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ROLE OF SOCIAL CAPITAL IN DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION: A STUDY ON CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS IN BANGLADESH

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF RAJSHAHI IN
PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

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Institute of Bangladesh Studies (IBS)
University of Rajshahi, Bangladesh
January 2016

DEDICATED TO

My Parents
&
Mst. Khaleda Yeasmin Moon

DECLARATION

I do hereby declare that the dissertation entitled, Role of Social Capital in Democratic Consolidation: A Study on Civil Society Organizations in Bangladesh submitted to the Institute of Bangladesh Studies (IBS), University of Rajshahi, for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science, is original work carried out by me under the supervision of Professor Dr. Sultana Mustafa Khanum, Department of Sociology, University of Rajshahi, Rajshahi. The dissertation contains materials not published elsewhere or written by anyone except by duly acknowledge citations. This has not been submitted in any form to any other University or Institution for Degree, Diploma or for other similar purposes.

Monsur Ahmed

PhD Fellow

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CERTIFICATE

It is a pleasure for me to certify that this dissertation entitled, Role of Social Capital in Democratic Consolidation: A Study on Civil Society Organizations in Bangladesh is prepared by Monsur Ahmed, a PhD fellow in Political Science of session 2012-2013 at the Institute of Bangladesh Studies (IBS), University of Rajshahi, Rajshahi, Bangladesh. He prepared this dissertation under my supervision. This is his original work. The dissertation is recommended and forward to the University of Rajshahi through the IBS, for necessary formalities leading to its acceptance in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the Doctoral Degree.

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ABSTRACT

Bangladesh has maintained an impressive track record on growth and development, and reached the lower middle income country. But the democratic consolidation is yet a burning question after the passing of four decades of independence. She is eulogized for its CSOs over the world, especially for the participation in socio-economic arena. But its participation in the political sphere is not vigilant for the acceleration of democratic consolidation. What are the inner and outer factors of CSOs for deterring peoples' participation in the political arena? The present study tries to explore the role of social capital of CSOs and its influence on the democratic consolidation in Bangladesh. For investigation into CSOs, the study has followed the mix method approach where qualitative and quantitative data have been used to analyze the issues. The study explored the fact that social capital of CSOs among the members is satisfactory in terms of reciprocity, trust and network. But their collective action and involvement in common activities for the betterment of society are insignificant, which does not reflect vigorously on the social cohesion. Participation for establishing deliberative democracy in the functions of *Union Parishad* is negligible. Nevertheless the respondents have positive intention to participate in the collective actions and functions of the *Union Parishad*. The nexus between local and central political leaders makes a *partyarchy* which has shrunk the channel of participation. In addition, leaning to commercial venture, political bifurcation and low civic engagement of CSOs have intensified the problem. Indeed, the CSOs could not exert the demands and expectation of people in the political system at the expected level. To overcome the inertia of CSOs and its constraints of participation, the change is needed at both individual and institutional levels. The connectedness to friends, fellows, neighbors and social organizations will help to create a democratic attitude and social cohesion among the people. Institutional reform is needed, but its institutionalization depends on peoples' democratic participation.

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GLOSSARY

[Followed Bangla transliteration as suggested in *Pramita Bangla Bhashar Byakaron* (A grammar of the standard Bangla language) published by Bangla Academy, Dhaka, 2011]

<i>ajnantimirnashini</i>	name of organization for removing illiteracy
<i>alem</i>	islamic educated person
<i>ashraph</i>	muslim elites who thought themselves upper class in Bengal
<i>atrapph</i>	non-elite muslim
<i>anjuman</i>	society/organization
<i>ashram</i>	place of religious philosopher
<i>awami</i>	people
<i>chaukidar</i>	village police
<i>bara</i>	big
<i>basar-ghar</i>	first night of marriage
<i>bangabandhu</i>	friend of people
<i>bangabhang</i>	division of great Bengal
<i>bangiya</i>	land of Bengal
<i>bhadralok</i>	respected person
<i>bhai</i>	brother
<i>bhatiyali</i>	folk song/boat song
<i>bibaha</i>	marriage
<i>bidhaba</i>	female widow
<i>bhumyadhipati</i>	middleman in the land system
<i>dakhil</i>	secondary level education at the Muslim institution
<i>dakter</i>	doctor
<i>darhia</i>	village game
<i>dihidar</i>	revenue collector
<i>ebtedayi</i>	pre-primary education at Muslim religious institution
<i>gram</i>	village
<i>gramin</i>	rural society
<i>ganamangal</i>	welfare for all
<i>gomasta</i>	servant of landlord
<i>gana</i>	mass
<i>hanaphi</i>	hanaphi is one of the four religious Sunni Islamic schools
<i>hat</i>	market

<i>hita-sadhan</i>	welfare for other
<i>hitaishi</i>	wellbeing for other
<i>jari</i>	one kind of Bangla folk song
<i>jatiya</i>	national
<i>jhupri</i>	slums house where hardcore poor people live
<i>janaja</i>	funeral prayer for a deceased Muslim
<i>jnana-bikashini</i>	name of organization for Knowledge dissemination
<i>janadayini</i>	Knowledge provider
<i>jotdar</i>	small landlord
<i>kancha-ghar</i>	house is made by mud, bamboo and <i>dheu</i> -tin
<i>Kendra</i>	center
<i>loka-sangit</i>	folk song
<i>lungi</i>	common dress of Bangali man
<i>kaji</i>	justice
<i>kabi</i>	poet
<i>kabadi</i>	national game of Bangladesh
<i>kachari</i>	house of landlord for maintaining the revenue system
<i>kartabya</i>	duty
<i>mauja</i>	smallest unit of revenue administration
<i>madakata</i>	drug addiction
<i>madrasa</i>	muslim religious education institution
<i>mahalla</i>	local inhabitant area of town
<i>mela</i>	fair/festival
<i>mahila</i>	women/female/lady
<i>mandali</i>	association
<i>mandir</i>	prayer house of the Hindu religion
<i>mohammedan</i>	follower of the Islamic prophet Muhammad
<i>morhal</i>	village leader
<i>mosque</i>	prayer house of the Muslims religion
<i>murshidi</i>	one kind of devotional Bangla folk song
<i>nari</i>	women/female
<i>nawab</i>	king
<i>nayeb</i>	revenue collector of landlord
<i>nibarani</i>	removing
<i>pakka</i>	brick construction
<i>pallimanggal</i>	village welfare
<i>palligiti</i>	folk song

<i>pala gan</i>	one kind of narrative opera
<i>pargana</i>	administrative unit of land
<i>parishad</i>	council/board
<i>pabnai</i>	inhabitants of Pabna
<i>parda</i>	religious and social practice of female seclusion
<i>paurasabha</i>	tier of city local government
<i>patrika</i>	newspaper
<i>pattanidar</i>	lease holder
<i>panchayet</i>	village council
<i>prantik</i>	peripheral
<i>pabitrata</i>	sanctity
<i>phakir</i>	muslim pious man
<i>rakshini</i>	protection
<i>sadar</i>	centre of the town
<i>sabha</i>	mass meeting
<i>sadhu</i>	hindu pious man
<i>samaj</i>	one kind local village organization/association
<i>samaby</i>	all are equal in association
<i>samiti</i>	cooperative societies
<i>sammelan</i>	grand gathering
<i>sangstha</i>	organization
<i>sat-sangga</i>	company with the highest truth
<i>sanggha</i>	organization
<i>shikksa</i>	education
<i>sahayya</i>	helping
<i>samajik</i>	social
<i>sanskritik</i>	cultural
<i>smriti-raksha</i>	keeping memory of the past
<i>tahshil</i>	land records office
<i>talukdar</i>	small landlord
<i>thanadar</i>	in charge officer of a police station
<i>timirnashak</i>	removing the darkness
<i>unnayan</i>	development
<i>upazila</i>	tier of rural local government
<i>zakat</i>	one kind alms-giving/religious tax in Islam
<i>zamindar</i>	landlord
<i>zila</i>	district administrative unit of government

ABBREVIATIONS

ADB	Asian Development Bank
AL	Awami League
ASA	Association for Social Advancement
BRAC	Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee
BS	Bengali Year
BBS	Bureau of Bangladesh Statistics
BNP	Bangladesh Nationalist Party
CARE	Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere
CNMA	Central National Mohammedan Association
CPD	Centre for Policy Dialogue
CSO	Civil Society Organization
EGP	Employment Generation Program
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GSS	Gana Shahajja Sangstha
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IBS	Institute of Bangladesh Studies
LGI	Local Government Institution
MP	Member of Parliament
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
OT	Oral Testimony
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy
RU	Rajshahi University
SAP	Structural Adjustment Policy
SSP	Social Security Program
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Science
SLR	Secondary Literature Review
TCL	Total Literacy Campaign

TK	Taka
TMSS	Thengamara Mahila Sabuj Sangha
UDCC	Union Development Coordination Committee
UGC	University Grants Commission
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UP	Union Parishad
UPL	University Press Limited
UN	United Nations
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USA	United States of America
VGD	Vulnerable Group Development
VGF	Vulnerable Group Feeding
VO	Village Organization
WC	Ward Committee

Chapter One

Research Groundwork

1.1 Introduction

The development debate, recently, has centered on how civil society organizations (CSOs) might contribute to democratic consolidation as an intermediary sector between state and private sphere. Political scientists are more devoted to the democratization of political institutions rather than classical democratic issues such as mass movements, political elites, military, etc. But it is a hard reality that the political institutions of Bangladesh did not become institutionalized yet. At the inception of independence, people are committed to and have repeatedly fought for the ideal of a British style of parliamentary system of government based on the principle of mass franchise. For most of its history, however, this ideal has never been given a fair chance to work due to the country's repeated periods of authoritarian and military-bureaucratic (Ahmed, 1995). Even when the system has been restored, a combination of weak institutions, patrimonial politics, personalized political parties, patron-client relationships, and absence of political consensus have resulted in a partial democracy dominated by pervasive corruption, a lack of transparency, norm-less behavior, an absence of public accountability and political instability (Kochanek, 2000). Periodic election did not give the guarantee of human rights, tolerance, liberal nature of the state, corruption and tense free society. On the contrary, Bangladesh has achieved the inspiring economic growth and development with the contribution of mass people.

In this distressing position of democracy in Bangladesh, it is viable Putnam's theorizing the social capital of civil society organizations. It is a virtuous circle about how the CSOs generate social capital, and how social capital in turn promotes democracy. The CSOs give the sphere of community people to interact with each other, sharing norms, values and information, creating generalized trust, reciprocity, cooperation and coordination. In a word, these are known as social capital, which Tocqueville (1840) treats them as 'socializing virtues'¹. These social virtues thrive on democracy and existing political

¹ Alexis de Tocqueville, in his noted work 'Democracy in America' (volume-I 1835, & volume-II, 1840), writes about 'social virtue' of voluntary organizations which facilitates the citizen to participate in democratic process and collective action. Inherent social virtue of individuals generates from social organizations through civic engagement that lubricates democratic values.

institutions. The performance of government institutions depends on the people's participation. The CSOs of the society make competent and democratic citizen who participates in the functions of government institutions directly and indirectly where social capital works as a blood vein. Like other developing countries, old and new CSOs work in Bangladesh. There was a long tradition of old CSOs in Bangladesh. They had enormous contributions in social fabrication and ensuring democratic rights; e.g. language movement in 1952. Most of them have been disappeared from the society. Very few of them survive with moribund position.

The new CSOs have emerged through two phases in Bangladesh. In post liberation period, a number of voluntary groups worked in periphery for rehabilitation and reconstruction in rural area. Later, most of them have been transformed into large NGOs by the blessing of donor agencies. Second phase starts after the collapse of socialist countries in Eastern Europe and former Soviet Union. Donor-agencies and international organizations come to a point that the CSOs would promote democracy as third sector between government and markets all over the world. Again a number of CSOs grow in Bangladesh including advocacy NGOs. They are known as "new type of CSOs i.e. NGOs in the rural areas" (Majumder, 2006, p. 155). These new oriented CSOs are working here for more than three decades, but democracy in Bangladesh is not consolidated yet. Could not they play their due role to make social capital, which ensures cooperation, coordination and collective action and turns into democratic consolidation?

Local government is a practice ground of democracy which works as a service window of central government. *Union Parishad* is the nearest political institution to the villagers. The Local Government Act 2009 (*Union Parishad*) has given the vast scope of CSOs to participate in the *Ward Sabha*, open budget discussion, beneficiary's committee of *Union Parishad*, etc. In fact, the vision of this Act is to make a *Ward Sabha* as direct people's assembly and ensuring the accountability of Union Parishad through the people's participation and CSOs. The present study has explored the nature of social capital of CSOs and its influence on the village society and the activities of *Union Parishad* in the perspective of social cohesion and democratic consolidation.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

New history has been opened up after the collapse of the communist bloc in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union in 1990s. At the same time, a question has come how democracy would be consolidated. Since then, the CSO has become the policy language of donor agencies and international development organizations. They have pushed the idea of civil society as an enhancer of good governance in developing countries. UNDP has identified the CSOs as potential allies in their pro-poor, pro-people and pro-planet development philosophy (Policy Frame, 1995). Thus CSOs become as “the ideal elixir to counter the ills of contemporary world” (Chandhoke, 2007, p. 609). In post Washington Consensus² arranged by the World Bank declares that governments of the developing countries are backward, so that government would share its functions with CSOs. They consider the NGOs sector as the sole organizations of the civil society, ignoring the old tradition of CSOs. But, democracy did not become consolidated in these countries yet like Bangladesh.

The most celebrated and influential task so far is Robert Putnam’s ‘Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy’, which was the study of two regions - North and South as hailed seminal, epochal and path-breaking (Putnam, 1993). He finds that the performance of Northern political institutions is better than the South because of the density of voluntary organizations. According to him, these organizations have created norms, trust, reciprocity, shared values and networks among the citizens that lubricate co-operation, co-ordination and collective action in the society. The density of CSOs in Bangladesh is high. In 2010, a World Bank Study cited official statistics stating that there were 206,000 non-for-profit organizations in the country. Besides, there are many CSOs that are locally resourced and, therefore, do not feature in official statistics (Lewis, 2011). But, the participation of CSOs in the functions of government institutions is not vigilant to ensure good governance.

² Washington Consensus means the policy advice by Washington-based institutions such as International Monetary Fund, World Bank, U.S. Treasury Department and so on for recovering the economic recession of 1980s and development acceleration of developing countries.

Community organizations and voluntary approach is a long tradition of Bangladesh. Self-help village organizations were common, such as *Pallimanggal Samities*, *Palli Hitosadhon Samiti* (village Welfare Societies) *Anjuman Islam* from the 1930s and onwards. “The mid 1940s was the take off phase for Bangladesh CSOs” (Ahmed, 2011, p. 6). Self-help groups, *Samaby Samiti* (cooperative societies), peasant’s organization, cultural organizations, professional associations, youth sports club, women's organizations and so on were developed in both rural and urban areas. Moreover, group voluntary works were undertaken by citizens with the support of local schools, *mosques* and government agencies during natural disasters. Religious charity also played a role in the form of the Islamic duty *Zakat*, Hindu tradition of providing food to *Sadhus* and *Phakirs* (Zaidi, 1970). Many of them participated resistance movement against the colonial and internal colonial regimes (1757-1947, 1947-1971). The sources of their resistant power were unity, cooperation, trust and solidarity which were formulated through engagement and interactions where CSOs worked as a public sphere. The organization of religious life also played a role in framing the meaning of civil society in this region (Lewis, 2005). Indeed, it took the shape of a nationalist civil society rooted in the democratic struggle for autonomy and eventually independence (Rahman, 1999). Most of the ‘old’ CSOs were absorbed into the post-1971 state effectively (Lewis, 2005). “Due to the decline of the ‘old’ tradition of civil society in rural areas, where most of the people still live, have become almost excluded from the civil society paradigm in Bangladesh” (Majumder, 2006, p. 155).

After devastating cyclone in 1970 the liberation war in 1971 and, a considerable number of voluntary groups and associations worked for the rehabilitations and constructions in the periphery of Bangladesh. Later, most of the voluntary organizations were transformed into new types of CSOs (NGOs) with new ideas and resources. The new CSOs used different strategic manner to achieve the targets. They are more known as NGOs such as Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC), *Gana Shahajjo Sangstha* (GSS), *Nari Unnayan Samiti*, Association for Social Advancement (ASA), *Thengamara Mahila Sabuj Sangha* (TMSS), etc. Providing micro credit to the poor, community health care, expansion of education, protecting human rights, and organization for landless, etc. were the activities in the

villages. Again rampant growth of CSOs appeared in 1990s with the blessing of donor agencies. During this period, international aid efforts linked the local activists and entrepreneurs with ideas and fund for the formation of CSOs. “Huge aid comes from donor agencies that is why Bangladesh is treated an aid industry” (Lewis, 1993, p. 101). These are mostly human rights organizations, women’s rights organizations, advocacy groups, protecting environment, etc. For their ideas and working nature, a set of new vertical relationships emerges between beneficiaries and agents of NGOs in the rural areas (Hasan, 1993; Lewis, 1993). Their works in rural areas spread very rapidly due to the malfunctioning of government. However, “their role as one of civil society has not been beyond controversy” (Kabir, 2002, p. 27). However, it is unknown to us how much the new CSOs are playing a significant role in constructing social cohesion among the people.

In general, most of the new CSOs led by a single entrepreneurial founder-leader. As a result, a new vertical relationship between the local people and external service provider has created (Hasan, 1993). It is recognized that “democracy is anchored upon civil society, it thrives, while in its absence it languishes” (Putnam, 1993, p. 182). Although a considerable number of old and new CSOs are working here; nevertheless democracy is treated ‘partial’ (Kochanek, 2000). The CSOs of the society are civic engagement place where people can gain physical (money, materials, building, etc.), human (skill, knowledge, creativity, etc.) and social capital (trust, norms of reciprocity, values, networks, etc.). The social capital of CSOs influences the functions of local government institutions. Through the collective participation of people CSOs ensure the accountability of the representatives. The Local Government Act 2009 (*Union Parishad*) has given vast avenues to participate in open forum - *Ward Sabha* and open budget discussion of UP to establish it as a democratic practice ground. Few questions have been arisen through the statement as: What are the inner drawbacks of CSOs towards establishing vibrant democracy in Bangladesh? What are the internal and external causes of dissolving the old CSOs? How much are the new CSOs capable of producing social capital in the society? What is the role of social capital of new CSOs in democratic consolidation?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

In the light of the statement and research questions, the main objective of the study is to explore the nature of social capital in new CSOs and its effect on the democratic consolidation in Bangladesh. To attain this goal, three specific objectives are stated as follows:

- (i) To find out the tradition of old civil society organizations (CSOs) (1830s-1971) in Bangladesh and inception of its democratic notion
- (ii) To investigate the nature of social capital of new CSOs and its effect on the social cohesion and
- (iii) To analyze the performance of CSOs in democratic consolidation through the formation of social capital and its influence on the *Union Parishad* (tier of local government).

1.4 Mapping of the Study Concept

This study has explored the nature of social capital of the civil society organizations (CSOs) and its influence on the social cohesion and democratic consolidation in Bangladesh. Considering the defined objectives of the study, CSOs, social capital, social cohesion and democratic consolidation are the theoretical aspects of the research. These four concepts are interlinked with each other which have been framed here. The mapping of these concepts is given below.

1.4.1 Social Capital

Social capital is a concept of early nineteenth century, but its appeal has been recognized by the researchers since 1990s. The origins and the intellectual history of this concept can be traced back to thinkers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and has deep and diverse roots in philosophy, economics, sociology, anthropology and political science literature (Grootaert and Bastelaer, 2002; Healy and Hampshire, 2002; Adam and Roncevic, 2003). The core essence of social capital can be found in the writings of many great scholars/philosophers such as Aristotle, John Locke, Rousseau, Emile Durkheim, Karl Marx, Alexis de Tocqueville, J. S. Mill, Ferdinand Tonnies, Max Weber, Georg Simmel, Adam Smith, and others. J. Hanifan (1916, p. 130) who was state supervisor of rural schools in West

Virginia of the United States of America (USA) coined the term social capital and ascertain the impact of community involvement in successful schools. He explained as:

“.....These tangible substances count for most in the daily lives of a person; namely, good will, fellowship, mutual sympathy and social intercourse among a group individuals and families who make up a social unit, the rural community, whose logical center is the school”.

He also explained the benefit of social capital at the individual and community level:

“The individual is helpless socially, if left entirely to himself. Even the association of the members of one’s own family fails to satisfy that desire which every normal individual has of being with his fellows, of being a part of a larger group than the family. If he may come into contact with his neighbor, and they with other neighbors, there will be an accumulation of social capital, which may immediately satisfy his social needs and which may bear a social potentiality sufficient to the substantial improvement of living conditions in the whole community”.

Two features are visible from this statement; one is social unit which encompasses people’s goodwill, fellowship, sympathy and social intercourse gives better living condition. And another is social capital which gives both private benefits and positive externalities. After his connotation, the idea of social capital was latent for long days. Woolcock and Narayan (2000, p. 229) have given subsequent historical development and recent arena of social capital.

“After Hanifan the idea of social capital disappeared for several decades but was reinvented in the 1950s by a team of Canadian urban sociologists (Seeley, Sim and Loosely, 1956), in the 1960s by an exchange theorist (Homans, 1961) and an urban scholar (Jacobs, 1961), and in the 1970s by an economist (Loury, 1977). None of these writers, interestingly, cited earlier work on the subject, but all used the same umbrella term to encapsulate the vitality and significance of community ties. The seminal research by Coleman (1988) on education and by Putnam (1993) on civic participation and institutional performance, however, has provided the inspiration for most of the current work, which has since coalesced around studies in nine primary fields: families and youth behavior; schooling and education; community life (virtual and civic); work and organizations; democracy and governance; collective action; public health and environment; crime and violence; and economic development”.

The concept of social capital is popularized by Putnam in 1993, before those sociologists Pierre Bourdieu (1986) and Coleman (1988) have elaborated the concept of social capital in the discipline of sociology. Sociologist Bourdieu (1986, p. 249) has coined it as:

“The aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or other words, to membership in a group which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a credential which entitles them to credit, in the various sense of the word”.

According to the definition there is essentiality of social capital in the field of sociology and economics to aggregate actual or potential resources. It depends on the network and group formation of a given society. Each member of the community gains collectivity-owned capital. This capability depends on individual's possession of social capital, which again relates to the size of the network of connections. According to Bourdieu (1986) the volume of the social capital possessed by a given agent depends on the size of the network of connections he can effectively mobilize and on the volume of capital (economic, cultural or symbolic) possessed in his own right by each of those to whom he is connected. Two characteristics appear from the concept of Bourdieu. It, first, is a resource that is connected with group membership and social networks. Another, second, is mutual cognition and recognition.

Sociologist James S. Coleman (1990, p. 98) explains social capital in terms of social action. For an analytical explanation he, firstly, has introduced sociological and economic intellectual streams. He identifies the flaws of these two theories. He, then, defines social capital by its function of nature as:

"It is not a single entity, but a variety of different entities, with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors - whether persons or corporate actors - within the structure. Like other forms of capital, social capital is productive, making possible the achievement of certain ends that in its absence would not be possible. Like physical capital and human capital, social capital is not completely fungible, but may be specific to certain activities. A given form of social capital that is valuable in facilitating certain actions may be useless or even harmful for others."

In his writing, he also explains others capital and link these to social capital. According to him social capital comes about through changes in the relations among persons that facilitate action. If physical capital is wholly tangible, being embodied in observable material form, and human capital is less tangible, being embodied in the skills and knowledge acquired by an individual, social capital is less tangible yet, for it exists in the relations among persons. Just as physical capital and human capital facilitate productivity, social capital does as well.

Robert D. Putnam is a political scientist who has written two path breaking books on social capital and democracy: (i) *Making Democracy Work: Civic Tradition in Modern Italy* and (ii) *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. Through these works,

he has popularized and emphasized social capital theory in democratic and stable society. Putnam (1993, p. 167) have mentioned the features of social capital in his book *Making Democracy Work*:

“Social capital refers to features of social organization, such as trust, norms, and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions”.

Putnam (2000, p. 19) explains how social capital effects on individual and group productivity like physical and human capital.

“Whereas physical capital refers to physical objects and human capital refers to the properties of individuals, social capital refers to connections among individuals—social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arises from them. In that sense social capital is closely related to what some have called ‘civic virtue’. The difference is that ‘social capital’ calls attention to the fact that civic virtue is the most powerful when embedded in a dense network of reciprocal social relations. A society of many virtuous, but isolated individuals is not necessarily rich in social capital”.

First two kinds of capital are individual asset and the third one is a common resource of the society, which builds through citizen interactions and engagement. It is an inherent characteristic of social organization, group and association such as trust, norms and networks. The social network is the core idea of social capital that has value like other capitals. Simultaneously, it is private resource and public resource. Generally it is directed toward benevolent. For its benevolent nature, it has mammoth consequences on mutual support, cooperation, trust and institutional effectiveness. It allows citizens to resolve collective problems easily. People often might be better off if they cooperate with each other. It also greases the wheels that allow communities to advance smoothly. Where people are trusting and trustworthy, and where they are subject to repeated interactions with fellow citizens, everyday business and social transactions are less costly. Indeed, social capital improves people’s lot by widening their awareness many ways in which their fates are linked. When people lack connection to others, they are unable to test the veracity of their own views, whether in the give or take of casual conversation or in more formal deliberation. Without such an opportunity, people are more likely to be swayed by their worst impulses.

Two dimensions of social capital are visible in all societies such as (i) structural social capital, which facilitates mutually beneficial collective action through established roles and social networks supplement by rules, procedures and precedents, etc. and (ii) cognitive social capital includes shared norms, values, attitudes and beliefs, etc. which create mutual collective action among the community people. Structural and cognitive dimensions of social capital are given below.

Table 1.1: Complementary Categories of Social Capital

	Structural	Cognitive
Sources and manifestations	Roles and rules Networks and other interpersonal relationships Procedures and precedents	Norms Values Attitudes Beliefs
Domains	Social organization	Civic culture
Dynamic factors	Horizontal linkages Vertical linkages	Trust, solidarity, cooperation, generosity
Common elements	Expectations that lead to cooperative behavior which produces mutual benefits	

Source: Norman Uphoff (2000, p. 221)

Renowned political scientist Francis Fukuyama (2001, p. 7) has defined the notion of social capital:

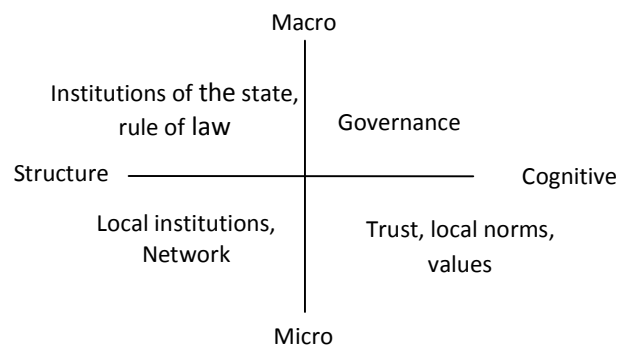
“Social capital is an instantiated informal norm that promotes co-operation between two or more individuals. The norms that constitute social capital can range from a norm of reciprocity between two friends all the way up to complex and elaborate articulated doctrines like Christianity or Confucianism. They must be instantiated in an actual human relationship: the norm of reciprocity exists in potential in my dealings with all people, but is articulated only in my dealings with my friends. By this definition, trust, networks, civil society, and the like, which have been associated with social capital, are all epiphenomenal, arising as a result of social capital but not constituting social capital itself”.

In fact, he defines social capital as an instinct and informal norm that makes cooperation between individuals. In the economic sphere, it reduces transaction costs, and in the political sphere, it promotes the kind of associational life which is necessary for the success of limited government and modern democracy.

Lucian Pye (1999) explains very detail that every society has its own rules of civility that ensures social order leading to the integration of a functioning society. In such society, social capital builds upon the norms of civility. It involves the most general norms of personal interactions; social capital determines the potential for reaching community and national goals collectively; and civil society provides the critical bases for articulation and aggregate of interests essential for pluralistic democracy.

Grootaert and Bastelaer (2002) have illustrated the social capital with the approach of micro, macro, cognitive and structure. The figure of their explanation is given below.

Figure 1.1: Forms and Scope of Social Capital



Source: Grootaert and Bastelaer, 2002, p. 4

Woolcock (1998) and Putnam (2000) have divided the patterns of social capital on the basis of nature such as bonding, bridging and linking. Bonding social capital refers to the intra-community ties that members can depend on the situations of need. Such ties can be sources of valuable services, ranging from house minding to job referrals and emergency cash (Wallis, Killerby and Dollery, 2004). Generally it denotes strong tie among the community people in similar situations. Even it may happen in family, close friends and neighbor's strata to achieve a common purpose. In a society or community, social group bonding performs essential protection, risk management and solidarity functions. Structural and cognitive relationship among the different social capital and its contribution are given below very precisely.

Table 1.2: Types of Social Capital and Contributed Area

<u>Types of Social Capital</u>	<u>Nature of Relationship</u>	<u>Contributed to</u>
Bonding Ties among people who are similar to each other in certain Horizontal respects (age, sex, ethnicity social class)	Horizontal	Norms of reciprocity, trust, cooperation, collective action
Bridging Ties among people who are different from one another or organization to organization	Horizontal	Social cohesion, democratic dialogue, civic identity, greater collective action, cooperation and common betterment
Linking Ties with those in authority	Vertical	Democratic life, responsive public services, legitimacy of public institutions

Source: Restructured from Putnam (2000) and Jochum *et al.* (2005)

Bridging social capital denotes ties among the members of different groups, organizations and associations to achieve greater purposes. Bonding ties work as sole agent of such type of bridging in the community. Bridging refers to the inter-community ties which cross social divides, such as ethnicity, gender and socioeconomic status. Although these are unlikely to be as strong as the intra-community ties that give rise to bonding social capital, it would seem that a combination of both is required to open up a path of economic advancement (Wallis, Killerby and Dollery, 2004). The bridging success story in Bangladesh was the immunization program. In the mid-1980s the Bangladesh government invited two large NGOs, namely Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC) and the Co-operative for American Relief Everywhere (CARE), to use their connections with other NGOs and the grassroots groups to communities they served to mobilize families to have their children vaccinated (Hussain, 1991).

Linking social capital denotes ties between or among the people in dissimilar position. It may be organizational and community level. In organization, rules and regulations define the relation among each other. Vertical hierarchy exists to achieve the targets. At community level, vertical relation exists. Those who belong power structure and outside of the power structure.

Therefore, social capital is, simultaneously, public as well as a private resource, which is different from physical and human capital for its instinctive nature. It lubricates

cooperation, coordination and collective action for achieving common goals. This goal may be at community to national levels. It encompasses the broad range areas of social resources such as bridging, bonding and linking, from where people of a society get together by virtue of the mutual sense of trust, network, reciprocity, cooperation, relationship, friendship, interactions, solidarity, inclusion, participation, information and communication, groups and association.

1.4.2 Civil Society

Theory of liberals articulates the concept of civil society during the transformation of eighteenth century Europe. Charles Taylor (1990) identifies two traditions, one deriving from John Locke and the other from Montesquieu. Both philosophers wanted to limit the potential despotism of the state. In Locke's metaphor, the existence of society was present before the formation of government. People lived in a pre-political community under natural law. In this social sphere, they cooperated and respected each other. In course of time, they felt the need for a common judge and government. They contracted among themselves to establish a government which would be accountable to them. They also kept the rights to change the government if it steps out of line. From this metaphor, their conception was a self directing society, limited state and civil society as a source of resistance to the state.

French thinkers Montesquieu and his disciple Alexis de Tocqueville were also against the absolutist state in two ways (i) making constitution with definite laws, and (ii) creating independent bodies to protect the absolute power of government. According to Montesquieu, independent bodies mean the towns and estates of medieval Europe, which were centers of peoples' activities. For Alexis de Tocqueville, independent bodies were local associations of citizens "acting together in the affairs of daily life" (Tocqueville, 1840, p. 521).

Third tradition is explored by Friedrich Hegel as a market force of society, but distinct from economic life. According to his view, an individual alone cannot achieve his self-serving interests. Each member of society is interdependent, which carries the seeds of community feeling. Hegel opines that civil society is a necessary stage for the formation of

a state. Karl Marx's view is opposite to Hegel. He treats the civil society as the source of power of the state, which is the instrument of exploitation and domination. Later, Antonio Gramsci has given a new dimension of Marx's explanation. For him, intellectual and cultural organizations of a country create non-violent mode of hegemony.

The concept of civil society was dormant in the nineteenth century in social science literature. This discourse revives as consensus concept and a recipe of democracy after the collapse of the socialist states in Eastern and Central Europe. Multilateral and donor agencies have been perceived civil society as a panacea to remove all diseases of democracy. According to them, political parties, trade unions and political institutions are bureaucratic, unresponsive and more concerned with the pursuit of power. In this perspective, civil society organizations have become an alternative avenue to the leaders of developing countries.

1.4.3 Civil Society Organizations (CSOs)

Civil Society also means the civic organization which is formed by the people to achieve their defined or non-defined objectives. It does not fulfill the demands like state organ or business organization. Its sphere is different from the political society and economic society. The term civil society stands in the realm of organized social life that is voluntary, self-generating, (largely) self supporting, autonomous from the state, and bound by a legal order or set of shared rules (Diamond, 1999). Political society is separated, which comprises political parties, state agencies and the government. And the sphere of economic society refers largely to profit business and firms. Notwithstanding the definitional debate exists among scholars, civil society is specific groups or not that belong inside and outside of civil society's organizational walls (Encarnacion, 2003).

The conceptually civil society is open and elastic that includes virtually everything as we know the part of social life. It encapsulates the space of non-coerced human association and also the set of relational networks formed for the sake of family, faith, interest and ideology (Walzer, 1995). Civil society is a neutral term; it may create democratic values or not in society. Even the associations of civil society can be good or bad for the society.

Since 1990s, the political concept of civil society has become the language of development. It is taken to mean a realm or space in which there exists a set of organizational actors which are not a part of the household, state or market. These organizations form a wide-ranging group which includes associations, people's movements, citizens' group, consumer associations, small producer associations, women's organizations, indigenous peoples' organizations – and of course NGOs. Since this array of organizations and associations is public without being official, civil society advocates argue that it enables citizens to debate and take action around public issues without overt direction by the state (Lewis & Kanji, 2009, p. 121).

As a development policy language, the civil society is the concept of the third sector that plays key role between state and market. It is relatively new idea to play role in capitalistic society. It originated with Etzioni's (1961) sociological study of how people become involved in organizations, and the different kinds of power relationships which determine three basic organizational forms. The means used to achieve compliance within organizations usually takes one of three main forms: coercive, which is the application or threat of physical sanctions, such as pain or restrictions on the freedom of movement; remunerative based on control over material resources and rewards such as wages or benefits; and normative based on the manipulation of symbolic rewards, persuasion and appeals to shared values and idealism. Each can be equated with government, business and 'third sector' organization respectively. While third sector organizations are diverse, Etzioni suggests that they rely mainly on normative power to achieve compliance, since they build the commitment of workers, volunteers and members through emphasizing the provision of symbolic reward. This conceptual framework helped to build the idea of the third sector as a loose, residual category of organizations that are neither government nor for profit business, but which are instead held together mainly by the glue of value-driven action and commitment (Lewis, 2007). Civil society is popular idea as third sector to ensure governance in the developing countries.

Civil society encompasses a vast array of formal and informal organizations. These include groups that are economic, cultural, informational and educational, interest based, developmental, and issue oriented, civic and so on (Diamond, 1994). These

organizations not only seek from the state concessions, benefits, policy changes, relief, redress or accountability, but also generate social capital which executes common dream of people. Indeed, CSOs of the society are the entity for civic engagement that creates the environment for sharing trust, norms of reciprocity and networking.

1.4.4 Social Cohesion

The concept of social cohesion is a multidimensional notion, which is now the central goal from social scientists to policy makers. Social cohesion is viewed as characteristics of society dealing with the connections and relationships between societal units such as individuals, groups, associations as well as territorial units (McCracken, 1998). The sociologist Emile Durkheim was the first man who used the concept of social cohesion in the development arena. He considered social cohesion as an ordering feature of a society and defined it as the interdependence between the members of the society, shared loyalties and solidarity (Jenson, 1998). Jenson (1998) mentions five dimensions of social cohesion such as belonging, inclusion, participation, recognition and legitimacy. Berger-Schmitt (2000) has drawn two dimensions to understand social cohesion (i) the reduction of disparities, inequalities and social exclusion and (ii) the strengthening of social relations, interactions and ties. Social cohesion encompasses broad spectrum, which is used to understand the communities or societies. The social cohesion becomes strength through the more frequency of reciprocity, collective actions, exchanging values, ideas and mutual cooperation. Members of the community feel unity and solidarity. The social capital of CSOs has inherent nexus with social cohesion.

1.4.5 Democratic Consolidation

The concept of democracy is derived from the ancient Greek words *Demos* and *Kratos*. The former means 'people' while the latter means 'power' respectively. Therefore, democracy stands for the power of the people. Democracy has become a universal political system in the 21st century, is an outcome of 18th century's French Revolution, 19th century's Industrial Revolution and 20th century's collapse of the socialist bloc in Eastern Europe. After the inception of democracy in Europe, the Asian people followed this trend as their political system. It is not the concrete idea, but fluid and kaleidoscope one. System of democracy varies country to country. It is adjusted to the values of that

country. But few features of democracy are same across the world such as people's participation and rulers' accountable to the people. However, democracy is not an unmitigated blessing. Dating back to Aristotle who had even less sympathy for democracy, the best form of government is mixed or constitutional, in which freedom is constrained by the rule of law and popular sovereignty is tempered by state institutions that produce order and stability (Almond, 1996). Aristotle writes in his famous book politics (Trans. Benjamin, 1984) thus: when states are democratically governed according to law, there are no demagogues, and the best citizens are securely in the saddle; but where the laws are not sovereign, there you find demagogues. The people become a monarch... such people, in its role as a monarch, not being controlled by law, aims at sole power and becomes like a master.

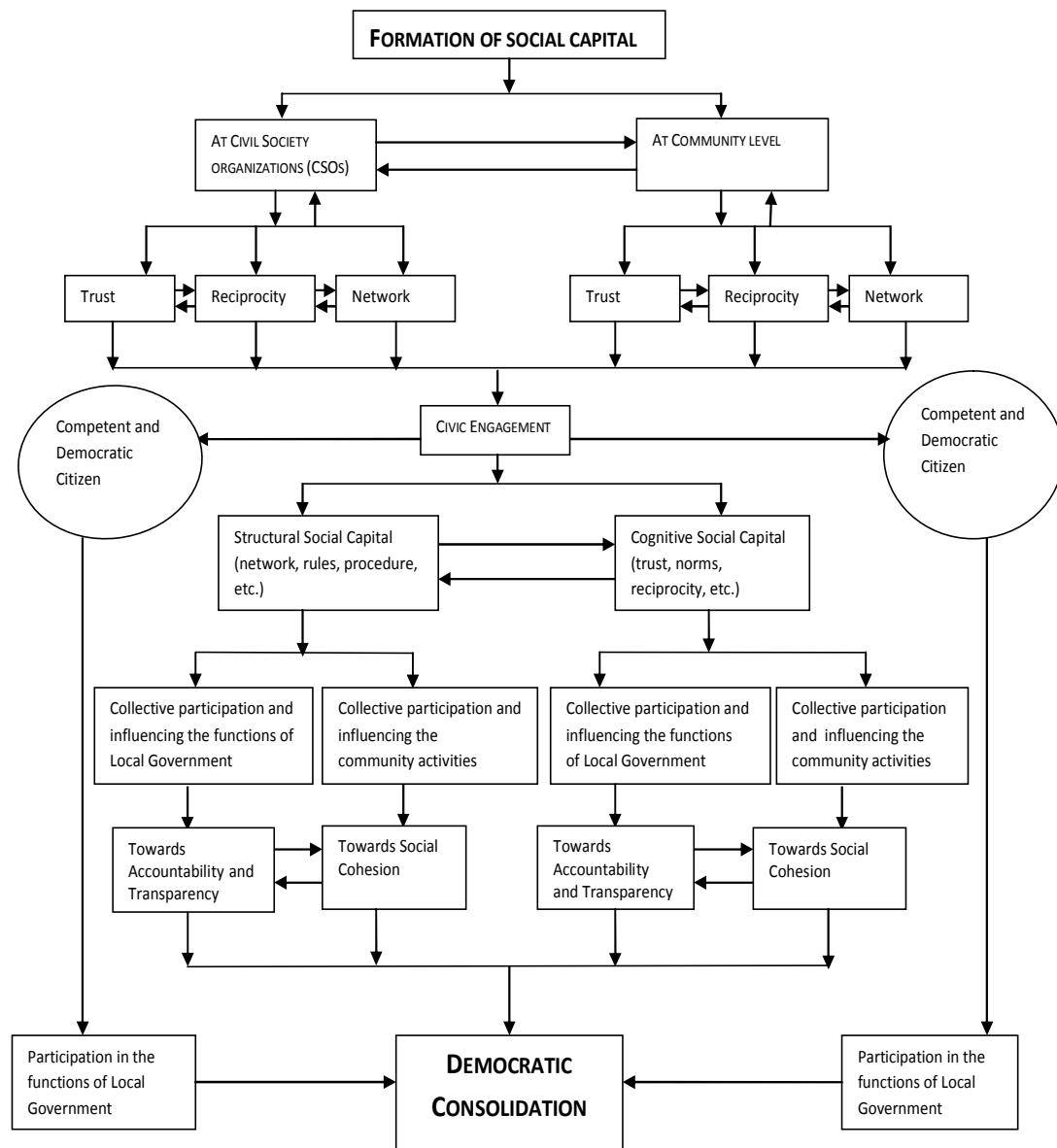
Normatively, accountability of rulers to the ruled and government responsiveness to the diverse interests and preferences of the governed are basic goods (Diamond, 1999). Tocqueville (1840) has suggested three preconditions for establishing democracy (i) voluntary association as mediating institutions (ii) the division of power in the federal system and (ii) relative socioeconomic equality that fostered political participation. Schumpeter (1950) defines democracy as a system "for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote. Lipset (1959) has argued that basic requirements of a stable democracy are (i) a viable system allowing the peaceful play of power, otherwise democracy becomes chaotic (ii) regular awarding of effective authority to one group, otherwise unstable and irrelevant standards rather than democracy will dominant (iii) condition for the existence of an effective opposition, otherwise the authority of the officials in power will steadily increase and popular influence on policy will be at a minimum. The seminal elaboration is Dahl's conception of oligarchy (1971), which has two overt dimensions: opposition (organized constitution through regular, free and fair elections) and participation (the right of virtually all adults to vote and contest for office). Hence, democracy is a political system in which the people are sovereign in the state. They select their representatives through free and fair election and have the right to change them if they work the out of the constitution.

It is recognized that democratic government is accountable through free election with universal suffrage. Much of the political transition literature tends to emphasize free elections as the essence of democracy. It is also recognized that the free election does not necessarily bring about in a high quality democracy, and that are not sufficient in themselves for democratic consolidation to occur (Rose and Shin, 2001; Linz and Stepan, 1996). The growth of democratic culture and democratic institutions both are essential for consolidation of democracy. The recent literatures of democratic consolidation give emphasis intensively and extensively on popular beliefs, attitudes and values about democratic governance (Diamond, 1999; Huntington, 1991; Norris, 1999).

Democratic consolidation is a process by which political institutions become legitimate for participation. It involves behavioral and institutional changes that normalize democratic politics and narrow its uncertainty. This normalization requires the expansion of citizen access, development of democratic citizenship and culture, broadening of leadership recruitment and training, and other functions that civil society performs (Diamond, 1994). Inception of democracy is not last dream, its consolidation is more important, that occurs through establishing civic culture and generating social capital in a society. The CSOs produce democratic values through the civic engagement which accelerate the democratic consolidation process.

1.5 Conceptual Framework of the Study

The present study attempts to deal with three sets of concepts such as social capital, CSOs and democratic consolidation through social cohesion. First part of the study focus on trust, reciprocity and networks of CSOs, which create civic engagement. The second part is the outcome of the first part. Collective participation and influence of CSOs in the functions of local government create pressure on ensuring accountability and transparency. Such types of collective participation and influence are happened in the activities of the community which create social cohesion. In this process, the CSOs often include the community members those who are not the members of CSOs. Hence, a synergistic influence works in the democratic consolidation process. This is the basic concept of the present study, which is depicted in the following figure.

Figure 1.2: Conceptual Framework

Source: Restructured from Putnam (1993 & 2000)

On the basis of the conceptual framework mentioned above the present study has revealed the nature of social capital of CSOs and its influence on the functions of *Union Parishad* as a government institution.

1.6 Literature Review

Although scholars frequently use the term ‘civil society’, ‘social capital’ and ‘democratic consolidation’ in their intellectual discourse, but these concepts are not very clear yet in the development literature. The social capital is a new concept compare to the civil society and democracy. In the democratic society, the social capital of CSOs works as a blood to promote democracy. The CSOs of a community are the place of engagement and interaction from where the citizen of a community gain civic competent and democratic attitude. Creating trust, reciprocity and network accelerate the collective actions for the common betterment in the society, and ensure the participation of people in the functions of government. Very few empirical works have been done on the field of social capital and voluntary organizations in America and Europe. So far my knowledge goes, no empirical research did accomplish on the social capital of CSOs and democratic consolidation in Bangladesh.

A considerable number of research works have been conducted on civil society in Bangladesh. These are concerned with social, economic and political issues of civil society, but not the cognitive issues of civil society. Among them Kendal Stiles (2002), David Lewis (2004) and Nazneen Kanji (2009) worked on the civil society, NGOs and social policy. Though their research works are mostly on the NGOs, they have interpreted the NGOs as a new civil society of Bangladesh. Fahimul Quadir (1999, 2004) gives argument in his work against the positive relation political democratization and economic liberalization. Rahman Sobhan is an international reputed economist and also a prominent liberal scholar on civil society. Debapriya Bhattacharya, who is a public policy analyst and distinguished fellow at the Centre for Policy Dialogue (CPD) is also a scholar in Bangladesh civil society. They have opined that the new CSOs in Bangladesh are large and powerful, and have a contribution in economic and social aspects.

The study titled “Group Norms and the BRAC Village Organization – Enhancing Social Capital, Baseline” (2012) has been done by research and evaluation division of BRAC. Village Organization (VO), a group of female micro-finance clients, was the unit of study. The study finds that frequency of attendance at VO center, trust between the presidents

of VO and GM, payment in schedule of intervention group are better than the control group. Intervention and control groups varied in their knowledge of human rights issues and access to resources. Social capital works in the VO at an abstract level. The study is specifically on the VO of BRAC, which did not include the general CSOs of the village.

“Qualitative Analysis of Social Capital: The Case of Agricultural Extension in Mali” was conducted by Reid and Salmen (2002). The study focuses on the cognitive dimensions of social capital, which is interpersonal trust expressed through the relationships among a society’s members, institutions, and organizations. Later, village cohesion or unity became the issue in the development process. Three high-performance villages showed numerous indicators of social cohesion; whereas three others low performance showed evidence of lack of cohesion. The study reveals that social cohesion is the primary condition for development, and women and women’s association are the important source of social cohesion.

Seminal work of Putnam (1993) on “Making Democracy Work: Civic Tradition in Modern Italy” is described by the Economist as ‘the most important work of social science since Pareto and Max Weber’. The book focuses on the civic traditions and civic engagements in the context of Italian society. Putnam observes in his long empirical study that there is a better democratic performance in north Italy compared to southern Italy and this is attributed to the civil society functioning and the presence of social capital. The author very minutely traces the presence of social capital and identifies how people, in general, get responsive government. He also traces the tradition of Italy to strengthen his argument. Putnam very convincingly explores how presence of social capital gives a better democratic governmental performance. But he does not give extensive attention to civil society organizations.

Chandhoke (1995) is an eminent academic on civil society who has dealt very profoundly with the concept of civil society and state. Her book explores a conceptual history and theoretical groundwork on civil society. The author in her concluding part describes the usefulness of civil society to the individual and shows how civil society is being squeezed by particularistic loyalties and the state. The author said that civil society creates spaces

for the freedom and equality of community people. According to her view civil society is a pre-condition for the practice of democracy and existence of civil society is essential for democratic life. The author very lucidly analyses the different notions of civil society and state.

The second path breaking work of Putnam (2000) is the “Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community” which explores the present condition of American society and democracy. He finds through historical and empirical analysis that over the last three decades a variety of social, economic and technological changes have rendered obsolete a significant stock of American’s social capital. Television, two career families, suburban sprawl, and generational changes in values – these and other changes in American society have meant that fewer and fewer of us find that the League of Women Voters, or the United Way, or the Shrines, or the monthly bridge club, or even a Sunday picnic with friends fits the way we have come to live. Our growing social capital deficit threatens educational performance, safe neighborhoods, equitable tax collection, democratic responsiveness, everyday honesty, and even our health and happiness. The people of American are now less sociable, both formally and informally, than they were in the 1960s. Their civic engagement has been declined drastically. It has appeared in all social tiers. To support his theoretical conclusion, he conducted social surveys and empirical studies and has given evidence to it. The decline of civic participation is attributed to the generation changes. The old generation was more devoted to the work of the common welfare of the society, but the new generation is not inclined to participate in community welfare work. They are more individualistic and materialistic. He writes in his book ‘What is to be done’. Let us find ways to ensure that by 2010 many more Americans will participate in the public life of our communities – running for office, attending public meetings, serving on committees, campaigning in elections, and even voting.

The view of Encarnacion (2003) is opposite to the traditional concept of CSOs. He explores through his work that the number of CSOs does not ensure democratic consolidation in a country. He said that the number of CSOs in Brazil is very large and strong but democracy is weak. On the contrary civil society is weak in Spain, but democracy is strong. In spite of few numbers of CSOs, the performance of government is well. It is true that the CSOs of the

society make social capital that lubricates democratic values and attitude among the people for the consolidation of democracy. He opines that the importance of civil society should be reconsidered in the context of the formation of social capital.

“Generating Social Capital: Civil Society and Institutions in Comparative Perspective” edited by Hooghe and Stolle (2003) contains twelve essays which are written by renowned scholars. The first chapter of this book is a general overview of social capital. Stolle, in the second chapter, explores the current debate about the potential sources of social capital in detail. In the third chapter, Nonna Mayer examines the effects of memberships of voluntary associations in France. Member of classical voluntary associations is concerned. But all civil society does not mean ‘civic’ society if it is not necessarily defined by narrowly. Dag Wolleback and Per Selle examine the active and passive membership of voluntary association in the case of Norway. Both memberships are effective in promoting civic attitudes. Members of the community should participate actively in order to form social capital, which is a social asset for enhancing democratic civic culture. Job Van der Meer writes on the importance of voluntary organizations and their effects on the society. According to him, non-members of the organization may be benefited passively, such as collective action for the common goal of the society. In conclusion, editors add their opinion that voluntary organizations are the limited potential source of social capital, and other institutions may also be an important source of growing civic attitudes.

Das (2004) has worked at two places in Cuttack district of Orrissa State in India to find out how voluntary organizations involve in achieving Total Literacy Campaign (TLC) policy at grass-root level. Social capital forms in the society through the interactions among the community members, whether it facilitates coordination actions or not. He finds through his research that voluntary organizations can play important role in the success of government policy. Formal voluntary associations/NGOs are reluctant to associate themselves with the TLC program. On the other hand, informal organizations or groups of people are more active and have rendered their service for the community welfare. The study does not find the causes of reluctance of formal organizations/NGOs to involve community welfare.

The landmark work of Almond and Verba's (1963) "The Civic Culture" has elucidated the political attitudes and democracy of five nations. They have classified three political cultures such as parochial, subject and participant. This classification is based on the input objects, output objects and self as active participants. Besides these political cultures, they have said about a civic culture which is an elegant participant culture. Individuals are not only oriented to political input; they are also oriented positively to the input structures and the input process. Norms of citizen behavior and their democratic attitudes are the sole elements of civic culture. The chapter 10 of this book deals the social relations and cooperation where they have tried to show how social attitudes relate to political attitudes. Political attitudes mean civic cooperation which the propensity to work with others in attempting to influence the government. Chapter 11 deals with the organizational membership and civic competence. According to their findings, there is a coherent relation between associational membership and civic competence. The existence of association increases the democratic potential in a society. This book discusses the norms of the citizen with the view of democratic citizens. This book does not delineate social capital and democratic consolidation.

Bourdieu (1986) as a sociologist elaborates the social capital theory through his writing "The Forms of Capital". He explains the idea of social capital that is the aggregation of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition. He has distinguished three forms of capital: economic, cultural and social. Members of a society do not possess same resources and power. Indeed, the process of resource acquiring depends on social factors such as agents, labor, group, commodities, etc. He argues that social capital is based on two factors such as social groups and social networking which gives opportunity to acquire resources. Network and group formation are the main sole of social capital. But he does not present social capital formation at organization and community level.

Coleman (1988) was a sociologist who brought the term social capital in wider perspective through his noted writing "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital". He starts his writing with the critics of two intellectual streams regarding the social

action explanation. In sociological attitude, social action is happening with environment modes and circumstances, and has 'no engine of action.' According to economic and intellectual stream, social action is completed by achieving 'maximizing' utility. Both streams are discarded by him on the logic of micro-social relations. He shapes the definition of social capital, which consists of different entities. These entities facilitate certain actions of actors-whether persons or corporate actors - within the structure. He has also shown how social capital forms in economic and non-economic sector on the basis of micro-social relations. Just as physical capital and human capital facilitate productive activity, social capital does as well. He also claims that social capital has an effect on human capital. Both social capitals in family and community level play roles in the creation of human capital in the rising generation.

Newton (1997) starts his writing by picking out three dimensions of social capital and their effects on society with three models. He explains the role of voluntary organizations in the formation of social capital. For the support of his argument he mentions the 9th century's Tocqueville school that modern democracy is based on the different forms of trust and association. In the article of "Trust, Social Capital, Civil Society and Democracy" (2001), he includes two case studies-Japan and Finland. The result of the case study is different from the powerful tradition of thought that individuals' trust does not depend on the density of associational network. However, at the aggregate national level, there is an evidence to support the theory, and the author concludes that the classic theory is correct but needs modification and qualification.

Civility, social capital and civil society are mentioned by Lucian Pye (1999) in his writing, which are key building blocks of democratic theory. Civility involves the most general norms of personal interaction; social capital determines the potential for reaching community and national goals collectively, and civil society provides the critical basis for the articulation and aggregation of interests essential for pluralistic democracy. To him the Asian 'values' is different from to western. In Europe, democratic institutions have flourished with the economic growth, in Asia economic growth is being achieved in certain level but political institutions are still authoritarian in nature. According to him

the Asian cultures have elaborated standards of personal civility, but they are strikingly weak in the areas of impersonal interaction which is most important for democratic political culture. The fact is that the norms of civility, the forms of social capital, and the structures of civil society differ from country to country in Asia, as well as from the western countries, means that the evolution toward democracy in each country will have distinctive characteristics.

Fukuyama (2001) has given importance of social capital in two aspects; functioning in modern economics and stable in liberal democracy. In the economic sphere, it reduces transaction costs, and in political sphere it promotes the kind of associational life which is necessary for the success of limited government and modern democracy. According to him traditional social groups create weak ties rather than modern society groups. He adds that one of the most weaknesses of the social capital concept is the absence of consensus on how to measure it. At least two broad approaches have been taken: the first, to conduct a census of groups and group membership in a given society, and the second, to use survey data on levels of trust and civic engagement. He suggests another metric to measure social capital within private firms. The state can take initiative to increase the stock of social capital through education, protection private properties, leaving space for social organizations. He also adds that religion and globalization may be important sources of social capital.

Chong-Min Park (2003) works on "Quality of Local Government and Democratic Citizenship" in Korea. He has measured the quality of local government in the light of civic culture and social capital theory. For this reason, he has analyzed the political and social attitudes as well as the behavior of local residents in five selected cities. The analysis, which is based on an interview survey, reveals that there is broad support for local self-governance. Nonetheless, public perceptions of the efficiency and autonomy of local government are largely negative in nature. Popular involvement in local politics and voluntary associations is low, and a sense of citizen empowerment is lacking. Overall, the quality of local government and democratic citizenship in Korea is found to remain far short of democratic ideals. The findings of his study recognize that local democracy of

Korea is still now in electoral stage, and not yet fully consolidated. The civic culture and social capital did not flourish as much as to ensure democratic vibrancy and consolidation.

Wallis, Killerby and Dollery (2004) present the “Social economics and social capital” concept elaborately in their writing. The article picks the development history and current field of social capital. It tries to examine empirical work on the purported link between social capital and economic performance. Government’s social and economic policy can be accelerated with bridging community and neighborhood organizations. There is an abounded opportunity to foster social capital at the micro level. NGOs can work at bridging organizations. The article has also picked up the bridging success story of Bangladesh and Pakistan.

Robert Marsh (2005) writes on “Social Capital and Democracy in a New Democracy” that contains to explain several aspects of democratic political behavior and attitudes on the basis of social capital theory in Taiwan. Taiwan made the transition from political authoritarianism to democracy in the late 1980s. Data from representative samples of Taiwan population in 1992 and 1997 show how, in the early phase of democratization, citizens varied in the extent of their democratic political behavior and attitudes. He attempts to explain these variations on the basis of variables drawn from social capital theory, such as participation in voluntary organizations and trust, controlling for individual’s position in the social structure (sex, age, ethnicity, marital status, socioeconomic status, and social class). One participates in more organizations, the more one engages in various forms of democratic political behavior. However, organizational participation has no effect on democratic political attitudes. There is no positive reciprocal relationship between the two key social capital variables of organizational participation and trust. His study was limited only to voluntary organizations. This study did not evaluate the social capital of other organizations in Taiwan’s early democratization.

Majumder (2006) writes on “NGOs-Donors partnership and decaying of the traditional civil society in Bangladesh in post military era” that civil society is important as

intermediary sector between state and market for pluralism, acceptance of diversity of interests and incorporation of heterogeneity into state mechanism. NGOs in Bangladesh backed by the donors have relentlessly been trying to establish a notion that NGO and civil society are synonymous. This claim has created a peculiarity in civil society concept. In this land old civil society organizations were active in democratization and against the authoritarian rule. They were the target of military rule. After, the decaying of old CSOs gave the free space to grow the new CSOs in Bangladesh. In village area, new type of CSOs has created vertical relation between people and entrepreneurs and staff of CSOs. Non-elitist CSOs are essential to strengthen civic awareness in the rural areas, which fits with the reality of Bangladesh.

Tasnim (2007) works on “Civil Society in Bangladesh: Vibrant but not Vigilant”, is the sound study which identifies weakness and constraints of civil society for consolidation of democracy. This dissertation reveals that civil society itself has been penetrated, co-opted, politicized and divided by political parties for influence of government and linkage to the political system. This weakness has extended due to the vertical structure of the CSOs instead of horizontal. Indeed, this combination has reduced their ability to generate democratic norms, articulate interest or minor state actions. But this dissertation did not find the cognitive issues (norms, values, trust and networks) of the CSOs which increase the democratic values and ensure cohesive society.

Kabir’s (2013) work entitled, “Social Capital and Poverty Nexus: Capital (De) Formation through Occupational Based Informal Association in Bangladesh”. The research tries to find the nexus between social capital and poverty. Area of the study was informal associations of Bangladesh. Participation, empowerment and collective action are the three factors to measure social capital formation and its effect on the poverty. According to the findings, the informal associations of the society provide the strength to engage in collective actions and networking where from the poor can enhance his/s capacity, skill and stock of social capital. But the study did not expose the norms of reciprocity, trust and networking level of the members, which are the core issues of social capital.

Diminutive empirical study in Bangladesh has been done by Islam and Morgan (2011) on two leading NGOs programs to find out how they develop social capital and community empowerment. The study selected two specific groups of NGOs members; blacksmiths and goldsmiths from two communities served by those programs. They used the triangular methods to explore the defined objectives. The four elements of social capital and nine domains of community empowerment were taken consideration to measure the social capital formation. The programs of NGOs have been succeeded regarding the formation of social capital and community development. But most the targets did not succeed for political networks, money laundering tendencies and donor dependency of the NGOs.

The study entitled “Rural Women and the Formation of Social Capital in Bangladesh: A Study of Selected Areas in Sirajgonj District” has been conducted by Sarker (2011) to explore the process of social capital formation among women in the Ullapara *Upazila* of Sirajganj district. The research finds the low, medium and high range of social capital among the respondents. Besides, family pattern, educational qualification, connection with organizations, housing pattern and income of individual influence the formation of social capital. Those who have less social capital, they are more excluded from the society while who have high social capital they are less excluded.

Larance’s (1998) study entitled “Banking on Social Capital: What We Have to Learn from Gramin Bank Members”, she tries to find how the weekly group meeting of Gramin Bank has established women’s individual identity, group identity and new networks. In a patriarchal society of Bangladesh, women have very little opportunity to meet others without her kinship members. But as a member of Gramin Bank she attends the center (weekly meeting place) which gives her the opportunity to meet other women. Through this engagement she becomes the members of the community. She exchanges material and non-material issues among the members of the centre. They trust each other and help in times of need. Even they can resolute community conflicts through new networks and friendship. Thus Gramin Bank has given an opportunity to alleviate poverty through providing micro-credit and formation of social capital, which is also one kind of asset.

1.7 New Avenue of the Research

By reviewing the existing literature, it becomes apparent that there is a nexus between social capital of CSOs and its influence on the performance of government functions. Most of the literatures take a narrow view on the structure, objectives, functions and the socio-economic role of CSOs in Bangladesh. Very few studies have touched upon the relation between CSOs and donor agencies, role of CSOs in government policy and strategies, etc. These works do not include the nature of social capital of CSOs and its influence in the functions of government institutions in Bangladesh.

A small number of empirical studies have been done in abroad on the nexus between social capital and the performance of a government institution (Putnam, 1993: Cusack, 1999), but these studies did not focus on the nature of social capital of CSOs and its effect on the social cohesion, conflict resolution, and accountability of the people's representatives. Generally, the CSOs work as a channel for people to place the demands on the political system. After the processing in the political system, the demands become the output. The strength of the CSOs depends on the civic engagement, trust, reciprocity and networking. People gain scope of raising voice, information, democratic attitude, norms of dealings and citizen competent from the CSO, which is known as school of democracy. It is recognized that democratic and competent citizens thrive the institutions of government through participation.

The norms of reciprocity, network and trust of CSOs form social capital, which has influence on the social cohesion through collective actions and involvement in common activities (such as conflict resolution, drug addiction, protection of public goods, neighborhood cooperation, etc.). The social capital influences on the functions of the government institution through participation, and ensures the accountability of that institution. The *Union Parishad* is the grass root institution of government in Bangladesh where CSOs have the opportunity to participate in carrying out its activities collectively. The Act 2009 (*Union Parishad*) provides new avenues such as *Ward Sabha* and open budget discussion forum to place demands and expectations of the people directly.

Since no study includes such issues of social capital and its influence on the performance of government institutions, these are really unknown to date in Bangladesh as well as international.

1.8 Utility of the Research

Since 1990s, social capital of CSOs has become a development phenomenon in the field of social science in Europe, Latin America and America. Scholar Tocqueville had given emphasis on flourishing the civic organizations in the 18th century, while he was traveling the United States of America (USA). He opined that the federal system of the USA is more vibrant for the existence of a number of civic organizations in the society. Robert Putnam (1993) has proved the assumption of Tocqueville through his seminal study 'Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy', that the social capital of voluntary organizations influences and cooperate the functions of political institutions. Now it is well accepted agenda in the development arena. Policy makers and political scientists have given emphasis on establishing the political institutions ignoring civic organizations in Bangladesh. The present study has revealed underlying constraints of CSOs and democratic bottleneck which are essential to political leaders, policy makers, planners and researchers.

One kind of intolerance, mistrust, disarray and social incoherence exists in the social and political sphere. Political institutions could not often translate civic rights and desire of the people. There are political chaos and tense in our politics. The political elites have failed to establish legitimate and viable political communities (Hossain, 1993). The stock of social capital, which leads civic culture, is low in the society. Policy makers of Europe have overwhelmingly adopted the notion of social capital. Government of the United Kingdom has re-invigorated civic education in schools in order to promote social capital and strengthen a civic culture. The Public Broadcasting System in the United States proudly proclaims that its community-based television programs actively promote the creation of social capital (Hooghe and Dietlind, 2003).

Bangladesh is a poverty ridden and disaster affected country. Most of the people live in village with various problems like natural and man-made calamities. Their human and physical capital is very limited to solve these problems. Stock of social capital is decaying due to modernization, low civic engagement in the CSOs and lack of benevolent politicians. The village society is also affected by some common issues such as: drug

addiction, social conflicts, mistrust, violence and sexual harassment against women. Existing community ethos is not often playing an effective role to solve these problems. Even trust on the political leaders has been decreased. In this perspective, social capital is main the concerned to sociologist and political scientist to minimize these problems for establishing a cohesive society. This study has revealed the existing facts of social capital of CSOs and its collective efforts.

The modernization process is going on in Bangladesh. Everyday a considerable number of people are migrating from village to urban areas for job purposes carrying with various values and norms. They are living under a roof, but do not often happen interacting and sharing views with each other. The questions of collective actions do not arise to solve their common problems. The common problems of the community are usually treated as individual problem. Therefore, solidarity, trust and cooperation are absent in urban life. This study has found the inner and outer drawbacks of CSOs in the formation of social capital which is essential to urban planners and policy makers. Hence, the present study has utility to policy makers, social organizers, social scientists, researchers and students for acquiring knowledge about the social capital of CSOs and their role in democratic consolidation in Bangladesh.

1.9 Limitation of the Research

The present study tries to understand the nature of social capital of CSOs and its influence on the local government institution in Bangladesh. The study has found the inner and outer constraints of CSOs to consolidate democracy and drawbacks of the *Union Parishad* in the aspect of people's participation. However, a single study does not make a generalization on the vast issue of social capital of CSOs and democratic consolidation. Besides, democratic consolidation is a multi dimensional notion which is accelerated by the different complements.

In post independence period, considerable numbers of CSOs have been emerged with various objectives. Most of them are foreign donor based. At the formative stage, they used many means and strategies to achieve the objectives in the villages. Later, they

become giant organizations, mostly known as NGOs and development partner of the government. Besides, many self resources based organizations are working in the village similar to the model of NGOs. However, a historical study regarding the development stages of CSOs in Bangladesh is essential. The present study only covers the tradition of CSOs (1830s – 1971) and the inception of their democratic notion in Bangladesh.

Social capital is a diversified concept in the development arena. It forms at the household, community and organizational level. There are two types of organizations, one is vertical; in such types of organizations, power and honor of the members is different. Another is horizontal; here the members have equal dignity and privilege. However, vertical organization of the society, household and community are the vast area of social capital for new research. The present study only covers the horizontal organizations (CSOs) due to time and resource constraints.

There are many formal and informal religious organizations in the villages; these are not common engagement place of all corners of the community. Nevertheless, religious organizations play important role to increase the stock of social capital. Sometimes, they form dark social capital which goes against peace and prosperity of the society. Even general organizations may create dark social capital (Putnam, 2000). The present study did not cover the religious organizations.

Social capital is dominantly cognitive issue. Various dimensions are related to the cognitive issue. For this reason, the study has used more than one method to collect data from the field. Due to confrontational socio-political situation, the respondents were very careful in answering the questions related to politics, functions of UP, political leaders, and representatives of UP. In depth interview and case study had been used to find the insight. However, notebook had been used during interview to note down these issues. In spite of using more than one method, participant observation method would be more appropriate to find the cognitive nature of social capital. But the present study did not include the observation method due to the time constraints and limited resources.

1.10 Chapter Arrangement

This dissertation starts with the 'Research Groundwork' that has included the statement of the problem, research question and objectives, mapping of the concept, conceptual framework, literature review, new avenues of research, justification and limitation of the study.

Chapter 2 describes the 'Methodology of the Study' that has covered the nature of study, sources of data, research methods, technique of data collection. It has also described the procedure of primary data collection.

Chapter 3 presents a view of the setting of the study area and socio-economic profile of the respondents which has also included a study area location map.

Chapter 4 starts with the social context of Bengal since the ancient period and the beginning stage of the public sphere. Later, it has described the process of inception of modern CSOs in Kolkata and Dhaka. The background of emergence and dissolution of CSOs in two selected districts – Bogra and Pabna have been delineated.

Chapter 5 has described the brief background of new CSOs, the development phase of new CSOs and causal link between social capital and social cohesion. This chapter has exposed the formation nature of social capital of CSOs through identifying the trend of trust, expansion of network, nature of cooperation, involvement in the social conflict resolution, prevention of commonly affected issues and participation in collective actions.

Chapter 6 has explored the role of social capital of CSOs in influencing the functions of *Union Parishad*. The chapter has exposed the context of *Union Parishad* and avenue of participation of CSOs in the functions of UP. Besides, this chapter has also revealed the ongoing mechanisms of influencing the functions of *Union Parishad*.

The concluding chapter has summarized the findings of the study in relation to the objectives and tried to validate it effectively.

Chapter Two

Methodology of the Study

2.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the methods of the study which have been used to amass primary and secondary data to achieve defined objectives of the study as well as data processing and analysis procedure. Considering this study on social capital and its effect on democratic consolidation, in terms of method, reliance was put on the available researches on related issues.

Study approach is very much related to the nature of study. The type of study may be classified as fundamental and applied or on the basis of purposive, it may be categorized such as exploratory, explanatory, experimental, evaluation, descriptive, and so on. It may again be considered on the basis of discipline such as sociological, psychological, ecological, demographic, anthropological, economic, linguistics, historical, political science and so forth. A study may also be classified on the basis of data such as qualitative and quantitative. In fact, there is no hard and fast classification of study type, they often overlap. Considering the study issues, this is an exploratory research. In such research, a researcher generally falls back on previous, though preliminary, observations, made by himself or others. Aided by these observations and some cursory knowledge; he tries to identify those significant factors which may throw light on his question. By shrewd guess or profound hunch s/he tries to establish causal relations between various sets of facts at hand (Young, 1966). The present study employed hunch on social capital of CSOs and democratic consolidation in Bangladesh. The study has tried to find out the tradition of old CSOs and posed the central question going through secondary literature review. The study is also evaluative in nature since it tries to show how collective actions are being made by values of civic engagement of CSOs, and also its influence on the tier of local government (*Union Parishad*). Therefore, multiple approaches have been used to find norms of reciprocity, network, trust, cooperation and collective actions of the respondents.

2.2 Sources of Data

The data were collected from both primary and secondary sources. The sources of primary data were the members of CSOs and the representatives of *Union Parishad* from the selected villages. Besides old members of the villages were also the sources of data to find the past engagement and dissolution of old CSOs. They were personally contacted on schedule time. For secondary sources, it was ceaseless effort to explore all the relevant available documents, published journals, books, newspaper reports, articles, websites, database, monograph, dissertation, etc. All these primary and secondary sources paved the way for making the research a success.

2.3 Research Methods

The study issues determine the methods of data collection and its interpretation along with availability of information, personnel skill, time and resources. Searching the tradition of old CSOs, formation nature of social capital of CSOs, social cohesion and democratic consolidation are prime issues of the study.

Adopting the theme of behavioral science, the present study employed methodological mixes to explore the nature of social capital in CSOs and its effects on the tier of local government. Mixed method approach employs the strategies of inquiry that involve collecting data either simultaneously or sequentially to best understand research problems. The data collection also involves gathering both numeric information as well as content information, so that the final database represents both quantitative and qualitative information (Creswell, 2003).

The present study adopted methodological triangulation in accordance with the study issues. In social science, triangulation is defined as the mixing of data or methods so that diverse viewpoints or standpoints cast light upon a topic. The mixing of the data types known as data triangulation is often thought to help in validating the claims that might arise from an initial pilot study (Olsen, 2004). Fielding and Fielding (1986) state, triangulation as a validity-testing strategy in qualitative research. Mainly survey method has been adopted to find formation nature of social capital, collective actions, involvement in protecting public goods, influence of social capital in the functions of

Union Parishad (UP), etc. This method was appropriate for considering the study issues and number of respondents. Besides, the case study was carried out for validity and authenticity of the data. Oral testimony also used to find the past engagement of old CSOs and causes of their dissolution.

2.3.1 Survey

Survey refers to the collection of data by means of questionnaire or observation. It is a technique of gathering information or data for making induction about the characteristics of a population only a representative portion of them. The present study employed the questionnaire survey due to placing of respondents, resource constraints and easy administration. A schedule questionnaire format was formulated on the basis of the research issues.

2.3.2 Case Study

The case study was adopted to know a member's past and present conditions of engagement with CSOs, collective actions, involvement in common subjects in the society and weakness of CSOs. Kluckhohn (1951, p. 110) states that, "to understand his behavior fully and ultimately, he must supply a detailed and penetrating account of what he does and has done, what he expects to do, and says he ought to do".

During the interview, a check list was maintained to get utmost insight (viz. appendix-B). I used sketchy notes as well as tape recorder. Later, I described the notes of the case study as soon as possible. During interview, I tried to raise the study issues, and gave the respondents freedom to narrate the vision and activities of CSOs. I talked to them about present and past condition of society and other related issues. Understanding the issues and language did not pose limitations to comfort and openness of the interviewees since I myself spoke the same language and spent considerable time for rapport building. Four case studies have been carried out during data collection period. Among them, three were male, and one was female member of the CSOs. Details of four case studies are provided in the case study section of the thesis (viz. p. 200-203).

2.3.3 Oral Testimony

Oral testimony is a method which gathers past evidence of life, emotions, feelings, and it is firsthand knowledge for describing the past. Historian, philosophers, social psychiatrists and social scientists use this method as an aid for visualizing society as a dynamic organism. This dynamic of the society explains its structure, function, changes and transformations through time (Young, 1966). The present study has used this method to find the past evidence of CSOs and their social engagement. One of the important objectives of this study is to explore the process of emergence and dissolution of Old CSOs. In this perspective, oral testimony had been selected to extract past engagement of CSOs and evidence along with secondary documents. Four oral testimonies were conducted with those who are old members of the society and were engaged with the CSOs in the past.

When I conducted oral testimony to know the past, each interviewee recalled his unique memories very eagerly. They often compared between past and present conditions of the CSOs. One of the limitations of oral testimony is language barrier of the researcher and the respondents. Each local area has its own accent and dialect. I had to visit the field for several times to understand their accent and be familiar with the dialect. After getting a sound knowledge of local accent, I conducted oral testimony of the old people. It helped me to quote their ideas with their own language. Recital of four oral testimonies along with name and places are provided in the last section of the dissertation (viz. p. 194-199).

2.4 Selection of the Study Area

The selection of the site is not just picked out of the blue; rather it was selected very carefully to explore the true. Although there were available options to choose the site, but this study gave the priority to fulfill the defined objectives rather than other convenience of the researcher. Bogra and Pabna districts were selected purposively because both are old administrative units since 1821 and 1828 respectively. For this reason, both districts were convenient to find previous history and records of old CSOs. Two *Union Parishads* were selected purposively from these two districts to explore the formation

nature of social capital of CSOs and its influence on the functions of UP. Multistage sampling had been used to select the study area. The following procedure was followed:

1st Stage: Two districts were selected purposively from the sixty four districts of Bangladesh.

2nd Stage: One *Upazila Parishad* (administrative unit of Local Government Institutions) of each district was selected purposively.

3rd Stage: One *Union Parishad* (lowest tier of Local Government Institutions) of each *Upazila* was selected purposively.

Selected unions of the study are Raynagor of Shibganj *Upazila*, Bogra district, and Malanchi of *Sadar Upazila*, Pabna district. The Raynagor is formed with 26 villages, and Malanchi consists of 32 villages. Formal and informal members of CSOs were the study population of two unions, and sampling estimated number of the population was data source. The inhabitants of the two unions are permanent. Bangladesh is a plain land, and people almost belong to indifferent culture and language. Socio-economic and demographic conditions are more or less same in all these villages. Features and formations of existing CSOs are homogeneous and consistent across the country except very few areas.

2.5 Study Population

In a research design, population refers to all those people with characteristics which the researcher wants to study within the context of a particular research problem. Population of the present study was the members of CSOs of the selected two unions. Of each member of CSOs was the 'unit' of the study. The aggregation of all units was 1105¹ which were the figure of study population. Religion and caste were not considered during the determination of study population, while gender was considered. Sampling procedure had been chosen to accomplish the study.

¹ Sources: *Upazilla* Social Welfare Office, *Upazilla* Cooperative Office, *Upazilla* Women Affairs Office, Zila Women Affairs Office, *Upazilla* Youth Office of two districts and two union *Parishads*.

2.6 Sampling Procedure

In this study design, sampling procedure was followed for collecting data. For sample size procedure, the study determined population who were the members of CSOs of two unions and had same basic characteristics. There are mainly two types of sampling methods. In probability sampling, every unit has a chance to be selected for sampling. Non-probability sampling is non-random and subjective method where selection of the sample depends on the personal judgment. The present study selected probability sampling technique. A total of 1,105 members of CSOs were the population of the study, and individuals were the unit of the study. Simple random sampling selected to choose the data source. Sample size was determined through the following formula (Douglas et al., 2008, p. 316).

$$n = \frac{Z^2 \sigma^2}{\epsilon^2}$$

Here,

N= sample size,

Z = Value (1.96 for 95% confidence level)

σ^2 = population standard deviation (0.5)

ϵ^2 = Margin of Error 5%

According to the formula, sample size of the study was 286 (out of 1,105), who were the source of primary data. Formation of social capital in CSOs and its effect on *Union Parishad* was the central objective of the study. Elected representatives of UP are the service providers. In order to understand from recipient and provider, representatives of the two Union Parishads were also selected purposively. Seven members out 26 were selected. Among them, 1 Chairman (out of 2), 6 members (2 male and 1 female member of each UP) out of 24 were selected.

Table 2.1: Sample Size of Raynagor Union, Bogra District

SI	Categorization of CSOs	Number of CSOs	Number of Respondents		Number of Villages
			Male	Female	
01	Volunteer based organizations	11	30	-	26
02	Youth development organizations	7	21	-	
03	Women development organizations	2	—	14	
04	Cooperative societies	14	40	-	
05	Village centre of NGOs	16	-	51	
Total		50	91	65	

Table 2.2: Sample Size of Malanchi Union, Pabna District

SI	Categorization of CSOs	Number of CSOs	Number of Respondents		Number of Villages
			Male	Female	
01	Volunteer based organizations	8	27	-	32
02	Youth development organizations	6	20	-	
03	Women development organizations	2	-	10	
04	Cooperative societies	12	41	-	
05	Village centre of NGOs	13	—	32	
Total		41	88	42	

Among 286 respondents, 179 were male members, and rests 107 were the female. Female respondents were the members of 4 women development organizations and 29 village centres of NGOs. The 65 female respondents have been taken from Raynagor Union, and rest 42 from Malanchi Union.

2.7 Techniques of Data Collection

The interviews were conducted to collect primary data which included face to face interview through schedule questionnaire, in-depth and informal interviews, in addition to 5 FGDs (Focus Group Discussion) were also carried out to explore the objectives of the study.

2.7.1 Questionnaire

A schedule questionnaire was employed to collect the data. I conducted face to face interview. In regard to setting questionnaire, inverted funnel format had been followed where the questioning progresses from specific to general, from personal to impersonal, and from non-sensitive to sensitive. A pre-test schedule has been carried out on the data source, and then few questions and issues had been excluded and included. Before finalizing questionnaire, some common shortcomings had taken into consideration such as length, abbreviation, ambiguousness, irrelevant, biasness and negative notion.

The study is predominantly qualitative in nature; hence the questionnaire incorporated open and closed ended questions. Indeed, open ended questions were preferred to find deep insight of the issues, where respondents of the study expressed their experiences,

viewpoints, relationship, attitudes and complexity of the issues. Major questions were developed in the form of general questions which were then followed by a sequence of sub-question for further authenticity. There were nine sections in the questionnaire according to the study issues. Every section extracted the detail information for specific issue. In the set of question, Likert, Guttman and single response scale have been followed.

An intensive fieldwork was conducted across the 58 villages of Raynagor and Malanchi Union in two phases, which covered six months. The duration of the fieldwork was January 2014 to March 2014 and November 2014 to January 2015. I started my field visit early in the morning to reach the respondents. At first, I began fieldwork from the Raynagor Union of Bogra district which is twenty kilometers away from the town. At the first day of field visit I went to the *Union Parishad* of Raynagor to collect primary information regarding the position of villages, roads, union maps and short demographic set-up of the people. After getting the information, I chalked out a plan to reach the members of CSOs. I took help from my former students who are the inhabitant of this union.

A few members of CSOs did not talk to me without the permission of their leader. In such a situation I started gossiping with them. Through the conversation I tried to build up a good rapport with them. These unstructured interviews encircled the customs of past, village history, tradition, social relation, political consciousness, attitude of people's representatives, etc. Sometimes respondents suspected me that I have come from government or other organizations to collect data regarding the illegal activities. Then I stopped conducting my interview instead of going ahead; I tried to develop my rapport with them so that I could overcome their suspicion. Gradually, they became convinced and realized my academic purpose.

2.7.2 Interview

Formal, informal and in-depth interviews were conducted during the schedule time of the fieldwork. In fact the informal interview was started from the inception of the research up to the writing up the dissertation because I had the opportunity to meet the

respondents on and off. This enabled me to upgrade my knowledge and insight regarding the concerned issues and it helped me to include updated information of my respondents. Seven interviews were conducted with the representatives of the *Union Parishad*.

2.7.3 Focus Group Discussion

Five Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were carried out to extract qualitative data from the participants. Participants of FGDs were the members of CSOs of the study villages. I had to conduct FGDs mostly in the evening considering the convenient time of the participants. Among them, three FGDs were conducted in Raynagor Union of Bogra district, and two in Malanchi Union of Pabna district. Most of the FGDs consisted of 9 to 12 participants. Recording and sketchy notes were maintained. During discussion period, I requested the participants to prepare a list of collective actions of the previous year. They also prepared a list of strategies ongoing of influencing the functions of the UP. A checklist was prepared for conducting FGD. Places and participants of five FGDs are provided in the appendix-C.

2.8 Time Reference of Data

The data of this study were represented the events in the past and present. In a study of social science there is sequential relation between past and present. There is no cutoff point to demarcate past and present of a single study. This study was almost subjective oriented which was very much sequential relation between past and present. During data analysis and presentation, it was tried to differentiate past and present to make clear understanding.

2.9 Data Analysis

This study has followed the descriptive data analysis process which included four stages - registration of questionnaires, data processing, computerizing and interpretation of data. Everyday filled in the questionnaires entered into the registration books and kept in file. Then the interview questionnaires were edited and checked carefully for verifying the filled question, and examined the consistence between answer and question, noted

properly if it was necessary. If I got important information during the interview, I took a note on diary. Later I did re-written and expanded the formats. Before computerizing, data coding had been completed in accordance with demand of Statistical Package for the Social Science (SPSS). After entry of data in SPSS, validation check was made to ensure that data were correctly input in the program. Data table had been properly checked for internal consistence before the output tables. Having description of findings, qualitative analysis was presented in the content of dissertation.

2.10 Ethical Concern

Ethics of research were maintained during data collection as well as interpretation. Verbal consent was taken from the respondents. At first, the purpose of the study was explained to them. When the respondents were informed about the kind of information sought from them, and then I proposed for interview. Only if the respondent gave verbal consent then s/he was interviewed. Respondents had rights to discontinue interview at any point. Tapes and field notes were numbered and coded with no personal identifying information inside. Norms of research ethics also maintained during data interpretation and quotation. The interview was taken with full respect to the local beliefs, values and norms.

Chapter Three

Setting of the Study Area and Socio-Economic Profile of the Respondents

3.1 Introduction

Bangladesh becomes an independent country in 1971, but her village history is very old. There are two views among the historian and sociologist regarding the village life of Bangladesh. One group assumed that the village of Bangladesh was a miniature form Republic. Another group opined that village of Bangladesh was not integrated like the village of Europe. As early as 1812, Fifth Report of the Select Committee of the East India Company described the village as “a simple form of municipal government” under which “the inhabitants of the country have lived from time immemorial” (cited in Dutt, 1960, p. 85). Karl Marx identified these idyllic village communities as: “had always been the solid foundation of oriental despotism” (Marx and Engels, 1962, p. 350). Many Indian nationalist animated these idyllic villages with the hope of return to old village government (Khan, 1996). Recently, anthropologists have found that village as an institution was different in the Indian subcontinent which was simple denoted as “little republic”. According to them, there were corporate villages and open villages. A corporate village was a closed organization with some form of collective responsibilities. In an open village, there was no joint responsibility where every individual was responsible for his/her actions. “Most of the villages in Bangladesh region were open, whereas the majority of villages in other parts of South Asia including parts of West Bengal were corporate” (Khan, 1996, p. 144). The then rulers played a vital role to change the culture of village along with the mode of production.

Bangladesh contains a population, estimated at about 14, 97, 72,364, located within a land area of 1, 47,570 square kilometers (Population and Housing Census, 2011). This makes Bangladesh the most densely populated country in the world. Most of the people of Bangladesh live in rural areas. According to the Census of 1901, about 97.7 percent

people lived in the villages, and it has reached to 71.9 percent in 2011. About 87 percent of Bangladeshis are Muslims, followed by 12 percent Hindus, 1 percent Buddhists and 0.5 percent Christians (Population and Housing Census, 2011). Bangladesh is a riverine country, located within a lowland alluvial plain that forms the lower part of the massive river-delta area formed by the confluence of the great Ganges, Brahmaputra and Meghna river systems. For thousands of years, the country's position within this highly fertile deltaic ecosystem has attracted people to an area offering high levels of agricultural productivity (Lewis, 2011). At the same time, its location makes it highly vulnerable to natural disasters.

Prior to 1971, rural society of Bangladesh was predominantly populated by the peasants. By the 1970s, large sections of the rural population owned little or no agricultural land of their own. Some worked as sharecroppers or leased in small plots, while many others were forced to labor on other people's land or undertake paid employment as day laborers or rickshaw pullers (Hartmann and Boyce, 1983). By the 1980s, census data on landholding indicated that about half of the rural households were identified as "functionally landless" meaning that what small landholdings they once may have owned had now been lost, either through forced or distress sale, or fragmented into largely unviable units through the endless process of subdivision that is required by family inheritance norms (Jannuzi and Peach 1980). Migration from village to urban was appeared in 1980s especially in Dhaka and Chittagong. Female migration to urban areas has grown steadily, particularly in relation to the extensive large scale export garment sector (Lewis, 2011).

This chapter has described the setting of the study area and socio-economic profile of the respondents. In social science, socioeconomic settings mean social and economic factors that are related to human behavior and practices. Human behavior is very much relevant to individual's norms, values, trust, reciprocity, knowledge domain and network. The present study selected two unions – Roynagor and Malanchi to explore the formation nature of social capital of CSOs and its influence on the functions of *Union Parishad*. The causes of the selection of the two areas have been mentioned in the Chapter 2. Raynagor

is composed of 26 villages, and Malanchi consist of 32 villages which have been discussed in details in the chapter two. Roynagor is situated under the Shibganj *Upazila* of Bogra district, and Manlanchi is situated under the Pabna *Sadar Upazila* of Pabna district.

3.2 Setting of Bogra District

Bogra is a northern district of Bangladesh, which is historically as well as geographically significant. It is called the gateway and trade hub of north Bengal. It was a part of the ancient *Pundravardhana* territory and also the capital of *Pundravardhana* known as *Mahasthan Garh*. Another mythological place is *Gokul Medh*. Bogra as a district was established in 1821 with consisting of 9 *thanas* of which 4 from Rajshahi *Zila* (Adamdighi, Bogra, Sherpur, Nawkhila), 3 from Dinajpur *Zila* (Lalbazar, Badalgachhi, Khetlal), and 2 from Rangpur *Zila* (Gobindaganj, Dewanganj). The district of Bogra has, according to some, been named after Mohammad Nasiruddin Bogra (Bakrs or Bakara), the son of Sultan Ghiasuddin Balban, who entrusted with the governorship of the province of Bengal from 1279 to 1282 A. D. (District Gazetteer-Bogra, 1974).

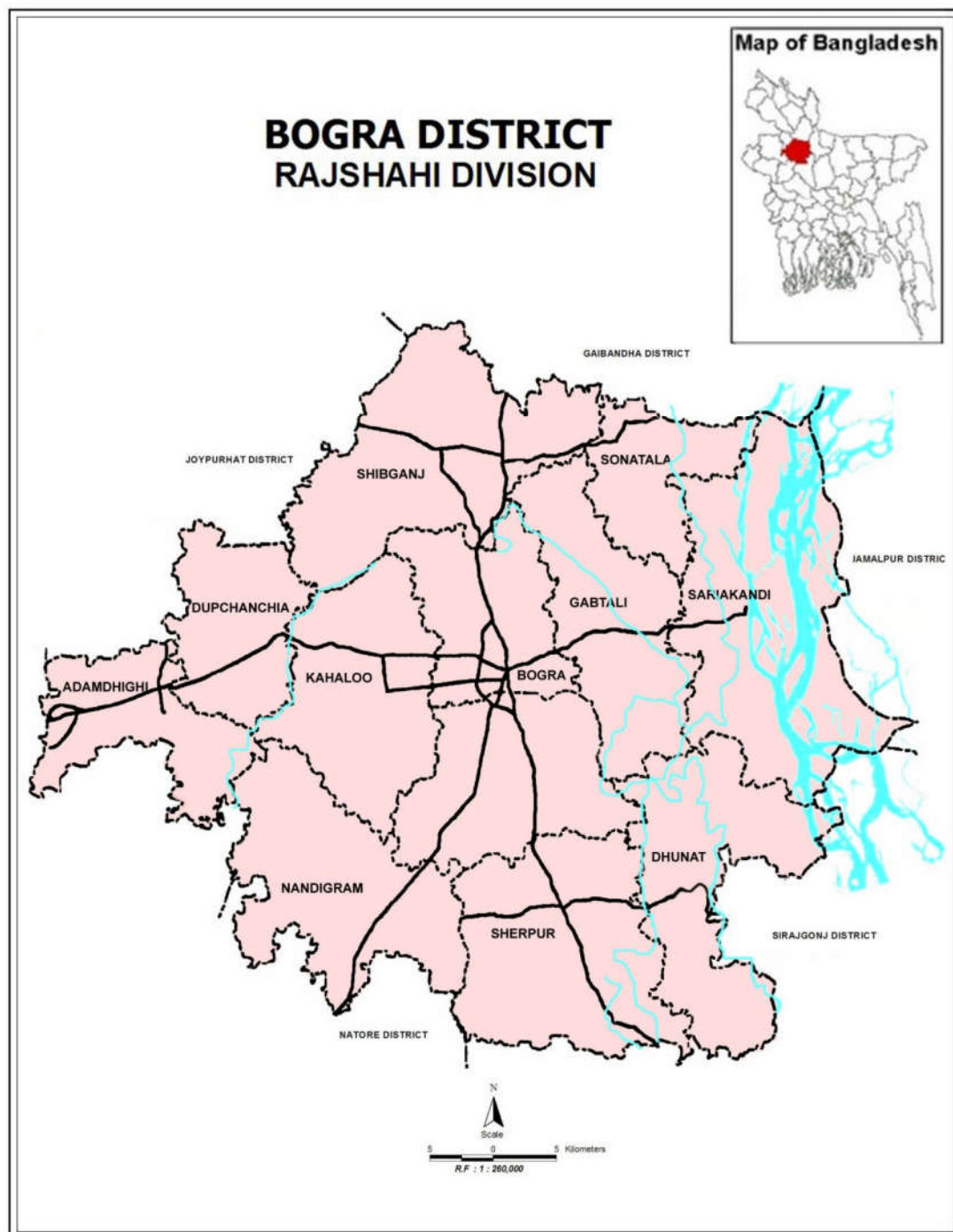
Mahasthan Garh is 10 km away from the present town of Bogra. During the 4th to 8th century BC, this region was ruled by various dynasties. From the middle of 8th century, it went under the Pala rule that continued till the 12th century. Sena King Vijayasena conquered the region defeating the last Pala King Madanpala. The district is replete with relics and architectural remains which can be traced back to a very early age (Miser, 1957). Buchanan Hamilton in his account of Dinajpur District says, "The tradition belonging to this district, which is referred to the earliest period by the Hindus, is that it was under government of Parasuram, a powerful monarch, who had subject to him twenty two princes, and who lived at *Mahasthan Garh*. The Bragmans whom I have consulted consider this personage as the same with the sixth incarnation of the God Vishnu; but the common belief of the country is that Parasuram of Mahasthan was destroyed by a Muhammadan saint named Shah Sultan Hazrat Auliya. This does not appear remarkable to the Bhahmans, as they consider that Parasuram is still on earth, and he now resides in the western parts of India" (cited in Hunter 1876, p. 192). The archaeological museum at Mahasthan Garh contains many such exhibits belonging to

Hindu, Buddhist and Muslim civilization. Another historical place is *Gokul Medh* which is an excavated mound in the village of *Gokul* under *Bogra Sadar Upazila*, about two km southwest of Mahasthan citadel. It is widely known as *Laksindarer Medh* or *Behula-Laksindarer Basar-ghar*, or the nuptial room of the traditional heroine and hero of a popular ballad, *Behula* and *Laksindar*. It is also associated with the angry snake Goddess *Manasa* (Sen, 1929).

The people of Bogra, like the people of the other districts, struggled for the freedom from the British rule. The anti British Phakir-Sannyasi movement spread over Bogra region since the early British rule. The leader of the Phakir Majnu Shah had direct encounters with the British. The Indigo Rebellion spread over Bogra in the mid 19th century (Miser, 1957). The establishment of Pakistan in 1947 is the outcome of such freedom for struggle. But, this could not satisfy the people's indomitable urge for freedom. The language movement of 1952 in Bangladesh crystallized the urge for freedom. Later, the decade-old repression of Ayub regime which culminated in the mass upsurge of 1969 made the people keenly aware of their historic destiny. And when the challenge was thrown to them in 1971 the people of this district like the other places, took it in their stride. The people of this district, its youths, students, farmers, workers and its women folk showed exemplary courage and valor in facing the heavily armed enemy.

No systematic effort appears to have been made in Bogra district to enumerate the entire population previous to the general Census of 1872. A small vernacular history of Bogra, published in 1861, called the *Bagurer Itihas*, gives the population of the district at 1,03,633. According to the Census of 1872 the total population of Bogra district was 6,89,467 in which males were 3,47,864 and females were 3,41,603. The proportion of the males to the total population was 50.45 percent and the average density of population was 459 to the square mile (Hunter, 1876, p. 153-159). Agricultural was the main occupation of the villagers. Middlemen and petty service providers had been emerged as new class due to the permanent settlement Act 1793. Indeed, in Bengal most services and trades were subdivided into smaller bodies of servants and artisans and distinguished from each other by caste.

Map 3.1: Bogra District



Hunter's observation regarding the village institutions of Bogra was very significant. Head-men ship was common in the villages even in the Muhammadan population. Hunter has depicted in his writing, "in my account of the Census operations in 1872 I have noticed the interest and activity of these head-men, or *mandals*, in a work which was new to them, and regarded with suspicion by a large part of the people. In Hindu times, when the whole village community engaged jointly with their landlord for the village lands, the head-men, *mandals* or *pradhans*, held an important and responsible position. They seem to have been elected to this post, without any formality, by the general consent of the community that they were the fittest" (Hunter, 1876, p. 198).

Bogra was declared as *zila* in 1984, and divided into two districts such as Bogra and Joypurhat. The total area of this *zila* is 2898.68 sq. km (1119.18 sq. miles). The *zila* is bounded on the north by Gaibandha *zila* and Joypurhat *zila*, on the east by Jamalpur *zila* and Sirajganj *zila*, on the south by Sirajganj *zila* and Natore *zila* and on the west by Naogaon *zila* and Joypurhat *zila*. Bogra *zila* consists of 12 *Upazilas*, 108 unions, 1,672 populated *mauzas*, 2618 villages, 11 *paurasabhas*, 111 wards and 360 *mahallas* (BBS, 2011). The *Upazilas* of this *zila* are Adamdighi, Bogra *Sadar*, Dhunat, Dupchanchia, Gabtali, Kahaloo, Nandigram, Sariakandi, Shajahanpur, Sherpur, Shibganj and Sonatola. A brief demographic feature of this district is given below.

Table 3.1: Brief Demographic Features of Bogra District

Indicators	Population Census 2001	Population Census 2011
Population (Enumerated)		
Both Sex	30,13,056	34,00,874
Male	15,47,341	17,08,806
Female	14,65,715	16,92,068
Urban	2,42,373	6,24,082
Rural	26,23,987	27,30,486
Annual growth rate (%)	1.22	1.20
Sex Ratio		
Total	105	101
Urban	111	109
Rural	104	99
Household		
Total	6,88,367	8,67,137
Urban	50,367	1,47,921
Rural	6,07,903	7,08,018
Household Size (General)		
Total	4.34	3.88
Urban	4.63	4.01
Rural	4.31	3.85

Source: Population and Housing Census 2011

3.2.1 Shibganj Upazila

Shibganj, the second largest *Upazila* of Bogra *zila* in respect of both area and population came into existence as a *thana* from a police outpost and set up at the Chandunia *Bara Bazar* in 1897. It was upgraded to *Upazila* in 1984. Nothing is definitely known about the origin of the *Upazila* name. It is said that Mohammad Khilze conquered Bengal in 12th century. At that time, the people of Hindu community kept nearly 360 idols of Gods and Goddesses for worship at the village Bhuraghat. One big wooden idol of Lord Shiwawas brought to Chandunia *Bara Bazar* for worship. Subsequently the name of the place changed as Shibganj. It is believed that the *Upazila* might have derived its name from the name of the place where its headquarters is located.

The *Upazila* occupies an area of 314.92 sq. km. It is bounded on the north by Gabindaganj *Upazila* of Gaibandha *zila* and east by Sonatola *Upazila*, Gabtali *Upazila* and Bogra *Sadar Upazila*. On the other hand, Bogra *sadar Upazila*, Kahaloo *Upazila* and Dhubchanchia *Upazila* are bounded south and Kalai *Upazila* and Khetlal *Upazila* of Joypurhat *zila* surround its west the Karatoya River flows south through the *Upazila*.

The *Upazila* consists of 1 *paurasabha*, 9 wards, 31 *mahallas*, 12 unions, 237 populated *mauzas* and 409 villages. The average size of population of each ward and *mahalla* is 2,405 and 698 respectively. On the other hand, the average size of the population of each union is 29,755 and in every *mauza* and village is 1507 and 873 respectively (Population and Housing Census, 2011). Shibganj *Upazila* is divided into Shibganj Municipality and 12 *union parishads*: Shibganj, Bihar, Raynagor, Buriganj, Majhihatta, Pirab, Atmul, Kichak, Maidanhata, Deuli, Mokamtala, and Saidpur.

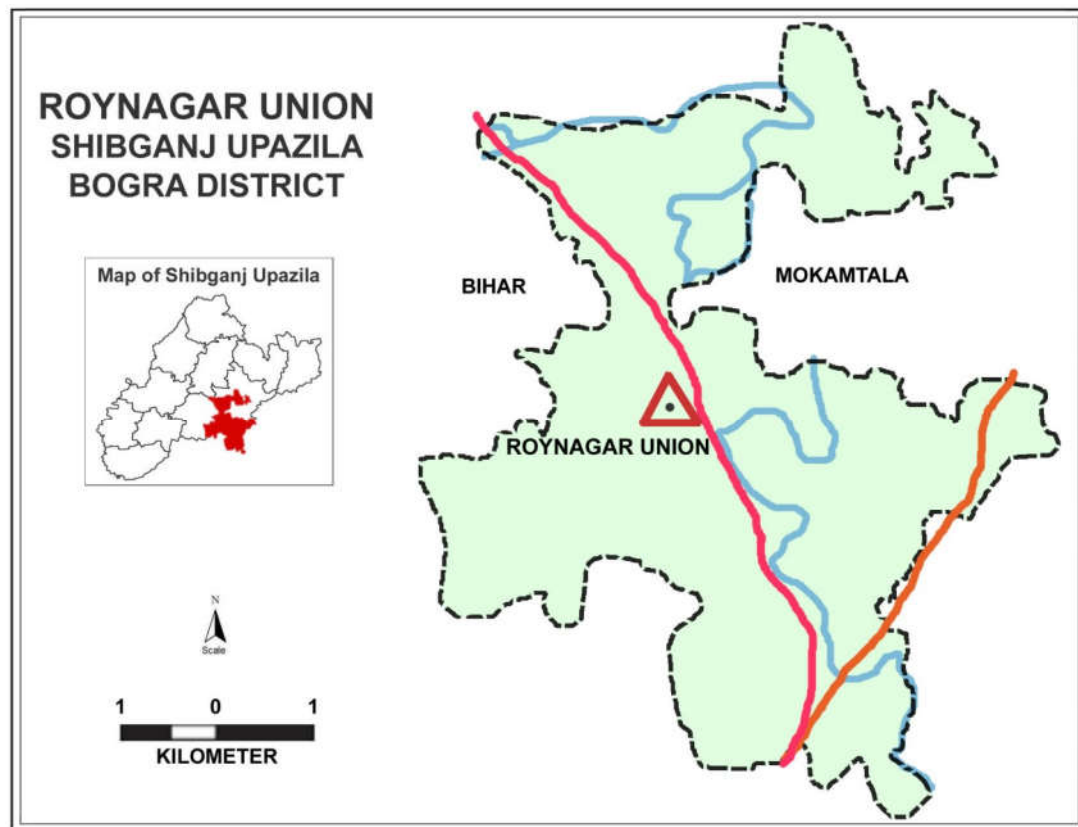
According to Pollution and Housing Census 2011, households of Shibganj *Upazila* are 99,242 and population is 378,700, among them 5.7 percent lived in urban areas. About 9.0 percent of the population is under the age of 5. The literacy rate (age 7 and over) is 44.1 percent, which is low compared to the national average of 51.8 percent. In this *Upazila*, there are 99,242 households. Distribution of household by type shows that there are 99.88 percent general units, about 0.03 percent is institutional and 0.09 percent is other unit. The average household size (general) for the *Upazila* is 3.8 persons where in the rural area the size is 3.7,

and for urban area the size is slightly higher i.e. 3.9. In the *Upazila*, about 2.9 percent household is *pakka*, 24.8 percent is semi-*pakka*, 71.2 percent is *kutch*a and the remaining 1.1 percent is *jhupri* house.

3.2.2 Raynagor Union

The Raynagor union is situated three kilometers away from the famous archeological place Mahastan Garh. Raynagor is the old inhabitants' area under the Shibganj *Upazila* of Bogra district. It is known to people that the caste of 'Ray' was the dominant community in this area. According to the racial name, it became the Raynagor. It occupies 20.10 kilometers areas. It is consisted of 26 villages and 18 *mauzas*. According to the Population and Housing Census 2011, the total population of this union is 31,267 and density of population is 1674. Households of the union are 7,876; the size of households is 4.4. The literacy rate is 41.5 percent, among them 44.2 percent male and 38.8 percent is female. There are eight government primary schools, five non-government primary schools, five secondary schools, two senior *madrasas*, two *Dakhil madrasas* and two *Ebtedayi madrasas*. Here, people live from different religion, among them the Muslims are the majority. About 50 aboriginal families live here.

Agriculture pattern of this union has undergone a rapid change during the last decade. The irrigation facility, the use of fertilizer and the new varieties of paddy and vegetables have been cultivated vigorously. Mechanized cultivation is now preferred instead of traditional cultivation. Pumps and power pumps are now being considerably used for irrigation. Rice is the principal agricultural product of the union, followed by potato. Moreover, mustard, pulse, chili, sesame, ginger and sugarcane are also the major agricultural product of the union.

Map 3.2: Raynagor Union

The bulk of the people are farmers. They lead a simple life, and are contented with what they have. They often stick to their ancestral occupation and way of life. Most of them have no subsidiary occupation and those who have any, carry it on after the sowing and harvesting season. Very few people are engaged in trade, commerce and industry. It is important to note that a considerable number of people of this union work in garment factories in Dhaka and Chittagong. Besides, many people work in the Middle East as workers. Those who are engaged in business they are much better than the agri-labors in off season. Now many women go to work in the fields, especially the poor women. Still, most of the women remain occupied mainly with their household work and help their male members in pre and post harvest activities and feeding the cattle.

3.3 Setting of Pabna District

Pabna, one of the oldest districts of Bangladesh, was established in 1828. The people of Pabna are no different in essential characteristics from those in the neighboring districts. They are, however, distinguished by a natural urge for things, poetic and artistic. “Many of the famous folk artists and rural poets were born in this districts and the country-side still rings with the strain of mystic and pastoral music” (District Gazetteer-Pabna, 1978, p. 62).

Pabna *sadar* sub-division of the greater Pabna *zila* was up-graded to a *zila* in 1984. Nothing is definitely known about the origin of the name of the *zila*. According to Cunningham, a renowned archaeologist, the name Pabna might have been derived from the old Kingdom *Pundra*. The popular belief is that the *zila* might have originated its name from the name of a stream *Pabnaee* which was flowing by the southern side of this land towards the Ganges. It is bounded on the north by Natore and Sirajganj *zilas*, on the east by Manikganj *zila* and the river Jamuna, on the south by Rajbari and Kushtia *zilas* and the river Padma and on the west by Natore *zila*. This *zila* consists of 9 *Upazilas*, 73 unions, 1,187 *mauzas*, 1,562 villages, 9 *paurasabhas*, 87 wards and 234 *mahallas*. The *Upazilas* are Atgharia, Bera, Bhangura, Chatmohar, Faridpur, Ishwardi, Santha, Sujangar and Pabna *Sadar* (Habibullah, 2009).

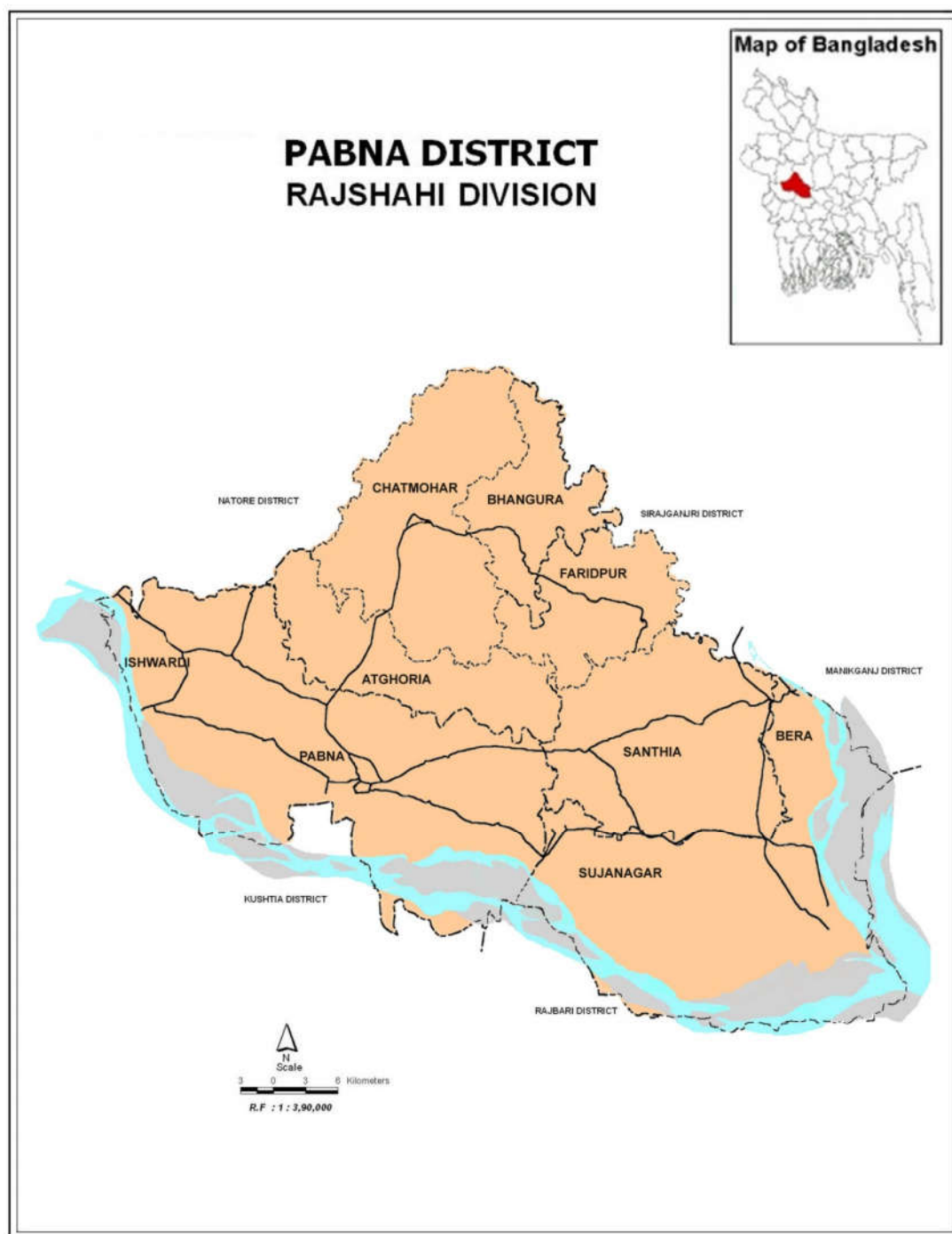
Table 3.2: Brief Demographic Features of Pabna District

Indicators	Population Census 2001	Population Census 2011
Population (Enumerated)		
Both Sex	21,76,270	25,23,179
Male	11,26,084	12,62,934
Female	10,50,186	12,60,245
Urban	3,14,338	3,87,675
Rural	17,26,880	21,35,504
Annual growth rate (%)	1.26	1.47
Sex Ratio		
Total	107	101
Urban	108	102
Rural	107	100
Household		
Total	4,48,290	5,90,749
Urban	64,160	89,395
Rural	3,55,680	50,1,354
Household Size (General)		
Total	4.84	4.25
Urban	4.86	4.26
Rural	4.85	4.25

Source: Population and Housing Census 2011

The present area of Pabna *zila* was a part of the ancient *Pundravardhana*, which was a region of Bengal. Although Pabna *zila* was established in 1832, the contours of the *zila* have been changed many times. The major changes of the boundaries of the *zila* took place in 1877 and 1881 with the major changes of the courses of the rivers, Padma and Jamuna (Mottalib, 1989). In 1984 greater Pabna *zila* was divided into two *zilas* named Pabna and Sirajganj.

Pabna is the rich archeological place. Three domed *Mosque* at Bharara (1176 AD), three domed Kajipara *Mosque* (Bhangura), Chatmohar Shahi *Mosque* (989 AD), Pathanpara Khandokarni *Mosque* (built by the Afghans, Chatmohar), *Samaj* Shahi *Mosque* (958 AD), three domed Jami *Mosque* at Juktitala (Ishwardi), Jor Bangla *Mandir* (eighteenth century, Pabna), Jagannath *Mandir*, Seth Kuthi (1779), Snana *Mandir* (Chatmohar), Pabna *Zila* Judge Court Building (1884) and Government Edward College (1898) are the renowned archeological heritage of Pabna *zila*. The only Mental Hospital of Bangladesh, established in 1957, is located at Hemayetpur, western part of the town. Besides, the Sree Thakur Anukul Chandra *Ashram* is also located at Hemayetpur which was established in 1915. Millions of followers from all over the world come in the *Ashram* of Anukul Chandra every year. Pabna is the homeland of many national and international reputed heroic sons of the soil. Promoth Chowdhury, a famous Bengali writer, Suchitra Sen, the famous film actress, Bondey Ali Mia, the famous poet – are the mentionable names.

Map 3.3: Pabna District

3.3.1 Pabna Sadar Upazila

Pabna Sadar is the largest *Upazila* in respect of both area and population came into existence as a *thana* in 1813 and was upgraded to *Upazila* in 1984. Nothing is definitely known about the origin of the *Upazila* name. Cunningham, a renowned archaeologist, conjectured that the name Pabna might have been derived from the old kingdom *Pundra* or *Pundrabardhan*, the country of pods. Another popular belief is that the region of Pabna got its name from *Pabnaee* one of the confluent streams of the river Ganges (Padma) flowing by the south of the town (Habibullah, 2009).

The *Upazila* occupies an area of 439.30 sq. km. The *Upazila* is bounded on the north by Atgharia *Upazila*, on the east by Santhia *Upazila* and Sujanagar *Upazila*, on the south by Pangsha *Upazila* of Rajbari *zila* and Khoksha *Upazila* and Kumarkhali *Upazila* of Kushtia *zila* and on the west by Ishwardi *Upazila*. The *Upazila* consists of 1 *paurasabha*, 15 wards, 46 mahallas, 10 unions, 243 populated *mauzas*, and 291 villages. The average population of each ward and *mahalla* are 9,629 and 3,140 respectively while the same for each union, *mauza* and village are 44,647, 1,837 and 1,534 respectively. According to Population and Household Census 2011, the total population of the *Upazila* is 59, 0914, of which 29, 6870 are males and 29, 4044 are females. The sex ratio of the *Upazila* has remarkably decreased to 101 males per 100 females in 2011 as against 108 males per 100 females in 2001. The decadal population growth rate for the *Upazila* is 23.90 and annual compound growth rate is 2.13 (Population and Housing Census, 2011).

In the *Upazila*, there are 13, 8839 households. Distribution of households by type shows that, there are 99.23 percent general units, 0.08 percent institutional and 0.69 percent other units. The average household size (general) for the *Upazila* is 4.2 persons, for both rural and urban areas the size is same i.e. 4.2. In the *Upazila*, 13.6 percent general household lives in *pakka* houses, 17.0 percent in semi-*pakka* houses, 68.5 percent in *kutcha* houses and the remaining 0.9 percent in Jhupri houses. According to the Population and Housing Census report 2011, the literacy rate of Pabna Sadar *Upazila* is 51.4 percent for both sexes, 51.7 percent for male and 51.2 percent for female.

3.3.2 Malanchi Union

Malanchi Union is situated at the bank of the Ichamati River. It is 8 Kilometers away from the *Sadar Upazila* of Pabna. The Union is bounded on the north by Dev-uttor Union of Atgharia *Upazila*, on the east by Goeashpur Union, on the west by Maligacha Union and on the south by Paurasabha of Bogra district. The Union occupies an area of 9.88 sq. km. According to the Population and Housing Census 2011 (community series), the total population of the union is 31,020, of which 16,010 are males and 15,000 are females. Density of the population is 1,183. The average household size of the union is 4.2. Most of the houses are *Kancha* and semi-*pakka*. The union is consisted of 35 villages and 29 *mauzas*. Malanchi Kali *Mandir* is an archeological place. Every year, thousands of people come from different places to visit the *Mandir*.

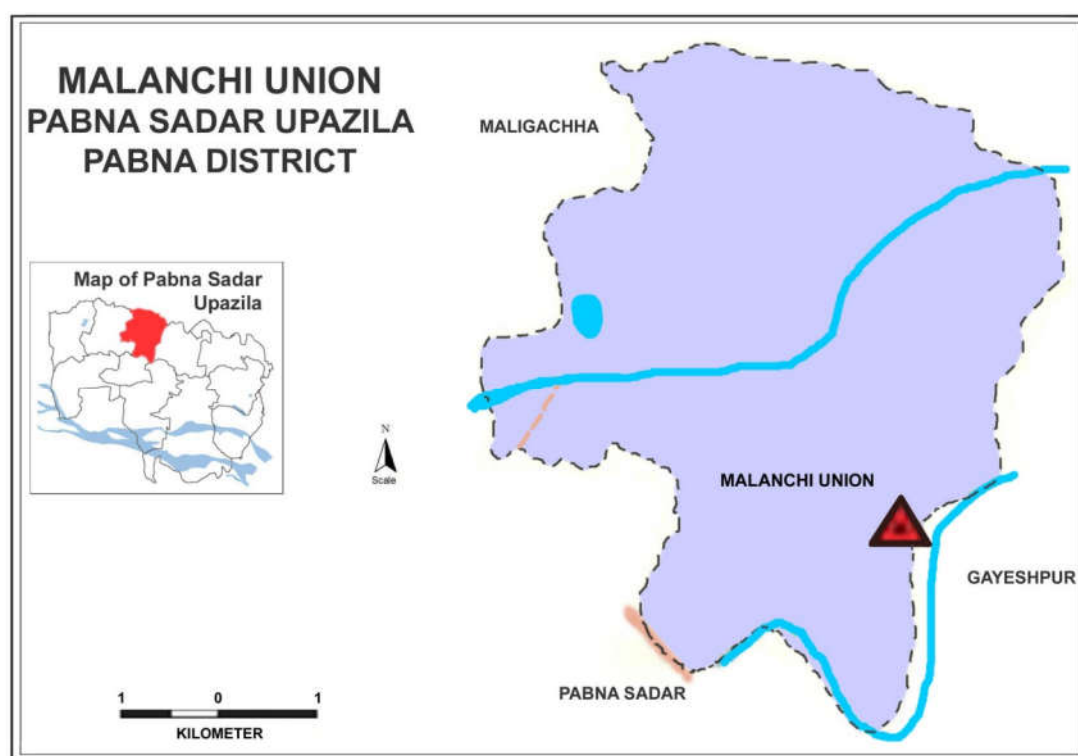
The literacy rate of this union is 49.1 percent; among them 48.4 percent is male and 52.2 percent is female. There are two high schools, seven government primary schools, two non-government primary schools and one senior *Madrassa*, ten *Ebtedayi Madrasas* and two *Dakhil Madrasas*. Many local and national NGOs work here. About one third roads is *pakka*, others are *Kancha*.

Most of the people of this union are farmers. They lead a simple life and are satisfied with what they have. In the past, after sowing and harvesting the peasants engaged themselves in sports and visiting fairs/*melas*. They also travelled their relatives, and arranged *Jari-sari*, *Bhatiyali*, *Pala gan* and even theater. These recreational events have often been lost due to the availability television, video, audio player etc. Besides, the rich families of the villages do not patronage to promote the traditional festivals. *Kabadi*, *Dang-Guli* and *Daria* were the popular indigenous games in the villages. Now the cricket is more popular in the villages instead of traditional games.

Very few people of the village go to town in search of work during the off season. The people of this union are very simple. They consider yet hospitality as obligatory to entertain guests and visitors. Most of the Muslim women observe *parda*. Very few of them, however, wear *burka* while they go out of home. A considerable number of women are the members of different village center of NGO.

With the rapid changes in social structure due to educational and economical development, variety in the dress of the people is found. A small section of people have adopted western dress such as trousers/pants instead of *lungi*, and *shiloyer-kamish* instead of *sari*. The way of life of the inhabitants of Pabna has been changed due to the modernization process and technological advancement. People preferred to spend time with the modern equipments instead of traditional sports and festivals.

Map 3.4: Malanchi Union



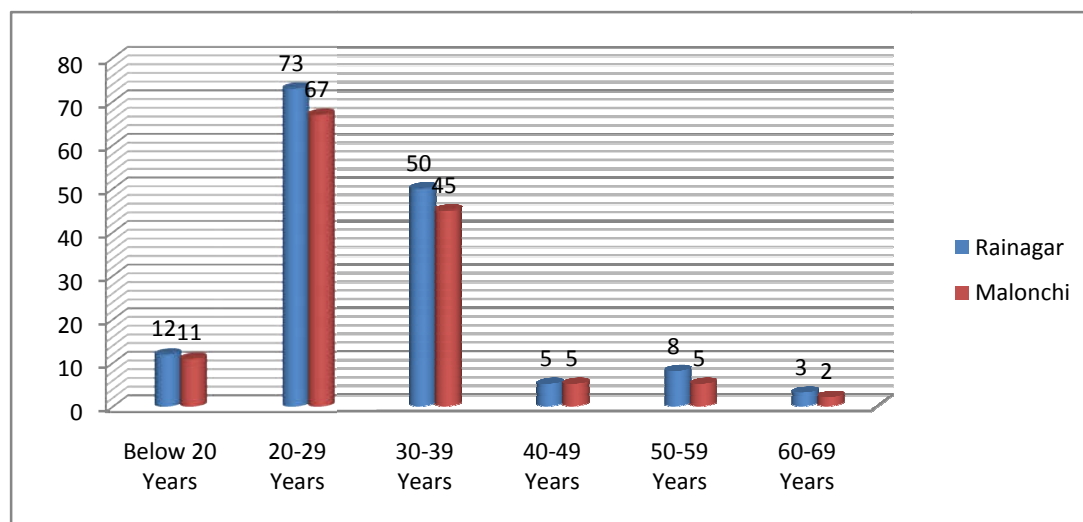
3.4 Socio-Economic Profile of the Respondents

The socio-economic settings of the respondents influence their belief, behavior and practices. In the present the study a fieldwork carried out with a structured questionnaire which contained a section regarding the socio-economic status of the respondents. On the basis of questionnaire and informal interview the study has depicted the following socio-economic settings of the respondents.

3.4.1 Age of the Respondents

The age of the respondents is an important factor to analyze the norms of reciprocity, trust, network and civic engagement. The present study reveals that the age of 49 percent and 33.2 percent respondents belong to the age group 20-29 and 30-39 respectively. It is important to note that the age of 82 percent respondents is less than 40 years. Those who are less than 20 years are only 8 percent. Only 1.7 percent respondents belong to the age group of 60-69 years.

Figure 3.1: Age of the Respondents



The figure 3.1 shows that about 73 respondents of Raynagar and 67 respondents of Malanchi belong to the age group 20-29. Among those who belong to the age group 30-39, 50 respondents are the members of CSOs of Ranagar union, and 45 respondents are the members of Malanchi union. Three out of five respondents of the study who belong to the age group 60-69 are from Raynagar union and 2 respondents from Malanchi union. It is noteworthy that the age representation of both the unions is almost similar.

Table 3.3: Age of the Respondents at the Organizations Level

Name of the Organizations	Range of age (years)						Total
	Below 20	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	
Volunteer based organizations	6	36	13	2	0	0	57
Youth development organizations	5	21	13	1	0	1	41
Women development organizations	1	12	9	1	1	0	24
Cooperative societies	10	40	20	2	5	4	81
Village centre of NGOs	1	31	40	4	7	0	83
Total	23	140	95	10	13	5	286

The Table 3.2 shows that 36 and 13 respondents of volunteer based organizations belong to the age group 20-29 and 30-39 respectively. There is no respondent of volunteer based organizations belong the age group 50-59 and 60-69. In co-operative societies, the respondents fall in all age groups. Among them, 40 and 20 respondents belong to the age group 20-29 and 30-39 respectively. In youth development organizations, 21 and 13 respondents belong to the age group 20-29 and 30-39 respectively. The Table illustrates that most of the respondents of volunteer based and youth development organizations belong to the age group 20-29 years.

3.4.2 Educational Status of the Respondents

Education is a torch of enlightenment, which is necessity for a man after food, clothing, and shelter. It is education which promotes good habits, values and awareness. The study area Bogra and Pabna are more advanced than other district. L.S. O'Malley (1923, p. 45) states the comparative picture of educational status in the districts of Pabna and Bogra, "in 1920-21 the number of boys at school was 40,863 or 5.6 percent of the male population. This proportion was higher than that returned by any other district in the Rajshahi division except Bogra, where it was 7.5 percent. The present study has traced the following educational status of the respondents.

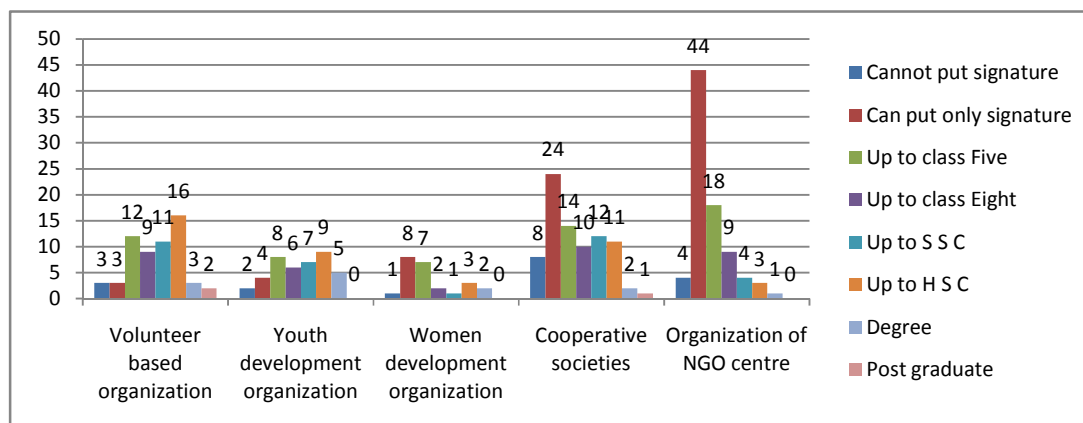
Table 3.4: Educational Status of the Respondents

Educational Qualifications	Raynagor		Malanchi		Total	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Cannot put signature	12	7.9	6	4.4	18	6.3
Can put only signature	38	25.2	45	33.3	83	29.0
Up to class Five	31	20.5	28	20.7	59	20.6
Up to class Eight	20	13.2	16	11.9	36	12.6
Up to S. S. C	19	12.6	16	11.9	35	12.2
Up to H.S.C	19	12.6	23	17	42	14.7
Degree	9	5.96	1	0.7	10	3.49
Post graduates	3	1.99	-	-	3	1.99
Total	151	100	135	100	286	100

The Table 3.6 illustrates that about 92 percent respondents of Raynagor are literate, among them, 25.2 percent can sign, 20.5 percent completed the primary level, 5.96 completed degree course and even 1.99 percent completed post graduate. In the Malanchi Union, 33.3 percent respondents can sign and 20.7 percent have studied up to

class five. Only 4.4 percent respondents of this union cannot put signature. The data shows that about 93 percent respondents of both unions are literate.

Figure 3.2: Educational Qualification of the Respondents at the Organizations Level



The figure 3.4 shows that 54 respondents out of 57 of volunteer based organizations have educational qualification, among them, 12 have passed class five, 11 S S C, 16 H S C and 3 Degree. Thirty nine respondents, out of 41, of the youth development organizations have educational qualification. Among them, 5 have higher education (Degree to Post graduate). Of the 24, 23 respondents of the women development organizations have the educational qualification. Eight respondents out of 81 of cooperative societies cannot put signature, which is the highest number of the selected organizations. However, educational status of the respondents at the organizations level is satisfactory.

3.4.3 Occupation of the Respondents

The occupation of the people in a given society depends on the mode of production of that country. The majority of the people of Bangladesh mainly depend on agriculture for their earning and employment. According to the Population and Housing Census 2011, agriculture is the main source of income in the villages. Occupational diversity have been emerged in the rural areas due to the technological advancement. At the same time, few occupations in rural areas have been dissolved, especially which were related to the social and religious customs. The Census of 2011 has identified the 14 sources of income in the country. Based on agriculture ownership of land or cultivation of agriculture has

identified four types of farmers such as: (i) large farmers are those having farm land 7.5 acres and above (ii) medium farmers are those having farm land 2.50 to 7.49 acres (iii) small farmers are those having farm land 0.05 acres to 2.49 (iv) Tenant holdings are those having no owned land but operating land taken from others on share cropping basis or on other terms (Census of Agriculture 2008). The present study has found eleven types of occupations among the respondents.

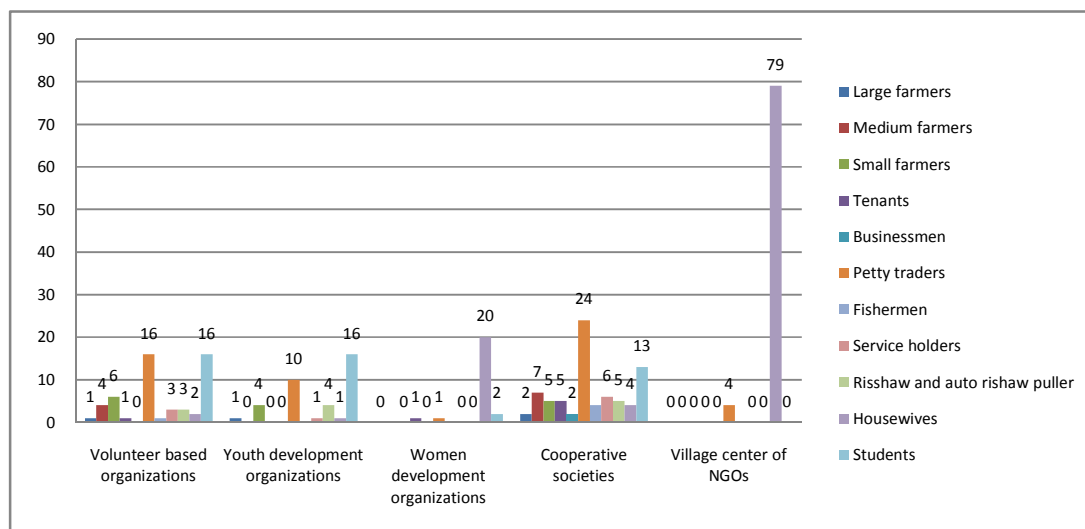
Table 3.5: Occupation of the Respondents

Occupation	Raynagor		Malanchi		Total	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Large Farmers	1	0.7	3	2.22	4	1.39
Medium Farmers	5	3.31	6	4.44	11	3.84
Small Farmers	7	4.63	8	5.92	15	5.24
Tenants	3	2	6	4.44	9	3.14
Businessmen	4	2.8	5	3.7	9	3.14
Petty Traders	29	19.2	25	18.5	54	18.9
Fishermen	2	1.3	3	2.2	5	1.7
Service holders	7	4.6	6	4.44	13	3.5
Rikshaw and auto rikshaw puller	3	2	7	5.2	10	3.5
Housewives	62	41	45	33.3	107	37.4
Students	26	17.2	21	15.6	47	16.4
Total	151	100	135	100	286	100

The Table 3.4 depicts that around 19.2 percent respondents are petty traders and 2.8 percent businessmen at the Raynagor union. In the agricultural sector, about 0.7 percent respondents are large farmers, 3.84 percent medium and 4.63 percent small farmers. About 17.2 percent respondents of the Raynagor union are students. At the Malanchi union, 18.5 percent respondents are petty traders, and 3.7 percent businessmen. Only 4.44 percent respondents are the service holders. Occupational status of the respondents of both unions are almost similar. In the agriculture sector, 2.2 percent respondents are large farmers of Malanchi union while 0.7 percent is at Raynagor union. Maximum respondents (80.7 percent) are the petty traders, students, housewives and small farmers. It is mentioned that there is a variation of occupations among the male respondents, but it is almost absent in the case of female respondents. Although women of the villages play a vital role in the agriculture works in the rural society, but they are treated as housewives. The present study finds that among the 111 women respondents, 105 are housewives. Only four women were identified themselves as petty

traders. Non-agriculture fields are higher than the agriculture in both unions. Such type of figure indicates the changing pattern of rural society and variation in occupations.

Figure 3.3: Occupation of the Respondents at the Organizational Level



The figure 3.1 shows that only 1 respondent out of 57 from volunteer based organizations is large farmer, 4 medium farmers, 6 small farmers, 16 petty traders and 3 service holders. Ten respondents out of 41 from youth development organizations are petty traders, 4 small farmers and 1 service holders. Out of 83 respondents of village centre of NGOs 79 are housewives and only 4 are petty traders. Out of 81 respondents of cooperative societies 24 are petty traders, 5 small farmers and 6 service holders. Most of the respondents of women development organizations and village centre of NGOs are housewives. The data illustrate that number of petty traders are more than the other occupations in the study area except the housewives.

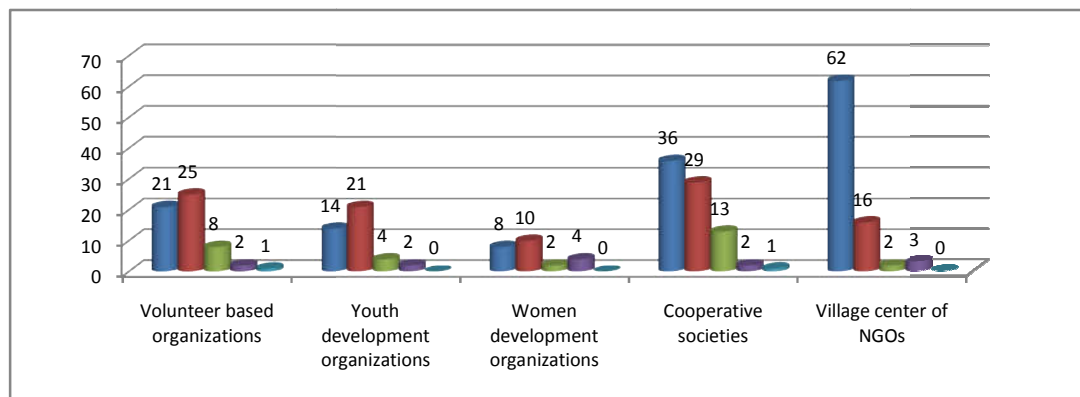
3.4.4 Income of the Respondents

The Population and Housing Census 2011 has identified 14 fields of source of income in the rural areas. Among these, agriculture is the main source of income, where about 45 percent people are employed. Agriculture is the main source of income at the study villages of Raynagor and Malanchi unions as well. Rice is the main agricultural product in these unions. Farmers of Raynagor cultivate potato and vegetables as a cash crop along with the *Boro* and *Aman*. The present study has found the monthly income of respondents as follows:

Table 3.6: Monthly Income of the Respondents

Range of monthly income (TK)	Raynagor		Malanchi		Total	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Tk 5000 to 8000	77	51	64	47.4	141	49.3
Tk 8001 to 11,000	47	31.1	54	40	101	35.3
Tk 11,001 to 13,000	16	10.6	13	9.6	29	10.1
Tk 13,001 to 15,000	9	6	4	3	13	4.5
Tk 15,001 to Above	2	1.3	-	-	2	0.7
Total	151	100	135	100	286	100

The Table 3.4 demonstrates that monthly income of 51 percent respondents of Raynagor union is in the range of TK 5,000 to TK 8,000. While monthly income of only 1.3 percent respondents is more than TK 15,000. Income of 82 percent respondents of the study is between TK 5,000 to TK 11,000. Income level of the respondents in both unions is almost similar. About 87 percent respondents' Malanchi union income level is from TK 5,000 to TK 11,000. There is no respondent in the Malanchi union whose income is more than TK 15,000. Among the total respondents, the income of 49.3 percent respondents is from TK 5,000 to TK 8,000. The study finds that monthly income of 85.6 percent respondents is less than TK 11,000. Therefore, the data illustrate that income of the maximum respondents are less than TK 11000.

Figure 3.4: Monthly Income of the Respondents at the Organizations Level

The figure shows that out of 57 of volunteer based organizations 25 respondents monthly income is between TK 8000 to 11,000. On the other hand, 21 respondents' income level falls in the range of TK 5000 to 8000. While 8 respondents' income is between TK 11000 to 13000. Only one respondent earns TK 15000 to above. Out of 81

respondents of cooperative societies, 36 respondents' income level is between TK 5000 to 8000, 29 respondents between TK 8000 to 11000 and only one respondent's income is TK 1500 to above. In case of village centre of NGOs out of 83, 62 respondents' income is between TK 5000 to 8000. Sixteen respondents' income from TK 8000 to 11000 and none of them are TK 15001 or above. The data demonstrate that the income is between the respondents at organizational level are almost similar.

3.4.5 Religion of the Respondents

Religion produces one kind of norms, values and practices in the society. The religious belief of the people influences in his/her way of life, whether it may be in traditional or modern society. It is very much related to norms reciprocity, network and trust. Most of the people are Muslims in both Raynagor and Malanchi Unions. Almost in every village there is a *mosque*. Besides, *Mandir* is appeared where the community of Hindus is available. Although the Hindus are divided into several sects with different religious beliefs, but the important religious functions and worships are enjoyed by all in common. Even Muslims also participate in the religious festival of the Hindus. The influence of Brahmins person (who conduct the religious ceremonies) had great influence among the common Hindus before, but now with the spread of education among the villagers, their influence is on the wane.

Table 3.7: Religion of the Respondents

Religion	Raynagor		Malanchi		Total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Islam	138	94.03	131	97.04	273	95.45
Hindu	9	5.9	4	2.96	13	4.54
Other	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	151	100	135	100	286	100

The Table 3.8 shows that the total respondents of Raynagor are 151, among them 94.03 percent respondents are Muslims and 5.9 percent are Hindus. In the Malanchi Union, 97.04 percent respondents are Muslims and 2.96 percent are Hindus. Among the total respondents, 95.45 percent are Muslims and others are Hindus.

3.5 Conclusion

Bogra and Pabna are the old districts of Bangladesh. The economic and social settings of the both districts have been changed due to implementation of technology in agriculture-sector, expansion of education, uses of modern and digital device in the daily life (such as television, video, audio, mobile, etc.). The selected unions – Raynagor and Malanchi are the rural areas, where irrigation system and new variety of seeds have brought the major changes in the volume of production and way of life.

The participants of FGDs opined that social values, superstition and custom among the villagers have been changed. Traditional engagement events such as indigenous sports of *Kabadi*, *Daria*, *Nouka Baich* (boat racing), *Mela*, village opera *Jari*, *Sari*, *Murshidi* etc. have often been lost. Now people spend considerable time in watching television in their home.

Most of the respondents of volunteer and youth development organizations belong to the age group of 20-29. About 82 percent respondents of the study are below forty years. The literacy rate of the respondents is about 93.7 percent, where according to the Population and Housing Census 2011, average literacy rate of both unions is 45.5 percent. It is noted that this literacy rate does not presents the total population of the study area. Because, those who are more advanced than others, in general they are the members of CSOs. Due to the change of economic and social settings, new avenues of occupation have been opened up (such as: business, petty trade, service in government and non-government organizations and work in transport sector etc.).

Sources of income in the rural areas have expanded. But the individual income of the villagers does not increase significantly. The study revealed that the monthly income of 85 percent respondents is less than Tk 11,000. Among them, income of 49.3 percent respondents is less than TK 8,000. About 95.45 percent respondents of the study are Muslims, where 94.03 percent in Raynagor, and 97.04 percent in Malanchi union. Only 4.54 percent respondents are Hindus.

However, traditional engagement events of rural areas have often been lost due to the availability of modern instruments at home. People spend a considerable time in watching television and social media. Socio-economic settings have been changed due to the implementation of technology in agriculture and transport sector. As a result, occupation variation is appeared among the respondents.

Chapter Four

Tradition of Old CSOs (1830s-1971): Inception of Democratic Notion

4.1 Introduction

Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) are the inherent outcome of modern society, which emerge through inner conflict and interaction of people in a given society. Bangladesh becomes an independent country in 1971, but the account of her CSOs is very rich. Prior to 1971, the CSOs are known as 'old', which have been dissolved, except very few of them, and the CSOs of post 1971 are known as 'new' which have been grown with distinctive features and new ideas in Bangladesh. This chapter has explored the background of inception and dissolution of old CSOs which imbued democratic ethos, social bonding, reciprocity, fight against the social evils and superstitions, growing nationalism and modern attitude among the people in Bangladesh. This chapter has also attempted to search the public sphere of the Indian subcontinent that generates freedom of voice and expression.

The idea of modern CSOs came from Europe in Bangladesh after the industrial and the French Revolution. In Europe the CSOs emerged with the growing of capitalist society as a counterpart to criticize and protect civil rights. But, the CSOs emerged in this land with the light of modern philosophy of Europe. The enlightened British officers were the pioneer to incept the CSOs in Kolkata. Later, Bengali middle class or known as *Bhadralok* established CSO in Kolkata with various objectives (Mamoon, 1986).

The CSOs emerged in Dhaka 40 years later of Kolkata. The CSOs of East Bengal did not confine within the Dhaka, a number of CSOs had been emerged in town, semi-town and villages. As a result, the engagement of common people was the distinctive features of the East Bengal CSOs. Besides, Muslim organizations also emerged in Kolkata and Dhaka to enlighten the Muslim community (Ahmed, 2009). The CSOs made new avenues to generate democratic values among the people through development oriented activities.

Rabindranath Tagore, G. S. Dutta, H. S. M. Ishak, Mahatma Gandhi and others materialized the idea of CSOs in the aspect of rural development. Rabindranath Tagore inspired the peasants to change their destiny through the formation of CSOs and participation. He introduced *Hitaishi Sabha* among the villagers, and also formed a central committee of *Hitaishi Sabha* which would coordinate the functions of village CSOs. He also believed that popular leader will come out from these organizations as well as people will get the means to solve their problems. Dutta tried to form village development society in Birbhum and Mymensingh. Ishak established Pallimanggal *Samiti* at the villages of Sirajgonj (Sadeque and Halim, 1976). The model of Pallimanggal expanded in Bogra, Pabna and other places of North Bengal very rapidly. Mahatma Gandhi has given emphasis to establish village co-operative society for overall development of the villages. It is noted that Ghandhi visited the village co-operative societies of Bogra and Pabna, and inspired others to form village societies (Rahman, 2009).

The CSOs emerged in Pabna and Bogra with the cooperation of British officers. The CSOs of both districts grew since 1850s. With the inspiration of modern elites, general people formed different types of CSOs to fulfill their objectives. Most of them had been grown for expansion education, social, cultural and community development. Trust each other, reciprocity and network were the inner strength which inspired the common people to involve the collective actions. Indeed, these organizations were the practice ground of democracy, and the architect of the democratic notion in Bangladesh. Most of these had been dissolved.

4.2 Ancient Period

The region of Bengal came to be known as Bengal or Vangla during the medieval period. In ancient times there was no single name denoting this region. Ancient Bengal was divided into few *Janapadas*¹ such as *Pundravardhana*, *Vangala*, *Samatata*, *Suhma*, *Radha* and *Gauda*. These *Janapadas* were named after tribes who were the original settlers of these regions. The two noted books give the depiction of state, society and culture of

¹*Janapadas* means inhabitant area of special tribe. These tribes were most probably the Niasadas or Austric speaking peoples who were looked down by the Aryans as asuras, Mlechas, dasyus and sinners. They are referred to in the Vedic literature as Pundra, Sumha, Radha, Savara, Pulinda, etc.

ancient time; one is *Arthasastra*² of Kautilya which is known as the science of polity. It is a manual of administration (c. 4th century B.C.), and another is *Manusmriti* or the laws of Manu³ (c. the first centuries of the Christian era) which covers Hindu laws and ritual of social lives (Husain, 2011). According to the description of these books, there was a hierarchy of classes in the society, each with its separate duties and distinctive way of life. These strict conventions contributed to the development of a hierarchical social structure in which birth determined the duties and way of life of every member of the society in accordance with his caste and classes. In this hierarchy the Brahmana is at the top and then in the order, Ksatriya, Vaisya and Sudar (Sen, 1985). However, there was no public sphere, people's voice and separate idea in such social texture (Uberoi, 2005).

However, the land of present Bangladesh was ruled by the local chieftains who would have paid tribute to the imperial authorities in the Indian heartlands (Lewis, 2011). In the middle of the seventh century, Bengal came under the control of a Kshatriya tribal chief named Gopala who established the Pala dynasty (c. 750-1159). The Palas were Buddhist Bengalis who controlled large areas of the Ganges valley. The rulers of Pala controlled Bengal and Bihar until the middle of the twelfth century. Patliputra (Patna in Bihar) was their capital city and the city of Vikrampur near Dhaka is believed had been a regional capital. They were well known for their art, literature and knowledge centre. The Palas influenced the direction of Tibetan Buddhism during the reign of Pala king Nyapala. The Palas were in decline by the middle of the twelfth century, when they gave away to the Sena dynasty, founded by Lakshman Sen, a powerful non Bengali Hindu patriarch from Karnataka in South India. The Senas ruled Bengal from close to 1095 to 1245 (Lewis, 2011). Later Gaur became the capital of the Sena dynasty during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The rulers of Sena were zero tolerance for Buddhism and tried to reassert the Hindu caste and conventions. Historians argue that a number of Buddhists became converted to Islam during this period (Baxter, 1998). In ancient period, people's voice was absent in the state organs. Social system was vertical and belief based where the public sphere and horizontal engagement were not possible.

² *Arthasastra* is written by Kautilya, which contains the technique of state administration. Kautilya enumerates the constituent elements of a state as seven in number as well as the existing social castes.

³ *Manusmriti* is a digest of Hindu laws covering every aspect of human life. Manu propounds a theory of origin of kingship in which he states that God creates the king for the protection of His creature.

4.3 Muslim Period: Inception of Public Sphere

The advent of Muslim rule in Bengal did not bring great change in the existing social structure, but gave a space of lower caste people to change their belief. Even Muslim rulers introduced social stratification which is not acceptable in Islam. Those who came from outside are known as *ashraph*. In contrast, those who converted to Muslims are known as *atrphf*. The Muslim rulers were concurrent with the process of feudal decentralization which led to the disintegration of several feudal principalities held by the various Hindu rulers (Gankovsky, 1971). The society was dominated by *Brahmanical* creed. After establishing Muslim rule, an alien aristocracy class was added to the existing upper stratum, while the vast masses belonged to the Hindu and Muslim lower class (Sen, 1986).

The rule of Muslim period could be divided into two phases to trace the social texture and public sphere such as: (i) Sultan-e-Amol (1245-1576) and (ii) Mughal-e-Amol (1576-1757). Sultans came from different regions of central and West Asia, belonged different languages and the cultures, but only religion was indifferent among them. In fact, they came here to change their lot, not to spread Islam or Islamic rule. It was even difficult to them reaching the common people due to lack of communication skill and language barrier. It is true; the whole country was ruled by local kings, and their servants *Dihidar*, *Nayeb*, *Kaji* and *Moral*. A number of landlords controlled the land of the whole country. They gave tax, gift and even soldier in the crisis moment of Sultan. At the same time, some landlords fought against the Sultan. Indeed, Sultans were only the upper stratum of the state; most of the local Hindu kings were sole rulers in Bengal (Murshid, 2006). The culture of Sultans did not influence very much the lower class people of Bengal. After the independence from Delhi Sultanate, Bengal became own land of Sultan's. Within two hundred years of independent, Sultans gave up a large part of their native culture and adopted Bengali culture. However, ethnically, the Muslim invasion brought no serious changes in the social texture of Bengal, and the invaders themselves (who belonged to the military and civil aristocracy) dissolved rather rapidly in the mass of the Bengal population, learning its language and absorbing its culture. Among the factors that facilitated this process were that the invaders were rather few (Gankovsky, 1971).

In the aspect of Bengali literature, they encourage the local poets to translate other literatures into Bengal language. Historians treated the period of Hossen Shah as a golden age of independence. Even the renowned poet Bonkim Chandhra claimed this period as a Renaissance of Bengal. Some literatures and cultural ethos of Bengal flourished during the Muslim rule (Sen, 1986). Dasgupta (1914) mentioned thus, the medieval Bengal Renaissance, the signs of which were the evolution of the cult *Satya Pir*⁴ and the intense desire for the learning of Sanskrit and of Arabic and Persian languages on the part of the Muslim ruling elite and the Hindu upper caste people respectively, was brought about by the intimate relationship between these two groups of elites. This marked the development of the high level of feudalism in the Bengal society in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The rule of Mughal was not blessing for Bengali like the period of Sultans, although communication, trade and handloom industry had been developed in Bengal. The capital of Bengal was moved from Gaur to Dhaka in 1610. As a result, many new buildings, *mosques*, parks and gardens were built up in Dhaka. Dhaka became a trade centre rapidly. But, rulers of Mughal and their servants did not merge with the local Muslims. To extract money from the Bengal was the main agenda. A survey was conducted on cultivable land of whole Bengal. Completing this massive task, one third tax of the production imposed on the farmers in 1582. The total amount of tax collection was Tk. 63, 44,260. In 1658, it became more than double (Tk. 1, 31, 15, 907). In the period of Murshid Kuli Khan the amount was Tk. 1, 82, 88, 186 (Karim, 1959)). The amount of money would go to Delhi. New administration and tax system of this period did not give any space on freedom of choice and thinking.

Although, historians treated the rule of Muslim as a dark-age in terms of science and logic (Uberoi, 2005), several historians claim that there was one kind of public sphere where people expressed their views and emotion in the different festivals and occasions.

⁴ *Satya Pir* is a popular belief system in Bengal; it is crept into the fold of popular aspect of Islam by long association of the Muslims with other religionists. It is assumed that Muslim *Satya Pir* and the Hindu *Satyanarayan Puja* essentially represent the same beliefs and rituals. The *Satya-Pir* concept originated through a fusion of Muslim idea of the *pir* and the Hindu notion of the local deities. Some scholars think that Sultan Alauddin Husain Shah (1494 to 1519 AD) was the originator of the *Satya-Pir* movement, but there is no evidence to support this view.

During this period, public sphere was not uniform and homogenous, it was pluralistic cultural space in which multiple and contrasting public intersected, emerged and collapsed all at the same time. To take an example, *musha'iras*⁵ or poetry recitation assemblies were usually inter-elite affairs that were convened at the house of respectable and learned elites. Finding themselves excluded from these *musha'iras*, “the common people created alternative spaces such as the bazars, the fairs, the festivals and kothas of dancing girls, etc. to express themselves in the domain of textual and cultural” (Hasan, 2005, p. 102-103). These were clearly inclusive sites of public deliberation and their emergence in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century attests to the plurality of the public sphere.

4.4 British Colonial Period: Inception of Modern CSOs

In India, CSOs emerged with the nursing of British civilian and new Bengali middle class. Before that, CSOs had been developed in Europe with the formation of the modern state. It is true; there was one kind of corporate life in Europe. People expressed their aspiration and demands in different places, not in an organized way. After the inception of renaissance, CSOs gradually developed with the development of the modern state. After the Industrial Revolution in Britain and Cultural Revolution in France, public sphere had been taken organizational shaped to acquire people’s rights. “Modern civil society was established or revived in Britain at any rate by the struggle of the non-conformists, the new Christians who together served connection with the established Church of England when it accepted the royal supremacy of the time of the Reformation” (Uberoi, 2005, p. 74).

In the Indian subcontinent, the disjunction between the medieval and modern period is very clear, because “modernity here is treated as analogous to British colonialism. British imperialism is taken to be a central catalyst of change” (Hasan, 2005, 86) in all aspects of lives. After the battle of Palashi in 1757, East India Company became the sole authority of Bengal, although Mir Jafar was puppet *Nawab*. ‘In 1765, the Company signed a treaty that secured from the Mughal emperor, also by now a British Puppet, the

⁵ *Musha'iras* is a king place where the poets recite their poems with pleasant words towards the king and his activities.

right to collect land revenue of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. This treaty provided the company with right to raise taxes in Bengal and, its de facto rule over the province, although the administration of justice remained nominally under the control of *Nawab*' (Lewis, 2011). In 1772, the Company appointed Warren Hastings as a governor general of all the Company's Indian possessions, and Kolkata became its capital.

The debate is still going on, rule of the Europeans in Bengal was blessing or not. Few researchers think that ruthless exploitation and trading of British did not give any scope to flourish capitalism in Bengal, although a Bengali petty bourgeois flourished during the Mughal period with the business of Europeans such as Darkanath Tagore, Gathoshad and others. In contrary, a group of scholars think that Europeans brought modern knowledge, philosophy, equipments of modernization, establishing training centre, educational and social institutions. As a result, an enlightened Bengali middle class emerged in this country. This class was a pioneer of Bengal's renaissance and nationalism.

The Permanent Settlement Act in 1793 was the major steps of British rule, which changed the social structure of Bengal in general. Introducing new land relations had a profound impact upon the existing agrarian social structure. This land system created Hindu-dominated upper class instead of the small Muslim landed aristocracy as well as the large Muslim peasantry of Bengal, those who were not directly related to the land. A new class of *Zamindar* began to emerge in order to strengthen the position of the Hindu-dominated land elite of pre-British days. The new group of land elite also mainly came up from the Hindu merchants and money lending classes (Sen, 1986). Through this Act, the *Zamindars* were the sole owner of the land, and they could sell it to others. The introduction of private property in land in the western sense of the term through the Permanent Settlement Act, especially had an adverse effect upon the Muslim aristocracy in Bengal. (Sen, 1986).

Zamindars of the Mughal period were different to the *zamindars* of the permanent Settlement Act 1793, which vested *zamindars* with full land ownership rights over new zamindari estates. *Zamindars* of Mughal worked as middlemen who took a percentage

of their collection, and then gave the rest amount to the government fund. Through the Act of 1793, the cultivators were transformed into peasants without rights, and although *zamindars* could assume control of the estate, they could also be forced to sell it if he defaulted on the required taxes. In Bengal, the transformation of the zamindari undermined agrarian relations. The hoped for agricultural modernization leading to higher production never materialized, with much of the countryside instead of degenerating into a stagnant system of landlord renters and perpetually poor tenant farmers (Lewis, 2011).

4.5 Emergence of Bhadralok

A key political outcome of the Permanent Settlement was the production of the culture of the *Bhadralok* or 'respectable people', the term that became associated with this mainly high-caste Bengali Hindu rentier class: "the *Bhadralok* gentleman was the antithesis of the horny-handed son of the soil" (Chatterji, 1994, p. 5). As income from agriculture began to decline towards the end of the nineteenth century, the *Bhadralok* had become increasingly associated with western education, modernizing views and an enlightened view of itself as a progressive class carrying forward a 'Bengali renaissance' (Lewis, 2011, p. 51). It played an important role in shaping the continuing nationalist resistance to colonial rule drawing a various forms of Hindu tradition, but ultimately also became associated with the view that Hindus should dominate Bengal and therefore with an anti-Muslim position at the time of partition in 1947 (Chatterji, 1994).

In the sixteenth century Kolkata, Sutanoti and Gobindhapur were very simple villages. These villages were the trade centre of East-India Company. After establishing British rule, Kolkata became politically and economically important than Murshidabad (capital of Bengal during Muhal period). A clerical class emerged, those who knew little English and assisted the East India Company to copy records and documents. The British called them 'Babu'. By turns, the word Babu used to mean Bengali *Zamindars*, *Pattnidar*, *Talukdar*, *Jotdar*, *Nayeb*, *Gomasta*, educated gentlemen, etc. Indeed, they were not directly related to the mode of production, and exploited general people and built destine in new Kolkata city. They had a considerable contribution in Bengali literature,

language, art, song, education, etc., were the sole agents of Bengali renaissance. Unfortunately, the Muslims of Bengal could not contribute in the Bengal renaissance because they treated the British as invaders of their Muslim rule (Murshid, 2006). On the contrary, the British did not rely on the Muslims due to the power relationship. Such type of antagonistic relationship between the British and the Muslims, the Muslim community could not gain the modern philosophy of Europe directly from the British.

4.6 Growing of Modern Associations

Social change and reformation were the main trend of Bengal in the whole nineteenth century. During this period, society was enriched by European thoughts, philosophy and ideas, which were creating vibration in the existing traditional norms and values. New institutions like Fort William College and Sreerampur Baptist Mission were established in 1800 century. The British Parliament enacted the law to ban 'child sacrificing' custom in the sea for sea God, and '*Sati-dah*⁶' custom in 1802 and 1829 respectively. Pioneer of Bengal renaissance Rammohan Ray began to visit new city Kolkata since 1800 A. D., and settled in 1814, when he was 40 years old. He established '*Atiya-sabha*' in 1815 and campaigned against *Sati-dah* custom from 1818 to 1819 (Gosh, 2000). It was the first association which was established by Bengali. The members of the *Atiya-sabha* were friends and followers of Rammohan and came from an aristocratic family. Although the aim of *Atiya-sabha* was the reformation of Hindu religious practices but various issues were discussed in the gathering, such as social caste, *Sati-dah*, child marriage and polygamy, etc. These were indeed the crucial social problems. Later, social movements made against these customs.

The enlightened Hindu Bengali of Kolkata established Hindu College in 1817. The students of Hindu college began to discuss against the existing superstitions and dogmatism. Most of them were the disciple of Derozio who was the teacher of Hindu

⁶ *Sati-dah* is an obsolete culture of Hindu religion where a widow sacrificed herself or forcibly burned alive on her husband's funeral pyre. This custom started in India between the 5th to 9th centuries AD. Raja Rammohan Roy began campaign against the brutal practice in 1812. Later, he appealed to William Bentinck, the Governor of Bengal, to promulgate a law banning sati practice in British India. Through his effort the practice was banned by a law enacted in 1829 in Bengal Presidency.

college. They were the pioneer of 'Young Bengal Movement'. Young students of Hindu college gained thoughts of Francis Bacon, John Locke, George Berkeley, David Hume, John Stuart Mill and others from the Derozio. The students of the college communicated with Derozio in and out of the class, and shared their thoughts and views. In this situation, Derozio established debating society for his students named Academic Association in 1827 (Gosh, 2000).

During this period, a considerable number of books, magazine, pamphlet, etc. were published in India. In fact, the gist of these writings was the expression of own views regarding religious practices and codes of Indians, social issues and values. Rammohan Ray wrote 29 books in Bengali, 3 books in *Sanskriti* and 33 books in English language (Gosh, 1968). Simultaneously, different associations and societies were established by the supporting of enlightened British to express opinion and pursuing knowledge. The associations became the centers of reforming zeal, literary and philosophic illumination (Turberville, 1933).

Gouriah Samaj established in 1823 in order to acquire knowledge and philosophy. In this organization, all segments such as believers of old, middle and modern thoughts were the members. In *Atiya-sabha* there was one kind of the unanimous opinion because of belonging to the same class, but it was different from *Gouriah Samaj*. There was no restriction on the opinion of the members. At the end of 1820s, Englishmen established few societies in Kolkata such as Literary Society, Oriental Literary Society, Phrenological Society, Agricultural and Horticultural Society, Commercial and Patriotic Association, Ladies Society, Kolkata Medical and Physical Society, etc. (Gosh, 2000).

The 1830s was a new age of Kolkata. Modern thoughts and ideas had been spread over the new city of Kolkata. Those who were educated began to talk about freedom of expression, individual rights, social caste, religion, women's rights, beliefs, etc., these discussions and debate held on the growing new clubs, associations and societies. In reality, these organizations were the sole center of individualism and the lamp of

modernization in Bengal. Alexander Duff wrote thus, new societies started up with the utmost rapidly in every part of the native city. There was not an evening in the week, on which one, two or more of these were not held; and each individual was generally enrolled a member of several. Indeed, the spirit of discussion became a perfect mania; and its manifestation both in frequency and variety was carried to prodigious excess----- (Day, 1879).

Table 4.1: Noted Associations of 1830s

Name of the Associations	Year of inception	Remarks
Bangohito <i>Sabha</i>	1830	Students Associations.
Anglo-Indian Hindu Association	1830	Students Associations
Debating Club	1830	General Associations, Chur-bagan
Bangorazani <i>Sabha</i>	1830	Secretary, Ishorchandra Gupta
Sarbatatodipika <i>Sabha</i>	1830	Secretary, Debendhranath Tagore
Ganachandrada <i>Sabha</i>	1836	General association, Thonthonia
Sadharon Ganauporzibika <i>Sabha</i>	1838	President, Tarachand Chowkrabarti, Secretary, Ramtu Lahiri & Parichand Mitroy
Tatobodhani <i>Sabha</i>	1839	Founder, Debendhranath Tagore

Source: Ghosh, B. (2000). *Banglar Samajik Itihaser Dhara*, P. 221.

Besides these noted organizations, a number of small organizations were established in new town Kolkata. Through the engagement and activities of these organizations brought the light of the sun in the sky of Bengali mind. This light was the enlightenment of logic, sovereign thought and intelligence. Young Bengal group brightened this torch (Ghosh, 2000). In 1842, *Zamidar* Darkanath Tagore came back from England. George Thompson, member of the British Indian Society, came to India with Tagore. Thompson was well known orator and social reformer in Britain. He inspired the Indian educated young to form political organization (Ghosh, 2000). In 1843, under the leadership of the Young Bengal Movement, few educated young formed 'Bengal British India Society.'

The 'British Indian Association' was the first political vision organization which raised political voice in favor of Indians. During this period, noted associations such as Bathun Society (1851), Perseverance Society (1847), Sarbosuvokori *Sabha* (1850), Samajunnati

Bidhaeni Suridha *Samiti* (1854), Bidutshahini *Sabha* (1854-55) had been emerged with the vision of social development. After the social movement regarding Indigo mutiny 'Indian Association' formed in 1876. Indian Association became political media of the Indians. In fact 'the Indian Association' brought up Bengali middle class political aspiration. For this reason it soon focused the public spirit of middle class, and became the centre of the leading representatives of the educated community of Bengal (Banerjea, 1925). The rising of the modernity and its essence of association did not limit to Kolkata. Its essence very rapidly extended to Dhaka and different towns of East Bengal.

4.7 Emergence of CSOs in East Bengal

Associations, clubs and societies emerged in Kolkata since at the beginning of the nineteenth century and continued the whole nineteenth century. But, the emergence of associations started in East Bengal from 1840s. A huge number of associations were formed in the 1870s to 1890s in East Bengal. But these organizations were not limited to Dhaka, and spreading over the towns, semi-urban and villages of East Bengal. It is unknown when the first association established in East Bengal. Two trends are observed in the emergence of associations in East Bengal, one is general organization, and another is Muslim organization. Both types of organizations brought the change in the existing traditional values.

It is informed that prior to 1857, seven associations were established in East Bengal; *Timirnashok Sabha* (1838) in Dhaka, Rangpur United Society (1839) in Rangpur for protecting the rights of *Bhumyadhikari* and *Rayat*, *Neponiti-Bodhani* (1851) in Chittagong for the discussion of laws, Dhaka Club (1851) and Branch of Bathun Society (1852) in Dhaka for discussion of different purposes, *Bhumyadhikari Sabha* (1851) in Rangpur and *Bhumyadhikari Sabha* (1852) in Dinajpur for protecting the interest of middlemen in land (Mamoon, 1984). Various types of organizations emerged in the present land of Bangladesh to fulfill the social demands. Muntassir Mamoon (1984) has categorized these organizations into three broad headings on the basis of objectives and activities such as (i) expanding education (ii) social development and (iii) development for the community.

It was an important feature of East Bengal organizations that few organizations had been working for women rights and awareness building. The members of the organization encouraged the female members of the society going to school, and provided scholarship, award, etc. for reducing gender discrimination. Women also participated and shared their values, beliefs, norms and sufferings with each other. Even women participated in various social development functions, especially in the crisis or disaster moment.

Most of the organizations had no financial solvency. The membership fee and personal grant were the main financial source of these organizations. Very few organizations got the grant from government agencies. Most of the organizations were structurally horizontal; as a result, the democratic mind set was made up among the members gradually. A list of associations which were available during the 1830s to 1905 is added in the appendix-E I.

4.8 Muslim Associations

It is noted that Muslims associations emerged in East Bengal under the leadership of the few western learned Muslims. Most of the Muslim associations established in Kolkata and Dhaka. Later, the branch of these associations spread in town, semi-town and even village of East Bengal to awaken the backward Muslims. During the British rule, the Muslims were out of the mainstream education and European renaissance. There was an antagonistic relationship between the British and the Muslims. The British defeated the Muslims through battle in *Palassy* square and enjoyed political power. Due to the antagonistic relationship the Muslims did not participate in the modern associations of the early nineteenth century. *Anjuman Islam* or *Mohammedan Association* (1855) established in Kolkata after the forty years of *Atiya-sabha*. The purpose of *Mohammedan Association* stated that 'to promote a union among the *Mohammedan* subjects of the East India Company for the following purposes.

- i) For seeking the interests and promoting the welfare of the subjects of the East India Company generally and Mohamedans particularly and for removing general evils existing previously, or those that might hereafter occur by petitions to the authorities here or in England, and by every other legitimate means in its power.

- ii) For promoting the prosperity of the religion of Islam and preserving *Mohammedan* subjects of the East India Company from evil ways and pursuits by all proper means, not betraying any rebellious spirit amongst the British Government' (Cited in Ahmed, 2009 p. 14).

It is true that, *Mohammedan* Association and British Indian Association were the blessing for the Indians. These organizations worked as a bridge between the Indians and government. The *Mohammedan* Literary Society was established by Abdul Latif in Kolkata 1863 to impart Muslims with western education and philosophy. Abdul Latif expressed the objectives of the society in his writing, 'A Short Account of My Public Life' (1883), "being fully aware of the prejudice and exclusiveness of the Mohamedan Community and anxious to imbue its members with a desire to interest themselves in western learning and progress, and to give them an opportunity for the cultivation of social and intellectual intercourse with the best representatives of English and Hindoo Society, I founded the Mohmedan Literary Society in April 1863" (Cited in Haque, 1968, p. 167-68). In fact, the Society of Abdul Latif worked to enlighten backward Muslim community. In 1922, the activities of society became stagnant due to less engagement of members and lack of leadership, but it is unknown when it had been dissolved.

The Muslims Associations were not limited to Kolkata. They extended to Dhaka and semi urban areas of East Bengal. *Samaj Sammilani Sabha* established in Dhaka 1879, which was a first Muslim association in Dhaka. It is noted that *Anjumans* spread over the East Bengal and other parts of India as a branch of *Anjumans*. A list of Muslim *Sabha-Somity* is given in the appendix-E II.

Undoubtedly, the Muslim Associations played role in the expansion of education, promoting the welfare and prosperity of the religion of Islam, and tried to remove the evils and superstitions of the Muslim community. Their activities were not against the British Colonial rule (Ahmed, 2004). At the same time, these organizations created a separate mindset among the Muslims; we are Muslims and different from others community. This separate mindset had been increased when Muslims became educated largely and felt the majority in East Bengal, thus two communities, Hindu and Muslims, had been disintegrated gradually (Mamoon, 1984).

Historical evidence proves that a number of CSOs grew in the towns, semi-town and even villages of Bengal. The CSOs worked to disseminate modern ideas and thoughts of Europe. The CSOs also fought against the existing traditional values. The CSOs became the common place of interaction of all segments, from where general people gained democratic values and attitude. Bogra and Pabna are the selected areas of the present study, which are the old districts of Bangladesh. Many CSOs had been emerged here with different purposes since 1950s. In fact, the tradition of CSOs in the two districts was very rich in the perspective of social bonding as well as dissemination of democratic values.

4.9 The CSOs of Bogra District

The tradition of Bogra is very rich from the ancient period. It was the capital of *Pundra Janapads*. The ancient capital of *Pundra* dynasty named *Pundrabardhan* is now Bogra. The region of Bogra was the administrative centre of Maurja, Gupta, Paul, Sen during the 4th to 12th century. During the Muslim rule, the region of Bogra enriched with the Muslims ritual and culture. But, the general people did not get scope to express their views collectively. There was one kind of freedom of choice to change the religious belief. During the British colonial period, it was a *thana* of Rajshahi district. Rajshahi was the biggest district in Bengal province. "*Rajshahye*, the most unwieldy and extensive Zamindary in Bengal, or perhaps in India, intersected in its whole length, by the great Ganges or its lesser branches, with many other navigable rivers and fertilizing waters" (cited Sen, 1929, p. 329). Law and order situation of this district was deteriorating day by day. Revenue collection was not expected level. The administration was reshuffled again and again to correct law and order situation. But, the situation did not change at the optimum level. In this perspective, Bogra was declared as a separate district in 1821 to maintain law and order situation. After the liberation of Bangladesh, Bogra district was divided into two districts named Bogra and Joypurhat in 1984.

Since 1850s, the civil society organization emerged in Bogra with the new philosophy of European Renaissance. The servants of the British government helped to form the civic organization. The Murail Charity Institution, *Brahmo Samaj*, Bogra Twon Club, Young Men's Muslim Association, etc. were formed in the nineteenth century. On the onwards 1930s, the CSOs were formed in the rural areas of Bogra under the leadership of

enlightened Bangali, such as *Pallimanggal Samiti*, *Ganamangal*, South Bogra People's Awakening *Samiti*, etc. *Pallimanggal Samiti* played vital role to reform the traditional norms and values. The expansion of education and changing the traditional beliefs were the main target of the organizations. A very few institutions of the Bogra named *Pallimanggal* are bearing the glorious sign of the past yet. The descriptions of noted CSOs are given below.

4.9.1 Murail Charity Institution

Bogra, *Sadar*

Murail is a nearest village of Bogra town. Tarab Ali Chaudhari established a voluntary organization in 1850s named 'Murail Charity Institution' which was the first institution in Bogra excepting dispensaries and schools (Hunter, 1876). Free medical facilities and financial help for the poor were the main functions of the institution. Increasing civic consciousness was one of the important objectives of the institution. The institution continued its welfare functions long days, but it is unknown when it had been dissolved.

4.9.2 Bogra Brahmo Samaj

Bogra, *Sadar*

Brahmo Samaj was established by Raja Ramohon Ray and Debendranath Tagore in 1828 in Kolkata. It was one of the most influential religious movements for the making of modern India (Kopf, 1979). Later many of the branches of *Brahmo Samaj* set up in the different places of India. But, *Brahmo Samaj* of Bogra was not the branch of Kolkata *Brahmo Samaj*. Krisna Kumar Sen was the second teacher of the Bogra Zila School. With his long effort, *Brahmo Samaj* established in 1858 in Bogra town. After the inception of the organization, he tried to expand its activities beyond the town. Different segments of people came to the organization, especially those who wanted to change the existing belief and custom of the society. In 1961, Krisna Kumar Sen left Bogra due to transfer of his job. As a result, the activities of *Brahmo Samaj* became sluggish and stagnant. Later, "Mr. S. C. Mukharjee who was district Magistrate built a prayer hall (*Mandir*) for the members of *Brahmo Samaj* in the town" (Sen, 1929, p. 371). Now this is a deserted building of *Brahmo Samaj* in the town. But, it is unknown when it had been dissolved.

4.9.3 Bogra Town Club

Bogra, Sadar

Town club of Bogra is an old civic organization which has passed more than hundred years with its glorious activities in Bangladesh. Before 1896, the town club was a town society of elite people of the town. Bogra district magistrate Gladstone arranged a football match in 1896. Later, “members of town society renamed as Gladstone Club instead of town society” (Miser, 1957, p. 192). It was a first modern civic organization of Bogra which used to arrange sports and cultural programs in the town. The activities were not limited to sports and cultural programs, the club also worked for the development of the town and destitute of the society. During this period, lack of drinking water was a common problem in Bogra. The club established water reservoir in many points of the town. It also worked for tree plantation, drainage and medical services for the poor. Sometimes, it had worked with collaboration of government for the development of the town. Anseruddin Sheikh, a participant of Oral Testimony (OT), narrates the position of Town Club as:

It is the first organization of Bogra district, which has survived with moribund position. From its inception it did not become mass organization. It was established by the officer of British government. Members of the club were officers, landlords and influential person of the society. The common people could not become members of it. There was an unwritten barrier to become the members of mass people. Even now, members of the higher middle class are the members of the club. The nature of such type of membership could not inspire the general to involve in the mass movement. Nevertheless, it has considerable contribution to the field of social development and nourishing of own cultural (OT 3).

From its beginning, most of the members of this club were landlords and officials of the government. After the partition of India in 1947, the membership scenario of this club did not change very much. Those who were the influential members of political parties, especially Muslim League and social elites were the members. The nature of its membership, the town club did not become as a mass organization. For this reason the club did not play vigorous role in mass movement against the British and Pakistan rulers. Most of the members of the club were in favor of establishment.

In spite of its limitation, it had created enormous space to exchange trust, reciprocity, cooperation and values among the people. After the independence of Bangladesh, it has

renamed as the 'Bogra Town Club' instead of 'Gladstone Club' in 1978. Now the activities and engagement of people in the club has been shrunk. Sometimes the club arranges different sports programs inspite of its limited financial and inner constraints.

4.9.4 Central National Mohammedan Association

Bogra, *Sadar* and Dupchachia

Central National *Mohammedan* Association (CNMA) was established under the leadership of western enlightened Syed Amir Ali with educated Muslims middle class in 1878 (Ahmed, 2004). Bogra Central National *Mohammedan* Association established in 1883 as a branch of Kolkata. Central Association of Kolkata published first five year report in 1923. According to the report, there were 78 members of Bogra Association. Local *Zamindars*, *Jotdars*, businessmen and Muslim elites were the members of the organization. Munshi Sheikh Jamiruddin published a pamphlet named '*Bogra Jatio Muslims Samitir Onusthan-patra*' (Bogra National Muslim Association Programs Paper). The association became stagnant after the death of former secretary Samiruddin. To expand education among the Muslims was the main goal of the organization. The then Altaf Ali was president, Khan Bhadur Hafizur Rahman Chowdhury, Syed Abdur Rob Chowdhury and Sha Mohammed Haider Abu Zoban were vice president and *Maulana* Syed Riazuddin was the secretary of the organization. At that time members of the association were 50. It is noted that there was a branch of CNMA in Dupchachia thana of this district (Ahmed, 1998). Anseruddin Sheikh, a participant of OT 3 described the condition of Muslim association:

The Muslim organizations were more popular than secular organizations in East Bengal because the majority of the Muslims were living here. Undoubtedly secular organizations were accepted to all. Muslim organizations also gave separate identity and unity among the Muslim community.

It is observed that the Central National *Mohammedan* Association (CNMA) worked for awakening the backward Muslims. Education and awareness were the main agenda of the organization. It is noted that engagement of the people and information dissemination was the strategies to achieve the unity among the members.

4.9.5 Young Men's Muslim Association

Bogra, *Sadar*

The Young Men's Muslim Association was the engagement place of learned middle class Muslims. It was established in 1926. It was known as a volunteer organization in the territory of Bogra and its adjacent area for its social well-being and development activities. *Zamindar* of Shelborsha *Pargana* Khan Bhadur Munshi Hafizur Rahman Chowdhury was the pioneer to establish this association. The objective of the organization was to help the poor and needy in the society irrespective of caste and religion in the society. Free food, medicine, treatment, financial and physical assistance were the most common activities of this organization. Social awakening among the young was one of the important activities of this organization. The association established a library for acquiring knowledge. The villagers and members of the organization were the readers of the library. The association also helped the poor and meritorious students and arranged different sports program regularly (Miser, 1957). Thus the association inspired the common people to be involved with social and collective works in this area. In fact, the association created the huge space to share norms, values and information among the people for the betterment of the society through the mass engagement. It is unknown when it had been dissolved.

4.9.6 Pallimanggal Samiti

Village welfare society or association is a modern idea. It was promoted by British rulers in India. The British government did not give permission to form a village welfare society before 1887. But, there was permission to form town society under the Bengal Act 5, 1876. "The town welfare societies were directed by the elected representatives under the Bengal Act 3, 1884. The town society of 18 districts enjoyed one kind of autonomy in their working jurisdiction" (Sen, 1929, p. 363). An annual meeting of town societies was held in Rajshahi. At this meeting Babu Jadobchandra Bishi proposed to start the village welfare society like town society. This proposal was accepted by the audience. (Mamoon, 1985).

H. S. M. Ishaque was a Thana Circle Officer of Sirajganj of Pabna district. He introduced *Pallimanggal Samiti* in his working area of Sirajganj in 1916. He frequently visited the

villages, interacted with villagers and informed them about the importance of village welfare society in their practical life. He conducted a questionnaire survey to start village development works. He also inspired the villagers to form a central unit of *Pallimanggal Samiti* to run these societies smoothly (Sadeque and Halim, 1976). The model of *Pallimanggal Samiti* expanded very rapidly in other places such as Bogra, Pabna and Rangpur regions. Within the two years, 21 secondary schools and 2,000 adult learning centers were established in Sirajgonj with the effort of *Pallimanggal Samiti*. About 0.1 million adult villagers received primary education from the night schools of the *Samiti*. Members of the *Samiti* collected about 4.2 millions money from the villagers to develop their villages. The *Samiti* established 21 ideal agricultural farms as a learning centre. Farmers of the villages gained knowledge and know how technology from these farms. Seven weavings training centers were also established under the supervision of *Samiti* from where villagers could earn extra money along with their main job (Sadeque and Halim, 1976). Ishaque writes in his 'Rural Bengal' in 1937 thus, 'the main success of *Pallimanggal Samiti* movement is that the villagers have been become inspired to make new ideal life rather than construction of schools, roads and different engagement hubs' (Ishaque, 1959, p. 20).

T. I. M. Nurunnabi Chowdhury was the district Magistrate of Bogra from 1932 to 1936. He organized village people to form *Pallimanggal Samiti*. A number of organizations were formed in the villages under his leadership. Students and young were the members of *samiti*. They wanted to change their destiny with collective efforts. Tabibur Rahman, an informal interviewee of Shakharia village opined, "we participated in various development functions of villages such as: constructing and reconstructing village roads, culverts, cleaning the jungle and cultivating vegetables and fish, cleaning abandoned ponds and establishing night and day schools, library and club etc." With the cooperation of government agency 20,000 adult learning centers were established on the basis of volunteer service. About 0.5 million people received primary education from these centers. During the Second World War, development functions of government became stagnant, but the collective functions of *Pallimanggal* did not sluggish at all. The villagers engaged themselves to change their destiny. Later, due to the crisis of Kerosene and lamp, most of the night schools had been closed (Sadeque and Halim, 1976). Now there are no activities of the *Pallimanggal Samiti* in the district of Bogra. But there are glorious sign of

this *Samiti*. Three schools and one bazaar are named as *Pallimanggal* which are bearing the mark of *Pallimanggal*. The inception history these *Samities* are given below.

4.9.7 Shakharia Pallimanggal Samiti

Bogra, *Sadar*

Shakharia village is more known to people as *Pallimanggal* village. It is 10 kilometers away from the *Sadar Upazila* of Bogra where three institutions are bearing the mark of the *Pallimanggal Samiti* with credit. Few young of *Shakharia* village formed a *Pallimanggal Samiti* with the inspiration of the then district magistrate T. I. M. Nurunnabi Chowdhury. Tabibur Rahman who was popular as Hongkong doctor and others of the villages were the organizers to form this organization. But there is no record when it was established. At first they started their work to deliver the reliefs and medical services among the poor. Later, they included adult education and training programs for the villagers. The functions of this *Samiti* extended to its adjacent villages within very short time. The *Shakharia* became the hub to gather people. Members of the *Samiti* established child and adult learning centres and *Madrasas* (religious institution) in Shakharia. In this centres, different professional training such as weaving, tailoring, farming, etc. were started voluntarily for villagers. Later, they also established a primary school in 1953, which is now known as *Pallimanggal* Government Primary School. The *madrasa* of the *Samiti* did not continue smoothly for the lack of students. In the place of *Madrasa*, villagers established a high school named *Pallimanggal* high school in 1968. Two institutions named *Pallimanggal* are the glorious institutions of this area, where seven hundred students are studying. Habibur Rahman, an elderly of Shakharia village who was the member of *Pallimanggal* narrated his reminiscence as:

I joined the *Pallimanggal Samiti* after a long period of its establishment. It might be the year of 1943/44. Then I was a student of school. It was established under the leadership of doctor Hamdu. Very few students and young of the village were the members of the *Samiti*. To provide medical services and help the poor were the main functions of the *Samiti*. They also established adult learning centre. I was also involved in the activities of the night classes in the learning centre. Members of the *Samiti* introduced Islamic education (*madrasa*) at these centre at the day time. But the activities of *madrasa* did not continue long due to the lack of students. The organizers of the *Samiti* established a primary school in 1953. Now it is known as the Government *Pallimanggal* Primary School. Later, a High School was established in the place of *madrasa* in 1968 named *Pallimanggal* high school. It is true that if the *Samiti* could not establish in this area people did not get education (OT 1).

In 1960s, a *hat* was launched by the members of the *Pallimongal Samiti* for selling the goods of the villagers. The named of hat is also known as '*Pallimanggal hat*'. Now it is a big *hat* of this area. Three institutions are situated in the land of *Pallimanggal Samiti*'. It is unknown when it had been dissolved. In fact, three institutions are the mark of social capital, where trust, values and reciprocity worked as main elements for the development and consciousness building. Collective efforts were their core element to continue the welfare works. Abdul Kader, another former member of the *Shakharia Pallimanggal Samiti* said the unity and tradition of *samiti*:

The organizers of this *Pallimanggal* were the students of this village. Later, all corners of the people of this area became members or beneficiaries of this organization. A unity was built among the members through frequent engagement and interaction. A cooperative and reciprocal attitude had been grown among the villagers. The *Pallimanggal* Cooperative Society established a child and adult education centre from where they got primary education, health, services and even political knowledge.

He also states the present condition of CSOs as:

Now such welfare associations are not available in the villages. Almost all such associations are working as money lending centers or NGOs. A very few welfare associations are formed in the village, but their span of time is very short. Besides, they are politically divided. The present associations could not work freely without the political connection.

4.9.8 Fulbari Pallimanggal Samiti

Bogra, Sadar

The Fulbari was a village of *Bogra Sadar*. Now it is the area of Bogra town. The *Pallimanggal Samiti* was established in 1934 when it was adjacent village of Bogra town. At present there is no activity of the Samiti in this area. But, a two storied building of the Fulbari is bearing a mark of *Pallimanggal Samiti* yet.

4.9.9 Fapur Pallimanggal Samiti

Bogra, Sadar

The *Pallimanggal Samiti* of Fapur union was established during the period 1932 to 1936. Initially, its activities were limited to Fapur village. Gradually the activities of *Samiti* extended across the Union Council of Fapur. The *Samiti* worked many welfare activities for the villagers with their weekly savings and collective efforts. The Samiti established an

adult learning centre and a primary health care center. The *Samiti* made different roads, culverts, and bamboo overpass, etc. with the effort of villagers. The villagers constructed a big road from Fapur to Bogra town with their own labor, land and money. The *Samiti* bought 1.62 acres land with the savings of the members. The villagers sit weekly *Hat* in the land of *Samiti*, but the bazar did not continue long time. In 1969 a social activist and educationist Abul Hossen Molla with the cooperation of Satish Pal who was the Chairman of *Union Parishad* established a junior high school named Fapur Union *Pallimanggal* School in the land of *Samiti*. Now it is a secondary school where 850 students are studying. Abul Hossen Molla, an organizer of Fapur Union *Pallimanggal* School said as:

Pallimanggal Samiti was founded here in the 1930s with the inspiration of the then District Magistrate. The *Samiti* gave the villagers a new avenue of thinking and effort to alleviate poverty. Members of the *Samiti* worked for the villagers, which brought out a great change in the traditional society. In 1968, we took steps to establish a school in the barren land of *Samiti*. At first, we started a junior school, now it has been turned into a high school.

4.9.10 Ganamangal

Bogra, *Sadar*

The Ganamangal is one of the dissolved organizations of Bogra which was established in 1923 under the leadership of school teacher Jatindra Mohan Roy. The *Ganamangal* started its activities in the barren land of Shaujgari. Welfare and consciousness building of the people were the prime objectives of the organization. It was a registered organization. There was an option to establish new branch in other places, which had been stated in its objective. The first executive members of *Ganamangal* were Jatindra Mohan Roy, Suresh Chandra Roy, Birendhranath Sannal, Mohesh Chandhra Sen, Muhammed Nadeer Ali. General members of the organization were Noresh Chandhra Devguptho, Endhubhushan Roy, Jotish Chandra Roy, Muhammed Jasimuddin, Jogendhranath Dey Sarker, Suresh Chandra Bhattacharja, Protap Chandhra Majumder, Nishithnath Kundo, Dhirendhra Mohan Sarker and others (Rahman, 2009).

A new life appeared in the town for the welfare activities of *Ganamangal*. Many moribund educational and social institutions of the town were revived through the efforts of *Ganamangal* activists. Noresh Chandhra, a member of *Ganamangal*, started a

school in the premises of *Ganamangal* office. Nadeer and Abdul Jabber established a branch of *Ganamangal* at Hat-Shahor. They established a school and homeopathy centre at *Hat-Shahor* in the name of *Ganamangal*. Jatindhra Mohan proposed to start a school in area of town. Indhrabhushan established a school in the name of *Ganamangal* at Hari-para. Many physical gymnastic centers were established in the town with the cooperation of *Ganamangal* (Rahman, 2009).

National Poet Kazi Nazrullah Islam visited the activities of *Ganamangal* and stayed two days in Bogra. He highly praised the activities of *Ganamangal*. In 1926 Mahatma Gandhi visited the *Ganamangal*. The activists of *Ganamangal* were very much inspired for the visit of Mahatma Gandhi. After visiting the activities of *Ganamangal*, Gandhi said, “No comparison to others what have done *Ganamangal*” (Rahman, 2009, p. 21). During the famine 1943, activists of *Gomongal* collected money and food and distributed among the famine affected people. Even they sold the tin of the roof of the *Ganamangal* office. The activists of revolutionary party such as *Jugantor* and *Anushilon* became the members of *Ganamangal*. In the 1930 Jatindhra Mohan was arrested in Kolkata for political reason. In the absence of Jatindhra, *Ganamangal* became a revolutionary organization. The government banned the organization. After the partition of India in 1947, the government of Pakistan again banned the *Ganamangal*. Later, the activities of this organization did not appear in this area (Rahman, 2009).

4.9.11 The CSOs of South Bogra: Awakening Movement

In the early nineteenth century, modern education and thought could not spread all over the South Bogra. Newly established social organizations worked vehemently to awaken the people of the area. The young and learnt people of South Bogra established “The Nagor United Youth *Samiti*”, “South Bogra Regional Alem *Samiti*” “South Bogra *Pallimangal Samiti*” and “South Bogra people’s awaking *Samiti*”. These four organizations played a vital role to modernize the South Bogra. Many educational institutions, libraries and cultural centers were established by these organizations. These are yet enlightening the people of South Bogra (Afazulla, 1972).

4.9.11.1 The Nagor United Youth Samiti

Bogra, Shajahanpur

A few students of the Bogra *Zila* School formed a civic organization in 1926. It was the first civic organization in the South Bogra. The main motto of this *Samiti* was to expand modern education and help the poor students. They established an office of *Samiti* and a library in the Demazany village. Within the few years, night and primary schools were started by the effort of the *Samiti* in the different places of South Bogra. With the efforts of this organization the minor school of Damazany was upgraded to high school in 1945. These awakening activities of *Samiti* were first pillar of South Bogra (Afazulla, 1972).

4.9.11.2 South Bogra Regional Alems Samiti

Bogra, Shajahanpur

During 1936 to 1937, South Bogra Regional *Alem Samiti* was formed with the Islamic learnt Muslims of Chopainagor Union, Amrul Union and adjacent villages of Sherpur and Dhunat *thana*. The activities of this organization were a bit different from other organizations. Transmission of Islamic values and believes were the main agenda. The *Samiti* imposed the practice of Namaz strictly upon the people. The *Samiti* also introduced register book to ensure Namaz and to obey Islamic rules. Those who did not follow the imposed rules of *Samiti*, called them in the office of *Samiti* for the violation of Islamic rules. The *Samiti* gave cautious messages for avoiding Islamic values. The *Samiti* also prohibited others to interact with avoiders of Islamic rules. Even the *Samiti* would ban on the participation of the *Janaja* after the death of irregular practicing the Muslims. Thus the organizations imposed bindings on the religion and thoughts of people. The organization established two *Madrasas* in the area. These have been turned into are the higher secondary *Madrasa* (Afazulla, 1972). Indeed, this organization used its social capital against the individual freedom, choice and thought. But it also compelled people to be involved with collective activities of the society.

4.9.11.3 South Bogra Pallimanggal Samiti

Bogra, Shajahanpur

Pallimanggal Samiti was established in South Bogra like other places of Bogra from 1932 to 1939. It was formed across the Chapainagor Union of Bogra *Sadar Upazila*. Office of the *Pallimanggal* and a library were established in Shahanagor *hat*. Another *Pallimanggal Samiti* was established in the Fulcoat village of Amrule Union. The office of *Samiti* and a library started on the premises of Fulcoat Primary School. Besides, a *Pallimanggal Samiti* established in the Jamalpur village of Aria Union of Shajahanpur *Upazila*. The office of *Samiti* and a library were also established in this village.

The then district Magistrate Nuron Nabi Chowdhury called to the honorable Minister of Khaja Nawab Habibulla Bhahadur to visit the *Pallimanggal Samiti*. He visited the activities of *Pallimanggal* and became very much pleased. After the few months of his visit, three Ministers of government including Prime Minister came to visit *Pallimanggal* village. They visited Shahanagor village of Chapainagor Union. Prime Minister A. K. M. Fazlul Haq expressed to the newspaper that “I have never seen any ideal village like the Shahanagor of Chopai Nagor Union under the district of Bogra” (Afazulla, 1972, p. 6).

4.9.11.4 South Bogra People’s Awakening Samiti

Bogra, Shajahanpur

South Bogra People’s Awakening *Samiti* was formed with the people of eight unions in 1947. The objectives of the *Samiti* were to expand education, health facilities, and good relationship with each other. This organization tried to upgrade minor school of Demozany to a higher school. The *samiti* worked to build road and culverts, hat-bazar, playground, etc with the cooperation of villagers. This organization facilitated the environment through collective actions. Such type of large organization made huge people’s engagement. As a result, trust, values, reciprocity, cooperation, coordination and collective actions had been increased among the people.

4.9.12 Badurtola Udayon Sangha

Bogra, *Sadar*

Distinguished social organizers Mahmudul Hasan Khan, Amzad Hossain, Nurul Islam and Nurol Alam were the pioneers to establish Badurtola Udayon *Sangha*. This organization contributed much in the field of social service, development functions, expansion of education, culture and sports. Besides, it had great contribution to make conscious and patriotism among the people. There was no any education institution at Badurtola. A primary and secondary school were established with the effort of Udayon *Sangha*. This organization arranged tailoring and weaving training for women. As a result, women got the opportunity of extra income. The unities among the members were the source of power of this organization. Many welfare activities had been completed by the engagement of people and their mutual trust (Tarafter, 1970).

4.9.13 Shahid Jabber club

Bogra, *Sadar*

Shahid Abdul Jabber club was an old civic organization of Bogra. During 1952, students of Maltinagor started welfare and consciousness building works among the people. They started their work without any name of the organization. People treated it as a Maltinagor Welfare Society. Abdul Jabber was a member of the organization who scarified his life during the liberation period in 1971. After the independence of Bangladesh the club renamed it as '*Shahid* Abdul Jabber Club' and established a club house. A library was established in the club house. This library is closed now. The social and cultural activities of this club have been shrunk dramatically. As a result people's engagement and interaction space have been reduced. Those who are members of the club, most of them have the affiliation to different political parties. Due to the political influence, the club has lost its tradition and people's engagement. The common people have no attraction to the club. Anseruddin Sheikh, a participant of OT 3 expressed:

The clubs and associations of the society used to organize the different sports events and mela (fair) on the occasion of Bengali culture. Now most of the CSOs did not involve themselves to organize such types of programs.

4.10 The CSOS of Pabna District

Pabna is a district in north western of Bangladesh. It is an old district of Rajshahi division, which has a long tradition of modern civic organizations. From ancient period, there is geographical and cultural relation between Pabna and Bogra districts. *Mahastan* was the capital of the region of greater Bogra and Pabna (Alam, 2012). The name of Pabna was derived from the old kingdom of *Pundra* or *Poundravardhana*, the century of the pods, whose capital was *Mahastan* in the adjoining district of Bogra (O'Malley, 1923). In the spoken dialects, Cunningham argued, "the name would be shortened from *pon-bardhan* to *pobadhan*, from which it is an easy step to *Pabna* or *Pobna*, as same of the people now pronounce it" (Sastri, 1924, p. 550). "The greater part of the province of *Paundrabardhana* was to the north of the Ganges including Gauda and Pabna" (Cited, Saha BS 1330, p. 22). However, there were historical and social intermingle between the two districts. Modern civic organizations emerged in Pabna since 1850s, such as: *Uddog Bidhayoni Sabha*, *Ajanntimir Nashini*, *Jnanadayini*, *Suniti-Sancharini*, *Anjuman Islam*, *Bangiya Loka-Sangit Samiti*, *Muslim Shikka Samiti*, *Kabi Rajonikanto Smriti-raksha Samiti*, *Pabna Hita Sadhan Mandali*, *Pabna Sat-sangga Mahila Samiti*, etc. Most of them had been dissolved. Very few of them have survived with dilapidated position (Habibullah, 2009). The description of the noted organizations has been given below.

4.10.1 Brahmo Samaj

Pabna, *Sadar*

The *Brahmo Samaj* of Pabna was established in 1856 by the government officials those who came to Pabna as job purpose. They became allured with the new ideas of *Brahmo Samaj*. But, local Hindus did not dare to accept the new ideas and values, and tried to tie the existing values and believes. *Brahmo Samaj* movement⁷ in Pabna was faced barrier by the lower and higher caste Hindus. Lower caste Hindus wanted to protect traditional beliefs and practice, on the other hand, higher caste Hindus thought that they will lose their social power (Mamoon, 1986). Those who were the pioneer of establishing *Brahmo*

⁷ *Brahmo Samaj* was a social movement against the existing rituals, believes and superstition of Hindus religion with orientation of CSO and allured from new ideas. It was started in Kolkata in 1828. *Brahmo Samaj* was established in Dhaka in 1846, later it was also established in main towns of *Purbangla*. In 1877, number of *Brahmo Samaj* was 20 and reached 42 in 1892.

Samaj, later they left the Pabna town for their job purpose. As a result, the activities of *Brahmo Samaj* had been declined vigorously.

In this situation, the *Brahmo Samaj* was again rejuvenated in 1964 by the then Pabna School Inspector Nilmoni Sen of Bikrompur and local enlightened person Horishchandra Tolapatro.

The then enlightened person Horishchandra Tolapatro was its principal organizer. He had to pass various social and economical harassments. In 1981-82, temple of *Brahmo Samaj* was built. Foreigners and local officials tried to develop *Brahmo Samaj* cordially (Shaha, BS 1330, P. 503).

Members of the *Brahmo Samaj* discussed various issues in every Wednesday. There was no provision to pay monthly fees. But members provided money with their wish to continue programs of the organization. Later, Tolapatro established a primary school for girls in 1867 and edited a monthly magazine named '*Anubikkhaon*'. It is assumed that *Brahmo Samaj* tried to work for middle class and women, especially in their voice raising (Habibullah, 2009). *Brahmo Samaj* Pabna brought a change in the existing traditional practices through engagement and interaction.

4.10.2 Uddog Bidhayoni Sabha

Pabna, *Sadar*

Uddog Bidhayoni Sabha was an old civic organization of Pabna district. It is unknown that when it had been established. A monthly magazine named '*Uddog Bidhayoni*' was published by this organization as an outreach. The magazine was first published in 1963 and continued up to 1965. Tirthonath Saha was the main organizer, and Barda Prashad Roy was the editor of this magazine (Mamoon, 1985). It is assumed that both of them were the members of this organization from its inception. It played a role to form opinion of middle class (Habibullah, 2009). Undoubtedly, such type of civic organization created democratic and modern values instead of traditional values among the people.

4.10.3 Ajanntimir Nashini

Panba, Dugachi

The *Ajanntimir Nashini* was a different kind of civic association which tried to change the existing traditional values from the society. The main objective of the organization was to spread education and removing the superstitions from the society. It was established

by the students at the village of Dugachi in 1872. The members of the organization were 60; most of them were the villagers with no education. They avoided religious custom and conventions in the meeting and activities of the organization (Mamoon, 1984). It is assumed that all corners of people participated and interacted with each other. Developing consciousness and establishing a modern society were their main agenda.

4.10.4 Jnanadayini

Pabna, Chatmohor

The young of Gunaigachi village of Chatmohor Thana established *Jnanadayini* Association. It is unknown when it had been established. The organization “published a weekly magazine named ‘*Jnana-bikashini*’ as its outreach supplement” (Mamoon, 1985, P. 64). The *Gana Bikashini* was first published in 1873. According to the date of publication, it is assumed that *Jnanadayini* started its activities as an organization since 1873. Spreading education was its main objective. “Building social and political consciousness were also the goals of this organization” (Habibullah, 2009, P. 123). There is no record when it had been dissolved.

4.10.5 Suniti-Sancharini

Pabna, Sirajgonj

The *Suniti-Sancharini* was established by the relentless effort of Head and Second teacher of the Shahazadpur High School in 1887 (Chowdhury, 1998). It was not only for the students, but all people of the society participated in this association. Nobel laureate Rabindranath presided over a meeting of *Suniti-Sancharini*. Kabi-guru wrote to Mirnalini Dav, “a group of advocates and teachers came to me for presiding over the meeting of *Suniti-Sancharini* which is for the development of students”. Rabindranath presided over the meeting on 20th January, 1890. He also signed the inspection book and wrote;

Visited the school for the first time, went round all the classes. I did not try to frighten the boys out of their wets by cursory examination, which I find they have often enough, I have every reason to believe at the Head Master is doing his duty consciously and I dare say the school is as good as any other of its kind (Chowdhury, 1998).

There is no record when it had been dissolved.

4.10.6 Central National Mohammedan Association

Pabna, *Sadar*

The Central National *Mohammedan* Association was established by Sir Syed Ahmed in 1878 as a forum of the Muslim's demands to the government. A branch of the Central National Mohammedan Association was established in Pabna. But it is unknown, when it had been established, and the initiators of the organization were also unknown. Opposition to the Congress by Syed Ahmed was the important cause to establish this organization (Mamoon, 1984).

This organization often arranged a meeting in the town on different demands of Muslim. The organization took initiative to build a separate Muslim hostel at the Pabna *Zila* School in 1899. The organization arranged an inaugural ceremony where all corners of people participated. Hossen Jan Chowdhury, Fasiluddin Abdul Gani Chowdhury, Abdul Baset Chowdhury, Newab Ahsanullah of Dhaka, Syed Newab Ali Chowdhury of Dhanbari were the Muslims *Zamindars* who provided money to build the Muslim hostel. From its inception, the association was against to join the National Indian Congress. It was assumed by the members that the Congress was formed in the interest of Hindus, it can never work in favor of Muslims (Ahmed, 2009). It is unknown when it had been dissolved.

4.10.7 Anjuman Islam

Pabna, *Sadar* and Sirajgonj

The Anjuman Islam was established in Kolkata in 1955 to make a union between *Mohammedan* followers and East India Company (Ahmed, 2009). A Branch of *Anjuman* Islam was established in Pabna *Sadar*. It is unknown when it had been established. It is informed from news of the *Sudhakor* in BS 1296 that *Anjuman* Islam of Pabna held a meeting in celebration of Syed Amir Ali's appointment as chief justice of Kolkata High Court. It is assumed that it was established in 1880s (Habibullah, 2009). The then Sub-Registrar Rashidunabbi and Abdul High were the President and Secretary respectively.

Another branch of *Anjuman* Islam was established in Sirajgonj circle to enhance overall development of Muslims by the initiative of local *Zamindars* and leaders in 1883 (Mamoon, 1984). A meeting was held on 5 September 1998 in the premises of Sirajgonj

Madrasa. To place the demands of Muslims society on the government was the main target of this association. An executive committee was consisted with the eleven members of the organization. Another meeting was held in Sirajgonj town to observe the first celebration of partition of Bengal in 1906. It is informed that the organization continued its activities up to 1924. Since its beginning, it was against the 'All Indian Congress' (Habibullah, 2009). This organization played a vital role to enrich the Muslims in the field of education and upholding their rights.

4.10.8 Madhokata Nibarani and Samajik Pobitrata Rakkhani Sabha

Pabna, Sirajgonj

The *Madhokata Nibarani* and *Samajik Pobitrata Rakkhani Sabha* were the different organizations which were established at the Alishakanda village in Mymensingh. Both organizations were established in 1895 to work against the drug addiction and social evils. These organizations continued their activities simultaneously for about seven years. During this period, a branch of these organizations was established in Sirajgonj (Mamoon, 1984). It is unknown, when the activities of the organization had been dissolved.

4.10.9 Youngmen's Association

Pabna, Sirajgonj

A named Youngman's Association was established in the Esthol village of Chohali *thana* of Sirajgonj circle. Enlightening and consciousness building of the villagers were the main agenda of the association. The association established a library, and often arranged sports tournaments. Besides, various welfare functions were performed by the members of the organization. It is unknown when the association had been dissolved (Habibullah, 2009).

4.10.10 Muslim Shiksha Samiti of Pabna District

Pabna, *Sadar*

Muslim *Shiksha Samiti* of Pabna District was established by the relentless effort of advocate *Maulana* Wasim Uddin Ahmed. The aim of this association was to inspire the people spreading education among the Muslim community. The first session of the

association was held on 13 September, 1908 at the 'Pabna Town Hall'. *Maulana* Mazid Uddin Ahmed *Zamindar* presided over the meeting (Chowdhury, 1986). From this information it is assumed that the *samiti* was established in 1908 (Habibullah, 2009). Wasim Uddin Ahmed, Secretary of the organization, said in the session, "you know the miserable condition of the Muslim community. Lack of education is the core reason for this miserable condition. Our Hindu brothers have developed themselves by dint of education today. You don't feel jealous toward the Hindu community; you should try to develop yourself to observe such example----- (Chowdhury, 1986)."

In his speech he called for the Hindu community to help the illiterate and distress Muslims. Even Muslims have the rights on Hindu community as the neighbor and learnt people of the society. Hindus have the responsibilities to help the Muslims (Chowdhury, 1986).

4.10.11 Kabi Rajonikanto Smriti-Rakkha Samiti

Pabna, *Sadar*

North-Bengal Literature Congress was held in Pabna in 1914. Moharaj Jogendranath Ray presided over the Congress. Second day of the Congress, Jalodhar Sen, editor of 'Bharatbarsha' proposed to form a *Samiti* named '*Kabi Rajonikanto Smriti-rakkha Samiti*'. This proposal was passed in the congress unanimously. An executive committee was formed for the organization during the seven days congress of the North-Bengal literature. Many of the participants donated and promised to provide money for the new organization (Habibullah, 2009). But, it is unknown, what were the next activities of the *Samiti*.

4.10.12 Pabna Muslim Institute

Pabna, *Sadar*

Pabna Muslim Institute was established in 1819 by social organizer Khan Bhahadur Wasim Uddin Ahmed and advocate Abdul Gaufor. The aim of this organization was to unite the Muslim through educational and cultural programs. 'Repeal of *Bangobhanga* in 1911' and First World War inspire to form this organization. Wasim Uddin Ahmed was the president and Abdul Gaufor was the secretary of the institute. The activities of the institute were started in the Pailanpur (Chowdhury, 1986).

Renowned writer Turab Ali (1898-1972) played a vital role in the social and cultural activities of the organization. Through its cultural and social programs it had become the engagement place of all corners. In 1929, adjacent place of the organization where the programs were held, the place was sold by the owner. As a result, the institute faced a vigorous problem. Besides, many members of the organization left Pabna for their job purpose. In this situation, the activities of the organization became stagnant.

After one decade, the institute was again established by the enormous effort of A.H.M. Abdur Rashid and the villagers. A house of the institute was built in the land of Pabna Aliya *Madrasa*. During this period, a clause was added to the constitution of the institute that Deputy Commissioner (DC) will be the president as a Chair of the district. The activities of the institution were revived within very short time. Reading the books, discussion, cultural and sports competition were held regularly. Mass participation and engagement was the main target of the organizer to enhance consciousness. Later, a building was built in the own land of institution in 1964. A big library was established in this building. In 1971, Pakistan military arrested *Maulana* Kosimuddin and killed him who was the Secretary of the institute. In 1972, the institute is renamed as '*Shahid Maulana* Kosimuddin *Smriti-kendra*' instead of Muslim Institute. Later, the institute could not keep its previous records of the activities (Habibullah, 2009).

4.10.13 Pabna Hita Sadhan Mandali

Pabna, *Sadar*

Under the leadership of Shitoly *Zamindar* Jogendranath Moytra established 'Pabna *Hita Sadhan Mandali*' as a branch of '*Bangiya Hita Sadhan Mandali*' in 1923 (Shaha, BS 1330).

Probashi wrote about this organization with the citation of 'Ananda Bazar' Patrika:

A branch of *Bangiyo Hita Sadhan Mandali* has established in Pabna. Competent secretary of *Hita sadhan* Dr. Dijendranath Moytra has gone to Pabna and inspired the general people for welfare functions. *Zamindar* Shitoly and others have given money to distribute medicine for black fever among the affected people. Lord Liton also donated Tk. 5,000/- to serve the general people after the observing relentless effort of others (Citited, Habubullah, 2009).

There were different wings of the organization to help the poor and distress people, such as: education department, medical department, service department, charity

department, health department, weaving department and library. The organization also gave rewards for the social reformation works.

In 1925 Mahatma Gandhi and C.R. Das visited Pabna. Gandhi was received by Jogendranath. Gandhi visited many social and cultural organizations including Pabna *Hita Sadhan Mandal*, and praised its social activities (Shaha, BS 1330). It is unknown, how many days *Hita sadhan* had been survived. Undoubtedly, it played important role in the aspect of social reform and cultural development.

4.10.14 Pabna Sat-sangga Mahila Samiti

Pabna, *Sadar*

Pabna *Sat-sangga Mahila Samiti* was established in 1925. Awareness of women was the core objectives of this organization. In the first annual session of this organization, four hundred women participated and expressed their views. In this session, few proposals were passed by the delegates for the empowerment of women such as:

- (a) To protect good health for family members, nursing child, education, household management, etc. are the important works of women at home. For this reason, every woman has to acquire sufficient knowledge on these issues.
- (b) Womenfolk in Bengal are deprived, distress, illiterate and dependent on male members of the family. To overcome these barriers, every woman should receive training on physical, mental and earning source.
- (c) Mental health and willingness are very important for welfare activities. (Habibullah, 2009).

It is unknown, when the activities of the organization had been dissolved.

4.10.15 Pabna Shahitya Sammelan

Pabna, *Sadar*

Pabna *Shahitya Sammelan* was the literature based civic organization. The main aim of this organization was to encourage liberal and creative writings. It was established by the relentless effort of Sarda Charon Ray in 1928. First session of this organization was held in the Pabna Town Hall, and second session on *Sot-sanga Ashram*, presided by Sarla Davey

Chowdhury Rani. Many poets and writers recited their creative writings, essays, poems and encouraged the general people. Many of them were from outside Pabna district. Gathering common people was the soul of the annual session (Begum, 1987). Renowned women poet Mahmuda Khatun presented two essays on 'literature and art' and 'humanity in literature' in the first session. Poet Bonda Ali Mia evaluated this session as:

'Both sessions of Pabna *Shahitya Sammelan* had been succeeded with the participation of common people and its creative literatures. Woman poet Mahmuda Khatun, Kabi Shekhor Shachindra Mohan Sarker, Radhachoran Das Shahitoratron, Purnachandra Ray and others were permanent members of our organization' (cited Habibullah, 2009).

Later, the activities of this organization were held on 'Onnada Gobinda Public Library'. The organization continued its activities through quarterly and annual session. In 1938, a resolution was passed by the members that literature meeting would be held fortnightly. There is no available information regarding the activities of the meeting (Habibullah, 2009). Indeed, it enlightened the common people to build a secular and cultural background through the writing on society, humanity, culture, etc. Its stand was against social superstition, communalism, fanaticism and anti-social activities. This organization built democratic ethos and secular cultures among the people by the means of engagement and its activities.

4.10.16 Pabna Aminpuri Badrule Eslamia Bandar Samiti

Pabna, Bera

It was established in Aminpur village of Bera *Thana* of Pabna district. Badruddin Ahmed was the main organizer of this organization. The organization organized different programs to help the people in need such as flood and famine victims, nursing the poor patient, poor students, orphan, etc. These programs were financed by the wealthy family and the villagers (Chowdhury, 1986). After the death of Badruddin Ahmed, the activities of the organization became stagnant, and gradually it had been dissolved in absence of proper leadership.

4.10.17 Banamali Institute

Pabna, Sadar

The Banamali Institute is the main cultural centre of Pabna town. It was formed with the combination of 'Bonamli Hall', 'Kanto Memorial Stage' and 'Kishori Mohan Student's Library' in 1924. The objectives of this institute was to enrich cultural issues, promotion of local theater, disseminating values among the people, enhancing the literature and social functions within existing the small organization. It was named after *zamindar* Sri Ray Bhahadur Bonamali. The zamidar family donated the land and money to establish the institute. Besides, many learned and rich persons contributed to build the infrastructure of the institute (Habibullah, 2009).

The institute arranged different cultural and social programs from its inception. People's participation and engagement in different programs were the sources of its strength. Now it has been stagnant due to political influence and administrative bottleneck. Azizul Rahim, a participant of OT 4 said that:

Banamali is an old cultural centre of Pabna. From its inception, it was a common engagement place. Different segment and region of the people participated in the programs of Bonamali institute. It was always in a festive mood. Now it has lost its tradition. Now administration of the government arranges cultural program on special days, but it did not become vibrant like the past.

4.10.18 Anjuman-e-Islahule Muslemin

Pabna, *Sadar*

Anjumane-Eslahule Muslemeen was established by the cordial effort of the then District Judge Syed Rashidul Hasan. He was a district judge during 1949-1952. Hence, it is assumed that the organization was established in 1949-1952. This organization published two books named 'Muslman's Kartabya' (duties of the Muslims) and 'Amader Kartabya' (duties of us) (Chowdhury, 1986). Renowned advocate, social organizer and journalist M. Rajob Ali was the writer of these books. Following Islamic rules and values were the main motto of this organization (Habibullah, 2009).

4.10.19 Mahishya Samiti

Pabna, *Sadar*

‘Mahishi’ was a caste of Hindu religion. There was no separate statistics of ‘Mahishya caste’ in the Population Census of 1901. In this perspective, they formed ‘Mahishya Samiti’ in 1901 for retaining their identity and including that in the Census report. The organization applied to the government to include data on their identity. The organization also published a pamphlet in favor of their demand. As a result, Mahishya included as a separate caste in the next Census of 1911 (Habibullah, 2009). Later, the activities of the organization did not appear anywhere.

4.10.20 Bangiya Loka-Sangit Samiti

Pabna, Suzanagor

Bangiya Loka-sangit Samiti was established in Khalilpur village of Suzanagor *thana* of Pabna. Pioneer *loka-sangit* artist Professor Monsuruddin was the founder of this organization. He was the son of this village. To collect different folk songs like Baul *sangit*, *Palli-giti* was the main objective of this organization (Aroti, BS 1331). This organization also arranged cultural programs where people of the village participated spontaneously.

Monsuruddin said about his collection of *Loka-sangit* as:

I started collecting *Palli* songs from 1920-21, at that time I was an examinee of matriculation. one of my relatives gave me an old ‘*Probashi*’ magazine. In this number of *Probashi*, songs of Lalon Fakir were collected by Robindranath Tagore were published. The common people sang these songs regularly. Then I started collecting the songs, some of these were published in *Probashi* (Cited Habibullah, 2009).

From this statement it is assumed that this organization was established during 1920-1923. The organization played important role in searching and collecting folk songs in Pabna district and its beyond. Besides, the organization became people’s engagement and interaction place where people exchanged their ideas and views.

4.10.21 Pabna Hindu Sabha

Pabna, *Sadar*

Pabna Hindu *Sabha* was established by the elite class Hindus in 1923. The main target of the organization was to reform the existing Hindu rituals and conventions which were against the humanity and modernity. It worked against the caste, prohibition of old and *bidhaba Bibaha* and various rituals. The first session of the organization was held in Natmondir. Sarotchandra Chowdhury presided over the session. Many renowned and learnt personalities of Kolkata participated in the session (Aroti, BS 1332). Within the five years, 41 branches of Hindu *sabha* were established in different places in Pabna district. These branches worked for the reformation of ill-practices of Hindu religion. One hundred forty *bidhaba Bibaha* were arranged by the cooperation of these organizations. Thus, despite being a religious organization it played vital role to reform society (Habibullah, 2009).

4.11 Conclusion

The civil society organizations are the inherent outcome of capitalist society. The idea of modern CSOs came from Europe in Bangladesh. The CSOs emerged in Kolkata in the early nineteenth century with the hand of British civilian those who became enlightened by the renaissance of the eighteenth century in Europe. Later, the CSOs were established by the middle class or *Bhadralok* Bangali. The CSOs were emerged in Bangladesh since 1830s with nursing of East India Company servants, middle class Hindus and *Zamindars*. But, its rising nature was different from that European CSOs. In Europe, the CSOs had been emerged with the development of the democratic state as an antagonistic relationship. But, the CSOs had been emerged in Bangladesh in order to expand the modern values.

After the Permanent Settlement Act 1793, a large intermediary class had been grown in the society. The new growing intermediary class lived in Kolkata and interacted with the enlightened European. Raja Rammohan Ray was one of them who established '*Atiya-Sabha*' in 1815. It was first CSOs of Bangali despite of its limitation. Later, a number of CSOs had been grown in Kolkata with different objectives. After 40 years of establishing *Atiya Sabha*, the CSOs were emerged in Dhaka with the inspiration of British servants

and middle class. The CSOs of Bangladesh were not limited to Dhaka. At the same time, a number of CSOs formed in semi-towns and villages. People formed the CSO spontaneously with different objectives. Most of them were volunteer based organizations. Expanding education, welfare and consciousness building were the main targets of these CSOs. By turns, political vision was added in the objectives of CSOs.

Muslim associations were emerged in the Kolkata by the enlightened Muslims. It is noted that the Muslims were lagging behind from the western education and values. There was antagonistic relationship between Muslims and British due to the battle of Palashi in 1757 and shifting of political power. For this reason, the Muslims did not receive European philosophy at the early stage of British rule. After the 40 years the Muslims established *Anjuman Islam* in Kolkata. Many branches of this organization were spread over the Bangladesh very quickly. Later, a number of Muslim associations emerged in Bangladesh.

The present study has searched the tradition of old CSOs in Bogra and Pabna districts. Bogra was a police station of Rajshahi district, which was declared as a separate district in 1821. Charity and volunteer associations played pioneer role to disseminate modern thoughts and values. *Brahmo Samaj* (1858), Bogra Twon Club (1874) etc. were the renowned organization of nineteenth century. The glorious town club is now moribund due to the lack of common engagement and leadership. The *Pallimanggal Samiti* played a great role in education, creating awareness, exchange of secular values, welfare activities, against superstition and development of women in the villages of Bogra district. The *Pallimanggal Samiti* established a number of adult learning centers from where 0.5 million people received primary education. Now there is no activity of *Pallimanggal Samiti* in Bogra district, but few institutions named *Pallimanggal* such as *Pallimanggal* government primary school, *Pallimanggal* high school, *Pallimanggal Hat* are bearing the sign of past glory. South Bogra was awakened by the different CSOs. With the cooperation of CSOs a good number of education institutions were established in South Bogra, which are enlightening the mass yet. Indeed, the CSOs were the vanguard in the development and inception of democratic practice.

In Pabna, the CSOs were emerged with the nursing of government officials since 1850s. But, the lower and higher caste Hindus did not accept the modern idea. They created various barriers establishing modern CSOs in the society. The education based institutions, such as: *Uddog Bidhayoni Sabha*, *Jnanadayini*, *Ajanntimir Nashini*, etc. allured the mass towards modern values. Pabna *Hita sadhan Mandali* served the general people with different wings where Mahatma Gandhi visited and praised the activities. Emergence of women development based CSO (Pabna *Sat-sangga Mahila Samiti*) was the distinctive feature. The Banamali Institute (1924) is an old CSO which has lost its past glory. The programs of Banamali institute do not now appeal the general due to administrative bottleneck and the lack of common engagement. It is true that a very few organizations were built in Pabna and Bogra to maintain traditional values and worked against the modern education and values. In both districts few old CSOs are working with moribund position. Intervention and influence of political parties, lack of leadership and people's engagement are the current challenges of the existing old CSOs. It is undoubted that old CSOs of Bangladesh generated democratic knowledge and notion at the grass root level.

Chapter Five

Social Capital of New CSOs: Towards Social Cohesion

‘Social capital refers to features of social organization, such as trust, norms and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions’.
(Putnam, 1993, P. 167)

5.1 Introduction

Social capital is a qualitative term. It has multidimensional ramification on the individual's ethos to national solidarity. It is considered as a valuable asset for individuals, which makes one's life easier. It provides better informed citizen and transferable social skills which give civic order for congenial environment of the society. The core question of the 21st century is which society is better to live in. Putnam (2000, p. 396) claims that “societies with high stock of social capital are better places in which to live”. The civil society organizations (CSOs) in the society are common sphere of different background of individuals, which lubricate trust, voluntary co-operation, norms of reciprocity and networks of civic engagement. The practice of these virtues among the individuals increases the stock of social capital and solidarity in the society.

Social capital is a multidimensional concept that relates to social cohesion. The sociologist Emile Durkheim was exponent to elaborate the concept of social cohesion. He considered social cohesion as an ordering feature of a society and defined it as the interdependence between the members of the society, shared loyalties and solidarity. These features are relevant to belonging, inclusion, participation, recognition and legitimacy (Jenson, 1998). Social scientists have emphasized that the social capital of a society is an essential foundation of social cohesion (McCracken, 1998; Maxwell, 1996). The social capital changes the attitude, and creates a larger engagement sphere of the citizen; which inspire them to be involved with the societal works. Societal works of an individual encourage him to do for others. In this situation, individual searches his/her benefit from the welfare of whole society instead of self-centered interests. This attitude indeed depends on the frequency of CSOs in the society, engagement and political socialization. In such a society the collective dilemma is removed by the social capital. As a whole the solidarity of this society becomes strength. Such cohesive society can influence

on the performance of government institutions which ensures the accountability of the people's representatives. As a result, democratic consolidation goes ahead.

The social capital of CSOs works as enforcer to solve the collective 'dilemma' and accelerate the frequency of collective actions which enhance social cohesion and prosperity. In general, collective action in the community turns into common welfare and unity. But there, according to game theorists, are dilemmas which do not cut benefits for all. Lack of trust among each other or between two parties hinders common betterment. Every party would be better off if they could cooperate. An individual would be rational, if s/he thinks common benefits. The rational behavior is possible when trust works as a bridge between two parties. Even this trust may be proven by others (Putnam 1993). Trust building depends on both accurate information and enforcement, which ensures successful cooperation. The performance of all social institutions, from international credit markets to regional governments to bus queues, depends on how these problems are resolved. In this situation, third party enforcement is relevant, which has been revealed by Hobbes in his writing *Leviathan*¹ (1651). If both parties concede to the *Leviathan* the power to enforce committed among them, their reward is the mutual confidence necessary for civil life. This coercive enforcement is difficult and expensive; third party enforcement must itself be non-coercive, trustworthy and impartial. The social capital of the CSOs works as a behind enforcer to overcome the dilemma of collective actions.

The CSOs of Bangladesh are structurally horizontal and they have inherent the features of social capital within it. The tendency of CSOs is to facilitate trust, networks, reciprocity, cooperation, coordination and collective actions for the common wellbeing. The present chapter makes an attempt to examine whether these features are present in the CSOs or not and its effects on social cohesion. In doing so peoples' exercise of social capital has been addressed from two levels such as: (i) activities of individual after having the membership of CSOs (ii) activities with the banner of organization. Moreover, it tries to explore the changing idea of CSOs and the causes of its rampant growth in Bangladesh.

¹ *Leviathan* is a famous book in the literature of political science in the aspect of state evolution and civic life, which was written by Thomas Hobbes in 1651. He presents his social contract theory in this book.

5.2 Context of New CSOs: Changing Idea

The tradition of civil society organizations (CSOs) in Bangladesh is very old, and has self-distinctive characteristics. The genesis of CSOs can be traced back to British colonial period and beyond (Lewis, 2011), which has been discussed in detail in Chapter 4. It was inspected by modern philosophy of Europe during the colonial period (1757-1947, 1947-1971)². The formation and objectives of these CSOs were different. Some of them participated resistance movement against the unjust and the undue role of colonial master in different parts of this region. Organizers treated the CSOs as protector of civil rights and the place of common space. That time, the relation between state and CSOs was antagonistic. After the partition of the subcontinent in 1947, a number of CSOs had grown up by left leaning activists for the demand of separate cultural identity e.g. *Tamuddin Majlish*³. Promoters of these organizations also thought that the relationship between the state and the CSOs is antagonistic. But these organizations became absorbed into the state apparatus, gradually narrowing into a more tightly organized political movement under the *Awami League*⁴ (AL), as *Bangabandhu* Sheikh Mujibur Rahman used the party organizations to “establish state control over society” (Jalal, 1995, p. 90).

In post liberation period, many scholars assumed that the CSOs were the opponent of military government. In contrast, others thought that the CSOs are the development agent and watchdog to ensure good governance and business operation. There are two views regarding the nature of CSOs-one perceives a hostile relationship between the state and CSOs in the sense of dominance, and another finds a partner relationship in the aspect of development which is known as neo-liberal view. According to new

² East India Company came in undivided India in 1600 for the purpose of business. Later they became rulers through the battle of Palashi. They ruled the India for 190 years. In 1947, India divided into two parts on the basis of two nation theory- India and Pakistan (West and East). Although Pakistan was an independent country but West and East was difference each other in the aspect of land, culture, language and national ethos. Rulers of West Pakistan ruled the East Pakistan as a colony in regard to economy, politics and culture.

³ *Tamuddin Majlish* was a cultural organization that campaigned for making Bengali the medium of education. On September 15, 1947 they brought out a pamphlet titled “Should Pakistan’s state language should be Urdu or Bengali?”

⁴ *Awami League* is one of the major political parties in Bangladesh, which was established in 1949. Under the leadership of this political party, Bangladesh becomes independent in 1971.

liberals, the CSOs can play a positive role to articulate a set of socially responsible demands and public action, which can help to balance the tendency of state and market institutions to overwhelm the interests of citizens. Two different interrelated civil society traditions can, therefore, be identified loosely corresponding with pre and post liberation forms of new and old civil society (Lewis, 2005).

Those who were involved in the international aid effort during massive post-conflict reconstruction in 1971⁵ and devastating famine in 1974, they were the promoters of new liberal views. During this period, they formed new groups and organizations and gained experience from the grass root level. In fact, these organizations filled up the post liberation vacuum of CSOs in the country. At this moment liberals, internationally, gained one kind of triumph against the Gramscian followers in Eastern Europe. As a whole, new liberals become prominent in our country with the help of international aid and advocacy. Later, middle class elites of society also formed a number of community based organizations with the help of donors. Most of them were vernacular, freedom fighter and left leaning students, and they engaged themselves in welfare works of the society. The government also tried to promote these new CSOs through local government tiers. Of course, this is a new paradigm of CSOs in Bangladesh, which has given vast avenues of civic engagement in the aspect of capitalist view. The more a society walks away from the bureaucratic control and encourages supremacy of civil engagements the scope of flourishing of social capital enhances (Tasnim, 2007). This social capital refers here to the capacity of states or societies to establish a sense of community which leads a significant proportion of the society in voicing their concern and seeking active involvement in the affairs of the community, and in sharing the benefits of community action (Sobhan, 1998). The changing idea of CSOs in Bangladesh is undoubtedly a paradigm shift. The question arises that how much they produce social capital and its contribution to social cohesion.

⁵ Bangladesh becomes an independent in 1971. Mass people of this land fought against the Pakistani military for independence since 26 March to 16 December. During this period, Pakistan military killed the millions people and destroyed infrastructures of the country massively. After the independence, new country of Bangladesh faced a great challenge to reconstruct across the country.

5.2.1 Pervasive Growth of New CSOs

The growth of civil society organization in Bangladesh is treated as associational revolution. Conceptually, it helps to build a model, but contextually it can sometimes challenge, especially the rise in nonprofit organizations (Ahmed, 2011). Salamon (1994) identified seven causes behind the extraordinary growth of civil society which are as follows: first, the crisis of modern welfare state; second, delivering service through NGOs; third, environmental concern; fourth, the failure of socialism; fifth, development of communication; sixth, expansion of education and literacy; and seventh, global economic growth. The first and second causes are contextual in Bangladesh, which have given space to grow community based organizations.

Ahmed (2011) mentioned that the 1980s and 1990s were a period of phenomenal growth of CSOs. Particularly the 90s were marked by democratically elected governments and the reinstatement of parliamentary democracy. There were two reasons behind this pervasive growth of CSOs, one was internal background of the country, and another was international perspective. Poverty, health, education and women empowerment were complex issues in Bangladesh. Internationally the ideas of CSOs had been shifted to as a development partner. International development organizations like the World Bank, Asian Development Bank (ADB), International Monetary Fund (IMF), different donor agencies, etc. gave the prescription to third world countries to involve the CSOs as development partner.

The change of institution policies was the important target of the Structural Adjustment Policy (SAP). Under the SAP policy, the CSOs were treated as a sector (meso) to alleviate poverty and other complex problems. Along with the government the CSOs implemented their programs with financial and logistical supports at the rural areas. During this period, a number of organizations also grew through donor ideas and financial assistance. Another development discourse promoted by the World Bank is good governance in 1990s. In this perspective, the CSOs would work as intermediary between state and market, which is known as the third sector. Therefore, the CSOs will continue to functions such as: development and regulatory as a third sector. Lester Salamon (1994, p. 114) writes about the rising of the third sector:

“The rise of the third sector springs from a variety of pressures, from individual citizens, outside institutions and governments themselves. It reflects a distinct set of social and technological changes, as well as a long-simmering crisis of confidence in the capability of the state. Broad historical changes have thus opened the way for alternative institutions that can respond more effectively to human needs. With their small scale, flexibility and capacity to engage grass-roots energies, private nonprofit organizations have been ideally suited to fill the resulting gap. The consequence is a sweeping process of change that closely resembles the "third wave" of democratic political revolutions identified by Samuel Huntington, but that goes well beyond it, affecting democratic and authoritarian regimes, developed and developing countries alike.”

In Bangladesh, the new CSOs have gradually emerged as a third sector. At the first stage, after the liberation few volunteer groups started working in the rural areas for rehabilitation and construction. Welfare and charity were the strategies of works. Later, these volunteer groups organized through the massive field experiences. During this period, they used the community development approach to achieve the targets instead of charity. In the 1980s, they changed their strategies and used many means such as group formation, training for capacity building, credit, non-formal education, health care, etc. After the collapse of the socialist block, a considerable number of CSOs grew again with the help of donor agencies and organizations. After the 1990s the new growing CSOs became the development partner of government with the support of donor agencies. Now many CSOs (mostly known as NGOs) of Bangladesh are the giant development partners of government in village arena. Transformation phase of many CSOs into NGOs and their working strategies are given below.

Table 5.1: Transformation Phase of Few CSOs into NGOs and their Working Strategy

Phase	Strategies of Works
First (1971 - 1974)	Welfare and charity
Second (1975 - 1980)	Community development approach
Third (1980s)	Specific Target: the ‘poor’ group formation, training, credit, non-formal education, health etc.
Fourth (1990 - 1995)	Development partner of the government for their working knowledge and coverage across the country. They became trusted agents to donors for using money and reach the target group.
Fifth (1995 up to till date)	A few have become giant development partner of the government, especially in service sectors.

Salamon (1994) boasted Bangladesh for 10,000 registered non-governmental organizations. It has now been reached to 2,59,774⁶. Despite the huge number of CSOs, they have their own weakness in democratizing state and society (Ahmed 2011). Indeed, the CSOs will produce social capital as a byproduct to achieve their objectives. Trust, reciprocity and networks enhance civic association culture, collective actions and social solidarity, which give us a better living in democratic society. It is a burning question, how much they are engaged to make bridging and bonding social capital in the society.

5.2.2 Village Centre of NGOs

The term NGOs (Non-governmental Organizations) is much known in Bangladesh. NGOs work at grass root level of Bangladesh with different purposes and strategic manner. Group formation process is a common strategy of NGOs to achieve the defined objectives. The group is the core unit of activities. The center is consisted of few groups along with organizational structure, but the structure is horizontal. Many liberals think that NGOs are one kind of civil society organization, although they are the development partner of government, especially in developing countries. The word NGOs had been used loosely to distinguish between the civil organizations and intergovernmental process. They are now called civil society organizations in order to express its affinity to civil society (Krut, 1997). Besides, NGOs have many other components as well that are gradually emerging as important actors in the context of participatory development (Rahman, 1999). Civil society is usually taken to mean a realm or space in which there exists a set of organizational actors which are not a part of the household, state or market. "These organizations form a wide-ranging group which includes associations, people's movements, citizens' group, consumer associations, small producer associations, women's organizations, indigenous peoples' organizations – and of course NGOs" (Lewis & Kanji, 2009, P. 121). In broad perspective, NGOs are the out of household, state and market. But the NGOs cannot often play role as a civil rights protector due to the partnership of government. However, Hye, (2000, P. 27) has made a civil society (CSOs) profile which is given below.

⁶ This figure is developed by Tasnim (2007), based on the statistics on different types of civil society organizations that have been collected from the booklets of respective ministries and institutions and their websites. Here respective ministries and institutions include NGO Affairs Bureau, Prime Minister Office, Ministry of Social Welfare, Ministry of Women and Children Affairs, Ministry of Youth and Sports, Ministry of Joint Stock Companies and Firms, Ministry of Labor and Employment, Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Cooperatives and Federation of Bangladesh Chambers of Commerce and Industries.

Table 5.2: Civil Society Profile

Sl.No	Type	Activities
01	Media (Press, Radio, TV)	Public opinion forming dissemination, entertainment, etc.
02	Trade Unions	Collective bargaining awareness creation among members about their rights and public policies relating to them.
03	Professional Bodies	Maintaining high standard of the profession, protecting the rights of the members, promotion of interests
04	Private Voluntary Organizations	Advocacy of social change in particular areas, provision of limited public goods to their clientele (credit, primary health, adult literacy, etc.) manufacture and distribution of consumer goods to members of the public (milk processing, fisheries, textiles, etc.) protection of the rights of disadvantaged groups (e.g. minorities, tribal people, destitute women, street children, etc.)
05	Sports and Cultural Bodies	Promotion of sports and culture through the activities of their members
06	Social welfare organizations	Promotion of social welfare of members or limited clientele in particular areas through voluntary service types.

Source: Hye, H. A. (2000, P. 27)

Bangladesh has become internationally known for its high boasted civil society sector, chiefly represented in Bangladesh by a diverse and extensive community of NGOs (DFID 2000). While elements of the NGO sector in Bangladesh share some of the more negative characteristics of NGOs documented such as political patronage, lack of accountability, self-serving opportunism or over dependence on foreign aid and ideas, the unique historical circumstances in which the sector has developed in Bangladesh (Lewis, 2004). Despite these discontents, the NGOs constitute an important set of actors in Bangladesh, and many have helped to provide credit that has contributed to improve self-reliance among the poor, supplemented or substituted for weak or failed public services in areas such as education and health, and built organizational capacity at the local level bonding social capital' at the village level through group formation work (Blair, 2003). The group based credit activities and large size of social welfare organizations; clubs, associations, etc. in Bangladesh indicate the rich abundance of social capital generated through horizontal membership (Tasnim, 2007). In this perspective NGOs' group or rotating credit organizations, like conventional capital for conventional borrowers, social capital serves as a kind of collateral.

5.3 Nature of Social Capital in the Study Area

The concept of social capital is related to a bundle of different attributes that refer to trust, norms of reciprocity, networks, collective actions and their ramification on the society. In the present study the following components (cognitive i.e. trust, civic norms, values etc. and structural i.e. network, rules, procedure etc.) of social capital are taken into account.

Components of Social Capital

Trend of trust

- (i) Dealing with money and material among the members
- (ii) Trust level after having the membership of CSOs

Trend of network

- (i) Bonding network
- (ii) Bridging network
- (iii) Collective action at bridging network

Nature of co-operation

- (i) Cooperation within the members of own organization
- (ii) Cooperation with neighbors
- (iii) Cooperation with the villagers

Trend of involvement in conflicts resolution

- (i) Resolution of social conflict
- (ii) Resolution of religious conflict

Trend of involvement in commonly affected areas

- (i) Preventing drug addiction
- (i) Protecting public goods
- (ii) Preventing violence during election

Trend of collective efforts

- (i) Collective action for protecting common resources
 - (ii) Collective action for protecting safe water/water bodies
 - (iii) Collective action for tree plantation
 - (iv) Decision making process within the organization
-

The present study has also covered the trend of participation of CSOs in the functions of *Union Parishad* (such as: participation in *Ward Sabha*, open budget discussion, social security program committee, infrastructure development, etc.), and influence on the

functions to create pressure for ensuring accountability and transparency, which have been discussed in the Chapter 6 in detail. Although, the concept of social capital is widely used term in social science, but there is no unanimous scale to measure social capital. Each of these issues of social capital is very complex, and measuring the degree to which each is present in a community means using several yardsticks. As a result, there is no single yardstick to measure of social capital that can be reliably used (Cummins, 2006). The present study has used Likert and Guttman scale to measure social capital. The data on individual level have been presented in the Tables and data on organization level in the figure.

5.4 Trend of Trust in CSOs

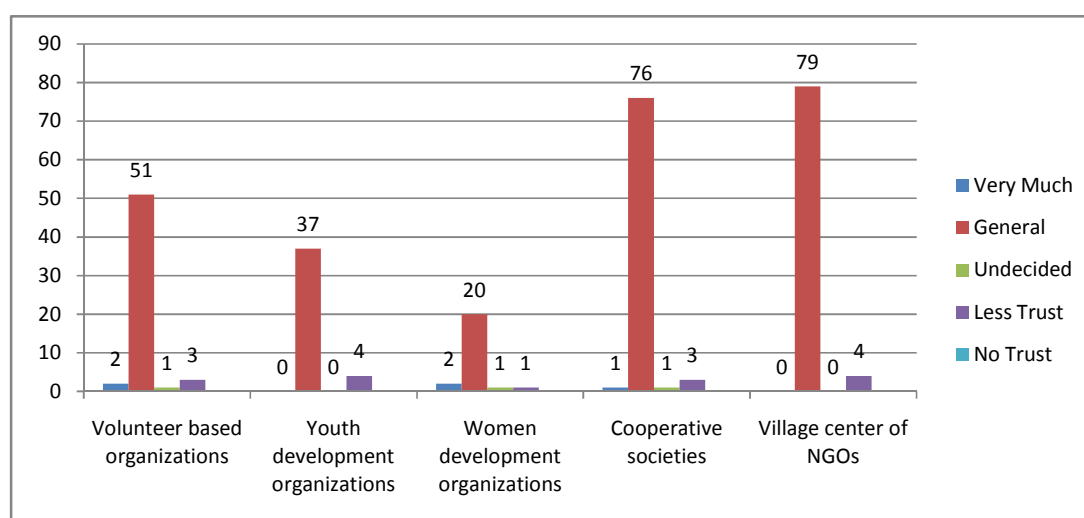
Trust has multidimensional ramification in the society, which builds from the interaction and engagement process at the community and organizational level. Organizational trust depends on the nature (vertical and horizontal) of the organization. Trust in CSOs forms easily for its horizontal nature. And this trust transforms confidence and trustworthiness among the members of CSOs through continuous engagement. The standard account of trust, what Fukuyama (1995) calls ‘knowledge based trust’, presumes that trust depends on information and experience. The study has searched the trend of trust in CSOs which is the core element of social capital of CSOs. The CSO of a society gives free space for engagement and interactions where different segments of people come and interact with each other. By giving free space people exchange information and knowledge which builds the base of trustworthiness. This trust helps us to solve collective dilemma, when it reaches at confidence level. “It is a recipe for telling us when we can tell whether other people are trustworthy” (Luhmann, 1979, p. 43). The study has explored the trust of CSOs in two areas; one is in exchange of money and material. Another is change of trust level after having the membership of the organization.

Table 5.3: Trend of Trust in Financial and Material Deal

Issue	Unit of Scale					Total
	Very much	General	Undecided	Less trust	No trust	
Have trust on members of organization in dealing with money, material, etc.?	5 (1.7%)	263 (92%)	3 (1.0%)	15 (5.2%)	–	286

The Table 5.5 shows the existing trust level among the members regarding transaction of money and material. About 92 percent respondents have general trust on transaction of money and material. Only 1.7 percent respondents have trust 'very much' on others. It is noteworthy that there is none of the respondents who agreed to 'no trust' unit of scale. The data indicate that there is a good amount of general trust among the members of CSOs to deal with money and material.

Figure 5.1: Trend of Trust Dealings with Money and Material at the Organization Level



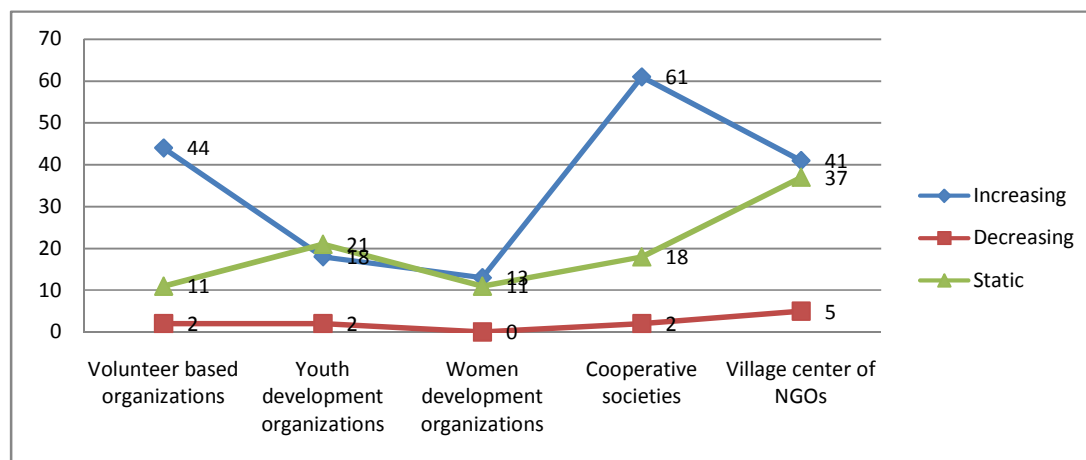
The figure 5.2 demonstrates that trend of trust at the organization level where 51 respondents of volunteer based organizations have general trust on their members to deal with money and material. It is significant that members have trust in different scale. Thirty seven respondents of youth development organizations (out of 41) have general trust, while 4 respondents have less trust on the members relating to financial and material transaction. It is noted that all respondents of village center NGOs have trust on their members in dealing with money and material. Even none of them have undecided regarding the financial transaction.

Table 5.4: Trust Level after the Inclusion of CSOs

Issue	Unit of Scale			Total
	Increasing	Decreasing	Static	
Trust level after the inclusion of CSOs	177 (61.9%)	11 (3.8%)	98 (34.3%)	286

The Table 5.6 reveals that trust level of 61.9 percent respondents has increased after the inclusion of CSOs; this is significant to achieve the common goal and activities. It is apparent that a vibrant engagement exists in the organization. On the contrary, trust level of 34.3 percent respondents did not change (increase or decrease) after having the membership of CSOs. This figure indicates that the lack of sufficient engagement and lack of knowledge exist among the members. The trust level of 3.8 percent respondents has been decreased after the membership of CSOs. Anisur Rahman, a respondent opined that “before my involvement with this organization I was a member of two organizations, the leaders of these organizations looted the fund. Besides, they collected money from different sources, but general members did not get equal benefit”. However, trusts among the members are at the satisfactory level in term of reciprocal help.

Figure 5.2: Trust after the Inclusion of CSOs at the Organization Level



The figure 5.2 shows that the trust at organization level varies due to the nature of the organization and frequency of engagement of its members. Trust of 44 respondents of volunteer based organizations has been increased after having the membership of CSOs. In the cooperative societies, the trust of 61 respondents out of 81 has increased. On the contrary, trust of 41 respondents of the village center of NGOs out of 83 have increased, which is less compared to the other organizations. Another important note is that the trust level of 5 respondents of village centre of NGOs has decreased. The figures of

village centre of NGOs illustrate that the frequency of engagement and interaction is less among the organizations. Mukta opined:

Nowadays the weekly meetings of the center are not being held, the relatives of the member often come to the centre to pay the installment. Now members do not gather at the centre in time and share problems and prospects of the community. Even we have no introduce each other. Taking and repaying the loan is the main target of the members and the promoter.

It is important to note that the trust of 21 respondents of youth development organizations did not change (increase/decrease) after having the membership of organizations. Most of the members of the youth development organizations are young and less than 25 years old. Bipul Pramanik (CS 2) said:

Most of the youth development organizations are politically patronized, and controlled by the local political leaders. Members have no freedom of choice in decision making. Leaders often use them to sub-serve their interest. As a result, vertical relation exists in the organizations; hence trust and reciprocity are less among the members.

5.5 Trend of Network in CSOs

The network is a means to get the resources and to accelerate the mobilization of a democratic society. The CSOs broaden the big sphere of network for the members, which ensures common engagement and wellbeing. The structure of CSOs and frequency of engagement determine the depth of networks. Some of these networks are primarily 'horizontal', bringing together stakeholders of equivalent status and power. Others are primarily 'vertical', linking unequal stakeholders in asymmetric relations of hierarchy and dependence. The rural social structure of Bangladesh is primarily based on the patron-client relationship. It is characterized by dominance and dependence instead of mutuality. The patron-client relationship does not exist in the CSOs. The CSOs give common spheres and avenues to achieve the common ends. Lin (2001) defined social capital on the perspective of social networks, as resources embedded in one's social network, resources that can be accessed or mobilized through ties in the networks. Networks of civic engagement provide the necessary condition for access to and use of embedded resources.

Table 5.5: Range of Network after Having the Membership of Organization

Name of organizations	Nature of Network			Total
	Expanding	Decreasing	Static	
Volunteer based organizations	54 (94.7%)	—	3 (5.3%)	57
Youth development organizations	36 (87.8%)	2 (4.9%)	3 (7.3%)	41
Women development organizations	22 (91.7%)	—	2 (8.3%)	24
Cooperative societies	71 (87.7%)	1 (1.2%)	9 (11.1%)	81
Village center of NGOs	74 (89.2%)	1 (1.2%)	8 (9.6%)	83
Total	257 (89.9%)	4 (1.4%)	25 (8.7%)	286

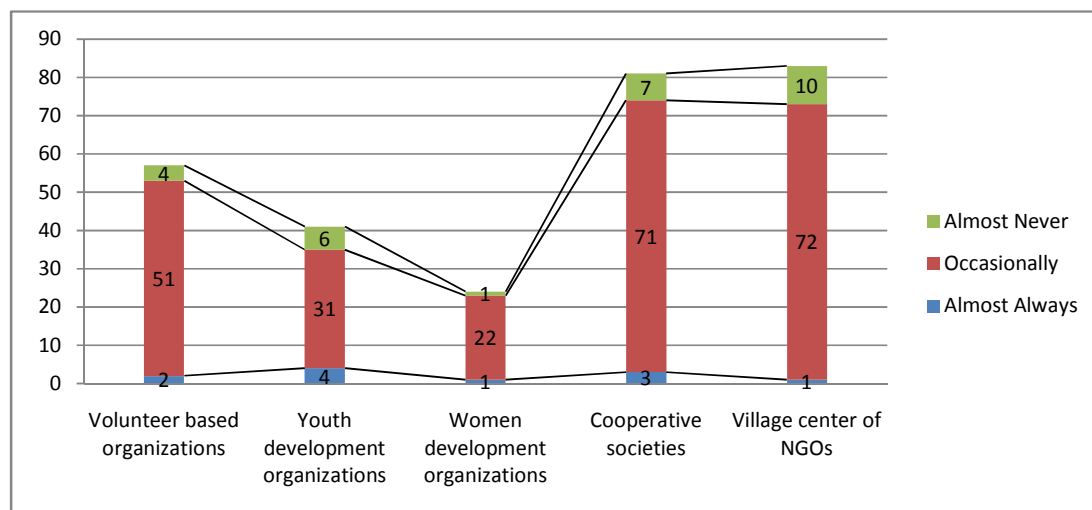
The Table 5.7 shows that the network of 257 respondents (89.9%) has increased after having the membership of CSOs. On the other hand the network of 4 (1.4%) respondents has decreased and 25 (8.7%) respondents' network remain static after the joining the CSOs. The network of 94.7 percent respondents from volunteer based organizations have increased after the inclusion of CSOs, which is highest among the categorized CSOs of the study. The network of 87.7 percent respondents the youth development organizations have increased. While the network of 4.9 percent respondents of these organizations have decreased. Most of the respondents of these CSOs are students, and majority of them are unemployed, which may be the cause of decreasing and static (7.3%) network exists among them. Around 11.1 percent respondents of cooperative societies reported that the network did not expand after having the membership of CSOs. However, the figure of the Table illustrates that the CSOs are vibrant to form social capital at the organization level.

Table 5.6: Formation of Social Capital in Terms of Network

Formation of Social Capital	Range of Network			Total
	Almost Always	Occasionally	Almost Never	
Bonding Social Capital in terms of information dissemination within the members of own organization.	38 (13.3%)	232 (81.1%)	16 (5.6%)	286
Bridging Social Capital in terms of information dissemination with community members.	11 (3.8%)	247 (86.4%)	28 (9.8%)	286
Bridging Social Capital in terms of collective works with other organizations.	8 (2.8%)	73 (25.5%)	205 (71.7%)	286

The Table 5.8 shows the features of bonding and bridging social capital on the basis of the network which have been defined by Putnam (2000) and Woolcock and Narayan (2000). The present study measured these social capitals on the basis of information dissemination among the members of CSOs as well as community members. Bonding social capital expresses strong tie among the members which exists among 94.4 percent respondents. Among them, 81.1 percent ‘occasionally’ and 13.3 percent ‘almost always’ inform the discussed issues to those who were absent in the meeting. Indeed, such figures indicate that a strong bonding exists among the members. The bridging social capital expresses the tie with the community members regarding the information and reciprocity. The Table also reveals that bridging social capital exists among more than 90 percent respondents. Among them, 86.4 percent ‘occasionally’ and 3.8 percent ‘almost always’ inform the community members about commonly discussed subjects.

Figure 5.3: Bridging social Capital at the Organization Level



The depiction of bridging social capital in terms of collective action is reverse to bonding and bonding social capital, where 71.7 percent respondents did not engage themselves in collective actions in order to protect or preserve common resources of the society. Only 25.5 percent respondents participated in collective actions with other organizations for common betterment. Therefore, bridging social capital in terms of collective action is

less for establishing a cohesive society. Although social tie in the society is visible, but social solidarity is not vibrant and vigilant regarding the common wellbeing.

Table 5.7: Bridging Social Capital in Terms of Collective Action at the Organization Level

Name of the organizations	Nature of Collective Action			Total
	Almost always	Occasionally	Almost never	
Volunteer based organizations	—	28 (49.1%)	29 (50.9%)	57
Youth development organizations	3 (7.3%)	14 (34.1%)	24 (58.5%)	41
Women development organizations		3 (12.5%)	21 (87.5%)	24
Cooperative Societies	5 (6.2%)	22 (27.2%)	54 (66.7%)	81
Village center of NGOs	—	6 (7.2%)	77 (92.8%)	83
Total	8 (2.8%)	73 (25.5%)	205 (71.7%)	286

Table 5.6 shows the scenario of bridging social capital in terms of collective actions at the organization level. The 28 (49.1%) respondents of volunteer based organizations ‘occasionally’ participated in collective actions with the other organizations. This is the highest participation among all the organizations. About 12.5 percent respondents from women development organizations and 7.2 percent from village center of NGOs participated in collective actions with other CSOs. The data on ‘almost always’ (2.8%) does not indicate the good amount of collective action which is necessary for overall wellbeing of the society.

5.6 Nature of Cooperation

There is a tradition of CSOs to contribute in collective actions during critical position of an individual or community in Bangladesh. Even the CSOs play pioneer role in critical periods of the country. Members of the CSOs motivate others to be involved in voluntary functions. At the organization level, firstly, mutual cooperation occurs among the members, secondly, it occurs at the community level, and thirdly, bridging cooperation occurs in the society. The study explores the nature of cooperation of CSOs at the three stages.

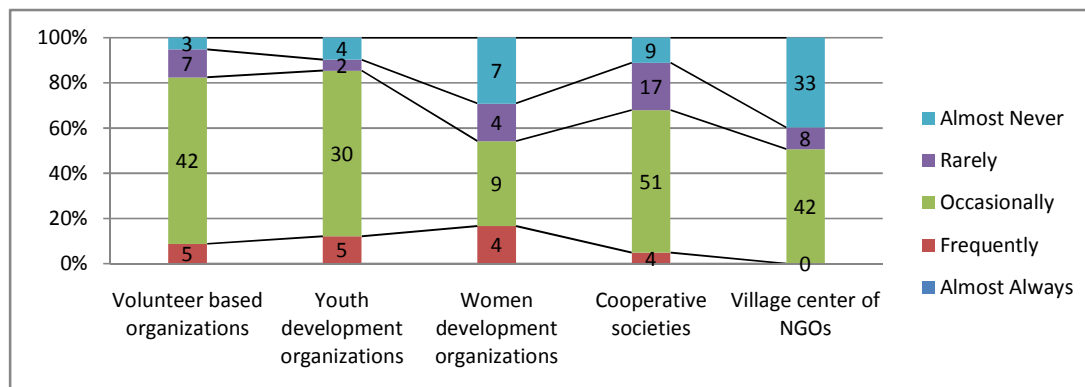
Table 5.8: Nature of Co-operation in Critical Time

Issue	Unit of scale					Total
	Almost Always	Frequently	Occasionally	Rarely	Almost Never	
Cooperation during workless days among the members of own organization	–	17 (5.9%)	178 (62.2%)	35 (12.2%)	56 (19.6%)	286
Cooperation during workless days among neighbors	–	11 (3.8%)	162 (56.6%)	42 (14.7%)	71 (24.8%)	286
Cooperation within village Periphery	1 (0.3%)	18 (6.3%)	173 (60.5%)	38 (13.3%)	56 (19.6%)	286

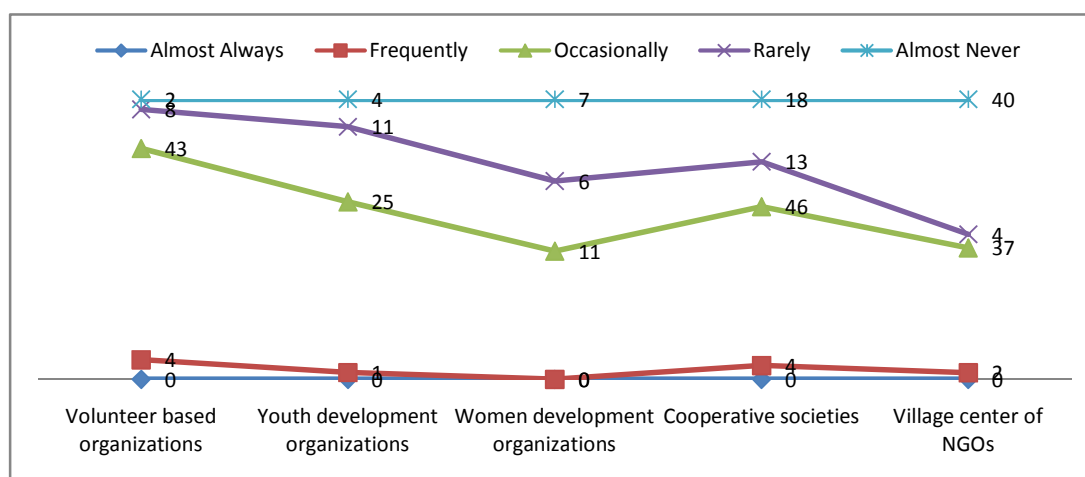
The Table 5.10 shows three separate issues to understand the mutual cooperation of the members of CSOs in the critical time. First one is about bonding cooperation among the members, which reveals that 62.2 percent respondents ‘occasionally’ cooperated the members of his/her organization during jobless/workless days. Only 19.6 percent respondents did not help their organization fellows. However, about 80 percent respondents of the study co-operated their fellows in critical periods. The figure indicates that considerable cooperation prevails among the members, which makes their life easy.

Second issue on the Table is about cooperation of neighbors during critical time. The study reveals that 56.6 percent respondents ‘occasionally’ co-operated their neighbors at the critical period such as: job seeking period, jobless days, financial hardship, etc. About 24.8 percent respondents did not co-operate the villagers as a member of CSOs. It is a significant finding that about 75 percent members of CSOs provided to cooperation to their neighbors in different scales, which means that one kind of social bonding is prevailing in the society.

The Table also reveals that the cooperation trend of respondents in the village periphery is satisfactory. About 80 percent respondents co-operated the villagers during their critical time. Among them, 60.5 percent ‘occasionally’, 13.3 percent ‘rarely’ and 6.3 percent ‘frequently’ assisted the others during their critical time. Therefore, the CSOs are vibrant regarding the cooperation issues among the members as well as village periphery.

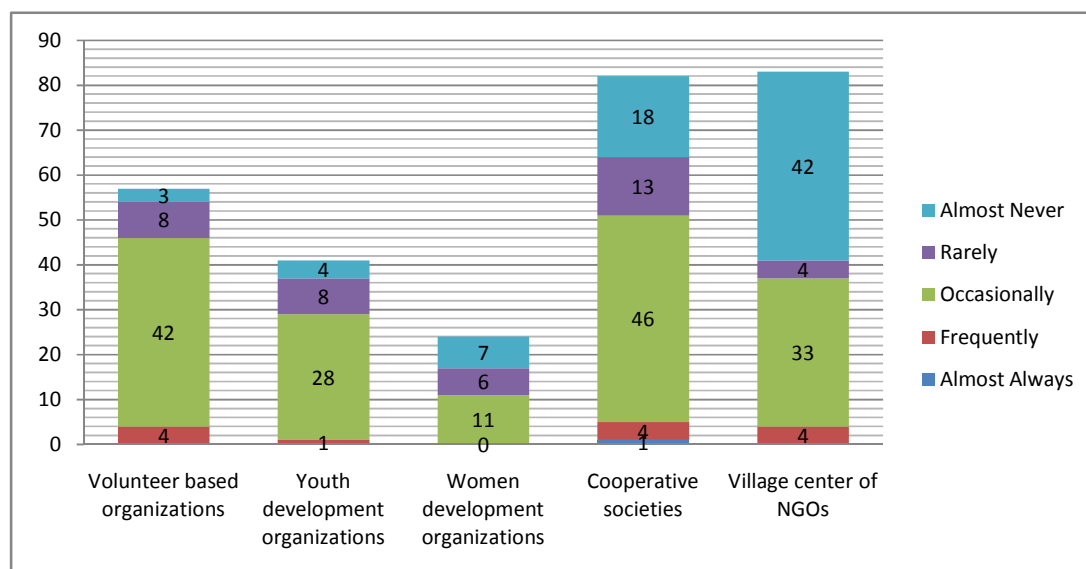
Figure 5.4: Nature of Cooperation at the Organization Level

The figure 5.5 shows the trend of cooperation among the members during the critical period at the organizations level the figure depicts that 63 respondents of the cooperative societies out of 81 cooperated during jobless or workless period at different scales. Eighteen respondents of these organizations did not cooperate at any scales. Most of the members of cooperative societies are employed in different occupations. They are elder than the members of other organizations, which may be a cause for such type of high cooperation. Cooperation trend in volunteer based organizations is also significant, 43 respondents out of 57 'occasionally' cooperated in critical time. Only 2 respondents of volunteer based organizations did not engage themselves with the activities of cooperation.

Figure 5.5: Nature of Cooperation towards the Neighbors at the Organization Level

The figure 5.5 shows the nature of cooperation of the organizations towards the neighbors. Among the respondents of volunteer based organizations, 43 respondents out of 57 'occasionally' assisted the neighbors in their critical period. Only 2 members of these organizations did not cooperate at any time. It is observed that volunteer based organizations are more vivacious and active in making social cohesion. Women development organizations and village centre of NGOs are less active in cooperation with the neighbors. It is noted that the members of the both organizations are women who are less active compared to the others organizations to take the social responsibilities due to a patriarchal society.

Figure 5.6: Nature of Cooperation in the Village Periphery at the Organization Level



The figure 5.6 shows the cooperation trend in the village periphery at the organizational level. Volunteer and youth development organizations are more active in cooperation within village periphery. Fifty four respondents of volunteer based organizations out of 57 involved themselves in the activities of cooperation in village periphery, which is very significant indicator of social cohesion. Only 4 respondents of youth development organizations did not engage themselves in the cooperation activities. The members of the both organizations were young and educated compared to other organizations.

5.7 Involvement in Social Conflicts Resolution

Conflict among the society is dynamic, and its resolution within the societal process is a sign of the advancement of society. Rural society of Bangladesh is very cohesive from the ancient period. Nevertheless, conflicts arise among the villagers regarding land disputes, disagreement, disgrace, misunderstanding, etc. The CSOs of the society often mitigate and solve the conflicts as a trusted organization in the village.

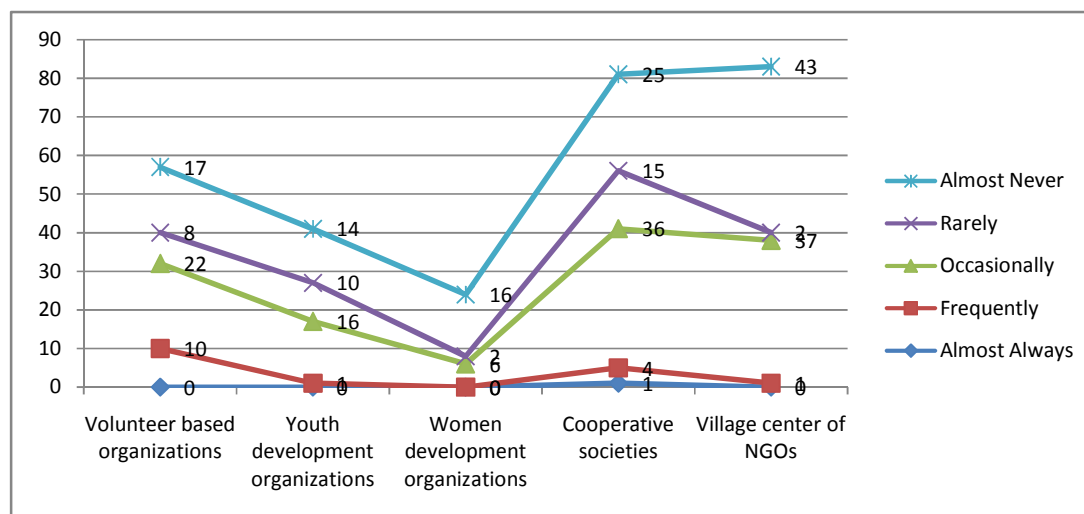
Table 5.9: Involvement in Conflict Resolution

Issues	Unit of Scale					
	Almost Always	Frequently	Occasionally	Rarely	Almost Never	Total
Mitigation/ resolution of conflicts	1 (0.3%)	16 (5.6%)	117 (40.9%)	37 (12.9%)	115 (40.2%)	286
Mitigation/resolution of religious conflicts.	–	6 (2.1%)	50 (17.5%)	31 (10.8%)	199 (69.6%)	286

The Table 5.11 shows that 40.9 percent respondents ‘occasionally’ involved themselves in mitigating the conflicts of the villages. It is also significant that 40.2 percent respondents did not contribute to solve any kinds of conflicts. Only 5.6 percent respondents ‘frequently’ participated to lessen the conflicts. The data depict that the CSOs are not very much active to resolute people’s daily life's conflicts.

The Table also demonstrates the involvement of CSOs for mitigating the conflicts based on the religious matters in the society, where 69 percent respondents did not engage themselves for mitigating such types of conflicts. Only 30.40 percent respondents of the study engaged themselves to mitigate religious conflicts. Among them, 2.1 percent respondents ‘frequently’, 17.5 percent ‘occasionally’ and 10.8 percent ‘rarely’ involved themselves.

Badal Chandra said that *“religious conflicts have been reduced in the village due to modernization process. Besides, men are now more liberal”*. Indeed, most of the respondents think that religion is sensitive issue; they should be avoided consciously. The CSOs of the villages could not play a vital role to solve the conflicts for the lack of strong social cohesion.

Figure 5.7: Social Conflict Resolution at the Organization Level

The figure 5.8 reveals that 22 respondents of volunteer based organizations 'occasionally' and 10 'frequently' engaged themselves to mitigate social conflicts. Members of cooperative societies are more active compared to other organizations. The 36 members from the cooperative societies involved themselves 'occasionally' to minimize the conflict on the land disputes or disgrace or disagreement or chaos, etc. It is noted that most of the members of cooperative societies are older than the members of other organizations of the study (viz. Table 3.2). Only 6 members from women's development organizations 'occasionally' and 2 'rarely' out of 24 respondents engaged themselves for mitigating in social conflicts. Involvement in conflict resolution of women's organization was less compared to other organizations because of patriarchal society.

5.8 Trend in Preventing Commonly Affected Issues

Society is a whole set of life where every member of the society is interdependent. There are many common evil issues which affect the members of the society as a whole. The CSOs of the society play a vital role to prevent these evil activities. The CSOs often organize ground of social movement against the evil activities, and also create consciousness among the members of the society. Drug addiction, damaging public goods and violence in the period of election were taken into consideration as common affected issues in the study.

Table 5.10: Involvement in Preventing Commonly Affected Issue

Issues	Unit of Scale					Total
	Almost Always	Frequently	Occasionally	Rarely	Almost Never	
Preventing drug addiction or creating awareness about it	2 (0.7%)	87 (30.4%)	87 (30.4%)	18 (6.3%)	92 (32.2%)	286
Protecting public goods	–	–	15 (5.2%)	32 (11.2%)	239 (83.6%)	286
Stopping violence during period of election.	–	–	12 (4.2%)	24 (8.4%)	250 (87.4%)	286

The Table 5.12 shows that about 67 percent respondents engaged themselves to prevent drug addiction at the different scale of unit. Among them, 30.4 percent ‘frequently’, 30.4 percent ‘occasionally’ and 6.3 percent ‘rarely’ engaged themselves in preventing drug addiction. Naem, Participant of FGD 2 expressed his views:

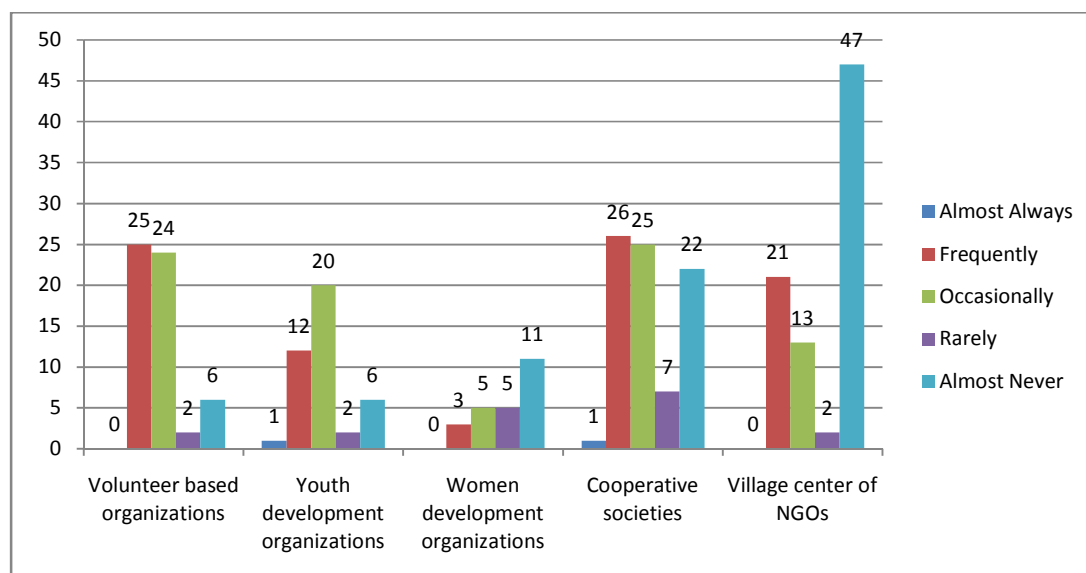
The youngs of our village were not habituated to drug addiction. Now it becomes one kind of social problem but the members of those are very few. Even then they are damaging the tradition of our village. From our organization we tried to motivate them. Even we complained to the Chairman about that. We need a social movement for preventing drug addiction.

The Table also demonstrates the nature of involvement in protecting public goods; such as: school, college, roads, culverts, health centre, etc., which are commonly required for all in the society. The study reveals that 83.6 percent respondents did not engage themselves in preventing the public goods. Only 5.2 percent respondents ‘occasionally’ and 11.2 percent ‘rarely’ participated in protecting of public goods. The data illustrate that the CSOs are not more active to protect the public goods. Ali Bakker reported that, *“we are not conscious about the public goods. We all say that this is the work of government, not us. We do not realize that these are our asset. These issues should be included in the school syllabus”*.

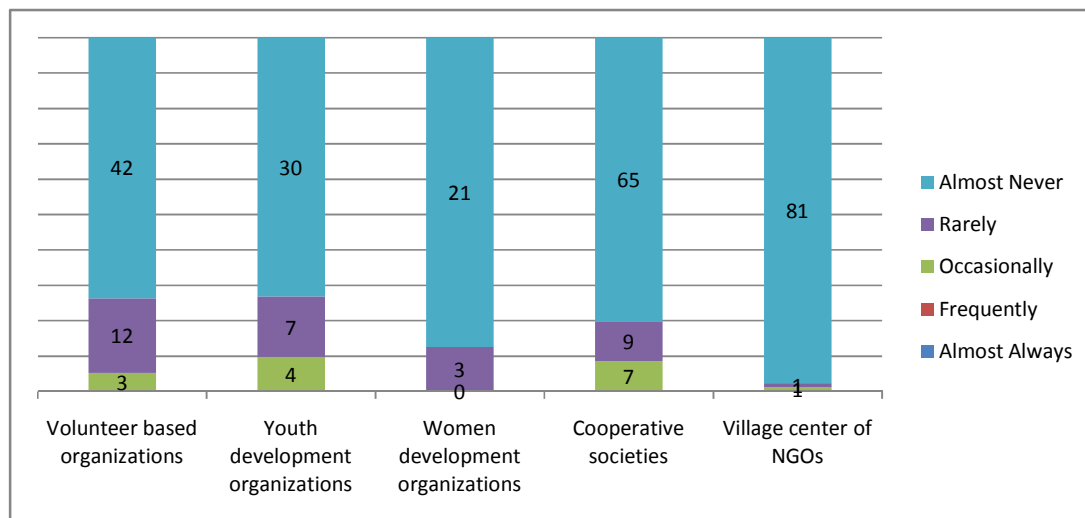
The Table 5.12 also shows that 87.4 percent respondents did not involve themselves to stop violence during election. Only 4.2 percent respondents ‘frequently’ and 8.4 percent ‘rarely’ engaged themselves to stop the election violence. Indra Jit, a respondent of FGD 2 opined that *“we know that pre and post election violence is damaging our social tie and cohesion. But, we avoid this consciously because of political atrocity. Candidates of*

the election employ the young group of the villages, who are also the members of different clubs and organizations which are controlled by that candidates". The data of the Table illustrate that involvement in preventing drug addiction is wider compared to other commonly affected issues. People do not have much consciousness about their responsibilities regarding the protection of public goods. Besides, they avoid to be involved in protesting election violence due to the political atrocity.

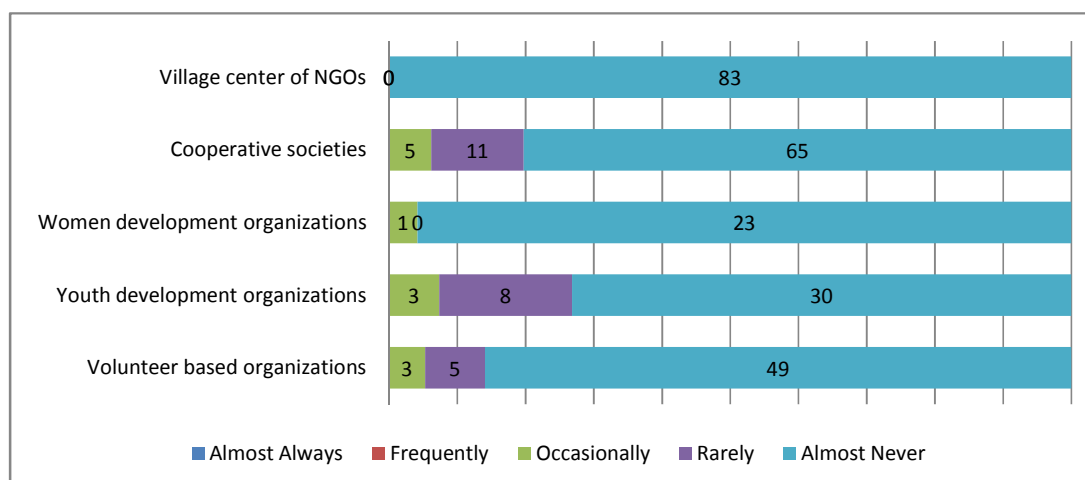
Figure 5.8: Trend in Preventing Drug Addiction at the Organization Level



The figure 5.8 indicates the trend of preventing drug addiction at the organizational level. The volunteer based organizations and youth development organizations are more active in preventing drug addiction in the study areas. Fifty one respondents of the volunteer based organizations engaged themselves in preventing of drug addicted activities. The figure also shows that 20 respondents 'occasionally', 12 'frequently', 2 'rarely' and 1 'almost always' of the youth development organizations engaged themselves in prevention drug addiction activities. Forty seven respondents out of 83 of village centre of NGOs did not participate in the drug preventing activities. Nevertheless, the participating number (21 frequently, 13 sometimes and 2 rarely) is noteworthy because the members of village centre of NGOs are women. It is noted that many of CSOs involved themselves in motivation and awareness raising activities for preventing drug in order to protect social cohesion and peace.

Figure 5.9: Trend in Protecting Public Goods at the Organization Level

The figure 5.10 demonstrates that none of the respondents of the five categorized CSOs did not engage themselves 'almost always' and 'frequently' for protecting public goods. Only 1 respondent 'occasionally' and another one 'rarely' from the village centre of NGOs participated in the protection of public goods. It is very negligible number compared to 83 respondents of the village centre of NGOs. From volunteer based organizations three respondents 'occasionally' and 12 'rarely' involved themselves in the protecting of public goods. The figure also indicates that government institutions did not inspire the people and CSOs of the society for protecting public goods. Feeling of ownership of the people did not grow on the public goods for the lack of awareness and government campaign.

Figure 5.10: Stopping Election Violence at the Organization Level

The figure 5.10 shows that from cooperative societies eleven respondents 'rarely' and 5 'occasionally' engaged themselves to stop the violence during election period. Only 8 respondents out of 57 of volunteer based organizations involved themselves in stopping election violence. None of the members of village centre of NGOs did participate in stopping election violence. Although violence during election is damaging the social cohesion and peace, but respondents of CSOs think that it is a sensitive political issue. For this reason, they try to avoid to be involved in protesting election violence and they confine their work on social welfare activities.

5.9 Collective Efforts of the CSOs: Goal of Common Wellbeing

The economic and political performances of the societies, from village to international communities, depend critically on how the members of a community and the CSOs solve the collective dilemmas. The dilemma of collective actions is the important obstacle for the development of politics and economics (Putnam, 1993; Coleman, 1990; Fukuyama, 1995). In Bangladesh from village society to city, collaborative actions have been reduced dramatically, which is hindering the nation's political cooperation and common wellbeing. Trustworthiness, networks and institutions are interrelated vehicles to solve the problem of collective actions. Trustworthiness is embedded in a person's intrinsic norm through which one reciprocates other's trust even when material self-interest does not compel one to do so. It is a characteristic of preferences (Ahn & Ostrom 2008). The CSOs play pioneer role as a mediator to solve the dilemma of collective action. The study has tried to trace the collective actions of the CSOs at the village level.

At first, the study raised question to understand respondents' attitude and willingness to sacrifice own resources and participating in collective actions for common wellbeing. About 97 percent respondents agreed that collective effort is essential for the welfare of the villagers. This is a significant attitude for collective action where CSOs can work easily for enhancing social cohesion and development of the society.

Table 5.11: Willingness to Sacrifice Own Resources and Participating in Collective Action

Issue	Unit of Scale					Total
	Almost Always	Frequently	Occasionally	Rarely	Almost Never	
Willingness to participate in collective action and to sacrifice own resources for common wellbeing	16 (5.6%)	179 (62.6%)	66 (23.1%)	6 (2.1%)	19 (6.6%)	286
Willingness to stay with collective effort despite not getting benefit from it directly	85 (29.7%)	97 (33.9%)	81 (28.3%)	7 (2.4%)	16 (5.6%)	286

The Table 5.13 shows that about 93 percent respondents agree to participate in collective effort if they have to sacrifice their own resources and asset for the welfare of the people. Among them, 62.6 percent ‘frequently’, 23.1 percent ‘occasionally’ and 5.6 percent ‘almost always’ are ready to stay with the collective effort of CSOs, and agree to sacrifice some land or resources for wellbeing of the society. The data indicate that this attitude of the respondents is viable to act collective efforts.

The Table 5.13 also reveals that about 94 percent respondents agree to stay with collective effort even if they do not get benefit from it directly. Among them, 29.7 percent ‘almost always’, 33.9 percent ‘frequently’, 28.3 percent ‘occasionally’ and 2.4 percent ‘rarely’ concur to help others. Indeed, the figure illustrates that the respondents of the study have high sacrifice mentality for the betterment of others and participating in collective efforts. But in practice the collective actions of the CSOs do not happen in the study area at the satisfactory level which has been depicted in the Table 5.12.

Table 5.12: Collective Efforts of CSOs for Common Wellbeing

Issue	Unit of Scale					Total
	Almost always	Frequently	Occasionally	Rarely	Almost never	
Collective works for protecting common resources	2 (.7%)	3 (1.0%)	54 (18.9%)	23 (8.0%)	204 (71.3%)	286
Collective works for ensuring safe water/water bodies for the community.	–	6 (2.1)	9 (3.1%)	7 (2.4%)	264 (92.3%)	286
Collective works for protecting and developing environments	–	30 (10.5%)	140 (49.0%)	37 (12.9%)	79 (27.6%)	286

The Table 5.14 shows that 71.3 percent respondents did not participate in the development of social institutions (such as: playground, school, college, hat-bazaar, etc.) from their organizations. It is noted that their participation in collective actions for the development of social institutions are low (28.7%) compared to their sacrificing attitude (about 93%). Other two common issues - protecting water bodies/ensuring safe water, and tree plantation/protecting trees. About 93.2 percent respondents did not work collectively from their CSOs on ensuring/protecting water bodies safe water issues. While about 72 percent respondents participated in tree plantation and protection activities from their organizations. Among them, 49 percent 'occasionally' and 10.5 percent 'frequently' engaged themselves. Involvement in tree nursing and plantation are wider than the activities of protecting water bodies. However, it appears through the field visit that members of CSOs are eager to engage collective actions, but they could not translate it into actions due to the absence of competent leadership among the CSOs and lack of bridging social capital at organization level (bridging with other organizations).

5.10 Decision Making Process within the Organization

Social capital formation of an organization mostly depends on the decision making process. The CSOs are structurally horizontal. The participation and opinion of members gives the sign of accountability and transparency. As a result, the fields of engagement and interaction create through the democratic process. The present study reveals that most of the NGOs in Bangladesh do not give much attention to social responsibilities through group formation at the village centers. The agents of NGOs provide credit through the group formation, but group meetings do not hold regularly. As a result, engagement, reciprocity and networking do not happen among the members at an expected level. Kader, a participant of FGD 1 opined:

Village centre of NGOs has lost its tradition of people's engagement. The members of the centre do not gather at a time. The promoters⁷ of NGO do not encourage the members to engage in social welfare activities of the society. The promoters of the NGO have no organizational post of the centre, but he/she is all in all.

Table 5.13: Decision Making Process at the Organization Level

Decision making Process	Volunteer based organizations	Youth development organizations	Women development organizations	Cooperative societies	Village centre of NGOs	Total
Made by all through discussion	49 (85.96%)	40 (97.56%)	19 (79.16%)	70 (86.41%)	4 (4.81%)	182
Wish of the leader	8 (14.03%)	1 (2.43%)	5 (20.83%)	11 (13.58%)	54 (65.06%)	79
Made by outsiders	–	–	–	–	25 (30.12%)	25
Total	57	41	24	81	83	286

The Table 5.3 shows that 85.96 percent decision of volunteer based organizations, 97.56 percent of youth development organizations and the 86.41 percent of cooperative societies were made by all through discussion. On the contrary, only 4.81 percent decisions of village centre of NGOs are made by all through discussion. The Table also reveals that 65.06 percent decisions of the village centre of NGOs were made by the leaders, and 25 percent determined by the outsiders (agents of NGOs). This figure indicates that vertical relation exists in the village centre of NGOs. Sabina expressed her grievance regarding the degree of engagement as:

I am an old member of this NGOs centre. At the inception of this centre, we assembled here every week at a time and discussed about our rights and social issues. From this engagement, we would get scope to exchange our views, received information about existing problems. We attempted to solve our problems collectively. Now there are many village centre of NGOs which have no rules and regulations. Members do not assemble in time and interact each other. It is only a centre for providing and receiving credit.

Indeed, the village centre of NGOs has often lost its engagement tradition due to huge credit activities and commercial venture. As a result, bonding social capital in village centre of NGOs has shrunk drastically.

⁷ Promoter is a service holder of NGO who works in the village centre of NGOs as an agent.

5.11 Collective Actions of the Previous Year

The study conducted focus group discussion (FGD) to find the role of CSOs in the society and *Union Parishad*. Five FGDs had been conducted on five categorized CSOs of the study. It is said that previous activities of an organization give the indication of present conditions. To understand the past and present situation regarding the collective actions of CSOs, I requested the participants of FGDs to make a list of the collective actions of the previous year. Participants of five FGDs prepared a list of collective actions which carried out in the previous year. They marked eight areas of such collective actions; such as: (i) participation in development works (ii) participation in protecting environment and development works (ii) participation in protecting social institutions and development (iv) preventing child marriage and dowry (v) protesting malpractice and corruption (vi) cooperating in development works of government (vii) assistance for distress and destitute (viii) help the neighbors. The range of involvement of the CSOs in such activities has been presented in next page.

Table 5.14: Collective Actions of CSOs of the Previous Year

Name of CSOs	Nature of Collective Action							
	Participation in development works	Participation in environment protection, development works	Participation in social institutions infrastructural work	Prevention in child marriage and dowry	Protesting malpractice and corruption	Cooperation in development works of government	Serving for distress and destitute	Help the neighbors
Volunteer based organizations	✓✓	✓	✓		✓	✓✓	✓✓	
Youth development organizations	✓		✓✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
Cooperative Societies		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓✓	✓
Women development organizations		✓		✓			✓	
Village centre of NGOs		✓		✓				

Note: The sign (v) indicates the positive answer and frequency given by the respondents regarding the types of participation in collective action undertaken previous year.

The Table 5.15 shows that volunteer based organizations participated for nine times in a year in the six areas. Among them, one was against the malpractice and corruption at government institutions. At the same time, two programs of that organization were about co-operating with government. This was the highest number of collective actions among the five FGDs. It is important to note that most of the participants of this FGD were younger and more educated than the members of other organizations. Youth development organizations participated for seven times in the six areas of the previous year. Among them, two collective actions were related to the development of social institution, and another one was preventing child marriage. Cooperative societies participated seven times in six areas. One of these was taking steps against malpractice and corruption in the government institutions. Respondents from women development organizations and village centre of NGOs were less active in terms of participating in the collective action compared to other organizations. Women development organization participated in three collective actions in a year. Village centre of NGOs participated in two collective actions, one was for protecting environment, and another was for preventing child marriage. It is true; the collective actions of five FGDs were less compared to the sacrifice mentality (93 percent) of the respondents.

5.12 Social Capital: Towards Social Cohesion

The concept of social cohesion is a multidimensional notion which is now the central goal of social scientists to policy makers. Social cohesion is viewed as characteristics of society dealing with the connections and relationships between societal units such as individuals, groups, associations as well as territorial units. The social capital of a society is an essential foundation of its social cohesion (McCracken, 1998; Maxwell, 1996). The present study has revealed the nature of social capital of CSOs and its collective actions in the society. The formation of social capital at the organizational level leads belongings, cooperation, sense of commonness and solidarity which aggregate the social cohesion. The study finds that trust level of 60 percent respondents has increased after the inclusion of CSOs in financial transaction, 92 percent respondents have trust on the members of their own organization. Bonding and bridging social capital in terms of reciprocity is more than 80 percent.

Seventy percent respondents reported that cooperation prevails among the members, neighbors and at village periphery. The data illustrate that social cohesion exists in the society, but the involvement of CSOs in common affected issues and participated in collective actions are not at satisfactory level.

National and local politics as well as rural power structure are very much related to the collective actions of the CSOs. If national and local politics do not provide democratic environment, the CSOs cannot work smoothly in a society for common wellbeing, and even co-operate the government functions. It is described that rural power exists on patron-client relationship in the rural societies where mainly landlord families dominate and exploit the poor peasants and tiny trotters. There is no legal hierarchical and authoritarian structure in the village society but it exists almost everywhere. This is often referred to as patron-client relations where strong families dominate weaker ones through multi-stranded, paternalistic ties rather than single-stranded ties more associated with the idea of contracts and market transactions. These patron-client relations are transferred into official organizations, despite any appearance of rational, bureaucratic and objective practices (Wood, 1994). It is observed that patron-client relation in Bangladesh has taken new shape. Now the patron (large landholders and businessmen) establish links to national political parties and present themselves as an activist or leader of a large political party at the rural area. Allocations of local government resources are delivered by the political patrons. The patrons of the village distribute these resources and gives the privileges of his/her followers and use political power against the members of anti political party. This open political divergence in the society is destroying the social unity and mutual interdependence. As a result, the CSOs could not resolve social conflicts which arise from livelihood practice. Thus, narrow power politics are rifting existing social unity and preventing the further social cohesion in spite of high level of social capital formation in the organizational level.

Table 5.15: Perception of Respondents about the Role of CSOs in Enhancing Social Cohesion

Social Cohesion	Unit of Scale					Total
	Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree	
The CSOs are playing effective roles in enhancing social cohesion.	2 (0.7%)	236 (82.5%)	14 (4.9%)	34 (11.9%)	–	286
Perception of the performance of other CSOs is good.	–	241 (84.3%)	8 (2.8%)	36 (12.6%)	1 (.3%)	286

The Table 5.16 presents the perception of respondents about the role of CSOs in enhancing the social cohesion. About 82.5 percent respondents think that the CSOs have contribution in enhancing social cohesion among the villagers. Only 11.9 percent respondents did not agree to the opinion that have positive role in this regard. They have given different answers and place arguments in favor of the disagreement through open ended questions. The answers of their disagreement are: (i) difference in political affiliation of the members of the CSOs creates tense in the society (ii) the CSOs pay more attention to the commercial venture instead of welfare activities (iii) the distribution of money and position creates dispute among the members of CSOs (iv) NGOs are remained busy with credit activities instead of participating in social activities.

The Table 5.16 also shows the perception of their CSOs about one another especially, the performance in the society. About 84.3 percent respondents think that perception of the CSOs about one another is good. Around 12.6 percent respondents think that the relation among the CSOs is not good, and identified the causes in favor of their disagreement as: (i) lack of co-operative attitude among the members of different CSOs (ii) lack of vision for social welfare in the constitution of CSOs. Bipul Pramanik, a participant of case study expressed the situation as follows:

In the past, the CSOs played vital role in taking decision for the society. Generally the CSOs arranged general meeting in the village to make common decisions especially, in case of establishing social institutions and arranging welfare functions. All of us used to take a unanimous decision instantly. Now-a-days the CSOs have no such tradition because of political bifurcation and excessive credit functions. Decision of Political leaders is all in all, the consent of villagers is not the matter of concern to them. It is true that the CSOs are playing vital role in constructing personal bonding among the members of the community (CS 2).

Reid & Salemen (2002) has studied on the cognitive dimension of social capital and given an example of low and high cohesive village in Mali, which depicts how much social cohesion is essential for the acceleration of development projects. The example is given below:

“Tingoni Bamanan (low cohesive village), a local nongovernmental organization offered to provide the village with a pump water. The village elders could not agree on whether the pump should be placed in the older part of the village or in the new, more populated sector, which had recently settled near a national road. Lack of agreement resulted in the cancellation of the project by the NGO. In contrast, two neighboring villages (high cohesive) received the pumps with the agreement of all”.

The study reveals that social capital formation at organization level is satisfactory, but the involvement of CSOs in common affected issues as well as collective actions for wellbeing of the villagers is not satisfactory. The strong social cohesion does not exist in the village society, which is a crying need for democratic consolidation and prosperity.

5.13 Conclusion

Ideally, there was an antagonistic relationship between CSOs and state during the growing stage of the modern state. The CSOs were the powerful platform to protest malpractices and autocratic nature of the state. The autocrat and military rulers tried to suppress the CSOs as an anti-power phenomenon. This idea of CSOs has been changed since 1980s in global context and in Bangladesh as well. Since then the government has treated the CSOs as a development partner to solve the complex crisis of the society. These new CSOs of Bangladesh started working on a good numbers of arenas of social issues such as education, health, sanitation, credit, women empowerment etc. Many targets have been achieved successfully. Social engagement and group formation were the strategies of works. Despite huge achievement of new CSOs, now the core question rises how much they produce social capital through civic engagement, which is the supreme need to ensure social cohesiveness, democratic consolidation and economic development.

The new CSOs of Bangladesh are vibrant to form social capital at the individual and organizational level yet, but this social capital does not lead to collective actions and involvement in commonly affected issues of the society. Willingness to sacrifice one's own resources or asset for collective actions leading to the betterment of the community is high (93%). Even though they do not get immediate benefit from collective actions, they (94%) are ready to stay with the collective activities. The data indicate that

people are prepared to sacrifice and help others through a collective effort from CSOs. But the CSOs of Bangladesh have failed to translate their willingness as a collective action due to existence of *partyarchy*¹⁸, lack of leadership, existence of vertical relation in village centre of NGOs and political split of CSOs. Putnam (1993) rightly point out that thus, where norms and networks of civic engagement are lacking, the outlook for collective action appears bleak.

Trust, reciprocity and network among the members of the organization as well as at organizations level are encouraging. Trust on other members in transaction of money and material is more than 90 percent. Increasing trust after the inclusion of CSOs is about 62 percent. At the same time, trust level of 34 percent respondents did not change after having the membership of CSOs, which indicates the lack of high frequency of engagement. Bridging and bonding (81.1% and 86.4% respectively) social capital are also at satisfactory level, but bridging social capital in respect of collective action is bleak.

Social capital among the members of village centre of NGOs is low compared to other organizations. Three causes are mainly responsible for narrow nest of social capital in NGOs such as: (i) quick group formation for credit activities (ii) vertical relation between the agent of NGOs and members of village centres and (iii) people's perception of NGOs activities, which they riveted as the source of credit only. Village centre of NGOs have often lost its group formation mechanism because of quick result. Only targeting credit functions have cut the generating social bonding values.

In the rural areas of Bangladesh, land based patron-client relationship has been, little bit, changed to a great extent for expansion of business and declining the value of land. Few business based patrons have been grown in the village who maintain relationships with national political leaders to exploit others and create dominance in the village society. Indeed, this is a new social shape in the rural areas. Patrons use political power against the anti-group and serve the interest with the help of central power, which is decaying social cohesion and unity instead of social consolidating. In such political situation, the CSOs are either often remain inactive or become politicized, hence they fail to generate social cohesion leading to collective action.

¹⁸ *Partyarchy* denotes the extreme centrality and dominance of party in the society. The parties dominate the important institutions in the society, such as local government institutions, newspapers and trade unions and thus deprive the citizens of these potential channels for having their views represented in the political process.

Chapter Six

Social Capital in Democratic Consolidation

Building social capital will not be easy but, it is the key to making democracy work (Putnam, 1993, p. 185).

6.1 Introduction

Democratic consolidation is a process which rests upon the performance of government institutions where people participate spontaneously and ensure the accountability of their elected representatives. Democratic and politically civic competent citizen can create vibrant institutions through their participation, cooperation as well as influence in the functions of these institutions. In this perspective, collective force is more viable rather than individual for sound performance of an institution. The collective democratic force of a community is required from the civic organizations. The social capital of CSOs reduces dilemma of collective action of a society and influence the functions of local government. *Union Parishad* is the lowest representative tier of local government in Bangladesh, which is indeed practice ground of democracy where people input their demands, and cooperate directly to fulfill the objectives of the institutions. People's collective participation, cooperation and vigilance are the means of good governance. The governance of the *Union Parishad* depends on democratic participation and social capital of CSOs which input collective voice in *Ward Sabha*, open budget discussion, participation in social security committee, cooperation in infrastructure development, prevention of social evils and anti-social activities as well as monitoring the activities of the representatives.

In recent years, substantial academic interest has been developed on the nexus between social capital and democratic consolidation. It is well documented that there is a positive relation between social capital and the performance of government institutions. Where social capital is high, is expected to outperform than where social capital is low. The reason is that social capital allows people to overcome collective dilemma more

effectively and at a lower cost, resulting in a better overall performance (Coffe and Geys, 2005). Putnam's (1993) 'Making Democracy Work' has delineated how the regional governments in more trusting, more civic-minded northern and central parts of Italy provide public services more effectively than those in less trusting, less civic of south. Putnam's hypothesis is that social capital has a beneficial effect on institutional performance. The studies of Rice and Cusack (2001, 1999) have analyzed the link between social capital and institutional performance at the local government level. Both have found that higher levels of social capital lead to an improved subjective approval of government performance. The thesis builds on the finding that participation in community associations increases political awareness by providing the opportunity to discuss political affairs (Scheufele, Nisbet, Brossard and Nisbet, 2004) that social capital is likely to increase the public's monitoring ability. Knack (2002) reveals in his study that where high level of social capital exists, voters can more easily overcome the collective action problems in monitoring officials. Social capital improves performance of government institutions "to the extent that it makes citizens sophisticated consumers of politics" (Boix & Posner, 1998, p. 690). In Bangladesh there is a tradition of CSOs and local government. The social capital of CSOs is more visible and consolidated rather than community's social capital, which can play vital role in monitoring and promoting the functions of *Union Parishad*.

The previous chapter has explored the nature of social capital at the existing CSOs in the study areas. This chapter has attempts to explore the role of social capital of CSOs in the functioning of *Union Parishad*. In this regard participation, cooperation and influence of CSOs in the functions of *Union Parishad* have been taken under consideration for analysis. Here democratic consolidation means a space for people's participation, cooperation, placing the demands of community in the *Union Parishad* and attempts to ensure accountability of the representatives of UP. Analysis of data present here as: (i) individual activities after having the membership of CSOs (ii) activities with the banner of organization.

6.2 Nexus between Local Government and CSOs

There is a philosophic root between local government and democracy. Local government gives the avenue of participation at the grass root level. Democracy becomes consolidation through the people's participation in the functions of government. Jean Jacques Rousseau considered "local government as the training ground for maintaining democratic culture, while Alexis de Tocqueville during his visit to the USA discovered the importance of local citizens and their local governments in keeping democracy in that country afloat" (UN Report, 1996, p. 3). Now decentralization is a global theme and widely used term. From the perspective of democracy, "decentralization enables close contact and interaction of local residents with governmental institutions and functionaries. This contract and interaction open up possibilities of immense significance in terms of infrastructure and sustaining democracy at the grass roots level and establishing appropriate institutions and structures" (Khan, 2009 p. 1). In fact, decentralization provides an institutional mechanism through which citizens at various levels can organize themselves and participate in the decision making process that makes democratic attitude. Through this process, democratic values such as trust, cooperation, coordination, practice of reciprocity, attitudes of participant and skills are developed among the locals. A culture of accountability is also promoted when direct interaction takes place between local citizens and locally elected leaders.

There is a long and eventful tradition of local self-government in Bangladesh. The Constitution of Bangladesh (Articles 9, 11, 59, and 60) made provisions for establishing local government as an inseparable organ of administering state affairs to safeguard democratic values and to secure economic and social justice. According to the article 59(1) of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, "local government in every administrative unit of the Republic shall be entrusted to bodies, composed of persons elected in accordance with law". After the independence of Bangladesh, the local government did not become practice ground of democracy. From the beginning, collective people's voice and demands did not reflect in the tier of local government.

Firstly, the CSOs did not work as a collective force to influence the representatives. Secondly, political leaders have tried to use the tiers of local government at parochial interest instead of democratic perspective. For the unwillingness of political leaders, bureaucratic bottleneck and dependence on central government are yet core problems on the way to create a vibrant and democratic institution in Bangladesh.

6.3 Background of the Union Parishad

The tradition of local self-government is very old in Bangladesh. It is traced from the Ancient period. It existed in ancient and medieval times with rural and traditional character (Mukharjee, 1958). This was a kind of miniature republic called a village council, which is mentioned in *Vedic* literature (1500-1000 B C). This village council used to manage and control a number of committees which looked after village administration. Siddique (1994) states that village self-government is as old as the formation of village stage in the subcontinent. "Available evidence also suggests that this system of village self-government was maintained by different rulers up to the Mughal period (16th to 18th century). There was a *Panchayat* committee in every village, which was constituted on hereditary basis" (Aziz, 1991, p. 10).

The *Gram-Panchayet*, *Zamindari Kanchari* and *Pargana Tahsil* made the hierarchic tiers of the pre-colonial structure of the local government. While the *Gram-Panchayet* or village council represented the village people, which was formed on the basis of government wish, the *Pargana Tahsil* represented the government interests. The *zamindar* served as an intermediate agent between the people and government. This existing structure of local government was inconsistent with the purpose of the mercantile government of the East India Company. "Through Cornwallis plan of 1793, local government abolished and redistributed its functions among the munsif, *thanadar* and district councilor" (Barman, 1992, p. 481).

The mutiny of 1857 was alarming to East India Company. Law and order situation deteriorated dramatically across the country. In this situation, "the British government

passed the Bengal *Chaukidary* Act in 1870 which tried to revive the *Panchayet* system” (Aziz, 1991, p. 10). Through this Act, the rural area was divided into unions, which were constituted of few villages. Each of these unions would have a committee known as *Panchayet*. Members of the *Panchayet* were appointed by the District Magistrate who could dismiss them without any reasons. Law and order and revenue collection were the main functions of the *Panchayet* committee. *Chaukidar* helped the *Panchayet* committee to accomplish the assigned works.

The Act of 1885 was more representative in character of local self-government. This was an outcome of the recommendations of Lord Ripon who was a liberal politician. He believed that local government evolves the local needs and circumstances. Under this Act three tiers came into operation (i) the Union Committee on union (group of villages over 10-12 square miles), (ii) the Local body in the subdivision and (iii) District board in the district. Extensive bureaucratic control and coupled with limited financial powers hampered the growth and operation of local bodies (Rashidizzaman, 1968). Through this Act Indian people got limited opportunities to participate in the local self-government. The Bengal Village Self-government Act passed in 1919. The Act was the result of the recommendation of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform. Montagu-Chelmsford also recommended integrating the local influential and complete control of people over the local self-government structure (Rahman, 1994). The Act replaced two tiers local self-government instead of three tiers such as District Board at the district level and Union Board at the union level. The Union Board had very limited power and resources for the development of villages. There was limited scope of participation for mass people. Nevertheless, we can treat Union Board as a first limited democratic institution in Indian subcontinent.

A new local government system was introduced in 1959, known as Basic Democracy. In the meantime, a significant change taken place in the subcontinent because of the end of the British rule and the creation of two independent states - India and Pakistan. “Also an important change was made in the provision of the Bengal Villages Self-government

Act 1919 with the introduction of direct elections for the posts of the presidents and vice-presidents of Union Boards in 1956” (Barman, 1992, P. 487). Through the Act of 1959 four tiers of local governments introduced such as: Union Council, Thana Council, District Council and Division Council.

Initially Union Council was consisted of both elected and nominated members. In the presidential order of 1962, members of the Union Council were elected by the people of the respective union on the basis of universal franchise. The Chairman of the Union Council would be elected indirectly by the members from amongst themselves. It had another significant of the members of Union Council who known as basic democrats, elected the President, members of the National Assembly and members of Provincial Assemblies. In fact, members of Union Council would work as the Electoral College. The control of government was very excessive over the Union Council. The members of the council had no scope of voice against the government. They elected the upper stratum members on the wish of the government. Thus Union Council as a democratic local body had been deteriorated rather than the previous Union Board. The people of the village had no trust in the new system of Union Council, which did not give scope to people’s voice and participation.

After the independence of Bangladesh, the structure of *Union Parishad* has been changed five times in the name of ensuring democratic and people friendly institution. Nevertheless, there is a big question: how much are the *Union Parishads* people’s participatory and accountable? The government of 1972 abolished the institutions of Basic Democracy. The power and functions of the Council were given to the officials through an official order. The names of bodies were changed as *Union Panchayet*, Thana Development Committee and *Zila* Board (Obaidullah, 1988). Meanwhile, the constitution was made in 1972 where in articles 59 and 60 provided elected local government at the district, *thana* and union levels. In spite of constitutional obligation, the government of the day did not implement the all targets. Through an executive order in 1973, *Union Panchayet* was renamed as the *Union Parishad*. “The union was

divided into three wards -each ward returning three members” (Khan and Obaidullah, 2009, P. 70). After the change of government in 1976, an ordinance of local government made three tiers of local government named *Union Parishad*, *Thana Parishad* and *Zila Parishad*. One Chairman and nine members of *Union Parishad* were elected by adult franchise. In this ordinance, there was provision for two nominated women who selected by the sub-divisional officer in the UP. This system of *Union Parishad* did not continue. In 1983 an ordinance was again issued by the President to change the structure of local government prevailing for a long time. Through this ordinance, *Union Parishad* would be constituted of ten elected members including a Chairman. The government did not delegate the power at the local level to nominate three women representatives of the UP. The tenure of UP office was three years. “The functions of UP were delegated with five broad categories (i) civic (ii) police and defense (iii) revenue and general administration (iv) development and (v) transferred” (Khan and Oaidullah, 2009, p. 76).

The democratic government of 1991 made a Local Government Structure Review Commission to conduct a fresh inquiry into the state of the present local government system and to recommend measures so that democracy could be institutionalized from the grass root level. The commission recommended a two tier local government system, *Union Parishad* at the village level and District Council at the district level. But the recommendations of the commission did not execute. The government of 1996 made a commission like the previous government to refurbish and democratize the institutions. The commission recommended four tiers local governments - *Gram Parishad*, *Union Parishad*, *Upazila Parishad* and *Zila Parishad*. The *Union Parishad* would be consisted of nine general members, three reserved women members and one Chairman. General members and the Chairman would be elected by the adult franchise.

It is a tragedy for the local government in Bangladesh that every government made a reform commission to refurbish local government. The recommendations of the commission were not implemented fully. Every government has, more or less, changed

the structure and laws of UP for her political interest where people's desire and demands did not become fruitful. As a result, UP as a tier of local government is facing vigorous problems to translate democratic institution yet. The present government has passed the Local Government (*Union Parishad*) Act 2009 in order to create it a democratic practice ground with a high expectation of people's participation.

6.4 Avenues of Participation of CSOs in Union Parishad

The Local Government (*Union Parishad*) Act 2009 was passed by the parliament with high expectation to transform it as democratic practice ground where people's voice and participation will be sovereign in the decision making and implementation of development works. With this vision, the Act 2009 has embedded the *Ward Sabha* which is miniature of village assemblies where planning and project selection are being held. Open budget discussion will be held in the open space of UP where the voters and CSOs will participate and recommend on the proposed budget. Besides, Citizen Charter, Union Development Coordination Committee (UDCC), Ward Committee (WC) and participation of CSOs are the new avenues of the Act 2009. Opening the scope of participation and providing services are the challenges of *Union Parishad*. The competent and democratic citizens are also needed to transform the UP as a democratic institution. "The LGIs (Local Government Institutions) are very weak in providing basic services to the citizens and in promoting good governance in their constituencies. The two fundamental reasons are mainly responsible for this – low level of human capital in the local government bodies and absence of participatory decision-making in governance. All these have resulted in inefficient LGIs even though they have huge potentials in a sustainable poverty reduction and economic and social development in Bangladesh, particularly from below" (Rahman, 2004. P. 4). It is important to note that the Act 2009 has given the scope to CSOs for participating in the functions of the *Union Parishad* at the different stages of planning, budgeting and implementation of projects. Members of the CSOs collectively or individually can play the role on different committees of Ward and Union level. Besides, the Act 2009 has given the right to CSOs as a member of UDCC.

Figure 6.1: CSOs' Scope of Participation in Union Parishad

Source: Reconstructed from *Union Parishad Operation Manual* (2012, p. 15-28)

The figure 6.1 illustrates the scope of participation of CSOs in functions of UP. The Act 2009 has divided the functions of UP at two levels, one is *Ward Sabha* where every decision is made by direct participation of people and members of CSOs. Another level is a *Union Parishad* where the demands and recommendations of *Ward Sabha* are passed by the different committees of *Union Parishad*. In the budget session, people and CSOs of the villages can participate and make proposals and recommendations in the proposed budget for the year. Besides, *Ward Sabha* has right to review the implementation of budget quarterly and half yearly. UDCC is a committee of all segments of the UP where CSO is a member. All these participatory functions of UP could ensure to make it as a practice ground of democracy.

6.5 Structure of Union Parishad

According to the clause 10 (1) (2) (3) of the Act 2009, each *Union Parishad* would be constituted of one Chairman and twelve members. Among them nine are general, and three are reserved women members. All members of the *Union Parishad* are elected by the adult franchise directly. Each *Union Parishad* constituent is divided into nine wards. Each ward would be constituted of few adjacent villages. Again, each *Union Parishad* constituent is divided into three wards for the election of three reserved women

members. The tenure of the *Union Parishad* is five years. According to the clause of 45 of the Act 2009 (1), *Union Parishad* will form 13 permanent committees to accomplish the functions of the *Parishad*. If it is necessary to compose more committee, the *Parishad* can form committee with the permission of Deputy Commissioner (DC). The clause 47 of the Act 2009 has defined the main functions of *Union Parishad*. These are as follows:

- i) Administration and establishment
- ii) Maintenance law and order of the Union
- iii) Social welfare and
- iv) Planning and implementation of the projects for the wellbeing of the society.

The Act 2009 described the 39 functions of *Union Parishad* in the light of main functions. The Act also mentioned that the *Union Parishad* will accomplish these functions with the cooperation of people, CSOs and stakeholders. The clause 49 of the Act 2009 has done obligatory to display a 'Citizen Charter' where description of every service of UP, the price of the services, who are qualified to access the services, duration of service delivery, duties of service recipients, etc will be included.

6.6 Structure of Ward Sabha

According to the Act 2009, 4, 5 (1) and (2) *Ward Sabha* will be formed in each ward with voters of that ward. In such a way nine *Ward Sabha* will be constituted in each *Union Parishad*. The *Ward Sabha* will arrange at least two open discussion meetings in a year, one of them will be an annual meeting. *Ward Sabha* will circulate mass notice to inform the people of the open meeting of *Ward Sabha* at least seven days before the meeting, which will be easy and acceptable to the voters. Member of that ward will preside over the meeting, and reserved woman member of that ward will be present as an adviser in *Ward Sabha*.

The Act 2009 has delegated specific powers, functions as well as responsibilities of the *Ward Sabha*. The clause 6 (1) has described the 21 functions of a *Ward Sabha*. These assigned functions of ward will be accomplished through an open discussion meeting and Ward Committee (WC). Resolution of the *Ward Sabha* will be passed on the basis of

majority. The presence of five percent voters is the quorum of the *Ward Sabha*. *Ward Sabha* can make different sub-committees to perform the assigned functions. Each sub-committee of the ward will be consisted of at best 10 members including three women. *Ward Sabha* will make the short list on the priority basis, which have been identified in the open meeting discussion. Later, *Ward Sabha* will provide priority project list and demands of the people (*Union Parishad* Operation Manual, 2012, P. 16-18). The Act 2009 has also designed 10 responsibilities of *Ward Sabha* for the development of area. The present study has revealed the level of participation at *Ward Sabha*, Ward Committee, open budget discussion and social security program of the government.

6.7 Participation of CSOs and Civic Competence in Union Parishad

Participation indicates collective and continuous efforts by the people themselves in setting goals, pooling resources together and taking actions which aim at improving their living conditions (Mishra, 1984). People's participation, indeed is the key to making democracy work, especially in collective participation. Without it democracy becomes inertia and sluggish, and authority suffers legitimacy inactions of its step. But every citizen does not have the same attitude and competence to participate in government functions and decision. There is no available initiative from the government agencies to increase knowledge and competence of citizens in the developing countries,. Almond and Verba (1963) state that though citizen competence and participation are at the heart of the definition of democracy, but government's attention is very little. For this reason, democracy runs leg behind. The citizen of transitional society, more or less, gain the competence and participatory attitude from the CSOs, education and socialization process. It depends on the interaction and engagement among the members of the community as well as the structure of the organization. If it is horizontal organization, social capital forms easily, and if it is vertical social capital formation is shallow. It is stated by Almond and Verba (1963) where there is a stable democracy; there is a higher incidence of social interaction. The voluntary social interaction expresses 'moral' purposes (social, welfare and religious) as well as and social purposes. One may infer that the pattern of voluntary social interaction is relatively well established in stable democracies, and that this in turn reflects feelings of confidence and safety in the social environment.

Membership of an organization, especially CSOs bestows a man more structured set of political resources and growing out of his varied interests. He is indeed involved in the broader social world, but is less dependent upon and less controlled by his political system. This competence gains through networking and continuous interaction with the different segments of people. This network and interaction may create bonding and bridging social capital. Through this competence he represents himself collectively and individually for placing his demands in the political system. Even the civic associations give an alarming message to government about anti policy which would harm the member. When a problem or necessity arises, local government even central government authorities may communicate with an individual through association. During this moment, the association plays a bargain role in favor of a member and welfare of the society. “Voluntary associations and the social networks of civil society that we have been calling “social capital” contribute to democracy in two different ways: they have “external” effects on larger polity, and they have “internal” effects on the participants themselves” (Putnam, 2000, P. 338). Many policies of government are implemented through the *Union Parishad* where people can participate and cooperate directly. The success and failure of these policies often depend on the people’s collective action and competence. The *Union Parishad* Act 2009 has given avenue for participation of the people to oversee and accelerate the development functions. The Table 6.1 shows the participation at the *Ward Sabha*, Ward Committee, open budget discussion and social security program committee. The data on individual (as a member of CSO) have been presented in the Tables while the efforts/actions taken from the banners of organization in the figures.

Table 6.1: Participation of CSOs in the Functions of Union Parishad

Issues	Frequency of Participation					Total
	Every meeting	More than twice	Twice	Once	Almost Never	
Participated in <i>Ward Sabha</i> and Ward Committee	–	–	3 (1.0%)	10 (3.5%)	273 (95.5%)	286
Participated in open budget discussion	–	–	3 (1.0%)	21 (7.3%)	265 (92.7%)	286
Participated in the Social Security Program Committee	–	2 (0.7%)	8 (2.8%)	12 (4.2%)	264 (92.3%)	286

6.7.1 Participation in Ward Sabha

Ward Sabha is a grass root assembly of the local government, which is directly participatory platform of people and practice ground of democracy. It is a new addition of the Act 2009. The Act has described its formation, functions and responsibilities. According to the clause 4 of the Act 2009, *Ward Sabha* will be formed with the people of that ward. The Act 2009 (5) states that *Ward Sabha* organizes at least two open discussion meetings in a year. Voters of that ward are the participants of the meeting. In the decision making process consent of the majority is mandatory at *Ward Sabha*. The Act 2009 delegates power to accomplish 21 functions with the cooperation of the people. Even the *Ward Sabha* can make different sub-committee to carry out the functions. Voters of the ward will be the committee members. In this perspective, the CSOs of the ward have the opportunity to participate collectively or individually as competent citizens of the ward.

Table 6.2: Participation of CSOs in the Ward Sabha

Issues	Frequency of participation					Total
	Every meeting	More than twice	Twice	Once	Almost Never	
Participated in <i>Ward Sabha</i> and Ward Committee	–	–	3 (1.0%)	10 (3.5%)	273 (95.5%)	286

The Table 6.2 shows that 3.5 percent respondents attended once in the open *Ward Sabha*, and only 1 percent respondents participated twice, which is a very negligible frequency. It is noted that there is an obligation to hold at least two open meetings in a year. But none of the respondents participated in more than two meetings. Sultan Ahmed, a participant of FGD expressed deep concern:

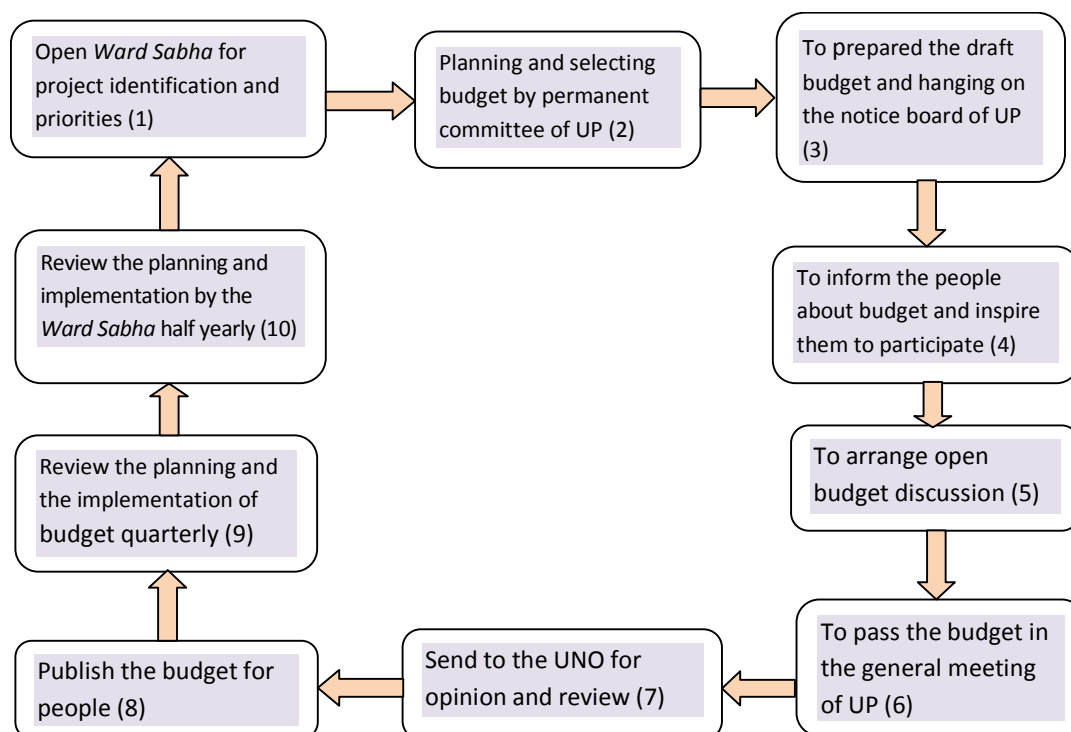
Open *Ward Sabha* remains in paper book only, that is not a practical one. Members of the ward of the *Union Parishad* do not inform us about *Ward Sabha*, even I did not see any *Ward Sabha*. If it is held regularly, then we could place our demands and cooperate with the functions of the UP.

The *Ward Sabha* is indeed very important for the democratic consolidation. The *Ward Sabha* identifies the projects and sorts the feasibility of the projects and send these to the permanent committee of the UP. The committee prepares a draft budget with the

priority demands of *Ward Sabha* and available resources. It is noted that the *Union Parishad* cannot change the decisions of *Ward Sabha* without the proven irregularities. Unfortunately, *Ward Sabha* is not held regularly. According to the study, 95.5 percent respondents did not participate in any open *Ward Sabha*. Alamgir, a participant of FGD opined: “members of the ward prepares project proposal as per his/her wish or with the consultation of the Chairman. People of the Ward do not know anything about that”. In this perspective, the CSOs and voters of the ward do not have adequate space to participate in the functions of the *Ward Sabha*.

6.7.2 Participation in Open Budget Discussion

The public budgetary hearing program not only creates a mechanism for institutionalizing and citizen involvement in government decision making, but also provides citizens with a better recognition of the importance of their role in participation (Wampler, 2000). The *Union Parishad Act 2009* (57) has given new provision to arrange an open budget discussion. According to the clause 57 (1), *Union Parishad* will prepare a budget for the year with the priority projects list and demands of *Ward Sabha*. Open budget discussion will be held at least 60 days before from the beginning of next year. The clause 57(2) of the Act 2009 states that draft budget will be presented in an open meeting in the open space of the *Union Parishad* where people of the Union’s constituency will participate directly and give their comments and suggestions. The operation manual of the *Union Parishad* (2012) has given a budget procedure figure which is given below:

Figure 6.2: Budget Procedure of Union Parishad

Source: Reconstructed from *Union Parishad operation manual* (2012, p. 44)

As per rule of the Act 2009, the budget procedure and its review system are very participatory and democratic. In every step of budget procedure, people and CSOs of the society can participate directly and even collectively to fulfill the people's dream and solve the existing problems. Budget procedure of UP starts from the open *Ward Sabha* and finally review the target planning and implementation by the open *Ward Sabha*.

Table 6.3: Participation of CSOs in the Open Budget Discussion

Issue	Frequency of participation					Total
	Every meeting	More than twice	Twice	Once	Almost Never	
Participated in open budget discussion	–	–	3 (1.0%)	21 (7.3%)	265 (92.7%)	286

The Table 6.3 reveals that 7.3 percent respondents participated once in an open budget session and tried to place the demands. Besides, only 1 percent respondents out of 286 participated twice, which is very insignificant. None of the respondents of the study could participate in more than two sessions. Aminul Islam, a participant of FGD 1 accounts:

Open budget discussion is an excellent initiative of government, but Chairman does not often inform the people and inspire them to participate. We participated only once in an open budget discussion from our organization. We proposed to build a culvert in front of Anchali primary school for *Parapar* (on foot communication) especially in rainy season we also propose to establish a library in our club premises. The Chairman did not pay heed and provide any project. Most of the people did not know the income and expenditure of *Union Parishad*. Political leaders from the party in power, the representatives of NGOs, political elites, officials of *Upazila Parishad* often attend the open budget discussion in a room of UP where people's demands and expectations are not reflected at all.

6.7.3 Participation in Social Security Program (SSP) Committee

Union Parishad is a service window of the government. The grass-root people receive services from *Union Parishad*, which is the nearest institution to them. Service delivery to the mass people is the target of every government. The government has introduced many programs to achieve the targets. Poverty reduction and empowerment of women is now the central concerns of government. The government has taken various allowances under the social security programs (such as: an old age allowance, widow and deserted women allowance, allowance for the disabled, Vulnerable Group Development (VGD), Vulnerable Group Feeding (VGF), 100-day Employment Generation Program (EGP), etc.). A few departments of government at *Upazila* level (such as: Department of Social Services, Department of Women's Affairs and Project Implementation Office) co-ordinate the social security programs with the *Union Parishad*. The *Union Parishad* plays a principal role to select the beneficiaries of these programs. The UP makes the beneficiary selecting committee for every program. The committee is consisted of people's representatives, members of CSOs and respected persons of the villages.

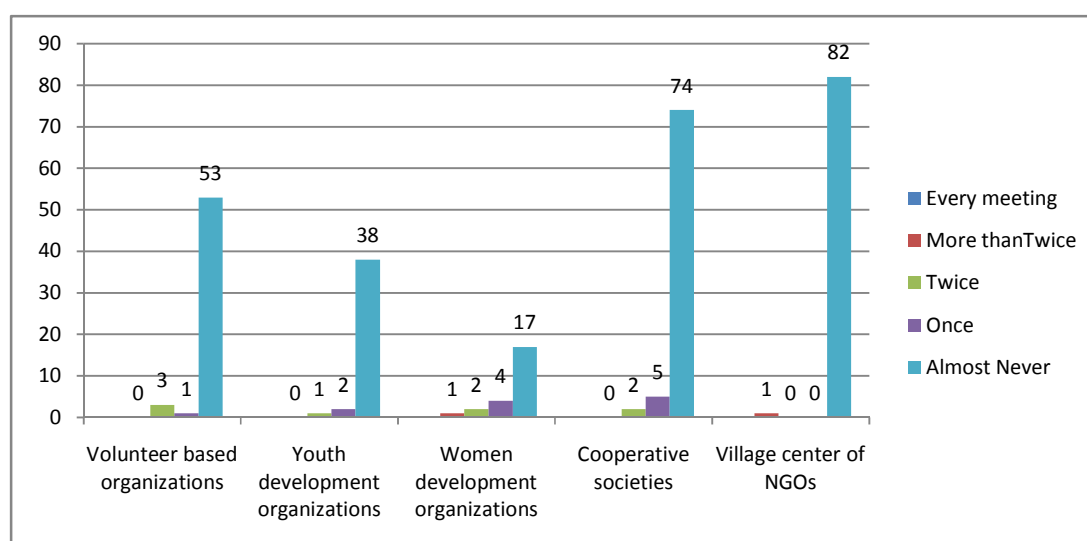
Table 6.4: Participation of CSOs in the Social Security Program Committee

Issue	Frequency of Participation					Total
	Every committee	More than twice	Twice	Once	Almost Never	
Participated in the Social Security program	–	2 (.7%)	8 (2.8%)	12 (4.2%)	264 (92.3%)	286

The Table 6.4 reveals that only 7.7 percent respondents participated in the social security program committee. Among them, 4.2 percent respondents participated once, and 2.8 percent twice in the selection committee of the beneficiary. None of the respondents participated in every committees. Rahman, a participant of FGD 3 reported:

Beneficiary's cards are distributed among those who can provide money to the members and Chairman of UP. Besides, those who are the supporters of party in power, and followers of the members and Chairmen are given the beneficiary's cards. Even often they have to pay money for the cards. Those who are often eligible do not get cards.

Figure 6.3: Participation in the SSP Committee from the Banner of Organization

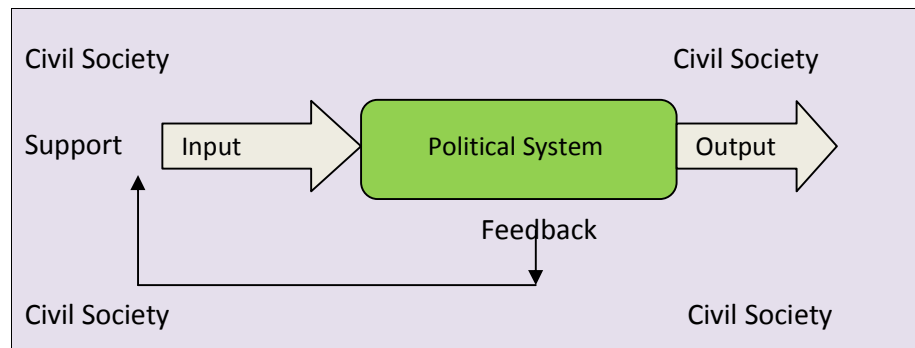


The figure 6.3 depicts the frequency of participation of the organizations in the SSP Committee. Only 4 respondents of volunteer based organizations participated in the SSP committee, among them, 3 participated once and 1 twice. It is important to note that out of 24, 7 members respondents of women's development organizations participated in the SSP committee. This is the highest number of respondents among the categorized organizations. Only 1 respondent of village centre of NGOs participated in the SSP committee. Although there is a provision to make small group for selecting the beneficiaries but members and Chairmen do not often make a committee. They make the lists as per their interest. As a result, kin and nearest followers of the representatives get the benefit from these programs. In this situation, the CSOs of the community could not play vital role due to the unwillingness of representatives of UP.

6.8 Influence of CSOs on the Activities of the Local Government and Its Performance

Democracy is a political system where input and output process work continuously. The functioning of input and output process depends on the influence of citizen and their cooperation. It is true that in all societies the specific decisions are made by very few people. Nevertheless, there are many means of influencing in the functions of government. Influence means a group or individual over a governmental decision as equal to the degree to which governmental officials act to benefit that group or individual, because the officials believe that they will risk some deprivation (they will risk their jobs, be criticized, loss votes) if they do not so act (Almond & Verba, 1963). An individual is how much competent to influence the policy and functions of local government, especially ordinary people is questionable. It is assumed that democratic citizen speaks the language of demands or rights. Government officials or representatives accede to his demands because they fear loss otherwise-the loss of his/her vote, perhaps - or because they consider it as legitimate that he makes such demands. Sometimes, it is assumed that individual action may be successful or not. An individual is not often significant to the representatives or officials. Government organizations, even lowest tier of local government are large and powerful, especially when compared to the individual. As a result, outcome of the influence of an individual could not become visible or at an expected level. It is said that collective force or actions are more fruitful to input the system. But, how and from where the ordinary citizen will receive the democratic values and political competence?

Input-output model given by Gabriel A. Almond describes the process of policy-making and the role of civil society. Inputs means placing demands upon political system and support for the expected output of the civil society, outputs come from after the processing within a system as an authoritative policy and also implementing actions. The inputs are classified as political socialization and recruitment, interest articulation, interest aggregation and political communication. In contrast, output activities are those, which are carried on by a political system in response to demands or stresses placed upon the system in the form of inputs. Outputs are treated as the form of government policies, programs, decision and implementing actions.

Figure 6.4: Input-output Model

Source: Reconstructed from Almond & Powell (1966, p. 21)

The model reveals that civil society organizations in a society/community enhance political socialization and change the attitude of the individual. Through the social capital of CSOs interest articulation, interest aggregation and political communication become forward to the political system as democratic demands. *Union Parishad* is a unit of a political system where existing CSOs can play a role as inputs of the society.

Education and socio-economic status have a role on the individual's attitude and behavior that relate to interest in politics, political discussion, voting and knowledge of politics. These competent elements help to influence the government. Individual interaction within a formal or informal organization is more effective and the best means to achieve objectives. Through the interaction common resources are created among the community members. They use this social capital to exert the government policy and implementations. "The particular political attitude whose roots, we shall seek in social attitudes is what we have labeled "civic cooperation" –the propensity to work with others in attempting to influence the government" (Almond & Verba, 1963, P. 273). Member of a formal or informal organization believes that stock of social capital of his community helps him to exert the influence the government. A member of organization gains democratic attitude and bargain capacity from CSOs. It is expected that through the active participation of CSOs in the functions of the UP democratic consolidation would be enhanced. The present study has tried to measure how the social capital of CSOs can influence on the functions of the UP. According to these issues, the study addressed four areas about the influence of CSOs in the functions of UP which are given below.

Table 6.5: Influence of CSOs in the Functions of Union Parishad

Issues	Unit of scale					Total
	Almost Always	Frequently	Occasionally	Rarely	Almost Never	
Influence on infrastructure development functions.	–	24 (8.4%)	71 (24.8%)	66 (23.1%)	125 (43.7%)	286
Pressure on preventing child marriage and dowry	–	16 (5.6%)	125 (43.7%)	46 (16.1%)	99 (34.6%)	286
Pressure in stopping violence against women	–	7 (2.4%)	76 (26.6%)	37 (12.9%)	166 (58%)	286
Protest against the malpractice and corruption	–	6 (2.1%)	28 (9.8%)	16 (5.6%)	236 (82.5%)	286

6.8.1 Influence on the Infrastructure Development Functions

The clause 47(1) of the Act 2009 has mentioned the functions of UP regarding the infrastructure development. According to the clause (45), a permanent village infrastructure development committee will be formed at the union level. The committee will prepare project plans on the basis of a short list of *Ward Sabha* and present these to the Union Development Coordination Committee (UDCC). Representative of CSOs is a member of the UDCC. At the ward level, the CSOs have the opportunity to participate in the Ward Committee, open *Ward Sabha* and sub-committee of the *Ward Sabha*. Thus, the social capital of CSOs can influence collectively the village infrastructure development functions of UP. It is unfortunate that in the study area the CSOs cannot play vital role due to the low bridging social capital, which has been discussed in chapter 5.

Table 6.6: Influence of CSOs on UP's Infrastructure Development Functions

Issues	Unit of scale					Total (n)
	Almost Always	Frequently	Occasionally	Rarely	Almost Never	
Influence on infrastructure development functions	–	24 (8.4%)	71 (24.8%)	66 (23.1%)	125 (43.7%)	286

The Table 6.6 demonstrates that only 8.4 percent respondents communicated 'frequently' and 24.8 percent 'occasionally' with the representatives of UP for the development of village infrastructure. Open *Ward Sabha*, open budget discussion and meetings of UDCC are not being held regularly. As a result, the members of CSOs of the

community do not get scope to participate and place demands of the society. About 43 percent respondents did not place any demands regarding the existing problems in any forum of UP. The statement of Helal Sheikh reflects the opinion of all participants:

Members and Chairmen communicated with us during the election and pledged a lot, but they did not communicate any more after the election. If we go to them, they simply ignore us.

Self finance projects of UP are passed by the *Union Parishad* and *Upazila Parishad*. Besides, the central government often allocates the finance for the development of UP. Influential persons of ruling party play a significant role in the project proposal and sanction from the central government. Affiliation with political parties, particularly with the party in power was significant for all UP staffs to have better access to *Union Parishad*. It was absolutely necessary that Chairmen and members should have an affiliation with the party in power in order to receive any projects or VGD/VGF/elderly and widow allowance card from the Member of Parliament (MP) and his ally UP Chairmen. It was also found that Chairmen and members had to join the ruling party to get more benefits from the government in spite of their unwillingness (Alim, 2007, P. 15).

6.8.2 Influence on Preventing Child Marriage and Dowry

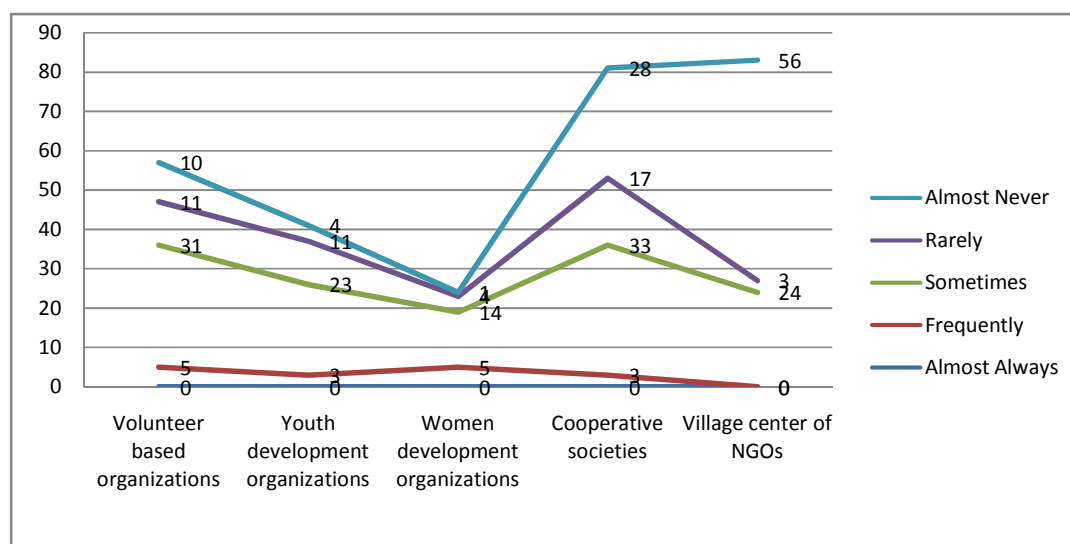
Child marriage and dowry are some of the social problems, which are provoked by patriarchal norms, poverty, illiteracy, distortion/misinterpretation of religious codes, etc. The social capital of CSOs can play a vital role to prevent this social problem in two ways- (i) within the community practice with own efforts of the villagers and (ii) by means of local government institutions. The clause 6 (r) of the Act 2009 states that *Ward Sabha* will promote social movement against the social problems like dowry, child marriage, acid throwing and drug addiction, etc. The *Union Parishad* operational Manual (2013) states that the *Union Parishad* plays a vital role, as a grass root institution of the government, to prevent child marriage and dowry. The *Union Parishad* will create mass awareness with the cooperation of formal and informal organizations as well as ensuring marriage registration with a birth certificate. According to the joint survey carried out by Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS) and United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) (2015), about 52.3 percent girls are married off before the age of 18. Over one third of girls are getting married before the age of 15.

Table 6.7: Influence of CSOs on UP in Preventing Child Marriage and Dowry

Issues	Unit of scale					Total
	Almost Always	Frequently	Occasionally	Rarely	Almost Never	
Pressure on the preventing child marriage and dowry	–	16 (5.6%)	125 (43.7%)	46 (16.1%)	99 (34.6%)	286

It is apparent from the Table 6.7 that about 43.7 percent respondents ‘occasionally’ created pressures on the representatives of UP to prevent child marriage and dowry. Besides, 5.6 percent respondents reported ‘frequently’ and 16.1 percent ‘rarely’ to the representatives. Reported figures are not negligible to create pressure on UP. It is reported by a representative of UP:

I want to prevent child marriage cordially. But the problem lies elsewhere. If I stop marriage ceremonies and its registration in my area, then, both parties (bride and bridegroom) arrange that at another Union or anywhere else. If I try to prevent it, I might lose my vote in the next election.

Figure 6.5: Influence on Preventing Child Marriage and Dowry from the Banner of Organization

The figure 6.5 reveals that 31 respondents of volunteer based organizations out of 57 reported to the representatives of UP about child marriage and dowry. Women development organizations are more active to prevent child marriage. Out of 24 respondents of women's development organizations, 14 communicated to the

representatives of UP regarding. Village center of NGOs are less active because of the nature of work and lack of engagement among the members. It is opined by an interviewee:

Promoters of village centre of NGO do not say anything regarding the social issues. Repaying the loan in time is more important to them. If we talk about the social problems like child marriage and dowry, they do not pay heed to our demands.

6.8.3 Influence on Stopping Corruption and Irregularities

Corruption distorts the allocation of local resources and performance of government, and its consequences are poor public services and shrinking the bargain scope of CSOs and people. Corruption and irregularity are the major challenges to establish democratic institutions. It is assumed that from village leaders to the Member of Parliament (MP)-many of them are involved with corruption and irregularity. Alim (2007) states in his findings that there were three parties involved in corruption: concerned officers at *Upazila Parishad*, Chairman and members at *Union Parishad* and beneficiaries at the village level. Respondents reported that to receive projects and government services certain amount of money as bribe had to provide to the concerned official at *Upazila*. On the other hand, the Chairman and members did corrupt during implementing projects and providing government services. Alim (2007, P. 16) also mentioned, “by virtue of Chairmanship, most of the Chairmen declared that any members (ward) carried out project, 10 percent of the project money should be given to him. He rationalized this demand by saying that he needed to contact different officers at the *Upazila* level to approve the projects”. In this perspective, the voice of CSOs does not work strongly against the corruption due to the pact among each other in the office.

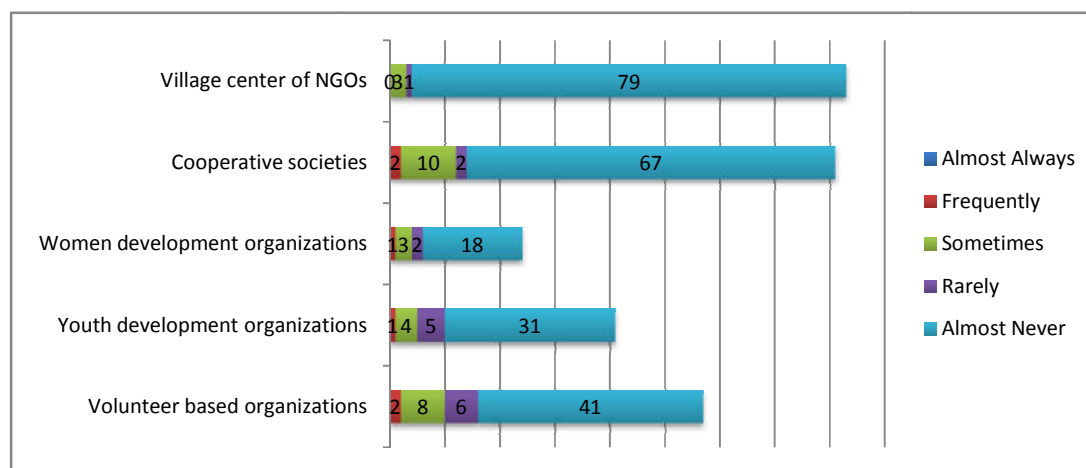
Table 6.8: Influence of CSOs on Stopping Corruption and Irregularities

Issue	Unit of scale					Total
	Almost Always	Frequently	Occasionally	Rarely	Almost Never	
Protest against the malpractice and corruption	—	6 (2.1%)	28 (9.8%)	16 (5.6%)	236 (82.5%)	286

The Table 6.8 reveals that 2.1 percent respondents ‘frequently’ protested against the corruption and irregularities of the UP. Besides, about 9.8 percent respondents ‘occasionally’ complained about the corruption and malpractice prevailing in distributing VGD, VGF, widow allowance, maternity allowance card, etc. About 82.5 percent respondents did not raise any voice against the irregularity on the distribution of government services and projects of the UP. Abdul Matin reported:

Almost all Chairmen and members are in favor of ruling party. Leaders of ruling party especially MP dictates the representatives of UP. Those who are out of the ruling party do not get work and sufficient allocation from the UP. Leaders of ruling party receive money from the project as a percentage (bribe). They rationalized this percentage, saying that without their recommendation and effort the project would not get approval from upper stratum.

Figure 6.6: Influence on Stopping Corruption and Irregularity from the Banner of Organization



The figure 6.6 shows that 2 respondents of volunteer based organizations tried to protest corruption and irregularity frequently, 8 occasionally and 6 rarely. Ten respondents of cooperative societies out of 81 raised voice against corruption and malpractice in the functions of UP. Only 4 respondents of village centre of NGOs out of 83 protested against the malpractice on the distribution of VGD, VGF, widow allowance, maternity allowance, etc. Among the categorized organizations of the study, volunteer based organizations are better compared to others regarding the protesting malpractice and irregularities.

6.8.4 Influences on Stopping Sexual Harassment against Women

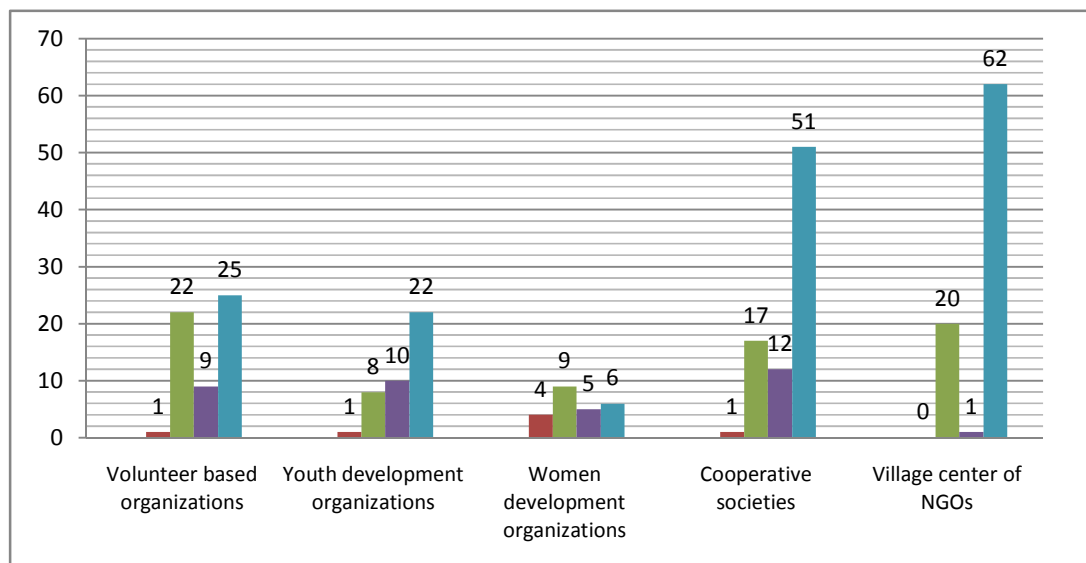
Union Parishad is a people's representative institution at grass root level which can play a prime role to stop sexual harassment against women in two ways, (i) by taking up motivational work and (ii) building a social movement in collaboration with different formal and informal organizations. The clause 6(r) of the Act 2009 states that *Ward Sabha* will make social movement to stop the trafficking of women and sexual harassment. Besides, the Act 2009 has added two clauses for stopping sexual harassment. The clause 47(11) states that *Union Parishad* maintains law and order of constituent area, and a permanent committee will be formed to stop sexual harassment against women. The Act of 2009 has given the right to mitigate family chaos, and welfare of women and child. Legally and socially *Union Parishad* is responsible to work with people and CSOs of the society for stopping sexual harassment against women.

Table 6.9: Influence of CSOs on Stopping Sexual Harassment against Women

Issue	Unit of scale					Total
	Almost Always	Frequently	Occasionally	Rarely	Almost Never	
Creating pressure on stopping violence against women.	–	7 (2.4%)	76 (26.6%)	37 (12.9%)	166 (58%)	286

The Table 6.9 shows that 26.6 percent respondents 'occasionally' and 12.9 percent reported 'rarely' to the representatives of UP regarding the sexual harassment (such as: eve teasing, assault, passing bad comments, etc.) against women. Besides, around 2.4 percent respondents reported 'frequently' to the members and Chairmen of UP about sexual harassment. The reported figures are considerable because the collective force of CSOs is counted to representatives. Male representatives of the UP do not often care about the complaints of women. It might be a factor of gender discrimination in patriarchal society.

Figure 6.7: Influence of CSOs in UP on Stopping Sexual Harassment from the Banner of Organization



The figure 6.7 shows that 4 respondents of women's development organizations 'frequently', 9 'occasionally' and 5 'rarely' reported to the representatives of UP about sexual harassment against women. Although members of the village centre of NGOs are women, only 20 respondents out of 83 reported to the representatives of UP about sexual harassment. In addition, among the respondents of volunteer based organizations 1 respondent 'frequently', 22 'occasionally' and 25 'rarely' reported regarding the sexual harassment against women. Khodeza, a participant of FGD 5 opined:

We are not eager to complain to the members of UP, because they cannot do anything. Political leaders provide shelter to the culprits, they are all in all. They have also associations (CSOs) like us, which is more powerful and wealthy than ours.

6.9 Cooperation of CSOS in Development Functions

The performance and success of the government institutions are related to civic cooperation in a democratic country. Civic cooperation accelerates the functions of government and finds the loophole of policy and implementation process. Citizen of the community gains civic cooperation attitude from social interaction and engagement. Vitality of civic cooperation depends on the frequency of engagement with the CSOs. The cooperation attitude creates a propensity to work with others in attempting to

influence the functions of government policies. Almond & Verba (1963, p. 274) expressed that socially and organizationally interacted people are important to democracy because: (i) Cooperation with one's fellow citizens is a means of raising the individuals influence potential vis-à-vis the government (i) the ability to form political groups in time of political stress represents a 'reserve of influence' on the individual's part; (iii) the belief that one's primary group affiliations are available to aid one politically represents an integration of some of the most basic social units with the political system—an integration that greatly affects the democratic potential of a nation, because it occurs in relation to the 'input structure' of politics, the process whereby individuals attempt to influence their government, and (vi) the belief that one's fellow political actors will cooperate with one represents at least an incipient tendency to aggregate one's demands on the government with the demands of one's fellows –a process that is necessary for democratic decision making. The present study reveals the cooperation of CSOs in the functions of *Union Parishad* as follow:

Table 6.10: Cooperation of the CSOs from the Banner of Organization

Name of Organizations	Nature of Cooperation					Total
	Almost always	Frequently	Occasionally	Rarely	Almost never	
Volunteer based organizations	-	2 (3.5%)	29 (50.87%)	14 (24.56%)	12 (21.05%)	57
Youth development organizations	-	1 (2.43%)	19 (46.34%)	15 (36.58%)	6 (14.63%)	41
Women development organizations	-	1 (4.16%)	3 (12.5%)	6 (25%)	14 (58.33%)	24
Cooperative Societies	-	—	33 (40.74%)	20 (24.69%)	28 (34.56%)	81
Village centre of NGOs	-	1 (1.20%)	7 (8.43%)	4 (4.82%)	71 (85.54%)	83
Total	-	5 (1.75%)	91 (31.81%)	59 (20.62%)	131 (45.80%)	286

The Table 6.4 reveals that 54.2 percent respondents of all organizations cooperated with the functions of UP in the different scales. Among them, 1.7 percent 'frequently' 31.8 percent 'occasionally' and 20.6 percent 'rarely' cooperated with the functions of UP from their organization. Shahin Sowdagar, a participant of FGD 3 reported:

We want to co-operate with the functions of UP, but members and Chairman do not leave the space for cooperation. Another important issue is which prevents us from joining for the functions of UP is that the President of this organization is the supporter of opponent party i.e. the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP). The Chairman of UP is a leader of *Awami League* i.e. the ruling party. Chairman thinks that this CSO is against the government. It is true that many CSOs have been formed on the basis of political patronization to achieve political goals.

Due to the political divergence in the CSOs, cooperation scope has been shrunk in the functions of UP. Besides, non-political CSOs could not become acceptable in the society. The activities of non-political CSOs have been reduced vigorously compared to the previous records. Bipul Pramanik, a participant of case study 2 opined as:

“Social organizations in our time used to shoulder the social responsibilities and urged the people to participate in the government functions. Now-a-days most of the CSOs have lost the trust of mass because of political divergence especially in volunteer based and youth development organizations”.

Nevertheless, volunteer based organizations are better than other CSOs regarding participating in wellbeing activities. Twenty nine out of 57 respondents of volunteer based organizations ‘occasionally’ engaged themselves in the functions of UP. On the contrary, out of 83 respondents of village centre of NGOs, 7 assisted occasionally in the development functions. It is noted that the cooperation of village centre of NGOs is low (14.46%) compared to other CSOs due to its emphasis on credit functions and ascendant structure of the NGOs.

6.10 The Ongoing Strategies of Influence the Union Parishad

The strategy of influence is very important to understand the nature and pattern of practice in an institution. Influence of Individual on local government institutions varies on his/her social capital and power connection to the society. Besides, attitude and behavior of individuals are also important to influence the representatives or officials of the UP. It is true that the government institution is more powerful compared to an individual. Although the vote of the individual is very significant in the next election, but the representatives or officials do not often count consent of the people due to their personal interest. As a social being, a man seeks other’s help to achieve the goals. Instantly, he tries to use his family, friends and neighbors connections. Later, he tries to get help from the CSOs or other organizations where he is a member or not. In this situation, s/he does not

feel alone, and his/her demand is more valid which is legitimated by the members of the organization which may be formal or informal. Participants of FGDs made a list of means and inducing process to influence the functions of the *Union Parishad* on the basis of previous experience and knowledge. The participants of five FGDs identify 8 means of influence, such as: – (i) working through personal and family connection (ii) writing letter or sign petition to the representatives or officials (iii) working under the ruling party banner or contact with political leaders (iv) working under the out of ruling party banner or contract with political leaders (v) exercising social capital of CSOs (vi) organizing demonstration or violent action (vii) working through friends and neighbors (viii) posing threat of casting vote in favor of the opponent candidate in the next election. The participants of each FGD also prepared a list of preference on the basis of ongoing strategies. These are shown in the following graphs:

Figure 6.8: Means of Influence on the Union Parishad

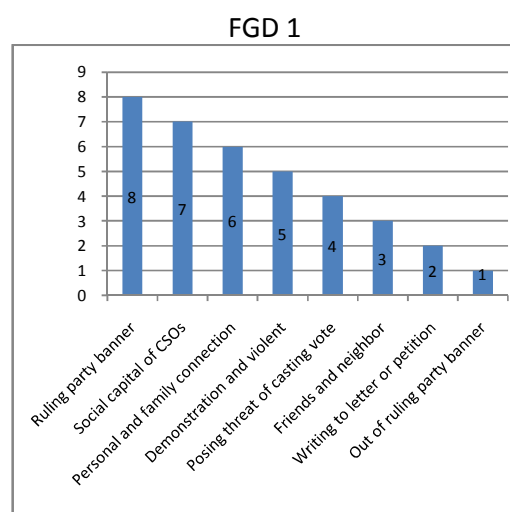
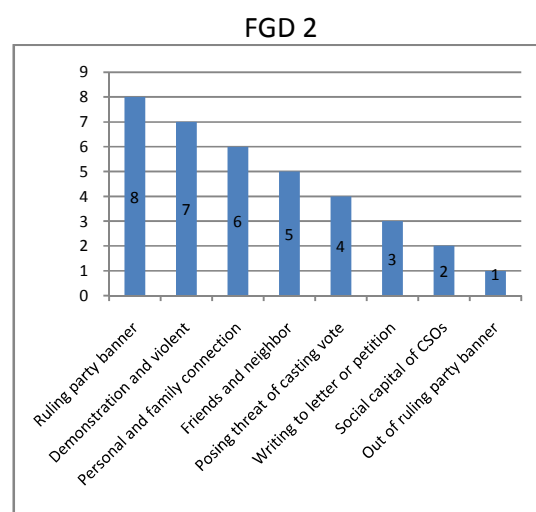


Figure 6.9: Means of Influence on the Union Parishad



According to the figure FGD-1 (figure 6.8), ruling party's influential person, especially MP of that constituency and political leaders are the first preferred option to exert demands of the participants. Second selected preference is the social capital of CSOs. By turns, the last choice is working under the out of ruling party banner. Participants of this FGD are the members of a volunteer organization of the Achlai village of Raynagor union. Most of the participants are young and engaged in different occupations. Participants of this FGD expressed deep concern about the malpractice and corruption of the UP:

Last year, we collectively requested the member of this ward for a VGD card for a distress woman. But, the member did not pay heed to our request. Later, we communicated with Chairman, he also ignored over request. The women got the VGD card from the influential person of ruling party; and she had to pay some money for that.

Participants of the FGD-2 (figure 6.9) are the members of the youth development organization of Nolmura village of Malanchi Union. Most of them are students and under the age of twenty five. According to them, in practice the ruling party is the prime decision maker in many aspects. Members of Parliament (MP) and leaders of ruling party dictate the elected members and Chairmen. Those who are supporters of the ruling party or have the ability to provide money as a bribe; they get VGD, VGF and maternal health card. According to them, organizing demonstration or violent action is the second most effective way to influence the representatives of the UP. Using social capital of CSOs is the seventh preferred option. It is important to note that the perception of young about the representatives of UP is not good; this is one kind of setback to a nation building. It is also significant what is said by most of the participants, which is echoed in Jahangir Alam words “contact of ordinary people with the representatives of UP does not create pressure on the activities of *Union Parishad*, but if a person becomes a political figure or s/he is a relative of political figure, they can influence them easily”.

Figure 6.10: Means of Influence on the Union Parishad

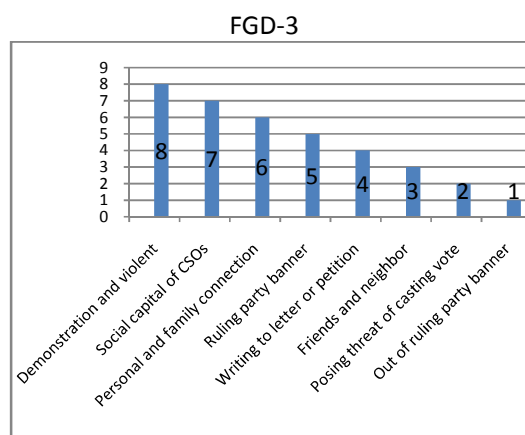
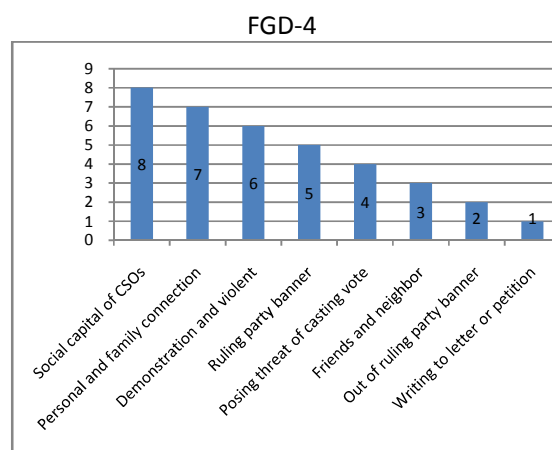


Figure 6.11: Means of Influence on the Union Parishad



According to the FGD-3 (figure 6.10), demonstration or violent action is the first preferred option to exert demands on the functions of UP. Participants of this FGD are the members of cooperative societies of *the Mahastan Gharh* village of Raynagar Union.

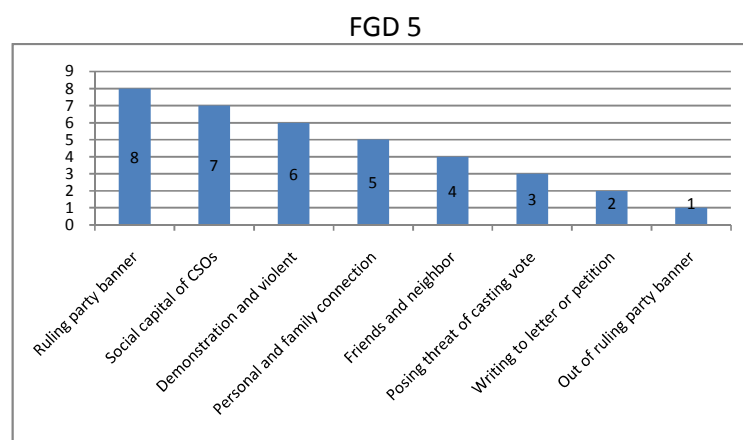
Most of the participants are shop keepers and vendors. The social capital of CSOs is the second option to influence the representatives of UP. According to them, leaders of ruling party are the fourth preferred option to exert demands. Anis, Participant of this CSO expressed his grievance as:

Members and Chairman forget us after the election. General public are not important to them. They do not pay attention to us unless we organize demonstration or create violence. Indeed, money and power are the most powerful means to get the benefit from UP.

All participants of FGD-4 (figure 6.11) are women. This is a women's development organization which is situated in the *Ghagur Duer* village of Raynagor Union. All of them except one are homemakers. According to them, the social capital of CSOs is first preferred option to exert demands to the UP. The second preferred option is personal and family connection. The writing to letter or petition is last preference option to them. It is unfortunate that writing to letter or petition is a legal procedure to get services from UP. But, the participants of FGD-4 have given it as last preference option. Rahela, a participant, who is the president of this organization reported:

We often go to the members and Chairman to ask them to prevent child marriage and sexual harassment. Women members of UP try to prevent that cordially, but Chairman and *Upazila* officers do not help them. Members and Chairman think that if they prevent child marriage, they will lose their vote in the next election.

Figure 6.12: Means of Influence on the Union Parishad



Participants of FGD 5 (figure 6.12) are the members of village centre of a NGO. Leaders of the ruling party are the first preferred option to them to influence the functions of UP. Shahina expresses the situation of the UP as:

People now go to political leaders of the ruling party instead of members and Chairmen for getting services. Because, it is an easy and effective way to get service from UP. Even people don't call UP members to solve the family and social conflicts. If members and Chairmen are affiliated to ruling party, they have the influence in the society and manage projects, VGD, VGF card and other facilities.

It is apparent from the 5 FGDs, participants of 3 FGDs have given first priority working under the ruling party banner or influential person of ruling party to exert demands on the functions of UP. Women development organization has given first preference to the social capital of CSOs to influence the system of UP. Besides, 3 FGDs have given the second preference option to the social capital of CSOs. It is noteworthy that the collective force of the society is very much important to women yet. There are many scopes of CSOs to influence the UP and make it democratic institution. But *partyarchy* has limited the scope of participation vigorously. In most cases, people's desire does not get priority in the functions of UP. Ongoing influencing mechanism of UP is bleak in the sense of democratic process.

6.11 Conclusion

Democratic consolidation is an immense challenge of Bangladesh. Overcoming of its challenge depends on the democratic citizen and practice of government institutions, especially local institutions as a grass root service window. The CSOs of the society make democratic and competent citizen through engagement and interaction. The Local Government Act 2009 (*Union Parishad*) gives vast avenues to CSOs and general people at the union and ward level to participate in the functions of UP. The Act 2009 has created *Ward Sabha* as a village assembly, where people and the CSOs of the community can take part directly in the open *Ward Sabha* and Ward Committee. The present study reveals that *Ward Sabha* does not hold regularly. The representatives of the Ward prepare a paper book of *Ward Sabha* at home. They also prepare project proposals with consultation of Chairman and dictation from the leaders of ruling party without the open *Ward Sabha*. Those who are not the supporters of ruling party, they did not often get projects from UP. People's voice and desire does not often reflect in the *Ward Sabha*. *Ward Sabha* treated as 'village assembly' does not become a practice ground of democracy yet due to unwillingness of the members of UP, dominance of the influential persons of ruling party and insufficient bridging social capital in terms of collective actions (viz. Table 5.6).

The Act 2009 has given a new scope to the villagers to be involved in open budget discussion at union level. *Union Parishad* is supposed to prepare draft budget and arrange an open budget discussion with the priority list of project proposal of *Ward Sabha*. At every step of the budget, the CSOs and citizens of the UP have the opportunity to participate in open budget discussion and contribute to make a democratic budget. It is unfortunate that the representatives of the UP do not arrange an open budget discussion every year. Generally they arrange a roundtable discussion with officers of the *Upazila* and leaders of ruling party instead of open budget discussion with people. The study reveals that only 7 percent respondents participated once in an open budget discussion and collectively tried to place the demands of people. None of the respondents of the study could participate in more than two budget session of the UP.

Political system works on the input and output process where the CSOs work as a channel to input demands and expectations of people. The present study reveals that the collective demands of CSOs are not often processed as an output due to the *Partyarchy* and unwillingness of the representatives of UP. Only 8.4 percent respondents of the study were able to create pressure on the representatives of UP regarding the infrastructure development of villages. It is noted that 43.7 percent respondents does not place any demands of existing problems. The CSOs are not interested to place demands of people due to the reluctance and inability of the representatives of UP.

It is noted that participants of FGDs make a list of ongoing influence mechanism strategies on the functions of UP. Three FGDs have given first preference to ruling party banner or politically influential persons to influence the functions of UP and get the services from UP. One FGD has given first preference to the social capital of CSOs. It is true that the Local Government Act 2009 (*Union Parishad*) has given the vast scope of participation of CSOs to establish the UP as a democratic institution. But the *partyarchy* has shrunk the avenues of participation, cooperation of people and potential channels for having people's views represented in the *Union Parishad*.

Chapter Seven

Conclusion

The burning question of the twenty first century is which society is better to live in. The societies have high stock of social capital are better places in which to live (Putnam, 2000). It is assumed that social capital is the key to making democracy work. The social capital of CSOs accelerates the democratic consolidation through the collective participation and co-operation in the functions of government. This chapter firstly exposes the research question, and then brings the findings of the tradition of old CSOs, nature of social capital of new CSOs and its effect on social cohesion, the nexus between social capital of CSOs and performance of *Union Parishad*.

In a capitalistic society, the CSOs work as a watchdog to protect individual rights as well as make solidarity among the people. In the liberal theory, the CSOs work as third sector to promote democracy between state and market. The strength of CSOs depends on the stock of social capital, whether it may be developed or developing country. Four decades have passed after the independence of Bangladesh, but democracy is in a vulnerable position yet, despite of frequent changes in the constitution of the country and support from donor agencies.

There had been a landmark tradition of CSOs since 1830s in Bangladesh, and they had significant contribution to the inception of democratic notion and social fabrication. They fought against the autocrat to establish civil rights and democracy which have been described in the Chapter 4. In post liberation period, a number of volunteer based CSOs have been emerged in order to rehabilitate the destitute people at the rural areas. Besides, after the collapse of the socialist block of Europe, many donors founded CSOs have been grown over the country. In fact, a considerable numbers of CSOs are working here more than three decades, and contribute much in social reform, poverty reduction, women empowerment, expansion of education and health sector. But the CSOs have no remarkable contribution to consolidate the democracy in Bangladesh. What are the inner and outer causes of such a state of affairs in CSOs?

Putnam (1993), Cusack (1999) have been shown in their work that there is a nexus between the social capital and performance of government institutions. The present study has revealed that nature of social capital in the CSOs is satisfactory in terms of reciprocity, trust, network, mutual cooperation and in financial dealings. Although, the *Union Parishad* Act 2009 has expanded the scope of participation of CSOs at *Ward Sabha*, open budget discussion and Union Development Coordination Committee (UDCC), but the involvement in collective activities for the betterment of the society and collective participation in the functions of UP are negligible. Political bifurcation, leaning to their commercial ventures and low civic engagement have made the CSOs incapable to participate in common and collective activities in the society as well as in the functions of UP. To a great extent, power relationship has been changed in the villages of Bangladesh. Local leaders maintain relationship with the central leaders to get power and position. With the blessing of the central leaders and using local administration, they usually exploit the common people and extract resources from government office. Central leaders get support from the local leaders to win the next election. Such type of nexus has made *partyarchy* in the rural society, which limits the scope of functions of CSOs.

Chapter 4 has revealed the tradition of old CSOs and its contribution to initiate democratic values, social fabrication, expansion of education and awareness among the people. The idea of modern CSOs came from Europe to Indian subcontinent with the hand of British enlightened persons after the Industrial and the French Revolution, especially rising of capitalistic society in Europe. They introduced the modern organizations since 18th century in Kolkata. Later, Bengali middle class or *Bhadralok* Bangali established modern CSOs to reform their own society and expanding modern values.

The CSOs emerged in Europe with the development of modern capitalistic society. Since the inception period, the CSOs of Europe involved themselves to achieve civil and democratic rights. But, in the Indian subcontinent the CSOs emerged with the blessing of British rulers. At the early stage of Indian subcontinent, the CSOs co-operated the rulers, later most of them participated resistance movement against the aggression of civil rights. After the partition of India in 1947, the CSOs of the then East Pakistan played the important roles for creating unity and solidarity among the people.

The CSOs had been introduced in Bangladesh since 1830s with the hand of East India Company and *Zamindars*. The process of rising of CSOs in Bangladesh was different from Kolkata. The rising of CSOs in Kolkata was limited to the town and its adjacent area; on the other hand, the growing of CSOs in Dhaka was not limited to the town. The CSOs of Bangladesh had been extended in the rural areas to expand education, culture and modern values. The then Rangpur was a peripheral town. But, the Rangpur United Society was established in 1839. It was established after one year of launching the *Timirnashok Sabha* (1838) of Dhaka. In fact, the CSOs in the peripheral areas of Bangladesh worked as a vanguard to enhancing consciousness, expanding education and fighting against the social evils. People gained democratic attitude from the massive functions of CSOs in the rural areas.

Through the permanent settlement Act 1793, an intermediary class had been grown, who had no direct connection with the mode of production. They lived in Kolkata and gained modern outlook through the interaction of the British. In fact, they were the pioneer to incept the CSOs with various purposes. Later the CSOs became the common meeting place of all corners. Through the frequent engagement with different segments, the common people gained democratic virtues. By turns, political vision was added in the objective of CSOs. Rabindranath Tagore, G. S. Dutta, H. S. M. Ishak, Mahatma Gandhi and others materialized the idea of CSOs in the aspect of rural development.

It is noted that Muslim associations emerged in Kolkata along with the growth of general CSOs. *Anjuman-e-Islam* was the first organization, established in 1858. Many branches of *Anjuman* had been grown in East Bengal very quickly. At first, the Muslim community was lagging behind from the European Renaissance and philosophy. After the battle of Palashi in 1757, the East India Company captured the political power. In this situation, an antagonistic relationship prevailed between the Muslims and the British rulers. A few educated Muslims established associations to minimize the gap between the Muslims and the British rulers. Later, many Muslim associations were established in Bangladesh. Most of them bred modern values and education. However, the CSOs were successful to change the attitude of Muslims towards the modernization process to a great extent. The Muslim became united through the activities of CSOs in rural areas of Bangladesh.

The present study selected Bogra and Pabna districts to find the background of emergence and activities of the old CSOs. The CSOs emerged in Bogra since 1850s; the Murail Charity Institution was the first volunteer based organization in Bogra. The Bogra town club is an old CSO. It has now survived with moribund position, have considerable contribution to the development of the social areas. Since 1930s onwards, village organizations were evolved vigorously in Bogra, and contribute to change the traditional values and thoughts of the people. *Pallimanggal* was one of them, which had been worked for the expansion of education, health, social fabrication, increasing knowledge and establishing social institutions. The North and South Bogra had been awakened through the activities of CSOs. In fact, the CSOs of Bogra were the pioneer for introducing modern attitude and democratic notion among the people.

Tradition of CSOs in Pabna was very rich similar to Bogra District. The CSOs were materialized here since 1850s. At initial stage, the inhabitants of Pabna town did not accept the modern values. They created obstacles to generate new values. Those who were against the expansion of modern values were lower and higher caste Hindus. The vision of the *Uddog Bidhayoni Sabha*, *Jnanadayini*, *Ajanntimir Nashini*, etc. was to expand education. These organizations allured the people towards modern attitude. It is noted that few CSOs of Pabna worked for women's education and rights. The *Banamali Institute* of Pabna is an old CSO that is working with moribund position due to political influence and lack of civic engagement.

Logically, the CSOs of Bangladesh have much contribution to change the attitude of people towards establishing a democratic state. They started their activities with the expansion of education, social and wellbeing of community. In fact, the activities of CSOs made a basement of democratic attitude among the people. Later, many CSOs involved themselves in resistance movement against the rulers of the British to establish civic rights. After the partition of India in 1947, the CSOs of the then East Pakistan participated in resistance movement against the military rulers. Through their deliberative participation in the mass movement, the people built a new dream of an independent country.

Chapter 5 has revealed the nature of social capital among the members of new CSOs and its effect on creating social cohesion. Prior to 1971, a considerable number of CSOs were involved in resistance movement against the autocratic rulers to establish civic rights. Later, members of these CSOs involved themselves in the liberation war. Many of them became the members of the *Awami League* and opponent political parties. After the liberation of 1971, a good number of new CSOs grew with the aim of reconstruction and rehabilitation in the rural areas. Most of them were volunteer based organizations. Later, a few of them have become the giant development partners (mostly known as NGOs). Indeed, such types of CSOs in Bangladesh have grown in five phases (i) the aim of CSOs was charity and welfare (1971 to 1974) (ii) the CSOs worked with a community development approach from 1975 to 1980 (iii) the majority of the CSOs started working with specific target since 1980s, (iv) the CSOs started working as partners of government since 1990s (v) at present few of them have emerged as a giant development partner of the government. The huge number of CSOs grew in 1980s and 1990s with the blessing of donor development partners. From inception period, these CSOs started their work as development partner of the government. Indeed, these were not evolved with the nursing of the society's members. As a result, sufficient social engagement and interactions did not happen in these CSOs from the inception due to the fixed targets of donors. Lack of democratic norms is the inner constraint on achieving social cohesion of such types of CSOs.

There is an academic debate on the nature of NGOs as counted CSOs for its commercial venture and structure. The NGOs work with the government as a development partner, and have no separate independent voice and choice. The NGOs do not often work against the malpractice of government to protect civil rights. In a broad perspective, civil society is usually taken to mean a realm or space in which there exists a set of organizational actors which are not a part of the household, the state and market. At the rural areas, the village centre of NGOs work on the group strategy which is horizontal nature. Village centre of the NGOs form with some groups, and have an organizational set up in the centre. The study finds that village center of the NGOs have often lost its tradition of engagement. Most of the members of the centres do not come in time, and

interact with each other. Only 4.81 percent respondents reported that decisions of village centre of NGOs are made by the members who were present in the meeting. Kader, a participant of FGD 1 has his grievance about the condition of village centre of NGOs (viz. p. 137).

According to the report of BRAC (2012), about 43.4 percent respondents cited that no meeting was held in their Village Organization (VO) in the last month. The finding of the present study shows that the promoter of the NGOs centres played a vital role in decision making process (68.35%) of the centres (Table 5.3). This data indicate that there is an unwritten vertical relation between promoters and members of the village centre of NGOs.

The nature of social capital in CSOs is satisfactory in terms of trust, reciprocity and network. The bonding social capital exists among 94.4 percent respondents. Bridging social capital in terms of information dissemination presents among 90.02 percent respondents. On the contrary, bridging social capital in the perspective of collective actions exists among only 28.03 percent respondents (viz. Table 5.6), which is less compare to the bonding social capital. About 93.7 percent respondents have trust on each other regarding dealing with money and material. Besides, the trust level has been increased to 61.9 percent after being involved with the CSOs. Around 93.4 percent respondents have willingness to sacrifice their valuable resources for the wellbeing of the society. Besides, 94.4 percent respondents cited that they would participate in collective actions even if they do not get immediate benefit from that action. Therefore, the attitude towards collective action is high, but frequency of participation in collective actions and involvement in common functions of the society are not satisfactory. Only 5.2 percent respondents 'occasionally' and 11.2 percent 'rarely' participated in protection of public goods such as roads, culverts, etc. Only 28.7 percent respondents participated in collective efforts for the development of social institutions (such as: playground, school, college, etc.). Among them, 0.7 percent respondents almost always, 1 percent 'frequently', 18.9 percent 'occasionally' and 8 percent 'rarely' participated in the collective actions (viz. Table 5.12). These collective efforts do not depict aggregate interests of all in the society.

The collective efforts and involvement in common activities of CSOs make a cohesive society, and contribute to ensure democratic consolidation. The present study reveals that the collective actions of CSOs for the development of social institutions, ensuring safe water and protecting environment are 28.7 percent, 7.7 percent and 72.4 percent respectively. About 67.8 percent, 16.4 percent and 12.6 percent respondents participated in preventing drug addiction, protection public goods and stopping violence respectively (viz. Table 5.12). The data illustrate that collective efforts and involvement in common issues are not at a satisfactory level for enhancing unity and solidarity. *Partyarchy* at grass root level, political divergence among CSOs, lack of leadership and vertical relationship among the members are the core impediments for involving in common affected issues. Such type of *partyarchy* indicates that aggregate attitude among the people work very hardly. Among the five categorized CSOs, the social capital of village centre of NGOs is low compared to other organizations. The study reveals that three causes are mainly responsible for narrow nest of social capital: (i) quick group formation for credit delivery, (ii) vertical relation between agent of NGOs and members of the centres and (iii) people's perception of NGOs' village centres which they think only credit hub.

It is noted that all of the selected CSOs participated in the collective actions in the previous year. Among the five categorized CSOs, volunteer based CSOs participated 9 times, which is the highest among the CSOs, while the lowest participation among the women development organizations which is only three times in such activities. The area where most of the participated was 'help the distress and destitute'. The CSOs participated in common development works of the society is only for three times. Participation in protesting corruption of UP and cooperating in government functions is which less than that of protecting environment activities (viz. Table 5.14). The depiction of collective actions of the previous year indicates that the CSOs were more eager to involve in social aspects rather than political issues.

The nature of power structure of village societies has been changed to a great extent, which resulted changing in land based patron-client relationship. Trade system has grown in the villages along with the declining of land value. The businessmen maintain relation with central political leaders to serve their self serving opportunism. About 24.1

percent respondents reported that the CSOs are politically divided in the rural areas. The rural elites often utilize the members of CSOs for their own purposes. The respondents of the study identified following areas where the patrons use the members of CSOs: (i) during the election period of local and national, (ii) influencing at the time of distribution of government resources and (iii) against the anti party during the chaos and conflict. Indeed, such type of political situation has shrunk the CSOs' scope of works in the rural society. A pessimistic attitude developed among the people about politics; most of them are reluctant to be involved in political activities.

Bangladesh is passing a transitional stage and forwarding through receiving new values. The study reveals that people are more eager to receive amusement and entertainment through the electronic equipments (such as: television, mobile, audio, internet, social media, etc.) instead of cultural demonstration and sports. Besides, people become busy in their daily life due to the new scope of work. As a result, traditional bonding and unity is decaying day by day. Putnam (2000) has disclosed the factors that have contributed to the decline in civic engagement and social capital, such as: suburbanization, sprawl and effect of electronic entertainment – above all generational change.

Chapter 6 has revealed that the role of social capital of CSOs influencing the functions of *Union Parishad* as a democratic consolidation process. The democratic consolidation depends on the active participation and their cooperation in the functions of the government. The participation relies on the competence and democratic attitude of citizens. Generally, the citizen learns democratic values, manner, skill and attitude from the CSOs as a democratic school. The local government Act 2009 (*Union Parishad*) gives an enormous opportunity of CSOs to participate in the functions of the UP. The provision of the Act made the *Ward Sabha* as a village assembly, where people and CSOs of the community take part directly in the open *Ward Sabha* and Ward Committee. The present study finds that only 4.5 percent respondents participated in the *Ward Sabha*. Among them, 3.5 percent 'once' and 1 percent 'twice' participated in such meetings (viz. Table 6.2). Indeed, the people's voice and opinion are not reflected in the *Ward Sabha*. In fact, it does not become a practice ground of democracy due to negligence of Ups' members, lack of peoples' consciousness and insufficient bridging of social capital among the villagers.

The provision of the Act 2009 gives scope to participate in the open budget discussion at the Union level. The operation manual of the *Union Parishad* cites ten steps of the open budget procedure where the voters of the UP and CSOs can play a vital role through direct participation. The present research reveals that only 8.3 percent respondents participated in the open budget discussion. Among them, 7.3 percent once and 1 percent 'twice' participated in the open budget discussion (viz. Table 6.3). None of the respondents participated in open budget session more than twice. It was reported that the representatives of UP do not arrange an open budget discussion every year. They arrange a roundtable session with influential persons of the society instead of open budget session. Actually, *Ward Sabha* and open budget discussion could not become the channel of democratic input yet.

Union Parishad is a grass-root service window of the government. The government is operating various allowances under the social security programs (such as: old age allowance, widow and deserted women allowance, allowance for the disabled, Vulnerable Group Development (VGD), Vulnerable Group Feeding (VGF), 100-day Employment Generation Program (EGP), etc.) for poverty alleviation. A number of departments of government at *Upazila* level co-ordinate the Social Security Program (SSP) with the *Union Parishad*. The UP forms the beneficiaries committee for selecting the poor with the members of CSOs and respected persons of the villages. The present study reveals that only 7.7 percent respondents participated in the SSP committee. Among them, 4.2 percent once and 2.8 percent twice participated.

At the organizational level, only 4 respondents of volunteer based organizations participated in the SSP committee. Among them, 3 respondents participated once and 1 twice. It is important to note that 7 members out 24 respondents of women's development organizations participated in the SSP committee. This is the highest participation among the categorized organizations. Only 1 respondent of the village centre of NGOs participated in the SSP committee.

As a political institution, the UP works on the input and output model where the CSOs of the society place demand of the people. The study finds that 56.3 percent respondents tried to influence the UP for the infrastructure development. Among them, 8.4 percent

respondents frequently, 24.8 percent 'occasionally' and 23.1 percent 'rarely' exerted the demand of people (viz. Table 6.6). About 65.4 percent respondents went to the UP for preventing child marriage and dowry. Among them, 5.6 percent respondents tried to make pressure 'frequently', 43.7 percent 'occasionally' and 16.1 percent 'rarely' for preventing child marriage. But the representatives of UP are not very active to prevent child marriage because of their personal interest. At the contrary, only 17.5 percent respondents made complaint against the malpractice and corruption relating to VGD, VGF, widow and maternal allowance etc. The data illustrate that the CSOs are more active regarding the social issues than political issues. Besides, the members of CSOs are not interested to place demands in the UP due to reluctance and inability of representatives to translate the commitments into action. The expression of Shahina gives the essence of inability of the representatives of UP (viz. p. 176).

The present study attempted to pick up the ongoing influence mechanism strategies on the functions of UP. Participants of all FGDs made a list of strategies on the basis of their previous experience and knowledge. They identified 8 ongoing strategies such as: (i) working through personal and family connection (ii) writing to a letter or sign petition to the representatives or officials (iii) working under the ruling party banner or contact from political leaders of that party (iv) working under the out of ruling party banner or contact from political leaders of that party (v) working from CSOs using social capital (vi) organizing demonstration or violent action (vii) working through friends and neighbors (viii) posing threat of casting vote to the opponent candidate in the next election. Among the strategies, participants of three FGDs gave first preference to ruling party banner or politically influential persons from the ruling party. Participants from one FGD gave first preference to demonstration or violent means to influence the functions of UP. The women's development organization gave first preference to use social capital of CSOs. Participants of four FGDs do not think that democratic strategies are the best way to influence the functions of UP. It is worth noting, the collective force of the society, i.e. social capital is very much important to women yet.

Theoretically, the CSOs have external influence on the larger polity, and internal effects on the participants. The present study reveals that the CSOs have no considerable

influence on the functions of UP especially in political issues. They are more vibrant in social issues of the society and financial dealing among the members. In fact, the CSOs do not work as a deliberative forum for enhancing the democratic consolidation in rural areas due to political *partyarchy*, knowledge gap among the representatives, and leaning to commercial venture of the CSOs.

The findings of present study have some implication areas which are noted here for attention to policy makers, politicians, scholars, social elites, researcher, officials, members and leaders of CSOs and others.

Formation of social capital and its effects on the performance of government are different from country to country due to the socio-economic perspectives. Political division of CSOs and *partyarchy* are the main detrimental factors for the deliberative contribution of CSOs in democratic consolidation in Bangladesh. It is true, institutional change is essential, but it is also necessary to change the attitude of individual especially the political leaders. Besides, the people have the scatter knowledge about the CSOs and democracy. These negative contributing factors have exacerbated the inner weakness of CSOs for producing the social capital. Therefore, it is necessary to take steps for creating peoples' awareness and political attitude towards the role of CSOs and democracy for establishing the deliberative democracy. It could be done through organizing *Uthan Boithak* (courtyard meeting) of the people from the root level.

It is apparent from the study that trust among the members regarding the transaction of money and material, bonding and bridging social capital in terms of reciprocity, willingness towards the collective actions are existing at a considerable level. But participating collective actions and involvement in common activities are insignificant which are essential for creating social cohesion and democratic consolidation. Low civic engagement, commercial venture and political bifurcation of CSOs are the core causes for deterring the CSOs from participating in the collective actions etc. In this perspective, government agencies (Cooperative Societies, Women Affairs Office and Social Welfare Office and NGO Bureau) can play a vigorous role to prevent political bifurcation. Policy makers and social organizers can play roles to change this position. Mass media can play effective roles in this regard.

Theoretically the structure of the village centre of NGOs is horizontal, and has equal rights and privileges of each member, but the study finds that vertical relation exists in the village centre of NGOs where about 95 percent decisions were made by the leader and agent of the NGOs. Leaning to vigorous credit activities of the village centre of NGOs have lost its tradition. Eventually, most of the village centre of NGOs does not carry out the social and political responsibilities. Donor agencies and government, especially NGO Bureau of Bangladesh can make monitoring program for deliberating contribution in social and political aspects.

According to the provision of the Act 2009, *Ward Sabha* is a village assembly, where voters of the ward participate directly. In this forum, they can raise their voice and propose for different projects. Even *Ward Sabha* can constitute different Ward Committees (WC) to accomplish various functions. In fact, through the active participation of people, it would become a practice ground of democracy. But, *Ward Sabha* is not being held regularly. Even most of the people of the ward do not have any knowledge about *Ward Sabha*. In this situation, strict obligation for holding *Ward Sabha* and social campaign for increasing consciousness of the people are in crying need. This social campaign should be encircled the social institutions and gathering place. Even school curriculum may be the important medium to disseminate the information.

The CSOs of the society are the 'school of democracy'. All corners of people can become the member of CSOs with coincidence of the organizational objectives. The study reveals that many CSOs have grown in the villages with patronization of political leaders with the concealed the political banners. Most of them are volunteer based organizations. Political leaders use these CSOs for their personal interest during local and national election and also to establish dominance in the village society. Such types of activities are decaying the social cohesion. Using CSOs for political purpose is very much detrimental to consolidate democracy. Commitment of the national political leaders can minimize this situation, and can create the avenues for contribution of CSOs.

The CSOs of the society are the learning places of civic virtues and democratic norms. Members of the CSOs learn how to run meetings, speak in public sphere, write letter, organize projects, and debate on public issues with civility. The competent and democratic citizens play a vital role to enhance the government policy and pledges. The good governance of a country depends on the active participation of people in the functions of government. Competent and democratic citizens participate in the functions of government and place the demands of a society in a political system. As a result, accountability and transparency are ensured in the functions of government. The study finds that involvement in common activities and collective actions of the CSOs are negligible due to the political split in the CSOs, *partyarchy* and lack of bridging social capital. To boost up the democracy, national policy is needed to vigilant the CSOs.

Before the election, the representatives of UP pledge many services, but most of them do not translate these into actions. Besides, the attitude of the representatives of UP towards CSOs is not positive due to the lack of knowledge about the role of CSOs in the society. Information is essential for changing the attitude of the representatives of UP.

There are few areas where further research is possible and essential for accelerating the democratic consolidation. There is a distinction between general trust and political trust. Where people rely and believe on political institutions and political leaders, political trust exists, which enhances the democratic process in a country. Bangladesh has passed four decades after the liberation, but political trust is decaying instead of being enriched. People do not often rely on the commitment of leaders and political institutions. Although political leaders often said that people are sovereign and sources of all power, but they do not fulfill their pledges, and rely on the administration mostly. As a result, channel of people's demands have been shrunk dramatically, which is the impediment of democratic vibrancy. Therefore, the cause of decaying political trust and vibrant of democracy in Bangladesh may be a new field of further research.

Structurally, organizations are in two types; one is horizontal where all members have equal rights and privileges, another is vertical where rights and privileges of the members are defined by the laws. Trust, reciprocity and network prevail among the members. Longevity and involvement in the societal works depends the formation of social capital.

But, both have difference in nature of formation of social capital and its influence on the society. There is a room of cross sectional research between horizontal and vertical the organizations.

Nature of patron client relationship in the village society has been changed to a great extent. Commercial modes of production have been added in the village society along with the traditional modes of production. A new class has grown, who has no direct connection with the mode of production. But, they earn huge money for the blessing of the political leaders. They maintain political links with central political leaders or MP (Member of Parliament). This new class uses political power to exploit the villagers through various means, and to extract the resources of government agencies. In fact, they do not represent the mass. This new class is deteriorating solidarity and social capital in the village. Therefore, changes in rural power structure and nature of formation of social capital may be an important area of further research.

The community is a vast field for the formation of social capital, where social virtues work as a vital element for creating unity and solidarity. The social virtues of the community depend on the engagement of the community members. Every member of the community does not gain same civic competence and democratic attitude. Those who are affiliated with CSOs may be more benefited and resourceful than others. Even those who are not the members of CSOs may have more competence and democratic attitude than the members of CSOs. What factors are responsible for being a competent and democratic attitude without the member of CSOs? There is a new room at this point for future research.

The study explored that women are more active to maintain social relations. In the community level, they are more trusted and reciprocal than males especially in case of dealings money and material (viz. Table 5.3). Even they are more active to mitigate social conflicts and cooperation. At the community organizations, they are active and punctual in the meetings. Therefore, there is a significant difference between among males and females and amount of formation of social capital. A cross sectional study may be possible on the role of males and females in constructing social capital.

In a nutshell, formation of social capital in the CSOs is satisfactory in terms of reciprocity, trust, and network. Bonding and bridging social capital are also satisfactory among the members of CSOs. But existence of bridging social capital in terms of collective action is much lower compared to the bonding social capital. Influence of CSOs in the functions of UP is not at considerable stage to consolidate democracy. To a great extent power relationship has been changed in the rural areas. Local leaders maintain relationship with the central leaders instead of mass people in order to get power and position. On the contrary, central leaders get support from them to win the next election. Such type of nexus has created *partyarchy* in the rural area, which limits the scope of functions of CSOs and creates prime barrier to consolidate democracy.

RECITAL OF ORAL TESTIMONY

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CASE STUDY

Oral Testimony (OT 1)

Habibur Rahman (85)

Former member of *Pallimanggal Samiti*

Village: Shakharia, Bogra

The *Pallimanggal* is a past reminiscence to me. I joined the *Pallimanggal Samiti* after the long days of its inception. The then I was a student of high school. It was established under the leadership of Tabibur Rahman who was known as Hong Kong doctor. He went to the Bogra town from this village for studying. The then Nurnabi Chowdhury was the District Magistrate. With the cooperation of Chowdhury, he started activities of *Samiti* in this village. At the initial stage, the students and youths of the village were the members of the *Pallimanggal Samiti*. Providing medical services and helping the distress were the main activities of the *Samiti*. Later, all segments of people attended the social activities of the *Samiti*.

An initiative was taken from the *Samiti* to establish a *hat* at Shakharia village. It might be the year of 1943/44. Every member of the village helped with their optimum ability such as donating land, money, labor, etc. This is known as *Pallimanggal hat* which is now a big *hat* of this region. The organizers of the *Samiti* established adult education centre, where the villagers learned primary education. I was volunteer teacher of that centre. It was not only an education centre but also a gathering place of the villagers. The villagers interact with each other regarding the common and personal problems. Indeed, it was a torch of education of this region. The *Samiti* also worked against the social evils and superstition. Religious elites did not favor of these activities of the *Samiti*.

The adult learning center was a evening program of the *Samiti*. The organizers of the *Samiti* established a *madrasa* named *pallimanggal* at the adult learning centre in the day. But the *madrasa* did not continue long for the lack of students. Besides, a primary school was established in 1953 named *Pallimanggal*. Now it is a government primary school named *Pallimanggal* primary school. Later, a high school was established in the

place of *madrasa* in 1968 named *Pallimanggal* high school. Without these institutions, the people of this area could not get education. However, we got political and social knowledge from these institutions. These three institutions are bearing the glorious sing of the past.

Wellbeing of the villagers was the main target of the *Samiti*. The frequent engagement and interaction among the people created a space of unity and fellow feeling. The villagers cooperated with each other during their pains and pleasure, exchanged of emotion, reciprocally participated in critical time. A strong bonding was established among the villagers regarding the social welfare. I could not remember when it had been dissolved. *Pallimanggal* is now the nostalgia to the elderly of this area. Such welfare associations are not available in the villages. Now most of the organizations have been formed on the basis of money lending or political purposes. A very few welfare associations are formed in the village but their span of time is very short. It is true, village associations could not work freely without the political blessing.

Oral Testimony (OT 2)

Former member of *Hita Sadhan Mandali*

Pabna, *Sadar Upazila*

Md. Altafur Rahman (80)

Date of Interview: 11-01-2014

Pabna *Hita Sadhan Mandali* was a branch of *Bangiya Hitasadhan Mandali* which was established in 1923. I joined as a member while I was a boy of 23/24 year. It was at least 30 years after its establishment. Jagendranath Maytra, *Zamindar* of Shitaly, was the main organizer of the Pabna *Hita Sadhan Mandali*. *Bangiya Hita Sadhan Mandali* worked very well in Kalkata. Dr. Dijendranath Maytra was the Secretary of *Bangiya Hitasadhan Mandali* came to Pabna for establishing a branch of *Hita Sadhan Mandali*. He started welfare functions among the people with help of local elites. Many young people joined the activities of *Mandali* immediately. At that time black fever was common disease of this region. The *Hita Sadhan Mandali* served the black fever affected people. *Zamindar* of Shitaly and others donated money for the treatment of affected people. The *Mandali* became popular through the serving black fever affected people.

In order to help the poor and distress people the organizers of *Mandali* opened different wings such as education department, medical department, service department, charity department, health department, weaving department and library. I came to learn from seniors about the visiting of Mahatma Gandhi and C.R. Das in 1925. Mahatma Gandhi praised its activities.

There is a story to engage myself in the activities of the *Mandali*. One of my relatives was very sick; I went to *Hita Sadhan Mandali* for his treatment. I was very much impressed by the dedication of the volunteers. Later, for the treatment of other villagers I went to *Mandali* several times. One day I expressed to be a volunteer to the team leader of volunteer group. He provided scope to work in the *Mandali*. Hence I engaged myself as a volunteer of *Madali*. I worked with the *Mandali* about 7 years. During the

leisure time, I used to go to the library of *Mandali* and studied with the other members of *Mandali*. Every year, we went to the remote village collectively to provide treatment to the poor. At the same time, we tried to create social and health consciousness among the villagers. It is true sufficient medicine and qualified doctors were not available, but volunteers were dedicated to serve the patients. Gradually, the activities of *Mandali* had been reduced for the lack of sufficient fund and proper leadership.

Indeed, I have learned many things from the *Mandali*. If I did not engage with *Mandali*; I would lose my golden period of life. Many people became self-dependent with the training of *Madali*. The weaving training of *Mandali* became very popular among the people. Wellbeing of the mass was the main target of the *Mandali*. This organization created a space for people's interaction and engagement. As a result, strong bonding was formed between service recipients and providers. The activities of *Mandali* created new revolution of modern attitude and consciousness within the adjacent area of Pabna town. It is unknown to me when the *Mandali* had been dissolved. At present, volunteer organizations are very rare in the society. Most of the organizations are politically bias or leaning to commercial venture. Sometimes, the villagers are cheated by these organizations. It is true; very few volunteer organizations have been emerged in the rural areas, but they do not survive for a long time for parochial politics and internal conflicts among the members of organizations.

Oral Testimony (OT 3)

Former member of Bogra Town Club

Bogra, Town

Anseruddin Sheikh (77)

It was many days ago when I joined in the Town Club. It may be 1960s. I was a footballer and played football on behalf of Town Club across the East and West Pakistan. Later, I became a member of the Town Club. In fact, it is first modern organization in Bogra district which has passed more than hundred years with its glorious activities. In fact, there are no records who were the organizers of the club. The enlightened persons of the Bogra established the Town Society before 1896. Bogra District Magistrate William Gladstone arranged a football match in 1896. The then members of the Town Society renamed as Gladstone Club. The game and sports were the main programs especially football. Renowned footballers were the members of this club. The club won many trophies. Later, cultural and social development activities added in the agenda of the club.

Helping the distress and development of town were the priority programs of the club. During this period, non availability of pure water was a common problem in Bogra. The club established a numbers of water reservoir in many points of the town. It also worked for the tree plantation, drainage and medical services for the poor. Sometimes, it worked with the collaboration of government for the development of the town. From the inception of the club, most of the members were the landlords and officials of the government. The common people of the society participated in the programs of the club, but they were not the members of the club. The nature of membership did not change after the division of India in 1947. Influential members of the society were the members of the club especially Muslim League leaders and social elites.

Members of the club did not engage themselves in the mass movement against the British and Pakistan rulers. They were in favor of establishment. But many members of the club played vital role in the liberation war directly and indirectly. In spite of its limitation, it created enormous space to exchange trust, reciprocity, cooperation and values among the people. After the independence of Bangladesh, it has renamed as 'Bogra Town Club' instead of 'Gladstone Club'. Now the club is moribund for the lack of engagement and political biasness.

Oral Testimony (OT 4)

Former member of Banamali Institute

Pabna, Town

Md. Azizul Rahim (75)

I joined the Banamali Institute as a cultural activist, but I could not remember the year of my affiliation to the institution. The then I was a student of high school. Robi Sen who was my school teacher admitted to the Banamali Institute for good voice. At first I sang only folk song. Later I involved in theater of the institute. Every day I came to the institute and gathering with other members. I learnt something from them every day. The institute often arranged cultural programs on the national and local occasions. I was regular artist of these programs. Indeed, it was mass gathering place and main cultural centre of Pabna town. I was affiliated about 30 years with the institute.

I have informed from the senior of the Institute that there were three separate institutions such as Banamali Hall, Kanta Memorial Stage and Kishori Mohan Student's Library. These three institutions merged into one institution named 'Banamali Institute' in 1924 in order to enrich cultural aspects, promotion of local theater, increasing the values among the people, enhancing the literature and social functions within the existing the small organization. It was named the *zamindar* Sri Ray Bhahadur Banamali. The family of *zamindar* gave the land and money to establish the institute. Besides, many learned and rich persons of Pabna also helped to build the Banamali Institute.

The institute arranged different cultural and social programs from its inception. People's participation and engagement in different programs were the sources of its strength. During the disaster or crisis of the nation, we worked for the suffered people. We collected money and essential goods through stage program, and distributed these collections collectively. We were not only the members of the institution but also became family member of each other unconsciously. Trust and respect among each other was the cardinal element for such type of bonding relation. Now the Banamali institute has been stagnant due to political influence and administrative bottleneck. People's engagement and participation have been reduced. However, there is no festive mood of Banamali Institute.

Case Study (CS 1)

Mini Begum (45)

Member of *Ghaurduar Paribar Mahila Kallayan Samiti*

Village: Ghaurduar

Raynagor, Bogra

While Mini Begum came in this village as a newly married bride, her mother in law asked to go to the house of Jahura Apa where family planning worker came every Sunday, and advise them regarding health issues. It was one kind of centre of family planning. Under leadership of Jahura, Mini started to gather rice and saved some money like others in house of Jahura.

Mini stated that while the members of the *Samiti* increased more than fifty, then they constructed a house of *Samiti* in the land of Jahura Apa. The house was made of mud and bamboo. Mini maintained the house and arranged the meeting every week. One day she was informed from her relative that Upazila Women Affair Office help women's organization. Then she talked to others of the *Samiti* about having registration seeking and financial help from the government office. She along with Jahura Apa went the Upazila office several times. This was her first visiting of any government office. After registration, they received some money from the government to build a house.

With the help of government office the *Samiti* used to arrange different training programs such as: tailoring, primary health, block printing, sewing cap, etc. Mini and her daughter have learnt tailoring and block printing from the *Samiti*. She started tailoring in her house. With the earning from tailoring and loan from the *Samiti*, she spent a portion of money for her son's education and a good amount of money for her daughter's marriage ceremony. Mini has taken loan from the *Samiti and* Upazila Women Affairs Office several times. According to her, *Samiti* is a friend of in time of need.

Mini stated that the villagers know her as member of women's organization and have good communication with Upazila office. For this reason, many people often inform her about child marriage. Last week, Achia came to her to inform that she is not agreed to arrange the marriage of her 14 years daughter, but her husband is adamant. She went to Achia's husband and tried to motivate about the bad impact of child marriage. He cancelled the marriage and promised that it will be held after two years. Mini thinks that *Samity* is strength of all her activities forward.

Case Study (CS 2)

Bipul Pramanik (41)

Member of Agnishiksa Natta Gusti

Village: , Pabna

From the inception of *Agnishiksa Natta Gusti* Bipul Pramanik is a member of this organization. Few young of this village formed an organization named *Juba Kalayan Sangstha*. At that time Bipul was a student of college. It was in 1990. He played football on behalf of this organization. But this organization dissolved for the lack of unanimous decision regarding collected resources and its distribution.

Bipul and others formed *Agnishiksa Natta Gusti* in 1996. Before joining this organization, Bipul did not know anything about performing the art. Senior members of the organization taught him. Gradually, Bipul became a good actor. He is an entitled artist of Bangladesh Television. He stated that under his supervision, this organization arranged many stage programs for increasing awareness such as: *Sukhi Paribar* (happy family), *Gach Lagan Paribesh Bhachan* (protecting the environment by tree plantation), *Ar Noy Ballaya Bibaha* (prevent child marriage), etc. Indeed, these are the programs of government and they helped to materialize these among the people.

Bipul is very much popular in his area as an actor and an organizer. In 2003, he became a Chairman candidate for the post of of the *Union Parishad*. Villagers and members of the organization worked in favor of Bipul; even they provided money and other supports. He won in the election and now he is elected Chairman of the Union Parishad. Bipul stated that 'if I did not become a member of this organization, I could not prove my ability to as an actor. I have learned organizing capacity after joining *Agnishiksa Natta Gusti*. Today people know me as a member of the organization. Even I became Chairman of this Union where organization played crucial role. *Agnishiksa Natta Gusti* has worked as a friend in every steps of my success.

Case Study (CS 3)

Mehedi Hasan (27)

Village: Par Achlai

Raynagor, Bogra

Member of *Achlai Sonar Bangla Club*

Mehedi Hasan is a member of this organization from its inception. He was also an organizer of this club. Before this organization, he was a member of *Achlai Tarun Samaj*. It was situated in the corner of the village. Hasan proposed to transfer the house of *Samaj* in front of the village. At the same time, the organization was renamed as '*Achlai Sonar Bangla Club*'. According to Hasan, this club is an information center for the villagers. Every day he went club house after completing his works, he reads daily newspaper and gossiping with others. Through this engagement, he knows much information about the village and country, even he also gets information relating to his occupation, i.e. agriculture such as: which insects are suitable for the paddy, price of goods, moreover which school is better for the children and how much the teachers are dedicated in the class room, etc.

Hasan participated in made of the bamboo bridge of the Bindhu para. This bridge was built with the initiative of club. He also donated a bamboo tree from his own land. Last year, he faced a problem about his land. His relatives wanted to capture a portion of land using false documents. He went to the *tahsil* office several times but did not get any help from the employees of *tahsil* office. At this moment members of the club helped him to solve the problem. He states that they have strong tie among the members. Undoubtedly, trust among the members has been increased. At the same time, financial and social dealings have also been increased. Indeed, one kind of unity has been built up, which works to solve the common and personal problems.

Hasan went to the *Union Parishad* office several times with the members of club for preventing child marriage, construction of village road and a club house. He also participated in open budget discussion on behalf of the club. He talked to the representatives of the UP about the welfare of village and demands of club. He is now well known to the representatives of *Union Parishad*. Through these interactions he has learned how to present demands and deal with the government offices. Even now he can deliver speech in general meetings of the organization. He can easily manage the problem whether it is familial or social. The club has been expanded his horizon of knowledge and contacts through the membership.

Case Study (CS 4)

Md. Helal (23)

Village: Nalmura

Malanchi, Pabna

Member of *Nalmura Tarun Sanggha*

Helal is a Joint Secretary of youth club, namely Nalmura Tarun *Sanggha*. Most of the members of this organization are young. At first Helal's father forbids him to involve with such type of organization. His father thought that *Sanggha* means gathering of bad boys. This organization arranged *Pahela Baishak* program in 2012 at the school premises of Nalmura. The villagers were invited to attend the program. Helal's Father was present in this program and admired their indigenous cultural programs of the organization. Later, he helps in every program of the organization, such as: tree plantation, help the distress and destitute, establishing a library etc.

Helal works in a private company of town as a representative. After come back from his job station he attends the club house every day. He reads newspaper and get together with the members of club. He stated that from the club he can get much information regarding the village and country; even about his job. Many of the villagers come to his to know the news or information such as: result of the examination, from where they can get good medical services, price of goods, etc.

Helal passed HSC (Higher Secondary Certificate) in 2001. After completing HSC, he became drug addicted. His family members tried to motivate him to give up the drug but could not become success. After the treatment from hospital, he came back in normal life. But his family members remained in one kind fear for the future of Helal. After joining this organization, he engaged himself with different welfare activities of the village. He is now known as a good organizer in the village. According to his proposal the organization make a provision that those who have any involvement in drug addiction could not become a member. He hopes that he will again get admission at Open University program for higher education.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX – A

Survey Questionnaire

Role of Social Capital in Democratic Consolidation: A Study on Civil Society Organizations in Bangladesh

(This questionnaire is only applicable for the members of civil society organizations.
Collected data will only be used for research purpose.)

Personal Information

- | | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|-----------|
| 1. | Name of the Respondent: | |
| 2. | Address: Village: | Union: |
| | Upazila: | District: |
| 3. GENDER | | |
| | Male | [1] |
| | Female | [2] |
| 4. AGE | | |
| | Less than 20 Years | [1] |
| | 20-29 Years | [2] |
| | 30-39 Years | [3] |
| | 40-49 Years | [4] |
| | 50-59 Years | [5] |
| | 60-69 years | [6] |
| 5. OCCUPATION | | |
| | Large farmers (7.50 acres and above) | [1] |
| | Medium farmers (2.50 to 7.49 acres) | [2] |
| | Small farmers (.05 to 2.49 acres) | [3] |
| | Tenants | [4] |
| | Businessmen | [5] |
| | Small Businessmen | [6] |
| | Fishermen | [7] |
| | Service holders | [8] |
| | Ricksha and auto-rickshaw puller | [9] |
| | Housewives | [10] |
| | Students | [11] |
| 6. AVERAGE INCOME OF RESPONDENT | | |
| | Tk. 5,000 - Tk 8,000 | [1] |
| | Tk. 8001 - Tk 11,00 | [2] |
| | Tk. 11001 - Tk 13,000 | [3] |
| | Tk. 13,001 - Tk 15,000 | [4] |
| | Tk. 15,001 – Above | [5] |
| 7. EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION | | |
| | Cannot put signature | [1] |
| | Can sign | [2] |
| | Up to class Five | [3] |
| | Up to class Eight | [4] |
| | Up to S. S. C. | [5] |
| | Up to H. S. C. | [6] |
| | Degree | [7] |
| | Post graduate | [8] |
| 8. RELIGION | | |
| | Islam | [1] |
| | Hindu | [2] |
| | Other | [3] |

ISSUE BASED QUESTIONS

SECTION 1: NATURE OF ORGANIZATION

1.1 Name of your organization.....

1.2 Do you have any registration of Govt. Office?

Yes [1]

No [2]

1.3 Do you form this organization with self effort?

Yes [1]

No [2]

1.3.1 If answer is no, who have formed this organization

Any Institution of Government [1]

Large NGOs [2]

Foreign Organizations [3]

Religious Mission [4]

Other Organizations [5]

1.4 What type of your organization is?

Volunteer Based Organization [1]

Youth Development Organization [2]

Women Development Organization [3]

Co-operative Society [4]

Village centre of NGOs [5]

1.5 Does your organization take any financial assistance from others?

Yes [1]

No [2]

1.5.1 If the answer is yes, please mention the institutions/organizations/individuals.

Government institutions [1]

Large NGOs [2]

Foreign Organizations [3]

Religious Mission [4]

Others [5]

SECTION 2: PARTICIPATION

2.1 Your position in the organization

Leader [1]

Member [2]

2.2 How long have you been staying with this organization?

Less than one year [1]

1-2 year [2]

2-3 year [3]

3-4 year [4]

3-5 year [5]

More Than 5 years [6]

2.3 How many times do you go to the place of the organization or work for organization?

Everyday [1]

Once in a week [2]

Once in a month [3]

Once in a year [4]

Never [5]

2.4 Decision of the organization is made by whom and how?

By the members who present in the meeting [1]

Decision is made by the leader [2]

Decision is made by outsider [3]

2.5 Do you invite the others to become the member of the organization?

Yes [1]

No [2]

SECTION 3: SPREAD OF THE RELATION

3.1 Have you expanded your social network after being a member of the organization?

Increasing [1]

Decreasing [2]

Static [3]

3.2 Do you inform other members of the organization about the resolution of the meeting or gathering?

Always [1]

Occasionally [2]

Never [3]

3.3 Do you inform the welfare messages those who are not members of the organization?

Always [1]

Occasionally [2]

Never [3]

3.4 Have you done any collective works with other organizations for wellbeing of the society?

Always [1]

Occasionally [2]

Never [3]

SECTION 4: COLLECTIVE EFFORTS

4.1 Do you think that collective effort is essential for the wellbeing of the village?

Strongly Agree [1]	Agree [2]	Undecided [3]	Disagree [4]	Strongly Disagree [5]
--------------------	-----------	---------------	--------------	-----------------------

4.2 Suppose, a decision is made by the organization for wellbeing of the village such building school, clinic, playground, etc. where you have to denote your valuable asset, do you stay with this type of collective efforts?

Almost Always [1]	Frequently [2]	Occasionally [3]	Rarely [4]	Almost Never [5]
-------------------	----------------	------------------	------------	------------------

4.3 If you will not be benefited directly by the efforts but others of village will be benefited, do you stay with such activities?

Almost Always [1]	Frequently [2]	Occasionally [3]	Rarely [4]	Almost Never [5]
-------------------	----------------	------------------	------------	------------------

4.4 Have you done any work collectively to develop the playground, school, college, roads and religious institutions etc. of the society?

Almost Always [1]	Frequently [2]	Occasionally [3]	Rarely [4]	Almost Never [5]
-------------------	----------------	------------------	------------	------------------

4.5 Have you ever done any works for water reservation or ensuring safe water collectively?

Almost Always [1]	Frequently [2]	Occasionally [3]	Rarely [4]	Almost Never [5]
-------------------	----------------	------------------	------------	------------------

4.6 Have you done any work collectively for preventing environment such as: tree plantation or protecting trees of the roads, etc.?

Almost Always [1]	Frequently [2]	Occasionally [3]	Rarely [4]	Almost Never [5]
-------------------	----------------	------------------	------------	------------------

4.7 Do you receive assistance any from your organization during time in need?

Almost Always [1]	Frequently [2]	Occasionally [3]	Rarely [4]	Almost Never [5]
-------------------	----------------	------------------	------------	------------------

SECTION 5: SPREAD OF TRUST

5.1 Do you trust the members of the organization who deal with money and materials?

Very much [1]	General [2]	Undecided [3]	Less Confidence [4]	No Confidence [5]
---------------	-------------	---------------	---------------------	-------------------

5.2 After being a member of the organization, trust level has been --

Increased	[1]
Decreased	[2]
Static	[3]

SECTION 6: CO-OPERATION AND INFLUENCE ON THE UNION PARISHAD

6.1 Do you think that the representatives of *Union Parishad* are cordial regarding the development and wellbeing of the village?

Strongly Agree [1]	Agree [2]	Undecided [3]	Disagree [4]	Strongly Disagree [5]
--------------------	-----------	---------------	--------------	-----------------------

6.2 Did you participate in the *Ward Sabha* from your organization?

Almost Never [1]	Once [2]	Twice [3]	More than twice [4]	Every Meeting [5]
------------------	----------	-----------	---------------------	-------------------

6.3 Did you participate in the open budget discussion from your organization in the *Union Parishad*?

Almost Never [1]	Once [2]	Twice [3]	More than twice [4]	Every Meeting [5]
------------------	----------	-----------	---------------------	-------------------

6.4 Have you ever been participated in the committee of social security program for selecting beneficiaries of government project like VGD, VGF, pension for older, etc.?

Almost Never [1]	Once [2]	Twice [3]	More than twice [4]	Every Meeting [5]
------------------	----------	-----------	---------------------	-------------------

6.5 Have you ever gone to the representatives of the *Union Parishad* with the members of your organization to solve the problems such as repairing the damage of roads and culverts, constructing new roads, etc.?

Almost Always [1]	Frequently [2]	Occasionally [3]	Rarely [4]	Almost Never [5]
-------------------	----------------	------------------	------------	------------------

6.6 Have you ever gone to the representatives of *Union Parishad* for preventing child marriage and dowry?

Almost Always [1]	Frequently [2]	Occasionally [3]	Rarely [4]	Almost Never [5]
-------------------	----------------	------------------	------------	------------------

6.7 Have you ever gone to the representatives of *Union Parishad* for stopping the eve teasing, assault and acid throwing against women?

Almost Always [1]	Frequently [2]	Occasionally [3]	Rarely [4]	Almost Never [5]
-------------------	----------------	------------------	------------	------------------

6.8 Have you done any collective work from your organization against the misrule or corruption of the government projects?

Almost Always [1]	Frequently [2]	Occasionally [3]	Rarely [4]	Almost Never [5]
-------------------	----------------	------------------	------------	------------------

6.9 Have you ever been done any cooperative work in the functions of *Union Parishads* such as construction roads, culverts, bridge, etc.?

Almost Always [1]	Frequently [2]	Occasionally [3]	Rarely [4]	Almost Never [5]
-------------------	----------------	------------------	------------	------------------

6.7 What should be the role of your organization to accelerate the functions of the *Union Parishad*?

SECTION 7: SOCIAL CAPITAL OF NEW CSOs

7.1 Have you take any attempt on behalf of your organization to solve the local conflicts relating to land issue, dishonor, defame, etc.?

Almost Always [1]	Frequently [2]	Occasionally [3]	Rarely [4]	Almost Never [5]
-------------------	----------------	------------------	------------	------------------

7.2 Have you taken any effort to solve the religious or racial conflicts as a member of your organization in the society?

Almost Always [1]	Frequently [2]	Occasionally [3]	Rarely [4]	Almost Never [5]
-------------------	----------------	------------------	------------	------------------

7.3 Have you done any work as a member of organization, which may be affected other members of the village such as: addiction or violence, etc.?

Almost Always [1]	Frequently [2]	Occasionally [3]	Rarely [4]	Almost Never [5]
-------------------	----------------	------------------	------------	------------------

7.2 Have you done any work to stop violence during election in the society?

Almost Always [1]	Frequently [2]	Occasionally [3]	Rarely [4]	Almost Never [5]
-------------------	----------------	------------------	------------	------------------

7.4 If the teachers of the primary school of your village do not come regularly, did you take any attempt on behalf of the organization?

Almost Always [1]	Frequently [2]	Occasionally [3]	Rarely [4]	Almost Never [5]
-------------------	----------------	------------------	------------	------------------

7.5 A member of the village faces at the time of sudden danger such as: death of his/her parents; do you help from your organization?

Almost Always [1]	Frequently [2]	Occasionally [3]	Rarely [4]	Almost Never [5]
-------------------	----------------	------------------	------------	------------------

7.6 If a member of the organization loses his/her job, does your organization help his/her?

Almost Always [1]	Frequently [2]	Occasionally [3]	Rarely [4]	Almost Never [5]
-------------------	----------------	------------------	------------	------------------

7.7 Can you help your neighbors at his financial crisis or unemployment from your organization?

Almost Always [1]	Frequently [2]	Occasionally [3]	Rarely [4]	Almost Never [5]
-------------------	----------------	------------------	------------	------------------

7.9 According to your opinion, what are the main problems to enrich values, communication, collective actions and trust in the society? Please mention two of them.

(a) -----

(b) -----

SECTION 8: SEARCH FOR THE DISSOLUTION OF OLD CSOs

8.1 Do you know about the causes of old CSOs, which were working in your region at once?

Yes [1]

No [2]

8.2 If answer is yes, then the questions 8.1.1, 8.1.2 and 8.1.3 are applicable.

8.1.1 Mention the name of such organizations

(a) -----(b) -----

8.1.2 Why have they been dissolved from the society?

8.1.3 What are the causes to form new CSOs instead of the old in the society?

(a) -----

(b) -----

SECTION 9: SOCIAL COHESION

9.1 Do you agree that good perception exist one another among the CSOs of the society?

Strongly Agree [1]	Agree [2]	Undecided [3]	Disagree [4]	Strongly Disagree [5]
--------------------	-----------	---------------	--------------	-----------------------

9.1.1 If answer is no, why the good perception has not been created among them?

9.2 Do you think that the new CSOs are creating social cohesion?

Strongly Agree [1]	Agree [2]	Undecided [3]	Disagree [4]	Strongly Disagree [5]
--------------------	-----------	---------------	--------------	-----------------------

9.2.1 If the answer is no, why the CSOs fail to form social cohesion?

9.3 Have the members of your organization been affiliated different political parties?

Yes [1]

No [2]

9.4 'The CSOs of the society are politically divided'. Do you agree to this opinion?

Strongly Agree [1]	Agree [2]	Undecided [3]	Disagree [4]	Strongly Disagree [5]
--------------------	-----------	---------------	--------------	-----------------------

9.5 “The national politics influences the activities of CSOs.” Do you agree to this point?

Strongly Agree [1]	Agree [2]	Undecided [3]	Disagree [4]	Strongly Disagree [5]
--------------------	-----------	---------------	--------------	-----------------------

9.5.1 If answer is yes, the national politics influences in which fields and how

(a) -----

(b) -----

9.6 ‘The politicians use the CSOs for their narrow political purposes’. Do you agree to this point?

Strongly Agree [1]	Agree [2]	Undecided [3]	Disagree [4]	Strongly Disagree [5]
--------------------	-----------	---------------	--------------	-----------------------

9.6.1 If answer is yes, the activities of politicians influence in which fields and how.

(a) -----

(b) -----

Thank for your cooperation

Mobile Number (if any):-

Signature-----

Date:

APPENDIX – B

Checklist of FGD and Case Study

Participation

- 1.1. Welcome to all for kindly participation in group discussion. All of us will talk about the civil society organization where everyone is member of this organization except me. Please tell me what are the factors to encourage you participating in such as organization.
- 1.2. Whether you participate in the meeting periodic or regularly, and what are the issues discussed in the meeting (e.g. social, neighborhood, professional, finance, organizational conflict, conflict resolution, politics, local administration, welfare, and so on). What are the elements working to resolve the problems and new initiatives from organization?
- 1.3. Did you participate in community activities (civic, voluntary and social) last year? If yes, why did you participate in these activities? [For example, civic activities such as submission application or inform for preventing child marriage, drug addiction, sexual assault against women, participation in demonstration against misrule, corruption, etc., political campaign and local development activities. Voluntary activities i.e. funding for helpless, reciprocal help, consciousness development. Social activities such as cultural events, religious, games, picnic, visiting neighborhood house, etc.]
- 1.4. Do you think that network of the members of your organization has increased and got material or immaterial benefit after joining the organization. If yes, please tell me how it has enhanced.

Social Capital Formation

- 2.1 Do you think that your trust, values, reciprocity and network have been increased after joining the organization? If yes, how does social capital work in this respect?
- 2.2. Have you increased your bridge network such as: connection with other organizations regarding development and social works? If yes, how has it become possible, and what are the main elements of this bridge network? If no, why does not it become possible?
- 2.3. How do you evaluate the role of social capital of CSOs in developing your capabilities to upholding people's rights, freedom of choice, participating in movement, raising voice, enhancing social network, combating vulnerability, increasing different forms of capital, like physical, social and human.

Collective Action

- 3.1 Did you participate in any collective action for the welfare of the society last year? If yes, please identify three of the collective actions, and describe why and how did you participate in these activities and what are the outcome of the actions.
- 3.2. Did you go to *Union Parishad* collectively to place the demands of the villagers and oversee the development activities as well as preventing child marriage, sexual assault against women, drug addiction, stopping political chaos, conflict resolution of the villagers, construction of roads and culverts, and building social institutions e.g. playground, school, college, hat-bazar, religious institutions, etc.
- 3.3. What were the inner strengths of these collective actions which inspire you to engage? Please mention four elements of these inner elements.
- 3.4. What type of barriers did you face during collective actions such as intra and extra of the organizations? How did you overcome these barriers?

Effect of Social Capital

- 4.1. Do you think that the social capital of CSOs plays any role in social cohesion? If yes, how does it work? And if it is no, why does not it work?
- 4.2. Do you think that the social capital of CSOs plays significant role in the functions of *Union Parishad* and its accountability? If yes, how does it work? And if it is no, why does not it work?
- 4.3. What are your recommendations for strengthening social capital that can play positive role in social cohesion and democratic consolidation?

Dissolution of old CSOs

- 5.1. Do you know about the old COSs that have been dissolved from your village? If yes, please mention five name of old CSOs.
- 5.2. Please explain why they have been dissolved from the villages.

New CSOs towards Social Cohesion

- 6.1. Do you think that the CSOs of the society are playing significant role in enhancing social cohesion? If no, why does not it work? And if yes, how are they making?
- 6.2. Do you think there are some political factors which create barriers regarding the role of CSOs in social cohesion? If the answer is yes, please explain how the political factor creates impediment.

APPENDIX – C

Participants List of FGD

FGD (1), Raynagor Union, Bogra,

Place: Uchai village, Name of CSO: Achali Sonar Bangla Club,

Type of Organization: Volunteer Based Organization

Serial Number	Name of Participants	Age	Gender	Occupation
01	Mehedi Hasan	26	Male	Student
02	Jakir Hossain Raju	25	Male	Petty trader
03	Belal Hossain Murad	30	Male	Business
04	Faruque Mollah	32	Male	Petty trader
05	Shamim Pramanik	24	Male	Business
06	Jahangir Alam	40	Male	Agriculture
07	Sajal Kumar Shaha	35	Male	Business
08	Shamsul Alam	21	Male	Student
09	Ali Bakker	35	Male	Agriculture
10	Aminul Islam	30	Male	Rikshaw puller
11	Abdul Kader	35	Male	Agriculture

FGD (2), Malanchi Union, Pabna

Place: Nalmura Village, Name of CSO: Nalmura Tarun *Sanggha* Club,

Type of Organization: Youth Development Organization

Serial Number	Name of Participants	Age	Gender	Occupation
01	Ruhul Amin	18	Male	Student
02	Ashraful Islam	17	Male	Student
03	Jubayier	15	Male	Student
04	Rajib	18	Male	Student
05	Helal	20	Male	Service
06	Naem Mia	19	Male	Student
07	Imon	22	Male	Agriculture
08	Indra Jit	21	Male	Student
09	Abdul Alim	18	Male	Student
10	Sultan Ahmed	23	Male	Agriculture
11	Alamgir Hossain	30	Male	Petty trader

FGD (3), Raynagor Union, Bogra,

Place: Ananta Bala, Name of CSO: Ananta Bala Samaby *Samiti*

Type of Organization: Cooperative Society

Serial Number	Name of Participants	Age	Gender	Occupation
01	Amzad Hossain	22	Male	Petty trader
02	Md. Monir	25	Male	Agriculture
03	Md. Arju	37	Male	Agriculture
04	Akbar Ali	30	Male	Vendor
05	Rashidul Islam	20	Male	Agriculture
06	Moni Hossain	35	Male	Agriculture
07	Md. Jakir	28	Male	Business
08	Abdul Motall	40	Male	Business
09	Ali Akkas	35	Male	Van puller
10	Abdur Rahman	30	Male	Vendor
11	Abdul Matin	42	Male	Agriculture
12	Shahin Sowdagor	40	Male	Petty Trader

FGD (4), Raynagor Union, Bogra,

Place: Ghaghurduyer, Name of CSO: Ghaghurduyer Paribar *Mahila Kalayan Samiti*

Type of Organization: Women Development Organization

Serial Number	Name of Participants	Age	Gender	Occupation
01	Sultana	28	Female	Housewife
02	Tahmina	35	Female	Housewife
03	Mini Begum	45	Female	Housewife
04	Safura Begum	50	Female	Housewife
05	Gulshanara	38	Female	Housewife
06	Lima	32	Female	Housewife
07	Ambia Khatun	33	Female	Housewife
08	Rahela Khatun	24	Female	Housewife
09	Parvin Akter	30	Female	Housewife
10	Moslema	23	Female	Housewife

FGD (5), Malanchi Union, Pabna,

Place: Malanchi village, Name of CSO: Malanchi BRAC- *Samiti* Kendra,

Type of Organization: Village centre of NGOs

Serial Number	Name of Participants	Age	Gender	Occupation
01	Suva	25	Female	Housewife
02	Sabina	30	Female	Housewife
03	Molina Khatun	35	Female	Housewife
04	Amina Begum	24	Female	Housewife
05	Khadiza	40	Female	Housewife
06	Majida	35	Female	Housewife
07	Mukata Begum	25	Female	Housewife
08	Ruma Khatun	27	Female	Housewife
09	Jasmin-ara	35	Female	Housewife
10	Asma Khatun	23	Female	Housewife
11	Shahina Akter	35	Female	Petty trader

APPENDIX – D I
List of surveyed CSOs at Malanchi Union of Pabna District

Serial Number	Name of the CSOs	Name of the Villages	Union	District
01	Shanty Sangha Bandhu Club	Shampur	Malanchi	Pabna
02	Bilveduria Juba Kalayan <i>Samiti</i>	Bilveduria	Malanchi	Pabna
03	Bhai Bhai Juba Unnayan <i>Samiti</i>	Mahmudpur	Malanchi	Pabna
04	Baker Jubak <i>Samiti</i>	Fakirpur	Malanchi	Pabna
05	Akash <i>Samaj</i> Unnayan Sangstha	Kamargram	Malanchi	Pabna
06	Aduhik Shanti Sangha Club	Mahmudpur	Malanchi	Pabna
07	Baul Sangeet Sanghathan <i>Samiti</i>	Kamargram	Malanchi	Pabna
08	Malanchi Juba Kalayan Sangstha	Malanchi	Malanchi	Pabna
09	Hamchiapur Gram Unnayan Sangstha	Hamchiapur	Malanchi	Pabna
10	Phakirpur Tarun Smriti Sangha	Fakirpur	Malanchi	Pabna
11	Nalmura Tarun Sanggha Club	Nalmura	Malanchi	Pabna
12	Bilkula Juba Kalayan <i>Samiti</i>	Bilkula	Malanchi	Pabna
13	Mahmudpur Juba Sangstha	Mahmudpur	Malanchi	Pabna
14	Shampur Kria Unnayan Sangstha	Shampur	Malanchi	Pabna
15	Bilveduria <i>Mahila</i> Unnayan <i>Samiti</i>	Bilveduria	Malanchi	Pabna
16	Gramin Nari Unnayan <i>Samiti</i>	Bahalbaria	Malanchi	Pabna
17	Gram Chashi <i>Samiti</i>	Malanchi	Malanchi	Pabna
18	Bhandhu Samaby <i>Samiti</i>	Bilveduria	Malanchi	Pabna
19	Nulmura Sarbik Gram Unnayan <i>Samiti</i>	Nulmura	Malanchi	Pabna
20	Shampur Gram Matshazibi <i>Samiti</i>	Shampur	Malanchi	Pabna
21	Biveduria Juba Kalayan <i>Samiti</i>	Biveduria	Malanchi	Pabna
22	Phakirpur Jalea <i>Samiti</i>	Fakirpur	Malanchi	Pabna
23	Fakirpur <i>Samaj</i> Unnayan Sanghathan	Fakirour	Malanchi	Pabna
24	Bhurburia Samaby <i>Samiti</i>	Bhurburia	Malanchi	Pabna
25	Nulmura Samaby <i>Samiti</i>	Nulmura	Malanchi	Pabna
26	Kashinathpur Sarbik Gram Unnayan <i>Samiti</i>	Kashinathpur	Malanchi	Pabna
27	Hamchiapur Samaby <i>Samiti</i>	Hamchiapur	Malanchi	Pabna
28	Singa Sarbik Gram Unnayan <i>Samiti</i>	Singa	Malanchi	Pabna
29	ASA Samiti Kendra	Nulmura	Malanchi	Pabna
30	Pabna Protisuroti Kendra	Bhalbaria	Malanchi	Pabna

Serial Number	Name of the CSOs	Name of the Villages	Union	District
31	BRAC <i>Samiti</i> Kendra	Mahmudpur	Malanchi	Pabna
32	Jagorini Chackra <i>Samiti</i> Kendra	Kamargram	Malanchi	Pabna
33	Asiab Malotiful <i>Mahila Unnayan Samiti</i>	Sridharpur	Malanchi	Pabna
34	Pabna Pratisuroti Kendra	Hariabaria	Malanchi	Pabna
35	Buro Tangail <i>Samiti</i> Kendra	Kashinathpur	Malanchi	Pabna
36	Pabna Protisuroti Kendra	Gobindhapur	Malanchi	Pabna
37	Asiab Malotiful <i>Mahila Unnayan Samiti</i>	Basudevpur	Malanchi	Pabna
38	Pabna <i>Protisuroti Kendra</i>	Bhurampara	Malanchi	Pabna
39	ASA <i>Samiti Kendra</i>	Bilkula	Malanchi	Pabna
40	BRAC <i>Samiti Kendra</i>	Malanchi	Malanchi	Pabna
41	Buro Tangail <i>Samiti Kendra</i>	Bilkula	Malanchi	Pabna

APPENDIX – D II
List of working surveyed CSOs at Raynagor Union of Bogra District

Serial Number	Name of the CSOs	Name of the Villages	Union	District
01	Chandi Hara Bandhar Club	Chandihara	Raynagor	Bogra
02	Uttar Baulpara <i>Samaj</i> Kalayan Sangha	Baulpara	Raynagor	Bogra
03	Mahasthan Tiger Club	Mahasthan	Raynagor	Bogra
04	Dhakhin Krisnapur Akota Club	Dhakhin Krisnapur	Raynagor	Bogra
05	Achilai Sonar Bangla Club	Achilai	Raynagor	Bogra
06	Kajipur Madhapara Modern Club	Kajipur	Raynagor	Bogra
07	Achilai Satata <i>Samaj</i> Kalanyan Club	Achilai	Raynagor	Bogra
08	Mayer Bhadhan Club	Raynagor	Raynagor	Bogra
09	Anonta Bala Rony Smriti Sangsad	Anontabala	Raynagor	Bogra
10	Abdul Jabber Smriti Sangsad	Anontabala	Raynagor	Bogra
11	Dhalmuhi <i>Samaj</i> Yunnoyun Sangha	Dhalmuhi	Raynagor	Bogra
12	Master Mujibur Rahman Smriti Sangha	Bhulorchak	Raynagor	Bogra
13	Ghagur Duyer Adarsha Club	Ghagur Duer	Raynagor	Bogra
14	Raynagor R S club	Raynagor	Raynagor	Bogra
15	Raynagor <i>Samaj</i> sheba Sangstha	Raynagor	Raynagor	Bogra
16	Anonta Bala Satra Kalanyun Samiti	Anontabala	Raynagor	Bogra
17	Sekandarabad Juba Kalanyun Samiti	Sekandarabad	Raynagor	Bogra
18	Chandihara Gram Unnayan Samiti	Chandihara	Raynagor	Bogra
19	Sudampur Tarun Shanti Club	Sudampur	Raynagor	Bogra
20	Baulpara Krirai Club	Baulpara	Raynagor	Bogra
21	Raynagor Shanti Pratishta Samiti	Raynagor	Raynagor	Bogra
22	Ghaghur Duyer Poribar <i>Mahila</i> Kalanyan Samiti	Ghaghurduyer	Raynagor	Bogra
23	Ranagar <i>Mahila</i> Unnayan Samiti	Ranagor	Raynagor	Bogra
24	Akota Juba Sangha Samiti	Shampur	Raynagor	Bogra
25	Hazrabari Juba kria Club	Hazrabari	Raynagor	Bogra
26	Mahasthan Juba Unnayan Samiti	Mahasthan	Raynagor	Bogra
27	Nagarjani Juba Unnayan Samiti	Nagorjani	Raynagor	Bogra
28	Kajipur Juba Samaby Samiti	Kajipur	Raynagor	Bogra
29	Raynagor Matshajibi Samaby Samiti	Raynagor	Raynagor	Bogra

Serial Number	Name of the CSOs	Name of the Villages	Union	District
30	Dhakhin Krisnapur Motshajibi Samiti	Dhakhin Krisnapur	Raynagor	Bogra
31	Taghari Juba Samaby Samiti	Taghori	Raynagor	Bogra
32	Nagarkandhi Unnayan Samaby Samiti	Nagarkandhi	Raynagor	Bogra
33	Dighalkandi Gram Unnayan Bhumokhi Samiti	Dighalkandi	Raynagor	Bogra
34	Anontabala Somoby Samiti	Anontabala	Raynagor	Bogra
35	Koratkola Samaby Samiti	Koratkola	Raynagor	Bogra
36	Nimarpara Samaby Samiti	Nimarpara	Raynagor	Bogra
37	Raghabpur Juba Unnayan Samaby Samiti	Raghabpu	Raynagor	Bogra
38	Hazrabari Akata Samiti	Hazrabari	Raynagor	Bogra
39	Chandhi Hara krishak Samaby Samiti	Chandhihara	Raynagor	Bogra
40	ASA Samiti Kendra	Anontabala	Raynagor	Bogra
41	S K S Kendra	Hatibandha	Raynagor	Bogra
42	BRAC Samiti Kanrda	Dhulmohani	Raynagor	Bogra
43	Gram Bikash Kendra	Dowlotpur	Raynagor	Bogra
44	TMSS Samiti Kendra	Shampur	Raynagor	Bogra
45	Buro Bangladesh Kendra	Ghar Mahasthan	Raynagor	Bogra
46	ASA Samiti	Raynagor	Raynagor	Bogra
47	TMSS Samiti Kendra	Achlai	Raynagor	Bogra
48	BRAC Samiti Kanrda	Taghoria	Raynagor	Bogra
49	Gram Bikash Kendra	Fultala	Raynagor	Bogra
50	ASA Samiti Kendra	Sudampur	Raynagor	Bogra

APPENDIX -E I
The Noted Educational and Social Development CSOs of East Bengal (1830s – 1905)

Serial Number	Name of the CSOs	Place of Establishment	Year of Inception	Comment
01	Timirnashak <i>Sabha</i>	Dhaka	1838	The first East Bengal CSOs which was incepted for the development of language.
02	Nepraniti-bodhani <i>Sabha</i>	Chittagong	1851	To discuss laws and its uses in everyday life.
03	Dhaka Club	Dhaka	1851	To arrange debate and discussion on current issues. Members of the club were both Bangali and Europeans.
04	Branch of Bathune <i>Sabha</i>	Dhaka	1851	-----
05	Ajnantimirnashini <i>Sabha</i>	Dhaka	1857	-----
06	Biggan Sancharini <i>Sabha</i>	Dhaka,	1860	Expansion of science and mental health
07	Branch of Bengal British India Society	Jessore	----	-----
08	Boalia Association	Rajshahi	1863	Discussion on education, religious codes, social norms, politics, etc. Most of the members were students and teachers.
09	Ganna Pradaeni	Dhaka	1865	Common people organization
10	Kumarkhali <i>Sabha</i>	Kustia	1867	Discussion on social and regional problems.
11	Subhakari	Bikrampur	1868	-----
12	Dhaka Institute	Dhaka	1870	Discussion on science, literature, art trade, etc.
13	Subha-shadhani <i>Sabha</i>	Dhaka	1870	Acquiring knowledge and wellbeing of the people.
14	Satkhira Agricultural and Horticultural Society	Khulna	1871	Introducing modern agriculture scheme, agro-business, supplying seed of rice, vegetables, etc.
15	Bikrampur <i>Hita sadhani Sabha</i>	Dhaka	1871	Development for the inhabitants of Bikrampur

Serial Number	Name of the CSOs	Place of Establishment	Year of Inception	Comment
16	Kolinnoprotha Songsudhani o kanna Bikroy Nibarani <i>Sabha</i>	Faridpur	1871	Preventing <i>Kalinna</i> and selling girl custom and help the poor.
17	Janasadharon <i>Sabha</i>	Dhaka	1872	Poverty alleviation of East Bengal.
18	Ajnantimir	Dugachi, Pabna	1872	Removing superstition and expansion knowledge.
19	Barisal Janasadharon <i>Sabha</i>	Barisal	1873	-----
20	Ballabibaha Nibarani <i>Sabha</i>	Dhaka	1873	Preventing child marriage
21	Mymensingha Association	Mymensingh	-----	-----
22	East Bengal Zamindars <i>Sabha</i>	Dhaka	1879	-----
23	<i>Samaj</i> Samiloni <i>Sabha</i>	Dhaka	1879	The first Muslim association for reducing gap between Hindu and Muslim.
24	Suridoy <i>Sabha</i>	Faridpur	1880	Expansion the female education.
25	Gaila Students Sammilani <i>Sabha</i>	Barisal	1881	-----
26	Purbabanga Nitirakhani <i>Sabha</i>	Dhaka	1887	-----
27	Kannapon Niberani <i>Sabha</i>	Bogra	1889	Preventing child marriage and dowry.
28	<i>Bidhaba Bibaha Sabha</i>	Dhaka	1894	
29	Madak Nibarani o <i>Samajik</i> Pobitrota Rakhani <i>Sabha</i>	Mymensingh	1895	Preventing drug addiction and helping the poor.
30	Tiripura Hitaishine <i>Sabha</i>	Commilla	1896	Expansion of women education
31	Sylhet Union	Sulhet, 1896		Enhancing women education
32	Mymensingha Sahita <i>Sabha</i>	Mymensingh	1901	Developing own language, collection of historical documents of Mymensingh region, discussion on literature, etc.

Serial Number	Name of the CSOs	Place of Establishment	Year of Inception	Comment
33	Muslman <i>Samiti</i>	Dhaka	1904	Building relation between Hindu and Muslman during Banga-bhanga.
34	Town Club	Rajshahi	1886	Victoria Club and Boalia Club were established by the British and were restricted for common people. Local <i>Zamindars</i> and elites established 'Town Club' for sports and recreation of the locals.
35	Allied Club	Rajshahi	1928	It was established for performing a theater and sports 'Hazrat Sha Mockdum Club'. Later, it was renamed Allied Club.

APPENDIX - E II
The noted Muslim associations in East Bengal (1858 – 1905)

Serial Number	Name of the Associations	Place of Establishment	Year of Inception
01	The Islam Association	Chittagong	1880
02	Branch of Central National Mohammedan Association	Chittagong	1883
03	Branch of Central National Mohammedan Association	Bogra	1883
04	Dhaka Muslman Sureday Sammilani	Dhaka	1883
05	Branch of Central National Mohammedan Association	Rajshahi	1884
06	Islamia <i>Sabha</i>	Noakhali	1885
07	<i>Anjuman</i> Islamia	Rangpur	1887
08	Branch of Central National Mohammedan Association	Rangpur	1887
09	<i>Anjuman</i> Islamia	Comilla	1888
10	Satkhira Muslims Sureday Sammilani	Khulna	1888
11	<i>Anjuman</i> Islamia	Dhaka	1888

APPENDIX- E III
THE NOTED WOMEN ASSOCIATIONS IN EAST BENGAL (1830s - 1905)

Serial Number	Name of the Associations	Place of Establishment	Year of Inception
01	Aryan Nari <i>Samaj</i>	Kolkata	1879
02	Bango Mhila <i>Samaj</i>	-	-
03	Madha Banga <i>Samilani</i>	-	-
04	Bikrampur <i>Samilani</i>	-	-
05	Uttar-Para Hitokari <i>Sabha</i>	-	-
06	Shakhi <i>Samiti</i>	-	-
07	Calcutta Female Juvenile Society	Kolkata	1819
08	Anantapur Istari Shikha <i>Sabha</i>	Dhaka	1870

APPENDIX - E IV

The Noted Associations of Kolkata Established by Bangali (1815 to 1905)

Serial Number	Name of the Associations	Place of Establishment	Year of Inception
01	<i>Atiya-Sabha</i>	Kolkata	1815
02	<i>Gouriah Samaj</i>	Kolkata	1823
03	Academic Association	Kolkata	1828
04	<i>Banga Hita Sabha</i>	Kolkata	1830
05	Anglo-Indian Hindu Association	Kolkata	1830
06	Debating Club	Kolkata	1830
07	<i>Bangaranjani Sabha</i>	Kolkata	1830
08	<i>Sarba-tatta-dipika Sabha</i>	Kolkata	1830
09	<i>Ganna Chandradaei Sabha</i>	Kolkata	1836
10	<i>Sadharan Gannauparzika Sabha</i>	Kolkata	1838
11	Society for the Acquisition of general knowledge	Kolkata	1838
12	<i>Tattabodhani Sabha</i>	Kolkata	1839
13	Landholders	Kolkata	1838
14	Bengal British India Society	Kolkata	1843
15	Perseverance Society	Kolkata	1847
16	<i>Sarbasuvakari Sabha</i>	Kolkata	1850
17	National Association	Kolkata	1851
18	British Indian Association	Kolkata	1851
19	Bethune Society	Kolkata	1851
20	<i>Shilpa Bidutshahini Sabha</i>	Kolkata	1854
21	<i>Samaj-Unnati Bidhanei Suredha Samiti</i>	Kolkata	1854
22	<i>Bidutshahini Sabha</i>	Kolkata	1854-55
23	Indian League	Kolkata	1875
24	Indian Association	Kolkata	1876

APPENDIX- E V
The Noted Associations Established by the British (1800 – 1905)

Serial Number	Name of Associations	Place of Establishment	Inception of Time
01	British India Society	England	1839
02	Literary Society	Kolkata	1820s
03	Phrenological Society	Kolkata	1820s
04	Agriculture and Horticulture Society	Kolkata	1820s
05	Commercial and Patriotic Association	Kolkata	1820s
06	Ladies Society	Kolkata	1820s
07	Calcutta Medical and Physical Society	Kolkata	1820s
08	Victoria Club	Rajshahi	1882
09	Boalia Club	Rajshahi	1884