

# CGS PEACE REPORT

*an initiative of BPO*

CGS  
CENTRE FOR  
GENOCIDE  
STUDIES  
UNIVERSITY OF DHAKA



Volume 5, Issue 4  
July-August 2021



**Crime and Violence in  
Bangladesh:  
An Analysis from BPO**

**Land-Related Violence in  
Bangladesh and its Impact on  
Human Security**

**Land Resource Scarcity due to  
the Climate Change and  
Proliferation of Violence in  
Bangladesh**

**The Gendered face of land-  
related violence: Women's  
Deprivation from Land  
Ownership**

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## From the Editor's Desk

### My Little Plot of Land<sup>1</sup>

Of my land only a little remained, the rest having been mortgaged away.  
The zamindar said one day, "Know what Upen? This too should come my way".  
I said, "O Lord, countless are the plots of land you already own,  
But consider--I only have land enough to bury me when I'm gone!"  
The zamindar brushed me aside saying, "Upen, I'm building a garden,  
Your half-acre will allow me to design for it a lovely fountain--  
You'll have to sell all you've got to me!" I replied, tears in my eyes  
And hands on my heart, "Spare this poor man's land, or else he dies!  
For seven generations we've tilled this plot and it's everything to me,  
And selling it will be like selling my mother because of poverty!"  
The zamindar reddened, kept mum for a bit, and then gave a peculiar smile,  
In a forbidding manner, he muttered under his breath, "we'll see in a while!"  
In six weeks, I was forced out of my ancestral land and into the road  
By a court decree. Falsely, it said I had defaulted on a loan and owed  
The zamindar the whole lot! Alas, in this world those who have most want all  
And even a king won't stop until he has grabbed everything--big or small!  
I consoled myself: God has decided not to confine me to my plot of land;  
Perhaps I am fated to roam far and wide and end up in some distant strand.  
And so I became a mendicant's assistant and followed him everywhere  
Visiting shrines that were memorable and seeing sights that were fair.  
But no matter whether I climbed high peaks or reached a remote river bend  
The thing I could never forget night or day was my little plot of land!  
And so I traversed country fairs, fields, and roads for fifteen years or so  
Until homesickness made me feel to my country once more, I must go.  
I thought as I went: lovely motherland Bengal--I bow to you lovingly!  
Your exquisite riverbanks and gentle winds will surely revive me.  
I'll thrill at skies kissing dust swirling up from wide open fields;  
I'll seek in the sylvan shade of a tiny village an abode of perfect bliss.  
I'll revel in its mango trees and cowboys playing on lush green meadows  
Bengal's calm and shaded ponds will be cool and comforting to see  
And surely I'll delight at sweet village belles carrying water home daily.  
Such thoughts of my motherland made me sad and tears welled up in me.  
Two days later--at noon-- I entered my village-- oh so eagerly!  
Past the potter's shop and left of the field where festivals are held I sped  
Leaving the fairground--site of all delight-- and the temple ground  
I hurried to my homestead--thirsty, eager and completely exhausted!

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<sup>1</sup> Rabindranath Tagore, "Dui Bigha Jami," 14 June 1895. Translated by Fakrul Alam.

Shame, shame, oh shame on you, my shameless little plot of land!  
 How is it that you yielded so easily to the seducer's blandishment?  
 Do you remember how you once nurtured me with what little you had?  
 How you provided me with fruits, flowers and produce from your bed?  
 Who are you trying to seduce now in fancy and dazzling dresses?  
 Why deck yourself in alluring colors and flower-studded tresses?  
 It was for you I came back worn out by years of wondering  
 But you, wanton, are only bent on being coy and enchanting!  
 Riches enticed you and the landlord's wealth made all the difference  
 And nothing remains of what you once were--a maiden in essence!  
 So bountiful and giving once, so caring, sweet and pleasant,  
 Seduce him all you can-- once a goddess, now you're a mere servant!  
 With a grieving heart I looked around and what then did I see?  
 Still erect where it always stood was my favorite mango tree!  
 I sat down and wept till tears doused the pain that was in me  
 One by one, images of childhood resurfaced in my memory.  
 I recollected how after summer storms I wouldn't sleep at all,  
 Knowing I had to gather by dawn the mangoes sure to fall  
 I thought of still fun-filled afternoons when we played hooky  
 And I felt: what a pity that such days I will never again see!  
 Suddenly a gusting wind shook the branches of the mango tree  
 And two ripe mangoes fell on the spot where I happened to be.  
 Surely, I thought, my mother has finally seen her long lost son,  
 And so I gathered the mangoes she gave me on this occasion!  
 Suddenly, as if an angel of death, an Oriya gardener was in the scene  
 Hair in knot, this man swore and threatened in a way that was obscene.  
 I told him, "I gave up all years ago without protesting the court decree  
 Why fuss if I pick up two mangoes from what was my property?"  
 Unimpressed, the gardener seized me, directing his stick at my head.  
 Dragging me to his landlord, he complained to him about what I said.  
 The zamindar, egged on by his cronies, thundered, "You're as good as dead!  
 But his abuse was nothing compared to what his cronies had to say.  
 All I could say in defense was, "my lord, those mangoes fell my way."  
 The zamindar said, "This scoundrel acts innocent but is a big thief!"  
 I was in tears but smiled ruefully at being made the source of all mischief.  
 I thought: he acts the saint now but I have to play the role of the thief!

Has anything changed since Rabindranath Tagore penned his verses over a century back in 1895? Has land become more precious than ever? Are lands still being seized for the non-payment of loans? Do we still find the state machinery siding with the usurper of the land? Are the goons still protecting the land grabber? Has violence now become the instrument of the rich and the powerful? Is the climate the new 'zamindar,' making the lives of the millions of 'Upens' miserable? Are the laws still being decreed for the rich to

become richer and the poor poorer? Is the society getting further divided between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots,' with more lands in the hands of the former and the latter with no land? Are the thieves of yesteryears the preachers of norms and regulations of today? Are the scoundrels of yesteryears establishing institutions to showcase their accumulation of looted wealth? Can anything be done to overcome the centuries of exploitation? Or, do we keep reciting the verses from 'My Little Pot of Land,' thanking the poet for being with us for over a century, while land-related violence and sufferings of the landless keep multiplying?

“Seleucus, what a strange world this is!”

**Imtiaz Ahmed**

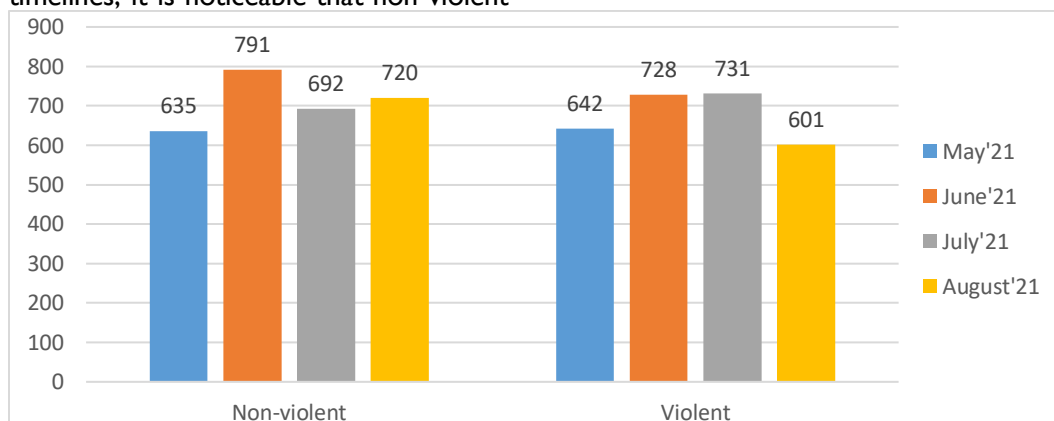
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## Crime and Violence Update in Bangladesh: An Analysis from BPO

### Violence update (July-August 2021)

The Bangladesh Peace Observatory (BPO) brings together different streams of publicly available data on violence using news reports from prominent national and regional dailies. From July-August 2021, BPO has recorded a total of 1332 violent<sup>2</sup> and 1412 non-violent<sup>3</sup> incidents. Figure 1 shows the monthly segregation of the violent and non-violent incidents of May-June 2021 and July-August 2021. Drawing a comparison between these two timelines, it is noticeable that non-violent

incidents showed a slightly irregular trend. On the other hand, the violent incidents gradually increased until the sharp decline in August. According to BPO data, the overall number of incidents decreased by 1.9% in July-August 2021 than the previous two months. Table 1 summarises the updates on major violence types that constitute most violent incidents. A brief description of each category is available in the Annex.



**Figure 1: Monthly segregation of Violent and Non-violent incidents**

The table depicts that incidents under categories like Sexual Assault and Violent

Demonstration increased and in other categories like Clash, Fight, Destruction of

<sup>2</sup> Violent Incident: According to BPO Codebook: The reported incident involved the intentional use of physical force by an individual or group against another individual or group, in a manner that resulted or could have resulted in death, injury or any other form of physical harm to persons or property

<sup>3</sup> Non-violent Incident: According to BPO Codebook: The reported incident did not involve until the sharp rise in April. On the other hand, the violent incidents gradually increased from January-February 2021 to March-April 2021 except for the nominal decline in February. According to BPO data, the overall number of incidents increased by 14.8% in March-April 2021 than the previous two months. Table 1 summarizes the updates on major violence types that constitute most of the violent incidents. A brief description of each category is available in the Annex. the intentional use of physical force by an individual or group against another individual or group, in a manner that resulted or could have resulted in death, injury or any other form of physical harm to persons or property, e.g. Arrest, Peaceful Protest, Rescue and Recovery.

property, Gunfight Assault, Abduction, Mob Violence have declined. Table 2 illustrates the comparison of the consequences. The total number of

deaths, abductions and injuries has decreased, whereas sexual assaulted and arrests has increased from May-June 2021 to July-August 2021.

**Table 1: Comparison of Major Violence Types**

Major Violence Types	May	June	July	August
Abduction/hostage	17	30	19	21
Assault	439	444	425	325
Clash	53	70	54	31
Coup	0	0	1	0
Destruction of property	4	10	2	5
Fight	8	4	13	6
Gunfight	7	2	6	4
Mob violence (large group assault)	6	4	9	1
Other	13	24	67	66
Sexual assault	87	112	130	138
Unclear	6	25	2	0
Unspecified	1	2	0	0

**Table 2: Comparison of the changes of consequences**

Consequences	Total Killed	Total Injured	Total Abducted	Total Sexually Assaulted	Total Arrested
May-June'21	776	2489	67	216	5181
July-August'21	716	2047	55	283	10656
Changes in Percentage	-7.732%	-17.76%	-17.91%	31.02%	105.67%

### Understanding the High Number of Assaults

BPO enlists the inter-personal attacks carried out by different parties against one person/persons by another person/persons for various motives under

the assault category. BPO recorded a total of 750 cases of assault in July-August 2021. The motives include domestic violence, dowry-related, land and other enmities related to economic factors, social-personal rivalry, attacks with criminal intent, suicide attempts, etc. Under the

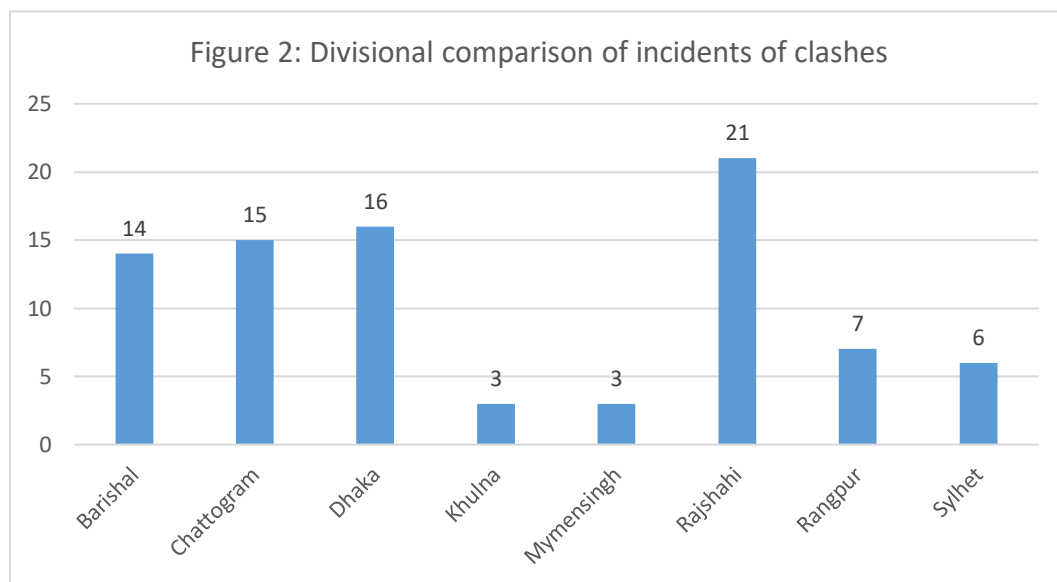
assault category, 281 suicide and attempted suicide cases were reported, and in those cases, 279 people were killed, including 149 women. Besides, the recovery of unidentified dead bodies is also enlisted under this category.

### A Decreasing Number of Clashes

The total number of clashes declined in July-August 2021 than May-June 2021. More clashes took place in July than August (see Table 1). In 85 clashes reported in July-August 2021, 1032 people were injured, including 44 women. There are 14 reports of clashes resulting in the injury of 20 people and over. The main motives of these clashes are election-related confrontations, political tension

between groups, social rivalry, control over land or natural resource, economic and business-related feuds, social and personal trivial matters, etc. 12 reported cases were results of post-election violence after the 163 Union Parishad elections which were postponed and rescheduled to 28 July across the country.<sup>4</sup> Figure 2 depicts the divisional distribution of the clash incidents. It shows that Dhaka, Chattogram, Barishal and Rajshahi have higher incident numbers than the rest. Quite a few municipalities and Union Parishad in these divisions were expecting elections.<sup>5</sup>

### Increase in Sexual Assault



<sup>4</sup> 'Elections to 163 Union Parishads Postponed' Dhaka Tribune, 10 June 2021, Cited in <https://www.dhakatribune.com/bangladesh/election/2021/06/10/polls-to-163-union-parishads-postponed>, Accessed on- 9 October 2021.

<sup>5</sup> 'Elections to 163 Union Parishads, 9 municipalities postponed' The Daily Star, 10 June

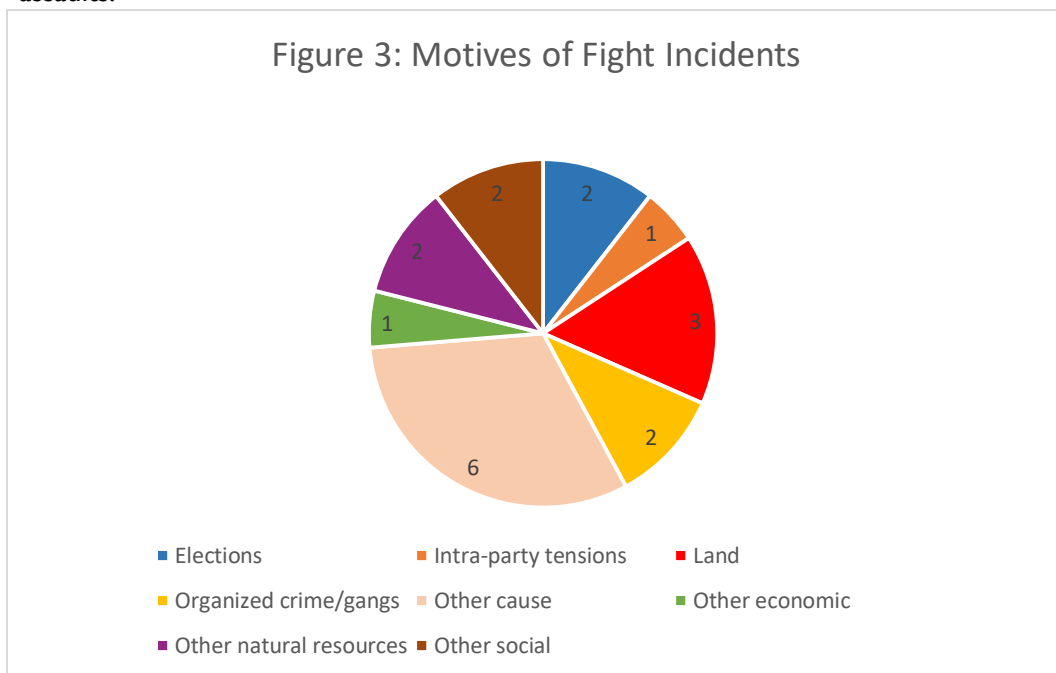
2021, Cited in <https://www.thedailystar.net/bangladesh/news/elections-163-union-parishads-9-municipalities-postponed-2108405>, Accessed on- 9 October 2021.

Reported incidents of sexual assault have increased in July-August 2021 than May-June 2021. Out of 268 reported cases of sexual assaults, there were 40 gang rapes. In some cases, rape by teens and teen gangs were also notable. The perpetrators of these offences were men of different ages, including a few minor boys, teachers, local miscreants, teachers, family members, relatives, neighbours, etc. The majority of the victims are girls, and in three cases, boys were victims of sexual assaults.

organised crime, land-related and political motives also led to vandalism.

### Increase in Fight

The number of incidents of fights increased in July-August 2021 than in May-June 2021. The significant motives of these violent incidents are Election, land-related disputes, social and personal feuds, political tensions, etc. (see Figure 3)



### A Slight Decline in Destruction of Property

There were seven fewer reported cases of property destruction in July-August 2021 than in May-June 2021. Most of the reported cases took place where local Hindu temples were attacked, and idols of Hindu deities were vandalised. Besides,

### A Low Number of Gunfight persists

The number of gunfights had gone down since August 2020, however, the number exceeded two digits since then in July-August 2021. In July-August 2021, gunfights are only one case more than in May-June 2021. In August 2020, a retired Major of the Bangladesh Army was killed

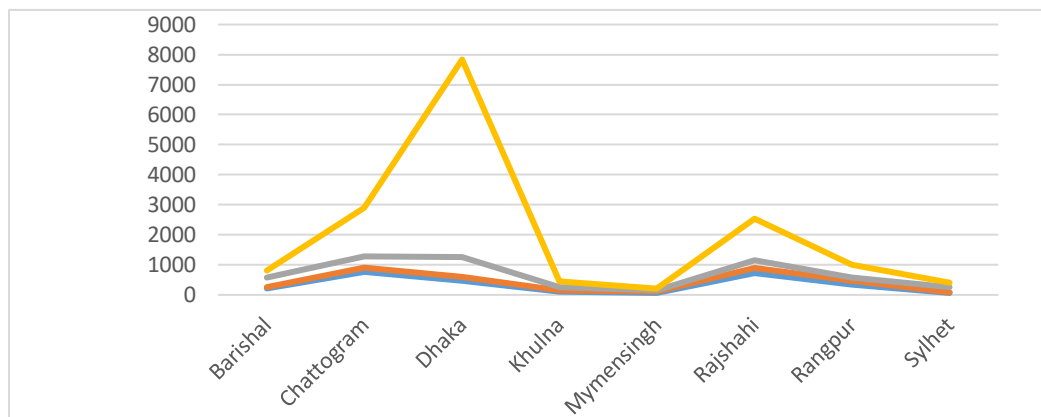
in a reported gunfight. This event might have influenced the sudden decline in Gunfight from August onwards.

### Violence-Population nexus

Figure 4 provides a spatial glimpse through the divisional distribution of the recorded incidents and their consequences. The graph illustrates that Chattogram, Rajshahi and Dhaka are the first, second, and third respectively in terms of incidents and are second, first, and third respectively in terms of the death count. In addition,

these three divisions are the most populous in Bangladesh.

But if the population ratio<sup>6</sup> is applied to understand the incident prevalence and its consequences, then a different picture emerges. In that case, the Barishal division has the third-highest incident rate, death rate and the highest female death rate, injury rate, injury and sexual assault rate. The Rajshahi division being the second in terms of incident number, occupied the highest incident rate and death rate. Dhaka has lower rates than other divisions (see Table 3).



**Figure 4: Divisional distribution of incidents and consequences**

<sup>6</sup> The population data is based on the Population & Housing Census 2011, Bangladesh by the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics. Cited in:

<http://www.bbs.gov.bd/site/page/47856ad0-7e1c-4aab-bd78-892733bc06eb/Population-and-Housing-Census> , Accessed on- 10 October 2021.

**Table 3: Divisional segregation of incidents and consequences in terms of population: July-August 2021**

Division	Incident	Rate by pop*	Death	Rate by pop*	Female Death	Rate by pop*	Injury	Rate by pop*	Sexual Assault	Rate by pop*
Barishal	204	2.45 (3 <sup>rd</sup> )	54	0.65 (3 <sup>rd</sup> )	30	0.36 (1 <sup>st</sup> )	320	3.84 (1 <sup>st</sup> )	32	0.38 (1 <sup>st</sup> )
Chattogram	766	2.63 (2 <sup>nd</sup> )	140	0.48	54	0.19	375	1.29	45	0.15
Dhaka	473	1.29	128	0.35	41	0.11	650	1.78 (2 <sup>nd</sup> )	81	0.22
Khulna	112	0.71	48	0.31	15	0.10	104	0.66	12	0.10
Mymensingh	67	0.59	37	0.33	10	0.10	46	0.40	12	0.11
Rajshahi	719	3.89 (1 <sup>st</sup> )	169	0.91 (1 <sup>st</sup> )	63	0.34 (2 <sup>nd</sup> )	268	1.45	50	0.27 (2 <sup>nd</sup> )
Rangpur	339	2.15	121	0.77 (2 <sup>nd</sup> )	47	0.29 (3 <sup>rd</sup> )	110	0.69	39	0.25 (3 <sup>rd</sup> )
Sylhet	64	0.65	19	0.19	6	0.10	174	1.77 (3 <sup>rd</sup> )	12	0.12

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## Land-Related Violence in Bangladesh and its Impact on Human Security

Shah Muhammad Salahuddin

### Introduction:

*Nakshi Kathar Math is a romantic poetry written by poet Jashim Uddin. Hero of the poetry named Rupai was a peasant who was ordinary, cheerful, and skilled. He married a girl named Saju, whom he loved, and started a happy marital life. One moonlit night a man informed Rupai that some peasants of another village were destroying his crops. After a land-related dash, accidentally some of the rival group members got killed and some were severely injured. Henceforth, Rupai had to leave the village and hide far away to avoid arrest and legal punishment. His wife, Saju became lonely and after some time, she started to stitch a Nakshi Katha (hand stitched designed quilt) where she narrated all the incidents and sorrows. After finishing the quilt, she gave it to her mother and told her to cover her grave with the Nakshi Katha. When Saju died her mother did accordingly. Later, the villagers found a dead person (Rupai) lying on the grave holding the Nakshi Katha in his hands.*

- *Nakshi Kathar Math*

Despite being a poetry, the above is a classic example of the land-related

violence scenario in Bangladesh. A newly married couple began their married life with a dream of living together forever. Suddenly, a land dispute resulted in violence that forced them to lead a life full of insecurity and uncertainty. Although the poetry was written around a century ago, it depicts today's cruel reality of land-related violence in Bangladesh. In the Bangladesh context, land is considered by many as an essential source of livelihood, an invaluable asset, and/or instrumental capital to strengthen economic opportunities<sup>7</sup>. This is especially true in agrarian societies, where wealth and survival are measured by control and access to land.<sup>8</sup> Since the ownership of land is perceived as a means of economic development, land related interests often turn into violence and more critically take the form of criminal activities. A study found that one in every five households in Bangladesh experiences land-related disputes.<sup>9</sup> Every year around 1.4 million land-related cases remain unresolved in courts that affect more than 120 million people.<sup>10</sup> People are affected most when it

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<sup>7</sup> A. Rahman, Rafi Hossain, "The uncomfortable truth about land disputes in Bangladesh: Insights from a

the household survey," *Elsevier*, 08 April 2020.

<sup>8</sup> Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation, "Land & Conflict," *US Agency for International Development (USAID)*, 2004.

<sup>9</sup> Op.cit

<sup>10</sup> Abul Barakat and Prasanta K. Roy, "Political Economy of land Litigation in Bangladesh: A Case of Colossal National Wastage," *Bangladesh e-Journal of Sociology*, January 2007.

turns into serious violence, e.g., physical assault, clash, fight, destruction of property, sexual assault, etc., leading to several crimes, e.g., murder, injury, vandalisation, and arson of property, rape, etc. Against this backdrop, this write-up attempts to analyse the causal relation between land-related violence and human insecurity in Bangladesh. The write-up employs the framework of human security to understand the impacts of land-related violence. It is primarily based on desk research and analysis of five years (2015-2020) data of Bangladesh Peace Observatory (BPO).

### **Understanding Land-related Violence:**

Issues related to land and its ownership actively and passively affect people's activities as it is regarded as an essential socio-economic and strategic asset and considered to be a human right by many; though, it is not a recognised right by international human rights law. Whether it is a recognised human right or not, growing concern on land-related issues infers a co-relation between access to land and economic, social, and cultural rights. Land meets humanitarian needs by providing shelter, allowing infrastructure, facilitating income generation, etc.<sup>11</sup> It is often linked to peoples cultural identity.

Castagnini and Deininger identify the moment when land becomes the core of the dispute. They argued that chances of obtaining land against mean value often instigate confrontation – no matter if it belongs to the state, shared, or private entities.<sup>12</sup> Unlike Castagnini and Deininger, John Bruce thinks any commodity such as land can be an apple of discord if that lacks adequate legal, institutional, and traditional or customary protection.<sup>13</sup> Wehrmann tries to portray how and for what purposes people usually engage in land disputes. He refers to it as a condition where at least two individuals or groups deter each other to exercise their own rights over land, e.g., right to use, manage, transfer, generate income, and exclude others from the particular portion of land, and the right to compensation for it.<sup>14</sup> Deininger and Yamano identify the actors of land-related disputes, e.g., neighbours, relatives, landlords, and local government.<sup>15</sup> Though scholars define several aspects of land-related disputes, but land related violence, which is the key focus of this write-up, is a missing area in their writings. As crimes are often the outcome of violence and violence are the outcome of dispute; so this write-up employs land-dispute definitions to formulate a working definition of land-related violence.

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<sup>11</sup> Global Lan Tool Network, "LAND AND CONFLICT: A Handbook for Humanitarians," *UN-HABITAT*, 2009.

<sup>12</sup> Klaus Deininger and Raffaella Castagnini, "Incidence and Impact of Land Conflict in Uganda," *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper*, 2005.

<sup>13</sup> US Agency for International Development, "Land Disputes and Land Conflicts," *USAID Issue Brief*, 2011.

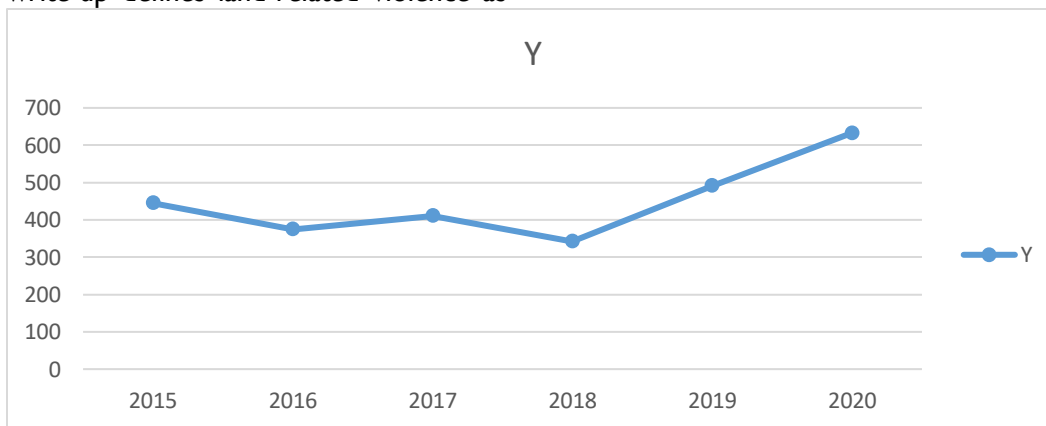
<sup>14</sup> Babette Wehrmann, "Urban and Peri-urban Land Conflicts in Developing Countries," *Res. Rep.Ur. Reg. Geog. 2 Berlin*, 2005.

<sup>15</sup> Deininger, K., Yamano, T., "Land Conflicts in Kenya: Causes, Impacts, and Resolution," *FASID Discussion Paper*, 2005.

Before defining land-related violence, it is important to understand what violence means. BPO defines violence as "Intentional use of physical force by an individual or group against another individual or group, in a way that resulted or could have resulted in death, injury or any other form of physical harm to persons or property." By synthesising the concepts of land disputes and violence, the write-up defines land-related violence as

### Land-Related Violence in Bangladesh:

Land has become an irreplaceable asset for Bangladeshi people. Approximately half of all workforce and two-third of rural areas of the country are directly employed by land (agriculture), and around 87% of rural households rely on it for at least part of their income.<sup>16</sup> The economic transformation from agricultural land to



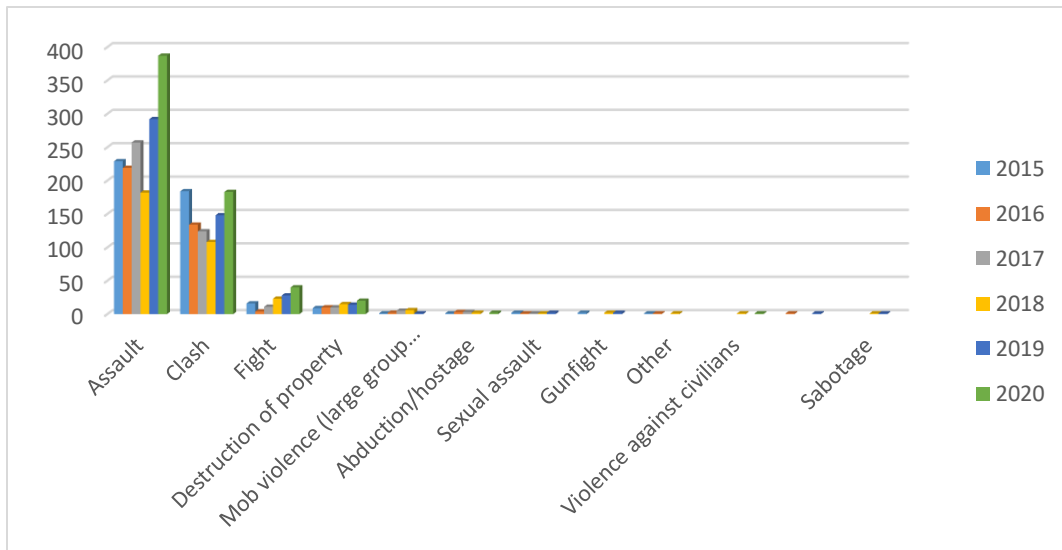
"Intentional or unintentional use of physical force by the individuals or groups against other individuals or groups in order to have access to or take control of a particular piece of land (public or private) in a way that resulted or could have resulted in death, injury or any other form of physical harm to persons or property." However, land-related violence is neither unique nor universal; it is quite common in the South Asian region.

non-agricultural has also increased at a noticeable rate over the last four decades.<sup>17</sup> Growing demand against limited land increases the chances of disputes as well as violence. Studies found that legacy issues, counterfeit documentation, miss or misinformation during record, selling without consent of the actual owner, selling the same piece of land to more than one person, unavailability of documents, exchanging parts of land orally, etc.<sup>18</sup> are responsible

<sup>16</sup> Bangladesh: Growing the Economy through Advances in Agriculture" 09 October 2016. Cited in <https://www.worldbank.org/en/results/2016/10/07/bangladesh-growing-economy-through-advances-in-agriculture>. Accessed on 22 August 2021.

<sup>17</sup> Ashikur Rahman , Rafi Hossain, *op.cit.*

<sup>18</sup> Md. Abubakkor Siddik, Md. Ashiqur Rahman and Md. Moniruzzaman, "Causes and Consequences of Land Disputes in the Coastal Area of Bangladesh," *Eastern Geographer*, January 2018.



for land-related disputes as well as violence. It is reported that approximately 5 million households are directly affected by land disputes in Bangladesh, and around 6.6% of households fear a dispute on their land in the future.<sup>19</sup> This part of the write-up analyses five-year data (2015 to 2020) of BPO to understand the scenario of land-related violence in Bangladesh.

A five-year analysis of BPO data shows that, 445 land-related violence occurred in 2015. It decreased to 375 in the following year. It started to rise again and reached 411 in 2017. Land-related violence incidents plunged to 342 in the next year. These incidents shot up in 2019 and 2020 when 491 and 633 land-related violence occurred, respectively. From the data, it can be claimed that land-related violence in Bangladesh shows an upward trend.

Several types of violence occurred due to land disputes between 2015 and 2020. Around 1509 assault incidents (both

murder and injured) occurred. Nearly 867 clashes occurred, 164 incidents took place where properties were destroyed, 110 cases of fighting occurred, around eighteen times the angry mob assaulted victims, and sixteen were abducted for land. Fifteen sexual assault incidents also occurred as a consequence of the land disputes. Furthermore, although non-violent, 1565 persons were allegedly arrested by law enforcement agencies from 2015 to 2020.

BPO data indicate most of the violence in Bangladesh occurred between individuals, family members, siblings, relatives, neighbours, landless and land grabbers, etc. Private property, state property, collective and shared property lay at the core of all land-related disputes and violence. When both (at least two) individuals or groups are reluctant to sign away their share, the dispute arises, and a failure to solve the contention peacefully

<sup>19</sup> Ashikur Rahman, Rafi Hossain, *op.cit.*



target-oriented crime; thus, the death rate is relatively lower. Around 868 clashes incidents took the lives of 310 people, including 32 women, during the observed five-year timeline. In clashes, it is difficult to trace who are perpetrators and who are targets as it occurs between at least two rival groups, and each group comprises a large number of members. Substantial numbers of BPO data analysis prove that groups that were involved in land-related clashes mainly were villagers. Moreover, it found clashes incidents between neighbours, relatives, family members, and local political rivals. Due to the non-targeted and group-involving nature, injury rates are notably high in clashes. According to BPO data, around 10,248 people were injured between 2015 and 2020, including 422 females.

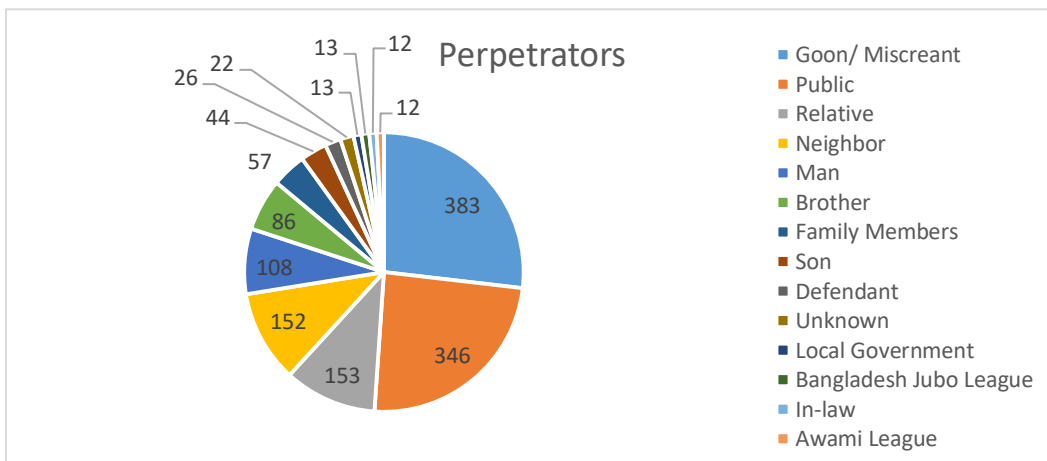
#### **Destruction of Properties:**

It is ironic that people often destroy others' properties to ensure entitlement or establish supremacy on the land property. BPO defines destruction of property as "One-sided violence perpetrated with the intent of damaging property." It is also target-oriented

violence where perpetrator group members vandalise or arson the properties of the target group members. According to recorded data, the public (large group members) was responsible for damaging most properties. Goons, neighbours, and family members have also destroyed target group members' properties, among others. BPO recorded 164 incidents of property destruction due to land-related conflict between 2015 and 2020. The vandalism of residences was predominant; around 171 houses were destroyed. Besides, shops, furniture, vehicles, religious establishments were also on the list of destruction.

#### **Fight:**

According to BPO data, people fought almost 110 times for land during the five-year period under review (2015-2020). The BPO defines the fight as "two-sided violence between individuals or small groups;" it lies between assault and clash. Here, also two rival groups are involved in fights. Hence, the only way to segregate fights from the clashes is the size of the groups. BPO codebook clarifies it by



providing an example of members' size along with the definition of the fight. Amongst 110 cases, the public (rival group members) were involved in 61 cases. Brothers, relatives, neighbours, and family members were other actors involved in fights. This violence is neither target-oriented nor random. Around 110 fight incidents claimed 61 lives, including nine females. In contrast to the clash, fewer people were injured in the fight, the number was around 398, including 36 females.

### **Sexual Assault:**

BPO recorded fifteen incidents of sexual assaults from the land dispute from 2015 to 2020. It defines sexual assault as "One-sided sexual violence, such as rape or attempted rape, by an individual or small group against another individual or small group." On 28 July 2015, a schoolgirl and her grandmother both were allegedly gang-raped by the miscreants over a land-related dispute in Mathbaria Upazila, Pirojur district of Bangladesh. Amongst the reported fifteen victims, four were schoolgirls and children. Three female victims were also murdered after rape during these five years. Goons/miscreants, public, neighbours, relatives, brothers, other family members, sons, defendants, local political party leaders, local government representatives, in-law family members, etc., were mainly responsible for one-sided violence, e.g., physical assault, destruction of property, and sexual assaults.

In contrast, the actors were mainly public (large rival group), neighbours, relatives, family members, siblings, local political

leaders, etc., in two-sided land-related violence such as clashes and fights. Moreover, 1537 people had been detained and arrested by the law-enforcement agencies due to their alleged involvement in land-related violence.

Many were not typical criminals, but they had to experience custody and imprisonment for their intentional or unintentional involvement in land-related violence. Analysis of land-related violence in Bangladesh demonstrates that some particular types of crimes were predominant in land-related violence. Murder, injury, vandalising, and arson of properties were at the top of the list. This write-up aims to understand the impact of land-related violence on human security.

### **Understanding Human Security**

There is no internationally recognised definition of human security. The concept of human security was first introduced by the United Nations (UN) Human Development Report, 1994 entitled, "New Dimensions of Human Security." According to the report, human security has two dimensions:(a); Freedom from Want – related to food, health, environment, and economic security and (b); Freedom from fear – comprising of physical, community, and political security. In 2012 UN General Assembly added another dimension, "freedom to live in dignity," which advocates "people's right to live in freedom and dignity, free from poverty and despair... with an equal opportunity to enjoy all their rights and

fully develop their human potential".<sup>20</sup> S. Neil Macfarlane refers to human security as a transformation of the concept of security from state to the individual, particularly for women and children.<sup>21</sup> According to Caroline Thomas, human security is a state of existence in which there is no want of basic needs and human dignity, including community participation, can be fulfilled.<sup>22</sup> Taylor Owen defines human security as "the security of the essential nucleus of all human beings from the grave and widespread environmental, economic, food, health, personal and political threats." Threats to human security can arise sluggishly and silently or emerge unexpectedly and dramatically.<sup>23</sup> Although scholars define human security in numerous ways, these broadly fall within three main dimensions of human security identified by the United Nations. This write-up tries to trace the impact of land-related violence on human security.

### **Impact of Land-Related Violence on Human Security:**

Whether one-sided or two-sided, target-oriented or non-target oriented, when any land-related violence occurs, it threatens the victims' physical, economic, and mental well-being, the co-victims (family and network of relatives of primary victims), and to some extent perpetrators

and other members of the society. However, regardless of the nature of land-related violence, this violence impacts human security by limiting engaging party members' freedom from fear, freedom from want, and freedom to live in dignity.

### **Freedom from Fear:**

Violence is a crucial human security issue and a unique proxy to human insecurity. It impacts the individual and arises out of social relations; thus, it hampers freedom from fear: a core dimension of human security.<sup>24</sup> The increased rate of violence is synonymous with the increase of fear, and fear is synonymous with the rise of human insecurity. It disrupts the regular social life of all; victims, co-victims, perpetrators, and other members of society. Victims and co-victims become fearful about a further attack or getting proper justice; perpetrators about detention or arrest to some extent feel similar fears of attack like victims and co-victims and other members of the society also become fearful. Walklate argues, "individuals actively and constantly fabricate their regular lives based on received information either consciously or unconsciously."<sup>25</sup> Usually, people engineer their daily lives based on some basic presumptions about themselves and others. One thinks of oneself as a 'good

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<sup>20</sup> General Assembly, "Follow-up to the outcome of the Millennium Summit," *United Nations*, 6 September 2012.

<sup>21</sup> Neil Macfarlane, "A Useful Concept that Risks Losing Its Political Salience," *Security Dialogue*, 2014.

<sup>22</sup> Thomas, C. "Global governance, development and human security: exploring the links, *The World Quarterly*," 2001.

<sup>23</sup> Oscar a. Gómez. O. A. and Gasper. D, "Human Security: A Thematic Guidance Note for Regional and National Human Development Report Teams," *UNDP*, 2013.

<sup>24</sup> Mary Martin, "Gender based violence as a human security issue," *Human Security Research Center*, 2015.

<sup>25</sup> Walklate S, "Handbook of victims and victimology," *Willan Publishing*, 2007.

human being; as invincible or invulnerable; and the world as a safe and just place.<sup>26</sup> Once people experience violence as victims or co-victims, these presumptions disband; as a result individual perceives and interprets the world around in opposite meaning.<sup>27</sup> Such as; a murder or a rape incident does not only affect the victim; also, the co-victims have to bear the impacts for long. Various studies prove that nearly all co-victims display symptoms of posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD)<sup>28</sup> when their loved one is murdered or raped, they may experience repeated intrusive images, nightmares, overwhelming feelings of anger and rage, feelings of fear, excessive alertness, and feelings of guilt.<sup>29</sup> They become angry against society in general and the perpetrator in particular.<sup>30</sup> Due to their close one's murder, injury, rape, vandalising and arson of property, etc., co-victims might also be stigmatised socially. Sometimes they need to leave the community and hide in other places to avoid arrest and detentions. In these circumstances, physical difficulties such as sleeping and eating problems, headaches, and abdominal and stomach pains occur<sup>31</sup> to both victims, co-victims, and perpetrators and their family members.

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<sup>26</sup> Janoff-Bulman, R., & Frieze, I. H., "A theoretical perspective for understanding reactions to victimization." *Journal of Social Issues*, 1983.

<sup>27</sup> Cook B, David F & Grant A. "Victim's needs, victim's rights: Policies and programs for victims of crime in Australia." *Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology*, 1999.

<sup>28</sup> Marilyn Peter Armour, "Experiences of co-victims of homicide: Implications for research and

### **Freedom from Want:**

Besides fear, land-related violence is also the cause of enormous economic waste. When any of the crimes such as murder, injury, rape, abduction, large group assault, vandalisation, and arson of properties occur, co-victims or family members of the victims have to suffer from income loss, and also have to bear unexpected extra economic burden. When the only earning household or a crucial family member is murdered or accused of severe crimes, their family members suddenly face the extreme economic loss that disrupts their everyday lifestyle. Unlike murder, co-victims or family members of the victims need to bear the extra medical cost for injury. In the case of the destruction of properties, the monetary losses are apparent to all. Besides, there are many indirect economic losses. Immediately after the incident, victims and co-victims seek local administrations' assistance to resolve it locally within an arbitration (Shalish) process. A study reveals that both defendants and plaintiffs need to expense some unnecessary money to manage the community leaders during arbitration (Shalish). If these expenditures fail to resolve the problems, defendants and plaintiffs need to spend further to seek the intervention of the judiciary process. Legal processes are

practice." *Sage: Trauma, Violence & Abuse*, April 2002.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>30</sup> Rock P, "After Homicide: Practical and Political Responses to Bereavement," *Oxford University Press Inc*, 1998.

<sup>31</sup> Marilyn Peter Armour, *Op.cit*.

generally lengthy in Bangladesh. A field study estimates that it requires around eight years to resolve a case, whereas a few cases take time between 40 to 50 years and even more.<sup>32</sup> Lengthy case procedural requires much money for court fees, transportation costs to the police stations, lawyers chambers, courts, paying lawyers' fees and bribes, etc.<sup>33</sup> Another study estimates that indirect loss is threefold than direct loss. On average, each household spent about 56,600 BDT as a direct loss, whereas the average indirect loss is about 149,339 BDT.<sup>34</sup> Indeed, these unpleasant situations increase the want of sufferers in particular and the whole economy in general.

### **Freedom to Live in Dignity:**

Land-related violence impacts also threatens victims' and co-victims dignity. It certainly stigmatises and hampers social development. For example, co-victims of murder or rape face enormous social pressure. Immediately after the incident, society begins to treat them differently. Victim blaming is also a common practice

in typical South-Asian cultures. Some co-victims, significantly younger and female, have to experience very bitter, unpleasant, and uncomfortable questions regarding their loving one's murder or rape.<sup>35</sup> that undermines their self-dignity. For legal assistance, victims and co-victims, especially in the rape incident, usually choose not to go to court as it is viewed as the loss of the victims and co-victims honour.<sup>36</sup> A multi-national study conducted by the UN in 2013 showed that 95% of urban and 88% of rural perpetrators of rape in Bangladesh face no legal measure for their crime.<sup>37</sup> Bangladesh Governments' One-Stop Crisis Centres' report revealed that between 2001 to 2013, around 78% of rape victims did not agree to challenge their rapists legally.<sup>38</sup> To save the so-called remaining honour of the family, victims often locked themselves in a domestic environment and cut off their relations with the outer world. Co-victims also display similar behaviours; they feel shy to speak up about the crime with others from a belief that the more

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<sup>32</sup> Md. Mahamudul Haque, "Bangladesh Land Conflict Monitoring Report," *Community Development Association (CDA) for the project "Defending Land Rights and Human Rights Defenders."* 2018.

<sup>33</sup> Anton van Wijk, Ilse van Leiden and Henk Ferwerda, "Murder and the long-term impact on co-victims: A qualitative, longitudinal study," *International Review of Victimology: Sage Publication*, 2016.

<sup>34</sup> Md. Abubakkor Siddik, Md. Ashiqur Rahman and Md. Moniruzzaman, "Causes and Consequences of Land Disputes in the Coastal Area of Bangladesh," *Eastern Geographer*, January 2018.

<sup>35</sup> Anton van Wijk, Ilse van Leiden and Henk Ferwerda, *op.cit.*

<sup>36</sup> BRAC University's Centre for Peace and Justice (CPJ) and World Faiths Development Dialogue's (WFDD), "A crisis of rape in Bangladesh: Opportunities for Faith Engagement," *Policy Brief No. 27*, February 2021.

<sup>37</sup> Emma Fulu et al., "Why Do Some Men Use Violence against Women and How Can We Prevent It," *United Nations Development Programme*, 2013.

<sup>38</sup> "One-Stop Crisis Centre Limited to Medicare Only," 19 June 2013 Cited in <https://www.dhakatribune.com/uncategorized/2013/06/19/one-stop-crisis-centre-limited-to-medicare-only>. Accessed on 09 August 2021.

people will know the matter, the more dignity will be lost.

### **Conclusion:**

The write-up attempts to identify the different forms of violence in land-related disputes. It also tries to analyse how the violence hampers the human security of the victims, co-victims, perpetrators, and their families. The analysis of five-year BPO data starting from 2015 depicts that assault, clash, fight, destruction of property, sexual assault, etc., were the most used form of violence that people adopted in land-related disputes. Some

particular crimes, e.g., murder, injury, vandalism, and arson, rape, were the outcomes of the violence as mentioned earlier. Some of the violence was one-sided and target-oriented. In contrast, others were two-sided and non-target-oriented—irrespective of their orientation, all of the land-related violence impacts human security. These create fear among people, impose an extra financial burden to bear the cost of local and institutionalised legal procedures. Besides, land-related violence also hampers psychological well-being by threatening the social dignity and reputations of the actors involved.

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## Land Resource Scarcity due to the Climate Change and Proliferation of Violence in Bangladesh

Rifat Islam Rupok

Climate change has become a significant problem in the contemporary world. As the effects of climate change become more apparent with time, extreme and unpredictable weather events are becoming a shared global concern. Bangladesh is considered as one of the most vulnerable countries to this climate change due to its geographical and socio-economic position. Climate change is related to the proliferation of violent conflicts and related incidents of violence. Most conflicts resulting from climate change are based on resource scarcity, with the land resource being one of the sources of such conflicts. Land resource in Bangladesh is already scarce with the increasing population growth and causes incidents of violence.

This write-up tries to highlight the effects of climate change in Bangladesh using a secondary data analysis method to understand the trends in violent incidents, focusing on land resource scarcity due to climate change. The data relating to land resource related violence from 1 January

2014 to 30 June 2021 of Bangladesh Peace Observatory (BPO) was used for the analysis.

### Understanding Climate Change and Conflict

Climate change refers to any change to the climate over time, whether it is because of natural variability or due to various human activities<sup>39</sup>. Climate change is also considered a threat multiplier, aggravating human security risks and contributing to different conflicts in regions vulnerable to climate change<sup>40</sup>. The changes in the climate also contribute to the land usage and many environmental risks.

As climate change continues to grow and affect the world, there is growing evidence that changes in nature and the environment contribute to a rising chance of conflict in a fragile state<sup>41</sup>. It has been observed that the lesser the focus is on the environment and natural resources in the peace-building process, the more intra-state conflicts tend to be prolonged and escalated<sup>42</sup>. According to Le Billion

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<sup>39</sup> IPCC, "Climate Change 2007" – Fourth Assessment, *Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change*, 2007.

<sup>40</sup> Froese, Rebecca and Schilling, Janpeter, "The nexus of climate change, land use, and conflicts", *Current Climate Change Reports*, 2 February 2019.

<sup>41</sup> "Addressing the climate-conflict nexus in fragile state: understanding the role of governance"

November 2020. Cited in <https://www.mercycorps.org/research-resources/climate-conflict-nexus>. Accessed on 04 August 2021.

<sup>42</sup> UNDP, "Climate Change Fuelling Resource-Based Conflicts in the Asia-Pacific", *Asia-Pacific Human Development Report Background Papers Series 2012/12*, 2012.

(2008), there are three aspects related to conflict and climate change. These are: 'resource curse': which is described as a combination of natural resource wealth with other factors (e.g., poverty, corruption, poor economic growth, civil war, etc.), 'resource conflicts': mainly relates to renewable natural resources with regards to actors' perception of the value of the resource and its incompatible claims over both renewable and non-renewable resources, and 'conflict resources', it primarily exists in a condition where the financial rewards of the resources drive and sustain armed conflicts<sup>43</sup>.

There is a complex relationship between climate change, insecurity, political and socio-economic variables. Natural resources (such as water, land, and forests) have been considered a matter of contention for a long time<sup>44</sup><sup>45</sup>. There are macro trends like – population growth, environmental degradation, climate change that aggravate the existing scarcity. The population growth puts pressure on the limited number of resources while climate change (e.g., water shocks – floods, droughts, heatwaves, desertification, soil loss/erosion) influences resource availability and quality. The socio-economic conditions like weak institutions, economic inequality, poverty,

poor governance, and social exclusion can augment the impacts of direct and indirect climate change. Such impacts can include agricultural productivity, food prices, displacement, economic growth, and migration. All these factors and impact contribute to livelihood loss, resources competition, grievances, inter-group tension and conflicts<sup>46</sup>.

To add climate change and its impacts, the nature of the vulnerability of people, infrastructure, and ecosystems to climate variability and change also needs to be understood. Communities which are already facing food insecurities or malnourished may be more exposed to extreme heat, floods, and droughts caused by climate changes<sup>47</sup>. The contextual changes in natural resources (e.g., agriculture, water, health, and infrastructure) will create new 'winners' and 'losers.' These can lead to either (a) aggravate existing social tensions related to the environment and natural resources or (b) create new tensions<sup>48</sup>.

The impact of climate changes like temperature, precipitation, extreme weather (with climate change mitigation and adaptation) can stress land resources as in changes in land resources and degradation in the land<sup>49</sup>. Many studies have shown that climate change affects the

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<sup>43</sup> Le Billion, Philippe, "Diamond Wars? Conflict Diamonds and Geographies of Resource Wars" *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 2008.

<sup>44</sup> Busby, Joshua, "Taking Stock: the field of climate and security", *Current climate change reports* (4), 29 September 2018.

<sup>45</sup> "Addressing climate drivers of conflict: Mercy Corps' Approach" May 2019. Cited in

[https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/MercyCorps\\_Climate\\_Conflict\\_Approach.pdf](https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/MercyCorps_Climate_Conflict_Approach.pdf) Accessed on 04 August 2021.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> USAID, *Climate Change and Conflict: An Annex to the USAID Climate-Resilient Development Framework*, February 2015.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> *op. cit.* 2

availability of land both directly and indirectly through increased usage of land mitigation and adaptation measures<sup>50</sup>. Stress on lands and changed land usage can have an adverse effect on human security. It depends on the community's vulnerability and the amount of land degradation, biodiversity loss, and land scarcity. Such impacts can bring changes and provoke human responses affecting their social system and exacerbating the existing social instabilities. Population growth, rapid urbanisation, and consequent increasing pressure on ecosystem resources can also have a strong influence<sup>51</sup>. These factors are often unforeseeable and based on different parameters. Additionally, links between climate and conflict are often indirect, while human adaptive capacity to climate change is sensitive to conflicts<sup>52</sup>.

### Climate Change in Bangladesh

Bangladesh is one of the most affected countries due to climate change.<sup>53</sup> Because of its geographic location, Bangladesh has faced many natural disasters, like cyclones, floods, river erosion. Years of facing

natural disasters have made the people of the land resilient to natural disasters, though it might not be sufficient to meet the effects of climate change.

Global temperature rise due to carbon emissions has made the weather around the world unpredictable. Natural disasters have become more common and more powerful<sup>54</sup>. Bangladesh, in the past few years, has not faced many unpredictable weather patterns, but global trends suggest this might change soon. Sea level rise because of global temperature rise is a major threat for Bangladesh, as the country is low lying. Most of the country is less than five metres above sea level<sup>55</sup>; thus a rise in sea level not only decreases the usable land by engulfing the land, but also decreases usable land by increasing water salinity. By 2050, it is predicted that Bangladesh will lose 11% of its land, which will affect 15 million (estimated) people living in low-lying coastal areas<sup>56</sup>.

Furthermore, there were seven tropical cyclones that affected Bangladesh from 2014-2020, though the number was only four in the preceding six years (2008-2013). This increase has been

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<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> Scheffran, Jürgen, "The security risk of climate change: vulnerabilities, threats, conflicts and strategies", in Brauch, H. G., Spring, U. O., Mesjasz, C., Grin, J. Kameri-Mbote, P. Chourou, B., Dunay, P., Birkmann, J., ed in *Hexagon series on human and environmental security and peace*, (Springer: 2011), pp. 735-756.

<sup>53</sup> European Parliament, Climate Change Impacts and Responses in Bangladesh, Cited in : [CLIM\\_ET\(2008\)400990\\_EN.pdf, Accessed on 31 August 2021.](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/etudes/join/2008/400990/IPOL-</a></p></div><div data-bbox=)

<sup>54</sup> Minmura, Nobuo, "Sea-level rise caused by climate change and its implications for society", *Proceedings of the Japan Academy, series B physical and biological sciences*, July 2013.

<sup>55</sup> Environmental Justice Foundation, "Climate displacement in Bangladesh", 2021, Cited in: <https://ejfoundation.org/reports/climate-displacement-in-bangladesh>, Accessed on: August 31, 2021.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*

mainly attributed to climate change by experts.<sup>57</sup>

### **Climate Change – Land Resource Related Violence Nexus in Bangladesh**

As discussed in the previous sections, climate change often acts as a catalyst that amplifies pre-existing grievances; climate change can also create new grievances resulting in violence. In the case of Bangladesh, climate change has a significant effect on resource scarcity. Riverbank erosion can cause people to lose everything overnight, floods can damage lands, crops, and water salinity can cause agrarian lands to lose their worth.

Bangladesh has a population density of 1265 inhabitants per square kilometre. As a result, the land is a precious resource, and as the population continues to grow at a rate of around 1.01% per year, land scarcity naturally grows with time<sup>58</sup>. However, climate change is making extreme weather shocks more common. Sea level rise and tropical cyclones have already made large parts of the Bangladesh coast uninhabitable, resulting in sizeable urban migration by people who have lost their homes due to climate change.

To understand the effects of climate change the analysis is done in two parts; in the first part, a comparison of land-related violence is made between areas that are affected most by water salinity and riverbank erosion with the areas adjacent to them which are not similarly affected. In the second part, an overall analysis is done with respect to data from the whole of Bangladesh.

An increase in water salinity and riverbank erosion directly affects land resources. This is the reason behind selecting these factors. Bangladesh Peace Observatory data was used to explore the links between the increasing effects of climate change and land related violence by comparing the effects of climate change as measured by the increase in river bank erosion and water salinity, with the incidents of land related violence. The land-related violence data was considered from 1 January 2014 to 30 June 2021.

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<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

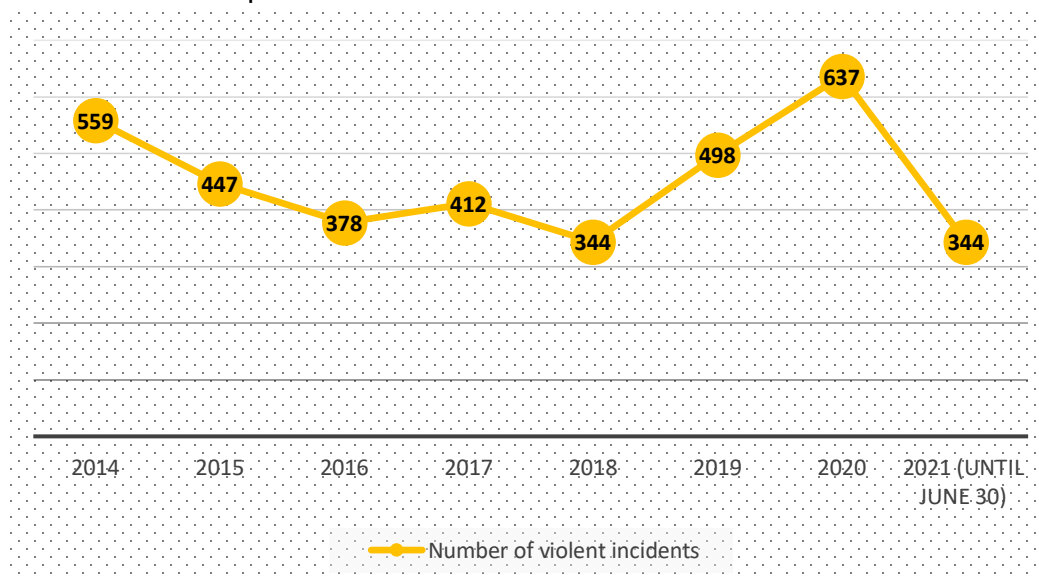
<sup>58</sup> Worldometer, 2021, Cited in: <https://www.worldometers.info/world->

[population/bangladesh-population/](https://www.worldometers.info/world-population/bangladesh-population/), Accessed on August 31, 2021.

## Land Resource Related Violence: An Overview of Bangladesh

To get an idea about whole of Bangladesh, data from all districts of Bangladesh were considered. Figure 5 shows the total number of land-related violent incidents in Bangladesh starting from 2014. The year 2020 had the highest number of incidents, followed by 2014. In 2018, there were 344 such incidents, which is the lowest for the time. 2021 has 344 cases in the first six months alone. If the past year is any indication, the number of violent incidents would likely be higher at the end of the year. According to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration

(NASA), 2016 and 2020 were the hottest years in the world in recorded history.<sup>59</sup> If we look at Bangladesh, while in 2016, the number of violent incidents was 378, with time in 2020, there was the highest number of incidents (637). With record temperatures worldwide, Bangladesh also saw a fair share of natural disasters, with the most significant incident being the flooding of over a quarter of Bangladesh in June 2020.<sup>60</sup> Floods destroy crops and, in some cases, increase the chance of river erosion, making the scarce land resources an incompatible goal, resulting in a nexus point violent conflicts.



*Figure 5 Number of violent incidents related to land resources per year*

<sup>59</sup> National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), Cited in: <https://www.nasa.gov/press-release/2020-tied-for-warmest-year-on-record-nasa-analysis-shows>, Accessed on 22 August 2021.

<sup>60</sup> New York Times, Bangladesh Floods (2020), Cited in: <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/30/climate/bangladesh-floods.html>, Accessed on 26 August 2021.

Table 4 shows the number of people killed and injured in land-related violent incidents in different areas of Bangladesh. The top 10 districts are ordered on the number of total fatal incidents. From the data it can be seen that Mymensingh district had the highest number of deaths related to land resource related violence, followed by Habiganj district, the economy of such districts is mainly dependent on the agricultural output. Most districts in the list are primarily

agrarian districts, so their economic output is largely dependent on the climate condition. Despite Dhaka having a population of around 12.5 million,<sup>61</sup> it has faced a relatively low number of killings due to its low dependence on agriculture and climate than the other nine districts.

This shows that land resource-related violence is more prevalent in areas where land resource usage is more directly connected with the people's livelihoods.

**Table 4:** Casualties in land-based violence

District	Total number of persons killed
Mymensingh	109
Habiganj	64
Cox's Bazar	60
Chattogram	60
Gaibandha	43
Rajshahi	42
Sunamganj	42
Dhaka	42
Sylhet	41
Bogura	41

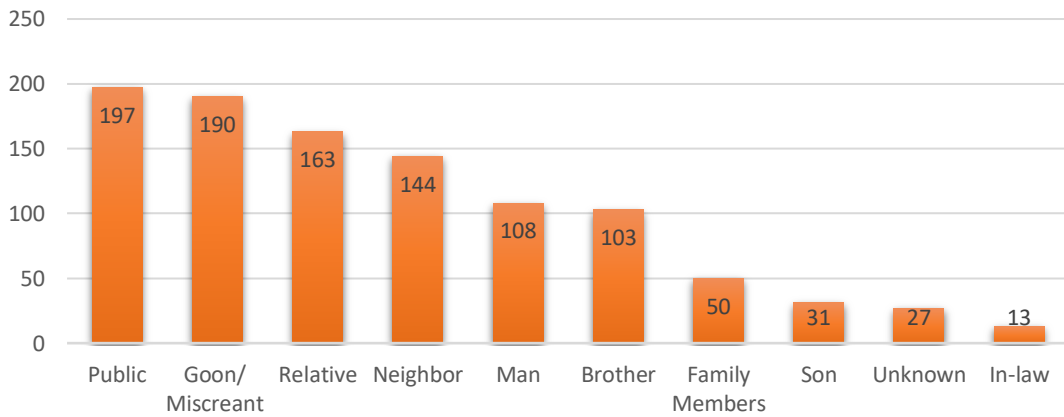
<sup>61</sup> Government of Bangladesh, Dhaka District at a Glance, Cited in : <http://www.dhaka.gov.bd/site/page/12c324fd-2013-11e7-8f57>

286ed488c766/%E0%A6%8F%E0%A6%95%20%E0%A6%A8%E0%A6%9C%E0%A6%B0%E0%A7%87%20%E0%A6%A2%E0%A6%BE%E0%A6%95%E0%A6%B E, Accessed on 1 September 2021.

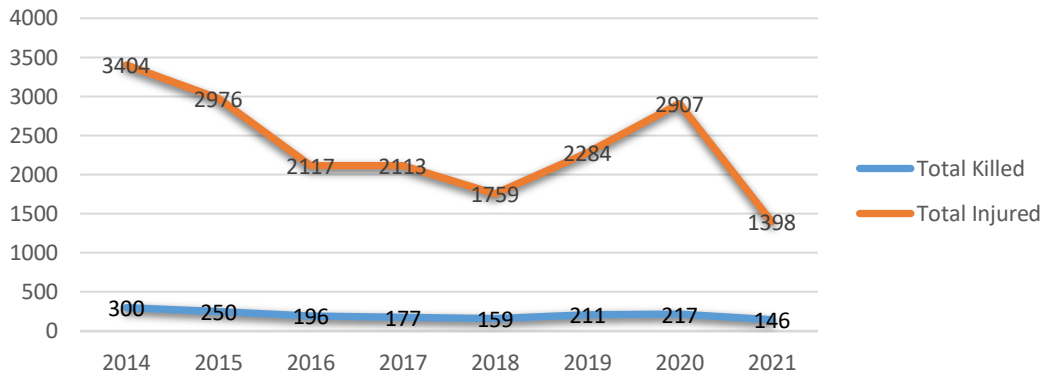
Figure 6 shows the main perpetrators of land-based fatal violence. The public (a group consisting of more than two people) is the most common perpetrator because most violent incidents result from large groups vying for control of the land. Goon/miscreants are used for land grabbing and forcibly re-locating inhabitants of a land. Relatives and neighbours are the next most common

groups, as often family members cause conflict because of inherited property.

Looking at the number of persons killed and injured because of land-based violence (Figure 7), the number was the highest in 2014. It gradually declined every year but started increasing from 2019, when the effects of climate change became more prominent.



**Figure 6** Perpetrators of fatal land based violent incident



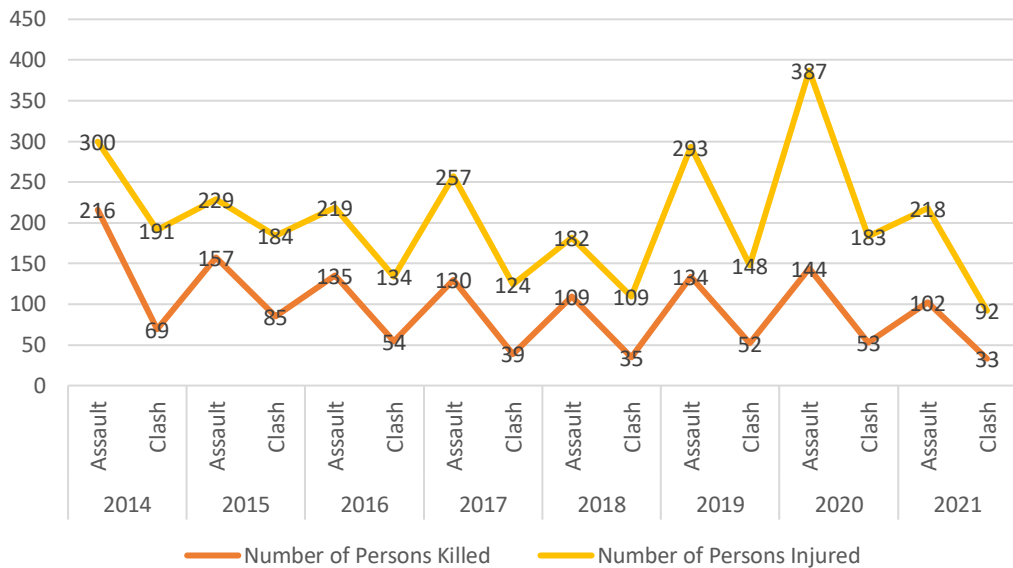
**Figure 7** Number of Persons Killed and Injured (yearly)

Land resource-based conflicts are increasing as the effects of climate change are becoming more apparent. The land resource related violence is concentrated around regions that are more dependent on the climate. The most common types of violence are assault and clash<sup>62</sup>. From these assaults and clashes, the total number of persons injured was 2085 and 1165 respectively, and total number of persons killed was 1127 and 420 respectively<sup>63</sup>.

Death and injuries from assault and clashes started increasing from 2019 while decreasing from 2014-18 (figure 8). The year 2020, being the hottest year, showed the widespread effects of climate change. The total number of death (197) and injuries (570) in 2020 was higher than any other year in the last six years in land-related assaults and clashes.

<sup>62</sup> Bangladesh Peace Observatory, 2021, Cited in: <http://peaceobservatory-cgs.org/#/all-division-heat-map>, Accessed on August 28, 2021.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*



**Figure 8** Persons killed and injured in assault and clash (yearly)

### Increase in Water Salinity and Land Resource Related Violence

The salt concentration in water and land in a specific area is called salinity.<sup>64</sup> The rise of water salinity is increasingly becoming a severe problem in Bangladesh. This phenomenon is common and expected in coastal areas. However, due to the sea-level rise and tropical storms, more and more sites which are far from

the coast have been facing increased water salinity.<sup>65</sup> This is causing a reduction of agricultural fields, with some places becoming utterly unusable for agricultural use.<sup>66</sup>

According to Dasgupta *et. al.* (2014), the eight districts of Bangladesh which have water salinity most increasing are – Barguna, Barisal, Bagerhat, Bhola, Khulna, Jhalokati, Patuakhali, and Pirojpur.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Government of Western Australia, Cited in: <https://www.water.wa.gov.au/water-topics/water-quality/managing-water-quality/understanding-salinity>, Accessed on 3 October 2021.

<sup>65</sup> Md. Mahmuduzzaman *et. al.*, “Causes of Salinity Intrusion in Coastal Belt of Bangladesh”,

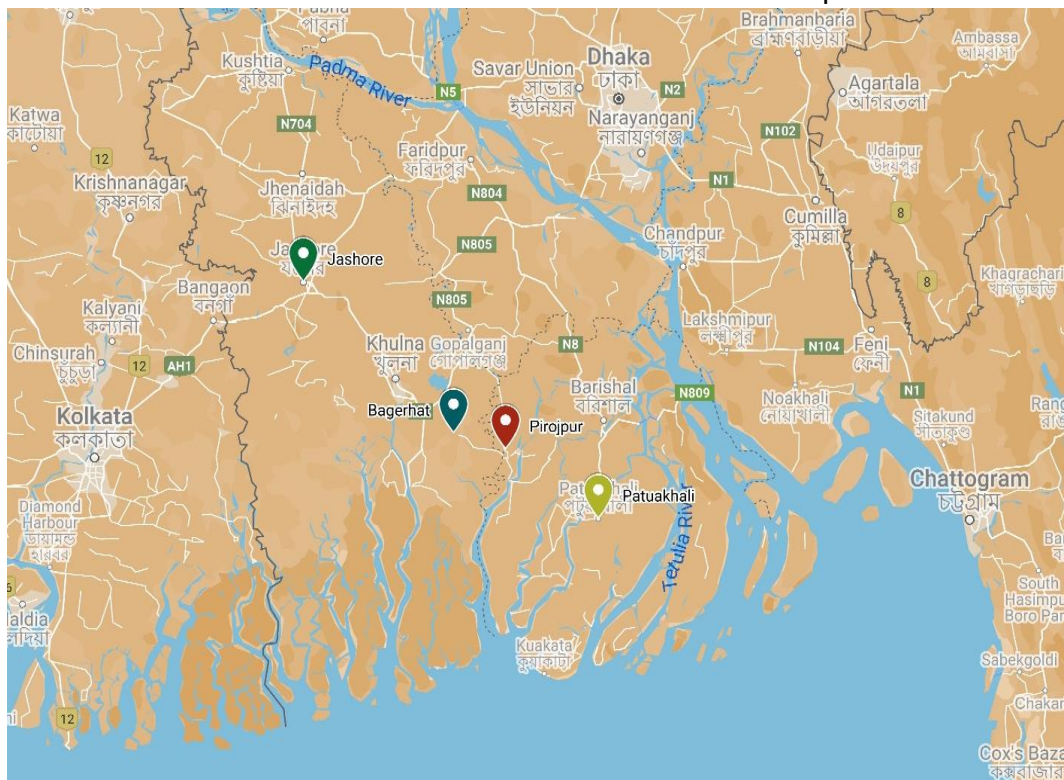
*International Journal of Plant Research*, February 2014.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>67</sup> Dasgupta, Susmita *et. al.* “River Salinity and Climate Change: Evidence from Coastal

In this study, Pirojpur, Bagerhat, Jashore, and Patuakhali have been considered for a

incidents can be analysed for any identifiable trends or patterns.



**Figure 9** Location of the District Headquarters

comparative analysis where two districts (Pirojpur and Bagerhat) are facing severe threats of water salinity<sup>68,69</sup> compared to the other two districts. With a close view, the propensity of land-related violent

The demographic data for the districts (2011 census) shows a disparity in population and land areas (Table 5, below).<sup>70</sup>

Bangladesh.” *Policy Research Working Paper*, No. 6817. World Bank 2014.

<sup>68</sup> It has been estimated that, by 2050, 100 per cent of fresh river water in Pirojpur, 93 percent in Bagerhat will be at risk.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

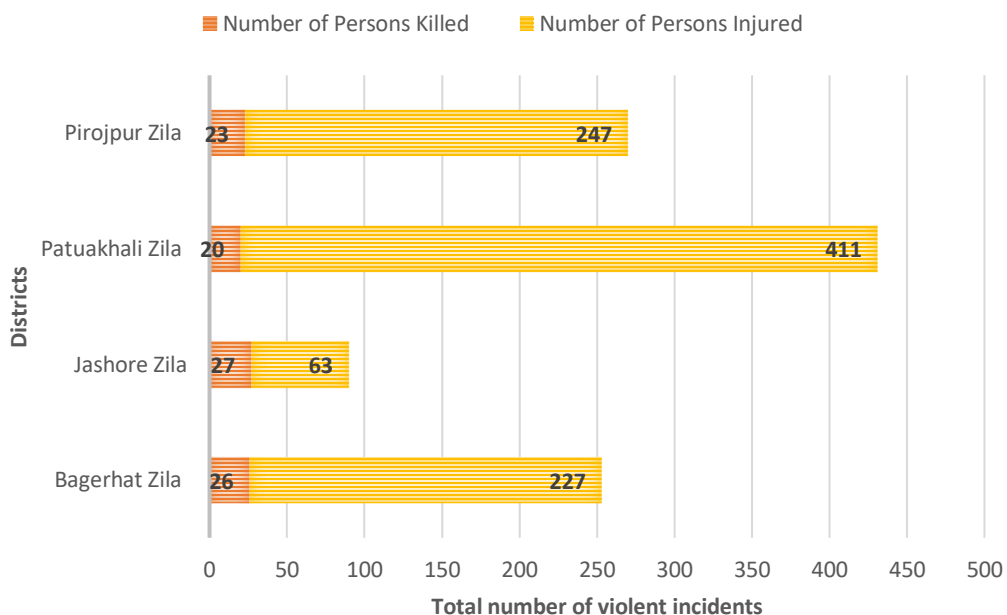
<sup>70</sup> Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS), Cited in: <http://www.bbs.gov.bd/site/page/47856ad0-7e1c-4aab-bd78-892733bc06eb/Population-and-Housing-Census> , Accessed on 2 October 2021.

**Table 5: Demographic information of the Selected Districts<sup>71</sup>**

District Name	Total Area (Square Km)	Total Population	Population Density (/km <sup>2</sup> )	Percentage of population living in urban areas
Bagerhat	3959.11	14,76,090	373	13.23
Pirojpur	1277.80	11,57,212	906	16.40
Jashore	2606.94	27,64,547	1061	18.58
Patuakhali	3221.31	15,35,834	477	13.14

The data of land resource-related violence of these districts have been weighted based on their population. Here, the metric of incidents per 100,000 population

has been used to negate any discrepancies due to the difference in population or area of the chosen districts.



**Figure 10** Number of Persons Killed or Injured in Land Resource Related Violence (non-weighted)

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

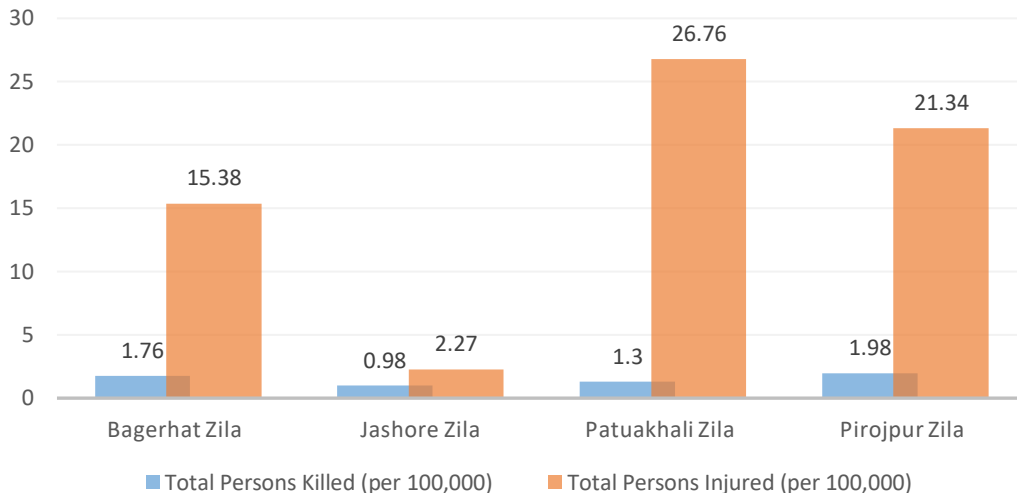


Figure 10 shows the total number of persons killed in the selected districts for land resource related violence from 1 January 2014 to 30 June 2021.<sup>72</sup> It can be seen that Bagerhat and Pirojpur have significant number of people killed relating to land resource related incidents compared to Jashore and Patuakhali. In Figure 11, the same data has been weighted based on numbers per 100,000 inhabitants. From this data, it can be seen that the propensity of deaths occurring as a result of land resource related violence is much higher for the districts which are greatly affected by water salinity (Bagerhat and Pirojpur), compared to less affected adjacent regions (Patuakhali and Jashore).

**Figure 11** Number of Persons Killed or Injured (Per 100,000 Inhabitants) in Land Resource Related Violence

The rate of Injury is higher in Patuakhali (26.76), followed by Pirojpur (21.31), Bagerhat (15.38) and the lowest is at Jashore (2.27). It should be noted here that, Patuakhali is adjacent to Pirojpur. Though it is not as affected by water salinity as Pirojpur, it is one of the top 8 districts affected by water salinity.

Figure 12 shows the number of land resource related violent incidents occurring in the selected districts every year from 2014 to 2020 (Figure 8, below). The numbers have been represented for incidents per 100,000 population. The frequency of incidents has been steadily increasing every year since 2014. The rate is higher in Bagerhat and Pirojpur than that

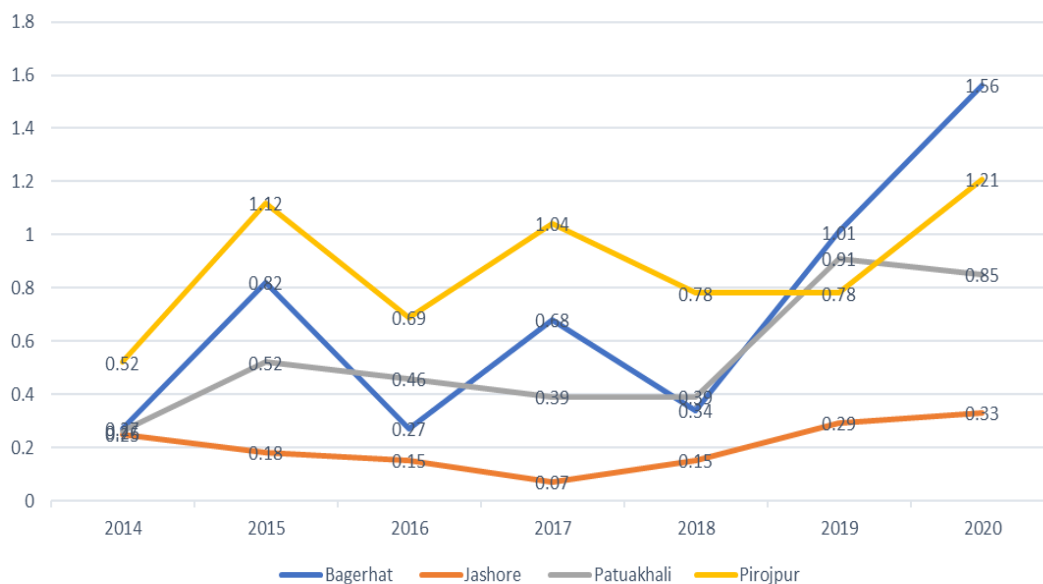
<sup>72</sup> Bangladesh Peace Observatory, 2021, Cited in: <http://peaceobservatory-cgs.org/#!/all-division-heat-map>, Accessed on October 3, 2021.

of Jashore and Patuakhali. Bagerhat has a higher risk of water salinity and has the highest number of violent incidents. On the other hand, districts that are not much affected by water salination (such as, Jashore and Patuakhali) do not have a much higher number of violent incidents. The upward moving trend of incidents is in sync with the increasing amount of water salinity occurring in the areas.

change. Climate change might be working as one of the catalysts for increased land resource related violence.

### Increase in Riverbank Erosion and Land Resource Related Violence

River erosion causes a section of the adjacent land of the river to be eroded. The rate of erosion varies at different times of the year and between different rivers. River erosion can, in some cases,



**Figure 12** Number of Violent Incidents Each Year (Per 100,000 Inhabitants)

Experts have identified climate change as one of the main catalysts behind the increase in water salinity.<sup>73</sup> From this comparison, it is evident that there seems to be a higher number of land resource violence in districts vulnerable to climate

erode several kilometres of land in a few hours. People can lose their homes and livelihoods without warning. As a result, inhabitants of the regions with a high risk of riverbank erosion live in constant fear of their belongings and livelihoods.<sup>74</sup> Riverbank erosion is a major concern for Bangladesh since it has around 300 major rivers.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>73</sup> Op. cit. Dasgupta, Susmita et. al. p.p. 5

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> M.K. Rahman et. al., "Studies on geo-morphology, ecology and fish production of the 92

According to Bangladesh Water Development Board (BWDB), Bogra, Sirajganj, Kurigram, Lalmonirhat, Gaibandha, Rangpur, Chandpur, Manikganj, Rajbari, Shariatpur, Faridpur, Tangail, Jamalpur, and the coastal areas of Patuakhali are the most erosion-prone areas of Bangladesh, with Sirajganj having the highest erosion rate in the country.<sup>76</sup>

The land-related violence data from Sirajganj is compared with the data from the adjacent district Pabna. Table 6 shows the demographic details of the selected districts. Both districts are demographically similar in composition. The difference between their percentage of inhabitants living in urban areas is really low. Because of the low difference in their demography, these two districts are compared with each other in this study.

**Table 6:** Demographic Comparison of the Selected Districts<sup>77</sup>

District Name	Total Area (Square Kilometres)	Total Population	Population Density (/km <sup>2</sup> )	Percentage of population living in urban areas
Pabna	2376.13	25,23,179	1062	15.36
Sirajganj	2402.05	30,97,489	1290	14.09

Land related violent incidents declined in 2015 and 2016 but increased from 2017-2019 and decreased again in 2020 (Figure 13). While we can see a gradual increase

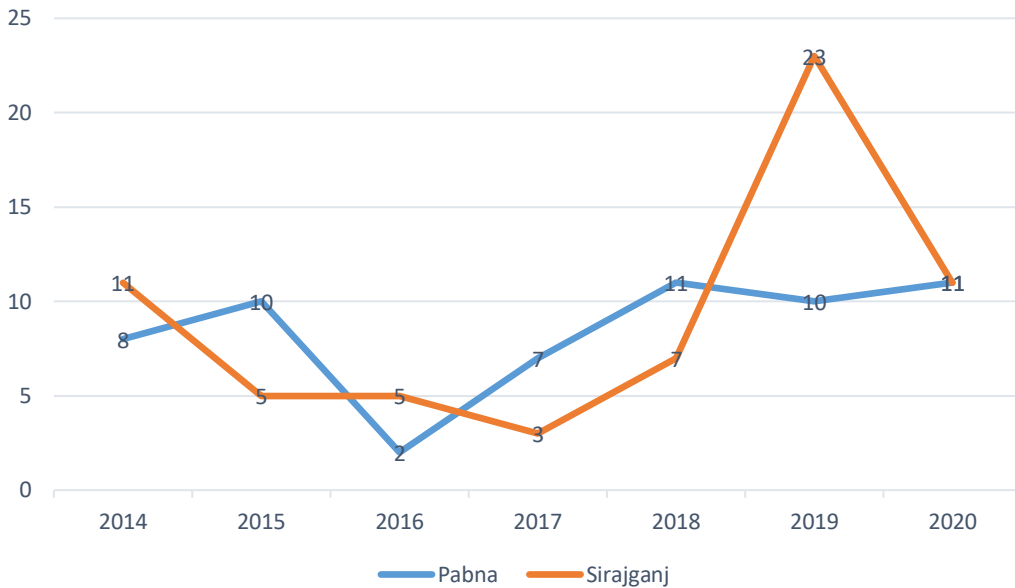
in Pabna, for Sirajganj, we can see a rapid increase from 2017 to 2020. Sirajganj (68) had more violent incidents than Pabna (59).

rivers of Rajshahi Division, Bangladesh”, *Bangladesh Journal of Fish Research*, 2003.

<sup>76</sup> Relifweb International, Cited in: <https://reliefweb.int/report/bangladesh/disaster->

*summary-sheet-bangladesh-riverbank-erosion-21-march-2019*, Accessed on : 4 October 2021.

<sup>77</sup> Op. cit. Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS) pp. 6



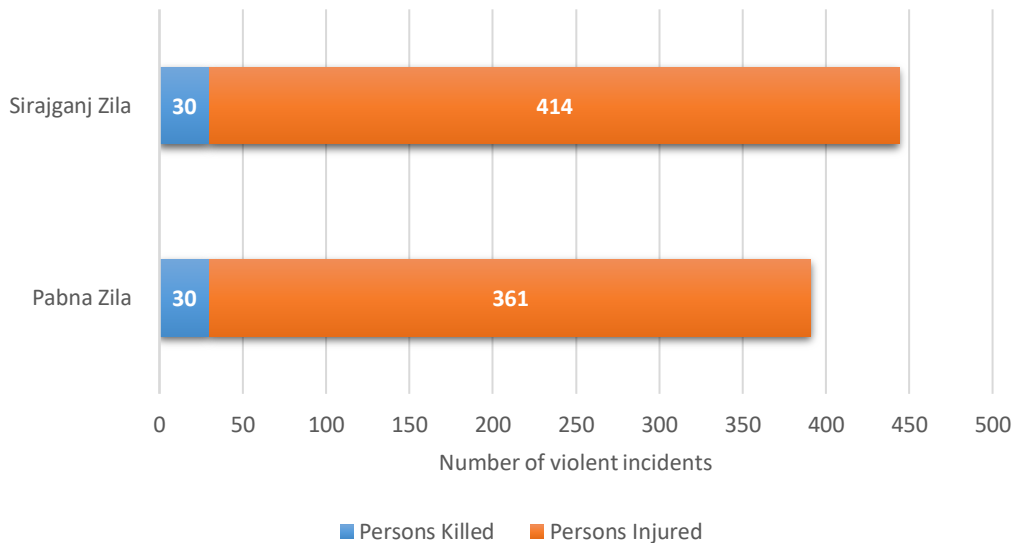
**Figure 13** Number of Land Resource Related Violent Incidents<sup>78</sup>

Looking at the number of persons killed and injured between 1 January 2014 to 30 June 2021 (Figure 14, below), it can be seen that the total number of persons killed in land resource related violence is the same for both districts. However, more people have been injured in Sirajganj (414) than in Pabna (361).<sup>79</sup>

In this comparative analysis between Pabna and Sirajganj, there is no significant difference between trends in land resource-related violence. Riverbank erosion, in this case, does not seem to be a major driving force behind the land resource related violence occurring in the two adjacent districts.

<sup>78</sup> Op. cit. Bangladesh Peace Observatory (BPO), pp. 6

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*



**Figure 14** Number of Persons Killed and Injured in Land Resource Related Violence

### Concluding Remarks

Climate change has become a significant concern all around the world. The climate is becoming unpredictable, consequently, it is putting strain on limited resources available for the people. Small and relatively underdeveloped nations like Bangladesh are more at risk because of their geographic location and limited resource availability. The effects of climate

change, like increased water salinity, already have adverse impacts in Bangladesh, which is causing increased land resource-related violence. Land resources are already strained in Bangladesh, and climate change is amplifying the problem. As more and more people vie for the ever-decreasing supply of land resources, the incidents of violence are also rising.

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## The Gendered face of land-related violence: Women’s Deprivation from Land Ownership

Faizah Sultana

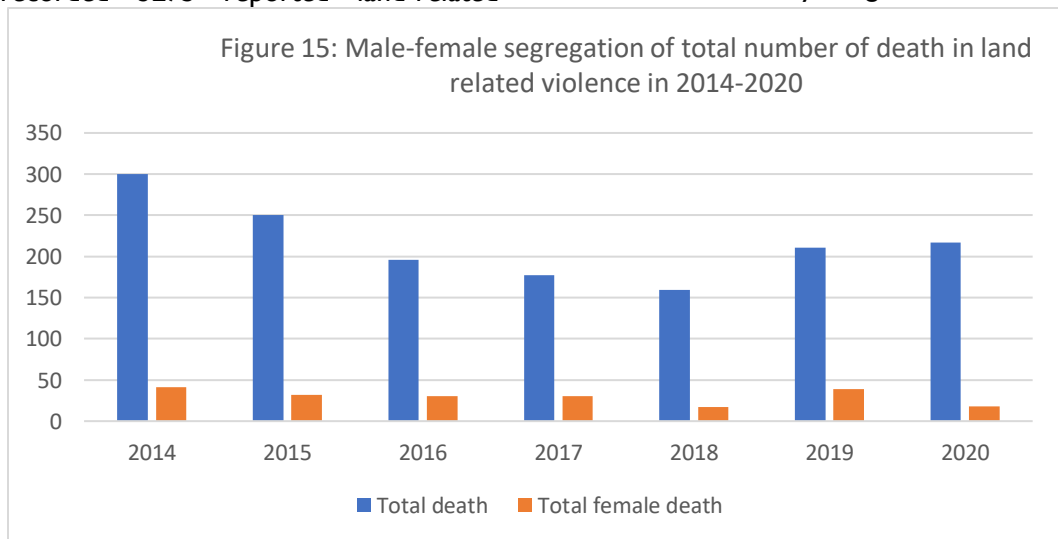
Tasnuva Tazrin

Land is often addressed as a feminine entity in literature. Owing to their reproductive capabilities, women are compared with nature’s regenerative and reproductive traits. But in reality, they have little influence on the production and use of the land due to many norms and traditions. Land, being the vital mode of production, its ownership is elusive to women; thus, their full potential of economic contribution is not met.

### Overview of BPO Data: Sex-segregation of the Human Impact of land-related Violence

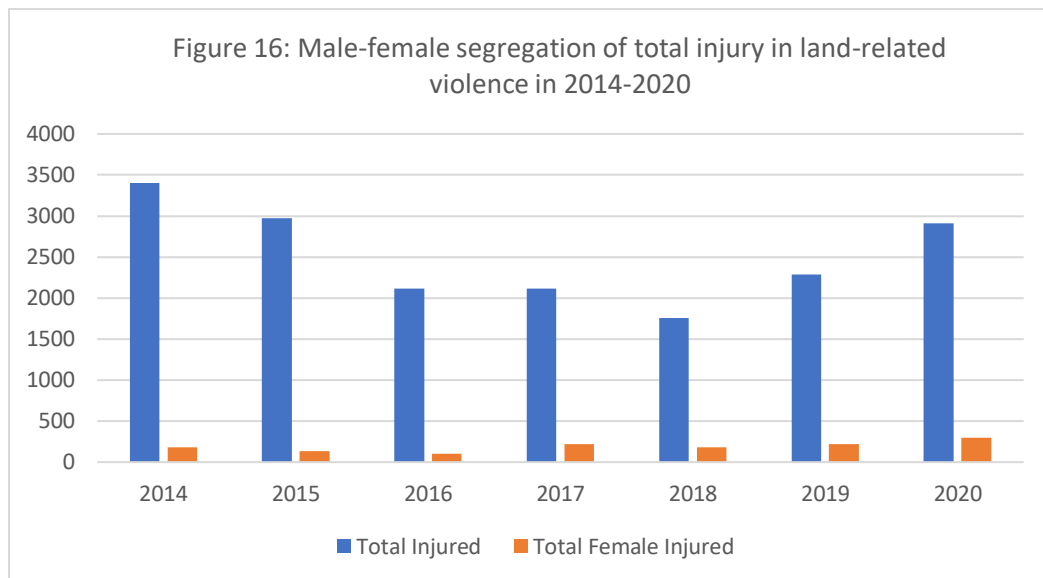
From 2014 to 2020, the BPO has recorded 3275 reported land-related

violent and non-violent incidents. In those cases, there were major casualties. Most of the injuries were due to the massive clashes. In a total number of 1073 of land-related clashes, there were 387 total deaths and 13101 injuries; the number of female deaths and injuries is 39 and 525, respectively. The total number of deaths and injuries in non-clash land-related violence is 1123 and 4459; the total number of female deaths and injuries in those incidents is 164 and 804. In Figures 1 and 2, the number of female casualties is shown compared to the total number of deaths. There are 146 bn mof assaults, destruction of property, fights, etc., where women were mainly targeted for their



land by their family members, locals, neighbors, etc. Some young girls were also targeted and endured acid attacks and

the family, combined with the higher access and traditional rights to resources, encourage them to protect the piece of



sexual assaults for the land dispute between rival families. Older women and widows are reportedly tortured by their sons, nephews and other relatives for the property.

In Figure 15 and 16, it can be observed that male injury and death count is much higher than that of female in the land-related violence. In any kind of violence, male involvement and casualties are usually higher. The underlying fact may be deeply entrenched in the social dynamics.<sup>80</sup> The socially attributed gender roles to men in

land they have. The comparatively lower number of deaths and injuries of women indicates that they participate less in violent confronts and reflects women’s lack of access, control, and ownership over those lands. This reflection is the fundamental idea of this write-up that aims to analyse the BPO data to find out the gender dimension of land-related violence with the help of existing information on the discriminatory practices towards women regarding land rights.

<sup>80</sup> Connell, W, R (2000), ‘Arms and the Man: using the new research on masculinity to understand violence and promote peace in the contemporary world’, Cited in- ‘Male Roles, Masculinities and Violence: A culture

of peace perspective’, UNESCO Publishing, Available at- <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000120683> , last accessed on- 23 January 2022.

## Status of women's land rights and ownership in Bangladesh: A global comparison

Women largely contribute to the agriculture sector by employing their labour, mostly in the low-income and lower-middle-income countries. Although, their contribution does not reflect the ownership of the lands in several regions. In Figure 17 below, the situation is summarised after an analysis based on 180 countries. In most countries, despite the presence of equal rights of women to inherit, own, control the land asset by law, the realisation is hindered due to the prevalence of customary practices.<sup>81</sup>

In Africa, customary laws regarding women's land ownership are ruled by the relations between men and women. The position in kinship and marital relations define the access of female members of the family to the land. A woman can farm or use land if consented by her husband, father, or male members of the family. The

ownership of land transmits to male heirs, and also the fate of the female members who depend on it. It is also difficult for a woman to own land because of social norms and stereotypes.<sup>82</sup>

In Asia, female family members are considered transient, and this status puts them in an inferior position to their male counterparts in the family. Women in this region are also trapped within the customs and social norms no matter how strong their legal rights to land ownership. Sometimes, their ownership reflects only on paper, and the decision-making power is exercised by the male members of the family.<sup>83</sup>

In Latin America, female land ownership rights are protected by law, and in some countries, vulnerable groups of women are being preferred in land distribution initiatives. There has been a positive change in the policy towards women's land rights, but often the customs and male dominance in the society get in the way.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> 'Realizing Women's Rights to Land and Other Productive Resources' (Second Edition), UNWomen & UNHR 2020, Cited in <https://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2020/10/realizing-womens-rights-to-land-and-other-productive-resources-2nd-edition>, Accessed on- 10 October 2021.

<sup>82</sup> Patricia Kameri-Mbote, 'The Land Has Its Owners! Gender Issues In Land Tenure Under Customary Law', UNDP-International Land Coalition Workshop: Land Rights for African Development: From Knowledge to Action Nairobi, October 31 – November 3, 2005, cited in <https://dlc.dlib.indiana.edu/dlc/bitstream/handle/105>

[35/191/Gender\\_customary.pdf?sequence=1](https://dlc.dlib.indiana.edu/dlc/bitstream/handle/10535/191/Gender_customary.pdf?sequence=1), Accessed on- 10 October 2021.

<sup>83</sup> Nitya Rao, 'Women's Access to Land: An Asian Perspective', UN Women In cooperation with FAO, IFAD and WFP Expert Group Meeting Enabling rural women's economic empowerment: institutions, opportunities and participation, Accra, Ghana 20-23 September 2011, cited in <https://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/csw/csw56/egm/Rao-EP-3-EGM-RVW-30Sep-2011.pdf>, Accessed on- 10 October 2021.

<sup>84</sup> Giovarelli, R, Wamalwa, B, and Hannay, L, USAID Issue Brief, 'Land Tenure, Property Rights, and Gender: Challenges and Approaches For Strengthening Women's Land Tenure And

World Bank and FAO observed positive changes in some countries in the western Balkan region after initiating waiver in the land registration fees for couples, engaging stakeholders to inspire people to register land in joint names and raising awareness about the importance of female land ownership.<sup>85</sup>

Private ownership of land in Bangladesh is unequal and gendered. Few people own the majority of the land, and the number of landless people is high and rising. Women hold only 4% of the rural agricultural land, less than 10% of women have their name on any kind of property documentation. Also, registering property under a woman's name is considered a way for tax evasion.<sup>86</sup> <sup>87</sup>Women's social and personal lives are largely regulated by

customs and religious laws. Having a social status inferior to men, female members of a family face unequal treatment.<sup>88</sup> Women can inherit property from their family members, but the distribution is not equal to men. In many cases, they do not claim their portion because of unawareness, or they may be forced to release their share with little or no compensation. In rural areas, this scenario is common and even worse.<sup>89</sup> <sup>90</sup> The female labour force participation rate in Bangladesh as of 2019 is 36.37%, and the majority of them are engaged in the agricultural sector. Their engagement is concentrated in a particular section of agriculture: livestock and poultry rearing and other non-farm activities. Lack of access and control over land bars their participation in mainstream agriculture.<sup>91</sup>

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Property Rights', July 2013, USAID, Cited in- [https://www.land-links.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/USAID\\_Land\\_Tenure\\_Gender\\_Brief\\_061214-1.pdf](https://www.land-links.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/USAID_Land_Tenure_Gender_Brief_061214-1.pdf), Accessed on- 10 October 2021.

<sup>85</sup> 'World Bank, FAO Aim to Boost Women's Land Ownership in Central Europe', 22 September 2014, cited in- <https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/feature/2014/09/22/world-bank-group-fao-aim-to-boost-women-land-ownership-in-central-europe>, Accessed on- 10 October 2021.

<sup>86</sup> USAID Country Profile: Property Rights and Resource Governance, Bangladesh', 2010, Cited in- [https://www.land-links.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/USAID\\_Land\\_Tenure\\_Bangladesh\\_Profile.pdf](https://www.land-links.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/USAID_Land_Tenure_Bangladesh_Profile.pdf), Accessed on- 10 October 2021.

<sup>87</sup> 'Rural women deprived of land ownership', The Daily Star, 5 May 2015, Cited in- <https://www.thedailystar.net/backpage/rural-women-deprived-land-ownership-80534>, Accessed on- 10 October 2021.

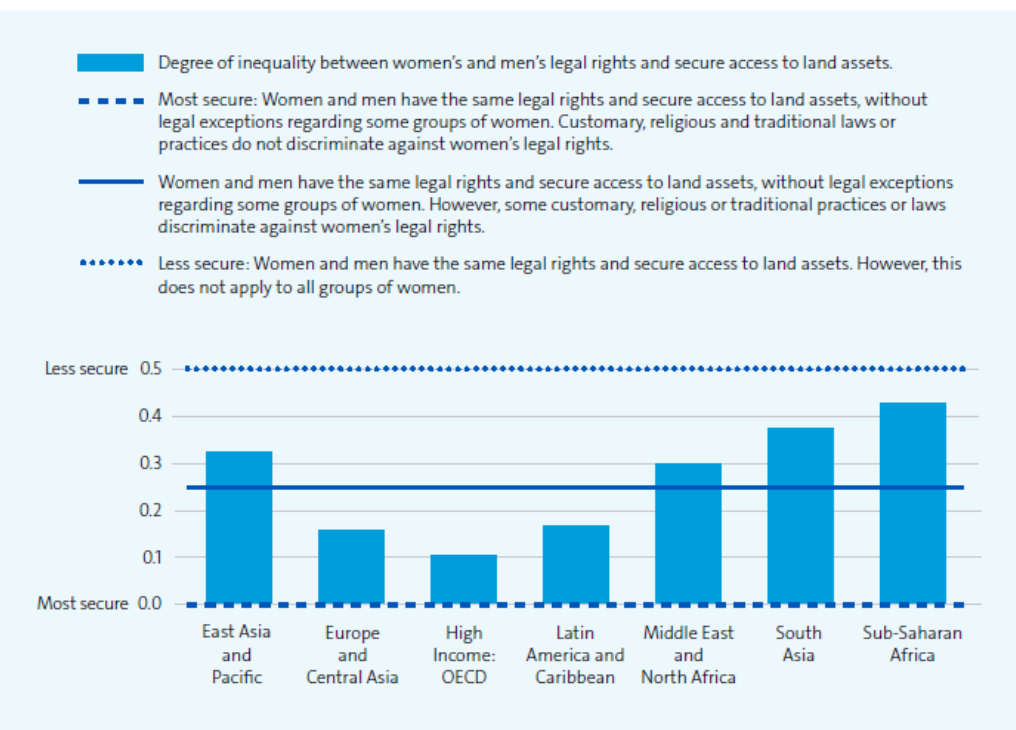
<sup>88</sup> R.J. Moni & S. Tamima, 'Scoping Study on Women and Land Rights in Bangladesh' ANGO, 2013, Cited in- <http://www.angoc.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/BD%20-%20Final%20scoping%20study%20on%20women.pdf>, Accessed on- 10 October 2021.

<sup>89</sup> 'Granted by The Quran, Denied by Men' The Daily Star, 8 March 2019, Cited in- <https://www.thedailystar.net/star-weekend/news/granted-the-quran-denied-men-1711828>, Accessed on- 10 October 2021.

<sup>90</sup> Jinnah. S.I.M, 'Land and Property Rights of Rural Women in Bangladesh', CDA, January 2013, Cited in- <https://www.ohchr.org/documents/hrbodies/cedaw/ruralwomen/cdabangladesh.pdf>, Accessed on- 10 October 2021.

<sup>91</sup> Rahman. I.R and Islam.R, 'Female labour force participation in Bangladesh: trends, drivers and barriers', I L O A s i a - P a c i f i c W o r k i n g P a p e r S e r i e s, October 2013, Cited in [https://www.ilo.org/newdelhi/whatwedo/publications/WCMS\\_250112/lang--en/index.htm](https://www.ilo.org/newdelhi/whatwedo/publications/WCMS_250112/lang--en/index.htm), Accessed on- 10 October 2021.

**Figure 17**  
**Level of Insecurity of Women’s Access to Land Assets, 2019**



Source: FAO, ‘Realising Women’s Rights To Land And Other Productive Resources’, Cited in- <https://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2020/10/realizing-womens-rights-to-land-and-other-productive-resources-2nd-edition>

### **Women’s land ownership in Bangladesh**

All citizens are granted equal rights by the constitution of Bangladesh. This does not apply to the matters of family issues like marriage, divorce, property inheritance, etc. these matters are regulated by religious laws. In Bangladesh, 90% of the population is Muslim, so the Muslim Shariah law regulates women’s rights to property inheritance. According to

Shariah Law, a woman can own land through inheritance, purchase or gifts. Women inheritance depend on several factors; and in each instance, they do not get an equal share as their male counterparts. For a detailed distribution of Muslim regulations of property distribution, see the box below. According to Hindu Women’s Right to Property Act, 1937, a woman will get the same share as a son of a deceased husband; the same will

be applicable to the wives of a polygamous marriage. As per Hindu Law, unmarried daughters and married daughters with the son will receive portions from the father's property, but married daughters who pass

reproductive age and widows without a son will not get any shares. The Christian Law allows equal inheritance between sons and daughters.<sup>92</sup>

Inheritor	Property owned by	Share of property
Daughter (one daughter and no son)	Father	1/2
Daughter (more than one and no son)	Father	2/3
Daughter (with son)	Father	Residuary, one daughter gets 1/2 of one son
Mother (If there is grandson)	Son	1/6
Mother (If there is no grandson)	Son	1/3
Wife (If there is no son)	Husband	1/4
Wife (If there is son)	Husband	1/8
Half-sister from the mother's side (one only and there is no descendants and parents of the deceased)	Brother	1/6
Sister (more than one and there is no descendants and parents of the deceased)	Brother	All get 1/3 of the property
Uterine sister (one only and there is no descendants and parents of the deceased)	Brother	1/2
Uterine sister (more than one and there is no descendants and parents of the deceased)	Bother	1/3

\*Source: 'The right of women in property sharing in Bangladesh: Can the Islamic inheritance system eliminate discrimination?' Cited in- <https://springerplus.springeropen.com/articles/10.1186/s40064-016-3347-2>

### Women's recognition in legal frameworks in Bangladesh

As the Shariah law regulates personal life, the national legal frameworks have little left to do in terms of inheritance. Although women have the equal constitutional right of property to acquire, hold, transfer or otherwise dispose off property, it does not reflect in real life. There are discriminatory clauses in the government rules too. In the case of leasing out *Khas* land (State-owned land), joint ownership

in the name of the husband and wife is acknowledged, but without an able son, divorced or widowed women would not be eligible for allocation; it is the same in case of a single woman. Similar practices are noticeable in some other government projects like Cluster village programme and Char Development and Settlement Project. National Women Development Policy, from time to time, addressed the issue of full control of women over property which she acquired by her own

<sup>92</sup> 'Gender and Land Rights Database', FAO, Cited in- <http://www.fao.org/gender-landrights-database/country-profiles/countries-list/national->

[legal-framework/en/?country\\_iso3=BGD](http://www.fao.org/gender-landrights-database/country-profiles/countries-list/national-legal-framework/en/?country_iso3=BGD) , Accessed on- 10 October 2021.

earnings (although the issue of equal inheritance was ignored in this policy), but some groups refuted it as conflicting with religious laws.<sup>93</sup>

Equal land rights of women and effective access and control, power over land and other resources is essential for the development and alleviation of poverty. Women's connection with land and

agriculture is deep. Significant female engagement in the agriculture process is evident in rural areas. Some studies show that if women are responsible for the decision-making of family resources, the outcome is comparatively better for the family members. Despite the good that can come from equal land rights, the discussion above suggests that a woman in Bangladesh faces discrimination in terms of land possession.

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<sup>93</sup> R.J. Moni & S. Tamima, 'Scoping Study on Women and Land Rights in Bangladesh' ANGOC, 2013, Cited in- <http://www.angoc.org/wp->

[content/uploads/2014/07/BD%20-%20Final%20scoping%20study%20on%20women.pdf](http://www.angoc.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/BD%20-%20Final%20scoping%20study%20on%20women.pdf), Accessed on- 10 October 2021.

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## Annex:

Some definitional clarification according to BPO Codebook.

**Gunfight.** Shootout between the law enforcement agencies and criminals, militants, or other irregular forces, including amongst the latter, that does not match the definition of a non-state armed group.

**Clash.** Two-sided violence between groups, outside of the context of war or insurgency. *Example: supporters of rival political parties fight each other.*

**Assault.** One-sided violence by an individual or small group against another individual or small group. *Example: stabbing, shooting of someone by a perpetrator*

**Fight.** Two-sided violence between individuals or small groups. *Example: brawl between 3-4 people.*

**Sexual assault.** One-sided sexual violence, such as rape or attempted rape, by an individual or small group against another individual or small group.

**Destruction of property.** One-sided violence perpetrated with the intent of damaging property. *Examples: vandalism, arson.*

**Mob violence (large group assault).** One-sided violence by a mob or large group against an individual or a comparatively small and/or defenseless group. *Examples: lynching of a thief, looting of shops and houses owned by a religious minority*



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