

ECOTOURISM FOR LOCAL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN THE MOUNTAIN AREAS

**A STUDY ON THE POTENTIALITY OF ECOTOURISM
IN THE CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS OF BANGLADESH**

A THESIS

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Md. Abu Hena Mostofa Kamal

Registration No. FAC/jr-X3.445; stds/Ph.D

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भारतीय पारिस्थितिकी एवं पर्यावरण संस्थान
INDIAN INSTITUTE OF ECOLOGY AND ENVIRONMENT

A 14-15, Paryavaran Complex, Saket - Maidangarhi Marg

New Delhi - 110030 (India)

Phone : 6865084, 6515081, Fax : +91-11-6967514

E.mail : ecology@ecology.edu Website : www.ecology.edu



CERTIFICATE

Certified that the work described in the accompanying thesis as titled "Ecotourism for Local Community Development in the Mountain Areas : A study on the potentiality of ecotourism in the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh" has been carried out entirely by the candidate himself under our direct guidance and supervision. The work is original and we declare that it has not been submitted in part or in full for this or any degree or diploma of this or any other university.

Certified further that the candidate, Md. Abu Hena Mostofa Kamal (Regd. No. FAC/jr-X3, 445, stds/Ph.D) has fulfilled all the conditions necessary for the Ph.D. degree in Intercultural Open University, Opeinde, the Netherlands, in association with Indian Institute of Ecology and Environment, New Delhi, India.

P. R. Trivedi
25/04/2000

Prof. Dr. P R Trivedi

General Director

Indian Institute of Ecology and Environment

A. Salpekar
25/10/2000

Dr. Aaradhana Salpekar

Professor-in-Charge

Indian Institute of Ecology and Environment

CERTIFICATE OF SUBMISSION

The author herewith submitting the thesis titled "Ecotourism for Local Community Development in the Mountain areas : A study on the potentiality of ecotourism in the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh" in fulfillment to the Intercultural Open University, Opeinde, the Netherlands, in association with the Indian Institute of Ecology and Environment, New Delhi, India for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D) on October 2000.

The work is original and I declare that it has not been submitted in part or in full for this or any degree or diploma of this or any other University.

Date :

(Md. Abu Hena Mostofa Kamal)

M.Com (Management)

Member, Bangladesh Civil Service (Administration) Cadre

Private Secretary to Minister

Ministry of Chittagong Hill Tracts Affairs

Government of Bangladesh

(Registration. No. In the IOU, FAC/jr-X3, 445, stds/Ph.D)

*Dedicated to
Mr. Abu Sufian Miah and Mrs. Rowshan Ara Begum,
my beloved Parents*

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ABBREVIATIONS

ADB	- Asian Development Bank
ACAP	- Annapurna Conservation Area Project
AD	- After death
ATS	- Adventure Travel Society
BADC	- Bangladesh Agricultural Development Corporation
BAEC	- Bangladesh Atomic Energy Commission
BARC	- Bangladesh Agricultural Research Council
BC	- Before Christ
BCSIR	- Bangladesh Council for Scientific and Industrial Research
BFIDC	- Bangladesh Forest Industries Development Corporation
BFRI	- Bangladesh Forest Research Institute
BJRI	- Bangladesh Jute Research Institute
BLD	- Bangladesh Legal Digest
BNP	- Bangladesh Nationalist Party
CCDB	- Christian Council for Development of Bangladesh
CDRB	- Centre for Development Research, Bangladesh
CHT	- Chittagong Hill Tracts
CIDA	- Canadian International Development Agency
CITES	- Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora
CREST	- Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies
CVM	- Contingent Valuation Method
DANIDA	- Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs
DG	- Director General
DoE	- Department of Environment
ECA	- Environment Conservation Act
EEC	- European Economic Commission
EIA	- Environmental Impact Assessment
EPR	- East Pakistan Rifles
EQS	- Environmental Quality Standards
ESCAP	- Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
ETZ	- Exclusive Tourist Zone
FAO	- Food and Agricultural Organization
FD	- Forest Department
FEJB	- Forum of Environmental Journalists of Bangladesh
FNNPE	- Federation of Nature and National Parks of Europe
GDP	- Gross Domestic Product
GNP	- Gross National Product
GOB	- Government of Bangladesh

HER	- Himalayan Environmental Resources
HKH	- Hindu Kush Himalayan
HWF	- Hill Women Federation
ICAO	- International Civil Aviation Organization
ICIMOD	- International Centre for Integrated Mountain Development
ICPL	- International Centre for Protected Landscapes
IDS	- International Development Services
IEE	- Initial Environment Examination
IMF	- International Monetary fund
IMT	- Intermediate Means of Transport
IPSA	- Institute for Post Graduate Studies on Agriculture
IUCN	- The World Conservation Union
IUOTO	- International Union for Official Tourism Organization
IWGIA	- International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs
MCD	- Mountain Community Development
MOEF	- Ministry of Environment and Forest
NBE	- Nature-based Tourism
NC	- National Committee
NEMAP	- National Environment Management Action Plan
NGO	- Non Government Organization
NIPSOM	- National Institute for Preventive and Social Medicine
NWFP	- North West Frontier Province
PCJSS	- Parbattya Chhattram Jana Sanghati Samity
PCP	- Pahari Chattram Parishad
PGP	- Pahari Gono Parishad
PIEL	- Public Interest Environment Litigation
RCP	- Rangamati Communist Party
SAARC	- South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation
SB	- Shanti Bahini
SEA	- Special Economic Area
SEHD	- Society for Environment and Human Development
SEMP	- Sustainable Environmental Management Programme
TCM	- Travel Cost Method
UN	- United Nations
UNCED	- UN Conference on Environment and Development
UNDP	- United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	- United Nations Environment Programme
UNESCO	- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	- United Nations International Children's (Emergency) Fund
UNO	- United Nations Organization

UPDF	- United People's Democratic Front
US	- United States
WCED	- World Commission on Environment and Development
WHO	- World Health Organization
WTO	- World Tourism Organization
WTTC	- World Travel & Tourism Council
WWF	- World Wildlife Fund, now renamed Worldwide Fund for Nature

GLOSSARY OF BENGALI WORDS

Crore	=	10,000,000
Hat	=	Periodic Market in Rural Bangladesh
Jautha Khamar	=	Cooperative farmland
Jhum or Jum	=	Shifting Cultivation
Kapas Mahal	=	Treasure of Cotton
Lakh of Lac	=	100,000
Parishad	=	Council
Thana (now Upazila)	=	Subdistrict [there are 460 thanas (now Upazilas) in Bangladesh]
Union	=	Subdivision of Upazila, groups of several villages [there are 4468 Unions in Bangladesh]
Zila	=	District [there are 64 Districts in Bangladesh]

CURRENCY EQUIVALENTS **(as on October 2000)**

Currency Unit	=	Taka (Tk.)
Tk. 1.0	=	US\$ 0.018
US\$ 1.0	=	Tk. 54.90

Notes : The Fiscal year of the Government of Bangladesh is from July 1 through June 30.

PREFACE

I am inhabitant of greater plain land of deltaic Bangladesh. Both of hill and forest were unknown and different realms to me for a long period of time. I have had opportunity to travel this hilly Chittagong Hill Tracts area several times on official purpose. The natural beauty of the Hill Tracts left an impressive mark in my mind beyond official purpose.

At the beginning of decades of ninety I had been posted in the then newly formed Special Affairs (Welfare) Ministry from Ministry of Industries. It is worth mentioning that then Chittagong Hill Tracts and other fourteen upazillas of ten districts were declared as 'Special Areas' where a number of ethnic people inhabit. It was the duty of the Ministry to look after the development, coordination and administrative matters of these special areas. Direct official involvement brought a chance to have experience of unrest situation of the Hill Tracts. The prolong unrest situation and severe poverty of the most of people of the area moved me deeply. I, then started reckoning how the socio-economic condition of these ethnic people living in this area full of splendid beauty of nature could be changed and what sustainable means would be appropriate for this area. The undiscovered potentiality of tourism industry in the CHT, which was awaiting to be flourished to influence my vision in this field.

Meanwhile in 1995, I participated as representative from Bangladesh in an international seminar on 'Mountain Tourism for Local Community Development' at Katmandu, Nepal, organized by ICIMOD. In order to make country paper I discovered immense potentiality of tourism sector in the CHT. Thinking of undertaking research on this sector, thus, came into being. As a result of active participation in the seminar I had opportunity to have theoretical and practical knowledge on tourism industry which encouraged and inspired me for extension research in this field. It is also to mention that degradation of natural environment affected by various causes made me worried. The subject of the thesis has been selected to examine if there is any impact in the CHT of global anxiety about environment and revolutionary expansion of tourism industry.

I have put importance to my personal experiences parallel to the statistical data, information. I did not go for a vast analysis of collected data, information because of their self-defined characteristics. The tables and graphical representation are expected to sufficiently reflecting the basic measures, parameters, and indicators to perceive the existing socio-environmental feature of CHT.

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Secretary, Ministry of Establishment and officials of that Ministry deserve special appreciations, as they kindly permitted me to undertake this research work and granted me occasionally ex-Bangladesh leave.

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I am deeply indebted and indeed grateful to Mr. Nazem Ahmed Chowdhury, the founder Secretary of the then Special Affairs (Welfare) Ministry for his spontaneous help in giving me the first opportunity of involving with the matter related to Chittagong Hill Tracts Affairs. I am also highly grateful to Dr. Fazlul Hasan Eusuf, former Secretary of the Special Affairs division, Prime Minister's Office. Actually, he is the man who has generously shown me the way of thinking about the inhabitants of the CHT region. In this regard, I owe to all of my colleagues with a special reference to my senior colleague and elder brother Mr. Mohammad Zulficar Ali, Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs for his broad minded and never ending guidance and assistance whenever sought for.

I must express my deep gratitude to concern ministers, secretaries, members of the parliament, high civil and military officials, peoples' representatives, political and social leaders, journalists, professionals and in fact, peoples of all walks of life in the CHT region as they kindly allowed me to have long hours of discussions and interactions for innumerable times for the last eleven years which found to be extremely valuable for the thesis.

I would be ungrateful, if I don't mention the great help and fatherly guidance that I received from Mr. Kalpa Ranjan Chakma, Hon'ble Minister for Chittagong Hill Tracts Affairs, the ever first cabinet Minister from the CHT region. I must profusely thank the octogenarian leader of CHT for his endless support, deep patience and heartiest cooperation. Without his all-out cooperation and enthusiastic encouragement, it would not have been possible on my part to carry out my assignment.

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Respondents of the study area deserve special appreciation for providing valuable data and information to accomplish this study. In this regard, my research assistants Mr. Sampriti Chakma and Mr. Aung Shu Thui Marma must deserve high appreciation for their tremendous efforts and hard working with utmost sincerity.

I am thankful to my younger brother Maskawat Ahsan Pavel. He helped me in organizing my thoughts, checked the writings and improved the language.

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New Delhi, India

Md. Abu Hena Mostofa Kamal

ABSTRACT

In current world, tourism is considered as a very potential industry. Irrespective of developed and developing countries the importance and significance of this industry is obvious. In recent past to present, as per the available statistics, the contribution of tourism industry in many countries, is really very effective and significant. There is no doubt that the flow of tourism has been originated since the inception of human civilization and it is spreading up paralally with the gradual development of civilization. The significant role of tourism in the overall economic activities including socio-economic development has become able to draw the attention of the policy makers regarding this industry. The scope for positive contribution of tourism is ample and open in the field of overall socio-economic and infrastructural development, including earning foreign exchange, employment generation, increasing productivity, hotel accommodation and transportation etc. It is also proportionately related with the numerical and qualitative increase of tourists. Now a day, in the developing countries, poverty alleviation is the most important objective and an indispensable challenge of a nation. In this context, the necessity of tourism industry is highly considered as a means to achieve this goal and to combat this challenge.

On the contrary, since the environmental issues are being considered with utmost priority in the present day, the researchers are continuing their intensive observation on the positive and negative implications of tourism on natural environment. The present thesis styled as "Ecotourism for local community development in the mountain areas: A study on the potentiality of ecotourism in the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh" tried to focus the enormous potentiality of ecotourism for local community development in the CHT area. The chosen area and field for this thesis especially selected as because, the area is virgin and it still contains and cherishes the maximum ingredients and characteristics of natural environment and where inhabitants are really in need of proper attention.

A large portion of the people in this area inhabited by various ethnic minorities is lying under the below poverty level. The sources of livelihood are very limited and primitive there. But there is a great potentiality of tourism industry in the Chittagong hill tracts, as the area is famous for it's multifarious tribal culture and wonderful natural beauty. The maximum importance is given in this thesis on how to improve the socio-economic condition of the large portion of the people of this area through tourism industry. On the other hand an effort has been taken to analyze the role and implication of ecotourism industry on the protection of natural environment which is already under a terrible threat due to various reasons.

It is unpleasantly true that due to unrest situation over the last two and half decades, tourism industry did not flourished properly in the Chittagong Hill Tracts area. The then government of Bangladesh has taken the initiation for solution of the problem of Chittagong hill

Tracts in the late eighties. Although the efforts which were taken by the previous two governments in the late eighties and subsequently in the early nineties was not however become effective, but with the same legacy the effort of the present Government has become successful. A historical peace accord was signed on 2nd December 1997 between the National Committee on Chittagong Hill Tracts on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh and the Parbattya Chattagram Jana Sanghati Samiti on behalf of the inhabitants of the Chittagong Hill Tracts region ending more than two and half decades of conflict in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. The peace accord has opened the door for sustainable peace and development. Secured situation, favorable environment and easy accessibility to the destinations for the tourist are the most essential elements and precondition for the tourism industry and now a day, all these have become very potential in this area.

It is indescribable that how miserable the condition of the people of Chittagong Hill Tract is, while the overall socio-economic condition of Bangladesh is much below the mark in the context of global standard. The peace accord was signed with the optimum hope and commitment for peace and development simultaneously, so there is enormous potentiality of tourism industry, which could be an effective and strong tool in this regard. Side by side, the peace accord has hailed and created response internationally in such a way, which clearly shows an indication of the scope and potentiality of the increasing local and international tourists' inflow in the CHT area. An extensive case study has been done exclusively to analyze in depth, how and how much the benefit of tourism industry could be utilized for the betterment of the local people of that area. An effort has been taken through this case study as a part of this thesis over 3,000 (three thousand) families of some selected areas of the three hill districts, i.e. Banderban, Rangamati and Khagrachari, aiming to get practical ideas about the overall socio-economic condition.

It is revealed as per the information and data, which were collected at micro-level in the field through the case study that the overall living standard of the majority people of that area is very disappointing and painful. The prevailing scope and source of livelihood of the majority people of that area is very limited and primitive but still they have indomitable desire and sincere effort to uplift their standard of living. In that case, it is hoped that the rising ecotourism industry may be considered as an ultimate avenue.

The natural environment of CHT is under severe threat since long back. Now it has become very crucial due to continuous process of deforestation, land erosion and some other anti-ecological activities. Jhum cultivation, the most traditional and primitive means of livelihood of the tribal people of that area is a severe destructive cause of environmental degradation. Though the tourism industry itself has some ingredients of environmental degradation yet this research work has discovered a confidence that the ecotourism industry can play an important and positive role for the protection of the natural environment in that area.

This study manifestly strengthened the views of the researcher that there is an immense potentiality of ecotourism in the CHT area. It is hoped that the people of the CHT area who are living on a subsistence level since long they will be able to develop their standard of living through the ecotourism industry, while the comparatively solvent people will not be deprived of their legitimate share. It is also hoped that the ecotourism industry for its own interest will play a supplementary and supportive role for the protection of natural environment and ecology. Thus it will positively enhance the scope of sustainable development of that area.

Chapter : One

Introduction

INTRODUCTION

The environmentally friendly tourism, in other words the 'ecotourism' for local community development to be dealt within this thesis styled as, "Ecotourism for local community development in the mountain areas: A study on the potentiality of ecotourism in the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh". Selection of this study was mostly based on the tremendous potentiality of tourism industry in that area and the utmost urgency of upliftment of the standard of living of the majority people of that region who are laying in the subhuman level since long. Availability of books and literatures were very limited but the researcher has availed free access to all sorts of available data and information in this regard which inspired him for the selection of this study. It has also inspired the researcher to under take this research work on that field and area due to his long involvement over one decade with the matter related to Chittagong Hill Tracts as his professional responsibility. The researcher traveled extensively in the Chittagong Hill Tracts region and obtained a great deals of first hand knowledge and experience about the potentiality of tourism industry, side by side the necessity of protection of natural environment. This experience has also imbued a deep interest in the researcher, which has led him to the selection of this particular field for research work.

As an industry, tourism is essentially viewed in an economic perspective. An increase in tourists is expected to led to an increase in foreign exchange earnings; hopes and prospects of employment, income generation opportunities; and an increase in the production of food, fruit and other daily needs, along with hotel accommodation and related wherewithal. These, in turn, are expected to boost government revenues and economic activities in the areas of tourist concentration, and to improve the living standards of the communities¹. The Chittagong Hill Tracts area of Bangladesh represents some of the most beautiful, picturesque and vibrant areas of the sub continent, yet they are environmentally and ecologically the most threatened, and their inhabitants amongst the poorest in the world. The conflict in Chittagong Hill Tracts which lasted over two [and half] decades cost the inhabitants of that area Tribal and Non-tribal and also the whole country very dearly. The cost was not only in terms of human life and miseries or in terms of economic, social and political ones, it is also in terms of the two decades of lost opportunities over one tenth of the countries area with its bountiful natural resources². Although this research work has been started just immediate before the achievement of the Chittagong Hill Tracts Peace Accord but after the successful achievement of the peace accord, it's subsequent out comes made more broader and significant regarding scope and field of the study. The prime concerns of the researcher are the issues related to community development through tourism while never undermining the need for conservation of its enormous natural resources. As the researcher has

under taken an extensive case study as a part of this thesis over 3000 (three thousand) families, it would help the researcher to analyze and present the prevailing situation of that area. The study examined the scope of contribution of tourism industry for the local community development and it's inter linkage with the natural environment. In Bangladesh the CHT region is the only mountainous area. Mountains are usually a major source of tourist of attraction both for domestic as well as international tourists. The mountain regions provide relief and respite to the domestic tourist from the plains during all seasons.

Now a days, tourism as a means of local community development and its impact on natural environment have received significant importance through out the whole world. Various aspects of the local community in the CHT area and their developmental issues are examined by this study. For this reason all the related features are presented chronologically.

1.1 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

Throughout history, people have travelled for many different reasons. Tourism as an industry, however began to flourish after the Second World War, with per capita incomes in the developed countries increasing significantly and the development of efficient mass air transport. The tourism industry is the largest in the world and is a complex one. The demands of international tourists, the consumers - and of international destinations, the producers-are bridged by the tourism industry. The industry consists of a wide range of enterprises supporting the mass movement of people across varied areas within a country and across international boundaries, including a variety of wholesale and retail outlets for hotels, airlines, tour operators, etc. The tourism industry sells a unique product, often called an invisible export.³

Tourism has certain influence over the local community and their environment directly. The interaction between tourist activities and the community, results in certain expressions of change. Such changes are often associated with the behavioral patterns of the local people in the use of languages, dresses and customs, employment preferences, traditional methods/technology, and other local resources. Social structures and demographic characteristics are also subjected to change as a result of tourism,⁴ Tourism related activities influence spontaneous changes in the biophysical diversity of the ecosystem and the sociocultural diversity of the inhabitants. Tourism exerts immediate effect on the economic environment of a place. The contribution of this sector to employment generation has also been substantial as it creates direct, indirect, and induced employment as well as income through its backward and forward linkages with other sectors of the economy. Tourism has multifarious impacts over socio-economic condition, culture, natural environment and some other physical phenomenon. The nature of these impacts can be direct, indirect, positive or negative. Tourism can have positive economic effects upon the local communities only if its benefits can filter down to them. There must be strong linkages between the tourism industry and the local production base and labour market and participation in the

basic decision-making, on the one hand, and minimum leakage of benefits out of the other.⁵ This study will look into these aspects of tourism and high light the role of tourism in meeting the economic needs of the community.

The study is focussed on the potential scope of tourism in the Chittagong Hill Tracts area of Bangladesh. It is observed that international tourist's inflow in that area is quite insignificant till to date. But domestic tourist inflow is increasing gradually over the past few years. The majority inhabitants of the CHT who are lying in the below poverty level since long back could be benefited through tourism.

A macro study with local available information of tourism facilities, its development, and its impact on the national economy is also necessary for the following reasons. First, tourism as a sector and, in the recent past, as an industry, has received recognition, though it is still in its infancy. Hence, the development of tourism activities and their impact on the local committees [communities] is not yet a major area of research and planning for the tourism authorities. There is, thus, an absence of information and of a data base. Second, the development policies of the government, such as policies on tourism, agriculture, industry, trade, environment etc. are formulated at the national level, though their impact is felt at all levels...⁶ The impact of these policies is, however, visible at the national level but not yet at the local level. The present study tries to review these policies and identify the gaps and constraints in their relevance for mountain area development. While tourism has recently been declared as an industry and is, as such, eligible to benefit from incentives and related policies, mountain tourism specifically needs flexible policies that help to create a conducive environment for attracting tourists. It also needs an awareness of needs, appropriate planning, management, community organizations to implement policies that benefit local communities, and training to manage and promote tourism on a sustainable basis.⁷ Basically, in Bangladesh, information or data on tourism is insufficient, even in the GDP, the contribution of tourism is not yet calculated directly.

Up to the end of 1997, access of any foreigner to Chittagong Hill Tracts was mostly restricted. A fifteen days prior application in the prescribed forms to the Ministry of Home Affairs of the govt. of Bangladesh was a must for the foreigners in case of their visits to the CHT area. The permission was subjected to the clearance of the intelligence agencies and thus, international tourist inflow was regretted and discouraged in the CHT area. Undoubtedly, it was due to the unrest situation in the CHT area, which was prevailing over the last two and half decades. After the historic peace accord, now the avenue has been opened up for the international and domestic tourist inflow in the CHT area. So, this study focuses on the tourism potentiality in the CHT area with consequential consideration of the new dimension.

In this study specific emphasis is given on future trends and needs for the development of ecotourism in the CHT region. This is deemed to be particularly relevant as ecotourism is

emerging as one of the fastest growing sectors within the tourism industry and is thought to generate between US\$ 0.5 trillion and US\$ 1 trillion per year world-wide (Filion et al., 1994). Moreover, for many highly valued tourism destinations, such as national parks and other protected areas, ecotourism is seen to offer a new development paradigm one that allows local communities to derive benefits from tourism, while at the same time ensuring the conservation of the environments and cultures concerned.⁸ The works of Rachel Carlson (1962) and associates have shown that the ecosystem functions as a whole, and one cannot change part of the system without consequences to other parts of the systems.⁹ The environment 2010 strategy, adopted in 1995 after extensive consultation, sets out the Government's vision for the New Zealand environment. It gives standards against which to judge new proposals and a context in which to establish environmental goals alongside goals of economic opportunity and social cohesion. The Environment 2010 vision is 'A clean, health and unique environment, sustaining nature and people's needs and aspirations.'¹⁰ Aiming at such global context the study envisaged the perspective environmental policy of Bangladesh with a comparison with the existing provisions. At this environment aware age the whole world echoes the same voice.

It is also noted that despite the government's policies, the absence of private sector involvement with few exception, in tourism related activities confines the scope for development of a tourism industry within a limit which could be a widely spread with sufficient effort, especially for the betterment for the local community. The tourism scenario of Bangladesh in this regard is even worse. This aspect of tourism also deserves special attention. An attempt has been taken in this study to focuss and address all these issues.

1.2 Objectives of the study

The main objective of the study was to focus on the ecotourism potentiality for the local community development of the Chittagong Hill Tracts area of Bangladesh. It also aimed at examining tourism resources, infrastructural arrangements, socio-economic history, cultural heritage, natural resources and environmental aspect of that area.

Studies on tourism mostly concentrate on the macro - objectives, and justify tourism on the basis of its micro-achievements, namely, foreign exchange earnings, over all income and employment generation in the economy, and the spawning of economic activity in the related services' sectors. However, the effects of tourism on the local economy and environment are generally ignored, or, at best, take a back seat.¹¹ The main approach of this study is mostly local community oriented. Considerations were given on tourism as an engine of local community development by stimulating its production base, gearing up its service sector, and filtering economic impulses on to the local community via linkages effected through participation. Such an approach is also expected to be environmentally friendly, firstly by diverting pressure from the existing natural resource base of the area through diversification of economic activity and,

secondly, by warding off the exploitative activities of tourism service developers from outside the area by involving the collective interests and choices of the local community. As per the available information, it is revealed that no effort has been made so far, in Bangladesh to view tourism and its impact from the perspective of the local communities. In fact, there is an acute shortage of research and data in the field of tourism in Bangladesh. The present study has tried to focus on all of those aspects.

The thematic focuses are on the inventory of tourism resources, nature and perception of the various impacts of mountain tourism, carrying capacity considerations, perception of the linkage between tourism and community development, and the development of framework for the Action plan and Guidelines for sustainable mountain tourism aiming at local community development in the targeted areas. Poverty alleviation is the overarching goal and the central approach to development of the Government of Bangladesh. The Government's strong commitment is reflected in its efforts at mainstreaming the poverty agenda and actions aimed at creating an enabling environment for the economic, social and political empowerment of the poor.

The poor in Bangladesh differ by economic, social, geographic, physical and other characteristics. Indicators like physical and human resource endowments, demographic features and occupational groups are important elements to identify the poor. The female headed house holds generally belong to the vulnerable groups reflecting gender dimension of poverty. The economic and social contexts reveal interactions of different components of production related activities, human resource status, house hold instability and vulnerability, capacity for coping with crises and other socio economic processes. Poverty in Bangladesh has many dimensions and requires a multi strategy solution.¹² The socioeconomic conditions of the people of CHT area are not far from the above situation rather worse than the rest of the country. The CHT has a predominately agricultural economy. Its topography and climatic conditions only make it imperative that the people would have to fall back upon agriculture for their livelihood. Only a small percentage of the population is engaged in business, trade, professions and government services. Owing to the subsistence-economy, the tribal people, apart from cultivation, are involved in other productive activities to meet their basic needs of life other than those connected with food. CHT is presently a food deficit area.¹³ The rural people of the CHT area are now involved in a market economy. This involvement has made plough cultivation the dominant mode with increasing dependence on the market and the need to specialize in intensive agriculture in order to find a satisfactory place within an exchange economy.¹⁴

An analytical attempt has also been taken to examine all these factors while discussing conceptual framework. Moreover, aptly considered the legacy of the backwardness of the CHT area, its recent political solution and the avenues for peace and development including flourish of tourism afterwards.

1.3 Importance of the Study

There are a number of reasons, which would justify, under taking the study. The field related to these ecotourism issues is almost virgin as not enough research has been under taken on them. Especially, the ecotourism potentiality for the local community development in the CHT area has never been assessed. It is appeared before the researcher that most of the writings on CHT area purely based on its geo-political problems. On the other hand, a frequent discussions and series of writings were attempted by the human rights activists, Amnesty International, The Chittagong Hill Tracts Commission, International work group for Indigenous Affairs and the NGOs are mostly from human rights point of view only. Though, from the recent past significant thrust has been imposed on environmental issues throughout the world and some case studies have already been carried out in the field of ecotourism in this sub-continent yet no effort has been taken so far to examine and assess the very issues for the CHT area. The supportive official information is also in miserable scarce in this regard. Infact, except some official notification and gazette, almost no government versions or writings exist.

It is hoped that this study would bring some positive outcome, especially, to perceive the overall scenario related to these issues and it may help the policy makers, academicians and the local leaders who are very adjacent to the stake holders. The out comes of the broad based case study over the 3,000 families in the CHT area who were selected on random sampling basis under certain targeted criteria clearly represent the real socio economic conditions of that area which also may draw the attention of the people of appropriate level. In the concluding chapter of the thesis, some tentative suggestions are given, which may help to some extend the beneficiaries, local leaders, government policy makers, tourists and tour operators and academicians. It should be noted here that in view of space limitation and time constraint, only those targeted aspects were touched upon, which were directly or indirectly connected with the issues.

The available literatures are mostly case studies which were mainly conducted and sponsored by the International Centre for Integrated Mountain Development (ICIMOD), Kathmandu, Nepal and IUCN- the World Conservation Union in the Hindu-Kush Himalayan region,¹⁵ and writings/proceedings of various seminar/workshop. Including these, some other books written by eminent scholars, which were found to be the mainstay of the thesis.¹⁶ An attempt has also been taken to widen the views and ideas through internet browsing on the various related webpages.

The Chittagong Hill Tracts is often called as the treasure island of Bangladesh and it is hoped that this study may generally be used as a bridge to reach that treasure island.

1.4 Methods of the Study

The study is based both on analytical and empirical methods. Out comes and findings of the case study which was under taken over 3000 families in the CHT area on random sampling basis, various types of interviews (i.e, personal interviews, discussions and interactions interviews through mailing questionnaire), contemporary articles, paper clippings, published materials and official documents formed mainstay of the thesis. The researcher has availed an unique opportunity to deal with the matter relating to the Chittagong Hill Tracts as his professional responsibilities over one decade, which has also enabled him to have an intensive look through on the issues. The researcher traveled extensively in the CHT area and obtained a great deal of first hand knowledge and experience on the issues. The researcher undertook interviews of the Ministers, politicians, bureaucrats, academicians, journalists, security officials, professionals and people representatives in the local level. The existing situation regarding the status and potential for tourism was discussed and views were elicited regarding the scope and constraints faced in developing eco-tourism as a vehicle of development. Historical method was partly used for tracing historical back ground mingled with long prevailing unrest of that area. Books, documents, periodicals, reports and literatures helped a great deal in this regard.

1.5 Organization of the study

The study has been organized in to seven chapters. The first chapter gives an introductory note on eco-tourism potentiality for the local community development, while discussing the topical features of the CHT area. Beside the introduction, the chapter one gives a justification of the study, objectives and methodology used.

The Second chapter is the theoretical analysis of key concepts and the terms used. Multifarious factors related to tourism and environment and the need for the local community development, definitions and explanations of the key words discussed in this chapter. Chapter Three represents brief profile on Bangladesh and the Chittagong Hill Tracts area highlighting their physical feature and topography, climate, soil, land capability, demography, ethnicity, culture and socio-economic conditions. Chapter Four presents the findings of the case study interviews and discussion with some common analysis. This chapter also tries to take an attempt to analyze the prevailing carrying capacity for ecotourism in CHT area with a primary data set collected by researcher's own initiation. Available secondary data and information is also used. Chapter Five tries to analyze the legacy of backwardness of the people of CHT area with an in-depth focus on the recent hope for prosperity. Chapter Six reviews the impact of government policies, incentive structures and institutional arrangement for tourism and environment. The policy gaps are also pointed out. This chapter also looks through the organizations and activities that directly influence the tourist trade. The concluding chapter Seven contains a summary of the study and a set of recommendations based on the situational analysis presented by the study.

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15. The Hindu Kush-Himalayas covers a region of immense natural beauty and a high level of cultural and biological diversity. It is also a region of deep-rooted poverty for its 120 million inhabitants, for whom the environment is rapidly deteriorating under the pressure of an increasing population and the consequently increasing demands on the natural resource systems. The areas of the Hindu Kush-Himalayan region covers eight countries, these are, Afghanistan, Bhutan, India, Nepal, Bangladesh, China, Myanmar and Pakistan. Quoted from the 'Foreword' of proceedings of the Hindu Kush-Himalayan Regional Workshop on Mountain Tourism for Local Community Development, held in Kathmandu, Nepal on June 19-21, 1995, organized by ICIMOD.
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Chapter : Two

Theoretical Concept

THEORETICAL CONCEPTS

Innately man has inclination to know the unknown and to see the unseen. That is why the human being has been trying to move far and wide and around the world with this indomitable desire since the inception of the civilization. Perhaps this trend has originated the myth of tourism. Tourism has rapidly been geared up with the significant improvement and expansion of global communication systems. After Second World War tourism took dynamic shape due to the new polarization and depolarization of geopolitics of the world.

Indeed, tourism as a sector and, in the recent past, as an industry, has received recognition, though it is still in its infancy.¹ Tourism's true significance should probably lie in the role it plays in imparting learning and providing recreation for the traveller in today's world. Bacon said of travel a long time ago that "*it is a [person's] part of education*". Travelling has become a global phenomenon, and people are increasingly taking to it. The tide of travel flows from the developed and industrially advanced countries of the West, taking their nationals far and wide, visiting exotic places, enjoying their unique natural and cultural heritage, and getting all the fun and adventure out of it. Modern tourism, however, has gone beyond this early innocence. It has become a much more organized, professional, and hard-headed business.²

In the space of a few decades, tourism has become one of the major cultural and economic forces in the world to day...Definitions of both tourism and tourist are subject to debate, since a simple definition of tourism such as "traveling for pleasure" merely invites a second wave of questions. How far must one travel to be a tourist? How long must the trip last? What constitutes pleasure, since many people take pleasure from their work? Many researchers agree that it is a person's subjective motive that makes her a tourist or not (Van den Berghe 1993: 5). Using this guideline, a tourist may be defined as someone who takes a leap out of ordinary life (Jafari 1987) to visit another community, either in space or in culture (Van den Berghe 1993: 4). What constitutes "ordinary life" and "another community" is up to the tourist herself. While such a definition is difficult to operationalize, academic interest in tourism has not been slowed by lack of an official, accepted definition. Like pornography, tourism is hard to define but easy to recognize.³ According to R.L. Stevenson- "To travel hopefully is better than to arrive, and true success is to labour". It perhaps implies a philosophical thought, which may be viewed substantially as a myth of the definition of tourism.

As recently as 1950, international tourist arrivals numbered only 25 million. They rose to 183 million in 1970 and 400 million by 1988 (Place 1995 : 161). By 1990 tourism comprised

seven percent of the world trade in goods and services; by the year 2000 it is expected to be the world's largest industry (Whelan 1991: 4). It accounts for over 30 percent of trade in goods and services for low-income countries (ibid.). And it continues to grow-international arrivals are projected to nearly double in eighteen years, rising from 476 million in 1992 to 937 million in 2010 (Erkkila 1994). Not only is tourism clearly a growth industry, it can help diversify an economy and is virtually immune to economic protectionism (Pearce 1981). Little wonder, then, that since the 1960s tourism has often been as a dynamic engine for economic development in both high and low-income countries.⁴

Now a days, mountain tourism has become prominent due to it's increasing significance throughout the world. Mountains have a mystic aura, not only for explorers, scholars, and mountain climbers, but also for the general public. One of the prime interests of a tourist is to expose himself/herself to a different environment and culture. This inherent passion, which is largely driven by curiosity, is generally satisfied by mountain tourism.⁵ It is strongly argued that mountains are corridors of migration for plants, animals, and also for cultures... Thus, touristic objectives of experiencing nature in terms of wildlife and wild plants are easily met in the mountain environment. Meanwhile, educational tourism based on biophysical diversity presents an attractive option in the tourist trade.

The scenic value of the mountains is a unique attraction. They provide unique opportunities to observe and study the rhythm of natural dynamics displayed by the flow of rivers and waterfalls, the flight of birds during migration, the force of torrential rains in monsoon, and the responses of farmers on their farmlands. Dynamism of landscapes is also associated with tectonic upliftment, erosion, glacial movements, seismic activity, avalanches, and torrents. All these natural phenomena are evident more in mountain areas than anywhere else.⁶

Feeling significant importance of mountain tourism, the researchers, policy planners, entrepreneurs, tourists and traders are now concern about the sustainability of tourism. In the following paragraphs, an attempt has been made to briefly discuss the concepts of sustainable development, sustainable tourism, ecotourism, mountain environment and resources, mountain tourism and its resources, impact of tourism, carrying capacity and mountain community development. Various theoretical models concerning sustainable ecotourism and local community development would also be discussed. Considering the characteristics of the CHT region and to assess the ecotourism potentiality for local community development in the CHT, an attempt has been taken to analyze the available case study reports on Hindu-Kush Himalayan countries.

2.1 Sustainable Development

The World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) defines the term 'Development' as, "Development means transformation from one stage to another in terms of a social goal. Among other things, this transformation generally involves an increase and well-being of individuals in a society. Development is a normative concept and should not be confused with economic growth, which implies an increase in real per capita GNP over time. However, in the past, the form of development that has characterised many nations, both rich and poor alike, has raised some fundamental questions related to future generations as well as to the environment. The concern about these two issues in the development context has given rise to the concept of sustainable development".⁷

There is no one agreed definition of sustainable development. The general principle of sustainable development which has been adopted by the World Commission on Environment and Development that sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. This concept implies that each generation should leave a stock of quality life assets, no fewer than those that have been inherited by it, for future generations.⁸ There are two interpretations of this (Pearce et.al.1992) :

- that the next generation should inherit a stock of wealth, consisting of man-made and environmental assets, that is no less than the stock inherited by the previous generation; and
- that the next generation should inherit a stock of environmental assets that is no less than the stock inherited by the previous generation.⁹

The concept underlying sustainable development is an anthropocentric approach to the earth - a human perspective relating to human use of the biosphere. This notion explicitly recognizes interdependencies that exist among environmental, economic, social and cultural phenomena. The concept of sustainable development, however, is not new. It was coined by the forestry profession more than a century ago. It has resurfaced as a central theme in the World Conservation Strategy (IUCN, 1980).¹⁰ According to Singh, "development should proceed on a moderate pace, stage by stage, allowing sufficient time for the destination community to adjust to a 'phenomenon' that has a tendency to 'overtake' and 'expand' with speed".¹¹ Nijkamp, P. et al. opined that sustainable development is too broad and hence uses the concept of regional sustainable development. It describes the relationship of sustainable development and regional sustainable development. From a planning point of view, it argues that identification of critical factors is of importance to regional sustainable development. Critical success factors and sustainable resource use provide the basis for the implementation of the methodology.¹² It is

endorsed by many scholars that sustainability is not an end state, but a process that has to be set in motion through a series of initiatives in a number of areas of policy and programming action.

2.2 Sustainable Tourism

Sustainable tourism development meets the needs of the present tourists and host regions while protecting and enhancing opportunity for the future. It is envisaged as leading to management of all resources in such a way that economic, social and aesthetic needs can be fulfilled while maintaining cultural integrity, essential ecological processes, biological diversity and life support systems.¹³ There is a school of thought, "all forms of tourism development, management and activity, which maintain the environmental, social and economic integrity and well-being of natural, built and cultural resources in perpetuity".¹⁴ As a working definition regarding tourism development in the Himalayan belt, sustainable tourism development may be defined "as the management of all resources that can fulfill economic, social, and aesthetic needs (of mountain communities and tourists) while maintaining cultural integrity, essential ecological process, biological diversity, and life support system of the Himalayan environment."¹⁵

According to Eber,¹⁶ "tourism and associated infrastructures that, both now and in the future :

- Operate within natural capacities for the regeneration and future productivity of natural resources;
- recognize the contribution that people and communities, customs and lifestyles, make to the tourism experience;
- accept that these people must have an equitable share in the economic benefits of tourism;
- are guided by the wishes of local people and communities in the host areas."

Sustainable tourism development needs to adopt the principles of sustainable resource management so that tourism destinations can continue to attract visitors without reducing the quality of their experience and without squeezing out the opportunities for sustainable mountain community development.¹⁷

Indeed, the factors of sustainable tourism varies and depends on different parametres according to its destination, locality and environment. In view of the discussions of Dr. Kamal Banskota and Mr. Bikash Sharma, tourism development and mountain development must be seen as different concepts that complement one another. In certain regions of the mountains, tourism can play a leading role in the area's development; in others, tourism may not play a leading role. It is, therefore, essential to assess the mountain environment resources in order to integrate mountain development and tourism development so that a larger number of people can benefit

while the mountain environment remains protected. Mountain environmental resources are meant to include clean air, watersheds, biological diversity (genes, species and ecosystems), scenic beauty, cultural heritage, human resources, and renewable resources such as firewood, fodder, and many more found in the mountains.¹⁸

It is strongly opined by many researchers and academicians that sustainability of mountain tourism in the Hindu Kush Himalayan (HKH) hinges pretty much on the extent to which tourism can contribute to three interrelated objectives: improvement in the livelihoods of the population (and by implications poverty alleviation), environmental regeneration, and the empowerment of local communities. It is also pointed out by the researchers and widely practised as a commonly recognized views that even though, issues relating to mountain tourism in different areas present a broad spectrum of diverse answers, it is indeed, mountain community development and mountain tourism development are integral components of any development activity. Tourism cannot be sustained if the approach is where tourists come in individually or by the busload to an area and the visit is of the stay and leave variety. Unplanned and unregulated, this type of tourism leaves drastic and everlasting impacts on the visited areas and the communities. That is, while there positive impacts like greater tourist dollar revenue in with greater employment, the trade off costs at which these positive impacts are achieved can be high.

The golden word (and the egg) in mountain tourism is preservation, i.e. retaining the very assets which the tourists come to see. Unfortunately, whenever tourists flock to a mountain, there is a high probability that they win over the competition for scant local resources on one hand and leave behind what they discard thus very rapidly making the place unattractive to visit. Against these short term gains to both the community and the tourist, sustainable tourism and sustainable revenues demanded sustained maintenance or enhancement of mountain resources, including the cultural aspects.¹⁹ Therefore, tourism development should be an integral part of mountain community development.

2.3 Ecotourism

The recent world wide increasing concern on environment has developed the idea of ecotourism. There is no unanimous definition of ecotourism but no one would disagree with the environmental impact of tourism or environment potentiality of tourism. According to the IUCN Ecotourism Programme (in Ceballos-Lascurain 1993: 20) ecotourism is "environmentally responsible travel and visitation to relatively undisturbed natural areas, in order to enjoy and appreciate nature (and any accompanying cultural features - both past and present) that promotes conservation, has low visitor impact, and provides for beneficially active socio-economic involvement of the local populations".²⁰ Ryel and Grasse (1991) define ecotourism as, "purposeful travel that creates an understanding of cultural and natural history, while safeguarding the integrity of the ecosystem and producing economic benefits that encourage

conservation.²¹ As said by Cater and Lowman (1994) ecotourism is "An enlightening nature travel experience that contributes to the conservation of the ecosystem while respecting the integrity of host communities". It is essentially viewed by the Ecotourism Society (in Ceballos-Lascurain, 1996:20) that ecotourism is "responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment and sustains the well-being of local people".²²

The environment, scenic and cultural, are the very reasons for tourist visits seeking either nature, culture, adventure, religion or any the item of interest. Unfortunately, whenever tourists flock to a mountain, there is a high probability that they will win over the competition for scant local resources on one hand and on the other hand leave behind what they discard, making the place unattractive to visit. Prime among the sacrifices which a community faces from an increase in tourism are prime living space, food, fuelwood, personal time and effort. Then, the desire to show tourists what the community considers the best in its natural environment, will lead to trampling of what comes in the way, be it fragile grass, shrubbery or decades old trees. Sanctuaries of birds and animals would be violated with impunity and natural eco cycles are disturbed. Human waste can overwhelm the rivers, so could garbage litter the mountains and forests. The disruption invariably thus reduces or eliminates the very element for which the tourist would want to visit any region.²³

Ceballos-Lascurain (1996:20-21) notes that ecotourism can be distinguished from other forms of nature-based tourism by the degree of commitment to conservation demonstrated by tour operators. This commitment often expresses itself in the emergence of formal or informal partnerships between tour operators, protected area managers and local people.²⁴ To overcome various obstacles of ecotourism, it has been suggested that three basic conditions must be satisfied in order to promote ecotourism. Firstly, at both local and national levels, there is a need for "institution building" (dekadt, 1992) to share and develop knowledge between stakeholders. Secondly, such institutions should involve a high degree of local participation. Boo (1990), in particular, stresses that rural people must play a pivotal role in the planning and development of ecotourism. Thirdly, it is of the utmost importance to integrate tourism in to the existing local and national economy (Rodgers and Saunier, 1994; Farrell and Runyan, 1990; Freitag, 1994; IUCN, UNEP and WWF, 1991).²⁵

According to Barbier (1989), tourism has certain characteristics which are unique in terms of its relationship with the environment. While in many instances tourism implies non-consumptive uses of the environment, the extent of its use has qualitative implications for both the environment and the user, and hence it may be considered as a semi-renewable resource.²⁶ It has been generally argued that "Economics is the engine that powers the vehicle of Ecotourism,". Eco-tourism, at the same time, is the generator of employment and income for rural and remote mountainous areas.²⁷ James Pearson, Chairman of the Adventure Travel Society, captures the shortest definition for eco-tourism which says, "if it pays, it stays" (ATS 1994).²⁸

In recent years, researchers have begun to examine how local populations can direct tourism activities and benefit from them. In the 1980s, alternative forms of tourism began attracting the interest of governments, communities and scholars alike. These were given a raft of names - nature tourism, soft tourism, responsible tourism, green tourism, ecotourism-but all were seen as alternatives to mass tourism. Among these various labels, the term "ecotourism" has become prominent, though again a consistent definition is by no means found, even among scholars. Most definitions do, however, incorporate concepts associated with sustainable development. For example, in *Sustainable Development: Exploring the contradictions*, Redclift (1987) attempted to integrate economic development with ecological sustainability...²⁹

Many scholars now agree that ecotourism should require a two - way link between itself and environmental conservation (Valentine 1993, Cater 1994). As our understanding increases of the close relationships between environmental conservation and resident peoples, researchers are calling on ecotourism to incorporate economic development as a fundamental element of conservation (West) and Brechin 1991: 392). These concerns highlight a critical difference between nature tourism and ecotourism, at least as the latter term will be defined here. Nature tourism is "based directly on the use of natural resources in a relatively undeveloped state, including scenery, topography, water features, vegetation and wildlife" (Healy 1988: 1). To qualify as nature tourism, one need consider only the motivation of the tourist and the activity itself, not the cultural, economic and environmental impacts. Ecotourism, on the other hand, has an idealistic agenda: it can be defined as progressive, educational travel which conserves the environment and benefits local communities (Drumm 1991: 54)³⁰

There are many other definitions sprinkled throughout the literature and an academic industry which has thrived on the analysis of the 'ecotourism' phenomenon. In the tourism industry as a whole the terms 'ecotourism' and 'nature - based tourism' are almost always used interchangeably and indiscriminately. The researcher has intentionally avoided adhering strictly to any definitions since he believes that the concept of ecotourism has already matured and developed beyond the original attempts at definition, that the whole industry is changing rapidly, and that elements of nature - based and ecotourism can enter all segments of the tourism market. The future of nature-based and ecotourism and biodiversity conservation is dependent on maintaining a flexible approach to their interrelationships.

This notion of change and breadth of concept was anticipated by the President of the Ecotourism Society, David Western, who suggested that :

There will never be a firm division between tourism and ecotourism. Ecotourists must define themselves as an avantgarde camp that brings out the best of the tourism market and provides a model for the rest of the world. (Wood 1992).³¹

There is a school of thought that the term ecotourism is clouded in confusion, may well be a reflection of the fact that it has less and less relevance in an industry where the differences between ecotourism and tourism are becoming less distinct. Many industry members including operators, agents, wholesalers and government marketing managers now avoid the term because they feel that it has become misleading, has gained a poor image, is not particularly useful, and means very different things to different people.

Given its tiny base and world wide topical concern on ecotourism, it is surprising that so many resources have gone in to development of ecotourism strategies, plans, workshops and policies. Logic would dictate that the intention of these strategies is to consider ecotourism as a broader concept than is often stated and assumed, and includes operators and properties across the tourism spectrum, regardless of size.

None of this is intended to suggest that the tourism industry does not need to improve its environmental credentials. It does suggest that it is unreasonable to put the onus of environmental responsibility for the industry as a whole on to a very small, often marginal group, simply because the group has a label of ecotourism or nature - based tourism.

In summary, it could be considered that the concept of ecotourism has evolved over the past decade from a reaction to mass tourism to a force, which is contributing to the general greening of the tourism industry. In this sense it can be seen as a process and its importance in including change in the tourism industry may be more significant than its categorization as a small niche market of small operators. The greening of tourism is essential for the ecological and sociological advancement and sustainability of the industry. Ecotourism has become popular among tourists as an alternative to conventional tours and with many governments and communities as a development tool. Empirical evidences indicate that the growing appeal of this type of tourism is evident in attempts by mass tourism packagers to appropriate the ecotourism label.

It is no coincidence that the concepts of ecotourism and biodiversity conservation evolved at roughly same the time. As it is commonly considered that ecotourism is a natural reaction to mainstream tourism which was perceived to be the major contributor to the degradation of the natural attractions on which it is based. Yet, from the point of view of the conservation of biodiversity, it doesn't matter at all whether visitors to an area are led by a trained or untrained guide, or whether the tour is classified as an ecotour or a large group day trip.

As explained by Ziffer (1989) :

“There is a chilling awareness spreading throughout the world of the urgent need for environmental protection and resuscitation. The spread of the conservation ethic, bolstered by the efforts of conservation groups, political initiatives, and the media, has influenced the choice of travel destinations. Tour operators are packing trips to rapidly disappearing wilderness and tourists are scampering to see areas which may not exist in a few years. Some have a fatalistic attitude and want a glimpse of the scenery before it fades away. Others recognise the link between tourism dollars and preservation, and want to support the conservation of these highly threatened areas”.³²

In a positive light, the relationship between biodiversity and NBE can and should be mutually reinforcing. On the one hand, the declared and publicly promoted protection of natural features, ecosystems and biodiversity acts as a strong attractor for the tourism trade and provides a vehicle for the development of national and regional economies. On the other, there are opportunities - and indeed a strong obligation - for the tourism trade to promote and contribute to biodiversity conservation.

Thus it is revealed that in considering the scope of the potential for integrating NBE and biodiversity conservation, it has been considered NBE to embrace the full spectrum of nature and culture-related tourism. This is not limited to tours, but includes walks, talks, resorts, and other accommodation, and other facets of the industry and tourism activities, whether private or industry based, and people partaking of nature-oriented activities also use the same facilities as other tourists.

There is also a school of thought that numerous opportunities and benefits can be derived by strategically integrating biodiversity conservation requirements with future tourism needs. Ziffer (1989) for example has suggested that ‘the goal of ecotourism is to capture a portion of the enormous global tourism market by attracting visitors to natural areas and using the revenues to fund local conservation and fuel economic development’.

2.4 Mountain Environment and Resources

A mountain is difficult to define but easy to perceive. We all know a mountain when we see one, or better, when we climb up and down. One of the most pronounced features of a mountain is its verticality which is expressed in an altitudinal gradient and stratification of climate, soil, vegetation, and life zones. The search for fresh air, natural water, scenic landscape, natural wilderness, indigenous cultures, and also for adventure brings visitors to mountainous areas.³³ The existing approach to mountain tourism development has failed to benefit a wide area and to achieve sustainable mountain development (Keinschmidt and laDow, 1992; Shah and

Panday 1992; Moore and Back 1992; Byers and Banskota 1993; Stevens et al. 1993b; Healy 1992). In order to develop a concept of mountain development in which tourism has role, it is first essential to identify the importance of a mountain area in terms of its resources and their value from a local, national, and an international perspective. Clean air, watersheds, biological diversity (genes, species, and ecosystems), scenic beauty, cultural heritage, human resources, and renewable resources such as firewood, fodder, and many more, found in the mountains, may all be called environmental resources.³⁴ Mountains are important to all mankind since the fate of mountain ecosystems affects half the world's people. It has been estimated that about 10 percent of the world's population depends on mountain resources (Keating 1993). It also means that the mountains depend on those 10 percent to provide stability, to combat pollution, to preserve biodiversity and wilderness, and to safeguard human traditions and cultures.³⁵

In the mountainous areas, forest is the backbone of natural environment, which is already under a severe threat due to various natural effects and manmade extravagance activities. Forests serve important utilitarian, protective and recreational functions often simultaneously. Large amounts of precipitation are stored in the porous forest soil, reducing surface runoff. Thus the danger of floods is reduced and a continuous supply of water even in dry periods ensured. The forest soil acts as a natural filter. Therefore the forest supplies clean drinking water. The forest slows down the wind and its dense network of roots holds the soil in place, thus protecting against erosion by wind and water, slides, desiccation and falling rocks. In addition, the forests prevent avalanches from getting started. The forest has a balancing effect on the environment. It is the source of preservation of wild life. It reduces noise and filters contaminants out of the air. Thus it protects settlements and agricultural areas against harmful emissions. The forest offers habitat to a species-rich flora and fauna. Almost half of the ferns and flowering plants grow in the forest. Moreover, the forest has gained increased importance for recreation during the last decades. In the vicinity of cities, tourist and health resorts the forest is a valuable attraction.³⁶ Thus, it is often uttered that today's forest is a mirror of the social and economic conditions of the past.

In view of the magnificent significance of forest it is most essential and important that sustainable ecotourism is in need of proper and adequate measures with appropriate policy guidelines and effective management for preservation of forest, natural environment and ecology.

Human beings and forest are closely related with each other from the very beginning of human history. And the relationship of the forest people with forests is much more intimate, reciprocal and spiritual. Life and culture of the forest communities center around forest and forest ecology. They collect from forest what they need for sustenance and protect it for their own interest. They are the "children of forest" in true sense. Their values and cultures are very much attached with forest and land. These values and cultures are different from urban civilization. A conflict exists between the forest culture and urban culture. While the one protects

nature, land and valuable traditional knowledge that come down to generations, the other tends only to consume. To the forest people civilization and culture are inexorably connected with land, ecology and nature.³⁷ Unfortunately, much of the forest and myriad number of biological resources have already lost. The reasons are known but proper and sufficient measures have not yet been taken. Therefore it is opined that efforts to develop tourism in the mountains without duly addressing the mountain environment and the economic value of the resources it harbours can do more harm to the environment and its economy than good.³⁸

The International Centre for Integrated Mountain Development (ICIMOD) argued in their Annual Report, 1995 that as development processes and interventions will continue, and even need to be accelerated, Mountain resources will be subjected to even greater changes in the future. There is an urgent need to look for strategies and approaches for better and more efficient management of mountain natural resources in order to ensure sustainable use. Diversity of mountain environments and mountain cultures make the search for improved management systems a challenging task.

Unlike privately-owned and managed farm resources, most of these rapidly degrading resources, such as forests, water, ranges, wildlife, and biodiversity, are common property resources and managing them is both complex and difficult. Improving the management of mountain natural resources is essentially an endeavour to respond to the challenges of ecologically-sustainable development on mountain environments.³⁹

Fragility, another objective condition in the mountains, implies situation in which resources under high intensity use are vulnerable to rapid and often irreversible degradation. Increased rates of erosion, landslides, and loss of flora or fauna are examples of such degradation. The fragility factor makes environmental care and regeneration a matter of prime concern in the mountains. Tourism, in such a context, can complement environmental regeneration in a number of ways: through conservation by nonuse, through recycling of resources, and through the promotion of local resources' centered production technologies.⁴⁰

2.5 Mountain Tourism and Resources

There is a school of opinion that, there is no clear definition of "mountain tourism" and no clear class of visitors who could be labelled "mountain tourists". While a broad definition that includes the whole spectrum of resources and visitors, allowing for flexibility and diversity, widens the scope of analysis, it does not reflect the true nature of mountain tourism resources which are or could potentially be the primary reason for the tourist inflow. Thus, the term "mountain tourism", in a strict sense, is nebulous, and it is difficult to straight away categorise tourist resources and tourists.⁴¹

International tourism and travel now constitutes the world's largest and most rapidly expanding industry. In 1997 the World Travel and Tourism Organization estimated that the industry assured employment to some 262 million people-10% of the working population worldwide-and accounted for nearly 8% of the total Gross Domestic Product. Over recent times annual growth rates have outpaced all other industries, averaging a remarkable 5.2%. World-wide there are currently more than 595 million international tourist arrivals each year, this figure is expected to reach 1.6 billion by 2020(WTO,1997). Globally, the tourism industry is recognised to be multi-faceted, diverse and highly fragmented in form. It involves numerous suppliers of tourism/recreational experiences (e.g. private commercial companies, public bodies and voluntary organisations), operating in differing types of destination areas (host environments and host communities), and catering for a variety of visitors with differing demands and expectations. While domestic forms of tourism are important in both developed and developing regions of the world, it is the massive growth in international tourism that has prompted the greatest interest and concern.⁴²

Tourism resources depend on the areas and season. In general, tourists choose their destinations in a very purposive way. Therefore, tourism resources are very important to attract tourist. Undoubtedly, most of the mountain resources are of great tourists attraction. Thus it reflects the dormant feature of tourists resources. It is really difficult to categorise the nature or types of tourists due to lack of information in many countries, like Bangladesh. However, to perceive this issues an overview is made below in the context of Nepal and Pakistan. According to the Nepal Tourism Statistics, 1992 (an annual publication of the Department of Tourism, the Royal Govt. of Nepal), there are six broad types of tourists that arrive in Nepal, it is opined that this categorisation is vague and imprecise [statistics is high lighted in the Table-2(1)]. It is doubtful whether all categories of visitors to Nepal can be called tourists unless this definition is stretched to include anyone bringing in foreign currency and spending a few nights in a hotel.⁴³

Table 2(1): Tourist Number by Types in Nepal

Year	Number Type		Business	Pilgrimage	Official	Convention/ conference	others	Total
	Holiday Pleasure	Trekking Mountaineering						
1962	N.A	N.A	N.A	N.A	N.A	N.A	N.A.	6,179 (100)
1988	2,00,755 (75.5)	36,937 (13.9)	12,008 (4.5)	-	9,781 (3.7)	-	6,442 (2.4)	2,65,943 (100)
1992	2,37,711 (71.1)	35,166 (10.5)	31,765 (9.5)	7,219 (2.2)	20,967 (6.3)	815 (0.2)	710 (0.2)	3,34,353 (100)
1993	1,70,279 (58.0)	69,619 (23.7)	19,495 (6.7)	10,429 (3.5)	15,812 (5.4)	5,367 (1.8)	2,566 (0.9)	2,93,567 (100)

Source : *Nepal Tourism Statistics 1992/93* cited in Prayag Raj Sharma, "Culture and Tourism-Defining Roles and Relationships", published in 1995 by ICIMOD, Kathmandu, Nepal, p.8.

Both recreation and nature are multi-faceted and their impacts on each other are fascinating. Nature not only provides opportunities for recreation, but also poses constraints in its many different forms, while recreation has its own impacts on nature.

A Biosphere reserve is defined as "a unique category of protected area dedicated to helping discover the solutions" for the conflicts between people and nature. Combining both nature conservation and sustainable use of natural resources, the key characteristic of a biosphere reserve is integration of all activities with nature. A biosphere reserve thus can be dedicated to complete protection or can support intensive yet sustainable use.

Recreation is defined as the process or means of refreshing or entertaining oneself after work by some pleasurable activities, and is becoming a significant domain of life in the developed world, occupying about one-third of people's lives. Many recent studies show that more people prefer to spend their leisure times with nature than ever before.⁴⁴

Another statistical example regarding tourist arrival in Pakistan is cited below [Table-2(2)] for a comparative and supplementary view :

Table 2(2) : Per centage of Tourist arrival in Pakistan by Types.

Purpose of Visit	Indian	Non-Indian	Overall
Holiday	0.8	21.7	13.4
Health	0.1	0.1	0.1
Study	-	0.6	0.4
Religion	1.4	3.3	2.5
Sports	-	0.6	0.6
Business	2.8	28.4	18.3
Family/Friends(V.F.R)	93.5	38.0	60.0
Meetings/conferences	-	2.4	1.4
other	1.4	4.9	3.3
Total	100	100	100

Source: *Tourism Growth in Pakistan 1995*, Ministry of Tourism, Govt. of Pakistan.

There is a strong opinion against this categorisation by a number of the researchers and academicians. As per their views, some of the categories do not fulfil the norms and ethics of tourism. It is commonly opined that the historical trends in tourism is a different types/categories

of tourism (i.e. cultural, resort, religious and adventure/sports) and by motivation, spatial coverage, and the scale of activities. Realistically, Mountain environment and its resources are the great sources of tourist attraction which usually covers most of the categories/types of tourism.

2.6 Impact of Tourism

The major impacts associated with tourism in mountain areas can be classified as related to :

- | | |
|------------------|-------------------|
| 1) Land use, | 2) litter, |
| 3) Pollution, | 4) forest, |
| 5) Sociocultural | 6) income, and |
| 7) employment, | 8) other impacts. |

Other impacts of tourism that do not fall under the above categories, and on which literature is very minimal, e.g., on women.⁴⁵ Some of the researchers viewed that the impact of mountain tourism can be studied from the following three aspects.

- Cultural impact
- economic impact, and
- environmental impact;

There is a school of opinion in the West that strongly disfavours tourism. Fisher quotes Smith as saying that tourism ultimately dehumanises societies. It alters the visited country as if it were "on sale", "*distorting its imagery and symbolism, turning its emotions loose... A culture is turned from a subject to an object, from independent to dependent, from an audience in its own right to a spectacle*" (Smith 1980, quoted in Fisher 1986:37). Such a sentiment is also echoed in the remarks made by an anonymous visitor to the SagarMatha National Park, Nepal, which are quoted in Fisher. The remark reads :

"I fear the trend of "Industrial Tourism". Must we lead Nepal down the same [path of] ruination that so many of the western nations have gone? They have paved with asphalt the area around "Old Faithful" geyser Yellowstone National Park, Yosemite has smog and traffic jams... Is that progress? will the government's plan to build a road in to this area improve it? If we want to help the people of Nepal, let's help them in real ways—better means of food production, schools, hospitals. Please, let's spare them from the garbage that is burying us" (Fisher 1990:109)⁴⁶

Despite of those pessimistic views there are lot of arguments in favour of tourism. In this subcontinent, the growth of tourism in Nepal, Maldives, India and Pakistan is most significant. In

a publication brought out by the State Bank of Nepal tourism has been described as "a major growth sector and a stable source of foreign exchange with immense potential and virtually unlimited scope".⁴⁷

In this debate, if the private sector in tourism, consisting of hoteliers, travel, and trekking agencies, is seen to solidly favour tourism and tourism expansion, it would be no surprise. In fact, many of them would want the government to go along and accept the idea of unlimited growth in tourism and would like to think that the country offers inexhaustible scope for its expansion. Government bureaucrats do not seem to dispute this basic premise of growth. Still the private sector continues to accuse them of not doing enough, or doing it poorly, with their eyes merely set on maximising profit.⁴⁸

It is commonly believed that culture has a direct relevance and use for tourism. Now a days, throughout the world 'cultural tourism' is being campaigned profusely as tourism has cohesion and correlation with culture. Tourism has obvious linkages with other sectors/fields which certainly implies positive or negative impacts.

A brief focus is stated below in a summarized way on a study of tourism impacts sponsored by ICIMOD in Nepal (Kathmandu and Khumbu mainly) which is cited in Prayag R. Sharma.⁴⁹ may help to guess the negative and positive impacts of tourism on culture. Due to shortage of space only the name and nature of impacts are mentioned bellow:

a. Negative impacts :

	<u>Nature of impact</u>
1. Change in the ethnic demography and culture	Direct impact
2. Commercialization	Direct impact
3. Staged cultural shows	Direct impact
4. Carpet industry	Direct impact
5. Voyeurism	Direct impact
6. Value change	Indirect impact
7. Youth problems	Direct impact
8. Increase in crime rate	Direct impact
9. Art theft	Indirect impact
10. Street begging	Direct impact
11. Products for tourist consumption	Direct impact
12. Degradation of National Parks	Direct impact
13. Agricultural decline	Direct impact
14. Decline in the number of lamas in the monasteries	Direct impact
15. Decline of traditional crafts	Direct impact
16. Family breakup	Direct impact

17. Gender problem

Direct impact

b. Positive impacts :

- | | | |
|----|--|------------------------|
| 1. | Better appreciation of art | Indirect impact |
| 2. | International recognition of cultural heritage | Direct/Indirect impact |
| 3. | Handicrafts' production | Direct impact |
| 4. | An increased awareness of pollution problems | Direct impact |
| 5. | National Park Promotion idea, | Direct impact |
| 6. | Continued traditional habitat occupation | Direct impact |
| 7. | Increased popularity of the local festival | Direct impact |
| 8. | Increased living standards of the local people | direct impact |

The impact of tourism on local cultural traditions and values is difficult to assess. Not only tourists but also local people who travel for education, trade, and other purposes bring in new ideas and attitudes which can result in changes in local cultural practices. Changes in people's behaviour, dress, lifestyle, family and social structure, values, and expectations; decline in local support for local traditions and institutions; people's preference for tourist - related jobs over education; pollution of sacred places; changes in traditional architecture, and so on are generally argued to be the negative impacts of tourism on culture. Economic impacts are also important in bringing cultural changes. It can also be debated whether such sociocultural impacts are caused by tourism, by economic factors, or by other factors. (Upadhyay 1984; Robinson 1993; Lama and sherpa 1995; Stevens, Sherpa and Sherpa 1993; Gurung 1990).⁵⁰

It is strongly argued that any acceptable definition of development can not ignore women. Women constitute one half of the population and it is true that substantial growth in production depends largely on women. Thus, towards progress greater gender equality is highly required by societies. Five elements, namely, **control**, **mobilisation**, **conscientiousisation**, **access** and **welfare** are often considered with regard to gender equality. Indeed, these elements are currently less in favour of the female population. Ethnic variations in harnessing any impacts of an intervention such as tourism by mountain women can also be expected to be significant, and this needs to be addressed.⁵¹ Kamal Banskota and Bikash Sharma, CREST describe, only anecdotal evidence is available on the impact of tourism on women. It is argued that, in some places, tourism has increased the burden on women because male members stay away from home for longer periods of time to serve tourists. At the same time, tourism has provided off-farm employment opportunities for women and has enabled them to explore and exploit their managerial capabilities in lodges, tea-stalls, and so on.⁵² Although there is no evidence to point to the other impacts of tourism on women, it may be conjectured that other positive impacts, such as on household decision-making, may have increased since more and more women have begun to participate in tourism.

The mountain environment is more complex than any other terrestrial environment... A mountain ecosystem is generally fragile and vulnerable to rapid deterioration due to modern exploitative forces such as tourism. Most mountain societies function in a more or less closed system depending upon subsistence agriculture and the traditional use of natural resources. After centuries of interaction with nature these societies have acquired an equilibrium with the natural environment. Outside interventions, such as tourism, introduce rapid changes to the ecological processes, and, in general, more resources are exploited than are naturally produced.⁵³

It is essential to assess the environmental impact of tourism for its substantiality. It is often argued that tourism has direct and indirect impact on the state of the resources and the environment. The following indicators are usually suggested to capture the environmental impact :

- Percentage of hotels/lodges using firewood, kerosene, gas and electricity for lighting, heating, and cooking;
- Average consumption of fuelwood and other sources of energy per hotel/lodge;
- Percentage of hotels/lodges reporting a decrease in the use of firewood;
- Percentage of tour operators using kerosene or alternative sources of energy;
- Per capita use of firewood per annum;
- Percentage of households using alternative sources of energy;
- Average rate of depletion of forest resources;
- Average rate of reforestation undertaken by forest department;
- Percentage of local population involved in social forestry programmes;
- Percentage of households using fuel-efficient stoves;
- Percentage of households reporting better watershed management;
- Percentage of population reporting less open grazing of cattle;
- Percentage of population staff - feeding cattle.

In most of the cases, the mountain areas were once rich in wildlife, which is fast becoming extinct. Human activity in the form of hunting and commercial activities has led to depletion of the wild - life in the area. It also needs to be monitored. The indicators recommended are as follows:

- Number of wildlife species (specify the type) presently found;
- Number of hunters of wild game by seasons;
- Is there any increase in the existing stock of endangered wildlife through the presence of game reserves and the national park? specify the number.⁵⁴

Analytical views of Banskota and Sharma in the context of Nepal regarding some other impacts of tourism describe as, although not directly attributable to tourism, there are other

impacts that can be identified. **Awareness generation** in the form of education, basic knowledge of a second language, awareness of improved health and hygiene standards; and awareness of the need for conservation of cultural sites and the environment in general. **Infrastructural development** in remote areas of the mountains can also be attributed to the growth of tourism. **Socio-demographic effects** in the form of reduced outmigration in some places and increased migration in other places; induced population growth; greater awareness of the benefits of family planning; positive impacts on nutrition; and so on have been perceived. **Research** (anthropology, biodiversity, culture, glaciology, etc.) and **international publicity** are areas in which Nepal has benefited through tourism. The plethora of books printed, the many documentary films that have been made, the abundance of articles that have been published in international journals, and the cover stories that have been published in the National Geographic magazine are all proof of the positive impacts of tourism. There can be no doubt that some of the publicity has been negative but, by and large, this publicity has helped promote Nepal as a unique country with great scope for mountain tourism (Banskota and Sharma 1994)⁵⁵

2.7 Local Community Development

Although the value and importance of tourism is felt and perceived differently by different groups, tourism development, in general, can contribute to local community development in various ways: by generating revenue for the government and local communities; by creating new jobs and income-earning opportunities; by inducing new businesses and trading opportunities; by opening markets for local products; by the promotion of new skills and technologies; by the induced improvement in physical and social infrastructure and community facilities of various types; by encouraging positive changes in land use and production systems; and, not least, by enhancement in the environmental and cultural awareness as well as in the appreciation of the community's natural, historical, and cultural heritage.⁵⁶

Tourism development can not be viewed in isolation from conservation and natural resource management and mountain development, as it is the mountain resources that form the very basis of mountain tourism as well as the basis of survival of local mountain communities. This lack of realisation has resulted in a demand-induced tourism growth pattern, with local people responding to tourist needs, and it has not been able to contribute meaningfully to wider mountain development.⁵⁷

The magnificent positive impacts of tourism do not always mean that it will definitely help local community. It is argued that increase in the influx of tourists in an area does not always translate in to diffusion of benefits across all members of the community. The lodge owners benefit most, the rest of the community members hardly share the fruits of the increased business that is generated from the very area they live in or the products or services they themselves create or form a link in their production or provision. Tourism planning, however,

can ensure a greater spread of tourism benefits to community. This requires planning for tourism from the outset. It is important to identify which groups of beneficiaries will most probably benefit whenever any plan is being designed. Overall, the plans should incorporate a larger and more diverse group of beneficiaries in the region and the communities.⁵⁸

There is a school of thought that tourism planning must ensure the income leakages to those outsiders of the community either through products or services are minimal and the maximum benefits stay within the community.

If the gross benefit to the area is high and the benefit to the community at large is low, the leakage will take away the very incentive for the community to provide the diversity and quality of services and products necessary for sustainable tourism.

Specific Problems of Local Community Development

While the issues identified have a considerable bearing on tourism development in the region, the problems in the development of local communities include the following :

- Lack of basic needs such as water, fuel, and health services;
- Population growth and expansion of settlements;
- Lack of occupational niche and employment opportunities leading to selective male migration;
- Planning totally devoid of local control and programmes irrelevant to the mountain environment;
- Lack of investment potential locally and a lack of concerted effort by the government to induce local investments;
- Threat of natural hazards, including earthquakes;
- Impact of economic reforms and liberalisation process.⁵⁹

It is important to assess how the local community is benefited through tourism and to what extent. There are lot of indicators in this regard but it is obvious that the indicators or parameters should be adjustable to certain local characteristics, especially for that place on which it is applicable and to whom it may concern. On the basis of some essential and common views of the researchers and scholars some of the community development indicators that may be used are the following :

- Percentage of households reporting better protection of cultural sites,
- Percentage of households reporting better protection of religious sites,
- Percentage of households reporting more crime and theft in the community,
- Percentage of households reporting changes in cultural practices,

- Decreases in the rate of population growth,
- Improvement in the rate of literacy by sex,
- Improvement in health indicators such as female and infant mortality rates, per capita calorie intake,
- Percentage of households with clean drinking water,
- Percentage of households with sanitary latrine,
- Percentage of households reporting less time needed for :
 - Water collection,
 - travelling to schools and health centres,
 - accessibility to growth centre and market, and
 - cooking (due to improvement stoves)
- Decrease in the number of households in the poorest category.

Although the above mentioned community development indicators are not enough to assess the impact of tourism on the local community and determine what has been the benefit to the local community, yet they may meet up basic objectives. It is believed that an adequate monitoring system may reduce the negative impacts as well as maximize the positive impact of tourism on local community.

In view of the discussion of conceptual issues particularly related to the local community development through tourism in the HKH areas it is assumed that Mountain Community Development (MCD) is necessary to conserve Himalayan Environmental Resources (HER), and that Mountain Tourism Development (MTD) can stimulate this process of MCD. A case study which was under taken by the Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies (CREST), Nepal on tourism for Mountain Community Development in the Annapurna and Gorkha Regions of Nepal shows relationship between HER, MCD and MTD which is reproduced in the figure-2.1.

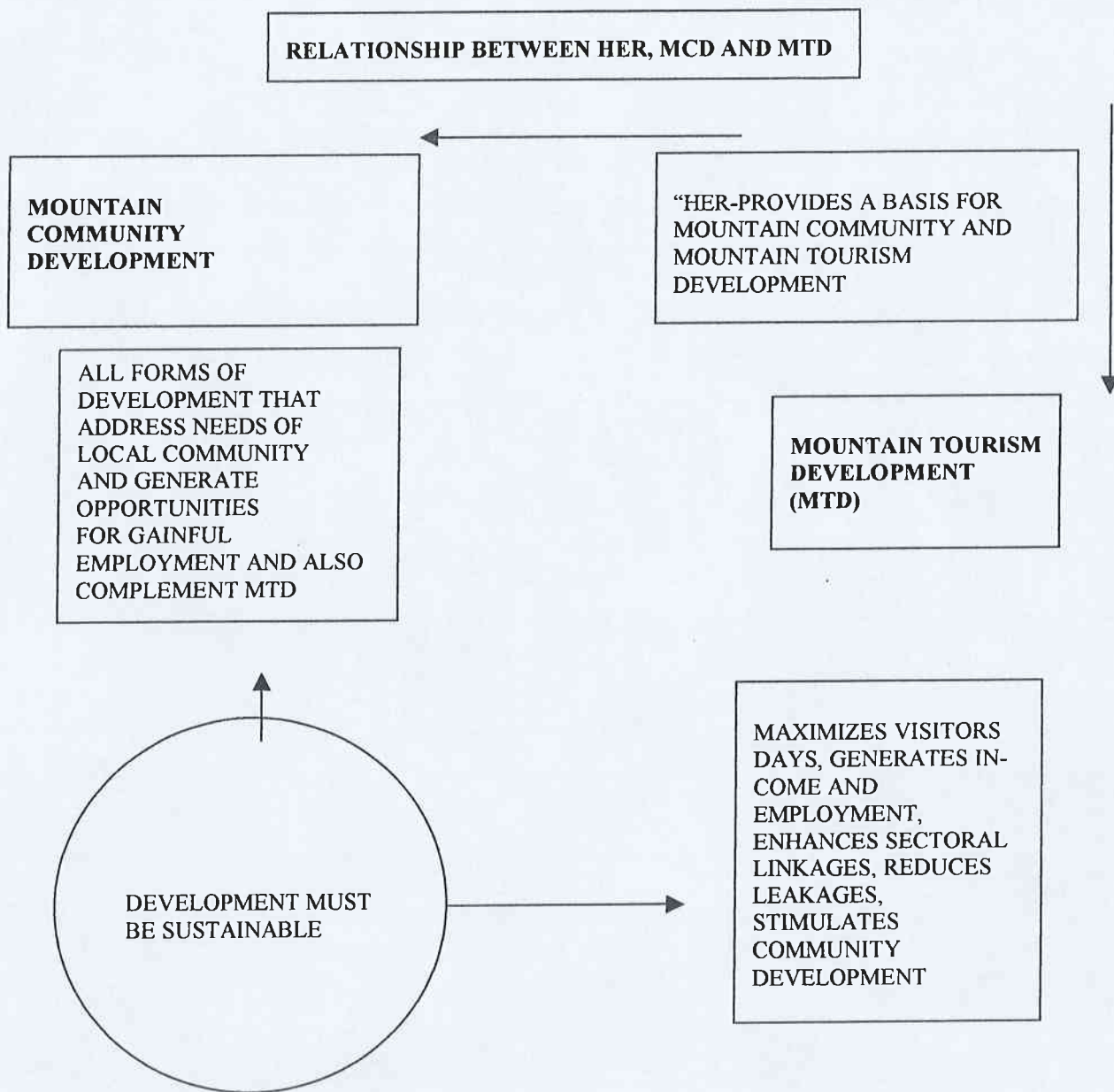
As argued on describing the figure HER have economic value... and can be developed to generate the necessary resources for MCD and MTD. Community development encompasses all forms of development that address the needs of the local community and generate opportunities of gainful employment. Mountain tourism development encompasses activities that attract tourists, provide employment opportunities for local people, help them retain benefits locally, and provide a strong stimulus to community development. A mountain community is a geographical region that may meaningfully be regarded as a coherent entity from the perspective of description, analysis, administration, planning or policy. Mountain development will therefore depend to a large extent on the supply of HER. In the context of the welfare of mountain people, mountain and tourism development should be able to improve the welfare of the population, both at present and in the future, and at the same time be compatible with the environment. Mountain

development thus has to fulfil two things: first, it should ensure the region's population an acceptable level of welfare that can be sustained in the future; second, it should not conflict with sustainable development at a regional or national level.⁶⁰

One important issue is not so distinct in the above discussion, which predominantly has a direct linkage with the mountain community development, i.e. protection of natural environment. It should be categorically prioritised and distinctly focused in the figure-2.1, which may take place in the mountain tourism development (MTD) box. It is important that every approach towards local community development should be environmentally friendly, because no development will be sustainable without protection of natural environment. Similarly, importance should be given on the product diversification, which has linkage with the range of income generation. Import substitution definitely contributes to income generation for the local community. Therefore, there should be an indication in the last box from the right side in the figure-2.1 about product diversification and import substitution.

Without giving proper benefits to the local communities mountain development or mountain tourism development will obviously be meaningless. Undoubtedly, the mountain peoples in this region are vulnerable and marginalised. They are living in the subsistence economy. Their standard of living is low and often found primitive. They do not have adequate sources of income. The immediate result of their poverty is to degrade natural environment and ecology. Increasing growth rate of population in the local communities and as a result, over exploitation of natural resources are causing environmental and ecological degradation. Thus, mountain tourism, mountain communities and mountain environment are directly correlated to each other. Therefore, it is often argued and commonly emphasized that without giving prior and proper importance on protection of natural environment and ecology, local community development would not be sustainable. To justify and strengthen the argument 'DEVELOPMENT MUST BE SUSTAINABLE' as it has been shown in the circle at the last corner of the left side in the Figure-2.1, it is imperative to ensure environmental protection for the betterment of the local communities.

Figure - 2.1 : Relationship between HER, MCD and MTD



2.8. Measuring the Economic Benefits of NBE

The economic benefits of nature based and ecotourism can be measured in terms of the total economic value that they yield to the community. Economic benefits are customarily measured using the techniques of benefit - cost analysis, and are distinct from financial values which are associated with market transactions and cash flows of governments and private enterprises.

Total economic value has several components:

- Direct use values, such as those derived from recreational and educational experience in natural areas.
- Option values, comprising the value placed on having an opportunity make use of natural areas at some future stage.
- Vicarious use values, referring to the value derived from knowing about the direct experiences of other people.
- Existence values, or the value associated with the knowledge that natural systems or species continue to exist.
- Bequest values, or the value derived from the ability to bequeath natural assets to future generations.
- Quasi-option values, which refer to the value obtained from delaying exploitative actions to learn more about the potential threats or risks to natural areas and the strategies or management practices that may be put in place to avoid or minimise adverse impacts.

An Excellent discussion of these concepts in the context of protected areas appears in the study by Driml (1994). Techniques for measurement of such values are well documented in texts on environmental economics (Sinden and Worrell 1979; Haufschmidt et al. 1983; James 1994).⁶¹

Many economic values find direct expression through market transactions, particularly for direct uses. A good example is the willingness to pay for ecotours or accommodation in natural areas. Other values may not be measurable in market data. Many people may travel long distances for a nature-based experience, without necessarily paying for use of the area. Techniques are available to measure the value of the natural implicitly, such as the travel cost method (TCM). TCM provides information on use values; it is relevant to the valuation of biodiversity only in as much as biodiversity or ecosystem attributes are the main factor attracting people to particular sites.

Non-use values are more difficult to measure, because markets often do not exist through which people may express their values or preferences...

A commonly used technique for the valuation of natural areas is the contingent valuation method (CVM). Under this technique a hypothetical market for some natural good or service is described to a sample of subjects, who are then asked about their willingness to pay for it (Mitchell and Carson 1989, Wilks 1990). The mechanism through which values are expressed is known as a "payment vehicle".

Application of CVM is one way of determining whether people are prepared to pay for the protection of biodiversity, and if so, how much. A typical application would be to determine the willingness to pay for the preservation of biodiversity in designated natural areas, by means of an entry fee, user permit or special management fund,⁶²

It is revealed from the various discussions that from an industry perspective, financial rather than economic values are what count: that is, net returns on their operations. Net returns are an important part of the total economic benefits accruing to the community: in a benefit - cost analysis, they are described as 'producers' surplus'.

It is also argued that an economic evaluation of ecotourism should include an assessment of public sector investments and other costs required to support ecotourism activity, such as roads, airports, water and sewerage and costs of managing natural areas, including information systems, site supervision and monitoring activities.

2.9 Suggested Analytical Framework

In the mountain tourism development and in the development of local community with particular emphasis on environmental issues there is no set methodology or analytical framework. It depends on locality and some other variables, i.e. time, geopolitical situation and inventory of local natural resources. However, a typical framework chalked out by ICIMOD is referred below for discussion for a general perception.

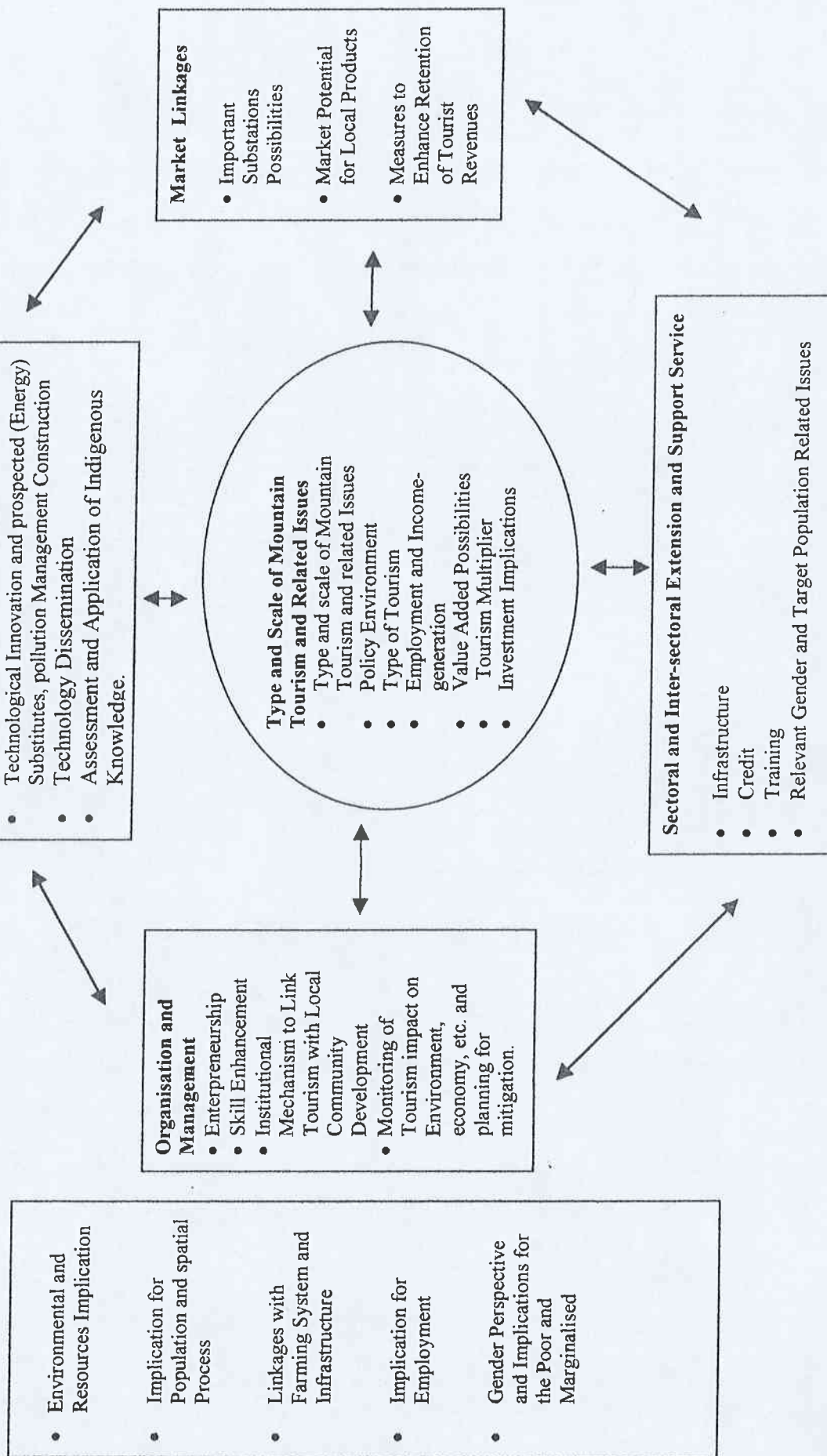
The Population and Employment Division of ICIMOD, on the basis of its various research programs, suggested an analytical framework which sets in context the type and scale of mountain tourism to analyze various linkages and visualizes the understanding of a broader context of development issues (Figure-2.2).⁶³

Proposed Framework

The analytical framework as described in the Figure-2.2 has drawn an overview of mountain tourism. On a broader context, the component aspects of study are comprehensive which may be followed in the mountainous countries, preferably in the HKH areas. Since the framework emerges from a series of studies undertaken to characterize human ecological conditions and identify approaches and strategies for sustainable development, therefore, this is not the end of an approach and a modification of the framework is also proposed. From that point of view, some addition and alteration are proposed by the researcher to incorporate in the Suggested Analytical Framework.

B. Analysis of the Linkages of Mountain Tourism

A. Broader Context



The proposed areas for addition and alteration are as follows:

Technical Innovation : This heading describes only three categories, i.e i) Technological Innovation and prospected (Energy) Substitutes, Pollution Management construction, ii) Technology Dissemination and iii) Assessment and Application of Indigenous Knowledge. It should be noted that fire wood consumption is not only the threats in the mountainous areas. In many places, deforestations often take place due to developing new infrastructural arrangement for tourism or its expansion. So, technological innovation is also needed for developing a new infrastructural arrangement for tourism or its expansion aiming with the minimum impact of deforestation which may be titled as 'Technological Innovation for developing new infrastructural arrangement for tourism or its expansion.'

Market Linkages : This heading is categorised as i) Important substitutions possibilities, ii) Market potential for local products and iii) Measures to Enhance Retention of tourist revenues. In the present context, product diversification is an essential tool for any market potential. Thus, it is essential to consider with prior importance 'product diversification' for the stability and expansion of the market. Therefore, it is proposed to include 'Product diversification' in the market linkages box. It is also important that local communities can benefit from product diversification.

Sectoral and Inter-sectoral Extension and Support Service : The box with this heading contains, i) Infrastructure, ii) credit, iii) Training, iv) Relevant Gender and Target Population Related Issues. There is an alteration proposed in this box. The researcher does believe that the word 'Credit' should be substituted by 'Financial Assistance'. Because, 'Financial Assistance' has broad spectrum. It can include Grant or Aid or Subsidy or in the form of Incentives in addition to Credit. Empirically it is revealed that many financial institutions or developing partner sometime provide grant or aid to the local community under the auspicious of development programme, which can simultaneously help mountain tourism development. In the very similar way Govt. subsidy or incentive usually play the same role. Therefore, the present researcher proposes that the word 'Credit' may be substituted by 'Financial Assistance'.

2.10 Carrying Capacity in Mountain Tourism

Carrying capacity is the ability of the resource base to support and provide for the needs of humans without being depleted (Keating 1993).⁶⁴ 'Carrying capacity' (cc) is a key concept in planning for sustainable mountain development, i.e., local community and tourism development and environmental conservation. Carrying capacity seeks to establish ecological and behavioral thresholds beyond which the biophysical, socioeconomic, and environmental milieu and the quality of life of mountain people and visitors' experiences deteriorate. Given different

environmental dimensions, different types of carrying capacity concepts are often discussed in the literature (WTO 1993: Nijkamp den Berg and Soeteman 1990).⁶⁵

Carrying capacity is a multi-dimensional and dynamic concept and varies according to season, time, behavior and attitude of tourists and local population, facilities, management, and the dynamic character of the environment. The concept of carrying capacity can be represented by a range of limits rather than single fixed value. These limits are often determined by the combination of three primary factors: environmental threshold, investment options, and management policies. Determination of the environmental threshold is important for the assessment of carrying capacity. When applied to the (mountain) environment of a region, carrying capacity indicates the number of people, including tourist, it can support. Furthermore, carrying capacity must be viewed in the context of development, as our primary concern lies in raising the standard of living of the people in this region.⁶⁶

Carrying capacity with respect to tourism is essentially an attempt to define the level of tolerance or compatibility between tourist activities and demands and the ecological, social, cultural and economic support systems to meet those demands (Sharma 1994).⁶⁷

Indeed, Tourism carrying capacity has wide and diverse school of thought. Though, it does not have any unanimous definition but the basic concept is mostly common. While discussing the environmental impact, we referred to the limits of nature, use intensity, and carrying capacity of tourist resources. We also talked about sustainable tourism and sustainable development. The carrying capacity of the tourist resources is a central concern in sustainable tourism.

Carrying capacity refers to the maximum population density of a species in an environment. It also refers to the upper limit of the use intensity of it's various components that can be supported without the degradation of that environment.⁶⁸

Carrying capacity is determined by a number of biotic/abiotic factors that create environmental resistance or impose limits on the growth of a population. The capacity of a mountain ecosystem to support healthy populations, while maintaining its productivity, adaptability, and capability of renewal, is drastically affected by the rapid growth of tourism. This force readily weakens and breaks the closed circuit of the traditional economic circle of remote mountain societies and links them with the market economy and more affluent societies. The notion of carrying capacity is not only the measure of how many individuals (tourist) a particular habitat can sustain at a given time but also the measure of maximum optimum impact that a particular habitat can absorb or retain. Thus critical levels of resource degradation stand out as key elements in discussing carrying capacity.⁶⁹

To simplify the ideas carrying capacity may be defined as the maximum use by the community and tourists of a given geographical area and its HER for MCD and MTD without any adverse impact on the sociocultural, economic and biophysical environments.

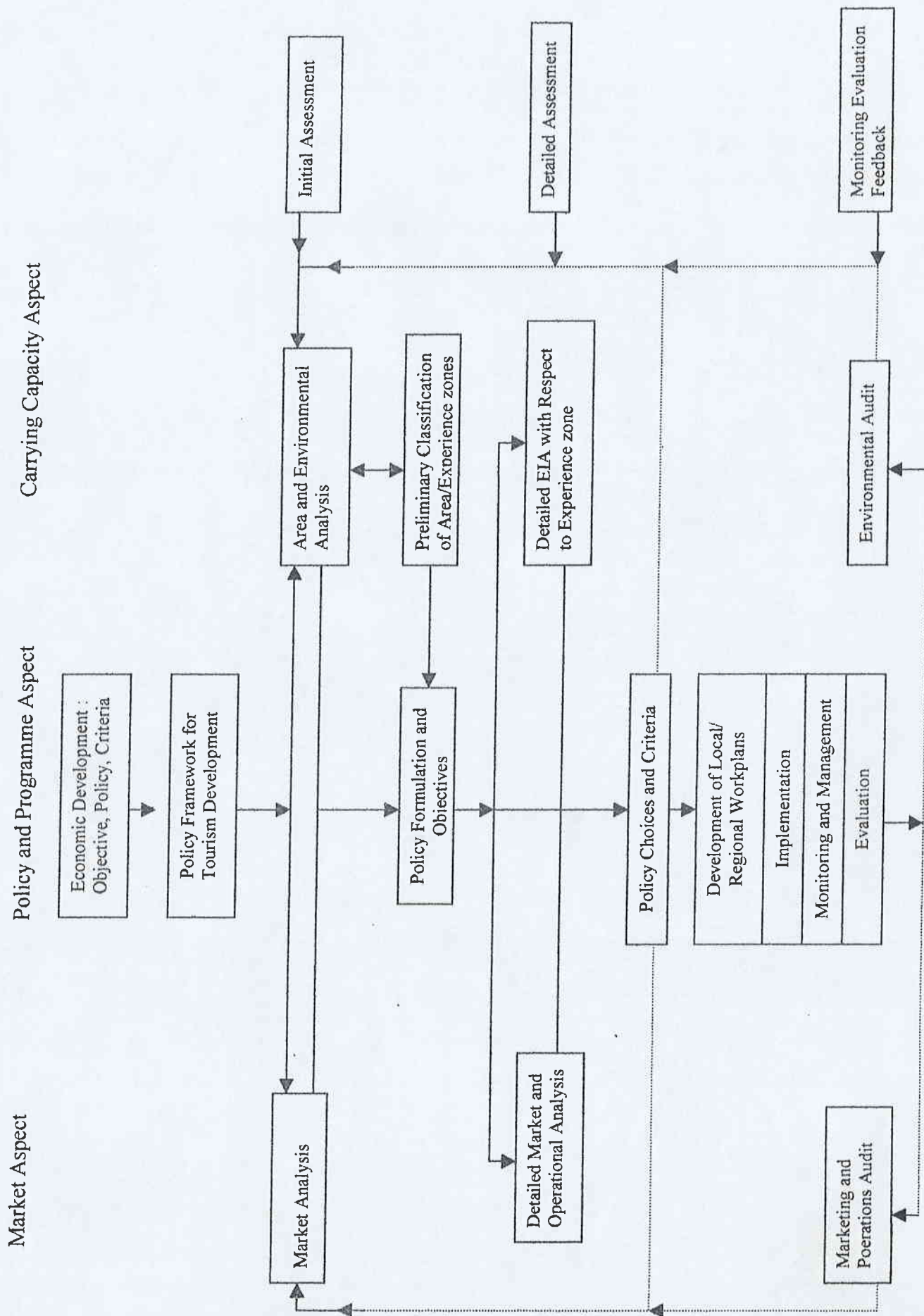
Tourism carrying capacity is defined as the maximum number of people who can use a site without unacceptable alteration in the physical environment and without an unacceptable decline in the quality of the experience gained by visitors. Carrying capacity cannot be determined in the absence of value judgements, which specify what levels of impact are acceptable, and under what conditions further tourism growth would become undesirable, acceptable or appropriate in each situation. Differences occur both within and between stakeholders of community, tourists, managers and politicians concerning the capacity of elements. A form for regulation and coordination between the policy makers and administrators is needed to take decisions on the critical carrying capacity and explore the potentials of tourism development and socio-economic benefits to the community.

Depletion of trees without reforestation, unchecked burden on infrastructure without adequate maintenance and upgrading, inequitable land holding between community and outsiders, unwillingness on part of policy makers and implementors to offer innovative and sincere approaches, further affect the question of carrying capacity.⁷⁰

Since the carrying capacity as its primal role in the sustainability and development of mountain tourism it may deserve more intensive and exclusive research both on theoretical and practical basis. The first task in a carrying capacity exercise is to inventory the characteristics and status of tourism assets in the given community/area, route/region, which really has difficult complexity by in practice. The key characteristics should include the basic aspects of the biophysical, socio-economic/cultural, and infrastructure-related themes, which are commonly considered by the contemporaneous researchers, academicians and policy makers. Pitamber Sharma presents a figure of simplified checklist for the inventory of carrying capacity analysis, adapted from WTO 1993 is mentioned in the Figure-2.3.

Due to lack of space and obvious reason for the specific direction of the study the researcher has refrained himself from elaborative discussion on Figure-3. However, it is felt that the analysis of carrying capacity for sustainable mountain tourism development in a specific desired area should must be very practical in conformity with the local aspects and characteristics. Inventory of tourism assets should be measured carefully, never undermining the values and culture of the local communities. Broadly speaking, the inventory should not only bring out the relevant salient features of the natural, socio-economic, and cultural resources, as well as infrastructure, but also more importantly help in the identification and appreciation of the most critical resources.

Figure 2.3 : Carrying Capacity and Sustainable Tourism Development



Source: Adapted from WTO 1993, cited in B. Choudhury, 1995

2.11 Critical Factors

There are some critical factors which need to be considered in view of the environmentally friendly sustainable mountain tourism development. Since the mountain environment is a complex one and mountain tourism has also various implications so, sustainable mountain tourism should be viewed considering the critical factors. It is strongly opined that :

By critical factors we mean crucial variables the presence (success factors) or absence (failure factors) of which are vital for the attainment of at least one element or object of sustainability but do affect other aspects of sustainability. Thus critical factors are those which need to be changed from their current stage, or conserved or protected in their current state, in order to enhance the carrying capacity of the environment, based on some predetermined standard. The critical factors belong to all three sets (HER, MCD and MTD), and the state of HER, MCD and MTD may be viewed in terms of the outcomes that result as different sectors and subsectors in the mountain economy interact with one another. An outcome is an action or inaction taken in any one sector that changes the state of the HER, MCD, and MTD. Critical factors can have negative or positive effects on MCD and MTD, and hence on HER. Negative factors (failure factors) result in an over all deterioration in the state of MCD, MTD, and HER, whereas positive factors (success factors) improve their current state.⁷¹

In their study, Kamal Banskota and Bikash Sharma categorise the following critical factors :

- Critical resources,
- Critical areas,
- Critical behaviour,
- Critical infrastructures, and
- Critical institutions.

In a concise way it can be describe in view of the various discussions about those factors, that, a critical area is an area which by virtue of its natural occurrence experiences relatively greater stress, or is relatively more sensitive to increased human interference, or is relatively more scarce, or is characterised by extreme relative poverty and lack of critical resources, or else has potential for development (comparative advantage). Additionally, a critical area could be characterised by the representation of critical resources. A critical resource possesses the same above properties of a critical area. Critical resources can also be harnessed to promote development and conservation (e.g., water to produce electricity). Defining critical areas alone is not sufficient to protect the critical resources found in such areas.

Human behavioral pattern is complex one. Still human psychology is almost based on various hypotheses. If human actions (both community and tourism-related) were not present, then the state of critical resources and critical areas would be subject to natural processes and we would not need to be concerned with conservation. Behavior is critical and, if people do not follow rules and regulations, then conservation efforts, tourism, and local development cannot be successful. Attitude and perception toward conservation and development are reflected in human behavior. Some human behavior is more desirable than others. Management action is needed to motivate desired behavior and to discourage behavior that is not desirable. So it is important to identify such critical behavior of host and visitor populations.

In remote and inaccessible parts of mountain areas that are characterised by extreme poverty, all forms of development, including infrastructures or man - made capital, may appear to be critical. All infrastructures can not be considered to be critical. A critical infrastructure is one that reduces stress on or promote the biophysical, economic, and social carrying capacity of the area in question and which is important in promoting the well-being of the host and visitor populations.

In view of discussion on conceptual issues particularly related to community development, government, non-profit organizations, the local community and the business community have definite roles to play in promoting sustainable mountain development. In this respect well coordination is essential and thus, the management objective of the government at the central level should be clearly defined. Govt. intervention in the tourism business should also be well justified, that may promote the other partner's effective participation. Thus, the interrelationship among the above partners often appeared in a critical manner or as critical factors.

In the given area, local people at the grass-root level, as they are key partners, they must be involved in the decision-making, planning and implementation process. It is strongly believed that these four partners, through proper coordination and information sharing, must play an important and effective role for mountain community development and protection of natural environment.

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Chapter : Three

Profile of Bangladesh and the Chittagong Hill Tracts

HINDU KUSH-HIMALAYAN REGION



BANGLADESH

10 20 30 40 MILES
0 10 20 30 40 KILOMETRES
SCALE

LEGEND
 International Boundary ———
 District Boundary - - - - -
 Capital ★
 District Headquarters •
 Rivers

DISTRICTS: PANCHAGARH, HAUKERGAON, SILEPHAMAR, LALMONIRHAT, TEJGAON, RANGPUR, KURIGRAM, GAJANDHA, JAPURHAT, NAOGAON, BIRGA, JAMALPUR, SHERPUR, NETRAKONA, SUSAMGANJ, SYLHET, NAWABGANJ, RAJSHAH, NATORE, SHAHJANG, TANGAIL, MYMENSINGH, KISHOREGANJ, MADHGANJ, MOULVIBAZAR, BRAHMANBARIA, NARAYNGANJ, NARAYNGANJ, FARIDPUR, MANIKGANJ, DHAKA, MUNSHIGANJ, COMILLA, KHAGACHARI HILL TRACTS, RANGAIA HILL TRACTS, BANDARIA HILL TRACTS, CHITTAGONG, COX'S BAZAR.

NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES: INDIA, MYANMAR (BURMA).

BAY OF BENGAL

B A Y O F B E N G A L

CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS OF BANGLADESH

KHAGRACHARI, BANDARBAN & RANGAMATI DISTRICTS



PROFILE OF BANGLADESH AND THE CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS

Bangladesh, the largest deltaic zone of the world, is richly endowed with nature's gifts. The land is green and covered in a large vegetation reaching down to the azure waters of the Bay of Bengal in the south.

3.1 Early History

The People's Republic of Bangladesh emerged as an independent and sovereign Republic on December 16, 1971. A land of sublime grace and scenic beauty, the country lies in the North Eastern part of the South Asian sub-continent spreading between the eastern Himalayas and the Bay of Bengal like a many splendoured tapestry.¹ Much has been written about the past glory of Bangladesh, notably in old records like the evidence of Pliny and Periplus of the Erythrean Sea (first century AD). It was drawn in Ptolemy's map. These indicate that from the earliest times Bangladesh was known to the West, particularly for its Muslin, the finest fabric the world has ever produced. Travellers and scholars who were attracted by the charms and fame of Bangladesh since time immemorial had showered effusive epithets on its bounties and wealth, affluence and prosperity, craftsmanship and cultural advancement.

They include the Chinese travellers Fa-hien (fourth century AD), Hue-an-tsung (seventh century), Ma-hoen and Fei-shin (fifteenth century), Ibne Batuta (fourteenth century) from Africa, Nicola Kanti (fifteenth century) and Ceasar the Frederik (sixteenth century) from Venice, Verthema, an Italian in the sixteenth century, Barbosa and Sebastin Manric (sixteenth century) from Portugal, Tavernier and Bernier from France (seventeenth century) and Queen Elizabeth-the First's ambassador Ralf Fish.²

Etymologically, the word Bangladesh is derived from the cognate "Vanga" which was first mentioned in the Hindu scripture *Aitareya Aranyaka* (composed between 500 B.C. and 500 A.D.). Legend has it that Bengal was first colonized by Prince Vanga, the son of King Bali and Queen Sudeshna of the Lunar dynasty. According to linguists, the roots of the term Vanga may be traced to languages in the adjoining areas. One school of linguists maintains that the word "Vanga" is derived from the Tibetan word "Bans" which implies "wet and moist". According to this interpretation, Bangladesh literally refers to a wetland. Another school is of the opinion that the term "Vangla" is derived from Bodo (aborigines of Assam) words "Bang" and "La" which connote "wide plains."³

Geological evidence indicates that much of Bangladesh was formed 1 to 6.5 million years ago during the tertiary era. Human habitation in this region is, therefore, likely to be very old. The implements discovered in Deolpota village in the neighbouring state of West Bengal suggest that paleolithic civilization in the region existed about one hundred thousand years ago. The evidence on paleolithic civilization in Bangladesh region is limited to a stone implement in Rangamati and a hand axe in the hilly tip of Feni district. They are likely to be 10,000 to 15,000 years old. New stone age in the region lasted from 3,000 B.C to 1,500 B.C. Neolithic tools comparable to Assam group were found at Sitakunda in Chittagong. Hand axes and chisels showing close affinity to neolithic industries in West Bengal, Bihar and Orissa have been discovered at Mainamati near Comilla. The thinly forested laterite hills in eastern Bengal dotted with fertile valleys provided a congenial environment for neolithic settlements. However, the archaeological evidence on transition from stone age to metal age in this region is still missing.⁴

Although a new state, the country and its people have had a thousand years history behind. Before or simultaneously with the advent of Aryan's in the subcontinent, a section of the Dravidian come to this land from the western part of the world. There was also an influx of the Mongolians, the Arab Muslims, the Persians, the Turks, the Abyssinians, the Afghans and the Mughuls.⁵ Another school of thought that an Austro-Asian race first inhabited this region followed by Dravidians and Aryans. The Arab Muslims started coming here in the early ninth century A.D. Persians, Armenians, Turks, Afghans and lastly the Mughals came in quick succession.⁶ People of Bangladesh are, therefore, descendants of various races and nationalities.

3.2 Geographical Features

Across the tropic of cancer it lies in the north-eastern part of South Asia between latitudes $20^{\circ}34'$ and $26^{\circ}38'$ north and longitudes $80^{\circ}01'$ and $92^{\circ}41'$ east. With a total area of 1,43,998 sq. km., the country is fenced by India on the West, north and the Northeast, Myanmar on the Southeast and the Bay of Bengal on the south. Strategically located Bangladesh is virtually a bridge between south and Southeast Asia. The country has a sub-tropical monsoon climate. While there are 6 seasons in a year, prominent among these are three- winter, summer, and monsoon. Winter is quite pleasant which begins in November and ends in February, while monsoon starts in June and ends in October. In Winter the minimum temperature fluctuates between 7.22°C to 12.77°C at the lower side of the mercury while at the higher side it fluctuates between 23.88°C and 29.44°C . The average rainfall varies between 127 cm and 152 cm in the west to 254 cm and 508 cm in the east, concentrated between April through May and August through September. Throughout the year humidity is high. During June and July the relative humidity across the country ranges from 84 to 90 percent. During September and October it ranges between 75 and 85 percent. In the cooler months of winter from November to February,

humidity is relatively low-below 70 percent. Weather in Bangladesh remains fair throughout the year permitting travel at all times.⁷

Although the origin of the configuration of the surface of the earth is yet to be explained with full confirmation, the 'Plate Technonics' theory of Alfred Wagner has a strong evidential logic to convince the scientists that the earth's surface configuration is the result of the movement of several solid drifting plates. About 194 to 136 million years ago the Indian portion of the Gondwana mass split away and moved towards north-east and collided with the Asian plate sometime about 54 to 38 million years ago which resulted in the upliftment of the Tibetan region and subduction of the northern part of the Indian plate. This created a sea named 'Tethy's' which accumulated huge amounts of sediment from the surrounding land mass and gradually gave birth to the Bengal basin.

Bangladesh is basically a flat land washed regularly by water whether it is rain or flood. This aspect is very important since the country's culture and economic base is agriculture. More than 90 percent of the total area is lowland, the alluvial gift of the several great river systems that traverse the country to reach the Bay of Bengal.⁸

Bangladesh has one of the most complex river systems in the world, numbering about 230 with their tributaries having a total length of about 24,140 km. A vast quantity of water flows through the rivers in Bangladesh. It is estimated that in an average year 870 million acre feet (MAF) of water flows in to the country through the rivers which mainly originate in India. Rivers in Bangladesh divide the country hydrologically, Brahma-putra-Jamuna, Ganges-Padma and Meghna and their numerous tributaries and distributaries, except for the Chittagong area which has a separate river pattern, have distinct drainage systems.⁹ In fact, Bangladesh is the largest riverine delta in the world. The extensive river systems are fundamental to the country's economy and the peoples way of life. Its low flat alluvial deltaic plains present an enchanting vista of vast verdant green fields sweeping the horizon.

Bangladesh has some of the world's most fertile agricultural land accounting for abundant growth of various crops. The total continental area of Bangladesh is 36.79 million acres of which approximately 34.25 million acres is land and the rest is inland water bodies. Despite its relatively small size, the country has a surprisingly large number of complex agro-ecological regions. This is due to the interaction of temperature and rainfall gradients with topography and normal flood levels. Bangladesh soils are usually divided in to three categories namely hill soils (Chittagong Hill Tracts and Sylhet), terrace soils (Barind and Madhupur Tracts) and alluvial and flood plain soils (rest of Bangladesh).

The tropical hot-humid climate with mild winters, abundance of monsoon rains, surface water in a delta region drained by mighty rivers and the alluvial rich soils make the country an

ideal place for a high degree of bio-diversity. It is said that one square kilometer of the mangrove forests (the Sundarbans) in Bangladesh contains greater bio-diversity than that of many countries taken together. Indeed, few regions in the world can match the rich and variegated flora and fauna of Bangladesh. This extra ordinary bio-diversity in Bangladesh is not only an unique biological phenomenon; it is also a great natural resource with far reaching implications for sustainable development.¹⁰

3.3 Demography

As per the Census of 1991 Bangladesh has a population of 111.5 million with an average density of 755 people per sq.km. It is the second largest Muslim country. Traditionally a land of communal harmony, followers of other religions enjoy full freedom of worship. According to the Census of 1991, the ethnic population of Bangladesh is 1.2 million, which constitutes 1.13%, of the country's total population. It is often argued by the researchers and anthropologists that practically the ethnic population might be more than the figure given in the census report. As per the Census report Table-3(1) indicates the distribution of the Ethnic communities of Bangladesh by population.

Table - 3(1) : Distribution of the Ethnic Communities of Bangladesh by Population Size and Geographical Areas

Ethnic Community	Population
Bawm (also spelt as Bum, Baum, Bam)	13471
Buna (found only in the 1991 Census Report)	7421
Chakma	252858
Garos (people prefer the name Mandi)	64280
Hajong	11540
Harizon (found only in the 1991 Census Report)	1132
Khami (also spelt as Khumi, Kami)	1241
Khasi (generally known as Khasia)	12280
Khyang (also spelt as Khyen)	2343
Koch (also spelt as Kots, Kuch, Coach)	16567
Lushai (also known as Kuki, Mizo)	662
Mahat (also known as Mahatu)	3534
Manipuri (also known as Meithei)	24882
Marma (also known as Mag, Mogh, Mug)	157301

Mro (also spelt as Mroo)	126
Mrong (also spelt as Murang, Mrung)	22178
Munda (also known as Mundari)	2132
Oraon (also spelt as Urang, Urao)	8216
Paharia (Also known as Pahary)	1853
Pankho (also spelt as Pangkhu, Pangkhua)	3227
Rajbansi (also spelt as Rajbongshi)	7556
Rakhaine (a branch of Marma)	16932
Sak (also spelt as Chak, Task, Thak)	2127
Santal (also spelt as Saontal)	202162
Tanchangya (a branch of Chakma)	21639
Tipra (also known as Tripuri, Tripura)	81014
Urua (found only in the 1991 Census Report)	5561
Other	261743
Total	1205978

Source : Census Report 1991, cited in Kibriaul Khaleque, 'Ethnic Communities of Bangladesh', published in the "Bangladesh Land Forest and Forest people", op.cit.p.10.

Kibriaul Khaleque in his article 'Ethnic Communities of Bangladesh' in the book "Bangladesh Land Forest and Forest people" op.cit., has pointed out clearly the prevailing ambiguity regarding Census on ethnic communities. As he opined the ethnic groups that constitute the branch or division of other major ethnic communities have been indicated in the above table by providing the name of the major ethnic group in parentheses at the end of the names of those ethnic communities. Information about the possible splitting of major ethnic communities in to branches and divisions was found in some of the available literature (see for example, Maloney 1984; Khan-1984).

The population data given in the 1991 Census Report for the ethnic groups Tipra and Tripura were added together and the sum was given as the population size of the Tipra in the Table-1, likewise, the data for the Bangshi and Rajbongshi were added together and their sum was given as the population size of Rajbansi.

It was further added in the opinion that the population data given in the 1991 Census Report under "Other" perhaps include the smaller sections or sub-divisions of some of the ethnic communities listed in the Table-1, as well as the ex-tribal groups mentioned in other sources. The name of ethnic groups found in other sources in addition to those listed in the Table are perhaps lumped together under "other" in the Census Report. These additional groups (cf. Maloney 1984) are: Banjogi (similar to Pankho and Kuki,) Dalu or Dulai or dalui (a section of

Garos, Hadis (a Hinduized group), Hos (a section of Munda), Kacharis or Kacaris (a Hinduized group), Mahlis (a sub-division of Santal), Mikirs (a Hinduized group), Paliyas (a branch of Rajbansis), Pathors (a Hinduized group), Pnar (a sub-division of Khasi), Riangs (a section of Tripura), and Shendus (a branch of Khamti).

The list of ethnic communities given by Maloney (1984) includes another 10 groups: Bades, Bhumalis, Bhuiyas, Ganghus, Jaliyas (Kaibarttas), Kukamars, Kurmis, Mahtos, Mallas (Mallos), Nama-sudras. It was opined by Kibriaul Khaleque that these groups are, in fact, ex-tribal groups. Maloney is aware of this fact, but he has included them in the list of tribes to identify the Indo-Aryan speaking small ethnic groups.

It is revealed from the Table-3(1) that a major portion of the ethnic population are the inhabitants of the CHT region.

3.4 Tourism Potentiality

The economy is mainly agrarian. Recently there is a spurt in industrialization with the utilisation of country's available natural resources and manpower. Trade and commerce are increasing and widening. Bangladesh is a repository of rich cultural heritage and tradition. Bangladeshis are essentially simple in nature. Since time immemorial they are noted for their valour and resilience as well as hospitality and friendliness. Bangladesh has a long tradition in the English language because of her colonial past. It is now regarded as a strong second language, and hence that gives Bangladesh an ample scope and distinct advantage in accommodation of international tourists. A year wise break-up of arrival of international tourists in Bangladesh by nationality is represented by Table-3(2).

Table - 3(2) : Arrival of Tourists in Bangladesh by nationality

Name of the Country	(Number)				
	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
India	42285	47349	46015	53007	61606
Australia	1536	1911	2076	2324	2652
Newzealand	467	457	520	492	588
Japan	5207	5749	5600	5716	6482
Singapore	1568	1712	1975	2257	2627
Thailand	1231	1486	1519	1522	1645
U.K.	15633	17332	31984	33463	28115
U.S.S.R	567	631	789	678	747
Germany F.R.	2234	2485	2460	2708	3111
Switzerland	525	655	657	701	749
France	1935	2084	2258	2299	2519
Sweden	1059	1591	1575	1584	1511
Netherlands	2234	2780	3279	3511	3784

Italy	1685	17301	1754	1527	1860
USA	8202	9735	10541	11039	12070
Canada	1879	2111	2325	2636	3053
Others	38538	40324	40904	40369	50812
Total	126785	140122	156231	165887	182420

Source : Bangladesh Parjatan Corporation (The National Tourism Corporation of Bangladesh) cited in Statistical Pocketbook Bangladesh 98, p. 262.

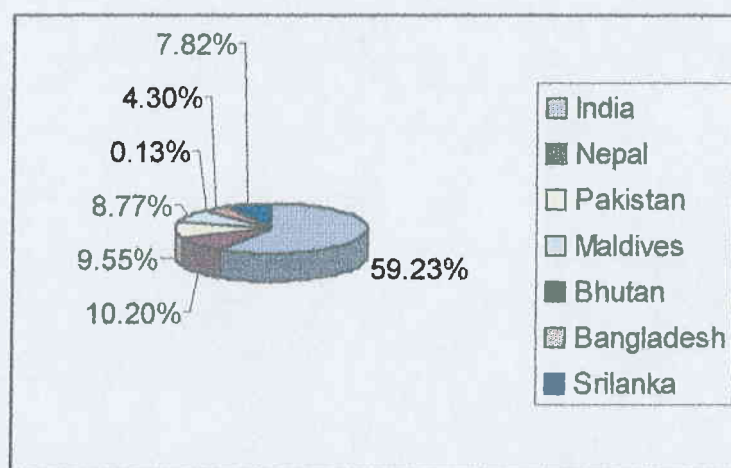
Bangladesh, is one of the few countries in South-East Asia that remains to be explored. Its true that Bangladesh is not a tourist haunt like Nepal, India, Pakistan, Maldives or Srilanka, but it has a delicate and distinctive attraction of its own to offer. It is like a painter's dream come true with a rich tapestry of colours and texture. The traditional emphasis of the tourist trade has always been on the material facilities offered by a country rather than on its actual charms. This may be reason why Bangladesh, has seldom been highlighted in the world's tourist maps.¹¹ More so, due to political unstability and periodical natural hazards and bad clamity, Bangladesh is suffering severely from its image problem. A statistics showing numeries of tourists arrival in SAARC countries in the year 1996 would reflect the comparative position of Bangladesh [Table-3(3) and Figure-3.1].

Table - 3(3) : Tourist arrival in the SAARC countries in 1996.

Countries	Nos. of tourist arrival
Bangladesh	1,66,000
Bhutan	5,000
India	22,88,000
Pakistan	3,69,000
Srilanka	3,02,000
Nepal	3,94,000
Maldives	3,39,000
Total	38,63,000

Source : World Tourism Organisation 1996, cited in Masumul Alam, "Bangladesh Parjatan Bikashman Samvabana (Flourishing potentiality of tourism in Bangladesh), Banglar Sambad, Year 10, Number 4 - 16 July 2000.

Figure - 3.1: Comparative position in percentage of tourist arrival in the SAARC countries in 1996



Bangladesh has a glorious past having an ancient civilization with remains of monuments, antiquities, historical artifacts, historical arts etc. A detailed study is needed on the archaeological and museum development of her past, that influenced the history, government, society, culture, tradition and above all the life style of the people. There also existed some important ancient territory which are significant from archaeological considerations. These are: Virat, Matsya, Kamrupa, Deva-Prastha, Pulinda Kaikya, Gauda, Harikeli, Tamralipi, Samatata, Vanga etc....

In Bangladesh, 282 archaeological monuments and archaeological sites have been protected by the Government of Bangladesh up to 1999 under the Archaeological Antiquities Act 1968. Moreover, there are about 82 museums of different types, such as Archaeological, Artistic, Geological, Zoological, Postal museum, Memorial museum, Historical museum, Folk-art museum, National museum, Natural History museum, Ethnological and Ethnographical museum, Archives museum, Coin museum, science museum, Botanical Gardens.etc.¹²

All of those museums can play an important role to attract and motivate potential tourists in Bangladesh. Some of the potential aspects are the panoramic beauty of the landscape, fascinating sun-set scenery behind the water of the sea or sun-bathing on the beaches of Cox's Bazar, pleasure cruise in the lakes, the mode of life and living of the tribal people far away from the modern civilization, unspoiled beauty of the villages and so on. Thus, it is revealed that Bangladesh has tremendous potentiality in the field of tourism and that could benefit the country.

3.5 Socio-Economic Condition

Bangladesh's population is largely rural with about 80 percent living in rural areas and agriculture sector employs around 69 percent of its labour force and produces, directly or indirectly, most of its exports. Over the last 28 years or so, agriculture has grown at 2.5 percent per annum, only barely above the population growth rate. Although the country experienced for the last three years with great hope for bumper production of food crops, but still it has to be continued for the next several years for its sustainability. Of course, three factors, namely expansion of acreage, increases in yield, and movement to higher value crops, have been the main reasons for growth in agriculture. However, due to the fact that almost all-arable land is now being cultivated, there is little scope for further increases in acreage under agricultural production. The primary source of recent growth in this area has been new seed, water and fertilizer technology. By the same token, future increases in growth of agriculture can only come from the further diffusion of new technology and from some marginal increases in cropping intensities in some areas.¹³ Indeed, the country has a largely agrarian economy and with a Gross National Product (GNP) of US\$ 360 per capita, is tenth lowest of countries with low income economics. Its GNP has grown by more or less 5 percent per annum during the period of last three years. Life expectancy at birth in 1999 was 57 years.

Land is the main productive asset in the rural areas and represents both economic and social status. Its distribution is highly skewed and, with economic growth in rural areas, the distribution is becoming more skewed. For example, in 1960, 51.6 percent of all land holdings were smallholdings less than 2.5 acres-whereas in 1977 they were 49.8 percent. The small holder farmers would, in the main be subsistence farmers; a minimum of 2.5 acres, with the normal average of 20 percent irrigation would only be just sufficient to sustain the average rural household. Accordingly, all these small holder farmers and, of course the landless, would not produce any agricultural surplus for marketing. In fact, at harvest time, some sell part of their harvest to cover their commitments to moneylenders, and later in the season must buy food for their own consumption. The small holders and the landless can only survive by paid employment or by non-agricultural crafts or petty trading activities.¹⁴

The share of the agriculture sector in overall growth declined from 44% in 1980-81 to 35% in 1993-94, while the share of manufacturing remained almost stationary at around 11%. The share of service sector in GDP registered an increase from 41% to 48%, account for 60% of the incremental growth in GDP between 1984 and 1994. These small structural changes are also reflected in the shifts in labour force between sectors during this period. Between 1981 and 1991 the employed population in agriculture grew by 1.36% per annum compared to 4.16% per annum for the employed population in non- agriculture, 2.53% per annum for the total labour force and 2.17% per annum growth for the population as a whole. The share of non-agriculture in the total

rural employed population rose from 29% to 34%. The rise in the share of non-agriculture was even higher for the rural female employed population. In other words, during the 1980s the non-agriculture sector grew at a faster rate and absorbed the incremental increase in the total labour force, which went primarily in to small manufacturing, trading and transport services.¹⁵ In rural Bangladesh as with other developing countries, the vast majority of travel and transport by rural residents are short trips, lightly if at all, loaded and carried out by walking. Their travel is mostly local and related to their subsistence farming or domestic activities. When they do use means other walking, they are normally limited to intermediate means of transport (IMT) such as bicycles, bullock carts, rickshaws or country boats.¹⁶

Though women constitute 49% of the population and hence no economic breakthrough is possible without their active participation in the productive fields the status of women in Bangladesh, like in many other developing countries, remained marginalised for a long time. It has been ascertained that only 15% of women force are now in active economic activities. The religious barriers, superstitious values and high rate of illiteracy attributed to their reluctance for independent economic activities. However, due to the changes in the life style and value judgement a change has started occurring and driving the women in the economic activities for their employment and income generation.

In Bangladesh the participation of women in the labour force during the last decade has been increasing at a faster pace than that of men [see Table:3(4)].

Table - 3(4) : Labour force participation rates by gender and residence

Year	Rural		Urban	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
1974 Census	5.8	73.7	4.0	80.0
1981 Census	5.0	79.0	6.8	74.8
1984-85 LFS	7.7	78.8	12.1	78.8
1989-LFS	7.3	82.5	29.0	72.7
1990-91 LFS	14.4	80.0	12.7	76.2

Source : Population Census and Labour Force Surveys conducted by the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics.

A large part of this movement can be attributed to the sectoral shift in the pattern of household income bases and to the continued persistence of widespread household poverty. Over the last one and a half decade there has been a visible movement in household income streams away from land-based agriculture to non-land based manufacturing, trading, service and labour selling, accompanied by a corresponding shift in employment.¹⁷

3.6 Environment

Bangladesh experiences an almost unique environmental situation being located on the two of the world's largest rivers, and in one of the great flood and storm hazard zones of the earth. While physical environmental problems merge imperceptibly in to development problems, the socio-economic development of the country has been constrained owing to pressures exerted on the total environmental system bringing in disharmony between resource development and utilization.¹⁸

Bangladesh is frequently defined by poverty, resource scarcity, over population, corruption and natural calamities. These are, of course, some conditions that need to be addressed in policy discussion for poverty eradication and overall progress of the country. But there are other factors beyond our boundaries building unavoidable conditions and threats which eventually stand in the way of environmental safety and sustainable development.¹⁹

The environmental issues and predicaments in Bangladesh as they are discussed to day are high sounding. However, the notion of environment as promoted by different interest groups, is often misleading. There is a tendency to establish that the initiatives to save environment are new ones. However, the people in agrarian Bangladesh are traditionally environment-friendly in the sense that they are still away from some to the adverse conditions created in the industrialized societies. Satisfied with little they still do not over-use the resource bases. Because most people in the rural areas are engaged with agricultural activities they naturally try to protect the land, soil and surroundings which are hardly recognized as environmental initiatives. This is why most environmental initiatives in Bangladesh are basically local ones, not adequately reported or known.²⁰

There is also a school of opinion that environmental problems in Bangladesh have almost reached crisis proportions, and that environmental problems seem to be merging imperceptibly in the development problems-a perspective necessitating a working knowledge of the environment that is felt would have a seminal influence on the proper planning of development and environmental management.²¹ It is indeed, because of its unique geography and location, environmental problems in Bangladesh have usually been complex and challenging.

The environmental programmes hardly got off to a start until the mid-80s. However, following the UN Stockholm Conference in 1972, the Government of Bangladesh initiated environmental programmes for the first time with the creation of the department of Pollution Control in 1974, and enacted the Pollution Control Ordinance in 1977. In 1989 the Ministry of Environment and Forestry was set up with the Dept. of Forest and a newly created dept. of Environment under it. Since inception the country has gradually involved with the worldwide

environmental programs and affiliated with most of the International forums/agencies. Bangladesh, as a gesture of her earnest sincerity and active participation has already signed and ratified or accessed a numbers of international environmental treaties, protocols and conventions. These are the following :

**Table - 3(5) : International Environmental Conventions, Treaties and Protocols
Signed, Ratified or Accessed by Bangladesh**

Convention/Treaty/Protocol related to environment	Date of Adoption/ Signature	Registration, Ratification, Accession(a), Succession(d)
International Plant Protection Convention, Rome, 1951		1 September 1978
International Convention for the Prevention of Pollution of the sea by oil, London, 1954 (As amended on 11 April 1962 and 21 October 1969)		28 December 1981
Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere: in Outer Space and under Water, Moscow, 1963	13 March 1985	
Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and use of outer space including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies, London, Moscow, Washington, 1967		14 January 1986 a
International Convention Relating to Intervention on the High Seas in Cases of Oil Pollution Casualities, Brussels, 1969.		4 February 1982
Convention on Wetlands of International Importance especially as Waterfowl Habitat, Ramsar, 1971 (Popularly known as Ramsar Convention)		20 April 1992
International convention on the establishment of an international fund for compensation for oil pollution damage (as amended) Brussels, 1971. Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxic Weapons, and on Their Destruction, London, Moscow, Washington, 1972.		13 March 1985

Convention concerning the Protection of the world Cultural and Natural Heritage, Paris, 1972		3 November 1983
Convention on International Trade in Endangered Spaces of Wild Fauna and Flora, Washington, 1973 (also known as CITES)	20 November 1981	18 February 1982
Convention on Early Notification of a Nuclear Accident, Vienna, 1986 (Entry into force: 7 February 1988)		7 January 1988
Convention on Assistance in the Case of a Nuclear Accident of Radiological Emergency, Vienna, 1986 (Entry into force : 7 February 88)		7 January 1988
Agreement on the network on Agriculture Centres in Asia and the Pacific, Bangkok, 1988		16 May 1990
International Convention on oil Pollution Preparedness, Response and Cooperation, London, 1990	30 November 1990	

Source : Ministry of Environment and Forest, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, cited in the web paze <http://www.un.int/bangladesh/env-treaties.htm>

Bangladesh has a land area of about 14.4 million hectares. And the forest land is estimated to be about 2.2 million hectares covering nearly 15% of the total land area of the country. There exists another 0.27 million hectare rural tree groves including home- stead forests consisting of an overall 17% land as the potential tree growing areas. Its forests are classified in to three categories, namely the Hill Forests, the Sal Forests and the Mangrove Forests. Almost 84% forests of the country exist in the eastern region (Hill forests) and in the south-western corner (Mangroves) in the interface of the sea and the land. The robust Sal forests exist in the districts of Gazipur, Tangail and Mymenshing. The Sal forests of Rangpur, Dinajpur and Rajshahi are in morbid condition. And vast flat land exception the above areas are almost lacking in forests.

The above facts reveal that the forest land of the country is far less than the required level and forests are unevenly distributed across the country. Now, even if we assume that the entire 15% land are full of forests, Yet it is too little to maintain an environmental balance all over the country. The FAO and the UNO suggests that any country should have forest-cover over its 25% areas and they are to be evenly distributed throughout the country. According to satellite studies, Bangladesh's forest-cover has been reduced from 24% in 1974 to only 6-8% in 1989. There are varying causes of depletion of forests-ranging from illegal encroachment and indiscriminate felling to clearing land for development activities, conversion of forest land in to crop land, etc. Therefore, a serious depletion of forests is taking place with the pushing of precious plants to

extinction; this will evidently lead to an utter imbalance in the environment together with hampering of biodiversity.²²

Bangladesh as a member of least developed countries has lot of constrains and limitations to uphold its holistic attitude towards environmental protection and sustainable development.

And since, the environmental impact of tourism has not yet been assessed so far, therefore, from the point of perspective view, eco-tourism potentiality and the urge for local community development should be considered as one of the most delicate issue and thus it deserves prior importance. Bangladesh as one of the highest densely populated country with having a fragile eco-system, while empirical experiences on land degradation, deforestation, desertification, loss of wetlands and natural hazards are not so favourable.

In view of the discussion on conceptual issues particularly related to environment, It is revealed that while physical environmental problems merge imperceptively in to development problems, the socio-economic development of the country has been constrained owing to inadvertent manipulation of the environment, bringing in disharmony between resource development and utilization, so vital for the economy. According to this concept, in case of Bangladesh an environmental inventory is needed which may indicate the environmental problems. Some parameters of resources and related environmental problems in Bangladesh are shown in the Table-3(6) which may be considered simple but distinctive. Thus Bangladesh represents a homogenous features with almost hetrogenus elements in respect to its soil, landscape, climate, riverine systems, forests, various natural hazards and man made environmental problems.

Table - 3(6) : Some Parameters of Resources and Related Environmental Problems in Bangladesh

A.	Human Resources Population growth Urban congestion Rural Involution	F.	Atmospheric Resources Nitrogen and Oxygen Carbon dioxide Inert gases Industrial waste gases Natural gases
B.	Land Resources Soil erosion from cultivated land Farm land deterioration Forest destruction Unplanned urban land use Uncoordinated rural land use	G.	Environmental Pollution Air pollution Freshwater (river) pollution Saline water pollution in the estuarine areas Marine pollution Domestic garbage (soil), Agricultural land and others.

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| <p>C. Quasi Natural Hazards
 Cyclone
 Drought
 Flood
 Endemic disease
 Fire</p> | <p>D. Technological hazards
 Auto and related transport
 Industrial accidents
 Occupational diseases</p> | <p>H. Other risks
 Agricultural chemicals
 Biological crop hazards
 Birds, insects vermin
 Wild life and livestock
 Micro parasites
 Conservation of wild life</p> |
| <p>E. Water Resources
 Industrial
 Sewage and human waste
 Water related diseases
 Productivity
 Ecology of fresh water fishes</p> | | |

Source : M. Aminul Islam, "Environment land Use And Natural Hazards in Bangladesh, pp. 49-50.

Empirical evidences which are commonly discussed, show that Bangladesh contains all sorts of environmental risk, its from air pollution to land erosion, similarly forest depletion to green house affect. Due to lack of proper and adequate awareness and for the low standard of living of the mass people felt less concern about environmental impact while deplorably the mass are the most affected. No doubt their maximum attention is captured by their food insecurity and struggle for the minimum means of livelihood. Hence, environment and environmental impact do not touch them in their mind up to the desired mark. They are so helpless that they can understand the issues to some extend, they perhaps guess its impact but circumstantially it is treated by them as semi-auxilliary issues which eventually hard to addressed at a very low rate.

Bangladesh, the country as a whole still bears an insignificant numbers of tourist each year in comparison to its potentiality. There fore, the question of tourists carrying capacity does not come in to fore front ever. The prevailing situations, rather demand more tourist promotional campaign to enhance and utilize the tourism potentiality up to the level of expectation. Institutional and infrastructural arrangements in this regard are highly needed which are to provided in a very planned way as per the demand of the actual necessity for sustainable development. There is no second thought that the mass people of this country badly need the alleviation of their poverty without further delay and they also need various meaningful way of means of their livelihood. It is revealed that the overall scenario of Bangladesh distinctly

indicates 'tourism' as a meaningful way of means of sustainable development without undermining the enormous potentiality of natural environment.

The Chittagong Hill Tracts

3.7 General

The Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) now comprising three districts, namely, Rangamati, Khagrachari and Banderban are situated between 21°25' and 23°45' North latitudes and between 91°45' and 92°50' east longitude. It has a total land area of 13,181 square kilometres. The area was named the "Hill Tracts of Chittagong" in the year 1860, when by the Act XXII of that year the hilly and forest tracts to the east of the Chittagong district were withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the civil, criminal and revenue courts and offices of the regulation district and placed under the control of Superintendent of the Hill Tracts directly under the supervision of the Commissioner (Head of the Administrative Division).²³ The region forms the south eastern boundary of Bangladesh in the south and east the CHT is bordered by Myanmar and in the east and north by India and in the west by the Chittagong district of Bangladesh.

The CHT region comprises seven main valleys formed by the Feni, Myani, Karnafuli, Chengi, Kassalong, Sangu and Matamuhuri rivers and their tributaries and distributaries, and numerous hills, ravines and cliffs covered with dense vegetation (trees, bush, creeper jungles etc.). The CHT region differs from the rest of Bangladesh in history, topography, ethnic composition, religion, culture and way of life. While the rest of the country is just a few metres above the sea level and flat, the CHT is completely different in geography, surface and soil conditions. Table-3(7) describes some general information regarding the CHT in comparison to Bangladesh.

3.8 Topography

The region has a varied topography with a number of hill ranges, river valleys and a large and unique lake. The region consists of a series of anticlinal ridges running parallel to one another and trending in a north-south to north-east direction. They are composed largely of consolidated sand-stone, sandy shales and shales of recent geological origin. There are irregular, rounded, continuous and isolated hills and hillocks spreaded all over the area. The altitude of northern hills ranges between 305-610 m and southern ones 457-884 m. These hills have mild to very steep surface often breaking or ending cliff. Recent alluvium occupies the valley floors.²⁴ Consequently there are smaller areas of flat land in the south. These are mostly in the Rainkheong, Sangu and Matamuhuri valleys, but most of them are less than half a mile wide. The river valleys are virtually the only flat lands in the region, and are located mainly in

Table - 3(7) : General Information regarding the CHT in comparison to Bangladesh

Sl. No.	Subject	Banderban Hill District	Rangamati Hill District	Khagrachhari Hill District	Total/Average CHTs.	Bangladesh
1.	Area in Square Kelometers	4479	6116	2700	13295	147570
2.	Population (in '000') (1998)	280	474	414	1168	126200
3.	Population Density (1998)	63	78	153	98	855
4.	Household (1991)	45682	75889	70891	192462	19397992
5.	House holdsize (1991)	5.0	5.3	4.8	5.03	5.6
6.	Upzilla	7	10	8	25	496
7.	Union	29	47	34	110	4451
8.	Mouza	93	136	127	356	59990
9.	Roofing (Rural) (Brick/Tin) (%)	14.1	23.6	40.9	26.2	76.5

Source : Data for 'Roofing' from MICS 1999, all other information taken from statistical Pocketbook, 1998, BBS, cited in "Progotir Pathay" on the Road to Progress Achieving the goals for children in Bangladesh, October 1999, published by UNICEF.

Note: MICS = Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey 1999 by UNICEF.

Khagrachari district. In Banderban the hill slopes are steeper, elevations are higher and the land is generally more rugged compared to the other two hill districts. Villages in CHT are typically scattered along hill sides. The scenery throughout the region is picturesque with alterations of hills and valleys covered with forests, bushes and vegetations. The Chittagong Hill Tracts region is marked, in contrast to other regions of Bangladesh, by its unique characteristics.

3.9 Climate

The climate of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, in almost common with the rest of Bangladesh, is tropical monsoonal with most of the rains occurring during the southwest monsoon in June and July. Total annual rainfall through the Hill Tracts varies generally between 2159 mm and 3000 mm, rising sometimes to 3800 mm. The climate may be characterized by four distinct periods alternating between dry weather and monsoon. The general rainfall pattern indicates a three-month period at the beginning of the year when there is little or no rainfall, followed by two months when rain becomes more frequent. This is followed by four months of the monsoon when rainfall is excessive, and a three-month spell when precipitation gradually declines in to the dry season. Sometimes there can be extended periods of drought from October to May also. In the average year, approximately 80 percent of the rainfall occur during May to September. Much of this rainfall comes in torrential downpours that erode the topsoils on the hills, but do not infiltrate the soil deeply. Rainfall during the seven-month drought period is not only very low, but also highly unreliable.

The maximum and minimum temperatures vary between 35⁰c-20⁰c. The maximum temperature is reached between March and April. In June, there is a marked fall in the temperatures, because monsoon rains. The minimum temperature is reached between December and January. High humidity during the months of June/July renders the heat particularly trying and exhausting. The prevalent wind during the rains and hot season is found to come from the south-west. In cold season this generally comes from the north. Beginning and end of monsoon is characterised by violent thunder storms and lightning. The following table represents the maximum and minimum temperature of Dhaka, Chittagong and Rangamati for the period of 1993-1997.

Table - 3(8) : Maximum and Minimum Temperature at Selected Centres (Celcius)

Centre	1993		1994		1995		1996		1997(p)	
	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.
Rangamati	36	7	34	12	36	12	30	20	32	11
Chittagong	37	10	33	14	33	13	31	22	33	14
Dhaka	37	7	34	13	36	11	32	22	34	12

Source : Meteorological Department, cited in Statistical Pocketbook Bangladesh 98, p. 92.

3.10 Demography

The last national population census was carried out in 1991 and recorded a population of 1.04 million in the three Hill Tracts districts. The estimated population of Rangamati District was 430,000 of Banderban 246,000 and of Khagrachari 365,000.²⁶ The official statistics show that just over 50% of the population of the CHT consist of tribal people belonging to 13 different ethnic groups (tribes).

Demographically little change is marked in the Chittagong Hill Tracts for the period from 1760 to the end of the 19th century. In 1760 the population was roughly estimated to be about 100,000. In the 1892 census, the population was returned as 107,286. Immigration restrictions and high mortality account for this stationary position. The percentage of population growth was increasing from the beginning of the twentieth century. It is estimated that of the total population of the picturesque jungle-land 4,98,595 are tribals and the remaining are plainsmen.²⁷ During the period 1901-91, the population of CHT increased 7.8 fold from 0.125 to 1.041 million, while during the same period Bangladesh population increased to only 3.7 fold. Average yearly rate of growth of the population of CHT during the period 1901-91 was 2.3% as compared to 1.5% of all Bangladesh.²⁸ The population density of the region has been steadily increasing since 1951 due largely to in-migration by plains Bangladeshis. Even then, the region is very sparsely populated compared to other areas of Bangladesh. The region has a population density of 78 persons/sq.km. as compared to 800 persons. sq.km. in the country as a whole. The hilly region are sparsely populated while there is a concentration of people in the valleys. However, if the fertility of the land is taken in to account, the availability of farmland per person in the Hill Tracts is less than elsewhere in Bangladesh.²⁹ Upazilawise area, household and population features of CHT, 1991 & 1997 are shown in the Table-3(9).

Table - 3(9) : Upazilawise area, household and population and rate of literacy of CHT, 1991 & 1997.

Zila/Upazila Name	Area in Sq. K.M.	Census 1991 (Enumerated)			1997 (Estimated)		
		H/Hold '000'	Male '000'	Female '000'	Male '000'	Female '000'	Literacy 7+Yrs.
Rangamati Zila	6116	76	220	181	261	216	54.4
Bagaichhari	1931	10	31	27	37	33	53.3
Barkal	761	5	16	12	19	14	45.3
Kawkhali	339	8	23	20	27	24	41.3
Bilaichhari	746	3	10	8	12	9	31.3
Kaptai	259	13	35	25	42	31	74.6
Jurachhari	606	2	6	6	7	6	34.9
Langadu	389	11	29	26	34	32	41.1
Nanierchar	394	6	18	16	21	19	50.6
Rajasthali	145	3	9	8	11	9	38.3
Rangamati Sadar	546	14	43	34	50	39	66.6

Khagrachhari Zila	2700	71	180	162	215	196	40.9
Dighinala	694	11	26	25	31	31	41.0
Khagrachhari Sador	298	12	33	28	39	35	52.5
Lakshmichhari	220	3	9	8	10	9	22.5
Mahalchhari	249	6	17	15	21	18	41.2
Manikchhari	168	8	20	18	24	21	31.7
Matiranga	495	15	38	34	46	42	37.5
Panchhari	334	6	14	13	16	15	39.3
Ramgarh	241	9	23	21	28	25	45.2
Bandarban Zila	4479	46	126	105	149	126	39.2
Ali Kadam	886	5	14	11	16	13	34.2
Bandarban Sador	502	10	28	22	33	26	51.3
Lama	672	14	35	30	42	37	35.0
Naikhongchhari	464	7	20	18	25	22	33.2
Rowangchhari	443	4	10	8	11	10	26.7
Ruma	492	4	10	9	12	10	45.8
Thanchi	1021	3	9	7	10	8	28.8

Source : Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, Statistics Division, Ministry of Planning, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, "Statistical Pocketbook of Bangladesh 1998", Published in June, 1999.

It is well known that corresponding to the geological division of the hills in to terrains of sometimes steep-sided hillocks and broad river valleys the ethnic groups have chosen different habitats. The Chakmas, Marmas and the Tripuras are valley-loving groups, while Khumi, Mro, Lushai, Bawm, Khyang, Pankhu, Tanchangya, Chaak, Murung and Riang are living on the ridges of the hills.

3.11 Ethnic Features

The tribals are short in stature with a distinctive Burmese, Thai or Mongolian appearance. Chakmas are known as Thek to the Burmese and Tui-Thik to the Kukis. The Chakma tribesmen are scattered through the CHT, but a majority of them live in Rangamati district. In 1901 there were 44,329 chakmas, but their number increased to 124,762 in 1951. Tangchangyas migrated from Arakan in 1881 during the period of Chief Dharam Baksh Khan and took up their abode on hill tops. The majority of the Moghs who prefer to call themselves Marma occupy Bandarban district. In 1901 the total strength of Marma was 31,900. In 1961 their number rose to 65,880, Tripuras came from Tripura State of India and settled in the alluvial river valleys of the northern hill tracts. The Bawm, a chin group, left the Chin hills in upper Burma sometime in the year 1800. The Mro and khumi, Chin groups too, had to leave their settlements on the kolanda due to the chin expansion in the early 19th century. The majority of them live still in northern Arakan.

The khyang came from the Chin Hills too. The Chhak migrated from upper Burma (Myanmar) and were settled by Arakanese kings in the areas of Akyab in the southern hill.³¹

Life of the tribal people in the CHT is extremely fascinating. Majority of them are Buddhists and the rest are Hindus, Christians and Animists. Despite the bondage of religion, elements of primitiveness is strongly displayed in their rites, rituals and everyday life. The women-folk are more hard-working than the males and they are main productive force.

The tribal people are extremely self-reliant, they grow their own food, their girls weave their own clothes and generally speaking, they live a simple life. Each tribe has its own dialect, distinctive dress and rites and rituals. The common feature is their way of life which still speak of their primitive past. "Jhoom cultivation" on the hilltops is their main occupation. Some of them take pride in hunting with bows and arrows. Tribal women are very skillful in making beautiful handicrafts. Tribal people are generally peace loving, honest and hospitable. They usually greet a tourist with a smile.³² In contrast, the recent trend among the young tribal man and women in the urban area is quite different. They are not at all primitive, rather, more fast and to some extent they are westernized in their way of life and thinking. Their aspiration, turnout and attitude show that they are now far away from their primitive life and culture. They are now predominantly accustomed with the modern way of life and in practical sense, it is very difficult to differentiate them from the young of the urban area in the plain except their physiological characteristics.

However, by and large, the hill tracts tribesmen are ethnically different from the settled populace in Bangladesh. They have closer links with Tribals of the vast region that extends from Tibet to Indo-China.

The Tribals live villages, very few of which have more than five hundred inhabitants. They have very fine houses which are made entirely of bamboo with a *manchan* (platform) floor raised some six feet above ground.

In front of the house is a verandah which is divided in to two by a mat partition for the use of the males and females respectively. In the front of the verandah is a big open space or raised platforms, used for various household purposes. Small compartments may be erected on this for the storage of grain, cotton or household effects, but as a rule the grain is stored away from the house for safety in case of fire.

A rough step-ladder gives access to this outer space and forms the entrance of the houses. This space will generally be enclosed with a bamboo wall three to four feet high to prevent small children from falling over. The back verandah of the house is also used for storage purposes, while the front is used by the men to sit in and for the women to weave in.³³

3.12 Soils, Land capability and Utilization

The type of soil in the CHT region varies from sandy-clay loam to clay formed by the process of oxidation, mineral weathering and erosion. The colour of the soil is strong brown to yellow brown (Brown Hill Soil). Out of eleven soil series identified in this region, the most extensive one is the kaptai silty-clay-loam which covers 67% of the area including its shallow phase. Hazaribak loamy-sand to sandy-loam and teiabil sandy-clay-loam, silty-clay-loam cover another 28.6%. Most of the remaining soils developed on alluvium materials particularly the Karnafully sandy-loam (1.3%) and Moghachari silty-clay-loam to silty-clay (2%)/.³⁴

Land

The CHT is predominantly agrarian area and most of the CHT people, especially the hill people, are directly or indirectly dependent on land for their livelihood. Thus land is absolutely vital factor to the economy of the CHT. Though the CHT covers almost 10% of the total land area of Bangladesh but practically arable land is quite limited in comparison to its total area and that is mainly due to the forest. Out of its total land area of 5093 sq. miles, national forests and lake cover 4652.96 sq. miles. The rest is only 440.04 sq. miles, which is actually the inhabitant area. According to Atiar Rahman³⁵ the following figure may clear the feature :

(a)	Centrally regulated forest area :	
(i)	Reserve forest north division	617.00 sq. miles
(ii)	Reserve forest south division	315.00 „ „
(iii)	Reserve Shankha forest area	128.25 „ „
(iv)	Reserve Matamuhuri forest area	160.71 „ „
		<hr/>
		Total reserve forest area = 1220.96 sq. miles
(v)	Unclassified forest	3166.00 sq. miles
		<hr/>
		Total forest area : 4386.96 sq. miles
(b)	Karnafuli Lake (Kaptai Lake)	256.00 sq. miles
(c)	Surface settlite centre; Betbunia, Hydro-electric centre, Kaptai and industrial area	10.00 sq. miles
		<hr/>
		Total forest protected area 4652.96 sq. miles
(d)	Local administratively inhabited area	440.04 sq. miles
		<hr/>
		Total area of CHT = 5093.00 sq. miles

Land Capability

In 1964, the (then) Government of Pakistan engaged a Canadian company, called 'Forestal Forestry and Engineering International Limited'-and Forestal in short-to survey the soil and topography of the land surface of the CHT. The survey found that, because of the steep slopes and other natural conditions, most of the CHT soil was very poor indeed. The Forestal Report estimated that only 3.2% of the CHT land (about 104,304.64 acres), graded as class "A" land, was suitable for all purpose agriculture. The next graded class "B" lands accounted for about 2.9% of the CHT land (94,526.08 acres) and were found suitable for terraced agriculture in part and fruit gardening (horticulture) in part. Then came the class "C" lands which accounted for 15.5 % or 505,225.60 acres and were found suitable mostly for horticulture and partly for afforestation. The following grade, "C-D" accounted for 1.4% or 45,633.28 acres, and was found suitable ideally for afforestation but was said to be satisfactory also for horticulture after terracing the slopes. Finally, there were the Class "D" lands which constituted 77% of the CHT or 2,509,830.40 acres which were found suitable only for afforestation. In short, the Forestal experts warned that the area of land available for economically sound uses was very scarce indeed and recommended that the uncultivated hillside lands should be used extensively and in a planned manner for fruit gardening and afforestation.³⁶

Land Utilization

On account of topographical and soil conditions, land suitable for intensive agricultural field cropping is extremely scarce. The statistical evident reveal that the land available for cultivation during 1975-76 to 1985-86 is around 5 percent. [see table-3(10)].

Table – 3(10) : Land Utilization Statistics (acres)

Items	CHT			Bangladesh		
	1975-76	1980-81	1985-86	1975-76	1980-81	1985-86
Total area	32,59,520 (100.00)	32,59,520 (100.00)	32,71,000 (100.00)	3,52,80,640 (100.00)	3,53,08,640 (100.00)	3,57,85,000 (100.00)
Not available for cultivation	91,560 (2.8)	1,11,060 (3.4)	2,83,000 (0.9)	66,21,062 (18.8)	67,12,062 (19.0)	72,20,000 (22.2)
Forest	29,69,037 (91.09)	29,10,858 (89.3)	26,91,000 (82.3)	54,37,730 (15.4)	54,16,075 (15.3)	52,37,000 (14.6)
Cultivable waste	13,850 (0.4)	29,467 (0.9)	52,000 (1.6)	6,61,599 (1.9)	6,18,556 (1.8)	6,70,000 (1.9)
Current	9,751	31,207	64,000	15,91,442	14,03,624	9,97,000

Fallow	(0.3)	(1.0)	(2.0)	(4.5)	(4.0)	(2.8)
Net Cropped Area	1,75,322 (5.4)	1,76,928 (5.4)	1,91,000 (5.8)	2,09,68,187 (59.4)	2,11,57,483 (59.9)	2,16,61,000 (60.5)
- Single Crop	86,266 (2.6)	1,21,924 (3.7)	1,51,000 (4.6)	1,22,50,399 (34.7)	1,14,56,215 (32.4)	1,15,16,000 (32.2)
- Double Crop	81,991 (2.5)	48,462 (1.5)	34,000 (1.0)	72,69,168 (20.6)	80,40,214 (22.8)	84,92,000 (23.7)
- Tripple Crop	9,065 (0.3)	6,542 (0.2)	6,000 (0.2)	14,48,620 (4.1)	16,61,414 (4.7)	16,53,000 (4.6)

Source : Statistical yearbook, 1990, cited in Salehuddin Ahmed and Shafiqur Rahman, "Access to Land: Perspective and issues in Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh", op.cit., p.4

The followings table shows the distribution of farm & non-farm households by district in the CHT area with a comparison to Bangladesh.

Table - 3(11) : Distribution of farm & non-farm households by district 1996

Name of district	Total Holdings	Non-Farm Households	Numbers of Farm holdings			
			Total	Small	Medium	Large
Banderban	45705	11215	34490	16360	15435	2695
Rangamati	69640	17675	51965	22550	24310	5105
Khagrachari	72855	19904	52951	32438	18179	2332
Bangladesh (as a whole in the country)	17828191	6029948	11798243	9422779	2077784	297681

Source : The Bangladesh Census of Agriculture (rural), 1996, BBS cited in Statistical pocket book Bangladesh 98, P.P. 198-199.

From the table, it is also revealed that the land not used during 1975-76 and 1980-81, are being used currently but the current fallow and culturable waste land are also increasing. Most of the land are used for single crop, mainly paddy. Although forests are the natural vegetation of CHT, unrestricted cutting and shifting cultivation have reduced the forest area from 91.09 percent in 1975-76 to 82.3 percent in 1985-86 (Appraisal report, ADB, 1979). Actually the forest area is far less than quoted here. Some of the reports showed that the percentage of forest area would not be more than 25 percent.³⁷ The high hill ranges are mostly under scrub high grass and scattered trees. In the CHT area, the crops include premonsoon highland rice (*Oryza satira*), Mize (*Zea mays* L.), ginger (*Zingiber officinale*), Turmeric (*Curcuma domestica*), Vegetables,

Banana (*Musa sepientum*), hill cotton (*Gossypium arboreum*), Sesame (*Sesamum indicum*), Ariods (*Colocasia antiquorum*) etc. Tea (*Camellia thea*) is grown on some deep soils having steep to rolling topography... Pineapple is cultivated on some hills be clearing the forest and planting along the slope.³⁸ The area and production of different crops cultivated in three hill districts in the year 1990-91 are to be seen in the Table-3(12). Distribution of major cropped area, operated homestead, cultivated, cropped & irrigated area; owner, tenancy, landlessness & agricultural labor holding; holding reporting of livestock and poultry birds & their numbers by district and distribution of number reporting of livestock and poultry by Upazila and District are represented by Table number - 3(13), 3(14), 3(15), 3(16) and 3(17) respectively.

Table - 3(12) : The area and production of different crops cultivated in three hill districts in the year 1990-91.

Name of crops		Name of districts					
		Bandarban		Khagrachari		Rangamati	
		Area (ha.)	Production (t)	Area (ha.)	Production (t)	Area (ha.)	Production (t)
1.	Rice						
	a. Aus	9,716	10,514	5,079	9,345	6,181	11,672
	b. Aman	8,137	19,550	16,795	43,140	9,304	22,582
	c. Boro	3,011	7,692	4,694	11,600	6,709	9,629
2.	Maize	133	1,155	45	138	400	791
3.	Sugarcane	172	8,500	188	6,742	909	4,280
4.	Wheet	-	-	16	30	17	27
5.	Potato	688	11,215	190	2,260	176	1,770
6.	Oil seeds	1,417	1,414	648	380	263	191
7.	Pulses	386	649	126	112	171	147
8.	Jackfruit	1,708	27,039	1,647	41,175	2,668	179,445
9.	Mango	1,072	1,789	100	1,500	947	6,458
10.	Banana	3,989	75,791	1,615	37,950	4,105	78,989
11.	Pineapple	1,704	18,744	2,225	53,400	1,387	22,331
12.	Papaya	447	9,387	165	4,125	405	9,290
13.	Guava	296	3,433	105	1,260	889	975
14.	Litchi	117	936	72	792	987	2,095
15.	Lemon	1,182	22,458	78	1,560	891	21,097
16.	Kakrol	-	-	89	1,070	1,700	8,517
17.	Winter Vegetables	1,174	21,750	1,255	10,850	738	4,560
18.	Summar Vegetables	1,315	11,375	1,058	9,100	1,399	1,884

Source : Department of Agricultural Extension, Bandarban, Khagrachari and Rangamati, cited in M.S. Uddin and M.C. Saha, op.cit.,

Table - 3(13) : Distribution of major cropped area by district

(Area in acres)

Name of district	Cross Cropped area	Area under Aus (Local)	Area under Aus (HYV)	Area under Aman (Local)	Area under Aman (HYV)	Area under Boro	Area under Wheat	Area under Jute
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Banderban	101305	31936	4922	9741	11797	11287	11	207
Rangamati	200429	33884	5069	9473	16404	22685	118	926
Khagrachari	93815	11147	12192	10230	28607	16012	66	66
Bangladesh (as a whole)	28616451	3156748	991867	6036661	4510985	6136817	1521989	1304050

Source : The Bangladesh Census of Agriculture (rural), 1996, BBS
cited in Statistical pocketbook Bangladesh 98, pp. 204-205.

Table – 3(14) : District wise operated, homestead, cultivated, cropped & Irrigated area.

Name of district	Owned area	operated area	Homestead area	Net cultivated area	Temporary cropped area	Irrigated area
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Banderban	106851	124700	6150	91749	66443	15703
Rangamati	166190	194615	7173	136186	86658	16192
Khagrachari	141338	149487	7050	95269	59744	14674
Bangladesh (as a whole)	20333332	20484559	1318405	17771341	16450530	8586226

Source : The Bangladesh Census of Agriculture (rural), 1996, BBS.
cited in Statistical pocketbook Bangladesh 98, pp. 202-203.

Table - 3(15) : District wise owner, tenancy, Landlessness & agricultural labor holding

Name of district	Owner Holdings	Owner-cum-tenant holdings	Tenant holdings	Holdings with no own land	Holding reporting cottage industry	Agriculture labour house holds
Banderban	29795	6885	9025	9025	2065	14175
Rangamati	34920	13225	21495	21495	1533	17345
Khagrachari	39642	16956	16256	16256	1495	21832
Bangladesh (as a whole)	11807547	4206077	1814577	1814571	464226	6401430

Source : The Bangladesh Census of Agriculture (rural), 1996, BBS, cited in Statistical pocketbook Bangladesh 98, pp. 200-201

**Table - 3(16) : Distribution of holding reporting of livestock
and poultry birds & their numbers by district**

Name of district	No. of Cattle & Buffalo		No. of goat & Sheep		No. of fowls & ducks	
	Holding reporting	Number	Holding reporting	Number	Holding reporting	Number
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Banderban	23105	92085	15275	50550	44910	461140
Rangamati	28730	110000	23725	86655	61780	692225
Khagrachari	32587	119348	22509	81259	65000	640703
Bangladesh (as a whole)	8441522	22294904	6088085	14609783	20610245	126667861

*Source : The Bangladesh Census of Agriculture (rural), 1996, BBS
cited in Statistical pocketbook Bangladesh 98, pp. 206-207.*

**Table - 3(17) : Distribution of number reporting of livestock
and poultry birds by Upzila and District**

Sl. No.	Name of the Upazila and District	Cow	Buffalo	Goat	Ducks	Fowls	Pig	Sheep
	Banderban Hill District	1,12,480	13,035	18,154	23,739	3,12,393	13,412	579
1	Banderban Sadar	26,124	23,050	2,568	10,300	1,00,023	5,259	527
2	Lama	23,698	6,094	2,867	2,452	48,262	493	87
3	Alikadom	16,728	2,515	1,763	6,573	45,601	240	367
4	Nikhonchari	23,947	805	2,356	2,203	49,897	485	272
5	Ruma	8,559	395	2,331	908	33,287	973	90
6	Rowanchari	17,855	398	3,412	721	16,625	3,837	82
7	Thanchi	11,569	523	2,857	582	18,698	2,125	154
	Rangamati Hill District	1,21,876	38,299	43,393	66,133	4,78,835	42,686	738
1	Rangamatui Sadar	21,500	1,500	7,500	3,500	50,555	7,500	150
2	Kawkhali	43,000	1,600	6,300	1,200	60,900	5,800	105
3	Naniarchar	1,800	1,600	3,140	5,840	30,500	3,200	-
4	Barkol	7,600	1,433	5,802	3,111	30,210	5,321	122
5	Zurachari	4,810	1,812	4,000	2,055	12,510	5,120	-
6	Langadu	7,217	2,220	6,515	1,885	50,992	5,322	55
7	Baghaichari	2,359	3,122	4,876	40,121	1,22,197	3,125	172
8	Kaptai	15,176	9,116	3,212	2,010	56,756	4,186	134
9	Rajostholi	10,522	8,012	1,536	3,200	30,240	1,100	-
10	Bilaichari	7,892	7,884	512	3,211	33,975	2,012	-
	Khagrachari Hill District	1,45,060	17,150	97,300	18,550	3,85,000	36,050	-
1	Khagrachari Sadar	24,000	3,750	16,000	3,000	62,000	8,500	-
2	Mohalchari	12,000	3,600	8,300	3,700	40,000	2,000	-
3	Dighinala	23,000	3,500	15,000	3,500	61,000	8,000	-
4	Panchari	17,050	2,500	13,000	2,000	50,000	5,550	-

5	Ramgarh	20,000	300	10,000	1,350	50,500	3,000	-
6	Matiranga	30,000	4,200	22,000	2,500	70,000	6,000	-
7	Manikchari	13,000	200	7,000	1,300	35,000	2,000	-
8	Laxmichari	7,000	100	6,000	1,200	25,000	1,000	-

Source : The Bangladesh Census of Agriculture (rural), 1983, cited in the report of the Inter ministerial committee, March 1991 regarding feasibility study on socio-economic development of the inhabitants of the cluster villages in the CHT area, President Secretariat, Special Affairs (welfare) Division, Dhaka, Bangladesh, pp. 54-57.

N.B. The figure may be more lesser now due to unrest, over last two decades in the CHT area.

As with the legal system, the pattern of land use in the CHT is also significantly different from that in the rest of the country. Whilst in the plains districts, most of the arable lands may be used for sedentary plough cultivation with irrigation to produce more than one harvest a year, only very small percentage of lands in the CHT may be profitably utilised for such cultivation. The bulk of the CHT lands are suitable only for horticulture or forestry in addition to the traditional swidden or 'slash-and-burn' cultivation known locally as jum (jhum).³⁹

Jhum Cultivation

Jhum cultivation is a century old community based agricultural activity of the tribal peoples of the CHT area. It is the typical one of shifting cultivation. It is declining gradually, though a good number of the tribals are still involve in the practice of Jhum cultivation.

The essentials of Jhum Cultivation are the clearing and burning of surface vegetation before planting mixed crops of rice, millet, sesame, maize, vegetables and cotton. The mixed nature of cropping ensures a supply of food for most of the year. At the end of an annual cycle the land is left to revert to scrub and the cultivators move on.

For centuries Jhum Cultivation worked effectively. There was no serious deterioration of the soil and the plots lay fallow for at least seven years. This allowed regeneration of the soil and natural growth of the forest. Fallow periods are essential to Jhuming, which is ecologically unarmful, but which also demands large areas per family as only part of the land is under cultivation at any one time. If either the population increases or the land decreases shifting cultivation is no longer viable.⁴⁰

In the CHT region good arable land is only about 5% and thus Jhuming is practiced on all land types outside reserve forests. At present about 16,000 hectares of land areas are under Jhum cultivation... The crop seeds are sown after the first rains in April. A broad blade knife commonly known as 'Dao' is used to sow the seeds. Small holes are made through out the field by the 'Dao' and a mixture of crops seeds are placed in it. The main crops grown in Jhums are

hill rice, maize, millet (*Seteria italica*), sesame, cucumber (*Cucumis sativus*), Pumpkin (*Cacurbita moschata*), Melon (*Cucumis melo*), Cowpea (*Vigna sinensis*), Hill cotton and spices like ginger, turmeric etc. Very little weeding or tending is carried out except in some cases to provide protection against the degradations of wild animals and birds. The crops are harvested in succession as they ripen between July to December. The same plot may be used for second years and then abandoned it. Jhuming enhances soil erosion and fertility depletion. As a result, crop yield are becoming lower enough to sustain a Jhuming family in a limited area. It is thought that Jhuming cycle in 1900 was 15-20 years and in 1961 the cycle was as long as 8-10 years. Displacement of 18,000 families and submerging of 40% of the best agricultural land of these hills in the Karnaphully lake of the Kaptai Dam exerts extra pressure on Jhuming cycle. Population pressure increased in the past two decades in these hills, forcing tribal farmers to reduce fallow period from a normal 8-10 years to just 3-4 years or less. Due to shorter fallow cycles of Jhuming, the botanical composition and climax community seems to be changing in this region. Generally what one could observe are communities dominated by bush lands and tall grasses. In the absence to trees, sungrass and Eupatorium sun loving species are now dominating in serval areas.⁴¹

There is an argument that the fire that burns the dried vegetation also burns the soil to the depth of an inch or two and destroys the organic matter content that may exist in the surface soil. It is also argued that it returns mineral matter to the soil in a form, which can be easily assimilated by the crops to be planted. Jhum cultivation is often criticized for eroding land, replacing the forest-cover by weeds and silting up of the rivers and lake and ultimately declining crop yield.

The major studies for designing development initiatives in the CHT such as the Chittagong Hill Tracts Development Project by the Asian Development bank and the soil and land use Survey by the Forestal Forestry and International Limited proposed that the Jhum or shifting cultivation be severely restricted and be replaced by permanent mode of cultivation.⁴² The Canadian Forestal team in their report, concluded as follows :

“that the age-old practice of shifting cultivation, attuned as it may have been in the past to the environment, can no longer be tolerated. ... A change to a system of permanent intensive agriculture must be made wherever possible, and the fertility of the soil will have to be maintained through better farming methods and greater input of fertilizer... the optimum land use on all but a small portion should be the production of fast growing tree species and bamboo... More of the Hill Tribesmen will have to become wage earners in the forests or other developing industries, and purchase their food from farmers practicing permanent agriculture on an intensive basis on the limited better land classes. Thus, the need to find suitable alternatives to Jhuming has been further enhanced.”⁴³

The Chief of Chakma Circle, Raja Devasish Roy, Bar-at-law opined that the hill people of the CHT have depended upon Jhum cultivation for their livelihood for many centuries now. This, however, did not find favour with the British colonial government because revenue earnings from jum were much lower than that for more intensive plough cultivation. Also, with jum cultivation, the population tended to be quite dispersed, and hence, not quite as advantageous for administrative purposes as in the case of concentrated blocks of people living in plough-cultivated regions. Therefore, the British were keen to make the hill people take up plough cultivation in lieu of Jhum cultivation.

Although the transition was not easy, by the end of the last century the Government's moves to encourage plough cultivation among the hill people were quite successful and almost all the available flat lands in the CHT were under the plough. Even so, because of the scarcity of such lands, the traditional jum cultivation, remained indispensable and still played a vital role in the CHT economy.⁴⁴

Plough cultivation

From the last quarter of the 19th century plough cultivation began to penetrate as new element in to the style of agricultural production in the CHT, thereby creating a kind of dual economy-Jhum versus plough. Economically the tribals made a revolution when they first shifted from food gathering practices to cultivation. The introduction of the plough may be called their second revolution. The greatest impediments to the growth of the plough economy among the tribal communities were the marketing difficulties of the surplus agricultural products. Jhum did not require any elaborate market, because it was fundamentally practised as subsistence level. Borrowing and bartering were the supporting pillars of the Jhum economy. But difficulties arose when the plough cultivation began to yield surplus agricultural products. They had no market mechanism to dispose of their produces profitably. Taking advantage of the situation the middlemen introduced the market mechanism along with plough cultivation in the CHT.⁴⁵

Land degradation

Land degradation on hilly regions of Bangladesh is caused due to over exploitation of the forest. This is a concern for several reasons. Land degradation may cause low water yield, poor water quality, reduce productivity and prelude ameliorating these affects so that some kinds of degradation may tend to be long lasting.⁴⁶ Land degradation by soil erosion depends on land configuration, vegetative cover and the rainfall intensity.

Hilly region of Bangladesh is either covered by commercial forests or by weeds and savannas. Erosion on this land may be catastrophic on steep stopes, exposures of road cut, clear felled and cultivated (shifting and permanent) areas.

The frequent changes in lithology on hills of Bangladesh from sandstone to shale, and the close dissection of the hills provided the landscape a complex geomorphological pattern...

The hills of Bangladesh have very complex slope and drainage patterns. The land is, therefore, subjected to sheet, rill and gully erosion. Under forests erosion hazard may not be catastrophic. But in places the natural vegetation is thoroughly disturbed either by poor management or by over exploitation....

Heavy erosion is also observed in rubber plantations, clear felled reserve forests, Jhums, resettlement areas, pineapple plantations, teak plantations and road construction sites. Topsoils in some of these places has been completely removed by sheet, rill and gully erosion.⁴⁷

In context of CHT area, it is often discussed that due to unnatural over exploitation of forests timber and firewood the forest land are gradually becoming denuded and thus land degradation and soil erosion is occurring in a alarming nature.

3.13 Economy

The CHT has a predominantly agricultural economy. Its topography and climatic conditions only make it imperative that the people would have to fall back upon agriculture for their livelihood. Only a small percentage of the population is engaged in business, trade, professions and government services. Owing to the subsistence economy, the tribal people, apart from cultivation, are involved in other productive activities to meet their basic needs of life other than those connected with food.⁴⁸ The CHT region is currently not self-sufficient in food but a nett importer. Side by side a notable portion of people, especially the Bengali settlers who are inhabitants in cluster villages in the CHT area, they are partially dependent on Govt. food relief. About 26000 families in the cluster villages are getting nearly 1 (one) m.t. food grain per annum for each family. Repatriated tribal families are also getting similar facilities to some extent.

The source of livelihood of the major portion people in the CHT region is really very primitive as well as very limited and scarce. The growth of industrialization is quite insignificant. Due to unrest over last two and half decades in the area, all possible economic potentialities have hampered miserably.

It is estimated that 75-80% of rural household remain below the poverty line, measured as an intake of less than 2,122 calories per day, and it is suggested that this stems from the increasing population pressure on fragile and marginal land. There are less than 55,000 acres of padi and over 50% of rural households' farm less than a quarter of a hectare. Efforts to encourage

rural residents to engage in income generating activities such as craftwork and rural road maintenance appear to be meeting with some success.

People living in remote areas and not yet accessible to existing public services, newly returned refugees and internally displaced people, members of the smaller tribes and destitute women are considered as particularly disadvantaged; such groups may require special attention in the design of development projects to ensure equitable distribution in benefits.⁴⁹

Though the majority people of CHT region, irrespective of tribal and non-tribal are very poor but the contribution of this area to the national economy is of significance. There is no denial that CHT has enormous economic potentiality, which is almost yet to explore.

The CHT contributes about 2.86 percent to the country's GDP. About half of the country's natural forests are located in Hill Tracts. A major part of the country's timber requirement is met from these forests. Being the home of tropical rain forests, it has special significance regarding biological diversity of the country. Many important flora and fauna species of ecological significance are located here. The country's lone hydro-electric power station is located in the Hill Tracts. The fishes of the kaptai lake is one of the major sources of sweet water fish in Bangladesh. The Hill Tracts is the source of different fruits for the country. Rubber plantations established in Hill Tracts have started producing raw rubber. Besides, handicrafts and hand woven clothes produced in the area are in high demand in the country.⁵⁰

It is often argued that the establishment of Kaptai Hydro-electric project in the early sixties forced the major portion of tribal people in to the miserable life. They had to be displaced from their homestead and cultivable land without any proper compensation. The erection of Karnaphuli reservoir for Kaptai hydropower dam in the CHT uprooted about 100,000 people—mostly-chakma—which accounted for more than a quarter of the total population of the CHT and inundated more than 54,000 acres of 40 percent of the best ploughlands of the CHT region.⁵¹ Some 40,000 of those displaced left for India and today live in Arunachal Pradesh. They have never gained citizenship for themselves or for their children born in India.⁵² The evaluation of Prof. M. I. Chowdhury, an eminent expert on water and flood control is remarkable. He argued as follows :

“ Before the dam was constructed a thorough study of the area likely to be submerged by water, was made. But as the survey sheets, which were available, were not accurate and reliable, it misled the engineers. Therefore, after the dam was constructed and water held, it was found that about double the area was submerged than calculated.

Moreover, after the lapse of a period of time, it was found that more area of rich tropical forest were affected by capillary water. And the area thus affected was considerable...

Along the river vallies-Myni, Kasalong, and Karnafully, a large tract of agricultural land was also submerged. The settlements of the tribal people, Chakma, Murung, Kokis, Tipras etc. were badly disturbed and they migrated to other places and resettled.⁵³

The creation of Kaptai dam displaced 18,000 families (about 100,000 people) or approximately 20% of the entire population of CHT in 1961. About 10,000 families who previously occupied the lowlands were resettled in a rehabilitation area near Marishya on the Kassalong River adjoining a reserved forest. The remaining 8,000 families who had been practicing jhum cultivation previously were not allocated land, and had to shift the location of their jhum to poorer land upslope with consequent land deterioration.⁵⁴ Thus, Kaptai Hydro-electric project has erected a certain influence on CHT's economy.

In Chittagong Hill Tracts in 1991, the main source of household income was agriculture (61.6%), while the remaining sources were non-agricultural activities (38.4%). Major components of income source from agriculture were agricultural crop (40.8%), followed by agricultural labour (16.4%), forestry (3.0%) and livestock and fishing (1.3%). The major sources of non-agricultural income were employment (10.5%), business (8.1%), industry (2.0%) and other (8.7%).⁵⁵

It is revealed from the analysis of various economic indicators, papers and also from practical observation that the people of CHT are in crying need of off-farm employment opportunity like tourism, etc. It is estimated that about 15% of the CHT tribal families are predominantly shifting cultivators and have little or no farm land. The Asian Development Bank (ADB) survey in 1978 in three northern valleys showed that the shifting cultivators fall under the lowest 25 percent in Bangladesh having a per capita income below US\$ 45.00. The survey also revealed that although agriculture dominated the economy, on average, only about one-third of the family labour was occupied in farm work.

3.14 Education

The CHT has a higher literacy rate than the rest of Bangladesh. This is mainly the result of the exceptionally high rate among Chakmas which is said to be between 40 and 60 percent as against 12 to 18 percent for the Bengalis in the CHT...

The high literacy rate among Chakmas and others has to do with the importance placed on scriptural knowledge in Buddhist cultures. Traditionally every village had its monastery based education and teachers were held in high regard. This background explains why hill peoples have shown an early interest in modern education...

The Christian groups, such as the Bawm and Pankhua in Banderban District, also place great importance on education. They have established schools and hostels with funds from Church organizations such as the CCDB (Christian Council for Development of Bangladesh) and World Vision. The students who get their education through these programmes are encouraged to preach the Gospel among their people and do community work.⁵⁶

Some positive steps have been taken by the Government with a view to improving the situation in CHT. These steps include reservation of quota for higher education, construction of hostels for tribal students at Rangamati, Banderban and Khagrachari and stipends or scholarships for the financially handicapped students.

The number of colleges in the region is now 7 against 1 in 1965. There are 12 government secondary schools in the CHT as against 1 in 1974 and 5 in 1976. Over 1000 primary schools are functioning in the three hill districts whereas in 1947 the number was only two.⁵⁷

Although the ratio of children per primary school in the Hill Tracts is slightly more than the child/primary school ratio for Bangladesh as a whole, this gross statistics conceals a problem of accessibility. Villages in the Hill Tracts are generally scattered along hill sides, and for many children, the nearest school can be 10 kilometers of hilly track from home. As a result, these schools have low enrolment rates and very high drop out rates. In 1991, the official enrolment rate of primary school age children was 66%...

As in other parts of Bangladesh, the schools lack basic amenities including furniture and teaching materials, and both teachers and supervisors are in short supply.

The non-formal education programmes that have begun to proliferate in Bangladesh are not yet available in the Hill Tracts. The UNICEF-supported 'Integrated Community Development Programme' has initiated 12 pre-school education centers on a pilot basis, and during the current planning period these will be extended to other moujas. Based on current information, it appears that these pre-schools make an important contribution to increasing the enrolment of children in primary schools, and in encouraging them to complete their schooling.⁵⁸

It is commonly opined that after the completion of the Kaptai dam the hill people realised that there was no other way for them to survive other than by education to make up for their loss

of land. There is no doubt that the educational institutions-both primary and secondary-have not been adequately maintained during the period of conflict. After the peace accord, practical observation shows that recent trend in education is almost positive and enthusiastic. Table-3(18) shows a comparative picture of education in the CHT area in comparison to other areas of Bangladesh.

3.15 Health and Sanitation

A large majority of people live outside the reach of Government health facilities, for although there has been a substantial expansion of the health infrastructure, these facilities are largely concentrated in urban areas, which are practically difficult to reach for many villagers. Moreover, it has proven difficult for the health facilities to maintain their full complement of medical personnel in these areas which are considered so remote.

Traditional health for many Hill People is based on herbal medicine and charms. Among major reasons given for not using the medical facilities, distance and inaccessibility rank first, followed by expense of medicine and transport.

Major diseases prevalent in the Hill Tracts region are malaria, diarrhoea, scabies, and acute respiratory infection. Facilities provided in the Health Complex and sub-centers are based on curative rather than preventive care. There is need for health care in this area to be concentrated on preventive measures.⁵⁹

In the CHT area, malaria is one of the main causes of death, unlike other parts of Bangladesh. The CHT is an area in which cerebral malaria is rife. The health of inhabitants of cluster villages is supposed to worse than that of people in other villages. The Chittagong Hill Tracts Commission opined that these people of cluster villages have little or no access to land for cultivation and therefore depend almost completely on food rations. They further added that according to their observation many people in cluster villages looked undernourished and were clearly distressed; it also heard accounts of food rations not reaching these villages on a regular basis, sometimes not even for months.

The unrest over two decades in the CHT area aggravated health features. Health facilities have not been maintained well. In addition, they may be inadequately and inappropriately provided.

Water and Sanitation

The hydrogeology of the Hill Tracts differs considerable from that of the deltaic plains of most of Bangladesh, and the water supply situation differs accordingly. Tubewells are suitable

Table - 3(18) : Rights to Development – Education (all figures in percent)

District (Rural)/Urban Domain/National	Net Enrolment 6-10 year-olds		Gross-Enrolment in primary school		Gross Intake Grade 1		Participation of 3-5 years children organized Educational Activity: Both sexes (MR)		
	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl	Both Sexes	Both sexes	Religious school	KG/school	Other Centres
Banderban Hill District	75.9	73.0	108.9	105.6	124.2	37.4	5.0	13.1	0.0
Rangamati Hill District	66.8	71.7	87.4	91.9	81.8	24.2	3.1	11.0	0.0
Khagrachri Hill District	81.6	80.4	124.0	117.7	135.2	29.5	6.8	15.4	0.9
The Chittagong Hill Tracts Region	74.8	75.0	106.8	105.1	113.7	30.4	5.0	13.2	0.3
Bangladesh (National) Metro City Slum	56.1	60.9	85.1	85.6	93.1	14.2	3.4	8.1	1.2
Metro City Non-Slum	78.2	74.8	108.2	97.2	89.5	28.2	1.6	23.7	0.1
Metro Cities	74.8	72.8	104.8	95.5	90.0	26.1	1.9	21.4	0.2
Other Municipalities	81.9	81.6	112.3	107.0	100.6	39.1	2.1	20.4	0.1
All Urban	78.3	77.1	108.5	101.1	95.2	32.5	2.0	20.9	0.2
All Rural	76.8	80.0	108.4	111.3	130.2	32.6	6.1	16.1	0.1
All Urban + Rural	76.9	79.7	108.4	110.3	126.5	32.6	5.6	16.6	0.1

Source : BBS UNICEF Multiple Indicator cluster Survey, 1999, cited in "PROGOTIR PATHEY (On the Road to Progress). Achieving the Goals for Children in Bangladesh, October, 1999", publi
BBS with assistance from UNICEF.

Note : KG: Kindergarten; MR: Multiple Responses.

for less than 40% of the area. Where tubewells can provide water, however, there are additional difficulties as the sludger method of boring, used widely throughout most of Bangladesh, will not work in the Hill Tracts' stony layers.

The low population density and the inaccessibility of many settlements mean that the overall ratio of 100 people/tubewell depicts a deceptively favourable situation. Tubewells have mostly been installed in and around thana headquarters and other accessible sites. In these relatively densely populated areas, the tubewell/user ratio may drop as low as 50. But only half of villages have a safe water source, and in the other half, the nearest safe water source may be as far as 10 kilometers away. For those without a tubewell, the usual sources of drinking water are rain and spring water during monsoon, and dugwells.⁶⁰

Experiences revealed that the poor peoples in the CHT area do not have sufficient safe drinking water. They often, especially, their women have to move by walking a long way across the hills and dales to collect safe drinking water as its their routine work.

Sanitation arrangements in the Hill Tracts are primitive. About 90% of families have no latrine. There is a high incidence of diarrhoeal diseases and worm infestation. Water-borne diseases are particularly endemic in the region.⁶¹

In Urban area in the CHT region, sanitation arrangements are slightly improve, but in rural and inaccessible area the situation is rustically miserable. Table-3(19) shows a comparative picture of the water and sanitation in the CHT area in comparison to other areas of Bangladesh.

3.16 Culture

The Hill Tracts population is ethnically and culturally distinct from that of the rest of the country. The hill population are made of some 12 or 13 tribes viz., Chakma, Marma, Tripura, Tung-changa, Kuki, Khumi, Chak, Lushai, Pankhus, Bom, Khayang, Banjogi, Murong etc. Though each has distinct culture of its own, but they belong ethnically to a broad group of similar people's of Mongoloid origin. The traditional way of life, tribal organisation and society hardened by age-old customs, tradition, rites & rituals, religious beliefs and practices.⁶²

Music is an in-built feature of tribal life. Music and dance are the twin elements which have gone in to the shaping of tribal culture as it is. From cradle to cremation there is hardly any event in tribal life which does not have dance and music. Not that the primitives cultivated these two arts as ends in themselves. These were conceived as basic necessities of life... tribal music variously contains encomia for the Gods a passion for love and union, or the weal and woe of day to day life.⁶³ Though tribal languages are underdeveloped and inadequate for expressing their thoughts and feelings but tribal music has highly expostutatory medium of expression. It is

Table - 3(19): Rights to Survival – Water & Sanitation (all figures in percent)

District (Rural)/Urban Domain/National	Source of Drinking Water (MR)			Source of Water for House hold work				Type of Latrine (Multiple Responses)				Disposal of Faeces of Under Five years Children (MR)			Hand Washing after Defecation				
	TW/ Tap/ RW	Pond/R/ other		Only TW/ Tap/ RW	Only P/R/O	TW/ Tap/ RW+P/ R/O		Water Seal	Pit	Hanging	Open Defection	Latrine	Other Fixed Plc.	No Fixed Place	Only Water	Water Soil	Water Ash	Water Soap	Other
Banderban	54.1	49.8		13.2	76.7	10.1		0.8	13.1	31.9	60.1	2.2	11.9	85.9	61.8	23.0	5.6	1.2	8.4
Rangamati	61.9	43.5		28.8	62.8	8.4		5.8	48.2	40.7	9.3	20.0	9.6	76.0	68.2	20.7	3.9	7.1	0.1
Khagrachari	88.1	18.9		44.0	44.7	11.3		3.9	52.7	35.5	11.5	17.1	1.7	89.5	80.5	13.0	4.2	2.3	0.0
The Chittagong Hill Tracts Region	68.0	37.4		28.7	61.4	9.9		3.5	38.0	36.0	27.0	13.1	7.7	83.8	70.2	18.9	4.6	3.5	2.8
Bangladesh (N.) Metrocity Slum	99.9	0.3		90.8	4.6	4.6		1.2	16.2	83.6	3.5	23.6	21.3	58.6	40.3	34.8	11.2	12.2	1.5
Metro city nonslum	100.0	0.0		91.6	5.1	3.3		52.8	15.4	31.8	0.5	57.8	25.9	19.0	12.4	21.3	8.4	57.0	0.8
Metro cities	100.0	0.1		91.5	5.0	3.5		45.1	15.5	39.6	1.0	52.7	25.2	24.9	16.6	23.4	8.9	50.3	0.9
Other Municipalities	99.2	1.0		86.4	8.1	5.5		44.0	25.8	25.3	6.9	44.1	20.7	39.0	10.4	36.7	17.4	34.9	0.6
All Urban	99.6	0.5		89.0	6.5	4.5		44.5	20.6	32.6	3.9	48.5	23.0	31.8	13.6	29.9	13.0	42.8	0.7
All Rural	97.7	3.3		58.7	31.5	9.9		8.3	29.1	40.6	27.0	12.8	18.7	71.3	26.5	53.6	15.8	3.9	0.2
All Urban+Rural	97.9	3.0		61.9	28.8	9.3		12.1	28.2	39.8	24.5	16.6	19.2	67.1	25.1	51.1	15.5	8.0	0.2

Source : BBS-UNICEF Multiple Indicator cluster Survey, 1999, cited in "Progonir Pathway (on the Road to Progress). Achieving the Goals for Children in Bangladesh, October 1999", published with assistance from UNICEF.

Note : TW : Tubewell; RW : Ring Well; R : River; P : Pond; O : Other; Plc : place MR. Multiple Responses.

an effective means of bridging the communication gap with civilization. The point is that the tribal's language is actually a dialect.⁶⁴

Hill people traditionally view their world in a holistic way where all different aspects of life are interconnected. One of the major outside impositions on to the hill peoples' approach to culture is the context in which artifacts or social performances are produced.

Bangladesh national society regards hill peoples' cultural features such as weaving or dancing as objects which can be taken out of a social context and viewed aesthetically-this is the "folklorization" of culture. However, when we look tentatively at the culture of hill peoples from their perspective, we see that there is a deep ethical dimension as well as the desire to produce something aesthetically pleasing, so as to produce or maintain spiritual and social equilibrium. This ethical dimension arises from the balanced inter connections between cultural activities, aspects of which are weaving and dancing and other parts of socio-cultural life, particularly religion.⁶⁵

The Ethnographic Museum in Chittagong has remarked the following significantly in their introductory note.

"We the common peoples of the plains have very little knowledge of the colourful life of our hill tribes, which indeed is a separate world encapsulated from modern society. But by the inevitable process of gradual penetration of modern civilization in to these areas on our border the isolation of their distinctive culture is fast disappearing. Before this irresistible cultural tragedy precipitates an attempt was made few years back by the Department of Archaeology to preserve as much of this fascinating culture as possible and display, in a specially erected museum, their life and social patterns so little known to us."

The Netherlands based Chittagong Hill Tracts Commission also cited the following views in a verbatim way which they have gathered from the various discussions with the peoples in the CHT area:

"In spite of religion, all the CHT people share the same tribal blood -there is a harmony of culture which is derived from animism... Anthropologically all the tribes are linked by animism which covers the main social festivals. Animism for us includes taboos, tribal Gods and Goddesses and these all exist side by side. Still each tribe and sub-tribe have their own Gods and their own practices at marriage and death etc. The festivals are to tally animistic... Animism is about recycling and the principles of Jhum (Swidden agriculture). There is a link between Jhumming and animism. When harvest or the ploughing season comes, every time you plant seeds a festival takes place. When you harvest there is another festival which is animistic."

The panoramic scenic beauty of hills and dales, forest and lake along with its flora and fauna is a contrast matching with colorful tribal culture. Inter tribes distinction from the various angles like, ethnic background, believes and religion, rites & rituals, food habits and other practices, physical features and professions, dress and tradition, language and arts, song and dance have attributed significantly to the magnificence of tribal culture.

Many researchers, academicians and concern officials love to say that the tribals are very shy, easy going, peace loving and simple. They are really so simple in mind and behavior as they are the son of the nature. The researcher likes to define them as the luminous and dignified ornament of the country.

Although, most of the people in Bangladesh have high regards on tribal culture but empirical observation indicates that the tribal culture is in the gradual disappearing process since long back with the affinity of the mainstream Bengali culture.

The Chittagong Hill Tracts Commission expressed very frustrating views about the tribal culture of the CHT in their concluding remarks in the report as follows:

“Traditional religion and culture are being taken out of their context as a ethical basis for the daily life of hill people and being transformed in to an exotic folkloric show. Meanwhile those authorities condoning and encouraging this actually lament the “tragedy” of the lost cultural past of the hill people and, as noted in the Chittagong Ethnographic Museum, consider hill peoples’ cultures as appropriate for archaeological study. The hill peoples of the CHT are indeed being subjected to ethnocide.”

3.17 Environmental Issues

The CHT region of Bangladesh represents some of the most beautiful, picturesque and vibrant areas of the subcontinent, yet they are environmentally and ecologically the most threatened, and their inhabitants amongst the poorest in the world.

Jhum cultivation is often criticized for eroding land, replacing the forest cover by weeds and silting up of the rivers and lake and ultimately declining crop yield. In contrast, there is a number of arguments in favor of Jhum cultivation. These are as follows:

- Jum (Jhum) is an agricultural method, which produces in abundance without use of chemicals, either as fertilizer and pesticides. In jum (Jhum) cultivation the ash produced from the initial burning acts as both a natural fertilizer and pesticide.

Food produced from jum (Jhum) is disease free and free from the residue of dangerous pesticides.⁶⁷

- Jum (jhum) utilises the natural watershed on the mountain to feed the paddy and plants. Thus jum cultivation does not require dams or environmentally degrading irrigation system.
- After the crops are harvested the jum is left fallow for five to six years to regain its fertility before the next cultivation. The abandoned jum (ranya) becomes a feeding ground and sanctuary for wild animals, birds and insects.
- The cropping and diversity of indigenous jum agriculture secures the land from the ecological destruction caused by narrow genetic bases and monocultures.⁶⁸

Kabita Chakma and Glen Hill further argued in their writings, "Thwarting the Indigenous Custodians of Bio-diversity" that Jum cultivation is not only practiced by the CHT Jummas (the local name of the Jhum cultivators) but is also practiced in many other parts of Asia including North-East India, Nepal, Northern Myanmar, Thailand, and Southeast China. Jum, an ancient and ecologically sound agricultural system of the orient, has become an integral part of forest ecology. Sir Alfred Howard concluded half a century ago that "The agricultural practices of the orient have passed the supreme test, they are almost as permanent as those of the primeval forest, of prairie, or of the ocean."⁶⁹

Kabita Chakma and Glen Hill have also drawn the following conclusion :

" Jum cultivation is not a miracle cultivation promising limitless growth but is growth within the limits of nature. This paper would not claim that jum cultivation is appropriate to a market economy. Over-jumming may cause as much damage to the environment as other unsustainable agricultural systems. Jum cultivation is an ecologically sound cultivation system within frame work of the subsistence economy of the Jumma."⁷⁰

Jhum is often discussed as regards CHT environmental issues. There are different schools of thought. Although there are some obvious reasons are active behind the jhum cultivation, yet in general, jhum is identified as a cause of environmental and ecological degradation in the CHT. Now a days, its almost common to the researchers, policy makers, development partners and also to the local communities including common people, intellectuals, elite and leaders that every one refers jhum cultivation while they discuss the environmental issues relates to CHT area.

There is no denial that over the last three decades the ecology and natural environment of the Chittagong Hill Tracts has been severely degraded. The rapid disappearance of forests and trees is causing soil erosion and land slides, Various governmental development initiatives without environmental impact assessment is also causing ecological degradation in that area.

Rapid growth of population, two decades lingering unrest, over exploitations of natural resources in some certain areas, voluminous fire wood consumption and also lack of environmental awareness among the local communities are treated as the causes of environmental degradation in the CHT in general.

Sustainable Environmental Management Programme (SEMP)⁷¹ under the auspices of the Ministry of Environment and Forest, the Govt. of Bangladesh and the UNDP is launching a series of workshops recently from the grass root level to regional level in connection with National Environment Management Action Plan-Chittagong Hill Tracts (NEMAP-CHT). They have primarily identified by the threadbare discussion with various clientele groups around 24 issues/problems of which 8 are mostly common as regards environment in the CHT area.

These are as follows :

Mostly common 8 issues/problems :

1. Deforestation and Killing of wildlife
2. Jhum cultivation and soil erosion
3. Problems of water: higher level at Kaptai lake and lack of irrigation water in the hills
4. Scarcity of drinking water
5. Lack of education and awareness
6. Lack of health and sanitation services
7. depletion of fisheries
8. Malaria, diarrhoea and jaundice

Other less common issues raised by the groups are as follows :

1. Land settlement disputes
2. Land slides
3. Poor communications and infrastructures
4. Shortage of livestock and poultry and lack of their treatment facilities
5. Hill cutting
6. River erosion
7. Adverse effects of agro-chemicals and pesticides
8. Use of polythene bags
9. Poor marketing facilities of agri-products
10. Invasion of wild elephants, rats and pigs
11. Flash floods
12. Drug Addiction

13. Lack of electricity
14. Poor irrigation system
15. Killing of guest birds
16. Difficulties in hill agriculture

As they have been discussed through the various workshops, participants identified several reasons for deforestation. They considered poverty and Jhum cultivation as major reasons behind deforestation. Some groups mentioned of corrupt Forest Department officials and greedy traders involved with illegal timber trading and use of woods in brickfield as primary reasons for deforestation. They informed that in most places, there is scarcity of safe drinking water in dry season since the depth of tube-wells and ring wells are not up to the required level and there are not enough natural sources of water. Lack of hygienic sanitation as a cause of various diseases was mentioned by almost all the groups. Lack of sufficient number of doctors, health visitors, equipment and medicine was among the mostly mentioned health problems, while Malaria and Diarrhoea are the most fatal diseases in the region. Participants of the workshops blamed unplanned housing and Jhum for hill cutting as a major cause of environmental degradation. Most of the participants were in favour of initiating scientific cultivation methods in the hills to gradually substitute jhum cultivation.

There are school of opinion that dramatic changes in demography, road communication and other physical infrastructure in past decades have profoundly impacted the geography, land, soil, forest resources and local environment in the CHT. Most development activities and programs have ignored or violated the environmental ethics and have ultimately caused enormous harm to both the environment and the people.

Since, the number of tourists in the CHT region are still insignificant and no environmental impact of tourism is as yet assessed, there is no evidential document in this regard. But in view of the discussion of conceptual issues and on the basis of practical observation particularly related to ecotourism, a careful assessment of environmental carrying capacity regarding tourism should not be ignored.

3.18 Eco-tourism Potentialities

It is often commonly argued that the CHT has a enormous eco-tourism potentiality. Indeed, the CHT area represents some of the most beautiful, picturesque and vibrant areas of the subcontinent. In CHT, the hills and dales, forests and lakes, flora and fauna, colorful tribal culture and tradition are the unique features, which can easily attract tourist's attention. Solitude and tranquility of the Hill Tracts may draw the attention of the tourists, especially to them, who exhaustively are in need of a solitary life. Life of the tribal people is extremely fascinating and it could implicate as added advantage with the panoramic scenic beauty and splendour landscape

for which the area obviously bears a great tourism potentiality. Besides that CHT could be a common destination for the pilgrims tourist, especially for the followers of Buddhism. There are a number of Buddhist monasteries, temple in the CHT. The majority and dominant tribals are Buddhist. Most of the people in the CHT are hospitable, easy going and friendly are willing to provide good opportunity to flourish sustainable tourism.

Although, the CHT has a number of attractive tourist resort but infrastructural arrangement is quite insufficient. Other than three-district town, only few upazilas are well accessible. Infrastructure in rural areas of the CHT is poor in comparison to other parts of Bangladesh. Many areas of the CHT are accessible only by boat and/or by footpath from lake or riverbanks or from secondary roads. Where roads do exist, they are often poorly maintained and affected by landslides during the rainy season. As a result, access to markets for many residents is often difficult and there may be a high rate of wastage of perishable goods. Transport difficulties make goods expensive to "import" and "export" and it is recognized that many do not get a fair price for their produce. All this contributes to the suppression of incomes and the perpetuation of poverty.⁷³

Some substantive initiatives have already been taken by the Govt. of Bangladesh, of which some includes assistance from the development partners to enhance the infrastructural arrangement in the CHT and it is hoped that in near future CHT will be able to provide better accessibility and other prerequisite infrastructural facilities to the tourists. The researcher has observed that some enthusiastic private initiatives are taking place courageously in the tourism sector to keep pace with the governmental programme, and also as per the present day demand.

The following places of interest for tourist in CHT ⁷⁴ can provide almost good infrastructural arrangement, which are already prevailing :

Rangamati

Rangamati, the focal point of Rangamati Hill District, is connected with Chittagong by a 77 km. metalled road. The township is located on the western bank of the Kaptai Lake. Rangamati is a favorite holiday resort because of its beautiful landscape, scenic beauty, its flora and fauna, homespun textiles, bamboo handbags, flower vases and silver jewellery and the tribal men and women who fashion them, are other attractions. The tribal handicraft factory and sales centre run by BSCIC (Bangladesh Small and Cottage Industries Corporation, the State owned organization) produces many varieties of souvenirs made of bamboo, cane, straw, textile and leather. For the tourists the attractions of Rangamati are numerous, tribal life, fishing, speed-boat and country boat cruising, water-skiing, hiking or merely enjoying nature as it is.

Other places worth visiting include, Tribal Museum, Bein Textile Factory and sales centre, Kalpataru, Ivory product shop, Hanging Bridge, Tribal Village, Chakma Rajbari (King's palace), weekly hat (market). Above all tribal dance and music will captivate visitors.

Kaptai

A pleasant and picturesque drive of 64 km. through metalled road from Chittagong brings a tourist to a huge expanse of emerald and blue water ringed with majestic tropical forests. It is the famous Kaptai Lake.

Only 3 km from Kaptai along the Chittagong Road, lies the ancient Chit morong Buddhist Temple where there is beautiful Buddhist statues. An annual Buddhist festival is held here on held on the last day of the Bengali year (Mid-April)

Chandraghona

Forty eight (48) km. from Chittagong , on the Kaptai Road is Chandraghona where one of the biggest paper mills in Asia is located. Close to the paper mill there is a Rayon Factory which produces synthetic fibres from bamboo.

Subalang

The beautiful waterfall of Subalang under Barkol Upazila is also an important tourist attraction. It takes about half an hour speed boat or motorized local boat journey from Rangamati town to Subalong. The steep and green hills on both the banks of the river way to subalang can easily enchant a tourist.

Khagrachari

Khagrachari is a district headquarter. A drive of 112 km. from Chittagong, by an all weather-metalled road through the green forest brings one to Khagrachari, abode of fascinating calm. For the tourists seeking nature in her restful mood, Khagrachari is an ideal spot.

Alutilla

The Alutilla peaks of the adjacent hill of Khagrachari town is famous for its unique location. Actually it is the gate way to valley based Khagrachari town. One can see the whole Khagrachari town from Alutilla. It is about 1000 metre high from the sea level and there already exists some infrastructural arrangement for the tourists.

Banderban

Ninety two (92) km from Chittagong by metalled road, Banderban is the district headquarters of the Banderban Hill District. Banderban is the home town of the Bohmong Chief who is the head of the Mogh (Marma) tribe. The Moghs are of Mynmar origin and Buddhists by religion. Jovial and carefree by nature, the Moghs are simple and hospitable people. Banderban is also the home of the Murangs who are famous for their music and dance. Far in to the interior there are several other tribes of great interest for anyone who cares to make the journey.

Chimbuk

A pleasant and picturesque hilly drive of 30 km through metalled road from Banderban district town towards South-East direction. The chimbuk is the highest accessible point in Bangladesh where tourists can move by motorized vehicles up to its end. At Chimbuk one can spend some time looking around the scenic beauty as well as visiting the Murong (most primitive tribe) tribal village. On way back, stop at Shaila propat where there is a small water fall. At this place one can visit a tribal village inhabited by Bhom tribal people.

The Hills

As it is mentioned earlier, the Hill Tracts is divided in to four valleys surrounded by the Feni, Karnaphuli, Sangu (Sankhu) and Matamuhuri rivers and their tributaries. The ranges or hills of the Hill Tracts rise steeply thus looking far more impressive than what their height would imply and extend in long narrow ridges. The highest peaks on the northern side are Thangnang, Langliang and Khantiang while those on the southern side are Ramu, Taung, Keokradang, Tajindong (official name is Bijoy, the highest peak in Bangladesh), Mowdok Mual, Rang Tlang and Mowdok Tlang. Most of these hills can provide mountaineering, trekking and bush walking.

The Lakes

Famous Kaptai Lake, the largest "man-made" lake, spreading over 680 sq.km. of crystal water flanked by hills and evergreen forests lie in the Rangamati Hill Districts. The lake was formed when the Karnaphuli river dam (153 feet high and 1800 feet long crest) was built for the purpose of hydroelectric power project at Kaptai. The old Rangamati town was submerged under lake water and a new town had to be built later. The lake is full of fish and provides facilities for cruising, swimming and skiing. There are also facilities for angling and short trip by sampan (local name of country boats).

The forests

The valleys of the Hill Tracts are covered with thick-planted forests. The vegetation in semi-evergreen to tropical evergreen dominated by tall teak trees. The natural vegetation can be seen best in the Rain-khyong valleys of the Banderban district. The CHT provides the country with valuable wood used for various purposes, besides supplying wood and bamboo for the Karnaphuli paper mills and the Rayon mills situated at Chandraghona. Here a tourist may be lucky to see how huge logs of wood are carried to the plain by the tamed elephants.

As the CHT offers ample tourist attractions and as there is a crying need of socio-economic development for the people of CHT there fore, eco-tourism potentiality in the CHT should not be ignored. More so, the historic peace accord opened up the avenues for rapid flourishment of eco-tourism. It is revealed through this study that the CHT is one of the most suitable places for off farm employment in the tourism sector, which is highly required immediately for eradication of the poverty.

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68. Shiva, Vandana. The Violence of the Green Revolution: Third world Agriculture, Ecology and Politics, 1991, Malaysia: Third World Network, cited in Kabita Chakma and Glen Hill op.cit., p p. 127-128.
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70. Sustainable Environment Management Programme (SEMP) under the auspices of the Ministry of Environment and Forest, Govt. of Bangladesh and the UNDP is working on National Environment Management Action Plan, Chittagong Hill Tracts (NEMAP-CHT). UNDP-assisted Sustainable Environment Management Program (SEMP) is a five year project of the Ministry of Environment and Forest, which finally took off in October, 1998. Dr. Mahfuzul Haque, the Program Coordinator, SEMP project, mentioned in his article in Bangladesh Quarterly (June 2000 issue, pp. 29-30) that NEMAP – the much acclaimed national document-had promised that people, especially at the grass roots level, would be involved during implementation phase of the programme. The SEMP, within three years following NEMAP formulation, kept the promise by involving a number of grass roots NGOs as sub-implementing agencies, SEMP has already

launched a series of workshop in the CHT from grass-roots level to district and regional level. The findings of workshop is collected from the various reports during 1999-2000.

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Chapter : Four

Case Study Report on the Chittagong Hill Tracts Area of Bangladesh

CASE STUDY REPORT ON THE CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS AREA OF BANGLADESH

An extensive case study has been done as a part of this present thesis during the period of 1998-2000 in the Chittagong Hill Tracts area of Bangladesh. The study consists of the following 4 components :

- 4.1 Socio-economic survey,
- 4.2 Survey on existing accommodation and restaurant facilities in the three district towns in the CHT region.
- 4.3 Interviews by mail through semi-structured questionnaire,
- 4.4 Personal interactions and discussions.

4.1 Socio-economic survey :

This is the major component of the case study. Since required information and data on various indicators and variables are not available in the case of CHT area as regards the purpose of the present study, therefore, the researcher considered it necessary to undertake a base line socio-economic survey. As a whole the CHT is nationally identified as a less developed area and its inhabitants are considered economically very poor but statistical evidences and information are quite inadequate in this regard. Thus it was imperative for an intensive research work like the present thesis to assess and perceive the prevailing socio-economic condition of the people in the CHT region. The researcher does believe that the suffering of the people may be indefinable numerically or its quantitative expression is hardly possible but the proper identification of the causes of suffering surely help to take adequate measure for its mitigation or eradication.

Since the present thesis is styled as "Ecotourism for local community development in the mountain areas: A study on the potentiality of ecotourism in the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh", so it is an essential requirements to have an organized perception on the socio-economic condition of the local communities and to make a sample inventory.

Its a broad based household survey on 3,000 house holds covering the three hill districts. The number of surveyed household seem to be much higher but it was thought that its a rare type of survey by its nature in the CHT area and higher number of surveyed households could ensure

more accuracy in the count of mean, median, mode and average intensity of the information, where the gross idea could be appeared realistically and transparently.

Although the three hill districts characteristically represent almost similar features and phenomenon in most of the cases yet it was essential to cover all the three districts in the case study for a comparative analysis. Though emphasis was given to incorporate maximum households from the marginal level but all other categories were included by profession in a representative way in the survey. A team of trained research assistants was sent to the surveyed area with an interview schedule meant to cover a random sample of household. All the members of the team were recruited from the CHT area, especially from the respective survey areas. They were provided structured questionnaire to collect data/information household wise. They have collected all the information accordingly. The research assistants enjoyed the privilege and advantage of their proficiency in local language, ability of close interaction, familiarity with the local community and also with the locality and of course, congenial accessibility to the surveyed households. All these helped the researcher tremendously to gather realistic views and information. The socio-economic household survey was conducted during the period of November 1999 to June 2000 in the three hill districts simultaneously.

The Major and pertinent findings as per the set objectives of the study are as follows :

Table - 4(1) : Age group of the head of household.

Age group	Banderban Hill District	%	Rangamati Hill District	%	Khagrachari Hill District	%	Total	%
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
20 years and below	3	.30	7	.70	6	.60	16	.53
21 years to 30 years	197	19.70	180	18.00	192	19.20	569	18.97
31 years to 40 years	360	36.00	350	35.00	339	33.90	1049	34.97
41 years to 50 years	226	22.60	244	24.40	265	26.50	735	24.50
51 years to 60 years	155	15.50	144	14.40	118	11.80	417	13.90
61 years to 70 years	51	5.10	60	6.00	63	6.30	174	5.80
70 years and above	8	.80	15	1.50	17	1.70	40	1.33
Total	1000	100	1000	100	1000	100	3000	100

The maximum number of the head of households lies with the age group '31 years to 40 years', Which manifestly indicates that they would be the striking force to carry out the prime thrust of the extension of ecotourism in the CHT area.

Table - 4(2) : Categories of the head of household by profession.

Sl. No	Categories of Profession	Banderb-an Hill District	%	Rangam -ati Hill District	%	Khagrac-hari Hill District	%	Total	%
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1.	Small Traders (Monthly income up to Taka 2,999.00)	36	3.60	57	5.70	90	9.00	183	6.10
2.	Medium Traders (Monthly income Taka 3000.00 to Taka 9,999.00)	65	6.50	107	10.70	42	4.20	214	7.13
3.	Big Traders (Monthly income Taka 10,000.00 and above)	-	-	2	.20	-	-	2	.70
4.	Service holder (Govt./Semi Govt./ Autonomous/Private Sector)	145	14.50	156	15.60	166	16.60	467	15.57
5.	Farmer (Those who have minimum 1 acre plough land or agricultural land)	169	16.90	110	11.00	187	18.70	466	15.53
6.	Farmer (Those who are land less or share-cropper)	180	18.00	121	12.10	201	20.10	502	16.73
7.	Different professional (like, smith/clay modeller/ weaver/ fishermen/Tailor/craftsm an/mechanics)	2	.20	94	9.40	18	1.80	114	3.80
8.	Higher graded professional, (like, physician/lawyer /engineer etc.)	4	.40	5	.50	2	.20	11	.37
9.	Irregular professional (like, unemployee/ pension holder/House tutor/part time business & servicemen)	1	.10	36	3.60	15	1.50	52	1.73
10.	Worker/Day labour	214	21.40	224	22.40	267	26.70	705	23.50
11.	Jhum Cultivators	184	18.40	88	8.80	12	1.20	284	9.47
	Total	1000	100	1000	100	1000	100	3000	100

23.50 percentage of the head of households are Worker/Daylabor by profession. They may get the direct benefit through extension of ecotourism in the CHT area. Farmer, those who are landless or share-cropper they can also get direct and indirect benefit through extension of ecotourism.

Table - 4(3) : Categories of the head of household by monthly income.

Sl.No	Income	Banderban Hill District	%	Rangamati Hill District	%	Khagrachhari Hill District	%	Total	%
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1.	Taka 1000.00 and below	21	2.10	43	4.30	67	6.7	131	4.37
2.	Tk. 1001.00-Tk. 2000.00	393	39.30	379	37.90	507	50.70	1279	42.63
3.	Tk. 2001.00-Tk. 3000.00	333	33.30	278	27.80	254	25.40	865	28.84
4.	Tk.3001.00-Tk.4000.00	170	17.00	168	16.80	113	11.30	451	15.03
5.	Tk. 4001.00-Tk.5000.00	43	4.30	73	7.30	46	4.60	162	5.40
6.	Tk. 5001.00-Tk. 6000.00	22	2.20	39	3.90	8	.80	69	2.30
7.	Tk.6001.00-Tk.7000.00	9	.90	4	.40	3	.30	16	.53
8.	Tk. 7001.00-Tk.8000.00	6	.60	5	.50	-	-	11	.37
9.	Tk.8001.00-Tk.9000.00	2	.20	1	.10	-	-	3	.10
10.	Tk.9001.00-Tk.10000.00	1	.10	3	.30	-	-	4	.13
11.	Taka 10000.00 and above	-	-	7	.70	2	.20	9	.30
Total		1000	100	1000	100	1000	100	3000	100

The maximum intensity of the head of household in the case of monthly income lies with the income group Taka1001.00-Taka2000.00.As per the current currency exchange rate it is US \$ 18.23- US\$36.43. It should be noted here that this income hardly could ensure to maintain a 5-members family on a subsistence level.

The table-4(2) of the immediate previous page indicates that the head of household,those who are Worker/Daylabor and landless or share-cropper by profession,they consist of 40.23 percentage together.They mostly belong the income group of Taka 1001.00 – Taka 2000.00.Indeed,they are in urgent need of proper measure.The researcher does believe that they could be adequately address through the extension of ecotourism in that area.

The correlation between profession and monthly income of the head of households shows that they could be accommodated suitably with the off-farm employment opportunity through the extension of ecotourism in that area.

Table - 4(4) : Size of household wise cultivable land.

Size of cultivable Land	Banderban Hill District	%	Rangamati Hill District	%	Khagrachari Hill District	%	Total	%
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
There is no cultivable land	728	72.80	758	75.58	588	58.80	2074	69.14
Cultivable land less than 1 acre	24	2.40	114	11.40	142	14.20	280	9.33
Cultivable land between 1 acre to 3 acres	198	19.80	113	11.30	242	24.20	553	18.43
Cultivable land more than 3 acres	50	5.00	15	1.50	28	2.80	93	3.10
Total	1000	100	1000	100	1000	100	3000	100

The above table indicates that 69.14 percentage households do not have any cultivable land. They should be addressed immediately by all possible means, with a special preference to the extension of ecotourism in the CHT, otherwise they may rush to the big city and take shelter in the slum.

Table - 4(5) : Area of the household including trees and vegetation.

Area of the household	Banderban Hill District	%	Rangamati Hill District	%	Khagrachari Hill District	%	Total	%
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Land size less than 0.05 acre	691	69.10	330	33.00	150	15.00	1171	39.03
0.06-0.25 acre	207	20.70	473	47.30	563	56.30	1243	41.44
0.26-0.50 acre	16	1.60	69	6.90	150	15.00	235	7.83
0.51-1.00 acre	35	3.50	73	7.30	71	7.10	179	5.97
1.01-2.00 acre	15	1.50	36	3.60	36	3.60	87	2.90
2.01 acres and above	36	3.60	19	1.90	30	3.00	85	2.83
Total	1000	100	1000	100	1000	100	3000	100

Table - 4(6) : Maximum level of education among the family members of the household.

Level of Education	Banderban Hill District	%	Rangamati Hill District	%	Khagrachari Hill District	%	Total	%
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Without literacy	275	27.50	100	10.00	146	14.60	521	17.40
Primary level education	321	32.10	369	36.90	323	32.30	1013	33.80
Lower Secondary level education	180	18.00	204	20.40	155	15.50	539	17.97
Secondary level education	73	7.30	108	10.80	122	12.20	303	10.10
S.S.C. passed	81	8.10	76	7.60	133	13.30	290	9.67
H.S.C. passed	40	4.00	55	5.50	68	6.80	163	5.44
Graduate	25	2.50	74	7.40	49	4.90	148	4.94
Post-Graduate	5	.50	11	1.10	4	.40	20	.67
Diploma/Technical education qualified	-	-	3	.30	-	-	3	.01
Total	1000	100	1000	100	1000	100	3000	100

Table -4(7) : Maximum level of education of the spouse of the household.

Level of Education	Banderban Hill District	%	Rangamati Hill District	%	Khagrachari Hill District	%	Total	%
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Without literacy	784	86.35	567	59.63	505	53.21	1856	66.10
Primary level education	32	3.52	233	24.50	268	28.24	533	18.98
Lower Secondary level education	34	3.75	49	5.15	69	7.27	152	5.41
Secondary level education	19	2.09	51	5.36	51	5.38	121	4.31
S.S.C. passed	28	3.08	20	2.10	40	4.21	88	3.13
H.S.C. passed	9	.99	16	1.68	11	1.16	36	1.28
Graduate	2	.22	14	1.47	5	.53	21	.75
Post-Graduate	-	-	1	.11	0	-	1	.04
Diploma/Technical education qualified	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	908	100	951	100	949	100	2808	100
Number of household without spouse	92	-	49	-	51	-	192	-

Table - 4(8) : Daily availed leisure by the head of household.

Sl. No.	Categories	Bander ban	%	Ranga mati	%	Khagarach ari	%	Total	Total %
1.	Leisure not availed	-	-	448	44.80	682	68.20	1130	37.67
2.	Leisure availed up to half an hour on average daily.	-	-	-	-	3	.30	3	.10
3.	Above half an hour but bellow one hour.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4.	Above one hour but bellow two hours	43	4.30	-	-	-	-	43	1.43
5.	Above two hours but bellow three hours	457	45.70	473	47.30	122	12.20	1052	35.06
6.	Above three hours but bellow four hours	365	36.50	63	6.30	133	13.30	561	18.70
7.	Above four hours but bellow Five hrs.	103	10.30	16	1.60	45	4.50	164	5.47
8.	Five hours daily	32	3.20	-	-	15	1.50	47	1.57
	Total	1000	100	1000	100	1000	100	3000	100

Table - 4(9) : Households engaged in production of handicrafts.

Sl. No.	Categories	Bander ban	%	Ranga mati	%	Khagarach ari	%	Total	Total %
1.	Not engaged at all	108	10.80	420	42.00	754	75.40	1282	42.73
2.	Engaged but kind of the products were not specific.	-	-	37	3.70	15	1.50	52	1.73
3.	Produced only blanket and wrapper for their own usage	289	28.90	1	.10	-	-	290	9.67
4.	Produced cloth, blanket, khadi, wear for their own use	188	18.80	475	47.50	215	21.50	878	29.27
5.	Produced cloth, blanket, Khadi, wear including bamboo made container for their own usage)	402	40.20	16	1.60	3	.30	421	14.03
6.	Produced bamboo made container, basket for their own usage.	13	1.30	51	5.10	13	1.30	77	2.57
	Total	1000	100	1000	100	1000	100	3000	100

The above table indicates that 42.73% households are not at all engaged in production of handicrafts. 29.27% households produce only for their own consumption. Both the categories can be engaged in production of handicrafts for sale according to the increasing demand of the tourists.

Table - 4(10) : Categories of carriers for transportation of goods to market.

Sl. No.	Categories	Bander ban	%	Rangam ati	%	Khagarac hari	%	Total	Total %
1.	Boat/country boat	42	4.20	264	26.40	5	.50	311	10.37
2.	Carried by soulders/head	114	11.40	127	12.70	381	38.10	622	20.73
3.	Rikshaw (non-motorized three whiler)	26	2.60	-	-	342	34.20	368	12.27
4.	Motorized transport	440	44.00	34	3.40	82	8.20	556	18.53
5.	Motorized transport and Rikshaw both the carriers	-	-	-	-	111	11.10	111	3.70
6.	Soulders and Rikshaw both the carriers	46	4.60	-	-	52	5.20	98	3.27
7.	Other (Including all of the above categories)	136	13.60	76	7.60	25	2.50	237	7.90
8.	Information was not available, because goods are not produced.	196	19.60	499	49.90	2	.20	697	23.23
	Total:	1000	100	1000	100	1000	100	3000	100

Table - 4(11) : Market accessibility for selling of agricultural goods.

Sl. No.	Distance of market from the households	Bander ban	%	Rangamati	%	Khagarac hari	%	Total	Total %
1.	Market adjacent to household	169	16.90	14	1.40	82	8.20	265	8.83
2.	Market ½km. away from household	34	3.40	175	17.50	119	11.90	328	10.94
3.	Market 1 km. away from household	47	4.70	122	12.20	212	21.20	381	12.70
4.	Market 2 km. away from household	112	11.20	27	2.70	254	25.40	393	13.10
5.	Market 3 km. away from household	167	16.70	1	.10	109	10.90	277	9.23
6.	Market 4 km. away from household	49	4.90	44	4.40	157	15.70	250	8.33
7.	Market 5 km. away from household	121	12.10	4	.40	61	6.10	186	6.20
8.	Market 6 km. to 10 km. away from household	104	10.40	155	15.50	4	.40	263	8.77
9.	Market 10 km. to 15 km. away from household	180	18.00	24	2.40	-	-	204	6.80
10.	16 km. and above	17	1.70	76	7.60	-	-	93	3.10
10.	Information was not available because goods are not produced.	-	-	358	35.80	2	.20	360	12.00
	Total	1000	100	1000	100	1000	100	3000	100

Table - 4(12) : Means of transport (Household wise)

Categories	Banderban Hill District	%	Rangamati Hill District	%	Khagrachari Hill District	%	Total	%
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
There is no personal transport	983	98.30	781	78.10	931	93.10	2695	89.33
By-cycle	13	1.30	-	-	58	5.80	71	2.37
Motor cycle	2	.20	4	.40	2	.20	8	.27
Boat or country boat (Shampan)	-	-	213	21.30	6	.60	219	7.30
Bullock cart/buffelo cart	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rikshaw/van (Non-Motorised vehicle)	2	.20	-	-	2	.20	4	.13
Others	-	-	2	.20	1	.10	3	.10
Total	1000	100	1000	100	1000	100	3000	100

Table - 4(13) : Various fruit production.

Sl. No.	Name/Group of fruits	Banderban	%	Rangamati	%	Khagarachari	%	Total	Total %
1.	Nothing is produced	504	50.40	584	58.40	333	33.30	1421	47.37
2.	Papaw, banana, pincable, Guava, etc. fruits produced.	130	13.00	9	.90	48	4.80	187	6.23
3.	Mango, Jack fruit, co-conut betelnut, Averrhoa carambola, Tamarind etc. fruits produced.	32	3.20	70	7.00	93	9.30	195	6.50
4.	Fruits described in the Sl. no. 2 and 3 are produced	334	33.40	120	12.00	339	33.90	793	26.43
5.	Produced fruits are very negligible	-	-	217	21.70	187	18.70	404	13.47
	Total	1000	100	1000	100	1000	100	3000	100

Table - 4(14) : Produced agricultural goods and vegetables.

Categories	Banderban Hill District	%	Rangamati Hill District	%	Khagrachari Hill District	%	Total	%
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Paddy, Wheat, Maize, Potato, brinjal, pumkin (sweet), pumkin, cucumber, chilli, etc. various agricultural vegetation are produced	510	51.00	114	11.40	143	14.30	767	25.57
Nothing is produced	347	34.70	663	66.30	483	48.30	1493	49.77
Brinjal, pumkin (sweet), pumkin, luffa, turmeric, chilli, etc. vegetable are produced.	34	3.40	169	16.90	142	14.20	345	11.50
Only paddy, wheat, maize etc. agricultural goods are produced.	109	10.90	54	5.40	232	23.20	395	13.16
Total	1000	100	1000	100	1000	100	3000	100

Table - 4(15) : Categories of profession of the spouse of household.

Sl. No.	Categories	Banderban	%	Rangamati	%	Khagarachari	%	Total	Total %
1.	House wife	871	95.93	881	95.86	887	95.17	2639	95.66
2.	Worker/day labour	4	.44	-	-	14	1.50	18	.65
3.	Service holder	24	2.64	35	3.81	28	3.00	87	3.15
4.	Handicrafts producer	4	.44	-	-	1	.11	5	.18
5.	Business/Agriculture	5	.55	2	.22	1	.11	8	.29
6.	Student	-	-	1	.11	1	.11	2	.07
Total		908	100	919	100	932	100	2759	100
	House hold without spouse	92	-	81	-	68	-	241	-
Grand Total		1000		1000		1000		3000	

Table - 4(16) : Income from other sources excluding the main profession.

Sl. No.	Ranges of income	Bander ban	%	Ranga mati	%	Khagarach ari	%	Total	Total %
1.	Up to Tk. 300.00	16	1.60	17	1.70	19	1.90	52	1.73
2.	From Tk. 301.00.to Tk. 500.00	27	2.70	76	7.60	46	4.60	149	4.97
3.	From Tk. 501.00 to Tk. 1000.00	29	2.90	54	5.40	38	3.80	121	4.03
4.	From Tk. 1001.00 to Tk. 2000.00	39	3.90	11	1.10	25	2.50	75	2.50
5.	From Tk. 2001.00 to Tk. 3000.00	3	.30	3	.30	5	.50	11	.37
6.	From Tk. 3001.00 to Tk. 5000.00	-	-	1	.10	-	-	1	.03
7.	Tk. 5000.00 and above	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8.	There is no income other than main profession	886	88.60	838	83.80	867	86.70	2591	86.37
	Total	1000	100	1000	100	1000	100	3000	100

Table - 4(17) : Various types of work for livelihood other than main profession.

Sl. No.	Types of Work	Bander ban	%	Ranga mati	%	Khagarach ari	%	Total	Total %
1.	Handicrafts produced in own house	-	-	1	.10	-	-	1	.03
2.	Farming agriculture and horticulture in own house premises	83	8.30	91	9.10	97	9.70	271	9.03
3.	Farming fish, poultry and cattle in own house premises	-	-	36	3.60	6	.60	42	1.40
4.	Grossary shop of small or seasonal business	29	2.90	4	.40	10	1.00	43	1.43
5.	Part time job or such type of profitable responsibilities	1	.10	12	1.20	3	.30	16	.53
6.	Non-profitable social welfare activities	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7.	No work performed other than main profession	886	88.60	838	83.80	867	86.70	2591	86.38
8.	In addition to main profession performed numbers of other work like Handicrafts production, farming agriculture and horticulture, part time business etc.	1	.10	18	1.80	17	1.70	36	1.20
	Total	1000	100	1000	100	1000	100	3000	100

Table - 4(18) : Monthly accumulated income of the other members of the household (except the head of the household).

Sl. No	Ranges of income	Bander ban	%	Ranga mati	%	Khagarach ari	%	Total	Total %
1.	No income	722	72.20	695	69.50	653	65.30	2070	69.00
2.	Up to Tk. 500.00	19	1.90	10	1.00	34	3.40	63	2.10
3.	Tk. 501.00 – Tk. 1000.00	48	4.80	26	2.60	60	6.00	134	4.47
4.	Tk. 1001.00 –Tk. 2000.00	106	10.60	128	12.80	127	12.70	361	12.03
5.	Tk. 2001.00 –Tk. 3000.00	54	5.40	48	4.80	77	7.70	179	5.97
6.	Tk. 3001.00 –Tk. 4000.00	23	2.30	53	5.30	22	2.20	98	3.27
7.	Tk. 4001.00 –Tk. 5000.00	9	.90	11	1.10	14	1.40	34	1.13
8.	Tk. 5000.00 and above	19	1.90	29	2.90	13	1.30	61	2.03
	Total	1000	100	1000	100	1000	100	3000	100

Table - 4(19) : Size of household.

Sl. No.	Number of family member	Bander ban	%	Rangam ati	%	Khagarach ari	%	Total	Total %
1.	1 Member family	5	.50	-	-	5	.50	10	.33
2.	2 Members family	64	6.40	43	4.30	42	4.20	149	4.97
3.	3 Members family	183	18.30	130	13.00	163	16.30	476	15.87
4.	4 Members family	264	26.40	232	23.20	244	24.40	740	24.66
5.	5 Members family	261	26.10	248	24.80	225	22.50	734	24.47
6.	6 Members family	125	12.50	183	18.30	161	16.10	469	15.63
7.	7 Members family	64	6.40	80	8.00	89	8.90	233	7.77
8.	8 and above members family	34	3.40	84	8.40	71	7.10	189	6.30
	Total	1000	100	1000	100	1000	100	3000	100

Table - 4(20) : Level of education of household head.

Sl. No.	Level of Education	Bander ban	%	Ranga mati	%	Khagarach ari	%	Total	Total %
1.	Illiterate	620	62.00	334	33.40	301	30.10	1255	41.84
2.	Primary level of education	155	15.50	328	32.80	324	32.40	807	26.90
3.	Secondary level of education	107	10.70	137	13.70	161	16.10	405	13.50
4.	Secondary school of certificate examination qualified	72	7.20	120	12.00	128	12.80	320	10.67
5.	Higher Secondary certificate examination qualified/Diploma	31	3.10	46	4.60	62	6.20	139	4.63
6.	Graduate	14	1.40	26	2.60	21	2.10	61	2.03
7.	Post graduate	1	.10	9	.90	3	.30	13	0.43
	Total	1000	100	1000	100	1000	100	3000	100

The above table shows that 41.84% of the head of surveyed households remain illiterate. There is an urgent need of mass-education program in the CHT. Without literacy the head of households hardly will be able to benefit from tourism only as porter and not by at least as guide.

Table - 4(21) : Number of room in the house.

Sl. No.	Categories	Bander ban	%	Ranga mati	%	Khagarach ari	%	Total	Total %
1.	One storied temporary home (Number of room 1)	677	67.70	788	78.80	867	86.70	2332	77.74
2.	One storied temporary home (Number of room 2 or more)	300	30.00	166	16.60	108	10.80	574	19.13
3.	One storied semi pacca house (no. of room 1)	4	.40	26	2.60	13	1.30	43	1.43
4.	One storied semi pacca house (Number of room 2 or more)	8	.80	4	.40	8	.80	20	.67
5.	One storied pacca house (Number of room 1)	5	.50	12	1.20	3	.30	20	.67
6.	One storied pacca house (Number of room 2 or more)	5	.50	4	.40	1	.10	10	.33
7.	Two storied pacca house	1	.10	-	-	-	-	1	.03
	Total	1000	100	1000	100	1000	100	3000	100

Table - 4(22) : Households using different types of Energy.

Sl. No.	Sources of Energy	Bander ban	%	Ranga mati	%	Khagarach ari	%	Total	Total %
1.	Fuel wood	997	99.70	981	98.10	976	97.60	2954	98.47
2.	Fuel made of cowdung and other materials	2	.20	-	-	-	-	2	.07
3.	Fuel wood, fuel made of cowdung and other materials, kerosene etc use alternatively	-	-	14	1.40	20	2.00	34	1.13
4.	Electricity	1	.10	-	-	3	.30	4	.13
5.	Electricity and other fuel alternatively	-	-	5	.50	-	-	5	.17
6.	coal	-	-	-	-	1	.10	1	.03
	Total	1000	100	1000	100	1000	100	3000	100

98.47% households are using fuelwood as source of energy, which is directly a severe threat to environment and ecology. Govt. should must provide them alternative source of energy as to save the environment and ecology in the CHT.

Table - 4(23) : Sources of drinking water.

Sl. No.	Sources	Bander ban	%	Ranga mati	%	Khagarach ari	%	Total	Total %
1.	Tubewell	337	33.70	469	46.90	739	73.90	1545	51.50
2.	Pacca ring well	64	6.40	-	-	-	-	64	2.13
3.	Temporary ringwell	249	24.90	117	11.70	62	6.20	428	14.27
4.	Supply Water from tank	79	7.90	1	.10	-	-	80	2.67
5.	Supply Water through pipe	-	-	118	11.80	-	-	118	3.93
6.	Pond	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7.	River	129	12.90	70	7.00	-	-	199	6.63
8.	Natural tributaries or distributors	46	4.60	28	2.80	-	-	74	2.47
9.	Spring Water	90	9.00	1	.10	-	-	91	3.03
10.	Various Sources	6	.60	196	19.60	199	19.90	401	13.37
	Total	1000	100	1000	100	1000	100	1000	100

Table - 4(24) : Attitude towards local tourists.

Sl. No.	Responses	Bander ban	%	Ranga mati	%	Khagarachari	%	Total	Total %
1.	Welcome local tourist	998	99.80	999	99.90	954	95.40	2951	98.37
2.	Local tourist not desired	2	.20	1	.10	46	4.60	49	1.63
	Total	1000	100	1000	100	1000	100	3000	100

Reasons behind disliking about local tourists are mainly as follows :

The respondents thought that-

- i) tourist's motive usually is not so good;
- ii) local tourist is not desired at all (without showing any reason);
- iii) land less people may be deprived from jhum cultivation due to tourist inflow in this area;
- iv) tribal girl and women will suffer lot due to various reason; mainly sexual abuse, derogatory behavior by the tourist towards tribal girls and women, destruction of family harmony and peace, demoralization of tribal girls and women etc. Negation derived towards tourists mainly due to psycho-phobia of threthends on tribal girls and women.
- v) the number of Bengali settlers will be increased.
- vi) number of respondents disliking local tourists are larger at Khagrachari might have been influenced by the experience of insurgency as because Khagrachari happened to be the worst victim of unrest.

Table - 4(25) : Attitude towards foreign tourists.

Sl. No.	Responses	Bander ban	%	Ranga mati	%	Khagarachari	%	Total	Total %
1.	Welcome foreign tourist	1000	100.00	998	99.80	959	95.90	2957	98.57
2.	Foreign tourist not desired	-	-	2	.20	41	4.10	43	1.43
	Total	1000	100	1000	100	1000	100	3000	100

Reasons behind disliking about foreign tourists are mainly as follows :

The respondents thought that –

- i) tribal cultural heritage may be distracted due to the interference of foreign tourists;
- ii) land less people may be deprived from their Jhum cultivation due to tourists inflow in this area;
- iii) local people may be deprived from their enjoyment of local natural resources;
- iv) local people may face trouble in their movement due to tourists in flow;
- v) local people may face difficulty in interaction with the foreign tourist due to their linguistic limitation;
- vi) tribal girls and women will suffer drastically due to various reason, mainly sexual abuse, derogatory behavior by the tourists, demoralization, destruction of family peace and harmony and from all possible threats;
- vii) CHT's economy will be hampered (reasons are not clarified specifically).

Table - 4(26) : Sources of bathing water.

Sl. No.	Sources	Banderban	%	Rangamati	%	Khagarachari	%	Total	Total %
1.	Tubewell	25	2.50	17	1.70	609	60.90	651	21.70
2.	Pacca ring well	1	.10	-	-	-	-	1	.03
3.	Temporary ringwell	29	2.90	11	1.10	48	4.80	88	2.94
4.	Supply Water from tank	16	1.60	4	.40	1	.10	21	.70
5.	Supply Water through pipe	3	.30	85	8.50	-	-	88	2.94
6.	Pond	28	2.80	6	.60	-	-	34	1.13
7.	River	645	64.50	586	58.60	20	2.00	1251	41.70
8.	Tributaries or distributors	91	9.10	93	9.30	2	.20	186	6.20
9.	Spring Water	85	8.50	-	-	-	-	85	2.83
10.	Various Sources	77	7.70	198	19.80	320	32.00	595	19.83
	Total	1000	100	1000	100	1000	100	1000	100

Table - 4(27) : Categories of latrine.

Sl. No.	Categories of Latrine	Banderban	%	Rangamati	%	Khagarachari	%	Total	Total %
1.	Natural places	647	64.70	16	1.60	41	4.10	704	23.47
2.	Temporary shed (non-sanitary)	120	12.00	670	67.00	697	69.70	1487	49.57
3.	Semi-pacca non-sanitary	20	2.00	227	22.70	209	20.90	456	15.20
4.	Pacca non-sanitary	199	19.90	52	5.20	22	2.20	273	9.10
5.	Semi-pacca sanitary	11	1.10	13	1.30	21	2.10	45	1.50
6.	Pacca sanitary	3	.30	22	2.20	10	1.00	35	1.16
	Total	1000	100	1000	100	1000	100	3000	100

Table - 4(28) : Categories of the size of cattle and poultry farming.

Sl. No.	Size of the farm household wise	Banderban	%	Rangamati	%	Khagarachari	%	Total	Total %
1.	Households have only 1 cow	4	.40	5	.50	4	.40	13	.43
2.	Households have 2 or more cow	9	.90	6	.60	9	.90	24	.80
3.	Households have 1 or more goat	6	.60	2	.20	3	.30	11	.37
4.	Households have 1 or more pig	36	3.60	6	.60	5	.50	47	1.57
5.	Households have poultry 1-5 numbers	88	8.80	48	4.80	44	4.40	180	6.00
6.	Households have poultry 6 or more	184	18.40	227	22.70	183	18.30	594	19.80
7.	Households have 1 or more lamb	1	.10	-	-	-	-	1	.03
8.	Households have all the categories	411	41.10	398	39.80	551	55.10	1360	45.33
9.	Households have only pig and poultry	131	13.10	60	6.00	73	7.30	264	8.80
10.	Households donot have any type of cattle or poultry farming	130	13.00	248	24.80	128	12.80	506	16.87
	Total :	1000	100	1000	100	1000	100	3000	100

Table - 4(29) : House holds with electricity facilities.

Sl. No.	Status	Banderban	%	Rangamati	%	Khagarachari	%	Total	Total %
1.	Households with electricity facilities	172	17.20	269	26.90	162	16.20	603	20.10
2.	Households without electricity	828	82.80	731	73.10	838	83.80	2397	79.90
	Total :	1000	100	1000	100	1000	100	3000	100

Table - 4(30) : House holds engaged with jhum cultivation.

Sl. No.	Status	Banderban	%	Rangamati	%	Khagarachari	%	Total	Total %
1.	Households engaged with jhum cultivation	350	35.00	183	18.30	52	5.20	585	19.50
2.	Households not engaged with Jhum cultivation	650	65.00	817	81.70	948	94.80	2415	80.50
	Total :	1000	100	1000	100	1000	100	3000	100

The above percentage revealed that a small portion of households are engaged with jhum cultivation. Main reasons behind the less participation in the jhum cultivation are identified as follows :

- i) Fertility of land for jhumming has been reduced remarkably;
- ii) Availability of land for jhumming adjacent to household of the farmers has also been reduced remarkably;
- iii) Security problem due to unrest over the last two and half decades in that area;
- iv) Opportunity cost of the farmer is less in jhum cultivation;
- v) Increasing environmental awareness of the local community;
- vi) Government control over jhum cultivation;
- vii) Overall scarcity of jhum land;

The major reasons behind jhum cultivation are identified as follows :

- i) Without having any other cultivable land except jhumming,
- ii) For livelihood,
- iii) For additional source of income;
- iv) For horticulture.
- v) As traditional practice.
- vi) Having no other work except jhumming.
- vii) To absorb potential unemployment.
- viii) Scarcity of plain/cultivable land.
- ix) Lack of sufficient environmental awareness among the local community.

Table - 4(31) : Proficiency of the head of house hood in Bengali language (in writing).

Sl. No.	Degree of Proficiency	Banderban Hill District	%	Rangamati Hill District	%	Khagarachari Hill District	%	Total	Total %
1.	High	87	8.70	140	14.00	208	20.80	435	14.50
2.	Average	145	14.50	294	29.40	294	29.40	733	24.43
3.	Poor	147	14.70	229	22.90	176	17.60	552	18.40
4.	Not at all	621	62.10	337	33.70	322	32.20	1280	42.67
	Total :	1000	100	1000	100	1000	100	3000	100

Table - 4(32) : Proficiency of the head of household in Begigali language (in reading).

Sl. No.	Degree of Proficiency	Banderban Hill District	%	Rangamati Hill District	%	Khagarachari Hill District	%	Total	Total %
1.	High	81	8.10	141	14.10	216	21.60	438	14.60
2.	Average	152	15.20	294	29.40	289	28.90	735	24.50
3.	Poor	144	14.40	230	23.00	178	17.80	552	18.40
4.	Not at all	623	62.30	335	33.50	317	31.70	1275	42.50
	Total :	1000	100	1000	100	1000	100	3000	100

Table - 4(33) : Proficiency of the head of house hold in Bengali language (in speaking).

Sl. No.	Degree of Proficiency	Banderban Hill District	%	Rangamati Hill District	%	Khagarachari Hill District	%	Total	Total %
1.	High	117	11.70	150	15.00	209	20.90	476	15.87
2.	Average	407	40.70	629	62.90	521	52.10	1557	51.92
3.	Poor	444	44.40	216	21.60	159	15.90	819	27.30
4.	Not at all	32	3.20	5	.50	111	11.10	148	4.93
	Total :	1000	100	1000	100	1000	100	3000	100

Table - 4(34) : Proficiency of the head of household in English language (in writing).

Sl. No.	Degree of Proficiency	Banderban Hill District	%	Rangamati Hill District	%	Khagarachari Hill District	%	Total	Total %
1.	High	40	4.00	134	13.40	162	16.20	336	11.20
2.	Average	77	7.70	212	21.20	227	22.70	516	17.20
3.	Poor	135	13.50	294	29.40	233	23.30	662	22.07
4.	Not at all	748	74.80	360	36.00	378	37.80	1486	49.53
	Total :	1000	100	1000	100	1000	100	3000	100

Table - 4(35) : Proficiency of the head of household in English language (in reading).

Sl. No.	Degree of Proficiency	Banderban Hill District	%	Rangamati Hill District	%	Khagarachari Hill District	%	Total	Total %
1.	High	48	4.80	82	8.20	110	11.00	240	8.00
2.	Average	59	5.90	206	20.60	208	20.80	473	15.77
3.	Poor	127	12.70	329	32.90	285	28.50	741	24.70
4.	Not at all	766	76.60	383	38.30	397	39.70	1546	51.53
	Total :	1000	100	1000	100	1000	100	3000	100

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Table - 4(36) : Proficiency of the head of household in English language (in speaking).

Sl. No.	Degree of Proficiency	Banderban Hill District	%	Rangamati Hill District	%	Khagarachari Hill District	%	Total	Total %
1.	Improved/high	1	.10	30	3.0	39	3.90	70	2.33
2.	Medium/average	47	4.70	235	23.50	210	21.00	492	16.40
3.	Weak/poor	41	4.10	330	33.00	328	32.80	699	23.30
4.	Not at all	911	91.10	405	40.50	423	42.30	1739	57.97
	Total :	1000	100	1000	100	1000	100	3000	100

Recommendations for environmental and ecological development :

Heads of 3000 surveyed households were cordially asked to furnish their opinion regarding development of natural environment and ecology of the CHT region. Their answers were spontaneous and self made. Some of them were not able to formulate their suggestion specifically but their spirit of answer or suggestion sound very significant. As the respondents differ in their professions and livelihoods, their recommendation for development of natural environment and ecology naturally had some professional bias. For example, Marginal people emphasized more on financial assistance or credit, such as micro-credit, govt. subsidy, food assistance, vulnerable group feeding, food for work etc., while comparatively solvent people put priority on massive development programme which could be initiated by the government as well as by the international development partners. The educated people focused on lack of education and environmental awareness. A common urge have been observed among all the respondents about afforestation and alleviation of poverty.

During the survey it was significantly observed that the level of environmental awareness among the respondents is almost up to the mark but existing systems and traditions contradict them in their usual practices. Although their consciousness, intelligence and believe are environmentally friendly but the limited sources of livelihood, poverty and primitiveness of lifestyle often impel them against environment. How ever, they all recommended around 39 solutions, of which 12 were mostly common for the conservation of local environment and ecology.

They are as follows :

1. Well planned afforestation programme (both in private and public sector),
2. Social afforestation,
3. Restriction on Jhum cultivation,
4. Poverty alleviation,
5. Promotion of education and environmental awareness,
6. Stop denudation of forest,
7. Restriction on illegal timber trades,
8. Improvement of alternative sources of energy instead of fuel wood,
9. Employment generation,
10. Discourage rapid growth of population,
11. Improvement of health and sanitation services and
12. Ensure availability of pure drinking water.

Other less common solutions recommended by the respondents are as follows :

1. Improvement of the existing poor transportation and infrastructures,
2. Protection of land degradation,
3. Protection of land slides and soil erosion,
4. Ensure cultivation of fringeland by reducing the level of water of Kaptai dam,
5. Industrialization, based on locally available raw material.
6. Extension of advanced technology based agricultural cultivation,
7. Rehabilitation of landless people and extension of afforestation through them,
8. Improvement of irrigation system,
9. Improvement of marketing facilities of agri products,
10. Extension of livestock and poultry farming and ensure their treatment facilities,
11. Popularize natural fertilizer instead of chemical fertilizer,
12. Reduction of adverse effects of agro-chemical and pesticides,
13. Extension of horticulture,
14. Extension of fisheries,
15. Protection of wildlife and conservation of flora and fauna,
16. Vocational training for the unemployed youths in the field of horticulture, fisheries, poultry and livestock,
17. Provide micro-credit, financial assistance and loan,
18. Massive developmental initiation by the Government and international development partners,
19. Strengthening of small and cottage industries sector,
20. Explore tourism potentialities,

21. Afforestation through jhum cultivation for planned govt. afforestation programme instead of existing afforestation through denuding jungle and bush. Rather, they could offer the farmers an opportunity of jhum cultivation for once so that the area is automatically denuded and read for afforestation.
22. Proper implementation of CHT Peace treaty.
23. Restriction on use of fuel wood in the brickfield,
24. Facilitate the increase of trade and commerce,
25. Mitigation of land dispute,
26. Withdrawn army camps and fulfillment of the govt's commitment towards repatriated tribal refugees from Tripura, India and
27. Protection of natural environment through Govt. monitoring and supervision by the concerned law enforcement agencies.

4.2 Survey on existing accommodation and restaurant facilities in the three district towns in the CHT region.

Accommodation and restaurant facilities are the two important prerequisites for tourism industry. Information and statistics about accommodation and restaurant facilities of the CHT region are quite inadequate. It is needed to mention that most of the existing tourist resorts are located mainly adjacent to the three district towns. So, the researcher deemed it necessary to undertake an overall survey on existing accommodation and restaurant facilities available in all the three district towns of the CHT region. The researcher does believe that it is first ever benchmark survey in this field. These findings serve a major purpose of present thesis, besides widening the scope for future work and on the other hand could be most useful information guide for the tourists. The details features and findings of the survey can be seen in the Appendix-'A'

Gist of the major findings are as follows :

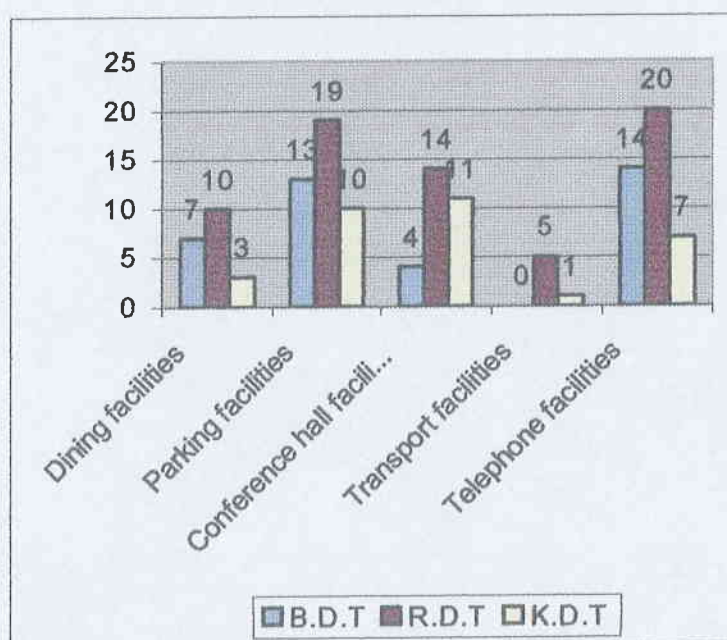
Table - 4(37) : Number of existing hotels/guest houses as identified during the survey and their status of ownership.

Name of the district town	Status of ownership of the hotel/guest house				Total	%
	Govt./Semi govt. /Autonomous etc.	%	Private	%		
Banderban	8	42.11	11	57.89	19	28.35
Rangamati	9	28.13	23	71.87	32	47.77
Khagrachari	8	50.00	8	50.00	16	23.88
Total	25		42		67	100

Table - 4(38) : The number of bedroom facilities in the hotel/guest houses are as follows :

Name of the district town	Double beded room			Single beded room			Air conditioned room			Triple beded room			Total nos. of bed room
	Govt./semi i Govt./Auto etc.	Pvt.	Total	Govt./ semi Govt. /Auto etc.	Pvt.	Total	Govt./semi i Govt./Auto etc.	Pvt.	Total	Govt./ SemiGov t./Auto etc.	Pvt.	Total	
Banderban	22	74	96	14	152	166	4	-	4	1	11	12	278
Rangamati	41	184	225	4	220	224	11	15	26	6	35	41	516
Khagrachari	14	42	66	7	101	108	7	-	7	1	6	7	188
Total	87	300	387	25	473	498	22	15	37	8	52	60	982

Figure - 4.1 : Some essential physical facilities in the hotel/guest houses in CHT.



B.D.T = Banderban District Town

R.D.T = Rangamati District Town

K.D.T = Khagrachari District Town

It is noted that there is no fax or internet facilities in the hotel/guest houses in the three district towns of the CHT region. It is apparently observed and assumed that most of the private

are often being occupied of its partial capacity in all season. These are normally meant only for the selected categories of guests. Private owned hotels are open for all.

Dining facilities are available at a time for 30 and above boarders at very limited hotel and guest houses. The numbers of such category at Banderban, Rangamati and Khagrachari are 3, 6 and 2 respectively. Only the three govt. circuit houses in the three district towns can accommodate about 40 persons each at a time. Besides, Tourism motel at Rangamati can accommodate 80 person at a time, while hotel Sufia Residential and Dreamland hotel at the same town can accommodate 50 and 55 person respectively. Hotel Chengi residential at Khagrachari also can accommodate 50 persons at a time.

The existing fooding facilities have also been surveyed in the three district towns under the same process during the month of May-June, 2000. The gist of the findings are as follows :

Table - 4(39) : Fooding and other facilities infrastructure in the hotel/guest houses :

Name of the district town	Number of hotel/ restaurent	Numbers of persons can take food at a time	Numbers of hotel/restaurent who have telephone facilities	Numbers of hotel/ restaurent who have parking facilities	Numbers of hotel/ restaurent who are offering their special food item	Numbers of hotel/ restaurent who are facilitated with electricity
Banderban	14	371	12	6	4	13
Rangamati	35	1274	7	20	22	35
Khagrachari	27	759	1	18	25	27
Total	76	2404	20	44	51	75

Presently, most of the hotels and restaurants are offering only Bangladeshi and CHT local dish. No hotel and restaurant can provide with other than Bangladeshi and CHT local dish at Banderban district town. At Rangamati only 5 hotels and restaurants can offer foreign dish (like, English Oriental, Chaineese, Indian and Thai) including the Bangladeshi and local dish, while at Khagrachari only one hotel can offer Indian dish and other one can offer only Chinese dish including the Bangladeshi and local dish.

Ability to conversation in English among the hotel staffs are shown in the following figure :

Figure - 4.2 : Ability to Conversation in English among the hotel staffs in CHT.

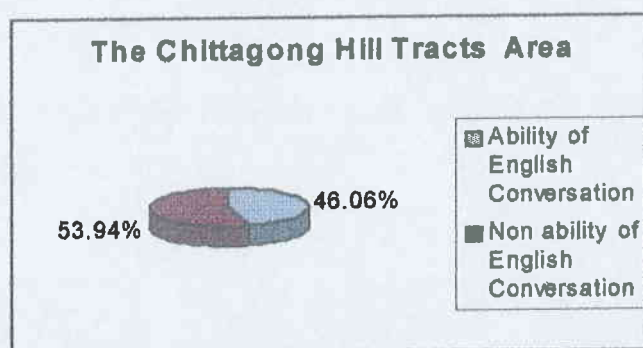


Figure - 4.3 : Ability to Conversation in English among the hotel staffs at Rangamati

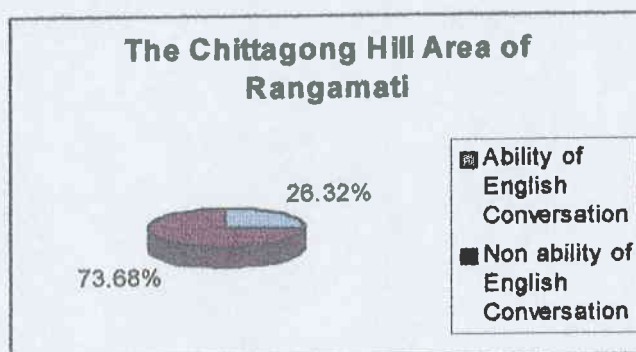


Figure - 4.4 Ability to Conversation in English among the hotel staffs at Banderban

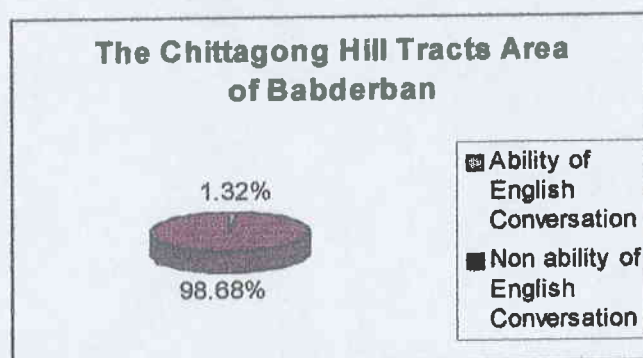
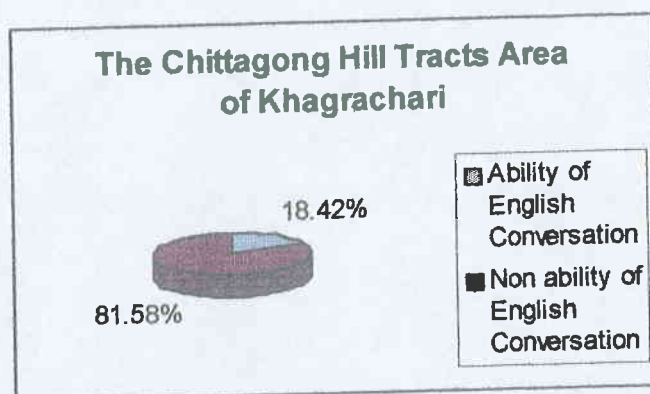


Figure - 4.5 : Ability to Conversation in English among the hotel staffs at Khagrachari



4.3 & 4.4 Interviews by mail through semi-structured questionnaire, personal interactions and interviews.

An attempt has been made to undertake interviews by mail through semi-structured questionnaire regarding development of the local communities and protection of natural environment through promotion of tourism in the CHT region. In the questionnaire, the number of questions were limited and the scope of answer was partially open. The questionnaire was sent to the inhabitants of the CHT and they were selected in a representative way, like social elite, intellectuals, persons who are serving in the local administration and public representatives at the grass root level. Total 129 questionnaires were sent to the said categories of people by mail and among them 54 persons have responded in time. Besides, the researcher has taken an effort to analyze his experiences and findings, which he has gathered through interactions and discussions with the various level of people during his professional duties for a period of one decade regarding the matters related to the CHT.

The perceived ideas and received answers of the respondents have been analyzed question wise. The results and findings of the analysis are being presented as follows :

1. The first question was – “Whether the respondent considers the CHT as suitable and potential for tourism”. Arguments were invited in the questionnaire in favour of affirmative or negative replay. All the respondents opined that the CHT is really very suitable and tremendously potential for the tourism industry. None of them negated the opinion. Most of the

The CHT is a less advanced and less developed area in comparison to the rest of the country but its an unique pleasure-garden of gods. The every corner of the CHT surrounded with the wonderful beauty of the nature is highly attractive. The artificial and natural lakes, water falls, valleys, rivers and canals, jungles and forests, meditative green adorned hills and hillocks, different dialects of the 13 types of ethnicities, their diversified culture, dresses and life style, wild animals of various species like deer, elephant, parti-colored birds of various species and large numbers of traditional religious institutions bear a dazzling sign of tremendous potentiality of tourism industry in the CHT area. The pollution free natural environment, solitude, availability of fresh food, scope for inclined amusement and recreation, salubrious weather and year round favourable climate, available transportation facilities, friendly behavior and hospitality of the local people may ensure the prospect of rapid expansion of tourism industry in that area. Though it was not mentioned in the questionnaire yet most of the respondents echoed spontaneously that due to the long prevailing unrest tourism despite of all potentialities could not be flourished at a minimum level in the CHT area. The peace accord, signed on 2nd December, 1997 has opened up the door of massive development and sustainable peace in the CHT which have widen the huge potentiality to develop tourism industry in that area.

Some of the respondents argued that a great number of tourists could be attracted if they are provided with the sky riding and rope way facilities in the Alutilla hills of Khagrachari, Furamon hills of Rangamati and Chimbuk hills in Banderban. Besides, if the existing facilities of river cruising, boat living and water sports in the kaptai lake are extended under a planned efforts many tourists may be attracted intensively. Among the respondents few suggest that the types of tourist facilities should be increased in the CHT, such as tourists attraction available in the villages of Australia, like bush walking, mountain trekking, rafting etc. They believe that those improvisations might definitely enhance tourist interest in CHT.

A portion of respondents recommended that a number of cottages home, lodge or motel should be built rendering the style of traditional tribal house on the top or in the slope of hills or in the valleys. They opined if the cottage home, lodge or motels are built with extension of limited modern facilities that might surely attract a great number of foreign tourists. They pointed out that it will cost a little to build such tourist resorts while will ensure a better turnover in tourism business. They are also enthusiastic about a bright prospect of sustainable tourism through community participation.

2. The second question was - "Which are the main causes of destruction of the natural environment in the CHT area?" With this question all the respondents identified the following 6 major causes commonly:

- (i) Due to the traditional jhum cultivation and gradual squeezing of its normal cycle from in between 10 and 15 years to in between 2 to 3 years are causing the declination of the land fertility, land degradation and soil erosion and thus the natural environment and ecology are being destructed in the CHT area. The unclassified forests in the CHT are going to be denuded entirely due to jhum cultivation. Since the jhum cultivation is being done under slash and burn process, it increases carbon intensity in the air. All of the respondents have identified a series of causes for environmental destruction but each of them marked jhum cultivation remarkably and mentioned it in the serial number one or two in their answer.
- (ii) All the respondents argued unanimously that a serious environmental destruction is going on due to over exploitation of the forest resources and felling of trees inconsiderately and extortionately. They have identified this depletion as one of the most destructive reason behind the degradation of natural environment and ecology in the CHT area. They marked it in the serial number one or two in their answer. Most of the respondents thought that the following reasons are responsible for the quick depletion of the forest resources in the CHT :
 - (a) The forest resources in the CHT area have severely been depleted due to the chain misdeed of the dishonest and highly greedy timber traders, dishonest staffs and officers of the forest department, dishonest staffs and officers of the administration and law enforcement department and of course with the unjust patronage of the dishonest political leaders. Many of the respondents defined the chain as a 'vicious circle' and some of them allegorically phrased this vicious circle as 'Timber Mafia'. Many of the respondents have accused the forest department for their acute failure to implement and execute the Forest Act properly.
 - (b) Many of the respondents opined that Govt. owned forest resources are being exploited deceptively in the CHT area under the name of 'jot (landed estate held on proprietary basis) permit'. They argued that the land owners hardly own any tree but using the 'jot permit' as tools the 'Timber Mafia' circle is cutting the trees inconsiderately in the reserve forests. Some practically experienced respondents informed that it will not be surprising to see a vast prairie if any body enters few hundred yards in to the inside from the boarders of a reserve forests which are especially located in the remote and inaccessible areas. That is why many people argued that the actual forest area is much less than the figure mentioned in the govt. statistics.

- (c) Many of the respondents mentioned that a huge quantity of trees is being consumed in the brickfield and in the processing of tobacco leaf in the CHT area. Though the firewood consumption is strictly prohibited in the brick filed by the provision of the Brick Burning Act, 1988 but empirical evidences show that firewood is being consumed almost freely in the brickfield in the CHT area. Consumption of fire wood in the drying process of tobacco leaf has also created a new damaging concern in the process of depletion of trees in the CHT.
 - (d) Many of the respondents argued that the lack of peoples participation in the conservation of forests is also a major cause of denudation of forests in the CHT.
 - (e) Due to relentless corruption, practical afforestation is being done much less than the annual targeted plan, which is usually launched by the Govt. involving a huge budget. Thus the forests are being depleted unilaterally, while realistically the rate of afforestation is very insignificant.
 - (f) Many of the respondents thought that a huge number of trees are being felled every year due to unplanned development activities, especially to construct roads and buildings in the CHT.
- (iii) The rapid growth of population in the CHT squeezes the cultivable land. People are creating cultivable land by deforming hills and destroying trees and as a consequences the hills are left denuded. These are affecting to worsen land degradation and soil erosion, finally causing to environmental destruction.
 - (iv) Over rainfall and fast flow of water by the slope way of hills are resulting extensive soil erosion which carry huge sediment and gradually reduce the navigability of the rivers and lakes. Many respondents referred it as a new alarming sign of environmental and ecological destruction in the CHT. Especially, filling of the Kaptai lake appeared before some of the respondents as a threat to environment in the near future.
 - (v) The lack of environmental awareness among the local communities is referred as a major cause of environmental degradation in the CHT. Most of the respondents recommended spontaneously to take an adequate measure to build up and enhance environmental awareness among the local communities.
 - (vi) Some of the respondents thought that the massive killing of wild animals and birds has created the ecological imbalance. It was mentioned that the smugglers, the amateur hunters and tropical food habit of some ethnic communities are mainly causing of extinction of the wild animals and birds. Tiger, bear, wild cow, species of large goat, spotted deer, wild cock, etc. are almost disappeared from the CHT.

Besides, many of the respondents opined during personal interaction/discussion and also through mail that the following reasons are also playing negative role against the natural environment and ecology in the CHT :

- (1) Mono culture in the cultivation, horticulture and afforestation is badly influencing over natural environment. Special reference was drawn on teak-wood and rubber farming which are creating negative impact on the natural environment.
- (2) Many of the respondents identified 'poverty' as a threat to the natural environment and ecology since the lion part of the population of the CHT region are lying below the poverty level. At the very outset the poverty leads the poor people to destroy the forests for their livelihood. Besides, poverty itself is a root cause of degradation of natural environment. So, here in the CHT situation is really grave and deteriorating every moment.
- (3) Scarcity of pure drinking water, absence of sanitary latrine, and drainage facilities, pollution of confined water in the rivers and canals during summer season etc. are also causing negative implications on natural environment in the CHT. The half of the population in CHT are used to excrete faeces here and there, in the jungle and in the bushes. The majority inhabitants in the Rangamati town are used to excrete their faeces in the latrine at their homestead but most of which are adjacent to the kaptai lake. Thus, the process is gradually polluting the water of the kaptai lake.
- (4) Some of the respondents opined that exclusive useages of fuel wood for cooking in the house holds and hotels and as source of energy in the small and cottage industries are destroying natural environment.
- (5) Collection of sand and stone by digging hills for commercial purposes is creating the cause of soil erosion and land degradation in the CHT.
- (6) Many of the respondents opined that the long prevailing unrest in the CHT area has been acted as a catalytic in the process of deterioration of natural environment.
- (7) Many of the respondents mentioned that there is a serious lack of govt. initiation to protect and uphold the natural environment in the CHT.
- (8) Absence of proper drainage systems in the hills are causing of soil erosion and filling of the river, canals and lakes, which altogether badly influence the natural environment.

3. The third question was- "whether it is possible or not to improve the socio-economic condition of the local communities through extension of tourism in the CHT area? Opinions gathered during personal discussion and interaction and reply through mail revealed that there is a tremendous possibility of improvement of the socio-economic condition of the local

communities through extension of tourism in the CHT region. The arguments behind the idea are consolidated as follows :

If the tourism industry is being extended in the CHT region, then -

- (a) existing unemployment problem will be addressed duly by the creation of new employment opportunities and income generating activities;
- (b) transportation systems and other infrastructural arrangement will be improved;
- (c) there will be more mobility in the economic activities;
- (d) extensive extension will occur in the small and cottage industries, especially the tribal people will be able to acquire financial stability by using their traditional expatriate and skill in the field of textile and weaving industry;
- (e) the local growers can get proper price of their produced fruits, while, they are presently deprived due to absence of adequate marketing facilities and accessibility;
- (f) local trade and commerce will be extended;
- (g) the number of hotel and restaurant in the CHT area will be increased and therefore will bring financial benefit and employment opportunities;
- (h) lot of off-farm employment opportunities will be created for the local people;
- (i) the gradual extension of tourism industry will bring local and foreign investment in the CHT and that will directly and indirectly help the local people to acquire their self reliance financially.
- (j) if the tourist resorts are being developed with the basis of local participation that will gradually increase the financial strength of the local participant;
- (k) the local transportation system will be extended. Opportunities will be created to involve more manpower in this sector which will eventually strengthen the local financial base;
- (l) to cope with the gradual incremental demand of the flourishing tourism industry in the CHT, education will be extended, change and upgradation will enrich in the out look of life style of the local people. Health and environmental awareness will be increased and thus all these components will play a vital role to improve the socio-economic condition of the local communities;
- (m) the socio-economic condition of the local communities will be improved by the backward linkage and forward linkage through the tourism industry;
- (n) the scope and potentiality will be increased on developing mills and industries on the basis of local raw materials;
- (o) skilled manpower with professional knowledge will be developed through the community participation in the tourism industry.

4. The forth question was- "whether the gradual extension of tourism industry will act as a threat to the socio-cultural and religious values and tradition of the various ethnic communities in the CHT". A partially mixed responses were received with this question, during personal discussions and answers through mail. 95% respondents argued that the gradual extension of tourism industry will not act as a threat to the socio-cultural and religious values and tradition of the various ethnic communities in the CHT. Thereafter, most of them expressed simultaneously some recommendation to preserve the socio-cultural and religious values and tradition.

About 4% respondents thought that it is obviously a threat, while the rest 1% do not have any specific comments. They rather emphasized on some hypothetical situation for the possible future implications.

The lion part of the respondents who do not agree with the negative implication of the tourism industry argued as follow :

- (a) There are very limited scope for negative thinking in the present day context of globalization. Rather, the socio-cultural and religious values and tradition of the different ethnic communities will be flourished with the extension of tourism industry in the CHT area. Since the diverse and colorful life style of the various tribal communities will act as an ingredient of the tourism industry, so for the sake of extension of this industry the very ingredient will obviously be nourished. Besides, the ethnic communities who were not able to put proper attention to their own socio-cultural and religious values due to their fatal poverty, will get more opportunity to restore the same.
- (b) Many of the respondents thought that there is a very little room for negative impact of tourism industry in the global context of the new era of satellite technology and free access and exchange of culture.
- (c) Though many of the respondents who did not support the negative impact of tourism industry but they emphasized on the necessity of proper measure and guide line to protect their socio-cultural and religious values, tradition and heritage. In this regard, they argued for extension of sophisticated and reflective type of tourism in the CHT area. Some of the respondents opined that nobody will raise objection if tourism industry flourishes without hampering the over all values of the local communities which is apparently appreciated as a success story in Maldives.

Those who endorse the negative impact of tourism industry on socio-cultural, religious values and tradition of the local communities have argued as follows :

- (a) The individuality of the local community will be declined due to the negative influence of tourism industry on their socio-cultural, religious values and tradition like many countries in the world where the tourism industry has been flourished significantly. They have cited example of the south Asia and the Southeast Asia with special reference to Thailand, Indonesia and Nepal.
- (b) There is a threat to spread up prostitution among the local girls and women due to an obvious consequence of tourism.
- (c) The local young generation may be misled.
- (d) There is a chance to spread up despair among the local people observing the luxurious life style of the tourists from developed and rich countries.
- (e) Imitative propensity will be increased among the local communities to follow the foreign culture and tradition.

Thus, with the above arguments and opinions an idea could be adopted that the people of the CHT with very few exception are generous, open hearted and they are almost free from prejudice and fanatic attitude. The lion part of the respondents believes that the gradual extension of tourism industry will not hamper their socio-cultural and religious values and tradition. There after, they are also conscious about the negative impact of the tourism industry and that's why they have recommended some protective measure simultaneously.

5. The fifth question was- "Is there any possibility for tourism industry to be helpful to the protection of natural environment?" The gathered opinions in this regard revealed that majority of the respondents had affirmative view. They thought that tourism could definitely play a supplementary role for the protection of natural environment. Most of the respondents argued in this regard as follows:

- (a) Since the natural environment i.e., the natural beauty is the main source of tourist attraction, therefore, environmental awareness is likely to develop for the sake of it's own interest,
- (b) The local people will gradually be able to avoid the primitive means of livelihood with the increasing scope of new employment generation as a result of the extension of tourism industry,
- (c) Govt. will increase her initiative towards environmental protection. Eco-park, theme park, sanctuary etc. will be created and that will enhance the environmental base.
- (d) Illegal timber collection by the timber Mafia circle will be hampered due to frequent movement of the tourists,
- (e) If the tourist resorts is developed through local community participation that would increase community participation for the environmental protection.

The rest of the respondents who believe that the natural environment will be hampered due to tourism opined as follows :

- (a) Forest resources will be depleted due to creation of new infrastructures for tourism,
- (b) The prevailing solitude will be hampered due to the increasing number of tourists,
- (c) More trees will be felled due to increasing usage of fuel wood,
- (d) Wild life will be disappeared,
- (e) Environment will be polluted due to increasing wastage,
- (f) Natural environment will be hampered due to increasing population and
- (g) Over exploitation and usage of the local resources will create Environmental and ecological imbalance.

But it is noteworthy that almost all the respondents argued for the proper implementation, supervision and monitoring of the Act, Rules and Regulation related to environment and emphasis is also given on extensive enhancement of the environmental awareness.

6. With the last question specific recommendations were invited from the respondents for the sake of proper development and extension of tourism in the CHT area. All the respondents have given maximum emphasis and priority on the following 5 recommendations.

- (a) A revolutionary development of the overall infrastructure in the CHT area is highly needed. The following categories of infrastructural development have also been mentioned with special emphasis :
 - (i) Infrastructure for better transportation including road, air and river way.
 - (ii) Fooding and residential infrastructure for the tourists,
 - (iii) Required infrastructural arrangement of the attractive tourist resorts for tourism.

Besides, some of the respondents emphasized on the following infrastructural arrangements :

- (i) Telecommunication,
 - (ii) Satellite amusement,
 - (iii) Information technology,
 - (iv) Extensive marketing facilities for the locally produced product,
 - (v) Health and sanitation.
- (b) It is needed to increase the number of accessible tourist resorts up to optimum level and development of existing resorts. Importance was given on the

diversification of the types of tourism. Some of the respondents opined that the following scopes of tourism could be developed in the CHT area :

- (i) River cruising by the fast, slow and medium moving riverine transport in the large Kaptai lake and in the hilly rivers. Some small lakes could be developed by creating barricade in between two hills where it is possible,
 - (ii) Some traditional small villages could be developed in a planned way with the various ethnic communities on the basis of community participation to expose their traditional culture and life style before the tourists.
 - (iii) Arrangement for sight seeing and floating recreation including river cruising by the commodious vessel in the Kaptai Lake,
 - (iv) Development of the existing tourist resorts in the three hill district, such as the spot 'Meghla', 'Shaila Prapat', 'Miringa Lake', 'Sualake', 'Boga lake' and 'Chimbuk' at Banderban, similarly, well accessibility could be created to reach and ascend the 'Tajindong' (officially called as Bijoy', the highest hill in Bangladesh) and 'Keocradang' (the 2nd highest hill in the country) in the same district. The facilities of rope way, bush walking, mountain trekking and sky riding could be provided in all the three districts. Alutilla hill at Khagrachari and Furamon hill at Rangamati could be developed in the same way.
 - (v) Through developing well coordination harmonious presentation of the tribal tradition and culture, folks and tales, songs and dances could be possible.
 - (vi) Eco-park, theme park, botanical garden, sanctuary, golf course and night safari could be established at the convenient and potential places in the CHT.
 - (vii) Package tour facilities could be offered to the tourists by the govt. and private tour operators for the three hill districts altogether.
- (C) Arrangement should be made to ensure extensive and reliable publicity in the mass media of home and abroad with an end in view to disseminate the prevailing situation in the CHT is quiet favorable and peaceful with the advent of historic peace accord signed on 2nd December, 1997 after a grievous unrest over two and half decades.
- (D) Well precautionary arrangement should be ensured in the CHT, so that the law and order situation remain satisfactory. Public awareness and participation should also be ensured. Many of the respondents forecast in such a way that there is no scope for extension of tourism industry in the CHT area without keeping a sound law and order situation there.

- (E) Most of the respondents argued for the immediate necessity of a well integrated policy guide line through local peoples' participation for the extension of tourism industry in the CHT area. Many of them also argued that environmental aspects should get priority in the policy guide line specifically formulated in this regard. Some of them opined that the tourism industry should remain free from excessive control and barrier of govt. administration. By this way, the local public represented institutions, autonomous bodies and enterprises will be able to play a vital role in flourishing tourism.

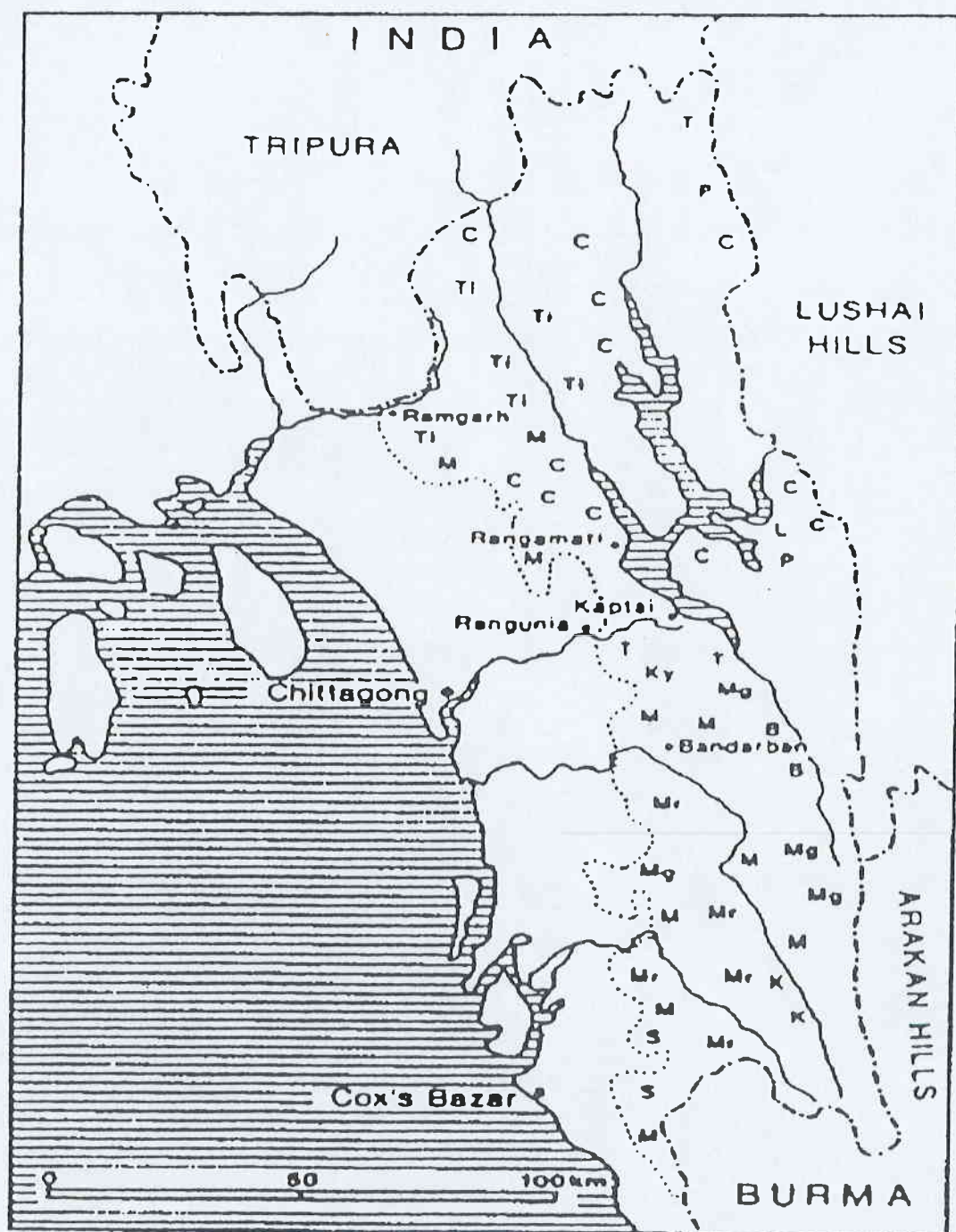
Some of the respondents also recommended to consider the following issues :

- (i) to develop picnic spot at various places in the CHT region.
- (ii) to improve the existing tribal handi-craft centres through enhancing facility for their marketing scope.
- (iii) to formulate necessary guide line and to extend sufficient scope to facilitate and encourage the private sector for their significant participation in the tourism industry.
- (iv) to motivate the local communities as to build up their proper mental makeup towards tourists and tourism industries,
- (v) govt. initiation for more afforestation with the social participation to cover up the existing vacuum in the forest area of the CHT region.
- (vi) to extend rural electrification in the CHT region, while the existing facilities as mentioned are very poor, and
- (vii) to create and extend a package facilities by the govt. and private tour operators for the foreign tourists from the arrival point in the air/land port to the tourism destination.

Chapter : Five

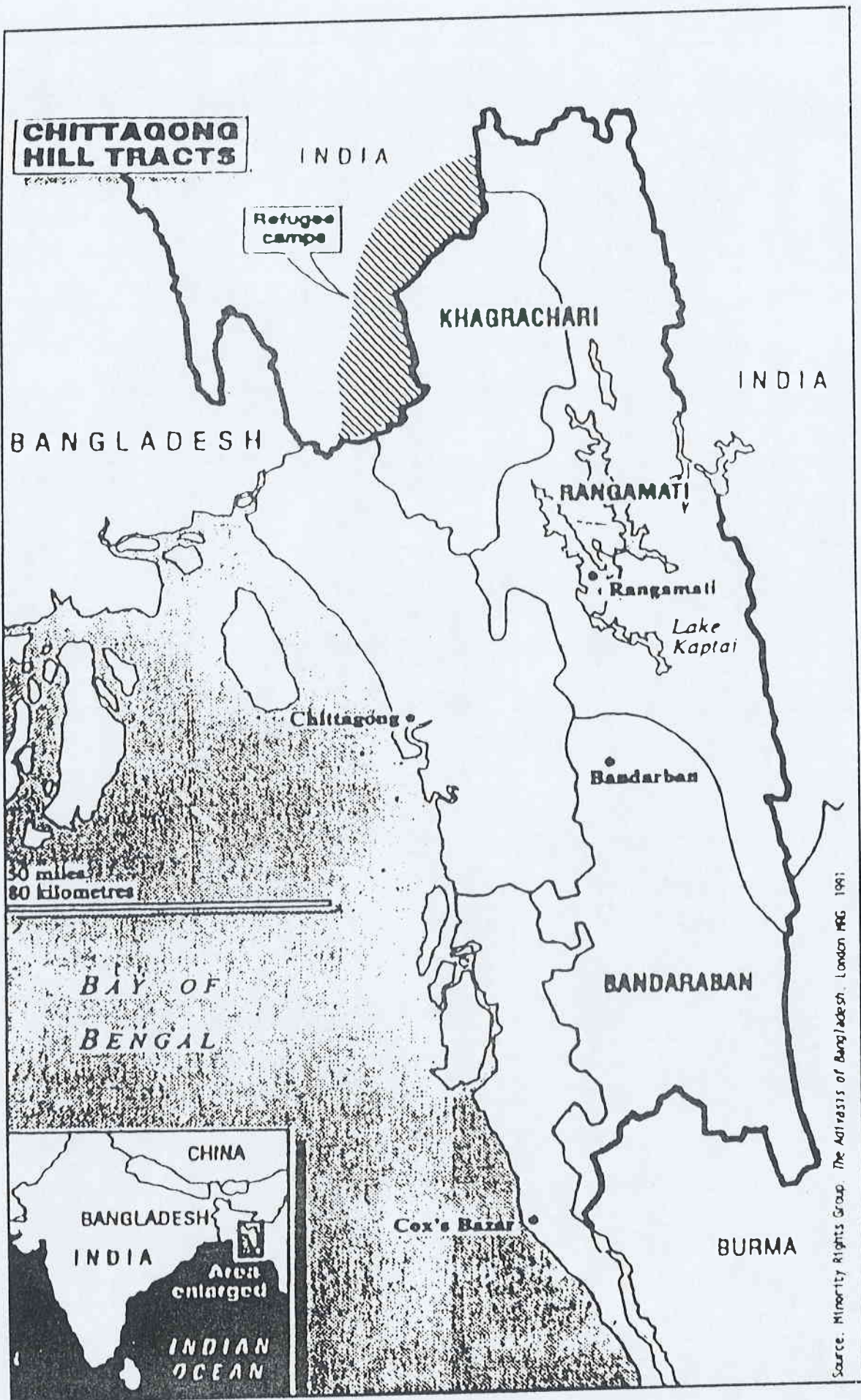
The Causes of Backwardness of the CHT Region

Map Showing the Location of Indigenous Groups in the Chittagong Hill Tracts

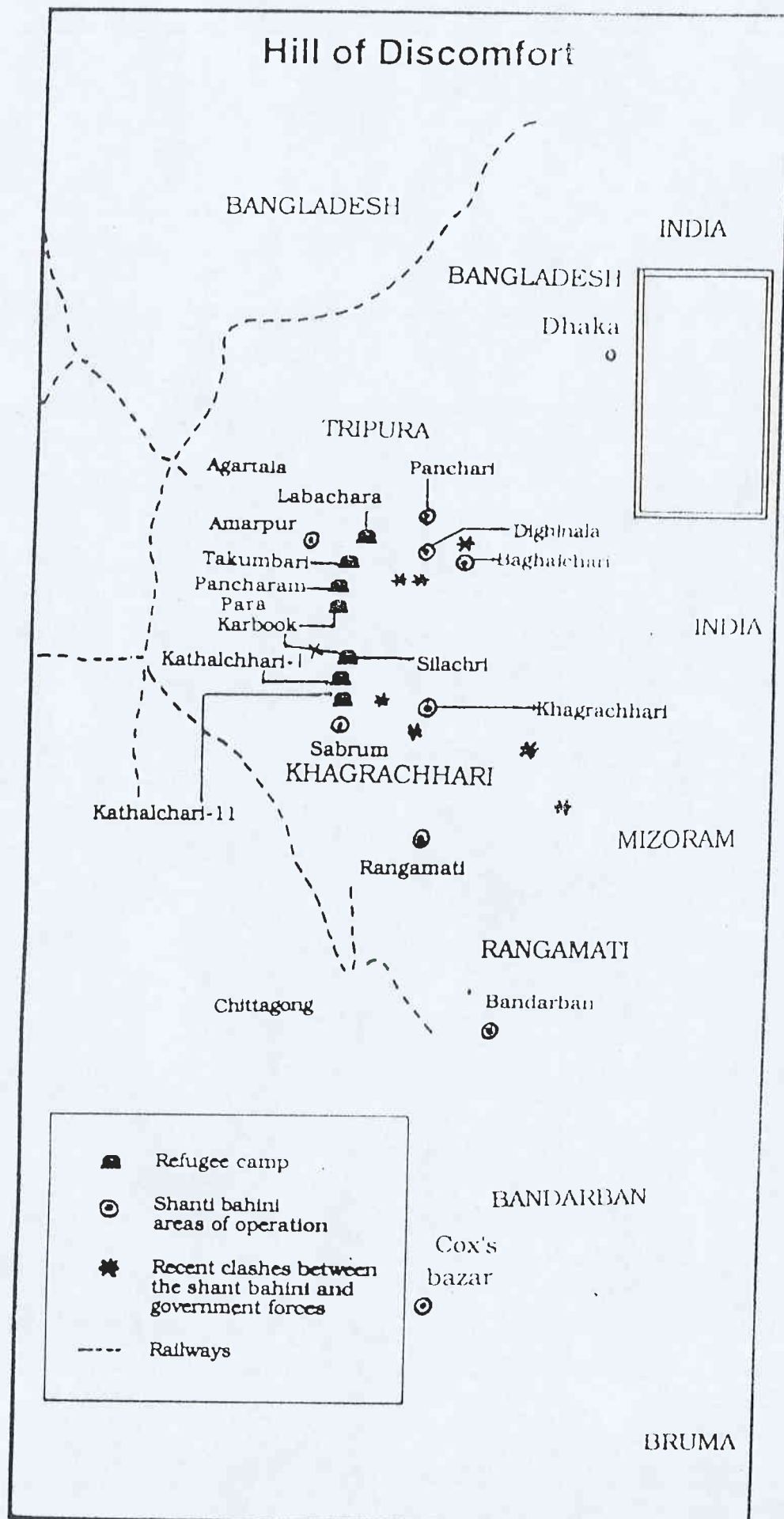


----- International Boundary
 Chittagong District Boundary

C	Chakma	P	Pankhua
M	Marma	Mr	Mru
Tl	Tippera	K	Khumi
Mg	Mrong	L	Lushal
T	Taungchengya	S	Sak
B	Bawm	Ky	Khyang



Hill of Discomfort



THE CAUSES OF BACKWARDNESS OF THE CHT REGION

The CHT region of Bangladesh is often called amongst the poorest area in the world. The reason behind this derogatory attribute of the CHT region is commonly defined as a consequences of insurgency problem over the last two and half decades in that area. Most of the researchers, academicians, writers, contributors, development partners and theorists like to discuss the CHT issues from the ethno-political point of view. Although there are various types of school of opinion regarding the causes of backwardness of the CHT region but it is unanimously argued that the region is really very undeveloped. The existing infrastructural arrangement, standard of living of the inhabitants, their sources of livelihood, health and sanitation condition and per capita income undoubtedly reflect that the CHT region is a typical example of the poorest area. Most of the social and economic indicators and also empirical experiences indicate the miserable condition of the inhabitants in that area.

Hardly any one will disagree with the enormous potentiality of the untapped natural resources of the CHT region, vis-a-vis the miserable conditions of its people. Laconically it could be said that the tremendous potentiality of enormous natural resources still has very insignificant effect for the betterment of the people of that area. On the other hand, government's developmental efforts has also been failed to create a positive response or confidence in the mind of the mass people of CHT, while it is commonly known that the beneficiaries are only the few opportunists. On the name of insurgency the opportunists have availed a unique chance to manipulate the govt. money and public interest. A vicious circle consists of various vested groups altogether has accelerated the misappropriation of the public money and interest. Therefore, the researcher deemed it necessary to analyze the causes of backwardness of the CHT region aiming at a perspective developmental approach through sustainable ecotourism.

In this chapter, an attempt has been made to discuss the CHT's ethno-political problem, its consequences and latest solution, genesis of the problem, existing social and administrative structures, ethnicity and social cohesion, new dimension of the level of expectation of the local communities and subsequent efforts of the government and responses of the people. The researcher has been availing the scope of extensive interaction since early nineties with the local

communities from grass root level to super elite group due to performing his professional responsibilities which has helped him lot to perceive the whole issue intensively.

5.1 Ethno-Political problem

The problems of the tribal people of this region emanate from a complex matrix of inter-related causes which have often been distorted, exaggerated and exploited by vested interests both within and outside the country. It is worthwhile to note that some 14 [13] different tribes inhabit the Hill Tracts of Chittagong of which the largest are the Chakmas. What distinguishes these tribes from rest of the people of Bangladesh are that they are essentially nomadic in character, non-Muslim by religion and of different ethnic background. The march of civilization has impinged into their society with drastic impact. Advances in science and technology especially communications and major development works such as the Karnafuli Hydro-Electric power Station and Dam have brought about changes that have altered the way of life in this region and its relative inaccessibility. Economic and Environmental consequences inevitably followed with changes on a wide front speeding up the pace of development and changing the way of life in the area.

These changes were not restricted to these three Chittagong Hill Districts alone but they also equally affected the other contiguous areas including a major part of Bangladesh. The pressure of population also led to conflicting situation in specific instances involving claims and counter claims. Adjustment to changes was difficult as has been the experience elsewhere. Given this broad context the problems of the tribal people must be viewed in its true perspective of the need for accelerated growth and development and rapid technological change in a resource poor developing country, tormented by long standing problems of poverty, overpopulation and environmental degradation. Needless to say, these problems were exacerbated by historical events: the adverse legacies of colonialism; the emergence of Bangladesh after a bloody war of liberation from Pakistan. Taken together, they constituted the specific setting that emerged in this region as the tribal people sought to preserve their way of life in a rapidly changing socio-economic and cultural milieu affecting the whole of Bangladesh in an ineluctable manner.¹

The above discussion has been made in an official publication of the govt. of Bangladesh, which was published on 28.10.93. It is merely a reflection of the then govt's attitude and perception toward the CHT problem. There are also different schools of opinion. Among them, some are extremely bias on the 'self governing rights' of the tribal people and it is revealed that they do not endorse the very existence of the Bengali settlers in the CHT. Simultaneously they are in a mind of rejection of the Bengali settlers. There is no doubt that the moderate group is always in favor of national integrity, sovereignty of the country and a peaceful resolution of the problem. Hopefully, it is claimed that the CHT problem has already been overcome due to successful resolution through the 'CHT Peace Accord' signed on 2nd December 1997.

5.2 Early History

To perceive the ethnic issues of the CHT area it is essential to have a look through its early history. The earliest people to move into the hill tracts were the Kuki group: Lushai Pankhu, Mro, Kyang, Rhumi and Bawms. A second migration came from the Tripura group: Murung and Tripura. The last group was of Arakan origin: Ryang, Chakma and Marma.² It is commonly opined that the coastal plains of Bengal have always attracted people of the region. In the middle of 17th century, the area was annexed by the Mughals. Fighting broke out between the Mughal and Chakma chiefs. An accommodation was reached. While maintaining their traditional authority, the chiefs agreed to pay trade tax to the Mughals. The Mughal rule lasted from 1666 until 1760, when the region was ceded to the East India Company. In 1860, the hill tracts were made a non-regulated district under a Superintendent. Direct British administration of the hills began in 1881. The British authorities created three administrative circles: Chakma [centre and north]; Bohmong [south of the river Karnaphuli]; and Mong [north west of the hills].³

It is often opined that historically origin of the CHT problem that the Government of Bangladesh (GOB) has been facing for about two[and half] decades may be traced to the Mughal period. Possibly to keep the awesome Mughal power at bay the Chakma Chiefs used Muslim names themselves; such as, Rattan Khan (1673), Jalal Khan (1715-25) and Shermust Khan (1737-58). There is, however, no clear evidence to suggest that they had been converted to Islam or there had been any serious proselytising attempt by the Muslim preachers. Starting in 1666 the Mughal influence began to be felt in CHT; and it increased more and more as time passed by. This was also the time when the Bengalis from Chittagong made their appearance in CHT, not as intruders, but as invitees of the Chakma Chiefs. Some daily necessities e.g. dried fish, chicken, salt, tobacco, molasses, black cloth, were not available in the hills. Jalal Khan approached the Mughal administrator of Chittagong and requested him to permit Bengali merchants to trade in these merchandise with the tribal people. In return, he undertook voluntarily to pay an annual tribute to the Mughal authorities. The tribute paid to the Mughal government came to be designated as **Kapas Mahal**. In 1724, Jalal Khan refused to pay the tribute. Consequently he was attacked by the Mughal Dewan Kishan Chand a Hindu, defeated; and had to flee to Arakan, where he died afterwards. By 1737, Chief Shermust Khan yielded to the Mughal authority. Under the influence of the Mughals a new administrative post designated as Dewan had been introduced in the Chakma tribal administration; and continued up to 1900.⁴

There are various schools of opinion regarding the early history of the CHT region. According to some unpublished official write ups, articles in the various journals/periodicals and relevant books it is appeared that during the first few years after the cession of Chittagong to East India Company, the attention of the Company remained directed towards Chittagong for administration. The headman of the hill tribes were not disturbed except for collection of revenue

in the shape of tax on cotton. The first act of violence was probably committed by Mr. Rona Khan in 1777 against the land holders of the company. Mr. Rona Khan, probably as head of a tribe of independent Kuki group led a lot of Kukis against the British subjects. The rebellion was crushed by the Company by November 1777 and by turn of century, the fluctuating tribute became fixed revenue. The Company then attempted to realize revenue from the area by demanding definite money rent from the tribals and colonize the area by introducing more stringent regulatory administration. This aggravated the situation and the independent tribes from north eastern region again went hostile. Spectacular raids and ambushes were carried out by tribals during later half of 19th century. Finally, the British led determined expedition. Though the operation lasted for five months and remained successful, but the sporadic incidents continued till 1898, when final cordon and search operation brought and pacified the area under control.

The CHT was ceded to the British East India Company by Nawab Mir Qasim Ali Khan, the semi-independent governor under the Moguls, in 1760. Following the Soldiers Uprising of 1857, the British took over the direct administration of the Indian colonies from the East India Company. In 1860, by Act XXII, the hill and forest tracts to the east of Chittagong District were withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the civil, criminal, and revenue courts and offices of the Regulation district of Chittagong and made into a separate district in its own right known as the Chittagong Hill Tracts. The CHT was placed under the administration of a Superintendent. The Headquarters of the district was first established at Chandraghona, and in 1868 was removed to Rangamati.⁵ The consolidation of British authority over the area was hampered by the occasional inter-tribal conflicts thereby creating general law and order situations. Largely out of administrative exigency the area was separated from Chittagong in 1860, named Chittagong Hill Tracts District; and vested with all the paraphernalia of a district administration. But in 1891, with the annexation of the Lushai Hills the status of the district was reduced to that of a subdivision. The predatory raids by Kuki and other tribes created a turbulent situation for the English authorities and necessitated a further administrative belt-tightening. The result was the Chittagong Hill Tracts Regulation, 1900, necessitating a new set of laws and rules under provision 18 of the Regulation.⁶

The CHT Regulation, popularly Known as the 'CHT Manual' has been created a new dimension in the administration and aspiration of the tribal people in the CHT area. Much have been written and discussed about CHT Regulation in the various books, papers and periodicals. Still the Regulation is considered as a mile stone in the CHT history and it's administration. The Regulation is in existence til to date. Though the regulation has been repealed by an Act (Act No. 16 of 1989) but the Repealed Act has not yet come in to force. Actually the Repealed Act is subjected to it's promulgation through a gazette notification, which has not yet been done til to date. It perhaps implies some social and political connotation. Infact, the CHT regulation was repealed in the year 1989 just to make the CHT Local Govt. Council Acts (Act nos. 19, 20 & 21

for Rangamati, Khagrachari and Banderban hill district respectively). Afterwards due to lack of a clear consensus the repealed act has not yet been promulgated.

It is argued that the acts and rules in the CHT manual made under Regulation 1 of 1900 were intended to administer the area as non-regulated districts so as to protect and preserve the rights and interests of the tribal hillmen, their customs and practices, their local or racial peculiarities and prejudices. But soon after enactment some rules were amended in the 20s and 30s. One of the most important amendment is that no permission is needed from Deputy Commissioner to enter this non-regulated districts. This has enabled the people of other districts in the plains to settle down on the plea of trade and commerce. Realistically a radical change has been made by the enactment of the CHT regulation. As per the regulation, the three tribal Rajas are Known as Chakma Cheif, Bohmong Chief and Mong Chief. The land that falls under their jurisdiction is called circle. The circle wise break-up of land boundary is 1658 square miles for Chakma circle, 2064 square miles for Bohmong circle and 655 square miles for Mong circle. Under these three separate circles, there are 370 mouzas which the Britishers demarcated when Chittagong Hill Tracts, cut-off from greater Chittagong District was declared as an independent district in 1873.

Interestingly enough, while the largest Chakma tribe has one chief, the second largest tribe Marma have two cheifs – the southern Bohmang chief and northern Mong chief. And the other tribes – Tripura, Mru (Murong), Lushai, Khumi, Pankho, Bown (Bonjugi), Khiyang, Chak and Tangchangya, according to their geographical location, come under the jurisdiction of one of these three chiefs. However, except Chakma, Marma and Tripura, the other tribes are comparatively in minor numbers. Of the three Chiefs, the Chakma Cheif sits at Rangamati town, Bohmong cheif at Banderban town and Mong cheif at Manikchhari town.⁷ The three circles were also divided into mouzas and the mouzas in to para. The British government gave these three tribal Rajas the responsibilities for collection of the revenue and looking after the internal affairs including discharge of justice of the villagers. According to the provision of the regulation the tribes were veritable allowed limited self-rule, although ultimate authority rested with the Deputy Commissioner. The Deputy Commissioner of the district in consultation with concerned circle Chief used to appoint mouza headman. The headman was made responsible for the collection of revenue and maintenance of law and orders within the mouza. Till date, they are performing the same functions. Still there is no formal civil court in the CHT. The Deputy Commissioner disposed civil cases and formal civil court like other districts does not exist as yet. However, the circle chiefs and mouza headmen had the power of imposing fines, of enforcing compliance and of imprisonment. In all tribal matters the decisions of the headmen and chiefs were final.

The most important factor behind the tribal people's dissatisfaction was the greater movement of non-tribal people in to the area. The tribal chiefs demanded immediate measures to curb the process, particularly the immigration of the money-lenders, traders and commercial

farmers. To stop further immigration the Regulation of 1900 provided that "no person other than a Chamka, or a member of any hill tribe indigenous to the Chittagong Hill Tracts, or the state of Tripura shall enter or reside within the Chittagong Hill Tracts unless he is in possession of a permit granted by the Deputy Commissioner at his discretion". The strict conditions which were laid down made the attainment of such a permit impossible for all. In 1930, the rule was amended and entry into the Hill Tracts was made easier. In 1964 the restriction was entirely abolished and the area thrown open to all. The resulting effects were dissatisfaction again among tribal people.⁸

It is also argued that although the 1900 regulation is referred to as an important document for the hill people, it was not a charter for autonomy and it did not provide adequate protection to the rights to the hill people. This was an instrument that the British overlords used to isolate and exploit the hill people. One severe consequence of the regulation was the claim of all land in the hills by the colonial state.⁹

The regulation stemmed the tide of Bengalization but also isolated the hill people from the rest of Bengal. Far from being a charter for regional autonomy or a protection of "tribal" rights, it marked the onset of a process of "enclavement" in which the hill people were denied access to power and were subordinated and exploited directly by the British overlords.¹⁰

In course of time the CHT regulation has been able to create lot of implications which perhaps reflected on the subsequent scenario of the CHT history. This regulation mainly had the following implications :

- a] the colonial state claimed ownership of all land in the hills. Government declared large tracts of hill country to be "reserved forests" and denied hill cultivators access to what they had always considered as commons; high-quality land was given out to European entrepreneurs, especially for the tea planters, which later proved to be unsuccessful;
- b] repeated efforts were made to supplant swidden cultivation in the hills by settled plough cultivation, because of expected high state revenue;
- c] authorities began to move groups of hill people to new locations. Although, the reason sometimes given was that these cultivators had "exhausted" the soil. These forced moves were all to the east and served mainly to strengthen the border against invaders; and
- d] the colonial authorities encouraged outsiders to settle in the Chittagong hills. Their policy was distinctly anti-Bengali. While they continued to forbid Bengalis

to migrate to the hills, they made considerable efforts to establish settlements of plough-cultivating Gurkhas and Santals on erstwhile tribal land.¹¹

5.3 After Partition of India

After partition of India the political and administrative affairs in the CHT began to change towards a direction which eventually created unfavorable conditions for the ethnic communities. The process of direct land dispossession and serious disturbance to their economic and cultural life had begun to perpetuate. As a first success in the attacks on the ethnic institutions the indigenous police force was disbanded in 1955 and the officers were scattered. The Basic Democratic Order enforced in 1959 in effect contributed to the militarization of the Chittagong Hill Tracts among other things. Formulation of the new constitution of Pakistan in 1962 also lessened the traditional power of the ethnic leadership and "systematic but clandestine colonization of the hills by Bengalis began"¹²

A dramatic situation took place in the CHT history during partition of the Indian subcontinent. As the partitioning of the subcontinent became imminent the tribals, especially the Chakma elite, were caught in a confused situation. While some of them were in favour of inclusion into Pakistan, a more prominent section amongst them, was in favour of union with India; their reason being the non-Muslim demographic character of CHT. It is reported that Kamini Mohan Dewan and Sneha Kumar Chamka even made overtures to such Congress high-ups as Mohatma Gandhi, Acharya Kripalini, Rajendra Prasad, Shyama Prasad Mukherjee and Sardar Ballav Bhai Patel. These Congress leaders are on record as having sympathised with such a demand of the CHT tribals, and a Congress delegation was sent to Rangamati to make an on-the-spot appraisal of the situation. But as things turned out, union of CHT with India became an impossibility. Therefore, in 1946, the tribal chiefs formed "The Hillmen Association", and proposed a princely state status for CHT at par with neighboring Tripura, Koochbihar and Khasia; and with which they also proposed a confederation to be under the administrative control of the central government of India. But this move also failed; and by 16 August, CHT became a part of Pakistan.¹³ The Radcliff boundary commission worked in secret and no reasons were given for its decisions. It published its report on august 17, 1947 after the independence celebrations in both Pakistan (August 14, 1947) and India (August 15). On August 15, 1947, the Indian flag was hoisted in Rangamati and the Burmese flag in Banderban. The Radcliff awards annexed CHT with Pakistan. On August 21 the Pakistan military brought down the Indian and Burmese flags at two hill towns- Rangamati and Banderban.

But why had the CHT been awarded to the then East Pakistan? There were two possible reasons. First, the annexation of Calcutta, the major port city of Bengal with India. Calcutta was also vital to the economy of East Bengal. Then the alternative port for East Bengal was Chittaging. And CHT was regarded as the hinterland of the port city of Chittagong. Secondly,

Pakistan in addition to losing Calcutta also reportedly seethed with anger for gaining poor part of divided Punjab in the west. Probably for that reason many believe, Radcliff was generous to Pakistan in giving CHT.¹⁴

It is also revealed from various discussions and write-ups that the factor of accession to Pakistan needs to be taken in to consideration for the perception of subsequent political agitation and armed insurgency in the area which took into end just three years back. It is said that because of such background, the loyalty of the tribals to the Pakistani rulers always remained suspect. They would also become suspect during the Bangladesh liberation war, but this time for their reported siding with the Pakistani soldiers. Bangladesh was born out of bitter and bloody war, the only major liberation in recent history of the world. From various sources it was evident that a significant number of tribals in CHT collaborated with the Pakistani soldiers during the war of liberation. The two prominent tribal figures-Chakma Raja Tridib Roy and the brother of Bohmang Raja also openly sided with Pakistan. The Chakma Raja who was then a member of the National Assembly opted for Pakistan citizenship. The Chakma Raja was on a diplomatic (ambassadorial) assignment of Pakistan government for quite long time. The collaborationist role of great number of tribals in the war of liberation disillusioned and distrusted many of pro-liberation force of independent Bangladesh. This was also a sequel to the creation of suspicion between the radical tribals and a section of nationalist elements. However, after liberation, scores were rendered homeless specially in Feni valley and their women violated. Collaborators of tribal origin fled into hills and Jungles.¹⁵

There is a school of opinion that during the Pakistani regime the tribals had to felt themselves deprived due to the discremental treatment of the then government. The creation of Kaptai hydroelectric projects was a cause of severe aggravation of the CHT situation. The dam and the reservoir have caused immense human suffering. People flooded were not prepared. Most of those uprooted did not get any compensation. The displacement of the people and submergence of forests and land has had multiple effects. Many of those displaced had no other choice left but to push up into the hills and take to jum cultivation, which they had abandoned a long time ago. About 10,000 Chakmas displaced by the Kaptai Dam went to Mizoram and now live in Arunachal Pradesh in India. Their efforts to become Indian citizens still remain unsuccessful. However, they are negotiating with the Indian Government for citizenship with a judgement of the Supreme Court of India that the Chakma people living in Arunachal Pradesh are Indian citizens (Amnesty International 2000: 10)¹⁶ Many of the researchers argued that the Kaptai Dam has created the myth of CHT problem. Empirical experiences and evidences also proved that some other contemporaneous issues during the Pakistani regime had played supplementary role to make the tribals hostile against the then government. Its true that under a special status during the British rule of the sub-continent, migration to the area was virtually prohibited and the area enjoyed limited self-government. As part of Pakistan the Chittagong Hill Tracts lost its special status and autonomy under an amendment to the Pakistan Constitution in

1963. Pressure for land to cultivate had in the past led to the migration of large numbers of non-tribal people from other parts of Bangladesh in to the Chittagong Hill Tracts... The Pakistan Government announced its intention to open up the area for economic development and encouraged poor Bengali families to settle there. This policy was even more vigorously pursued by the Bangladesh Government. Conflict over land together with the threat of assimilation into the majority culture of Bangladesh, provided the background to the armed conflict.¹⁷ It should be noted here that the 1956 Constitution of Pakistan retained the excluded status of the area and the Regulation of 1900. But the provision relating to the powers of the High Court was amended. For the first time the tribal people were given the right of franchise.

The 1962 Constitution of Pakistan changed the administrative status of CHT from the "Excluded Area" to that of "Tribal Area". The special status was abolished by an amendment of the Constitution in 1963, which came into force in 1964. But the Chittagong Hill Tracts Regulation 1900 was kept operative. These Constitutional amendments caused dissatisfaction among the tribals.

The state sponsored development initiatives during the Pakistani regime exposed some gross discrimination. The construction of the Karnaphuli Paper Mill created 10,000 jobs, but the hill people got only around 5% of them mainly in the lower rank. (Arens 1997: 49 in Bhaumik et al., eds)¹⁸ The same story was repeated in the cases of the Karnaphuli Rayon Mill, which was also constructed in 1966 with foreign funds. The Betbunia Satellite Station constructed with the Canadian funds brought its benefits to the elite who could afford television and long distance telephone and to the army.¹⁹ At the cost of million people's suffering, the Kaptai Hydroelectric project still has failed to supply electricity to the mass people of the CHT area. Physical observation shows that some areas like, Bilaichari which are adjacent to the Dam is still far away from electricity mostly. There are lot of instances like Bilaichari in the CHT. As Van Schendel et. al. quoted Raja Tridiv Roy, "It was called a multi-purpose dam, for it was supposed to provide not only electricity, but flood control in the plains of Chittagong and irrigation facilities. As it turned out, every year since the dam was built there have been floods in the very region it was supposed to save, with unfailing regularity. As for irrigation, by its very coming in to existence it submerged most of the cultivable lands and there was hardly anything left to irrigate... there were two benefits besides the generation of electricity- improvement of irrigation, though rates of salutation have been more rapid in the upper reaches of the [reservoir] than expected, and fishery. Needless to say, despite oft-repeated and grandiose government plans and promises, not a single tribal village has been electrified -though electricity found its way in to town, as well as villages in the plains districts".²⁰ In the earlier chapter (no.3) some discussions were made as regards creation of Kaptai Dam and its implications where similar phenomenon has been observed.

Some unpublished sources indicate that during the regime of the then Pakistan government social vices and administrative injustices have contributed greatly to the existing situation. The administration and police remained ineffective and their actions were prejudicial. At the end of 1970, Pakistan Government carried out East Pakistan Rifles (EPR) operation to displace tribals from Thaga, Subalong and Rankhiang area for plantation and left them without any compensation. So, it is believed that all of these, altogether contributed lot to decline trust and confidence in the mind of the tribals. More so, they were led to the way of insurgency, which clouded the CHT for the subsequent decades. As it has mentioned earlier that the role and attitude of some influential tribal leaders during the liberation war in 1971 was controversial and that has created another complex connotation and matrix of the CHT situation which implicated the subsequent history of the new born Bangladesh. Thus at independence Bangladesh inherited a tribal problem that had a long historical genesis.

5.4 After liberation

During early 1972, a tribal delegation led by Charu Bikash Chakma, a leading Awami League leader from Ranagamti met the President, Prime Minister, Minister for law and Parliamentary Affairs and pressed for adequate constitutional safeguard for the tribals. On 15th January, 1972 another delegation led by Manabendra Narayan Larma called on Prime Minister with a charter of four points demand, which were :

- a. Autonomy for the Chittagong Hill Tracts and the establishment of special legislative body;
- b. Retention of the Regulation of 1900 in the new constitution of Bangladesh;
- c. Continuation of the offices of the tribal chiefs; and
- d. A constitutional provision restricting the amendment of the Regulation of 1900 and imposing a ban on the influx of non-tribal people.²¹

The delegation was summarily disposed on the ground of integrity of the country. Just about the same time, tribals became doubtful of the constitutional validity of CHTs Manual as it become public from a high court judgement on a writ filed by a man who was ousted from CHT under the provisions of the Manual. The delegation, which raised the question of autonomy, obviously, being frustrated came back to Rangamati and started playing its role of organizing their party overtly and covertly up to village level.

During the debates in the Constituent Assembly, Larma had moved amendments for the preservation of special rights of the minority and backward nationalities. He proposed that the CHT should be made an autonomous tribal region in order to protect the political, economic and religious rights of the tribal people. In addition, he declared that,

“you can not impose your national identity on others. I am a Chakma, not a Bengali. I am a citizen of Bangladesh - Bangladeshi. You are also Bangladeshi but your national identity is Bengali - they [tribals] can never be Bengali.”²²

As their demands were not adequately fulfilled, the tribals began to apprehend that their cultural traits and tradition might not be protected. Gradually a sense of deprivation, fear, distrust and frustration started to grip the tribals. They organized themselves and started thinking otherwise. That has complicated the ethnic problem which the Republic of Bangladesh inherited at her independence. As it has mentioned earlier that during the post colonial era (after the departure of the British from the subcontinent in 1947) certain policy measures and development efforts by the successive government of Pakistan affected tribal people in various ways. A section of them perceived that these measures would also be continued by the government of Bangladesh and therefore, act in detriment to their interest. Thus it is commonly opined that with a view to preserve their culture, heritage and tradition they formed Parbatta Chhattagram Jana Sanghti Samity (PCJSS). This gave them a platform to protect the overall interest of the tribal people in Chittagong Hill Tracts.

It is also opined that Larma's statement was interpreted by ruling elites as a challenge to Bengali nationalism and a conspiracy against Bangladesh sovereignty. Meanwhile, massive military deployment took place in the Chittagong hills as the demand for regional autonomy grew momentum. During Mujib period, three cantonments were set up at Dighinala, Ruma and Ali Kadam in the Chittagong Hill Tracts.²³ There is a school of opinion that the response of the then Government was a mix of political and military approaches. Politically there were two steps. First, the Prime Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rahman journeyed to Rangamati during the election campaign of 1973 with the understanding that his presence and charismatic appeal would act as a damper on the embryonic insurgency activities. While addressing a huge gathering Sheikh Mujib categorically stated his government's intention to pay attention to the special needs of the tribals, but at the same time he declared that from that day they would be promoted to Bangalis. He did not explain what did he precisely mean by this declaration. He probably implied that the tribals would enjoy the same status as that of the Bangalis. But in reality, the declaration proved counter-productive as the tribals interpreted it as an invitation to surrender their distinctive identity. Consequently, tribal agitation assumed an unprecedented militancy, and soon insurgency began. The Government of Bangladesh therefore, decided to deploy security forces in aid of civil power in accordance with the existing laws of the country.²⁴

The government of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in order to remove resentments and unfounded sense of insecurity from their minds and restore confidence on the government, had adopted certain measures which amongst others included scholarships for tribal students, quota in educational institutions and in government jobs. For the overall development of the area, the then Prime Minister decided to setup a development board- The Chittagong Hill

Tracts Development Board, which was publicly announced by the then Hon'ble Minister for Land Reforms, Forest, Fishery and Live stock on 29th July, 1973 at Rangamati. In the month of February 1975 while visiting Rangamati as President of the country Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman expressed his determination emphatically that the right and privileges including cultural traits of the minority groups will be safeguarded. It apparently seems that the government was successful in restoring confidence in the minds of the tribals as it was seen that Manabendra Narayan Larma joined BAKSAL (Bangladesh Krishak Sramik Awami League - a newly shaped political party of the then ruling party, Bangladesh Awami League) when it was formed in 1975. The gruesome murder of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman along with other members of his family and relations halted the process of confidence building in the minds of the tribals. Thereafter, Manabendra Narayan Larma along with his followers went into hiding and began to organize armed struggle to achieve their demands. A military wing, the Shanti Bahini (SB), was also formed under the leadership of Manabendra's brother, Shantu Larma. The SB started to be active in the mid-1970s.

Relations with India changed sharply after the assassination of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in August 15, 1975, It is widely believed that Mr. M. N. Larma had to go underground in search of new political arena. 1973 and 1974 were years of recruitment of cadres for the Shanti Bahini. By November of 1975, commanders were appointed for six sectors, zones and sub-zones. Between 1973 and 1976, the Shanti Bahini sprawled all over Chittagong Hill Tracts and established hideouts, sanctuaries and training camps in deep jungles. They also received extensive training particularly for insurgency activities. The Shanti Bahini inflicted their first strike against a contingent of reserved armed police in 1974 injuring a number of police personnel. Late in February, 1976 the guerilla outfit-Shanti Bahini launched its first major attack on the security force deep inside CHT. SB men stormed into an isolated camp of a contingent of army engineers deployed for road constructions. The attackers destroyed all construction equipments, looted arms and ammunition and bayoneted the soldiers to death in their sleep. The SB's attack was a real demonstration of their ability in jungle combat.²⁵

Hill peoples continued to try to deal with the government of Bangladesh. A delegation of 67 hill peoples met with President Justice A.S. Sayem on 19, November, 1975, renewing their demands for autonomy. Mr. Ashok Dewan presented similar proposals to President Ziaur Rahman in 1976.²⁶

From the various literatures, and sources it is revealed that Manabendra Narayan Larma was virtually the symbol for all tribal political uprisings in CHT. He was founder of Parbattya Chattagram Jana Sanghati Samity (PCJSS), Rangamati Communist Party (RCP) and Ganamukti Foj (People's Liberation army). And the formation of PCJSS was obviously the culmination of raising political awareness among the tribal people in CHT.²⁷ It is revealed from the history of the recent past that the PCJSS had to suffer from their internal conflict. Manabendra Narayan

Larma was brutally killed by the dissident group of Shanti Bahini (SB) in November, 1983 at Kalyanpur Jungle camp under Amarpur subdivision in Tripura state of India... The mindless operation was carried out by a squad of eight to ten gunmen belonging to the SB faction of Priti Kumar Chamka.²⁸

The Priti faction in the long run disintegrated and crumbled availing the then President Ershad's amnesty in 1985. By the end of 1985, Jotirindra Bodhi Priya Larma alias Shantu Larma become undisputed political and militant leader of the tribal insurrection. Mean while, the CHT situation became worse due to insurgency and counter-insurgency activities.

Initially the Government of Bangladesh after the tragic incident of 1975 tried to consider the problem of the CHT as an economic one and undertook socio-economic development programmes for the area through Chittagong Hill Tracts Development Board (CHTDB) established in 1976 by late President Ziaur Rahman. The CHTDB after its creation had started to plan and implement the development schemes with funding from the government, which had quite some impact on the area. Encouraged by this, special Five Year Plan for the three hill districts during the period from 1984-85 to 1989-90 and an amount of Tk. 2620 million were spent covering 19 sectors. An Asian Development Bank assisted project aimed at rehabilitating the tribals was also implemented at cost of Tk. 495 million which is considered as one of the most successful project, so far implemented in the region. A total number of 2000 families with an area of 8000 acres of land have been brought under rubber plantation and the beneficiaries have started reaping the harvest.

It is essentially viewed that during the period of Ziaur Rhaman the Government of Bangladesh appeared to regard the problems of CHT, at least initially, as principally of economic nature. It was widely held that retrieving the region from years of neglect and underdevelopment would be the best way to blunt the propaganda and activities of the insurgents. Lacking in basic infrastructure for any development, depending on primitive mode of cultivation, and with no organised market system the area was indeed a backward one by any description.²⁹ The main functions of Chittagong Hill Tracts Development Board as defined in Ordinance no. LXXII of 1976 are :

1. To rehabilitate the landless **Jhumiya** families (tribal peasants) on a permanent basis;
2. To construct dams and other irrigational facilities in order to boost up production;
3. To construct roads, bridges and culverts for development of the communication system;
4. To provide starter funds for income generating activities of the people;

5. To establish rural health complexes and other social organizations for enhancement of welfare activities and at the same time setting up of vocational institutes for skill training and creation of job opportunities;
6. To provide assistance for revival of the small and cottage industries; and
7. To set up educational institutions, hostels and to provide scholarships for students to facilitate higher studies.

From the various reports, articles and official sources, it is appeared that huge developmental efforts have been launched by the successive governments of Bangladesh and all possible efforts have also been made for pursuing a political solution to the age-old problems. With this intention and specially to open a channel for a meaningful dialogue with the insurgents, the Government of President Ziaur Rahman appointed Benita Roy mother of Raja Tridiv Roy as Advisor to the President who was shortly replaced by ex-Minister Mr. A S Prue Chowdhury. But both of them being members of the royal family, failed to win the confidence of the insurgents. On 2nd July 1977 a tribal convention was formed with the purpose of contacting the insurgents and holding talks with them. Initially PCJSS showed eagerness to cooperate with the Government of Bangladesh; but subsequently because of internal squabbles within the party hierarchy, they gradually back tracked and the death of President Ziaur Rahman also interrupted the process. Subsequent Government also undertook steps to develop socio-economic structure and to ensure comprehensive political settlement.

One of the earliest economic measures was to declare CHT as a Special Economic Area (SEA) in August 1985. The objectives were to integrate tribals and non-tribals with the main stream of economic activities, to create employment opportunities, promote trade, commerce and industries and overall agro-economic development of the area. The special incentives under this programme were the following :

- a. Tax relief for small and cottage industries;
- b. Exemption of fees for importing capital machineries and spares;
- c. Provision that only 5% interest for project be payable in ten annual installments after the project starts operation;
- d. Reduction of power/gas rates;
- e. Reduction of interest on bank loans to 5%;
- f. Encouragement to joint-ventures by tribals and non-tribals;
- g. Tax holiday for twelve yeas; and
- h. Exemption of all show houses from payment of excise and amusement taxes.

All of these incentives are still in force. But evidences and empirical experiences show that the package of incentives could have not been able to create a significant impact over the period in that area. Small and cottage industries did not flourish up to the requirement or scope

prevailed; no mentionable medium and large scale industries established during this period. There are very few examples may readily be available which can be cited as instances of joint-ventures by tribals and non-tribals. Impact of the provision of tax holiday has not yet been assessed so far, but physical observation indicates that due to lack of favorable environment as a consequences for long prevailing unrest, this incentive was remain quite unavailed by the local communities.

However, apart from the massive development initiatives, a dialogue meant for political solution was also initiated. During 1982 a liaison committee was formed to open a channel of communication with PCJSS but the move met with failure owing to a long drawn rift in the PCJSS leadership which culminated in the killing of Mr. M. N. Larma. The next move was the revival of the Tribal Convention for building public opinion in favor of a negotiated settlement as well as announcement of a package deal in October 1983, which included suspension of Bengali settlement, granting of amnesty and proposal for direct dialogue with the PCJSS leadership. Following the announcement and some spadework by the liaison committee the long awaited dialogue was held on 21 October 1985. It is argued that though the dialogue could not yield any positive result but both the sides agreed to go ahead.

The next dialogue was scheduled to be held on 25 December. This meeting, however, did not take place as PCJSS set some preconditions which appeared unacceptable to the Government of Bangladesh.

With such a stalled negotiation in the background the Government of Bangladesh, on 19 September 1987, set up a National Committee for CHT with the Minister for planning as the head. This committee had the mandate to take necessary steps for resuming dialogue with PCJSS, as well as recommend action for solving the problems.

The second dialogue was held on 17-18 December 1987; but it repeated the experience of the first. But this time the impasse was created by the five-point demand of PCJSS, which included,

1. Autonomy for CHT with its own legislature and the recognition of the **Jumma** nation's right to self-determination;
2. Retention of the Regulation of 1900, and a constitutional provision restricting the amendment of the regulation;
3. Removal of all non-tribals who had entered CHT after 17 August 1947;
4. Allocation of fund from the centre for the development of various sectors in CHT; and
5. Creation of circumstances favorable for peaceful and political resolution of the problems.

Twenty-five other detailed demands were added to this main five-point demand. The Government of Bangladesh made it clear that these demands could not be accommodated within the framework of the Constitution of Bangladesh. However, both sides agreed to meet again.

At the Third dialogue held on 24-25 January 1988 Government of Bangladesh requested PCJSS to modify their demands in such a way as would not be contrary to the Constitution of the country, but PCJSS did not demonstrate any willingness to reciprocate; and the dialogue thus ended without any positive outcome.

The fourth dialogue was held on 17 and 18 February 1988. As both sides refused to change their positions, this dialogue also ended fruitlessly. The fifth meeting held on 19 June had the same outcome. But the unwelcome result of this dialogue was that the PCJSS representatives left by letting it be known that it was "useless to talk to the government". On the contrary, the government of Bangladesh did not despair. But before the next round of talks could be held the Government of Bangladesh had an alternative set of proposals ready to counter the five-point demand of PCJSS.³⁰

In view of the PCJSS's non-cooperation in the peace process, the Government envisioned a break-through in the formation of three district hill councils with the help of Legislators in the Parliament.

On February 15, 1989 three Hill District Local Govt. Council Bills (i.e. Rangamati Hill Tracts Local Government Council Bill 1989, Khagrachari Hill Tracts Local Government Council Bill 1989 and Banderban Hill Tracts Local Government Council Bill 1989) and Hill Districts (Repeal and Enforcement of Law and Special Provision) Bill were moved and discussed in the Parliament and the bills were adopted on February, 26 and 28, 1989. For the first time, the hitherto isolated tribals were associated with the socio-economic activities and administration of the area with the establishment of Hill District Local Government Councils. The Chairman and members of the council are required to be elected as per provisions of the law. The Chairman who enjoyed the status of a Deputy Minister could only be elected, from a Tribal. Two-third of the members were also tribal and with only one-third from the non-tribal.

Thus, the Hill District Local Govt. Councils somehow accommodate a proportionate representation of all tribals and non-tribals. The composition of the Councils is represented here by Table-5(1).

Table - 5(1) : Composition of the three Hill District Local Government Councils.

Name of the post	Name of the tribe	Rangamati	Khagrachari	Banderban
Chairman (always a tribal)	Any tribe	01	01	01
Members	Chakma	10	09	01
	Marma	04	06	-
	Tanchangya	02	-	01
	Tripura	01	06	-
	Lushai	01	-	-
	Pankho	01	-	-
	Khiang	01	-	-
	Marma and Khiang	-	-	10
	Murong	-	-	03
	Tripura and Uchai	-	-	01
	Born, Pankhu & Lushai	-	-	01
	Khumri	-	-	01
	Chak	-	-	01
	Total :	21	22	20
	Bengali	10	09	11
	Grand Total :	31	31	31

Sources : Hill District Local Govt. Councils Acts [Act number 19, 20 and 21 of 1989]

The Councils were entrusted with the task of formulating their own plans for development and execution of the same through a fund under block allocation from the Government. The Hill District Local Govt. Councils were endowed with the powers of administering law and order situation, coordination of development works, primary and secondary education, health, public health, agriculture and forestry, live stock, fisheries, cooperative, small and cottage industries, social welfare, games and sports, communication facilities, water supply and sewerage, local control over sale, settlement, transfer and lease of land etc. The achievements of the Councils, weighed in terms of success and failures, are working quite remarkable and very soon the district councils with their powers delegated from the Government had emerged as centres of activities of local administration as well as activities relating to socio-economic development of the people of the region.

It is also observed by the researcher that the Hill District Local Government Councils were remained aloof from the role of leadership in the CHT. It was reasonably expected that the Hill District Local Government Councils would play a dominant role in the field of development and also resolution of the age-old CHT problem. They were confined with limited resources for developmental work and their Chairman and members were failed to create optimum acceptability among the local communities as well as to the PCJSS. However, their good rapport with the subsequent governments helped them for their existence. It would be pertinent to mention that as per the provision of the concern Act, as it has been promulgated initially, the

tenure of the Councils was only three years. But unfortunately the 2nd election of the Councils have not yet been happened till to date. A series of amendments of the concern clause of the Hill District Local Government Council (subsequently, the Hill District Councils) Acts have been made by the legislators in the Parliament just to lingering the tenure of the Councils. During the period of the present govt. the shape and size of the councils has been changed. The Hill District Local Govt. Councils have been renamed as Hill District Councils. Now eventually, all the members and chairmen of the Councils are selected by the Govt. and the number of members reduced to 4 from 30. An urge has been observed by the researcher among the local communities that the election of three Hill District Councils should take place without further delay. Misuses of public money and interest by the Councils is a common allegation which is often being raised and discussed by the local communities. Thus, it is revealed that absence of elected bodies in the Councils and lack of transparency are being despaired the local communities. However, it is also strongly argued by many of the researchers and policy makers that the degree of public confidence on these Councils is demonstrated by the fact that the peace agreement of 1997 was ultimately built round these District Councils.

However, the process of resolution of the CHT problem was being continued by the subsequent govts. After the fall of the Ershad Government the new democratic Government was installed in power in March 1991. On assumption of power it took some positive steps to expedite the process of finding a political solution. While visiting India in May, 1992 the then Prime Minister of Bangladesh Begum Khaleda Zia availed of the opportunity of raising this important issue during the talks with the Indian Prime Minister and reached agreement for speedy repatriation of all Bangladeshi tribal refugees to Bangladesh in full safety and security. In this context, the Bangladesh side agreed to set up a representative political level committee that would encourage the refugees to return. The Indian side assured that its authorities would cooperate fully in the process of repatriation. A joint communiqué dated 28, 1992 was issued accordingly. In July 1992, the Government of Bangladesh appointed a 9-member (all members being Members of Parliament belonging to different political parties) Committee with Mr. Oli Ahmad, Bir Bikram [the then] Communication Minister as its head to look in the CHT issue, with the directive to submit recommendations in this regard.³¹ A Sub-committee with Mr. Rashed Khan Menon, M.P. as convenor was also formed to facilitate discussion between the Government and the leaders of the PCJSS. The Committee and the Sub-committee have held a total number of 13 round of talks during 1992-1995 with the top leaders of PCJSS including their Chief Mr. Shantu Larma who appeared in the day light after a couple of decades. During this time under an agreement with the PCJSS a truce has been observed in the three hill districts. The enforcement of cease-fire in the area brought positive impacts on the livelihood of the people and economy as well but the basic problem remained unresolved. The last meeting was held on October 25, 1995.

The present government after taking over the responsibility of the administration of the country on 23 June, 96 strongly felt the need of early solution of the problem in the interest of restoring peace in the area . On 14th October, 1996 the Govt. of Bangladesh constituted a National Committee on Chittagong Hill Tracts with Mr. Abul Hasant Abdullah, Chief Whip of the Bangladesh Parliament as its Chairman. The members of the Committee were drawn from amongst the members of the Parliament belonging to ruling party, Awami League, BNP and Jatio Party, retired government officials and renowned social workers of the country.

The first meeting between National Committee on Chittagong Hill Tracts headed by Mr. Abul Hasanat Abdullah and PCJSS was held on 21 December, 1996 at Khagrachari. Considering the importance of holding prolonged discussions in Dhaka for early solution of the problem, both the sides agreed to hold the next meeting in Dhaka. It may be mentioned here that the members of the committee belonging to BNP did not attend the meeting. They refrained themselves from joining the subsequent meetings held between the National Committee and Parbatta Chattagram Jana Sanghati Samity (PCJSS).

According to the earlier decision to hold meeting in Dhaka the next meeting between National Committee and PCJSS was held on 25th January, 1997 in Dhaka for first time in the history of negotiation on CHT problem. Subsequently, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th meetings between National Committee On Chittagong Hill Tracts and PCJSS were held in Dhaka. After the 7th meeting which lasted for 8 days from 24th November to 1st December 1997 both the side agreed to conclude an accord for restoring peace in Chittagong Hill Tracts. The National Committee on Chittagong Hill Tracts and PCJSS finally signed the long awaited and expected agreement under the caption "Agreement between the National Committee on Chittagong Hill Tracts and Parbatta Chattagram Jana Sanghati Samity" on 2nd December, 1997 in presence of the Hon'ble Prime Minister, Cabinet members, members of the Parliament and high civil and military officials. The whole nation including the tribals and non-tribals irrespective of the caste, creed and religion, excepting a few self-seekers and politically motivated quarters welcomed the agreement. It is also observed that many friendly countries and International Organizations have sent messages hailing the accord.³²

It should be mentioned here that some topical News papers, periodicals and journals highlighted the criticism of some critics on the accord.³³ It was told by educationist Mr. M Maniruzzaman Miah, "The CHT treaty signed on 2 December last, in my opinion, violates both the letter and the spirit of the constitution. Art 1 of our Constitution declares Bangladesh as a "unitary, independent, sovereign Republic....."

The creation of the Hill District Parishad and the Chittagong Hill Districts Regional Parishad with wide powers, as envisaged in the Treaty' violates the constitutional provision just cited of a unitary state...".

Reazuddin Ahmed opined in his article, "Lost in the Hills", "the fundamental rights chapter of Bangladesh's Constitution clearly says that the state shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth. The Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) treaty is a clear violation of this article of the Constitution because the non-tribals' basic rights have not been protected in it. The Regional Council in the CHT will be perpetually headed and dominated by the tribals. The non-tribals' who are citizens of Bangladesh cannot contest for the post of chairman of the regional and district councils. Besides, the chief executive of the regional council will be a tribal. With total tribal control, the regional council will be in-charge of land administration where no land can be leased or transferred without regional council's permission. Even central government cannot pass any law regarding CHT without prior consent of the tribals. There are many other provisions in the treaty that has discriminated against the non-tribals who belong to Bengalees race. So it is a racial discrimination which is the clear violation of the Constitution."

Alamgir Mohuddin argued, " If for no other reason, Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina Wazed should be praised for her courage to sign the accord of December 2, 1997 with secessionist guerilla outfit called Shanti Bahini (SB). Without any prick in her conscience, she smilingly watched the signing of the document by her cousin on behalf of her government and leader of SB, accused of killing, abduction, arson and other crimes in Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) districts for long 24 years. The document sowed the seeds of secession of 5093 square miles of territory or one-tenth of Bangladesh under the leadership of SB at their convenient time. It also created a state within a state and two categories of citizens.

History does not record of any such agreement as self-destructive and anti-state and anti-people, signed in the name of peace, as the CHT accord. In fact, the agreement if implemented will gradually erode the very foundation of the state called Bangladesh."

Emajuddin Ahmed argued, "The peace accord, signed on 2 December 1997 by the National Committee (NC) with the Parbattya Chattagram Janasanhati Samity (PCJSS), will go down in national history as one of the most abominable pieces of political decision undertaken ever. I really shudder to think where its impacts, when all its dimensions will start revealing themselves in sharp relief, may lead us to. I do not question the intentions of the policy makers, but their best intentions, have been defeated by the worst possible steppings in an environment of secrecy and arrogance, and who knows what price the nation is destined to pay in the days to come!"

Col Oli Ahmed (Rtd), Ex-Minister opined, "Awami league has changed the basic character of Local Government promulgated by Jatiya Party government in 1989. According to the peace agreement the present Local government is replaced by regional council.

The tribal people specially the Chakmas are claiming that they are the original people of CHT and others there were none like them before 1860. The present Hill Tracts was under Chittagong district. The only difference somebody came 100 years ago, somebody 50 years ago or some body 20 years before. So, question of settlers and non-settlers should not arise for an independent country like Bangladesh. According to present peace treaty Bengalees cannot be voters unless they are certified by Chakmas. This cannot be acceptable to any Bangladeshi people...

Nation did not give mandate to Awami league government to sign such an illegal document with Shantibahini rebels who does not represent the people of Hill Tracts in any matter. Shantibahini cannot be recognized as representative of the people of that area.”

As it has been mentioned earlier that the accord was negatively viewed and was not welcomed by politically motivated quarters, thus it has created another complex matrix on the CHT issues for the future implication. However, following the peace accord it is apparently revealed that except few sporadic incident peace is prevailing in the CHT. Indeed, the aspirations of the common people significantly manifested that they want peace and finally peace.

5.5 Peace Accord : Salient Features

Reposing full and unswerving allegiance in the State-sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bangladesh regarding its hill tract region within the ambit of the Constitution of the people's Republic of Bangladesh, the National Committee on Chittagong Hill Tracts on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh and the Parbattya Chattagram Janasanghati Samity on behalf of the inhabitants of the Chittagong Hill Tracts region have reached the Agreement, comprised of four Parts (A, B, C, D), with a view to upholding the political, social, cultural, educational and economic rights of all the citizens of the Chittagong Hill Tracts region and expediting their socio-economic development process and preserving and developing the respective rights of all the citizens of Bangladesh.

The salient features of the agreement are as follows :

- The agreement comprised of 4 parts, A. General, B. Hill District Local Government Council/Hill District Council, C. Chittagong Hill Tracts Regional Council and D. Rehabilitation;
- A 3 member implementation committee will be formed to monitor the process of implementation of this agreement;
- The agreement shall come into force from the date of its signing and execution by both the parties;

- Both the parties have agreed to alter, amend, add and to repeal the Local Government Council Acts of 1989 (Act 19, 20 and 21 of 1989) and its various sections in a manner set forth in the Agreement;
- Subject to amendment and addition to various sections of the Local Government Council Acts, 1989, for making the Hill District Councils more powerful and effective a Regional Council will be formed;
- The Regional Council will be constituted with 22 members including chairman who will be a tribal. Two-third members will be tribals;
- The Chairman and members of the Regional Council will be elected by elected members of the Hill District Councils. The term of the Regional Council will be 5 years;
- The Regional Council will coordinate the development activities undertaken by the three Hill District Councils including supervision and coordination in the matters of subjects delegated to and under them;
- The Regional Council will coordinate and supervise the Local Councils including the municipalities;
- The Regional Council shall coordinate and supervise general administration, law and order and development in respect of 3 Hill Districts;
- Tribal law and community adjudication shall be within the jurisdiction of the Regional Council;
- In making any law in connection with Chittagong Hill Tracts, the government shall enact such law in consultation with and as per advice of the Regional Council. If it becomes necessary to amend any law which bears an adverse effect on the development of the three hill districts and welfare of the tribal people or to enact new law, the Council shall be competent to apply or submit recommendations to the government;
- The government shall declare amnesty for those members of Jana Sanghati Samity who will deposit arms as per schedule. The government shall withdraw cases instituted against them;
- Each member of Jana Sanghati Samity, returning to normal life will get 50 (Fifty) thousand taka for rehabilitation;
- Those members of Jana Sanghati Samity who earlier were in service of the government will be reinstated;
- A Ministry on Chittagong Hill Tracts will be established with a Minister to be appointed from the tribal;
- In order to ensure the ownership of land of the tribal families having no land or land below 2 acres, the government shall, subject to the availability of land, ensure settlement of 2 acres of land to each family;

- A Land Commission headed by a retired Justice will be constituted to settle litigation over land and premises. The term of the commission will be 3 years which may be extended; and
- The government will maintain quota for the tribals in respect of government jobs and in educational institutions until they attain parity with other regions of the country.

Before peace accord a high rate of casualties have been observed in the CHT region over the last two and half decades. The following three tables ³⁴ may apparently indicate that what sorts of unrest was prevailing in that area. The cyclic order of insurgency and counter-insurgency activities had appeared before the people of that area as a regular phenomenon, of which ultimate result was a high number of casualties. As a consequences, the normal way of life was totally disrupted.

Table - 5(2) : Statistics of insurgents captured, killed and wounded.

Year	Killed	Wounded	Captured
Up to 1979	52	04	-
1980	23	15	-
1981	08	05	-
1982	08	07	-
1983	03	-	-
1984	21	10	-
1985	11	05	-
1986	05	02	299
1987	10	08	254
1988	09	02	301
1989	29	05	390
1990	40	08	355
1991 up to 30 November	17	13	293
Total :	236	84	1892

Table - 5(3) : Statistics on recovered arms and ammunition.

Year	LMG	SMG	Rifle	Pistol	SBBL/ Civil gun	Grenade	Mortar	Ammunition	Mine
1978	01	04	37	04	06	04	-	1999	-
1979	02	04	08	-	11	06	-	898	-
1980	-	06	21	04	24	11	-	2808	-
1981	03	02	24	-	13	03	-	2520	-

1982	-	06	17	01	11	02	-	1838	-
1983	-	05	24	-	28	06	-	162623	-
1984	05	30	43	02	23	16	01	33211	-
1985	20	42	134	03	85	99	02	14818	-
1986	-	05	05	01	37	57	-	39127	-
1987	-	09	08	-	19	04	-	1705	-
1988	01	11	04	-	26	10	-	1958	-
1989	02	14	21	10	65	14	07	29136	-
1990	-	11	27	07	98	17	-	3435	02
1991 up to Nov. 30	-	16	19	05	62	49	54	3030	01
Total :	34	165	392	37	508	298	64	299106	03

Table - 5(4) : Statistics on surrender of insurgents.

Amnesty	Duration	Armed	Unarmed	Total
Before Amnesty	Up to 02 October 1983	14	27	41
First Amnesty	03 October 1983 to 25 April 1984	146	766	912
Second Amnesty	26 April 1984 to 26 April 1985	648	323	971
After Second Amnesty	Up to 21 April 1989	137	144	281
Third Amnesty	22 April 1989 to 22 June 1989	03	08	11
Fourth Amnesty	23 August 1989 to 30 Sept. 1989	07	30	37
After Amnesty	01 October 1989 to 24 August 1991	119	160	279
Fifth Amnesty	24 August 1991	24	18	42
Total :		1098	1476	2574

According to Philip Gain, the hill indigenous peoples in the CHT have faced structural and arbitrary human rights abuses for a long time. The relatively free people of the Chittagong Hill Tracts began to face this terrible situation since the Pakistani period when the big development projects were initiated. Since then their land has been plundered in the name of development and they have lost control of most of the resources that they had previously used. However, the human rights abuse that the hill people have faced during the insurgency period of two and half decades are even more horrendous. They have been attacked and massacred by the Bengalis with support from the security forces; dispossessed of land, and other property and driven out of their homes; their villages have been destroyed; women have been systematically raped and children killed; religious buildings have been destroyed; people have been displaced and relocated in the cluster villages against their will; denied of their collective rights in violation of modern international law and norms; denied of self-determination; etc. It is difficult to measure the extent of human rights abuses in the CHT because there was no independent monitoring and the hills were restricted to foreigners. The major sources of information on

human rights abuses have been Amnesty International, Survival International, Anti-Slavery Society, Chittagong Hill Tracts Commission and some local human rights groups.³⁵

It is noteworthy that the non-tribals in the CHT were not at all out of sufferings from the long prevailing unrest. Some official informations reflect that the rate of losses and casualties among the non-tribals were even higher than that of tribals. There is a school of opinion that the armed cadre of PCJSS, i.e. Shanti Bahini had used to struck the unarmed civil men, women and children of non-tribal. All they wanted, was a reprisal on tribals by non-tribals; so that conservative and peace loving tribals are made to run away across the borders. It is argued that this strategy did not work, rather many innocent fell victim of insurgent atrocities. Table-5(5) represents a summary of civilian casualties. It is indeed, the cordial relationship, which so long existed between the tribals and non-tribals deteriorated alarmingly. As a result, law and order situation deteriorated and at some places of Chittagong Hill Tracts communal disturbances broke out. These incidents led to the migration of a large number of tribal families to India. They had to led a very miserable life in the refugee camps.

Table - 5(5) : Summary of Casualties – civilian.

Year	Killed		Injured		Kidnap/Missing	
	Non-tribal	Tribal	Non-tribal	Tribal	Non-tribal	Tribal
1980	87	08	75	05	57	07
1981	42	02	27	02	03	12
1982	16	07	20	-	51	18
1983	08	-	08	03	15	01
1984	108	07	45	08	18	27
1985	11	14	19	08	25	19
1986	248	33	118	16	33	04
1987	117	19	67	09	17	08
1988	128	16	65	14	131	27
1989	72	47	138	57	22	28
1990	47	20	38	12	18	22
1991	75	15	37	18	21	36
1992	62	43	28	24	18	19
1993	-	-	-	-	05	28
1994	-	-	-	-	01	02
Up to June						
Total :	1021	231	685	176	435	258

Source : Official records; also see Dr. Mizanur Rahman Shelly, op.cit., p. 124

5.6 The Refugee problem: Its settlement

During 1984-1986 some unwanted incidents which occurred at some places of Chittagong Hill Tracts particularly in Khagrachari district, forced a large number of tribal families of the district to cross the border to take shelter in Tripura, India. Again before the election of Hill District Local Government Councils in 1989 the armed clash between the security forces and Shanti Bahini intensified. This induced some more of the tribal families to take refuge in the refugee camps established in Tripura. The researcher have been to Tripura, India as a member of the govt. delegation headed by the then Communication Minister and Convenor of Committee on CHT Oli Ahmad, Bir Bikram on February, 1995. The delegation included Mr. Kalpa Ranjan Chakma, M.P. (now Hon'ble Minister for Chittagong Hill Tracts Affairs), Mr. Rashed Khan Menon M.P. and two officials (including the researcher) of the Special Affairs Division, Prime Minister's Office. The delegation had an extensive visit throughout all the refugee camps. During the visit it was observed by the delegation that the camp people have been provided with inadequate supply of drinking water. The sanitary arrangements were also not satisfactory. The diseases like malaria, diarrhea, infection and gastro entrities had regularly taken toll of the lives of camp people. The life saving drugs were too in acute short supply. It was also observed that the refugee camps were laid out on low hills. The camp sheds were practically so low that it was barely possible for an adult to stand and move about inside. The delegation was reported by many refugees that they were not allowed to had farms there and some quietly slipped out and worked on building sites and at market places at lower wages. The ration, which was supplied by the Indian government was also insufficient. Therefore, it was revealed to the delegation that the Bangladeshi tribal refugees in Tripura, India had to lead a very miserable life and they were awaiting like anything for a honorable repatriation.

The government initiatives taken until as early 1991 to bring back the refugees to their motherland became futile. During this time the relatively more organized tribal refugees set certain preconditions for their return.

In may 1992 the then Prime Minister of Bangladesh visited India. In course of discussion with the Indian Prime Minister, the question of repatriation of the Bangladeshi tribal refugees was raised. After discussion with the Indian authorities and tribal leaders, the refugees agreed to return. During 1994, 1027 refugee families comprising 5189 members repatriated to the country under a package consisting of 19 point benefits. Thereafter, on the question of proper rehabilitation of the repatriated refugees under the package, the process of repatriation came to a halt. The refugee leaders alleged that the government failed to fulfil its commitment to rehabilitate them.

Fresh initiatives taken by the present government in February and March, 1997 to bring back the refugees to the country yielded positive results. On the basis of the agreement reached between the government delegation visiting Agartola, Tripura in March 1997 and the tribal refugee leaders, the government in March 1997 declared a package of benefit with 20 point benefits. The repatriation of the Bangladeshi tribal refugees commenced on 28 March, 1997 and it ended on 27 February, 1998. A total number of 10427 refugee families consist of 56256 members were repatriated. All the repatriated tribal refugees were provided with the benefits committed by the government and were rehabilitated properly. A Task Force has been constituted by the government to over see the process of rehabilitation of the refugees. The Chairman of the Task Force enjoys the status and privileges of a State Minister of the Government. Taking in to account the number of refugees came back in 1994, the total number stand at 64443 and as of now, there is no refugee in Tripura, India.

5.7 Implementation of Peace Accord

As per provision of the Peace accord, the PCJSS submitted a list of its active members including armed cadre and also the list of arms and ammunitions. All necessary arrangements were made for depositing of arms and the historic ceremony of deposit of arms by the PCJSS took place on 10th February 1998 at Khagrachari Stadium where in Hon'ble Prime Minister of Bangladesh Sheikh Hasina received the first installment of weapons deposited under the leadership of the PCJSS President Mr. Jotirindra Bodhi Priya Larma alias Santu Larma. This historic and memorable ceremony was attended among others by cabinet Ministers, Members of Parliament, heads of diplomatic missions in Bangladesh, development partners, donors, local leaders, leading journalists from both home and abroad, educationalists, and large number of people from all walks of life, both tribals and non-tribals. The entire arm deposit ceremony was live telecast, which was witnessed by the people of the country and that of the whole world at large. It was a day of rejoicing and happiness, which was long awaited.

The whole stadium was jam-packed and amidst this the Hon'ble Prime Minister declared her speech. The speech was very significant and its magnitude inspired the nation. Hon'ble Prime Minister declared in her speech 'our aim is to build a peaceful and prosperous society free from poverty and hunger. But this is not possible keeping a particular region underdeveloped. So, we accord emphasis on restoring peace, which brings stability, helps democracy flourish and gives democracy and human rights an institutional shape. Peace brings welfare, harmony and humanity. Therefore, we want peace - not conflicts, creation - not destruction and progress - not backwardness. We want to well-come the new century with the Universal message of peace. I also call upon the world leaders to work untidily for creating a new peaceful world in the coming millennium. I call upon all tribal and non-tribal, irrespective of political affiliation to come forward for the development of country and people". The speech made by Prime Minister was highly hailed by people from all walks of life.

It is important to mention that the entire Peace Accord was signed through mutual discussion and without any help or assistance from outside. In respect of repatriation of the refugees, our neighboring friendly country rendered all possible help and cooperation.

After signing of the Peace Accord, the number of members of PCJSS who returned to normal life stood at 1949. All their arms and ammunitions, explosives were deposited and each of the member of PCJSS returned to normal life was provided with Tk. 50(fifty) thousand as per provisions of the accord. In accordance with the agreement, an 'Implementation Committee' with Mr. Abul Hasanat Abdullah, Chief Whip, Bangladesh Jatio Sangshad (Parliament) as its Convenor has been formed to monitor the process of implementation of the accord and to advise the government as to its proper implementation. The other members are the Chairman of the Task Force constituted in accordance with the provision of the 'peace agreement' and the President of PCJSS. The three Local Government Council Acts of 1989 namely, Rangamati, Khagrachari and Bandarban Local Government Council Act, have already been amended in line with the relevant provisions of the Agreement and a bill providing the establishment of the Chittagong Hill Tracts Regional Council in accordance with the provisions of the accord has been passed by the parliament and enacted. The interim Chittagong Hill Tracts Regional Council has been starting functioning since May 12, 1999 at Rangamati as its headquarter. According to the provisions of the agreement, the government in order to rehabilitate the members of PCJSS has taken certain measures which amongst other include providing ration to the members, reinstatement in service of those members who were in service. The government has already recruited about 719 members of PCJSS in the Police Force. After successful training now they are serving in Police Force with good reputation.

This is also argued that although the government and those on the government side claim satisfactory progress in implementing the peace accord, the implementation process has certainly suffered major impediments. For example, (i) the Land Commission whose tenure is three years has not become functional till the mid-2000. The government formed a nine-member Land Commission with the Chief Justice [Justice] Anwarul Huq Chowdhury as its chairman. However, his death caused further delay in making the Commission functional. His replacement Justice Abdul Karim was nominated only at the end of April 2000. The other members of the Land Commission include the Chairman of the Regional Council; the three circle chiefs; Divisional Commissioner of Chittagong and Chairman of the district councils of Rangamati, Bandarban and Khagrachhari. The Land Commission is to settle the disputes over land. Permanent peace and stability in the CHT largely depends on the efficient resolution of the land disputes and ensuring land rights to the indigenous peoples [tribals] of the CHT. (ii) the peace accord has faced two-pronged opposition. First, the opposition political parties such as Bangladesh National [Nationalist] Party (BNP), Jammat-e-Islami (fundamentalist party), the Jatyio Party united under the banner, Parbattya Sorbodolyo Oikko Parishad (united platform of all hill parties), complain

that the treaty is unconstitutional and against the national interest. Second, the opposing groups from among the ethnic communities are a faction of the Pahari Chhattra Parishad (PCP), Pahari Gono Parishad (PGP) and Hill Women Federation (HWF). These three political organizations floated a new political party namely, United People's Democratic Front (UPDF) on 26 December, 1998 after a two-day conference in Dhaka. The new political party has blatantly criticized and opposed the peace treaty. The antiaccord groups complain that the PCJSS has betrayed the hill indigenous people. They argue that the accord has failed to accomplish the main demands of the hill people, namely constitutional recognition to the national ethnic minorities of the CHT with guarantee for full Autonomy, restoration of traditional land rights, demilitarization of the region, withdrawal and resettlement of the Bengali settlers in the plains land (Amnesty International 2000: 8). Any government winning general majority in the parliament or through a president's ordinance can cancel both the treaty and the [regional] council (interview of Proshit). It is not that they have just opposed the peace accord they have also engaged in conflicts with proaccord groups.³⁴

The Copenhagen based Chittagong Hill Tracts Commission negatively argued regarding the implementation process of the CHT Peace Accord.³⁵ In their report, **the donors have been urged by the Commission to take action as problems in the CHT remains unresolved.** They argued as follows :

The agreement between the JSS [PCJSS] and the government of Bangladesh, signed on 2 December 1997, has not brought peace and stability in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT), as was hoped for. The government, while projecting itself internationally as a great peacemaker, has in fact been delaying implementation of the accord. Since the signing of the accord at least 40 Jummas [tribals] have been killed and more than 100 Jumma activists have been arrested, in particular so-called 'antiaccord' activists, who continue to campaign for 'full autonomy' as the most important demands of the Jumma people were not fulfilled in the accord (constitutional recognition as indigenous people; regional autonomy; out-migration of Bengali settlers, forcibly brought in under earlier government-sponsored transmigration programme and full restoration of indigenous land rights over land occupied by outsiders; full de-militarisation of the CHT). The situation in the CHT is far from peaceful.

They further argued that the Chittagong Hill Tracts Commission is gravely concerned about the continuing disturbances in the CHT and fears that the peace process itself is in serious danger. The situation in the Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bangladesh has since long been a matter of concern to donors and in the past the issue has been raised by donors during the Bangladesh Aid Consortium meetings several times. The Chittagong Hill Tracts Commission calls on the donor government and agencies participating in the Bangladesh Aid Group meeting in Paris on 13 and 14 April 2000, to make the **implementation** of the peace agreement between the JSS and the

governments of Bangladesh, as well as an **end to repression** of so-called 'anti-accord' activists, conditional to sanctioning and funding development programmes in the CHT.

The researcher had have a discussion with the IWGIA (International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs) personnel in Denmark during his official visit in yearly May, 2000. IWGIA is directly assisting the Chittagong Hill Tracts Commission. With the discussion it has been observed by the researcher that they are partially bias as they are feeded with the information only from one side.

Thus, it is revealed that the signing of the 'peace accord' is not enough for the resolution of the problem. The nation has to overcome a critical path. Undoubtedly, the peace accord has become a luminous milestone. But an integrated and heart-felt cooperation is highly needed to follow the luminous milestone. If we ask to our conscience that what is the result of the unrest over the last two and half decades in the CHT and then what will be the answer? The answer could be narrated very precisely, that is 'destruction of confidence'. The peace accord now essentially to be helpful with its magnitude to retrieve the lost confidence in the mind of the people of CHT. The Government has to perform very sincere and enthusiastic role and there is a crying need of all out cooperation from the people and parties concern.

It is reflected throughout the above discussion that there was no way of flourishing tourism industry in such a conflict situation in the CHT area. Therefore, with having all possible ingredients and tremendous potentiality tourism failed to flourish in the CHT. Safety-security and congenial environment are the most essential preconditions for the tourism industry. Aftermath of the peace treaty, now this is the high time to take appropriate measure on flourishing tourism industry in the CHT. The 'Peace Accord' itself has able to draw a big campaign throughout the world. It will definitely draw the attention of tourists abroad about CHT.

With the above discussions, it is not at all difficult to guess for a careful reader that why the CHT region remained backward and where lie the root causes of backwardness. Despite of all developmental measures taken by the government, long prevailing conflict had grabbed all fruits and thus the people of CHT were deprived of their fundamental rights. The prolonged process of deprivation and exploitation had kept the local communities in black despair. The process of deprivation and exploitation has not only been prolonging for the recent past; the above discussion shows that it has a long legacy since nineteenth century. Therefore we are to walk a long way for the sustainability of the peace and development in the CHT. The rapid extension of tourism industry in the CHT may grow confidence in the local communities to uphold the spirit of the peace accord, which will definitely ease the way to sustainable peace and development.

5.8 Development Efforts

Most of the official information and statistics manifest that despite innumerable problems accrued due to war and exploitation by the colonial Governments, the new born country to the best of her sincerity embarked on massive development programmes in the CHT for the development of roads, tele-communications, rural electrification, agriculture, construction of buildings, cottage industry, water supply, livestock, tourism and other sectors after the attainment of her independence. Many modern roads have been constructed connecting inaccessible places with the markets, important places, thana and district headquarters.

Before embarking on massive socio-economic development the Government of Bangladesh did enlist expert opinion and assistance of such international development agencies as Forestal, Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA), Australian Development Assistance Bureau (ADAB); and Asian Development Bank (ADB). From the studies carried out by these agencies between 1975 and 1977 (the report of Forestall was ready as it had been prepared in 1964) certain development goals were set, which included the following :

- a. Development of infrastructure;
- b. Development of small-scale processing units for adding value to agricultural and forest products;
- c. Development of improved marketing system;
- d. Establishment of village settlements that would allow reaching services and amenities at the lowest possible cost;
- e. Development of forest resources;
- f. Development of new tree-crops-particularly rubber, bamboo, fodder and fast growing timber crops;
- g. Development of livestock and fisheries on individual and community basis;
- h. Development of cottage industries based on local resources;
- i. Emphasizing labor intensive projects to ensure mass participation and also utilization of traditional tribal skills;
- j. Emphasizing development of human resources;
- k. Undertaking of agricultural research projects;
- l. Employment of extension workers;
- m. Setting up of effective mechanisms for monitoring and on- ground supervision of all such projects; and
- n. Literacy and Education Development.³⁸

As mentioned earlier an important physical feature of Chittagong Hill Tracts is the Kaptai multi-purpose dam. Construction of the dam necessitated the resettlement of the displaced families.

The resettlement process was however, plagued with difficulties due to a number of reasons, the important of which was overestimation of the amount of land available for settlement.

Since establishment, the CHTDB has implemented a number of different projects in the field of agriculture, education, culture, income generation and communication. The 'Joutha Khamar' scheme of CHTDB superseded the previous settlement schemes undertaken by the govt. The scheme aimed at permanently settling jhumia families. On the average each family was allotted 5 acres of land, normally apportioned between 1 acre each for rubber, pineapple and bananas and the remaining 2 acres for each other cash crops, rice and a house.

The resettlement of the Jhumia families in 'Joutha Khamars' encouraged by the family members to put more efforts in producing more crops with higher yields. To help increase production, CHTDB also introduced agricultural extension programme, which also included livestock development programme. The 'Joutha Khamar' scheme was discontinued in 1983 due to the prevailing law and order situation in the Hill Tracts.³⁹ It may be recalled here that the SB bagged two lakh [0.2 million] pound ransom as against the release of five experts of Shell Oil Company whom the SB men took hostage from Marissha of Bagaichhari thana under Rangamati district on January 19, 1984... The three of the hostage were identified as Mr. Rikity of New Zealand, Mr. Malo of the United States and Mr. Eradama of Netherland. The two other hostages were Bangladeshis. In the aftermath of that incident, the Shell shelved oil exploration in CHT.⁴⁰ Thus it is appeared that smooth and successful implementation of the development programmes in the CHT region was rather difficult during the period of insurgency. Realistically, it was simply impossible. However, with the very circumstances, govt. have undertaken a series of development initiatives over the period. Some of the initiatives were financially assisted by the development partners.

During 1979, a Multisectoral Development programme was undertaken to boost socio-economic uplift in CHT. The overall aim of the programme was to create the necessary conditions for the longer term socio-economic development of the region. The original allocation of fund for the programme was Tk. 6,242.66 lac (US\$ 40.30 million approximately); but in 1992 the amount stood at Tk. 13,766.38 lac (US\$ 36.23 million approximately).⁴⁰ Besides, CHTDB, three hill district councils and some related departments and organizations of other line Ministries are implementing annual development programme with an incremental block allocation for the last ten years.

It is appeared that a special Bloc Allocation was began to sanction for development of CHT since, 1991-92. Under this allocation development projects are being implemented involving different sectors and Ministries/Division since then. Information indicates that CHTDB alone is utilizing lion part of this bloc allocation each year to implement a series of infrastuctural development projects, mainly road, bridge and culvert.

Soon after the peace accord was signed govt. has taken some enthusiastic steps for the development of the CHT region. Govt. held a meeting with development partners, donors and representatives from different missions and briefed them regarding the future prospects in the area and the need for early development works in different sectors. It was also emphasized that confidence building and peace building activities should be started right now and the world community may come forward to help in this process along with development activities. Just after signing the agreement UNDP fielded a Need Assessment Mission. The Mission submitted a report and they have recommended 48 specific projects with an estimated cost of TK. 2100.00 crore. Recently ADB has provided a Project Preparatory Technical Assistance (PPTA) in June, 1999 and as a result of the PPTA and investment project has recently been launched with a cost of 60.00 million US\$ comprising of upgrading and rehabilitation of rural infrastructure, community development, micro-finance and project management support components.

Besides, another T.A projects for feasibility study on Regional Master plan for the CHT area is undertaking by ADB currently. Some other development partners and donors like, DANIDA, CIDA, AUS-AID, GTZ, FAO, WFP, ILO are showing much interest to invest/donate in development for the CHT region.

The development of CHT has been given more importance during the last three years. The development allocations for the Ministry of Chittagong Hill Tracts Affairs in the annual development plan (ADP) has gradually been increased. The allocations were 8.6 million US Dollars during 1996-97, 11.4 million US Dollars during 1997-98 and 13.2 million US Dollars during 1998-99. 18.8 million US Dollars has been allocated for the current financial year. Except this allocation the different Ministries/Divisions have taken up new projects and their annual allocation has also been increased. In addition to that the Government has established 'CHTs Cell' in the Planning Commission for processing CHT project. The Cell has taken up a process to accelerate project approval. Pre-ECNED meeting for 54 projects have been processed by the Cell of which 19 projects have been approved.

It is strongly argued that the CHT has all the potential and prospects for over all growth and development in tourism, agriculture, forestry, fishery, industry, livestock, mineral resources, hydro-electricity and human resources. It is unanimously opined that for the purpose of optimum use of CHT's resources special attention will be required for extensive road connection and telecommunication facilities, creation of tourism facilities, intensive geological survey for mineral resources, horticultural development, provision of safe drinking water and sanitation, prevention of soil erosion, intensive agriculture extension, fruit processing and other small industries, conservation of forest resources, development of marketing facilities, electrification, development and rehabilitation of the poor, children and women, development of human resources etc.

The conflict in CHT which lasted over two and half decades cost the inhabitants of the area – Tribals and Non-tribals and also the whole country very dearly. The cost was not only in terms of human life and miseries or in terms of economic, social and political ones, it is also in terms of the two and half decades of lost opportunities over one tenth of the country's area with its bountiful natural resources. The 'Peace Agreement' had recognized the contributory factors to the problem and had identified the ways and means and the necessary legal and institutional arrangements required for ever lasting peace and harmony in the area.

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Chapter : Six

Policies, Strategies and Institutional Arrangements for Tourism and Environment

POLICIES, STRATEGIES AND INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR TOURISM AND ENVIRONMENT

The world Tourism Day has been observed this year throughout the world on 27 September. This year the theme is "Technology and Nature : Two challenges for tourism at the dawn of the twenty-first century". Tourism is the single largest industry in the world today. As per statistics issued by the World Travel & Tourism Council (WTTC) more than 255 million people earn their livelihood from tourism and by the year 2006, no fewer than 385 million will be doing so. With an estimated 1,600 thousand million US dollars having been invested by then, its 11.1% share of gross world product will have established tourism as the most significant factor in the entire global economy. In 1999 international tourist arrivals and receipts stood at 657 million and US\$ 455 billion respectively making it the highest export earning sector of the world.¹ Tourism is a flourishing industry globally and the present world order with its emphasis on liberalization and globalisation has opened up new opportunities for its development. The World Tourism Organisation forecasts that there will be 702 million international arrivals this year will go up to one billion a decade hence.² Now the prime question, will our tourism paraphernalia be able to secure its legitimate slice?

On reply to this question it is essential to have a look through on the existing policies, strategies, institutional arrangements for tourism in Bangladesh. Since the theme of tourism has been changed and signified by its nature in to ecotourism as it is high lighted in the present thesis, so it is also essential to have a look through the existing environmental legislation, rules-regulations, strategies and policies in Bangladesh.

Tourism

The Government of Bangladesh recognized tourism as an industry in 1991 and it was incorporated in the Industrial Policy 1991. A National Tourism Policy was announced in 1992 and a National Tourism Council has since been floated to develop tourism with increased private sector participation. Thus it is needless to say that the institutional and strategic arrangements by the government in the field of tourism have been started in the very recent past.

6.1 Aims of Tourism Policy

- (1) Increasing foreign exchange earnings by attracting foreign tourists;
- (2) Increasing interest in tourism activities among the people and creating low-cost tourist facilities for them;
- (3) Development, preservation and maintenance of tourism resources of the country;
- (4) Taking steps for alleviation of poverty by creating employment opportunities for greater number of people;
- (5) Creating a favorable image of Bangladesh abroad;
- (6) Opening up a recognized field of investment for private capital;
- (7) Creating recreational facilities for foreign tourists and local people;
- (8) Developing the handicrafts and cottage industries, consolidation of national solidarity and consensus through fostering and development of the culture, heritage and traditions of the country.

Aiming at the above objectives it is categorically emphasized in the Tourism Policy that tourism shall be considered as an industry of due priority and this will be appropriately reflected in the annual/five year plans and development partners shall be apprised of this accordingly. No doubt theoretically enough emphasis has been given in the present day context. But how it is emphasized in the Industrial Policy 1999? If one would like to see the Industrial Policy 1999, he will be rather disappointed. Incidentally tourism is mentioned in the list of thrust sector industries just at the bottom of the list. Out of 16-thrust sector industries tourism secures the position 16. It should be mentioned here that the list has been drawn alphabetically and without imposing any priority. But it is utmost essential to fix a priority among the thrust sector industries. It is needed to consider the psychology, position and emotion of the investors in the private sector. They are in need of clear indication, where they would invest their money, resources and labor. It is true that in maximum cases, every one tries to put attention on the top of the list. This theme is more applicable in the case of Bangladesh so, it is suggested to fix a priority among the thrust sector industries in the Industrial Policy according to the perspective need and potentiality. In that case, tourism should get due priority and preferably should be included among the top rankers in the list.

6.2 Main Features of Tourism Policy

According to National Tourism Policy 1982³ the main features of Tourism Policy are as follows :

Increasing allocation for addition of various facilities and building infrastructure at tourist centers

Provision has to be made for special allocation in the annual/five-year plans for the coordinated development of physical infrastructures by giving priority to development of roads and other communication systems to tourist attractions of the country, installation of telephone

lines, linking of sewerage and gas lines, etc. Particularly, road communication with religious and archaeological sites.

Things of attraction for foreign tourists

Natural, historical and religious attractions of Bangladesh will be nicely projected to the foreign tourists. Presentation of our own culture and way of life will be given precedence. But at the same time some facilities for modern recreation may be provided in a limited way. Some special areas/places/sites or islands may be earmarked and developed for foreigners only.

Investment of local and foreign capital in the private sector

Necessary initiatives will be taken by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Economic Relations Division and other concerned Ministries for attracting local and foreign investment in order to create various tourist facilities of international standard with a view to developing the tourism industry. The incentives offered to investors in other industries will also be offered to those of the tourism industry. Tourism projects earning foreign exchange will be given the facilities that are given to export-oriented industries. In order to encourage private investment in the tourism sector, loans, tax holidays, payment of taxes at rebated rates and allotment of land at reduced price in special cases, etc., may be considered. Creation of tourist facilities may be undertaken jointly with the private sector and these may then gradually be handed over fully to the private sector.

Providing facilities to local tourists

Necessary steps will be taken to motivate local tourists to visit places in the country and to this end the service-establishments that are built for development of tourism would be operated in a manner to generate incomes barely enough for keeping them going. Through these steps the investment area will expand, thereby people of the mid-income group and even those of the low-income one will be accorded the opportunities for leisure and recreation. For the purpose, it is necessary to build additional accommodation and other facilities, specially at sea-resorts, places of natural attraction and religious and archaeological sites in order to create attractions of youth, religious and cultural tourism.

Restoration and maintenance of archaeological and historical sites

Steps will have to be taken to attract local and foreign tourists through development and maintenance of historical, archaeological and religious sites situated in different parts of Bangladesh. Steps will also be taken to attract tourists, especially from the Far East, by proper

conservation of archaeological sites related to Buddhist culture and civilization and providing standard facilities at these places.

Conservation of wildlife

A masterplan for the development of tourist attractions in the Sunderbans will be taken up on a priority basis providing wildlife conservation, creation of a sanctuary and "Safari Tours" in order to attract foreign and local tourists. Other facilities including "Tree-top lodges" will be developed in the sunderbans.

Earmarking and development of special areas/places/sites and islands for foreign tourists.

Special areas and islands may be earmarked for creation of modern amenities only for foreign tourists. The private sector may take a major role in this matter while the government sector may participate in building the infrastructure and ancillary matters.

Facilitating travel by river for the tourists (Riverine Tourism)

The vast waterways of riverine Bangladesh, as the image of ways of life of its people are one of the attractions to foreigners. But there are no standard and regular water transport for safe travel through the water-ways. In order to develop this attraction a multi-dimensional development plan will be prepared and efforts will have to be made to attract foreign tourists by planning and marketing package tours jointly with neighbouring countries because the vast water ways of riverine Bangladesh are of so different and unique a nature in the context of the whole sub-continent.

Games and Sports

For increasing incomes in foreign exchange more competitions and tournaments of international games and sports at the regional level will have to be held every year in the country.

Simplification of Frontier Formalities for the Arrival and Departure of Foreign Tourists

After reviewing the regulations e.g. the visa policy for the arrival and departure of foreign tourists to and from Bangladesh and visa policy in force in neighboring countries, these regulations will have to be recast.

Marketing and Publicity

There is virtually no marketing and publicity of Bangladesh tourism in tourist markets abroad. But publicity at the international level is absolutely necessary for this competitive industry. Various necessary steps are suggested in this regard.

Evaluation of various informations related to tourism

A management information system will have to be developed within the Ministry of Civil Aviation and Tourism for determining future action plans after collecting and reviewing of results of activities in this field.

A "Monitoring and Evaluation Cell" will have to be established within the Ministry of Civil Aviation and Tourism in order to review and evaluate growth and progress of the industry.

Civil Aviation Rules

Steps will have to be taken to allow landing rights to more foreign airlines through pursuit of civil aviation policy keeping in view the interests of Bangladesh. As a result numbers of foreign airlines and that of foreign tourists coming to Bangladesh will increase and thereby earnings of foreign exchange will increase too.

Legal frame work/proper application of rules related to tourism

At present Travel Agency Registration law and law for Registration and Classification of Hotels and Restaurants are in force. In order to perform a contributory role for raising the standard of these establishments by proper application of laws, the Ministry of Civil Aviation and Tourism will have to be suitably organized.

Formation of National Tourism Council

A multi-dimensional industry as tourism is its developmental activities at the tourist spots and centers will involve programs of work of various Ministries and therefore this industry will have to be developed by overcoming governmental dilatory processes through effective coordination at the highest level. With that end in view a National Tourism Council is formed with Hon'ble Prime Minister as its head.

Tourism Advisory Committee

Private sector entrepreneurship is essential for the development of tourism industry. A Tourism Advisory Committee was constituted in 1977 under the Chairmanship of the Minister for Civil Aviation and Tourism, in order to resolve problems in this sector through review from time to time. Through the activities of this committee the efforts for making the programs of concerned government and autonomous organizations more people-oriented and international standard shall continue.

Reorganization of the scope of activities of Bangladesh Parjatan Corporation

The development and commercial programs of Bangladesh Parjatan corporation will have to be reorganized to build it as an auxiliary and complementary organization of the private sector in conformity with market economy pursued by the government.

Creation of Professional Manpower

Professional manpower is required for the development of service oriented tourism industry. In order to create this manpower it is necessary to arrange regular training at different levels, application of recruitment rules in respect of employment and provide other incentives. With this end in view, the Hotel & Tourism Training Institute of Bangladesh Parjatan Corporation will have to be expanded and its activities will have to be conducted with professional efficiency.

The above salient features of the National Tourism Policy of Bangladesh undoubtedly manifests an ambitious vision. Although the practical scenario in the tourism sector in Bangladesh is not so satisfactory, yet policy guideline is obviously praiseworthy. Actually the bottleneck is lying with the implementation process. Nothing is incorporated in the National Tourism Policy preposterously. Rather, aims of tourism policy are very much confined with the urgent need only. Since the very limited aims are not yet achieved so far, therefore, this failure is being appeared as hurdle before the crying need of upgradation of National Tourism Policy in the present day context. Pragmatically the existing policy is in need of upgradation in the perspective of globalization. It should be mentioned that the revolutionary development of information technology has opened up the golden door of global tourism. Unfortunately, Bangladesh is lagging far behind from the global standard, even then that of south-asian countries.

Infrastructural development, up to a minimum acceptable range is still far reaching. Allocation in the annual development programs for the development of tourism infrastructure is really insufficient. Thus, most of the aims of Tourism Policy are crawling despairingly. The

country is still suffering from its image problem internationally. Efforts of creating a favorable image of Bangladesh abroad still is of no significance. Participation of private sector in the tourism industry is not at all up to the expectation.

As it has been shown in the Table-3(3) of chapter three, the comparative position of Bangladesh amongst the SAARC countries is not satisfactory in terms of foreign tourist arrival. On the basis of empirical observation in the context of present day global tourism scenario the researcher would like to refer the following lacuna in the case of Bangladesh :

- (i) insufficient sectoral allocation in the annual development programs for the development of tourism infrastructure,
- (ii) internationally severe image crisis of Bangladesh due to natural disaster (like, flood, cyclone, drought), manmade causes (like, political instability, strike, deterioration of law and order situation), environmental pollution and unhygienic condition,
- (iii) lack of infrastructural arrangement for the foreign tourists,
- (iv) unusual complexity of frontier formalities for the arrival and departure of foreign tourists,
- (v) absence of exclusive tourist zone for the foreign tourists,
- (vi) lack of marketing and publicity of Bangladesh tourism in tourist markets abroad,
- (vii) poor participation of private sector in the tourism industry,
- (viii) lack of policy guide line for the ecotourism,
- (ix) lack of professionalism,
- (x) lack of adequate tourist resorts,
- (xi) lack of foreign investment in the tourism sector
- (xii) absence of proper monitoring systems and
- (xiii) lack of modernized information technology.

6.3 Existing Facilities

According to the publication of Bangladesh Parjatan Corporation (the sole state-owned national tourism organization), they offer facilities through its various outlets. These include hotels and motels for accommodation, restaurants and fast-food shops for delicious food and drinks, rent-a-car-service for comfortable journey, transfer service from airport, sightseeing tour, river cruise and package tours. Tourist Information Centers all over the country provide up-to-date information along with selling and distributing maps, brochures, posters, documentary film and other tourism related publications.⁴

The above official version is true, but the quality of services of the existing facilities is not beyond question. Due to lack of proper professionalism, most of the facilities are being failed

to draw the tourist's satisfaction. Virtually, there is no effective monitoring system in this field, that is why the situation is not improving.

However, the official statistics and information claim that foreign tourist arrival in Bangladesh and foreign currency earnings from tourism sector have been showing steady growth persistently. During the last five years, the average growth rate of tourist arrival is 4.48% and during the same period the average growth rate of earning is 31.31%. In 1999 a total number of 1,72,781 tourists visited Bangladesh and the foreign currency earned by Bangladesh is Taka 245.19 [US\$ 4.54] crore. The most significant aspect is the rapid growth in domestic tourism. There is no dependable statistics on this. According to experts, if a study is made, it would appear that the number of domestic tourists would have several times more than the foreign tourists. This would create a positive impact on the economy.

It is learnt from the official sources that Bangladesh Parjatan Corporation is implementing a series of development projects. In its initiative, Bangladesh Parjatan Corporation in the recent years added Kuakata Holiday Homes at Patuakhali, Parjatan Motel at Dinajpur, Motel Laboni at Cox's Bazar and the Restaurant and Picnic spot at Madhabkunda. Besides, Motels at Tungipara, Teknaf and Mongla are nearing completion. Initiatives have been taken to establish hotels and recreational facilities at Khagrachari and Banderaban and a restaurant at Shatnol (in Chandpur districts). Moreover, tourism facilities at Mujibnagar, Daudkandi, Sagardari and Benapol are under development. For the construction of the above mentioned projects, an estimated cost of Taka 16 crore and 37 lacs is to be funded from ADP. When these projects would start operation, an additional 344 hotel beds and 350 restaurant seats would be added to the existing facilities of 942 hotel beds and 1160 restaurant seats throughout the country.⁵

It should be mentioned that a limited number of private tour operators are offering facilities, including transfer service from airport, accommodation, fooding, sight seeing, package tours and rent-a-care service. Now they are able to handle a large number of tourists but due to poor inflow of tourists their capacity is under utilized. The researcher has had thread bear discussions with a number of private tour operators. It is revealed from the various discussions that most of the private tour operators are severely suffering from lack of confidence in their business. As they commonly argued, the causes of inconfidence are the following:

- (i) Government plays regulatory role, instead of supportive role,
- (ii) Though they are running with their business profitably but there is no consistency in their business, especially, due to inconsistency with the tourists' inflow.
- (iii) Institutional supports from government are very insignificant,
- (iv) Unusual complexity of frontier formalities for the arrival and departure of foreign tourists,

- (v) They are not getting bank loans at a reduced rate of interest and that's why they are facing problem to increase their service-establishments,
- (vi) There is a major lack of overall integrated frame work in the tourism sector,
- (vii) There is a severe lagging of safety and security measurement for tourists operation, especially for the tourists as well as for the tour operators,
- (viii) There is a lack of mass-awareness of the host population to receive the foreign tourists and
- (ix) There is a lack of intensive training facilities for the tour operators;

However, on the contrary, they are also optimistic about the increasing trend of global tourism. Some of them opined that the whole scenario of the tourism sector in Bangladesh will be changed positively within very short span of time. They also argued and earnestly urged for a massive developmental program, which could be initiated by the govt. with the direct foreign investment, They emphasized for a integrated policy in the perspective of globalization. A few of them put importance on the motivational approach for the development of entrepreneurship in the tourism sector. In that case, they also categorically emphasised to motivate the young and educated generation.

6.4 Strategies for Tourism Policy

Some strategies have been declared by the Govt. of Bangladesh for its Tourism Policy. They are as follows :

- (1) In order to make tourism industry popular, the socio-economic values of this industry will have to be upheld to the people and consciousness regarding this industry will be created by publicity through radio, television and the press.
- (2) Capital will be withdrawn by phases from commercial organizations related to tourism held by the government sector in the tourism centers of the country and steps will be taken to hand them over to the private sector.
- (3) Government allocation may be increased for publicity and promotion of tourism industry at the national and international levels through Bangladesh Parjatan corporation so that it can play a more vital role,
- (4) In order to encourage the private sector to invest in tourism industry, service-oriented organizations related to hotel and tourism have been identified as an industrial sector. For fostering this industry, capital investment at concessional interest rate and other facilities such as water, gas and electricity connections may be provided.
- (5) In order to make the private sector interested in investing in tourism industry, government land may be leased on long term basis to establish business organisations against their approved projects,

- (6) With a view to import air-conditioned tourist coaches and water crafts suitable for 15 to 20 passengers for use by the tourists, under current rules and regulations, permission may be given for the import of such vehicles by paying import taxes at easy installments as may be fixed by the National Board of Revenue, if necessary. All air-conditioned vehicles and water vessels imported under this arrangement will not be handed over to others and must be used only for tourists.
- (7) Special tourist areas will be established only for foreign tourists. In order to provide accommodation, catering, games and sports, dance and music to the foreign tourists at these designated areas, permission for required importation will be given. In these special areas the tourists will have to do all transaction in foreign currencies. Kuakata area of Patuakhali and Sonadia Island of Cox's Bazar may be designated as such special areas for tourists.
- (8) Due importance will have to be given to the development of tourism industry in the annual/five-year plans. At such tourist centers where the private sector is not eager to develop facilities, having developed said facilities centering round the core-projects public capital may be withdrawn gradually.⁶

The aforesaid strategies have been selected by the govt. during formulation of the National Tourism Policy about eight years ago. By this time, the rapid growing tourism industry has definitely been changed incredibly. Most of the developed and developing countries, particularly, who are tourists intensive are being strategically upgraded in the field of tourism. A recent increasing trend of global integration in the tourism sector is being observed, while Bangladesh is lagging far behind.

Recently it is learnt that necessary steps are being taken to establish Exclusive Tourist Zone (ETZ) in order to attract local and foreign investors for participation in the development of tourism industry. There is no doubt that the time is going out rapidly. Gradually the international tourism market is becoming more competitive. Any dilatory process may cause loss of international tourists market. It is true that the need of an Exclusive Tourist Zone has seriously been felt since long. It is observed that remarkable growth and development of tourism has taken place in countries with similar socio-religious environment such as Malaysia and Indonesia. Compared to them, Bangladesh is far behind. In Bangladesh, there is a crying need for pragmatic strategies in this regard.

Observation shows that tourism industry in our neighboring countries such as Nepal, SriLanka, Maldives and India is given priority under state-patronage. Statistics of international tourists arrival in the said countries, especially from far-east and western countries is quiet high in comparison to Bangladesh.

Officially it is claimed that at present the tourism environment in Bangladesh is very good and congenial. Government is implementing the recommendations of the strategic Tourism Master plan in phases within the country's national Five-Year Plan. The current five-year Plan (1997-2002) for development of tourism has been formulated making an allocation of Taka 3000.00 million in private sector and Taka 120.00 million in public sector.

It is argued that the desired investment in the private sector, however, is not forthcoming. Hence it is necessary to increase investment in the public sector to develop the tourism potentials of the country.

The first World Tourism Day-2000 of the new millennium has been observed in Bangladesh simultaneously with all the member countries across the globe on September 27 in a befitting manner. The theme of this year's World Tourism Day was "Technology and Nature: Two challenges for tourism at the dawn of the 21st century". Bangladesh Parjatan Corporation and other tourism related public and private organizations have thrown different programs to observe that day. On that occasion, the head of the govt. the Prime Minister said, the full potentials of the country's tourism could be tapped through combined efforts of the government and the private sector. In a message on the eve of the World Tourism Day, the Prime Minister said, "It is high time to develop our tourism sector through proper projection of our tourists spots and products to the local and international visitors." She also expressed the hope that Bangladesh would be attractive to the foreign tourists by blending its natural bio-diversity with modern information technology. The President of the country also expressed hope on the same occasion. He said the country's tourism industry will have to be developed fully by combining its immense natural beauty with the technology.⁷ Of course, it should be appreciated that the perception and realization of both the head of the State and the head of the Government are pragmatic and praiseworthy. Now the concerned policy makers and implementers would have to have a enthusiastic drive with the spirit.

The world Tourism Organization was established in 1975 under the aegis of the United Nations Organization for providing administrative and institutional support to this industry. Bangladesh is one of the founder-member of this organization. Besides, various international, regional and multinational organizations, such as UNDP, World Bank, IMF, UNESCO, EEC, ESCAP, ADB are giving different types of financial and technical assistance at an increasing rate for promotion and development of the tourism industry. Empirical experiences indicate that the country was not able, so far, to capture the generous assistance from the international organizations in the field of tourism industry.

6.5 Tourism – A Multi dimensional Industry

It is essentially viewed that tourism is a multi-dimensional industry. In Bangladesh, for the development of tourism industry, it is essential to have effective coordination of national planning (Planning Commission); Capital investment (Finance Division); arrangement of economic resources and technical assistance (Economic Relations Division); Physical infrastructural facilities development (Ministry of Communication, Ministry of Post and Telecommunications, Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources, Ministry of Works, Ministry of Land); Preservation of historical and archaeological monuments and sites, patronage to fine arts and crafts (Ministry of Cultural Affairs); simplification of entry-exit regulations for foreigners (Ministry of Home Affairs, National Board of Revenue and Bangladesh Bank); development of the handicrafts industry (Ministry of Industries); conservation of forests and wildlife (Ministry of Environment and Forest); improvement of transfer arrangements for air passengers (Civil Aviation Authority); external publicity and marketing (Bangladesh Parjatan Corporation, Ministry of Information, Bangladesh Biman, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Export Promotion Bureau); travelling through waterways (Ministry of Shipping). Besides, it is essential to construct hotels and motels, create recreational facilities, make arrangements for suitable types of transport for the movement of tourist-groups (package tour).

Thus, it is understandably revealed that 'tourism sector' has a high degree of interdependence and correlation with the various Ministries, agencies and organs of the government in Bangladesh. There is no alternative of an effective integrated policy framework as well as proper institutional arrangement. Although the head of the government heads the National Tourism Council yet it is commonly argued that due to lack of proper attention this Council is not working effectively. The role of the Inter-ministerial co-ordination and Implementation Committee for tourism is not also beyond question. The role of the National Tourism Council could be more effective if the Inter-ministerial Co-ordination and Implementation Committee properly feed them.

According to the National Tourism Policy, meeting of the National Tourism Council is to be held at least once in a period of not over six months. As per the available information in this regard it is observed that the meeting usually does not take place on regular basis according to the provision. There is a clear mandate in the National Tourism Policy that the decisions of the meeting of the National Tourism Council shall be obligatory and all ministries concerned shall implement the same. With having such type of mandate and provision in the National Tourism Policy, it is surprising to understand why tourism industry in Bangladesh is lagging far behind. It may require further in-depth research, particularly to analyze the reason, 'why tourism industry in Bangladesh is not flourished as expected.'

6.6 World Tourism Organization

It is essentially viewed that World Tourism Organization has very definite and significant role to develop its member country's tourism sector. Thus, it is important to have a focus on WTO. It has been mentioned earlier that Bangladesh is one of the founder-member of the World Tourism Organization. The World Tourism Organization is the leading international organization in the field of travel and tourism. It serves as a global forum for tourism policy issues and a practical source of tourism Know-how. Its membership includes 138 countries and territories and more than 350 Affiliate Members representing local government, tourism associations and private sector companies, including airlines, hotel groups and tour operators.

With its headquarters in Madrid, Spain WTO is an inter-governmental body entrusted by the United Nations towards the promotion and development of tourism. Through tourism, WTO aims to stimulate economic growth and job creation, provide incentives for protecting the environment and heritage of destinations, and promote peace and understanding among all the nations of the world. The WTO believes that governments have a vital role to play in tourism. According to the aims and objectives of the WTO, it exists to help nations throughout the world maximize the positive impacts of tourism, such as job creation, new infrastructure and foreign exchange earnings, while at the same time minimizing negative environmental or social impacts.

Early history :

The World Tourism Organization has nearly 75 years of tourism experience. The World Tourism Organization had its beginnings as the International Union of Official Tourist Publicity Organizations set up in 1925 in The Hague. It was renamed the International Union for Official Tourism Organization (IUOTO) after World War II and moved to Geneva. IUOTO was a technical, non-governmental organization, whose membership at its peak included 109 National Tourism Organizations and 88 Associate Members, among them private and public groups.

By the mid-1960s, it became clear that there was a need for more effective tools to keep developments under review and to provide tourism with inter-governmental machinery especially equipped to deal with the movement of persons and holiday makers. In 1967, IUOTO members approved a resolution transforming it into inter-governmental organization empowered to deal on a worldwide basis with all matters concerning tourism and to cooperate with other competent organizations, particularly those of the United Nations' system, such as the World Health Organization (WHO), UNESCO, and the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO). A recommendation to the same effect was passed in December 1969 by the UN General Assembly, which recognized the "decisive and central role" the transformed IUOTO should play in the field of world tourism "in cooperation with the existing machinery within the UN."

It is learnt that the resolution was ratified in 1974 by 51 of the nations whose official tourism organizations were members of IUOTO. IUOTO was renamed the World Tourism Organization (WTO) and its first General Assembly was held in Madrid in May 1975. The Secretariat was installed in Madrid early the following year at the invitation of the Spanish government, which provides a building for the headquarters. In 1976 WTO became an executive agency of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and in 1977, a formal cooperation agreement was signed with the United Nations itself. Since its early years, WTO's membership and influence in world tourism has continued to grow. By 1997 its membership included 138 countries and territories and more than 350 affiliate Members, representing local government, the private sector, tourism associations and educational institutions.⁸ Actually the history of the WTO implies the chronological development of the tourism industry. The working relationship between Bangladesh and WTO as a member country does not sound much effective. Since, Bangladesh is lagging far behind in comparison to many developing countries in the field of tourism so, as a founder member of WTO the country deserves and realistically in need of preferential treatment for its tourism development. But, unfortunately the practical picture is rather disappointing.

Development approach of WTO

It is learnt that WTO is accorded with the following tasks :

- (i) Transfer of tourism know-how to developing countries is one of the WTO's fundamental tasks.
- (ii) As an executing agency of the United Nations Development Programme, WTO contributes decades of experience in tourism to the sustainable development goals of nations throughout the world.
- (iii) Acting on requests from member governments, WTO secures financing, locates the world's leading experts, and carries out all types of tourism development projects, large and small.

With the aforesaid task Bangladesh has a legitimate right to receive cooperation from WTO. With this end in view the researcher has undertaken an effort to look through the details of WTO's developmental approach and recent practical projects.

Sustainable Development

In opening up new tourism destinations and improving existing ones, the World Tourism Organization is a vital link in the transfer of tourism technology from West to East and from North to South.

All WTO projects are based on the policy of sustainability, ensuring that the economic benefits of tourism development are not offset by damage to the environment or to local cultures. Projects also ensure that local communities share in the planning process and in the prosperity achieved through increased tourism.

Working hand-in-hand with the member governments, donor agencies and the private sector, WTOs objective is to make sure that income and jobs generated by new tourism development will last for generations to come.

With this aims and objectives, WTO is providing some key facilities to the member countries and other concern. These included information statistics, economic analysis market research, environmental awareness and a vast publication related to tourism.

Practical Projects

Development projects carried out by WTO often encompass the entire tourism sector of a nation and involve many months of work, such as the strategy for environmentally sustainable development of India's Andaman Islands completed in 1996. Other examples of long term projects include :

- Tourism Master plan in Ghana (1996).
- Reconstruction and Development plan in Lebanon (1997)
- Action plan for Sustainable Tourism Development in Uzbekistan (1997)
- Sectoral support mission of assess the economic impact of tourism in Egypt (1996).

Other recent short-term projects have included :

- A pilot eco-tourism development in Congo.
- Hotel classification system in Ecuador.
- New tourism laws for Nicaragua.
- Resort management in the Maldives.
- Analysis of air transport in Costa Rica.
- Protection of historic sites in the Philippines.
- Statistics training for the United Arab Emirates.
- Resort marketing in China.

Moreover, WTO is in a unique position to carry out special projects that promote tourism to a group of member countries. The Silk Road and the Slave Route are two of these projects,

being implemented in cooperation with the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization.

The Silk Road : Launched in 1994, WTO's Silk Road project aims to revitalize through tourism the ancient highways used by Marco Polo and the caravan traders who came after him. The Silk Road stretches 12,000 Km from Asia to Europe. Sixteen silk Road countries have joined forces for this projects: Japan, Republic of Korea, DPR Korea, China, Kazakistan, Kyrgyzstan, Pakistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Iran, Azerbaijan, Turkey, Georgia, Greece and Egypt.

The Slave Route : Initiated in 1995 as part of the United Nations' International Year of Tolerance, the Slave Route aims to boost cultural tourism to western African nations. It's immediate goals are to restore monuments, enhance history museums and launch joint promotional campaigns in selected tourism generating markets, which will motivate foreign visitors to learn about the history of these countries and to discover their roots. The project is expected to be expanded in the future to include other nations in southern and eastern Africa, as well as countries in the Caribbean.

Needless to say, literally, Bangladesh is deprived of the above developmental Programme launched by WTO. There is no regional or sub-regional framework or integrated basis for the development of tourism in Bangladesh. The country would have to have the chance to be included in the Silk Road. More so, the country is in immediate need of a Regional Master Plan for the development of tourism, where CHT may be included with prior importance. Since the WTO is in a position to render technical know-how and capital investment, so an extensive assistance should be solicited from WTO for the development of tourism.

The reseacher does believe that a close working relationship with WTO would help Bangladesh substantially to promote its tourism in the international market and also to build up an effective infrastructural base in the global perspective. Exclusive Tourist Zone is a must in Bangladesh. Like some other areas in the country, CHT would be a best place for the establishment of Exclusive Tourist Zone. It should be mentioned here that CHT is not so much high lighted in the National Tourism Policy as the area actually deserves. Now the days in the CHT have already been changed, peace is prevailing there. This is the high time to project CHT in the National Tourism Policy with due priority. WTO can extend its generous cooperation and technical assistance to develop CHT's tourism infrastructure.

Environment

An environmental policy for a developing country like Bangladesh can hardly be over emphasized. Bangladesh experiences an almost unique environmental situation being located on

the delta of the two of the world's largest rivers and in one of the great flood and storm hazard zones of the earth. As it has been mentioned earlier in chapter 3 the environmental programs in Bangladesh hardly got off to a start until the mid-80s. Following the UN Stockholm Conference in 1972, the Government of Bangladesh initiated environmental programs for the first time with the creation of the Department of Pollution Control in 1974, and enacted the Pollution Control Ordinance in 1977. In 1989 the Ministry of Environment and Forestry was setup with the Dept. of Forests and a newly created Dept. of Environment under it. It is this former Dept. of Pollution Control Board, which was just renamed as the Ministry of Environment and Forests. Meanwhile 1990 was declared as the year of Environment and 1990-99 the Decade of Environment.

On 13 April 1992 the Cabinet approved the Draft Environmental Policy- 1990. The Action Plan was also approved by the cabinet in the same meeting.⁹

6.7 National Environmental Policy

The realization that the environment is being degraded gradually not only by natural process but also by our manipulation has been reflected in the policy statements. Extra-ordinary emphasis has been placed on the protection and development of the physical environment as well as emphasis was also placed upon integrated effort for solution of severe socio-economic malaises constraining the desired protection and development of the environment.

The Government also realizes the fact that only within the gamut of a well-directed policy framework the relevant environmental problems could be tackled and the commitments fulfilled. Creation of a widespread mass awareness program; active participation of the people at all levels; immediate and long-term solution of natural disaster treated as integral parts of environmental protection and development and resource management are identified as essential elements in the formulation of the environmental policy. Further, through adoption of appropriate measures at local and national levels and coordination of such steps on regional and international basis, it is asserted the causes of global environment would be helped.¹⁰

The Environment Policy of Bangladesh with its statement describes six main objectives: 1) to help conserve and develop the ecological balance, 2) to save the country from natural catastrophes, 3) to identify the nature of all sorts of pollution and control there of, 4) to ensure durable development in every sphere suiting the demand of the environment, 5) to ensure judicious and long-term use of all national resources, and 6) to keep the nation alive to all international steps in connection with the environment as far as possible.

The policy statement recommends actions to be taken on 15 subject areas of development which are of special concern for the Government :

(a) Agriculture	(i) Food
(b) Industry	(j) Coastal and Marine Environment
(c) Health and Sanitation	(k) Transport and Communication
(d) Energy and Fuel	(l) Housing and Urbanization
(e) Water Development, Flood control and Irrigation	(m) Population
(f) Land	(n) Public Awareness, Education and Research
(g) Forest, Wildlife and Biodiversity	(o) Legal Framework and Institutional Arrangement.
(h) Fisheries and Livestock	

The relevant policies appropriate to different sectors as noted above together with an action plan for each sector with institutional responsibilities have been formulated.

6.8 Environmental Legislation

Environment in Bangladesh Constitution

The Constitution of Bangladesh enshrines the "right to life and personal liberty" (Article 31 and 32) as a fundamental right to life. Although it does not explicitly recognize the right to environment as a fundamental right, in two recent cases [XL VIII DLR, 1996, p. 438 and XVII Bangladesh Legal Digest (BLD), 1996 (AD), pg.1] the Supreme Court has resolved that the "right to life" enshrined as a fundamental right includes the "right to a healthy environment".¹¹

It is commonly opined that Bangladesh has inherited its legal system known as common law system from the British colonial rulers which was introduced in the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries. The foundation of Bangladesh's environmental law can be traced back to that British-laid legal system. A scrutiny of the statutory laws prevailing in Bangladesh reveals that about 185 laws deal with or have relevance to environmental issues.

The statutory laws (laws enacted by the parliament) and bylaws (rules, regulations, etc. promulgated by the concerned authorities) are the primary source of environmental legislation. The principles of tortious liability, e.g. strict liability, nuisance, etc. are common law principles of tort and would be well accepted by the courts if actions are brought.

There are case laws (principles enumerated through judicial interpretation of law, by-law, etc.) which operate as mandatory precedents in some sectors, e.g. much of the law on fisheries has been developed through cases.

Another major source of rules of conduct that has significant relevance to environment is customs, uses and practices. In fact, the utilization of natural resources is primarily regulated by

these norms and in certain cases even titles and tenures are based on cultural values. Examples of such parallel systems can be found in matters of forestry where indigenous or non-indigenous people living in and adjacent to the government forests claim certain rights based on customs and prescription.¹²

In tackling the environmental problems of the country, various environmental laws have been from time to time in Bangladesh. There are more than 200 sectoral laws that are in force dealing with environmental issues. They focus mainly on land use, air and water pollution, noise, toxic chemicals, solid waste, forest conservation, wildlife protection mineral resources, coastal zone management, industry, environmental health and sanitation, etc. Some of these laws, now in force, such as Forest Act of 1927; Motor Vehicle Ordinance of 1939; Bengal Smoke Nuisance Act of 1876, etc. are inherited. Others were enacted after 1947 due to changed scenarios. On the basis of broad objectives of environmental laws existing in Bangladesh, laws may be categorized as follows :

- a) Protection of environmental health;
- b) Control of environmental pollution; and
- c) Conservation of natural and cultural resources.

The above objectives amply demonstrate that all environmental related laws are intended to lead our acts toward sustainable development.¹³

In... Bangladesh, the approach of addressing environmental issues through Public Interest Environment Litigation (PIEL) has opened up a new horizon in the concept of environmental protection and conservation. It is not just a mode of enforcement of environmental regulation through the judicial process, but a potential way in creating awareness amongst the members of society about their rights and duties. This kind of litigation can be unique vehicle for rendering services to those who cannot speak for themselves. It can clarify laws, promote judicial remedies with better responses as well as provide the interface between environmental issues and the regulatory regime.¹⁴

Though laws relating to environmental issues are many but for the purpose of the present thesis, some major ones have been chosen to high light. These are as follows : ¹⁵

Bangladesh Environmental Conservation Act, 1995 (ECA 1995)

The Act was established for environment conservation, environmental standard development and environment pollution control and abatement, although it is known by the shortened title above.

The Environmental Conservation Act, 1995 (ECA '95) is currently the main legislative framework document relating to environmental protection in Bangladesh, which repealed the earlier environment pollution control ordinance of 1997 and has been promulgated in 1995.

The main objectives of ECA, 1995 are –

- Conservation and improvement, and
- Control and mitigating pollution of environment.

The main strategies of the Act can be summarized as –

- Declaration of ecologically critical areas, and restriction on the operation and process which can be carried or cannot be initiated in the ecologically critical areas.
- Regulation in respect of vehicles emitting smoke harmful for the environment.
- Environmental clearance.
- Regulation of the industries and other development activities-discharge permit.
- Promulgation of standards for quality of air, water, noise and soil for different areas for different purposes.
- Promulgation of standard limit for discharging and emitting waste.
- Formulation and declaration of environmental guidelines.

The first set of rules to implement the provisions of Act was promulgated in 1997. The Department of Environment (DoE) is implementing the Act. DoE is headed by a Director General (DG), who has complete control over the Department. The power of DG, as given in the Act, may be outlined as follows :

- Identification of different types and causes of environmental degradation and pollution.
- Instigating the investigation and research into information regarding environment conservation, development and pollution.
- Power to close down the activities considered harmful to human life or the environment. The operator does have the right to appeal and procedures are in place for this. However, if the incident is considered an emergency, there is no opportunity for appeal.
- Power to declare an area affected by pollution as an ecologically critical area. The type of work or process, which can be taken in such an area, is governed by DoE.

- Similar to an aforementioned clause, if any part of the environment is polluted/damaged by operations, the Director General can request or force the operator to make rectifying arrangement.
- Operators must inform the Director General of any pollution incident or 'near miss'.

In the event of an accidental (pollution) event, the Director General may take control of an operation and the relevant operator is bound to help. The operator is responsible for costs incurred and (possibly) compensation.

- Before new projects can go ahead as stipulated under the rules, they must obtain an Environment Clearance from the Director General. An appeal procedure does exist for those promoters who fail to obtain clearance.

Failure to comply with any part of this Act may result in punishment by a maximum of 5 years imprisonment or a maximum fine of Taka 100,000 or both.

Environment Conservation Rules, 1997 (ECR, 1997)

These are the first set of rules, promulgated under the Environment Conservation Act 1995. Among other things, these rules set :

- i. The National Environmental Quality Standards for ambient air, various types of water, industrial effluent emission, noise vehicular exhaust, etc.
- ii. Requirement for and procedures of obtain environment clearance.
- iii. Requirement for IEE/EIA according to categories of industrial and other development interventions.

The Environment Conservation Act was enacted in 1995. It took four years to go through the process of public consultation, stakeholders' meeting and inter-ministerial meeting to finalise the draft. DoE was the initiator of the process and author of the first draft. With modifications and changes, finally the parliament adopted the Act in its present form. The Act looked into the broader issues of environment and development. It described the power given to the Director General of the Department of Environment in containing the pollution. In order to enforce this Act, the Environment Conservation Rules were framed in 1997. The rules specified the power and functions of the Department of Environment and the responsibilities of the industries to ensure conservation of ecosystem. The rules categorized different industrial units and projects based on their impacts and location and suggested measures regarding the undertaking of Environmental Impact Assessment [EIA]. Environmental Quality standards [EQS] for air, water,

noise and motor vehicle exhaust were given in these rules. Sewer, waste and gaseous discharge quality standards for industrial units were also given.¹⁶

According to the rules, any project/development intervention is to obtain Environmental Clearance in two steps - first to obtain site/location clearance (based on the application along with necessary paper as per requirement against respective categories, including the initial environmental examination, IEE which will contain the scope of work of the proposed EIA and then to obtain Environmental Clearance (by submitting the application along with necessary papers and after obtaining the approval on the environmental Impact Assessment Report, which is to be obtained in between). The DoE may take upto sixty days to issue the site clearance (from the date of receiving the application), sixty days to approve the EIA and thirty more days to issue the Environmental Clearance.

This may be quite a lengthy process if DoE uses the full extent of the time limits. The rules, however, provide the Director General with a discretionary authority to grant 'Environmental Clearance' to an applicant exempting the requirement of site/location clearance, provided he considers it appropriate. (Section 7(4), 2nd Paragraph, page 3105 of the Gazette).

The Penal Code 1860 (Chapter XIV of offences affecting the public health, safety, convenience, decency and morals).

Article 277: Failing Water or Public Spring or Reservoir-

Whoever voluntarily corrupts or fouls the water of any public spring or reservoir, so as to render it less fit for the purpose for which it is ordinarily used, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three months, or with fine which may extend to five hundred Taka or with both.

Article 278 : Making Atmosphere Noxious to Health-

Whoever voluntarily vitiates the atmosphere in any place so as to make it noxious to the health of persons in general dwelling or carrying on business in the neighborhood or passing along a public way, shall be punished with fine which may extend to five hundred Taka.

Article 284 : Negligent Conduct with Respect to Poisonous Substance -

Whoever does, with any poisonous substance, any act in a manner so rash or negligent as to endanger human life, or to be likely to cause hurt or injury to any person, or knowingly or negligently omits to take such order with any poisonous substance in his possession as is sufficient to guard against probable danger to human life from such poisonous substance, shall

be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine, which may extend to one thousand Taka, or with both.

Article 285 : Negligent Conduct with Respect to Fire or Combustible Matter --

Whoever does, with fire or any combustible matter, any act so rashly or negligently as to endanger human life, or to be likely to cause hurt or injury to any other person, or knowingly or negligently omits to take such order with any fire or any combustible matter in his possession as is sufficient to guard against any probable danger to human life from such fire or combustible matter, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine which may extend to one thousand Taka, or with both.

Article 286 : Negligent Conduct with Respect to Explosive Substance --

Whoever does, with any explosive substance, any act so rashly or negligently as to endanger human life, or to be likely to cause hurt or injury to any other person, or knowingly or negligently omits to take such order with any explosive substance in his possession as is sufficient to guard against any probable danger to human life from that substance, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to one thousand Taka, or with both.

The Boilers Act, 1923

This requires that, no owner of a boiler shall use the boiler or permit it to be used, unless it has been registered in accordance with the provisions of this Act. The Act mentions, among other things, that, the authorizing certificate cases to be in force when any accident occurs to the boiler, when any structural alteration is made.

The punishment is Taka ten thousand and may be extendable to Taka two thousand per day for the period of violation. The boiler owner is to inform the inspector within 24 hours in case of any accident.

The Brick Burning (Control) Act, 1989 (act number 8 of 1989)

This Act has been promulgated to control brick burning. This requires to obtain a license from the appropriate authority (Deputy Commissioner) to go in to brick burning.

The Act restricts brick burning with fuel wood and categorically mentions that no one will be allowed to use fuel wood for brick burning. The Act has a provision of punitive measures of imprisonment for six months or a fine of Taka fifty thousand only or both. The Act also

provides for inspection of the brick fields to check the use of fuel wood and the inspecting authority has the right to confiscate all the bricks and fuel wood found on the particular brick field.

The Brick Burning (control) (amendment) Act, 1992

The Act was promulgated in July 1992 and was intended for certain amendment of the Act of 1989. The two major issues that need special mention in this regard is the shifting of authority from the Upazila Parishad Chairman to the District Commissioner and the redefinition of 'fuel'. In this act the definition of 'fuel' is, any floral based fuel other than the dead root (motha) of the bamboo. The act replaces the earlier 'fuel wood' of the earlier act with this 'fuel'.

Bangladesh Wildlife (Preservation) Act, 1973

This law provides for the preservation, conservation and management of wildlife in Bangladesh. The earlier laws on wildlife preservation, namely, the Elephant Preservation Act-1879, the Wild Bird and Animals Protection Act-1912, and the Rhinoceros Preservation Act-1932 have been repealed and their provisions have been suitably incorporated in this law.

This Act encompasses a range of different activities, including hunting and fishing although the provision of greatest significance relate to the establishment of wildlife sanctuaries and national parks by the Ministry of Environment and Forest. Such designations have enormous significance for the types of developments that may take place. However, it must be recognized that no wildlife sanctuaries or national parks occur in close proximity to the proposed project site.

The main provisions are :

1. The wild animals specified, as "game animals" shall not be hunted, killed or captured, save in accordance with the terms of a permit issued under this order.
2. The wild animals specified in this order shall be known as "Protected Animals" and shall not be hunted, killed or captured save as otherwise expressly provided in this order.
3. No person shall, with a view to carrying on a profession, trade or business, buy, sell or otherwise deal in wild animals, trophies or meat, or process or manufacture goods or articles from such trophies or meat unless he is in possession of a valid permit, issued for the purpose by an officer authorized in this behalf.
4. The Govt. may, by notification in the official Gazette, declare any area to be wild-life sanctuary.

5. The Government may declare any area to be a national park provided that the government may, for scientific purpose or for betterment of the national park or for aesthetic enjoyment of scenery or for any other exceptional reason, relax all or any of the prohibitions specified above.

Article 23 (2) : No person shall :

- i. Damage or destroy any vegetation in any wild life sanctuary.
- ii. Cause any fire in a wildlife sanctuary.
- iii. Pollute water flowing in or through a wildlife sanctuary.

Contravention or attempt to contravene the various provisions of the law has been made punishable as specified in the law.

This legislation does not provide scope for creation of a strong organization, which can adopt appropriate measures to protect wildlife. The importance of wild life could be highlighted in the legislation, which is not there. Punitive provisions are not readily usable. The types of endangered and ecologically valuable animals/birds could be highlighted in the legislation. It should have asked for active participation and specific action from local administration to protect wildlife. It also does not prescribe seasons when certain animal/birds cannot be hunted or captured. A list of protected Animals, i.e. animals which shall not be hunted, killed or captured, is provided in the THIRD SCHEDULE under the Act.

Latest Executive Order

A recent executive order issued in June 1998 in relation to the Bangladesh Wildlife Preservation Order 1973 has imposed a ban for the next five years on hunting any form wildlife.

Besides, the following Act, Rules and Regulations are in force in the country, which have direct and indirect relevance to environment and ecology. Due to limitation of space these are not being highlighted here.

- 1) The Bangladesh Forest Act, 1972.
- 2) Rules to Regulate Hunting, Shooting and Fishing within the Controlled and Vested Forests-1959.
- 3) The Antiquities, Act, 1968 as amended by the Antiquities (Amendment) Ordinance, 1976.
- 4) The Groundwater Management Ordinance, 1995.
- 5) The Ground water Management Rules, 1997.
- 6) The Factories Act, 1965.

- 7) The Protection and Conservation of Fish Act, 1950
- 8) The Protection and Conservation of Fish Rules, 1985.
- 9) The Explosives Act, 1984.
- 10) The Explosive Substance Act, 1908.
- 11) Motor Vehicle Ordinance, 1939.
- 12) Bengal Smoke Nuisance Act, 1876.
- 13) Nuclear Safety and Radiation control Act, 1993.
- 14) Water Resources Planning Act 1992

It is needed here to mention that most of the environmental legislation remains non-functional in many instances for a number of factors. It is commonly argued that the existing system of governance entrusts the legislators with the responsibility of enacting laws. In practice, the drafting of laws is done by bureaucrats and the legislators only give their consent to the drafted bills placed before them in the Parliament, often without any amendment.¹⁷ Though the researcher does not endorse this view in toto but it is felt that more active participation is needed to uphold the peoples voice and interest.

The key government ministry to deal with the environmental activities in Bangladesh is the Ministry of Environment and Forest (MOEF). The ministry was created in 1989 with the stated goal to "play a key role in planning, reviewing, monitoring environmental initiatives and ensuring that environmental concerns are properly integrated in to the national development process." (NEMAP 1995 : 49). The MOEF has five agencies to perform specific environmental activities, viz., (i) Department of Environment (DoE) (ii) Forest Department (FD) (iii) Bangladesh Forest Industries Development Corporation (BFIDC); (iv) Bangladesh Forest Research Institute (BFRI); and (v) Institute of Forestry, University of Chittagong.

The other ministries which relate to govt. environmental activities in different ways are Ministry of Agriculture; Ministry of Fisheries and Livestock; Ministry of Health and Family Welfare; Ministry of Industry; Ministry of Commerce; Ministry of Land; Ministry of Power, Energy and Mineral Resources; Ministry of Science and Technology, Ministry of Water Resources; Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Cooperatives; and Ministry of Law, Justic and Parliamentary Affairs, Ministry of Works, Ministry of Communication and Ministry of Civil Aviation and Tourism.

There are a number of government institutions under different ministries whose activities significantly relate to environment.

The key government research institutions which relate to environment are :

1. Bangladesh Agricultural Research Council (BARC).

2. Bangladesh Agricultural Development Corporation (BADC).
3. Fisheries Research Institute.
4. River Research Institute.
5. Institute for Post Graduate Studies on Agriculture (IPSA).
6. Bangladesh Jute Research Institute (BJRI).
7. Bangladesh Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (BCSIR).
8. National Institute for Preventive and Social Medicine (NIPSOM).
9. Bangabandhu Post Graduate Medical College (formerly IPGMR).
10. Bangladesh Atomic Energy Commission (BAEC).

6.9 The Government's key policies and strategies

The Government's key policies and strategies in the area of environment are :

1. Environment Policy, 1992 (Environmental Action Plan proposed under the policy). The Ministry of Environment and Forest is designated to coordinate the implementation of this policy.
2. National Conservation Strategy.
3. National Forestry Policy and Forestry Master Plan;
4. National Environment Management Action Plan (NEMAP)

To execute the government policies and strategies in the area of environment, several projects have been designed or implemented. Bangladesh Environment Project which was being designed until recently (1997) is known to be one of the largest ever environmental projects. The main stakeholders in the project approximately US\$ 70 million are the World Bank, the UNDP and CIDA. Under the environment project, a series of sub-projects have been designed to be executed mainly by the government agencies. The major components of the Bangladesh Environment Project are improvement of sanitation throughout the country; industrial pollution prevention through Technical Assistance and loan investment through the companies; and control of air pollution of Dhaka through activities such as development of monitoring system for Dhaka, reduction in stroke-engines, etc.¹⁸

UN Conference on Environment and Development [UNCED] held in Rio-de-Janeiro, Brazil in 1992 was an important milestone in framing comprehensive environmental laws. Chapter 39 of Agenda 21 adopted at the UNCED urged the signatory states to abide by the international legal instruments and to incorporate them in the municipal laws for implementation. As a signatory to Agenda 21, Bangladesh is committed to implementing the international legal instrument as national a program and Policy. Environment Policy of 1992 was an important development in this regard...

The existing laws are not mutually exclusive. It is obvious that many of the laws falling in one category are bound to relate to objectives falling in the other categories. This is only natural because of the fact that environment protection is a multi-sector phenomenon not limited to any particular aspect of nature...

Environment Protection Act '95 and other related environmental laws, it appears, are 'polluter-pays-principle' biased. Though ultimate objective of all the environmental related laws are the protection of environment, the issues of pollution control have received better attention than those of the resource conservation needs.¹⁹

It is observed that the National Environment Policy of Bangladesh does not reflect the priority or provision or at least a thematic emphasis on tourism. The reason is best known to the policy makers. After interactive discussions with many policy makers the researcher had drawn the conclusion in this regard that this has happened just due to the absence of significant presence of the tourism industry in the country. It should be mentioned here that few environmental Acts, Rules and Regulations, (i.e. Bangladesh wildlife (Preservation) Act, 1973, the Brick Burning (control) Act, 1989 and the Brick Burning (control) (amendment) Act, 1992, Bangladesh Environmental Conservation Act, 1995, the Bangladesh Forest Act, 1972, Rules to Regulate Hunting, Shooting and Fishing within the controlled and vested Forests-1959 and the Antiquities (Amendment) Ordinance, 1976) have definitely supplementary and supportive role to ecotourism.

However, it is essentially viewed that the country should have an integrated policy-framework for environment friendly tourism. With this end in view it is suggested that necessary legislative arrangement in this regard should be taken immediately.

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Chapter : Seven

Conclusions

CONCLUSION

7.1 Summary

Mountain environment and ecology is commonly defined as fragile with threats of being destructed. Still Mountain inherits dormant characteristics to attract wonderlasts who have the ultimate notion of human being to experience the unknown. Comparatively deprived and less developed populations are the inhabitants of mountain areas. This hypothesis might not have sufficient theoretical support, but the researcher has experienced that they have somehow kept themselves away from deserved development. During his tour through developed and developing mountain countries, he has observed and experienced the same scenario. It might be predominant that they are not yet conscious about the definition that what should be the minimum and finally the optimum requirement of a modest life. They are really deprived of the scope to have awareness and level of thinking to own a modern life. The means of livelihood in the mountain area are also created at a very primitive level resulting a huge loss of natural resources. Due to the topographical constraints and lack of smooth transportation system, there is a very limited room and opportunity for diversified means of livelihood. Though this is known that the forest people are the best friends and the sons of the nature, but ultimately the reality ceased at a conflict situation that they have been impelled to destroy the natural resources to chase the magic phantom of modern materialistic life.

Moreover, those greedy business man and related other who are entitled as 'Timber Mafia' in chapter 4 are also responsible for destroying forestry and mountain resources. The subsequent exploitation of the Timber Mafia and for the earning of mountain peoples' livelihood, the environment and ecology are encountering a threat. The economically poor vulnerable mountain people are destroying forestry for the sake of collecting their own livelihood, on the contrary they are loosing the ability of resisting the Timber Mafia's evil intention. If the situation prevails, the poor mountain neighbor will end as more poor and they will have insufficient resistance to guard their enemy which might endanger the whole environment as well as the inhabitants.

The researcher nurtures a strong belief that for the sake of human existence and restoration of environment, the hilly environment and nature deserve a special attention. A proper environmental and ecological balance is a must to guard the human existence. Since it is commonly believed that the state of today's environment is the mirror of the past, so, at the peak of this civilization we should look behind to work for mountain environment and nature.

The theoretical review of chap. 2 and the case study of chap. 4 reveal the truth that due to dreadful poverty, the mountain people have harshly exploited nature. Especially in case of their unhygienic and limited sanitation system, it has resulted with adverse after effect in the environment. In absence of proper transportation and smooth accessibility, they are also deprived of desired profit of their product. The lowest literacy rate and severe unemployment problem have worsened the situation and the way to outlet is also bottlenecked.

The most of the developmental efforts in the mountain areas were not some how sustainable. In the discussed thesis the cause are mentioned as follows :

1. The development plan for mountain occurs from an ambition on look, which exclude the interest of native people. More over, there was no participatory zeal. Conventional top-down decision making approach affected the development process.
2. Technical innovation is some way or other absent in those action plans, which cost a large toll of natural resources and environment for the sake of development.
3. The Government and development partners are not aware enough to rescue the mountain people from the vicious circle of poverty and exploiters.
4. Only action in word, by seminar, symposium, workshop would not be enough to work as a real change maker in the lives of mountain people to being awakening in them regarding their fundamental need.
5. Due to the lack of close interaction with the local community, most of the development partners and donors are deprived of their access to the grassroots. On the contrary few NGOs are investing fat money among poor people using the coin word 'micro credit'. Though this is a proven myth that the poor are more conscious than the rich businessmen in refunding their loan, But in case of hill tracts area, the poor have almost failed to do the same. The researcher had detected the cause that the mountain people have little resource to repay their debt and as a weaker counter part of the investors they are passing their dog-days to bear the stone load of loan. Moreover they have no scope to bargain about the rate of interest and service charge. The rate or interest of loan is beyond the consideration of a poor mountain people as the taste of food is immaterial to a hungry man. The neo-colonial class of a few running NGOs is taking the advantage of the helpless condition of the mountain people. The advantage to loan is more of a fundamental right to the poor people, more over the rate of interest and service charge should be soft and well justified to facilitating them. The mountain people being vulnerable have become the worst victim of neo-colonial practices in micro credit.

It is revealed from the various discussions of the earlier chapters that the inhabitants of CHT region are really in urgent need of immediate measure for moderate sources of their livelihood. Unfortunately, scarcity of cultivable land and absence of labor intensive industry confined them with the primitive means of livelihood. It is manifested that the unique characteristics of the natural beauty of the CHT region can easily provide a wide scope of employment generation for the inhabitants through tourism industry. That could also create significant economic mobility in the region. Since, the natural environment and ecology of CHT are facing a dread danger, therefore, ecotourism should be emphasized instead of tourism.

The Ecologically Sustainable Development Working Group on Tourism (ESDWG 1991) suggested that ecotourism is a situation where 'the idea of a symbiotic relationship between tourism and environment becomes most apparent', and that tourism facilities and services exist in a continuum, from those which are natural resource dependent for their operation, through those which are independent of natural resources. Ecotourism and nature-based tourism can form part of many types of travellers' experiences, varying from a few hours of nature-appreciation, through to intensive long-duration tours of a month or more.

The lack of precise definition and paucity of information on ecotourism profiles is not considered an obstacle to achieving the goals of ecotourism and the detailed planning and implementation for ecologically sustainable tourism. The real needs are for better understanding of all tourists' preferences in travel and experiences, their current and past levels of satisfaction with tours and travel experiences, how best to deliver the message of ecologically sustainable tourism, how to provide returns to the environmental resources and how to best identify key natural features or aspects which appeal to tourists without diminishing them in any way.¹

As tourism grew and became an integral part of the fabric of modern life, its international dimension increased and national governments started to play an increasingly important role- their activities covering the whole spectrum from infrastructure to regulations.

International tourism is the world's largest export earner and an important factor in the balance of payments of many countries. Travel and tourism is an important job creator, employing an 100 million people around the world. The vast majority of tourism jobs are in small and medium-sized, family-owned enterprises. Tourism jobs and businesses are usually created in the most underdeveloped regions of a country, helping to equalize economic opportunities throughout a nation and providing an incentive for residents to remain in rural areas rather than move to overcrowded cities.

Travel and tourism stimulates enormous investments in new infrastructure, most of which helps to improve the living conditions of local residents as well as tourists. Tourism development

projects often include airports, roads, marinas, sewage systems, water treatment plants, restoration of cultural monuments, museums and nature interpretation centers.

The tourism industry provides governments (except few developing countries like, Bangladesh) with hundreds of millions of dollars in tax revenues each year through accommodation and restaurant taxes, airport users' fees, sales taxes, park entrance fees, employee income tax and many other fiscal measures.

International and domestic tourism combined generate up to 10 percent of the world's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and a considerably higher share in many small nations and developing countries.² The World Tourism Organization forecasts that there will be 702 million international arrivals this year which will go up to one billion a decade hence. Now the prime question is - will our tourism paraphernalia be able to secure its legitimate slice? We should attend the reply positively as soon as possible.

Of course exponential growth of tourism has its dangers but that cannot be our concern at this stage. And promotion of tourism must be governed by two principles: tourism has to be eco-friendly, and secondly, it has to be value based Tourism should be seen as healthy recreation, not as escapade.

While we will have to learn many tricks of the trade, the developed countries will also have to liberalize their immigration rules so that tourism remain a two way traffic. Tourism should not be seen as a luxury of the affluent countries and affluent classes.

In our country even domestic tourism has not developed much, not only because facilities are lacking but also because tourism is not a strong culture of the middle income groups.

7.2 Conclusion

(1) Unrest creates obstacle to development. The long prevailed unrest of CHT has caused this backwardness of the region. The situation might be defined as a result of colonial hang over. So the peace factor should get the priority to design a planned advancement of the area. For a Massive extension of Tourism and for its sustainability a sound law and order situation is a prime need. Peace is a must prerequisite to grow up a healthy tourism industry there. The peace treaty has aroused a big hope of peace and development.

Recommendation : We all should be aware, sincere and careful about the implementation and spirit of the CHT peace treaty.

(2) The history of the recent past indicates that vast development planning were taken at CHT to combat the unrest and unruly situation. Available data show that huge amount of money was invested there. Comparing with the investment in the other part of Bangladesh - Only 1 million-mountain people's poverty have been addressed with ample measure. From that massive investment we might not dream of a prosperous European country Switzerland, yet at least we could create an attractive tourism area like that of India or China. But for some crude reason the reality did not sketch anything according to the long cherished dream of the mountain people. So in future planning we must have a concrete preparation to ensure proper utilization of money and transparency of the total expenditure. As the previous development project like Karnafuli multi purpose dam, Karnafuli paper mill, Rayon mills etc. have resulted with a reverse after effect increasing misery of the local people.

Recommendation: The massive development planning undertaken in the past has not changed the lot of the common people of the CHT. There have been a lot of opportunities to eradicate poverty and backwardness of the people. But lack of transparency and accountability of the planning process, it is believed, made the condition worse too. So, in order to ensure welfare of the people and development work of the area, transparency and accountability of the planning must be undertaken into consideration. The future development plan demands participatory approach to ensure welfare of the locality.

(3) A major part of CHT population lives under the Grey line of poverty. This acute problem should be addressed very soon. The dazzling natural beauty and topology of CHT are favorable for tourism. Through the growth of tourism industry, a large population could be provided with employment moreover, with the mobility in economy could enable them with a sustainable development. The tiny ethnic groups dwelling in CHT are almost like ornaments adding aesthetics to the huge population of Bangladesh. They deserve due care and active nourishment. Endless poverty and long prevailed conflict situation have left them in a vulnerable condition. It requires a reliable evaluation to prepare a master plan to change the socio-economic condition of the mountain people.

Recommendation: The desired tourism industry should be flourished in the CHT area immediately. Measures should be taken shortly. Without a rapid step in this regard, the magnitude and significance of the present recommendation might loose their effectiveness.

(4) The area has been blessed with a huge amount of food support as relief. We can easily asses that the amount is as much as the amount of soil necessary to build up an about 20 km road. The allegory is made just to give an impression of the adversity. The increased food as relief is no doubt considered as a mark of humanitarian effort. But unfortunately the target

people are deprived of their major share. On the contrary a greedy self-seeker mediator group have made their luck. This is a common scenario of a developing country.

Recommendation : In future planning transparency in relief distribution should be placed as the top of the priority.

(5) Though CHT has enormous attraction for the tourists, yet there is shortage of infrastructural support to boost up tourism. For the flourishing of tourism industry, a massive infrastructural development is necessary. In this regard Government requires an integrated perspective plan to meet the demand of the time. In the National Tourism Policy' 92, it was mentioned that CHT would be treated as Exclusive Tourist Zone (ETZ). But unfortunately CHT could not experience the long awaited implementation of the policy.

Recommendation: It is revealed from the findings that the prospect of ecotourism in the CHT area is bright. The socio-economic condition can be improved by providing jobs to the mass people bridging forward and backward linkages of the industry. So it is proper time to take appropriate steps for the purpose of establishing ecotourism industry in the area. As the peace treaty has widen the scope for tourism, in no time CHT should be garmented with tourism favorable infrastructural development to create an avenue for the distressed mountain people.

(6) The administration ran in CHT by government should be especially trained with environment and tourism friendly attitude. The management needs to have the liberal know how to include the tribal people in the main stream of development. During the post peace treaty period the tribal people back from Shanti Bahini have predominantly a post liberation war syndrome - leading to frustration and withdrawal attitude. This sensitive core group should be handled with utmost care. To bring back them to a normal peaceful life, they are to be counseled and offered with employment exposure and assistance for growing entrepreneurship in tourism sector.

Recommendation: With this end in view, the proposed ecotourism industry in CHT must be developed with a participatory zeal to create an earthen paradise with peace, solitude and tranquillity.

(7) In fact, it is most essential for tourism development of a country and its regions to follow certain effective principal guidelines in view of the perspective need based on its local characteristics and appropriate technology. Thus country could follow such principal guidelines for preparing tourism development plans at the national and regional levels with emphasis on the integrated approach, balancing economic, environmental, and socio-cultural factors achieving sustainable tourism. The local authorities, public servants at the center and local level, as well as

private developers should be provided with technical guidelines and methodological instruments, which could make them enable to assume their responsibilities in this field more effectively with up-to-date know-how. The governments plan to lease out tourist spot to private parties should be speedily implemented. Tourism is not a service in isolation; with tourism is connected the handicraft and cottage industry, hotels hospitality service and aviation.

Recommendation : Emphasis should be given on the need for the formulation of an action plan involving all communities, tribes and professions to face the development and environmental challenges of the hill region.

(8) There should be an appropriate measure for reduction of natural disaster in tourist areas. Nowadays tourism involves the movement of millions of people to virtually all countries on the surface of this globe. Quite often tourism developments are located in areas exposed to, or likely to be exposed to, sudden on set natural disasters, in particular beach and coastal areas, river valleys and mountain regions. If these developments area hit by natural disasters, the image of the tourist destination will suffer.

Recommendation : Since Bangladesh is one of the most disaster prone area in the continent, there is must be an effective national disaster management plan.

(9) World Heritage sites include many of the worlds most outstanding attractions and grandest monuments of the past. For tourism promoters they act as magnets, while for the nation in which they are found they serve as icons that continue to influence current values.

Recommendation : Government should run justified campaign to expose CHT as an area to preserve environment and multi ethnic culture. CHT has every prospect to be enrolled as a world heritage area. Government should raise the issue in the appropriate forum to achieve the recognition. Theme park, eco-park, ropeway, sanctuaries should be developed in CHT to enhance tourist attraction.

(10) Despite the widespread commitment to a number of important agreements involving tourism and biodiversity conservation, progress towards implementation has been slow. It is strongly opined that all governments should review their plans of action in relation to this important area policy and take tangible steps towards accelerating the terms of these agreements.

Recommendation : Since the National Tourism Policy of Bangladesh does not have enough provision for environmental safeguard, therefore governments should review the deficiencies in understanding of environmental matters in the tourism industry and take appropriate steps to rectify these deficiencies.

(11) The CHT environment is left in an endangering situation. If the mountain people are not facilitated with employment exposure within a short time the situation might be deteriorated at an irreparable stage. On the other hand as the 'Timber Mafia' are envious to environment, proper enforcement of environment and forest law is a crying need to safeguard the greenery and colorful ecology of CHT.

Recommendation: Government should ensure proper implementation of the concern Acts, rules-regulations and by-laws in this regard. Restriction on jhum cultivation is a must. Eco-tourism should be emphasized properly to generate employment opportunity for the local community.

(12) Although tourism is an activity sustained mainly by private initiative, governments have traditionally played a key role in its development and in the promotion of their countries as tourism destinations. Over the past decade, however, there have been increasing signs of disengagement from tourism by public sector. This has resulted in the relinquishing of a number of government's traditional responsibilities and activities in the field of tourism in favor of both local authorities and the private sector.

Recommendation: In the case of Bangladesh private entrepreneurship is still in its infancy. Therefore, Government should take pioneer role to facilitate tourism industry with a vision to gear up the private sector.

(13) Safety and security are vital to providing quality in tourism. More than other economic activity, the success or failure of a tourism destination depends on being able to provide safe and secure environment for visitors. Since the CHT area had to suffer a long prevailing unrest, thus the question of safety and security is more vital to promote ecotourism in that area.

Recommendation: Government should ensure proper safety and security measure to facilitate ecotourism in the CHT area at any cost. It is hoped that it will not only enrich ecotourism industry, it will also ensure peace and sustainable development of the CHT region and realistically, which are highly needed for the mass distressed people of that area.

REFERENCE

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Annex Table - 1 : Existing Residential hotel/guest house facilities in Banderban hill district town.

Sl. No.	Name of the hotel/guest house	Bed room facilities				Dining facilities		Parking facilities		Telephone facilities		Fax facilities		Conference Hall facilities		Transport facilities	
		Double bedded room	Single bedded room	Air conditioned room	Triple or more bedded room	No	Yes; No. of Persons at a time take food	No	Yes; No. of Vehicle canpark at a time	Yes; No	No	Yes; No	No	Yes; No. of persons can accomodate	No	Yes; No. of transport	
1.	Banderban Circuit House	8	1	2	-	-	100	-	22	✓	-	✓	-	55	✓	-	
2.	Soil resources development Institute guest house	-	10	1	-	1	35	-	10	✓	-	✓	-	50	✓	-	
3.	BSCIC rest house	1	-	-	1	-	5	-	1	✓	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	
4.	Highway rest house of R & H Dept. at chimbuk	2	1	-	-	-	8	-	12	✓	-	-	✓	15	✓	-	
5.	High ways rest house or R & H at 1 st km. on chimbuk road	2	-	-	-	-	8	-	6	✓	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	
6.	Bonochaya, Rest house of Forest dept.	2	-	-	-	-	6	-	1	✓	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	
7.	Hill Top Rest house of CHITDB	5	1	-	-	-	30	-	8	✓	-	-	✓	50	✓	-	
8.	L.G.E.D rest house	2	1	1	-	✓	-	-	5	✓	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	
9.	Hotel Purobi Residential	10	40	-	8	✓	-	-	5	✓	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	
10.	Hotel Hill bird residential	12	12	-	-	✓	-	-	4	✓	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	
11.	Hotel Athithi	10	1	-	-	✓	-	-	2	✓	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	
12.	Hotel Al Hasan residential	4	10	-	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	
13.	Green Hill Residential	4	5	-	-	✓	-	✓	4	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	
14.	Jamal boarding	6	21	-	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	
15.	Ajmeer boarding	3	11	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	✓	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	
16.	Sanwar boarding	6	12	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	
17.	Kamal boarding	7	10	-	1	✓	-	✓	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	
18.	Hero boarding	6	10	-	2	✓	-	✓	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	
19.	Hotel Pme Residential	6	20	-	-	✓	-	✓	3	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	
	Total	96	166	4	12	12	7/196	6	13/83	14	5	-	19	15	4/170	19	

Annex Table - 2 : Existing Residential hotel/guest house facilities in Rangamati hill district town.

Sl. No.	Name of the hotel guest house	Bed room facilities				Dining facilities		Parking facilities		Telephone facilities		Fax facilities		Conference Hall facilities		Transport facilities	
		Double bedded room	Single bedded room	Air conditioned room	Triple or more bedded room	No	Yes; No. of Persons at a time take food	No	Yes; No. of Vehicle canpark at a time	Yes;	No	Yes;	No	Yes;	No. of persons can accomodate	No	Yes; No. of transport
1.	Rangamati Circuit House	4	-	2	-	-	40	-	30	✓	-	-	✓	-	40	✓	-
2.	Tourism Motel of Bangladesh Tourism corporation	19	-	6	5	-	80	-	25	✓	-	-	✓	-	200	✓	7 bat
3.	LGED guest house	4	1	-	-	-	10	-	10	-	✓	-	✓	-	15	✓	-
4.	TTC rest house	2	-	-	-	✓	-	-	4	-	✓	-	✓	-	20	✓	-
5.	PDB rest house	3	-	1	-	✓	-	-	7	-	✓	-	✓	-	10	✓	-
6.	Agriculture Extension Dept. rest house	2	-	-	-	✓	-	-	5	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	✓	-
7.	Postal Dept. rest house	2	1	-	1	✓	-	-	10	✓	-	-	✓	-	-	✓	-
8.	Forest Dept. rest house	3	-	1	-	✓	-	-	8	✓	-	-	✓	-	8	✓	-
9.	Roads & Highways inspection Dak banglo (rest house)	2	2	1	-	-	-	-	5	✓	-	-	✓	-	8	✓	-
10.	Hotel Sufia Residential	16	10	12	2	-	8	-	15	✓	-	-	✓	-	50	✓	-
11.	Motel George	-	4	3	-	-	50	-	5	✓	-	-	✓	-	-	✓	-
12.	Hotel Al-Moba residential	6	4	-	5	-	20	-	4	✓	-	-	✓	-	-	✓	-
13.	Hotel Dignity residential	2	5	-	-	✓	24	-	3	-	✓	-	✓	-	10	✓	-
14.	Jamal boarding	10	8	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	✓	-	-	✓	-
15.	Aru boarding	7	17	-	1	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	✓	-	-	✓	-
16.	Hamid boarding	22	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	✓	-	-	✓	-
17.	Anika boarding	7	13	-	4	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	✓	-	-	✓	-
18.	Shanti boarding residential	4	14	-	-	✓	-	✓	12	✓	-	-	✓	-	25	-	-
19.	Azad hotel residential	9	10	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-
	Sub Total :	124	89	26	18	12	7/232	5	14/143	11	8	0	19	9	10/386	17	2/12

Sl. No.	Name of the hotel/guest house	Bed room facilities				Dining facilities		Parking facilities		Telephone facilities		Fax facilities		Conference Hall facilities		Transport facilities	
		Double bedded room	Single bedded room	Air conditioned room	Triple or more bedded room	No	Yes; No. of Persons at a time take food	No	Yes; No. of Vehicle canpark at a time	Yes; No	No	Yes; No	No	Yes; No. of persons can accomodate	No		Yes; No. of transport
20.	Hotel Golden Hill residential	10	9	-	3	✓	-	-	6	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	1Microbus	
21.	Hotel Modhmmita residential	7	9	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	✓	✓	-	
22.	Banani Boarding residential	6	12	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	✓	✓	-	10	✓	-	
23.	Banoful Hotel	1	2	-	1	-	30	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	✓	✓	-	
24.	Lake view Hotel residential	5	3	-	3	✓	-	-	3	✓	-	✓	-	✓	✓	-	
25.	Bangladesh hotel residential	10	9	-	2	✓	-	✓	-	-	✓	✓	-	10	-	1Microbus	
26.	Boarding Shuktara	10	14	-	1	✓	-	✓	-	-	✓	✓	-	✓	✓	-	
27.	Al-Helal Residential	17	17	-	3	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	✓	✓	-	
28.	Raju Boarding	10	9	-	2	-	30	-	5	✓	-	✓	-	10	-	1Microbus	
29.	Dream land	9	4	-	-	-	35	-	3	-	✓	✓	-	✓	✓	-	
30.	Hotel Shapla	6	8	-	6	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	✓	✓	-	
31.	Hotel Zerin	4	15	-	1	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	31	✓	-	
32	Hotel Alif	6	24	-	1	✓	-	-	10	✓	-	✓	-	✓	✓	-	
32.																	
	Sub Total	101	135	-	23	10	3/115	8	5/27	9	4	0	13	9	4/61	10	¾
	B/F	124	89	26	18	12	7/232	5	14/143	11	8	0	19	9	10/386	17	2/12
	Total	225	224	26	41	22	10/347	13	19/170	20	12	0	32	18	14/447	27	5/16

Annex Table - 3 : Existing Residential hotel/guest house facilities in Khagrachari hill district town.

8. List of hotels, rest houses, guest house facilities in Khagrachari hill district town.																	
Sl. No.	Name of the hotel guest house	bed room facilities				Dining facilities		Parking facilities		Telephone facilities		Fax facilities		Conference Hall facilities		Transport facilities	
		Double bedded room	Single bedded room	Air conditioned room	Triple or more bedded room	No	Yes; No. of Persons at a time take food	No	Yes; No. of Vehicle canpark at a time	Yes; No	No	Yes; No	No	Yes; No. of persons can accomodat e	No	Yes; No. of transport	
1.	Khagrachari Circuit house	7	1	2	-	-	40	-	20	✓	-	-	✓	-	40	✓	-
2.	CHTDB rest house	9	-	2	-	-	20	-	10	✓	-	-	✓	-	55	✓	-
3.	LGED rest house	1	-	1	-	✓	-	-	20	✓	-	✓	-	17	✓	-	
4.	Road & High ways rest house-1	1	1	1	-	✓	-	-	6	-	✓	-	✓	-	10	✓	-
5.	Road & High ways rest house-2	1	1	1	-	✓	-	-	6	-	✓	-	✓	-	10	✓	-
6.	District Council rest house	2	3	-	1	✓	-	-	3	-	✓	-	✓	-	65	✓	-
7.	Forest Dept. rest house	1	1	-	-	✓	-	-	8	✓	-	-	✓	-	20	✓	-
8.	Khagrachari Municipality rest house	2	-	-	-	✓	-	-	5	✓	-	-	✓	-	-	✓	-
9.	Shilpi hotel	4	17	-	1	✓	-	✓	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	✓	-
10.	Hotel Lobiya residential	3	8	-	1	✓	-	✓	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	✓	-
11.	Hotel Al-Masud residential	4	4	-	1	✓	-	-	3	-	✓	-	✓	-	10	✓	-
12.	Hotel Three Star residential	8	16	-	1	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	✓	-	6	✓	-
13.	Shampri Hotel residential	3	4	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	10	✓	-
14.	Bhai Bhai Boarding	7	20	-	2	✓	-	✓	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	✓	-
15.	Gazi Boarding	5	13	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	✓	-
16.	Hotel Chengi residential	8	19	-	-	✓	-	-	10	✓	-	-	✓	-	100	✓	4 microbus
	Total :	66	108	7	7	13	60	6	10/91	7	9	1	15	5	11/343 M	15	¼ M bus

Annex Table - 4 : Fooding facilities in the hotel and restaurant at Banderban district town.

Sl. No	Name of the hotel	No. of Persons can take food at a time	Parking facilities		Types of food available								English conversation skill of hotel staff		Telephone facilities		Electricity		Sources of Energy						Overall Sanitation stator of hotel				
			No	Yes; no. of Vehicle can park at a time	Indian	Englis h	Oriental	Chinese	Thai	Bangl adesh	Local	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Electr icity	Gas	Keros ene	Fire wood	other s	Impro ved	Mode rately impro ved	ordinary	poor	is there any special food		
1.	Hotel Kiawa Dawa	45	✓	-	-	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	✓	-	-			
2.	Hotel Daimond	40	-	10	-	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	-	✓	-			
3.	Hotel Jamjom	30	✓	-	-	-	-	-	✓	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	-			
4.	Chamok Sweeto (Snacks)	16	-	2	-	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	-			
5.	Hilmen Sweet Bakery (Snacks)	15	-	2	-	-	-	-	✓	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	-			
6.	Hotel Demond	15	✓	-	-	-	-	-	✓	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	-			
7.	Banolul Restaurant (Snacks)	20	-	4	-	-	-	-	✓	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	-			
8.	Hotel Amirabad	32	✓	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	✓	-	✓			
9.	New Hotel Grand	45	✓	-	-	-	-	-	✓	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	✓	-	✓			
10	Hotel Adarsha Bharghar	20	✓	-	-	-	-	-	✓	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	✓	-	✓			
11	Hotel Chimbuk	34	-	2	-	-	-	-	✓	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	✓	-	✓			
12	Hotel Al-Mostola	4	-	3	-	-	-	-	✓	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	✓	-	✓			
13	Hotel Biroti	30	✓	-	-	-	-	-	✓	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	✓	-	✓			
14	Banderban Hotel	25	✓	-	-	-	-	-	✓	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	✓	-	✓			
Total		371	8	6/23	-	-	-	-	-	14	1	1	13	2	12	13	1	-	4	12	-	-	-	1	13	4			

Annex Table - 5 : Fooding facilities in the hotel and restaurant at Rangamati district town.

Sl. No.	Name of the hotel	No. of persons can take food at a time	Parking facilities		Types of food available								English conversation skill of hotel staff		Telephone facilities		Electricity		Sources of Energy					Overall Sanitation status of hotel				
			No	Yes: no. of vehicle can park at a time	Indian	Engl sh	Oriental	Chinese	Thai	Bangl adesh	Local	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Electr icity	Gas	Keros ene	Fire wood	others	Impro ved	Mode rately impro ved	ordin ary	poor	is there any special food	
1.	Parjatan hotel and restaurant	80	-	25	-	✓	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	
2.	Hotel Janeta and restaurant	15	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	
3.	Shamim hotel	50	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	
4.	Ajmeer hotel and restaurant	40	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	
5.	Hotel Mohammad Ali and restaurant	36	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	
6.	Rawjan hotel and restaurant	20	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	
7.	Restaurant Arambag	48	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	✓	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	✓	
8.	Kafe Hilton	28	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	✓	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	✓	
9.	Sufia hotel	50	-	15	-	✓	-	✓	-	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	✓	
10.	Dabbar hotel	50	✓	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	✓	✓	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	✓	
11.	Super star and Biriani house	36	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	✓	
12.	Khaza hotel	30	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	✓	
13.	Hotel Parichaya	48	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	✓	
14.	Happy hotel	15	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	✓	
15.	New Madina hotel	30	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	✓	
16.	Hotel Kamalia	28	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	✓	
17.	Barotupa hotel	30	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	✓	
18.	Mohammadia hotel(1)	12	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	✓	
19.	Bismillah hotel	32	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	✓	
20.	New Ajmeer hotel	34	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	✓	
21.	Dream land restaurant	55	✓	2	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	✓	
22.	Dhaka hotel	40	✓	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	✓	
23.	Restaurant Sabarung	40	-	20	✓	-	✓	-	-	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	✓	✓	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	✓	
24.	Hotel Sunderban	25	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	✓	✓	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	✓	
25.	Hotel Chowrang hotel	30	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	✓	
26.	Hotel Parabad	28	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	✓	
27.	Mohammadia hotel(2)	25	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	✓	
28.	Jom Jom hotel	60	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	✓	
29.	New Bhai Shai hotel	24	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	✓	
30.	Noyabali hotel	35	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	✓	
31.	Kafe Al-Noor	35	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	✓	
32.	Hotel Arambag	32	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	✓	
33.	Hotel Zerm and Restaurant	48	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	✓	
34.	Leenas chhresa and Restaurant	25	-	4	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	✓	
35.	Jamuna hotel and Restaurant	60	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	✓	✓	
	Total	1274	15	144	1	3	1	5	2	35	34	20	15	7	28	35	0	0	6	8	31	1	4	-	9	15	7	22

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