

Transition of Rural Leadership in Bangladesh

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Abstract: This paper attempts to assess the nature of changes occurred in the leadership pattern of rural power structure in Bangladesh following a longitudinal study. This inquiry tries to explore the changing pattern of rural leadership between 1990s and 2020s. In perspective of the inevitability of change, we see the variability in rural leadership. In accordance with this, research has been done selecting a union of Dhamrai Upazila in Bangladesh and the variability of rural leadership has been observed. In this study, questionnaire survey and observation method has been used as method of data collection. The empirical evidence reveals that rural power structure is changing and rural leaderships are in transition. The enlargement of non-agricultural economy, the spread of national politics, expansion of NGO activities, expansion of education, impact of the urbanization, expansion of state activities, reduction of patron-client relation, modernization of agriculture, social change are the reasons for changes in rural leadership. Finally, at the present rural society, emerging modern leadership is seen instead of traditional leadership.

Keywords: Rural Leadership, Transition, Expansion of national Politics, patron-client, Union.

1. Introduction

The study of rural leadership is very important phenomenon in rural politics and the power structure. This paper deals with rural leadership emphasizing on the elements of rural leadership in transition and its changing nature. The previous studies in the last four decades show the transformation of the power structure of rural Bangladesh. However, the leader of the position of the power structure remains in the center. Research in the 1960s pursued to explain the structure of rural power based on some indigenous institutions, religious and social custom. Most of the study was on the basis of ethnography. In the seventies, the importance of ethnographic research diminished drastically. At that time, the interpretation of power structure on the basis of quantitative variables such as economic research i.e., land, resources, income-expenditure, investment etc. prevailed. In the eighties, there was a tendency to analyze rural power structures from a sociological point of view (Rahman, 1991:77). In the early 1970s, there was a conflict between the old and the modern rural leadership. At that time, relatively young leadership started challenging the old and the traditional leadership. In Blair's research, he mentioned the state as the most important component of the rural power structure. And also said the government's decentralization policy has increased the role of the state in the rural power structure (Blair, 1987). The growing development, the direct relationship between local and national politics is also noticed. Later, with the re-introduction of democracy in 1991, a reflection of national politics continues to the grassroots level. Gradually, there is a strong connection between rural politics and national politics. Leadership in this trend is becoming stronger day by day. In spite of rural society and modern state structure, the village is gradually forced to abandon its old tradition and

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accept new values and rituals. The importance of Union Parishad (modern rural institution) is increasing. Now it is argued that those who are now dominating the rural institutional power structure are young and more educated than the previous day's leadership. But most of them are the offspring of old powerful leaders. In that sense, the possibility of any fundamental transformation cannot be observed in the rural leadership structure. In this context, the position of middleman is becoming more and more stable gradually. The emerging of this new style of leadership is undoubtedly reducing the importance of the traditional leadership. But still, it requires a kind of moral support from the rural people to go to institutional power, and the old structures, that is, society still play an important role in the process of legalization. Therefore, this study aims to explore the changing nature of rural leadership focusing its formation and transition.

2. Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

Approaching the problem in the state of the art implies that we look at the type of analytical bifurcation of several traditional and customary leadership in the context South Asian Studies. However, if we go through the theoretical conceptual analysis of leadership then we may find out a lot of variations in the analysis. R. M. Stogdill thinks about leadership, Leadership may be considered as the process (act) of influencing the activities of an organized group in its efforts toward goal setting and goal achievement (Stogdill, 1974:144). Many theorists and researchers expressed their views as a strong and strong relationship between leaders and followers. In this case, James M. Kouzes and Barry Z. Posner expressed strong opinion. They said- "Leadership is a relationship between leader and followers. A Complete picture of leadership can be developed only if we ask followers what they look for or admire in a leader (Kouzes and Posner, 1990, P. 25). In the book of public leadership (Bell, Hill and Wright, 1960: 1–27), explains the concept that has been found in the leadership class categories are positional or formal leadership, Reputational or Nominal Leadership, Social Participation, Personal Influence or Opinion Leadership, Event Analysis or Decision making. Alan Beals adage two types of leadership in rural village of Mahishur in India. One of his creations originated from the government system and the other originated from the rural tradition-based social organization (Beals, 1969). On the other hand, Epstein examined the changes of rural leadership in view of economic changes and using of modern technology in agriculture. According to him, the panchayat members no longer need to become an elderly person of the group-rather the acquired leadership has occupied the place. On the contrary, there was no change in traditional politics of traditionally dependent villages. Epstein analyzes the influences of old and new values in the process of social change (Epstein, 1962). It also explains what has happened in the political and ritual ceremonial roles and what has changed in the principles of social organization. Epstein established a positive correlation of economic change with a political and organizational change. Lewis also mentioned that "in the traditional pattern of leadership, the older men were both ceremonial and panchayat leaders. With the coming of education and outside employment however, middle aged educated people are being given opportunities by the older people to represent them official panchayats, school committees and deputations outside the village" (Lewis, 1958:130).

In the 1960s, researchers resorted to ethnographic research to understand and explain rural power structure. Because of the dominance of traditional social institutions,

religious and social custom, perhaps they sought to understand or explain power structures through these. Notable researchers of the time were Rashiduzzaman (1968), Zaidi (1970), Mueed (1970), etc. M. Rashiduzzaman mentioned the traditional leaders like matabbar (busybody) or sardar (Rural informal leader) in rural power structure. The basis of their power is basically the ownership of huge amount of land and social and hereditary status. However, he noted that the importance of non-agricultural sectors, rather than land ownership, continued to grow. He also mentioned that these are education, intelligence, leadership qualities, connection with state and police forces, knowledge of religion, employment etc. (Rashiduzzaman, 1968). Bertsy Hartman and James K. Boyce gave the greatest importance of the land as the elements of rural power structure. They also mentioned the influence of rich peasant through state development programs. And they also mentioned the control of the local government structure and non-agricultural income (Hartman and Boyce, 1979). In Blair's research, he mentioned the state as the most important component of the rural power structure. The government's decentralization policy has increased the role of the state in the village, he thinks (Blair, 1987). So, rural leadership means to influence and encourage rural people to work together in a common action effort to achieve any objective. According to Ordway Tead, "Leadership is the activity of influencing people to co-operate towards some common goal which they come to find desirable" (Tead, 1935: 20). According to Pigors, "Leadership is a process of mutual stimulation which by the successful interplay of relevant individual differences, controls human energy in the pursuit of a common cause" (Sing, 1968, P. 12). Leadership of the aforementioned leadership definition is meant only to those rural leaders who can lead the rural people to a universal purpose and can influence the rural people for determining the destination and conducting activities like reaching the destination.

In rural societies of the 70s, the ethnic elements were more influential than the economic elements in the power structure. Notable researchers of the time were Hartman and Boyce (1979), Jahangir (1977) etc. Bertsy Hartman and James K. Boyce gave the greatest importance of the land as the elements of rural power structure. They also mentioned the influence of rich peasant through state development programs. And they also mentioned the control of the local government structure and non-agricultural income (Hartman and Boyce, 1979). Researchers in the eighties sought to determine the elements of the power structure from a sociological point of view. Notable researchers of the time were Timm (1983), Westergaard (1985), Schandal (1981), Blair (1987) and many more. Willem Van Schandal cited the religion, family, lineage and inheritance system as the primary elements of power in his research. But he noted that economic power continues to have a greater impact than these. He also identified the link with city, military administration, brokerage, non-agricultural earnings and political parties as elements of power (Schandal, 1981). Timm identified elements of rural power including land ownership, social status and resources used for relief and development (Timm, 1983). Westergaard identified non-agricultural earnings, land ownership, state institutions etc. as elements of rural power. He showed in his research that the importance of non-agricultural income is continuously diminishing the importance of landownership in rural power structures (Westergaard, 1985). In Blair's research, he mentioned the state as the most important component of the rural power structure. The government's decentralization policy has increased the role of the state in the village, he thinks (Blair, 1987).

3. Methodology

In this study, simple random sampling method (random number table) has been used to determine the sample. Data has been collected from 100 leaders out of 300 leaders of Union randomly. This can be considered as the shape of the sample. As a research area, the Sanora union of Dhamrai upazila in Dhaka district has been selected. In this study, questionnaire survey has been used. Data has been collected by asking the question directly from the selected leaders for the research. From the structural point of view these question papers are open-ended. The questionnaire has been pretested or verified before making the final questionnaire. In addition to asking a direct question, the observation method has also been applied in the study.

4. The Reasons and Changing Pattern of Rural Leadership

Expansion of National Politics

At present, national politics is being exercised under the shadow of democracy in democratic world. Likewise, in the third world, disguised democracy was started, and the progress of democratic consciousness between the ruler and the people has not yet happened. In other third world countries, democracy was started, but it was continuously going on through the disintegration. After the fall of dictatorship in Bangladesh in 1990, democracy came back in 1991. It continues to disguise itself in a country that is not democratic. This applies to the standards of developed countries. Bangladesh Awami League, BNP, Jatiya Party, Jamaat-e-Islami Bangladesh and other political parties participated in the 1991 national election.² Democracy in Bangladesh came back in the election through the victory of Bangladesh Nationalist Party (B.N.P.). But it failed to solve the problems of the party politics, which became an obstacle in building democratic society. Thus, since 1991, a reflection of national politics is seen in rural politics. The another key influential theorist of power is M. Foucault, who rejected a 'binary' view of power (for example, domination and resistance) and showed instead the ways in which power is multidimensional, strategic, and bound in constant processes of discipline and persuasion, which maintains the positioning of those with and without power (Foucault, 1980). That enters every single unit of the village's traditional power structure. Thus, parochial national politics entered into rural vested interests. From then, the national leaders use rural leaders tactfully. A. Gramsci's ideas about power emphasized its influence as a totalizing force-hegemony-which allowed the state and/or a popular majority to dominate society through a pervasive institutional power, thereby repressing citizens who may hold alternative or contradictory opinions state actions (Gramsci, 1988.) On the other hand, the rural leaders are also benefited from the national leaders. People have failed to take part in the development of national politics through the emergence of democratic consciousness. In this way, national politics entered into formal and informal leaders. For this reason, the division of rural society of Bangladesh is seen. We can see through research, always rural leaders involve in the politics of the existing government party to get access to various facilities. As the administrative unit, the Union Parishad is supposed to be free from national politics, but no leaders are free from this. Field studies show that 58% and 40% of the Union Parishad members have been involved

² Bangladesh Awami League, BNP, Jatiya Party, Jamaat-e-Islami Bangladesh (Political Parties of Bangladesh, B.N.P.- Bangladesh Nationalist Party)

in politics of Bangladesh Awami League and BNP respectively, Because of this, it is known that in the Union Parishad elections of 2016, Bangladesh Awami League was in the power of the state, according to custom, the people voted for the candidates of the government, which are beyond ideological politics, the poor people are always looking forward to getting government benefits. Apart from this, my research area is not outside of national politics and rural politics as well as the market committee, committee of peasants' co-operative society, mosque committee, temple committee, rural informal leaders. In rural politics, BNP and Awami League union and ward committee, Jubo Dal, Jubo League, Jatiyatabadi Chhatra Dal, Chhatra League practice power rotationally. According to the two former chairmen of the union committees of BNP and Awami League; national politics has been entering into the rural politics since 1991.

In this way, it is being associated with national politics and in the leadership of the rural power structure. In this way, the change of nature of the rural leadership has made emerging leadership, hoareable to adapt to modern life. Therefore, according to the results obtained from the field level by observing about this, the extent to which the expansion of national politics is working as an element of the change in the rural leadership which has been analyzed through the following table. Here is a comparative study of 50 leaders in 1990 and 50 leaders in 2020.

Table-1: A Comparative Figure of Rural Leaders' Involvement in National Politics (2020 and 1990).

Involvement	Year 2020		Year 1990	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Involved	35	70%	15	30%
Not Involved	15	30%	35	70%
Total	50	100%	50	100%

Source: Obtained from Field Level Data.

Table 1 shows that in 1990, the involvement of national politics with the leadership of the Sonora Union was 30%, 70% leaders were not involved. In 2020, it is 70% and 30% respectively. In 2020, the number of rural leaders involved in political parties was much higher than 1990. In 1990, 30 percent of the leaders were involved with the political party, but in 2020, 70 percent of the leaders are associated with the political party. Previously, the rural clan system was revealed as the lord, gradually the national politics is playing the role of the Lord. That is, the patron-client relationship still exists in different forms. Due to globalization, politics has spread to different parts of the world as part of the world's civilization and culture. That is, since the beginning of civilization, one culture has been influenced by other culture. This Surge is a historic fact of global civilization. However, there is an important reason why a study of the changing rural power structure promises to be particularly illuminating towards an understanding of political change at the local level (Rahman, 2002).

Expansion of Non-Agricultural Economy

A country's social structure and economic structure depend on each other. In the traditional society, there is a trend of agricultural economy which has emerged as a traditional profession in third world countries from the very beginning. This failed to make changes to the traditional social structure. People have failed to make surplus capital by proper production. Rural farmers have become subsistent in agricultural production day by day because of their subsistent farming. The rural rich peasants chose Mahajani customs instead of going on the way of proper production. But today, due to the emergence of various modern non-agricultural professions, agriculture's monopoly is being lost. Business, contracting etc. are emerging in rural areas. The income of these occupations is more than agriculture. As a result, those people associated with these modern occupations are occupying leadership positions. In the past, the landless peasants or day laborers were loyal to the land-lord, and now they do not have the leadership of the land-lord and they do not even need to be respected. Rahman found that primary economic strength and social status of local leaders depended on the extent of land ownership (Rahman, 1981). The emergence of new kind of leadership in society is inevitable. The results found in the study of rural leaders of the Sanora Union have shown that most leaders think that the real income of agriculture is very low which can not meet the needs of the family. It is possible to earn more profits by investing less time and money in a non-agricultural economy. By entering into the modern economy, some people are holding the rural leadership position in this way. Therefore, according to the results obtained from the field level by observing this, the extent to which the expansion of non-agricultural economy is working as an element of the change in the rural leadership, which has been analyzed through the following table. Here is a comparative study of 50 leaders in 1990 and 50 leaders in 2020.

Table-2: A Comparative Figure of the Involvement of Sanora Union Leaders in the Non-agricultural Economy (1990 and 2020).

Involvement	Year 2020		Year 1990	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Involved	32	64%	20	40%
Not Involved	18	36%	30	60%
Total	50	100%	50	100%

Source: Obtained from Field Level Data.

It is found in Table 2 that in 1990, there were 40% in involvement in non-agricultural economy and 60% were not involved. But in 2020, the involvement and not involvement are 64% and 36%, respectively. The global modern profession coexists with the traditional rural occupation. In 2020, there was a lot of increases in business as well as in agriculture. In 1990, the amount of non-agricultural economy was 40 percent, but it increases to 64 percent in 2020. Therefore, people who are associated with modern professions are becoming rural leaders. The economic power that combines both agriculture and non-agricultural sectors is gradually emerging as an influential element of rural power.

Expansion of NGO Activities

Before independence, Non-Government Organizations are working for rural development in this region. Long ago (before independence of Bangladesh), local, national and international on-Government Organizations have been improving rural development programs. Some Non-Government Organizations in Sanora union have been influencing the rural development through lending in different areas. In rural society, Non-Government Organizations are organizing poor people and increasing their political awareness. Through various programs, they help in improving their economic condition. On-Government Organizations of Sanora union provide loans to the rural people for buying cattle, poultry, small business, rice cultivation, cottage industry, health care etc. And through these works, they are occupying position of leadership in rural society. Non-Government Organization activities are creating social-political awareness among the general public and helping Sanora Union to develop individual-centric economy. As a result, the traditional leadership of rural society has been decaying gradually. Therefore, according to the results obtained from the field level by observing about this, the extent to which the expansion of Non-Government Organization activities are working as an element of the change of rural leadership which has been analyzed through the following table. Here is a comparative study of 50 leaders in 1990 and 50 leaders in 2020.

Table-3: A Comparative Figure of Rural Leaders' Involvement in NGO Activities (1990 and 2020)

Involvement	Year 2020		Year 1990	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Involved	15	30%	4	8%
Not Involved	35	70%	46	92%
Total	50	100%	50	100%

Source: Obtained from Field Level Data.

Table-3 shows that in 1990, the leaders (8%) of Sanora union were involved in NGO activities and 92% leaders were not involved. In 2020, 30% were involved and 70% were not involved. The trend of getting involvement in NGO activities in rural areas is increasing day by day. It's the main reason for the reduction in agricultural land per head. In 1990, 8% of the participants were found but, in 2020 there are 30% increase. Changes in socio-economic, political and cultural conditions have led to change in leaders. In this way, leaders associated with the modern professions are becoming influential in rural culture. The NGOs that are in the Sanora union are: Ganokollyan Trust, Youth Initiative for Socio-Economic Activity, Integrated Service for Development of Children and Mothers etc. According to one former NGO owner: *It is playing a helpful role in the rural socio-economic development. But in reality, it contrasts.*

Reducing the Relationship of the Patron-Client

One of the aspects of social relations of the rural society of any developing country is the patron-client relationship. In the subcontinent, there was a strong presence of patron-client relations before British rule. For the sake of this relationship, patron used to exploit

client's rights in their own work unfairly. Extreme economic disparity in rural society is not only the cause of patron-client relationships, but consequences as well. In particular, the distinction between 'power over' and 'power to' made by Rowlands is useful because it separates the kind of power that allows one person or group to dominate another from the kind of power that allows a person or group to challenge and change their situation (Rowlands, 1995). Along with social change, some changes have been noticed. Instead of the previous land-based life system, the non-land-based life system has been initiated. As a result, the monopoly of the land-lord has diminished a lot. Traditional leadership positions in the society have also been weakened and the modern leadership is occupying position. In this way different aspects of the patron-client relationship have changed much. But in the research on the Sonora Union, I have found that the emergence of modern non-agricultural profession, modernization of agriculture, emerging of modern leadership, expansion of party activities, NGO activities, increasing public awareness, social change, change of values, government activities, impact of urbanization, etc. have reduced the patron-client relationship. General and poor people obeyed the land-lord for economic and social need. Now the land-lords cannot meet them as much as they need. For this, the poor people are now seeking other types of leadership instead of the landlord. Being freed from the subordination of the patron, the poor people prefer the leader independently. In the results of field studies, I find that patron-client relationships in my research area are very rare. According to one former member of union parishad:

There is very little existence of patron-client relation here.

So, by observing this, according to the results obtained from the field level, the extent to which the reduction of patron-client relation is working as an element of change in rural leadership which has been analyzed through the following table. Here is a comparative study of 50 leaders in 1990 and 50 leaders in 2020.

Table-4: A Comparative Figure of the Patron-client Relation
of the Sanora Union (2020 and 1990)

Existence	Year 2020		Year 1990	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Existence	3	6%	23	46%
No existence	47	94%	27	54%
Total	50	100%	50	100%

Source: Obtained from Field Level Data.

Table 4: It is seen that in 2020, the existence of patron-client relationship is 6% and is not 94%. In 1990, existence (46%) and no-existence (54%) were noticed. Within 27 years, the patron-client relationship between rural leadership has decreased mostly. But in the deep observation, I found that in the Sanora union, the patron-client relationships exist in different forms. Among political leaders, union parishad leaders and rural people have a patron-client relationship. The rural landlords have not been able to meet the needs of the dependents now because of the reduction of agricultural land. So, the land-based relationship of patron-client has fallen.

Expansion of State Activities

As a welfare state, the state's activities have expanded a lot lately. The government is preparing and implementing various development programs for the development of rural areas. The establishment of control over development programs by the government is one of the sources of rural power. Those who have a good relationship with the administrative officials can establish control over these programs. Because of this relationship with the Upazila Executive Officer, Officer-in-charge of Upazila, Manager of the bank and different project officials, they have played an important role in determining rural leadership. People who have a good relationship with the administration can be the leaders of the rural society. Formal and informal leaders of the Sonora Union have been seen establishing relationships with various types of administrative officials and the bank's managers. According to the results obtained from the field level by observing this, the extent to which the state activities are working as an element of the change of rural leadership which has been analyzed through the following table. Here is a comparative study of 50 leaders in 1990 and 50 leaders in 2020.

Table-5: A Comparative Figure of the Leaders of Sanora Union (2020 and 1990) Related to State Activities.

Involvement	Year 2020		Year 1990	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Involved	40	80%	23	46%
Not Involved	10	20%	27	54%
Total	50	100%	50	100%

Source: Obtained from Field Level Data.

Table-5: It is seen that, in 1990, 46% leaders were involved and 54% were not involved of the state's activities but in 2020, 80% are involved and 20% are not involved. In 27 years, 34 percent of the leaders have increased their involvement with state activities. In this way, the co-existence of modern and traditional leaders can be seen in the Sanora union.

Expansion of Education

Despite the influence of religious education, educational opportunities in the rural areas have recently been expanded compared to the past. As a result, the rate of education has increased. We have noticed a significant number of educated leaders of the Sanora Union. Educated people are involved in modern occupation. They are better in administrative and political activities. They have the right leadership in social and economic development activities. As a result, educated people can easily become a leader in rural society. So, based on the results obtained from the field level by observing this, the extent to which the expansion of education as an element of the change in the rural leadership which has been analyzed. Here is a comparative study of 50 leaders in 1990 and 50 leaders in 2020.

It is seen from the data obtained that in 1990, there were 4% illiterate, 24% from signature to the class four, 52% from the class five to class ten of the leaders; in 2020

there are 6% from signature to the class four, 28% from class five to the class ten, 54% from S.S.C to H.S.C of the leaders in Sanora union. The union parishad's chairman of 2020 is more educated than 1990s. Currently, the educational qualification of members of the Sanora Union is from ninth-tenth class to H.S.C. passed., but in 1990, the educational qualifications of most of the members were from class-three to class-ten. The rural people were not interested in modern education as agriculture was the source of production from the past. Currently, agriculture is not the only source of income. So, the rural people are engaged in occupations like business, contracting etc.

Impact of Urbanization

At present, the connectivity of rural area has increased with the city. Even the remote countryside is connected to the local city. This is leading to modernization of rural society. There has been considerable change in the customs, culture, life system and social structure of villagers. As a result, the rural leadership are also changed. Recently, most of the people who are educated, cultured and modern are becoming rural leaders. Besides, those who have adapted to the city environment are also becoming leaders. So, according to the results obtained from the field level by observing this, the extent to which impact of the city is working as an element of the change of rural leadership which has been analyzed. Here is a comparative study of 50 leaders in 1990 and 50 leaders in 2020.

It is evident from the fact that in 1990, 60%, 30% and 10% of the leaders had regular contact, the irregular contact and communication respectively. But in 2020, 80% ,18% and 2% have regular contact, irregular contact and communication respectively. The previous traditional leaders are no longer able to meet the needs of the rural people. So the rural people have to go to the city-based formal leaders. In 2020, 80% of the leaders of the Sanora Union go to cities regularly. But in 1990, it was only 60%. In 2020, 18% have irregular relationships with the city. Because of the relationship with the city, new formal leaders have been able to influence the rural informal leaders. Demographic variables give some insight into the social and economic background of the rural leadership (Sirsikar, 1970).

Modernization of Agriculture

Modernization of agriculture has made farmers dependent heavily on agricultural inputs. This dependence is responsible for the loss of traditional leadership. Because the farmers have to rely on government officials for better seeds, fertilizers, pesticides, irrigation equipment, agricultural loans etc. In many cases, this agricultural equipment is distributed through the dealers. For this reason, dealers become powerful. In some cases, cooperative leaders occupy leadership positions by the means of getting these agricultural inputs. The rich peasant/landlord class had 'captured' irrigation facilities and found them distributed relatively openly to all landholding groups (Khan, 1989). Likewise, the IRRI project managers are recognized as leaders in rural society. Therefore, according to the results obtained from the field level by observing this, the extent to which the modernization of agriculture is working as an element of the change of rural leadership which has been analyzed. Here is a comparative study of 50 leaders in 1990 and 50 leaders in 2020. It is found that in 1990, the rural leaders used tractors and power tiller (10%), fertilizers (60%), modern seeds (50%), insecticides (35%) and water pumps (10%). But in 2020, the

rural leaders use tractor and power tiller (90%), fertilizer(98%), modern seeds (85%), insecticides (95%)and water pump (90%).Adapting to the modern world, there is no alternative to modern technology. Lewis also found class roles and relations less circumscribed at the level of the village than presented in much of this earlier political economy literature, with new agricultural technologies opening up both more and new kinds of economic opportunities for some nontraditional power holders in rural areas (Lewis, 1991). Compared to 1990, in 2020 rural leaders are seen to be involved in a lot of modern agricultural production. People of third world still cannot adapt to modern agricultural inputs. The rural people are not ready for proper use of the inputs purchased by subsidized money from developed world.

Social Change

Social Change is an ongoing process. In recent times, the rural society of Bangladesh is changing rapidly. This has resulted in massive changes in customs, rituals, social system, social relations, etc. in rural society. The inevitable consequences of social change are the change in the social class position. As a result, people at a social level can not always enjoy the same social status. Therefore, as a result of social change, traditional leadership is being removed from the rural society and modern leadership is occupying that space. So, by observing this, according to the results obtained from the field level, the extent to which social change is working as an element of the change in the rural leadership which has been analyzed. Here is a comparative study of 50 leaders in 1990 and 50 leaders in 2020. It is evident from the fact that in 1990, 40% of the people of Sanora Union considered the rural leaders as always necessary. They also think irregular need (40%), not necessary (10%), I don't know (10%) respectively. On the other hand, in 2020, 50% of the people of Sanora Union always think that leaders are necessary. They also think that, irregular need (36%), no need (4%), I don't know (10%) respectively. Most rural people think that leadership is essential in rural life. Modern, educated and dynamic leadership is emerging instead of traditional and hereditary leadership (Rahman, 1989, Pp. 6–84). Traditionally, in the rural society of Bangladesh, Sardar, Matbbar, Talukder etc. used to exercise power.³From generation to generation they dominated the rural masses. But the hereditary and the clan leadership is breaking down. In the same way, the importance of houses like Mia House, Talukder House, Bhuiyan House etc.⁴ have been reduced in the rural leadership.

With the expansion of non-agricultural employment and production system, the monopoly of land ownership has decreased in terms of power structure and leadership (Abdul Kuddus and Khan, 1996). Due to professional mobility, land ownership is no longer considered as the only standard of leadership in rural society, but non-agricultural employment, such as business, service, contracting, etc., is now considered as the standard of leadership in rural society. Young and middle-aged leadership is taking place in the place of traditional and senior leadership (Karim, 1990). This variation of age is an important factor in understanding current trends in rural leadership. Because, the elderly

³ Traditionally, in the rural society of Bangladesh, Sardar, Matbbar, Talukder etc. used to exercise power (Bangladeshi rural informal leader's clan name)

⁴ In the same way, the importance of houses like Mia House, Talukder House, Bhuiyan House etc. (Bangladeshi rural leader's house name)

leadership holds the traditional values and they can not keep up with the changing society. On the other hand, young leadership is educated and always dynamic and consistent with the mobility of society.

In addition to the national politics, it is also associated with rural politics. The former leadership was one-way or landlord-oriented. But now rural politics is versatile (Barman, 1988, Pp. 185–189). Now there are many leaders. In the Union Parishad elections, many candidates contest. All of them are more or less powerful. As a result, it is seen that candidates want to take vote by beating or fear, which initiates bloodshed in rural politics. In addition to the involvement of bad national politics with the rural politics, rural politics has become very pessimistic. Rural politics is indeed a matter of government politics. Rural leaders are usually supporter of government to get access to various facilities and power (Rahman, 1988, Pp. 22–58). Union Parishad members are fully supportive of the government for more grants and development. Informal leaders also try to seek government support and assistance in various ways.

The rural leadership is now relatively educated and is under the control of the youth. As a result, cultural activities in rural society have increased. The leaders organized various plays, jatra, palagan, kabigan, etc. to get the votes.⁵ As a result, the name of the sponsor is promoted through microphone. As a result, his popularity increased. In this way, rural leaders have the attitude of managing cultural activities. Cultural activities are now being used as a way to gain popularity, which were not in previous activities (Barman, 1988, Pp. 185–189).

5. Conclusion

The entry of national politics in the Sanora Union has been discussed. Leadership has changed after coming to national politics. But there is no qualitative change. The leaders are not democratic. That is why, the leaders (rural) are not valued and tolerant. So, in 1990, 30% of leaders were involved in national politics, and 70% of the leaders are involved in 2020. There was no qualitative change even though new leadership emerged in the Sanora union. Contractor, businessman, part-time employee are coming as new leadership because the traditional leadership is not able to meet the demand of the people due to population growth. But due to lack of professional transparency of the leaders, they themselves are the client of national leaders, On the other hand there is no sustainable improvement in the village by them. Through the expansion of trade and commerce, cottage industry, the leaders are gradually failing to help the rural people. But everyone, except the emerging leadership, is a kinship group of previous leaders. The observation of the Sanora Union shows that in 1990, 40% of the leaders were involved in non-agricultural economy but in 2020, 64% of the leaders are involved in non-agricultural economy. It is true that new leadership has emerged from the NGO activities, but there has not been much change in the previous Mahajani custom. Although rules and regulations are lawful and written, they are not able to relate to the people with the main stream of development. So, in 1990, 8% leaders were involved in NGO activities, but in 2020, 30% leaders are involved. Besides reduction of patron-client relationships, the

⁵ The leaders organized various plays, jatra, palagan, kabigan, etc. to get the votes (One kind of Bangladeshi rural song).

political and economic patron-client relationship has been created. Rural leaders have become the client of national leaders. Despite the decreasing of the patron-client relationship, Modern patron-client relationships exist. In the presence of welfare state, swift, young, comparatively modern educated, sub-ordinate, selfish and artificial leaders have emerged. These leaders keep in touch with the officials of the upazila executive officer, the bank's manager, the officer-in-charge of the various administration and the officials of various projects. Through some infrastructural improvements, the people are failing to prepare for sustainable development. In 1990, 46% of the leaders were involved in state activities, but 80% of the leaders in 2020 are involved. Educated leaders of the Sanora union are able to lead social and economic development through administrative and political communication. But the underlying meaning of education was not noticed in these leaders. However, education is not very helpful in achieving leadership in the Sanora union. In 1990, the education of the members was from being able to sign to tenth class. But in 2020, education of the members is from ninth-tenth class to H.S.C. passed. The education of The Chairman, NGO leaders, the leaders of the political Union Committee is gradually increasing. Modernization of agriculture has created a new kind of leadership in the Sanora Union. Cooperative leaders and dealers are distributing modern seeds, fertilizer, insecticides, irrigation equipment, agricultural loans etc. among the peasants. Through this, they are occupying leadership positions. As resources are not acquired from the internal sources, because of this, new leadership is looking at the government administration. The other rural leaders of the third world are under the leadership of national leader. In 1990, 60% leaders went to the city regularly, but 80% leaders go to the city in 2020. The need for rural leadership in both 1990 and 2020 is undeniable. The coexistence of new leadership and traditional leadership in Sanora Union is not contradictory. As a result, the rural power structure has not been changed fully fundamentally. What has changed is related to activity. Even then, some fundamental changes have taken place

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