

Forest Dwelling Ethnic People and Conservation Process of Forest: A Study on Modhupur Sal Forest

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Abstract

In Bangladesh, there are 45 ethnic groups who are small in number but culturally distinct from the mainstream population. They compose the cultural diversity of the country. The Garos are one of them found to be living inside the Modhupur forest for centuries. On the other hand forestry is a very important sector of any State. A forest in a country acts as indispensable living element for people, animals and plants. In the world about 70 percent of all terrestrial animal and plant species live in forests while about 1.6 billion people depend on forest for their livelihood. Although Bangladesh is amazingly green, it's a forest poor country. Only 6 percent of the country area has actual tree coverage which is too much low from the required 25 percent forest coverage for a country's ecological and environmental stability. Upon such backdrop of forest and ethnic minority peoples in Bangladesh, it is found in Modhupur Sal forest that around 25,000 people from Garo ethnic minority live inside the forest. As these people live inside the forest, they have an interaction with the forest protecting agency in the process of forest conservation.

Therefore, this study is dedicated to examine the interaction patterns between forest protecting agency - Forest Department (FD) and Forest Dwelling Ethnic People (FDEP) in the process of forest conservation inside the Modhupur Sal Forest. This study has also aimed to identify the factors which shape the interaction patterns and to examine how those factors affect the forest conservation. Two independent variables – the role of FD and the role of FDEP have been examined for this purpose. Under the discussion on these variables, it is found that, as forest conservation process goes on the interactions of these two variables are shaped by some issues and factors which affect the conservation process of forest.

The study has found that the interaction pattern between FD and FDEP is rather adversarial and seven factors or issues contribute in this interaction patterns between FD and FDEP in the process of forest conservation inside the Modhupur. The denial of land tenancy rights to FDEP by FD has come up as prime factor of adversarial interactions between FD and FDEP. This factor has affected the present participatory forest conservation process inside the Modhupur forest. As both FD and FDEP claim the ownership of the occupied lands of ethnic Garo people, tussles between FD and FDEP go on interruptedly due to this dispute over lands, which have posed a hindrance in process of participation in forestry conservation. Therefore, the implication is that government has to have a different clear policy regarding

the forest dwelling Garo ethnic people inside the forest. Due to the absence of such policy FD can not elicit confidence, co-operation and participation of these people in the process of forest conservation process.

The other factors of adversarial interaction between FD and FDEP include different top down forestry development initiatives by FD, forest cases, attitudes of FD toward the FDEPs, skeptical attitude of FDEP toward any initiatives of government and penetration of outsider businessman into the SF programs within the vicinity of FDEP's villages.

At the last study summarized in the way that prevailing reality of the Modhupur forest and the status of FDEP need to be taken into consideration for policy initiatives. To conserve and develop the forest as per the objectives set in Forestry Master Plan 1993, the active support and participation of FDEP is necessary. Their confidence and trust on FD and FD's different forestry development initiatives must be obtained. Without the confidence of FDEPs on FD, any sort of forestry development inside the Modhupur forest suffers from demonstrational movement, protest, turmoil and ultimate failure.

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List of Abbreviation

ACF	Assistant Conservator of forest
ADB	Asian Development Bank
BAF	Bangladesh Air Force
BS	Bangladesh Survey
CFW	Community Forest Worker
CS	Cadastral Survey
DFO	Divisional Forest Officer
FDEP	Forest Dwelling Ethnic People
FD	Forest Department
GOB	Government of Bangladesh
IP	Indigenous People
LGED	Local Government and Engineering Department
NGO	Non Government Organization
RS	Revisional Settlement
SF	Social Forestry
SEHD	Society for Environment and Human Development
TANDP	Thana Afforestation and Nursery Development Project
TWA	Tribal Welfare Association
UN	United Nations
USA	United States of America
WB	World Bank

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Chapter One: Introductory Discussion

1.1 Background

Forestry is a very important sector of any government. It is known to all that there should be the 25 percent forest coverage of its total area of a country to maintain ecological balance and environmental stability. A forest in a country plays multiple functions. It acts as indispensable living element for people, animals and plants. 'About 70 percent of all terrestrial animal and plant species live in forests. In their capacity as water reservoirs and carbon sinks, forests maintain the balance of our global climate, protect the soil and prevent desertification. About 1.6 billion people depend on them for their livelihood, with more than 200 groups of indigenous peoples still living in forests worldwide and they are satisfying their basic needs, such as food, energy and health' (Ernstorfer & Stockmayer 2007, p. 45). Although Bangladesh is amazingly green, it's a forest poor country. According to different sources such as Forestry Master Plan, 1993 and the Forestry Policy, 1994 only about 769,000 hectares or 6 percent of the country area has actual tree coverage while it was recorded to be 18 percent when the Forest Act, 1927 came into being. Still Forest Department of Bangladesh controls 10.3 percent of total area of Bangladesh as forest land of which maximum part is treeless fallow land or occupied illegally by others. Most of its public forest land is located in Chittagong Hill Tracts, greater Khulna district, greater Sylhet district, Dhaka, Mymensingh and Tangail district. Among those forest lands Modhupur Sal Forest lies on Mymensingh and Tangail district. It is located in north-central region of the country with the area of 45,565 acre. Like any other Sal forest in the country, it is moist and dry deciduous type of forest which is different from the Hill Tract's or Sundarban's evergreen forest. This forest is the living ground for varied wild animal life as well as some other valuable trees including herbal to be grown inside it. It is heard that once a time in the forest leopards, bears, tigers and wild buffalos used to graze while pheasants, peacocks, pythons and variety of birds used to nest in the forest. Besides all those inside the forest, an ethnic minority group – Garo is found living there for centuries, from time immemorial.

About 100,000 Garos live in Bangladesh and 25,000 of that population are located in Modhupur Sal forest. In this present world, there are only a few minor ethnic communities are keeping up the matrimonial social organization, their own customs and traditions, their own system of evaluation. The Garo ethnic community is one of them. They like to be called

them as ‘*Adivasi*’ Indigenous People. But GOB officially classified them as one of the ethnic minority groups in Bangladesh. They constitute less than one tenth of one percent of the total population of Bangladesh, a tiny minority among around one hundred fifty million Bangladeshis. Most of them live in the fringe of territory of Bangladesh. This 25,000 Garo ethnic people living inside the forest is very much dependent on forest. The land on which they live on is claimed to be forest land by Forest Department (FD) of government, the land on which they grow their crops for subsistence is recorded as forest land denying their presence before the birth of forest department during British –India. Besides these, the villages inside the forest are criss-crossly connected through the forest and thereby these people have to walk through the forest very frequently for social interactions, marketing of their agricultural products and so on. In this situation, the relations and interaction pattern between FD of Bangladesh government and Forest Dwelling Ethnic Garo People (FDEP) has come up as a big challenge for the forestry management within Modhupur Sal forest in Bangladesh.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Though the forest inhabiting Garo ethnic minorities are surviving somehow inside the forest, they face a lot of troubles, as the traditional Modhupur Sal forest is decreasing day by day. The traditional Sal forest refers to the forest that is found with diversities and varieties of flora and fauna immediately after independence of Bangladesh. This forest popularly known as Madhupur *Garh* is comprised of 45,565 acres but true forest coverage is merely 10,000 acres now. According to the DFO, Tangail, conflict over land ownership, insufficient staff, complete dependency of people for fuel wood over forest, firewood for brick field, saw mill and furniture mart and other forest dependent industries are chiefly responsible for destruction of Modhupur forest (Paul 2011, p.1). Therefore, today the remnants of the Sal forest are not representative of the traditional Sal forest. Most of the forest land has been denuded, degraded and encroached upon or taken over. Besides the Sal trees, commercially valuable other trees such as *Koroi* (*Albizia procera*), *Chamble* (*Artocarpus chaplasa*), *Kaikha* (*Adia cordifolia*), *Ajuli* (*Dillenia pentagyna*) etc are reported to be on the process of extinction. More pathetic is, with the disappearance of the natural forest, most of the wild animals in the Sal forest have also reported to have vanished. Though, it is found that Bangladesh government took several developmental initiatives on Modhupur Sal forest which failed repeatedly due to strong resistance from forest dwelling ethnic minorities/people

(FDEP). In fact, from very beginning of its operation of FD, there are interactions between FD and FDEP inside the Modhupur Sal forest. It is found in the relevant literature review that number of incidents and events occurred out of these interactions between FD and FDEP and those have been reported in different dailies and news papers in different occasions. Those report showed that this interaction has impacted both the conservation of forest and the rights of the forest dwelling ethnic people. Therefore, this study has attempted to examine the reasons behind such interactions to have a greater understanding of the scenario in Modhupur Sal forest, which could very well affect the forest conservation process inside the forest.

1.3 Scope of the Research

The research area consists of Modhupur Sal forest which located in Modhupur and Muktagacha sub-districts of Tangail and Mymensigh districts respectively. Within this forest area forest land, role of forest dwelling Garo ethnic people and the role of FD in forest conservation process has been taken for study. The way the forest management objectives, which are articulated in Forestry Master Plan, 1993 are being attempted to be achieved within the Modhupur Sal forest is referred in this study as forest conservation process. FDEP includes the Garo ethnic people who live inside the forest and dependent on forest resource culturally, socially and economically.

1.4 Significance of the Research

Both forest and forest dwelling ethnic people are beauty of Bangladesh. A forest is needed for our ecological balance. At the same time, it is also to be noted that the right of different ethnic groups living within the country must be protected. All these duties and responsibilities of both protecting forest and the rights of ethnic peoples those either living inside forest or outside the forest, lies with the government. Upon this purview, we find that Modhupur Sal forest is increasingly declining, losing its valuable resource of flora and fauna. So with this alarming trend of forest destruction in Modhupur Sal Forest, the role of FD and the role of FDEP must be critically analyzed. The gap in the perception on forest conservation between the forest protecting agency (FD) and forest dwelling ethnic people (FDEP) must be identified. And this study is dedicated to finding out the causes to that. So ultimately, the outcome of the research will carve out a place in the policy discourse of forestry management with respect to FDEP.

1.5 Objectives of the Research

The overall objective of this research is to examine the interaction pattern between forest protecting agency and forest dwelling ethnic people in the process of forest conservation process inside the Modhupur Sal forest.

1.6 Research Questions

The research will try to explore the answers to the following questions –

1. What is the interaction pattern between FD and FDEP in the process of forest conservation process inside the Modhupur Sal forest?
2. What factors shape the interactions between FD and FDEP?

In this context, a couple of hypotheses has been put forward which may be examined in this study and they are:

Hypothesis-I: Higher the participative interaction from FDEP in the forest conservation, higher the rate of success in the forestry development initiatives.

Hypothesis-II: More the FD officials maintain the classical bureaucratic attitude in discharging their duties, higher the adversarial interactions between FD and FDEPs

1.7 Limitations of the Research

The study area of the research is confined within the sub-district of Tangail which represents very tiny portion of total forest in the country. There are other Sal forests found in greater Rangpur and Dinajpur Districts where a significant number of Santal, Pharia and Oraon ethnic communities are reported to inhabit inside those Sal forests. This research does not take into cognizance of those areas due to time constraints. Moreover, time constraints have constrained the researcher going into greater details into the research area.

1.8 Research Methodology

Research methodology refers to the action plan to be carried out throughout the research period. It is a plan and systematic approach of investigation that denotes the detail framework of the unit of analysis, data gathering techniques, sampling focus and interpretation strategy and analysis. (Aminuzzaman 1992, p.33) In this study the following procedures were adopted for data collection and interpretation of collected data.

1.8.1 Research Design:

In designing a research plan, a researcher has three option for conducting research in social science viz. qualitative, quantitative and mixed approach. Qualitative and quantitative approaches are mainly used to examine and understand the opinions of the respondents on social problems which make generalization about the problem and examine the relation among the variables used in research to test theories, respectively, while both are considered in using mixed approach (Creswell 2008, cited in Sarker 2011, p.13). In this study both qualitative and quantitative method - that is mixed approach - is adopted for conducting the research.

1.8.2 Reasons for Mixed Approach

What approach should be undertaken for conducting certain research is laid on the nature of the problem being studied. It is not determined by the researcher's field of interest or specialization but the research goals and the level of accuracy wanted. Therefore, use of single method in social science research is not always enough to respond of the research need rather a combination of methods is more useful to bring desired level of methodological sophistication. (Aminuzzaman 1991, p. 34) The main concentration of this study is to examine the interaction pattern between FD and FDEP in the process of forest conservation inside the Modhupur Sal forest and to identify the factors those shape the interactions and affect the forest conservation process. To find out the answers, using both the qualitative and quantitative data will be the best mechanism. Moreover, using both qualitative and

quantitative data provide the researcher with the ground for cross checking and validation of data used in the study

1.8.3 Mode of Data Collection

In the study interview and content analysis has been applied for qualitative data collection while questionnaires survey has been done for quantitative data collection.

Questionnaires Survey: A structured questionnaires comprising both closed ended and open ended questions was used in the study to gather the quantitative data from FDEP. A few numbers of the respondents could read and fill the questionnaires by themselves but others could not. Therefore, the researcher asked questions to the respondents and filled up the questionnaires himself according to respondent's view. The options for the answers in the closed ended questions were predetermined by reviewing the existing available literature on the research problem. In the part of open ended questions, it was designed to measure the respondents view on the problem, their understanding level on the problem and in some cases to verify the validity of preceding data given by the respondent.

Interview: Interview method is particularly suitable for intensive investigation (Kothari 2005, p. 97). Both structured and unstructured interview was carried out by the researcher among the samples in the study area. The aim of the interviews was to cross check the primary data collected through survey questionnaires. Besides the cross checking purpose, face to face interview helps the researcher to understand the informants' perspectives on their lives, experiences or situations expressed in their own words. Therefore, in this study, researcher did unstructured interview among many of the FDEPs to get more clear and general picture of the research problem while conducting the questionnaires survey. The researcher being himself a FDEP had the comparative advantage in communicating and understanding the respondent's sentiment, feeling and intensity of the problem. Three incidents shown in the boxes in the chapter five is the outcome of unstructured interview with

the FDEP respondents. The structured face to face interview was taken from persons stated in the table below.

Table -1 : Interview respondents of the Structured Open End Questionnaire

Area	Designated officer/leader	Number
FD	DFO	01
	ACF	01
	Forest Ranger	02
	Beat Officer(Forester)	3
Ethnic leaders	Social leader	03
Total		10

Content Analysis: Different published and unpublished books, journals, articles, government policy papers, rules, regulations, acts and relevant documents, newspaper reports, magazines and internet documents etc has been reviewed for content analysis. Secondary data has been used to supplement the data collected through questionnaires and interviews. Especially different papers on forestry development initiatives inside the Modhupur forest by government, different project concepts on forestry, different gazettes on Modhupur forest, different documents on movements, demonstration, memorandum, complain, seminar, workshops of ethnic associations and organizations has been extensively reviewed under the content analysis.

1.8.4 Brief Overview on the Area of Primary Data Collection

Modhupur forest with the area 45, 565.18 acres spread over 18 Mouza¹. Across the forest 63 villages lie in a scattered way where 4,125 Garo family live with occupying a total of

¹ Unit of surface land map which is prepared during land survey and it is done as a part of land record management

8,171.74 acres of claimed forest land². This forest also contain a national park of 20,83.23 acres, 10,647 acres of rubber plantation area, 305.4 acres of BAF's firing zone and some other plantation area like woodlot plantation, buffer zone plantation, agroforestry plantation under different forestry development projects. Inside the forest within the purview of FDEP villages, there are one forest circle office where a first class gazetted officer, called ACF is in charge, two range offices and six Beat offices are located for the conservation and management of the forest. In every Beat Office, there are a Beat officer who is assisted by a few number of forest guards. These Beat Offices are supervised by range officer. The overall responsibility of management and conservation of this forest lies with the Tangail forest division where DFO is the office chief.

1.8.5 Research Strategy

This study is mainly intended to identify the factors of interaction between FD and FDEP in the forest conservation process in Modhupur Sal forest. It is also intended to see how the identified factors affect the forest conservation process. Therefore, the study is mainly based on exploratory and descriptive nature of research work.

Against the nature of this work, the researcher has divided the study area into two categories to collect the primary data through questionnaires survey. The first category is the data from the respondents who inhabit in the forest adjacent villages and the second category is the respondents who inhabit in the forest surrounded villages. The following ten villages³ shown in the table at next page were taken for primary data collection by questionnaires survey as well as unstructured interview.

² How much claimed forest land is occupied by FDEP is not available with FD. This data source is writ petition no 1834/2010, applied to high court division jointly by BELA, Jouenshahi Adivashi Unnayan Parishad, and Jatiya Adhibasi Parishad of which first one is national NGO working for environment up gradation and last two is FDEP's association based in Modhupur and national ethnic organization based in Rajshahi respectively)

³ Those ten villages all are situated inside the Modhupur National Park and inhabited by Garo ethnic people.

Table - 2: List of the names of villages for primary data collection

Name of Forest Adjacent 5 villages	Name of Forest Surrounded 5 villages
Jalabada	Gaira
Sadupara	Rajbari
Beduria	Magontinagar
Kakraguni and Joynagacha	Getchua and Beribaid

The data collected from two categorized area would have provide the ground for comparison of the problem. It can be found that the factors for interactions whether vary with these two different locations.

1.8.6 Sampling and Data Analysis

A total of 80 respondents have been surveyed among the respondents from the study area where 8 from each of the 10 villages of which 5 are from forest surrounded and rest 5 are from forest adjacent villages. The researcher enters into the villages without any prior intimation to the respondents. The peoples who came across to the researcher during walking across the villages were taken for survey. Peoples in the villages sitting in the tea stall, working in the premise of homestead were the target respondent during the survey.

1.8.7 Reliability and Cross Validation of Data

The primary data for this study has been collected from the respondents that consist of forest officials, ethnic leaders and the mass Garo people living inside the Modhupur Sal forest. Caswell and Miller (2000 cited in Caswell 2009, p.1910) opines that validity has been one of the important strengths of qualitative research. Validity refers to trustworthiness of data which is subject to the measurement of the phenomenon, research problem. To confirm validity and reliability of the collected data, data collected from one method has used to cross check with data gathered from another method. However, to enhance the trustworthiness of data, secondary documents have been also used as a source of evidence to cross check the collected data.

1.9 Structure of the Thesis

This study has been rounded up within the following six chapters.

Chapter One: Introductory Discussion- It gives an overview of the discussion that deals with background, research problem, significance of the study, research questions, research objectives, scope of the study, limitations of the study, research methodology and structure of the thesis.

Chapter Two: Understanding Ethnicity Issue and Forest Conservation Process- It makes an overview on definition of ethnicity, world wide demography of ethnic people and the importance of ethnic people in the present world context. This chapter has also spared a few pages for the brief account of forestry management and forest conservation objectives in Bangladesh.

Chapter Three: Theoretical and Analytical Framework- This chapter is dedicated for the presentation of review of existing literature and relationship between dependent and independent variables. A brief discussion on relevant theories and concepts has been also presented in this part. The explanation of analytical framework which is formulated basing on some theories and concepts has given in this chapter.

Chapter Four: : The Role of Forest Dwelling Ethnic People – In this chapter the different role of FDEP which pose either the ground for conflict or a platform for participation in the forest conservation process between FD and FDEP has been elaborated. The role of the FDEP, one of the independent variables of the study has been discussed elaborately under the indicators like FDEP's Perception on FD's forest conservation process, slash and burn cultivation and participation in forestry development programs, eco-park project and CFW.

Chapter Five: The Role of Forest Department - The second independent variable of this study is the role of FD in the forest conservation process with respect to FDEP. In this chapter the role of FD has been discussed under the indicators like the Denial of land rights, Motivational and awareness activities, Application of Forest law, Eviction threat, Ownership uncertainty of properties attached to land

Chapter Six: Analysis and Conclusion - This chapter has focused on the major findings of the study. It also establishes a link between primary data and information drawn from all sources to address the prime research objective in the study. In this connection it also discusses applicability of relevant theories and concepts in explaining the findings of the study. The implication of the study for further research has been also briefed in this chapter.

Chapter Two: Understanding Ethnicity Issue and Forest Conservation

2.1 Introduction:

In this chapter a brief discussion has been done on defining ethnicity, worldwide demographic condition of ethnic peoples and the importance of the ethnic people in the present world scenario. This chapter also deals with an overview discussions on forest management and conservation objectives in Bangladesh.

2.2 Definition of Ethnicity

“At around the time of the Second World War, the anthropological term tribe was felt to have been discredited, signaling the discipline’s problematic connections to the colonial project. The term tribe was then replaced by **the term ethnic group, understood as constituting a discrete cultural and social entity”** (Bleie 2005, p. 5). This ethnic people also known as indigenous people, tribal, aboriginal or national minorities, or first peoples with the variation of place and time around the world. According to the World Bank policy on ethnic people which referred as Indigenous Peoples (IP), is used in a generic sense to refer to a distinct, vulnerable, social, and cultural group possessing the following characteristics in varying degrees:

- a) Self-identification as members of a distinct indigenous cultural group and recognition of this identity by others.
- b) Collective attachment to geographically distinct habitats or ancestral territories in the project area and to the natural resources in these habitats and territories.
- c) Customary cultural, economic, social or political institutions those are separate from those of the dominant society and culture.
- d) An indigenous language, often different from the official language of the country or region (WB operational directive, 1991)

In short ethnic people refers to the people of a independent country whose social, cultural and way of life style distinguish them form main stream people of the country and whose status is

regulated wholly or partially by their own customs or traditions or by special laws or regulation.

2.3 Worldwide Demography of Ethnic People⁴ -

The total ethnic population in the globe is approximately 300 million which composed of about **5,000 distinct ethnic cultures worldwide**, living in every climate from the Arctic Circle to the tropical rain forests (Sobrevila 2008, p. 3). These people make up only 4 percent of the world's population but represent 95 percent of the world's cultural diversity. These people live in about 75 of the world's 184 countries and are inhabitants of practically each main biome of the earth. Remarkable number of ethnic communities are found in India, Brazil, Indonesia, USA , Papua New Gini and Tanzania. In those countries the numbers of different ethnic groups are 416, 250, 365, 335, 253, and 143 respectively. But highest number of ethnic population spread within Mexico and China (12.7 million and 105 million respectively while the diversity of ethnic groups is relatively low 62 and 55).

In Bangladesh the total population of ethnic communities is 2,500,000 which is composed of 45 different ethnic groups. The major concentration of the population of ethnic peoples in Bangladesh is found in CHT, greater Rajshahi, Rangpur, Syhlet and Mymensing districts.

2.4 Importance of the Ethnic People

“The Indians feel...but they cannot help. They are too small in culture. They are too small in the essence of the world. Their help is their being and culture. Combined they are a minority. In combination they are faith—a faith of earth. Let them push their being, their earth and their love of themselves to help those who took their earth and their being”

Anonymous

Source: Ricardo Humano, The New Book,
SOAR Ediciones, Cusco, Peru, 2000, p.23 cited in
Sobrevila 2008, p. 2

⁴ All demographic data presented under this head is taken from the World Bank report prepared by Claudia Sobrevila, 2008:page 3-5

The world wide 5,000 distinct ethnic cultures is the unique beauty of the earth. Moreover, their indigenous knowledge on nature, plants and forest conservation can contribute a lot for conserving bio-diversity and sustainable development. These groups do represent 95 percent of the global cultural diversity and are replete with traditions, cultures, and knowledge of their environments, plants, medicine, astronomy, inner science, and land and soil management. In many ways they are considered poor, but they are also viewed as scientists in their own ways. The richness that they contribute is an invaluable asset for building peaceful, harmonious, wise, and balanced societies (Sobrevila 2008, p.3).

Many or most of the world's major centers of biodiversity coincide with areas occupied or controlled by indigenous/ethnic peoples. Traditional indigenous territories encompass up to 22 percent of the world's land surface and they coincide with areas that hold 80 percent of the planet's biodiversity. Also, the greatest diversity of indigenous groups coincides with the world's largest tropical forest wilderness areas in the Americas (including Amazon), Africa, and Asia, and 11 percent of world forest lands are legally owned by indigenous peoples and communities. This convergence of biodiversity- significant areas and indigenous territories presents an enormous opportunity to expand efforts to conserve biodiversity beyond parks, which tend to benefit from most of the funding for biodiversity conservation

In most cases these ethnic groups are poorer and marginal section of the countries across the world. Where the population of certain ethnic group is low, they tend to face greater threats because they represent true minority groups. Moreover, many ethnic groups are considered to be among the poorest population segments in their countries especially in Africa and Asia and in some parts of Bolivia, Peru, Mexico, and Guatemala.

In Bangladesh, 45 ethnic groups with 2500,000 populations is also under threat in respect of maintaining their distinct cultural and traditional way of life. Different development initiatives by Government of Bangladesh (GOB) within the periphery of their living area, pressure from mainstream population for land inside the ethnic areas etc are the major problem for these ethnic communities in Bangladesh.

2.5 Understanding the Forest Conservation Process

Forest is a very important renewable resource for a country. It is the important source of timber, pulp, pole, fuel wood, food, medicine, wild life and biodiversity base. It plays unparalleled duty of producing oxygen, reducing the intensity of the cyclones and tidal surges in the coastal areas, influencing the rainfall, and sustained water yield in the river systems. Besides these, forest is also used for hunting and nature based tourism. Considering all these, management of forest is one of the prime concerns of a state. The way the management of forest is done by a GOB is referred as forest conservation process in this study.

2.5.1 Brief Account of Earlier Forest Management

In this sub-continent, forestry management under the control of state was started during British rule by the appointment of Sir D. Brandis as the Inspector General of Forest in 1865. A separate forest department was created for Bengal in 1876. Chittagong Forest Division was the first division created in Bangladesh by British rulers in 1872. In those days, forests were managed primarily for revenue collection under the control of Revenue Department. Only valuable trees were extracted from the forest to get more revenue. Keeping in mind the revenue generation and extraction from of forest, a forest management plan or work plan was used to be prepared for each forest division. This management plan guided the forest personnel to manage forest or to perform day to day work in the forest which was basically patrolling and policing within the forest. This plan also spelt out where to cut trees, how much to cut and what to plant to cover up the cleared up forest etc on annual basis. This notion of forest management carried out till the late 1970s when Eighth World Forestry Congress in Jakarta, Indonesia held in 1978 with the theme ‘Forests for People’ (Chowdhury 2004, p.47).

2.5.2 Present Forest Management

Now a day, the forest conservation process has been shifted from its traditional approach that is – protecting the forest through policing and enforcement activities – to people centric participatory approach. The philosophy of present forest management is almost totally different from the earlier one. In Bangladesh, according to the Forestry Master Plan, 1993 present forest management objectives are not only to produce timber only but also to provide clean air, clean water, healthy habitat for wildlife and to act as a major source of biodiversity

and nature-based tourism. The present philosophy of forest management is to involve people in the management and create an environment so that people can feel that they have also some stakes on trees growing on the forestland and to improve living standard of the people residing in the vicinity of the forests. As per Forest Policy, 1994 and Forestry Master Plan, 1993 the present forest management in Bangladesh is aimed to accomplish the following objectives-

1. Enhancing environment preservation and conservation
2. Introducing rational forest land use
3. Increasing public participation and benefit from the forest
4. Creating forest on marginal and private lands
5. Institutional strengthening
6. Improving management practices
7. Improving efficient resources utilization

In this study forest management philosophy which is to involve people in the management and create an environment so that people can feel that they have also some stakes on trees growing on the forestland and to improve living standard of the people residing in the vicinity of the forests; and the implementation procedures of the objectives of forest management has taken for discussion as forest conservation process. The way this forest management philosophy including the management objectives are being attempted to be achieved within the Modhupur Sal forest is referred in this study as forest conservation process.

2.6 Conclusion

Cultural diversity is the beauty of world. The major contribution to the cultural diversity of the world has done by these thousands of ethnic communities all over the world. The importance of the ethnic communities in the world has been depicted in this chapter as the study's major part is dealt with Garo ethnic people's status and role inside the Modhupur forest. The present and earlier forest management perspective has also been briefly discussed in this regard here.

Chapter Three: Theoretical and Analytical Framework

3.1 Introduction

This chapter is dedicated for the presentation of review of existing literature, relationship between dependent and independent variables. An analytical framework has been formulated based on some theories and concepts in this chapter for explanation and analysis of variables used in the study. Operational definitions of variables are also given here.

3.2 Review of Relevant Literature

In the process of examining the books, articles, reports and research work done on the Modhupur Sal forest as well as its inhabitants Garo ethnic minorities, very little have been found on the topic. Moreover, they are not comprehensive with respect to conservation of forest and forest dwelling ethnic people. Most of them are rather either done for news paper repotting or for paper presentation on different seminars on forests, human rights and minorities issue. On the environment and human rights issue inside the forest, several compilations has been published by– Society for Environment and Human Development (SEHD), an NGO based in Dhaka. In those publications several articles and short run research papers are dedicated on Modhupur Sal forest. Those Publications are Edited by Philip Gain, an NGO and human right activist; and those are (I) *Bangladesh Environment: Facing the 21st Century*, (II) *Critiques of the Policies and Practices: The Case of Forest, Ethnic Communities and Tea Workers of Bangladesh*, (III) *The Last Forest of Bangladesh* (IV) *Bangladesh Land Forest and Forest People* and (V) *Bon, Bonbinas oy Bonobasir Jibon Songram*.

In those compilations the research work, papers and articles which's are dedicated to Modhupr Sal forest basically focused on the role of government specially forest protecting agency (FD) and multinational financing organizations like - Asian Development Bank (ADB), International Finance Agencies and World bank (WB) - in destroying the forest and the consequences of deforestation among the forest dependent people . One of the articles in those compilations notes that plantation of exotics – rubber, acacia and eucalyptus in particular – is one major factor that has forever changed the Modhupur Sal forest, with severe

consequence for the ethnic communities – Garos and Koch (indigenous communities) who have lived in the forest for centuries. With loan money from the ADB and the WB in particular, the government has actually established plantations of alien species all over the public forestland (Gain 1998, p. 25).

Alber Mankin, a Human Right activist and free lance researcher has tried in his publication – "*The Rights of Adivasis on Land and Forest*" - to show the tussles between Forest Department of Bangladesh government and the forest dwelling Garos on different development initiatives by Government. It is found in his writings that with the forestry master plan approved by the government in 1993 and the introduction of Forest Act 2000, the forest lands ownership and utilization issues have entered into a new but a critical phase. The government from its perspective demanded that all forestlands are government lands under the control of FD rejecting the traditional rights of over 25,000 forest dwelling people who are living at Modhupur Sal forest for a long time as attested by the records of the Cadastral Survey (CS) started in 1918. The CS is the legal record of land holding by some Garos living in Modhupur Sal forest. This demand of the government was contested by the Garos living in forest areas for long period. As it says more in the like – "The GOB has undertaken an ambitious project- Modhupur National Park Development Project with a view to conserve forest and bio-diversity. The adivasis and Bengalis living in this area has felt a direct threat to their land holding pattern with the processes of confiscation, livelihood base destruction, blocking century old roads and finally ending at indirect eviction. The Adivasi people say that they were not taken into consideration while planning for the Modhupur National Park Development Project. The Adivasi people think that this is a forced occupation of lands and resources, which they are using for centuries" (Mankhin 2004, p. 11).

Mankhin also dealt with the mindset of the government officials who are involved in protecting the forest. His findings carries that the forest department personnel often maintain that the forest dwellers are ‘encroachers’ and ‘squatters’ – they have no land papers/documents and those lands belong to FD. The major direct cause of deforestation is land clearances for agriculture, principally shifting cultivation. The ethnic forest dwellers, on the other hand, contest government position and they claim that forest is their ancestral lands and they have rights over the forest lands on which they are living for centuries. However, many forest dwelling ethnic people do have valid documents over the land they live on. The

ethnic people in general believe that the development programs of government on forest just bring rather more destruction to the forest and jeopardize their livelihood bases.

In his PhD dissertation - ``*People, Forests and Tenure: the process of Land and Tree Tenure Change among the Garo of Madhupur Garh Forest*'' which was done in 1992, Kibriaul Khaleque has shown how this Garo ethnic people enjoyed and perceived the forest, forest land inside the forest. This work is focused on the Garo people's response to the changing scenario of the forest and forest resources. In this work his findings was the Garos inside the forest was denied with their traditional rights over forest and forest resources including land tenancy right in course of forest management in the Modhupur forest.

Satter (Sattar 2006) in his work named – ‘*Struggle for Survival: A Study on the Legal Status of the Mandi People’s Land Rights in Modhupur Forest Area*’ has examined the tenancy right issue of Garos inside the forest from the perspective of international human right instruments. He discussed this issue with international human right convention, covenant and treaties in which Bangladesh is the state party. His findings in the study is gross human right violation and non cognizance of privileges for indigenous and ethnic minority people articulated in different international treaties, covenants and conventions as well as in prevailing domestic laws, policies and Constitution.

After reviewing the available literature on the problem of Modhupur Sal forest and forest people, it seems that there lies rather an uneasy relationship between FD and FDEP inside the forest. But those works significantly failed to make a comprehensive list of all the factors that contribute in shaping the interaction patterns between FD and FDEP. Therefore, this study has attempted to indentify the factors that shape the interaction patterns and how they affect the forest conservation process inside the Modhupur Sal forest.

3.3 Relevant Theories and Concepts for Data Analysis

In the study several theories and concepts has been taken to explain the independent variables as well as the phenomena of the research findings. Relevancy of using the theories has been elaborated in the following.

a) Conflict Theory:

According to conflict theorem of Karl Marx (1971), in all stratified societies there are two major social groups: a ruling class and a subject class. The ruling class derives its power from its ownership and control of the forces of production. The ruling class exploits and oppresses the subject class. As a result there is a basic conflict of interest between the two classes. The various institutions of society such as the legal and political system are instruments of ruling class domination and serve to further its interests.

In the light of this theory the ruling class is obviously the FD with legal coercive power derived from law, rules, regulations and institutions of state. On the other hand the subject class is the forest dwelling Garo ethnic people (FDEP) those who live inside the forest claiming the forest land and forest resources as their customary right. So conflict of interest exists between these two classes. Therefore, it can be assumed that there exists conflict of interests between FD and FDEP inside Modhupur Sal forest and this has impact on shaping the interaction patterns between FD and FDEP in the process of forest conservation process. This will be tested further in this research by examining the reality on the ground in Modhupur Sal forest.

b) Classical and Political Bureaucrats:

In the study two independent variable – the role of FD and the role of forest dwelling ethnic people – has been taken to analyze how these two variables generate the factors for adversarial interaction between FD and Forest dwelling ethnic people in the forest conservation process. To analyze the first variable - the role of FD – Putnam's (Putnam 1975) discussion on classical versus political bureaucrats has been employed.

With the concept of classical and political bureaucrats, Putnam's argued that bureaucrats vary markedly in their orientation to the world of politics and thereby respond accordingly to social and public demands as they discharge their duties in public offices. The orientation to the world of politics by bureaucrats shapes them either to a political bureaucrat or classical bureaucrat. Here, the political bureaucrats are more responsive to citizen's needs than classical bureaucrats do. The classical bureaucrats act on the spirit of serving the national interests or the interests of the state while political bureaucrats act on the spirit of serving the public interest. Therefore, classical bureaucrat has no concern over the pressures coming

from different political institutions, groups and parties. He sticks to only whatever national interest is before him. But, political bureaucrats are more aware of the realities and thereby, they treat the demands and pressures of those institutions, groups and parties as part of public interest even if those are contradicting to each other. He tries to accommodate those in policy reflection by influencing the policy making process. Therefore, he adopts the way of bargaining and compromise technique but at the same time sticks to advocating and even fighting for his own preferred policies.

In this study, the political bureaucrats are considered to be people oriented or problem oriented and classical bureaucrats to be rule oriented. Political bureaucrats are more sympathetic and responsive to people's right than the classical bureaucrats. They maintain a smooth and regular contact with political leaders of both local and national level. They give importance to the problem and not to the rule and thereby, concentrate on the importance of public interest than the classical bureaucrat. Therefore, political bureaucrats understand the local socio-economic and political situation and problems of the local people well than the classical bureaucrats do. So they look into the causes of problem and try to root out the causes of problem with people's active support and participation. As a result, in the process of forest conservation process political bureaucrats are supposed to be responding/ listening to the voice of the forest dwelling ethnic people, are supposed to be trying to accommodating their concerns and thereby getting their trust, cooperation and participation in forest conservation process which ultimately results into less or no adversarial interaction between FD and FDEP in forestry conservation process. But in the case of classical bureaucrat, a opposite scenario prevails which means – more adversarial interactions among FD and FDEP is happened to be found. Therefore, in this study the role of FD has been analyzed from the view point of classical and political bureaucrats.

c) Participatory Forestry Development Approach:

Participatory forestry development is an approach for forestry development which is based on the concept of 'people's participation'. Under this approach people is the prime concern in designing any sort of forestry development initiatives. Therefore, the participation of the people is precondition of this approach to achieve the speculated success in forestry development. Basing on this notion, one prominent forestry development approach is Social forestry (SF). So underpinning of SF is concept of participation. In the study, the concept of SF and 'participation' has been also employed to examine the independent variables.

a) Participation: ‘Participation’ in its simplest meaning is people’s taking part, sharing or acting together. This is people centric and two or more people is needed for ensuring the event of participation. According to the definition of the UN (1975), people’s participation entails three interrelated but distinct processes. First, the involvement of the people in decision making, second, the eliciting of their contribution to development program and finally their participation in sharing the benefits from the development process.

Okley (Okley1988, p. 4) came up with two broad but different interpretations of participation i.e. (a) Participation as means and (b) Participation as an End. As a means participation is seen as the means to achieve some established objective of goal. In this form of participation, the results of the participation in terms of the predetermined targets are important than the act of participation. On the other hand participation as ends sees participation as an end in itself. In this view the emphasis is upon participation as a process in which confidence and solidarity between participating people are built up. As a process, participation is seen as a permanent feature of development and a technique to facilitate people to have a more direct involvement in development.

Norman Uphoff (cited in Chowdhury, 2004, p.17) identified four main kinds of participation, which are distinct and but interrelated. They are as follows:

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

In this study the meaning of participation as means has been applied to analyze the independent variables – that is role of FD and role of forest dwelling ethnic people. In the forest conservation process, the stakeholders are two – (i) FD and (ii) FDEP. Therefore, it is assumed that as a means the objective of the participation in between FD and FDEP is to conserve the forest while as an ends the participation between FD and FDEP in process of forest conservation lessen or remove the adversarial interaction through building confidence and solidarity among them. So, the degree of participative role of both FD and FDEP in

forest conservation process has impact on both the factors lying behind the interaction pattern between FD and FDEP as well as on forest conservation process. Thus in this study, both the role of FD and FDEP has been examined with the eye of participation as means in the process of forest conservation process.

b) Social Forestry: Social Forestry is a concept for forestry development which aim to truly involve individual farmers and whole communities in a participatory process, based on local needs and local management capacity. It is an innovative partnership approach between the outsiders (foresters and other technical experts) and the insiders (local experts- the farmers, and other locally knowledgeable people) working together in a creative synergy. (Chowdhury 2004, p. 44)

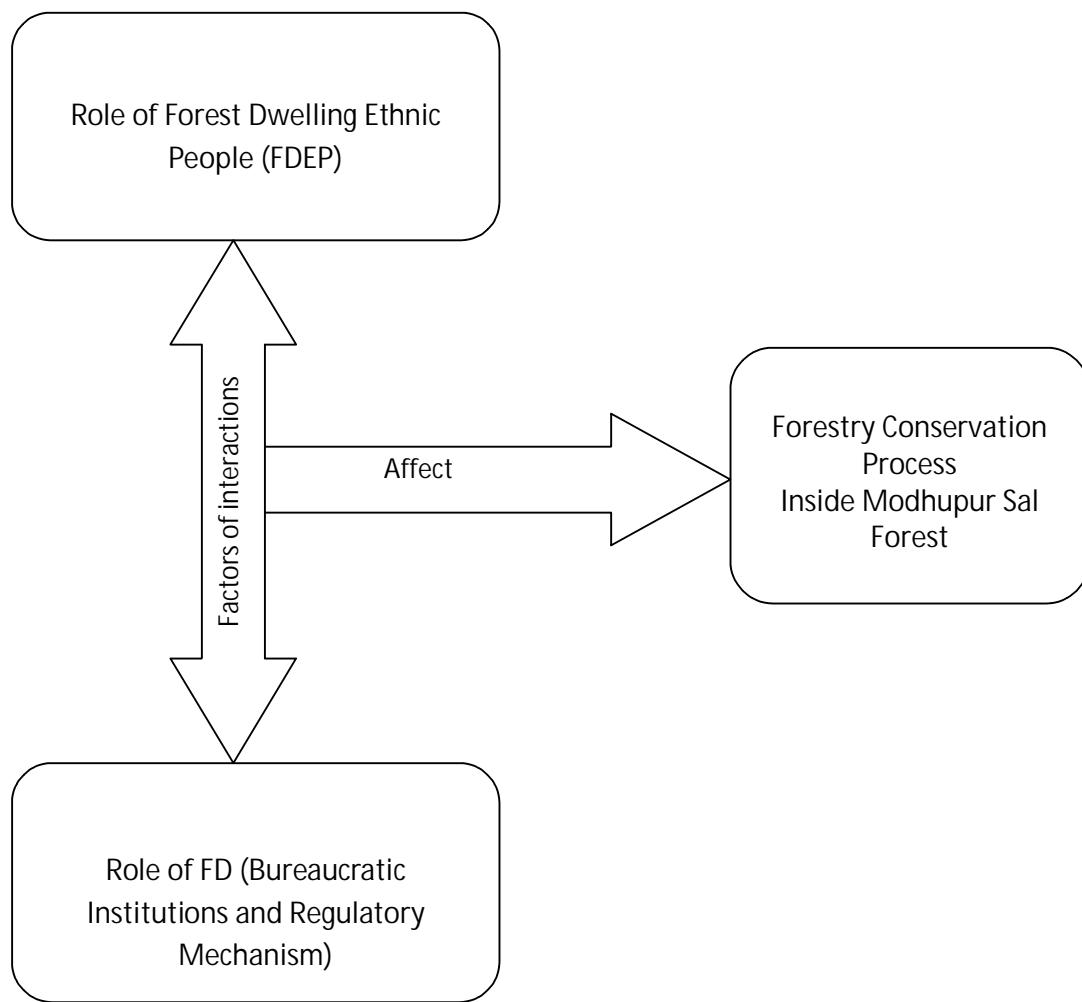
Under SF concept, ecological, economic and social benefits are aimed to be extracted from forestry development which is based on participation of people, particularly rural mass people those are living below the poverty line. Therefore, SF means people- oriented forestry with active involvement of local people of all social groups based on gender, class, caste, ethnicity etc in key planning and decision making, in implementation, in full benefit sharing of tree growing and forest resources management, in the overall context of the farming system and sustainable development and in local monitoring and evaluation of the results. It utilizes an extension dialogue and partnership between developers (outsiders) and rural people at each step of the development cycle that is - analysis, site selection, diagnosis and design, planning, implementation, management, monitoring, evaluation and benefit sharing. (Chowdhury 2004, p.46)

In this study, the concept of SF has been applied to analyze the role of FDEP in the forest conservation process. It is assumed basing on the concept of SF that involvement of FDEP in the different social forestry programs inside the Modhupur Sal forest will be providing the platform for participation between FD and FDEP in forest conservation process. Moreover, this involvement is supposed to bring economic benefit for the participating FDEP which will ultimately affect the interaction pattern between FD and FDEP. So the concept of SF will be used in the study to explain the level of participation of FDEP in forestry conservation process while discharging its role inside the forest.

3.4 Analytical Framework

The analytical framework shown below has been developed to explain how the two independent variables interact in the process of forest conservation and affect the forestry conservation process inside the Modhupur Sal forest. What scenario the framework depicts is – as the conservation process goes on, interactions between the FD and FDEP occur and then a number of factors frame the shape of those interactions which ultimately affects the conservation process.

Diagram -1: Analytical Framework



Two independent variables – the Role of FDEP and the role FD has been used to find the factors of interaction pattern in process of forest conservation. The first independent variable – the role of FDEP has been used in the framework form the perspective of participation and

Social Forestry concept. The participatory role of FDEP in forest conservation has been taken as means in the forestry conservation process. The scope for participatory role in forest conservation has been seen from the perspective of Social Forestry concept. Therefore, the factors of interaction patterns between FD and FDEP will be depending on the extent of participation of FDEP in forest conservation process. This extent of participation is supposed to affect the forest conservation process which is stated in Hypothesis –I, elaborated below as well as in chapter one. The second independent variable - the role of FD is used in the framework from the perspective of classical versus political bureaucratic orientations of the staff and officials of FD. As the interactions between FD and FDEP goes on, the bureaucratic orientations of FD officials and staff contribute to the factors that lie behind interaction patterns between FD and FDEP and it has been stated in hypothesis – II, elaborated below as well as in chapter two. Thus, in this framework the role of FD is analyzed from the perspective of classical versus political orientation of bureaucrats.

Variable Indicator Linkage

Independent Variable	Indicator	OVI
Role of Forest Dwelling Ethnic People (FDEP) (Hypothesis – I: Higher the participative interaction from FDEP in the forest conservation, higher the rate of success in the forestry development initiatives).	Attitudes toward conservation process Slash and burn cultivation Participation in Social forestry Attitudes toward forest Eco-park project CFW project	Attitudes toward conservation process Continuation of slash and burn cultivation Participation rate in woodlot plantation Failure of Eco-park project Implementation of CFW
Role of FD (Bureaucratic Institutions and Regulatory Mechanism) (Hypothesis – II: More the FD officials maintain the classical bureaucratic attitude in discharging their duties, higher the adversarial interactions between FD and FDEPs).	Denial of land rights Motivational and awareness activities Application of Forest law Eviction threat Ownership uncertainty of properties attached to land Threaten to social and developmental life.	Denial of land rights by gazette notification Motivational and awareness activities Forest case status Eviction threat Ownership uncertainty of properties attached to land Threaten to social and developmental life

3.5 Operational Definitions

To identify the factors of interaction patterns between FD and FDEP and how those factors affect the forest conservation process, two independent variables – role of FDEP and Role of FD, has been taken in the study. Together these two independent variables shape the interaction patterns between FD and FDEP which affect the dependent variable – forest conservation process.

3.5.1 Role of FDEP

In this study, the role of FDEP refers to the way FDEP judge the forest conservation processes of FD, occupy land for slash and burn cultivation, participate in different forestry development initiatives, see the forest and its resources.

3.5.2 Role of FD

The role of FD includes the way FD take the land for afforestation, the way FD officials and staffs perceive and treat the FDEP and the way they handle the accused encroacher of claimed forest land in the process of forestry development.

3.5.3 Forest Conservation Process

The forest management philosophy which is to involve people in the management and create an environment so that people can feel that they have also some stakes on trees growing on the forestland and to improve living standard of the people residing in the vicinity of the forests; and the implementation procedures of the objectives of forest management have been taken for discussion as forest conservation process. The way this forest management philosophy including the management objectives are being attempted to be achieved within the Modhupur Sal forest is referred in this study as forest conservation process

3.6 Conclusion

In this chapter a brief overview on the already done work on Modhupur forest and forest dwelling ethnic people, relevant theories, analytical framework and operational definition of used variables has been accounted. Two independent variables – the role of FDEP and the role of FD, conflict theory and concept of participation are the main components of the analytical frame work.

Chapter Four: The Role of Forest Dwelling Garo Ethnic People

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter the different roles of FDEP which pose either the ground for conflict or a platform for participation in the forest conservation process between FD and FDEP has been elaborated. The role of the FDEP is the first independent variable in this study and this role has been discussed under the indicators like FDEP's Perception on FD's forest conservation process, slash and burn cultivation and participation in forestry development programs, eco-park project and CFW.

4.2 FDEP's Perception on FD's forest Conservation Process

To ascertain the forest dwelling Garo people's perception on FD's forest conservation process some statements were presented in front of the respondents asking whether they agree with those statements or not. The findings against those statements are shown in the table below-

Table -3: Status of Respondent's Perception on FD's forest Conservation, N=80

Statement	Respondents percentage on agreeing or non-agreeing with the statements			
	Strongly agree (%)	Agree (%)	Don't Agree (%)	No comment (%)
FD's conservation process is a harassment for their day to day life	23.8	73.8	2.5	Nil
FD treats forest dwelling Garo people as forest encroacher and illegal inhabitant	88.8	10	1.3	Nil
FD's presence is a threat for displacement of Garo people	21.3	72.5	6.3	Nil
FD is changing to be friendly and cooperative toward forest dwelling ethnic	Nil	43.8	53.8	2.5

From the table above, it is found around 97 percent (23.8+73.8) respondents perceive the FD's roles in forest conservation process in Modhupur forest as the harassment to their day to day life which is significant issue for the present forest management philosophy based on participation and benefit sharing from forest by forest dependent local poor people. The reasons of such perception on FD's conservation process lie with the outcome of second statement in the table. In response to the second statement 99 percent (88.8+10) respondents responded to it (which reads - FD treats forest dwelling Garo people as forest encroacher and illegal inhabitant) in strong affirmative tone. Moreover, while interviewing the FD officials, every one of them also stressed on the point that FDEPs do not have any legal documents against the lands where they are living on or occupying for cultivations; and thereby, all those lands are forest land. Thus, according to the legal framework of FD in forest conservation process, FDEPs inside the Modhupur forest is illegal inhabitant and encroacher. This parameter of FD officials dictates them while they discharge their duties in the villages of FDEPs.

4.3 Slash and Burn Cultivation

“ The Mandi peoples’ were allowed by the Zamindar’s to live on and cultivate land within the forest in return for rentCultivators were allowed to clear undergrowth and bushes for cultivation but had to obtain permission before felling valuable tree species. The maximum period of cultivation for food crops was set at three years, after which the fields were kept fallow for reforestation “(Satter 2006, p. 40). Now, the scenario of slash and burn cultivation inside the Modhupur forest is completely different from that of the Zaminder’s period. According to the survey, 79 respondents which is 98 percent of the sample size of this study said that it’s long time since they stopped the practice of slash and burn cultivation. Among these respondents, 17 respondents opined that about five to ten years ago, to some extent, they used to engage in clearing the bush lands nearby their houses while rest of the respondent said that this practice has stopped for more than two generations.

The true sense of slash and burn cultivation had been stopped since 1950s when government undertook the control of Modhupur forest from Zaminder under the SA & T Act, 1950. After the immediate introduction of government control over the forest, this slash and burn cultivation had been consistently resisted by forest officials. As a result it stopped but deforestation geared up at higher rate than ever before as some of corrupt FD officials then

involved in trafficking thousands and thousands of valuable century old trees from the forest. As a result the virginity of the forest including its density decreased over the second half of 20th century which ultimately turned the deep forest into mere bush land or just the treeless fallow land. The massive destruction of the forest has happened in the periphery of forest as the trees were used as easy source of fuel for brick fields closed to the forest. Upon this backdrop of forest destruction, a few many forest dwelling Garo people cleared the bush land which they leased out to the outsider businessmen for pineapple or banana cultivation during early 1990s. Besides this, many people used to act as labor for carrying the logs for brickfield. In the meantime, an astonishing initiative – that is clearing the natural forest for wood plantation - was taken by FD under the ADB financed Thana Afforestation and Nursery Development Project (TANDP) which began in 1989 and was completed in 1995. One of aims of this project with estimated cost of US\$48 million out of which 40.09 million were loan money from ADB, was to establish woodlot plantation on 1600 hectares degraded, unencroached public forest land areas in Gazipur, Tangail, Sherpur, Comilla, Mymensingh, greater Dinajpur and Rajshahi districts. Under this project a number of Garo people worked for FD as day laborers in clearing forest, rearing nursery, tree planting and etc. Later on these people who worked as day laborers became scapegoats for FD officials for neutralizing the pressures that has emerged out of deforestation and these Garo people faced number of forest cases as their details were handy and available with FD staff.

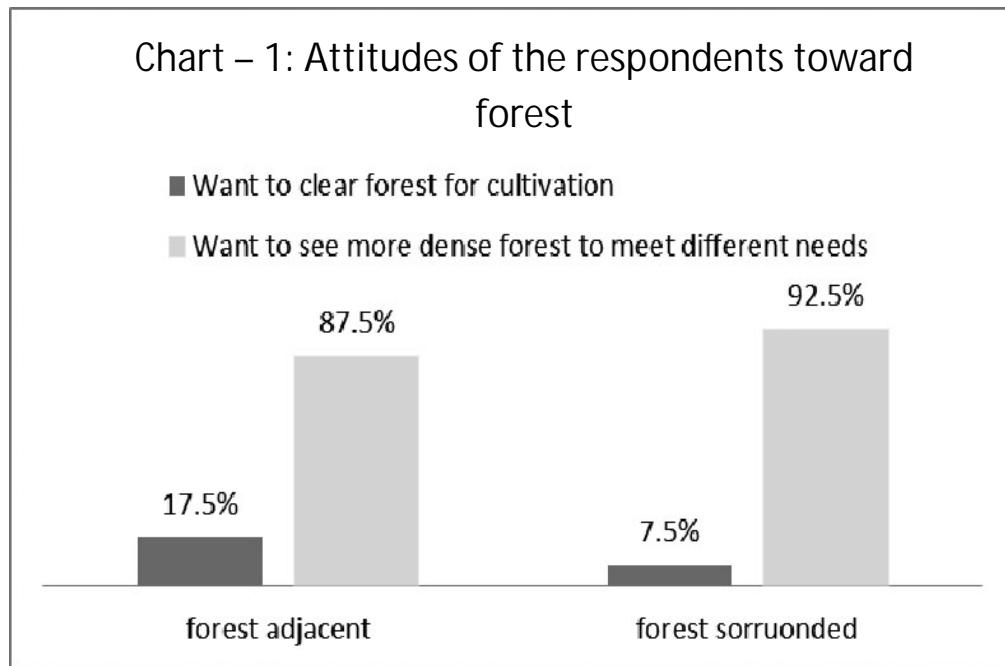
4.4 Participation in Forestry Development

Since the taking over the control of Modhupur forest in 1950 government had been taking number of forestry development initiatives inside the forest. But those initiatives repeatedly failed to bring any positive change inside the forest. More over those initiatives were rather imposing in nature without taking into consideration of reality of the target area, like people inside the forest, their views toward the forest, their capability to contribute to forest conservation, their attachment to the forest culturally and economically and so on. Therefore, supportive participation and cooperation from the forest dwelling people could not be seen but resistance from them came out. In this study, respondent were asked to share their views towards forest, ways of conserving forest and their level of participation in recent forestry development initiatives.

4.4.1. Attitudes towards the Forest

From the chart below which is derived from survey findings, it is seen that around 90 percent respondents from irrespective of forest surrounded or forest adjacent villages want to see the existing forest to be more dense and covered with trees. The interview outcomes with the FD officials also substantiate this data shown in the chart. According to FD officials, FDEPs do not plunder the forest but they extract many items from the forest for their household purposes. They also hold the view that in some areas of FDEP's villages, a few number of FDEP is engaged in clearing forest for new land till now.

The affinity of the forest dwelling Garo people is based on love and care for the forest. Traditionally, the Garos like to live inside the forest. They consider themselves as the children of forest. Many of their social and cultural practice are based on forest items.



They used to cook in bamboo holes; they used to take meals on leaves of *Ajuli* (Dillenia pentagyna) especially on festival occasions. Special kind of leaves called *Pasim* is used when they cook their favorite menu pork. Moreover number of vegetables like *Adurak*, *serenki*, *dambong*, *micheng*, *alot* and etc.; number of fruits like *damon*, *sokmotti*, *suri*, *ambulttong* and so on; number of medicinal items, number of potatoes - are forest grown item to which every

forest and non forest dweller Garos are profoundly pond of. Unfortunately, all those items are under threat of extinction as natural forest decreases. That's why this people want to see more dense forest in the area as it would support their traditional livelihoods.

4.4.2 Views on Conservation of Forest (N=80)

While asked to respond on the any of the two option of conserving the forest in best way, the respondents answered in the following manner shown in the table below-

Table -4: Views on way of conserving forest by respondents, N=80

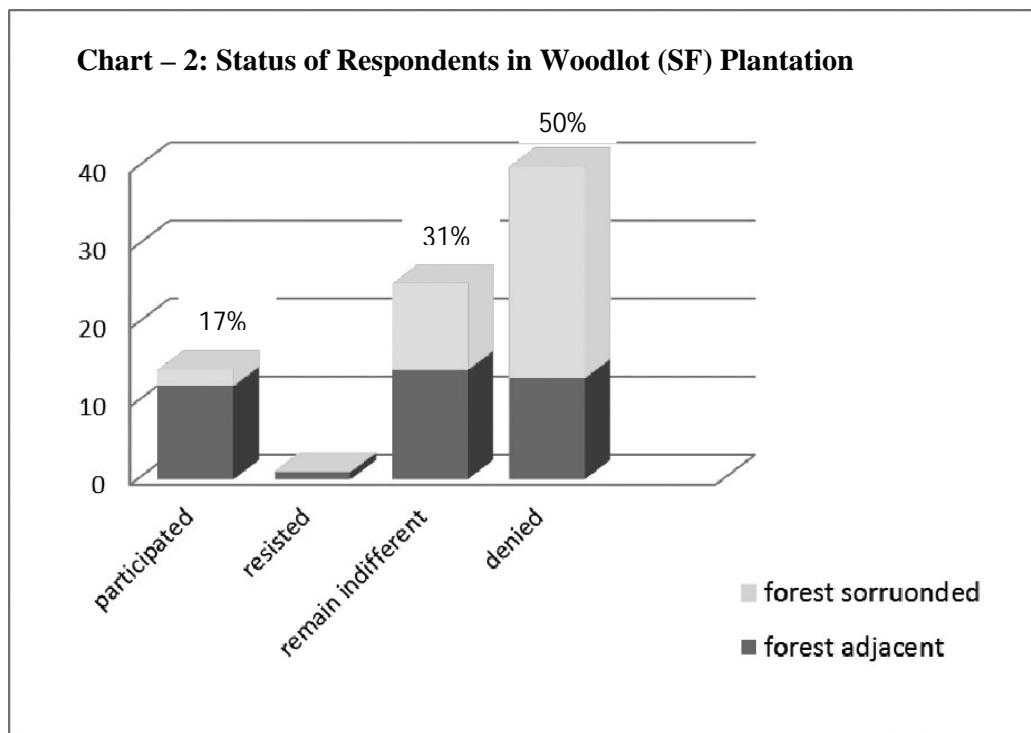
Views on Conservation process	Location of the Respondent		Total	Percentage
	Forest surrounded	Forest adjacent		
Trust based participation among FD & forest people with ownership sharing	37	39	76	95%
Other ways like strict implementation of Forest act and tight patrolling	3	1	4	5%
Total	40	40	80	100%

In the table above shows that 95 percent of the respondents think that trust based participation among FD and FDEP can be the best way of conserving the forest. Only 5 percent opined that strict implementation of forest law and tight patrolling can be the best way of forest conservation in Modhupur forest.

While talking to the respondents, the researcher was told that FD staffs perform from obligations of their service. They do not own the forest but their service. So what they do is perform as minimum as to merely to protect their jobs. But the forest dwelling people own the forest; care the forest, since forest is intertwined as their part of life and existence. In this issue of forest, FD officials also opined that without the co-operation and support of the forest dwelling people, the forest cannot be protected.

4.4.3 Woodlot Plantation

Woodlot plantation under the Social Forestry (SF) program started in the Modhupur forest area during early 1990s under the TANDP. The scheme of this project is known as woodlot plantation. The third phase of the scheme is now going on covering 3,415.08 acres in this area. From the very beginning, perception on this scheme was very vague and unclear among many of the forest dwelling people. When asked to respond something about Social Forestry program only one could answer properly while 25 respondents attempted to respond and rest 53 (N=80) could not say anything about it. On the other hand, the participation scenario of the respondents in the social forestry is also frustrating as shown in the chart below.



Several factors work behind this frustrating scenario. First of all, at the very initial phase of this scheme, this people purposively avoided taking part as beneficiaries in the project. Many of them considered this scheme as FD's trick is to grab their land in the long run. Many of them anticipated false forest cases to be involved in this scheme. But still, some of them took part and gained nothing at end of the maturity of the scheme. FD did not harvest the trees and share the benefits according to stipulated agreement. FD delayed and as delays went on trees

were stolen. But in this phase, since beneficiaries were allowed to grow crops on the unutilized parts of the woodlot blocks, they benefited by growing pineapple from this first phase of the scheme. As a result more people got interested to take part in second phase of this scheme. Subsequently in the third phase, influential outsiders (non-Garos) are trying to become beneficiaries in this scheme with ultimate target of cultivating banana or pineapple in the name of afforestation. As a result, local forest dwelling ethnic people are being denied in this scheme or they don't get interest to take part in this scheme.

Since the external people are business oriented as well as influential, they don't let the woodlot to become dense with trees so that the shadow of trees does not hamper the growth of bananas or pineapples. Therefore, they purposively trim the trees in a manner that they can cultivate inside the woodlot block through out the scheme duration. But scenario could be different, if only the local people were selected for this scheme and outsiders were barred from investing in gardening inside the woodlot blocks. Thus, this scheme can be used as platform for participation between FD and FDEP in forest conservation process and thereby use it as a strong platform for participation in forest conservation with an easy and trustworthy interaction between them.

3.4.4 Eco-park

In the year 2000, government initiated a project called Modhupur National Park Development Project locally known as Eco-park. This project area covered a total of 20,837.23 acres of forest land of which 3000 acres were supposed to be encircled by 61,000 feet long brick wall. Major objectives of the project were as follows –

1. Expansion and development of existing facilities of Modhupur National Park
2. Creation of recreational facilities
3. Afforestation of degraded Sal forest
4. Afforestation upon possible fallow land
5. Improvement and extension of existing wildlife breeding and
6. Increased opportunities for eco-tourism, education and research.

In this study, every respondent opined that he/she actively took part in the protest movement against the said project. Consequently, the implementation of the project faced tremendous

resistance from the FDEP at the very beginning. Ultimately, the whole affair culminated to a point of firing into a protest rally of Garo people by FD guards and police where one died and another protester was paralyzed permanently. Only then the project was finally abandoned by the government.

The project was initiated out of top down approach. It did not take into consideration the views of forest dwelling people. Therefore, as a part of project component, when initiative to build brick wall was taken, people found that interconnecting pathways among the villages are going to be shut down permanently. They also felt that recreational infrastructures like watch tower, picnic spots, lake, etc. would create disturbance to their privacy. It would ultimately jeopardize their social and cultural life. Therefore, participation including support and cooperation from FDEPs is necessary in any initiatives in Modhupur Forest to be successful in the conservation process of forestry sector.

3.4.5 Community Forest Worker (CFW)

Under the very newly introduced forestry development project called “*Revegetation of Modhupur Forest through Rehabilitation of Forest Dependant Local and Ethnic Communities*” the CFW are engaged in forest protection. This is a project focused on motivation and training with the target of afforestation and rehabilitation of forest dependent people. While interviewing the DFO, Tangail it has been found that the design of the project was done with the participation of a number of local ethnic leaders as well as local political leaders. Therefore, the level of acceptance of the project by local people is comparatively higher than any other project initiated earlier in the area. Under this project 700 local Bengali and ethnic Garos are engaged in forest protection and number of motivational trainings are going on. This project is running since 2010 and supposed to be extended till 2015 from its first phase of 2010 to 2012 due to its positive impact on forest.

Many of the FDEP’s perception on the role of FD is also changing positively due to this scheme. In the Table – 3, it is shown that around 44% respondent agreed that FD is changing to be friendly and cooperative toward forest dwelling ethnic. Respondents also opined that this change in the perception of FDEPs toward FD is the outcome of this project. Frequent interaction through awareness campaigns, arrangement of trainings, assistance for settling down the forest cases, financial help for rearing domestic animals etc are supposed to be done

under this scheme. Therefore, as these activities by FD go on, many of the beneficiaries of the scheme feel the FD officials to be positive toward them.

4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter the role of FDEP has been discussed basing on the data collected through questionnaires survey, interview and content analysis. The treatment of FDEPs as illegal inhabitant by FD, different forestry development initiatives which were rather top down in nature and non inclusiveness of the views of FDEPs are the critical issue for ensuring participatory forestry development among the FDEP and FD in the process of forest conservation.

Chapter Five: Role of Forest Department

5.1 Introduction

The second independent variable of this study is the role of FD in the forest conservation process with respect to FDEP. In this chapter the role of FD has been discussed under the indicators like the Denial of land right, Motivational and awareness activities, Application of Forest law, Eviction threat, Ownership uncertainty of properties attached to land

5.2 Denial of Land Rights Vs Land Occupation

Land is the one of the major component of means of production. Without this, two basic human needs that are food and shelter cannot be ensured. For the ethnic Garo people, land is an issue of survival. The land refers to the place where they live, form villages and grow up with the environment that is conducive to keep their ethnic identity intact. Otherwise the people will be losing their identity with the overwhelming dominancy of mainstream's traits and cultures. So, for this ethnic people, 'land for survival' carry the sense that it will let them to flourish with their distinctive ethnic traits and features.

Upon this backdrop, the land on where FDEPs are residing and cultivating are claimed to be forest land inside the Modhupur Sal forest. Therefore, the occupied land of FDEP inside the forest for both homestead and agricultural cultivation is an issue in the conservation process of the forest. The role of FDEP in occupying the claimed forest land for homestead and cultivation is directly contradicting with the role of FD in the process of forest conservation. Here, FD is supposed to take control over the occupied land for afforestation according to prevailing forest law while FDEP's argument against the FD's action is violation of human right. So, both are in a position of playing the role of struggle to keep the occupation of land in their favor. As a result a conflict of interest has been found between FD and FDEP inside the Modhupur Sal forest which has contributed in shaping the interaction rather adversarial among them.

Both ethnic leaders and a few of the forest officials agreed that tenancy rights over land which is necessary for their subsistence means should be given to avoid the long standing conflict between FD and the forest dwelling Garo people.

5.2.1 Homesteads on the Claimed Forest Land

According to survey findings of the study, 100 percent of the respondent's homestead is situated in the forest land claimed by FD regardless of forest surrounded and forest adjacent villages. In fact, the total 10 villages that were surveyed are claimed forest land by FD. As a result of this scenario, FD treats the FDEPs as illegal inhabitants inside the forest. However, there is a historical background to this scenario which most of the FD officials ignore and did not take into cognizance from very beginning of FD operations inside the Modhupur forest.

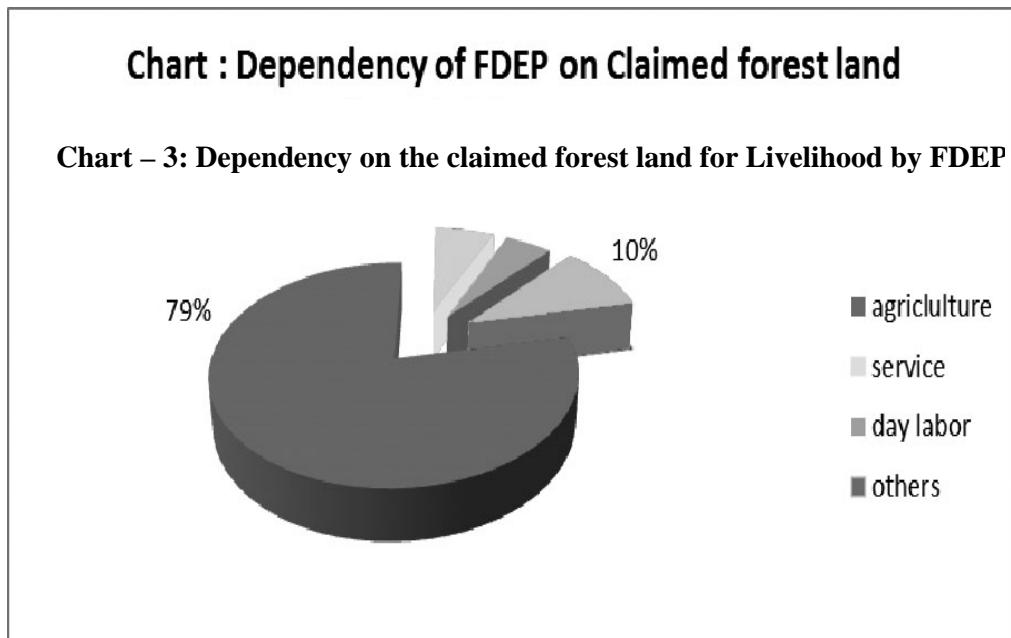
The Garo ethnic people are living inside the Modhupur Sal forest since Aryan civilization (Satter 2006, p.27). From the very beginning of their residing in the forest, this community used to earn their livelihood through slash and burn cultivation and hunting. During the British regime, Zaminder⁵ of Natore got the land lordship of the Modhupur forest and its people. Consequently this Garo people used to reside and cultivate the forest lands through paying tax to Zaminder (See Appendix-B: Tax paying receipt). In the meantime, during the 1914-18 timeframe, Cadastral Survey (CS) was done there and tenancy rights over the occupying lands were given to this people. As the survey went on and ended up, this people continued to burn and slash cultivation and occupy more cultivable lands through clearing the forest with acquiring the consent of Zaminder's Nayab⁶ upon paying tax. This process continued till 1950 with the abolition of Zamindery system under the State Acquisition and Tenancy Act, 1950. Subsequently, at the abolition of Zamindary system, government undertook Modhupur forest tract under its full control. In 1955 government attempted to declare it as a reserved forest while in 1962 it got the status of national park of government. Within 1962 to 1984 timeframe, several eviction notices were served among this people.(see Appendix-C: a copy of eviction notice) Lastly, in 1983 and 1984 government issued two gazette notifications that endorse the stoppage of land tax collection inside the forest area and 42,767 acres of land within the forest to be considered as reserve forest respectively. Surprising fact is that after the cadastral survey between 1914-18 timeframe, several

⁵ Land lord who used to own all the lands within his jurisdiction, as decided by state, through payment of yearly stipulated amount of money to government exchequer. This land lordship system was abolished in 1950 under state acquisition and tenancy act, 1950.

⁶ The Zaminders used to administer land administration and land revenue collection through number of administrative units. Nayab was the in charge of lowest tier of land administration under Zaminder's land administration system.

subsequent land surveys like RS, BS etc has been carried out all over the country but due to resistance from the FD, this area remain excluded from those surveys. So since 1918 to till the date, no land survey among these tenants inside the Modhupur Sal forest has been carried out. As a result, tenancy rights of this people inside the forest could not be updated and thereby still remain disputed and neglected as claimed forest lands. So the tenancy right issue by the forest dwelling Garo people over the claimed forest land is posed as critical factor in the conservation process of Modhupur Sal forest.

5.2.2 Dependency on the Claimed Forest Land for Livelihood by FDEP (N=80)



It has been found in the survey that 63 (79 %) respondent's livelihood is completely dependent on agriculture. All the agricultural land possessed by respondents under this category is claimed as forest lands by FD. These lands are of two categories – low land and high land. The low lands are stretches criss-crossly inside the forest and some of these lands are located inside the core area of the forest, distant from the villages. Consequently, this people have to go to their land for cultivation through the pathways which run across the forest. Surprisingly, this is completely violation of Section 26(1)(b) of Forest Act, 2000. For the violation of the said section one can be sued and be imprisoned up to 06 months and even be fined up to Taka.2,000. Upon this backdrop, FD is supposed to restrict or seal those

pathways in the process of forest conservation action. Besides this, FD is supposed to resist any sort of activities like cultivation, homestead building etc on the claimed forest land under the said forest act. Clearing the forest, cultivating the forest land, erecting home on the forest land, cutting tree or extracting any sort of forest resource like sun grass, honey even leaves are major punishable offense under the said act. Therefore, FD is supposed to strictly resist those sorts of activities in the forest land. Under these circumstances, conflicts and misunderstandings prevail off and on among FD and forest dwelling Garo ethnic people.

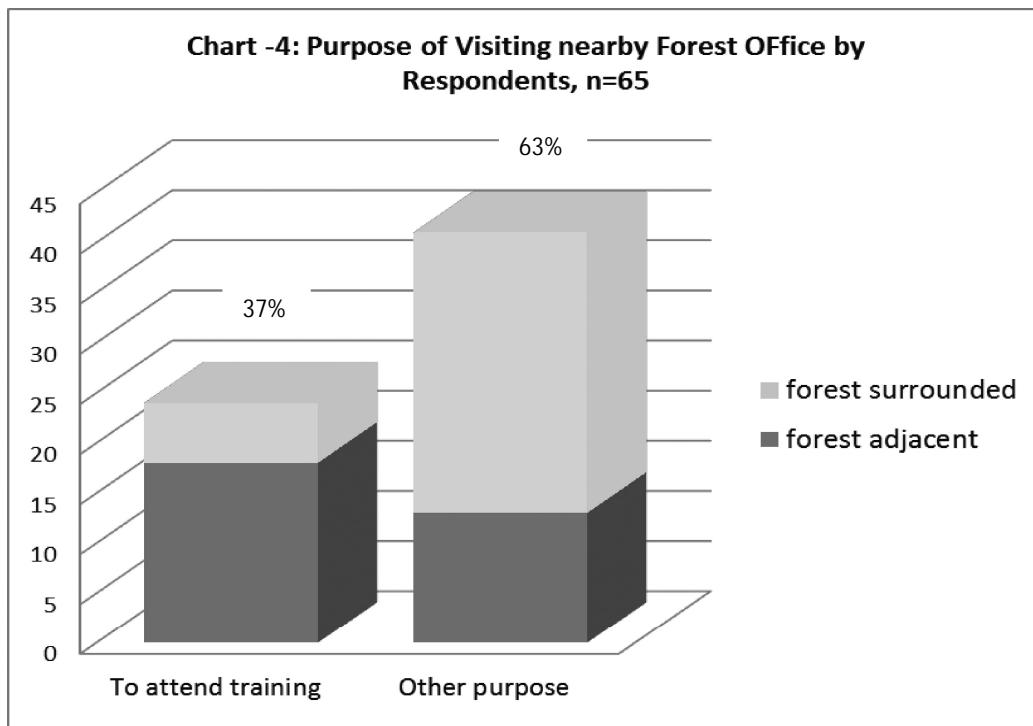
In such a scenario, FD's action is grounded by states law while forest dwelling Garo ethnic people's voice against this action is grounded on subsistence issue which is endorsed as human rights. Thus this phenomenon ultimately pose a big question mark about the conservation process, which is rather the outcome of disputed agricultural lands or claimed forest lands occupied by FDEP inside the Modhupur Sal forest. This phenomenon also creates ownership uncertainty upon the attached property on land like trees, homestead, etc, threatened social life, eviction threats and extortion which has been discussed in the next chapter.

5.3 Motivational and Awareness Activities

Since the British regime, only the forest law had been being used as a mechanism for protecting government forest. Though the philosophy of patrolling and enforcing forest law by FD has changed over the years, but in practice it is still engraved with the forest officials. Along the enforcement of the laws, provision for motivational activities, involvement of local people in forestry development has currently got more emphasis in the process of forest conservation. But inside the Modhupur Sal forest such initiatives and activities has been found very poorly managed.

One of the major factor of uneasy interactions is very limited motivational program run by FD for Garos. The FD has never taken initiative to minimize such gaps. As a result the support and cooperation in the forestry conservation process was hardly found from them. In reply to the question that whether the respondent ever visited the nearby forest office 81.25 percent (65) replied in affirmative tone while 19.75 percent (15) replied in negative. But the complaisance on this statistics is overshadowed when we take into consideration of the following chart which is the outcome of subsequent question in the survey.

From the chart below, it is found that only 37 percent respondents who visited nearby forest office had attend training sessions while 63 percent respondents visited the office for other purposes which include taking permission for cutting tree from his homestead, settling the dispute with FD etc.



5.4 Application of forest law/forest cases

The official records of FD show that 1765 cases have been filed in court during last 10 years (Paul 2011, p. 1). It has been found that numbers of forest case is filed against the 30 percent of the respondents of FDEP of which maximum number is base on fake and false ground according to their view. In the case of involving in forest case, the respondents from forest surrounded villages are a bit higher in number. In this regard, FD officials view is forest case holders are either clearly identified plunderer of forest trees or encroacher of forest land.

Table -5: Respondent's status of being involved in forest case

In reply to the question that whether the respondent got involved in forest case	Location of the Respondent		Total	Percentage
	Forest surrounded	Forest adjacent		
Yes	14	10	24	30%
No	27	30	57	70%
Total	40	40	80	100%

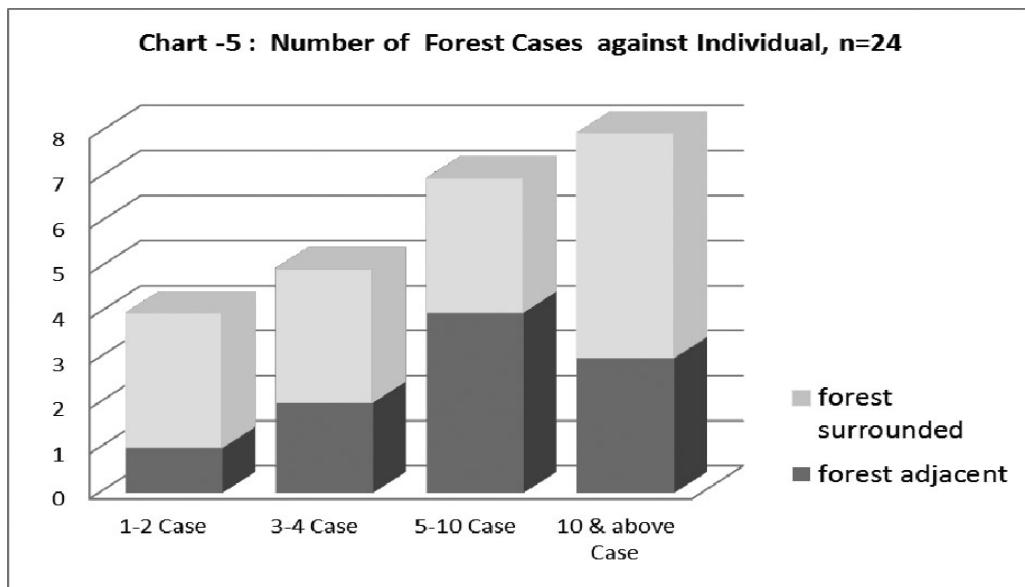
It was also found that peoples from three categories are involved in the forest cases and those are

- i. People from marginal and day laborers who sell their labor for influential's in cutting tress from forest or clearing forest for pineapple or banana cultivation. (Example given in Box-1)
- ii. Social leaders who raise voice against FD's activities including forestry development initiatives. (Example given in Box -2)
- iii. Those who had nexus with corrupt FD officials in trafficking trees.

The people who remain indifferent or silent against FD hardly face forest cases.

Box -1: Shirin Sangma (45) from Jalabada village belongs to marginal group of forest dwelling Garo people. He earns his livelihood by selling labor. In the mid of the 1990s he faced several forest cases when he went forest to collect log for the owner of nearby brick field as a day laborer. Again, during 2004 he faced more cases as he worked for outsider businessman in clearing woodlot plot for pineapple cultivation. Now he faces as many as 12 cases of which warrant of arrest has been issued. Consequently he is leading a life as a absconder from law. And he says that he will be absconding as far as possible because he has no ability to hire lawyers and thereby manage bail in cases lodged against him.

The number of forest cases against the individuals living in the forest is also surprising. Out of 24 respondents who involved in forest case, 8 respondents are having more than 10 cases; and three of them – Razarush and Bonkesh from Kakraguni village and Biren Sangma from Magantinagar village have as many as 50 to 60 forest cases filed against them.



Regarding the false forest case, FD officials also opined that the existing forest law should be updated. Because, under this law influential inducer or order giver for encroachment and illegal cutting down the trees cannot be sued. Besides this, there should be provision for investigation before taking cognizance of forest case.

Box -2: Malothy Nokrek (55) is well off and socially respected figure in her village Beduria. She did her HSC from Mymensingh Anonda Mohon College. She teaches in missionary primary school. Moreover, she is a leader of Achick Michik Association (A women organization of Garo people inside the Modhupur forest).

Malothy and her fellow villagers were surprised to know that two forest cases were filed against her on the ground of forest encroachment and illegal wood cutting in 2004. She including villagers believes that the forest cases were filed only because she was a strong voice against the Eco-park movement during that time. The same incident happened to Albert Mankhin from Sadupara village who is ex-admin director of Caritas Bangladesh, a renowned NGO in Bangladesh; Ajoy A. Mree from Gachabari village who is a locally respected social leader among the Garos in Modhupur.

5.5 Ownership Uncertainty of FDEP's Property Attached on Land

To ascertain ownership uncertainty of lands and land based properties, respondents were asked to cite an incident which reflects this problem. While answering this question every respondent cited that they have to either seek permission or give intimation regarding cutting down their trees on their homestead ground. This is needed both for selling the trees to outside traders or for own uses. Besides this, 7 respondents out of which 5 from forest surrounded area cited events that happened very recently in respect to ownership uncertainty of the properties attached to the land.

Box-3: Rebi Nokrek lives in - Gaira, a village surrounded by forest. Sometime in 2010, she cut a few number of Akasia trees from the side of her agricultural land close to her homestead. On the very next day of felling the trees, FD personnel came up to her home. They asked her to hand over the trees. She refused, but they forcefully seized the trees claiming those as trees from the forest and took them away to the nearby FD office. Similar incidents happened to Gouto Dofo from Jalabada village and Auvians Chiran from Rajbari village in very recent times

5.6 Threatened Social and Developmental Way of Life

In respect to threatened social life, only 6 respondents, all are from forest surrounding village could cite events that happened in very recent times. Among them, one mentionable incident is – that in 2010, the two kilometers long connecting road to highway across the Gaira village was tendered by Upazila LGED office for carpeting. Accordingly, after getting the work order, when the bid winner started to work on the road, FD officials resisted the work and filed a general diary (GD no -632, dated 19 February, 2011) in the police station against the bid winner on the ground that the land of the road is forest land. Consequently the road construction has remained abandoned till now.

5.7 Eviction Threat

No respondent could present any incident of direct attempt of eviction of the forest dwelling people by FD within the recent times. But some events they cited somehow pose a feeling of eviction threat. During the regime of last army backed caretaker government hundreds of acres of pineapple and banana garden of the Garo people including outsider business man's was destroyed by FD with the direct presence of army personnel. Hundreds of acres of agricultural lands of forest dwelling people were forcefully taken for tree plantation. According to respondents, all this incidents signify the eviction threat to them.

5.8 Conclusion

This chapter has been dealt with the role of FD in the conservation process of Modhupur Sal forest. As the discussion proceeded on the basis of data collected, it is seen that FDEP's perception on the role of FD is rather negative. The role of FD inside the forest is epitomized as harassing entity for the FDEPs. The background of this perception against FD has been detailed in this chapter.

Chapter Six: Analysis and Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter the major findings of the study and the analysis of the findings using the analytical framework and related theories has been elaborated. The objective of the study is to examine the interaction patterns between FD and FDEP in the process of forest conservation and to find the factors which shape the interactions pattern that affect the conservation process inside the Modhupur Sal Forest. Two independent variables – the role of FD and the role of FDEP have been examined for this purpose. How these two variables plays their role in the purview of forest management and how these role affect the conservation process has been detailed separately in chapters four and five. Here in this chapter the major findings, the status of hypothesis, applicability of the theory and policy implication have been detailed.

6.2 Major Findings and Analysis

From the discussions in Chapters four and five, it is implicit that the interaction pattern between FD and FDEP in the process of forest conservation in Modupur Sal forest is rather adversarial. And the factors of such interaction and how these factors affect the conservation process has been summarized and analyzed below -

Factor -1: Disputed Claimed Forest Land - a Policy Issue of Government – Disputed homestead and agricultural land has been identified as a critical factor in shaping the interactions between FD and FDEP. This problem of land rights is the prime issue in the forest conservation process inside the Modhupur forest. The present philosophy of forest management and conservation is based on people's participation meaning involvement of forest dependent people as well as sharing of the benefits from the forest. But how the claimed forest land which is occupied by ethnic Garo people could be afforested by participative approach is a big dilemma for the forest department. It is rather a policy issue of government. According to the Forest Policy, 1994 and Forestry Master Plan, 1993 FD's concern inside the forest is to afforest those lands and to protect the existing forest through ensuring the participation of the forest dependent people. But how this participation can be ensured; as the contestations of claims of the forest land has posed a hindrance in process of

participation. Tussles between FD and FDEP go on interruptedly due to this dispute over claimed forest land. Therefore, government has to have a different clear policy regarding the forest dwelling Garo ethnic people inside the forest. Due to the absence of such policy, FD can not elicit confidence, co-operation and participation of these people in the process of forest conservation process. Surprisingly FD officials ignore this reality and do not bother for policy initiatives for solving this problem which tremendously hamper the conservation process inside the Modhupur Sal forest. And this attitude of FD is rather backed by their classical bureaucratic orientation.

Factor -2: Forest Case – Question of Authenticity: Filing forest cases without proper investigation is another major factor that comes up as adversarial interactions between FD and FDEP. It has been found that as many as 1765 forest cases are being tried in the courts. There are forest cases of more than 60 against many individuals. But still the forest is under threat of depletion. More over the authenticity of those cases are questionable as has been found in the interviews with some of the case connected people. Many ethnic leaders have been accused in the cases because they have been protesting against the different forestry development initiatives by FD. This has contributed to create gap and distance between FD and FDEP which ultimately contributed in distant adversarial interactions between FD and FDEP.

Factor -3: Forestry Development Approach: Number of different forestry development initiatives has been undertaken inside the Modhupur forest. Rubber plantations in 1985, Woodlot plantation in 1989, National Park Development Project in 2000 are some remarkable initiatives of forestry development inside the Modhupur forest. All these initiatives had in fact triggered further confrontation between FD and FDEP. The reason behind the confrontation is non participatory approach of those initiatives, which were rather top down forestry development approach by government. Participation as means for forestry development was not followed in those initiatives. Thereby, such non participative forestry development approaches always come up with a resultant factor of adversarial interactions between FD and FDEP.

Factor -4: Attitudes of Forest Officials: Colonial and feudalistic attitudes of FD toward forest dwelling Garos is another factor that shapes the interaction nature between FD and FDEP. In Chapter Four, under the discussions in Table-3, it has been showed the attitudes of

FD staffs regarding FDEPs in the process of forest conservation inside the Modhupur forest. In fact, since the take over the forest, patrolling and policing were the one and only mechanism of forest conservation. The people inside the forest were never taken into consideration for the smooth and fruitful conservation and development of the forest. Rather these forest dependent people were always treated by FD as illegal encroachers and destroyer of the forest. But this perception of the FD about the forest dependent FDEP has no basis, rather there exist a lot of evidences on positive role of FDEP in forest conservation world wide. In the case of Modhupur forest, classical bureaucratic institutions like FD have failed to look for the positive participation from the FDEP. From the very beginning these people were denied of their rights by FD. Since the Declaration of National Park Modhupur Sal Forest back in 1962, one sided gazette notification of declaring all land inside the forest as forest land, attempt of erecting eco-park by sealing off all connecting roads of FDEP's villages inside the forest and instituting hundreds of forest cases against these forest dwelling people have made the FDEPs think FD as threat for their survival inside the forest. As a result, distance between FD and FDEP prevails in the process of forest conservation process inside the Modhupur Sal Forest.

Factor - 5: Penetration of Outsider Businessman: Penetration of outsider businessman into forestry program is also another factor that affects the forest conservation process inside Modhupur Forest. In the Chapter Four the Chart -2 shows that 50 percent of total respondents were denied from the participation in woodlot plantation – a scheme of Social Forestry (SF). This is due to the influential outsiders interfering in this scheme. As the outsider in form of businessmen, political leaders and others non-FDEP persons penetrate in the locality of ethnic villages, the Garos have become more marginalized in the forestry participation and benefit sharing from forest under SF programs. Therefore, SF as the trust building platform between FD and FDEP is not being utilized properly. And how this penetration affects the forestry development and conservation process has been broadly elaborated in Chapter Four.

Factor -6: Skeptical Attitude of FDEP: Skeptical attitude by forest dwelling Garos toward any sort of forestry development project inside the forest is also a factor that contribute to shaping the adversarial interactions between FD and FDEP. This skeptical attitude of FDEP is rooted in the classical bureaucratic orientation of different state executive organs, especially the FD. As the course of actions like - declaration of Modhupur forest as National Park, cancelation of tenancy rights under a gazette notification in 1984, non-recognition of

traditional rights of FDEP over forest resources by FD, the FDEPs always have shown the tendency to resist any sort of forestry development initiatives inside the Modhupur forest. Therefore, woodlot plantation scheme under SF could not get positive response from FDEPs at the very first phase. Moreover, subsequent projects like Eco-park and national park development initiatives got tremendous resistance from FDEPs though conceptually those initiatives were seems to bring a positive impact on Modhupur Sal forest.

Factor -7: Community Forest Worker (CFW) – A Platform for Motivational Activities: Lack of motivational activities regarding importance of forestry is another factor in shaping the adversarial interactions between FD and FDEP. But very recently, the newly introduced Community Forest Worker (CFW) scheme seems to be playing as a factor in shaping the positive interactions between FD and FDEP inside the Modhupur forest. These CFW receive trainings, awareness and motivation intermittently from both FD and local Upazila administration. In the process of forest conservation the true participation which is both means and ends for forestry development and conservation needs a platform. CFW, to some extent is providing this platform inside the Madhupur forest. Under this scheme, a number of rehabilitation and motivational activities has provided the scope of participation in forestry development which ultimately seems to be contributing in shaping better interaction between FD and FDEP in a positive dimension, which is reflected in the Table-3 in Chapter Four. Here at the table, it has been shown that 44 percent respondents agreed with the statement that FD is slowly changing to be friendly and cooperative toward forest dwelling ethnic people. And they opined that this change is due to CFW scheme. But still this scheme is yet to be welcomed by all inside the forest.

6.3 Status of the Hypothesis

The first hypothesis which states that “ Higher the participative interaction from FDEP in the forest conservation, higher the rate of success in the forestry development initiatives” can be accepted as it can be explained and substantiated with the findings stated in factor – 3, factor – 6 and factor – 7, as explained above.

The second hypothesis which states that “More the FD officials maintain the classical bureaucratic attitude in discharging their duties, higher the adversarial interactions between

FD and FDEPs” can also be accepted as it can be explained and substantiated with the findings stated in factor – 1 and factor – 4 above.

6.4 Applicability of the Relevant Theory and Concepts

As discussed earlier in Chapter Two that, Karl Marx’s class conflict theory, Okley’s concept of participation and Putnum’s discussion on classical and political bureaucrat’s orientation have been taken in the study for explaining data.

It is found from the discussions in previous chapters that government arbitrarily declared the Modhupur forest as reserve forest, National Park and stopped collection of land development tax on CS recorded lands inside the Modhupur Sal forest. It also has denied the land tenancy rights of FDEP, acquired both traditionally and under Zamindery system before the introduction of State Acquisition and Tenancy Act 1950. Thus the government has exploited and violated the rights of FDEPs with help of state instruments like power of gazette notification, power of policy formulation, and power of establishing executive body like FD and so on. And these actions of the State can be explained by the Conflict Theory of Karl Marx. According to Karl Marx’s conflict theory - in all stratified societies there are two major social groups: a ruling class and a subject class. The ruling class exploits and oppresses the subject class. The various institutions of society such as the legal and political system are instruments of ruling class’s domination and serve to further its interests.

The concept of participation has been taken in this study as a means in the study. The extent of participative role between FD and FDEP in the forest conservation process shapes the adversarial factor’s weight in the interactions among them. It was assumed that more the participation between FD and FDEP, better the interactions in the process of forest conservation. But in this study it has been found that participation among these two variables is very low.

Thus, discussion of Putnam’s classical and political bureaucrat’s orientation has also been used to explain the variables in the study. Under this concept the previous discussions shows that FD officials are more classical, rather than political in their orientation. They stick to rules and regulations, rather than trying to understand the local reality and take actions accordingly. As they act as classical bureaucrats, they fail to recognize the reality prevailing inside the forest with respect to FDEP.

6.5 Conclusion and Policy Implications

This study has explored the factors of adversarial interactions between FD and FDEP inside the Modhupur Sal forest in the forest conservation process. This study has also examined how those factors affect the forest conservation process in the area. In identifying the factors of adversarial interactions, the role of FDEP and the role of FD have been examined thoroughly. It has been found that land tenancy rights, different forestry development initiatives; false forest cases and attitudes of FD toward the FDEP are the main issues of the bone of contention between FD and FDEP.

Now, the prevailing status of FDEP inside the forest is as illegal inhabitants in the eye of FD and other executive organs of government. Therefore, the treatment of FD toward the FDEP is marked with classical bureaucratic orientation. Thus, at the very outset of any sort of actions or decisions by FD, the tendency is to keep these people out from the forest. But the illegal inhabitant status of FDEP in the eye of FD is rather a creation of the State. These people have been purposively denied from their land tenancy rights, which they have enjoyed for centuries. Although these people have no up to date valid documents supporting of their land holding due to the fact that no land surveys have been carried in the area since CS took back in the early last century and due to the cancelation of those CS supported land tenancy rights in the forest under a Government gazette notification in 1984, but in reality these people held those lands generation after generation since time immemorial. This reality of legal gap is the cornerstone of all the factors of adversarial interactions among the FD and FDEP inside the forest

Therefore, the prevailing reality of the Modhupur forest and the status of FDEP need to be taken into consideration for policy initiatives. To conserve and develop the forest as per the objectives set in Forestry Master Plan, 1993 the active support and participation of FDEP is necessary. Their confidence and trust on FD and FD's different forestry development initiatives must be obtained. Without the confidence of FDEPs on FD, any sort of forestry development inside the Modhupur forest suffers from demonstrational movement, protest, turmoil and ultimate failure. Since the take over of the forest by FD, this forest has been consistently decreasing (while it was 45,565 acres in 1967, now merely 10,000, source -Paul 2011, p.1) and none of forestry development initiatives in the forest went on without protest

from FDEPs. All these negative things are happening inside the forest is due to the factors mentioned in the findings.

This study has dealt with the role of FD and FDEP in identifying the factors of adversarial interactions between FD and FDEP. It has not taken into consideration the role of local government, the role of NGOs working in the area, the role of political leaders. But as the study proceeded, it was found that these roles have quite an impact on shaping the interaction patterns between FD and FDEP. Thus, a further in-depth study can be done on only the role of FDEP in the process of forest conservation process inside the Modhupur forest.

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Appendix-A:

The Questionnaires: (Part -1:For the forest dwelling ethnic people)

Research Topic: Forest Dwelling Ethnic People and Conservation

Process of Forest: A Study on Modhupur Sal Forest

Respondent personal information

Name.....

Address :

Village ----- Union..... Upazila.....

Gender Age..... Education level Profession

A. The role of forest dwelling ethnic people in forest conservation process

(A.1 Forest land occupation)

1. The land on which your homestead lies belong to –

- a. your own supported by written document which is endorsed by government b.
Claimed to be forest land c. others (describe.....)

2. if it is claimed to be forest land, how it happened?

- a. Government declared it forest land b. once it was covered by natural forest and my
ancestors cleared the forest on it c. others (describe.....)

3. How do you manage your family expenses?

- a. job b. agriculture c. day labor d. others (describe)

4. If agriculture, then the land is

- a. your own supported by written document which is endorsed by government b. Claimed to
be forest land c. others (describe.....)

5. Living on the forest land what sort of problem you are facing? Put tick on the problems in
the following matrix you faced and cite an example that justifies this (if possible)

	Problems	an incident that occurred within last two years	an incident that occurred within last five years	an incident that occurred within last ten years
a.	feel uncertainty on ownership upon the assets on the land like trees, homes and crops			
b.	Feel threatened on social and cultural life			
c.	Feel eviction threat			
d.	Involved in Forest case			
e.	Dispute settlement over land based assets with forest department through monetary transactions			
f	Others (if any describe.....)			

(A.2 Slash and burn cultivation)

6. Do you practice burn and slash cultivation? a. yes b. no

7. If no, for how long you don't practice it and why?

Non practicing time duration

Why/Reasons

- a. 5 to 10 years
- b. 10 to 20 years
- c. 20 and more

- a. Resistance from FD
- b. You got other earning sources
- c. others (describe).....

(A.3 Participation in Forestry Development)

8. You want to see the forest adjacent to your village be ----

- a. removed so that you can occupy more land for cultivation
- b. more dense with more trees and wild life animals so that you can get more resources from it.

9. If you tick b, how could it be achieved?

- a. Strictly enforcing the forest protection law b. trust based participation of forest dwelling people with forest department in the forest protection process.

10. Have you heard of following terms? If so, do you know what they mean?

a. Social forestry.....

.....

b. Eco-park

.....

11. What role you play in the implementation of the following government initiatives for forestry development in your area?

Initiatives	Role			
Social forestry	a. participated	b. resisted	c. Remain indifferent	d. Wanted to participate but denied
Eco-park	a. participated	b. resisted	c. Remain indifferent	d. Wanted to participate but denied

12. Put tick on the reason behind your role in the government initiatives for social forestry project

Role	Reason behind the role			
participated	a. You trust forest department	b. Offer was lucrative	c. Both b & c	d. Others (describe...)
resisted	a. You don't trust forest department	b. It wanted to use your occupied land	c. Both b & c	d. others (describe.....)
Remain	a. You don't	b. You did not	c. both b & c	d. others

indifferent	trust forest department	know about it		(describe.....)
Wanted to participate but denied	a. you denied because you could not pay money	b. participants selected through lottery	c. You have bad relation with forest department officials	d. others (describe.....)

13. Put tick on the reasons behind your role in the government initiatives for eco-park project

Role	Reason behind the role			
participated	a. You trust forest department	b. Offer was lucrative	c. Both b & c	d. Others (describe...)
resisted	a. You don't trust forest department	b. It wanted to use your occupied land	c. Both b & c	d. others (describe.....)
Remain indifferent	a. You don't trust forest department	b. You did not know about it	c. both b & c	d. others (describe.....)
Wanted to participate but denied	a. you denied because you could not pay money	b. participants selected through lottery	c. You have bad relation with forest department officials	d. others (describe.....)

B. Institutions and Regulatory Mechanism

14. Have you ever visited nearby forest office? a. yes b. no

15. If yes, why?

- a. to attend forestry awareness training b. was captured during cutting forest trees
c. other reasons (describe).....

16. Did you ever face any forest case? a. yes b. no

If yeas, how many cases and mention the case numbers.....

17. Did the people of forest department ask you to give in your occupied land to tree plantations? a. yes b. no

If yes, how many times

18. How do you judge the forest conservation process by forest officials? Put tick on the blank box that complies with your judgment.

Statements	a. strongly agree with the statement	b. agree with the statement	c. Don't agree with the statement	d. I don't know
It is a consistent threat for displacement from my present homestead				
It treats us as illegal inhabitants and encroachers to the forest				
It dose not respect and recognize our customary and traditional rights over forest				
It harasses our day to day life				
Now its changing toward friendly, participative and inclusive of forest dwelling Garo people				

The Questionnaires: (Part -2: FD officials and Ethnic leaders)

Respondent personal information

Name.....

Profession Designation Organization's Name
.....

Gender Age..... Education level
.....

(The role of forest dwelling ethnic people in forest conservation process)

A.1 Forest land occupation

1. What measures have Forest department taken for preventing the occupation of forest land?
Please Name most effective four measures according to your judgment

a. b.

.....
c. d.

2. Did you find land occupation incident by anyone within the last ten years in your area? If
yeas, please name the location and occupiers name

.....

3. What is your opinion regarding inhabiting of garo people inside claimed forest land in
Modhupur Sal forest? Put tick on the blank box below.

opinion	a. strongly agree with the statement	b. agree with the statement	c. Don't agree with the statement	d. I don't know
They should be displaced from the forest because they are responsible for deforestation				
They are living there customarily and traditionally from time immemorial				
They are settler there and consistently putting pressure on				

decreasing forest land				
They can contribute a lot in forestry conservation and therefore, they should be legally recognize with their land and be incorporated in the conservation process through partnership and sharing basis				

4. Please, share your views, experiences and observations on traditional land rights of forest dwelling ethnic people and conservation process of Modhupur Sal forest.

.....
.....

(A.2 Slash and burn cultivation)

5. Did you find Slash and burn cultivation during the last ten years inside the Modhupur Sal Forest? If so how often is it?

.....
.....

(A.3 Participation in Forestry Development)

6. Please, name a few participatory forestry development projects that forest department has been undertaken in last ten years

a

b.

.....

c.

d.

.....

7. What are/were the consequences of those projects? Put tick on the blank box below.

consequences	a. strongly agree with the statement	b. agree with the statement	c. Don't agree with the statement	d. I don't know
Increased forest coverage				

Increased the number of wild life animal				
Increased the conflict between Forest dwelling garo people and forest department				
Caused more destruction of natural forest				
Placed threat and uncertainty to normal day to day life of forest dwelling ethnic people				
Projects failed due to non participation and strong resistant from forest dwelling people				

8. Please, share your experiences and observations regarding to what extent those projects were/are participative and inclusive for forest dwelling Garo people?

.....

B. Institutions and Regulatory Mechanism

9. Do you think that the following factors ensure support, cooperation and participation of forest dwelling people in implementing forestry regulations and policies inside Modhupur Sal forest? Put tick on the blank box below.

Factors	a. strongly agree with the statement	b. agree with the statement	c. Don't agree with the statement	d. I don't know
Recognition of traditional and customary land right of forest				

dwelling people				
Partnership and sharing approach in forestry management				
Strong implementation of forest law				
Develop flexibility of rules and processes in consultation with forest dwelling people				
Practice free prior informed consent before implementing any developmental projects inside the forest.				

10. Give your views and observations regarding implementation of forest law with respect to forest dwelling ethnic people in the process of forest conservation.

.....

.....

.....

.....

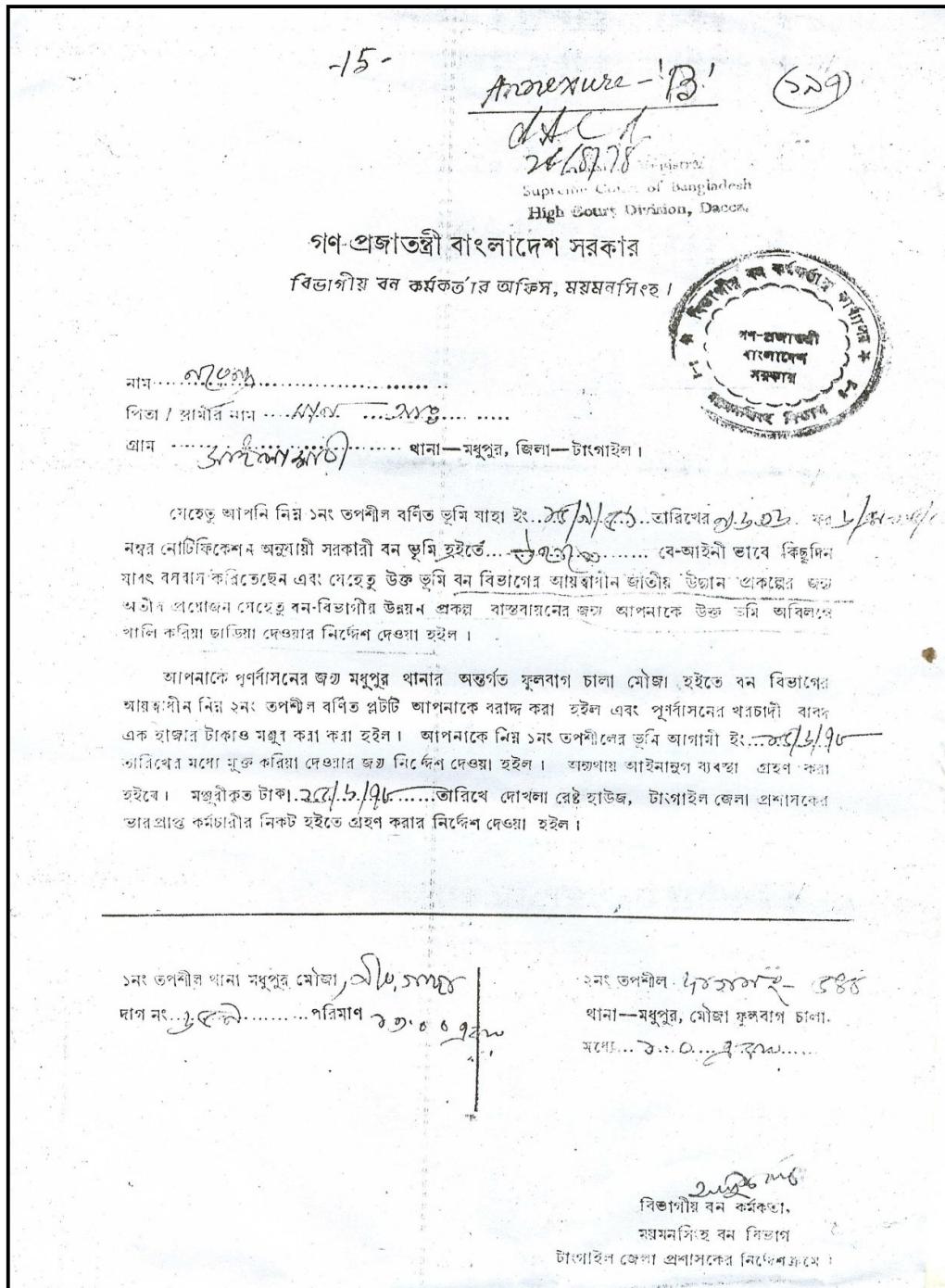
Appendix-B:

Copy of Charchits for Land Right inside the Modhupur Forest During Zaminder System

ପ୍ରକାଶିତ ଗୋବିନ୍ଦମେବୋ ଜର୍ମଣି ।					
ମାଟୋର୍ ରାଜ ଓ୍ଯାର୍ଡ୍ ଏଟେଟ୍					
ମାଲିକ ୧୩୫୩୦୩ ସିନ୍ଦରିମ୍ ବିଷ୍ଵାହେର ମେବାଇତ					
ଆଜି ଆମୁଖ ମହିରାଜା ମୋହିନୀନାଥ ରାସ ଏ ଓ୍ଯାର୍ଡ୍ ଅବ କୋର୍ଟ୍ ।					
କ୍ରମିକ ନଂ ୦୦୧୪୪୦	ତାରିଖ ୨୭୧୨ ମସି ୧୦୫୮ ମାର୍ଚ୍ଚି ୨୦୧୦ ମହାନ ତାଙ୍କୁ ବାଲାହାତି				
ବିଦିଗର ପରାଗଳେ ପୁନଃବିନ୍ଦୁ ଏକାକ୍ରମ ଗୁଡ଼ ଜେନେସାହି ।					
କାର୍ତ୍ତିର ନାମ ୧୩୫୩୦୩	ପକ୍ଷାତି କାଠେର ପ୍ରକଳ୍ପ ମଧ୍ୟର ମଧ୍ୟର				
ଘାଟରେ ନାମ ୧୩୫୩୦୩	ନନ୍ଦକରାଣ ପାଢ଼ୀ ଟାଲେର ଜୀବିନ ପାରମାଣ				
ଆହିକେର ନାମ ୧୩୫୩୦୩	ମେଲା ମେଲା				
ପିତାର ନାମ ୧୩୫୩୦୩	ମୁଲ୍ୟ ମେଲା				
ମାତ୍ରା ୧୦୦୦	ମେଲା				
ଜିନିମେର ବିବରଣ ।	ମେଲା				
ଆମାନାମାର ମଧ୍ୟର	ଅନୁମାନ				
ଆମାଦୀରେ ବିଭିନ୍ନ					
ମାତ୍ରା					
ମହିନ ବଦେଶୀ					
ବର୍ଷବରେ ଅଧିକ	ବର୍ଷବରେ ଅଧିକ	ବିଭିନ୍ନ ବଦେଶୀ	ବର୍ଷବରେ ଅଧିକ	ବାଲ	ଅଧିକ
୧ । ପାତ୍ରୀ କର୍ତ୍ତବ୍ୟର ବର୍ତ୍ତମାନ ଅଧିକାର
୨ । ପାତ୍ରୀର କାଠେର ହୁଣ
୩ । ଆମାନାମାର କାଠେର ହୁଣ
୪ । ମେଲା କାଠେର ପାଢ଼ୀ ଟାଙ୍କ ଅଧିକ
୫ । ପାଢ଼ୀ କାଠେର ହୁଣ
୬ । ମେଲା କାଠେର ଆମ ବର୍ତ୍ତମାନ ଅଧିକ
୭ । ମେଲା କର୍ତ୍ତବ୍ୟର ମଧ୍ୟର ପାତ୍ରୀ ବଦେଶକାରୀ ପାତ୍ରୀ ଅଧିକ
୮ । ବିବିଧ
ମେଟ୍ ଟାକା ୨୮					
ମାତ୍ରା ୨୦୫୮୩୦୩					
ମାନ୍ଦାତ୍ୟାପ୍ତ କର୍ତ୍ତବ୍ୟର ବାକ୍ଷର ...					

Appendix-C:

Specimen Copy of Eviction notice Served among FDEPs by Government



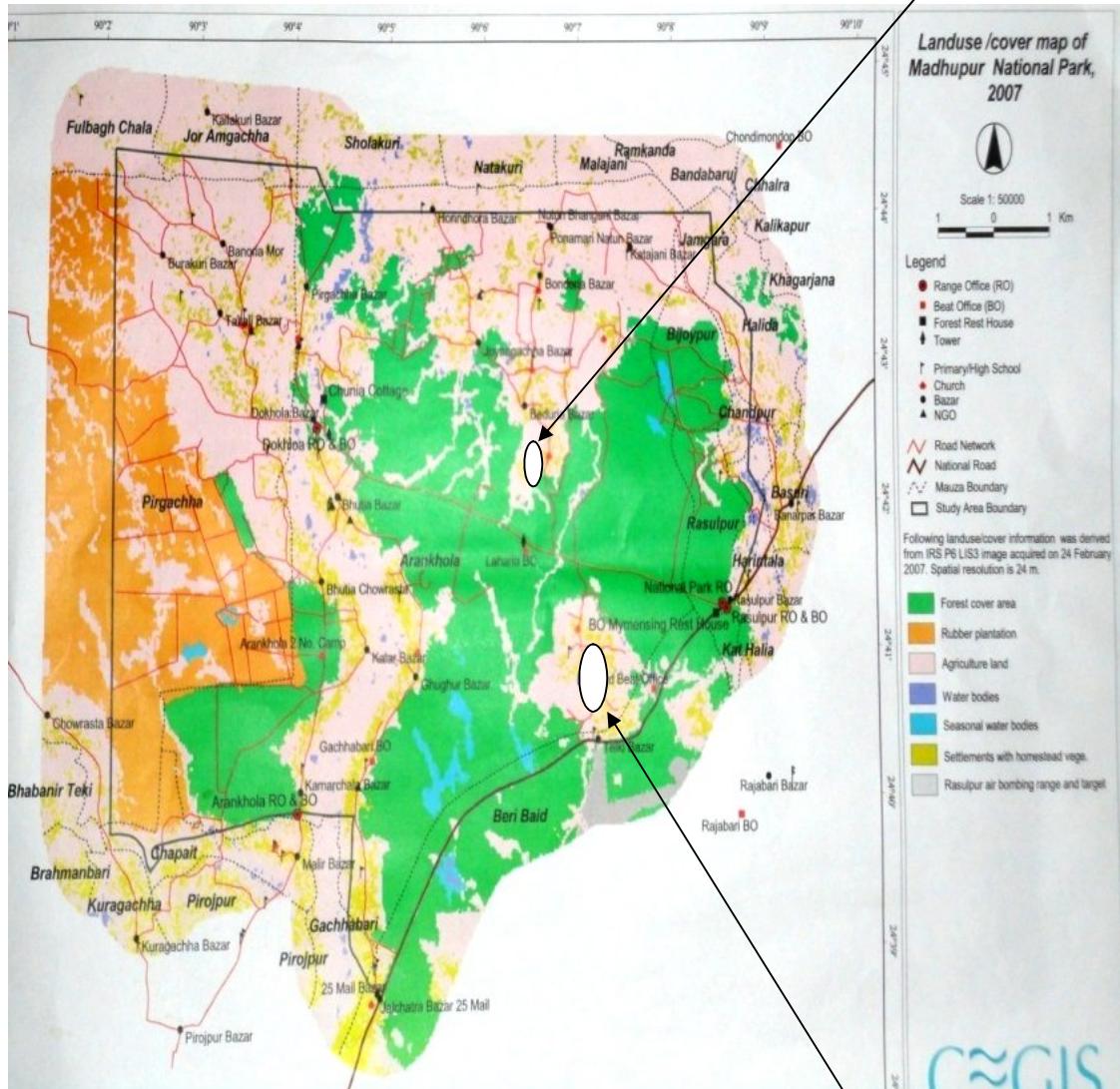
Appendix-D:

List of Persons Interviewed

- | | |
|------------------------|---|
| 1. Ausit Ranjan Paul | DFO, Tangail |
| 2. Mr. Rajesh Chakma | ACF, North Circle, Tangail |
| 3. Mr. Zakaria Ahmad | Range Officer, Rosulpur Range |
| 4. Mr. Ratan Kumar Das | Range Officer, Dukhola Range |
| 5. Md. Abdul Mozid | Beat Officer, Rajbari Beat |
| 6. Md. Abdur Rouf Miah | Beat Officer, Beribaid Beat |
| 7. Md. Samsuzzaman | Beat Officer, Dukhola Beat |
| 8. Mr. Ajoy A. Mree | Ethnic leader and ex President of Jouenshahi Adivashi Unnayan Parishad, Jalchatra, Modhupur |
| 9. Mr. Euzine Nokrek | Ethnic leader and President of Jouenshahi Adivashi Unnayan Parishad, Jalchatra, Modhupur |
| 10. Mr. William Dazel | Ethnic leader and President of TWA, Modhupur Branch |

Appendix-E: Map of Study Area

Study area : forest adjacent 5 villages



Map of Modhupur National Park

Study area : forest surrounded 5 villages