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Peasants Socio-Economic Scenarios and Technology use Dynamics in Bangladesh

Dr. Kazi Abdur Rouf ^α, Md. Liaquit Ali ^σ & Mohammad Saifullah ^ρ

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Peasants' social organizations, traditional cultures, cultivation technologies and peasant economics (agro economics) are changing and moving toward mechanized capital intensive agriculture that creates inequality and injustice in the society among poor peasants by rich peasants in Bangladesh. Peasant joint family structure is changing to single family. Peasant festivals, customs and cultures are decaying. Chemical agricultural green revolution is oriented to economic profit that totally ignored ecological and social factors. Westerguard, a peasant economist, studied the Bangladesh peasant society and he finds in his Bangladesh research that rich peasants' fragmented their lands because of population increase. For example, density of population was 668 in 1942, it was 1066 in 1957. First average peasant farm size was 6.2 acres, and then declined to 4.9 acres. Landless population was 4% in 1942; it increases to 30% in 1975. More than 10 acres of land household were 16% in 1942, but it stands 9% in 1975. The above statistics show land fragmentation is increasing that affects peasant socio-economic life.

Moreover, in Bangladesh, land tenure system has created exploitative and uneven power structure and patron-client relations (Hall, 1973) between Zamindars (Landlords) and Ryots (tenants). Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies (BIDS) study shows that marginalized peasants and landless people have risen. The market economy alarmingly defeated peasant subsistence economy. Although the commercialized peasants' economy becomes dominant in the capitalist market relations, marginalized peasants are in the periphery of the market economy. Hence they are exploited in the capitalistic market relations in Bangladesh. Many peasants and their children have been trying to co-opt with the

commercial market relations. However, marginalized peasants are victims of pauperization (forced sale) process. They use modern agriculture technology to get benefits from the market since 1970s; however, competitive capitalist market put them out from the privilege of commercial market. Hence state should come forward to support the peasant economy and peasant culture in Bangladesh.

This paper helps readers to know the patterns and scenarios of peasants' socioeconomic life, dynamics of technology use and peasants' different issues that they are sufferings from undergoing sustained deprivation in Bangladesh. Hence the peasants' salient aspects of the paper wish to draw the attention of Bangladeshi peasant economists, researchers and policy makers to address the issues that they are suffering from and thus to redress their distress as much as possible.

Keywords: Commercial market relations; green evolution; land tenure system; peasant culture; peasant economy; poverty; rayots; subsistence production; surplus production; and zamindars.

1. INTRODUCTION AND IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

Bangladesh's main economy is agriculture. Peasants of Bangladesh have their own distinct agricultural economy, social organizations, land tenure system, cultures, cultivation technology, economy and life styles which have been changing drastically for the last few decades. Capitalistic consumer economy hugely forced traditional agriculture to commercializing agriculture. Few rich peasants are able to invest capitals to agriculture, co-opt with mechanized cultivation, commercial agriculture market and make profit from their agriculture production. However, maximum peasants are unable to fulfill their basic needs from their substance economy and hence they are suffering from absolute poverty in Bangladesh.

a) Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the paper are (1) to introduce the readers with the issues and conditions of life that Bangladeshi peasants are suffering from crop cultivation, modern technology use and crop marketing in rural Bangladesh and (2) to understand the causes and consequences of peasants' poverty.

b) Methodology of the Study

This paper is written by the authors from their own experience in Bangladesh. The paper uses secondary source information and data of different

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studies conducted in Bangladesh. The paper also contains peasant economists and social scientists (Anawarullah, 1978; Areefen, 1986; Atiar Rahman, 1986; Chynov, 1986; Humphrey, 2014; B. K. Jahangir, 1978; Mahabub, 1987; Patnaik, 1976; Shannin, 1984; Wood, 1978; etc) thoughts on peasants' socio-economic life.

II. PEASANT AND PEASANT SOCIETY

In Bangladesh, a peasant is a member of a traditional class of cultivators and farmers, either laborers or owners of small lands and cultivating them. Peasants have their distinct society which is different from urban social life. Anthropologist Caroline Humphrey (2014) says, "Peasant society has plantation economy" In short, peasants are rural people involves in cultivating land for crop production and their livelihood based on crop production economy.

Many researchers classify peasants into several classes in Bangladesh. For example Hashmi, Taj Ul-Islam (1994) classifies peasants into four groups-landless poor, poor peasants, middle class tenants and land lords. B.K. Jahangir (1978) considers peasant society as a "little community". Peasant society is relatively widespread entity which contains peasant family, clan, group, kinship, household or home, and maintained them through their different relations, activities events and festivals.

Peasant society means a collection of group of families, clans and a collective feeling where different households of neighborhood connected. Peasant society is the combination of many family units (farms). Peasants have intensive relations and create social solidarity among them. Humphrey (2014) says, "Peasant society is a moral institution which includes peasants and different craftsmen mainly involved in land cultivation and making household crafts." Peasant society maintains its social solidarity through different festivals, events, customs and traditions. Peasants orally transmit their agriculture technology to their neighbors, relatives and to their next generations. Caroline Humphrey (2014) emphasizes on influence of nature on agricultural production. Areefen (1986) describes, "It is beyond kinship relational organization that has social collectivity and political bondage (civil rights) and its members have mutual bondage relationships. The plantation agriculture (sowing) uses land as subject labor which is opposite to industrial labor.

III. PEASANT SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

Peasant society is a mixed social organization entity in a social structure because peasant society has many relationships with different social organizations. Family, clan, group, kinships, household and home etc. are elements of peasant society. Traditional peasant society characteristics are using manual labor, individual means of production, unplanned labor division, easy

available land from the family and use natural raw materials and attain self-sufficiency. Traditional agricultural system is based on clan and lineage relationship among peasant family members. Traditional peasant economy is self-consumed subsistence agriculture. However, in the materialist society, mechanical agricultural production and accumulation of agricultural resources are important than self-consumed biological reproduction. Recently market relations takes place oriented role instead lineage relations in Bangladesh. However, Bangladeshi peasants are in halfway (transition) in the use of modern agricultural technology. However, Bangladeshi peasants are suffering from the following issues and challenges that need to be addressed at micro level, mezzo level and macro level by local and national organizations.

IV. ISSUES OF PEASANTS IN BANGLADESH

- Integration and attachment of traditional peasants with capitalistic market relations and the peasant economy.
- Accessibility of agricultural inputs, access to credit facilities, access to agricultural technological knowhow and access to improved technology and poor peasants' involvement in the process of modernization of agriculture.
- Relationships between the land tenure system and the problems of improved agricultural practices
- Pattern of unequal income rise and unequal economic income distribution among different classes of peasants
- Emerging unequal power and authority of leadership structural development in villages and its impact on ordinary peasants' life
- Agricultural development or agricultural productivity structure increases influenced by population growth and population diversity
- Modernized agriculture destroy ecological balance.

Eric Wolf (1966) discovers peasant society varies according to geography. He finds peasant society has two different families: Nuclear family and extended family. This dyadic relations occurred by husband, wife, children mother and father. It depends on influence of gender relation in the family. Dyadic relations have importance to agricultural production and social, economic and biological reproduction. Both single family and extended family are integral part of production strategy for peasants' survival in the traditional peasant society. However, joint family uses more its family members to agriculture production. Eric Wolf (1966) considers extended family contributes to peasant development cycle- the structure of extended family continues when parents, children, husband wife and grand children live together and work together. The leadership of father ended after his death and then it passes to brothers which creates tendency to build

single family. In single family, family labor demand is different from extended family members' demand. Aziz (1983) mentions this is a *family development cycle* that continues, but reverse is rare. However, through this cycle, single family system is increasing.

V. PEASANT SOCIAL STRATIFICATION IN BANGLADESH

Social stratification and social class division can be seen in peasant society in Bangladesh based on religious traditions, social class division, land tenure system and occupation. Social stratification and social class division can be seen in Hindu religion; aristocracy status can be seen also in Muslim families, but now social status is determined by ownership of wealth in Bangladesh in addition to above sociality. Anawarullah (1978) finds four types of social stratification in Muslim family. Sayed, Sheik, Moghul and Pathan. However contemporary social stratification structure is Khandan, peasant cultivators, day labors, weavers, doctors (Baidi). Khandan is in first row, they have less participation in agriculture although they have enough lands. However, cultivators' basic features are they use labor in their agriculture. Day labor has no land, but they sell their manual labor to other places for their livelihoods. Weavers and doctors are in lower strata. Monirul Islam Khan (1991) mentions Khandan and cultivators have separate relationship in marriage. Khandan people usually do not marry cultivator families. In Hindu religion, there is no marriage between higher cast and lower caste. In Hindu religion, Brahmin is the higher caste; Shaha, Dhopa and Napit are lower caste. Fishermen, blacksmith and masons are scheduled caste. Higher castes people have land. They get crops from share croppers. Now lower caste people have good economic condition in the village. However, this ascribed generational family status, occupation, and economic situation of villagers is changing in Bangladesh.

Non-agriculture occupational mobility rapidly changes among peasants in Bangladesh. For example, a study was conducted in Hathazari UpZilla by Fatimatu-Zohra (2013), a student of Sociology, Chittagong University, Bangladesh on peasant occupational mobility. The study finds 92% peasant family members expressed they like to involve in non-agricultural jobs (driving, auto mechanics, plumbing, electricians, constructions, typists etc jobs) in their life. This study respondent thinks income from agriculture is less than income from non-agriculture occupations in their area. Moreover, the study also finds second generation of peasants has less land than their first generation because of fragmentation of land ownership.

Many Indian sociologists and economists put contribution to Indian agriculture system analysis. Ram Krishana Mukhrjee, Daniel Throner, and Utshe Pat

Nayek are prominent researchers who studied Indian peasant society. Mukherjee ((1978) studied six villages in Bogra six decades ago. He divided peasants into five classes: Jotdar, rich peasant, Rayot, unproductive land owner and Rayot sharecropper. Throner (1984) mentions three classes: land owners, peasants and labors. Some lands are fertile and some are not. Hence peasant class categories are not fair according to land ownership.

Arefin classifies marginal farmer if he has .01-.99 acres of land, but Westerguard (1978) mentioned .1-2.99 acres. Siddiqui, Kamal (1978) and Wood (1978) gives importance to land tenure system for identifying peasant class position that determined by land owning, land leasing and sharecropping criteria. Wood did not label peasant classification although he categorized peasants on the basis of land size-group; however, he agrees that land owners can produce surplus those have 2.4 acres of land. Patnaik (1976) divided peasants according to land ownerships which are based on Indian survey. His peasant class classification is based on how much labors they receive from outside labor or not receive labor from outside or they themselves provide labor in agriculture. Pat Nayek class divisions are: Land lord, rich peasant, middle class peasant, small peasant, poor peasant, and landless labor. However, petty cultivators' number is increasing; therefore, Patnaik's peasant class classification based on land ownership is not 100% accurate in Bangladesh. He finds land lords receive tax from their tenants and buy cheap labor from the society; however, he himself is not directly involved in agriculture work. Patnaik's (1976) study shows rich peasants exploit labor wages by giving peasants less wage for their job.

Many scholars divided peasant society into different categories. Eric Wolf (1966) makes three types of society: primitive society, peasant society and industrial urban society. In Europe, peasants were divided into three classes according to their personal status: slave, serf, and freeman. Vilen Van Scandal emphasizes class analysis based on economic categorization. His class classification based on food purchasing capacity and standard of living. (A) class of people is unable to collect full year food and their standard of living is poor, (B) class of people are able to purchase food but standard of living is poor, (C) the middle class people who is able to produce little surplus. (D) Rich people are able to maintain their family with scarcity. Rich peasant, middle class peasant, poor peasant are results of peasant economic class division that is encouraged by land tenure system and modern commercial agricultural system.

Recently the class division emerges through market competition success and failure and cumulative resource accumulation in Bangladesh. Marxism calls it the process of power dynamism and differentiation. This process becomes strong in the capitalistic society. This

economic inequality exists in peasant society, but polarization process starts when capitalistic relations are wide spreading. Atiar Rahman and Borhanuddin Jahangir (1978) find differentiated socio-economic polarization process happens in the advanced villages in Bangladesh based on land ownership. For example, Borhanuddin (1978) finds in the studied village it has 34% land was owned by top 10 families in 1951, but in 1981 it increases to 50.28%. On the other hand, bottom level peasants were 60% which was 24% in 1951, but now they own only 10% land. It means rich become richer and poor become poorer in Bangladesh. However, Atiar Rahman study (1986) shows these economic differentiations include non-crop production other elements. For example, the cattle farm owners are the non-crop production group in Bangladesh. The authors find cattle ownerships are less among the peasants than it was before 1970s in Bangladesh.

Anawarullah Chowdhury (1978) analyzes Bangladesh village social stratification and his analyses are related to agriculture structure. His analysis of social stratification based on three elements: (1). Strengthening of production ownership ability, (2) Social status and (3) Power. He divided household members based on agriculture occupation and non-agriculture occupations. His main three classes of peasant are based on agriculture system (1) Land owners, (2) Share croppers or tenants, (3) Landless labors. Non-agriculture occupations are petty traders, paid employed, craftsmen, blacksmiths, fishermen, barbers etc. in the villages, but agriculture and non-agriculture occupants have relationships with each other because many businessmen have lands in villages. Businesspeople earn money from both lands and other business.

Class division also exists among landowners. For example, some peasants own 80 bighas land; some own 20 bighas of land. Again Anawarullah (1978) divides peasants based on labor relations: (1) one class never involve in agriculture cultivation even they do not supervise agricultural activities. They leased their lands to other cultivators and collect leased money. Small peasants cultivate their own lands for their livelihoods. In the village he finds 48 people are share cropper peasants. These sharecroppers have little lands, but they cultivate lands by paying tax to other land owners. Here Anawarullah's (1978) social stratification and social classification based on persons main occupation as well as main source of income. However, poor landless people exist in villages which he does not include in his peasant agriculture stratification and peasant classification.

VI. PEASANT ECONOMICS

According to Danial Thorner (1984) peasant economics is an area of economics that have a wide

variety of economics used in peasant society. The traditional peasants are partly integrated into the market economy. Modern peasant economic assumptions are about the maximization of profits, risk aversion and drudgery (hard work); however, they have subsistence agriculture production and consumption. Chayanov argues (1986) that peasants would work in order to meet their subsistence needs, but they have no incentive beyond those needs and therefore traditional peasants would slow and stop working once their need meet. However, in consumerism society, peasant family members are surrounded by non-subsistence demand which is totally different and opposite to corporate agricultural economy. Peasants are satisfied if they can feed and meet their basic needs from subsistence crop production; however, corporate consumption economy is greedy of maximizing profit by exploiting peasants' market relations. Moreover, the consumer economy does not care for environmentalism.

There are two types of peasant economy: peasant agricultural economics and commercialization of capitalist agriculture. Now traditional economy is treated as peripheral economy that neglects universal rationality' of the neo-classical economy. However, in Bangladesh context peasant economy needs to be considered within the major main economy.

A.V. Chaynov (1986) peasant theory is based on demographic economy. According to A. V. Chynov peasant reduce his hired labor because his family has more capable labors. Fragmentation of land size and fragmentation of land ownerships is acute in Bangladesh because of increasing family members in the peasant society in Bangladesh. Moreover, industrial plants, housings and public works capture huge lands in Bangladesh.

T. Shanan (1973) says, "Agriculture enterprises are (ferme) and the household is the basic economy unit (menge) of the peasant society." He highlights the capitalist peasant entrepreneurs lack the freedom action, they regulate the labor force. It is inhuman. However, traditional peasant family is trying to maximize the labor input rather than profit. A.V. Chaynov's (1986) thinks the intensity factor in agriculture is depending on the availability of labors and technological level is determined for the reproduction of the family and the unit of production. However, Chaynov is unable to retain distinct agricultural economy through agricultural production in Bangladesh.

VII. PEASANTS' SUBSISTENCE PRODUCTION ECONOMY AND COMMERCIAL PRODUCTION ECONOMY

Eric Wolf (1966) says, "Peasants are those who are involved with cultivation." However, in capitalistic society polarization is going on in peasant society—the landless poor and the rich commercialized peasants.

Big farmers run their agriculture commercially, they are selling their products in the commercial market. However, the traditional peasants aim is to feed the family (subsistence agriculture). Peasant produces agriculture for his family need and his primary aim is to fulfill his own family need and the secondary target is to sell surplus products in market. However, the traditional peasants have intra-family agri-cultivation system that lacks of surplus production. Their agricultural productions are for self-consumption and family consumption. They do not produce agriculture for-profit. There is no absentee landlordism in peasant society. In peasant society, peasants need to produce crops for his family and to continue his agricultural production. If he fails subsistence agricultural products, he might be in challenge to survive himself and his family. Therefore, there is no sharp class differentiation, economic exploitation and to influence to other weak people. Moreover, no social dependents and no economic exploitation observe in traditional peasant society. They have no bindings for industrial production and ownership. Their ownership pattern is local and familial.

Agricultural food production is essential for peasants' physical survival and for the continuation of his agriculture (seed, plough and cattle). A portion of his agriculture production is used for his future agriculture. According to Eric Wolf (1966) the excessive agriculture production is surplus. Peasant involved in surplus production for carrying their expenses of ceremonial fund where all need to contribute fund for it. He says, "As farms are not only an economic unit rather it is a house which has a big role in peasant family. It is a place not only for production, but also consumption unit of agriculture products. All family members contribute to labor. However, division of class exists in peasant and it is influenced by capitalism. A.V. Chaynov (1986) thinks traditional peasant society is static because they are not aware of social dynamic.

Eric Wolf (1966) mentions society has dualism-traditionalistic and modern society. Traditional society's main character is uniformity, static and firm integrity. On the other side, modern society main character is labor division. Clover finds peasant society is in between two societies. Shanin (1984) talks about the peasant familial farm characteristics. This family farm has both production and consumption relationships. Although family head is the owner of the land, but all the family members have rights to the family land. Family members have gender division of labor and they have gender identity. Similarly male/female has specific responsibility in the family. Father has the highest status in the family. Usually children raise cattle and youths involve in agriculture labor. Here his economic status is high in the family. Moreover, father's opinion/decision is final in the family economic sphere.

VIII. COMMERCIAL AGRICULTURE

The capitalistic and feudal peasant economy becomes remnant/rapidly disappear because of rapid growth of commercial agricultural and manufacturing. The commercial agriculture encourages modernization. What, how and how much to produce and what to do with the product obtained to move to substantial agriculture or commercial agriculture. However, traditional agriculture contradicts how much to produce for maximizing rates of profits and accumulations. Hence it is necessary to think about distinct forms of social organization of production. Moreover, traditional and commercial agriculture classified by scale of production for securing/sustaining means of production-'factor cost'- market price of inputs, land rent, wages of family wages and value of input purchased from market.

Commercial agriculture is about a simple mercantile economy'. This market economy is –on- the-spot consumption economy or self-sufficient economy transfer to material requirement for its reproduction economy inputs or final consumption goods must be acquired from the market by using money. For this purpose, the family unit is formed to join the market for goods and services as a supplier of product or for labor power. Here the decision what to produce is based on the marketability of the product. Selling products what has produced is part of peasant economy.

One of the special features of the peasant society is that it makes use of labor force which would not create value in other production sector-the children, old people, women and the head of the family and his adult children- all are working unsystematically. This is one reason for the ability of the family unit to bring product to the market at lower prices than communal production and prices. Marginal labor force is using in the traditional agriculture, but they are not regarded labor force in the commercial sector, but these marginal labor force contributing to net increase in the family income. However, traditional peasant society risk internalization is occurring to co-opt with entrepreneurial behavior of profit making in Bangladesh. Entrepreneurs have risk or uncertainty in their profits that can be derived from alternative applications of their capital, but these uncertainty views as probability functions (Shanin, 1984). They calculate this risk and profit probability that might zero game by adverse situations. Lipton views it "survival algorithm", which lead them to avoid risks despite the potential profits. They internalize this risk and uncertainty through they generate lower incomes and lessen expected outputs. For example, many peasants do not cultivate certain high yielding crops to avoid complex technology use and buy high yielding variety (HYV) seeds from complex distance marketing mechanism.

In the commercial society, there is a clear separation between capital and labor power, between

owners of means of production, land owners and labor power. The commercial society principal aim is to secure at least average profit. Here peasants articulate with the market economy by linking them with the rest of the economy-exchange of goods and services (or values) between sectors: exchanges and transfer of surpluses from the peasant sector to the rest of the economy-the capitalist agriculture and the urban industrial complex.

IX. COMMERCIALIZING PEASANT ECONOMY

In commercial agriculture production society, land ownership is the prime but lands are concentrated to few people hands. In peasant society, peasants are not specialization in mechanized agriculture production. Children informally learn agriculture from their families. However, traditional cultivation is changing and peasants are using chemical fertilizers, pesticides, and mechanics for plough and for irrigation. Many whole buyers and middleman traders buy products at cheap prices from peasants. Hence peasants are not able to get their crop production costs by selling their crops in the market.

Shanin (1973) comments peasant economy has relation with the village community in addition to family farming. Family is not a separate entity in peasant society rather family is a part of village community and work for it. Peasant labor relation has link with village. They exchange their labor receiving money or in kinds. Family tree (Lineage), clan and group has active role in peasant economy and social control. Shanin (1984) uses the term market in two different ways (1) market is a place where people meet and exchange their products with mutual bargaining, and (2) market is an economic institution where people supply, demand and sell products. However, market social context should consider for peasant economics in Bangladesh.

Village market is social gathering for peasants. For example, rural peasants gather in the market, chat, discuss and exchange information there. However, now peasants also have connections with external world through market. Competition, opportunity and individuality are market relations (Scott,1985) which is rare among traditional peasants. In capitalistic society, production universality and profit are market principle. Shanin (1984) says, "Peasant society power structure control ownership of land." Land owners and land users are always not one individual. Land users are subordinate of land owners, but this relation is a process of exploitative system. This exploitation system continues through tax system. In this way peasant society becomes stratified and people (serfs) are exploited and subordinated through land lords. According to Shanin (1984), "It is about patron-client relations. Robert Redclif says (1973) says, "Currently peasant society emerged for the need of urban society

and economy. He treats peasants as rural natives. These two rural and urban societies have mutual relationships and they are dependent on each other. It is because peasant uses many urban industrial products (chemical fertilizers, pesticides, hybrid seeds) for their crop production. Urban dwellers also use peasant products. However, urban society controls peasants' socio-economic life through different economic agencies, social organizations and political institutions. For example, Bangladesh has Shalish (informal arbitration, justice system) performed by *Mattabas* (informal village arbitrators) in villages in addition to Union Parishad and Upzlla Parishad who control the villages.

X. PEASANTS MARKET RELATIONS

Peasant produces crops for his family need and the surplus (if any) for market for buying non-agricultural family necessary goods. However, rich farmers produce cash crop products which have market relations.

Peasant economy is treated '*petty commodity produce*' (Scott, 1985). However peasant products go to urban merchants. Merchants processed agricultural products and sell them at higher prices in the market. Currently peasant economy is saturated and integrated in the world market. The capitalist society forced middle class peasant or marginal peasant to produce products for market because these peasants are dependent on market in various ways. Marginal peasants are compelled to repay their due or livelihoods costs from investors' loans. Through capital economy, capital accumulated by market production system. However, in Bangladesh many peasants' loss their production cost in the competitive market.

Peasant economy market relations expand with the expansion of new technology. Bangladesh and India peasant economy market relations expanded by agricultural technology development through green revolution. Mahbub Hossain (1987) finds that agricultural labor market increases with the expansion of production. As a result labor market becomes active. But labor demand increases with expansion of production. Rich peasant hires labor from outside market. Lower middle class peasants also depend on labor. Peasant economy is intensively (closely) related to commodity production. Hence agriculture labor demand and use is increased in rural area. However, very few peasant families use their own family members' labor; so many crop producers find agriculture production as capital intensive than before. Therefore' rich peasants lease lands to petty peasants for cultivating their lands.

Recently it is observed that there are many intermediate organizations existing in capitalist production process among producers and consumers For example, the Gold Leaf cigarette company reaches its products through its many wholesalers and retailers

in Bangladesh. However, these market agents wholesalers and retailers rarely influenced the Gold Leaf production company. However, the non-agriculture occupation people has huge role to link peasant society with market. In this way market interlock relationships develop between peasants and intermediate marketing group.

Rich peasant has control over two market sources. (1) Land Market and (2) Capital Market. As profit gain from these two sources of markets, their control over share croppers also become powerful. Wholesalers and brokers exist in villages that control crop products and capital market. In Bangladesh, peasants consume surplus agricultural production. Wholesalers and brokers are businessmen and capital investors. Peasants sell their crops in advance to wholesalers and brokers before starting crop harvesting seasons. Even poor peasants receive advance loans for spending family expenditure. Small peasants repay these loans after crop harvesting.

Peasants get less prices from selling their crops to Mahajons and loan investors because peasants are forced to repay their crop loans that they received from money lenders and loan agencies. Wholesalers and brokers make profits through this catch. Wholesalers and brokers are widespread in cities and villages across Bangladesh. Wholesalers control peasants by providing advance capital to them. Loaned peasants are bound to repay their loans immediately after crop harvesting, but the crops price is low when peasant sell their products in market and repay their loans. This '*forced commercialization and forced loan repaying*' process cannot give peasants economic relief/salvation. The reason is *distress sale*-crop sell is immediately done after harvesting for peasant family need. Recently micro finance institutions (MFIs) in Bangladesh provide crop loans to poor farmers, but MFIs put pressure to borrowers to repay loans immediately after crop harvesting. MFIs think loan receivers shall not be able to repay loans or divert the agriculture loans if MFIs are not brisk to collect crop loans immediately after crop harvesting.

XI. PEASANT CULTURE

Cultural changes and moral changes occur in peasant society. Peasant moral values are different from capitalistic norms and values. According to Chyanov (1986) and Dobrowolski Kazimierz (1984) peasants have one kind of static mentality and that static mentality is responsible for subsistence production and they become happy with this limited agricultural production; hence progressive capitalist economy does not exist among majority peasants in Bangladesh. Peasant society is described as static-unchanging or slowly changing society, but now peasant society ties peasants and urban peoples, ties cities and villages.

Moreover, there exists a cultural lag among peasants because peasants need time to catch up or adjust cultural innovation and to solve social problems and social conflicts that is happening within their spheres. However, it needs time to adapt urban culture. So the cultural lag keeps peasant old-fashioned. However, through socio-religious and economic networks, Bangladeshi peasants maintain close contact with their neighbors that results peasant community which is again a part of wider rural unity. However, traditional economy is voluntary economy that has risk for modern commercial sustainability.

Usually traditional culture receives superstitions knowledge, values, customs from past. For example, many peasants do not like to pay or get money at night period. Traditional culture appreciates colorful past. So there is an objection to follow modern culture, norms, values and customs. Traditional culture continues without barriers transmitting to next generations. However, when past tradition become unpopular or irrelevant then it creates a certain situation where change is inevitable. It is seen that the poor women come out from their home for employment or for work outside home by breaking traditional Purda (seclusion) system in villages in Bangladesh. Purda system is related to economic need, economic ability (congruity) or economic inability. Hence it is not correct that peasant culture is always stagnant in Bangladesh which is applicable only in primitive society.

Peasant society has many cultures. By market relation with other society, cultural interaction is occurring in society. By using improved technology, many peasants of Bangladesh have exposed themselves to new outlooks, developed new attitudes and create a new social relationship that weakens the old traditions. Lower technology weakens total economy that also weakens social mobility that favors to continue traditional culture.

If a leader/Matabbar is leading a society from a rich family or from the same class it becomes an informal tradition, customs/practices in the society. However, if there is an opportunity a leader can come from different families at different periods, then the society could be dynamic and can be changing. In a dynamic society, the culture and the social mobility could be varied and increased. New view-point/outlook is necessary for a new leadership development and for emerging dynamic social mobility.

XII. PAUPERIZATION AND POLARIZATION OF PEASANTS IN BANGLADESH

Westeguard (1978) discusses pauperization/iproverishment (going out, flowing out, escape) process in rural Bangladesh. He researches pauperization process in Bogura, Bangladesh. Westergard compared contemporary social structure (1970s) and social

system with 1940s social structure; he observed pauperization process happened more than polarization. Westergard (1978) finds rich peasants loss their lands because of population increase. Density of population was 668 in 1942, it was 1066 in 1957. First average peasant farm size was 6.2 acres, then decline to 4.9 acres. Land less population was 4% in 1942; it increases to 30% in 1975. More than 10 acres of land household were 16% in 1942, but it stands 9% in 1975. However, middle class peasant family increases. In such situation Westergard does not support polarization process that affects peasants in Bogura.

XIII. POWER AND AUTHORITY STRUCTURE OF PEASANTS IN BANGLADESH

The term 'peasant class alignment' Westwood uses to explain peasants acceptance of others' leadership to revolt against Zamindars and Jotdars. However, in Bangladesh context, factionalism (division), patron-client relation (service providers and receivers relationships) ideas are more important to analyze rural power structure and political relations (Wood, 1978). Lower class people are unable to organize and unite themselves for fulfilling their own needs and interest rather they make difference among them. They accept others' leadership, but there are no relations with leaders with their materialistic interest. Poor peasants, landless labors become aware of their own rights and revolts against Zamindars and Jotdars. Many people think that Bangladesh peasant class awareness emerges because of agriculture modernization. Villagers are aware of many public rights (Rouf, 2012). Although currently Zamindars and Jotdars groups are not prominent in Bangladesh; however peasants are exploited by money lenders. Alavi and Bayers Scott (1973) observed class based group solidarity among marginalized peasant. They predicted marginalized people realize that politically unite/group has no significance if material interest is different from upper class people.

Power and authority is unequally distributed in almost all society, but distribution pattern is changing based on social type. The power and authority vary mainly on economy. Power and authority is closely related to politics. Max Weber mentions power and

authority in society influence other social institutions. It is about imposing ones will upon the behavior of other persons." These rich advanced peoples are Powerful person authority is like a lord. Atiar, Rahman (1986), Gazi Saleh Uddin (1996) finds that during British period, influential Zamindars, and Jotdars have gangster forces for protecting them and forcibly collect land tax from tenants if any peasants don't pay tax. Likewise European Vassals or tributary lords created in feudalism for maintaining landlords authority. However, in Bangladesh, village powerful elites forced marginal peasants to have subordination relations with them. However, subordination relations become a tool of exploitation to marginalized peasants by the rural elites.

Hamza Alvi (1973) comments on peasant society power and authority. He thinks peasant society is not a separate entity like primitive society rather it is a part of state society. It has links with urban society. Now in Bangladesh, peasant politics are active and they are not separate entity rather class division and economic inequality are obvious/explicit in Bangladesh. However, in order to understand village power and authority structure, it is important to realize the peasant encapsulation (inclusion) system and factionalism (division) process, patron-client relations patterns and class relations in rural Bangladesh. Moreover it needs analyzed them to know the peasant society power structure and political structure in Bangladesh.

XIV. USE OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY IN AGRICULTURE

In modern agriculture, "Total planning is important which is absent in traditional peasant agriculture society, but peasants run their family lands in a traditional way. However, modern economic system depends on expert farm management that is lacking in traditional agriculture. Here capital investment risks does not exist. Agriculture family consumption is the main features of the traditional peasant economy, but accumulation of capital is slow.

The traditional agriculture inputs per unit land are lower. Ramkrishna Mukerjee (1971) study finds advanced technology uses village incomes have increased than backward/ underdeveloped villages.

Table 1 : Farm Size and Productivity of Land in Rice Cultivation In Technology Advanced and Backward Villages, Results of a Farm Survey, 1982, Paddy Yield in Tons Per Hector

Farm size	Backward villages	Advanced villages	Percent difference (advanced over backward)
Small farm	1.80	2.72	51
Medium farm	1.43	2.32	62
Large fram	1.32	2.13	61
All farm	1.59	2.55	60

Source: Hossain, M. *Nature and Impact of Modern Rice Technology in Bangladesh*, International Food Policy and Research Institute, Washington DC, 1988, cited from Khan, A. R. and Hossain, M. 1989

Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies (BIDS) surveys (1987) villages and it finds technology advanced village per head income is TK. 3304 which is higher than 29% than technologically less advanced village. The survey finds rich farmers' incomes have increased 34%, but marginal peasant incomes have increased 22%. The study finds small peasants are expert in using green revolution technology. They cultivated HYV rice more than average users. Intensive farming or intensive agriculture is characterized by generally the high use of inputs such as capital, labor, or heavy use of pesticides and fertilizers to agriculture production. Intensive crop farming is a modern form of intensive farming that refers to the industrialized production of crops. Intensive crop farming's methods include innovation in agricultural machinery, farming methods, genetic engineering technology, techniques for achieving economies of scale in production, the creation of new markets for consumption and patent protection of genetic information.

With intensification, energy use typically goes up provided by humans, or supplemented with animals, or replaced with machines. The intensive crop intensity increased based on agriculture irrigation in dry seasons since 1960s in Bangladesh,. The following table shows modern irrigation increases over time.

Table 2: Land use in irrigation

System	1981	1984	1987
Modern irrigation	2,496	3,355	8,549
Traditional irrigation	1,555	1,449	890

Source: The agriculture sector I Bangladesh – a data base, USAID/Bangladesh, 1989, p. 64.

The use of high inputs of fertilizers, plant growth regulators or pesticides, and mechanization is increasing in Bangladesh. However, rich farmers or rich business men have capital for modern intensive farming by using agricultural machinery; they can afford modern farming methods and genetic technology. They are able to manage techniques for achieving economics of scale in production and the creation of new markets for consumption.

However, use of technology by marginalized peasants is an issue in Bangladesh. The reason is that technology use is expensive. Therefore, marginalized peasants are not able to manage the use modern technologies in their crop cultivations. Moreover, technology is not safe. For example, spraying pesticide in the crop fields is unhealthy and environmentally unfriendly. Many birds, animals and marine resources are destroyed because of spraying pesticide in the crop fields. Chemical fertilizers pollute soil and water. For example, by using chemical fertilizers the micro-nutrient values of soil have been destroyed in many places in

Bangladesh. However, subsistence agriculture uses traditional eco-friendly technologies and these traditional rural agricultural technologies are transmitting to post generations by orally and informally in Bangladesh.

XV. CONSEQUENCES OF GREEN REVOLUTION

After the green revolution, when the technology and the notion of chemical agriculture were introduced, it seems that the gross production of main grain rice has increased. However, It has, created a large negative impact on rural farmers and the environment. Chemical agriculture is only oriented to economic profit; however, ecological and social factors are totally ignored. Chemical agriculture is totally anti-natural and destructive. Consequently this agricultural chemical technology creates many problems in the environment. Prominent problems among these are topsoil depletion and degradation, and groundwater contamination; moreover, it declines of family farms, continued neglect of the living and working conditions for farm laborers, increasing costs of production, and the disintegration of economic and social conditions in rural communities. Chemical use green evolution creates health hazards due to food degradation and environment (soil, air and water) pollution because of agricultural poisons.

XVI. MODERN AGRICULTURE AND ECOLOGICAL PROBLEM

Modern agriculture creates ecological problems in Bangladesh. The uses of inorganic fertilizer and pesticides cause a lot of problems to the soil, water and air. Soil become hard and degraded, water holding capacity reduced, soil PH become imbalanced that cause some micro-nutrient deficiency, reduce soil microbial activities result in less availability of plant nutrients. Increasing pest use in agriculture in Bangladesh that degraded soil becomes unhealthy. Unhealthy soil grows unhealthy plants. The products grown with excessive chemical fertilizers and pesticides are low in quality resulted degradation of food quality. This low food quality has become of less taste and has less nutrition food value of the food products. Chemically grown products have less nutrient contents (protein, vitamins and minerets) and higher water content. The high water content may be one of the main reasons for lack of taste and low preserving capacity of chemically grown product.

Use of chemical pesticides results pollution of the environment as they are chemical poison. They are very much effective in killing living things and have long term residual effect (some cases more than 10 years). The poison pollute the product first and then soil, air and water consequently. This pollution results in poisoned product, soil degradation, and the extinction of fish, birds and other animals. However, use of the organic

fertilizer enriches organic matter supply to soil and can produce healthy food.

XVII. LAND TENURE SYSTEM AND HISTORY OF LAND TENURE SYSTEM OF BANGLADESH

The Mughul Raj had introduced land tax through Mughul Land Tenure System. Tenants have no land ownership during Moghul period. The Moghul Raj collected land tax through village Mattabors in India who had contact with Moghul Raj. After Mughul Raj, East India Dewani Prati land tenure system had been introduced by the British East India Company in 1765. The East India Company got Bengal land tax collection attorney from Moghul Raj in 1765. In a memorandum, it was mentioned Rayots shall not increase by British company rather it'll protect Raiyats from tax exploitations and injustice. However, British East India Company exploited Krishok (peasants) much more than it was during in Moghul Raj. The land tenure system was not developed although land tax increased. British introduced the Land Tenure Permanent Settlement Act in 1793. Before permanent Settlement Acts, Zaminders were the agents of land collectors of the Moghul Raj and for the East India Company. Peasants have no land occupying rights; however, after Permanent Settlement Act, Zaminders got land occupying rights and they were the owner of lands. Previously they are the agent of land collectors from independent Krishoks (peasants) for the Moghul Raj. Afterword, Zaminders got rights to collect land tax from Krishok and control Prajas (tenants). The British Settlement Act made provision for 90% of the land tax should send to Company by Zaminders.

Sher-E-Bangla A K Fazlul Hoque is a non-official pioneer in Krishak Praja Party activities and a starting point of Krashak Rajniti (peasant politics), but it was risky to relate peasants great leaders political and official activities to rural development and to peasant development in Bengal. Fazlul Hoque had contributed to the welfare of Bengal peasantry and to the welfare of the Bengal educated class. Fazlul Hoque was famous for passing the Bengal agriculture debtors Acts of 1935, Bengal Tenancy Act of 1938, the Act of 1885, 1929 and 1938 are all amending Acts of the Permanent Settlement Act of 1793. All these acts are about rights of Ryots (tenants), under-Ryots and occupancy-Ryots. Occupancy-Ryots exempted from payment of a transfer fee. The right of preemption was taken away from the landlord and given to the co-sharer tenants. Moreover, provision of rent increase was suspended for a period of ten years. However, there was no improvement occurred in agriculture and that effect without securing the tenures of the peasant on his land.

Sriniketan: Establishes the Pally Mongal Samitty (Village Development Committee) by Tagore. It is a cooperative provided by the adult education centers to

serve health care services. Tagore introduced training camps (Look Shava) for village workers and landless people. It organizes folk festivals as part of rural reconstructions.

Several peasants revolted against land tenure tax imposed by British Raj (regime) and other rulers in Bengal. Followings are descriptions of different Movements in Bengal.

Krishak was not involved in politics until Khilafat movement and non-cooperation movement and emerging of communalists in the nineteenth century. Baserkillah (bamboo) Fort was organized by Sariatullah during British is a historical event in Bengal. There was a movement against Nill cultivation by Bengal peasants. However, Krishak issues were not visible in Indo-Pak mainstream politics. Politics were limited to feudal elites. In 1935, the tax payers of six areas voters organized against British during Macdonald Rayadad period. This movement was against Jotdars and land lord elites who exploited and were unjust to Krishak. Muslim Bourgeois politicians used Krishoks for their own interest. Therefore, many local peasant leaders' revolts and campaigns against British tax system. However, Indian Congress Natioal Party was mute to avoid Hindu Muslim communal sensitivity issues.

XVIII. FAZLUL HOQUE MOVEMENTS AND ABOLITION OF MOHAJONI PRATHA

In 1935 a new Act (1937 Election Act) introduced where Fazlul Hoque talked about Krishok rights through his Krishok Praja Party. This act and campaign was for the competition with Muslim League. In 1929-31, Bengali Krishok citizens were suffering from economic crisis and suffering from loss of their lands. The reason was money lenders forcibly collecting loans and cumulating interest from Krishoks. Fazlul Hoque campaigned against the British Permanent Settlement Acts. In the election Fazlu Hoque was unable to get majority votes; however, he made a cabinet in collaboration with Muslim League. However, the cabinet was unable to fulfill the demands/rights of the Krishok. Although he changed some laws of Muhajongs (Money Landers), there was no radical change in Krishok life. Unfortunately later Fazlul Hoque was ousted by Muslim League.

Krishok Shava was another Indian peasants' platform that changed few clauses of the peasant land tenure acts through communist influence. Many Krishoks were organized under the leadership of Krishok Shova. There was an alliance among Krishok and labors of Bengal under the Krishok Shava banner.

a) *Tevaga Movement*

Tevaga Movement becomes alive against Permanent Settlement Act before and after Indo-Pak partisan. After 1947, the Communist Party politics and Tevaga movement were inactive. However, then

increased bourgeois politics that impacted negatively to the Krishok rights in Bengal. Mowlana Vasani was a spokesperson for the peasants' rights and peasant socio-economic development in Bangladesh. Many places Krishoks had organized under Krishok Samitty led by Vashani. Vashani conducted many meetings; processions for the rights of Krishok, but he did not use Krishok for voting him or for his party. However, it was his personal strategy and it was against pretty bourgeois exploitations and injustices. However, organizationally Krishak Samilty was not successful to achieve its manifesto.

b) Nankar Movement

There was another Krishok revolt and movement against Nankar (payment of tax against agriculture products and labors) and it is called Nankar movement in Bengal history. *Nankar* was the name of a type of land tenure characterized by payment of rent in produces or labours during the *Zamindari* period. This system prevailed in Sylhet/Assam areas. The term Nankar is derived from *Nan* (bread) and *Kar* (tax or rent). Nankar may not be confused with *Malikana* (ownership) rather it is an allowance usually ten per cent payable to the state on the gross revenue demand for ownership right for peasants/labors subsistence. The Nankar system of land tenure has a relationship with the modes of production and payment. Zamindar collects the Nankar allowance for maintaining his establishment. Moreover, since Zamindar did not pay his officials in cash, he gives them Nankar or a land assignment in lieu of salary to officials. In return, the officers engaged people as laborers, bearers, cleaners, servants, lathials (clubmen), etc. on Nankar term. These people were paid for in nankar assignment of land. Landholders give *raiyyati* rights to the Nankar peasants. At the end of the British colonial rule, the Nankar peasants began to assert their rights on the land they had been cultivating from generation to generation. They demanded that Zamindars must recognize their rights on land as normal Rayots. The reason is Zamindars abused Nankar people was common practice of Zamindars. The conflicts between the landlords and Nankar Raiyats came to surface in 1922-23. Series of uprisings took place later included the Shukhair rising, Kulaura uprising (1931-32), and Bhanubil uprising (1933-35). Under pressure, many Zamindars recognized the rights of nankar raiyats. The nankar rebellion continued even after the Partition of Bengal (1947). Finally, the movement died down when the Zamindari system was abolished in 1950.

XIX. KRISHOKS AFTER LIBERATION OF BANGLADESH

After Bangladesh, land tenure system amended two times. During Majib period, the highest land ceiling was 100 bigha and Ershad time 50 bigha. Last land tenure adornment committed Khas land will distributed

to landless people. Sharecropper dead should be at least 5 years. The share cropping system should be one share for land owner, one portion to share copper ad one share to who provides inputs. Many researchers think the sharecroppers are exploited by the Tevagha system.

After 1971, Bangladeshi people organized under a new dimension. Different organizations and political parties were trying to organize Krishoks. However, many divisions happened in contemporary politics, but there was a need for new strategy to activate Krishoks. According to Badaruddin Omar (1974), Krishok must be aware of bourgeois politics and correcting political leadership, but they (Krishoks) should not be involved in direct confrontation with them. The politics need to be aligning with Krishok and they must be away from feudal and bourgeois politics. He suggests labor leaders must know Bangladesh land tenure system, its nature and structure if they want to act politically. Omar (1974) suggests politicians should know Krishok past history, present situation, their current issues and demand. If not, Krishok movements will not be successful.

XX. PEASANT POVERTY AND WAY FORWARD

Absolute poverty is seen in Bangladesh everywhere. Bangladeshi poor peasants are suffering from absolute/acute poverty, deprivation of resources and subsistence-the basic conditions that are not fulfilled. Marginalized peasants spend miserable life in their livelihoods, they are suffering from malnourishment and clothing, become illiterate and homeless etc. problems. Hence many peasants are unable to fulfill their basic needs-food, housing, cloths, education, health and other fundamental essentials. As a result, increases social, economic and environmental inequalities and injustice among peasants in Bangladesh.

Moreover, their life is suffering from threat of physical unhealthy existence. Peasants live below standard life. Social inequalities, misdistribution of resources, deprivation of resources, injustice and unethical human accumulation of resources, lack of food security and lack of social safety nets are responsible for acute poverty among marginalized peasants in Bangladesh. Lack of total socio-economic and political planning is responsible for peasant poverty. Sometimes natural disasters, draughts, flood, earthquakes, cyclones, hurricanes, climate change, water pollution, environmental pollution, epidemic diseases, soil erosion etc. destroy crops, destroy resources and peasants are unable to recover their resources that are destroyed.

Usually widower, divorced, separated women, older people and children do not have enough land for cultivation; they do not have enough scope for income

for their livelihoods in Bangladesh. Usually they depend on other members of the family for their livelihoods. State does not support them enough. Peasants are suffering from lack of social safety net, food security and other support services from the state because capitalistic profit motive exploitative market mechanism and commercialization of agriculture lead them to deprivation of fulfilling their basic need.

Agricultural production inputs costs and outputs prices in market forced peasant to buy and sell their products at less prices than it should be. Peasants are unable to buy their household necessities and services from market. Therefore, they are suffering from earning low income and suffering from shortage of resources for fulfilling their necessities. Hence this is a societal problem instead a social problem in Bangladesh.

Capitalism thinks poor peasants are lazy and unskilled in crop cultivation, which is one kind of stereotyping to them. Hence it is vital to emphasis on the marginalized peasant economic sphere. Some sociologists' remark that peasant is unable to co-opt with the modern agricultural production system and marketing system, capitalist trading and commercialization process, and hence they are unable to survive in the modern agricultural market mechanisms. Moreover, existing exploitative land tenure system, lack of technology of genetically modified innovation (GMI) agriculture, high yielding variety (HYV) crop production, and green revolution excluded marginalized peasant from mainstream agriculture. They are unable to fulfill their household necessities by selling their agricultural products in the market; hence they are suffering from buying household necessities (health services, education services, housing, food, and clothing etc.) from private market. Hence they are suffering from poverty, malnutrition, education, food, clothing and housing. Even they do not get proper justice from the society because rural elites, political chieftains, and religious leaders play injustice to poor peasants in Bangladesh.

Landlessness and homelessness is the most extreme forms of social exclusion. Capitalist society blames individual fault is responsible for poor poverty. Poor people have less effort, less skills and potentials to earn more income and to overcome their miserable life. Lacks of agricultural processing industries in the villages resulted high rate of joblessness among marginalized peasants. Children of peasants are born into poverty and they suffer from the vicious cycle of poverty and retransfer it to their descendent family and society.

Government fiscal budget contributes more to urban development in Bangladesh; however, remote villagers get less physical and social infrastructural facilities from the state. Peasants are excluded from the industrial labor market as they are not skillful of machines and information technology (IT), hence peasants' are exposed to loss of non-agricultural job

market in Bangladesh. Moreover, landlessness people are suffering from lacking of cultivable lands for food production. River erosion, flood, cyclone, hurricane, fire, social exploitations, and capitalistic market structure lead peasants to poor poverty in Bangladesh. The cause-effect consequences can be seen among homeless/landless people in rural and urban areas in Bangladesh.

Agriculture welfare services is absent for the poor peasants although the agricultural subsidy system exist in the fiscal policy in Bangladesh; however, the fiscal policy has few positive impact on them. Government should play a central role in reducing inequalities among peasants through the provision of subsidization of certain goods and services. The reason is poor peasant families are unable to get education, healthcare, housing, income support, and unemployment and pension facilities. Hence they are outside of the state service benefit.

Maloney, Clarence and Ahmed, A. B. Sharfuddin (1988) conducted a survey in 1991 on peasant wage and savings status in Bangladesh. The survey finds daily wage workers save and reinvest 9%, marginal and middle farmers save 12%, salaried people 14% farmers who have trading business 22% and local rich 30-45% (Maloney, 1991). It shows from the statistics that marginal and middle farmers are sufferings from savings and invest money for crop cultivation. Hence it is necessary to develop a mechanism to save and invest money for more production and develop their food security systems. Simultaneously promote and develop the spirit of peasant entrepreneurship in rural Bangladesh. Furthermore, assist peasant social organizations like family, clan and household to develop cooperation among them and articulate their culture and values for producing high yielding crops. Moreover, provide agricultural knowhow knowledge to peasants through popular adult education. Rural peasants are living close to agricultural lands. So it is urgent decentralized agricultural and non-agricultural manufacturing plants across Bangladesh instead Dhaka based and or setup them few cities in Bangladesh.

Implication of the Study: The paper discusses the fundamental concepts, principles of peasant and peasants' socioeconomic life and their different issues and sufferings in Bangladesh. This paper gives readers to know and understand the patterns and scenarios of peasants' socioeconomic life and their different issues that they are sufferings from. Peasants' salient facets of the paper could draw attention of Bangladeshi peasant economists, researchers and policy makers to address the issues of the peasants in Bangladesh and thus to mitigate their suffering and to break the vicious poverty ring.

XXI. CONCLUSION

Agriculture labors are isolated and their wages are little. Peasant cooperatives are few. Manirul Islam Khan (1991) and Bailey, F. G. (1984), therefore recommends it is necessary to increase agricultural labor wages and enhance forming peasant cooperatives in the villages. Support peasant cooperatives. Receiving loan for agriculture is difficult for peasants in Bangladesh. Grameen Bank has been providing agricultural seasonal loans to its borrowers for buying agricultural inputs since its inception. Stuart Rutherford (2009) finds microcredit is helpful to marginalized peasants for cultivating their small lands, leased lands and sharecropping lands.. Hence, revival and revitalization Samabay (cooperative) Bank is a must for peasants' for their access to agricultural loan.

The paper also recommends strengthening of local government agencies and opens their activities to poor peasants for their access to local resources in Bangladesh. Moreover, develop physical infrastructures and social infrastructures at the village level. Simultaneously peasants' entrepreneurship development is very crucial for reviving rural economy. Women household activities and their agricultural processing activities are not count in the Bangladesh national economics. However, their contributions to household economy and national economy are important. Therefore, it is necessary to count women domestic and agricultural processing activities that have economic value to the household economy and to the national economy.

Many rural agricultural labors are unemployed for many months round the year in villages, so develop alternative income generating activities for utilizing their labors during lean periods in Bangladesh.

Huge population growth causes collapse of development; however, Bengali peasant life can support the greatest population density on the land without destroying the resource base. Therefore, design a village development plan and implement these plans by mobilizing village natural resources instead borrowing outside resources. Hence, a socio-economic reform should put in place for the benefit of peasants that can raise their class consciousness, improve rural land holding, and retain the cultural system of beliefs that support the structure of the peasants' economy and culture. Traditional peasant means of production is neither threat to environment nor destructive to the natural process of genetic selections; hence the agricultural extension education should promote natural agriculture that is eco-friendly in Bangladesh.

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