

# **Some Social and Economic Aspects of Land Transfer in Bangladesh, 1946-1974 : A Case Study of Two Villages of Dhaka**

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Undoubtedly, the economy of Bangladesh is based on land and any change in the proprietorship of land has had socio-economic impact on the life of its inhabitants. In fact, the change in the ownership of land automatically brings changes in every spheres of life. Because land in Bangladesh is not only an index of wealth, but also it is considered to be the base of personal strength and social prestige of an individual in the society. The present study aims at explaining some social and economic aspects of land transfer.<sup>1</sup> A study on one or two villages out of sixty five thousand villages of Bangladesh does not in any way mean generalization. Only to avoid the hazard of superfi-

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ality of a broad and general study, the proposed research has been concentrated in only two selected villages of Dhamrai of Dhaks district. The period of this study has been selected from 1946 to 1974. The justification of the beginning and terminal dates is that the year 1946 witnessed political turmoil in Bengal which had impact on land transfer and the year 1974 is unique as regards large scale land transfer through post independence difficulties.

This study is a combination of both fundamental and empirical method of investigation. The quantitative data of land transfer of Islampur and Pathantola have been collected from the vast mass of dossier preserved in the Land Registration Office of Dhaka and Savar. Along with these first-hand data, field interviews through a set of general and structured questionnaire have been taken in order to understand the real problem of land transfer.

Dhamrai *Upazilla* is bounded by the district of Mymensingh on the north, Savar *Upazilla* on the east, the river Dhaleswari on the south, and Saturia *Upazilla* on the west.

Dhamrai is 117 square miles in area and is situated near the Banshi river. The proposed study villages are Islampur and Pathantola which are also situated in the vicinity of the Banshi river being the main source of water supply.<sup>2</sup> The characteristic of the villages is the increasing fragmentation of holdings arising from the ancient idea of fair shares, when each member of the village could expect to have some of each kind land. Besides this, the law of inheritance has made the fragmentation

of holdings progressively worse.

The causes of land transfer in the rural areas of Bangladesh are many. And these causes are wrapped round with the socio-economic condition of the individual and also with the political and economic condition prevalent in the country. Before going into the detail of the causes of land transfer, it is necessary to identify the forms of land transfer that this study intends to cover. In Bangladesh there are many forms of land transfer i. e., sale, mortgage and gift etc. But every transfer of land does not introduce permanent change and every transfer does not mean change of productive asset in perpetuity. In this study sale of land has been given utmost priority of all transfers. Next to sale, mortgage forms an important instrument of land transfer. Three forms of mortgage are well-known in Bangladesh, these are (a) simple mortgage, (b) mortgage by conditional sale and (c) Usufructuary mortgage. These mortgages are locally called as *Baundhaki-Khat*, *Khat Kabala* and *Khai-Khalasi*. Sale in a large number of cases become unavoidable, and the tendency is strengthened in view of the increasing aversion of people to mortgage as a safe investment. Because laws regarding mortgage are not favourable to mortgagor and they rely more on sales than on mortgages.<sup>3</sup> Another important instrument of land transfer is gift. Transfer of land by way of gift does not initiate any change in landholding structure, because all gifts are performed within the family members. In the study villages of Islampur and Pathantola there is no instance of gift performed in two separate families. To avoid the hazard of future family disputes, sometime

the father of a family prefers to distribute the legal shares of his sons and daughters by way of gift, which in consequence creates fragmentation of land. Transfer of land by way of exchange or lease does not account for the bulk or at any rate a significant portion of the whole transfer of the study villages. However, in this study emphasis has been given on sale and mortgage which are the most important instruments of land transfer. The *benami* transactions of landed property of these villages have been kept out of the arena of this study.

The causes of land transfer as mentioned in the deed are not always correct<sup>4</sup>. The deed writers usually mention causes that enable the party to justify their transfers necessary. The causes of land transfer usually mentioned in the deeds are (a) to repay loans ; (b) to buy lands in advantageous position ; and (c) to maintain the daily household expenditure. Large number of sale of land for indebtedness (as it is written in the deed of transfer) has forced us to think of the existence of traditional moneylending system. Because is earlier time credit transaction had ultimately resulted is alienation of landed property from the debtors to the creditors<sup>5</sup>. But the problem of rural indebtedness is not now so acute, as it had been earlier. The professional money lenders have now reduced and decreased in importance and money inding is not now the principal source of income to those who lend it. So the transfer of lands for indebtedness do not account for the bulk or at any rate a significant proportion of all transfers. Besides this, the facilities of loan offered by the govern-

ment agencies have also put check on the frequent money-lending system.

Land transfer for the maintenance of family is frequent among the people of the study villages. It is more frequent among the agriculturists than the service holders. Service holders of the study villages control 41% of the total land, where the agriculturists hold only 25% of the total land. The limitation of job opportunities and the decrease of agricultural land are responsible for this situation. This situation has reduced the low income people to poverty and thereby forced them to sale their lands at the last resort to save their lives. Such sales amounts to 62.32% of the total sale of lands. The cause of sale of lands for buying new lands adjacent to home is rather a plea for selling lands than actual. The deed writers usually prefer this plea to show the authority that the transfer is necessary and hereby prove it justified. Sometimes the landholders prefer to keep their lands nearer to his residence for their direct control and inspection on it. Because lands lying too far from their residence result excessive cost of production. The volume of lands transferred under this plea is negligible.

Sometimes political cause expedites land transfer in a considerable degree. The communal riots of 1940s and the partition of British India led to considerable migration of both landholders and landless between East and West Bengal<sup>6</sup>. The Muslim landholders interest which was directed against the Hindu Zamindars resulted in the abolition of the Zamindari system through the enactment of the East Bengal State Acquisition Act of

1950<sup>7</sup>. Here Sapan Adnan's case study provides us with interesting factor of land transfer. With the partition of India in 1947 and after the enactment of the East Bengal State Acquisition Act of 1950, many Hindu leaseholders and Zamindars felt insecure in East Pakistan and migrated to West Bengal. Much of the lands abandoned by the Hindus during this time were transferred to the Muslim landholders and the peasantry "either under condition of duress and give any price or through forcible occupation"<sup>8</sup>. Sapan Adnan's study on the village Radheshyampur in Rangpur concludes remarking that "the 1940 Land Records (Cadastral Survey) show all title and leaseholders as Hindu while a village study carried out in 1947 found all proprietors in the village to be Muslims"<sup>9</sup>. The trend of such land transfer continued almost unabated upto 1970. But it is difficult to ascertain the volume of lands transferred for such reason by the Hindus who have evacuated these villages. But the rate of reduction of the minority population of this region amply proves this idea to a correct assumption. It is found in a comparative study of the two successive censuses of 1951 and 1961 that the total population of the minority section remained almost static.

It appears from the table that majority of the households (62%) mentioned that they sold lands to meet the daily household expenditure. 'To repay loan' 'to meet the expenditure on social functions specially marriage ceremony of sons and daughters' and 'to purchase land' are the other prominent causes of selling lands. It can be clearly indicated from the above

Table 1 : Population Growth of Savar Upazila 1951-1961

All Religions		Muslim		Caste		Hindu	Schedule	Caste
1951	1961	1951	1961	1951	1961	1961	1951	1961
146941	177852	103754	134035	20156	20547	20547	23031	23449

It is informed by the villagers that many of the Hindu families of these villages have migrated to West Bengal leaving all of their properties. But the amount of these properties could not be ascertained during the present study. However the following table will show the cause of land transfer according to the occupation of the household of the study villager of Isampur and Pathantola.

Table 2 : Cause of Selling Land according to the Occupation of the Household

Cause	Agri- culture	Wage Labour	Busi- ness	Service	Pro- fession	Iman/Pir	Total	%
To repay loan	1	—	1	6	1	—	9	13.04
To meet the daily household expense	5	5	12	12	6	3	43	62.32
To meet the expenses on social function (marriage ceremony of son/daughter	1	1	1	3	3	—	9	13.04
To meet expenses on medical treatment	1	1	—	1	—	—	3	4.38
To start business	3	—	2	1	—	—	6	8.70
To buy lands	1	—	3	5	1	—	10	14.79
To buy agricultural equipment	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	1.45
Acquired by Government	1	—	1	1	—	—	3	4.68
Total	13	7	20	30	11	3	84	



table that land transfer are not directed largely to any economic activity, only 1.45% of the households sold lands to purchase agricultural equipments. About 9% and 14% wanted to start business and purchase land respectively by selling lands. And thus the rest 75% of those who sold and transferred land for non-agricultural purpose.

Another important feature of land transfer of the study villages is the transfer of lands to the city people. The demand for residential plot and the secure investment of money are liable for the interest of the city people in purchasing lands nearer to the city. It is worthy to note that the trend of urbanization is now in force at Islampur and Pathantola. The farmers of these villages are not now in a position to withstand the pressure of urbanization and they are now likely to be uprooted from their lands and homestead. The consequence of the transfer of lands to the city people is the increase in the number of the landless peasant and agricultural worker. It is worthy to note that there are two factories at Islampur, i. e., Mannu Jutex and Alisco Biscuits, whose proprietors are city people. Interesting enough that these factories are not manned by the local people. Besides this a considerable portion of land is owned by the people other than these villages who use their lands for house building purpose.

Ownership pattern of land in the villages Pathantola and Islampur can be seen in the tables 3 and 4. Table-3 shows the distribution of land ownership according to the landholding size and table-4 shows the distribution of landholding according to the occupational group.

Table 3 : Land Distribution and Different Landholding Classes

Landholding size (acres)	No. of house-hold	% of house hold	Total acre owned	% of land	Land owned per household
0	22	12.02			
0.01-0.99	122	66.66	28.83	17.50	0.24
1.00-2.99	58	15.30	43.43	26.36	1.55
3.00-6.99	7	3.83	29.25	17.75	4.18
7.00& above	4	2.19	63.24	38.39	15.81
Total :	183	100.00	164.75	100.00	0.90

It appears that 12% of the total households have no land and 67% have land but below one acre. This means that there are not many households who own large amount of land. Percentage distribution of land ownership indicates that 67% of the total households own only 17 : 50% of the total land and only 21% of the total households have the ownership of 82.50% land. This fact also indicates the inequity in land distribution. Only 21% households have the control over 82.50% of land.

Table-3 also shows the per household land ownership. This is also another indicator of sharp difference of land ownership. A poor peasant owns 0.24 acre of land, where as a rich peasant owns as much as 15.81 acres of land. A great difference in terms of land per household is also visible among the different land classes. Households in the landholders size of 1.00 acre to below 3.00 acres of land have 1.55 acres of land per head but households belonging to the group of 3.00 to below 7.00 landholding size have 4.18 acres of land per head.

Land distribution according to different occupational group is presented in table-4. Classification of occupation has been made in terms of the main occupation of the head of the household. Occupational distribution shows that 38% of the households are service holders, Business (18%) and low level professions (19%) are the next prominent occupational groups in the villages. It is interesting to note that only 15% of the households are agriculturists.

In terms of control over land by different occupational groups it appears that the service holders

Table 4: Land Distribution and Different Occupational Classes

Occupation	No. of house- hold	% of house- hold	Total acres owned	% of total land owned	Land owned per household
Agriculture	27	14.75	40.82	24.78	1.51
Wage Labour	12	6.56	2.63	1.60	0.22
Service	70	38.25	67.35	40.88	0.96
Business	33	18.53	31.93	19.38	0.97
Professional (low level)	34	18.58	8.74	5.30	0.26
Imam/Pir	7	3.83	13.28	8.06	1.90
Total :	183	100.00	164.75	100.00	0.90

control 41% of the total land. It is also surprising that only 25% of the total lands are owned by the agriculturists.

These two villages are about 25 miles away from the Dhaka city. The pattern of occupational distribution of households and ownership of land seem that there is effect of urbanization on the economic life of the villagers. It seems that there is a shift between the occupations land use pattern shown in table-5 also justifies the above mentioned facts. About 63% of the total and owned by the households are being used for cultivation and as much as 28.24% of the total land are in use as homestead. Table-5 also reveals that most of the land (75.22%) are in the ownership of non-agricultural occupation groups of households.

This picture of land ownership according to different occupational groups may hamper the agricultural productivity. On the other hand, about 9% of the total land are not in use for agricultural production and this amount of land is under ownership of businessman.

Land transfer is one of the vital issues of discussion. Incidence of land transfer and intensity of land transfer are directly related to the economic life of the people. These may indicate the instability in economic life. Incidence of land transfer in the study villages, Savar thana and Bangladesh as a whole are presented in table-6, given below. Data on sales of land over a period of eight years shows an increasing trend in number of sales of land in two villages.

In the village Pathantola there were 5 incidences of sales of land in 1971 but this figure increases

Table 5: Land Use Pattern According to Occupation of the Household  
(Land in acre)

Occupation	Homestead	Cultivation	Pond	Fellow	Total
Agriculture	7.93	32.89	—	—	40.82 (24.78)
Wage Labour	1.32	1.31	—	—	2.63 (1.60)
Service	22.66	44.23	0.46	—	67.35 (40.08)
Business	9.90	8.23	—	13.80	31.93 (19.38)
Professional	3.90	4.54	—	0.30	8.74 (5.30)
(low level)					
Imam/Pir	1.12	12.61	—	—	13.28 (8.06)
Total	46.83 (28.42)	103.36 (62.74)	0.46 (0.28)	14.10 (8.56)	194.75 (100.00)

Note: Figures in brackets indicate percentage.

Table 6 : Number of sales of land in two Study Villages Savar thana<sup>10</sup> and Bangladesh<sup>11</sup> between 1971-1978

Number of sales of land in

Year	Pathantola	Islampur	Savar	Bangladesh
1971	5	9	NAA.	24099
1972	15	15	N. A.	228020
1973	10	18	11006	325308
1974	29	15	14765	453189

to twenty nine in 1974. In case of the village Islampur the same trend can be identified where the number of sales increases from nine in 1971 to eighteen in 1973 and fifteen in 1974. These trend of number of sales in the two villages is identical with the increasing number of sales of land in Savar thana and rural Bangladesh. The picture of number of sales of land in Savar thana and rural areas of Bangladesh shows a considerable fluctuations. There was a jump in the number of transfer of land in 1974. This is perhaps due to the famine that occurred in 1974. In 1978, there was an increase in number of transfer of land in Savar thana. Because of high price of land in Dhaka city and due to the development and expansion of urban facilities in Savar area demand of land for the use of residential purpose is increasing.

Amount of land transferred in the two study villages has been indicated by the land purchased and land sold by the households since their inception in the villages. They were asked to recollect the amount of land sold

and purchased. Their responses on the purchases and sales of lands are presented in the table—7.

Total amount of land purchased and sold in the villages is same but there is large variation in purchase and sales in the same landholding class. Total amount of land purchased by the households belonging to landholding group of 0.01-0.99 was 20.91 acres but the amount of sales of land of the households of this group was 37.63 acres. On the other hand the households of rich landed class (7.00 & above acres) purchased 20.31 acres of land but sold out only 1.84 acres of land.

The situation of land purchased and sold is also well indicated by the per household's amount of land purchased and sold. While the amount of per-household's purchase of land was 0.57 acres per-household's sales of land was 0.74 acres. In the extreme it can be seen that each household belonging to 7.00 and above acres land hold group purchased 4.10 acres of land but sold out only 0.16 acres of land. This trend of purchase and sales of land means that poor people are purchasing less and selling more land and people from rich class purchasing more and selling less land. The implication of this trend of land mobility will surely increase the control of rich people over more land. And thus the concentration of more land in the hands of rich people will increase the number of landless peasants. Whatever may be the other implications of this trend of land transfer it should be pointed out that the land gained by purchase and land lost by sales are not same in the same landhol-



Table 7 : Amount of Land Purchased and Sold in Different Times By The Household

Landholding size (In acre)	Purchase of land			Sale of land		
	Land in acres	No. of house- hold purcha- sing land	Purchase per Household	Land in acre selling land	No. of house sales	Per house hold sales
0.01--0.99	20.91	37	0.57	37.63	51	0.74
1.00--2.99	10.33	16	0.65	10.60	11	0.96
3.00--6.99	1.97	2	0.99	2.45	4	0.61
7.00 & above	20.51	5	4.10	1.84	3	0.61
Total :	53.72	60	0.90	52.52	69	0.76

ding group. The poor classes are losing more and gaining less amount of land.

The respondents of the study villages could not respond sharply to the point when they were asked about the utilization of land which they purchased. However only 28 out of 60 purchasers indicated the way of operation of the purchased lands as can be seen in the table-8.

Table 8 : Land Utilization after Purchase

Utilization category	No. of homestead	Percentage
Homestead	13	46.43
Cultivated by self	6	21.43
Share cropping	9	32.14
Total :	28	100.00

It appears that purchased lands are being used largely as homestead. Out of 28 households 13 cultivated the purchased land, 6 by self and 9 by share-cropping and 13 used the purchased land for dwelling purposes.

Land transfer sometimes results concentration of lands in a few hands. And it is a recognised fact that the standard of living of the rural population are largely affected by the degree of land concentration. In rural areas where land is concentrated in a few hands, the majority of the households—the landless and the near landless are virtually shorn of resources. The victims are often forced to eke out either by offering labour at parsimonious wages or by paying very high rents for access to land. In such

circumstance the restrictions of access to job and resources are severe and population growth is rapid, the consequence may be an absolute decline in the income of the poor and landless. In the study villages of Islampur and Pathantola concentration of lands indicates a new change in land use. Most of the landholders prefer to use their lands in building up houses and to rent it to the outsiders then using their lands in agricultural purpose. The land use pattern of the study villages can be well grasped from the following table.

The growth of city gave rise to an increased demand for land for urban use. This increased demand for lands may be met in two ways—either by extending the urban area or by using the existing area more intensively. As the Dhaka city is extending northward the trend of urbanization in the villages situated at the periphery of the town is found in force. It has been rightly pointed out by Dr. Akbar Ali Khan: "An expansion of the urban areas in Dacca District is therefore likely to decrease the share of the cultivable land".<sup>12</sup> In the study villages Islampur and Pathantola there is a gradual decrease of the cultivable land. The loss of agricultural land for urban use results decrease of income in the agricultural sector. The peasants of those villages being the victims of urbanization, have lost their social and economic position in the village community. Many of them have abandoned cultivation and become daily labours. This has widened the disparity of income in the rural areas. On the other hand the service holders of these villages

Table : 9 Land Use Pattern of Islampur and Dhamrai

Homestead		Cultivation		Pond		Pallow		Total	
Total	Percen-	Total	Percen-	Total	Percen-	Total	Percen-	Total	Total
land	tage	land	tage	land	tage	land	tage	land	tage
46.83	28.42	103.36	62.47	0.46	0.28	14.10	8.56	164.75	

have exploited the opportunity of urbanization and have made good use of their lands in house building purposes. They rent their houses and earn money out of this in addition to their normal jobs in the city.

Again, economic changes are more diverse in the fringe villages than in non-fringe villages. John Aird has aptly pointed out that urban employment of the residents constitutes one of the forms of village-urban contacts.<sup>13</sup> As the city of Dhaka is extending northwards, the agricultural lands of these villages are increasingly put to urban uses, and thus decreasing the dependence of the villagers on cultivation. The introduction of electricity and the development of road communication in the study villages determine the nature of economic opportunities left to its inhabitants in so far as it pursues some avenues more than other. In the study villages of Islampur and Pathantola the service-holders, businessmen and low level professional groups constitute the majority of the households, who enjoy the facilities of urbanization.

The next important social aspect of land transfer is migration. Migration, or the movement of people from one place to another, has great social importance. The interchanges of population between rural to urban areas or rural to rural areas is not designed by the wilful desire of the migrants. It has been earlier explained that the nature of urban impact usually varies to the kind of relations that the villages have with the towns. So migration of population from outlying villages of Dhamrai to Islampur and Pathantola may be discussed in the light of urban impact.

Periodical draughts and floods are familiar factors which induce migration of people in a considerable rate. But the causes of migration of the people who have migrated from the outlying of Dhamrai to Islampur and Pathantola are peculiar in nature. A few inhabitants have migrated from different places to these villages for natural calamity. The portion of land controlled by the migrants of Islampur and Pathantola for natural calamity is very insignificant. Some of them have no land even for building up a residence. They are day labourers and share the house of other villagers. Next to natural calamity, matrimonial relations form an important cause of migration. A considerable number of people migrated in the study villages for having legal share of the landed property of their wives. They are locally known *Gar Jamai*. They live with their father-in-law and share his property as well. Simultaneously they continue to enjoy the property of their own villages where they lived earlier. The most important cause of large scale migration of the people of outlying villages of Dhamrai to Islampur and Pathantola is the increased urban opportunities for jobs and education offered to them. And it is evidently proved from the following table that majority of them had migrated for urban facilities.

They purchased lands from local people and settled permanently in the villages. This category of migration has social and economic significance, because this migration also involves the movement of economic goods.

It is difficult to point out exactly the stages of

Table : 10 Migration of Population from Different Places to Islampur and Pathantola from 1946 to 1976

Natural Calamity		Marriage		Urban Facilities		
Islam- pur	Pathan- tola	Islam- pur	Pathan- tola	Islam- pur	Pathan tola	To- tal
2	3	4	8	20	30	67

migration of people from outlying villages or even sometimes from other districts to Islampur and Pathantola during the period under review. Moreover there are other causes, though not very familiar causes of migration. A considerable number settled permanently in the study villages before the partition of British India. Some of them had migrated to these villages from different districts of Bengal. It can be ascertained from the following table that 64% people of Islampur and 62% people of Pathantola are migrants. In Islampur 49 families are migrants out of 75 families, in which 22 families migrated before the partition of British India. Similarly, in Pathantola 68 families are migrants out of 108 families, of which 27 families settled at Pathantola before the partition of British India.

Apart from the seasonal movements of people in pursuit of an occupation, the permanent migration results certain social changes. The social significance of migration practically lies in their attempt to find a better adjustment in the existing social and economic order, because the movement of individual involves

Table 11 : Population Settlement of Islampur and Pathantola

Name of village	No. of Households settled from ancient time	Migrants		Total	Percentage
		Before 1947	After 1947		
Islampur	27	22	26	75	64%
Pathantola	40	27	41	108	62 96%

the movement of economic goods. The village society of Bangladesh is not rigid or is not based on the caste system. So it is not a problem to the new migrant to become a member of a village society where they like to reside. Despite that migration is responsible for the variety of social customs performed by the villagers of the study villages of Islampur and Pathantola.

In rural Bangladesh every *samaj* has its own local leaders, who regulate the social, economic and political life of the villagers. The term *samaj* may be defined as an informal body of the rural society, which carries out important social, economic and ceremonial functions of the society.<sup>14</sup> The study villages of Islampur and Pathantola are divided into three *paras*, each of them are based on the establishment of mosques. There are three mosques in each village. The function of the *samaj* is sometimes to give justice to the villagers in case of local disputes. The leaders of the *samaj* belonging to those families who are sometimes traditionally wealthy class within the villages. Obviously this class includes all the rich peasants and



landholders of the village. So control over lands still means control over *samaj*. Although some of the respondents of the study villages express the view in selecting the leaders of the *samaj* they give major emphasis on family heritage. But practically leadership of the *samaj* comes from the people who have comparatively big landholding. It is also found that old leaders have lost their influence on the *samaj* when they loss their ownership of land by way of sale or transfer. Besides this, there are also persons who are not formal leaders of the *samaj* but exert considerable amount of influence among the villagers. They are the people who have recently acquired large scale possession of land or a job in the city. It is worthy to note that power structure of these villages are not compact, because some of the villagers have close contact with the city, who are not the leaders of the *samaj* but exert considerable amount of influence among the villagers. Moreover, a considerable number of population of these villages are emigrants, so they could not yet form a component part of the society. Nevertheless, the importance of land transfer in the social life of the villagers may be cited in the spheres of the distribution of income and the status in the society. Concentration of land in a few hands brings social prestige for them in the society. Again ownership of land also determines the position of the individual in rural society. So rural society is greatly influenced by land transfer.

Land in Bangladesh is not only a source of wealth, but it also determines the individual power and social prestige. Obviously land transfer results various changes

in the rural society. Economically the change in the nature of investment of capital in land, the change in the pattern of land use and change in the distribution of income in agricultural sector are the direct consequences of land transfer. On the other hand, concentration of land and use of lands in non-agricultural purposes brings unemployment of labour in agricultural sector. Socially ownership of land determines the position and prestige of individual in the rural society. Transfer of lands brings changes in rural leadership and power structure. Finally the study villages are situated at the periphery of the town Dhamri, so the impact of urbanization in these villages can also be located.

#### Appendix-A

#### Statistics of Land Transfer, 1946—1974 Islampur

Year	No. of Deeds	Land sold (in acre)	Land gifted (in acre)	Land Mortgaged (in acre)
1946	2	0.70	—	—
1947	8	2.45	0.63	—
1948	2	0.43	—	—
1949	10	3.23	—	0.52
1950	7	0.95	1.98	2.55
1951	6	1.68	—	0.16
1952	6	6.03	—	—
1953	5	3.49	—	—
1954	6	3.58	2.39	0.11
1955	8	1.23	—	—

1956	8	4.73	—	0.22
1957	1	2.07	—	—
1958	11	2.31	—	—
1959	20	3.55	—	—
1960	21	3.27	—	—
1961	3	0.98	—	—
1962	16	3.57	—	—
1963	14	5.17	—	—
1964	11	2.71	1.54	—
1965	12	3.14	—	0.78
1966	4	2.05	—	—
1967	5	0.29	0.24	—
1968	11	1.73	0.14	0.08
1969	17	3.56	—	0.08
1970	21	5.71	1.53	—
1971	9	0.75	—	—
1972	15	1.62	0.54	—
1973	18	2.78	—	—
1974	15	1.59	—	—

## Pathaṇṭola

Year	No of Deeds	Land sold (in acre)	Land Gifted (in acre)	Land Mortgaged (in acre)
1940	14	4.70	1.28	1.40
1947	4	3.54	0.63	—
1948	28	3.28	—	—
1949	3	1.05	—	—
1950	10	2.06	—	—
1951	3	0.47	—	—

1952	9	6.33	—	—
1953	3	0.54	—	—
1954	23	5.60	3.40	0.17
1955	7	1.80	—	—
1956	13	2.36	—	—
1957	15	1.99	—	4.43
1958	11	1.65	—	0.98
1959	22	3.52	0.13	—
1960	6	0.71	—	—
1961	11	4.02	—	0.32
1962	0	0.77	0.98	—
1963	10	3.78	0.28	—
1964	4	0.35	—	—
1965	14	2.91	—	—
1966	19	7.05	0.42	0.66
1967	13	3.90	0.37	0.58
1968	12	1.70	0.11	0.51
1969	28	3.77	0.40	—
1970	19	2.01	1.72	—
1971	5	0.65½	1.05	—
1972	15	1.68	0.09	—
1973	10	1.84	—	—
1974	29	3.52	0.77	—

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