

**A QUALITATIVE EXPLORATION OF SOME
SOCIOECONOMIC ISSUES IN SOUTH UDDOMDI, MATLAB**

JUNE 1995

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Acknowledgements

This study has left us indebted to many persons. First, we would like to thank Dr. A.M.R. Chowdhury, Director, Research and Evaluation Division (RED), BRAC, for his kind supervision in every step of our study. We are also thankful to Dr. Abbas Bhuiya, ICDDR,B, for his frequent suggestions.

We are very much grateful to Gulrukh Selim, Senior Researcher, RED, BRAC, for helping us to design the structure of our study idea.

We are indebted to the IAS team of RED, BRAC; our methodological chapter was constructed with frequent discussion with them, specially with Ishrat Ara, Senior Staff Economist.

We are also thankful to Monzurul Mannan, Research Anthropologist and Sabina Rashid, Young Anthropologist, both from RED, BRAC, for given to us from time to time advice.

Thanks to Samir Ranjan Nath, Staff Statistician, RED, BRAC, for helping us with the statistical part of the study. We are also thankful to Ms. Sarah for her editorial help.

A field level acknowledgement is also necessary, without which our mentions would be incomplete. We are deeply grateful to Masud Rana, PO in-charge, Research, South Uddomdi, Matlab, who went beyond his role in the field to help us in every possible way.

Thanks to Itu Rani Saha, PO, Anisa, PO and Momtaz, Research Assistant, all from RED, BRAC, South Uddomdi, Matlab, for their proper assistance.

Special thanks goes to Mohammad Abdur Razzaque, Dual Data Entry Technician, RED, BRAC, who always provide us with professional help in the computer section whenever needed .

Finally, we are very much indebted to the villagers of South Uddomdi as they have given us their valuable time and knowledge in spite of the inconvenience, and without which it would not have been possible for us to do our study using the PRA method.

Executive Summary

This qualitative study tested the feasibility of utilizing the participatory rural appraisal (PRA) to understand the baseline situation and the mechanism of change. The purpose of this study was to exploring the baseline situation regarding socioeconomic issues such as income, occupation, wealth category, kinship, power structure, education, cohesiveness, poverty situation and coping in crisis in South Uddomdi village of Matlab. Apart from this basic objective the study also looked to: identify indigenous indicators of socioeconomic situation and poverty situation, investigate people's perception about changes in the community and mechanism of changes over time regarding the above issues and to seek out areas for future research.

The study was a repeated cross sectional one that took note of the situation prevailing at the current moment by using PRA methods. Matlab was specifically selected for the to learn about the socioeconomic impact of both BRAC and ICDDR,B interventions.

The study reveals that the villagers have their own perception about economic stratification. According to them, stratification is mainly dependent on the regularity of income. So, in other words, the job a man does for living and the degree of dignity assigned to it by the community determines his status. Most of the villagers are farmers who also do other miscellaneous jobs according to the season. Those who also do salaried job in addition to farming are the wealthiest ones. The day labourers or fisher men are normally looked down upon because they earn less.

Bari or group of household is the base of social stratification. Status is depended on the prestige of a kingroup of a Bari. Traditionally prestige is constructed on educational attainment, solvency, manner and the role of that Bari in power practice. The

villagers are experiencing that economic solvency and honour is mostly dependent on education; so they want their children to be educated. particularly, the boys. Girls' education is still not regarded as important.

There are some traditional institutions in South Uddomdi that reflects the cohesiveness of the village ; the mosques, as such which were built decades ago by the villagers and are still being maintained through the villager's joint contribution. Now a days, there are youth clubs, cooperatives and other social institutions. External institutions like BRAC also works as an agent of change.

The poverty situation of the villager's is influenced by the lean and pick agricultural periods, as the area is predominantly an agricultural one. The wealthy class is least affected by this because they have a continual flow of money generated multiple sources. The villagers identified Ashwin, Kartik, Falgun and Chaitra as the months of greatest poverty. The amount of work availability during this these seasons is very limited.

The villagers shared some common crises. The biggest crisis is 'No job no food' followed by the 'dowry payment and the consequences'. But these are not the only crises . The villagers described how they take loans, sell property and seek help from neighbours, relatives and patrons to cope with the crises. A preferential order was also found about their crisis moment network depending on type of different crisis. To overcome a big crisis, most of the time the villagers were found to take loan with exorbitant rate of interest from the professional money lenders. The villagers want to pay back their loan as early as possible. So they sell their harvested crops, reduce the numbers of meals taken, sell their valuables or take out another loan. But very often they are found too destitute and broken to repay the loan. They even migrate to another village if they fail to repay loan.

Poverty situation also influences the food intake of the vulnerable group; both the number of meals taken and the type of food taken are affected in the lean periods. Intra household food distribution discrepancies are far more common in rich households than in poor households.

The villagers identified some major changes that have taken place in the village over the last two decades. They are: the introduction of IRR1 dhaan cultivation, growing interest in education, practice of dowry as an integral part of marriage, changing role in power practice, the increase in the use of fancy commodities in the recent years, emergence of a vulnerable class and the participation of women in income generating activities.

The study also identified village organization (VO) and community level change of the VO members. But since the VOs in the village were then new, no mentionable change was observed. This attempt was taken just on a trial basis.

As this study has provided very detailed qualitative baseline information supplementary to the quantitative one, it is hoped that a repeated cross sectional study on the same issues will help to identify the strategies that will be effective in bringing about socioeconomic change in the village.

All the names in this text have been changed; but the words tell the real story.

INTRODUCTION

Background

The BRAC ICDDR,B joint research project is aimed at to the study the mechanism of change in the lives of the poor as a result of development interventions. This project contains some proposed sub projects. One of those sub projects is to explore baseline and other issues regarding the social, health and economic situation through participatory methods. During the Harvard BRAC-ICDDR,B Methods Workshop in June, 1993, using the BRAC-ICDDR,B collaboration as a case study, workshop participants were recommended to develop innovative methods to identify the pathways or linkage of socioeconomic development. Clearly the development of methodology that combines the strengths of both qualitative and quantitative approaches was desired. In this effort, an imaginative and transdisciplinary approach to research design was required which could explore questions and hypotheses with an innovative blend of qualitative and quantitative methods. With this interest, an exploratory study was conducted in Jamalpur through participatory methods. It drew upon the expertise and participation of rural people in assessing change in health and women's lives and their relevance to the BRAC-ICDDR,B Matlab Project. This study is an addition to the series of studies planned for the above purpose.

The problem

The major purpose of the study was to examine the feasibility of utilizing PRA in understanding the baseline situation and the mechanism of change. With this interest the study proposed to explore some of the socioeconomic issues of a village in Matlab and to trace their change over time which will act as a baseline for studying the mechanism of change. At the same time, the study tried to identify areas for future research.

Objectives

The objectives of this study are many fold:

- * To collect baseline information on selected demographic, socioeconomic (income, occupation, wealth category, kinship, power structure, education, cohesiveness) issues and poverty situation and crisis coping in a selected village through participatory methods.
- * To identify indigenous indicators of the socioeconomic and poverty situation.
- * To investigate people's perception about changes and the mechanism of change over time with regard to the above issues.
- * To seek out areas for further research.

Delimitation

The study has some limitations. They are:

- * The study was conducted during the busy harvesting season. It was difficult to work with male or even female villagers during day time. The villagers were not able to spare much time. Consequently, we had to work with the female group in the evening and with the male group at night. Again during the month of Ramadan, the male villagers were out at work during the day and after Iftar they went for Tarabi. Our work with them therefore often squeezed into their daily routine. Due to the harvesting and the observation of Ramadan, we were not able to gather very detailed information. However, we were able to gather a general picture of the situation.

- * For the triangulation of the information, it was found too difficult to segregate the different groups in the village according to wealth class. For example, we needed to interview only the middle class respondents for the triangulation of some information. But well-to-do respondents, who were already been interviewed for some issues, came forward and tried to dominate the floor. Such situation was always very difficult to handle.
- * It was difficult to use some of the PRA methods while working with totally illiterate people.
- * As the data of the HHI card was collected in a qualitative way, the figures should not be considered for granted. However when these data were compared with the result of quantitative survey and the number errors remained within an acceptable range.
- * Finally, as the study involved some parts of a selected village in Matlab, the result should not be generalized for the whole of Matlab area. However our impression suggest that in spite of these limitations the study is able to present a representative picture.

The review of related literature

During 1992 BRAC extended its rural development program to 100 villages of Matlab thana, many of which had been involved in ICDDR,B health and family planning services and demographic monitoring. The availability of comprehensive ICDDR,B baseline data on the population of Matlab thana presented a unique opportunity to investigate possible linkages between socioeconomic development and changes in human health and well-being. To this end, a research collaboration between BRAC and ICDDR,B has been established. Beyond simply monitoring changes (or no changes) in outcome measures of

human well-being as a result of BRAC RDP, it is hoped that research will investigate the mechanisms or pathways through which this change occurs. If there is no change, it will be equally important to understand why this is so, and to identify ways in which operational barriers may be overcome.

As part of the planning for this undertaking two expert meeting was called. The first expert committee meeting of June, 1992 decided to focus on the short term needs : Selection of villages for the first BRAC interventions, design of base-line data collection and recommendations for research priorities and types of studies to be undertaken. They also considered some issues of management of the collaboration between the two organizations. According to them the fundamental goals of the collaborative research is - to help improving the well-being of the rural poor, especially women. They also recommended the design of a baseline survey instrument that could be used to establish a systematic data base representing the 1992 situation, from which the effects - the impacts or outcomes - of BRAC development programs could be measured (Menken and Pelto. 1992).

The second expert committee meeting was held in February, 1993 with the purpose to examine the results of the Baseline Survey and other activities in the joint research project that had been carried out subsequent to their previous meeting of June, 1992 and to discuss plans for the next phase.

The baseline data were collected in 60 village, utilizing six data collection protocols : Household composition, household information, male interview, female interview, basic learning achievement (literacy, numeracy, etc), community profile.

This data set represents the most extensive collection of social, economic and health data ever undertaken in Matlab. In the 60 villages, data were obtained approximately on 11,900 households, of

were 7,700 were BRAC households . The working group identified six major areas of research which were: 1) empowerment of women 2) empowerment of the poor 3) adult health emphasizing women's reproductive health 4) child health 5) economic change 6) education (Menken et al. 1993)

Quantitative data is not conducive to fully understand the pathways or mechanism through which socioeconomic development interventions influence well-being. Indeed, the methodological complexities of these types of study have resulted in a dearth of research that documents these pathways. More frequently these pathways are referred to with speculative assumptions, and remain an ill-understood 'black box' in models of socioeconomic development. For this reason during the Harvard methods workshop, June '93, workshop participants recommended development of innovative methods which might shed empirical light on this 'black box' of socioeconomic development.

Clearly the development of a methodology that combines the strengths of both qualitative and quantitative approaches is desired. In this effort an imaginative and transdisciplinary approach to research design was required which could explore questions and hypothesis with an innovative blend of qualitative and quantitative methods (Adams and Chowdhury, 1993).

With this interest, an exploratory study was conducted in two villages of Jamalpur (Adams et al. 1993). This exploratory study showed the utility of participatory methods as a means of gathering quick and relatively accurate baseline data on village infrastructure, household demography, education, wealth, health kinship affiliation etc.

Chambers (1993) in his critique about this study mentioned some additional methods such as - seasonal calendar, women's daily time

use, matrix scoring for health service causal and linkage diagramming for use in such studies.

An other report on 'The Study of The Impact of RDP in Gurki Village in Manikganj' (Ahmed et al. 1993) used PRA and mentioned that participatory methods provided an invaluable tools for unravelling the complexities involved in impact assessment. That potential, however, can only be realized if PRA methodology can be developed into new areas, most notably the exploration of social and economic relationships.

The second report of BRAC IAS review (Montgomery and Brustinow, 1993) on methodologies, provides a methodological interpretation specially on wealth ranking and time line - their description and procedures.

Howes, who trained BRAC staffs on RRA and PRA , also mentioned in his works (Howes, August, 1993 and Howes, September, 1993) the range of areas in which such methodologies could be profitably utilized.

METHODOLOGY

Study type

This study was a repeated cross-sectional one which took note of the socioeconomic situation currently existing through the use of different PRA methods. This study, was carried out at a single point in time and was concerned with a base line situation.

Depending on the collection and usage of data, this study was qualitative and exploratory.

Study area

South Uddomdi in Matlab, being the field research station of BRAC and in the comparison area of ICDDR,B is the focus of the study. Also, this village has BRAC's RDP interventions. For that reason the village was studied in greater detail.

Study sample

Different areas of interest were chosen for the study from the selected village, South Uddomdi. This area was preferably a para or community delimited by roads, paddy fields or other prominent boundaries.

Since it was a village with BRAC intervention, community where VO was already formed was selected and members from both BRAC and non-BRAC households were chosen as respondents in groups or as individuals according to the different PRA methodologies.

Three overlapping issues were considered in the study: Social and Economic Stratification, Poverty Situation and Coping in Crisis (Table no. 1). Ten different PRA methodologies were used for the study (Table no. 2).

Among the groups and individuals different methodologies were applied and the selection criterion was different. For example, for FGD, the age of respondents range from 20 to 50, any sex and they were married. For LH, the respondent was first female, above 25 years of age, extroverted and spontaneous.

As for the Key Informant, BRAC field staff working in the respective areas were selected along with knowledgeable respondents selected from any part of the village.

According to our requirements, any villager from the selected community was allowed to take part in more than one of the PRA methods applied, but not in the same method for the same issue twice.

Data collection technique

For the purpose of data collection, different PRA methods were applied as given on table 3 along with the days required and a list of the different groups and individuals male and female or both in combination. But a checklist or guideline was maintained with specific issues where different methodologies were used to explore the situation.

As the village is quite large, instead of taking only one community as a sample interest area in South Uddomdi, three were chosen with an average of 65 households in each. Respondents for different group and individual studies were chosen from these three areas.

The study also permits triangulation or cross-checking of the research findings to signify it's validity and reliability. Three types of triangulation were incorporated into the study design: data source triangulation whereby different sources of information were compared (male vs female respondents, BRAC/poor vs non-BRAC/well off); methods triangulation which permitted the cross-

checking of data using different methodological techniques such as FGD vs individual interview or group TL vs individual LH; and finally investigator triangulation with different background and skills (Anthropology, Sociology and Geography). The investigators also have either RRA Formal Training or have practical experience of applying PRA/RRA methods in the field or writing such reports.

Data source

Data sources were mostly primary, collected from the villagers but secondary sources were no less important for cross checking the compiled data. These sources are: Reports on BRAC-ICDDR,B joint research project at Matlab, Records of RDP offices kept in Matlab, Quantitative Baseline Survey done in Matlab. RKS and DSS data of ICDDR,B.

Data processing and analysis

Data was processed mainly manually; but for a small portion of data, it was processed (coding) using the Debase programme. Most of the analysis were done descriptively but to very small extent, statistical methods were used. Data analysis included processing and compiling the collected information, ranking variables, calculating percentages for the variables and comparing and contrasting the facts and figures, physical and social mapping.

What follows is divided into five sections. First, an attempt is made to describe a profile of the South Uddomdi village. Information for this was gathered mainly by transect, physical and social mapping. The next section deals with the villagers perception of economic stratification and social status as related to stratification in the village. The third seeks to identity the poverty situation of the villagers and how they cope with it. The fourth section follows the views of major socioeconomic changes perceived by the villagers. The last portion of the same section

provide a concluding remark and identifies areas for future research. An annex also follows with maps and tables showing the various ways in which the lives of the group have been affected.

South Uddomdi : A Village Profile

South Uddomdi, which is located in the Baradia Union, lies 5 kms south-west of Matlab Sadar Bazar; the village is surrounded by Munsefdi, Shilmondi, Charmukundi, Charماسula, Charnilakshmi and North Uddomdi villages and also Satrari Canal and Dhonagoda river (see Fig no. 1 and field work sample no. 1). The village is accessible by bicycle and partly by foot using two roads and crossing a couple of bamboo and wooden bridges - one via Charmukundi and the other Shilmondi. During the rainy season it can be reached by boat.

A road, that runs east to west, stretching about half a mile through the middle of the village and bifurcated on the both sides in the north and south is the major artery of communication with Matlab. On the west, the roads end on Satrari canal and on the east, both lead to Matlab Sadar.

The residential parts of the village stretch along the northern side of the roads and follow a linear pattern (Fig no. 1). The southern side of the roads is lower on the average (3'-4)', and is used for farming. The homestead lands and the roads are raised artificially and deep trenches and ponds have been excavated beside them (Fig no. 2). These raised homestead lands look like islands during the rainy season, starting from Baishak Joistho to Ashwin Kartik. The local people then move by boat or by foot across the inundated land in knee water. In some places, temporary bamboo or banana plant bridges have been made. The rainy season is the slow period of the agricultural season; when only jute and Aman remain in the field. Consequently, work availability in this season for day labourers are also less. But fisher men and boat men earn good during this season.

Most of the households of South Uddomdi are involved with farming. Others are fisherman, day labourers, businessmen or service

holders; but most of them are also directly or indirectly involved in agriculture.

The soils are mostly sandy and loam (Fig no. 2) and are replenished every year by rich alluvium. The homesteads are normally not inundated except during the big floods. However, the plains are lower than the homestead land by 3' to 5', and some where a little sloppy, are used for agriculture. Mostly double cropping are done here (Fig no. 1 and Fig no. 2). In very small patches, single, triple or even quadruple cropping is done.

All of the villagers are Muslim, about 1818 out of 310 households; 999 of them are poor or very poor according to the BRAC definition belong to target group. There are several kingroups in Uddomdi, (Fig no. 3 and Fig no. 4 A,B,C). Some are rich and powerful, some poor, and some involved with BRAC VOs.

This is, in fact, the present village profile of South Uddomdi most of which has changed very little since BRAC came. But when compared with what it was 10 or 15 years ago, Uddomdi is now a different place. The different PRA methods in terms of social and economic conditions reflect these change.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

To study the present economic and social stratification in South Uddomdi, a few issues have been identified for indepth study. They are occupation, education, kinship, power structure, wealth group of villagers and cohesiveness. Analysis of these issues provide a clear picture of the present economic and social structure and stratification in the village.

Economic stratification by the villagers

According to the villagers, economic stratification is dependent on regularity of income. Those who do salaried job are sure to receive money all year round weather its small or large. However, the farmers, especially the poor ones, are subjected to crop loss almost every year and their earning is seasonal. Thus economic stratification, according to them should be done on the basis of what a man does for living, and also the dignity of that occupation.

Types of occupation in South Uddomdi

The most common occupations in the South Uddomdi village are described below and a table is given to show the distribution of the villagers according to occupation (Table no. 5).

1. Agriculture: Almost all the villagers of South Uddomdi are directly or indirectly involved in agriculture, but there is a sort of economic hierarchy. That is: 1. Grihostho, 2. Grihostho and Barga Chashi, 3. Adhi-Bani / Kot Nei, and 4. Bodli Kam in Zamin.

Grihostho: They are the rich land owners. They usually do not cultivate themselves, but get others to do it for them by leasing out (Kot dei), giving out for share cropping (Borga dei) or hiring

day labourers (Kamla nei) to do the farming. The Grihostho himself may do a salaried job - or not.

Grihostho and Barga Chashi: They do have cultivable land but not enough for their family's survival, so they either lease in land or do share cropping; sometimes both along with cultivating their own land. They may take day labourers if the family labour is not enough. The farmers occasionally do other jobs apart from farming.

Adhi Bani/Kot Nei: Households in this group have not any agricultural land. They have only homestead land. They are usually poor and do cultivation for living - either through share cropping or by leasing in land. They may also work as day labourers. They mainly depend on agriculture, but sometimes their own production is not enough for the whole year.

Bodli Kam in Zamin: This is a low status profession and if asked, they will say that they do Grihosthi Kam, but a detailed interview pointed out that they do mostly Badli Kam in Zamin (agri-day labourer). They receive wages and do not get any share of the crop. To do Grihosthi is a matter of prestige in the village, as said by many of the respondents belonging to this group.

2. Salaried Job (Chakuri): Many of the villagers do salaried jobs in South Uddomdi. Like Grihostho, this is another dignified occupation in the village. It ranges from working in ICDDR,B for a good salary to working in a garage for very low salary. Others work in factories as labourers (jute, dying, steel etc.). There are also some skilled professionals such as carpenters, tailors, garment's workers, cook, porter, sailor, school teacher etc. Many of them work in Chittagong and Dhaka or in a small town like Matlab or Chandpur. The attraction of a salaried job is that it guarantees a stable income all year round.

3. Day Labourers: The work of day labourers is seasonal, depending on the seasons and availability of work (see Table no. 4). Most of the day labourers are also agri-day labourer during harvesting and sowing season. All year long, there are some other jobs available for them such as thatching roves, cleaning trees, earth work or making houses etc. In the rainy season, some work as fishermen, boatmen or even rickshaw puller.

The rate of wage varies according to season, also in respect to workers. In the peak season, it is about taka 30-35 per day, and in the lean season, it is at best 20-25 taka. When a large job must be done within a short period of time such as the quick harvesting of crops due to an early flood, the wage rate goes as high as 50 taka per day. The wage may also vary from person to person depending on his age and physical ability. The younger and harder working ones get a higher wage than do the older and weaker ones.

4. Rickshaw puller: Some residents of South Uddomdi earn their income by rickshaw pulling; some are owner pullers and some pull on hiring. They do it in the Matlab town and nearby places. Day labourers are also seen pulling rickshaw during the lean agricultural season of and rainy seasons. A rickshaw puller can earn about 50-60 taka on average per day.

5. Boatmen and Fishermen: In the rainy season, most of the poor villagers in South Uddomdi are involved in fishing and ply boat. There are also some perennial fishermen in the village who are also involved in other activities like day labouring. Between the Bengali month of Joistho and Kartik, is the pick period for fishing and ply boats. During this period a fisherman generally get about 50 taka a day and a boatman earns about 80-90 taka.

6. Petty traders and Shopkeepers: The traders of South Uddomdi village are petty traders and are engaged in the trade of sari,

betel leaf, seeds, candy/sweets, fish and many kinds of fancy items like ribbon, imitation jewelry, toys etc. They sell their commodities by going door to door. During the rainy season, the work is affected. The local shopkeepers of this village sell grocery items, betel leaf, tea, cookies, candy and other necessities at their shop. A transaction ranging from 100 to 200 taka per day is made in these shops. But there is a great problem as stated by one of the shopkeepers. Most of the shopkeepers in the village normally work as day labourer or cultivate their own land during the day and they open their shops in the evening. These shops are the evening spots for the elders where they sit and gossip.

7. Begging : Begging is also the occupation of some people in South Uddomdi village. Both male and female beggars are found here. Seasonal begging, especially in the lean months is more prevalent. In most of the cases, the beggars are very old, live alone or have a young grand child living with them.

8. Women's Work: In South Uddomdi women are involved in different types of economic activities. It has been observed that rearing domestics is common phenomenon among both the rich and poor women, but they do not do it commercially. It provides them cash for everyday emergency needs. This rearing is also done in share where the rearer gets the new born of the domestics. The poor women also do household work for the rich and get food for one time or rice as payment. Sometimes they work as agri-day labourers in the Boro and Rabi seasons; their wage is given in kind, never in cash. Some of them are involved in small - scale trading of Pati, Duli or Moa. There are other women who supervise and operate farming as there is no male in the family; along with this, some do salaried work (earth work) in CARE. BRAC also provides some employment for the women such as school teacher, Shastho Sebika, chick rearer, shop keeper etc. Some women of the village were found doing salaried job

outside Matlab in garments factories and sending a part of their income to their families in the village.

Occupational perception of the villagers

In the South Uddomdi Village the local people have different perceptions about the income from different occupations. The common thinking among the Grihostho (owner cultivators) classes is that, the day labourers of the village are in a good condition because they are earning money all throughout the year from different sources. But the cultivators can produce only two crops in a year and remain unemployed during the rest of the time. Due to their status and prestige they can not work as fisher men, boat men, rickshaw pullers, day labourers or and other low status job. Indeed they consider this kind of occupations not be fitting their status. The share croppers and middle class cultivators have a different perception about day labourers and big land owners. In their opinion, the day labourers and big land owners are in an advantageous position. Since the big land owners are able to maintain their family well year round with the two or three huge crops they get from the land. On the other hand the day labourers do various types of work in different seasons and earn a considerable amount of money that enables to survive throughout the year. A middle class farmer added that, *'The middle class cultivators are not so fortunate, because they depend totally on their agricultural products which is not enough for the year and it makes very difficult for them to survive throughout the year. On the other hand, because of prestige, they cannot even do miscellaneous jobs.'*

The fishermen in South Uddomdi, as they are very poor are considered in low esteem. The elite villagers think that they have very low income, their home smells fishy and their children are not educated.

The general perception of all villagers is that the service holders are in a better economic condition in comparison to others. This is because they have a stable income throughout the entire year. This is especially true for those who work in ICDDR,B and own large areas of agricultural land; they are considered the wealthiest people in the village.

Seasonality of occupation

Due to the particular ecology of the area, seasonal variation of occupation is found in the South Uddomdi village. It is a low lying area, therefore most of the land is inundated during the rainy seasons (May-October). Many people of the village, especially the day labourers are found to work as boatman, fisherman, rickshaw puller etc. With the onset of the dry season (November-April) they return to agricultural work and during this season labour migration take place very often to the surrounding villages and other districts depending on the wage rate.

Table no. 4 provides brief job descriptions for each of the seasons of South Uddomdi, an overall view of the seasonal variation of employment, which has been compiled from the different seasonal calendars done by the villagers.

Social stratifications In villagers' view

The 'Bari' is the basic element of social stratification (Fig no. 4 A,B,C) in South Uddomdi village. Traditionally, power has been concentrated here in just a few genealogical relations of certain Baris and practiced by the members of these 'Baris'. Therefore, social stratification mainly depends on this Bari based stratification and it has an influence on the power structure of the village. Here is a description of different Baris of South Uddomdi village and afterwards, a social stratification in villager's view has been attempted to be collected.

Baris in South Uddomdi village

'Bari' is a kind of a domestic group. Generally the descendants of a common ancestor dwell in the same unit and they are called a 'Bari'. Every Bari and the genealogical connections living there are called by the name of their common ancestor; for example: Nurul Mullah of Mullah Bari, Situ Sarkar of Sarkar Bari. It was said that the ancestors of these Baris were once involve in certain types of activities or occupations and hence these titles became a part of their name. For instance, one ancestor of Mullah Bari was involved in religious activities of the village and he used Mullah as a title after his names. Later on every one in his family began to use this title and their residence was called by the Mullah Bari. In same way, a ancestor of Sarkar Bari was involved in administrational activities and so he used this title and called his residence Sarkar Bari. Again the Prodhans were the heads of the village, and so they were called Prodhan.

There are sixteen Baris in South Uddomdi village, and these are not given as the same status. Locally, social stratification occurs on the basis of status and prestige of these 'Baris'. The hierarchy of several 'Baris' in Uddomdi village according to the local people is as follows:

1. Sarkar Bari.
2. Patwari Bari.
3. Mullah Bari.
4. Prodhan Bari.

In the opinion of the villagers, people from these 'Baris' are the cream of the village society. The people of Sarkar Bari and Patwari Bari are the highest in the village because traditionally they are rich, educated and respected. The criteria used by the villagers in stratifying the Baris were - I. heritage II. wealth III. education IV. well manners.

The Bari with the lowest status in the village is called Khan Bari. According to them, people of this Bari used to work as day labourers in the Sarkar and Patwari Bari. Later on people of these two Baris provided them land to settle down in South Uddomdi village.

But all members belonging to the same Bari do not necessarily have the same criterion and so are not all respected equally. The place that the villagers give to a particular Bari is a dynamic process. In this respect, a villager said, ' *Currently a change is seen in social stratification of the village. The wealthy people are considered to be respectable person. On the other hand, people from respectable families but less solvent ones, are not getting their expected honour from the villagers*'. For example he stated that people from Prodhan Bari were always in village Panchayat and did Salish because they were the chief of the village. But presently there is nobody from this Bari in the Panchayat. The other rich people have taken over this power.

Apart from this 'Bari' based stratification the locals consider some people, irrespective of the Bari they belong to be a part of the upper strata of the society if they have wealth, education and wisdom. They are considered as the Murobbi (guardian) of the village. An example is Mina Gazee of Gazee Bari;

Mina Gazee, the oldest man in the village is famous for his wisdom. The local people respect and obey him. They go to him when they need advice about a problem or have a conflict to solve. Again Jamal Dewan of Dewan Bari, who is considered to be the richest man of the village, is also highly respected. It was found that he always plays a key role in every Bichar or Salish (arbitration) of the village.

Power structure in South Uddomdi village

To understand the present power structure, the nature of the patron client relationship and the power practice have been studied. The patron client relationship is the fundamental factor in the power structure of South Uddomdi village. The poor day labourers go to the selected wealthy Bari of the village to find work. Although theoretically the labourers can work for anybody according to his desire, but this does not happen in practice. It was seen that:

- There is an area wise selection of labourer. For instance, day labourers from Noyakandi usually go to Noor Baksha Prodhania for work.
- People sell labour to the same family generation after generation. For instance -- the labourers of Darji Bari go to the Sarkar Bari for work as their forefathers used to do.

Consequently, in respect to the hiring and selling of labour, there is an imaginary boundary between the Baris. Labour is mainly sold by the deficit households of the Darji Bari, Kazi Bari, Mizi Bari's or the other poor and it is hired by the surplus households of the Prodhan Bari, Mullah Bari, Dewan Bari, Patwari Bari and Sarkar Bari's.

The deficit Households are dependent on the surplus households in many respect -- for example, they go to them to borrow money or food and to get advice on any matter, ranging from personal problems to conflict solution.

The power structure of South Uddomdi is dominated by this patron class. The people from this class take part in different activities. They also play active roles in the management of the

village school, mosques, madrashas, cooperative and trust. The village Panchayat consists of these people.

But the villagers mentioned, during the last ten years a change in power structure has been observed. The youths of the village are emerging as the new conductors of the village power structure by taking part in the village Salish through their club.

Although most of the Bichar and Salish are still done by the elder elites of the village, yet, as reported by the villagers, the Salish and verdict of the youths are more reasonable and logical. The support of the villagers has made them more powerful than the elders in this respect.

As perceived by a villager, Parul, *'If students are united, the teacher gets afraid. Likewise, the elders are also afraid of the younger ones'*. The youths if not satisfied with the verdict of the elders, repeat the Salish. *'As the members of the youth clubs are also the children of the elites, the elders and elites keep their mouths shut'* -- Parul added. In a few cases, the elders do Salish secretly without the knowledge of the younger. Here is an example :

A daughter of a poor villager, also BRAC VO member, had an affair with the son of an elite. Once, they were caught red handed meeting secretly at night; the elders gave their verdict that the VO member should give a penalty of taka 500 to the village welfare fund. But they said nothing to the guardian of that boy. Obviously, the villagers were not satisfied with the judgement and it was not obeyed. The villagers are waiting for the 'Youth Arbitration'.

'The youth do not do only the Salish, they also enforce the punishment' -- stated a VO member, as for instance she added *'When my brother-in-law*

got married again without the permission of my sister, the youths did a Salish. They made him blind and deport him from the village. The elders could not do anything'.

Indigenous indicators of wealth

Another important criteria of social and economic stratification is wealth. Actually, the local people have their own perception about wealth and wealthy people which they use to define wealthy people and it clearly reflects socioeconomic stratification of the villagers.

The indigenous indicator of wealth were elicited through the wealth ranking. Wealth ranking was exercised with three male groups of the village from three different Kandis. Remarkably the three groups classified village households identically according to wealth. Each group identified four categories of household according to wealth: one group classified the villagers according to the system of Union Parishad such as A,B,C,D. D indicates the wealthiest class and A the poorest group. The other two groups ranked them as 1,2,3,4 - starting from rich to poor. A brief summary of the indigenous indicators of wealth is given below as stated by the local people.

1. Wealthy (Dhoni/ Uchcho/ D class)

- Land ownership: 64 deci to 700 deci (get two\three crops in a year).
- Many sources of income (from salaried job, business, land).
- One or more household member sends remittance from foreign country.
- Fixed asset in Dhaka city.
- Educated.
- Big kin group with in the village.

- Give out maximum land for share cropping.
- Have food security throughout the year.
- Live in good environment.
- Pass the day with joy.

2. Middle (Medium \Bhalo \C class)

- Land ownership: 75 deci to 250 deci.
- They cultivate their own land and do not leave any land fallow.
- Food security throughout the year.
- They have salaried income, but a modest one.
- Educated.
- Good house with many rooms and tin roof.
- Livestock.

3. Poor (Gorib\Kono rokome chole\B class)

- Mainly day labourer but do other works according to different seasons.
- Land ownership : 30 deci to 50 deci(including home stead).
- Share cropper and have very little cultivable land.
- Sometimes get crop from their land.
- Have no cash capital.
- Less educated.
- Have more than one earning members in the household.

4. Poorest of the poor (Khoob Gorib\ Chole na\ A class)

- Land ownership: 10 deci to 20 deci (homestead only).
- Food insecurity, food supply dependent on daily income, 2 meal a day.
- Widow headed households.
- None or only one earning member; he is diseased or malnourished.
- Migrated people from other villages.
- Need financial help from other people to survive.

- Their children can not attend school regularly due to lack of sufficient cloth, books and other necessary things.

It has been observed that according to their classification, A and B belong to BRAC's Target group (TG) and C,D belong to the Non target group (NTG). This socioeconomic classification by the villagers was compared to the baseline survey of BRAC for TG identification to see how relevant the ownership of land was in this ranking according to wealth (Table no. 6).

It is clear the villagers did not rank themselves on the basis of land alone; they also considered the number of household members, the number of earning people in each household with type of occupation, the dependency ratio in each household, the regularity of income and also the family background - as told by the respondents.

It was observed that, two households having land more than 200 decimals belong to wealth group A (poorest). As explained by them, the heads of these two households are female. They cannot properly supervise the agriculture and most of their lands are fallow. They have no other source of income or person in the family who can generate money from their property.

On the other hand, two households with no agricultural land belong to group C or D, as they are involved in business and do salaried job in Dhaka. Agriculture is not what they do for a living.

It is important to note here that no household in South Uddomdi is completely landless. The poorest class (A) have at least homestead land. If they do farming, they either lease in land or do share cropping.

A Bari wise breakup of population into different wealth group is presented on Table no. 7 and the distribution of TG (household and

population) is given on Table no. 8. It is seen that the average number of people in each household is highest in class D and lowest in class A. The Prodhans have the maximum TG (A,B) and NTG (C,D) followed by the Kazis. The table also shows that the number of TG (A,B) households in South Uddomdi is greater than the number of NTG (C,D).

Perception of education and educational attainment

'Respect for education is traditional in South Uddomdi. There is no substitute for education' said an elite. The conscious elite group of the village wish at least an S.S.C. degree for their sons. The villagers expressed in the FGD that since the family size increases while the land does no more. It is necessary to have additional sources of income; and that since salaried job or business require knowledge, it is important to have a good educational background. This realization came to the other villagers very rapidly and now almost all the parents want that their children to go to school at least up to primary level whether they are boy or girl. This is also because of the opening of the Government School in the village with free books and also two BRAC NFPE schools and moreover easy accessibility to the Matlab Sadar schools and colleges. In present days parents want that girls should pass at least the primary level and boys, as long as they can afford. The wealthy relatives sometimes bear the expenses for boy's education.

Education for children bears a specific meaning to parents of South Uddomdi -- education is for easy attainment of jobs; and employment means yearlong stable income and an improved status. Apart from that, the parents think education increases knowledge, grows independence and is overall a precious asset.

In South Uddomdi after liberation, both access to and demand for children's education increased. Boy's education is preferred to girl's. A case can be stated as an example:

Taiyab Mia inherited a reasonable amount of property that provided him with a good income. But his family size increased very rapidly and soon he realized that each of his children would inherit a very small amount of land. Then he decided to have one of his sons educated even at the cost of all his lands. He thought that this son, in time would look after his parents and brothers. But he did not feel the same about educating his girls because they would go to their in-laws houses and all his effort would go in vain. He also thought that as girls had to obey social norms and regulations more than boys if they went out for education it would be a matter of defame.

One informant, Sahera, made the point further, '*girls, if made literate becomes prostitutes, and boys, Emperors (Maiya poraile beshsha, pola poraile Badsha)*' -- and this lady never got any chance to go to school but is now sending her daughter to school. She had a change of perception and attitude indeed.

Now a days, in South Uddomdi, the parents think that girls should also go to school at least up to primary level so that they can get jobs in the cities such as in the garment industry. Through this they will save money and be able to afford their own dowry which is a great responsibility of the parents.

But if girls are highly qualified such as S.S.C., then getting them married is a problem. Because then they need educated husbands which means a huge dowry. Instead, if the girls are a little educated the parents can give marriage easily where ever they want

or can afford. Grown up and unmarried girls are the constant subject of harassment and teasing by the neighbours and young men.

A *Bari* and age group based literacy and illiteracy rate of the villagers are given on Table no. 9, that shows, which *Baris* are leading and which are lagging behind, followed by a concise table (Table no. 10) on percentage of literacy and illiteracy by sex and age group of the villagers.

It is important to note here that in our HH1 card, people who can at least read and write or go to educational institutions are considered literate.

Table no. 10 shows that males are predominantly literate in South Uddomdi and the gap between male and female education has been narrowing down in recent decade, as seen in the 7-16 age group, and in 0-6 age group, females outnumber the males. As explained by the villagers, they can send their girls to BRAC schools as they need no extra money to send them there.

The illiteracy rate is greater with women than men in 17+ age group which seems logical enough as women's education is only now a days emphasized by the villagers.

However, an elite stated that, *'No matter how educated our boys or girls are, it remains a problem; our educated sons do not get jobs and our educated daughters do not get compatible husbands who do not task for a huge dowry. Our total investment on them runs down like flood water'*.

Cohesiveness in South Uddomdi

The term social cohesion is used in two different sense. It is used to refer to the phenomenon of social solidarity in the sense of group unity. It may also be used to refer to the phenomenon of

social integration, in the way in which the institutions of a society function together as a coordinated whole (Seymour, S.C. 1986).

Accordingly, an attempt has been made to explore social cohesion in both ways - the first was to consider the different institutions of South Uddomdi as an agent of coordination and the second was to look for group unity among the villagers.

Cohesiveness in community institutions

There are several community institutions in the village. Except for those organized by BRAC, all the institutions are local and run by the local management committees. As found, some of these institutions are very old and others are some new.

The management committee of the institutions are mostly consist of the elites of the village and their children. They control and enforce the social norms and rules of the village and rely on the villagers for the enforcement only. In the following a description of different institutions is given:

Mosque: There are five mosques in South Uddomdi village. These mosques were built by the local people about 45 to 50 years ago, Some said these mosques are about 100 years old. The religious and other elite of the village usually have control over the mosques through a management committee. If there is any construction or repair work needed for the mosques the local people contribute whether they are rich or poor.

Four mosques are used throughout the week for daily prayers and Jumma prayers. But the fifth mosque is only used for daily prayers, Jumma prayers are not performed there. There is a story behind it.

About thirty years ago, the villagers from different Kandis decided to use only one mosque for Jumma prayer. They thought this would be a good manifestation of the village unity. They started praying Jumma in one mosque, the others were used for daily prayers. But few a days later they went back to their own mosque for Jumma prayers again. But the Sarker Bari mosque did not break their commitment. They did not pray Jumma again in their mosque - and all the nearby villagers of that mosque also goes to other mosques for Jumma.

Youth Clubs: A branch of 'Kochi Kachar Mela' (a children cultural organization) used to operate in South Uddomdi in the late 1960s. In the patronization of the ex-members of the 'Kochi Kachar Mela', the youths of the village organized a youth club called 'Nabarun' a decade ago. The managing committee is comprised of the youths, and the elders work as advisors, academic and financial patronizers. The major activities of the club are:

- * Motivating village children to attend school.
- * Give preparatory training on Bengali language to the children.
- * Provide 12 scholarships to students with excellent results in surrounding villages of South Uddomdi.
- * Look after the management and running of a local trust called R.K trust.
- * Maintain a library in which the school children and other locals have access.
- * Organize cultural shows and games once a year.
- * Do village arbitrations and its enforcement if required.

In 1993, some members of the 'Nabarun' club were expelled for being irregular with their subscription and disobedient to the elders. This group formed a new youth club - Naojoan. There was a noticeable conflict between these two club. The Nawjoans gave

funny titles to the Nabaruns and gave slogans against the Nabarun's president saying - '*Nabarun is not an inherited property*'. This year the Nawjoan club is also involved with different cultural activities. There appeared to be a competition between the clubs, but presently it is not as fierce as was seen before.

Cooperative Society: The very first cooperative society in South Uddomdi dates back to the early 1960s. An experimental cultivation of HYV paddy with 80/82 brunch in one plant in the nearby village Charnilakshmi raised their attention, and the villagers of South Uddomdi and Munsefdi organized into a cooperative society. The elite farmers was the chief of the society and it is for HYV paddy cultivation only. With a savings of 300 taka. one was eligible to receive loan from the society and he had to deposit at least 2 taka a month. They hired a pump machine from BADC (former EPADC) and bought diesel and got training from government agricultural extension workers. Although the IRRI cultivation has greater input cost but it ensures at least one crop with increased yield. The cooperative society was very successful at it's early days, but as time has passed, the members got involved with salaried job, or became rich farmers or no longer interested in farming themselves and the society gradually disappeared.

More recently, two cooperative societies have been formed called Tiger (1993) and Surjomukhi (1991) in Nayakandi of the village. They are trying to help the poor villagers financially with providing credit and introducing economic schemes for them by raising funds.

Madrasha: There are two Madrashas in South Uddomdi village which are supposed to offer the Iftedai course, but according to the villagers they are not yet up to the standard. The local people of South Uddomdi are providing money for the construction of these

Madrashas as their children have to go to Farazikandi or Matlab for Madrasha studies.

R.K Jonokolyan trust: This trust started operating from December, 1993 with the donation of a wealthy man of a neighboring village. It is mainly credit oriented and planned to operate in four villages in the Union. Members of the Union Council and the local youth club help to run the R.K. Trust. 50,000 taka have already been disbursed among 16 people in these village including South Uddomdi. But the villagers complained that only the relatives of the elite have access to the credit and the real poor never get any of it.

BRAC: In December, 1992 two women's village organization (VO) were set up in South Uddomdi village with support from BRAC\RDP. In Pub Kandi it had 21 members and Moddho Kandi VO comprised 41 members. In November, 1993 another women's village organization was established in Noya Kandi with 22 members. Credit programmes in the earliest two VOs started in June, 1993, and an amount ranges from 500-3500 taka are given at a time. No credit program has started till February in the new VO. All the members have completed their Social Awareness Education (SAE) and only a few members of the old VO received training on VO management, chick and poultry rearing, paravet, vaccinator and health worker (Shastho Sebika). Two NFPE schools were started from December, 1992 with 17 and 24 students in each which were running their second year with students from BRAC and non-BRAC households.

Although some BRAC related incidents in the other palace of Matlab create disagreements and grievance among some of the VO members of the village, but group cohesion of the VO members was very well. It was reported that the members of a VO bought a table and a chatai collectively for their weekly meeting. If any member fails to give weekly installments, the others in her group pay it for her. Even, if a member takes loan to buy a cow, and she finds it

insufficient, others come to help her by lending money with no interest. Again, a case of redistribution of VGD cards happened in a VO here. The villagers for whom the cards came, decided to give it away to others who were more needy.

Group cohesiveness among the villagers

A striking remark about the cohesiveness of the village by one of the key informant led us to the negative side of the topic:

'Nothing cohesive are happening seen here. Everybody lives in his own world'.

In support to this statement, the villagers informed that there is an imaginary boundary between Paschim Kandi (west para) and other parts of the village. Paschim Kandi is predominantly the habitat of the fishermen and they are low in family status and education. They normally wear short clothes when they go fishing every morning and the elites point at them saying, *'There the monger goes with their short clothes and nets'.*

Another example of lack of cohesiveness within the village is the undulating Kancha road. In the rainy season, the road is disconnected in places by flood water and nobody bothers to construct makeshift bridges, which forces the villagers cross the water either walking in knee high water or by boat. In the dry season, everybody feels that the bridge should be reconstructed and all of them should go to the chairman to demand the bridge; but it is never done.

In the village, there are many instances of divorce, polygamy and dowry payment which everybody thinks should be eliminated, but no collective action has been taken in this respect. In the case of dowry payment a VO leader said, *'Sometimes we discuss among our selves to stop giving dowry but it is not possible to practice it as everybody has grown up girls and they can not keep their girls in the house for a long time'.* Even the villagers are afraid to talk to each other about it fearing

that the proposals for their girl's marriage may stop coming. They would rather make the arrangement of their daughters in hush, giving a share (money) to the match makers so that other fathers won't compete with them.

The use of loud speaker in households except in the club or Wazz Mahfil for any social and cultural occasion is prohibited. It is imposed by the Panchayt (village committee). But villagers find a way to avoid the restriction, they do it in boats beside their homestead.

In different social or family festivals like Milad, Eid, Sofina Khotom, marriage, Challisha, Khatna etc. all poor or rich relatives might be invited. But among the neighbours and others, only the wealthy ones are invited and the poor neighbours are left out of the list of invites.

These instances do not mean that the village is not at all cohesive. The formation of the club, trust, the co-operative society with all their actions reflect the cohesive character of the village. Another example of its cohesive character is the village welfare fund in which the villagers give time to time subscriptions and also deposit the penalty money fixed by the Salish.

More over, inter-household relationship are good in terms of opinion change or food and money giving and taking in need. In this context a villager Situ stated, '*No beggars in Uddomdi starved to death - or even starved for a whole day*'.

Marriage relation between different economically stratified groups are also obvious. One of the respondents Shaju, husband of a VO member got his sister married to a day labourer/boatman because the

groom was good natured, where as Shaju is a well of farmer, works in a dying factory.

It can be said that, in what so ever extent, traditionally the village is cohesive, and there are many institutions in South Uddomdi like the cooperative society that bind the villagers strongly together from the very beginning. The sense of belonging still exists as said by an young man, Fatu, - *'Apart from the private graveyards. There is also a public grave yard, land for which was donated by the elites 10 years ago. This is because, we feel to stay together even after we die'.*

POVERTY SITUATION AND COPING IN CRISIS

Crisis periods in South Uddomdi village are perceived differently by TG and NTG villagers. The target group is the most vulnerable group because agriculture is its major way of living, directly or indirectly and so the pick and lean season in agriculture regulates their poverty situation. Sometimes, the middle class farmers are also affected by the seasonality of work availability. But the richer section of the village are least affected by these events; they do not have food crises all over the year and they have a continuous flow of income from multiple sources.

The villagers stated that the severity of crisis varies from household to household depending on the number of dependents and from season to season depending on employment availability. These variations are discussed below and are followed by a list and description of crises identified by the villagers. Afterwards, an attempt has been made to see how the vulnerable group cope with it and how it influences their food intake.

Ratio of dependents on earning people

According to the villagers, the severity of a crisis depends on the number of members of a household. If there are more than one earning member in a household, it means the family has a somewhat stable income all year long. Therefore there is a relationship between the dependency ratio and the poverty situation of a household and the severity of crisis. Economic dependency ratio (EDR) is defined by Labour Force Survey (BBS, 1992) as the ratio of economically inactive population to the economically active population expressed in percent.

However, the first step for working out EDR was to categorize the households of South Uddomdi villagers which were involved in different activity; for example, a member of any Bari might do

business and another member of the same Bari might do a salaried job. Again, in a poor household, one might be a fisherman, his son a day labourer and his wife a chick rearer. All these made the categorization difficult.

However, the dependency ratio of households involved in different activities (with TG and NTG breakup) are given on the table no. 11 followed by another table no. 12 describing the type of occupations categorized for this purpose.

It is important to note that a good number of South Uddomdi villagers live and work outside the village, visit their homes occasionally, but also provide monetary contribution to their family. Consequently, the dependency ratio was seen from two points of view: excluding those who live and work outside South Uddomdi and including those who live and work outside South Uddomdi.

The dependency ratio table (Table no. 11) shows that the rate is higher as a whole or for any type of occupation, for NTG than TG. Apart from the 'Begging and Others' category, the dependency ratio is lowest for the 'TG Business and Others' category (excluding non-residents) and the 'TG Job and Others' category (including the non residents). Table no. 12 explains that members of the households in these two categories are involved in different activities and in most of the cases, more than one members income. But as said by Torifun, a TG, *'All our family members work very hard the whole day, but in the evening gets a little, just to survive. But in rich households, you will find few people working but earning a lot'*.

The dependency ratio is highest in the 'NTG Job and Others' category (excluding the non residents). In this category, only a few earn, but those who earn, earn large amount.

Seasonality of poverty situation

The livelihood of South Uddomdi villagers largely depends on agriculture, directly or indirectly. Consequently, the seasonality of agriculture, its harvesting or sowing season influences the poverty situation of the villagers.

Table no. 4 shows the seasonality of work availability in South Uddomdi. In the months of Bhadra, Ashwin, Kartik, Paush, Magh, Falgun and Chaitra, work availability is relatively low. But the villagers have identified four months of the year as the seasons of greatest poverty for the poor villagers, specially the TG. The months are - Ashwin, Kartik, Falgun and Chaitra. A brief description of them is followed.

Ashwin: During this month, the farmers have no cash money in hand. The amount of jute harvested in Ashar and Sravan is too small to have enough cash to last until Ashwin. The Aus is harvested starting from Joishtho to Sravan; in Ashwin, the poor families have to be very frugal in their consumption of rice as there is yet another month to get through before the harvest. In Ashwin, the only source of income for the villagers is the miscellaneous jobs available in the village. The income from fishing and ferrying by boat in this month is almost halved.

Kartik: As the water recedes the income generated from ferrying and fishing is very limited in Kartik. Miscellaneous jobs are also hardly available in the village. All these make the first half of Kartik very tough. There is also no job in the field until the end of Kartik when Aman is harvested which ends their long wait.

Falgun: In the months of Magh and Falgun, transplantation of IRRI rice is done, and its input cost is very high. So that the amount of cash in farmer's hand is very low in late Magh and Falgun. But the farmers need the cash money to buy IRRI seeds and

seedlings, irrigation water, fertilizers, and to hire labourers for hoeing the IRRI fields.

The harvest of wheat, potato, nut or mustard are not enough to provide them the input cost and they have to take loan from Mahajan at a high rate of interest, or they have to mortgage their land.

Miscellaneous jobs available in this season in South Uddomdi are not enough to employ all the day labourers. Consequently, they migrate to other villages or other districts to look for work.

Chaitra: Chaitra is a risk harvesting season for the villagers because Boro or other 'Chaitali crops' often get destroyed by Nor'westers. Even if these crops are harvested, they are not enough to provide the farmers with surplus cash to invest IRRI cultivation.

In late Chaitra, IRRI starts coming up. But to pay back the loan, the farmers have to wait until Aus season and then jute also comes. Before IRRI is harvested, the stock of rice in the poor households is almost nil. The rich can afford to buy more, but the small farmers and poor share croppers can not buy rice because they have spent all the money investing in the IRRI cultivation. The end of Chaitra is a stressful time for them. Miscellaneous jobs are very few in this season and labourers migrate to surrounding villages and other districts.

Indigenous indicators of crisis

An attempt has been made to identify the different crises perceived by the villagers in South Uddomdi village. A rating of the indigenous crisis was also done by the villagers through pile sorting and putting seeds in each pile. A description of different crises is given below followed by the villager's rating of identified crises.

Description of the crises

Here is a description of different identified crises as reported by the villagers:

No job, no food: The day labourers and marginal farmers who depend on others for employment live in a real crisis. They starve if there is no job available in the village. As one respondent stated, *'tell me how long the neighbours will help when I have nothing to give in return'*. They are living in a situation of constant crisis.

In the lean agricultural seasons (table no. 4), there is virtually no available job in the village for the day labourers. Miscellaneous jobs provide very little income. There are families, who do not have any stable yearlong income. This group is very much vulnerable to crisis. They do not have any fixed asset or valuables to survive the crisis period. If they go a whole day without earning any money they may starve for that day.

Dowry and the consequences: Presences of unmarried grown up girls in family means a crisis situation for the parents that will cost them a lot to overcome it. If the girl is educated, the husband has to be educated too, which will count for more dowry payment. Even a settle marriage of a literate girl with a day labourer calls for a dowry of taka 5,000 to 10,000. In many times for providing the dowry money, the father has to sell his land or the tin roof, and himself stay in thatched roof house. But the problems does not end there. If the promised dowry is not properly paid the husband may divorce the girl. The girls are so afraid that their husbands will get married again, that they do household jobs as well as wage earning activities. Some husbands, if offered a handsome dowry, do not hesitate to get married again. So, dowry presents a problem both before and after marriage. Only this dowry system is large

enough to give a blow that pull down a well off farmer at a marginal level.

Marginal farmers with a large family: The concept of family planning is new in the village. An old marginal farmer, Shohrab, expressed that 'We did not get any methods of family planning in our days and our families are already large. But the young families in the village are small and with the same income, they manage to live very well. The marginal farmers are already tired with their poverty complains, the large family is an additional dimension of poverty in their lives'.

Scarcity of money in the sowing season: Paush, Magh and Falgun is the sowing season of IRRI dhaan and IRRI cultivation is very expensive. The middle class and poor farmers do not have much cash in hand at this time because the selling price of Robi crops is not enough to provide them any surplus cash spend on cultivating IRRI. So they have to take loans at very exploative rates from Mahajans unless they can get one from any institutions or relatives. The selling price of IRRI is also not enough to repay the loans taken in the sowing season of IRRI.

Rainy season is a curse to the middle class farmers: The rainy season is the season of work for the fishermen. The day labourers and the small share croppers also join them in fishing because there is no work in the field. The large farmers or the service holders do not have to worry for living because they constantly get money from multiple sources. But the middle class farmers really face difficult times during rainy season. Agriculture does not offer them enough income to have two full meals everyday all yearlong, and in the lean seasons like this, they can not switch to other jobs as the day labourers do because of self esteem.

Providing educational expenses for boys in risk: In the opinion of the village people, a farmer wants his son to be educated because he thinks that the son will provide him a regular income in time.

For this he takes the risk of selling his fertile agricultural land to pay for his son's education. But as now a days it is not certain whether he will get a suitable job, so the investment in his son might not be profitable one. Therefore paying educational expenses may become a crisis. On the other hand, the farmers are not much interested in spending money on girl's education. According to them girls go to their husband's home after marriage and educated girl means a huge dowry to get married.

Lose of cows: The villagers identified this as a crisis. Robbery of cows in tempos once occurred in South Uddomdi when 19 cows were stolen in one night which is considered as God's curse in farmers life. Afterwards the villagers took collective protection and nothing has happened since then. Epidemic or accidental death also occasionally affect.

Rating the crisis

The villagers were rating the crisis according to their perception. This is as follows:

Crisis 1: No job, no food	18 seeds, 30%
Crisis 2: Dowry and the consequences	15 seeds, 25%
Crisis 3: Marginal farmers with large family	10 seeds, 17%
Crisis 4: Scarcity of money in sowing season	7 seeds, 12%
Crisis 5: Rainy season is a curse to middle class farmer.	5 seeds, 8%
Crisis 6: Providing educational expenses for boy's at risk	4 seeds, 6%
Crisis 7: Lose of cows	1 seed, 2%

Coping in crisis

'The poor villager's everyday life is like mending a cloth; sticking patches and giving stitches'-- said by a poor old lady. There are days when they

do not know how to keep on living like this any longer. The common crises faced by them everyday are: what are they going to eat that day, if their husband or son do not get any job, how they will manage food or money for the day ; if their children are sick, how to treat and nurse them, where to take them and from where the money comes; the list of crises is very long. Along with this everyday crises the villagers have some major crises which have already been mentioned in the section of indigenous indicator of crisis. The villagers have to spend their days through coping in these crises. A generalized picture is given below describing how they cope with both major and everyday crises.

Asking for help

This is the most common way to cope with crises, specially with everyday small crises. They ask for help from neighbours, the patrons with whom they are attached or close relatives, specially the paternal ones living next door. They do help as the process is reciprocal among the households of the same class. Morium, a TG lady said, *'I will not say that my neighbours help me on humanitarian ground, neither are they very kind. She is just keeping her path clear, so that when she is in need, I am bound to help her'*. But other women did say that a sense of humanity is also a basic reason to provide this everyday help, specially in the case of the landlords.

Taking Loans

This is another common way to cope with crisis. For everyday needs, they take small loans from neighbours, relatives or patrons, normally without interest. But for big crisis, they go to professionals and the rate of interest is exorbitant.

A detail description of the credit pattern and sources, seasonality of credit attainment and measures of loan repayment of the

villagers is given below to map a clear picture of the situation.

i. Credit pattern and sources

There are different types of credit sources that was noted in South Uddomdi. They are: Dadon Lenders, Money Lenders, BRAC, Bank, Private Trust and Relatives-Neighbours-Patrons.

Dadon lenders: Dadon lenders are the big fish merchants. Usually, in the months of Joishtho-Ashar, they give loans only to fishermen particularly to shrimp catcher in Chai and Jug. According to Dadon rules, the fishermen, who take loan from Dadon lenders, sell their shrimp to the lenders at a cheaper price than in the market; for example, when shrimp is 40 taka per kg. in the market, they will sell it at 30 to the lenders. The fishermen have the option to sell it in the market, but in that case their loan interest will rise very sharply. The sooner they give back the money by selling shrimp to them at cheaper price the better it is for them.

Mahajans: They are the traditional moneylenders who give loans to local people at very high rate of interest. As reported, there are no Mahajans in South Uddomdi, but in time of need, they go to the neighboring village, where Mahajans provide loan with interest rates at 10%. At times, they also mortgage their gold, land and other valuables to them.

BRAC: BRAC gives loan only to VO members according to organizational rules. The loans are paid back through weekly installments, which, as the VO members reported, makes them easier to repay but the total amount of loan given is not enough to cover the whole cost of the investment. Consequently, they have to borrow money from relatives along with or take Mahajani loans at high rates.

Bank: Most of the villagers do not have any clear idea about the

functioning of the bank. But they know that, bank calls for collateral which only the rich can afford. So, they think bank loan is for the rich, and only a few rich people got bank loans in South Uddomdi village.

The local trust and cooperatives: The R.K.J. trust also disburse money among farmers but, as reported, only the rich and near ones of the trust board get the loan. The local cooperatives are trying to raise money to disburse as agricultural loan among the poor farmers it is not yet happened.

Relatives-neighbours-patrons: These relations also provide money in need, mostly without interest. In case of relatives, they normally go to rich and paternal relatives, if they are failed to get loan from them, they go to maternal relatives. Some times they go next doors, but if they do not get any from them then they try other neighbours. The patrons, with whom they work for, also help out with food or money.

ii. Seasonality of credit attainment

Jaishtho-Ashar: During this season, the fishermen take Dadon for buying boat, fishing nets, bamboo and other equipments needed for fishing.

Kartik: Small farmers, share croppers, day labourers and other poor villagers take loans in this month because there is no cash on hand to buy food stuff and other daily necessities and Robi cultivation expenses. The rich farmers and job holders have food security all of the year and have no need to take loans. The middle class farmers also sometimes borrow money to survive in the lean months.

Paush-Magh: In these months the middle class and small farmers and some time even the Grihostho take loans because the cash money is

needed for IRRI cultivation. As some of the day labourers do share cropping, they also need credit.

Falgun-Chaitra: Small farmers and day labourers take loans because job is not available in these months. Crops are almost ready to be harvested so they wait anxiously with their empty store.

Besides these seasons, the poor day labourers of the village take credit throughout the year according to their need such as food, health and treatment expenditure, house repairing etcetera.

iii. Measures of loan repayment

Loans are a burden on the poor villagers of South Uddomdi which thrashes them severely. In this context Zamiron, a VO member, said *'As the stormy wind destroys the little branches of a tree, loan trodden us just like that'*. The poor villagers try to pay back the loans as early as possible but most of the time they are found to be destitute and broken because of loan repayment. Loan repayment is the major cause of landlessness and pauperization, as told by them. The measures of loan repayment are described below.

Sale of crop: In order to repay the loans which were taken for IRRI cultivation, the families first sell their yielded IRRI crop, specially in Baishak-Joishtho. By selling their crop, they can also repay the loans that were taken for daughter's marriage, medical treatment and food purchase in the lean periods etc.; but all of these depends on the amount of the harvested crop.

Cutting short the number of meal: The poor villagers sometimes reduce the number of their meals in order to pay back their loan. Masuma, a poor housewife said, *'Now we eat thrice a day, but there are times when we take only one meal a day, or sometimes, we fast and only the children eat; only because, we know, we can not borrow money or food any more.'*

We have to save money to pay back our previous season's loan'.

Selling valuables: The villagers also sell their valuables such as land, livestock, ornaments, brass and copper utensils, timber and others. But a farmer sells his land or livestock only as a last resort.

Making loans again: If the family has no valuables or has so few that they prefer not to sell them, they borrow money again from another source to pay back the money to the previous lender. Some times it turns out to be a never ending story.

Distress sale of property

At times in a crisis, the poor villagers of South Uddomdi are compelled to sell their property, both fixed and moveable, rather than just take loans. In some seasons, the rate of distress sale is very high; like in Kartik, Falgun and Chaitra when crops are not ready to harvest and the employment availability is very low; moreover, money is also needed for IRRI cultivation.

The villagers mentioned some other reasons for selling their property which were similar to the reasons for taking loans; however a few exceptional cases were also stated, such as: releasing husband from jail, giving loan to daughter and sister.

In South Uddomdi, a sequence was found about what property are sold first in distress. When a household faces acute crisis, first they think of selling small things like fruit trees, timbers, tin roof, gold ornaments, utensils like brass or copper or valuable clothes. But, if these are already sold or the crisis is too big to be overcome by selling these, they think of selling the land.

Most of the villagers can not recover the things that they have once sold and most join the poorer community of the village and

thus the process of pauperization goes on. A case can be stated here as an example:

Mazedun, a poor villager, had a sister and a brother. Her father, a poor share cropper cum day labourer, had some agricultural land of about 60 deci. This man sold about 15 deci. land at his eldest daughter's marriage for dowry, sold another 20 deci. to bear other wedding expenses and his other homestead needs; on Mazedun's wedding, the rest of his land was sold for the same purpose. Mazedun's father thought that he could recover his land through hard work, but he could not. He had nothing left for his poor sharecropper cum day labourer son. He and his son started producing crop seedlings in the narrow patch of land beside their home for living. In the meantime, Mazedun got divorced and came back with a three year old son to live with his father and brother and all that her father could say was, *'I have nothing but disappointments all through my life'*.

Migration

In lean seasons, especially in the months of Falgun and Chaitra, when there is very little work available in the village and when wage rates are very low, the day labourers migrate to surrounding villages or other districts for work. During this time their families go through very hard times, depending on the other well-off households of the village or the neighbours. When the day labourers come back, they pay back what they borrowed.

Another type of migration is seen in the village, but it is not common. A marginal farmer, who has lost or sold nearly everything, might sell the homestead land, pay off the loan if possible and start his life over again in another village. Even middle class

farmers sometimes sell their property in the village and start a new career in the in-laws village when face a loss in their farm or business. Likewise, people from other villages also settle in South Uddomdi village for the same reason.

Crisis moment network

The villagers have a preferential order as seen above in crisis. Here is the network depending on type of crisis as said by them:

In small crisis: * they go to near kin, rich or poor
 * if failed, go to neighbours
 * if failed, go to patrons

In big crisis: * they go to rich relatives, specially to the
 paternal ones, if failed, to the maternal
 relatives
 * they go to their patrons
 * they go to the traditional money lenders

Food intake and poverty situation

Poverty situation has got a seasonal character as discussed before that influences through controlling the buying capacity of the consumers and consequently their food intake type. Number of meals taken and their amount also attain a seasonal character.

Occupational difference influences food intake

Food availability in different seasons and the ups and downs of the prices also influence the food intake of the villagers. But it must be mentioned here that the well-off villagers are influenced least by these. Only the wealth class of A, B and sometimes C are vulnerable here. Occupation sometimes also influence, such as only the fisher men can afford to have fish yearlong as they do not have

to buy it. Even the well-offs in the village sometimes have to exclude fish from their meals. Again, the wealthy farmers or job holders take rice year round and do not prefer wheat chapati. But when the price of rice is very high the small farmers or day labourers have to take wheat or potato instead of rice.

Seasonality of food intake

A more or less generalized seasonal pattern of food intake is derived from the villagers' statements. It is given below, but it does not represent the well-off villagers' food intake. A cross check of the seasonal pattern of food intake was also done with the seasonality of work availability (table no. 4).

Baishak-Jaishtho: As days are long, three meals are taken a day, if fruits are counted, four meals a day. Different fruits are available. Sesame and IRRI is harvested in Joishtho. Aus also starts coming and the price of rice is low; so rice is taken three times a day. Different vegetables like gourds, potatoes are available.

Ashar-Sravan: Yet days are long, two meals are taken a day. In this season, Aus and jute are harvested in a rush as the water starts coming very fast. Day labourers demand very high wages which takes toll on number of meal taken. Again, from Sravan, they have to be economical in consuming rice. As IRRI and Aus are already harvested, only Aman is left. Most of the villagers have to buy rice at least in seven months of the year. Vegetables are available, but not in large amount. Although fishing is done intensively in these seasons, but the poor villagers can not afford to buy it from the market and they also can not catch it very often as water is very high. Because of these they do not take fresh fish, rather they take dry fish of the previous year.

Bhadra-Ashwin: Villagers steadily take two meals a day as the poor

get involved in activities like ply boat, fishing, fencing, thatching or collecting fodder. The middle class lives in crisis as they have no alternative jobs to do. Vegetables are less available. Both dry and fresh fish are taken but the farmer's rice stock becomes empty in late Bhadra. The poorest farmers take only one full meal a day but generally they do not tell this to other people because of prestige as one woman, Farida, said, *'Their stomachs are empty, but prestige remains very high'*.

Kartik-Agrahaiyon: Days are short in this season and two meals a day are taken. Lean months start from Ashwin and go up to Agrahayon. Potatoes and vegetables are taken as substitutes of rice as the scarcity of rice starts. Day labourers get work in Aman harvesting field which is a relief for them. Although, Aman is harvested in this season, but they have to be economical in consuming rice as there are still 4-5 months more to go until IRRI harvest. Low water in Bills do not offer them work in boat and earn extra money. But fishing in the low water is done extensively that adds protein in their meal.

Paush-Magh: Two meals a day are taken because the cost of rice is very high. In the deficit households, one meal consists of wheat, vegetables and potato. Farmers have to take loans for wheat, mustard, nut, Aus and IRRI cultivation. Job for day labourers are hard to find, specially in Paush. So, the amount of food in each meal is less, besides the days are still short.

Falgun-Chaitra: Two meals in Falgun and three in Chaitra are taken as the days start growing longer. But the poverty situation remains the same as in Paush and Magh. Few jobs are available in the fields as staple crops are there. Field preparation for the next crop starts and the harvesting of pulses, potatoes, wheat and Boro also starts. But most of the money goes in loan repayment which was taken for IRRI cultivation.

Intra household food distribution

Intra household food distribution, especially in the lean months is affected; the mothers always have the least in her share after distributing it among her children and other members in the household. One VO member, Aleya, stated that, *'We poor people can not afford big fish; so distribution of heads and tails does not matter. We eat the whole one. You will find such biased food distribution concepts in the big houses. We cook small and eat it in one sitting all together. If some one eats less, it is the mother'*.

In support to this statement, the other women of the village stated that the solvent ones take more care of their sons because they will earn and maintain the family in future. Therefore, they should be built strong from their childhood, and so they are given more food than girls. The elders and the earners in the family, especially the males, have the rights to eat the most and get the best part of the food. Women have learned this from their mothers and grandmothers. Although now a days some girls start to contribute to their family and are winning favour, but never more than is given to the boys.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

While exploring the socioeconomic issues in South Uddomdi, we specifically looked at the following issues in the study:

- * Occupation and its seasonality
- * Social stratification of the villagers
- * Power structure and practice
- * Perception of education and educational attainment
- * Indigenous indicators of wealth
- * Cohesiveness
- * Poverty situation and seasonality
- * Dependency ratio
- * Indigenous indicators of crisis and rating the crisis
- * Ways of coping in crisis
- * Food intake and differences in it

We were conscious about these issues from the very beginning of our study and went into the field with a complete structured idea, so that we could easily differentiate which events were important for our study and which were not. In the same way, which events were current and which were past occurrences, which issues were responsible for the present events and which indicated change in them.

From the detailed cross sectional view of the present socioeconomic situation of the village, this study supports the quantitative baseline survey of Matlab study. This study also attempted to understand the change and it's mechanism or processes that has occurred in the village over the past decades.

Though this work was done within a limited framework, it reflected some major changes along with the mechanism behind them. Therefore, we expect that, as we have provided a detailed

qualitative baseline situation regarding socioeconomic issues through our study.

Changes seen in time line

A close look at the village event time line (field work sample no. 2) and a gist of time lines (table no. 13) reveal a history of the village and also the mechanism behind it. What was tried to do in the time lines was to get people's idea about change and how they consider them; it was a sort of a community assessment done by the villagers. The changes are described below in order of importance given by them.

1. Introduction of IRRI cultivation: IRRI cultivation started at Uddomdi in 1985 and it was practiced in full swing from 1989. The IRRI lands are now usually single cropped; occasionally, two or more crops are harvested from the same land as it was done in past, but with a risk. Introduction of IRRI brought assurance that at least one full crop (rice) a year would be produced. It provides three full meals a day to the poor people as they stated '*Those who had two meals a day are now having three*'.

An indirect benefit from the IRRI pump project is the use of electricity for pumping water. Few wealthy households also use it for home consumption.

2. Growing interest in Education: People of two Baris (Patwari and Sarkar) in South Uddomdi were traditionally educated and as some of them did good salaried job, earned well. This created a new interest among the local people in education. It got a new thrust when their children received free books and exemption of tuition fees in the government primary school.

Interest in education also grew rapidly when the infrastructural development of the village increased the accessibility to Matlab Sadar educational institutions since 1982. From 1992 and onward, when BRAC came to the village children from both BRAC and non-BRAC households began studying in the NFPE school.

The factors underlying the increased interest in education as stated by the villagers are:

- * A response to the need of the era.
- * It gives job assurance.
- * Educated girls can save money for their dowry when they get jobs.
- * The property inherited is not enough now a days to rely solely on agriculture. An educated person can do salaried job along with agriculture.
- * Irregular and decreasing income from agriculture was a turning point towards education.
- * The number of educational institutions and the accessibility to them have increased in recent years.
- * BRAC is offering cheaper, easier and more effective ways to educate children. So now the poor people can also send their children to school.

3. Dowry has become an essential part of marriage: After liberation, the practice of dowry transactions started but only on a limited extent. But gradually it has become an indispensable part of the marriage.

The villagers expressed their opinions about the origin and dispersion of dowry transaction and present change in perception about dowry.

- * The Muslims took it from the Hindu religion.
- * This system came from India.

- * The looted property during liberation war was given as dowry at the beginning, afterwards it stood as an essential part of the marriage system.
- * During liberation war, 3 million men died and created gender imbalance. Now boys cost more than the girls.
- * The wealthy farmers in the village started it and it became the rule. Consequently, the poor villagers have to abide by.
- * Women are less valuable and attractive to men now as they do not abide by the Purdah system and it is the dowry which creates attraction towards having a girl of their own.
- * Men are mostly unemployed. This dowry money helps them to start a new way of life and income generating activity.
- * The poor people always need cash money, no matter where they can get it from.
- * It started as a pursuit of amusement. but later become an indispensable part of the marriage system.

In respect to the emergence of the dowry system a guardian stated *'We had to give dowry to the bride's father when we got married 30 years ago and now we have to give dowry to the groom's father, or else, our daughters will never get married. We do not know, how the trump card went into their hands'*. He further reported that in present days the young men of the village are also interested to get dowry. In answering this a young bachelor, Ruhul, said, *'we are young, educated and jobless; girl's fathers use that opportunity as a bait and tempt us by saying that they will provide us jobs, place to live in, give us radio, television, cycle only if we marry their uneducated daughter. Seeing no other way, we walk into the trap, marry their daughters'*.

Thus, we got very different and controversial views on the same issue from two different age groups, one denoting what it was like few decades ago and the other its present form.

4. Changing role in power practice: The arbitration and judicial matters of South Uddomdi were looked over by the elderly elites of

the village and it was practiced from generation to generation without any challenge. But 6 or 7 years back, the youths of the village, through their club, exercised power to arbitrate along with its implementation.

When the elders and elites do any arbitration, representatives from the youth club are always present. If they think the judgement is biased, they take over the arbitration and it is done over again by the youth club. Fortunately, still now, the villagers are happy with the judgement of the youth club. The women feel more comfortable about the judicial opinions of the youth club; they think that the youths are doing justice. The elites and elders are not always logical and fair.

Although there is a change in power practice, yet the villagers said, as the youth club members are the children of the elites and elders of the village, so that one day they will grow up and will start to act the same as their guardians.

5. Female participation in income generating activities: We got very important information on this issue from the key informant and his statements match those made by the villagers. They stated that women would have never gone out to work for money if their husband's income were enough to run the family properly. Recently, the high cost of living, the use of fancy things in everyday life, the cost of food and other necessities and the cost of IRRI cultivation have made the husband's income seem too small so the wives started earning. But there is a difference between the past and present type of job performed by women. Previously, they did mostly household works of others for food or made traditional handicrafts inside home; these were never taken seriously. But today, they go out to work in offices -- ICDDR,B, CARE, BRAC, garments, restaurants in Matlab, work as fourth class employees in schools. Educated women work as teachers or officials even in Dhaka.

In South Uddomdi, women started with traditional birth attendant's work in CRL. When CARE came, poor and destitute women started doing earth works in roads. Afterwards, BRAC came and more jobs became available for women. Now, nobody minds the poor women's working outside the home.

6. Increased use of commodities than before: Now a days the villagers want a better environment which calls for a change in the commodities of everyday use such as scented hair oil, soaps and others. They are now more conscious about cleanliness and keeping their children clean and healthy. They prefer to wear better clothes if they come in front of strangers or guests. They borrow chairs and tables from neighbours instead of mats and tools when respected guests arrive.

7. A vulnerable class has emerged: The villagers of South Uddomdi, 15 or 20 years back relied on only one occupation for earning for example a farmer did only farming, a fisherman only involved in fishing. But now a days, apart from the solvent ones, nobody can rely on a single occupation; such as, a day labourer can ply a boat and catch fish in the rainy season. He might also become an agricultural day labourer in the harvesting season. On the other hand a farmer can do salaried job along with farming. Only very few wealthy farmers and job holders do not need shift jobs.

The villagers explain that this has happened because the population of South Uddomdi has increased very rapidly in the last 50 years. Because of that The poor farmers are gradually inheriting very small property. They are not pure 'Grihostho' anymore; partly day labourer or fishermen. This class has so few asset, which they have to sell most of the time in crisis. This class is very vulnerable and less tolerant to crisis because they have no land or very little land and they have to work very hard every day just to

buy their food. As said by Torifun, *'Our husbands did not know the work Bhao (ways) before, but now they have to find more ways to keep on living. All of us have become very clever now'*.

The Villagers pointed out some major reasons for the emergence and rapid increase of this vulnerable class. These are:

- * The division of property and inheriting a small portion of the property.

- * Sale of land and other valuables for certain reasons such as:

- repaying loans,
- arranging money for dowry,
- providing educational expenses of sons; and
- for going to foreign countries

- * Sudden unemployment from jobs which make them totally destitute and broken.

These, according to them are aggravating the pauperization process.

8. Other major changes: The construction of the road is a major change in the village because it has created a connection with Matlab Sadar. It has increased mobility. Some grocery shops have started in the village and now nobody needs to go to Matlab everyday to buy their daily needs.

The construction of the embankment diverts the rivers main flow westward which resulted in low fish availability in the surroundings of South Uddomdi. Open water fish capture is now less profitable. The land inside the embankment is triple cropped, including IRRI. This income is much higher than South Uddomdi villagers. In the long run, they might be more solvent and educated, as feared by the South Uddomdi villagers.

Girls now a days observe less Purdah. They go out for work and this has resulted in more love and affair events in the village. Even, young boys and girls settle their own marriage. The poor

parents normally accept it, but the rich parents are usually more stubborn.

The villagers identified different changes through time line and during this practice they also considered some issues responsible for a couple of changes; these issues (the major changes) were identified as independent variables and the changes that occurred for theses identified as dependent variables. Below the independent changes are listed along with other changes that they initiated. This can be seen as the mechanism of changes in South Uddomdi village.

According to the villagers, there are four major independent changes in the village:

- * Introduction of IRRI Dhaan cultivation.
- * The intervention of the NGOs.
- * Construction of the road.
- * Socioeconomic factors contributing towards landlessness.

About the factors responsible for these independent changes, the villagers stated that these changes were destined to happen given the present context and situation of the village. Other changes followed as a consequence of these independent changes. These are listed below.

Introduction of the IRRI cultivation (Independent):

Related dependent Changes:

- * Electricity came into the village to pump irrigation water.
- * Domestic consumption of electricity occurred afterwards in a few households.

- * Increased yield of rice leading to assurance of at least one crop a year, that alleviated food crisis and increased the food security of IRRI farmers to some extent.
- * From the huge rice production, a group started a wholesale business of rice. Previously this business was retail and done only in lean periods.
- * Cropping pattern also changed a bit. Previously, in the Boro season, either only Boro or Boro followed by a Chaitali crop, or two short term Chaitali crops were harvested from the same land (inter crop); but all were risk crop. Today, mostly IRRI is cultivated instead and Chaitali is obscured now a days
- * People used to keep yearlong Kamlas previously as there were major works to do for the Kamlas yearlong. But now, as IRRI cultivation is expensive and most works are concentrated in the IRRI. Aus and Aman seasons, villagers hire Kamlas only when needed. What else, the Kamlas think that for IRRI cultivation, their job opportunity is now less in the village
- * As IRRI cultivation is very costly, the husband's income is not enough for the survival of a family. So the wife starts working outside for money.

The intervention of the NGOs (Independent):

Related dependent Changes:

- * The intervention of different NGOs specially BRAC works as an agency of encouraging women to work outside home, earn their own living and provide them jobs; they promote education especially for girls; they provide loan to women for self employment.
- * Job opportunities and income generating activities have increased in the village mainly for women (BRAC, CARE, ICDDR,B); a few men also got job. This has moderated the poverty situation coping for some TG families.
- * Increased rate of education in the village created awareness on socioeconomic issues.
- * Transformation of women, especially the TG women from traditional Bengali wives to independent ones who do not strictly observe purdah.

- * Increased facilities for medical treatment (ICDDR,B, BRAC) for the villagers and also for their domestic animals and fowl are now available.
- * People have now become more conscious after NGO intervention.

Construction of the road (Independent):

Related dependent Changes:

- * Increased villagers mobility and awareness about their surroundings.
- * After the road was constructed, grocery shops started coming up; no body needs to go to Matlab often for everyday need.
- * Increased accessibility better educational institutions raised literacy rate.
- * It is also responsible for changing role in power practice as the youths now very often visit Matlab, mix with advanced young people and they become more conscious about politics, justice and power practice. This encourage them to interfere in the present power practice of the village, as sometimes, the elders give biased verdicts.
- * Villagers have become more luxurious than before. They use fancy goods in everyday life.
- * Women can easily move to Matlab. They can work there or even in Dhaka for money.
- * People have become much more tactful and clever now a days.

Socioeconomic factors like inheritance law, indebtedness, increasing population, dowry transaction, illness expenses, increased agricultural input costs, accidental costs and others contributing towards landlessness (Independent):

Related Dependent Changes:

- * Landlessness and pauperization.
- * A vulnerable class has emerged who is less tolerant to crisis.

- * The poor depend on more than one profession at the same time for living as any specific work does not provide enough money for survival and as they have a very small amount of land or none at all, income from agriculture is negligible.
- * This group mostly live from hand to mouth. If there is no job for a day, that means no food for the family for that day.

VO and Community Level Change in South Uddomdi:

In the household information card, there was a provision to see what the VO members and other members of the community think of the changes that has occurred in a VO member's life after she has joined BRAC VOs. This assessment has been done by the villagers about each and every VO household on their economic condition, whether they are improving (1), stable (2) or vulnerable (3). This assessment has been seen in two levels: Community level change and VO level change. Although the VOs formed in South Uddomdi are new (the oldest being only one year) and there were no mentionable changes seen in their life after joining BRAC, yet an attempt has been made on trial basis in the oldest VO. But what is more interesting here is the difference in explanation in defining the rungs of the ladder of change (1,2,3) by the VO and community members. Their different version of definitions are given below.

COMMUNITY LEVEL CHANGE:

- Improving:** Industrious, hold a good numbers of acres of land, do share cropping, they have God's blessings, have small family, have skilled labor in the family, have strong backbone.
- Stable:** All efforts taken by them for self development do not work out the way they wanted.

Vulnerable: Large family, all depends on one's income, got their daughter married with huge dowry, bad health, incapable of earning, excess expenditure in relation to income, earns good but spends it all luxuriously and extravagantly. do not get year round secure jobs.

VO LEVEL CHANGE:

Improving: Got loan and invested properly in agricultural activity, business or boat buying, loan repayment is good along with good food intake and got a good health, has good economic background.

Stable: Do not have intentions of savings, consumed all that was earned, the loan was never invested or it is invested but the profit is yet to attain, loan is used to repay previous personal loans.

Vulnerable: Husband live apart or in the city, no dependable man is staying home, money was misused on husbands (releasing him from jail, the money was not invested profitably or wisely by the husband, the husband spent it all for his own purpose), the loan was consumed in buying food stuffs, they got a Mahajani credit.

In most of the cases, both the VO and community level respondents categorized the VO members identically (mostly ranked as stable-2). But there were other cases also, where there was a difference. We went through only few of them and found the causes behind them. Like: A woman headed household earning good by rearing chicks and domestics, doing earth work with CARE and received a loan from BRAC with which she is doing rice business. She is ranked as 1 in VO

level as the other VO members know her present condition very definitely; but at community level, she is ranked as 3, as her husband is living apart and does not give her any money. In addition, there is no adult men in the house to invest the loan she received. Obviously, they were looking down her capabilities.

Again, a household is ranked as 1 at the community level, because that household has grownup boys who will be able to earn a lot but the same household was ranked 2 at VO level because all the boys do not work and the VO member of that household did not get any loan.

However, it is hoped that the change perceived by the villagers at the VO level and community level due to the intervention of BRAC can be observed more effectively when the VOs grow older.

Conclusion:

In this study we tried to explore some of the socioeconomic issues of a village, South Uddomdi through participatory methods. At the same time we made an effort to identify the changes and its mechanism that has occurred in the village over the past decades. Because one of the major purpose of the study was to examine the feasibility of utilizing PRA in understanding the baseline situation and also the mechanism of change.

With the respect to its major purpose, the study concludes that though the facts of different issues come up superficially in the study through PRA; but it is able to comprehend a complete view of the present socioeconomic situation of the village. The study also confirms the utility of PRA as a means of identifying the processes or mechanism of changes and the indigenous indicators of different socioeconomic issues. Finally, as the study was conducted on the basis of expertise and participation of the local people, it reflects the actual situation of the village from villagers' perspectives.

Suggestions for future Study:

Due to the limited scope of the study, there are several fields we could not explore but that we think should be in further study.

One such field is the shift of power in South Uddomdi from the elderly to the younger generation. The reasons why the change was so sudden need to be investigated further.

The perception of dowry, how did it originate and become an indispensable part of the marriage will be worth studying as it contributes partly to the pauperization of the rural poor.

Education is another sphere of interest. Specially women's education and the villager's perception. One group supports it as it allows exposure of women to real world: one group does not, as it involves disobeying purdah, breaking traditional rules or calls for more dowry at the time of marriage. This conflict of opinions might open a dormant chapter in light.

Women's attitude and values towards work is an interesting area for further study. Though women in South Uddomdi earn now, still one group feels that if their husbands could earn enough, they would not go out for work. On the other hand, some women believe that, no matter how rich they get, they should be independent financially. This is an interesting conflict of values.

In the poverty situation and coping in crisis section, we gave a generalized picture about the way they cope with major crises, but a more detailed look into how they cope with everyday crises is needed, particularly with respect to devastating crises.

ANNEX

Figures

Tables

Field Work Samples

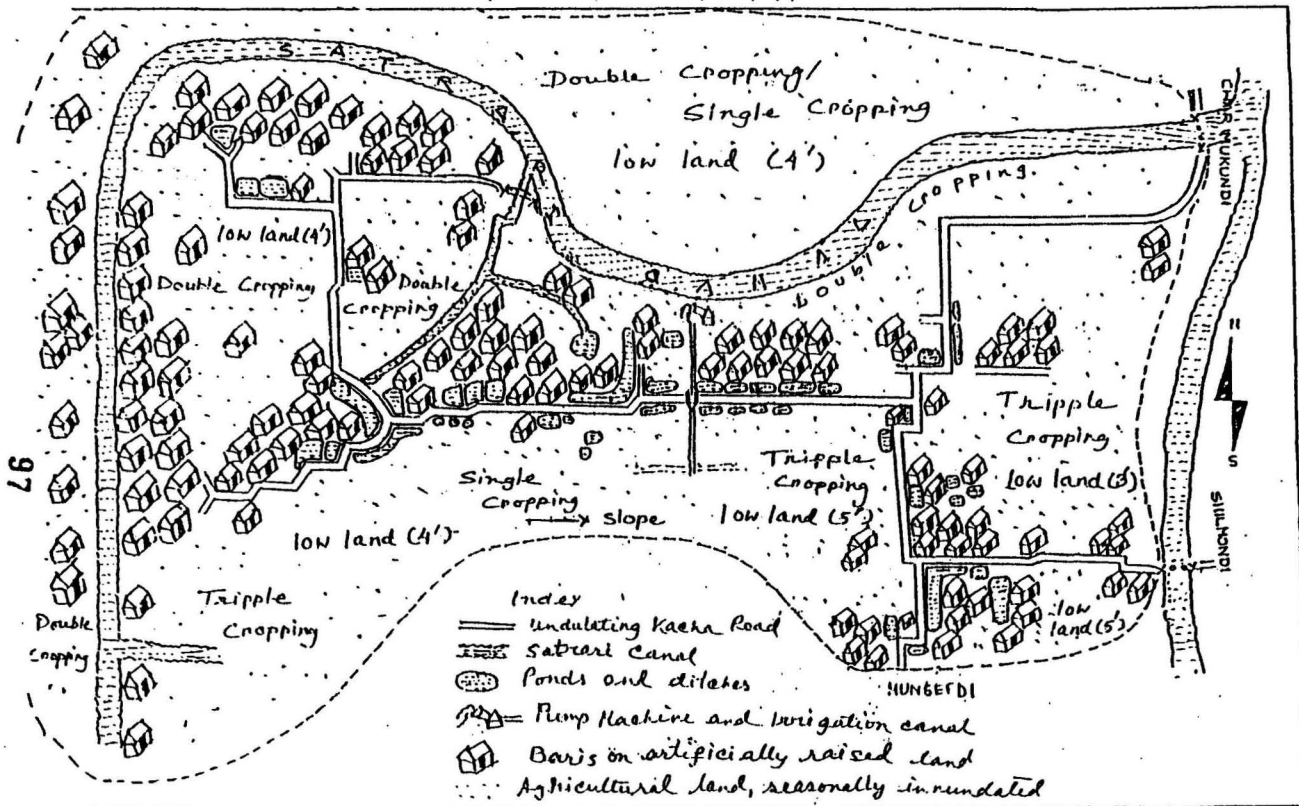
List of Bengali Words Used in the Text

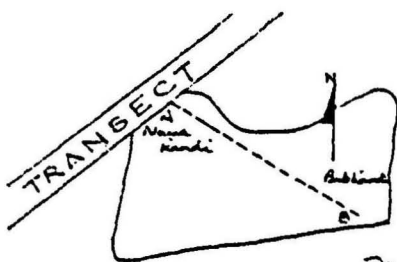
Abbreviations

PHYSICAL MAP OF SOUTH UDDOMDI, MATLAB

SCALE 18.2" = 1 MILE

Fig no. 1





TRANSECT OF S. UDDOMDI, MATLAB, 1994.

Land Type and Land Use	Canal, Low land used for seasonal food cultivation	High land used for home land and other social institutions	High land used as road	Low land used for seasonal cultivation	Canal, Low land used for seasonal cultivation	Canal, Low land used for seasonal cultivation	Canal, Low land used for seasonal cultivation	Canal, Low land used for seasonal cultivation	Canal, Low land used for seasonal cultivation	Canal, Low land used for seasonal cultivation
Soil Type	Sandy, Loam	Clay	Loam	Loam	Sandy, Loam	Clay	Sandy, Clay	Loam		
Trees	-	Coconut, Date, Palm, Betelnut, Banana, Jani, Guava, Mangoes, Pineapple, etc.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cropping Pattern	Single Cropping, Double Cropping, IRR, etc.	Kitchen Gardening, Lal Shau, Pui Shau, Egg Plant, Beans, Gourd, etc.	Double Cropping, etc.	Double Cropping, etc.	Double Cropping, etc.	Double Cropping, etc.	Double Cropping, etc.	Double Cropping, etc.	Double Cropping, etc.	Double Cropping, etc.
Poultry and Livestock	-	Cow, Goat, Duck, Chicken, Pigeon	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Water Source	Hand Tube Wells and Ponds, etc.	Hand Tube Wells and Ponds, etc.	Hand Tube Wells and Ponds, etc.	Hand Tube Wells and Ponds, etc.	Hand Tube Wells and Ponds, etc.	Hand Tube Wells and Ponds, etc.	Hand Tube Wells and Ponds, etc.	Hand Tube Wells and Ponds, etc.	Hand Tube Wells and Ponds, etc.	Hand Tube Wells and Ponds, etc.
Problems	Land is very low. Needed to be raised. Also raised every year. No electricity for household consumption.	The roads are very low. Needed to be raised. Also raised every year. No electricity for household consumption.	Water source is non-perennial. Triple Cropping is not possible without irrigation. This land stays under water for 4/5 months.	Water source is non-perennial. Triple Cropping is not possible without irrigation. This land stays under water for 4/5 months.	Water source is non-perennial. Triple Cropping is not possible without irrigation. This land stays under water for 4/5 months.	Water source is non-perennial. Triple Cropping is not possible without irrigation. This land stays under water for 4/5 months.	Water source is non-perennial. Triple Cropping is not possible without irrigation. This land stays under water for 4/5 months.	Water source is non-perennial. Triple Cropping is not possible without irrigation. This land stays under water for 4/5 months.	Water source is non-perennial. Triple Cropping is not possible without irrigation. This land stays under water for 4/5 months.	Water source is non-perennial. Triple Cropping is not possible without irrigation. This land stays under water for 4/5 months.
Possibilities	Vegetable Gardening should be done intensively. Electricity for home consumption will change lifestyle. If roads are developed, commerce will be improved. Intensive home gardening, orchard and poultry, livestock rearing will increase income.	Vegetable Gardening should be done intensively. Electricity for home consumption will change lifestyle. If roads are developed, commerce will be improved. Intensive home gardening, orchard and poultry, livestock rearing will increase income.	Availability of irrigation water may change cropping pattern. Rodent control may increase crop yield.	Availability of irrigation water may change cropping pattern. Rodent control may increase crop yield.	Availability of irrigation water may change cropping pattern. Rodent control may increase crop yield.	Availability of irrigation water may change cropping pattern. Rodent control may increase crop yield.	Availability of irrigation water may change cropping pattern. Rodent control may increase crop yield.	Availability of irrigation water may change cropping pattern. Rodent control may increase crop yield.	Availability of irrigation water may change cropping pattern. Rodent control may increase crop yield.	Availability of irrigation water may change cropping pattern. Rodent control may increase crop yield.

25th Jan. 1994.

Fig no. 2

SOCIAL MAP OF SOUTH UDDOMDI, MATLAB

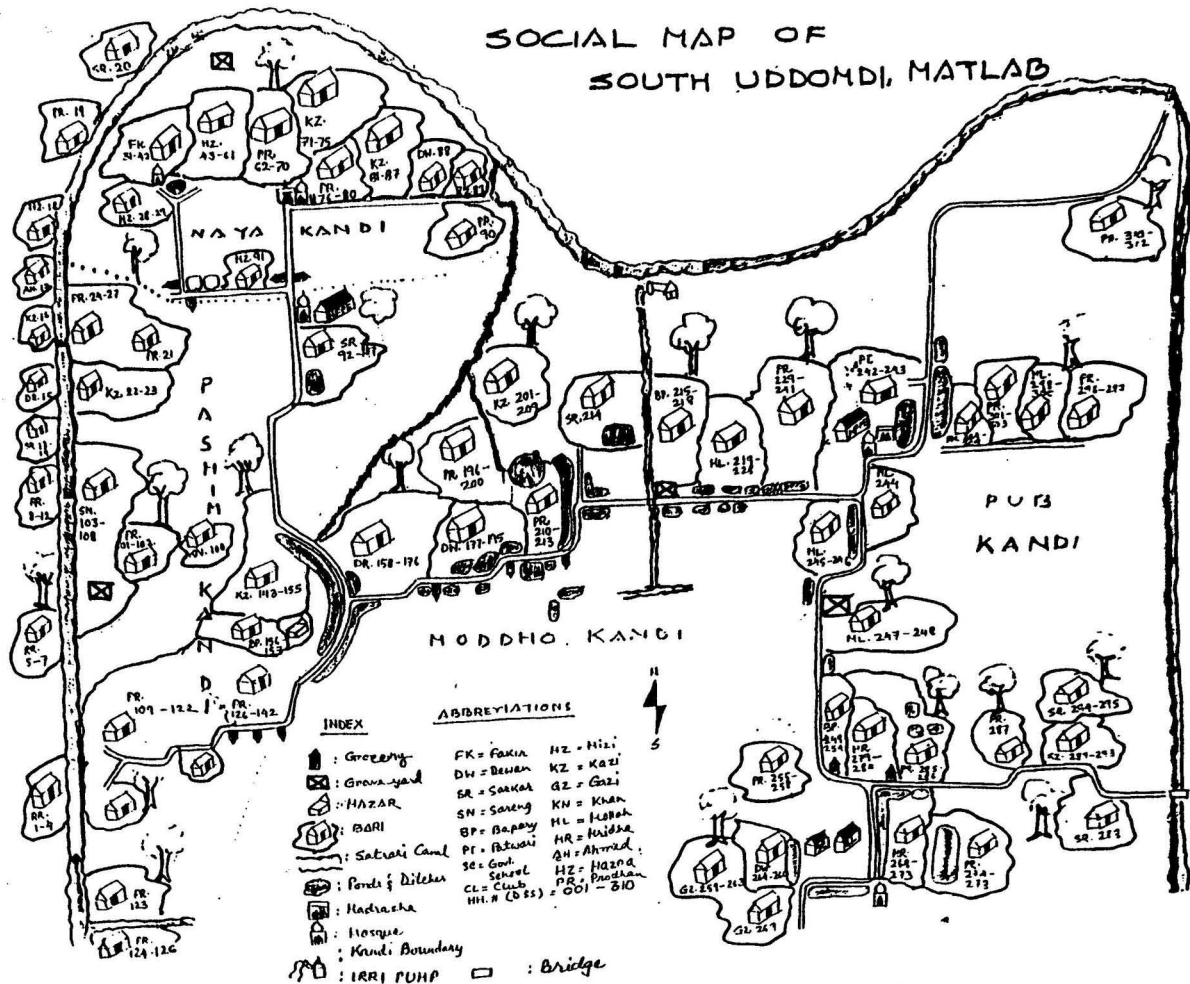


Fig no. 3

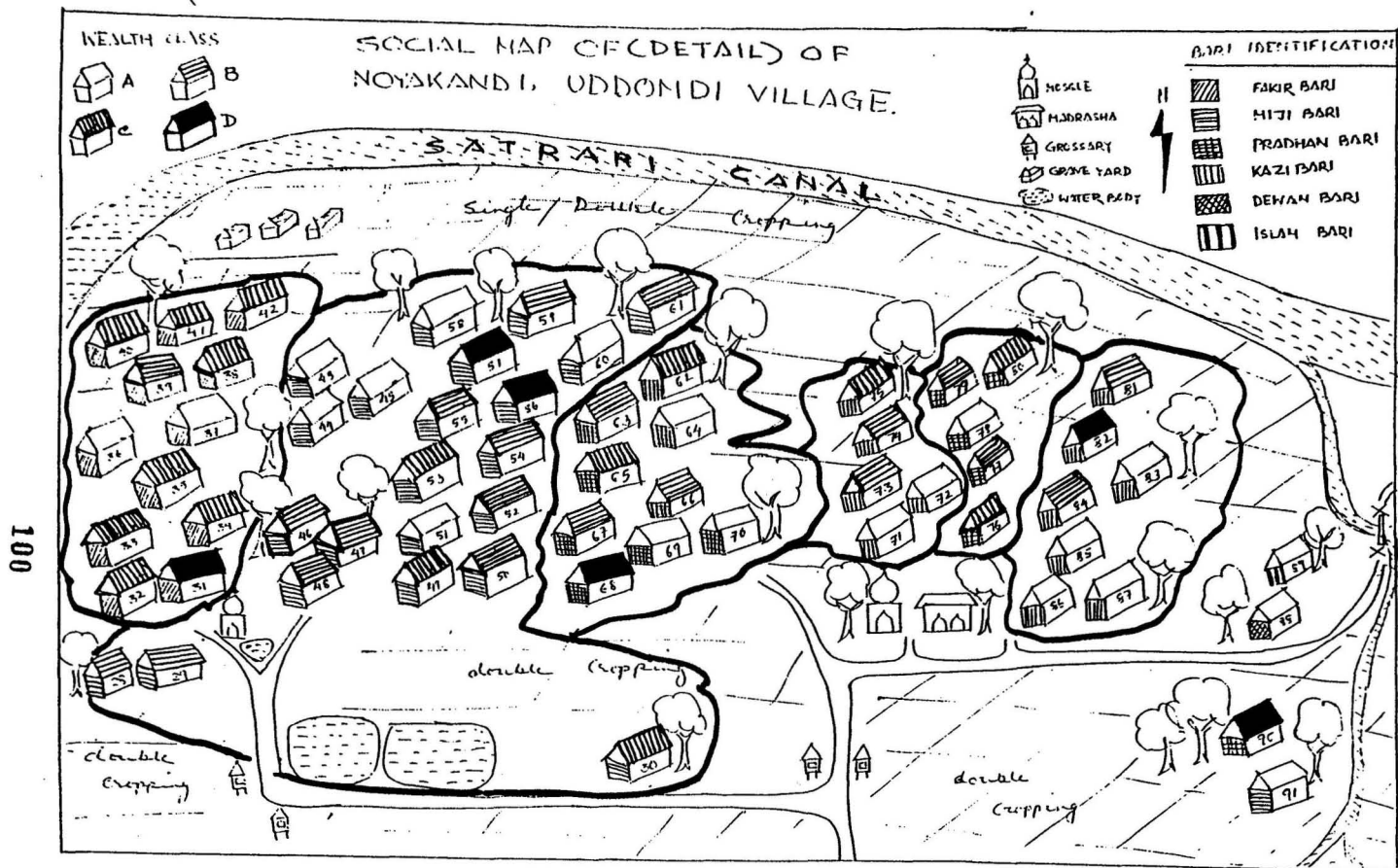


Fig. no. 4 (A)

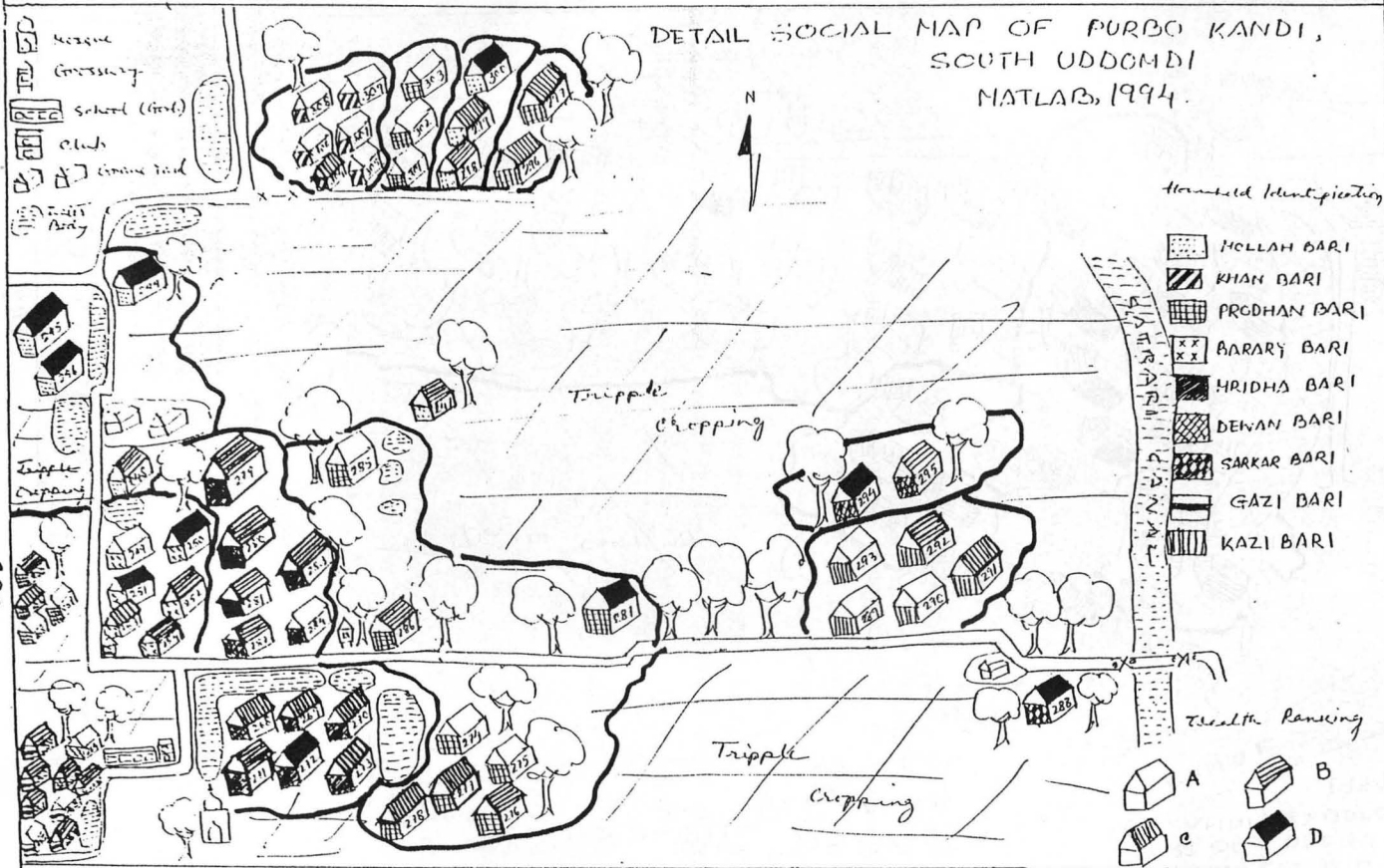
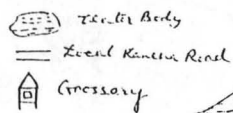


Fig no. 4(B)

25th January, 79

SOCIAL MAP (DETAIL) OF
PART OF HODDHO
KANDI, S. UDDOHDI,
1994

Hamlet Identification



Health Ranking

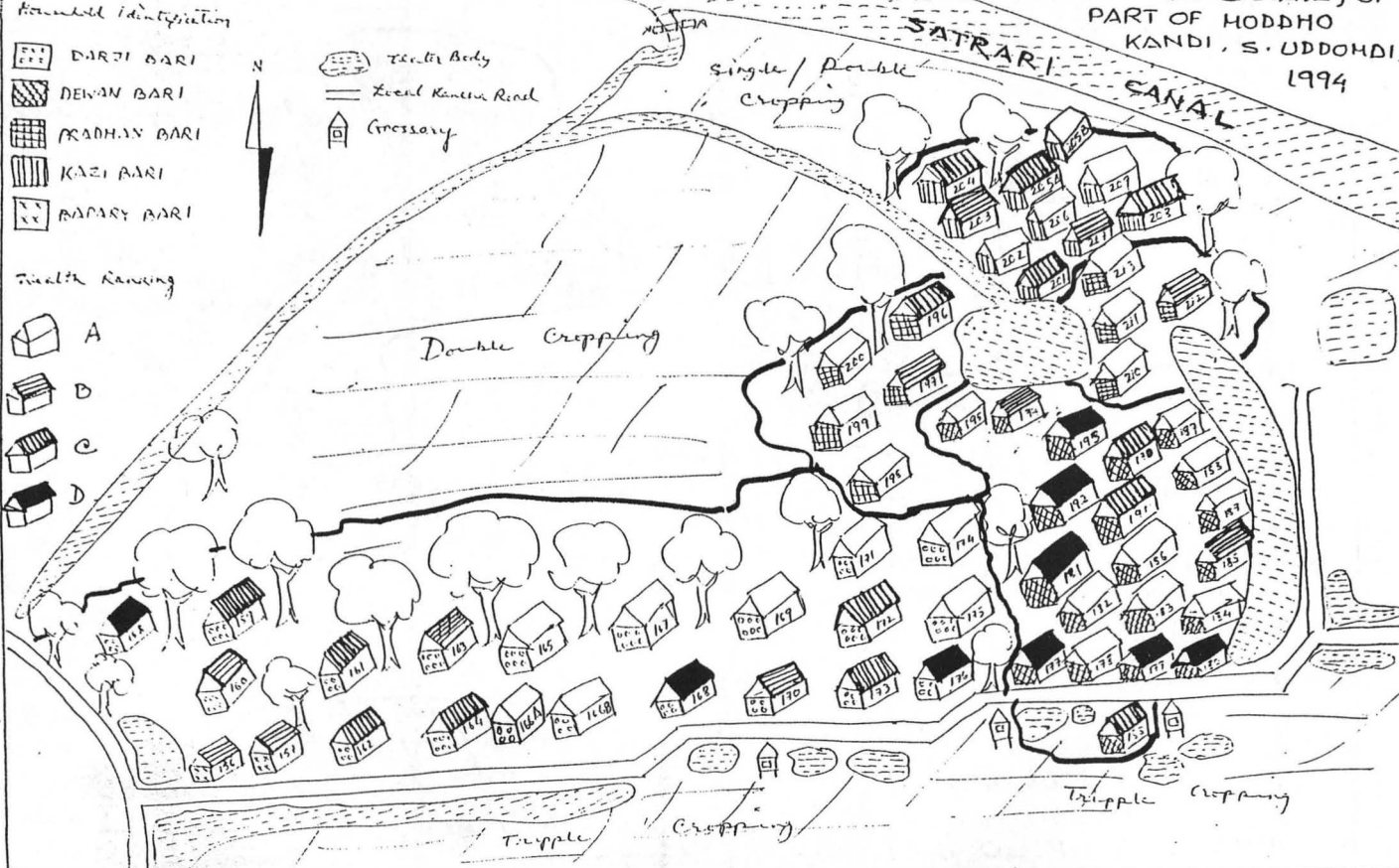
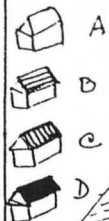


Fig no. 4 (C)

January, 25, 1994.

Table no. 1 Major Issues for the Study (along with different
PRA Methodologies used/to be used for
triangulation)

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Individual and HH income with source, amount	WR, SC, FGD
Indigenous Indicator of Wealth (Economic Stratification)	WR, KEY, FGD
Kinship (Social Stratification)	MAP, KEY, FGD
Cohesiveness (VO/Village)	LH, KEY, FGD
Education (Attainment, Perception)	WR, KEY, FGD
Power Structure	TL, KEY, FGD
Occupation (major)	WR, BASE, FGD

POVERTY SITUATION

Seasonal Change of Occupation and Income	SC, KEY, FGD
Ratio of Dependents on Earning People	WR, BASE, FGD
HH Asset Listing and Distress Sale of Property	WR, LH, KEY
Number of Meal Taken (Seasonal)	SC, KEY, FGD

COPING IN CRISIS

Indigenous Indicator of Crisis	KEY, FGD, SC
Relationship: Crisis and Money Lending	KEY, FGD, LH
Crisis Moment Network (Male/Female HHH)	KEY, FGD, LH
Seasonal Pattern of Credit Attainment from Different Sources	KEY, FGD, SC

Table no. 2 Sample Respondents (Approximately) of the selected village of the study

Community	Group Study	Individual Study	Total

	(# x respondent)		
Inside Selected Community	HFI	1 x 10 = 10	212
	FGD	6 x 10 = 60	
	WR	3 x 8 = 24	
	TL	4 x 10 = 40	
	SC	6 x 8 = 48	
	PS	2 x 10 = 20	
	TRN, MAP	1 x 10 = 10	

		212	

Inside/ Outside selected community	KEY	4X1 = 4	4

BRAC Staff	KEY	1x1 = 1	1

Table no. 3

Different PRA Methodology used with different groups along with days required.

PRA Methodologies (with group or individuals)	No. of Groups (G) or Individuals (I)				Days Required
				Total	
Social and Physical Mapping-G	1			1	1
File Sorting - G	1	1		2	1
Transect - G	1			1	1
Household Information Card - G			1	1	2
Wealth Ranking - G	3			3	2
Time Line - G	2	2		4	2
Focus Group Discussion - G	2	4		6	2
Seasonal Calendar - G	3	3		6	3
Life History - I		6		6	3
Key Informant Interview - I	3	2		5	2
10 Methodologies Applied					19

Table no. 4 Table on Availability of works in different Season of South Uddomdi Village.

Source: Seasonal Calendars done by the villagers

Baishakh (Mid April to Mid May)

Harvesting of: Potato, IRRI, Futi Bangi, Til, Kaun.

Hoeing in the Jute field.

Ply boat in big river (Dhongoda). Goods are also transported in lump, commercially by boat.

Day labourers and boatmen take contractual jobs in groups and gets contract one after another.

Joishthya (Mid May to Mid June)

Harvesting of : IRRI, Aus, Til, Kaun, Futi Bangi.

Business of: Futi Bangi, Rice, Fish, Mango, Jack Fruit; all are transported in boats; boatmen earns a lot.

Ferrying by Boat: Land is inundated in flood water. Ferrying by boat becomes essential. Boatmen earn good.

Fishing: Fishing, specially of shrimp (jug, chai and other methods) is done extensively.

Ashar (Mid June to Mid July)

Harvesting of: Jute, Aus

Fishing: Shrimp (Jug, Chai and other methods).

Ferrying by boat (gets about 100 to 125 taka per day).

Boat is used commercially to transport goods.

Shravan (Mid July to Mid August)

Harvesting of: Jute, Aus

Ferrying by boat and fishing (jug, chai and others).

Boat is used commercially to transport goods.

Vadra (Mid August to Mid September)

Harvesting of: Jute (occasionally)

Miscellaneous Jobs: Repairing house, collecting fodder (grass, hyacinth), thatching roof, fencing, cleaning coconut trees etc.

Ferrying by boat and fishing (Chai, Jug and current net).

Ashwin (Mid September to Mid October)

Miscellaneous Jobs: Collecting fodder, thatching roof, fencing, cleaning coconut trees etc.

Ferrying by boat and fishing: As flood water recedes income from this source is nearly halved ; fishing is only done by current nets.

Kartik (Mid October to Mid November)

Harvesting of: Aman

Business of: Betel Nut (Supari), Rice, IRRI and other seeds.

Miscellaneous Jobs: Repairing house.

Fishing: Current net is rarely used; fishing from mud in low water is common.

Ferrying by boat: To very small extent, and most of the professionals go back to big river.

Agrahayan (Mid November to Mid December)

Harvesting of: Aman

Transplantation of: Wheat, Potato, Sorisha, Kaun

Business of: IRRI and other seeds, Rice, Betel nut

Miscellaneous Jobs: Cleaning and trimming trees, repairing house.

Paush (Mid December to Mid January)

Transplantation of: Boro, Aus-Aman, Paijam, Tomato, Wheat, Potato (Sweet, HYV), Radish, Cucumber.

Miscellaneous Jobs: Cleaning of Date Palm (Khejur) trees and making molasses, Repairing home, Hoeing, Manuring and spraying crop fields, earthwork (excavating trenches and raising homesteads and roads).

Magh (Mid January to Mid February)

Transplantation of: Boro, Aus, Aman, Wheat, Potato, IRRI (early), til.

Hoeing and Preparing land for IRRI cultivation, Manuring and Spraying in the crop fields.

Harvesting of: Sorisha, Tomato, Kaun, Potato.

Business of: Molasses, Paddy seeds and seedlings.

Miscellaneous Jobs: Excavating earth and raising homesteads and roads, digging ponds deeper, cleaning date palm trees.

Falgun (Mid February to Mid March)

Transplantation of: IRRI, Potato, Til, Jute.

Harvesting of: Sweet and HYV Potato, Nut, Wheat, Musur, Sorisha.

Miscellaneous Jobs: Excavating earth and raising homesteads and roads, hoeing in Aus-Aman fields, seed business.

Labour Migration to Sylhet, Sunamganj and surrounding villages of Matlab (Dashpara, Baishpur and others).

Chaitra (Mid March to Mid April)

Harvesting of: Wheat, Boro, Cucumber, Nut, HYV and Sweet Potato, Sorisha, Kaun, Til, Kolui, Futi Bangi.

Hoeing in the Jute fields.

Labour Migration to Sylhet, Sunamganj and surrounding villages of Matlab.

It is important to note here that in the interlude of preparing land and harvesting of crops, there are many miscellaneous jobs to do for the day labourers, but not enough to provide them all.

Those who do salaried jobs remain busy throughout the year with it; some supervise farming along with it. Some business of staple food or other commodities goes throughout the year like business of rice, coconut, fish etc. Pulling rickshaw or driving tempo goes yearlong. Rickshaw pulling is limited in rainy season; it then done by only those who do not get any other jobs.

Table no. 5 Distribution of the Villagers According to Occupation.

Occupation	NTG		TG		Total
	♂	♀	♂	♀	
<u>Farming</u>					
Farming in own land (supervision, additional lease in do it themselves)	55	-	10	2	
Supervision of Farming in own land+lease in and get pension	8	-	-	-	
Share Cropping Only	3	-	15	1	
Farming in own land, do share cropping, work as agri-day labourer	-	-	29	-	
Farming in own land, do share cropping with seasonal fishing & boating	20	-	6	-	
Farming supervision in own and lease in land with an additional salaried job	11	-	2	1	
Sub-Total	97	-	62	4	163
<u>Day labourer</u>					
Day labourer and also do seasonal fishing, boating farming and others	3	1	90	2	
Sub-Total	3	1	90	2	96
<u>Business</u>					
Business: Mat making, oil business, Grocery, carpentry, Row materials, Fish, Tempo, Rickshaw puller, Milkman etc.	10	1	18	5	
Business and others: Business as above, Day labourer, Carpentry, Tailor, Farming	15	-	20	-	
Sub-Total	25	1	38	5	69
<u>Salaried Job</u>					
Salaried Job Sailor, works in mill, ICDDR,B, BRAC, hotel, Teacher in school, Madrasha, porter	20	-	16	7	43
Salaried job, but live outside Matlab not included as residents but send a part of income	48	-	22	3	73
Sub-Total	68	-	38	10	116
<u>Rearing Domestic</u>					
Rear domestic animals and fowls	-	43	1	23	127
<u>Beggar</u>					
Beggar, lending begged money with high rate of interest, day labourer (Occasionally), sell begged food	-	-	-	7	7
Total	193	45	229	111	578

Source: HH1 Card

Table no. 6 Land Ownership (excluding homestead) of Household
(from baseline survey) and Wealth Ranking
(done by the villagers): a Comparison.

Agricultural Land (dec.)	Wealth Category				Total HHs
	A	B	C	D	
00	47	29	9	1	86
1 - 50	39	32	19	7	97
51 - 100	7	12	13	11	43
101 - 150	0	6	7	3	16
151 - 200	2	6	15	9	32
200+	2	4	14	16	36
HHs in each wealth On	97	89	77	47	310

Source: HHI card and baseline survey of RDP\BRAC for TG identification.

Table no. 7 Number of Household and Population Distribution of South Uddomdi According to Wealth Group of BARIS (with distribution of Target Group and average population).

BARI	TG				NTG				Total	
	A		B		C		D			
	Pop	HH	Pop	HH	Pop	HH	Pop	HH	Pop	HH
Prodhan	172	32	199	36	156	24	84	6	611	98
Kazee	95	17	78	10	86	14	22	3	281	44
Dewan	53	12	27	4	21	5	45	7	146	28
Darji	44	10	17	2	43	6	21	3	125	21
Mizi	37	6	60	11	21	3	6	3	124	23
Mullah	10	2	17	3	27	5	64	8	118	18
Fakir	13	2	19	3	61	9	12	2	105	16
Beparee	11	2	21	4	16	3	27	3	75	12
Searcher	5	2	12	3	9	2	27	7	53	14
Mreedha	1	1	29	6	16	4	6	1	52	12
Sareng	8	3	8	1	8	1	14	2	38	7
Khan	26	5	-	-	4	1	6	1	36	7
Gazee	6	2	24	4	-	-	-	-	30	6
Patowary	-	-	-	-	6	1	3	1	9	2
Ahmmad	7	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	1
Hazra	-	-	-	-	8	1	-	-	8	1
Total	488	97	511	89	482	77	337	47	1818	310
Average	5.0		5.7		6.3		7.2		5.9	

Source: HHI Card

Table no. 8 Distribution of TG (HH and Population) in
South Uddomdi.

BARI	Target Group	
	No. of HHs	Population
Frodhan	68	371
Kazee	27	173
Mizi	17	97
Dewan	16	80
Darji	12	61
Mreedha	7	30
Beparee	6	32
Gazee	6	30
Fakir	5	32
Mullah	5	27
Khan	5	26
Searcher	5	17
Sareng	4	16
Ahmed	1	7
Hazra	-	-
Patowary	-	-
Total	184	999

Source: HHI Card

Table no. 9 Bari and Age Group Based Literacy and Illiteracy of Residents of South Uddomdi.

	Illiterate							Literate							
Bari	0-6		7-16		17+		Total	0-6		7-16		17+		Total	G.T
	♂	♀	♂	♀	♂	♀		♂	♀	♂	♀	♂	♀		
Prodhan	54	62	20	24	60	102	322	5	11	65	68	91	49	289	611
Kazee	31	32	18	9	39	45	174	4	7	24	25	22	25	107	281
Dewan	10	11	7	6	16	30	80	1	4	19	10	17	15	66	146
Darji	18	5	1	1	13	28	66	2	4	16	14	20	3	59	125
Mizi	13	12	6	9	7	23	70	-	-	12	11	21	10	54	124
Mullah	6	9	-	1	2	12	30	1	4	16	15	30	22	88	118
Fakir	9	16	5	6	18	15	69	-	-	5	10	10	11	36	105
Beparee	6	3	-	-	3	17	29	-	2	13	8	15	8	46	75
Searcher	5	1	-	-	3	5	14	-	-	3	4	12	20	39	53
Mreedha	3	8	1	2	5	9	28	2	1	3	6	6	6	24	52
Sareng	5	4	-	-	1	5	15	-	-	4	4	8	7	23	38
Khan	3	8	2	2	4	7	26	-	-	2	3	2	3	10	36
Patwary	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0	5	2	9	9
Ahmed	2	1	-	1	-	1	5	-	-	-	1	1	-	2	7
Hazra	-	-	-	-	2	1	3	-	-	3	-	1	1	5	8
Gazee	4	5	1	-	4	10	24	-	-	1	1	4	-	6	30
Total by age and Sex	169	177	61	61	177	310	955	15	33	188	180	265	182	863	1818

Source: Household Information Card.

Table no. 10 Concise Table on % of Literacy and Illiteracy by Sex and Age Group of the Villagers of South Uddomdi.

Age Group	0 - 6			7 - 16			17+			All Age		
Education Attainment	Lit	Ilit	Total	Lit	Ilit	Total	Lit	Ilit	Total	Lit	Ilit	GT
Number	48	346	394	268	122	490	447	487	934	863	955	1818
Percentage	2.6	19.0	21.6	20.2	6.7	26.9	24.5	26.7	51.3	47.4	52.5	100.0
Sex Group	Male			Female			Total					
	Lit	Illit	Total	Lit	Illit	Total	Lit	Illit	Total			
Number	468	407	875	395	548	943	863	955	1818			
Percentage	25.7	22.3	48.1	21.7	30.1	51.8	47.4	52.5	100.0			

Source: Household Information Card.

Table no. 11 Dependency Ratio of South Uddomdi

Occupation of HUs		Independent : Dependent	
		Only Earners, those stay in Uddomdi are countered	Earners staying outside S. Uddomdi are also countered
T	Begging and Others	1 : .43 (7 : 3)	-
	Job and Others	1 : 2.5 (40:98)	1 : 1.7 (58:98)
	Job, Agriculture and Others	1 : 2.3 (41:95)	1 : 1.8 (52:95)
G	Business and others	1 : 1.7 (53:90)	-
	Day labour, Agriculture and others	1 : 2.3 (188:438)	-
N T G	Business and others	1 : 2.7 (40:109)	1 : 2.2 (50:109)
	Agriculture and others	1 : 2.8 (117:326)	1 : 2.3 (140:326)
	Job and others	1 : 6.4 (24:154)	1 : 3.7 (42:154)
Dependency Ratio of the NTG			

Source: Household Information Card

Table no. 12

Defining Household Occupations as Given On Table 7.2.11.

T G	Regging and others (a)	Sell things earn through begging, do money lending by begged money. do household work in others place
	Salaried job and others (ab)	Job in Mill. Agricultural labour, boating, chick and duck rearing. livestock rearing and sell, earth working, lease in, farming share cropping, husband sends money from abroad, job in workshop, job in restaurant, begging (occasionally), Baby taxi driver, job in garments. shebika, work in boiler, kabiraj.
	Salaried job, agriculture and others (ab)	Teaching in NFPE, grihosthi. share cropping, job in Jute mill. chick and duck rearing and sell, sons do salaried job and send money.
	Business and others (ab)	Tea stall, Rickshaw pulling (own/hired), share cropper, business of seeds, chick and duck rearing and sell. do agricultural work by hired labourers, business in Dhaka, midwives, livestock rearing and sell, business of oil. share crop out, carpenters.
	Day labourer, Agriculture and others (ab)	Farming, Agri-labourer, do grihosthi in own/others land, share cropping. boating, do household work in others place. chick and duck rearing and sell, livestock rearing and sell, sell milk, rickshaw pulling, sons give money, make mat, clean tree.
N	Business and others (cd)	Business, share crop in, do grihosthi by agri-labourer, seasonal of seeds, poultry and livestock rearing and sell, contractor, business of milk, son has salaried job in mill. glossary on tea shop, mechanic, day labourer, tempo driver, fishing.
T	Agriculture and others (cd)	Grihosthi, sons do salaried job, share crop in, get of pension, member in union parishad, salaried job in Jute money, mill, livestock rearing and only agriculture, give hire pump mechanize, others job, small business, business of raw materials, mechanic, Agri labourer, tailoring, fishing.
G	Salaried job and others (cd)	Job in restaurant, job in garments, job in mill, other job such like B.D.R, grihosthi, advocate, college peon night guard in high school, job in still mill.

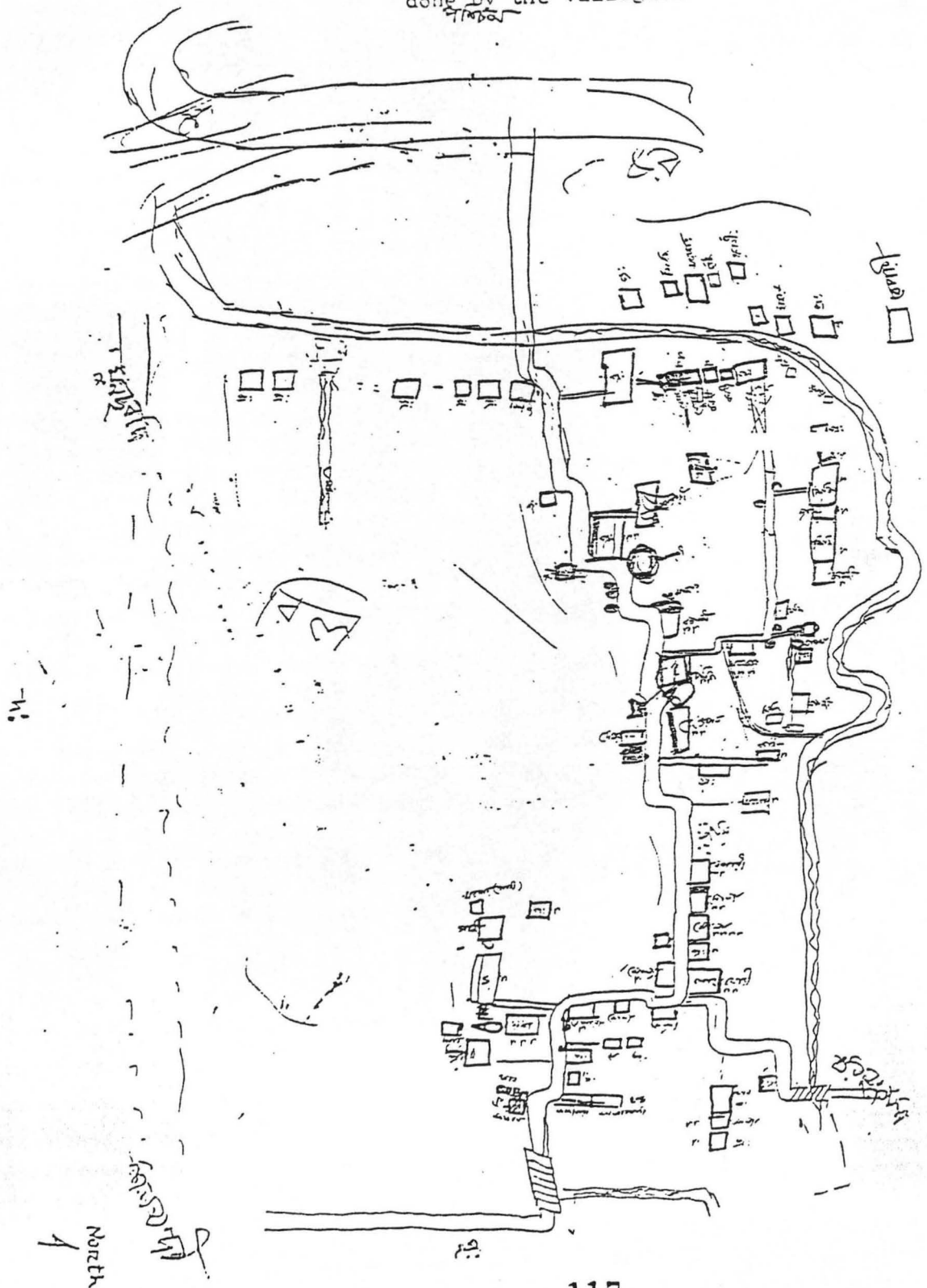
Source: Household Information card

Table no. 13 Time Line Gist (gist of three time line)

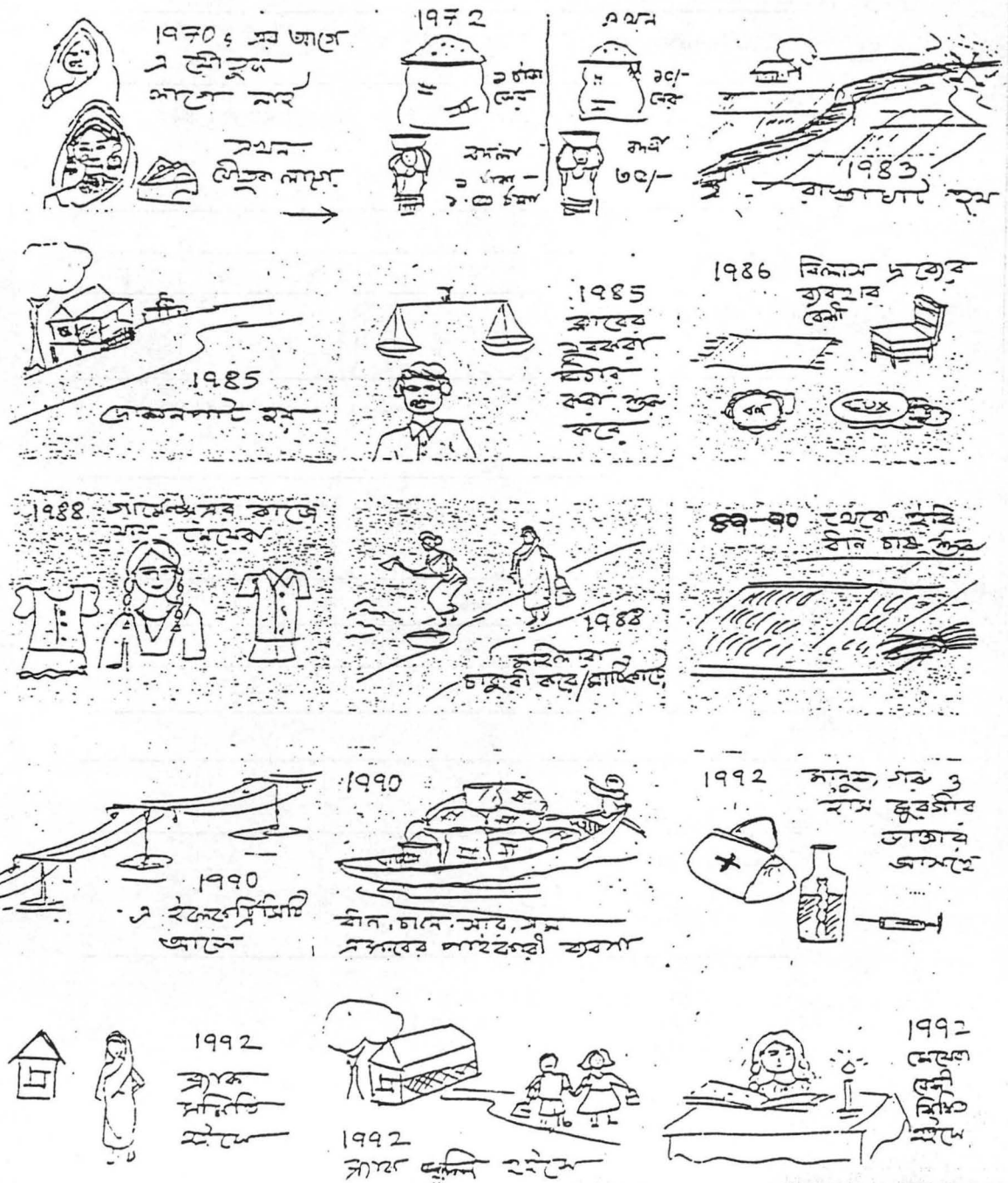
- 1972: The system of dowry starts as an essential part of marriage, but of course not in the magnitude as it is practiced now.
- 1973: The farmer got very low rate of selling rice and the rate of day labourer also fall drastically that leads to a overall fall of the farmers, specially from the lower and lower middle class.
- 1975: Dowry problem increased.
- 1976: Growing interest in wheat cultivation.
- 1978: Dowry problem increased more. Girls start working for money (specially in the surplus households), still their husbands did not bother to do another marriage for dowry.
- 1980: New types of potato cultivation starts in the village and consequently, the use of cold storage became popular.
- 1982: Road developed and constructed that increased the accessibility of the villagers to Matlab Sadar and increased the rate of education and created an awareness among the villagers about new concerns of the country.
- 1983: Frequency of divorce increased due to dowry system. Girls become independent seeing consequences of marriage and dowry and start working outside home, even go for job in the cities.
- 1984: Free books were given in the govt. school, that raise indirectly the consciousness of the villagers about education.
- 1985: Grocery shops start coming up like mushrooms. Village arbitration responsibilities were partially transferred to the youth club. IREI Dhan cultivation starts and brings a change in cropping pattern and crop yield female education and job holding increased.
- 1986: The use of consumer and luxurious goods increases in the village that to a small extent points to an overall change of habit and status of the villagers.
- 1987: Since the girls become independent financially, they start marrying independently. Infrastructural development increases educational attainment; free books in school is another reason. Glossary number increased. Club became more active.
- 1988: Girls start working in Garments, other offices or in the field as earth worker. Job opportunity is better for girls than boys both in the case of educated or uneducated persons. The youth club starts village arbitration very actively. There was less fish in the river after the construction of the embankment.
- 1989: IREI Dhan, Spinach and turnip were cultivated in full swing. The business of seeds became notable.
- 1990: Infrastructural development increased business. The electricity that came for the IREI project were also used for household consumption but restricted only to few wealthy families.
- 1991: The selling price of paddy was very low and in relation household expenses of the farmers were very high.
- 1992: Girls become more educated. BRAC starts operation - the Sanity, the schools, the vaccinators, the paravet, the shebikas. Electricity consumption increased specially for increased IREI cultivation - and the yield increased as well. The Mullah Bari start using electricity for home consumption.
- 1993: 2 Madrasa built. Villagers prefer sitting on chairs with city dwellers instead of 'piris' (tools). Day labourer chant on average 35/- a day when rice is 10 Tk. per kg.

Field work sample no. 1

Social Map of South Uddom
done by the villagers



Field work sample 2: Sample of one time line
done in S. Uddomdi village



Household Information Card

Name of HHH				HH #		
Father's/Husbands Name						
Name # of BRAC VO Members		Joined BRAC		Relationship with HHH		
Demographic Information + Educational Attainment	Age < 6		Age 7 - 16		Age 17+	
	♂	♀	♂	♀	♂	♀
Occupational and Educational Information	♀		4 Month income from Chaki.			
	♂		Fish catch, Agr. Activity year long			
Change	Community		1	2	3	
	VO		1	2	3	
Loan			Training			
1	2	3	1	2	3	
Wealth Ranking	1	2	3	4	5	

Note: BRAC School Cannot Read or Write
Other Schools Can Read or Write

Change 1. Strong 2. Stable 3. Vulnerable

List of Bengali Words

Aus - Summer Rice
 Aman - Wet Rice
 Adhibani - Share cropping
 Bari - Group of Households
 Badam - Nut
 Badsha - Emperor

Bengali Months:

Baishak: Mid April to Mid May
 Joistho: Mid May to Mid June
 Ashar: Mid June to Mid July
 Shravan: Mid July to Mid August
 Bhadra: Mid August to Mid September
 Ashwin: Mid September to Mid October
 Kartik: Mid October to Mid November
 Aghrahaon: Mid November to Mid December
 Paush: Mid December to Mid January
 Magh: Mid January to Mid February
 Falgoon: Mid February to Mid March
 Chaitro: Mid March to Mid April

Beshsha - Prostitute
 Bichar - Trial
 Boro - Irrigated Rice
 Bodli Kam - Work of Day Labourer
 Borga Dei - Give out for share cropping
 Borga Chashi - Share Cropper
 Borga Nei - Take in for share cropping
 Chai Pati - Set trap to capture fish
 Chakuri - Salaried Job
 Chaitali - Of Chaitra season
 Challisha - religious function after 40 days of one's death
 Chapati - Thin Wheat Bread
 Chashi - Farmer
 Cholena - Can not afford
 Dadon - Loan given by big fish merchants for fishing
 Dhoni - Wealthy
 Duli - Basket
 Futi Bangi - Rock Mellon
 Gorib - Poor
 Grihostho - Well off farmer with own land
 Grishmo - Baishak and Joishtho together called as such
 Iftar - The evening meal after a whole day fasting
 Iftedai - A certain level of Madrasha study
 Janaza - Funeral
 Jug Dei - Creating fish habitat with water hyacinth, bamboos and
 Jumma - Weekly prayer performed in Friday noon
 Kamla - Day labourer
 Kancha - Unpaved
 Kandi - Neighborhood

Kaun - Kind of staple
 Khai Khoroch - The consumption cost of food only
 Khata - Working books
 Khatna - Circumcision ceremony
 Khejor - Date Palm
 Khoob Gorib - Extremely poor
 Kolui - A type of pulse
 Kono Rokom Chole - Can afford marginally
 Kot Dei - Lease in land for cultivation
 Kot Nei - Lease out land for cultivation
 Maiya - Girl
 Milad - Religious function
 Madrasha - Religious School
 Mahajon - Traditional money lender
 Mahajoni - Taking loans from traditional money lender
 Moa - Type of crunchy sweet made of dry roasted rice
 Moddho - Middle
 Mula - Radish
 Murubbi - Respected elders
 Naya - New
 Pashim - West
 Panchayet - Village arbitration committee
 Pati - Leaf or grass mat woven in hand
 Piri - Low tools for sitting
 Pola - Boy
 Poraile - If educated
 Purbo - East
 Purdah - Veil used by ladies
 Ramadan - The religious month for fasting followed by Eid festival
 Sadar - Peri urban administrative head quarter
 Salish - Arbitration
 Sofina Khatom - Religious occasion after completion of the holy Quran recitation.
 Sorisha - Mustard
 Supari - Betel Nut
 Tempo - Boat using shallow pump machines to sail
 Til - Sesame
 Tarabi - The special night prayer in the month of Ramadan.
 Uchchu - Upper
 Vhalo - Well
 Wazz Mahfil - Religious Seance or meetings
 Zamin - Land.

Abbreviations

BASE	Base Line Information
CRL	Cholera Research Laboratory
DSS	Demographic Surveillance System
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
HHI	Household Information Card
IRRI	International Rice Research Institutions (meant to indicate 3 HYV rice)
KEY	Key Informant Interview
LH	Life History
MAP	Physical and Social Map
MCH-FF	Mother and Child Care-Family Planning
NFPE	Non Formal Primary Education
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
RDP	Rural Development Programme
RKS	Record Keeping System
SC	Seasonal Calendar
TG	Target Group
TL	Time Line
TRN	Transect
VO	Village Organization

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