perception of peace and security with the post-Accord condition the same question was asked to the respondents at both

Upazilas. The question was, "how do you evaluate the post-Accord situation compared to the pre-Accord times in your locality in terms of peace and security, law and order situations, access to land rights and human rights conditions"? The options were given – A) Satisfied with the post-Accord peace and security condition and B) Dissatisfied with the post-Accord peace and security condition. The percentage distribution of the Table 13 indicates that the respondents at Panchhari Upazila felt less likely satisfaction than the respondents at Khagrachhari Sadar Upazila. More specifically, within Khagrachhari Sadar respondents 42% of them were satisfied with the post-Accord peace and security condition. Correspondingly, within Panchhari respondents only 27% of them were satisfied with the post-Accord peace and security condition.

Second, the study explored the prevailing variation in satisfaction with the role of intermediaries in managing the arisen conflicts between the selected Upazilas. The question asked was: If you have any previous experience of conflict are you satisfied with the role of intermediary institutions (like, Karbary, land commission, upazila land office etc.) in resolving such conflicts? The options given to them are grouped into two categories: '*Satisfied*' and '*Dissatisfied*'. The variation in satisfaction on the performance of such intermediaries and their role is also found like the earlier one between the selected Upazilas. Table 13 shows that respondents at Panchhari were less likely satisfied than the respondents at Khagrachhari Sadar. More explicitly, within Khagrachhari Sadar 48% of the conflict experiencing respondents were satisfied, whereas only 15% of the Panchhari respondents were satisfied with the role of intermediaries.

Third, variation in satisfaction on compensation provided for the alienated land by the implementing institutions is also found between the selected Upazilas which is evident from the above Table 13. The table shows that within Khagrachhari Sadar 35% of the land victims were satisfied, whereas within Panchhari respondents only 20% were satisfied with the compensation provided for their alienated land. It means that the extent of satisfaction of such land victims is higher at Khagrachhari Sadar Upazila compared to Panchhari Upazila.

5.3 Why satisfaction varies

The following discussion will help to trace out the probable reasons for such variation in policy output though both of the units belong to the same district and have similar structures and functions.

5.3.1 Variation of incidences of conflicts between Upazilas

Assuming variation of incidences of conflicts between the selected Upazilas in Khagrachhari district it is found that Panchhari Upazila is more likely conflict-prone and conflict-stricken than Khagrachhari Sadar Upazila. In this regard, the survey respondents were asked- "*do you have any experience of conflict(s) over land with other people in your locality in the post-Accord regime*"? It helps to see whether there is any variation of such incidences of conflicts between the selected Upazilas of the study. The following cross-tabulation between such incidences and Upazilas helps to find out the reason(s) behind such variation of satisfaction in terms of perception of peace and security of the CHT people.

Table 14. Comparison of incidences of conflict between two Upazilas: percentage distribution ($N=225$: *Khagrachhari=152, Panchhari=73*).

Experience of Conflict in the Post-Accord Times	Upazilas (% within Upazila respondents)	
	Khagrachhari Sadar	Panchhari
Yes (I have experience of conflict)	76	82
No (I have no experience of conflict)	24	18

Note: The question asked was: "Do you have any experience of conflict(s) over land with other people or have you been witnessed any conflict over land in your locality in the post-Accord times"? The options were given as– A) Yes (I have experience of such conflict); B) No (I have no experience of such conflict).

The above Table 14 shows that the tendency of such occurrences of conflicts is somewhat more at Panchhari than Khagrachhari Sadar. Within the Panchhari respondents it is found that 82% of them have experience of such conflicts which seems less than the tendency at Khagrachhari Sadar where 76% of its total respondents found having such experiences of conflict.

The extents of satisfaction in terms of perception of peace and security of the respondents found less likely at Panchhari than Khagrachhari Sadar (see Table 13). From such comparison between Table 13 and Table 14, it can be argued that variation in effective resolution of the conflicts (i.e.,

discrimination in implementation) increases the likelihood of recurrence of such conflicts more at Panchhari than Khagrachhari Sadar. Because, the prime concern of the Accord was to stop any further escalation of conflict and to resolve peacefully if there is any such within the CHT. In fact, the limited policy performance and discrimination in implementation have caused such variation in satisfaction between the selected Upazilas.

5.3.2 Variation of incidences of land grabbing and land alienation between Upazilas

The following percentage distribution in Table 15 exposes that Panchhari is more inflicted by land alienation and land grabbing cases compared to Khagrachhari Sadar. Only within Panchhari Sadar 82% of its respondents were found having such experiences. Whereas, within Khagrachhari Sadar, 76% of its respondents found victim of such kind of land alienation.

Table 15. Variation in the incidences of land grabbing between two Upazilas: percentage distribution ($N=225$: *Khagrachhari Sadar=152, Panchhari=73*).

Experience of Land Alienation or Land Grabbing	Upazilas (% within Upazila)	
	Khagrachhari Sadar (%)	Panchhari (%)
Yes (I have such experience)	76	82
No (I have no such experience)	24	18

Such variation in incidences of land grabbing and land alienation cases may be considered as another reason for relatively less extent of satisfaction of the respondents at Panchhari Upazila compared to the Khagrachhari Sadar Upazila. However, there may have other causes for such variation in satisfaction between units. For this, I need to see the relationship between compensation and satisfaction of the land victims. The study argued that satisfaction of such land victims might be influenced by the amount of compensation provided for their grabbed land. If it is found that due to discrimination in compensating (i.e., implementation) such land victims it may be reasonable to consider this factor for the variation in satisfaction of the CHT people on policy output for this study.

5.3.3 Variation in compensation provided for the grabbed land between Upazilas

The following Table 16 also demonstrates variation in providing compensation to the victims of KSU and PU. It is evident that within Khagrachhari Sadar 73% of its total victims received

compensation. Correspondingly, within Panchhari only 30% of its victims received compensation which readily implies discrimination in implementation. In other words, at Panchhari 70% of its total victims were left uncompensated whereas only 27% of the victims at Khagrachhari Sadar left uncompensated.

Table 16. Comparison of compensation received between two Upazilas: percentage distribution (N=90: Khagrachhari Sadar=60, Panchhari=30).

Responses about Compensation	Upazilas (% within Upazila)	
	Khagrachhari	Panchhari
Compensated	73	30
Not compensated	27	70

Note: The question asked was- "If you are victim of land alienation or land grabbing what is your experience regarding compensation provided by the CHTPA implementing institutions? A)I was adequately compensated ; B) I was partially compensated; C) I was not compensated; In the table adequately compensated and partially compensated are grouped only as '*Compensated*' and those who were not compensated are categorized as '*Not compensated*' to present the data precisely.

So, it can be claimed that discrimination in implementation and uneven implementation performance led to such variation in satisfaction of the beneficiaries between the selected Upazilas. Because the study found a high positive relation between compensation and satisfaction (see Appendix: 6). This Appendix is about the distribution of total ninety (90) land victims and their individual level of satisfaction on their respective compensation provided for their corresponding alienated land. The analysis shows that 59% of the total respondents were compensated at different extents where 38% of them were found highly satisfied. On the other hand, 41% of the total respondents were left uncompensated and none of them found satisfied. It means that when the land victims are not compensated for their grabbed land they are found dissatisfied. But when the victims are provided at least any extents of compensation the majority of the victims found satisfied.

The essence of this finding is that when the land victims are provided with proper and adequate compensation for their grabbed land they were most likely satisfied either highly or partially at least but not dissatisfied. But the lack of equal importance in providing compensation (i.e., discriminatory implementation performance) in dealing with such land victims have resulted in variation in satisfaction between the selected Upazilas. It is also evident that compensation package covered relatively less number of victims at Panchhari and also compensated less (see

Table 16), for what the number of dissatisfied victims were found more at Panchhari compared to the Khagrachhari Sadar. So it would be reasonable to identify that such discrimination in implementation in terms of providing compensation to such victims led to cause variation in satisfaction on policy performance between Panchhari Upazila and Khagrachhari Sadar Upazilas

5.4 Conclusion

Within the nominal extent of overall policy output of the CHTPA implementation the above analysis found variation between the selected Upazilas. Discriminatory policy performance as well as variation in implementation is identified as the cause for such variation in such policy output. Because the respondents at Panchhari Upazila were relatively less satisfied in terms of policy output of the CHTPA implementation than the respondents at Khagrachhari Sadar Upazila. From such analysis and observation it can also be claimed that in spite of having most similarities between the Upazilas the Panchhari Upazila is deprived of equal implementation treatment.

CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction

This final chapter of the thesis is divided into three main sub-sections. The first one is about the summary of the key findings that focuses mainly on independent variables of the study. The implication section focuses on the findings by examining the theoretical relevance of the study; emerging issues of challenges; limitations of the study; indication for future research based on the emerging issues and contribution of the study. Lastly, conclusion is drawn based on the entire study.

6.2 Summary of the Main Findings

In order to assess the extent of policy output of the CHTPA implementation the study developed and used an analytical framework. This framework is composed of implementation models (e.g., Winter's integrated implementation model), relevant theories and issues (e.g., trust and confidence) in the theory chapter. The main research findings are linked to the study's central research question: *"To what extent has the CHTPA been implemented and what factors may explain the variation (if any) of policy output between two areas in the CHT?"* The following discussion may help to find the relevance of such conceptual issues, theories and the models used in this study.

6.2.1 Policy Design of the CHTPA

The term '*policy design*' is broad and pervasive. The study argued that using all the aspects and issues of policy design in a single research would be unscientific and unrealistic. Giving priority to the focus and nature of the study this issue is understood in line with the major provisions of the charter of the Accord and its context/process of finalizing. Because in the case of Peace Accord, like the CHTPA, it is highly significant to see how the provisions of that Accord were finalized and in what context such Accord was signed. Do the targeted people accept and welcome such provisions? Are they

agreed with the the process/context of signing (i.e., finalizing) the Accord? In the case of designing peace policy these are crucial aspects which help to examine the implementation of such Accord. The integrated implementation model of Winter gives priority on analyzing the behaviors of the targeted groups in assessing implementation. So the study collects opinions, reactions and evaluations of the targeted people on these two aspects: policy design and policy output to see their relation. The reactions of the CHT people were collected from the selected two Upazilas following methodological guidelines developed for the study. The propensity of such reactions indicate that majority of them disagreed with the major provisions (e.g., land related provisions) of the Accord which is considered as responsible for the dissatisfaction of the majority respondents on implementation and policy performance of the CHTPA. For instance, grossly the majority of the total respondents (78%, see Table 4) rejected the overall land related policy provisions of the Accord at different extents. Correspondingly, the majority of the respondents (63%, see Table 3) found dissatisfied in terms of their perception of peace and security in the post-Accord regime.

The survey question was asked to know whether the CHTPA has properly addressed the land issues and crises of the CHT as per the demands of the targeted people. The findings imply that the land related major provisions of the Accord were not enacted in the charter of the Accord that satisfy the majority of the respondents which is evident from Table 4. Though land is considered by the majority respondents (overall 64%, Appendix: 08) as crucial issue as to ensure peace and security in the CHT region by managing the land related crises, there may have some other minor reasons for the instability in the CHT region. From such observation it can be claimed that the assumption of the present study broadly comes as valid. So it can be argued the designers of the CHTPA failed to accommodate and enact such important issue satisfying the CHTPA targeted people for what the policy output is found so frustrating.

There was another important aspect of policy design of the CHTPA to examine the acceptance of the CHT people the context of signing the Accord and to see how it affects on implementation of such Accord. Because in the case of Peace Accord this issue is considered as a crucial as to ensure better implementation effectiveness. In this regard, the study explore how the targeted people perceive about the context of signing the Accord only between the PCJSS and the then ruling party ignoring other relevant actors. In this case the majority respondents of the survey (i.e., 72%) did not support this type of exclusive and non-accommodative approach in the process of signing such an important Accord. In fact, the target groups were found that they are in favor of inclusion to other actors in the

process of signing the Accord which could help to expedite the implementation activity of the Accord. In this connection, the study findings mostly concur with the integrated implementation model of Winter (1990). Because the model also shows that policy design affects positively on implementation which could be measured by using behaviors of the target groups. In brief, the study found that the CHTPA has not been implemented to a large extent and design failure is mostly responsible for the present state of its implementation.

6.2.2 Citizens' Trust

There was another independent variable of the study to examine the implementation of the CHTPA. The study tried to explore the extent of trust and confidence of the CHTPA targeted groups in the implementing institutions and the successive governments of Bangladesh to see its impacts on implementation of the Accord. Since the extent of the targeted people's trust implies the extent of willingness that could promote and fulfill the demands and needs of those people, it would surely influence the implementation of the CHTPA (Crete, Pelletier & Couture, 2006). It was found that the beneficiaries of the CHTPA do not have significant level of trust and confidence in the implementing institutions and the successive governments which have affected badly on policy output of the CHTPA implementation. The theoretical framework of the study also showed that citizens' trust in the organizations and their satisfaction on policy output are positively correlated. So the study hypothesized that without citizens' *'trust'* and *'confidence'* in the implementing institutions (e.g., intermediaries) of the CHTPA and the governments, the Accord will likely to fail to ensure satisfaction in implementation. The overall 86% of the respondents (Table 9) of the sample do not have their trust in the intermediaries in the resolution of conflicts in the CHT. Correspondingly, on the other side, the study found that the majority of the beneficiaries of the CHTPA are not satisfied on their role in handling such conflicts. So the presence of such low extent of trust can be accounted for unsuccessful implementation of the CHTPA.

Also, the study found 88% (Table 11) of the victims of land alienation and land grabbing do not have their trust and confidence in the successive governments' claim that they (i.e., the governments) are cordial in bringing an end to such land grabbing cases and ensuring justice in the case of such incidences. Correspondingly, 62% (Table 10) of such victims are not satisfied with the role of implementing institutions and compensation provided for their land grabbed by governmental or non-governmental agencies.

So, it can also be argued that the absence of significant level of trust of the CHT people in the implementing institutions and the successive governments have caused for such low extent of policy output in terms of satisfaction of the beneficiaries on CHTPA implementation.

6.3 Implications of the Findings

6.3.1 Revisiting the relevance of theoretical concepts

The study has been conducted broadly within the framework of the Winter's *'integrated model of implementation'* and the concept of *'citizens trust'* to see their effects on implementation of the CHTPA. Though the integrated implementation model is not considered strictly as a causal model, it can best be used as a framework of analysis to see such relations (Pierre, 2003). The four interrelated and interdependent factors of the model which affect implementation of a policy are- (1) the process of policy formulation prior to the law or decision to be implemented; (2) the behaviors of the implementing organizations; (3) the behavior/performance of the implementers (e.g., the street level bureaucrats); and (4) the reactions of the policy targeted groups/people (Winter, 1990, Pp. 20-21). Due to their interactiveness and interdependence these factors are seemed highly relevant to analyze the implementation of the CHTPA. Broadly, the CHTPA design has been shown as one independent variable which has impacts on its implementation. Two crucial components of the CHTPA design were identified as independent variable. These are major policy provisions of the charter of the Accord and its context as well as process of its signing. This study has established that the more acceptance about these two aspects of the CHTPA design by its targeted people ensures its better implementation. More specifically, the extent/degree of policy output of the CHTPA is largely dependent on the extent of acceptance of the crucial issues of the CHTPA design as independent variable.

The second variable of the study is trust. It has been developed under the theoretical framework of the study through literature review for its relevance and importance explained elaborately in its theoretical chapter. The theoretical aspect of citizens' trust hypothesized that the higher the citizens' trust in policy implementing institutions and successive governments ensures higher extent of policy output of implementation of the CHTPA. The study findings show that the more trust in these two aspects of the CHTPA could broaden the chances of being implemented the Accord effectively.

Though the overall implementation is very low at both Upazilas, the study found that the variation in such implementation and discriminatory policy performance have resulted in variation in policy output between the selected units of the study. It is found that policy output of the CHTPA implementation is comparatively better at Khagrachhari Sadar Upazila than Panchhari Upazila.

6.3.2 Emerging Issues

One important focus of the study was to examine the extent to what level the CHTPA has been implemented. The study started with one preconceived hypothesis, i.e., the policy design of the Accord may affect its implementation. In this case, the finding of the study has revealed that the less importance to the demands and preferences of the CHTPA targeted people by the policy actors and designers mainly have resulted in implementation failure to achieve the overall goal of '*peace and security*' of the Accord. Another crucial finding of the study is that the absence of significant level of trust and confidence of the CHT people in the implementing institutions and the successive governments of Bangladesh have caused for such low level of implementation of the Accord. In this regard, the study findings imply that it could be better to give priority over addressing crises efficiently at the bottom level of the CHT; dealing the local level issues minutely; giving importance to gain support of the targeted people and working for accelerating the level of mutual trust between the ethnic groups in the CHT. All these efforts may work to increase the likelihood of better implementation of the CHTPA.

The study findings also reveal that the variation in implementation led to the variation in policy output of the CHTPA implementation between KSU and PU. In fact, the discriminatory policy performance in implementation has resulted in less satisfaction at Panchhari Upazila than Khagrachhari Sadar Upazila. It is most likely the tendency of occurrences of conflicts and land grabbing and land alienation cases are found more at Panchhari Upazila than Khagrachhari Sadar Upazila due to discriminatory policy performance in implementation between the Upazilas.

6.3.3 Limitations of the study and future research

However, no work is possible without limitation and this study is not exception in this regard. The present study is accomplished for the partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of MPhil within some limitations. In order to ensure more valid findings in the case of variation in policy output of the CHTPA implementation between the two Upazilas may need another study based on larger

sample. The finding of the study may not be sufficiently relevant for the other developed countries in the cases of peace accords and their implementation challenges. Because both of the cases were selected from a developing country-Bangladesh. In order to understand the dynamics of the developed countries, a comparative study selecting cases from developing and developed countries may be conducted. Finally, it would be rational if future empirical studies are based on the findings of this study, that is, to explore the reasons why implementation varies between the selected Upazilas in the CHT of Bangladesh. And why education, age and employment matter for the perceptions and reactions of the CHT people about the CHTPA policy design.

6.3.4 Contribution of the study

The study findings inevitably contribute to the existing literature on implementation challenges of Peace Accord in general and more specifically in the case of CHTPA in Bangladesh unlike many other studies. The present study has showed why and how a Peace Accord implementation faces multifaceted challenges. In short, poor design of the Accord and ignorance to the case of accommodation and accumulation of the demands and grievances of the targeted people are broadly responsible for its implementation failure. Since this kind of peace initiative always considered as special type of policy, it requires the approach that ensures and encourages the participation of potential opposing actors in the case of finalizing the major provisions in the charter of the Accord and in the context of finalizing such agreement. The study also uncovers the reason why the policy output of the CHTPA implementation varies between different most similar areas in the CHT which is readily a great contribution in the implementation research. The study concludes that the assurance of equal importance and unbiased attitudes towards the implementation of the Accord at all the spheres of the CHT could ensure equal policy output of the CHTPA implementation.

6.4 Concluding Remarks

The overall findings and discussions stated above on the implementation challenges of the CHTPA imply that weak policy design of the Accord and little citizens' trust and confidence in the implementing institutions and the successive governments are mostly responsible for dissatisfaction of the majority respondents with policy output of the CHTPA implementation. It is important to note that the Indigenous peoples are rigid by and large to their tradition-based society where only they will live and enjoy full freedom. On the other hand, the Bengali settlers are in favor of settling and residing in the CHT like other regions of the country. The Bengali settlers argue that since the CHT is a part

of the country and they have been living in this area for last many years, it is their right to settle and live in the CHT. But the Indigenous peoples are accustomed to their traditions and customs based social and cultural system. Due to the imposition of some strict rules and prohibitions by the governments of Bangladesh the Indigenous peoples are most likely annoyed and disturbed. To sum up, the dilemma and conflict between the '*rule based*' and the '*tradition based*' social systems within the CHT is a serious and complex barrier to ensure greater extent of satisfaction of the targeted people.

However, I cannot deny the influences of some other unobserved factors that could have effect on such state of the implementation of the CHTPA. More specifically, the traditional administrative culture, resource scarcity, lack of cordial disposition of the implementers as well as political leaders may also have effects on implementation of the CHTPA in Bangladesh. So such extraneous variables can be studied in a further study.

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Appendices

Appendix: 01.

Questionnaire related to the Perception and Reaction about the Challenges of Implementing the Chittagong Hill Tracts Peace Accord (CHTPA) in Bangladesh: *An Empirical Study*

BY

Muhammad Sazzad Hossain Siddiqui
Post Graduate Research Student
University of Bergen, Norway
&
Assistant Professor
Department of Peace and Conflict Studies
University of Dhaka, Bangladesh

July-August, 2015

Questionnaire No:

Interviewer ID:

Introduction and Seeking Permission

Greetings! I am here to collect data from you about the implementation challenges of the land related policy objectives of the CHTPA. These data and information will be used exclusively for an academic research purpose. Your participation in this research will be evaluated with importance and your identity will not be disclosed.

The participation in this research is voluntary and you may not provide answer of one or more questions if you are not interested. But we expect and appreciate your spontaneous participation in this research since it is an inevitable part for this study.

If you have any other query about this research please feel free to ask me.

May I begin your interview? Yes No

Date..... Month--July Year--2015

Information Related to Respondent

1. Name:.....(Not Compulsory)
2. Age:
3. Birthplace: (mention only Upazila)
 - A) Khagrachhari Sadar
 - B) Panchhari
4. Gender
 - A) Male
 - B) Female
5. Ethnicity:
 - A) Indigenous
 - B) Bengali
6. Educational Qualification
 - (a) Illiterate
 - (b) Primary
 - (c) S.S.C.
 - (d) H.S.C.
 - (e) B.A.
 - (f) M.A.
 - (g) Other (please specify).....
7. Marital Status:
 - A) Single
 - B) Married
 - C) Widowed
 - D) Divorced
8. Profession
 - (a) Govt. Job
 - (b) Teaching
 - (c) NGO
 - (d) Media
 - (e) Business
 - (f) Agriculture
 - (g) Fishing
 - (h) Other (please specify)...Unemployed/Housewife/Student.....

17. Who is not a tribal and possesses land legally in the Hill District and generally lives at a certain address in the Hill District he shall be identified as 'non-tribal permanent resident'. What is your reaction of such provision of the Accord? (Reference: Part B, Article 3 of the Accord)
A) Strongly disagree; B) Partially Disagree; C) Partially Agree; D) Strongly Agree
18. The CHTPA (see part D) is committed to repatriate the tribal people from Tripura (province of India) and to provide **two acres** of lands to each landless family who possesses less than 2 acres of lands. Do you agree with this provision of the Accord or is it implementable?
A) Agree; B) Disagree; C) Uncertain
19. There are many national and regional political and apolitical organizations in Bangladesh other than the PCJSS and the then ruling party Bangladesh Awami League (AL). But the process of signing the Peace Accord took place only between the PCJSS and the then Government. How do you evaluate this case? How do you evaluate this case?
A) Strongly disagree; B) Partially Disagree; C) Partially Agree; (D) Strongly Agree
20. What is the level of your trust in implementing the land related policy objectives of the Accord by the implementing institutions- (e.g., Karbary, land commission, upazila land office etc.)? You can choose one option of the following in resolving such conflicts and implementing other land related policy objectives?
A) Lowest level ; B) Lower level; C) Low level ; D) High level; E) Higher level; F) Highest level.
21. What is your level of your trust in the successive governments' claim that they are cordial in bringing an end to the land grabbing cases and ensuring justice in the case of the land have already been alienated or grabbed? You can choose any of the following options?
A) Low level of trust; B) Lowest level of trust; C) High level of trust; D) Highest level of trust;
22. According to your evaluation who may be affected mostly by the CHTPA if it is implemented wholly by your evaluation?
A. Indigenous peoples; B) Bengali settlers; C) None of them; D) Both of them; E) Uncertain
23. The government has brought changes in the constitution violating the provision of the Accord, that is, the term 'indigenous' shall be replaced by the 'small minority ethnic group' term. How do you see this issue?
B) Strongly disagree; B) Disagree; C) Uncertain; D) Agree; (E) Strongly Agree

----- **Thank you so much for your time!** -----

Appendix: 02. Sample of Focused Group Consent Form

Research Study: Challenges of ensuring effectiveness of peace accord: The case of CHTPA in Bangladesh

Researcher Name: Muhammad Sazzad Hossain Siddiqui

What is the research about and why have I been asked to take part?

You have been requested to take part in my research study as you are a permanent inhabitant in this place for a long time. The purpose of the study is to find out the best explanation about the CHTPA implementation and the status of peace and security in the CHT region. We would like to provide your valuable suggestion in the case of policy objectives of the Accord and its implementation.

Voluntary Participation

This discussion is voluntary –you do not have to take part if you do not want to. If any question makes you feel uncomfortable, you do not have to answer them. You may leave the group at any time for any reason.

Risk Management

We do not see any risks that are involved in taking part in this study. But there may have unknown risks in the time of discussion.

Payment

It is totally voluntary participation. Other than tea and light snacks there is no monetary payment for taking part in the focus group discussion.

Audiotape Permission and Privacy

I have been told that the discussion will be tape recorded only if all participants agree. I have been told that I can state that I don't want the discussion to be taped and it will not be. I can ask that the tape be turned off at any time. The discussion and your name will be kept in strictly confidential. All research data will be stored in a locked file cabinet and the tapes will be destroyed after the talk has been studied.

I agree to be audio taped ___Yes ___No

Questions

You are given the opportunity to ask any questions regarding this issue. If I have any additional questions about the evaluation, I may ask.

Please write your name below and tick yes or no. If you want to take part write your name and put your signature in the bottom-

Name ----- Ethnic Group----- Gender -----Age-----
----- (age of the participants ≥ 36)

-----Yes, I would like to take part the proposed discussion

-----No, I would not like to take part the proposed discussion

Signature

Date

Appendix: 03. FGD Protocol and the Questions

The FGDs were followed the Boston College's FGD principles (see footnote 20 for detail) adapting with the nature and focus of the present study.

- Each discussion run around 60 minutes;
- Each FGD comprised of 6 participants;
- Five mainstream questions were asked and sometimes some important questions were revisited;
- Questions were set from general to specific;
- Started with welcoming followed my mainstream question;
- Two expert facilitators were deployed to oversee the discussions;
- Materials, like- tape recorder, flip chart paper, focus group list of participants, focus group script and Watch were arranged before starting the discussions;
- Selected the two primary schools to hold the FGDs;
- We arrive before the participants;
- We considered light snacks after ending the discussions.

FGD Questions: Each FGD held on FIVE questions. Fewer than five may limit the data output and yield poor data while more than five questions can be unwieldy and unmanageable. The questions are as like as below:

1. How do you evaluate the post-Accord situation in terms of your perception of peace and security, law and order situations, access to land rights in the CHT compared to the pre-Accord times in your locality? Why do you think so?
2. Who is not a tribal and possesses land legally in the Hill District and generally lives at a certain address in the Hill District he shall be identified as '*non-tribal permanent resident*'. How do

you evaluate this provision of the Accord? Why do you think of that way? (Reference: Part B, Article 3 of the Accord)

3. The CHTPA (see part D) is committed to repatriate the tribal people from Tripura (province of India) and to provide **two acres** of lands to each landless family who possesses less than 2 acres of lands. Do you think that this part of the Accord is implementable? Give reasons for your position.

To what extent do you accept and feel satisfaction upon overall land related policy objectives of the Accord? Give reasons for your answer.

5. Are you satisfied with the role played by the CHTPA implementing institutions and the assurance of ensuring peace and security in the CHT by the successive governments of Bangladesh? Why do you think so?

----- **Thank you so much for your time!** -----

Appendix: 4. Distribution of the respondents based on their experiences of conflicts. Percentage distribution: (N=225)

Response	Frequency (f)	Percentage(%)
Yes (I have experience of such conflict)	175	78
No (I have no experience of such conflict)	50	22
Total	N=225	100%

Note: The question asked was ‘have you ever been experienced the incidence of conflict over land with other local individuals’. They were given two options: Yes and No.

Appendix: 5. Distribution of the Land Alienation/Land Grabbing Cases. Percentage distribution (N=225)

Response	Percentage (%)
‘No’ I have no experience of such land alienation	60
‘Yes’ I have experience of such land alienation	40

Note:
The

question asked was ‘have you ever been experienced the incidences of land alienation or land grabbing by the governmental agencies or the non-governmental organizations or by any local individuals’. They were given two options: Yes and No.

Appendix: 6. Table Relationship between Satisfaction and Compensation Provided for the Alienated Land: Percentage Distribution (N=90)

Compensation Received	Reactions to Compensation	
	Dissatisfied	Satisfied
Compensated	21	38
Not compensated	41	<u>0</u>

Note: The question asked was -"If your land has been alienated then how did they compensate you?" They were given the options like: A) Adequately Compensated, B) Partially Compensated, C) Not Compensated. In the table A and B are grouped into as ‘*Compensated*’ and the remaining one C as ‘*Not compensated*’. Another corresponding question was asked for their extent of satisfaction on respective compensation. And the options were given like-A) Highly Dissatisfied, B) Partially Dissatisfied, C) Partially Satisfied, and D) Highly Satisfied. In table A & B are grouped as ‘*Dissatisfied*’ and C & D as ‘*Satisfied*’ for presenting data precisely.

Appendix: 7. Distribution of Perceived Threat on Full Implementation of Land Related Policy Provisions

Ethnic Identity	Perceived Threat by the Targeted Group				Total
	Indigenous	Bengali Settlers	None of them	Uncertain	
Indigenous	65	0	14	41	120
Bengali	0	88	6	11	105
Total	65	88	20	52	225

Appendix: 8. Distribution the perceptions that peace is possible in the CHT region if the land disputes and crises are managed properly: percentage distribution (N=225).

Reactions of the Respondents	Percentage
Agree with this argument	64%
Disagree with this Argument	36%

Note: The question asked was: There is a common perception that if the land crises are resolved properly the expected peaceful coexistence of the CHT people will be possible. What is your reaction in this regard? A) Strongly disagree; B) Disagree; C) Agree; D) Strongly Agree. In the table A & B are grouped as *'Disagree'* and C & D are grouped as *'Agree'* to present the data precisely in terms of their extent of acceptance/Rejection of such policy design of the Accord.