Environmental Movement and the Conservation of Forest: a Case Study on Ratargul Swamp Forest of Sylhet, Bangladesh

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ABSTRACT

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Aims: The aim of this paper is to explore and analyze the scope and nature of environmental movement that may shape the existing management.

Study design: This paper is a qualitative study and based on empirical research. It focuses on the impact of environmental movements around Ratargul Swamp Forest

Place and Duration of Study: This research is done around the Ratargul Swamp Forest located in on Sylhet district of Bangladesh. The study period was from January 2016 to November 2017.

Methodology:For the primary data collection, 47 respondents were selected by using purposive sampling on the basis of their level of involvement. Data was collected from local people, environmental groups and the forest department. Main data collection methods were via key informant interview, in-depth interview, case study, focus group discussion and archival research.

Results: People of Ratargul village are now more aware about the harmful activities of uncontrolled tourism while the Forest Department brings new management policies and practices in response to the local and civil pressure. It is also found that Climate Resilient Ecosystem Livelihoods (CREL) project in Bangladesh actually works to negate the strength of the environmental movement rather than as a conservation proponent. The Forest Department is successful to implement their projects due to a lack of coordination between local activists. According to the respondents, 31.1% mark this movement as successful, 23.4% as completely failure and while remaining 44.4% thinks that it is partially successful. **Conclusion:**A strong, integrated, coordinated and organized form of resistance or movement is needed to break up the hegemony of Forest Department that may save the Ratargul Swamp Forest from ongoing damage.

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18 Keywords: Environmental organizations, neoliberalism, CREL, sustainable development.

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21 1. INTRODUCTION

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Ratargul Swamp Forest of Sylhet District, Bangladesh, is one of the 22 fresh water swamp
 forests in the world (Al-Hadi, 2016).Before 2012, it was almost unknown to the general public
 and even the Forest Department of Bangladesh was also unaware about its special
 characteristics and the potentials. After 27th September 2012, Anis Mahmud's picture

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published by the Daily ProthomAlo_(The Daily Prothom_Alo, 2012: 01), significant numbers of 27 28 tourists started to visit this forest to enjoy its natural beauty. This led to a number of issues coming to the fore, which included the forest department levying gate fees as a new way to 29 30 increase their income, uncontrolled and unregulated tourism activities, as well as significant 31 increase of tree logging. In addition, mismanagement by the forest department also attracted 32 the attention of civil society group, they call and demonstrate different agitation against Forest department and seek attention from political and government personnel which we 33 34 framed here as environmental movements that engage in persuasion of saving Ratargul 35 Swamp forest. Environmental activists and civil society have noted these new issues are linked with a new mode of forest expropriation. It was on the 22nd of October 2012, when a 36 group of concerned citizens protested by advocating to increase awareness about the new 37 38 activities of forest department like building 'watch Tower' in the name of conservation of this forest. They formed and involved a number of environmental groups to raise awareness 39 40 about the issues facing the forest. As a response to these protests, government for the very 41 first time invitea new management system to the Ratargul Swamp Forest that is CREL 42 (Climate- Resilient Ecosystems and Livelihood) project, funded by USAID and implemented 43 by Winrock International, as an initiative to conserve the forest environment (USAID, 2016). 44 But the environmentalists rejected this management initiative, because of previous 45 experiences from co-management projects in other forested areas of Bangladesh, such as 46 the experiences of Nishorgo and IPAC in Lawachara National Park, Rema-Kalenga Wildlife 47 Sanctuary and Satchari National Park where the initiatives were very much criticized by the 48 both activists (some activists are also actively participated in this movement) and academics. 49 The CREL authorities and CREL committee view this type of management strategy as a big 50 success, whereas most of the local people and activists perceive it as a government's neo-51 liberal strategy that aim to weaken the local environmental movement and to preserve the 52 status quo. Nevertheless, Government of Bangladesh implemented CREL project in 2013. 53 CREL started their activities with the full support and assistance from the forest department 54 and they left by the 2018 dividing local and forest people into different groups (CREL people, 55 anti-CREL people, Skeptics, local environmentalists) kicking out the civil society based 56 environmentalists group from the scene.

57 This paper is an effort to investigate the scope and nature of the local environmental 58 movement regarding Ratargul Swamp Forest that shape existing management practices. It 59 shed lights on the nature of organizations, forms, process and strategies of the 60 environmental movement around Ratargul Swamp Forest. It aims to know the actions, 61 reactions and negotiations among different stakeholders during the Ratargul protection 62 movement.

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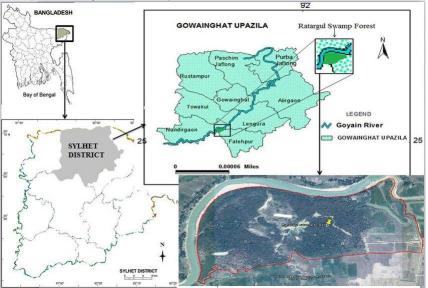
2. MATERIAL AND METHODS

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67 2.1 Study area and Population

68 Ratargul is a freshwater swamp forest situated at Fotehpur union under Gwainghatupazilla in Sylhet District, Bangladesh. It situated at latitude 25°00.025'N and longitude 91°58.180'E.29. 69 70 It contains total 504.50 acres of forest area which was announced as a "Special Biodiversity Conservation Area" by the People's Republic of Bangladesh on 31/05/2015. The type of 71 72 ecotourism going on Ratargul called 'community based ecotourism' (Jahan and Akhter, 2018:3). Ratargul swamp forest is locally known as 'The Sundarbans of Sylhet'. The origin, 73 74 development and existence of Ratargul swamp forest is totally water based. The source of 75 this water is Chengerkhal river. Biodiversity of Ratargul swamp forest contains 73 species of 76 trees, 26 species of mammals, 20 species of reptiles, 175 species of birds, 9 species of amphibian (Choudhury et al, 2004: 6-7) and 94 species of fishes among which 63 are 77

78 survived and 28 species are threatened (Islam et al, 2016). It also contained around 73 79 species of tree (Choudhury et al., 2004).



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Fig. 1. Map of Ratargul Swamp Forest (Islam, et. al., 2016: 52)

84 There are 9 villages located around Ratargul Swamp Forest, consists of 1321 families and 8267 people Among them 22 people are purposively selected for IDI and Case study on the 85 basis of their level of involvement to the movement. 86

87 This study focused on the native people's involvement in local environmental movements (activities are human chain, hunger strike, meeting, seminar, tree bagging, mass-email send, 88 89 oushodisnan (iconic bath with nim tree for mental heeling, etc.)) related to the Ratargul Swamp Forest.Further key informants included environmentalists (n=7)of various 90 organizations (i.e.BangladeshPoribeshbadiAndolone (BAPA), RatargulJolarbonSongrokkhon 91 92 Committee (RJSC), Bhoomishontan Bangladesh (BB), RatargulShobujBiplobShomity (RSBS), Green Explore Society (GES), Pradhikar, and Bangladesh Environmental Lawyers 93 94 Association (BELA), are interviewed. Besides KII we conducted in-depth interviews and case studies of 11 activists from different organizations, government employees(n=4), and 95 academics (n=3) who are involved or respond to the movements. In total 47 respondents 96 97 were purposively selected for the primary data collection.

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99 2.3 Methods and tools of data collection

The study period was from January 2016 to November 2017. Data were collected via 25 in-100 101 depth interviews (IDI) and 7 key informant interview scheduled with a checklist, conducting 102 10case study and 2 focus group discussions are discussed. Observation is mainly used for cross-check the information and archival research (to collect news related to the movement 103 104 regarding Ratargul Swamp Forest, online activities of the respondents and movements 105 organizations during the movement period and recent time are observed to check and collect data validity) also being used for this study. 106

107 To elucidate the environment in which the movements operate, aspects related to 108 organizations, forms, strategies and process, feelings of the activists, and their expressions 109 regarding protests activities and government decisions about the forest are the subject of 110 investigation.

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112 **2.4 Data analysis**

Data are analyzed by following 'Grounded-theory approach'. Data analyzed by sorting them according to the theme and objectives of the study and presented by using MS word. Case studies and focus group discussions were recorded in both notebook and audio recorder and then transcribe verbatim to analyze by following test method. Archival data also used and interpreted.

118 **2.5 Ethical considerations**

All participants were selected fairly. An adequate, complete and understandable written consent form was approved by the respondents. Privacy of the data was highly protected and respondents had their right to ask any kinds of question regarding the research. There was written agreement with the patronizer of the research.

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124 3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

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126 **3.1 Organizations, Forms, Strategies and Process of the Movement**

127 In our study period we find that all the seven organizations (local and national) work on a 128 volunteer basis. The movement was started with the organizations like Bangladesh 129 PoribeshbadiAndolone (BAPA), Green Explore Society (GES), Pradhikar, and Bangladesh 130 Environmental Lawyers Association (BELA). At the beginning, it was limited within the 131 member of civil society. Later they included local people and then some new organizations 132 were formed which are RatargulJolarbonSongrokkhon Committee (RJSC), Bhoomishontan 133 Bangladesh (BB) and RatargulShobujBiplobShomity(RSBS). These organizations included 134 both local people and environmentalists to reach their goals to conserve Ratargul Swamp 135 Forest.

136 The first step of the movement was some meeting and seminars arranged by BAPA, BELA 137 and later they include other environmental organizations GES and Pradhikar to increase 138 their support. But they feel that these were not enough until they include the local people 139 who are actual beneficiaries of the forest. RatargulJolabonSongrokkhon Committee and 140 RatargulShobujBiplobShomity were formed when local people become fell the importance of 141 the conservation of the forest and involved directly. RatargulJolarbanSongrokkhoneNagorikUddog(online public group in Facebook, 1261 142 143 members) and Bhoomishontan Bangladesh Group (Followed by 1890 peoples) were formed 144 as online public group in Facebook created to make more people aware about this as 145 nowadays most of the people use internet. They share updates of their activities, feelings, 146 invite people to join with them, spread awareness building slogan and pictures regarding 147 Ratargul Swamp Forest. They also use awareness stickers on their personal vehicles, 148 publish calendars and shopping bags using slogans like, 'Save Ratargul, Save Life', 'keep 149 forest like what it is', 'Save Ratargul, Give Tree Begs', 'Stop This Demons, Save Ratargul', 150 etc. to raise awareness and gather support.

151 First step for environmental movement regarding Ratargul swamp forest was against the 152 leasing system of its water reservoir, by arranging a village citizen meeting. One of the main 153 focuses of the protests of the environmental activists was to stop construction of watch 154 tower. They even questioned the forest department about their consciousness to protect the 155 land of the forest. They also demand for controlling the flux of tourists in a planned way into 156 the forest by implementing restricted tourism, rescue the land seized by the local people, 157 stop the leasing system of the forest area, stop any kinds of construction in the forest area, 158 restrict the entry of engine boats and using multiple routs to visit the forest, identify core and 159 buffer zone of the forest and restrict the core zone from tourism to protect the animals, stop 160 illegal fishing and poisoning for the purpose of catching fish, follow international ecotourism 161 policy to conserve this special forest from waste thrown by the tourists and their environment 162 unfriendly activities like throwing stone to the forest animals, shouting, playing music's at a

163 high volume, implement 'equal distribution on the basis of co-operation' instead of 164 implementing any exported management project. Environmental activists continued peaceful protests against governments several decisions regarding this forest. Environmental 165 166 organizations continued their peaceful protests by arranging human chain, hunger strike, 167 meeting, seminar, tree begging, mass-email and mass-application send to the forest 168 department and Ministry of forestry of Bangladesh government, etc. They also arranged an 169 iconic bath for then the Minister of the ministry of environment and forest to change the 170 attitude of government towards Ratargul water bodies. But being continuously rejected by 171 government and Forest Department to accept their claims, they become hopeless and their 172 force of activity had slowed down gradually. On the year 2016, few organizations are found 173 active. They arranged seminar, press conference, 'eco-tour' with the purpose of providing 174 their members a practical idea regarding the conservation and strategy of ecotourism, 175 wastage collection program to clean the forest and make local people aware about this, and 176 also an awareness program for the boatman about how they can conserve the forest and 177 guide tourists in a conservative way.

178 Environmental activists started to visit that place again and again to see its condition and try 179 to make local people who are related to this forest aware about its importance and try to 180 build awareness on over-using the forest. In most of the cases, they bear the expenses 181 related to activism, refusing grants from the wealthy agents. Moreover, some group's 182 activism are found in online. On every Friday, activists made a visit in Ratargul Swamp 183 Forest and they clean the garbage thrown by the tourists. When local people become 184 assured about their modest feelings for the forest, they extended their helping hand to them. 185 Local people joined the movement by participating in different protest activities like human 186 chain in front of Sylhet Central ShohidMinar (Martyar Tomb), cordoned the office of bit officer 187 in the Ratargul swamp forest and divisional forest officer near Kin Bridge, tree-begging 188 program of Bhoomishontan Bangladesh and also helped by providing bamboos and other 189 stuffs to plant the collected trees to the nearby area of the forest. They also participate to the garbage collection activities being trained by movement organizer. Boatman's, who guided 190 191 tourists to the forest with their boat, became aware about throwing wastes to the water and 192 they started to collect the wastes from water and keep it in their boat. Most importantly, they 193 begin questioning on the activities of the Forest Department.

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196 3.2 Reactions and Negotiations

197 From the beginning, forest department has been denying the claims of activists. Forest 198 Department implement a project of 536 lakh BDT most of which are spent for the 199 construction of watch tower, bit office, park office, kitchen for tourists rest house, computer, 200 TV, solar panel and AC. It also includes CNG gas, engine boats and engine driven local 201 boats. In front of continuous resistance of environmental organizations, they completed the 202 construction of watch tower in the middle of the forest and handed over the management of 203 the forest to the Winrock International to implement CREL project. It increased the flow of the movement. In response, Forest Department initially offers money/bribe to the protesters 204 205 but failed and then they introduce co-management plan under CREL project in the name of 206 Ratargul Development in September 2015. CREL is a market-based program. It was a five 207 year plan which work for making an understanding between government and local people. 208 CREL authority forms 10 Village Conservation Group, 1 People Forum, 1 co-management 209 committee and a co-management council. CREL work in Ratargul swamp forest from 210 September 2015 to October 2017. Within this time they tried to convince the local people 211 and divert them from environmental movement to co-management by showing financial 212 facilities. Now, the local people are split between CMC and not CMC, where majority are 213 CMC supporters.

214 Before CREL project started their work in Ratargul, villagers of Ratargul worked 215 spontaneously for the conservation of the forest when inhabitants of other villages opposed them. But after CREL project being implemented in 10 villages of that area; nine villagers joint at the beginning then Ratargul village. CREL first gathered people from other villages then Ratargul and include local powerful elites to their committees who can practice power over the villagers. They also extend financial help to the people which diverted few people from the movement. CREL and forest department arranged meetings with local people to make them understood about the importance of co-management.

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223 It took two years to manage desired members from Ratargul village to complete the co-224 management committee. Getting continuous pressures and temptations villagers became 225 confused and divided into different groups. Some people, who opposed to the co-226 management, also conceived jail for the 'false' case filed by forest department. A group of 227 people have changed their role from the movement to CREL and even some are working for 228 both sides. Everything is now under control of CREL. 'Voice of the people', are not heard 229 any more and their voices got down in front of the shouting of CREL supporters. Continuous 230 rejection of environmentalist's demands throw local people in hopelessness; they believe, it 231 might be better for the forest if they stay away from any protests activity. Even 23.4% of 232 them think that the movement is completely a failure where 29.8% and 42.6% of respondent 233 call it respectively successful and partially successful. Though they are disappointed but they 234 are not totally stopped. Awareness activities are still in the field.

In 2017, Besides CREL, Forest Department come with a new plan entitled "Sustainable Forestry and Livelihood" (SUFAL) where some strategies are mentioned regarding tourists visits, routs, watch tower, core and buffer zone demarcation. Forest Department claims, all of these strategies are adopted from the proposals of environmental activists and from the opinions of local people but activities and local people are not agreed with them.

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241 4. CONCLUSION

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243 There are a number of examples those are successful to protect the environment. As an 244 example "the Phulbari resistance" in Borogram, Phulbari sub-districts (upazilla), Bangladesh, 245 can be named. This resistance was started from the estimation of the economic loss of the 246 country and the environmental threat to rivers and the water supply caused due to the 247 mining project in Phulbari. This protest was successful and they halt the mining project 248 (Nuremowla, 2016:02). The twinge history of environmental movement in Ratargul is experienced directly by local people, Government/Forest Department and it has also impact 249 250 on the management of swamp forest. By deploying CREL and SUFAL projects Forest 251 Department tries to control the movements and cultivates local people's perceptions towards 252 Ratargul Swamp Forest and retains the control over the forest. These (like other USAID 253 projects MACH, Nishorgo, IPAC) CREL and SUFAL projects are nothing but new in forms 254 and objectives. They just divide people and create supporters and clients from the protesters 255 and manage the existing expropriation and appropriation of profit maximization from the 256 forest instead of protecting. So the activities can be well described by a widespread 257 Vietnamese saying that these initiatives are as 'old wine in new bottles' (McElwee, 2012: 258 422). It is revealed that Forest Department is successful due to lack of integration and 259 coordination between the activists. Thus a strong, integrated, coordinated and organized 260 form of resistance or movement is needed to shatter the hegemony of Forest Department 261 that may save the Ratargul Swamp Forest from ongoing damage.

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278 COMPETING INTERESTS

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Authors have declared that no competing interests exist.

282 AUTHORS' CONTRIBUTIONS

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This work was carried out in collaboration between both authors. Author KMJ designed the study, wrote the protocol, managed the literature searches and wrote the first draft of the manuscript. Author AFMZ has assisted to design the research tools making, data analysis and supervised the whole work. Both authors read and approved the final manuscript.

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