

**PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION
AND LAND REFORM:
People's Perspective on Struggles for Land and
Agrarian Reform in Bangladesh**

Study Team Members:

A.K.M. Masud Ali

A.K.M. Mustaque Ali

Ratan Sarkar

Nasimul Ahsan

Mohammad Shahid Ullah

Kazi Maruful Islam

Prepared for:

The Protestant Association for Cooperation in Development (EZE)

&

Association for Land Reform and Development (ALRD)

INCIDIN Bangladesh

1/9 Iqbal Road, Mohammadpur Dhaka-1207, Bangladesh

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Members of the study team
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1.	PO	People's Organization
2.	Samities	Small non-registered association of people.
3.	ALRD	Association for Land Reform and Development
4.	PSP	Participatory Strategic Planning
5.	PSA	Participatory Self-Assessment
6.	NGO	Non-government Organization
7.	SRO	Service Recipient Organization

GLOSSARY OF BANGLA WORDS

1.	khash	Government abandoned Land
2.	talak	Divorce
3.	Jatio Adibashi Parishad	National Association of Indigenous People
4.	Adivashi	Indigenous community
5.	Union Parishad.	Lowest level administrative unit.
6.	Shalish	Informal Court
7.	Santals	Ethnic community of Bangladesh
8.	Ghers	Shrimp ditch
9.	Krishi	Agriculture
10.	Mahajan	Informal money lender
11.	Hari	Rent
13.	Fatwa	Religious verdict
14.	Benami	Anonymous
15.	Jotddars	Big land owner
16.	Bigha	Unit of land measurement (.33 decimal)
17.	Thana	Local level administrative unit
18.	Madrasa	Religious school

Chapter: 1	INTRODUCTION
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1.1.	Background and Rationale of the Study
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In a country like Bangladesh, with 43.78 percent of landless holdings and 69.55 percent of holdings living on agriculture*, land reform is undoubtedly a crucial concern for development planners, activists and practitioners. However, the issue has almost always been dealt as a highly sophisticated and complex policy agenda; an agenda in which the so called "common people" have never been expected to meaningfully contribute. This attitude of undermining the moral-practical knowledge of people and their rights to participate in determining their future has now being put under scrutiny.

On the other hand, around the world since mid-seventies development thinkers, academicians, activists and practitioners have been highlighting the role of People's Organizations (POs) in relation to equality, participation, empowerment and sovereignty of people in the process of sustainable human development. In Bangladesh the `concept' of People's Organization is also not new. Few organizations working with marginalized landless people have taken POs as their action points. They have defused their ideological *defacto* as it is with the conceptual premise of *people's organization* and going ahead with their experimentations.

At this stage, in Bangladesh we have gathered a rich pool of experience regarding "people's organization". However, only rarely efforts have been made to internalize this experience of different development activists and practitioners who came from diverse ideological, conceptual, contextual and operational orientations. Even if such an effort is taken, people who at the grassroots worked together with the NGOs as their "target people", have predominantly been left out of such process of self-reflection.

The present study is an attempt to go out of this policy of excluding people from the space of knowledge building. It efforts to bring people into the learning process with equal status both as source of knowledge and user of knowledge. Focusing on the issue of land reform, the study has created a space for the organized landless women and men to analyze the quality and consequence of their relationship with the NGOs and activist groups that they are working together. It invited them to explore, share and visualize the process of land reform. Moreover, the study provided the people with an opportunity of re-visiting the whole issue of people's organization, considering the lineage, the opportunities, threats and challenges in given premise and their nature (character) and capacity to undertake the LR Programme.

The present study is expected to contribute in the capacity building process of the partners of Association for Land Reform and Development in Bangladesh (ALRD).

* Source: Statistical Year Book-1999.BBS.Bangladesh.

The process is also expected to initiate a dialogue between the partner NGOs and the grassroots level organizations on issues concerning their struggles for land and agrarian reform.

The present study defines people as the oppressed and governed section of the society. More precisely, people in this study refers to the landless women and men of Bangladesh who are struggling to break free of the existing system of oppression.

1.2	Objectives of the Study
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The objectives of the study are as follows:

- To achieve a common understanding about the organization about the organizational nature and capacity of existing POs.
- To articulate the capacity building and material requirements for the development of capable POs up to the level that they could undertake LR programme.
- To identify critical and strategic needs for POs to be self-reliant and autonomous.
- To identify the appropriate role of supporting institutions (NGOs) in relation of facilitate POs particularly capacity building.

1.3.	Scope of the Study
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The study has been build around a participatory workshop method, which has dealt with both `perception' and `condition' of existing POs. Secondly, it focused on the question of necessary support services needed for the development of the capable POs. The therefore contributed in critically reflecting on and exploring the following areas:

- Existing understanding of the nature of envisaged development. Is It-neo-modernism or a vision of self-reliant autonomous local society? Or something else.
- Assumption and perceptions of POs as organization, its nature and role; criteria of authentic PO (opposite to Service Recipient Organizations (SRO).
- Strength, weakness, capacity and potential of existing POs.
- Role and potential of women and men respectively in existing POs.
- The nature (character) and capacity of a PO that could undertake the LR Programme.
- Gap analysis between aspired and existing organization/capacity.
- Strategy to overcome gaps.

1.4.	Methodology of the Study
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The study utilized a slightly modified form of Participatory Strategic Planning (PSP) process. The study methodology can be termed as Participatory Self-Assessment (PSA). It is basically a series of workshop using participatory strategic analysis method that engages selected leaders and members of the People's Organizations (POs) in specific working areas in a three-day long self-reflecting workshop. In this process, the people had the opportunity of collectively analyzing the social political context to identify critical and strategic issues as well as their causes and probable trends. Based on this analysis POs have also appraised their present status and formulated their role and framed strategic guideline for future.

The study process ensured conscious and active participation of the landless women and men for analysis, formulation and design of future vision and strategic guideline. Data and information on social, political, economic and cultural context have been formulated by the participants of the workshop. This however does not include detail statistics. In essence it generated a qualitative appraisal of the context.

The action plan or program schedule, which indicates the whole activities and time plan has been developed during the learning workshop of Core facilitators. The preparatory phase included the following:

- Through ALRD the study team primarily informed twenty partner organizations (as selected by ALRD) about the study and inquired if they were willing to be involved with the process. The response was positive. Apart from ALRD partners two other agencies were approached and confirmed.
- A detail workshop schedule was formulated with the involvement of the ALRD partners and other participating agencies (please see annex-I, for the workshop schedule)
- For each of the workshop the NGOs were requested to invite twenty leaders and members of the samities facilitated by the organization (please see annex-II for the list of participant)
- INCIDIN Bangladesh prepared a workshop plan. For each of the groups a three-day workshop plan was designed (please see annex-III, for the matrix of workshop plan)

The basic feature of the workshop was that it was a participatory process in which the participants themselves were the resource parsons. The workshops were held without any participants from the NGOs. This way the members of the samities/groups had more freedom in speaking their mind and analyzing information without any interference from the NGO or any threat of 'upsetting' the NGO.

As a result of the NGO interference-free participatory process, the outputs of the workshops are in true sense people's self-reflections. The strength of this study also

lies in the fact that this report is mainly the reflection of people's analysis and opinions regarding the context, concept and challenges regarding people's organization and land reform.

1.4.1.	The Partners of the Study
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The study involved a multi-agency initiative. It involved Association for Land Reform and Development (ALRD), EZE, the participating agencies, grassroots level organizations and INCIDIN Bangladesh. In the study process the five partners had performed some distinct roles.

ALRD mainly played the coordinating role between its partners and the study team. ALRD also funded the workshops carried through the process. For each of the workshop the partner NGO was directly provided with a fund that covered food and lodging of the workshop participants and the resource persons and travel-costs and daily allowance of the workshop participants. In each of the workshop at least one representative of ALRD (not its partners but from the staff of ALRD) was present. This way ALRD wanted to internalize the findings of the study process and to build experience regarding participatory research and planning process. Through this direct involvement the ownership of ALRD on the study has also become distinct.

EZE has contributed in the process of idea building. The EZE team has contributed in conceptualizing the study. EZE has also sponsored the consultancy cost of the study.

INCIDIN Bangladesh coordinated the study process and was primarily responsible for the research team. The study team consisted of Researchers of INCIDIN Bangladesh. For each of the workshop two researchers were assigned. The researchers facilitated the three-day long participatory strategic analysis workshops. The researchers also prepared workshop reports based on workshop outputs and their respective field notes on discussions and observations.

The participating NGOs viewed the workshops as a means of building capacity of the grassroots level leaders on participatory workshop and strategic analysis. They also considered the self-analytical process to generate data to review the role of the facilitating agencies from the client-side. The agencies locally coordinated the workshop, invited the participants, hosted the workshop and provided the logistics for effective implementation of the activities.

One of the major partners of the study were the grassroots level organizations. The participating samities and groups, considered the workshops as a platform to assess their experience and generate feedback. The leaders and members worked for three-days in each of the localities and generated their analysis on issues which they themselves selected.

To integrate the individual workshop and to avoid simple compilation, the study team members of INCIDIN Bangladesh took part in three-day long workshop of their own. Through this workshop experience and learning of individual researchers were reviewed and internalized. This also helped to triangulate and overcome individual bias. The report was prepared after this learning workshop based on the actual field outputs.

1.4.2.	Study Area:
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The study areas were limited in 16 districts of 6 divisions of Bangladesh. Twenty-four partner organizations of ALRD were selected for the study:

Area Selected for the Study

Sl.	Partner Organization	District	Division
1.	BKF		
2.	PROSHIKA		
3.	BDS	Barisal	Barisal
4.	MULTI TASK	Barguna	
5.	COAST	Bhola	Chittagong
6.	NIJERA KORI	Tangail	Dhaka
7.	NABOLOK/RUNNER	Khulna	<i>Khulna</i>
8.	Pajia Jubo Kollayan Sangstha	Jessore	
9.	UTTARAN	Tala, Shatkhira	
10.	ZIBIKA/SOLIDARITY	Kurigram	<i>Rajshahi</i>
11.	ADIVASHI PARISHAD	Rajshahi	
12.	CDA	Dinajpur	
13.	LDO	Chatmohore, Pabna	
14.	RULFAO	Natore	
15.	SAMATA	Pabna	
16.	SKS	Gaibandha	
17.	CRIS/ASD/SUJON	Sunamganj	<i>Sylhet</i>
18.	PUK/PROCHESTA	Kulaura, Mouluvibazar	
19.	VARD	Sylhet	

1.4.3.	Selection of the Study Sample
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The sample of the study was selected through close consultation with ALRD and its partners. The sample reflects geographical coverage as well as demographic diversity. Only one of the organization involved in the study was not a member of

ALRD. The organization was involved to capture the experience and knowledge of the aboriginal communities.

The study sample involved 254 female and 136 male participants. The participants were either leaders or general members of grassroots level organizations.

1.5	Limitations and Learning of the Study Process
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The major limitation of the study was limited time. The participatory learning process requires time to reflect and consolidate the outputs of the workshops. The primarily agreed time proved to be inadequate for the process. INCIDIN Bangladesh carried forward the process on its own time to ensure that the study quality was not compromised. In this regard, ALRD has also shown flexibility and concern. Some other limitations and learning of the study process are presented in the following matrix:

Limitations	Participants' views	Researchers' Notes/Learning
Lack of time of the rural participants	The samity members found it difficult to make time for the workshop. It was especially difficult for the women participants and participants coming from far.	The researchers discussed the time-frame of the workshop with the participants and set workshop's timetable in relation with the session plan according to their suggestion. For the participants coming from far, the NGO provided lodging facilities. Moreover, the breakfast was arranged at the workshop venue to ensure that the workshop can begin on time. If possible the workshop was completely residential.
NGO Influence	The NGOs were curious about the workshop; some wanted to learn about the process other wanted to assist/influence the group member by participating in the workshop.	The researchers explained to the NGO team that the findings of the workshop would be available for them through the study report, which ALRD will disseminate among them. It was also mentioned that the study would provide them about the mind frame of the people, which will help them to assess and plan.

Limitations	Participants' views	Researchers' Notes/Learning
Cultural barriers	In some cases the samity members initially expressed their confusion regarding lighting of candle in the first session.	The researchers at the very beginning explained that the light was completely a symbolic expression regarding people's organization and movement. This involved the members in the cultural action and helped to facilitate discussion regarding development aspirations.
Fundamentalist politics	The intensified anti-NGO attack of religious fundamentalist forces imposed threats regarding the workshop process.	The research team stressed on residential workshop. In one case the workshop (Caritas) had to be postponed, as the NGO was not sure about safety.
Lack of literacy among participants	Most of the participants were illiterate. However, the workshop format required self-documentation by the participants.	The literate members were distributed among the work-groups. Moreover, pictorial presentation was encouraged. It was made clear to the participants that discussion was more important than documentation.
Lack of orientation regarding the workshops	In some cases on the first day, the participants expressed that they were not properly informed about the objective of the workshop. They were in some cases expecting to participate in training workshop.	The researchers invited the participants to select the objectives of the workshop. They also emphasized that although it was not a training workshop, the participants may learn the process through which decisions and analysis are generated. This they might use in future by themselves. In some cases the ALRD representative provided, responding to the request of the participants, provided them with legal information regarding khash land.

Limitations	Participants' views	Researchers' Notes/Learning
Lack of experience regarding participatory space	Most of the participant for the first time experienced a process in which they were at the center with full control. Some of the participants at the beginning were hoping the external 'experts' to deliver outputs on behalf of them.	The researchers repeatedly stressed on the importance of participation. The researchers had to be patient and give the participants scope of findings their own way out. In some cases session-plan had to be revised to make time for comprehensive analysis of certain issues. As a result, after the completion of the working session, in every case the participant became more sure of their capacities.
Dependence on NGO	The participants initially did not want to openly discuss the nature of their relationship with the NGOs. They feared that any negative statement regarding the NGOs may generate negative reaction from the NGOs.	The researchers at the opening of the workshops invited the NGO leaders to formally inaugurate the workshop. In such events the NGO leaders encouraged the participants to openly discuss. The researcher later reminded the participants of that point. More importantly, once the participants became involved with the process of participation, they themselves initiated in open discussions and critical debates regarding role of NGOs.

1.6. Structure of the Report

The first chapter deals with methodology and focus on the study process. The chapter also portrays some learning of the study process. The second chapter narrates the vision of future as perceived by the organized landless. This vision does not only involve the societal state but also includes the aspiration regarding people's organization in that desired society. Chapter three draws our attention to the context. The analysis of social construction and social trends, based on people's moral-practical knowledge, is presented in the chapter. The fourth chapter reveals conceptualization of a people-centered land reform as opposed to state or civil-society led land reform from the perspective of the organized landless. The fifth chapter places people's organization within the context of a people-centered land reform. The last chapter highlights some of the conclusions and recommendations drawn in the earlier chapters. This chapter in addition presents some recommendation regarding the capacity building process of the people's organization in relation to the NGOs.

Chapter: 2

PEOPLES' PERCEPTION OF DEVELOPMENT

People do not exist in vacuum. It is seen that they reflect influences of different ideologies and interests. Identification and analysis of this diversity is essential, if we want to understand the value premise and ideological basis of people's involvement with the development interventions.

2.1

Aspiration of Group Involvement
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"Only when we are in trouble we understand the value of organization."

People's aspirations of group involvement vary across different factors. Some of the major influencing factors are sex, occupation, organizational orientation, duration of group involvement, nature of NGO activities and local context in which the samity operates.

Organization is generally perceived as "united strength" and viewed as a means of collective actions. Some also view organizations as a means of resolving personal conflicts with local influential sections. However, for the majority, organization is the means of ensuring better future for the broader community of poor.

The landless people, in joining the grassroots level organizations, are primarily motivated by economic benefits offered by the NGOs. Micro credit is the major attraction. People consider NGO credit to be better than the credit offered by the local moneylenders. They perceive the grassroots level groups as the means of accessing the micro credit facilities. People also view group savings as an advantage of group involvement. Economic concerns are more prominent in samities that are involved with NGO controlled micro-credit operation.

Another component of economic rationale is having access to khash land. This aspiration is common to all the groups of rural poor. Demand for khash land entails analysis of injustice and generates inspiration of struggle against the statuesque.

Besides means of economic benefits, the women perceive organization as a means of establishing gender equity. They want to establish women's rights and to counter discrimination against women. The groups aim at resisting dowry, multiple marriages, talak and other manifestations of violence against women. Male members of samities have also ascribed to these views.

For members of Jatio Adibashi Parishad, the major motivation is political aspiration of establishing constitutional recognition of rights of the adivashi population.

People have also identified knowledge and awareness building as a basis of group involvement. This process, to some extent, influences people to develop a non-economic rationale of forming organization; such as desire and commitment for

social transformation, social justice, human rights, women's rights and solidarity with the oppressed people etc.

People's desire to access benefits and services, other than micro credit and awareness raising offered by the NGOs has also influenced group formation. These include legal support, health support, education, relief activities, skill training and sanitation assistance etc.

2.2	Conceptualization of development
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The rural landless and poor have been found to conceptualize development interventions at six different areas. These include participation, gender, ethnicity, organization, empowerment and livelihood security. One of the important aspects of people's perception is that for them development is more than material achievements. Although economic progress is an unalienable feature of a 'better tomorrow', people also desire for progress in terms of social justice.

2.2.1	The Dream Home
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People desire sustainable housing facilities. This is a primary concern. For people house is not a mere shelter; it is a part of their identity. It has been noticed that none of the rural dwellers perceived a future in urban center. Plan of migration for a better life-option has not been found. However, migration (seasonal or permanent) has been identified as a means of survival for the landless.

Expectation of having access to individual household and not of a collective living space reveals that people want to have privately owned homestead. However, organized people have stressed on equal living status for all. Households in future are visualized with a kitchen garden and with safe water and sanitation facilities. Households as such reveals demand for homestead, access to modern living amenities and traditional craving for greenery.

2.2.2	A Move towards Gender Equity
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The perceived future is characterized by desire of gender equity. Women conceptualize end of violence against them as the most crucial indicator of progress. Such manifestations of violence as dowry, physical and sexual abuse, multiple marriages by men and early marriage of women are to be abolished in future. The men have also expressed such aspirations.

The discriminatory status of women is seen as the result of lack of empowerment of women. As such, the gender equity calls for not only a change in social attitude towards women, but also of economic position of women. This includes the demand for land, access to employment, equitable wage and access to and control over economic resources.

Although, men have no objection to “up grade” the status of women, almost in every case, the organized men have revealed their hesitance in recognizing equal land owning claim of women. The debate reveals that grassroots level female and male group members have differently internalized the question of gender.

Nevertheless, discussion led to the conclusion that if discrimination and violence against women cease to exist, land ownership will not lead to disempowerment of men rather it will ensure equity among the sexes.

Women in future demands greater political role. Local elected bodies are seen as an effective channel of exercising and ensuring women’s rights in governance.

2.2.3	Health as a Right
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The rural landless identifies access to health care as one of their rights as citizen. In future, they look forward to a corruption free public health delivery system. The health providers need to be made accountable to people (the rural poor should not be neglected but must have discrimination free access to services). The public health facilities are also expected to provide free medicine.

For women, provision of adequate mother and childcare facility is a priority. For people in general, access to arsenic free safe drinking water is also a major concern.

2.2.4	Educate the Children first
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People are conscious about the difference between literacy and education. They are also aware of the institutional education and the traditional/non-institutional education. People view the institutional education as an effective means of bridging the power gap between rural poor and the ruling class. Education system at present is perceived as discriminatory against poor and an instrument of moral subjugation.

People have expressed the need of adult education. But they have given priority to child-education above adult education. A better future can only be build through ensuring standard education for all the children, without any class or sex based discrimination.

The organized landless expect their children to find employment in such occupations as business, government and private services and other sectors which are at present reserved for the elites.

2.2.5	Land, Spirituality and Sustainable Livelihood
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The landless people have explained that, access to land is not simply an issue of having ownership on cultivable land or homestead for economic empowerment.

Land is treated not merely as a means of production or as an economic resource, for the agriculture based rural landless, land is also a “spiritual” entity. This “spirituality” is rooted in the value and culture of the rural people as well as in the extreme dependence of these communities on land for survival.

People does not only desire privately owned land, they also aspire for traditional or customary community ownership on common resources. Water bodies and grazing land are two such examples of community resources. Rural effluents and political elites have now misappropriated these traditional community assets. Ownership on such land means sustainable livelihood for the rural landless. Traditionally, occupational sub-groups like fishermen communities solely depend on such property (i.e. open water bodies) for livelihood while others (i.e. rural landless as a whole) depend upon them to supplement their primary means of livelihoods.

The rural landless envisage a future in which they have legal possession of khash land. They also view a future in which a few do not own the mass of land while the majority are deprived of land and consequently of sustainable livelihood.

Ownership and control over land is accompanied by the intensions of sustainable land use. People view land as means of production but their spirituality bounds them to recognize the urgent need of protecting land from becoming barren through chemical and mechanical abuse in the name of modern agriculture.

For women, demand for equal ownership on land is not merely viewed as a means of achieving equality. For the rural women, just as their male counterparts, land is both identity and means of survival. Women view land in their hand as resources that would generate greater nutrition support for the children and better performance (as productive resource) in terms of management.

People look at the ever-declining forestland and plant population with great concern. The introduction of foreign trees and commercial plantation for timber are considered as major disruptions to natural environment. In future, people expect that land will be covered with trees of its natural eco-system. People have stressed on expansion of plantation of fruit trees of local varieties instead of foreign timber-trees.

In future the rivers will not be suffering from rapid silting. People look forward to the expansion of greenery as a safeguard from rapid silting. There will not be improper and unauthorized embankments blocking the flow of water. Open and natural water bodies will neither be leased out nor will be misappropriated by the “water lords”. The water resource will lie at the hand of communities with traditional claims. Natural fish of local variety will be protected and promoted instead of imported varieties.

On one hand, this reveals peoples concern for food security, while on the other hand this indicate people’s wisdom regarding the significance of sustainable resource base for sustainable livelihood.

2.2.6	Better Economy for all
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For the rural poor, a better future in most cases tantamount to a better economy. Although people have identified many non-economic indicators of development, they have not undermined the importance of economic growth as an indicator of poverty alleviation. Economic growth is perceived as greater access to resources, higher wages, larger access to market, higher market mobility, diversification of family income as well as higher ability of savings and consumption.

Two points need our special attention. First, the rural landless, both men and women, do not only aspire to transform into land owning small farmers, they also want to create inroads to non-agriculture employments. Secondly, women do not view higher participation in market related economic activities or having access to economic resources (such as micro credit) as authentic indicators of economic progress or empowerment. Not just access but control of women over any such incomes and economic resources is considered a more reliable indicator of progress.

Both men and women view exploitation free society as the goal of their organized efforts. Economic equity is seen as a precondition of building such a humane and just society.

2.2.7	People's Self-Governance
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The landless people view the existing system of governance as undemocratic and unjust. In their opinion, the present system serves only the cause of the affluent minorities; the big landowners, political elites and those who have adequate access to financial resources, institutions and state administration. To counter this discrimination, in future, the landless want greater role in local governance. The rural landless want their own representatives in local elected bodies. The organized rural poor are confident in electing members of their samities as Chairmen and Members of Union Parishad.

For the people, the question of making the government mechanism accessible and accountable to rural poor is a major concern. Here they identify active participation in local government as a means of ensuring pro-poor delivery of government services and benefits (such as VGD cards, khash land, health care, education, agricultural inputs, credit etc.). In some cases, the organized landless have expressed the desire of forming the government of landless in alliance with the progressive social and political forces.

It is important to note that besides the struggle of creating space and expanding control within the modern state structure, people value the recognition and control within traditional and informal structures. The organized landless, therefore want to lead in local shalish, school committees, mosque committees, bazaar committees and clubs etc. In the rural setup these institutions are no less important when it comes to "local governance".

For women, the issue of participation is crucial. Women through group mobilization and NGO involvement have become much more “vocal” and “visible”, but they perceive a future in which they will be “listened” at decision space. They want to be heard at family, community as well as at state level. In this regard, women also aspire for political power. However, separate political identity of women (based on women’s rights) is not a visible trend.

Participation in economic sphere is another crucial issue for the people. They do not want to remain as small and marginal producers and consumers. People want to emerge as dominating market force through collective initiatives. The significance of collective initiative also lies in the value of equity and camaraderie.

2.2.8	The Ethnic Perspective
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The adivashi population perceives a future in which they are able to retain their ethnic identity with equal rights as citizens. For the adivashi population land is an integral part of identity and spirituality. Their quest for land is therefore a part of their struggle for identity. The adivashi people mainly identify the rural elites (coming from the mainstream Bengali population) as the “land grabbers”. Concern to regain commonly owned land property is much more stronger among the adivashi community. They want to regain their traditional habitat, communal crop and game land, forest, water body, grave land and holy land.

The organized adivashi people strive for constitutional recognition as a means of ensuring their space in the state mechanism. In the perceived future they want to have adequate and equitable access to political and social power.

For the adivashi women, violence against women is a growing concern. They suffer both from the traditional patriarchal values (among the Santals) that undermine women’s role and also from the deterioration of the traditional values that granted respect for women. In future adivashi women, same as their Bengali neighbors, want landowning rights.

2.2.9	People’s Organization
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The role of people’s own organization is perceived to expand and evolve in future. Organization is treated mainly as a means of achieving the goals set for the future. In this regard the organization is considered instrumental. At the same time, certain values (such as gender equity) and practices (such as scope of participation), which the organized people want to establish, can at present only be enjoyed and promoted within their own samities. In this regard, the organization is treated as a space.

People want to expand the organization of landless all over the country by building networks of existing NGO groups. They want to promote the rights and politics of

landless. For some, people's organization is a political entity and in future may become a full fledged political party.

The landless, values the leadership that has emerged from the bottom. For women, the emerging leadership is seen not only as an indicator of empowerment but also as a source of empowerment.

3.	People and Development
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The study identifies that people's perception of development is multifaceted. Although development as a concept is prominently identified with economic progress, it goes far beyond the realm of material gains. In rural Bangladesh, development largely centers on access, use and entitlement to land. The micro-credit intervention of the NGOs have expanded people's urge for economic progress but could do little to diversify livelihood beyond the realm of agriculture. Moreover, NGOs have also introduced awareness on legal rights, including that of land rights. As such desire for land is cherished by the landless.

Development has also a political implication for people. People envisage the struggle for political power as an integral component of development process. Having access to own organization is seen in this context as a fundamental prerequisite.

The development concepts, values and doctrines propagated by the NGOs, have greatly influenced the organized landless. It has blended into their intellectuality and spirituality and has taken a new turn. For people, development is not a planning dilemma; it is simply another part of their daily struggle for survival.

Chapter: 3	CONTEXT OF PEOPLE CENTERED LAND REFORM
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"If we want land, we will have to organize ourselves"

The people have witnessed changes overtime in the rural Bangladesh. These changes take place with or without active participation of the rural landless and poor. However, in the last decade or so, the landless people themselves, in some cases, have taken active initiatives in bringing changes in the rural society. Nevertheless, people identify themselves more often than not as passive agents in the changing rural context.

The major trends in rural transformation are, changes in demography, resource base, livelihood, access to land, land use and agriculture, environment and relationship with state. Apart from these, changes have also taken place in people's perceptions and behaviors.

Changes have taken place in terms of institutional structures as well as people's relationship with those structures. Relationship between women and men has also undergone change. Most importantly changes have taken place in conceptualization of reality and in the reality of social existence itself.

This section deals with some of the prominent changes to bring in the context in which the landless population is surviving, struggling for land and aspiring for a better future.

3.1	Land and Modern Agriculture
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"The modern agriculture has increased costs and turned agriculture unprofitable for the small farmers"

There has been a technology, namely introduction of High Yielding Varieties (HYV), led transformation in the agricultural sector. Introduction of high yielding varieties of seeds in the name of green revolution, transformed the agricultural sector not merely in terms of technology, but also in terms of relationship between production inputs and people and agriculture and natural resource base.

Over the last few decade high yielding varieties have left impacts* by:

- Increased crop yield
- Dependency on mechanized irrigation, chemical fertilizers and pesticides
- Reduced demand for labor
- Decreased land fertility
- Increased dependency on market for agricultural inputs (including seeds)
- Reduced bio-diversity and local variety as a result of monoculture
- Increased cost of agricultural production
- Accelerated the process of loss of land (among the small and marginal farmers)
- Land and water pollution

** These are some of the major observations by the landless women and men included in the study sample.*

Introduction of shrimp cultivation is another major event that initiated major socio-economic transformation in rural Bangladesh; especially upon livelihood and environment.

Some of the major impacts* identified by people are:

- Decease in cultivable land
- Forced appropriation of land of small farmers into gher (shrimp ditch) by big water lords
- Decrease in grazing land, cattle and poultry
- Water logging
- Loss of natural fries in open water bodies
- Expanded landownership of absentee landlords (the gher owners)

** These are some of the major observations by the landless women and men included in the study sample.*

The benefit of shrimp cultivation is reaped by wealthy landlords and outside investors who could set up large ghers. Some small farmers have also set up ghers. However, they in most cases cannot expand production because of capital-scarcity.

Women and children have found work in shrimp farms. The work environment is not at all safe. The ghers have also introduced a market of hired hooligans working for the large shrimp farmers. This has led to further deterioration of law and order situation specially for women and adolescent girls.

Both HYV based agriculture and shrimp cultivation have linked rural economy to global markets. The agricultural inputs for both of these two sectors (i.e. seeds,

fertilizers, irrigation equipments and fries and know-how) are imported. A large portion of specific agricultural finished products (i.e. shrimp) are also exported.

3.2	Community and land
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"These days we do not dare to fish from the natural water bodies; the water lords keep them well guarded"

The market forces manifested dominance by rapidly taking over the traditional commonly shared community land. The customary fishing rights of the fishermen community have also lost its meaning. The adivashi communities with most prominent use of communal land, now have lost not just commonly owned land but almost any rights on land.

These are manifestations of commercialization of land. It is important to note that this process of market expansion of agricultural land has been carried out under the auspicious of the state. Government's lease policy regarding open water bodies has paved the way of non-fishermen to displace the fisherman communities. This displacement was not only in terms of occupation; in some cases this led to geographical displacement of these communities in search of alternant habitat and livelihood.

Commercial lease of open water bodies had even a broader impact. This also marks the end of free-fishing from such sources by common villagers. This negatively affected the potential nutrition basket of such communities.

The same happened for common grazing land or any other form of communal land. The local social and political elites misappropriated such land through the corrupted land administration. This also led to reduction in supplementary extractive activities of village women (such as collection of firewood, leafs and fruits etc.) and hampered the prospect of livestock rearing.

3.3	Expansion of Landless: cause and trend analysis
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"Owning a small piece of land is much more difficult than owning hundreds Acers of land"

The common perception of people is that, over the years, land has concentrated in the hands of few. This has manifested in expansion of landless population. In most cases villages have around sixty percent of landless. Landless population has become aware of the importance of land for livelihood security.

The following are some of the major causes identified by people:

- The poor are displaced from kash land by the land-grabbers
- Agricultural plots are becoming smaller and fragmented because of increase in population
- Price of agricultural land has increased
- Forceful displacement from land
- False land documentation
- Lack of legal awareness on land laws
- Lack of utilization of land
- Increase in health costs.

** These are some of the major observations by the landless women and men included in the study sample.*

Indebtedness is another process of alienating small farmers from land. Many of the small farmers had to sell land to repay their debts to institutional (such as Krishi Bank) and informal (e.g. Mahajan) credit sources. In some cases, the micro-credit operations of the NGOs are also mentioned as a means of making people landless.

In the Southern parts of the country, gher are forcefully occupying the land of the marginal farmers. The gher owners do not even pay the "hari" (i.e. rent) to the small landowners. When the small farmers want to sell the land taken over by the gher owners, they cannot find any buyer. Water logging is also disrupting agricultural production. The small and marginal farmers cannot bear such loss and have to discontinue production.

The cost of agricultural inputs is rising in comparison with the price of agricultural products. This makes agriculture unprofitable for the small and marginal farmers. As a result, it becomes increasingly difficult for the small farmers to continue farming. In some cases, this leads to sell of land.

Land law is another modern component of state that marginalizes small and marginal farmers. People are not literate and they are not adequately aware of the land laws. The touts and rural influentials take advantage of this and cheat the marginal farmers of their land. They do so with the help of corrupted land officials and false documents. Besides, the land property of the Hindu and adivashi communities is forcefully misappropriated.

River erosion is one of the major natural causes of land loss. People also sell land to meet emergencies arising from flood, illness, and the death of earning member, unemployment etc. natural and man-made disasters.

Government interventions such as unplanned road construction and acquisition of land for barrage construction, power plant, establishment of green belt etc are also taking way land from the marginal farmers.

3.4	De-feminization of land
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"We are cheated both by religions and laws"

The relationship between women and land has generated much debate among the organized landless. The major questions raised by the people include whether women should at all have ownership of land and what would be the consequence of such ownership. To deal with these questions the study primarily focused on the context in which the questions were raised.

In rural Bangladesh, more women are landless than men; this is seldom acknowledged. It is important to note that this may be true for most of the countries of the world. However, the issue of landlessness becomes a crucial question when like in case of Bangladesh access to land becomes the major influencing element of identity formation and livelihood security.

In Bangladesh, women cannot inherit land because of religious barriers and lack of legal protection. Moreover, as women in most cases are not directly involved with income generating activities, only few can purchase land on their own.

Social prejudices and superstitions prohibit women from inheriting land. There is also a campaign of the religious fundamentalists against recognizing the rights of the women. Following the tradition of patriarchic inheritance, the local influential resist recording land in favor of a woman.

According to Hindu laws, the women do not have any inheritance rights on fathers property. Although the women have partial inheritance in Muslim laws, in most cases, the brothers deprive the sisters from parents' property. The society treats women as burdens because of dowry payment. No matter what the amount is, the dowry is considered equivalent to a daughter's share on parents' property.

Married woman fears that if she claims her parents' property and take possession, the husband may misappropriate it. Women fear threat of divorce and thereby want to keep their share of parents' property with their brothers. A married woman views it as an insurance that would allow them to have shelter at parents' house, if her marriage does not workout. However, seldom a brother would allow a sister's claim over land in such a case.

Moreover, the land promised to a Muslim woman at the time of marriage is seldom handed over to the woman. The wives are not given possession of land as the husbands fear to loose control over them.

Women, even when deprived of property rights, seldom go for legal suit. Women are not confident and united in demanding rights over land. There is also lack of education and legal awareness of women about land laws and their rights as well lack of legal supports regarding establishing land ownership.

Because of social customs women cannot openly express their land-claims. Existing social attitudes do not consider women as farmers and sponsor their claims over land.

3.5	Politics, people and struggle for land
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"We need to establish our own political party!"

People have identified the existing political structure and system of governance as a means of reinforcement of the exploitative order and inequality in terms of rights and entitlement. They identify the existing system of governance to serve the interest of the wealthier sections of the population. While they find the rural elites to be well organized in socio-political spheres, the reverse is observed in case of the rural poor and landless sections. When it comes to politics the people are not adequately organized and informed.

3.5.1.	Politics and Power- Structure
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"Politicians are out there only to make money."

Landless have little representation in power structure. The elected representatives are not in favor of landless people. In most cases they are not serving the interest of the rural marginalized/landless population. The poor suffer harassment and suppression from administration and police. Miscreants are terrorizing the poor while the 'rich' controls the state power.

People are not always able to exercise their voting rights freely. Politics has been criminalized. Mafia dominates the politics. The local power structure is influenced by the rural elites. Political leaders give shelter to the miscreants.

The elected local representatives themselves are involved in corruption. They misappropriate the government fund allocated for poor. Corruption and bribery at rural level have expanded. As a result, almost no government services and resources, including khash land, relief and VGD cards etc. reach the poor.

Introduction of elected Female Members in Union Parishad has expanded the opportunity of rural women to participate in governance. However, usually the male Members dominate the elected female representatives. They are unable to exercise their authority independently. The female representatives do little to assist the marginalized women.

The dominance of fundamentalism and fatwa has relatively become weaker. But the religious fundamentalist forces still exist. Even the force that fought for independence is now in alliance with the religious fundamentalists.

None of the mainstream political parties are concerned about people's rights. No one thinks about farmers and poor. Local leaders in most cases come from affluent families. The local elected members feel threatened when they see that people's

organizations are enabling economic poor and disadvantaged sections' having access to their own leadership.

Nevertheless, over the last two decades, a new generation of grassroots level leaders has emerged from the grassroots level organizations facilitated by the NGOs. A good number of female leaders of the grassroots level groups have also emerged. But the rural poor are also segmented in separate samities of different NGOs

In some cases the organized landless representatives are involved with the executive bodies of the community-based bodies such as Mosque Committee and School Committee etc. In some cases the organized rural poor could elect UP Members and Female Members from amongst their members.

Organized rural poor and women have gained access to local shalish. They can now raise their voice but in most cases fail to influence the shalish. Still the rural poor and women seldom receive justice in local shalish.

3.5.2.	Land Administration and Corruption:
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"The government officers do not serve the people - they think they own the people"

The rural poor primarily accuses the corrupted land administration for providing the big landlords and political influential with the opportunity of 'land-grabbing'. However, it is not just corruption; the existing system of land management itself creates opportunities for the elites to take undue advantage.

The land documents are written in unnecessarily complicated language. This makes the documents almost mystical and the one who can make sense out of them a specialist. The land survey system allows space for ambiguity and manipulation. There is a complicated land record system, which allows space for such vagueness as 'benami land ownership' (i.e. anonymous land ownership). More importantly, land information and documentation system are neither accessible nor accountable to 'common' people.

The land laws themselves leave room for ambiguity, leading to an astronomically high number of land Related Court Cases; false Cases. Besides, the inherent inefficiency of the bureaucratic structure gives rise to red tapes and touts.

Land identification and definition are complicated. People are not sufficiently aware of the legal discourse. There is lack of information and understanding regarding government's policies, procedures and laws of land reform. Even the organized people in rare cases are informed about the legal definition of 'landless'. The

adivashi community in this regard suffers most. This makes it easier for the jotddars to keep the khash land under their possession and grab land from the marginalized.

Moreover, ambiguity of land-record system and land laws makes it easy for the big landlords to retain land above the legal ceiling. Although, people at locality know who are holding land above the ceiling, there is no system available to transfer people's knowledge to government database. This institutional rigidity makes the existing mechanism of land recovery obsolete.

There is also a communal and gender dimension of land administration. The Vested Property Act legally deprives the Hindu community from their just land rights. The people at grassroots has little the laws regarding inheritance deprive women from their equal rights on parents' property.

Altogether, when it comes to those who are marginalized in the power structure, the land administration is not at all people centered.

3.5.3.	Khash Land
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"We need to know the laws so that we can change the laws"

A large section of the landless are not aware of the content and intent of the government laws regarding khash land distribution. In most cases the landless are not having access to khash land. Even when some khash land is distributed among landless, if there is no support of organized people or NGOs, the possession of the land remains with the big landlords.

The land administration and the elected representatives of the Union Parishad, if not pressured by organized people or NGOs, take the side of the land-grabbers.

Some organized landless have established rights over khash land through struggle and NGO assistance. They use the redistributed land for housing and agriculture.

Under the present law, both women and men jointly own the redistributed khash land. This has provided the landless women with a legal claim on khash land. However, the law does not provide the widow without an adult son with an option of applying for khash land. This is one of the major limitations of the present law widely discussed by the organized women.

Chapter: 4	CONCEPT OF PEOPLE CENTERED LAND REFORM
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The existing land reform policy may be characterized by two major components: land ceiling and distribution of khash land among the landless. The government is also talking about reform in land administration.

People are aware of the land ceilings (there are two) and its limitations (there are numerous). They are also aware of the faulty and lengthy process of khash land distribution. The technical discussion of reform of land administration has yet to reach the grassroots level. Nevertheless, people are raising the fundamental question- whether the existing governance and political system are able to implement a comprehensive land reform, a reform that would meet the demands of the landless and land poor. The obvious conclusion by the landless people is that the government initiated existing land reform policy is merely a “lip service”.

The organized landless have unequivocally negated the proposition of “market led” land reform. They have also negated the option of state led land reform. In their opinion the organized landless need to have an active and pioneering role to define and carry forward the process of land and agrarian reform, in which the state and political institutions, NGOs and other civil society actors will have supportive roles to play.

We need to view land reform as only one, albeit one of the major, agenda of peoples broader struggles for equality and development. The concept of people centered land reform, needs to be understood, within this framework of analysis.

4.1	Components of a people centered land reform
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People identified four major components of a people centered land reform. These are land recovery and redistribution and land retention (customary and ethnic rights), land improvement and use policy and pro-people land administration.

The guiding value premise of a people centered land reform appears to include concern for exploitation free social order, equity among men and women, people’s participation and access to sustainable livelihood and resource base. Some of these values are indigenous while the others have emerged though interplay of GO, NGO, cultural, and political interventions.

4.1.1	Land recovery and redistribution
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The landless considers the option of land recovery for, recovery of khash land, recovery of land above the ceiling, redefining the land ceiling, recovery of land misappropriated (adviashi and minority land), recovery of customary land (water bodies, forest land, grazing land, grave yard and holy land), recovery of land acquired (un utilized) by the government, recovery of benami land and termination of absentee land ownership.

The adivashi communities (involved in the study) feel the need of recovering land by setting a base year as benchmark (such as 1920 Pattani Act). However, for setting the benchmark they recommend further research.

People identifies with urgency that, agricultural Khas land needs to be identified and recovered from non-landless and non-agricultural section of the population. At the same time more land needs to be taken over by the government for redistribution among the landless.

Land should be taken over from:

- Government officials
- Those who do not depend on land for livelihood – the absentee landlords
- Large land owner with land above the ceiling
- Those who have land plots in multiple places and those who earn rents from non-agricultural land-their rural/agricultural land should be taken over.

** These are some of the suggestions of the landless women and men included in the study sample.*

People want to redefine the land ceiling. They feel that the existing minimal limit is 'too high' for a family. In the opinion of the organized landless, land ceiling needs to be redefined in such a way that there is a space for regional variation. According to them land required per family varies in different areas.

According to the landless people for a geographical cluster the land ceiling should be determined depending on:

- The size of family
- The quality of land
- Minimal land requirement for sustainable livelihood

** These are some of the suggestions of the landless women and men included in the study sample.*

Based on these criteria, across the country, people proposed the maximum land ceiling to be reset within a range not extending twenty bigha.

For the landless the challenge is to have participation in policy formation, identification, recovery and redistribution of land. In their opinion, only if local people's knowledge is reflected in administrative database and representation of people in the process of land recovery and redistribution is ensured, the process will be pro-people. People's participation is also expected to irradiate corruption (or at least a check and balance can be set). In this regard, people identified the role of their own organization and their representation in the local governance as crucial.

For redistribution of khash land, the existing criteria can be taken as the basis. But people are interested to revise it by setting criteria of identifying priority groups solely by economic indicators. They have expressed strong suspicion regarding the authenticity of the criteria of 'freedom fighters'. The organized landless, in general have come of with two broad suggestions to prioritize within the landless population:

- The urban slum dwelling landless should not be included in redistribution of rural agricultural land. The urban landless should be given access to urban Khas land and should be entitled to urban livelihood.
- Special focus should be given to marginalized women (irrespective of their marital status).

It needs to be mentioned that, the organized landless have unanimously negated the option of market led land reform. According to them, land should not be treated as just another commodity - land must be seen as a vital component of livelihood security of rural mass.

Regarding *Water Land* the agenda of reform involves three basic components:

- All the open water bodies need to be made "free" from the clutches of the elites -i.e. the landless and traditional fishermen communities need to have access over the wet land.
- It will not be "leased out"
- The large farmers/ landlords and mahajans will not have access to natural water bodies.

** These are some of the suggestions of the landless women and men included in the study*

People at present are not clear about *Minerals and Mineral Rights*. However, they have highlighted few concerns such as the mineral rights should not be transferred to the foreigners. They have also put forward some suggestions, such as:

- Mineral rights will be at the hand of government.
- The land acquired by government (for exploration of extraction of mineral resources) should be compensated at market price. If the landless population is deprived of livelihood, as a consequence of any such land acquisition, they must be alternatively provided. In this regard, the government needs to ensure necessary compensation with choice for the people.
- The impact of productivity near the mineral plants and impact on environment need to be taken into account before extraction of any mineral deposit.
- Opinion of local community (priority to landless) needs to be taken into consideration in the process of cost-benefit analysis of any mineral sector.

** These are some of the suggestions of the landless women and men included in the study*

People understands that within the existing power structure, there is little chance for them to be benefited from mineral resources. As a result, they have little interest in mineral resources. However, their aspiration regarding mineral resources reflect concern for "national interest", concern for livelihood and natural environment.

4.1.2 Land retention

People aspire for protective measures to neutralize the interplay of market forces on redistributed land. Experience shows that market negatively affect the ownership of land by land-poor, minority communities, traditional communities, women and adivashi communities.

People also identifies a need to have access to their own organization, if not to the government supports, so that it can be ensured that the land redistributed to the landless will not be forcefully taken over by the dispossessed landlords.

The question of land retention clearly reveals that the influence of both market and existing political structure will have to be neutralized to secure land for the poor.

4.1.3 Land improvement and use policy

Land policy must have clear direction regarding delivery of services (skills, knowledge), access to organizations (marketing channel, administration) and resources (credit, inputs) to the land poor, women and adivashi communities for land improvement.

There should be precise land use policy to ensure productive and sustainable utilization of redistributed land. This should also be extended to mineral and natural resources.

4.1.4 Pro-people land administration

Administrative reform should be preceded by a political reform. The core value of any such reform should be to reinstate people's sovereignty. There should be adequate space for people's participation and a system of channeling local knowledge, information and decisions to central planning, implementation and monitoring and evaluation.

Decentralization of authority with accountability to local elected bodies is another key feature of a perceived pro-people administrative reform.

There is a need of developing uniform land survey and documentation system. These needs to be supported by a radical legislative reform ensuring that the values of the people centered land reform are sustained.

4.2 Role of PO in struggle for land

"Organization is power"

People perceive organization as power. This indicates that it is more than a mere instrument of change. When it comes to the role of organizations as tool, people view the role of people's own organization as the main mechanism of a pro-poor land reform process. They stress that such an organization needs to have the capacity of leading a movement for land.

People plan that the organization will educate people on their rights and laws; especially that of khash land and motivate them to work together with other 'civil society' actors to establish their rights on land.

People's organization also needs to help people to reap the benefit of the opportunities offered by the existing land administration. The organization needs to identify khash land, process applications, ensure proper distribution and ensure legal and physical possession of landless over the khash land.

Along with this legal struggle, the organize people express a need of moving ahead with the campaign of a comprehensive pro-poor land reform that would establish equal rights of both women and men on land. This would be the main challenge facing the organized landless.

Chapter: 5	PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION AND LAND REFORM
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"Organization is the strength - organization is freedom"

People does not only experience the process of organization building. At grassroots level people also explains and internalize the experience of organization building. This knowledge base has been considered by the study as the basis of the organizational theory of people's organization.

Grassroots level organization has been found to possess two roles. First, it is a space that promotes and works to achieve people's aspirations. Second, it provides the members with an opportunity of entertaining some of the values and rights they want to attain. Participation in decision-making, gender equity and collective initiatives are few such issues that people can practice within their 'samities' long before these values can be ascertained at family and community levels. On the other hand, people value their organizations, samities, as a means of achieving these at the broader community or state level.

Generally speaking, this dual characteristics cannot be observed regarding the role of 'people's organizations' in the process of land reform. For the landless, organization is basically the means of achieving their ownership on land; organization within its own space cannot provide them any ownership on land.

Acknowledging this predominant feature, we need to note that in rare cases the organized landless takes lease of land or even buy land collectively. This, although not a regular feature, shows that the dual potentiality of organization also exists in the sphere of land reform. At the same time, people's organization provides the people with a space to equip themselves with their values (gender equity ect.) and be involved in a participatory process (in decision making), which appear to be crucial one of the crucial element of a people-centered land reform.

This understanding helps us to look at organization not merely as an 'instrument' but also as a 'humane space' for people to aspire for as well as to entertain their achievements.

5.1	Anatomy of existing NGO groups
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"The groups are owned by the NGOs"

The landless people analyzed their organizational experience and identified the strength, weakness, opportunities and threats, in an attempt to better explain the status of existing "NGO groups" in relation to struggle for rights, livelihood and power. One of the major concerns of the group members was regarding the ownership of their organizations. In this regard they identified that usually the NGOs are the true 'owners' of the grassroots level organization of the people. They have identified that for the NGOs the groups are primarily considered as

instruments or means of delivering supports and services; ranging from micro credit to awareness raising inputs.

The organized people identified this as a major shortcoming. However, the anatomy of people's organization went beyond this simple structural assessment.

5.1.1	Strength of the groups
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"The women can now work along side the men- we are united"

The group members value unity as their major strength. The united strength of bargaining, discussion, mobilization and sanction is seen as the major feature of organization building. Over the years, the grassroots level groups have also acquired certain degree of managerial (both organizational and financial accounting) capacity. The majority organized people perceives group savings and access to NGO credit also as the strength of the organization.

It is important to note that another major strength of organization is reflected in its ability to mobilize protest and demonstration against injustice. The strength is seen also in the very concern for social justice. The marginalized people perceive that without organization they will not only lack the ability to demand justice, they will also loose aspiration for such a cause. This is especially true for women.

As organizational resource, people have identified 'labor' of the members, the urge of the members for change, their commitment and motivation for change, bravery and camaraderie. Capacity of the members to plan and the experience of the members in running organization, mobilization and movement are also perceived as invaluable resources. Apart from these moral resources, organizational savings and support from the NGOs are seen as enabling factors.

Emergence of grassroots level leaders, especially women leaders is seen as a fundamental achievement of the groups. The rural leadership has now taken a formation that can reach beyond the village level. This has been achieved through the introduction of Apex structure. In most cases apex structure is spread from village level up to Union level. However, in some cases there are Thana level coordination committees. The apex contributes in organizing mobilization at a larger level and helps to access government supports or lobby for government supports at the different administrative levels.

The organized people highly value their strength in participation in village-shalish. The ability of resolving the conflict among the group members through consultation within samity structure is also providing the organized people a space beyond the authority of state and existing power structure.

The grassroots level groups have acquired the capacity of protesting against administrative corruption. The groups intervene in distribution of government relief and other facilities (such as VGD cards). The groups also link the grassroots level

people with NGOs and different government offices. People can now bargain for better service at local government -run delivery installations (such as health centers).

People, through struggle and NGO assistance, have also secured khash land and retained possession of the land through organization. In this regard, the role of NGOs in provision of legal literacy and legal aid played a significant role.

The Union Parishad (the elected body of local government) has become a play ground of rural actors; the organized people also view their entrance into that play ground of power-politics as the manifestation of their strength as well as a means of sustenance of that strength.

The development language, ideas and ideal of equal rights have contributed in forming a rural intelligentsia woven into the identity of the grassroots level groups and their programs. The groups are also a space for intellectual and spiritual discussions and exchange.

Joint participation of women and men in group activities is identified as an edge over the existing traditional organizations at the rural base. This has initially resulted from the NGO interventions, which introduced the gender concept; the value of equity between women and men. This role of NGOs in framing the value-premise of grassroots level organization is not only restricted in the sphere of gender. Transformation of people's organizational outlook (be it revolutionary or reformist) owes highly to NGO actors. People also value this transformation in knowledge and value-base their organizations.

It is interesting to note that at present the power-relationship between NGOs and groups is going through a transition. On one hand, people appreciate, NGOs for extending general literacy, micro credit and other supports to the groups, and therefore view NGOs as a source of power. On the other hand, the groups stress on their capacity of bargaining with the NGOs as an indicator of empowerment.

5.1.2	Weakness of the groups
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"The NGOs have turned us into fries in the hatchery. They feed us just enough so that we do not die but not adequate to develop our full potential."

Organized people identified few specific categories of weakness, which include economic empowerment, leadership development, role in struggle, social integration and independent identity. For people weakness indicates attributes that are desired but not in existence at present.

Weakness in *economic empowerment* is reflected through lack of any significant economic progress experienced by the landless people. They relate it also with such organizational limitations as irregular group savings by group members, lack of source of mobilization of group fund and lack of access of capacity of the groups to extend credit to the members.

The grassroots level organizations in most cases do not have access to any productive resources or any source of collective income. In most cases before the introduction of organized micro credit operation of NGOs, the group savings remained at the disposal of the groups. However, at present most of the micro-credit NGOs have established their control over the group savings; the savings are now centrally managed at the NGO account as revolving loan fund. This has four major implications:

- The groups no longer have any scope of extending credit to its members from their own savings
- The groups do not have the option of revolving the savings to generate income for the groups
- The groups are dependent on the NGO for financial supports
- The groups earn interest income on the savings

Usually those who are extremely poor are not included in the groups, as they are not considered as credit worthy by the NGOs. As a result, the most vulnerable sections of the landless population are seldom included in the groups involved in NGO led micro credit operation. Thus in such groups not all the members are landless.

Moreover, NGO does not offer credit when the members need it most. The amount of credit offered is much less than the amount required for meaningful investment. On the other hand, the NGO charges a much higher interest on the micro credit than the interest payment offered on the group savings. Usually the interest paid by the NGO on group savings is equal to bank interest (i.e. 5 to 6 percent) but it charges 20

to 40 percent interest on the credit it extends to the group members. As a result, the group members are not satisfied with the behavior of the NGOs and there is also conflict among group members regarding access to micro credit.

Micro credit based interventions have led to focus on economic rationale for group involvement. This materialistic value premise has given rise to a situation in which not all the members are interested in establishing rights; they are more interested in having access to micro credit. Therefore, if not regarding savings and credit, members are reluctant to participate in group meetings. Excessive livelihood pressure is also responsible for this reluctance.

Participation of people in multiple 'NGO-groups' is a growing trend. As the female members are linked more with many NGO led credit activities, they put greater preference on attending the meetings of the credit influencing NGOs rather than meetings of groups involved in motivational activities. This general priority, however, changes depending upon the importance of the issues of mobilization in people's lives.

Lack of *Membership education* is another area of weakness. The group members have identified that they suffer from lack of self-esteem and self-confidence, illiteracy and lack of experience regarding organizational management. People have also lack of knowledge on legal issues, management issues and issues concerning organizational planning.

Lack of *strategic vision* is a major weakness of the grassroots level bodies. People are not consistent in identifying friends and allies in struggle. The organization is not pro-active. There has been little initiative taken to unite all the landless on a political platform. People themselves had little role in framing the necessary organizational rules and regulations. In most cases the NGOs framed the rules to meet their perceived goals; this creates a gap between the people and the organizational structure. This in some cases also restricts a group to extend support and services to landless who are not involved with the group.

Leadership is another area of weakness. The emerging leadership has no clear understanding of their roles. Expectation of the group members from the leadership is also not clear. People identify their weakness is not being able to put their own leaders in the elected bodies of the local government. There is also no representative of the organized landless in the Khas land distribution committee and other local level government bodies. At community level, there is only token participation of landless representative in School, College or Madrasa committees.

Social and political access and integration are major concerns for the people. The judiciary and the administration of the government are not in favor of the landless. There is an immense gap between rural landless and different administrative sections of the government. The organized people have lack of access to legal advice and support, especially when it comes to dispute centering land. People suffer also from lack of mobilization and support from the political parties in favor of the

landless. More importantly, people have failed to develop a political alternate. Generally they are still backing the political parties of the "rich".

Along with the positive role of NGO, people have also identified a gray area of NGO "*interruptions*". The grassroots level organizations and NGOs working for the landless are not united. In most cases the NGOs keep the grassroots level organizations separated. An NGO does not favor communication and involvement of 'its groups' with groups of any other NGO. People regret that they have not been able to develop broader networking with people's organizations facilitated by different NGOs.

In most cases, the group is dependent on the NGO regarding decision. People have experienced changes in the rules; they observed that these changes occurred primarily to address the needs of the NGOs. People understand that group is not controlled by the group members- the NGO controls the groups while the group cannot control the NGO.

The apex structure in some areas has provided a scope of developing mass leadership. However, Union federation is unable to exercise its leadership over the groups because of the "vested interest" of the NGOs. The NGO selects such leaders of the union apex whom they can control. Whenever, a grassroots level leader emerges, the NGO feels 'threatened'. The NGO motivates the group members to select leaders as per the choice of the NGO.

NGO never reveals to the group members where it wants to take them (i.e. development vision is not shared). Given the power gap between the NGO and the group, lack of development vision and strategic clarity works as a dis-empowering factor.

Conflict of women's and men's interests and expectations, is a living process of development. Sometimes the male members of the group become obstacles for women's rights. Some male members do not want their wives to come out of home. Superstition among the organized people (as for example, female members in some cases do not come out for procession/ rally - or even if they participate in any such event they consider it to be 'improper') restricts women's role. Female members, except for few leading figures, for the same reason, do not want to give public speech - they fear fatwa and public opposition.

The value premise of the group members, both women and men, is in continual conflict and feeding a process of ideological deconstruction regarding the role of women, relationship between women and men, relationship of women with productive resource and broadly position of women in the power quantum.

The female members, predominately understand the limitation of the group-strength in terms of failure in effectively resisting early marriage, dowry, multi-marriage and other forms of physical, sexual and psychological abuses and violence against

women. They also view lack of organizational contribution in promoting equal land owning status of women as a major setback.

5.2	Characteristics of the perceived organization
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" In future we need to meet the needs of our members through our own organizational initiatives."

People have listed more than fifty characteristics that they identify with an authentic people's organizations. There have been some differences in conceptualization of people's organizations between groups affiliated with 'mobilization' NGOs and 'credit' NGOs. While the first group looked for economic potentials of such an organization the later focused on capacities of the people's organization in leading a struggle.

In case of the credit focused NGO-groups only five of the fifty identified characteristics were found to exist. While for the mobilization focused NGO groups, all together only ten such features were identified. Some of these features are common for both the groups.

The common desired features in existence are group coherence, group spirit, and participation of members in group activities and decision-making process, common goal and emergence of leaders. In case of the mobilization focused NGOs ideological clarity and democratic practice have been mentioned to exist in a greater extend.

The list of characteristics desired by the people in their organizations include:

- Organization must be just and sincere. It must mean what it speaks. The ideology of the organization must be reflected in action. The organization must have independence and play active role to serve the interests of the landless.
- The organizational activities must be guided by rational decision-making process through discussion. There must be a strategic planning to guide organizational activities. The planning must be long term, which needs to be developed and continually reviewed with the participation of all the members. In this regard, there may be a need of external facilitation. The organizational decisions should be taken through democratic process in which every member should have the right to speak. All the opinions of the members should be valued. Decision will preferably be taken based on consensus, if that is not possible, the rule of majority will be followed. At the same time, rational behind opposition will be analyzed and dialogue for unity will be initiated. In this process, the participation of all must be ensured.
- The organization must be a "learning process". It should provide people with a space to reflect on their experience and interact with other actors. The

organization must have access to information regarding national and international affairs. The organization must be able to build legal capacity / awareness of the members and ability to provide legal support to the members. In this regard, coordination with legal service providing NGOs needs to be established. The organization must be in a position to provide the landless with information, legal advice and awareness on Khas land or any other such services related with administration. Organization must have information and linkage with all the relevant government organizations and committees to serve the interest of the landless. Most importantly, the organization must be in a position to assist the landless to occupy/ take possession of and retain Khas land.

- There should be ideological clarity and coherence among the members. But the organization must not be influenced by nepotism and must not try to hide faults of its own members.
- The organization should have independent identity; and not be dominated by the NGO. The PO should have an active committee, which will change in every two years or over a specific time. The organization must develop second line or alternate leaders and facilitate women leadership.
- There is a need of uniting the organizations of rural landless in a single network. As a precondition of such a broad based network, the members of the people organization should be of the same class; namely landless and land-poor. The membership of such an organization must be expanded (e.g. at least 80% of local landless can be organized). In a locality all the groups of landless, who are at present segmented through affiliation with different NGOs need to be united and coordinated. There is a need to have networking growing from village level up to Union or Thana level. The expansion of network should be based on need and capacity. The networks can be issue-based and short lived as well as based on long-term commitments.
- The organization of the landless needs to have direct representation in local government and in all its bodies and committees. Landless leadership needs to be established in local elected bodies (i.e. in Union Parishad).
- There must be defined rules and regulations and organizational process to mobilize adequate financial resources. The members of the organization will build a resource with their own savings. Through collective capital formation, different income generating activities can be initiated along with provision of credit to the members at low interest rate. The collective organizational fund may support the members to meet the legal, organizational and movement costs, including that of taking and retaining position of khas land.
- There is need to have separate organizational space for some ethnic and occupation groups. For the tea plantations, a separate network is required.

The network should include all the members of grassroots level organizations in the locality. It will help the tea-garden workers to get the legal salary and to establish basic rights, including land rights. For the adivahsi communities another separate organization is required.

- The organization should work for the equal rights of both women and men regarding land. This equity in rights also needs to be maintained in every other sphere. There may be a separate organizational-wing for women coordinated under the single organization of landless including both women and men.

According to the commentators involved in the study process these features are almost invisible in the present state of the grassroots level organizations.

5.3	Characteristics of the perceived organization
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People identified certain specific strategies to address the sustainability concern of the people's organization. Almost in hundred percent of cases these strategies are either not in existence or exists only in token form.

People have stressed on promotion of democratic and transparent relationship within the people's organization. They also demand accountability and transparency in the relationship between the facilitating NGO and the grassroots level organization. The need of the people's organization in having members from a homogeneous socio-economic background (such as only the landless) has also emerged as a priority. The need to conceptualize women's rights and its reflection in action has been identified by the female members as a precondition of developing 'actual' belongingness of women to and establishing their ownership on any such organizations.

The sustainability criteria's identified by the organized landless include:

- The organization must be loyal to its principles.
- Member must be regular in the weekly and monthly meeting (at present in 80% cases it exists).
- Linkage and coordination must be established with all the development partners; with different local NGOs, national NGOs, NGO networks including ADAB, research and training organizations as well as with international funding agencies.
- The organization must generate financial resource by collective investment of group savings. There is an increasing need for the people's organization to re-establish its control over the group savings. If the NGOs keep on utilizing the group savings as NGO's revolving loan fund, the grassroots level organizations will not have any prospect of attaining financial viability. 'Pro-poor people-managed soft-credit' will have to be promoted as an alternate to profit oriented NGO-micro credit.
- Group formation must not primarily be seen as the means of having access to micro-credit or any other NGO supports. The attitude of perceiving organization as means and space of achieving and entertaining basic rights needs to be highlighted.
- Linkage must be established with local clubs (at present these are dominated by local youth engaged in criminal activities) social and cultural organization.
- Linkage needs to be maintained with representatives of different level of local administration (UP to Thana level). To build this linkage people's organization primarily needs to identify and establish contract with strategic bodies and committees (such as khash land distribution committee- at present even the apex leaders do not know who are its members).
- Linkage must be established with progressive pro-poor political parties (the mainstream parties are serving the rich) and organizations.

It is highly important to note that, for people the sustainability concern is linked with organizational value, structure and process.

“We need the help of the NGOs but the relationship must be between equals”

The study aims to present people's perspective on land reform. As a principal, the study has relayed upon the interpretation and analysis of the landless people involved with the study process, rather than on the interpretation and analysis of the researchers. In this regard, the study reveals people's self awareness regarding ideology, social formation, context, organization, movement and strategy. All of these of course have been looked at in relation to the issue of land reform.

All the analysis presented in the preceding chapters have been formulated by the landless people through participatory workshop process - in every stage of the study conclusions and recommendations are presented as outputs of participatory analysis initiated by the workshop participants. Therefore, it leaves no space for the researchers to be engaged in any further intellectual exercise to draw conclusions and formulate recommendations on behalf of the people.

In this section, we will once again briefly mention some of the major conclusions and recommendations framed by the landless people regarding land reform and people's organization. In addition, we will highlight some areas of capacity building needs because one of the major scopes of the study has been to contribute in capacity building process of the people's organizations.

6.1 People's Development Ideology

The ideological construction of the organized landless people in Bangladesh has the following three components.

First, people aspire for emancipation from existing exploitative and discriminatory socio-economic system and values. The landless people identify and explain the present context in terms of linkage of rural economy (mainly agriculture) with international market in terms of inputs, knowledge and outputs, alien technological interventions leading to pollution and unsustainable resource base and marginalisation of rural poor through loss of land. In the socio-political sphere they identify dominance of a hostile political environment and alienated state mechanism (upon which people have almost no control) leading to inadequate political and institutional access. They are alarmed by the deterioration of traditional rights, values and knowledge through expansion of market and political system of representative democracy without any moral standing. People further identify discrimination between the sexes, which further marginalizes the women and racism that threatens the sole existences of the ethnic and indigenous communities. Last but not the least people considers the existing social order as unjust and exploitative, in

which handful of rich dominates, exploits and violates the rights of millions of economic poor.

Second, people understand society as a dynamic structure, which is undergoing continual changes. At present they view that the trend of societal changes, in general, are not in favor of the rural poor, women, men and ethnic and indigenous groups. Nevertheless, people identifies potentiality of changing the existing system to establish a pro-people social order. In this regard, people have vision of a future society based on equality in terms of access to productive resources (including land), institutions (including local government) and participation (from family level to state level). The perceived society is also characterized by equality of the sexes and ethnicities.

Third, they strategies the process of establishment of the desired social change through bringing in economic and material 'development' and organizing their own movement within the structure of "People's Organization". Thus the landless people opt for immediate 'improvement' to ensure survival and a long-term strategy of securing a political victory of the people over the exploitative and discriminatory economic and social organizations, values, ideologies and forces. Given this framework, the study identifies that the term 'development' has a political implication for the people. For the rural poor and landless the struggle for 'political power' is an integral component of development process. Having access to own organization is seen, in this context, as a fundamental prerequisite.

6.2	People's Rationale for NGO Involvement
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The study identifies that people's perception of development, as reflected through practice, is multifaceted and can be found, in some regard, to be contradictory with their development ideology. This has been explained by the people in the changing context of NGO interventions in Bangladesh.

The micro-credit interventions of the NGOs have expanded people's urge for economic progress. This over the years has created over emphasis on economic rationale of development interventions. At present, development as a concept is prominently identified by the rural poor with economic progress; with having access to land and capital and other economic resources and supports through the NGOs.

Side by side this modernization approach to development, NGO interventions with the goal of human development also continues (albeit gradually becoming sidelined). The expansion of economies has also weakened the rationale of political emancipation as the basis of involvement in group activities. Nevertheless, the study concludes that among the organized landless 'development' still refers far beyond the realm of material gains. This also explains people's inclination toward material gains as a short term strategy of survival.

People do not believe that economic progress alone can resolve the exploitative and discriminatory elements in-built within the system. This becomes apparent regarding the issue of ensuring equal rights of women and minorities (i.e. religious, cultural and ethnic minorities). The question of having access to land also generates an analysis of exploitative social and political construction, which people desires to alter and understands that without a political struggle such societal changes cannot be achieved.

The study further concludes that the issue of sustainable livelihood is questioning the present discourse of modernization. People are critical about the so-called HYV agriculture as it is leading to aggravated terms of trade for the rural landless and land-poor (the employment opportunity is declining and the cost of agriculture is expanding etc.), mono-culture and pollution (which is destroying natural resource base and eco-logical balance) etc. People also view expansion of micro credit as a new means of marginalization (in some cases people have to sell land or property to pay back loans to the NGOs). Having access to micro credit without proper training, market access and strategy leads to economic progress only for the few. Moreover, the rural women, who are the primary target of these micro credit schemes, have reported that the question of control over economic resource is more important than having access to such resources. In most cases they have reported the male members of their families have utilized the credit, which the women have accessed from the NGOs.

This analysis, also leads to a renewed importance of non-material components of development interventions, including awareness on rights and mobilization to establish the rights, legal awareness and legal supports and organizational education and capacity building for planning and strategizing etc. People have concluded that, if the present trend of material incentive-based NGO intervention continues, less and less people will be organized for mobilization to bring about societal changes, which in their opinion is the basis of sustainable development.

6.3.	Characteristics of the Perceived Organization
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Primarily, the study concludes that for the rural Bangladesh, the term 'people' needs to be clarified as rural poor, landless, women, aboriginal ethnic communities, traditional rural communities (e.g. fishermen communities), plantation workers and all such sections of the rural society who are oppressed and governed. The people's organization in their opinion should therefore be organization of rural oppressed and marginalized. This definition of people comes from the organized landless, who views economic position, sex and ethnicity with enormous importance in defining the rural oppressed - the people.

However, the perceived characteristics of an authentic people's organization vary among the grassroots level samities. In the study process, the organized people have generated, almost fifty desired feature of a people's organization. The majority of these desired elements appear not to exist in the groups included in the study. The

few common desired features, which the members reported to exist in the samities were group coherence, group spirit, participation of members in group activities and decision process, common goal and emergence of leaders. In case of the mobilization focused NGOs ideological clarity and democratic practice have been mentioned to exist in a greater extend.

People have opted for a value based organization. The cornerstone of the value-base includes equity and justice. People views that a strong moral character is a necessary feature of any organization of people in movement. In their opinion people's organization will be essentially a political organization of the oppressed with the ideology of emancipation.

The grassroots level samities have organized a large number of rural women. The group process has contributed in making the women aware on rights, vocal, organized and mobile. This has highlighted the issue of gender equity in the development process. This awareness is also reflected at samity level; the organized landless (both women and men) aspire that the people's organization should work for the equal rights of both women and men. This equity in rights, needs to be maintained in every sphere including that of ownership on landed property. There may be a separate organizational-wing for women coordinated under the single organization of landless including both women and men.

The organized landless have stressed on the need of uniting the organizations of rural landless in locally coordinated a single network. As a precondition of such a broad based network. There is a need to have networking growing from village level up to Union or Thana level. The expansion of network should be based on need and capacity. The networks can be issue-based and short lived as well as based on long-term commitments.

The value of equity and justice also calls for equal rights for all the ethnic groups, religious minorities and aboriginal people. To ensure equal participation and ownership, along with the principle of broader networking, the organized aboriginal people have stressed on having created separate organizational space for the ethnic and specific occupation groups (such as fisher men communities and tea plantation workers etc.).

Participation is another core value propagated by the workshop participants. The organizational activities must be guided by a participatory decision-making process. There must also be a strategic planning. The organizational decisions, at every sphere, should be taken through democratic process. Decision will preferably be taken based on consensus, only if that is not possible, the rule of majority will be followed. In this regard, the study concludes that, the grassroots level people are not confident about the representative democracy based on the rule of majority - they within their own space (i.e. within their organization) would rather establish a participatory direct democracy founded upon the value of consensus.

The people have underscored the importance of creating the hegemony of people's organization within the local power structure. In their opinion, the organization of the landless needs to have direct representation in local government and in all its bodies and committees. Landless leadership needs to be established in local elected bodies (i.e. in Union Parishad). Based on their experience of NGO 'dominated' samities, the organized landless have stressed on the significance of independent identity of the people's organization. People's organization also needs to develop direct linkage with different NGOs. GOs, NGO networks (including ADAB), donor agencies, political parties and support groups (such as training agencies, media etc.) for networking, advocacy, capacity building and services. These two are also seen as an important components for ensuring sustainability.

The study concludes that perceived people's organization is an emancipator organization which will retain its independence and will closely cooperated with NGOs and other willing groups without compromising the sovereignty of people.

6.4	NGO, SRO and People's Organization
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Although over the last two decades, importance has been growing regarding modernization discourse focusing on economic empowerment of people, there has not been any significant economic progress experienced by the landless people.

One major change is emergence of women as recipient of institutional credit (i.e. NGO credit). This has contributed in changing the power position of women within the rural setup. This change however did not ensured women's equal position. It has given them a better position in terms of access to economic resources and decisions and not necessarily in terms of economic gains and control.

In the field of economic development the groups also suffers from irregular group savings by group members, lack of source of mobilization of group fund and lack of access of capacity of the groups to extend credit to the members. The last of these limitations requires our further attention.

The landless people concludes that the whole system of NGO-micro-credit is exploitative and restrictive. At present, most of the micro-credit NGOs have established their control over the group savings; the savings are now centrally managed at the NGO account as its revolving loan fund. Therefore, the groups no longer have any scope of extending credit to its members from their own savings and also cannot generate income from investment of their savings. Moreover, it is the opinion of the group members that the NGOs pay far too less an interest on the group savings to the members than they charge them on micro-credit.

Micro credit operation has also restricted the role of the grassroots level group to that of a service recipient organization (SRO). People view the samities as a means of accessing micro credit (and other supports from the NGO). On the other hand, NGOs view the samities primarily as instruments of delivering and recovering micro-credit. Groups are also seen as means of delivering different services,

information and carrying out activities to achieve the objectives of the NGOs. This has instrumentalized the role of people and their organization as far as modernization discourse of development is concerned.

NGOs have also introduced a form of informal-exclusion criteria in group formation process - usually those who are extremely poor are not included in the groups. These individuals and sections are considered unworthy of credit and therefore unacceptable in samities. As a result, the most vulnerable sections of the landless population are seldom included in the groups involved in NGO led micro credit operation. NGOs also exerts pressure on the group members through the so-called mechanism of 'group liability' which holds all the members of a group responsible for credit-repayment of its individual members. In general, the organized landless assessed that increasingly for the NGOs, grassroots level group structure is becoming merely a tool of delivering services. This, in their opinion undermines the group-potentials and violets the concept of empowerment.

NGOs never share their long term plan with the people. They also do not involve the people to develop their own strategic vision. The study concludes, that in most cases, the groups are dependent on the NGOs regarding decision. People understand that group is not controlled by the group members- the NGO controls the groups while the group cannot control the NGO. Given this power gap between the NGO and the group, lack of development vision and strategic clarity works as another dis-empowering factor.

Last but not the least, in most cases the NGOs keep the grassroots level organizations separated. An NGO does not facilitate communication and involvement of 'its groups' with groups of any other NGO. The study identifies, this separatist policy of the NGOs as one of the major factor deterring the development of a broader networking of people's organizations.

On the other hand, to cope with the excessive pressure of credit repayment and motivated by the economic rationale of group involvement, increasingly more landless, at individual level are becoming members of 'credit-groups' of more than one NGO. This is also leading to less involvement of people with NGOs working with human development approach through facilitating self-awareness, knowledge building and mobilization. There is also less, if at all any, importance given toward membership education and ideological education at samity level.

This shift of the NGOs towards a managerial approach instead of solidarity with the people's organization is a manifestation of the neo-modernization approach. The NGOs are more often than not, undermining the importance of a value based human development approach. Instead they are glorifying the micro-credit process as the most significant component of empowerment and development, which is economism in its crudest form. Given the context of global monopoly capital, the growing indebtedness of grassroots level people through the bondage of micro credit raises the question whether the van wagon of capital creation and market

linkage at all leads to emancipation of the oppressed-the people. Achievement of NGOs goal at the cost of instrumentalization of people's organization and disregarding people's severity by development of hierarchic relationship instead of solidarity, have forced the people to question the very role of the NGOs in relation to development and emancipation.

6.5	Women in People's Organization
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The value premise of the group members, both women and men, is in continual conflict and feeding a process of ideological deconstruction within the organizational space regarding the role of women, relationship between women and men, relationship of women with productive resource and broadly position of women in the power quantum.

The female members, predominately understand the limitation of the group-strength in terms of failure in effectively resisting early marriage, dowry, multi-marriage and other forms of physical, sexual and psychological abuses and violence against women. They also view lack of organizational contribution in promoting equal land owning status of women as a major setback.

6.6	People-Centered Land Reform
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The organized landless have unequivocally negated the proposition of “market led” land reform. They have also negated the option of state led land reform. In their opinion the organized landless need to have an active and pioneering role to define and carry forward the process of land and agrarian reform, in which the state and political institutions, NGOs and other civil society actors will have supportive roles to play.

The major questions of land reform, as far as the landless are concerned, are the ways and means of transferring land ownership to them, ensuring retention of the transferred land and accessing support to utilize the land for sustainable livelihood.

This raises the debate of drawing a line between land and agrarian reform. This also calls for an assessment of feasibility of such a massive redistribution of land and implications of such redistribution.

These are highly sensitive questions and cannot be answered without a value premise, as these are in essence political questions. As such, the question of land reform is essentially a political question. A question, that deals not just with the economy of land, also with its administrative and legal dimensions, with its relation with different classes and most importantly its relationship with the existing power structure.

For the landless, the demand for land is only the beginning. Land in itself means an identity- an achievement of rights, social recognition and authority. But that is not

the end of it. Land is also a means of establishing other rights and ensuring the livelihood of a newly landed class within the rural economy.

At the same time, such a radical move implicates a new relationship among the rural economic and political actors and emergence of certainly a different, if not a more complicated, social construction. It will also redefine relation of people with market and natural resource base. And may have impacts on the pattern of land use and development.

The landless people interrelate these changes with formation of a political power of organized rural poor. They perceive the process of land reform leading to reduction in inequality at economic, social and political arenas. They perceive the land reform to surpass the market and visualize the market to be active only after a phase of reconciliation and development.

The study concludes that a people-centered land reform will ensure equal rights of both women and men on land, establish/reestablish the customary rights and aboriginal rights over land, recover and redistribute land to genuine landless, provide legal and financial supports for land retention, promote sustainable technology and focus on sustainable livelihood.

As such, the components of a people-centered land reform includes:

- Land recovery and redistribution: Which involves re-thinking of ceiling based on minimal family requirement criteria. Recovery and reclamation of khash land, land above calling and other land that would be identified as 'illegally appropriated' under the new ownership law framed based on people's experience of land loss. In this regard, women, minority communities, traditional occupational groups and adivashi people need to have special provisions. The recovered land will be distributed among landless (both women and men), with focus to rural landless and priority list prepared with the involvement of local landless and land-poor communities. For adivashi communities' special discretion needs to be ensured.
- By passing market: The entire recovery and re-distribution process needs to be carried out by passing market. This according to the people is one of the primary requirement of a sustainable people-centered land reform.
- Acknowledgement of traditional, customary, community and adivashi rights over land: This will require reclamation of land lost through loss of such rights (especially community land, water land, forest land and adivashi land).
- Land improvement assistance: Which would neutralize the market forces at the initial stage of land reform and ensure that the re-distributed land is productively utilized by the landless.

- Land retention or land protection schemes: This would focus on transfer of redistributed land. In other words, this will also aim at preventing the market forces to play.
- Land use policy: Which involves policy of utilization, ownership and management of land with especial focus to water bodies and forest land etc. The aim will be to ensure that the traditional, customary and adivashi rights of utilization and control over land will be reflected in legal framework. It would also focus on technological aspects and the concern of sustainability of resource base and livelihood.
- Mineral rights: The policy must have space for concerned community to decide regarding mineral resources. The aim should be to ensure benefit to local landless (or at least not to disrupt their livelihood opportunities) and not to trigger environmentally unsustainable schemes.

Through out the entire process, people envisage an administrative structure accountable to people with people's access to decision space. The process will not be neutral of class interest. This form of land reform will adversely affect the propertied class (at least those who would loose land). Therefore, the organize landless feels the urgency of emergence of their own political forces and greater solidarity with other pro-people societal forces. The process of land redistribution can also create contradictory interest between women and men or among different religious or ethnic groups. This calls for especial attention and care. The organized landless calls for broad based unity of landless as the means of overcoming any such dispute.

6.7	Role of people's Organization in land Reform
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The study concludes that the grassroots level organization possess two roles. First, it is a space and second it is an instrument. People's organization is a space in the sense that it promotes and works to achieve people's aspirations. It provides the members with an opportunity of entertaining some of the values and rights they want to attain. Participation in decision-making, gender equity and collective initiatives are few such issues that people can practice within their 'samities' long before these values can be ascertained at family and community levels. For people organization is therefore not merely a form but also a process.

People's organization is an instrument when comes the question of bringing in some desired societal changes (such as land reform) and accessing certain supports and services (such as micro credit). Through the means of organization, people aim at achieving the values and aspiration held by its members at the broader community or state level.

Given this framework, when it comes to land reform, the study concludes that, this dual characteristics of people's organization is visible with some limitations. In the process of land reform their own organization becomes instrumental to the landless: basically it becomes the means of achieving their ownership on land. This is clearly

understood when we take into account of the fact that organization within its own space cannot provide people with any ownership on land. However, in rare cases the organized landless takes lease of land or even buy land collectively. More importantly, the organization prepares the members to be effective in any process of people-centered land reform by offering them a space to practice their values of participation, justice and equality (among the sexes and ethnic groups etc.).

Therefore, the study looks at organization not merely as 'instrument' but also as a 'humane space' for people to aspire for as well as to entertain their achievements.

People also perceive organization as 'power'. They conclude that in a people-centered land reform, people's own organization will have to be the main driving force. In the context of Bangladesh, land reform being a highly sensitive political question, the organized landless stress that such an organization needs to have the capacity of leading a movement for land.

The study concludes that along with the long run vision of a comprehensive land and agrarian reform, people's organization will also ensure benefits within the existing land administration. In practical terms, the organization in its locality will have to identify khash land, process applications, ensure proper distribution and secure legal and physical possession of landless over the khash land. For this organizations will have to involve local people (i.e. its members) to gather information and mobilize them to ensure pro-poor registration of khash land. At the same time, the organized landless focused on having access and control over the khash land committees of the Government.

This however does not undermine the need of campaign for a comprehensive pro-poor land and agrarian reform that would establish equal rights of both women and men on land.

The study concludes that, in a people-centered land reform, such a well informed, socially based, legally oriented organization of local landless and land poor, will be the nucleus of future land administration. Thus people's organization in future holds the potentiality of ensuring people's participation by replacing or working in parallel with the land bureaucracy, at least at local level.

6.8	Recommendations for Capacity Building
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At present, people identify "NGO-domination" as the key feature of the existing relationship between NGOs and samities. People would like to transform the prevailing power-based relationship into solidarity. They foresee the roles of NGOs in terms of extending capacity building supports and facilitating to integrate samities into a broader social movement. They want to democratize the association between samities and NGOs and work together for the common cause. Increasingly people demand freedom in decision-making.

The organized people crave for control over their group savings. They state that the NGOs utilize the group-saving to generate income through micro-credit. Although, people understand that their 'NGO-friends' need money to maintain their staff and

office, they strongly feel that the NGOs need to mobilize funding from other means than 'confiscating' peoples savings.

They want recognition from the NGOs as equal partners in struggle for development. In their opinion, NGOs need to deliver their services based on the needs of the people's organizations. The people's organization needs to have a space to formulate and reveal its needs to the NGO. Moreover, the relationship between NGO and people's organization must be transparent and based on mutual respect. People should have access to information regarding the NGO; its mandate, members, structure, source of funding, budget, expenditure etc.).

People view the role of the NGOs mainly as capacity building agents. They identify great potentiality of the NGOs in providing information and awareness to people and providing them with legal supports. NGOs can also contribute in advocacy at national and international levels and thereby linking the national and international communities with the local issues and struggles.

People expect a change in the psyche of the NGOs, so that different NGOs can work together and also facilitate the grassroots level organizations to work together for the cause of the landless. The NGO-based division among the groups of the landless, needs to be abolished as soon as possible. The group members identify a critical role of the NGOs in building such a broad based solidarity.

The groups very much look forward to the NGOs to link them with government agencies, networks, other NGOs, progressive political parties and other relevant organizations to avail their supports and services.

The samity members want the NGOs to create space for them at government and other institutional setups. Samity identifies a need to build direct linkage with local administration (e.g. in the monthly meeting of the TNO, along with NGO representative the representative of the samity also be present).

According to the grassroots level commentators, in case of micro credit, the groups are treated as human channels of credit delivery and recovery. This system is based on 'group liability', which is not working for the people. The group should not be treated by the NGOs as "human collateral" to ensure credit repayment. The system of group liability needs to be replaced to ensure that individual members can have access to credit based on their needs and performance.

The study recommends that before facilitating capacity building process of the people's organization, the NGOs need to developed clear idea and position regarding people's organization. The study identifies an urgent need of changing the role of NGO in relation to the grassroots level samities, if solidarity with the people is to be achieved. This also calls for self reflections of the NGOs to frame a new role that will not instrumentalize people and their organizations.

Annex - I

List of PSP Workshop on People's Organization and Land Reform

SL. no.	Organization	Date	Total no. of participants		
			Male	Female	Total
1.	CRIS, ASD	19-21 November, 2000	8	15	23
2.	VARD				
3.	PUK, SPOSP	24 - 26 November, 2000	5	21	26
4.	SAMATA	28-30 November, 2000	10	12	22
5.	LDO	1-3 December, 2000	18	8	26
6.	RULFAO	5-7 December, 2000	2	22	24
7.	SKS	17-19 December, 2000	0	25	25
8.	CDA	9-11 December, 2000	18	6	24
9.	ZIBIKA	13-15 December, 2000			
10.	PAJIA JUBO KALLAYAN SAMITY	9-11 December, 2000	8	19	27
11.	UTTARAN	13-15 December, 2000	4	17	21
12.	NABOLOK	17-19 December, 2000	18	6	24
13.	BDS	16-18 January, 2001	4	21	25
14.	MULTITASK	20-22 January, 2001	0	27	27
15.	BKF/BKS	25-27 January, 2001	7	11	18
16.	NIJERA KORI	7-9 February, 2001	11	14	25
17.	PROSHIKA	17-19 February, 2001	23	4	27
18.	ADIBASI PARISHAD	20-22 January, 2001			22
19.	COAST	7-9 February, 2001	0	26	26
Total			136	254	390

Annex - II

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS OF THE WORKSHOP

NABALOK PARISHAD

List of Participants

S.L No	Name	Designation
01	Abul Kashem Gazi	President
02	Shak Afshar Ali	President
03	Abdul Mannan Howlader	Secretary
04	Mohammad Joynal Abaden	President
05	Khod Vanu	President
06	Mohammad Mojibur Fokir	Member
07	Depali Rani Dash	President
08	Mitue Rani Sarkar	Secretary
09	Joshna Begum	Member
10	Anjera Begum	Member
11	Morium Begum	Member
12	Kusha Rani	Member
13	Noyun Tara	Member
14	Maduri Rani	President
15	Munzu Biswas	President
16	Bashanti Rani	President
17	Runu Akhter	President
18	Nomita Sardar	Member
19	Ratna Rani	Member
20	Banddna Rani	Member
21	Shafali	Secretary
22	Azmol	Secretary
23	Khalak	Secretary

S.L No	Name	Designation
24	Shobita	Secretary
25	Maduri	Member
26	Niva	Member
27	Sheuly	Member

PUK

List of Participants

S.L No	Name	Designation
01	Rada Rani Pall	Secretary
02	Susanty Rani Shill	Secretary
03	Kabirun Nesa	President
04	Abdul Malek	President
05	Mohammad Farid Mia	Member
06	Bashanti Rani Dash	Member
07	Abdul Aziz	President
08	Bivuchandra Roy	President
09	Magret Enduar	President
10	Rajina Tapu	Secretary
11	Taru Rani Malakar	Secretary
12	Noshira Begum	Secretary
13	Kushum Begum	Member
14	Khairun Begum	Secretary
15	Raiban Begum	Member
16	Rahima Begum	Member
17	Alifzan	Member
18	Halima Begum	Member
19	Mohammad Abul Hashem	Member
20	Rina Akhtar	Member
21	Lutfa Akhtar	Member
22	Rajkumari Banarjee	Member
23	Josna Banarjee	President
24	Rahala Begum	President
25	Kariful Begum	President
26	Shudmati Tantee	President

UTTARAN

List of Participants

S.L No	Name	Designation
01	Feroja Begum	President
02	Sakina Begum	Secretary
03	Jahanara Begum	Secretary
04	Bebeya Begum	Secretary
05	Rebeka	President
06	Rupali	President
07	Fatima	President
08	Amena	Member
09	Sakina Begum	Secretary
10	Papya Sultana	Secretary
11	Anwara	Member
12	Rowsanara	Member
13	Jahura	Member
14	Ansar Ali	Member
15	Abul Hossain	Secretary
16	Chitta Ranjan Das	Secretary
17	Pagal Chandra Das	Secretary
18	Nur Ali Sheikh	Secretary
19	Rabeya Begum	Secretary
20	Farida Begum	Secretary
21	Asiron	Member
22	Basanti Rani	Member
23	Buli Sarkar	Member
24	Kallayni Sarkar	Member
25	Rejea Begum	Member
26	Ayra	Member
27	Hasina	Member

PAJIA JUBO KALLAYAN SAMITY

List of Participants

S.L No	Name	Designation
01	Haradan Biswas	Member
02	Shimul Kumar	Member
03	Brojen Sarkar	Member
04	Tushar Mandal	Member
05	Md. Karim Bakhs Gajee	President
06	Amjad	President
07	Salma	Member
08	Raju Bala Das	Member
09	Ratna Das	Member
10	Rabeya	Member
11	Saburon Nesa	Secretary
12	Taslima	Secretary
13	Khuku	Secretary
14	Sabani Biswas	Secretary
15	Md. Hussain Gajee	President
16	Rabeya Begum	President
17	Rahima	President
18	Sahanara	President
19	Karimun Nesa	Member
20	Khadeeja	Member
21	Amodeeni Rane	Member
22	Rabeya	Member
23	Rashida	President
24	Saleha Begum	Secretary
25	Rokeya Begum	President
26	Saleha Begum	Member
27	Salma Begum	President
28	Chitta Ranjan Das	Member
29	Amena Begum	Member

**BANGLADESH KRISHOK FEDERATION
(BKF)
AND
BANGLADESH KRISANEE SABA (BKS)
List of Participants**

S.L No	Name	Designation
01	Peyara Begum	General Secretary -BKS
02	Hawa Bebe	Member - BKS
03	Nayan Tara Bebe	Member - BKS
04	Nazma Begum	Member - BKS
05	Fatima Begum	Member - BKS
06	Hasenur Begum	Member - BKS
07	Nesa Bebe	Member - BKS
08	Jahura Bebe	Member - BKS
09	Hasina Begum	Member - BKS
10	Kulsum Begum	Member - BKS
11	Mosammat Jeeli Begum	Member - BKS
12	Jainab Bebe	Member - BKS
13	Sohrab Hussain	Member - BKF
14	Md. Mahbub Hussain	Member - BKF
15	Md. Ala Uddin	Member - BKF
16	Md. Moslem Uddin Khan	Member - BKF
17	Mosammat Ameerjan Bebe	Member - BKS
18	Mosammat Kajol Rekha	Member - BKS
19	Altaf Hossain	Member - BKS
20	Nesar Uddin Akand	Member - BKF

MULTI TASK

List of Participants

S.L No	Name	Designation
01	Rejia	Member
02	Halima	Member
03	Reena	Member
04	Kanak Prava	President
05	Naseema Akhter	Member
06	Suneetee Ranee	President
07	Manwara	Member
08	Urmila Ranee	Member
09	Anwara	Member
10	Begum	Member
11	Sufia Begum	Member
12	Amena Begum	President
13	Kulsum	Member
14	Amena	Member
15	Rahima	Member
16	Pyara	Member
17	Rubee	President
18	Minara	Member
19	Suva	Member
20	Malatee	Member
21	Sreeti Ranee	Member
22	Saemalee	Member
23	Binu Ranee	Member
24	Suneetee	Member
25	Malatee Ranee	President
26	Lalbanu	Member
27	Sultana	Member

JATYA ADEEBASEE PAREESHAD

List of Participants

S.L No	Name	Designation
01	Rabindranath Saren	Central Committee
02	Anil Marandee	Central Committee
03	Ragunath Lakda	District Committee
04	Putul Hansda	Teacher, Rajshahi
05	Luchia Saren	Teacher, Rajshahi
06	Pari Tudu	Teacher, Rajshahi
07	Stefan Saren	Member - Rajshahi District Committee
08	Nirmal Tudu	Member - District Committee
09	Mr. Jems Ratan Sardar	Member - District Committee
10	Team Kenedy Biswas	Member - Rajshahi District Committee
11	Sri Lakhan Pahan	Member - Rajshahi District Committee
12	Mr. Karnelu Saren	Member - Rajshahi District Committee
13	Sri Tunu Pahan	Member - Rajshahi District Committee
14	Somen Hemrom	Member - Rajshahi District Committee
15	Sri Babul Uttar	Member - Rajshahi District Committee
16	Sri Jadu Lal	Member - Rajshahi District Committee
17	Ladabik Biswas	Member - Rajshahi District Committee
18	Julian Murmu	Member - Rajshahi District Committee
19	Mr. Petric Hembrom	Teacher - Jatya Adebasee Parishad
20	Mr. Renatus Hasda	Member
21	Sundar Marandee	Member
22	Bimal Chandra Sarkar	Member

PROSHIKA

List of Participants

S.L No	Name	Designation
01	Anath Bandu Barman	Member, Village Coordination Committee
02	Abdus Salam	Member, Village Coordination Committee
03	Solaiman	Member, Village Coordination Committee
04	Md. Akkas Aki	Member, Union Coordination Committee
05	Md. Moksed Mandal	Member, Village Coordination Committee
06	Israel Hossain	Member, Village Coordination Committee
07	Md. Shameem Reza	Member, Village Coordination Committee
08	Md. Azim Uddin	Member, Village Coordination Committee
09	Md. Abul Hussain	Member, Village Coordination Committee
10	Md. Jameel Akhtar	Member, Village Coordination Committee
11	Md. Manjunur Rahman	Member, Village Coordination Committee
12	Md. Absar Ali	Member, Village Coordination Committee
13	Md. Shamsul Alam	Member, Village Coordination Committee
14	Amena Khatun	Member, Village Coordination Committee
15	Majeda Khatun	Member, Village Coordination Committee
16	Saheeda Khatun	Member, Village Coordination Committee
17	Mosammat Saleka Khatun	Member, Village Coordination Committee
18	Md. Mojammel Haque	Member, Village Coordination Committee
19	Manirul Islam	Member, Village Coordination Committee
20	Md. Abu Jafar Khan	Member, Village Coordination Committee
21	Md. Abdul Alim	Member, Village Coordination Committee
22	Abdus Samad	Member, Village Coordination Committee
23	Md. Sohrab Hussain	Member, Union Coordination Committee
24	Md. Saiful Islam	Member, Village Coordination Committee
25	Md. Sahidul Islam	Member, Village Coordination Committee
26	Md. Enamul Haque	Member, Village Coordination Committee
27	Md. Abdus Sattar	Member, Village Coordination Committee

NIJERA KORI

List of Participants

S.L No	Name	Designation
01	Jomila Begum	Secretary
02	Aklima Begum	Secretary
03	Rahela Begum	Member
04	Kosim Uddin	Member
05	Shamsul Haq	President
06	A. Shamad	President
07	Nasima Begum	President
08	Mokaddes Ali	President
09	Haidar Ali	Member
10	Tota Mia	Member
11	Moynal Shikdar	Member
12	Somela Begum	Member
13	Monowara Begum	Member
14	Mukti Rani	President
15	Haziron	President
16	Rohitan	Member
17	Auzufa Begum	Member
18	Khodeza Begum	Member
19	Halal Uddin	Secretary
20	Nur Mohammad (Nuru)	Member
21	Tofazzal Hossain	Member
22	Tamoshi	Member
23	Mazeda Akhter	Secretary
24	Baila Begum	Secretary
25	Mustaque Mia	Secretary

CRIS/ASD and SUJON

List of Participants

S.L No	Name	Designation
01	Kalu Mia	President / ASD
02	Foyej Uddin	Secretary / Sujon
03	Minara Begum	President / ASD
04	Khuku Moni	President / CRIS
05	Mazeda Khatun	President / Sujon
06	Jahera Khatun	President / CRIS
07	Abul Kashem	President / CRIS
08	Idrish Ali	President / ASD
09	Shiddikur Rahman	Secretary / CRIS
10	Himani Bala Dash	Member/ ASD
11	Anowar	President / ASD
12	Kamola	President / CRIS
13	Joshna	President / CRIS
14	Chanbani	President / Sujon
15	Nikhil Visher	President / ASD
16	Rahmat Ali	President / Sujon
17	Aysha	President / ASD
18	Rabiya	President / CRIS
19	Jomela	Secretary / CRIS
20	Banesa	President / CRIS
21	Minoti bala	President / Sujon
22	Badal Talukdar	President / Sujon
23	Shilpi Rani Dee	President / CRIS

COAST

List of Participants

S.L No	Name	Designation
01	Tahera Begum	President / UJS
02	Shamorto Banu	President / UJS
03	Eanur Begum	President / UJS
04	Jomila Khatun	Secretary / UJS
05	Shahinur Begum	Secretary / UJS
06	Kohinur	Secretary / UJS
07	Nurvanu	President / UJS
08	Lalmoti Begum	President / UJS
09	Ranu Bibi	Secretary / UJS Community
10	Shandhya Rani	Secretary / UJS
11	Momtaz Begum	President / UJS
12	Rohima	President / UJS
13	Nurzahan Begum	President / UJS
14	Charu Bala	President / UJS
15	Monowara Begum	President / UJS
16	Hajera	President / UJS
17	Binu	Vice President / UJS
18	Iva Rani	Secretary / UJS
19	Bina Rani	President / UJS
20	Julekha Bibi	President / UJS
21	Momotaz	Vice President / UJS
22	Rokeya	President / UJS
23	Kohinur	President / UJS
24	Jutika	President / UJS

LDO

List of Participants

SL. no.	Name	Designation
1.	Md. Tayeb Ali	Member
2.	Mosammat Sanwara Khatun	Member
3.	Md. Moyen Uddin	Member
4.	Md. Nabir Molla	Member
5.	Md. Abdul Kader Ali	Member
6.	Mosammat Rani Khatun	Member
7.	Mosammat Rupban	Member
8.	Anwar Hussain	Member
9.	Ala Uddin	Member
10.	Mosammat Jamela	Member
11.	Md. Akbar Ali	Member
12.	Md. Gaziur Rahman	Member
13.	Tajir Ali	Member
14.	Jonab Ali	Member
15.	Karam Ali	Member
16.	Ramjan Ali	Member
17.	Nijam Uddin	Member
18.	Md. Sabiran Khatun	Member
19.	Md. Khudeja Khatun	Member
20.	Md. Osman Gani	Member
21.	Md. Kursia Khatun	Member
22.	Md. Khalil Uddin	Member
23.	Md. Aslat	Member
24.	Suraf Ali	Member
25.	Samiran	Member
26.	Mahar Ali	Member

SAMATA

List of Participants

S.L No	Name	Designation
01	Sufia Khatun	Secretary
02	Momena Khatun	Secretary
03	Hasan Ali	President
04	Kuddus	Member
05	Akkas	President
06	Abdul Mazed Molla	Member
07	Abdur Rahman	Member
08	Afaz Uddin	President
09	Barkat Ali	Vice President
10	Kurshad Ali	Member
11	Ayub Ali	Secretary
12	Torab Ali	Member
13	Rabeya Khatun	Secretary
14	Dulal Khan	Member
15	Samiran Khatun	Secretary
16	Halima	Member
17	Jahanara	Member
18	Fojiran	President
19	Razina	Member
20	Monira	President
21	Jahanara	Secretary
22	Fulesa Khatun	Member
23	Sobura	President
24	Monowara Khatun	Member
25	Morshed Anower	Member
26	Amzad Hossain	Secretary
27	Azibor	Member

BDS

List of Participants

S.L No	Name	Designation
01	Uttam Kumar Dash	President
02	Shahinur	Secretary
03	Mari Howlader	Secretary
04	Lutfunnesa	Member
05	Shapon Kumar	Member
06	Panna Rani Dash	Manager
07	Madhobi Shikdar	President
08	Hosneara	Field Supervisor
09	Shahinur Begum	President
10	Ranu Begum	Member
11	Morium Begum	Member
12	Halima Begum	Member
13	Anju Begum	Cashier
14	Kulsum	Member
15	Mala Akhtar	Member
16	Chameli Akhtar	Member
17	Ms. Laily	President
18	Mr. Abdul Haq Howlader	Member
19	Mrs. Aklima	Member
20	Mrs. Hezarun	Member
21	Mrs. Parul	Member
22	Ms. Munna	Member
23	Sheuly	Member
24	Nepal Chandra	Member
25	Ms. Ruma	Member
26	Ms. Farida Begum	Member

VARD

List of Participants

S.L No	Name	Designation
01	Pata Begum	President
02	Anwara Begum	Member
03	Jelly Roy	Member
04	Lili Begum	Cashier
05	Chameli Chondo	Secretary
06	Bilkis Begum	Member
07	Asma Begum	Member
08	Momena Begum	Member
09	Nasima Begum	Cashier
10	Sufia Begum	Member
11	Saruja Begum	Member
12	Rina Begum	President
13	Jarina Begum	Cashier
14	Rokeya Begum	Member
15	Juleka Begum	Member
16	Putul Begum	President
17	Rahima Begum	Member
18	Minu Begum	Member
19	Sheli Chondo	Member
20	Jahanara Begum	President
21	Rekha Pal	Member
22	Roksana Begum	Member
23	Monowara Begum	Member
24	Nehar Begum	President

SKS

List of Participants

S.L No	NAME	DESIGNATION
01	Basa Begum	Member
02	Khoitan Begum	Member
03	Alo Chaya Begum	Member
04	Anwara Begum	Secretary
05	Firoja Begum	President
06	Monjila Khatun	President
07	Boshirun Khanom	President
08	Momota	secretary
09	Beli Begum	Member
10	Anwara Begum	Member
11	Shulekha Rani	Member
12	Ajeda	Member
13	Hasna Begum	Secretary
14	Johura Begum	President
15	Achiya Khatun	Member
16	Komola Khatun	Member
17	Morsheda Begum	Member
18	Rohima Khatun	President
19	Nalu Begum	President
20	Shahera Begum	President
21	Akter	Secretary
22	Tanju Begum	President
23	Motiful Begum	Secretary
24	Ajma Begum	Member

ZIBIKA

List of Participants

S.I no	Name	Designation
01	Abu Zafar Ahmed	Secretary
02	Hossain Mian	Member
03	Omar Ali Mondol	Secretary
04	Rashidul Haq	Treasurer
05	Md. Basir	President
06	Mrinal Kanti Roy	Member
07	Abdus Sattar	Member
08	Md. Sohrab Hossain	Member
09	Atul Chandra Mondol	Member
10	Ashtabendra Roy	Cashier
11	Babul Chandra Sarker	Secretary
12	Zobeda Begum	Secretary
13	Khoja Begum	Member
14	Mala Khatun	Member
15	Majeda Begum	Member
16	Achiman Begum	Member
17	Amena Khatun	Member
18	Zarina Begum	Member
19	Anowara Begum	Member
20	Fajitun Begum	Member
21	Ansar Ali	Member

CDA

List of Participants

S.L No	Name	Designation
01	Asraful Haq	President
02	Khetis Chandra Roy	President
03	Nazrul Islam	Secretary
04	Jogdish	Treasurer
05	Joynul Islam	Member
06	Shadhat Hossain	President
07	Subol	President
08	Barton	Secretary
09	Sindu Bala	President
10	Uasa Rani	President
11	Dulal Chandra Roy	Member
12	Rezina	Secretary
13	Ashok Chandra Roy	Secretary
14	Morzina	Member
15	Zamshad Ali	Secretary
16	Abdul Khadir	President
17	Morzina Begum	President
18	Nurzahan	Secretary
19	Liykhat	Member
20	Ram Mohan Ray	Member
21	Pagol Mumu	Member

RULFAO

List of Participants

S.L No	Name	Designation
01	Shoidul Islam	Secretary
02	Mohammad Kohinur	Secretary
03	Dulali Begum	Secretary
04	Mrs. Bhatun Khatun	Member
05	Morium Begum	President
06	Shahida Begum	Member
07	Manoka Begum	President
08	Kohinur Begum	Secretary
09	Satara Akhter	Member
10	Niva Rani	President
11	Anima Rani	Member
12	Sushil	Secretary
13	Safali	Secretary
14	Malaka	Member
15	Jonufa Begum	Member
16	Shara Khatun	Member
17	Jobada Begum	President
18	Asma Khatun	Secretary
19	Durina Khatun	Member
20	Oliuddin	Member

Annex – III

WORKSHOP SESSION-PLAN With PO-MEMBERS ON LAND REFORM

DAY: 1

Session	Objective	Process	Output
<p>1. Inauguration:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cultural Action Introduction <p>Time: 9 am to 11 am</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To set up a creative process whereby the participants are able to relate their own cultural roots and local context To start with an event that relates and expresses the relevance of PSA exercise for the organization and people. To have a formal inauguration. 	<p>Inauguration may start with a brief welcome and introductory speech. Participants may present a cultural action on their own or by including all who take part in the inauguration session. Formal inauguration and sharing of personal feelings could follow the cultural action. After a short break, participants may discuss their expectations from the whole exercise. This could be done in Buzz groups or by having individuals write on cards. After the consolidation of expectations, the concepts and steps of PSA exercise could be discussed in brief</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Introduction by core facilitation team members Cultural actions Formal inauguration Sharing of personal feelings and aspiration Self introduction Expectation sharing
Lunch: Time: 1 pm to 2 pm			
<p>2. Concept of Development and Land Reform:</p> <p>Time : 11:15 am to 5 pm</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Existing understanding of the nature of envisaged development Concepts regarding Land Reform 	<p>The participants are divided into buzz groups and present their vision of a "developed village" in drawing. In the plenary the groups presents and provides logic behind their envisioned/ aspired society. They would discuss:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> What is meant/perceived by LR What will be the land ownership, tenure and utilization pattern What will be the role and status of PO in future What will be the role and status of NGO in future What will be the relationship between community and state 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> The components of development envisaged. The development values The role of PO, NGO and Sate in the future society

DAY: 2

Session	Objective	Process	Output
<p>3. Trend and Cause Analysis</p> <p>Time: 9 am to 1:00 pm</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * To identify the critical changes in the societal context, define their character and identify the trends as positive, negative, emerging, declining etc.; * To identify the critical factors and active social-economic-political forces including their motivation, bias and interests which shapes the course of social reality; * To articulate the historical-structural causes of the existence and reproduction of critical issues; * To identify strength, weakness, capacity and potentials of development actors and Peoples Institutions * To identify challenges, opportunities and threats. 	<p>Definition of the Trend and Causes Analysis, its objectives and methods are clarified by the participants. The session may start with an impressionistic and symbolic presentation of the trends. To identify trends participants need to compare the past and present critical issues, and define the trends including its character. For causes analysis participants need to identify the factors and forces responsible for maintaining, producing and reproducing of the existing system. This analysis could be done in two steps: first defining manifestations and then articulate causes.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Concept of trend and causes analysis, its objectives and methods. 2. Differences between the critical issues of two time points (past and present). 3. Nature, meaning and consequences of the changes in critical issues. 4. Factors and forces contributing to the maintenance, production and reproduction of existing critical issues. 5. Strength, weakness, capacities and potentials of the development actors and peoples' institutions (in the context).. 6. Challenges, opportunities and threats in the context
<p>Launch:</p> <p>Time: 1 pm to 2 pm</p>			

DAY: 2

Session	Objective	Process	Output
<p>4. Mission & Concept (MVORSP) and Organizational Analysis</p> <p>Time: 2 pm to 5 pm</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To describe and analyze the past VMORSP of the organization • To clarify the congruence or cohesiveness among the present VMORSP with the perceived LR <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strength, weakness, capacity and potential of existing Pos • Role and potential of women and men respectively in the existing POs 	<p>Definition of capacity and character analysis of the organization, its objectives and methods needs to be discussed by the participants. Symbolic impressionistic presentation of the perception of organization by the individual participants. Reflection on the organizational process (a historical account). Description of conceptual, organizational, management, operational and resource conditions, and identify strength, weakness, capacity and potential.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Intuitive reflection on the organization 3. Character and capacity of the present organization 5. Strength, weakness, capacity and potential of the present organization

DAY: 3

Session	Objective	Process	Output
5. Needed Organization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assumptions and perceptions of POs as organization , its nature and role; criteria of an authentic PO (opposite to SRO) • The nature (character) and capacity of a PO that could undertake the LR programme 	<p>Definition, objectives and methods of the step need to be clarified by the participants. The participants may define and identify all the conceptual and operational capacity and character need without considering the resources existing in the present organisation. In this step the total requirement have to be articulated and identified. Participants may discuss in working group.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Definition and components of Needed Organisation 2. Articulation of capacity and character need of the organisation 3. Analysis, assessment and identification of capacity need 4. Analysis, assessment and identification of character need 5. Congruence analysis with value, vision, mission, objectives and program activities
<p>Launch:</p> <p>Time: 1 pm to 2 pm</p>			

DAY: 3

Session	Objective	Process	Output
6. Gap Analysis & Strategy to Overcome the Gap 7. 8. Time: 2 pm to 5 pm	9. Gap analysis between aspired and existing organization / capacity 10. 11. Strategy to overcome the gaps 12. 13. To identify the human and material resource gap between the existing organization and the needed organization. 14. 15. To identify the critical informal aspect and assess the needed character required for the organization. 16. 17. To formulate a strategy to organize the needed resources and character.	18. Definition, objectives and methods of this step need to be discussed by the participants. Participants need to work with the outcome of step 5; compare them and identify the actual need for the organization. The gap analysis includes both human and material resources, as well as the character needed to be congruent with mission, role and strategy. After identifying the gap and required need participants need to formulate a strategy to overcome the gap.	19. 1. Definition and framework of gap analysis and actual need for the organization 20. 2. Comparison of human and material resources between needed organization and existing organization 21. 3. Articulation of the actual character need congruent with mission and strategy 22. 4. Strategy to mobilize required resources (overcome the resource gap) 23. 5. Strategy for organizational reorientation (or reaffirmation) of the character.
24. Wrap-Up Session: Time: 5 pm to 5: 30	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identifying the major learning • Thanking the participants • Feed back on facilitation 	Plenary Songs Knowledge Wheel	1. Summing up 2. Ensuring ownership on the workshop outputs 3. Facilitation and process assessment