

**The Governance Dimensions of Food Security in the Chittagong Hill Tracts:
The Case of the Ethnic Minorities**

A Dissertation

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Program: MA in Governance and Development

Institute of Governance Studies

BRAC University Bangladesh

Submitted to

Institute of Governance Studies

BRAC University Bangladesh

**In partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of MA in Governance
and Development**

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September 2009

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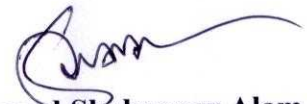
Acknowledgement

Research is a systematic search for knowledge which is a sincere and devoted attempt of finding the truth and it makes a researcher owe to different persons, groups and institutions. Thus I would liked to express my heart felt gratitude thanks to every individual who contributed in bringing me closer to the 'core' of the field of governance, a bit by bit. In order to bring the final shape of the study, I have been recipient of many supports and cooperation from different corners. In recapitulating the contributions I have received, at first I would like to pay my highest gratitude to my honourable supervisor of the study Professor Dr. Niaz Ahmed Khan, Country Director, International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN). I have received his kind help, sincere advice, proper guidance, cooperation and encouragement throughout the whole research work. In order to bring the task in final shape, he spent his valuable time for me and he has read this paper thoroughly and put his valuable comments. Moreover, he has provided me important books and papers which are essential for this study. Thus I am greatly indebted to him.

I would like to express my heartiest gratitude to Ms Jan Jankins, who has gone through between the lines of this work and provided whole hearted support to improve the language of the report. I am really indebted to her for her selfless support.

My heartiest thanks to Dr. Rizwan Khair, The Programme Coordinator of IGS and Deputy Secretary, Professor Dr. Emdad ul Haque, The Course Coordinator of IGS for their valuable advise and cordial supports. Finally, I am gratefully acknowledging the contribution of the people of the study area.

At last but not the least, I recognize my loan to all of my respondents and Key-informants; without their help and cooperation, and the data and information, given by them; it would not be possible, on my part, to write down this thesis paper.



Muhammad Shahanoor Alam

Table of Contents

	Page No
Statement of the Candidate	iv
Acknowledgement	v
Table of Contents	vi
List of Tables, Figures and Map	x
List of Acronyms	xi
Abstract	xii
Chapter-1: Introduction	
1.1 Setting the Scene	1
1.2 Crafting the Research Problem	3
1.3 Setting the Agenda	4
1.4 Rationale of the Study	5
1.5 Scope and Expectation of the Study	6
1.6 The Thesis Structure	6
1.7 Conclusion	7
Chapter-2: Conceptual Framework: The Governance Dimension of Food Security	
2.1 Introduction	8
2.2 Governance Dimensions	9
2.2.1 Community Governance Perspective	9
2.2.2 Joined up governance Perspective	12
2.2.3 Global Governance	15
2.3 Conceptualizing Food Security: From a Holistic Perspective	17
2.3.1 Key Elements of Food Security	19
2.4. Food Security and Governance related issues: Cross Cultural Perspective	20
2.4.1 Climate Change and Food Security	20
2.4.2 The Market and Food security	20
2.4.3 World Trade and Food security	21
2.4.4 Language and Food Security	21

2.5 The Governance Dimensions of Food Security	22
2.6 Ethnic Minorities of the CHT: The Excluded People	23
2.7 Conclusion	25
 Chapter-3: The Research Methods and Fieldwork	
3.1 Introduction	26
3.2 Approaches of the Study	26
3.3 Research Methods	27
3.4 The Fieldwork Phases and Application of Research Methods	27
3.4.1 First Phase	28
3.4.2 Second Phase	28
3.4.3 Third Phase	29
3.5 Unit of Research and Data Analysis	31
3.6 Sources of Data Collection	31
3.6.1 Primary Sources	31
3.6.2 Secondary Sources	31
3.7 The Site Selection	32
3.8 Sampling Techniques	33
3.9 Limitation of Study	33
3.10 Conclusion	33
 Chapter-4: Views from the Field: The Field and the People	
4.1 Introduction	34
4.2 The Field: The Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT)	34
4.2.1 An Ecological Profile of the CHT	36
4.2.2 A Geo Political Profile of the CHT	37
4.3 The People	38
4.3.1 Chakma	39
4.3.2 Marmas	39
4.3.3 Tripuras	39

4.3.4 Bwam	40
4.3.5 Tanchangya	40
4.3.6 Lushai	40
4.3.7 Keyangs	41
4.3.8 Chak	41
4.3.9 Pankho	41
4.3.10 Mro/ Murucha: A Short Ethnographic Profile	42
4.3.11 Khumi – The Hill People: A Short Ethnographic Profile	44
4.4 Conclusion	45

Chapter-5: Food Production Systems and Food Security Threats

5.1 Introduction	46
5.2 The Food Production System: Jhum Cultivation	46
5.2.1 Salient Features of Production System: The Jhum Cultivation	47
5.2.2 The Process of Food Production: The Jhum Cycle	49
5.3 Threats to Food Security	53
5.3.1 Land Problems	53
5.3.2 Food Production Fall: Reducing fallow period	55
5.3.3 The Administrative Complexity	56
5.3.3.1 The Traditional Administration	59
5.3.3.2 The National Administration	61
5.3.3.3 The Special Administration of the CHT	62
5.3.4 Bengali Settlement	67
5.3.5 Soil Erosion	68
5.3.6 Forest: Reserve forest, Deforestation and Afforestation	69
5.3.7 Animal Attacks	71
5.3.8 The Language Barrier: Limitation of Food Accessibility	71
5.3.9 Imbalance Development Project: Kaptai Dam	72
5.3.10 The Market	73

5.3.11 Climate Change	75
5.4 Conclusion	76

Chapter-6: The Governance Dimensions of Food Security in the Ethnic Minorities of the CHT

6.1 Introduction	77
6.2 The Governance Dimensions for Food Security	78
6.3 Food Security Threats in the Ethnic Minorities and Governance Matrix	79
6.4 The Role Governance Dimensions in ethnic minorities of the CHT	80
6.4.1 The Role of Community Governance	80
6.4.2 The Role of Joined up Governance	82
6.4.3 The Role of Global Governance	83
6.5 The Governance Dimension Food Security in the Ethnic Minorities of CHT	84
6.6 The Virtual Cycle of Food Security Governance	87
6.7 Conclusion	88

Chapter-7: Summary and Conclusion

7.1 Introduction	89
7.2 Summary	89
7.3 Conclusion	90
References	91

Appendices

Appendix -1: Glossary of Administrative Terms	98
Appendix -2: At a Glance of Ethnic Minorities in Bangladesh	101
Appendix -3: Schedule Fieldwork	105
Appendix -4: The Chittagong Hill Tracts Peace Treaty 1997	106

List of Tables, Figures and Map

Figure: 2.1: The Governance Dimensions of Food Security: Framework of the Study

Map 3.1 Food Security Map of the CHT (Courtesy: WFP)

Table: 4.1 The minor Ethnic Groups in the CHT and Their Distribution by Population

Table: 5.1 Year-round Jhum Cultivation Cycle

Table: 5.2 Energy Ratio under Different Jhum Cycle in Meghalaya.

Table: 5.3 Seeds and Production ratio under Different Jhum Cycle in the CHT

Figure 5.4 Forms and Agents of Joined Up Governance in CHT

Table: 5.5 Major Administrative Features of the Three Districts of CHT

Table: 5.6 Indigenous People and Bengali Population Statistics (1872-1991)

Table: 5.7 Population Growth comparison in the CHT

Figure 6:1 The Governance Dimensions for Food Security

Table 6:2 Food Security Threats in the Ethnic Minorities and Governance Matrix

Figure 6:3- The Governance Dimension Food Security in the Ethnic Minorities of CHT

Figure 6:4 - The Virtual Cycle of Food Security Governance

List of Acronyms

ADB – Asian Development Bank
CHT – Chittagong Hill Tracts
EC – European Commission
EU – European Union
FAO – Food and Agricultural Organization
FGD – Focus Group Discussion
GO – Government Organization
GoB – Government of Bangladesh
MAC – Management and Advisory Committee
NGO - Non Government Organization
PRA – Participatory Rural Appraisal
UDHR – Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN – United Nations
UNDESA – United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
USAID – United States Agency for International Development
WFP - World Food Program

Abstract

Primarily this study is an exploration of the governance dimensions in the context of the food security of the ethnic minorities of the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT). In the age of globalization, governance becomes a catalytic factor among the community, state and global agencies because it is the process of exercising power in an institutional context with the main aim of directing, controlling and regulating activities concerned with the public interest (Salih:2009:501). The role of governance is diverse as the United Nations Organization, the Breton Woods Institutions, EU, ADB, USAID and civil society emphasis governance to ensure the rule of law, accountability, democracy, development and many current debating issues. But, the issue of governance in the case of the current global food crisis has not been properly emphasized by many of the policy makers, professionals and scholars (ibid). Thus food security should be a core focus of governance because it is the precondition for human security. Here, I have tried to analyze food security from the governance dimensions in order to grasp the real scenario of the field because food security inevitably interacts with the governance dimensions. I have employed three basic dimensions of the governance such as the joined up governance which requires cross portfolio action (Victoria Working Paper: No.1: 2007), the global governance which is concerned with regulating some global issues like climate change, food security etc (Rosaneu:1999) and the community governance which may make a vital contribution to governance where market contracts and government fiat fail (Bowles and Gintis: 2002). I have purposively selected the food security of the ethnic minorities of the CHT as a field of the study in order to have the various forms of governance dimensions. For the following grounds, CHT is culturally a mosaic like land, geographically different than rest part of the alluvial plains and administratively composes of a unity among diversity where traditional administration and special local government have been functioning with the presence of national structure of

administration. Thus this study has employed most of the qualitative research methods like participant observation, interview, focus group discussion and participatory rural appraisal which have given an ethnographic approach. In order to understand the whole scenario, I have tried to give a brief profile of the people and the field of the CHT which shows that the CHT comprise of a unique ecology, geography and culture. Moreover, I have come out with some findings from the experience of the fieldwork that have presented the food production system of the ethnic minorities of the CHT and their food security threats. As the ethnic minorities have been practicing a traditional cultivation system which is known as *jhum* thus their nature of food security threats are different than the rest of the country. I have analyzed some food security threats which are such as: land problems, reducing fallow period, administrative complexity, Bengali settlement, soil erosion, the reserve forest, deforestation and afforestation, animal attacks to the cultivation fields, the language barrier, and imbalance development project like Kaptai Dam, the market and the climate change. Finally I have tried to analyze the role of the governance dimensions in addressing these food security threats and the contribution for achieving food security of the ethnic minorities of the CHT.

Chapter-1: Introduction

1.1 Setting the Scene

Food crisis, hunger and famine are not new phenomenon which has been found throughout the human history around the world. In the early age, people addressed these issues through community or clan base action, in the mediaeval age state agencies come forward in order to response with these and in the age of globalization, it demands global action in response the issues beyond the community and state responses. Thus governance becomes a catalytic factor among the community, state and global agencies because it is the process of exercising power in an institutional context with the main aim of directing, controlling and regulating activities concerned with the public interest (Salih:2009:501). The broadest sense of governance includes the totality of all social institutions – governmental-non governmental- including, the market, non governmental organizations, private and commercial firms working of profit, networks and associations, trade unions, social movements, and advocacy and pressure groups (Rondenelli & Cheema:2003). Now in the age of globalization, the role of governance is diverse because the United Nations Organization, the Breton Woods Institutions, EU, ADB, USAID and civil society emphasis governance to ensure the rule of law, accountability, democracy, development and many current debating issue. But, the issue of governance in the case of the current global food crisis has not been properly emphasized by many of the policy makers, professionals and scholars. Food security should be a core focus of governance because it is the precondition for human security. Thus food security should be analyzed from governance dimensions in order to grasp the real scenario because food security inevitably interacts with the governance dimension.

The right to food is one of the universal human rights (UDHR: 1948) and basic needs of human beings. The FAO report of 2008 on 'The State of Food Insecurity in the World' shows that in the 2007 the food crisis increased to 75 million hungry people, instead of reducing by 43 million to reflect the aims of the World Food Summit of 1996 (Diouf:2009). At present almost one billion of the world's population of 6.5 billion are suffering from hunger. Among them 98% live in the developing countries and the most affected groups are children, women and indigenous people (ibid). Bangladesh is one of

the food insecurity prone developing countries which have been suffering from climate change, natural disasters, corruption, absence of rule of law and poor governance. According to the World Bank, approximately 33 million of the 150 million people in Bangladesh cannot afford an average daily intake of more than 1800 kilocalories the minimum standard for nutrition as set by the World Food Program(USAID:2009). Thus, here my endeavor is to explore the governance dimensions of food security in the case of ethnic minorities in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) in Bangladesh.

Ensuring food for its citizens has been treated as a fundamental responsibility of the state, a fact mentioned in the constitution of Bangladesh (GoB:1999). In the case of Bangladesh the recent food crisis has deeply affected the minor ethnic communities of Bangladesh. Food security is interlinked with all other global and local crises such as climate change, financial crisis, natural disasters, governance failure etc. Thus in order to deal with food security complex issues such as, climate change and social disadvantage need to be addressed, requiring public policy in cross portfolio action (Victoria Working Paper: No.1: 2007). It demands a new institutionalism which affirms social embeddedness, partnership, and a network and trust at local, regional and global level. Already there is some evidence before us showing how governance dimensions can act on those complex issues. The Blair government of UK first came up with the approach of joined up governance to solve complex social problems in UK. Canada launched a joined up governance programme in response to climate change (ibid). On the other hand some scholars insist that global governance which is concerned in regulating some global issues like climate change, food security etc (Rosaneu: 1999). Furthermore, Bowles and Gintis (2002) illustrated that community level governance may make a vital contribution to governance where market contracts and government fiat fail.

Bangladesh is a frontier land of south Asia, located between the semi arid plains of north-west India and the tropical rain forests of South East Asia. Naturally it is the world's largest active delta which contains a unique blend of contrasting topography, climate,

flora, fauna, people, culture and ecosystems. These geographical factors combined with the climate isolated it for centuries, protected its individuality and influenced its political and cultural character. Bangladesh has been a melting pot of people and cultures for a very long time. The people of Vedda- Dravidian – invading Aryan, the Himalayas and the people from Myanmar made up the first blend. These were followed by Arabs who were Muslim missionaries, Muslim and European traders, and finally the Moguls came from central Asia bringing trade, scholarship and culture. Thus Bangladesh has become a multi ethnic country. Most of the ethnic minorities have been living in the frontiers of the country. The CHT is a colorful ethnic mosaic land where the minor ethnic communities have been living with their indigenous tradition for many centuries but the threat of globalization and unequal competition has pushed them towards a great food crisis which has severely affected their lives and livelihoods. Thus it demands intervention from various levels of governance dimensions. The study is an attempt to unearth the reality of food security from the governance dimension in the ethnic minorities of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. In this chapter I will focus on crafting the research problem, setting objectives of the study, looking at the basic rationale, identifying the scope and outcomes and drawing the structure of the dissertation paper. Chronologically, I have described the issues below.

1.2 Crafting the Research Problem

Indigenous and ethnic minorities all over the world have been facing a number of problems in the process of globalization and the modern state system. Food security is a vital threat towards to their survival process. In the context of ethnic minorities of the CHT food crisis is a long standing issue but was not widely recognized because of the political crises. The CHT contain about 13 ethnic communities who have been living in the frontiers of the country, in a socially disadvantaged and marginal condition. The issue of food security in the ethnic minorities of the CHT is a multidimensional and multifaceted problem from historical, economic, social and cultural points of view. The ethnic minorities of the CHT have been facing problems in the arena of land-production system equilibrium, administrative complexity, military deployment, majority community

settlement, expansion of reserve forest, reduced amount of land for traditional cultivation (Jhum cultivation), climate change etc. The biggest problem of the ethnic minorities of the CHT is the land problem which is overall. Day by day the cultivable land is decreasing where the ethnic minorities have lived. Being dislocated from their land, they are subsequently losing opportunities for their survival.

The impacts globalization and the modern state system have brought the present drastic change in their live and livelihoods pattern. They have been living in an egalitarian mode of society since many centuries ago. At present, they have been facing trouble to cope up with the process of globalization and state mechanisms. The recent expansion of the market economy and capitalistic mode of production threatened their subsistence economy. Thus food security is big crisis in the indigenous people and the minor ethnic communities which have been received attention global communities from different corners. The ethnic minorities of the CHT have been facing various forms food security crisis day by day which is going to the worse situation. Thus the governance dimensions of food security must be explored in order to protect the food security system of the ethnic minorities the CHT.

1.3 Setting the Agenda

The topography of the CHT has provided a unique natural environment that allowed adaptation of different ethnic groups socially and culturally very distinct from that of the population of the rest of the alluvial flood plain of Bangladesh. These ethnic groups, due to the pressure of the larger society and inappropriate development programs are in danger of becoming extinct (Shafie: 2000). The access to material and other livelihood resources is unequally distributed and regulated by the principle of exploitation. Justice and human rights remain neglected throughout the recent history of this region. Such a state of affairs suggests the need for a more intimate knowledge of their way of life and social settings in order to understand the governance issues involved in food security. So the broad objective of the research is to present both an ethnographic and livelihoods pattern to promote better understanding for the improvement of the socio-economic

conditions of the minor ethnic communities. The specific objectives of the study are given below.

The ethnic communities have been living in the CHT for many hundreds of years with their own tradition and way of life. Survival in the hill ecology in an isolated way is not so easy for the ethnic communities. Thus I have attempted to unveil the community governance dimension of food security in the ethnic minorities of the CHT. Since the British colonial administration, the CHT have had a special administration, different from the rest of the country, for example the Chittagong Hill Tracts Regional Council and the Hill District Councils. Indigenous administrative structures also have prevailed there which is called Circle. Furthermore, in some cases the central government has installed a national structure of administration i.e., Office of the Deputy Commissioner.

Finally, the issue of food security among the ethnic minorities in the CHT is neither a matter within the community nor within the national government. Nowadays, it is rather a matter of concern to the international community i.e., the UN agencies, the donors and the civil society. Therefore the dimension of governance of food security in the ethnic minorities includes global governance issues. Thus I have tried to focus a little on the global governance dimension of food security in the CHT.

1.4 Rationale of the Study

This study involved evaluating the situation of ethnic groups in minority positions, and is covered with a commitment to find the possibilities, constraints, and impediments for food security in such a multiethnic situation. Thus the food security issue demands indepth study to measure the magnitude of the problem of ethnic integration so, determining the significance of socio-cultural factors at policy level, to devise necessary and appropriate strategies and means to yield expected changes. It will also explore the intricate planning dilemmas of project activities arising from the linkages between the political economy of poverty and ecological conditions.

1.5 Scope and Expectation of the Study

Although the 13 ethnic communities have been living in the CHT, some of the ethnic communities like Chakma, Tripura, Marma and Thainchaynga are more developed than the Murucha (Murang), Khumi, Chak, Khyang. Thus the study primarily focuses on the ethnic communities who are lagging behind, because they have been encapsulated in a shrinking territory. This created a strain in the life style of the people. They do not have any access to the mainstreams of socio-cultural, economic and political sphere of the country and hence are excluded. Considering them as a minority among the minorities, they are gradually excluded from the competition of scarce resources, and this has imprisoned them in a world of poverty, frustration and isolation. Therefore, the study finding is expected to be furnished with adequate information for policy makers, development practitioners and concerned personnel in contriving practical courses of actions for the welfare of humanity. Moreover, I hope that the study result will help to preserve the independence, integrity and prolific diversity of the ethnic minorities of the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

1.6 The Thesis Structure

I have tried to present the study report systematically and accordingly which bounds me deduct a lot of field information and on the other hand it helps me to come into a conclusion. The whole study has been divided into a total seven chapters and some appendices. Chapter One – Introduction deals with a number of issues which includes an overall introduction, framing the problem of the study, setting agenda i.e., objectives of the study, significance, scope and expectation of the study. Chapter Two – The Conceptual Framework can be called the foundation of the study which has provided theoretical ground of the study. It analyzes governance and its dimensions, food security concepts and its components, ethnic minority issue and finally has drawn a framework of the study. Chapter Three – Methodological Consideration deals with various types of research methods, tools, techniques and approaches. Besides, it includes phases of fieldworks and actions. Chapter Four – The Field and the People has given a profile about

the ecology, people and culture of the study area. Chapter Five – has presented the findings from the field which includes the food production system and the food security threats of the ethnic minorities of the CHT. Chapter Six the Governance Dimensions have brought some recommendations and policy actions on the ground of governance dimensions. Finally, Chapter Seven Conclusion has given a summary and the concluding remarks of the study.

1.7 Conclusion

Food security governance is one of the essential governance issues throughout the globalised world. Although the recent food crisis has affected the whole world indigenous and ethnic minorities are much more badly affected because food security among the ethnic minorities is a multifaceted and complex process. Food security governance of the ethnic minorities of the CHT is a burning issue. In the light of food security governance, here, in this chapter, I have discussed problem framing, objectives, rationality, scope and expectation, research methods and approaches, data collection tools and techniques of the study. Moreover, I have shown the research phases, designs and limitations. In the next chapter, I would like to draw a conceptual framework of the study.

Chapter-2: Conceptual Framework:

The Governance Dimension of Food Security

“Governments can bring about change, not by acting alone but by working together with other actors... with civil society in the broadest sense. Government can define norms and principles and plan of actions, after carefully listening to the views of civil society. But then they need to work with appropriate partners to put those norms into practice.”

Kofi Annan, Former UN Secretary General

General Assembly, September 2000

2.1 Introduction

In the age of globalisation, good governance is quite impossible in the absence of food security governance because food security is an essential component of human security. In the regime of good governance, food security governance is inevitable for establishing accountability between the governors and the governed through a binding commitment (Salih:2009). Food security governance is about the exercise of power within institutional contexts, particularly crafted to direct, control and regulate activities concerned with food security whereby these institutions are viewed by citizens as legitimate, accountable, and transparent (ibid). The recent food crisis brings the issue of food security into the lime light because it has created a worldwide crisis and anxiety among governments, politicians, policy makers and ordinary people, and it has affected the whole world, both developed and developing countries. Thus the UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon and The World Bank President Zoellic and other world leaders urged governments and donors to act promptly. Jacques Diouf (2009), Director General of UN World Food Program stated that indigenous people are one of groups most affected by the recent food crisis. The ethnic minorities of the CHT have been facing tremendous food insecurity in the recent year. Here, in this chapter we have attempted to develop a conceptual framework of the dimensions of food security governance in order to analyze the key conceptual elements of the study i.e., governance dimensions, food security and ethnic minorities. These are analyzed below.

2.2 Governance Dimensions

Governance is broader than government because governance is neither exclusively the preserve of government nor applicable within government structures. Governance has widely articulated as a paradigm of the new public management since 1990s, and is vast in its scope and application because the arena of governance includes the government, civil society and the market. Governance is a system which consists of both the processes and the institutions that manage and control the will and the collective affairs of the society (Rizvi: 2008). As a process governance poses various dimensions but it can be categorized broadly into three dimensions i.e., community governance, joined up governance and global governance. We would have attempted to discuss food security governance in the light of the three basic dimensions of governance into the following sections.

2.2.1 Community Governance Perspective

“Thus communities may make an important contribution to governance where market contracts and government fiat fail because the necessary information to design and enforce beneficial exchanges and directives cannot effectively be used by judges, government officials and other outsiders.”

Bowles and Gintis : 2002

Classical thinkers from Aristotle to Thomas Aquinas and also Edmund Burke recognized that social capital i.e., trust, concern for one's associates and willingness to live the norms of one's community are essential ingredients of good governance (Bowles and Gintis : 2002). Communities have always played a vital role in governing human society. Thus communities are part of good governance because they address certain problems that cannot be handled either by individuals acting alone or by markets and governments. Nowadays, social problems are multifaceted and demand collective action from communities in problem solving.

At first, let us analyse the 'community' concept. Simply, community means a group of people who are bonded through a relationship. Bowles and Gintis(2002) defined "Community, we mean a group of people who interact directly, frequently and in multifaceted ways." They added that the term 'community' itself denotes trust, co-operation, generosity and social interactions. Robert Putnam and others have stressed that community better captures the aspects of good governance that explain social capital's popularity, as it focuses attention on what 'groups do' rather what 'people own'(ibid). In this regard, there is a noteworthy statement of the former US First Lady Hillary Clinton who said that 'it takes a village to raise a child' (Clinton: 1996).

Similarly, Sampson, R.J., Raudenbush, S.W., and Earls, F. (1997) provided some interesting examples, for example in some Chicago neighbourhoods they found that the residents are willing to intervene to maintain neighbourhood amenities such as a local fire station. More empirically, Platteau and Seki (2001) studied the Toyma Bay Fishing Cooperatives in Japan where they found that there is a need for high level and changing nature of skill among the fisherman. It has found that one cooperative has been highly successful. The reason is that they share income and costs, repair damaged nets in common and the elder members pass on their skills, and the more educated younger members teach others the new high tech methods and techniques of fishing. Thus the co operative's boats fish in much riskier and higher yield locations, and the skill and information sharing raises profits and reduces productivity differences among the boats. Bowles and Gintis (2002) have given another example of plywood workers who owned their firms in Oregon and Washington who have both benefited from peer monitoring. They elected their managers and required of their members ownership of a share of the firm as a condition of employment and employment in the firm as a condition of ownership. Here one firm turned into a cooperative ownership. As a result, the supervisory staffs were cut by three quarters. Thus these cooperatives had competed successfully for two generations.

Here the above cases suggest that communities have solved their problems successfully. It is fact that communities can sometimes do what governments and markets fail to do because the society members, not outsiders, have crucial information about other members' behaviours, capacities and needs (Bowles and Gintis: 2002).

Therefore, Bowles and Gintis (2002) concisely define community governance as the set of small group social interactions that, with market and state determine economic outcomes. They have drawn some attributes of community governance which are given below:

Firstly, community governance addresses some common market failures but relies on insider-outsider distinctions.

Secondly, the individual motivation supporting peer monitoring and other aspects of community governance are not captured by self preference.

Thirdly, well designed institutions make communities, markets and states are complements, not substitutes.

Fourthly, poor institutions, markets and states crowd out community governance.

Fifthly, some distributions of property rights are better than others at fostering community governance.

Finally, community governance handles problems well through increasing importance in the future.

Here, CHT has been practicing community base governance since long ago. Thus they have own way of life and communal mode of production. Considering the significance of the dimension of community governance, we would like to explore the dimension of food security governance in the CHT through community governance perspective. In the next section, I would like to focus on the dimension of joined up governance.

2.2.2 Joined up governance Perspective

Government, civil society and market forces, each of these sectors has its own sphere of action, but in the present diverse and pluralistic arrangement they are 'joined up' in their many efforts because in most societies, government cannot meet all the needs and demands of their citizens. This drives the government to 'join up', bringing resources and expertise from different sectors to address the public issue. Recently, many governments got involved with the private and non profit sector to enhance public service because evolving consumer expectations are also placing greater demands on government to become more customer focused (Bartos: 2005). The government has shifted from the regulatory role to a facilitating role. For a functioning government, citizens now expect governments to provide a coordinated, accessible and integrated experience – services that meet the needs of citizens, rather than reflecting departmental structures and boundaries (Victoria Working Paper: No.1: 2007). On the other hand, the role of civil society and the private sector is increasing rapidly and in some sectors they are competing with governments. Therefore government is pushed by citizens' demand and the civil society and private sectors are pushed by mandates and interests to become joined up. Joined up government ensures improved service delivery around client groups or integrated portals rather than around existing agencies or service types (ibid).

The practice of good governance and new public management has brought significant attention to the joined up dimension of governance, like public private partnership, one stop service delivery etc. The spread of globalization and specialization makes the presence of joined up governance inevitable. Joined up governance may take place within the various agencies of the government or between the government and the private sector. There are a good number of the best practices available in the developed countries on joined up governance. It has been observed that in most cases, in the joined up process, the government has been playing a dominant role so it has been identified as joined up government. Let us explore cross culturally some international experiences in joined up government the practices of joined up governance can also be examined.

Most probably there is no universal definition of a joined up government, because it is vast in nature and diverse in practice. It includes a range of terms, such as horizontal, holistic or integrated government and the whole of government has been used to refer to similar efforts (Victoria Working Paper: No.1: 2007). The Management Advisory Committee (MAC), a forum of secretaries and agency heads of the Australian Government, provided, for a definition of joined up government, the following definition for the Australian Public Service in 2004:

“Whole of government denotes public service agencies working across portfolio boundaries to achieve a shared goal and an integrated government response to particular issues (MAC: 2004).”

So, joined up government is designed to complement rather than replace vertical structures for bringing positive outcomes (Christensen & Lægreid: 2006; Farland: 2004; Wanna: 2005). It does not mean replacement of government's existing structure or limiting government capacity. Moreover, it enhances the government's enabling capacity. Joined up government opens a gateway for government across portfolios and working with external sources of expertise provides government with input from a variety of perspectives and improves the flow of ideas around these complex problems (Pollitt: 2003).

Joined up government has received significant importance in Australian Public Service over the last five years (Victoria: Working Paper No.1:2007). Since 2002, the Australian Government has announced a whole government priorities, changed cabinet processes to strengthen its strategic leadership role and is undertaking a strategic project exploring joined up government through the Management Advisory Committee (Halligan: 2004; Management Advisory Committee: 2004). The Australian National government has employed the whole of government approaches to work across the boundaries of government including the cross-government responses such as the whole of government indigenous trials or the Australian Better Health Initiative (Victoria: Working Paper

No.1:2007). State governments established 'one-stop shops' for interacting with government including accessing information, obtaining services and making payments such as Australian Capital Territory and Tasmania both of which provide community access to government services through shop fronts, through a call centre and the internet (CITEC: 2006; Skovitne: 2006). In Australian Public Service the Joined up government initiative has brought sustainable social, economic and environmental benefits for citizens through integrated and coordinated responses.

The Blair Government was one of the pioneers in introducing the concept of joined up government in 1997 to improve the government's responses to 'wicked' problems including intractable social issues such as drug use and social exclusion (Victoria: Working Paper No.1: 2007). The 1999 White Paper, Modernising Government, called for the public sector to work in partnership across organisational boundaries, to provide more integrated and seamless service delivery. Subsequent action plans from the Cabinet Office set out a range of initiatives to support joined up working. Rather than focus on one area of reform, the Government has experimented with a number of options to pursue joined up working, resulting in a wide range of changes which were mutually reinforcing. In the case of the United Kingdom, joined up government rapidly succeeded in both top level and local level public services in implementation and service delivery (Victoria: Working Paper.1 :2007)

Canada has launched joined up government under 'horizontal management', in its public service since the mid-1990s to address some cross-cutting issues such as Climate Change and Aboriginal Issues, globalisation and citizen demands for more integrated service delivery (Bakvis & Juillet, 2004; Victoria:1: 2007). It focused on joining up different levels of government and across federal government departments (Ling, 2002). Though Canada has not established clear guidelines like the UK in implementation of joined up government, they addressed major issues through joined up coordination (Bakvis & Juillet, 2004;). In 2006, Canada also finalised the implementation of service,

streamlining government 'Service Canada' delivery and providing a 'one-stop' personalised access point for government services (Privy Council Office, 2006).

For the last two decades, the government of Finland brought about major reforms of government and the public sector through a 'horizontal programme' where government worked horizontally (Harringvirta & Kekkonen, 2004). The government identifies four priority areas: including employment, entrepreneurship, information society and civil participation policy, programmes for horizontal activity which focus on horizontal policies and identify targets, measures and concrete acts required to meet the targets for each area (Victoria Working Paper No. 1: 2007).

The CHT is an important field for the joined up approach of governance dimensions because there have been existing multilevel and multimode government agencies, community organisations, specialized agencies etc. involved. Thus we have attempted to analyse the governance dimension of food security from the perspective of joined up governance. In the following section I would like to concentrate my discussion on the global governance dimension.

2.2.3 Global Governance

The present world has been facing a number of global challenges i.e., HIV/AIDS, climate change, food security, security crisis, financial crisis etc, which have geared up the idea of global governance around the world. Though global governance is a fashionable concept, it is not new because it has been practiced. As the present world is highly globalised and the global challenges are very diverse in nature, thus global governance becomes a vital dimension of governance. Global governance is the political interaction of transnational actors aimed at solving problems that affect more than one state or region when there is no power of enforcing compliance. Traditionally, global governance has been associated with governing with political authority, institutions, and, ultimately, control. At present the aim of global governance is to coordinate and control interdependent social relations that have the ability to enforce decisions. Similarly

Rosenau (1999) thinks that global governance denotes the regulation of interdependent relations in the absence of overarching political authority, such as in the international system. On the other hand, very concretely, Thomas G. Weiss (1996) stated that "global governance is a collective effort to identify, understand, or address worldwide problems that go beyond the capacity of individual states to solve." Thus, global governance is descriptive rather than normative and refers to concrete cooperative problem-solving arrangements. It includes collective affairs by a variety of actors (such as state authorities, intergovernmental organizations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), private sector entities, other civil society actors, and individuals. But these may also be informal (as in the case of practices or guidelines) or temporary units (as in the case of coalitions). Thus, broadly, global governance may be defined as the complex of formal and informal institutions, mechanisms, relationships, and processes between and among states, markets, citizens and organizations, both inter- and non-governmental, through which collective interests on the global plane are articulated, rights and obligations are established, and differences are mediated .

Therefore, global governance is a set of codified rules and regulations of transnational scope, and the collection of authority relationships that manage, monitor or enforce these rules. The Kyoto Protocol is an example of effective global governance if all of the actors adhere to their treaty commitments, even if global warming remains a problem. Here, the CHT- field of the present study is a pertinent field for global governance, because the plight of ethnic minorities is a very sensitive to the international community. Thus the food security of the ethnic minorities of the CHT has drawn attention of global governance. In order to explore the dimensions of food security governance in the ethnic minorities of the CHT, in the next section I would have attempted to conceptualize the food security and its elements.

2.3 Conceptualizing Food Security: From a Holistic Perspective

‘Food: (n) something that people and animals eat, or plants absorb, to keep them alive.’

Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary

‘There is no love sincerer than the love of food.’

George Bernard Shaw. ‘Man and Superman’

Food security is one of the vital components of human security. Food is the first and foremost basic need for human beings and access to food is one of the universal human rights. Although the food security concept seems straightforward and simple, it can be confusing because it is multi-faceted and complex to analyze. The food security concept is interlinked with different aspects of society and culture. Thus food security can be a slippery concept, and direct analysis is not always tractable.

There are various definitions of food security exist in the various perspectives. Food security, in terms of the well known definition adopted by the World Food Summit in 1996, exists “when all people at all times have physical or economic access to sufficient safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life” (World Food Summit 1996). It is a broad definition which includes different levels of food security. These are described below:

Individual or household food security relates to income, access to resources, and affordability of food. It is largely a question of purchasing power of an individual or a household. Moreover it is related to household demography, local economy and social condition poverty support program. Thus, Maxwell (1998) identified livelihood security as a necessary and often sufficient condition for food security and focused on the long term viability of the household as a productive and reproductive unit (*Cited in Hall: 1998*).

Regional food security focuses on a particular region on the grounds of geographic location, natural resources and climatic condition. Such as the CHT is geographically a distinct region of Bangladesh which has a distinct production system and unique pattern of natural resources.

National food security relates to the ability of a country to consume sufficient food stuffs, even in the face of severe disruptions to the supply chain. Thus the World Bank (1986) rightly emphasize as ‘ food security is access by all people at all times to enough food for an active, healthy life’. This implies national food security which is not only for survival but also for active society (*Cited in Hall: 1998*).

Global food security is concerned with the ability of the world’s agricultural producers to meet global demand, and the efficiency and effectiveness of trading and distribution systems.

Therefore, food security is a situation that exists when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life. Moreover, we can say that food security is a comprehensive concept which includes processes of access to food, food availability and food utilization in relation with environment, economic and social contexts.

2.3.1 Key Elements of Food Security

According to EC and FAO (2008) food security encompasses four basic dimensions these are given below

AVAILABILITY	Food availability addresses the “supply side” of food security and is determined by the level of food production, stock levels and net trade (EC and FAO: 2008). Moreover, Food availability means the volume of food and its reliability. It is satisfied when there is sufficient food in the aggregate to provide the whole country with its required dietary energy supply. Thus food availability is determined by the food production or food supply on the basis of total production population of a country.
ACCESS	An adequate supply of food at the national or international level does not in itself guarantee household level food security. Concerns about insufficient food access have resulted in a greater policy focus on incomes, expenditure, markets and prices in achieving food security objectives (EC and FAO: 2008). Furthermore, Aggregate food availability does not assure food accessibility to every households because it depends on a household’s capacity of food production or purchasing ability. Basically, it includes accessibility to land or any other means of production or source of income.
UTILIZATION	Utilization is commonly understood as the way the body makes the most of various nutrients in the food. Sufficient energy and nutrient intake by individuals is the result of good care and feeding practices, food preparation, diversity of the diet and intra-household distribution of food (ibid).
STABILITY	Even if your food intake is adequate today, you are still considered to be food insecure if you have inadequate access to food on a periodic basis, risking a deterioration of your nutritional status. Adverse weather conditions, political instability, or economic factors (unemployment, rising food prices) may have an impact on your food security status (ibid).

2.4. Food Security and Governance related issues: Cross Cultural Perspective

Food security governance is not an isolated issue which has close relation with various cross cultural issues like climate change, market situation and language and culture. Such as natural calamities, biofuel production, unfair world trade and monopolistic agro business industries are responsible for the food crisis through out the world. Thus, here in the following sections, I would like to briefly discuss on them.

2.4.1 Climate Change and Food Security

Climate change is the biggest threat to food security around the world, especially in the developing countries. Climate Change means any change in climate over time. Climate change can be defined as a combined and long term effect of rising global temperature which affects air, water and oceanic circulations, sea level and rainfall patterns over time and space. In 2007, flood affected food production in 57 countries around the world and drought affected Australian food production.

2.4.2 The Market and Food security

Food security is essentially about identifying, assessing and managing risks associated with food supply. A completely risk-free supply chain is unbelievable in the market system. Eliminating the last vestiges of risk would involve costs that consumers and taxpayers would find excessive. Many risks associated with food supply are likely to be adequately dealt with by markets. Thus, food security might be further enhanced by

removing any disproportionate barriers that prevent markets supplying the resources and infrastructure to make food supply robust. Moreover, market plays vital role in food accessibility because market competition depends on equal accessibility in a market. Monopolistic market always cause of artificial food crisis like price hike, supply chain disruptions etc.

2.4.3 World Trade and Food security

Subsidies to agriculture given by the developed countries are one of the root causes of national food insecurity. National food security is vastly more pressing for developing countries than for the rich countries of Western Europe. Most of the rich countries spend huge agricultural subsidies in agriculture and impose import barriers on the products of the developing countries. Thus the existing World Trade is harmful for the national food security of the developing countries.

2.4.4 Language and Food Security

In the age of globalization language is a powerful technology which influences every sphere of life of the human being. It is one of the pertinent aspects for food security because it has a strong relation with food accessibility. In the context of ethnic minorities and the indigenous people, language plays vital role in achieving food security.

2.5 The Governance Dimensions of Food Security: Framework of the Study

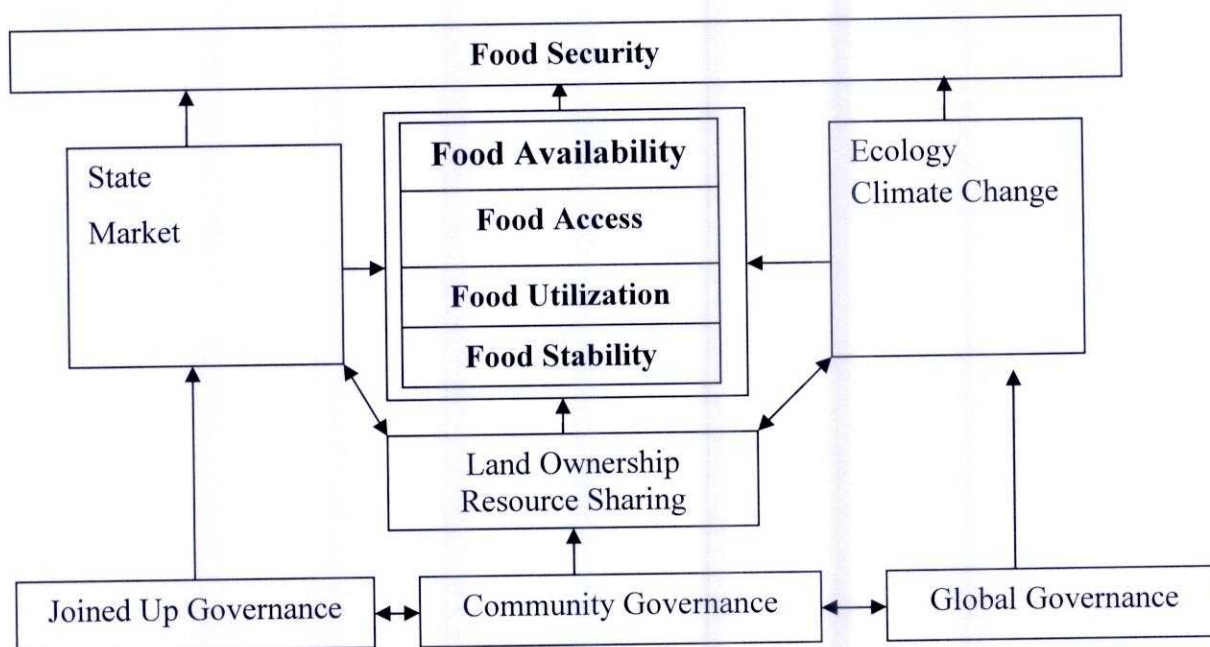


Figure: 2.1: The Governance Dimensions of Food Security: Framework of the Study

On the basis of the discussion on governance dimensions, food security and ethnic minority, I have attempted to develop a conceptual framework of the study which will be leaded the whole study. Through this framework I would have attempted to analyze the governance dimensions of food security in the context of the ethnic minorities of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Above discussion on the governance dimensions have showed that each of dimensions is interrelated to one another. Thus from the governance point of view food security must look into as a whole. Every aspects of security have a strong connection with governance dimensions. Therefore the governance dimensions are inevitable for achieving food security.

2.6 Ethnic Minorities of the CHT: The Excluded People

The category of minority, a technical one in international usage, is defined as

"a group numerically inferior to the rest of the population of a state, in a non-dominant position, whose members ... possess ethnic, religious, or linguistic characteristics differing from those of the rest of the population, and show, if only implicitly, a sense of solidarity, directed towards preserving their culture, traditions, religions, or language"

- F. Capotorti:1977

E.B. Tylor "ethnic refers to a group distinguished by common cultural characteristics e.g., a linguistic like the Bantu or Malayo-Polynesian" (1990:191). Fredrik Barth attempts to describe ethnic groups as a category for ascription of identity by self and by others (Barth 1969). The term 'ethnic communities' or 'ethnic groups,' have been made a reference to those people whose linguistic and/or cultural background is different from the linguistic and cultural background of the mainstream population of Bangladesh. Bengali is a major ethnic group and there are also about fifty ethnic groups who have their own culture and language and they have been living in the periphery of the country. Every ethnic group has traditions, beliefs, customs, food habits, clothes, rites, rituals, way of life and social systems different from the mainstream of the country. The scholars of various disciplines classified the ethnic groups according to their research purpose or organizational interests, e.g. Upajati (tribal), Adivashi (indigenous), Pahari (hill people), Jummia (Jhum cultivator) etc. The minor ethnic groups of Bangladesh are also quite complacent in calling themselves Tribal or *Upajati* but nowadays they discovered the meaning of tribal or upajati which is a derogatory term. It denotes that they are part of the mainstream. It is like Upazila (sub- district), meaning the part of the Zilla (district) or Up ban (sub-Forest), part of a Ban (Forest). However, these ethnic groups are not part of something because they might be a smaller group but they have own culture and traditions.

On the other hand, the Adivashi concept is neither meaningful for ethnic groups of Bangladesh nor a proper usage of showing respect to them. The meaning of *Adivashi* is aboriginal, but in the context of Bangladesh it is difficult to say that the ethnic groups are the aboriginals of Bangladesh. Most of the small ethnic groups migrated from India and Myanmar, and as such, they were the aboriginals of India or Myanmar. Besides, by the *Adivashisation* the minor ethnic groups are being excluded from the mainstream which regards the Adivashi as: Backward, stupid, dirty, inferior, inauspicious because they domesticate pigs, pagan, unsuitable to carry out prestigious jobs, not true and real citizens of the country. They are less human and the second class citizen of the country. (Shafie: 2004)

Pahari (Hill people) concepts are mostly used in the context of the minor ethnic groups of Chittagong Hill Tracts but the problem is not applicable for the ethnic minorities alone, because Bengali people have been living in the hills. On the other hand it is not properly applicable for all other ethnic groups who are living in the plain land. Scholars and practitioners have conceptualised the small ethnic groups with the above mentioned so-called 'negligence' concepts, but nowadays anthropologists and other social scientists are trying to avoid these kinds of negligence concepts for ethnic identities. Thus here I have coined the term 'ethnic minorities' to mean the small ethnic communities of Bangladesh. It may be noted that most anthropologists now use the term 'ethnic group' or 'ethnic community' instead of using the term 'tribe' or 'tribal group'. The people belonging to ethnic groups often do not like the use of the term 'tribe' or 'tribal group' to refer to them, particularly in those situations where these terms are used in a derogatory sense. The term 'Adivasi' or 'indigenous people' is sometimes used to mean the people who are otherwise referred to as 'tribal' but the use of 'Adivasi' or 'indigenous people' is often confusing, particularly in those cases where it is hard to establish whether the group in question is the indigenous people of the area they inhabit or they migrated to that area from somewhere else. To avoid this kind of confusion and also to avoid the term 'tribe' or 'tribal group', the different groups of people covered in this paper have been referred to as 'ethnic communities' or 'ethnic groups'.

2.7 Conclusion

The dimensions of food security governance are inevitable in order to analyze food security system for any community or state. In the age of globalization, there are various levels of interaction take place among the communities, states and global agencies. Thus the governance dimensions are inextricably related to food security system. In this chapter I have tried to conceptualize the governance dimensions of food security in the context of ethnic minorities. Moreover, on the basis of the theoretical discussion I have developed a study framework which I will be utilized throughout the study. Thus, in this chapter I have discussed on governance dimensions i.e., community governance, joined up governance and global governance. Besides, I have conceptualized food security and its elements and related issues. Finally I have analyzed ethnic minority concept where I have tried to emphasize the context of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. In the next chapter I would like to concentrate my discussion broadly on research methods and fieldwork.

Chapter-3: The Research Methods and the Fieldwork

3.1 Introduction

The approaches and methods of research play a pertinent role in any study because it provides the basic framework and view of presentation of any study findings. Based on the nature of the study, I have explored the different tools, techniques and analytical approaches that investigate food security issues in the minor ethnic groups of Bangladesh. This research is mainly founded upon qualitative data collection methods, where most of the source selection is done deliberately according to specified characteristics rather than randomly from the population, as a whole. I have attempted to capture stakeholders' attitudes, action, knowledge, perceptions and response towards food security. Here, I have briefly described the research approaches, methods, and the tools and technique of data collection. Besides I have sketched a brief outline of my field work which will provide better understanding of the whole study.

3.2 Approaches of the Study

Each and every researcher usually follows one or more approaches of study which guides the research methods and tools and techniques of data collection. Choosing of the research approach depends on the nature of the study. For empirical study and public management experiences, the narrative approach produces and presents the evidence rigorously (UNDESA: 2006:51). As it is an empirical and qualitative study I have decided on the narrative approach in my study, because a narrative approach is very sensitive to the whole process, that is, the sequence of events that unfolds over time in context (Abbot:2001, Polkinghorne:1988). Thus I have analysed and presented the evidence and experiences from narrative approach. Besides, I have emphasised the objectivity and neutrality approaches because it is an empirical and qualitative study. So I have analysed the situation from 'emic' i.e. insider's view and 'etic' i.e. outsider's view. Moreover, I have utilised applied ethnographic approaches to focus the people's expression meaningfully from the experience of the field, to emphasise what happens and analyse recent or anticipated intervention.

3.3 Research Methods

In order to meet the objectives of study I have applied a number of research methods observation, participant observation, unstructured interviews, focus group discussion, Participatory Rural Appraisal and case studies to gather in-depth knowledge. For a holistic analysis I have tried to look into the actors and actions from cross cultural views. A few in-depth interviews and unstructured interviews have been conducted among the actors of food security governance, for deeper understanding of the views and challenges of different stakeholders in the joined up process.

The Participant Observation method has been used to gain insight and to have real reflection of the study area. So, the whole study's basis is the participant observation method. The case studies have been conducted to focus on particular cases in a particular ethnic community's behavior, the best practices and requirements. A few indepth interviews have been done in the field for deeper understanding of the problem. A few focus group discussions have been organized for drawing the pictures of the joined up and community based collective responses by the various actors towards the challenges. Let us have a look at the research methods which I have applied of the study according to the phase of the fieldwork.

3.4 The Fieldwork Phases and Application of Research Methods

Broadly I have divided my fieldwork into three phases where I have applied different tools and techniques along with the respective contexts of their application. These are discussed in the following sections.

3.4.1 First Phase:

A. Detailed Observation and Rapport Building

Here I have attempted to build up rapport with the people of the village and the utmost endeavor have exerted to become intimate the people of the ethnic communities through gossiping, nodding, exchanging greetings, general discussions etc. At the same time wide observation has made to gain an overall idea about the area, its production processes, and economic condition, social, cultural and environmental condition.

3.4.2 Second Phase:

B. Key Informants Interview

Key informants have interviewed to uncover information on food security problems, production system, food availability, food accessibility and food utilization, perceptions, feelings, opinions and thoughts. Reflective, interpretative and decisional questions related to food crisis response were discussed with the key informants. Key informants were included at the local level. As a main strategy for collection of data the key informant technique has taken for the following reasons:

1. As an aid to be familiarized with people and the environment and also as a strategy for in-depth observation.
2. To understand local linguistic accent, culture, relationships through emic perspective.
3. To be acquainted rapidly with the study area.
4. To acquire in-depth information within a relatively short time.
5. To avoid spending a long time in collecting data, especially during unstructured interviews.
6. To encourage people to supply concrete information for the sake of the study. Four Key informants were selected for help in the above issues.

C. Unstructured Interview

This unstructured interview was a great aid in the second stage. Informal sittings with the informants helped in establishing a kind of intimacy which in turn helped to encourage

discussion. In this case the subject matter of discussion was to be memorized and as soon as possible was noted down as soon as possible after the interview. In some cases the data so collected were abandoned. In some cases two or three unstructured interviews with the same person was arranged to achieve reliable information.

3.4.3 Third Phase

D. Case Study

Case study was adopted as an aid to reflect the nature of the problem in a nutshell. This was adopted as an aid to the in-depth finding of the study. This was one of strategies for scaling down the study to be as brief as possible. Because through this the brief scales of the study were enlarged. It was necessary for the study.

E. Indepth Observation

At the third stage in-depth observation was adopted. Here the magnitude was intensified. An attempt was made to observe inaccessible and confidential or hidden matters as well as the underlying reasons, in order to display the anatomy of the problem.

F. Participant Observation: The Intensive Field Work Method

The main precondition of using the above mentioned different methods, techniques and strategies was Participant Observation. This was the main thing from which other methods emerged. In order to create a suitable environment, Participant Observation was used as a favorable strategy. In all stages of research this was applied. In this case, in field situations, different methods were used. This was possible due to participant observation. This social situation was considered depending on actors, activities and place.

G. Focus Group discussions

Focus group discussions (FGD) were conducted to collect as well as validate data during the fieldwork of this research. The participants were selected through multistage cluster sampling and stratified random sampling as discussed earlier. The FGDs provided the

context of applying other tools for developing consensus and for getting an indication of how pervasive were the food crisis responses in the local context. In order to identify the potential, information on local patterns and processes of food availability, food accessibility and food utilization, prices and marketing of local produce etc. were also explored in these discussion sessions.

H. Semi-structured and Indepth interviews

Semi-structured interviews, in-depth and open-ended discussions were conducted in the study areas with selected respondents. These interviews collected qualitative data to reflect on the attitudes, knowledge and perceptions of the community. The semi-structured and in-depth interviews collected information on farm output, harvests, income, sources of food and income during harvest failures, seasonal changes in farming activities, livestock fodder, general socio-economic information etc.

I. PRA

A few PRA tools were employed to collect data from primary sources which including seasonal calendars, jhum production and ranking the food security threats. The information areas explored through applying PRA tools included different activities, problems and opportunities which occur during different times of the year and which have an effect on people's lives and farm activities, including rainfall, labor supply and demand, food availability, crops harvested, pest and diseases, seasonal price movements. It also helps to gather information on coping strategies with food security crisis, selected as good community practices.

3.5 Unit of Research and Data Analysis

The unit of data collection in the study field was fundamentally the household. But in some individual cases was also taken as the unit while analyzing the data. Moreover, the study units were individual, household and region. These three units were used because of their relevance/perspective. In the case of differences between two persons, analytical unit was individual. In the case of differences between two households, the analytical unit was a single household. In making comparative analysis of two regions, the regions were taken as an analytical unit.

3.6 Sources of Data Collection

In order to analyse food security among ethnic minorities (within and between regions, different age and sex groups, occupational groups etc, the present research is founded upon extensive fieldwork conducted in the two regions of Bangladesh i.e., the CHT to collect data from the primary, secondary and tertiary stakeholders. These are categorized into two groups. Such as: Primary sources and Secondary sources

3.6.1 Primary Sources

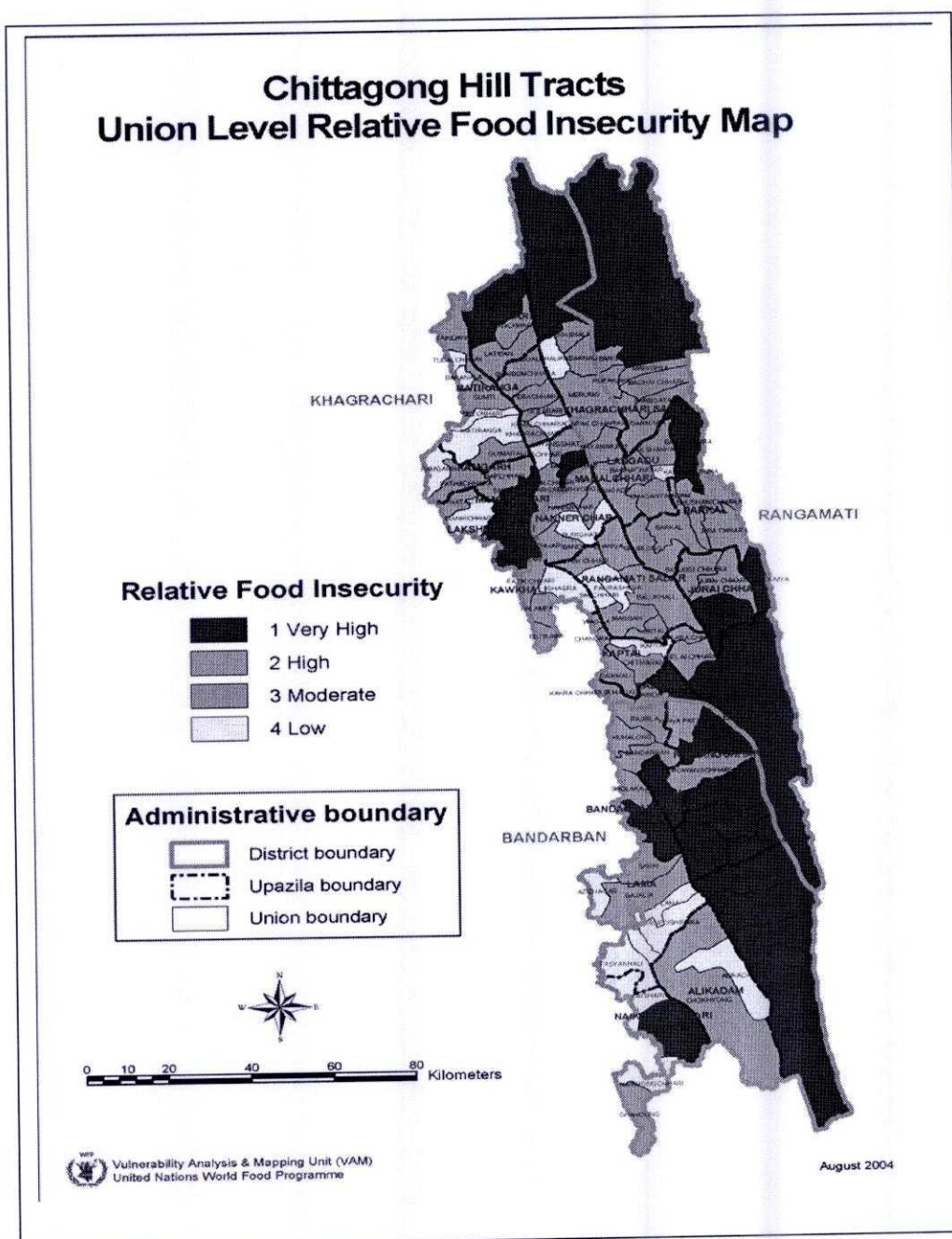
The data collected from the field through interview, personal census and observations, case studies, were under this category. Information or data were collected from the respondents directly considering individuals and households as units.

3.6.2 Secondary Sources

Different newspapers, periodicals, research works, scientific and social research journals were taken as secondary sources of information. These were considered as indirect or secondary sources in the present research work. In research work this type of information was little. In fact, some pieces of information were used in determining the nature of the social problem of the current research.

3.7 The Site Selection

The selection of the ethnic communities was based on the purposive manner because among all the ethnic communities the Murucha and the Khumi are still lagging behind in their way of life. However, the unions and villages therein were selected according to a set of indicators regarding food security, vulnerability, food availability, food accessibility and food utilization process. Based on the criteria set forth above, I have selected the Murucha and the Khumi Bandarban District of CHT. The fieldwork for primary data collection was carried out over a period of 03 weeks in the months of January and July 2009.



Map 3.1 Food Security Map of the CHT (Courtesy: WFP)

3.8 Sampling Techniques

As the research is qualitative and empirical in nature, I have employed Multistage Cluster Sampling. The population of the selected clusters were again divided into non-overlapping homogeneous groups of different strata i.e. primary sampling strata (most vulnerable categories), secondary sampling stratum (male and female), and tertiary sampling strata (different key actors like local government leaders, local administration, GO, NGOs and civil society representatives). Respondents were selected randomly of observation units within all of the strata.

3.9 Limitation of Study

The study has encountered the following limitation:

- Limited accessibility to the remote locations, since the time and other resources for this study did not allow researchers to reach such areas.
- Sample Size– because of limited time and resource constraints– remains relatively small vis-à-vis the geographic coverage, restraining the extent of confidence in generalizing the statistical analysis and in capturing variations and diversities on the ground. However, qualitative tools and techniques were largely used in reducing such limitations.

3.10 Conclusion

As food security governance and ethnic minorities are both complex to understand, the study has employed a good number of research approaches, methods, tools and techniques to capture the scenario of the governance dimension of food security in the CHT. We have also discussed in this chapter sources of data collection, unit of data analyses, site selection, sampling techniques and limitation of the study. In order to give a better understanding of the study, I have provided here the phases of fieldwork and data collection procedure. In the following chapter I have attempted to draw a basic profile on the study area about the field and the people.

Chapter-4: The Field and the People

4.1 Introduction:

The Chittagong Hill Tracts, comprising three districts namely Rangamati, Khagrachari, and Bandarban which is geographically an isolated region of Bangladesh. It is surrounded by the Indian states of Tripura on the north and Mizoram on the east, by the North Rakhine state of Myanmar and the Cox' Bazaar District on the south and east, and by Chittagong District on the west. The CHT constitutes 10% of the total area of Bangladesh which is about 5,093 square miles. Its inhabitants are of Sino-Tibetan descent belonging to the Mongolian group and closely resemble the people of northeast India, Burma, and Thailand rather than the people of the vast alluvial plains of Bangladesh and each tribe in the CHT speaks its own language (Ahsan and Chakma:1989). Thus the CHT ecologically and socially retains a special status. The people on whom I have focused in the study, namely the Murucha (Murang) and the Khumi of Bandarban district, have a unique ethnographic background. Thus in this chapter I have drawn a brief study profile about the field i.e., the Chittagong Hill Tracts and the ethnic groups. It includes a brief introduction on ecological settings, historical background, geo-political importance and a brief description about the ethnic groups have been living in the CHT. Besides, as I have conducted my fieldwork on the Mro and the Khumi ethnic groups thus I would have tried to give a short ethnographic profile of them.

4.2 The Field: The Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT)

I have conducted my fieldwork in the Bandarban district in the CHT on two ethnic communities namely the Mro (Murang) and the Khumi ethnic communities. Here I have given a brief profile of the field which I have studied. The Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) comprises of three hilly districts namely Rangamati, Bandarban and Khagrachari which is geographically a part of the hilly regions that branches off from the Himalayan ranges to the South through Assam and Hill Tripura to Arakan (present North Rakhine State) and Burma, (present Myanmar) (Shafie:2000). Its political boundaries are bounded by the Indian states of Tripura on the North and Mizoram in the East, by the Arakan state of

Myanmar in the South and East and in the West by the Chittagong district of Bangladesh. The Hill Tracts lie between 91° 45' and 92° 50' to the East longitude and 21° 35' and 23° 45' to the North Latitude. The whole territory has for centuries been remote and isolated from daily contact with the outside world. The Bengalis living outside CHT know very little about the place and have an impression that the region is supposedly inhabited by monkeys¹ (Loffler and Brauns: 1990). CHT holds special interest because of the 13 minor ethnic communities who have been living a traditional and indigenous way of life there.

Ethnic minorities of the Chittagong Hill Tracts have a distinctive appearance with Mongoloid features. Their way of life is characterized by stable, low energy and sustained yield economic systems and traditional political authority. The local economy is non-monetized or partially monetized and largely independent of the national economic systems. Their economic base is more integrated with their natural environment. The hill people depend predominantly upon subsistence agriculture. The majority of these are involved in shifting cultivation, which is locally known as Jhum cultivation and is practiced in the tracts. Since earliest known time, jhum has been concentrated in the rugged and relatively inaccessible parts of the districts. All the different indigenous groups practice jhum cultivation with a little variation.

The hill people are associated with Buddhism, some with Hinduism, some with Christianity and many with a variety of local beliefs and rituals, for instance the Chakmas, the Marma, the Mro, the Khumi and the Chak profess Buddhism, the Tripura are mostly Hindus, the Lushai, the Bawm, the Pankhu and the Khyang practice Christianity. The hill people, besides their dwelling place, require large land areas which they occupy only erratically in supra annual cycles, once in five to seven years, to recuperate before replanting. Their resource management strategies, economic systems, socio-political organizations and belief systems are firmly woven into the particular land areas for habitation.

¹ Bandarban is the name of the southern district of CHT where I had conducted my fieldwork, means the 'forest of monkeys'.

4.2.1 An Ecological Profile of the CHT

The CHT's are covered with dense and thin forest, and the valleys are well timbered. It comprises of the rivers Matamuhuri, the Sangu and the Karnafuli which have catchment areas of about 3600 Sq. Km. The Karnafuli rises in the higher Arakan Yomas and cuts across the main ranges of the Hill Tracts falling into the Bay of Bengal with an estimated annual flow of 25 million acre-feet. The main tributaries of the Karnafuli are *Thega*, *Subalong*, *Rinkheong*, *Kaptai* and *Ichamoti*, in one side and *Sajjak*, *Horina*, *Kasalong*, *Chengi* and *Halda* on the right. The *Sangu* rises in the Sangu Reserve Forest in the South East of the Hill Tracts and falls, with an estimated annual flow 4.5 million acre-feet, into the sea just sixteen kilometers from the mouth of the Karnafuli. Finally, the Sangu and Matamuhuri flow through the Southern part of the CHT where my study villages are located, both by the river.

The climate of CHT is characterized by high temperature, heavy rainfall often with excessive humidity and fairly marked seasonal variation. The dry season (from November to March) is relatively cool, sunny and dry. The mean January temperature is 15 degrees Celsius and the mean July temperature is 25 degrees Celsius. In the CHT's, the pre monsoon period (April and May) is very hot and sunny with occasional thunderstorms and the maximum temperature is around 36 degree Celsius. The rainy or monsoon season, June to October, is warm, cloudy and wet with an extension of temperature up to 31 degree Celsius. The high rainfall in the CHT leads to a dense secondary growth of jungle, quickly replacing any abandoned clearings. The average annual rainfall is higher than the national which is about 250 centimeters. Humidity reaches a very high figure of 100 percent at night almost through out the year, but in the daytime the figures are usually less than 50 per cent in the dry season and about 50 to 80 per cent in the wet season (Shafie:2000). Sedimentary deposits, in the CHT, consist of sandstone, shale, siltstone and clay stone that range, in age, between early to the late Miocene epoch. The soils of the CHT are mainly yellowish brown to reddish brown loams and their appearance as steep slopes make them generally unsuitable for arable crops using modern agricultural techniques. The properties of the topsoil are very fertile for vegetation.

4.2.2 A Geo Political Profile of the CHT

The Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) is the hilliest region of Bangladesh. The total area of land is 13,141 Square Kilometers, which is one tenth of Bangladesh. The total population of the CHT is one percent of Bangladesh. Comparatively, it has a low population density compared with the rest of the country. Historically The area was named the "Hill Tracts of Chittagong" in the year 1860, when by the act XXII the district was placed under the control of a Superintendent of the Hill Tracts directly under the supervision of the Commissioner (Shelly.M.R.1992: 35). Historically, the CHT was a contentious place for rulers of Hill Tripura and Arakan. According to one account, Bira Raja was the founder of the Hill Tripura Raj Dynasty in 590 A.D. Zuja Rupa (Bira Raja) defeated the king of the CHT and in 953 A.D. Tsula Tsandra (951-57), a king of Arakan occupied the Hill Tracts and then again in 1240 A.D. the king of Tripura occupied this region (Ishaq :1971:25). It became part of the Muslim dynasty of Sultan Fakuruddin Mubarak Shah in 1338 and continued until 1760 when the Mughal ceded the region to the East India Company. During the period (1338-1760) some parts of it belonged to the king of Tripura and king of Arakan.

CHT became part of the Muslim dynasty in 1338 and continued until 1760 when the Mughals ceded the region to the East India Company. During the partition of British India in 1947, the CHT became part of East Pakistan and later on in 1971 when Bangladesh gained independence, the region became part of the country. The state of the insurgency explicitly emerged after the inception of Bangladesh, especially since on the 23rd of January 1974 Bangladesh was declared a 'uni-cultural' and 'uni-lingual' nation-state. Meanwhile, the hill people developed a political platform 'Parbattya Chattogram Jana Sanghati Somity' to restore their legitimate rights on the 15th of February 1972 and later it was followed by incorporating an armed wing, *Shanti Bahini* (Peace Force), on the 7th of January 1973. Finally in 1997 the Peace Accord between the 'Parbattya Chattogram Jana Sanghati Somity' and the Government brought a conclusion to the insurgency though it has not been successfully implemented yet.

4.3 The People

The CHT is a region of ethnic mosaic which has long been a fascinating area for the ethnographer. The following works have described cultural profiles of thirteen minor ethnic groups of the Chittagong Hill Tracts: *An Account CHTs* (1906) Ibn Battutah, the Chittagong Hill Tracts *District Gazetteer* (1909) by Hutchinson, *Miscellaneous Notes on the Kuki of the Chittagong Hill Tracts* by Levi-Strauss (1952), *A Statistical Account of the Chittagong Hill Tracts* by Hunter (1876), *Tribesmen of the Chittagong Hill Tracts* by Pierre Bessaignet (1958), *The Hill Tracts of Chittagong and the Dwellers Therein* and *Hill Proverbs of the Inhabitants of the Chittagong Hill Tracts* by Lewin(18690), *Mru Hill people of the Border of Bangladesh* by Brauns and Loffler (1990), *The Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh: The Untold Story* by Shelly(1992) and *The Murucha of CHTs* by Shafie(2000). In the light of the above mentioned studies I have tried to draw a brief cultural profile of the CHT.

Table: 4.1 The minor Ethnic Groups in the CHT and Their Distribution by Population.

Ethnic Groups	Total Population					
	1908	1931	1941	1951	1981	1991
Bowm/Banjugi	--	--	--	977	5,731	6,978
<i>Chakma</i>	44,000	103,102	105,677	124,762	212,765	239,417
Khyang	--	--	--	1,300	1,309	1,950
<i>Khumi</i>	--	1,549	--	1,951	1,094	1,241
<i>Kuki</i>	--	2,117	3,584	1,972	--	--
Lushai	--	1,144	--	1,369	4,036	662
Marma (Mogh)	35,000	--	--	65,889	122,898	142,334
<i>Pangkhoa</i>	--	--	--	627	2,349	3,227
Murucha (Mro)	--	7,328	12,932	16,121	18,857	22,041
<i>Tongtongyna</i>	--	--	--	8,313	17,739	19,211
Achak (Sak)	--	--	--	--	1089	2,000
Burung (Tripura)	23,000	38,213	35,246	37,246	54,495	61,129
Bangali (Bengali)	--	--	--	26,150	309,330	468,825
Total	--	212,922	247,053	287,688	751,692	1,070,445

4.3.1 Chakma:

Chakma is the largest ethnic group in the CHT as well as in Bangladesh. Their history of origin is not clear. But they think that they came from the Champaknagar of Myanmar and are regarded to be an offshoot of the 'tsak' 'tsek' ethnic group of Arakan (Risely; 1891:168). Most of them live in Rangamati and Kagrachari district of the hill tracts. Chakma is a matrilineal ethnic group and they practice a patrilocal residence system. Originally, they were Buddhist. When the CHT came under Mughal rule then they took a Muslim title. But nowadays most of them have converted to Christianity. Racially the Chakma belong to the Mongoloid group. Their language is in the Indo Aryan group. It is a corrupt form of the Burmese alphabet (Grierson: 1898:29). Chakmas are the most advanced ethnic group of CHT. They have made impressive progress in education. Many of them are serving in responsible positions in the government and public agencies.

4.3.2 Marmas:

The Marmas of the CHT are prominently and popularly as 'Magh'. They are the second largest ethnic group of CHT. They are found in all three districts of the CHT but in the Bandarban district they are the largest ethnic group. Also they are not aboriginal of CHT. They were a group of refugees driven out of Arakan by the Burmese (Mohsin: 1997:15). Racially they are mongoloid and their language belongs to the Tibeto-Burman language family. The *Marma* script, like Myanmar's originates from Brahmi script (Harvey:1927). Though they are patrilineal and patrilocal but the position of men and women are equal in the society. Marmas are Buddhist mixed with animism. But nowadays Christianity has entered into the society.

4.3.3 Tripuras:

Tripuras, the third major ethnic group of CHT, live in Kagrachari district with stray settlements in Bandarban and Rangamati district. They came from the Tripura hills of India. Like Chakmas and Marmas they are fast advancing in education. Many of them are serving under the Government and NGO's where some of them holding quite high posts. Racially they are Mongoloid. Their language belongs to the Tebeto-Burman language family.

4.3.4 Bwam:

Bwams are known by several names such: Banjogi, Kuki, Lai, Mizo and Laimi. They are known themselves as 'Laimi'. The meaning of Laimi is human beings. They are also Mongoloid and their language belongs to Tebeto-Burman family. But they have no written script. They lived in the Bandarban district of the CHT where they are the third largest ethnic group. Bawms are also inhabitants of the highest hills. They are immigrants from the Mizo hills of Mizoram in India. Once they were animist but now they are Christian. As a result, their way of life, dress and culture appear have been greatly influenced by the occident (Shelly:1992:62). Nowadays, Christianity is an influence in their everyday life. They receive modern education and health. Many of them are graduates and post graduates. They are serving in government agencies and NGO's.

4.3.5 Tanchangya:

It is a matter of controversy whether Tanchangya are a separate ethnic group or a branch of the Chakmas. Physically and linguistically there are some similarities between Chakmas and Tanchangyas (Shelly:1992:64). Racially they are Mongoloid. Their language belongs to Tebeto- Burman family. But the Tanchangya feel that they are a separate ethnic group. The population census of the Bangladesh government in 1981 has counted Tanchangya as a separate ethnic group. The majority of them have been living in Rangamati and Bandarban. Like the Chakmas, it is not clear where they originate from. According to Captain Lewin(1869:66) Tanchangya came from the Arakan in 1819 A.D. They are Buddhist and their rites and practices are very similar to the Chakmas.

4.3.6 Lushai:

Lushais, one of the small ethnic groups in the CHT migrated from the Lushai hills of Mizoram in India some 160 years ago. Since they were inhabitants of the Lushai hills, they were called Lushai. Once they were ferocious and thus they chose mountain tops as their abodes (Mohsin:1992:18). They are animist and 'Pathian' is their almighty God. Lushais are divided into several sects and sub sects, numbering about 150. Intra sect

marriage is prohibited among them (Shelly:1992:59). They are also Mongoloid and their language belongs to Tebeto-Burman family. But they have no written script.

4.3.7 Keyangs:

Lucien Bernot(1952) discovered Khyang habitations in the Chemi mouza between the Sangu and the Karnafuli rivers and he stated that probably they are descendents of the southern *Chin* ethnic group who entered into the CHT two hundred years ago .(Ishaq :1971:74). Their social customs and social organizations are similar to those of the Murucha and the Khumis. But they have no sects or clans (Ibid). They are animist mixed with Buddhist. They call themselves 'Hyou'(Mohsin:1992:20). Racially they are Mongoloid. Their language belongs to the Kuki-Chin group. Keyangs are one of the advanced ethnic groups in education.

4.3.8 Chak:

Captain Lewin considered that Chaks are a sub group of the Chakmas (1869: 65). But Chaks claim that they are a separate ethnic group. They call themselves 'Asak'. The Sak of Arakan also calls themselves 'Asak'. So they think that they are descended from the Sak. Chaks are divided into two sects: Andro and Ngarek (Mohsin:1992:21). The Chaks have a good number of graduates and post graduates.

4.3.9 Pankho:

Pankho is a microscopic ethnic group. But it is a matter of controversy whether the Pankhos are a separate ethnic group or a branch of Banjogi or Bwam. The Pankhos have only two sects namely pankhos and Banjogis. They practice intermarriage between these sects but not with other ethnic groups (Ishaq:1971:72). Racially they are Mongoloid. Their language is belongs to Tebeto- Burman family. Very few of them are in government agencies and NGO's. Like other small ethnic groups they have no chief of their own and owe their allegiance to the Marma chief of the Bohmong circle of the CHT.

4.3.10 The Mro/ Murucha: A Short Ethnographic Profile

Mro is the fourth major ethnic group of the CHT and the second largest in the Bandarban district. They are predominantly known by others as 'Murang' or 'Murong' but actually they know each other as Mro or Murucha. The word is derived from the meaning of 'Muru' and 'Cha'. Muru means human beings and Cha means a group of people. The word Murucha then refers to a particular category of human beings (Shafie; 2000: 44). They have no chief of their own and owe their allegiance to the Marma chief of the Bohmong circle of the CHT (Mohsin; 1992: d17). They immigrated from Arakan in Myanmar several hundred years ago (Brauns and Loffler: 1990: 34). They are also Mongoloid and their language belongs to the Tibeto-Burman family. But they have no written script. They are animist but nowadays they are influenced by Christianity. They are divided into clans which they call 'Chen' and practice clan exogamy marriage rules. Even though it is a patrilineal society women have many more freedoms. Mros live deep in the jungle and on top of the hills so they are deprived of health, education and other facilities unlike other ethnic groups of CHT.

The Murucha and the Khumi are the two oldest and smallest ethnic groups living in the Bandarban district of the CHT with a traditional and an indigenous way of life on the tops of the hills and deep in the jungle close to the Myanmar Border. The Murucha and the Khumi have similarity in physical appearance and cultural aspects. Some oral stories indicate that once the Murucha and the Khumi had a contentious relationship in Myanmar but now in the CHT they have a good relationship. Although there have been numerous studies and works on the ethnic communities of CHT, the Murucha and the Khumi have attracted little attention from the policy makers and practitioners. Thus, before entering into detailed aspects food security of the minor ethnic communities the CHT here I have drawn a brief sketch of the Murucha and the Khumi ethnic communities for better understanding.

The word is derived from the meaning of Muru and cha: Muru means human being and cha means a group of people. The word 'Murucha' then refers to a particular category of human beings (Shafie:200). The minor ethnic communities of the CHT comprised of varying population figures, in origin and identity. Many sources of field data confirmed that among the 13 ethnic groups the Lushai, Pankho, Murucha, Khumi, and Bonjugi seem to be the descendents of the earliest inhabitants of the area. A few hundreds years ago the Murucha were the inhabitants of Arakan². Lewin (1968) mentioned that the Murucha are from the Arakan and he traced their origin to the Chinwin river basin. Both Hunter and Lewin have the same opinion that the Murucha are expatriates in the Chittagong Hill Tracts after being driven from Arakan by the Khumi people. According to Hunter,

“The Mrus (Murongs) are a tribe which formerly dwelt in the Arakan Hills; they are now principally to the west of the river Sangu and along the Matamuri river within the Chittagong Hill Tracts. They asserted that the Muruchas were driven from Arakan by the Khumis and some few years ago a bloody feud existed between them and affrays often took place” (Hunter 1876: 56).

The statement is further substantiated when Sir Aurther Phayre holds the same position, “This is a hill tribe now much reduced from its ancient state. They once dwelt on the river Kuladan and its feeders, but have been gradually driven out by the Kami Tribe. They have therefore immigrated to the West, and occupy hills on the border between Arakan and Chittagong. *The Roadzaweng*, or history of Arakanese Kings, refers to this tribe as already in the country when the Myamma (i.e. Burmese) race entered it. It states also that one of this tribe was chosen King of Arakan about the fourteenth century of Christian era. The traditions recorded in the same work also imply that the Mru and Myamma races of the same lineage, though this connection is denied by the Arakanese of the present day, who regard the Mru tribe as ‘wild-men’ living in a degraded state, and consider that it would be disgraceful to associate with them” (Phayre 1841: 679).

² Arakan- A former state of Myanamr at present it is called the Northern Rakhine State.

The statements cited above imply that the Murucha are not the aboriginal or natives of the soil of Chittagong Hill Tracts but Hutchinson's (1909) statement is fairly contradictory as he claims that this group are the true aboriginals of the CHT and by some other evidence, the Murucha have their closest culturally related groups in Burma. However, a Murucha statement that I heard from several villagers during my field stay, can be cited here particularly to understand their historical relation with the Khumi people, "The Murucha are enemy to the Khumis. Long ago they used to cut our heads off and therefore, a Murucha can never be a friend of the Khumi."

4.3.14 The Khumi – The Hill People: A Short Ethnographic Profile

The Khumi is one of the smallest ethnic groups of the CHT. They introduce themselves as Khumi and they are known themselves also as Khumi. Some author and social scientists explain the concept of Khumi through the other ethnic languages. So they have provided many explanations about the concept of the Khumi which are neither relevant nor perfectly meaningful. For example Lewin (1969:88) explains the Khumi concept through the Arakanese language i.e. 'Khe' means dog and 'me' means race. Therefore the Khumis are the dog race. He took support from the description of Bernot (1965:166) who told that the dog is a favorite item of food of the Khumis, so they might have derived this name from dogs (Mohsin, 1997:17). But this explanation is totally rejected by the Khumi people. In the same way, W.W. Hunter explained the Khumi concept by Bawm languages as Khwey means dog and mi means dog (Hunter:1876). At first Abdus Sattar (1984:336), a famous ethnographer of Bangladesh clarified the Khumi concept by the Khumi language. His explanation i.e. 'Kha' means 'man' and 'mi' means 'best race'. Therefore Khumis are the best human group or race. But the problem of the explanation they are not Khumi but they are Khumi. Very recently, David .A. Peterson (2002), an American linguist is working on Khumi ethnic groups of the Hill tracts. He described Khumi means person or human. But the Khumi villagers described by their self-language as 'Khu' means deep jungle and 'mi' means human beings. Therefore Khumi means the people of deep forest. Their self-explanation of Khumi concept and their living condition is inextricably related. Actually they live in deep jungle forest of the Bandarban district of

the CHT. Basically they live in three dense forest areas of the Bandarban district. These are Thanchi, Rumma and Rowangchori Thana. Their homes are far from Thana headquarters and markets, a walking distance of one or two days. There is no better road communication in Khumi living areas because these areas are the hilliest areas of Bangladesh.

Traditionally the Khumis live in top of the hills. They live in the three hilly belts of the Tajindong, the Keokradong and the Chimbuk hills, which are the respectively three the highest hills of Bangladesh. Tajindong is the highest peak of Bangladesh, which is 4700 if height than sea level. Most of the Khumis are living in the hills surrounding Tajindong. They are adapted to life on top of the hills. Once they lived on top of the hills for safety from their enemies but today they live on top of the hills for the dense forest and availability of jhum cultivable land.

4.4 Conclusion

The Chittagong Hill Tracts is a vital field from ecological, geographical and political points of view. On the other hand the diverse culture of the ethnic communities makes a prolific cultural field. Thus the CHT is a fascinating field for ethnographers, social scientists and development practitioners. In order to better understanding the governance dimensions of food security in the CHT, in this chapter I have given a brief profile on the ecological and geographical settings and have drawn brief historical background. Besides, I have tried to give a short ethnographic profile of the ethnic minorities of the CHT. In the following chapter we will discuss the food production system and analyze the food security threats to ethnic minorities in the CHT.

Chapter-5: Food Production Systems and Food Security Threats in the Ethnic Minorities of the CHT

5.1 Introduction

Although the society of the ethnic minorities of the CHT is small in size, their culture and governance processes are very complex and multifaceted. Many centuries ago they have developed and practiced their own societal process which is non-monetized or partially monetized and largely independent of the national economic system (Shafie: 2000). Their economic base is more integrated with their natural environment. On the other hand, the modern state system has installed some state instruments like national administration and service departments etc among their societal process. Nowadays, it has been found that the governance complexity has affected their food security system which is the core of the study. The ethnic minorities of the CHT have been living in their own way of governance in their economy, administrative structure and ecology. For example, their main livelihood is jhum cultivation which exists only among them and they have their own traditional administration and special local government council beyond the national administrative and local government system. Furthermore, they have been living in a hilly ecology which is different from the rest of the alluvial plain of the country. Here, in the first part of this chapter I have attempted to provide a salient features and process of food production systems in the ethnic communities. In the second part of this chapter, I have analysed various types of food security threats of the ethnic minorities of the CHT.

5.2 The Food Production System: Jhum Cultivation

The Jhum cultivation system has different names in different society such as *slash-and-burn* cultivation, *rotational agriculture* cultivation, *shifting* cultivation, *Swidden* cultivation and *mixed crops* cultivation and so on. In the CHT, it is widely known locally as *jump* or *jhum* cultivation. Jhum cultivation is one of the traditional production systems which are well adapted to hilly ecology and to less technology dependent society. The ethnic minorities of the CHT have been practicing jhum cultivation in the CHT for many centuries and there are some unique features of jhum cultivation in this region. Let us have a look the salient features of production system in the CHT.

5.2.1 Salient Features of Production System: The Jhum Cultivation

Jhum is a community based cultivation system where the whole village community needs to help each other in the process of cultivation because it needs more labor exchange for the processing of jhum fields which includes dugouts, weeding and harvesting are the combined labor intensive tasks in a jhum field. For this reason, the ethnic communities exchange their labor with each other. The Khumis have invented a particular labor exchange system, which is called *Thoboiki-Thoboitha* in Khumi communities. *Thoboiki* is labor accept and *Thoboitha* is labor return.

1. The Jhum cultivation system is suitable for steep slopes of high hills and densely covered jungle. On the other hand hills covered with dense jungle have played a vital role in maintaining the soil fertility. As both of the conditions have prevailed in the CHT so the ethnic minorities has been practicing jhum cultivation in the steep slope of the CHT.
2. It is a rotational cultivation system because once cultivated a jhum field takes from 7 to 10 years to recover. The land is then left to revert to scrubland. Thus it is a cultivation of a low population dense region. Low population pressure permits a long fallow period between cycles.
3. It is a family labor oriented production system because the whole family is engaged in the cultivation process which requires hard labor and incessant care. The young plants have to be kept weeded constantly and as they come to maturity they have to be guarded against the depredations of wild pigs, deer, monkeys, parrots and rats. It is usually men who will cut the jhum for the whole village. The women and children are responsible for weeding, tending and harvesting. Thus, it is not a capital-intensive production system.

4. It is a mixed crops production system. The ethnic minorities used to mix seeds of different crops -rice, cotton, melon, pumpkin, millet, beans, gourds, yam, maize, oil, seeds, ginger and sesame -and plant them in small holes at fairly even intervals. The different crops ripen at different times; the maize ripens about the middle of July; melons, vegetables and rice are harvested in September and October and the cotton and sesame in November and December. Bananas, if planted are left for harvesting in the second year.
5. It is a subsistence production system because the ethnic minorities cultivate a jhum field mostly for their family need because it is not possible to go for large scale or market oriented production. The ethnic minorities meet their family needs from the jhum cultivation. Besides, jhum they cultivate ginger and some others vegetables which they sell for buying Kerosine, Salt, *Napi* and some other materials. Thus it is suitable for a subsistence economy.

Moreover it can be said that the Jhum land is usually owned by the village rather than by individuals. The village *Karbary* is responsible for the distribution of the jhum land among the village community. The size of the plot depends on the family size, but is generally between 3 and 5 acres. The ethnic minorities pay a tax to the village *Karbary* which is to be shared by the headmen, the chiefs and the government.

5.2.2 The Process of Food Production: The Jhum Cycle

Jhum Cultivation is the main production system for ethnic groups of CHT. It is a long term and complex production system. It has various stages and components. Those are as follows:

Table: 5.1 Year-round Jhum Cultivation Cycle

ACTIVITIES			MONTHS											
			Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
1	B	Clearing												
2	U	Drying												
3	S	Firing												
	H													
4		Sowing seeds												
5		Planting S.lings												
6		Weeding (1 st)												
7		H. Veg. Leaf (1 st)												
8		Weeding (2 nd)												
9		Harvesting (2 nd)												
10		Weeding (3 rd)												
11		Harvesting (3 rd)												
12	R	Winnowing												
13	I	Drying												
14	C	Storing												
15	E	Threshing												
16		Harvesting (4 th)												

The table has taken from Shafie: 2000

Jhum Selection:

In the process of the Jhum cycle the first step is Jhum selection. During the months of January and February the head of the family walks around within the allocated land for their village with an intention to select a piece of suitable land for their production. Primarily they try to anticipate the productivity of land through assessing the type of different plants or vegetations on that land, the color of the leaves of those plants, the soil quality of that land and so forth. For example, banana plants, or grass is not a good sign of soil fertility, dried or yellowish plant leaves also indicate less yield and instead of red or sandy soils they look for dark clay loams. At first they cut a branch of wood or jungle bush of a hill of within their own *Para* area. It is kind symbol and signal to others. Thus the other people follow the signal when they select their jhum fields.

Jhum Cutting:

After all kinds of religious explanation and social negotiation and recognition (if required) they enter into the main work of a jhum field which is cutting of wood, bamboo and bushes. It is labor-intensive work so they take help from other family members and this is returnable. It takes two to three weeks.

Jhum bush drying: After wood, bamboo and bushes have been cut; the jhum field dries in the sun light in the next two to three weeks.

Jhum firing line: Before firing the cutting wood, bamboo and bushes of a jhum field they make a clear line from the rest of jungle then the fire cannot harm the trees and forest.

Jhum firing: When the cutting wood, bamboo and bushes are properly dry they set fire to the jhum field. This fire continues from one to three days.

Jhum house making: After setting fire to the jhum they built a temporary house in a suitable place of the jhum field from where they can watch it. They take rest in the jhum

house when they work in the jhum field. They watch the jhum field from the jhum house and temporarily store the harvested crops and fruits in the jhum house.

Jhum clearing: After firing, they clear the jhum field through collecting all the roots and non-burnt wood which they store as fuel wood.

Jhum seedlings: On the ashes and the soil they sow all the mixed seeds such as rich cotton and others.

Jhum saplings: After two or three weeks of sowing seedlings they saw different saplings in a jhum field. Therefore, seedlings and saplings can grow equally.

First weeding: After one month to one and half months after they start the first weeding of the jhum field.

Vegetable collection: Two months after sowing they harvest vegetables from a jhum field. Vegetables are the first collection from a jhum field because at that time weeds and plants are equal in size.

Second weeding: On month after the first weeding, they start the second weeding . It is more labor intensive than the first weeding because at that time the plants are stronger than the weeds.

Third weeding: Again, one month after the second weeding they start the third weeding. It is less labor intensive than the second weeding.

Jhum watching: During the ripening period of rice and fruits, wild animals and birds want to enter the jhum field for their food, for example wild elephants, monkeys and different birds. So this period requires full time jhum watch.

Jhum harvesting: Harvesting is also a labor-intensive period in jhum cultivation. So, at that time they help each other by labor exchange.

Cotton and potatoes collection: Cotton and potatoes are at the last items of jhum harvesting.

Saplings Caring: After completing the harvesting cycle of jhum they take care of the tree saplings of a jhum field.

Thus the production system of the ethnic minorities of the CHT is a complex and laborious process which demands community base involvements and sufficient land allocation. The ecological and geographical nature and the social settings of the CHT is suitable for the traditional way of production system. At present it has been facing number threats from different corner which disrupted the food security system of the ethnic minorities of the CHT. In the following section I have focused on the food security threats of the ethnic minorities of the CHT.

5.3 Threats to Food Security

From my observation of the fieldwork and from some other empirical evidences I have identified a list of food security threats in the ethnic minorities of the CHT which I have discussed below.

5.3.1 Land Problems

Land is the critical factor for achieving food security. The capability of land of the CHT was classified by the Forestall Survey (1964-66) as four types. These are Rice cultivable land (2%), Horticulture including jhum field (21%), only forest suitable land (51%) and Reserve forest (26%).(Slavery International:1984)³

Land Use	Acres	%
Land suitable for wet rice cultivation	77,00	2
Land suitable for horticulture (Jhum)	670,000	21
Land suitable for forest only	1,600,000	51
Reserved forests	800,000	26
Total	13,147,000	100

According to the McDonell Report, Reserved Forest [unavailable for agriculture] covers 28% of the total area of Hill Tracts and only about 1,00,000 acres (4%) of land is under paddy cultivation. The area under horticultural crops was estimated to be about 30,000 acres (1.2% of the total area).

In the context of the ethnic minorities of the CHT land is the basis of their live and livelihoods. The recent crisis has highly affected the food production system in the CHT. The minor ethnic communities of the CHT has still been practicing communal land ownership. Firstly, access to land is equal for all of the families of a village who have been living there permanently. Secondly, it is completely determined according to clan or lineage membership, access to the political office and so on. Besides these criteria, land

³ Based on Forestal's survey, 1964 to 1966 in *Anti-Slavery Society (now Anti-Slavery International)* London, 1984.

allocation and rights thus obtained are dependent upon multiple conditions. At the regional level, land allocation is based on the criterion of revenue collection. The land area of the circle is precisely defined and the office of the King is made responsible for collecting the revenue from the dwellers. Mouza is the next step on the hierarchy and its geographical boundary is recognized by both the governmental and the traditional structure of administration. The office of the headman is empowered with authority of collecting the revenue from all the villages settled within the territory of that *mouza*. Neither the King nor the headman is the owner of the land of their circle or *mouza* respectively.

The biggest unresolved problem of the CHT is the land problem. Day by day the ethnic minorities have become dislocated from their land, and are subsequently losing opportunities for their survival. Initiatives are needed from different levels to help these people in finding their desired lives- the life that they seek and they should get. They are extremely hardworking people, knowledgeable about the mysteries of the wilderness but they don't have chances and can't provide chances for themselves. The ethnic minorities of the CHT do require large land areas for their *jhum* cultivation but, in recent days, they have been in a process of losing their land. Being reluctant to consider land as a private property, the hill people are only concerned with crop production on the particular plots. Bernot goes for further precision from a general perspective of the ethnic minorities living in Chittagong Hill Tracts,

“Jhum holdings are not property in the same sense as land on the plains. There are no formal deeds or legal titles. Forked sticks mark the boundaries of the jhum plots, and they are respected by other villagers. Disputes over crops, or even the theft of crops, may takes place, but *no one will attempt to occupy a plot already cultivated by another villager, or a plot another person has decided to cultivate, without obtaining permission*” (Italics not in original) (1953: 53). (Cited in Shafie: 2000)

The absence of private ownership of land in the CHT provided an opportunity for their resettled Bengali neighbors to exploit them in many respects. Land rights, access to traditional lands, and maintenance of traditional transhumant routes are of vital importance to the economic, social, health and psychological well being of the ethnic communities.

5.3.2 Food Production Fall: Reducing fallow period

Jhum is called a rotational production system because a jhum field needs a certain fallow period to make it ready for next time cultivation. The fallow period is essential in the jhum cultivation system. Ramakrishnan (1992) has illustrated that fallow period played vital role in food production output.

Table: 5.2 Energy Ratio under Different *Jhum* Cycle in Meghalaya.

<i>Jhum Cycles</i>	Energy (MJ/ha/yr.)		<i>Energy Efficiency</i> (Output/Input)
	Input	Output	
30 year cycle	1,665	56,766	34.1
10 year cycle	1,191	56,601	47.5
5 year cycle	510	23,858	46.7

Source: Ramakrishnan 1992: 35.

The table depicts that the fallow period is more than ten years and the less than ten years both less output oriented. Thus the fallow period of a jhum field either more or less than the optimum has the adverse effect in the jhum production system. The following table will give us clear picture that how the fallow period has the correlation with production system.

Table: 5.3 Seeds and Production ratio under Different *Jhum* Cycle in the CHT.

Year	Jhum Cycle	Seeds (rice)	Production (Harvest)
40 years ago (1959-79)	10-12 years	1 kg (unit)	70-75 kg (unit)
20 years ago(1979-89)	8-10 years	1 kg (unit)	60-65 kg (unit)
10 year ago(1989-99)	5-8 years	1 kg (unit)	50-55 kg (unit)
At present(1999-09)	2-5 years	1 kg (unit)	40-45 kg (unit)

Source: Fieldwork

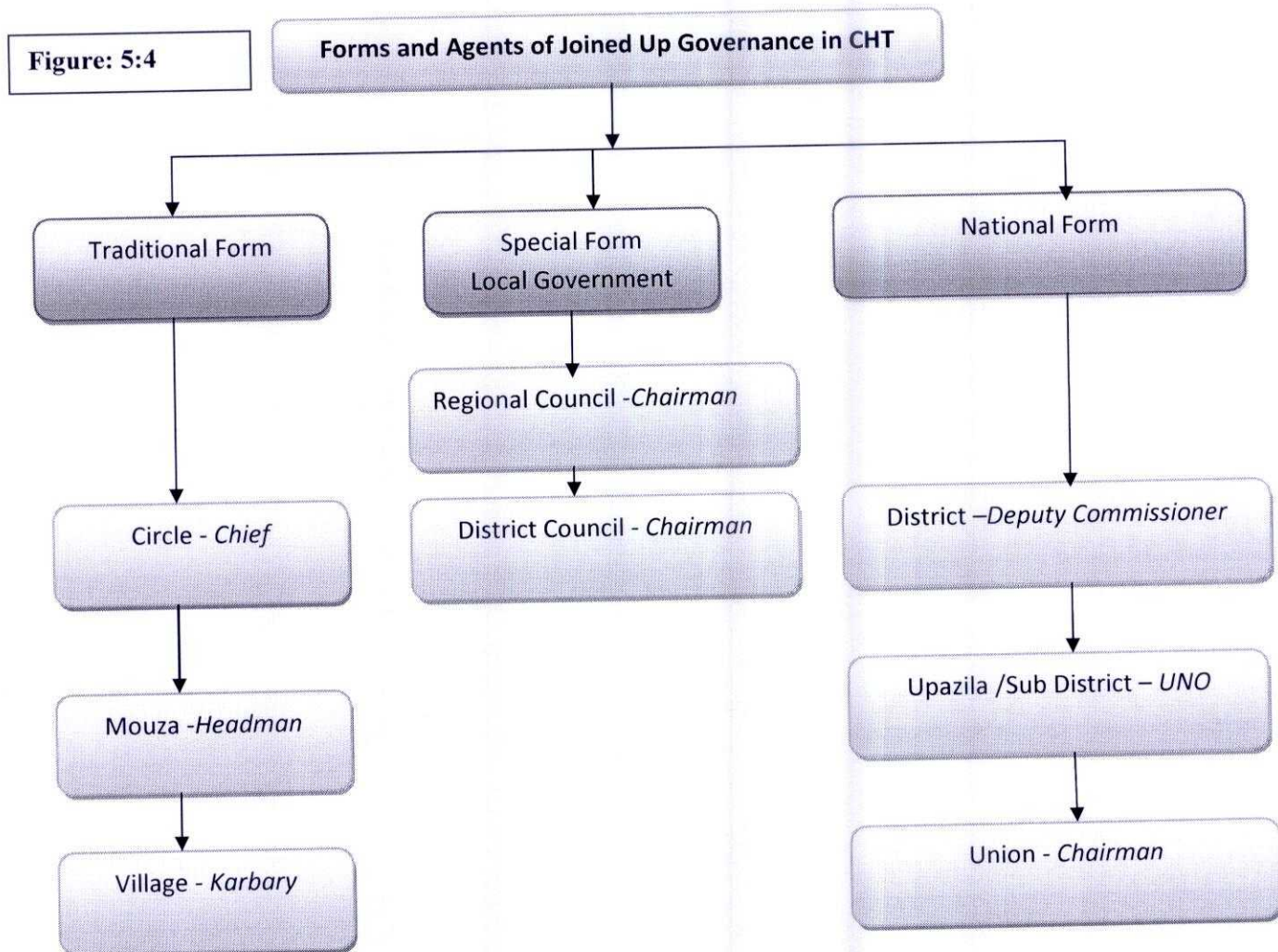
The fallow period of *jhum* cultivation has been reduced during the last 40 years because of the resettlement of Bengali people in the CHT. Thus decreasing yields due to reduced *jhum* cycle and shortage of land for *jhum* cultivation compelled the minor ethnic communities to fall into food insecurity.

It has been observed in the studied villages that the fallow period of *jhum* fields have been gradually shrinking since the population rehabilitation program from the plain land of the country which severely affected the food production system in the CHT. During my fieldwork I have found that in a *mouza* on an average there were 5-8 villages before the population rehabilitation programs but now it has been increased more than three times. A village increasing means shrinking the land for another village.

5.3.3. Administrative Complexity

According to the Regulations 1900, the CHT is the subject to the special rules unlike the rest of Bangladesh which has divided the CHT into three circles such as Chakma circle, Mong circle and Bhomong circle respectively among Rangamati, Khagrachori and Bandarban district headed by three *Raja*. On the other hand the central government has installed national administrative structure. The national administration divided the region into three districts namely, Rangamati, Khagrachori and Bandarban whereas the

traditional or indigenous administration recognize three Circles namely, Chakma circle, Mong circle and Bhomong circle respectively among Rangamati, Khagrachori and Bandarban district. Besides, according to the Chittagong Hill Tracts Peace Treaty, the government has established a special structure of regional administrative structure. The structure was not something new, innovated by them; rather it was the modified adoption of the preexisting system. The details of the traditional administrative system of today, was developed and pursued since colonial period but its background is rooted in early history (Shafie: 2000). Since the liberation of Bangladesh gradually the insurgency has increased in the region which has come to an end by the Chittagong Hill Tracts Peace Treaty in 1997.



Here I have attempted to understand the minor ethnic communities, in the regional context, significantly emphasize these macro features that particularly impinge on their access to the means of livelihood. Let us have a look at the evolution and the existence of administration in CHT.

Evolution of Administration

During the pre-colonial era in 590 AD it was within the dynasty of the King of Tripura. Arakanese King Tsula Tsandra (951-957), in 953, conquered the region and again the King of Tripura restored the ownership in 1240 AD. The territory then became part of the Muslim dynasty from 1338 when Sultan Mubarak Shah (1338-49) conquered Chittagong. After that, the region remained contentious between the Sultans of Bengal and the Arakanese kings. In 1517, the Portuguese landed at Chittagong and settled in a port, with the consent of the King of Bengal. Finally, the Mughal rule remained undisturbed and continued from 1666 until 1760 when the region was given to the East India Company. (District Gazetteers of CHT: 1975; Shafie: 2000)

The British colonial administration did not directly interfere with the internal economy and authority of the indigenous groups until the year 1860. Lewin states about the Kuki insurgency in the adjacent Tripura district of present India caused well founded apprehension to government that lead to the immediate appointment of a superintendent of Hill Tribes in the same year (1869: 22). The designation Superintendent was changed in 1867 to Deputy Commissioner of Hill Tracts appointed by the provincial government with an extended jurisdiction of full control of issues concerning revenue and justice through out the Hill Tracts (ibid.). There were three subdivisions headed by a sub-divisional officer (S.D.O.) in each, posted at the headquarters Rangamati (divisional headquarter), Ramgarh and Bandarban. The authority of the internal administration of the hill people belonged to their own group heads until 19th century.

The CHT, under this rule, was again divided into three circles corresponding to the subdivisions, viz. the Chakma Circle in Rangamati Subdivision occupies the center and north of the district, and the Bohmong Circle in Bandarban Subdivision occupies the southern portion of the district, and the Mong Circle in Ramgarh Subdivision in the northwestern side. Each of these Circles was placed under the jurisdiction of a *Raja* (Chief), who was given the responsibility of revenue collection and regulating the internal affairs of the hill people.

5.3.3.1 The Traditional Administration

Considering the population variation and the inaccessible topography of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, the British administration decided to establish a separate structure administration. The structure was the traditional administrative system of today, was developed and pursued since colonial period (Shafie: 2000). The hierarchy of the traditional administrative structure involves three-fold classification: the circle, the *mouza* and the village. There are three circles in the CHT and their boundaries roughly correspond to the district borders. The administrative head of the circle is a chief locally known as *Raja*⁴. The next step of the hierarchy is a mouza and its boundary follows the government record. Therefore the traditional structure does not recognize the *Thana* boundary separately. The headman is responsible for revenue collection from *mouza* dwellers. At the bottom of the hierarchy there is the village. The village does not have any well-defined boundary or location but for the convenience of shifting cultivation the land area of a *mouza* is orally divided by the headman between the villages of that *mouza*.

The three circles are Bhomong circle, Chakma circle and Mong circle. We shall concentrate more on the Bhomong circle because our study villages are located at the Bandarban district. At the village level the population is homogenous in the sense that it is inhabited by the members of same ethnic group. A mouza usually contains villages populated by several ethnic groups.

⁴ The literal translation of the Bengali word Raja means King. The inhabitants of CHT refer the circle chief as Raja but in the literature the position is mentioned as Chief not King. The meaning of the word chief in Bengali is not Raja.

The Circle Chief

The Bhomong, the Chakma and the Mong Chiefs are being charged with the revenue collection and administering minor judicial affairs, remained unchanged as they existed from before. The Bhomong and Mong Chief are from Marma community. The chiefs of the three circles regulate the affairs of their respective circle and the activities of the headmen under them. The chiefs are authorized to impose fines, imposing restitutions and so on, but the limit remained indifferent as it was sanctioned by the 1900 Regulation. Any decision taken beyond the limit is subjected to the approval of the Deputy Commissioner. The position of chief in the Chakma circle goes from father to son but among the Marma, belonging to two circles, there is no absolute hereditary right to the office of the chief. In the Bhomong circle, the eldest person of the chiefly lineage is considered as successor of the position. During my field stay, there was a dispute regarding the succession of Kingship of the Bhomong circle because Aung Sui Prue Chowdhury and K. S. Prue Chowdhury claimed to be the eldest. The case was filed to the appellate division of the Bangladesh Supreme Court and later, the court named Aung Sui Prue Chowdhury as the King of Bhomong Circle.

The Mouza Headman

The headman is the administrative head of a *mouza* according to the traditional administrative system. He is appointed by the Government but nominated by the chief of the circle. The Hill Tracts Manual does not specify the rules of succession for the position of mouza headman. But there are some indications of preferring a democratic rule where the village *Karbaries* should select their own *mouza* headman. The successor also needs separate recognition from the office of the Deputy Commissioner through the office of the chief. Besides this formal system people usually recognize the right of succession which means they had taken it for granted that the son of the headman is the successor of the position. This established norm interacting with the administrative preference for democratic rule has created considerable variations in practices.

The Village Karbary

The position *Karbary* articulates different statuses, of which I can say, the position in the economic field and the wider connections with the people of different ethnic groups are very important. The position in the economic field has two implications; firstly, the *Karbary* cannot concentrate enough on his own food production because of his involvement in village affairs and secondly, among the Murucha, he needs to arrange sacrificial ceremonies to enhance his acceptability among the villagers. Maintaining wider connections implies his command of multiple languages of which ability to speak the Chittagonian dialect of Bengali and the Marma language is preferable.

5.3.3.2 The National Administration

The Hill Tracts Manual (the 1900 Regulation) first give the shape of national administration to pursue the interest of the government which recognized 'subdivision' as a unit of national administration. During the 1980's, the government converted all these subdivisions into districts and as part of that process the CHT were also divided into three districts with headquarters in Rangamati, Khagrachori and Bandarban. The districts are again, in their turn, divided into small administrative units called Thanas or police stations. The thanas and the districts were named after the name of the place where the headquarters of these administrative units are located.

The Deputy Commissioner is the head of the administration in the districts. He, being the District Magistrate, has both the judicial and administrative authority. He is also responsible for controlling and supervising cases regarding indigenous affairs which are already dealt with by the chief and the headman. The Deputy Commissioner is the principle representative of the government in the district and hence he is the coordinator of all development activities in his jurisdiction. He is assisted by a number of officials, of them the Additional Deputy Commissioner, belonging to Bangladesh Civil Service Administration, is next to him. The subsequent administrative unit is Upazila Nirbahi Officer (U.N.O.). The Upazila is again divided in to several Union *Parishads* (council).

Table: 5.5 Major Administrative Features of the Three Districts of CHT

Administrative Features	Districts of CHT			
	Bandarban	Rangamati	Khagrachori	Total
Thana	7	10	8	25
Union	31	50	38	119
Mouza	104	182	142	428
Village	1,037	1210	953	3200
Land Area (Sq. Km.)	4,479.03	6116.13	2699.51	13294.67
Population	230,569	301,753	342,488	874810
Population Density	51	49	127	

Source: Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics 1991.

5.3.3.3 The Special Administration of the CHT

The Regional Council

According the Chittagong Hill Tracts Peace Treaty -1997 (see the appendix -4), a Regional Council shall be formed in co-ordination with the 3 Hill District Local Government Council provided that various sections of the Hill District Local Government Council Act, 1989 (Act No. 19, 20 and 21 of 1989) with an aim to make the 3 Hill District Local Government Councils more powerful and effective. Chairman of this Council is elected indirectly by the elected members of the Hill District Councils and his status is equivalent to a State Minister and he must be a *Jumma (shifting cultivator)*.

The Council has 22 (twenty two) members including the Chairman. Two-third of the members are elected from among the minor ethnic communities (tribals). The composition of the council is as follows:-

Chairman -- 1

Members tribal (men) -- 12

Members tribal (women) -- 2

Members non-tribal (men) -- 6

Members non tribal (women) -- 1

Among the tribal men members 5 persons shall be elected from among the Chakma tribe, 3 persons from the Marma tribe, 2 persons from the Tripura tribe, 1 person from the Murung and Tanchongya tribes and 1 person from the Lusai, Bawm, Pankho, Khumi, Chak and Khiyang tribes.

1. There shall be a chief executive officer in the Council equivalent to a Joint Secretary and priority to a tribal candidate shall be given in appointment to this post.

The CHT Development Board shall discharge its responsibilities under general and overall supervision of the Council. In case of appointment of Chairman of the Development Board competent tribal candidate shall be given priority.

2. The fund of the Council shall be created from the following sources:
 - a. fund received from the Hill District Councils' fund
 - b. money or profits from all properties vested in and managed by the Regional Council
 - c. grant and loan from the govt or any other authority
 - d. grant from any institution or individual
 - e. profit accruing from investment by the Regional Council
 - f. any other moneys received by the Regional Council
 - g. money received from such sources of incomes as the govt may direct to be placed at the disposal of the Regional Council.

The District Councils

According to the Chittagong Hill Tracts Peace Treaty 1997, both sides agreed to change, amend, add and repeal the Hill District Local Government Council Acts, 1989. (Rangamati Hill District Local Government Council Act, 1989, Bandarban Hill District, Local Government Council Act, 1989 and Khagrachari Hill District Local Government

Council Act, 1989) such as the name of the Hill District Local Government Council is changed as Hill District Council and its functions have expanded. The composition of the district councils is as follows:

Chairman – 1

Members tribal (men) – 20

Members non-tribal (men) – 10

Members tribal (women) – 2

Members non tribal (women) – 1

The following subjects have added in the functions and responsibilities of the Hill District Council through the Chittagong Hill Tracts Peace Treaty 1997. Such as:

- Land and land management
- Police (local)
- Tribal law and social justice
- Youth welfare
- Environment preservation and development
- Local tourism
- Improvement trust and other local govt. organizations except *Pourasabha*(city corporation) and Union Councils
- Licensing for local trade and business
- Proper utilization of water resources of rivulets, canals, ponds except Kaptai lake and irrigation
- Preservation of death, birth and other statistics
- Money lending and trade
- Jhum cultivation.

The following sectors and sources shall be included in the taxes, rates, tolls and fees to be imposed by the Council as stated in the second schedule:

- Registration fee from non-mechanical transports
- Tax on sale and purchase of goods
- Holding tax from land and buildings
- Tax from sale of domestic animals
- Fees from cases of social justice
- Holding tax on government and non-government industries
- Part of royalty from forest resources
- Supplementary tax from cinema, theatre and circus etc.
- Part of royalty from license or lease for exploration and extraction of mineral resources given by the government
- Tax from business
- Tax from lottery
- Tax from fishing.

The Role of Administration in Food Security Governance

The British colonial administration introduced some administrative reforms affecting the Chittagong Hill Tracts, but the colonial control mechanism allowed a significant measure of autonomy for the tribes. Rapid political-administrative changes, however, were initiated in the postcolonial phase. Since the 1950s, the tribal people have felt the pinch of government-initiated internal migration, government-sponsored development projects, and the pervading presence of bureaucracy and security forces. Their autonomy in terms of self-administration has been curtailed, and they are now reduced to nations only in a cultural sense. Their struggle is directed toward regaining lost political autonomy (Ahsan and Chakma: 1989).

Basically the traditional administration governed the live and the livelihood patter of the ethnic minorities of the CHT. In a village land allocation, arbitration, labour exchange, tax collection, rituals etc is determined by the respective village Karbary. Inter village land demarcation, land disputes, resource allocation is settled by the respective mouza

headman. The Circle chief is responsible to collect tax from the jhum cultivators, appointing Karbarais and Headmans, and coordinating with central government and regional council. It has been observed that the expansion of the national administration weaken the role of the traditional administration in the context of ensuring food security of the ethnic minorities. Such as, the national administration is most of the jhum land. As a result, during colonial regime a large amount land has declared as reserve forest, in Pakistan regime a huge amount of land has submerged by the Kaptai Hydroelectric Project and in the Bangladesh Period the government allotted rubber plantation plots in the jhum land. Thus day by day the role of traditional administration for ensuring food security of the ethnic minorities has been shrinking.

The government has installed all sort state mechanisms in the CHT including army deployment. The major departments are Office of the Deputy Commissioner, Judge Court, Police, Department of Agriculture Extension, Fisheries, Livestock etc. It has been observed that they could get access into the most services provided by the departments due to backward residence and language barrier. On the other hand most of departments have little program which is specially designed for the ethnic minorities. For instance, the government driven food assistance program such as 'Vulnerable Group Feeding', 'Vulnerable Group Development', 'Food For Work' and 'Money for Work' etc very rarely reach them. On the other hand, the regional council and the district council has given enormous power but still their functioning capacity has not developed properly for resource and man power limitation but some of the members the councils has blamed to the government not empowering the councils. I have observed that still role of the Regional Council and the District Councils are capable enough to ensure food security of the ethnic minorities of the CHT but gradually their role has been improving.

5.3.4 Bengali Settlement

The government abolished the Special Status of the CHT in 1964 which opened it up to outsiders. Bengali families started settling in large numbers, large enough to alarm the hill people. In order to rehabilitate the vulnerable, river eroded and land less people from the Bengali community, in 1979 the government decided to settle 30,000 Bengali families during the following year. During the first and second phases of project implementation in 1980 some 25,000 Bangladeshi families from the plains settled in the Hill Tracts. The new settlers received governmental incentives in the form of initial grants, a piece of land along with weekly food support. In July 1982, the third phase of settlement began that transferred 42,000 Bengali families to the Hill area. Afterwards in different ways, gradually Bengali resettlement increased in the CHT which is shown in the following table.

Table:5.6 Indigenous People and Bengali Population Statistics (1872-1991)

Census Year	1872	1901	1951	1961	1974	1981	1991
Ethnic Minorities	61,957	116,000	261,538	334,594	345,575	441,776	501,144
Bengali	1,097	8,762	26,150	83,649	162,624	304,873	473,301
Total	63,054	124,762	287,688	418,243	508,199	746,649	974,445
Indigenous %	98%	93%	91%	80%	68%	59%	51%
Bengali %	2%	7%	9%	20%	32%	41%	49%

Source: Statistical Surveys of Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, Bangladesh District Gazetteer: 1975, Population Census of Bangladesh: 1974 and Population Census of Bangladesh: 1981.

Table: 5.7 *Population Growth in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (Tribals and Non-Tribals)*

<i>Year</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Increase (%)</i>
1901	124,762	—
1911	153,830	23.2
1921	173,243	12.6
1931	212,922	22.9
1941	247,053	16.0
1951	287,274	16.3
1961	385,079	34.0
1974	508,179	32.0
1981	746,026	46.8

SOURCE: *Bangladesh District Gazeteers, 1975; Population Census of Bangladesh 1974; Population Census of Bangladesh 1981.*

These tables show that population has increased in the CHT more than the geometric rate where as in opposite land for food production gradually decreased. Thus the demographic pressure and land crisis enhanced the food insecurity in the CHT.

5.3.5 Soil Erosion

Soil erosion is the one of the pivotal causes of decreasing yields in jhum cultivation because jhum is a slash and burn cultivation where there is no option for plough cultivation. Thus the top soil of jhum fields is vital for productivity. The increasing demographic pressure has also added to the pressure on soil in the CHT. Consequently, the human-land equilibrium system has certainly been disrupted. There is a controversy about the cause of soil erosion. A group environmentalist thinks that jhum cultivation is the cause of soil erosion because it is a slash and burn cultivation. On the other hand, anthropologists oppose the previous views because their point of view is that terracing was the only cause of the menace of soil erosion, which is claimed to result from continued jhum cultivation(Shafie: 2000). The British administrators constantly urged the

ethnic minorities to extend their areas of terraced cultivation, but it was notably unsuccessful (ibid). On the other hand as the jhum cycle is shrinking, jhum cultivation is partially responsible for soil erosion also. However, we have observed that soil erosion affected food security on the following grounds in the CHT:

Firstly, soil erosion is the cause of reducing jhum fields because soil erosion turned a hill slope into a slope where jhum cultivation is not possible.

Secondly, soil erosion has reduced soil fertility. Thus the soil erosion reduced a huge yield in the jhum cultivation.

Thirdly, It has been found that soil erosion is the cause of silting up of the natural sources like small canals, waterfalls etc. Thus the ethnic minorities face a severe water crisis in the summer.

Finally soil erosion is the threat for human security even in the CHT. It has been observed that in each and every year a number of hill slides have occurred in the rainy season in the CHT.

5.3.6 Forest: Reserve forest, Deforestation and Afforestation

Forest is the life and livelihood of the ethnic minorities of the CHT because they collect various types of food from the forest and they hunt in the forest. Moreover, forest or jungle is the precondition of their jhum cultivation. From the forest they fulfilled their every day socio- economic and cultural need. For example, they use banana leaves instead of food plates and they preserve cooked food in banana leaf packets which work like a natural fridge. Various kinds of food and folk medicine are collected from the forest. Though they are the people of shifting cultivation e.g., producer, they also hunt and gather so many things from the forest for their livelihoods. Thus the forest plays a vital role in their food security system. Although the CHT is the largest forest region of the country, recently the increasing demographic pressure has geared up the deforestation process in the CHT which has affected the livelihood pattern of the ethnic minorities.

Although the ethnic minorities are the forest people and protect the forest, some scholar and policy makers think that jhum cultivation is the cause of deforestation. Thus since the British period the government has put pressure on jhum cultivation in the Hill Tracts. They interdicted *jhum* cultivation during 1870s from some 800,000 acres. The 1900 Regulation imposed a *jhum* tax and in 1928 the regulation was amended and the Hill Tracts were divided into forest reserves where no one was allowed either to live or grow crops (Shafie). The forest department was made responsible for the management of those forest reserves. The department gradually expanded and brought more land under their jurisdiction during the last couple of decades. The forest department of the Bangladesh Government plays a vital role in the process of land allocation for shifting cultivation. The ethnic minorities have been living very close to the reserve forest from the beginning of their settlement. Nowadays, they face several problems of insufficient land for jhum cultivation due to Bengali resettlement and population increase. Sometimes they face problems with the forest department regarding jhum cultivation.

Forests are inextricably linked to the social, cultural, religious and economic lives of the ethnic minorities. Recently some scientists and policy makers insist that jhum cultivation is harmful for the forest but the people do not think so. According to ethnic minority people who have been practicing jhum cultivation for hundreds of years, jhum is not harmful for forest.

The British introduced a policy of forest administration that was aimed at raising revenue for the state without conferring any benefits to the local people and without recognizing their rights to these areas. Even today, the reserved forests -which cover a little less than 24% of the regions are administered by the Forest Department, without the involvement of any local authority, and in largely the same manner as in the colonial days.

Beside reserve forests, the government has introduced a plantation program for afforestation in the CHT where mostly the people of the Bengali community have been allotted plantation plots. These afforestation plots were planted with some exotic species which are not good for local ecology. On the other hand these exotic plants could provide any fruits or roots as food for the ethnic minorities. Thus the reserve forest and

afforestation program in the CHT is one of the big threats towards food security of the ethnic minorities.

5.3.7 Animal Attacks

Threats from animals are one of the major problems in jhum cultivation in the CHT. Recently the jhum cultivators in the CHT areas are highly affected. The common attacking animals are wild elephants, wild pigs, birds, rats, rodent etc. It has been observed that during the rice harvesting season animal attacks occur frequently. However, wild elephants destroy production fields in any season. As the deforestation process has been occurring rapidly, wild animals are coming out from the deep jungle towards the jhum fields in the search of food. In my study villages, I have observed that in the year 2007 rodent attack affected, on average, almost one third of their jhum production. According to cultivators, the flowering of bamboo -- which happens once every 40-50 years -- caused a huge boom in the rat population in the region leading not only to the total destruction of crops on the fields but also the destruction of food storage. This led to a severe food crisis in the area. Locals blame the government for failing them because the government has done precious little for the jhum cultivators since the rodent crisis. They alleged that they had they been given more assistance by the government they would have recovered quickly.

5.3.8 The Language Barrier: Limitation of Food Accessibility

The ethnic minorities of the CHT speak their own language but there is little variation in dialects. These groups are in most cases settled in neighborhood villages. Therefore, at the mouza level there are villages of several ethnic groups. The villagers, however, know more than one language which allows them to maintain inter-ethnic communication. For this purpose the Chittagonian dialect of the Bengali language is now becoming the lingua franca. The importance of the Chittagonian dialect increased with the growth of Bengali settlements in the CHT. But still most of the ethnic minorities are not conversant in the Chittagonian dialect.

In this particular context the hill people were, to some extent, under pressure to learn Bengali to maintain communication in a wider social universe including Bengalis. How many people could learn Bengali? The ethnic groups of the CHT are at different phases of integration into the main stream of Bengali culture. The Chakmas, Marmas and Tripuras have, to some extent, a regular or permanent interaction with Bengali society. There are some groups who are almost isolated and rarely come in contact with the Bengali people and only maintain a restricted relation to Bengalis of specialized occupations like, traders, moneylenders and so forth. The Murucha, Khumi and some members of other communities, because of their remote location, has retained a large degree of cultural autonomy and still are relatively independent of external influence. We have seen in the Murucha and Khumi villages that there are a limited number of persons who can speak the Chittagonian dialect of Bengali. In the market they communicate with a shopkeeper with signs, symbols and a few words to express their requirements.

Thus the language barrier is the cause of deprivation from various forms of services of government departments. At the same time it is one of the obstacles to accessibility to a food security system because they could not go outside their community to sell their labour, receive food rations, bank loans, medical services etc.

5.3.9 Imbalance Development Project: Kaptai Dam

Imbalanced development projects have negatively affected on the food security system of the ethnic minorities and grown insurgence in the CHT. The Hydro-electric power development project in the Chittagong Hill Tracts had a similar effect upon the local people. Construction of the Kaptai dam (1957-1962) caused tremendous devastation and loss to the local population, inundating 400 square miles including 54,000 acres of cultivable land, which is about 40% of the district's total acreage. Ten thousand plough cultivating families and eighteen thousand ethnic minorities' families, comprising more than 100,000 persons, were affected (Ahsan and Chakma: 1989). As compensation the

government allocated only 20,000 acres of flat cultivable land of somewhat inferior quality to settle a total of 11,761 of the 18,000 displaced families. There was a net loss of 34,000 acres and the displaced families could be provided with barely two acres of land on average in the new settlements. Compared to the loss, the rehabilitation and compensation were minimal, and the situation worsened because of mismanagement in the process of implementation. The government estimated that compensation amounted to \$59 million but only \$2.6 million was actually provided (ibid). Thus large portion of fertile land submerged pushed the ethnic minorities towards food insecurity. Let us have a look on the findings of a survey that how the Kaptai hydroelectric project affected on their food security system.

A survey in 1979 found that 69% of the Chakma felt their food and economic crisis was caused by the Kaptai dam; 89% said they were displaced by the inundation of their homes and land; 87% said they had to face serious trouble in building new homes; 69% complained about insufficient compensation and corruption of government officials; 78% complained of having no opportunity for jobs in the hydroelectric project; and 93% said that before the Kaptai dam was constructed their economic condition was better(ibid).

5.3.10 The Market

Market is the vital factor for achieving food security in the age of globalization and market economy. In the context of the ethnic minorities of the CHT, market has the greater role on food security system. Usually the ethnic minorities have been living interior of the forest and top of the hills which pushed them into a weakened position in the market competition. Thus they are not well aware about the market situation. In the case of the CHT the market works an institution which provides the mechanisms for transforming cash crops into other value items. Bengali settlement is a major event in the history of the CHT which plays a pivotal role for expansion of market economy in the ethnic minorities. Each marketplace operates two days per week. There are some permanent shops at the market places and therefore, the market also remains active, on a

small scale, during the rest of the week. The ethnic minorities usually live far away from the market places. In comparison, the Bengali people live very close to the market because they could not cope with the production system of hill environment and therefore concentrated on business and other activities like trading in local market. With their traditional expertise in trading they established control over the different market places in the CHT.

The market places are dominated by the Bengali traders who are connected with the wider marketing network of distant places in different towns. During my fieldwork, I saw that the Bengali shopkeepers were buying dozens of banana from the Khumis at the price of Tk. 2 and selling in the same market at a higher price of Tk. 8 to Tk. 10. The ethnic minorities can not do anything because the buying price is fixed by the Bengali traders through a syndicate and therefore, all the traders are united on the point of not offering a higher price than the other traders. Thus the market is not under the control of the ethnic minorities who sell their products for a lower price comparative to the other market places in the plains and they buy their necessary commodities at a higher price than the market places of the plain land area. Therefore, markets are a trap for food insecurity of the ethnic minorities.

5.3.11 Climate Change

Climate change is one of the biggest threats to food security in the ethnic minorities of the CHT. The recent irregular rainfall and abrupt drought was harmful for the food production system. As the ethnic minorities' main livelihood is jhum cultivation they must depend on the regular rainfall which is optimum for the jhum fields. The jhum cultivators observed that during recent years the rainfall has become very irregular. At the time sowing seeds and planting the saplings, including the first one or two months after sowing seeds and planting saplings, there was no rain but at this time, rainfall is essential for jhum fields. On the other hand, during the jhum harvesting season rain is not required at all; it requires sunny weather but in recent years, irregular rain and draught have become common phenomena which have greatly affected the food production system of the ethnic minorities.

The ethnic minorities of the CHT have changed their survival strategy through bringing considerable changes in their adaptive mechanism. For example, they have introduced rice and crop variation in the jhum field. In order to cope with climate change they have to cope with rich variation: such as

Laichu –is produced well in a less fertile jhum field. It is suitable for rainy climate.

Kudi –is produced well in a more fertile jhum field. It is suitable in a dry climate.

Chusew - is produced well in a more fertile and ashy jhum field. It is suitable in a dry climate.

Chongling - is produced well in a mid-level fertile jhum field. It is suitable for a rainy climate.

Thus in order to cope up with climate change the ethnic minorities of the CHT utilizes their indigenous knowledge.

5.4 Conclusion

Jhum cultivation is the traditional way of maintaining the techno-environmental carrying capacity of the tropical forest land but eventually the human-land equilibrium system has certainly been disrupted in the case of the ethnic minorities of the CHT. This is because of various interacting processes which we have discussed above in this chapter, for instance, land problems, settlement of Bengali people, development of dual agricultural economy through introducing plough cultivation by the settlers (Bengali people), interdicting *jhum* cultivation in 1870s from 800,000 acres, imposition of *jhum* tax, the declaration of reserve forest reduced land area available for *humming*, 1900 regulation and its amendment in 1928 also restrained shifting cultivation, the reservoir of the *Karnafuli Multipurpose Hydroelectric Project* submerged 352 square miles displacing 18000 families in 1959, the abolition of Special Status (as of 1900 regulation) in 1964 opened up the Chittagong Hill Tracts to the outsiders, the recent monopoly of the professional Bengali traders in the local markets and finally the impact of climate change. In the forthcoming chapter we have attempted to analyze the above discussed threats of food security from paradigms of governance.

Chapter-6:

The Governance Dimensions of Food Security in the Ethnic Minorities of the CHT

“The governance challenge as far as food security is concerned is to persuade sovereign governments to provide the necessary public goods that would ensure access to adequate food.”

-Robert Paarlberg

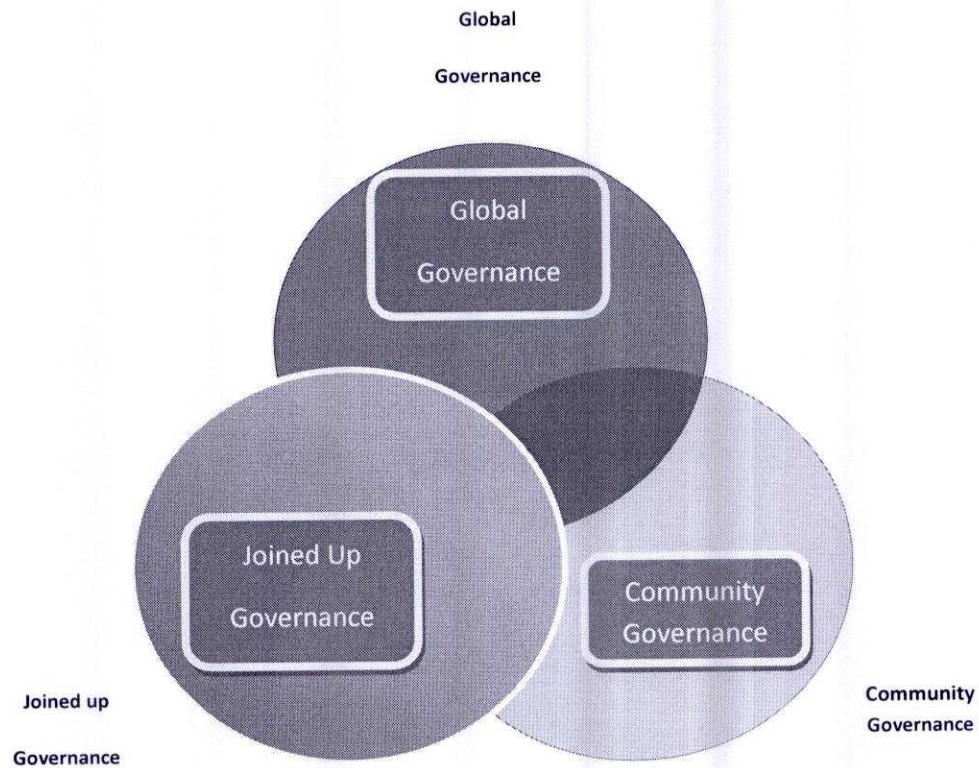
6.1 Introduction

In the age of globalization, a national government alone is not capable of ensuring food security for a country or a community. As food security is a global issue and beyond the capacity a national government, the issue of governance is inevitable. In the twenty first century globalization is the key challenge for governance. Food security is one of the global and multifaceted crises thus it must be addressed through the dimensions of governance. Governance activities have already been shifting to a level above the nation-state, into the jurisdiction of more cosmopolitan or global governance institutions. On the other hand, governance has been moving downward in the hope that ‘localization’ of politics and policy will keep institutions accountable to communities. Furthermore, synchronically governance has been working across portfolio boundaries to achieve a shared goal and an integrated government response to particular issues (MAC: 2004). Thus governance is just like a fashionable dress which can be worn by all. Here, we have tried to discuss the food security threats that we have found in the ethnic minorities of the CHT, from the governance perspective. Basically, we have done a cross examination from the governance paradigms i.e., community governance, joined up governance and global governance perspectives. Let us explore the governance paradigms for food security in the ethnic minorities of the CHT.

6.2 The Governance Dimensions for Food Security

As food security is a multifaceted and complex issue and has strong bonds with the process of globalization it has three basic paradigms of governance i.e. global governance, joined up governance and community governance.

Figure 6:1 The Governance Dimensions for Food Security



6.3 Food Security Threats in the Ethnic Minorities and Governance Matrix

Table 6:2 Food Security Threats in the Ethnic Minorities and Governance Matrix

Food Security Threats	Governance Dimensions			
	Community Governance	Joined Up Governance	Global Governance	
Insufficient Land for Jhum	✓	✓		
Shrinking fellow period	✓	✓		
Population Resettlement		✓		
Soil Erosion	✓	✓	✓	
Reserve Forest, Deforestation and Afforestation	✓	✓	✓	
Administrative Complexity		✓	✓	
Animals Attack	✓	✓		
The Language Barrier	✓	✓		
Impact Karnafuli Hydro-electric Project		✓	✓	
The Market Access Limitation		✓	✓	
Climate Change Impact	✓	✓	✓	

The community is a primary stakeholder in the case of food security. Thus we have found that community based resilience and response could play the first and foremost role in addressing food security threats. Joined up governance is designed to promote horizontal expansion of relationships among the agents of the governance i.e., government, civil society and markets for bringing positive outcomes. It does not mean replacement of government's existing structure or limiting government capacity, it rather enhances the government's enabling capacity. In the case of food security of the ethnic minorities in the CHT, the above table showed us that there is a need for a joined up governance approach for across portfolios which could provide input from a variety of perspectives and improve the flow of ideas around these complex problems for removing the food security threats. Besides, from global governance dimension it demands a global response to the recent food crisis thus the UN Secretary General set up the High Level Task Force of the United Nation System, the Breton Woods institutions and other international organizations(Diouf:2009). In the case ethnic minorities of the CHT has already drawn attention of the international community where we have found that UN agencies like UNDP, UNICEF and WFP have working to address the food security and other concern issues of them. Therefore, the above identified issues of the CHT demands intervention from the global governance.

6.4 The Role Governance Dimensions in ethnic minorities of the CHT

Here we have discussed that how the governance dimensions can contribute to addressing those food security threats among the existing various forms of governance agents within the government and beyond. These are discussed below.

6.4.1 The Role of Community Governance

Community governance can intervene as an immediate action as well as long term action. Such as in the context of the CHT the ethnic minorities have practicing an egalitarian mode of production. On the other hand, they have been preserving communal mode

ownership. Both of these contribute in short term and long term action respectively in addressing food security crisis. Some other issues have discussed below.

Ensure Community Base Owning Demarcation:

The community base owning land boundaries of the ethnic minorities of the CHT are almost illusive legally and geographically. As has already been stated, the CHT has been facing demographic pressure and the neighboring Bengali community has been practicing private ownership. It is vital to ensure a clear community boundary. It will protect their land and their communal mode of production system.

Accessibility to Community Resources and Programs

The natural resources like the reserve forest, afforestation programs and other natural resources within the community boundary and surroundings of the community should have accessibility for a partnership of the ethnic communities. It would strengthen food security through resource expansion of the ethnic communities.

Community Mobilizing

Fighting against animals and fighting against an unknown language is almost the same. Regarding these issues community mobilization must be required.

Introducing fertilizer:

Earlier the jhum cultivators were not well acquainted with fertilizer. Since the jhum field fallow cycle has recently been shrunken, the jhum fields' fertility has dramatically reduced. To continue the cultivation and production system the jhum cultivators introduced fertilizers in the jhum fields in some cases.

Intensifying cash crops

Day by day the price of daily commodities has increased and as a result the ethnic communities' need for cash has also increased. Thus they expanded their cash crop production in jhum fields and vegetable fields.

Preserving Egalitarian Attitude:

Still the ethnic minorities have maintained a non stratified society with less inequality in their society which helps them to share their food and resources among the community members to address food security threats.

Thus community governance is a pertinent response against the food security threats which has been raised from within the community. Thus it helps to strengthen the community resilience and adaptive capacity.

6.4.2 The Role of Joined up Governance

Since the CHT is comprises with a number agencies of the government it requires joined up governance approach in the context of food security of the ethnic minorities. Especially, it needs a strong coordination among the traditional administrative agency, the local government agency and the national government agency. Let briefly have a look on the issues of the CHT where the joined up governance can intervene.

Land Issue

As I have mentioned earlier that land is the biggest problem in the CHT thus it is the core priority issue of the joined up governance. There are many agencies of the government which are concerned in land ownership. Such as from the traditional administration the Raja, Headmans and Karbaries, from the local government the district council, from the national/ central government representative the Deputy Commissioner and the Forest Department is concerned with the reserve forest land. There in order to address the land

problems in the CHT it is inevitable to employ the joined up governance dimension. Thus through the removing of land crisis in the CHT the joined up governance can contribute in achieving food security of the ethnic minorities.

Preventing Animal Attack and Preserving Forest:

It has been observed that there is a strong correlation between deforestation and increase of animals attack in the cultivation fields of the ethnic minorities of the CHT. Here the joined up governance can contribute a lot. The forest department can build partnership with the ethnic minority communities for afforestation and maintenance of reserve forest which would help the department to preserve the forest and the ethnic minority communities would get less animal attack in their jhum fields.

Removing Language Barrier

The government could have designed joined up program with the help of donor agencies and local NGOs and experts to remove illiteracy from the ethnic minorities which would help to reduce dissatisfaction among the ethnic minorities towards central government as well as they will be prevented from many forms economic exploitation and deprivation. Moreover it will strengthen the food access capacity of the ethnic minorities.

Thus the joined up governance is the vital dimension for ensuring food security in the ethnic minorities of the CHT. There would have many issues where the joined up governance dimension would be one of the best possible option to overcome them.

6.4.3 The Role of Global Governance

The issue of the ethnic minorities is very sensitive to the international community thus global governance is inevitable here. It could be employed in following fields.

Climate Change Response

Climate change is one of the phenomena which has affected throughout the world. The recent irregular rainfall and draught has negatively affected the food production of the ethnic minorities. It demands support from international community towards the ethnic minorities to cope up with the climate change situation.

Launching Sustainable Development Projects

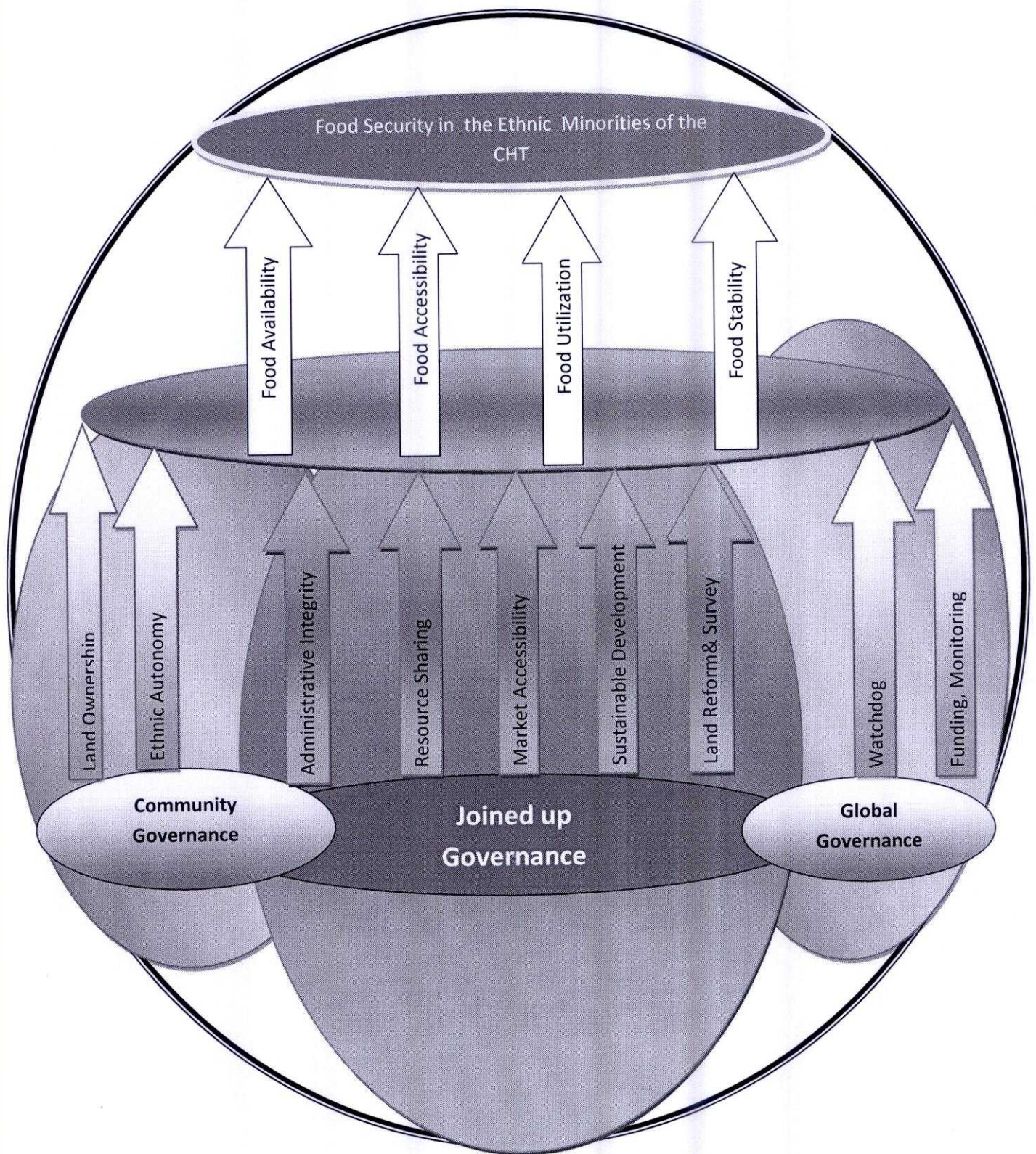
In the context of the developing countries, most of the development projects are funded and designed by the donor communities and the developed world. Thus it is essential in the dimension of global governance to launch sustainable development project in the CHT which would be viable for the ethnic minorities equitably unlike the Kaptai Dam, Robber Plantation and exotic afforestation programs. Therefore the actors of global governance are responsible in order to ensure the food security in the ethnic minorities of the CHT.

6.5 The Governance Dimension Food Security in the Ethnic Minorities of CHT

The above discussed food security threats are the inevitably inextricable issues of the governance dimensions of food security. In order to ensure the food security in ethnic minorities of the CHT it is obvious to address the issues from concern governance dimension. Until and unless a viable governance achieving food security would not be possible at all. Thus the governance dimensions must be properly identified in order to proper response with the food security threats. The basic dimensions of governance i.e., community governance, joined up governance and global governance are interrelated in food security system. Each of the dimensions has the pivotal role for achieving food security. Here I have identified some issues which are concerned for the food security system of the ethnic minorities of the CHT from the governance dimensions. Community governance is vital for managing land ownership and the ethnic autonomy because we found that the ethnic minorities practiced community base land ownership structure in

most of the cases and ethnic community base social and economic practices. The joined up governance can play vital role for achieving food security among them through ensuring administrative integrity, equitable resource sharing, proper market accessibility, launching sustainable development projects and introducing land reforms and land survey in the CHT. In the case of joined up governance the role the government is crucial. Finally, the role of global governance is not negligible for a sustainable food security system because the food security of the ethnic minorities of the CHT has attracted attention of international organizations and the UN agencies. We have found that in many cases they have been funding the development of the plight of the ethnic minorities of the CHT. Besides they play the role watchdog and monitoring in the case of human rights of them. Thus I have shown how the governance dimensions work for achieving the food security in the ethnic minorities of the CHT.

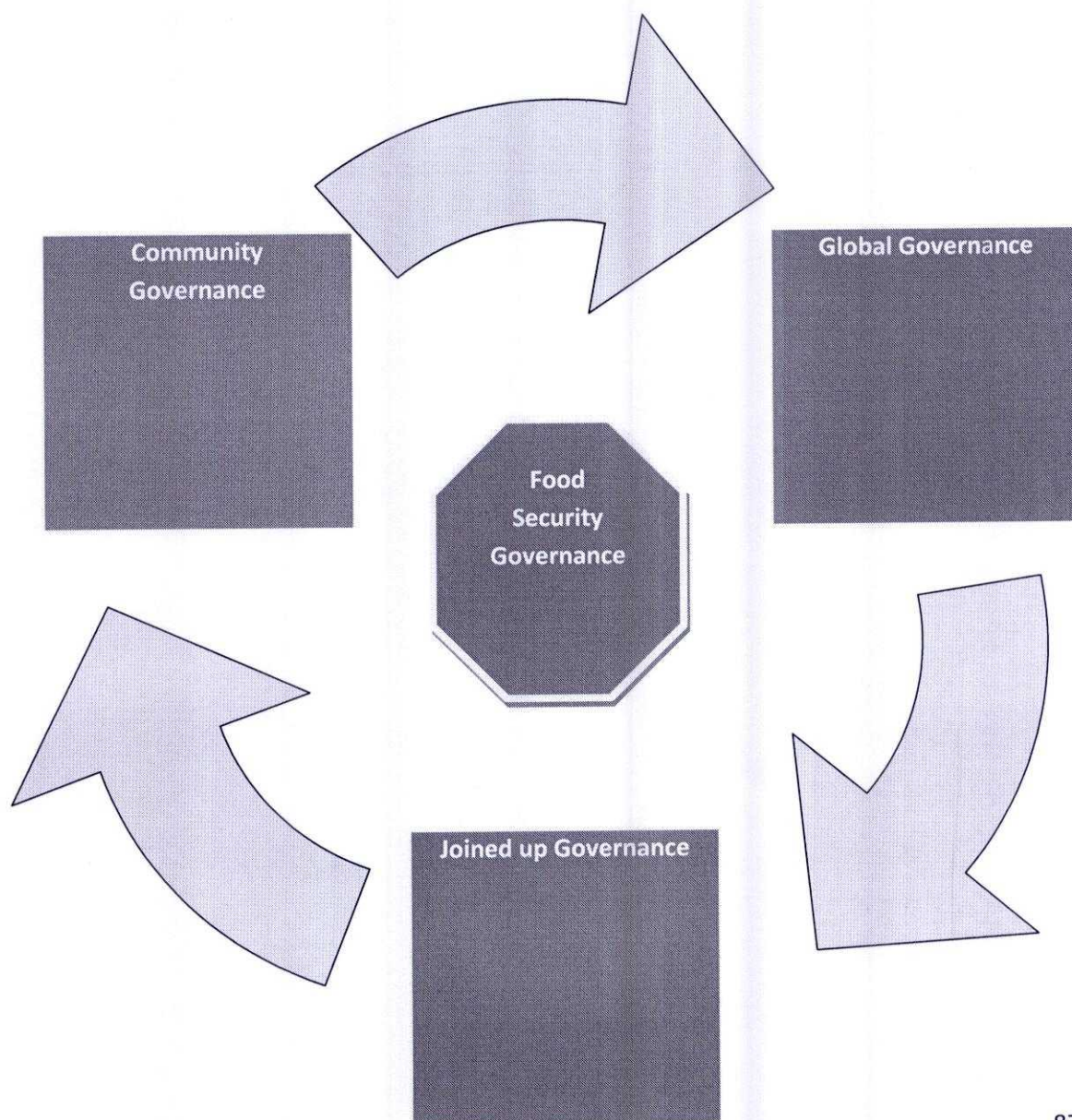
Figure 6:3- The Governance Dimension Food Security in the Ethnic Minorities of CHT



6.6 The Virtual Cycle of Food Security Governance

The governance dimensions are complementary to each other which help collectively address and prevent the food security threats. Thus, here, I have identified the governance dimensions as a virtual cycle of food security governance which I have showed through the following chart.

Figure 6:4 - The Virtual Cycle of Food Security Governance



6.7 Conclusion

In this chapter I have analyzed the role of governance dimensions for achieving food security in the context of the ethnic minorities of the CHT. Each dimensions of governance has a unique role. For a long term, sustainable food security the role of governance is inevitable. As the field, the ethnic minorities of the CHT are a complicated and multifaceted issue thus the policy makers, donors, NGOs and civil society should take into consideration the governance dimensions for their actions regarding the food security of them.

Chapter-7: Summary and Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

In order to present my ideas and views through the study I have travelled in different areas of the dimensions of the food security governance in the context of the ethnic minorities of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Here through the summary very briefly I would like to wrap up my discussion of previous chapters. Besides, the conclusion I have tried to put some comments based on the study results.

7.2 Summary

In order to transmit my ideas and findings of the study I have presented it into a total seven chapters and some appendices. Chapter One – Introduction dealt with a number of issues which have included an overall introduction, framing the problem of the study, setting agenda i.e., objectives of the study, significance, scope and expectation of the study. Chapter Two – The Conceptual Framework have given the foundation of the study which discussed theoretical grounds of the study. I have analyzed governance and its dimensions, food security concepts and its components, ethnic minority issue and finally have drawn a framework of the study in that chapter. Chapter Three – Methodological Consideration have focused with various types of research methods, tools, techniques and approaches. Moreover, it includes phases of fieldworks and actions. Chapter Four – The Field and the People have given a profile about the ecology, people and culture of the study area. Chapter Five – Food Production Systems and Food Security Threats has presented the findings from the field which includes the food production system and the food security threats of the ethnic minorities of the CHT. Chapter Six- The Governance Dimensions have brought some recommendations and policy actions on the ground of governance dimensions. Finally, Chapter Seven - Conclusion has given this chapter summary and the concluding remarks of the study.

7.3 Conclusion

The governance dimensions of food security have unveiled that the food security condition of the ethnic minorities of the Chittagong Hill Tracts manifests the deep and pervasive disjunction in food availability and food accessibility. Access to food and other resources are inequitably distributed and regulated. In most of the cases the food security threats are prevailed while the ideal of equity, justice and human rights remains unattended throughout the recent history of this region. Such a state of governance suggests that the need for an intimate and more perfect understanding of the governance dimensions food security of the ethnic minorities of the CHT. Thus the governance dimensions of food security is vital regarding opening up their possibilities, removing threats, constraints and impediments in way of achieving food security within ethnic minority situation. The proper intervention from the dimensions of governance is inevitable to counteract the processes that produce impoverishment, exploitation and other deplorable situation in the fate of ethnic minorities. Finally the study findings has illustrated that intervention from dimensions of governance is obvious to contribute in favor of restoring their entitlements through ensuring an equitable social justice in their land ownership and cultivation system. Thus the study validates that still the governance dimensions have remained unappealing to the policy makers and the development practitioner which is essential to know for policy formulation and policy implementation to up lift the food security condition of the ethnic minorities of the CHT.

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Appendices

Appendix -1: Glossary of Administrative Terms

Arakan: Arakan is the former state of the Myanmar which is at present called the Northern Rakhine State. The Arakan region is about 640 kilometers long from north to south and is about 145 kilometers wide at its broadest. The region's principal rivers are the Naf estuary and the Mayu, Irrawaddy, Kaladan, and Lemro Rivers.

Chief: British designation for the Raja or King under the principle of indirect rule. The Chiefs were authorized to adjudicate in tribal legal matters and to nominate the headmen of the *mouzas* within their respective Circles. For his services a Chief was entitled to keep a quarter of all field taxes collected by the headmen. Their rights were abolished in 1981, but revived in 1989.

Circle: A revenue circle in Chittagong Hill Tracts that roughly corresponds with a district. King is the circle chief. In 1892 the borders of the Circles were definitively drawn, and in the following years the three Circles, which were named after the Chakma, Bohmong, and Mong Chiefs, were divided into *mouzas*. Between 1891 and 1900 the Chittagong Hill Tracts temporarily had the status of a Subdivision, after they were re-elevated to the district level, they were again in 1919 subdivided into three areas roughly corresponding to the Circles. These Subdivisions were named after the three administrative centers, Rangamati, Bandarban, and Ramgor; and each was placed under the jurisdiction of a Sub Divisional Officer of the colonial administration.

Colonial Period: Refers to the time period subjugated by the East India Company and subsequently by the British Government during which Bengal and later on gradually the whole of India remained under British rule. This period extends from 1757 to 1947.

D.C: An acronym for Deputy Commissioner, the designation of an officer earlier known as superintendent before the act of 1920 was promulgated by the British authority.

The act empowered the officer to dispense judicial and administrative justice to the inhabitants of a district.

Headman: Originally an English term for a *dewan* of the Chakma or a *ruatsa* of the Marma who was subordinate to the Raja or Chief, from 1892 on, the head of a *mouza*, appointed by the Superintendent (Deputy Commissioner) upon the recommendation of the Chief. He is responsible for the keeping of tax lists, the handing over of field taxes to the Chief (part of which he is allowed to keep for himself), and the upholding of order. In legal matters, the headman is empowered to adjudicate in disputes according to customary law of the respective community.

Karbary: Head of Village, informally elected by the villagers and acknowledged by the administration; responsible to deliver the field taxes to the headman and receives remuneration of 200 Taka per month for his services rendered.

Mouza (Bengali): Smallest regional unit of fiscal administration; in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, under the authority of a headman; normally made up of several small, independent villages- administratively united irrespective of ethnic composition.

Mughal period: The Mughal Dynasty, also spelled MOGUL, Arabic MONGOL, a Muslim dynasty of seven generations that ruled most of the Northern India from the early 16th to the mid 18th Century and attempted to integrate Hindus and Muslims into a united Indian state. The Mughal period starts from 1526 and finishes in 1857.

Raja (Bengali): Name of the traditional head of the three circles in Chittagong Hill Tracts, officially known as Chiefs, entrusted by the British with the collection of taxes and the adjudication of minor legal matters among the indigenous population of a Circle.

UNO: The abbreviation stands for Upazilla Nirbahi Officer (a Bengali phrase), a Government officer who heads the administration of the Police Station under the Supervision of the Deputy Commissioner of the District comprising of a few thanas.

Tripura (Bengali): Tripura is the name of a group of tribal people living in the CHT at the same time it is the name of a state of eastern India.

Union: A union comprises of a few villages or wards. It is a form of local government. The union is headed by a Chairman elected by the members of public living in the domain of the Union. The Chairman has his colleagues designated as Members again elected by the same electorate.

Village: A village is the lowest unit of local Government in the rural area of Bangladesh.

Appendix -2: At a Glance of Minor ethnic groups in Bangladesh (estimated-1995)

SL	Ethnic Identity	Areas of their living	Numerical Strength	Place of Origin
1	Chakma	Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT's)	300,000	Champaknagar, most probably a place of Myanmar.
2	Tripura	Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT's), Comilla	85,000	Thripura State of India.
3	Marma	Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT's), Cox's Bazer	170,000	Myanmar.
4.	Bom	Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT's)	8,000	Mizoram State of India.
5.	Usui	Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT's)	7,292	Myanmar.
6	Chak	Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT's)	2,196	Myanmar.
7.	Khumi	Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT's)	2,000	Myanmar.
8.	Kheyang	Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT's)	5,000	Myanmar.
9.	Lushai	Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT's)	1000	Lushai Hills of State of India.
10	Muru	Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT's)	30,000	Myanmar.
11	Pangkho	Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT's)	3,604	Myanmar.

12	Tanchangya	Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT's)	20,000	Myanmar.
13	Rakhain	Patuakhali, Barguna, Cox's Cox's Bazer,	35,000	Myanmar.
14	Garo	Greater Mymensingh, Greater Sylhet	100,00	Garo Hills of India.
15	Santal	Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Rangpur, Bogra, Gaibandha, Thakurgaon, Panchagarh, Nator, and Sylhet Teagarden	165,000	India.
16	Oraon	Greater Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Pabna, Sirajgonj, Mymensingh, Rangpur, Sylhet Teagarden	7,500	India.
17	Hajong	Greater Mymensingh, Sunamgonj	9,500	India.
18	Banai	Greater Mymensingh	2,000	India.
19	Monipuri	Greater Sylhet	45,000	India.
20	Kashia and Jaintia	Greater Sylhet	26,500	India.
21	Munda/Mundari	Greater Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Bogra	25,000	India.
22	Paharia	Greater Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Bogra, Pabna, Kustia.	10,916	India.
23	Dalu	Greater Mymensingh	2,000	India.

24	Mahatto (Kurmi)	Dinajpur Sirajgonj, Pabna, Bogra, Joypurtat and Rajshahi.	65,000	India.
25	Mahali	Greater Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Bogra	15,000	India.
26	Singh	Greater Pabna	30,000	India.
27	Boshak	Greater Pabna	15,000	India.
28	Sora	greater Sigh	1,000	India.
29	Kharea	Greater Sylhet and Joypurtat	5,000	India.
30	Khnode	Gre Greater Sylhet	5,000	India.
31	Assam (Ahomia)	Greater Sylhet	2,000	India.
32	Gurkha		1,000	India.
33	Kamaker	Greater Dinapur	60,000	India.
34	Pahan	Greater Rajshahi	*	India.
35	Rajowar	Greater Rajshahi	*	India.
36	Mahari	Greater Rajshahi	*	India.
37	Lahar	Greater Rajshahi and Grater Bogra	*	India.
38	Turi	Greater Rajshahi and Greater Dinajpur	*	India.
39	Bhuimali	Greater Rajshahi	*	India.
40	Bhoomij	Greater Rajshahi and Dinajpur	*	India.
41	Bhuiya	Grater Rjshahi	*	India.

42	Muriar	Greater Rajshahi	*	India.
43	Ramdas	Greater Rajshahi	*	India.
44	Ker	Greater Rajshahi	*	India.
45	Hari	Greater Rajshahi	*	India.
46	Khaura	Greater Rajshahi	*	India.
47	Teli	Greater Rajshahi	*	India.
48	Lora	Greater Rajshahi	*	India.
49	ruthia	Greater Rajshahi	*	India.
50	Musor	Greater Rajshahi and dinajpur	*	India.
51	Rai	Greater Rajshahi and Dinajpur	*	India.
52	Pathro	Greater Sight	*	India.
53	Bedia	Sirajgonj	*	India.
54	Bakti	Sirajgonj	*	India.
55	Bagdi	Kustia and Natore	*	India.
56	Kole	Rajshahi	*	India.
57	Buno	Rajshahi	*	India.
58	Pal	Rajshahi	*	India.

Compiled by the author.

Appendix -3: Schedule Fieldwork

1.7.5 TIME ALLOCATION FOR THE RESEARCH

FIRST VISIT

January, 2009

- : Stay and observation in *Rungthug para* of Rumma Thana, Bandarban.
- : Stay and observation in the village *Khamshin para* of Thanchi, Thana, Bandarban

SECOND VISIT

July 2009

- : Stay in *Rungthug para* and *Khamshin para*.
- : Selection of residence
- : Rapport building and wide observation.
- : Change of residence from the locality to the Atomic Energy Commission rest house.
- : Selection of new residence
- : Conduct unstructured conversation
- : Selection of key informants
- : Case study
- : Observation on selected topics.

THIRD VISIT

August 2009:

- Stay in *Rungthug para* and *Khamshin para*
- : Cross-checking of some findings
- : In-depth observation
- : To examine the case analysis in brief.
- : To reevaluate and reanalyze different findings and data.
- : To review the case studies
- : Return

Appendix – 4: The Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) Peace Treaty 1997

The Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) peace accord was signed on December 2, 1997 in Dhaka at the Prime Minister's office between the government and the Parbatya Chattagram Jana Sanghati Samity (PCJSS). However, some hill tribe sects and organisations have rejected the accord.

Under the framework of the constitution of Bangladesh and having fullest and firm confidence in the sovereignty and integrity of Bangladesh the national Committee on CHT Affairs, on behalf of the government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh and the Parbattya Chattagram Jana Samhati Samiti, on behalf of the inhabitants of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, with an objective to elevate political, social, cultural, educational and financial rights and to expedite socio-economic development process of all citizens in CHT, arrive at an agreement described in four parts as below:

A) GENERAL

1. Both sides, considering CHT as Tribal Populated Region, recognised the necessity for protection of the character of this region and for overall development of it.
2. Both sides, in accordance with the decisions and responsibilities state in these paragraphs under this agreement, determined to make, change, amend and add concerned rules and procedures as per laws/rules.
3. With an aim to observe the implementation process of this agreement an Implementation Committee shall be formed with the persons stated below
 - a. A member to be nominated by the Prime Minister - Convenor
 - b. Chairman of the Task Force formed under this agreement - Member
 - c. President of the Parbattya Chattagram Jana Samhati Samiti - Member
4. This agreement shall be in force from the date of signing the agreement. This agreement shall remain in force until all steps and measures according to this agreement are completed by both sides.

B) HILL DISTRICT LOCAL GOVT. COUNCIL/HILL DISTRICT COUNCILS

Both sides agreed to change, amend, add and repeal the Hill District Local Government Council Acts, 1989. (Rangamati Hill District Local Government Council Act, 1989, Bandarban Hill District, Local Government Council Act, 1989 and Khagrachari Hill District Local Government Council Act, 1989) and its various sections described as below :

1. The term '*Upajati*' shall be in force.
2. The name of the Hill District Local Government Council shall be Hill District Council.
3. Who is not a tribal and possesses land legally in the Hill District and generally lives at a certain address in the Hill District he shall be meant 'non-tribal permanent resident'.
4.
 - a. There shall be 3 (three) seats for women in every Hill District Council. There shall be one-third of the said seat for non-tribal women.
 - b. Sub-section (1), (2), (3) and (4) of section 4 of the original rule shall exist.
 - c. The words "Deputy Commissioner" and "of the Deputy Commissioner" placed in the second line of sub-section (5) of the section 4 shall be replaced with the words "Circle Chief" and "of the Circle Chief" respectively.
 - d. Following sub-section shall be added in the section 4 :

Whether a person is a non-tribal shall be determined, along with the identity of non-tribal to which he belongs, by the concerned Circle Chief on the provision of submission of certificate from concerned Headman/Pourasabha Chairman/Union Parishad Chairman and no person can be a candidate for the office of the non-tribal member without a certificate from the concerned Circle Chief in this behalf.
5. It is narrated in the section 7 that a person elected chairman and member shall make an oath or announce confirmation before Divisional Commissioner of Chittagong. By amendment of it there shall be added the portion that the members

shall make oath or announce confirmation before "Justice of High Court Division" in lieu of "Divisional Commissioner of Chittagong".

6. In lieu of the words "Divisional Commissioner of Chittagong" shall be placed the words "as per election procedure" in the fourth line of section 8.
7. The words "three years" placed in the second line of section 10 shall be replaced with the words "five years".
8. There shall be a provision in the section 14 that - If the office of the Chairman falls vacant and in absence of the Chairman a tribal member elected by other members of the Council shall preside and perform other responsibilities.
9. The existing section 17 shall be replaced with the sentences mentioned as below:

A person shall, under the Act, be eligible to be enrolled in the electoral roll, if

- (1) he is a citizen of Bangladesh;
- (2) his age is not less than 18 years;
- (3) he is not declared mentally unsound by any competent court;
- (4) he is a permanent resident of Hill District.

10. The words "determination of electoral constituency" shall be added in the sub-section (2) of section 20.
11. There shall be a provision in the sub-section (2) of section 25: The chairman and in absence of him a tribal member elected by other members shall preside over all the meeting of the Council.
12. As all the area of Khagrachari District is not included in the Mong Circle, so the words "Mong Circle Chief and Chakma Circle Chief" shall be placed in lieu of the words "Mong Chief of Khagrachari" in the section 26 of the Khagrachari Hill District Council Act. Similarly facility of attending the meetings of the Rangamati Hill District Council by Bohmong Circle Chief also shall be maintained. In the sameway there shall be a provision of attending the meetings of the Bandarban Hill District Council by Bohmong Circle Chief.

13. There shall be provision in the sub-sections (1) and (2) of section 31 that-
There shall be a Chief Executive Officer as secretary in the Council. Tribal Officers shall be given priority in this post.
- 14.
- a. There shall be a provision in the sub-section (1) of section 32 that-
For the proper conduct of its affairs the Council may with the approval of the government, create posts of various categories of officers and employees.
 - b. The sub-section (2) of section 32 shall, by amendment, be made as follows:

The Council may, in accordance with regulations, appoint, transfer, suspend, dismiss, remove class three and class four employees and inflict any other punishment on them.

Provided that, priority to the tribals is maintained in the matter of the said appointment.
 - c. There shall be provision in the sub-section (3) of section 32 that-- The government in consultation with the Council may, as per regulation, appoint, transfer, suspend, dismiss, remove or inflict any other punishment on other officers of the Council.
15. In the sub-section (3) of section 33 shall be mentioned "as per regulation".
16. The words "or any other way determined by the government" placed in the third line of sub-section (1) of section 36 shall be omitted.
17. The original rule shall be in force in the fourth of sub-section (1) of section 37.
18. Sub-section (3) of section 38 shall be repealed and by amendment, the sub-section (4) shall be framed as follows:

At any time before the expiry of the financial year, if deemed necessary, budget may be framed and sanctioned.
19. In the section 42 the following sub-section shall be added--

The Council with the fund received from the government shall formulate initiate and implement development projects on the subjects transferred and all the development works initiated at the national level shall be implemented by the concerned ministry/department through the Council.

20. The word "government" placed in the second line of sub-section (2) of section 45 shall be replaced with the word "Council".

21. By amendment of rules of sections 50, 51 and 52 the following section shall be made--

"The government, if deemed necessary may advice or order the Council, in order to ensure conformity with the purpose of the Act. If the govt. is satisfied that anything done or intended to be done by the Council or on behalf of the Council is not conformity with law or contrary to public interest the government may seek information and clarification and give advice or instruction to the Council on concerned matters in writing".

22. The words "if the period of supersession is completed" shall be repealed and in lieu of them shall be added "within ninety days of supersession" before the words "this Act".

23. The words "of the government" in the third and fourth lines of section 61 shall be replaced with the words "of the ministry".

24.

a. By amendment of sub-section (1) of section 62- this section shall be made as follows:

"Notwithstanding anything contained in any Act for the time-being in force, all members of the rank of Sub-Inspector and below of Hill District Police shall be appointed by the Council in manner laid down by regulations and the Council may transfer and take disciplinary action against them as per procedure laid down by regulation: provided that in the matter of such appointment tribals shall be given priority".

- b. By repealment of the words "on the provision of all other laws for the time-being in force" placed in the second line of sub-section (3) of section 62 shall be placed the words "as per rule and regulation".
25. The words "giving assistance" placed in the third line of the section 63 shall be in force.
26. By amendment of the section 64 the following sub-sections shall be made--
1. Notwithstanding anything contained in any law for the time-being in force, no land within the boundaries of Hill District shall be given in settlement, purchased, sold and transferred including giving lease without prior approval of the Council:

provided that this provision shall not be applicable in case of areas within the reserved forests, Kaptai Hydro-electricity Project, Betbunia Earth Satellite Station, State-owned industries and factories and lands recorded in the name of government.
 2. Notwithstanding anything contained in any law for the time-being in force, no lands, hills and forests within the boundaries of the Hill District shall be acquired and transferred by the government without consultation and consent of the Hill District Council.
 3. The Council may supervise and control functions of Headman, Chairman Amin, Surveyor, Kanungo and Assistant Commissioner (land).
 4. Fringe land in Kaptai Lake shall be given in settlement on priority basis to original owners.

27. By amendment of section 65 this section shall be framed as follows:

Notwithstanding anything contained in any other law for the time-being in force, responsibility of collecting land development tax shall be entrusted in the Council and the said tax collected in the District shall be credited to the Council Fund.

28. By amendment of section 67 it shall be made as follows- "If deemed necessary for co-ordination of activities between the Council and govt. authorities, government or the Council shall put proposal on certain matter(s)".
29. By amendment of sub-section (1) it shall be made as follows- "The government having discussion with the Council may, by notification in the official gazette, make rules for carrying out the purposes of this Act and even after having rules made the Council shall have special right to file petition for reconsideration of the said rules".
- 30.
- . By omission of the words "with the prior approval of the government" placed in the first and second line of the sub-section (1) of section 69 and to add the following portion after the words "may"-
- "provided that if the government differs with any part of the regulation made by the Hill District Council then the government shall give advice or instruction for amendment of the said regulation"
- a. The words mentioned in the (h) of sub-section (2) of section 69 "transfer of power of Chairman to any officer" shall be omitted.
31. Section 70 shall be omitted.
32. By amendment of section 79 it shall be made as follows- "If any law by the Jatiyo Sangsad or any other authority, applicable to Hill District, is found to be hurtful to the District or objectionable to the tribal people in the opinion of the Council, it may file a petition in writing to the government stating the reasons of its being hurtful or objectionable for the purpose of amending or relaxing its application and the govt. shall, in the light of the petition, adopt necessary measures".
- 33.
- . The word "supervision" shall be added after the word "order" in the No.1 of the function of the Council of the first schedule.
 - a. The following subjects shall be added in the No. 3 of the function of the Council-

- (1) Vocational training;
- (2) Primary education in mother tongue;
- (3) Secondary education.

b. The words "or protected" placed in sub-section 6(b) of the function of the Council in the first schedule shall be omitted.

34. The following subjects shall be added in the functions and responsibilities of the Hill District Council:

- . Land and land management
- a. Police (local)
- b. Tribal law and social justice
- c. Youth welfare
- d. Environment preservation and development
- e. Local tourism
- f. Improvement trust and other local govt organisations except Pourasabha and Union Councils
- g. Licencing for local trade and business
- h. Proper utilisation of water resources of rivulets, canals, ponds except Kaptai lake and irrigation
- i. Preservation of death, birth and other statistics
- j. Money lending and trade
- k. Jhum cultivation.

35. The following sectors and sources shall be included in the taxes, rates, tolls and fees to be imposed by the Council as stated in the second schedule:

- . Registration fee from non-mechanical transports
- a. Tax on sale and purchase of goods
- b. Holding tax from land and buildings
- c. Tax from sale of domestic animals
- d. Fees from cases of social justice
- e. Holding tax on government and non-government industries
- f. Part of royalty from forest resources

- g. Supplementary tax from cinema, theatre and circus etc.
- h. Part of royalty from licence or lease for exploration and extraction of mineral resources given by the government
- i. Tax from business
- j. Tax from lottery
- k. Tax from fishing.

C) CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS REGIONAL COUNCIL

1. A Regional Council shall be formed in co-ordination with the 3 Hill District Local Government Council provided that various sections of the Hill District Local Government Council Act, 1989 (Act No. 19, 20 and 21 of 1989) shall be amended with an aim to make the 3 Hill District Local Government Councils more powerful and effective.
2. Chairman of this Council shall be elected indirectly by the elected members of the Hill District Councils where status shall be equivalent to a State Minister and he must be a Jumma.
3. The Council shall be formed with 22 (twenty two) members including the Chairman. Two-third of the members shall be elected from among the tribals. The Council shall determine its procedure of functioning.

Composition of the Council shall be as follows :-

Chairman -- 1

Members tribal (men) -- 12

Members tribal (women) -- 2

Members non-tribal (men) -- 6

Members non tribal (women) -- 1

Among the tribal men members 5 persons shall be elected from among the Chakma tribe, 3 persons from the Marma tribe, 2 persons from the Tripura tribe, 1

person from the Murung and Tanchongya tribes and 1 person from the Lusai, Bawm, Pankho, Khumi, Chak and Khiyang tribes.

Among the non-tribal men members 2 persons shall be elected from each district. Among the tribal women members 1 woman shall be elected from the Chakma tribe and 1 woman from other tribes.

4. 3 (three) seats shall be reserved for women in the Council. One-third shall be non-tribals.
5. The members of the Council shall be elected indirectly by the elected members of the Hill District Councils. Chairman of three Hill District Councils shall be ex-officio members of the Council and they shall have voting rights.

Eligibility and non-eligibility of the members of the Council shall be similar to that of the Hill District Council.

6. The term of the Council shall be 5 (five) years.
7. There shall be a chief executive officer in the Council equivalent to a Joint Secretary and priority to a tribal candidate shall be given in appointment to this post.
8.
 - a. If the office of the Chairman of the Council falls vacant then a Chairman shall be elected from among the tribal members for an interim period by the members of Hill District Councils.
 - b. If any office of a member of the Council falls vacant on any reason then that shall be filled through by-election.
9.
 - a. The Council shall supervise and co-ordinate the subjects vested under the Hill District Councils including co-ordination of all development activities conducted under the three Hill District Councils. Besides these, if there is found any lack of co-ordination and inconsistency among the three Hill

District Councils in discharging their responsibilities the decision of the Regional Council shall be taken as final.

- b. The Council shall supervise and co-ordinate local councils including the municipalities.
 - c. Regional Council may co-ordinate and supervise in the matters of general administration, law and order and development of the three Hill Districts.
 - d. The Council may co-ordinate the activities of the NGOs along with conducting of management of calamities and relief works.
 - e. Tribal laws and social justice shall be under the control of the Council.
 - f. The Council may issue licence for heavy industry.
10. The CHT Development Board shall discharge its responsibilities under general and overall supervision of the Council. In case of appointment of Chairman of the Development Board competent tribal candidate shall be given priority.
11. If the Regional Council finds any rule of the 1900 CHT Regulation and other related laws, rules and ordinances contradictory to the 1989 Hill District Council Acts then the govt shall remove that inconsistency by law according to recommendation of and in consultation with the Regional Council.
12. Until and unless Regional Council is constituted through direct and indirect election, the government may by constituting an interim Regional Council, entrust the responsibilities of the Council.
13. If the govt makes any law on CHT it shall be in having discussion and in consultation with the Regional Council. If there arises the necessity to amend any such law or to make any new law which may be harmful for development of the 3 Hill District or the welfare of the tribals, the Council may file a petition or put recommendation to the govt.
14. The fund of the Council shall be created from the following sources:
- a. fund received from the Hill District Councils' fund
 - b. money or profits from all properties vested in and managed by the Regional Council
 - c. grant and loan from the govt or any other authority

- d. grant from any institution or individual
- e. profit accruing from investment by the Regional Council
- f. any other moneys received by the Regional Council
- g. money received from such sources of incomes as the govt may direct to be placed at the disposal of the Regional Council.

D) REHABILITATION, GENERAL AMNESTY AND OTHER MATTERS

1. An agreement has been signed between the govt and the refugee leaders on March 9, 1997 with an aim to take back the tribal refugees from India's Tripura State based on the 20-Point Facilities Package. In accordance with the said agreement repatriation of the refugees started since March 28, 1997. This process shall continue and with this in view, the JSS shall provide all kinds of possible co-operation. The internal tribal evacuees of 3 districts shall, after determination, be rehabilitated by the Task Force.
2. After signing agreement between the govt and the JSS and implementation of it as well as after rehabilitation of the tribal refugees and internal tribal evacuees the govt shall start survey of land in CHT as soon as possible and after proper inquires ownership of land shall be recorded and ensured.
3. The govt shall ensure providing two acres of lands to each landless family and the family who possesses less than 2 acres of lands, provided lands were available in the local areas. If requisite lands are not available then grove land shall be provided.
4. A commission (land commission) headed by a retired justice shall be formed for settling land disputes. This commission, in addition to settle disputes of lands of the rehabilitated tribal refugees, shall have fullest power for cancellation of ownership of those lands and hills which have been so far illegally settled and occupied. No appeal can be made against the judgement of this commission and decision of this commission shall be final. This (arrangement) shall be applicable in case of fringe land also.
5. This commission shall be set up with the following members:

- a. Retired justice
 - b. Circle Chief (concerned)
 - c. Chairman of the Regional Council/representative
 - d. Divisional Commissioner/Additional Commissioner
 - e. Hill District Council Chairman (concerned).
- 6.
- a. The term of the commission shall be three years. But the term of it can be extended in consultation with the Regional Council.
 - b. Commission shall settle disputes according to the existing rules, customs and usages of Chittagong Hill Tracts.
7. The tribal refugees who received loan from the govt but could not use them properly due to conflicting situation shall be exempted with the interests.
8. Allotment of lands for rubber plantation and other purposes: All the non tribals and non locals who were given in settlement of lands for rubber plantation and other purposes but had not implemented any projects within the past 10 years or had not utilised their lands properly, settlement of these lands shall be cancelled.
9. The govt shall allot additional fund, on priority basis, with an aim to implement more number of projects in CHT. New projects formulated with an aim of making necessary superstructures for development in the area, shall be implemented on priority basis and the govt shall provide fund for these purposes. The govt shall, having consideration about the environment in the region, encourage to develop tourism for tourists from the country and abroad.
10. Quota reservation and scholarships:- Until development equal to other region of the country the govt shall continue reservation of quota system in govt services and educational institutions for the tribals. With an aim to this purpose, the govt shall grant more scholarships for the tribal students in the educational institution. The govt shall provide necessary scholarships for research works and receiving higher education in abroad.
11. The govt and elected representative shall make efforts to maintain separate culture and tradition of the tribals. The govt in order to develop the tribal cultural

activities at the national level it shall provide necessary patronisation and assistance.

12. The Jana Samhati Samiti shall submit to the govt the lists of its all members including the armed ones and the arms and ammunition under its possession and control within 45 days of signing this agreement.
13. The government and the Jana Samhati Samiti jointly shall determine the date and place for depositing arms within the 45 days of signing this agreement. After determination of date and place for depositing arms by the members included in the list of the Jana Samhati Samiti the govt shall ensure security for return of JSS members and their family members to normal life.
14. The govt shall declare amnesty for the members who shall deposit their arms and ammunition on the scheduled date. The govt shall withdraw the cases against whom cases have been lodged.
15. If anyone fails to deposit arms on the scheduled date the govt shall take lawful measures against him.
16. After the return of all JSS members to normal life general amnesty shall be given to them and the permanent residents who were involved in the activities of the JSS.
 - a. In order to providing rehabilitation to all returnee JSS members a lump sum of Taka 50,000/- shall be given to each family.
 - b. All the JSS members including the armed ones against whom cases have been lodged, warrant of arrest and police circular for apprehension issued and punishment has been sentenced/inflicted in the absence, after surrendering of arms and return to normal life all the cases, warrants of arrest, police circulars and punishment sentenced in the absence against them shall be exempted as soon as possible. If JSS members are detained in the jails they also shall be released.
 - c. Similarly after surrendering of arms and return to normal life no cases can be lodged, warrant issued and punishment inflicted against anyone only for the reason that he was a JSS member.

- d. All the members of the JSS who took loans from various banks and organisations of the govt but could not utilise them properly those loans including the interests shall be exempted.
- e. The JSS members who were posted in the services of the govt or govt institutions they shall be reinstated in their own posts and services and the JSS members and their family members shall be given appointment in accordance with their competence. In this case, the rule of the govt for relaxation of age shall be followed.
- f. The JSS members shall be provided bank loans on easier terms and conditions to give assistance for cottage industry, horticulture etc. self-employment activities.
- g. The children of JSS members shall be provided educational facilities and their certificates received from foreign educational Boards and institutions shall be taken as valid.

17. After signing the agreement between the government and the Jana Samhati Samiti and immediately after the return of the JSS members to normal life all the temporary camps of military, Ansar and Village Defence Party shall be taken back to permanent installations except the Border Security Force (BDR) and permanent cantonments (3 at the 3 District Hqs. and Alikadam, Ruma and Dighinala) by phases and with this in view, time limit shall be determined. In case of deterioration of law and order situation, natural calamity and such other works the army can be deployed under the civil administration like all other parts in the country as per necessary laws and rules. In this case, Regional Council may, according to necessity or time, request the proper authority for the purpose of getting assistance.

18. Permanent residents of CHT, on priority basis to the tribals, shall be appointed to all posts of officers and employees at all levels of govt, semi-govt, council offices and autonomous bodies in CHT.

Provided that in case of non-availability of qualified candidate among the permanent residents of CHT for a particular post, appointment in that post may be made on deputation from the govt for a term of certain period.

19. A ministry on Chittagong Hill Tracts Affairs shall be established by appointing a Minister from among the tribals. An Advisory Council shall be formed to assist this ministry with the persons stated below -

1. Minister on CHT Affairs
2. Chairman/representative, Regional Council
3. Chairman/representative, Rangamati Hill District Council
4. Chairman/representative, Bandarban Hill District Council
5. Chairman/representative, Khagrachari Hill District Council
6. Member of Parliament, Rangamati
7. Member of Parliament, Khagrachari
8. Member of Parliament, Bandarban
9. Chakma Raja
10. Bohmong Rnja
11. Mong Raja
12. Three members from non-tribal permanent residents of Hilly areas nominated by the government from three Hill Districts.

This agreement is framed as above in Bengali language and is done and signed in Dhaka on the date of 02 December, 1997 as per 18 *Agrahayan* 1404 Bengali year.

On behalf of the inhabitants of
Chittagong Hill Tracts

SD/-

(Jyotirindra Bodhipriya Larma)

President

Parbattya Chhattagram Jana

Samhati Samiti

On behalf of the government of the
Peoples Republic of Bangladesh

SD/-

(Abul Hasanat Abdullah)

Convenor

Hill Tracts Affairs, government of

Bangladesh

Source:

<http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/bangladesh/document/actandordinances/CHT1990.htm>